HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

BY

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VOL. V
(PART II)

(Śaṁtis; Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra; Tantras and Dharmaśāstra; Purvamimamsā and Dharmaśāstra; Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Tarka and Dharmaśāstra; Cosmology, Karma and Punarjanma; Fundamental and leading characteristics of Hindu culture and civilization; Future Trends.)

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, POONA 4

1962
Copies can be had direct from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4 (India)

Price Rs. 60 per Copy exclusive of Postage

Vol. V, Part 2

Pages 719-1711 of the Text and pp. I to XXII of the Epilogue printed by Shri K. G. Sharangpani, at the Aryabhushan Press, 915/1 Shivajinagar, Poona 4

and

the Prefatory matter and the Index printed by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Press, Poona 4

and

published by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D., Hon. Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.
PUBLISHER'S NOTE

It is with a sense of profound gratification that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute presents to the public the second part of the fifth and last volume of the History of Dharmasāstra by M.M. Professor Dr. P. V. Kane, National Professor of Indology. With this part, this monumental literary project, which was conceived by the author more than thirty years ago, has been brought to a successful completion. This must, indeed, be regarded as a memorable event in the history of Indological studies and research in this country. The five volumes of the History of Dharmasāstra together extend over nearly 6,500 pages, and constitute an authoritative and encyclopedic treatment of the religious and civil law of ancient and medieval India. And what is particularly remarkable is that Professor Kane has accomplished this enormous work single-handed, and that too while being fully occupied with various other literary and public activities.

For Professor Kane, the History of Dharmasāstra is the crowning glory of a life of great fulfilment; and, for the Institute, it is a matter of pride and honour to be so closely associated with it.

Professor Kane is now eighty-two years of age, but his energy and enthusiasm by no means seem to be on the wane. For, he has agreed (health permitting) to prepare for the Institute a revised and enlarged edition of the first volume of the History, which has now almost gone out of print.

17th November, 1962
Bhandarkar O. R. Institute  
Poona 4

R. N. Dandekar
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FOREWORD

Professor Pandurang Vaman Kane, by his monumental volumes on Dharmaśāstra, has placed us all under a deep debt of gratitude to him. His work is of lasting value. At a time when we are building an integrated Indian society, a dispassionate study of our Dharmaśāstras is essential. By his work we are helped to understand what is living and what is dead in the heritage which has come down to us.

Our heritage has always been changing with reference to new conditions and new pressures. The process of readaptation is now at work. In spite of many changes the obstacles to Indian unity require to be removed. The principles which should guide us in the reorientation of our society are well brought out in Professor Kane’s volumes. They may be said to be religious and social.

True religion has three sides to it: (1) a state of mind; (2) a relationship to Reality; and (3) a way of life.

State of mind. Religious scriptures speak of the passionate quest for spiritual illumination. Religion is inner illumination, a renewal of spirit, an awakening, a changed condition of mind. This is the knowledge of God and not merely belief in Him. This is achieved by study, discipline, meditation and purity of heart.

Relationship to Reality. Nearness to God is the goal of religious aspirants. When they attain an insight into Reality, their words are full of rapturous delight. They make out that the Reality they encounter is ineffable, incapable of adequate expression.
It transcends the distinction of subject and object, the duality which is essential for knowledge.

The absolute of experience is not the absolute of language or of logic. The Real to which we belong is beyond description in its majesty, power and glory. Spiritual humility requires us to look upon the varied expressions and interpretations as suggestions of the Supreme. By encouraging dogmatism and the use of force to spread belief, religions have become discredited.

The seers affirm that they are one with the Supreme: aham brahmaasmi. Hallâj exclaims: “I am the truth” and was executed for his heterodoxy.

A well-known Sufî tradition attributes to the prophet a saying: “He who knows the self knows the Lord”. Of Abû Yazid it is recorded that he said: “I sloughed off my self as a snake sloughs off its skin; then I looked into my self, and lo, I was He”.1 Religion, it is said, springs from the great ‘I am’ in each ‘me’. The fountains are within.

On the pathway to the goal we feel that the attainment of the goal is conditioned by the effort of the seeker and the grace of God — tapah-prabhâva and deva-prasâda.

The seekers look upon the Supreme as a Person separate from us, whose commands we obey, whose will we accept with reverence. The One beyond sense-perception, speech and logic is also the Controller, the Lord of all, the Creator and Ordainer of all. “There is nothing marvellous in my love for you, O God, you are a mighty being but your love for me a poor slave is really marvellous. It is impossible to know thee and not to love thee.” The personal is not a falsification of

the real. It is a manifestation of the Supreme. In some of the Upaniṣads — Śvetāsvatara for example — as in the Bhagavadgītā, the Supreme is a God of love and grace. Those who adopt the view of religion as experience, communion with God, are free from the tyranny of dogmas, from the fanaticism which is a disease of the mind to which men and communities are subject.

We are vulnerable to mass hysteria. This need not be so for human nature is infinitely malleable. If we feel that anything is true or beautiful, we are persuaded that it must find acceptance from others. We cannot but communicate to others what we know to be the truth. But when claims to absolute truth are varied and conflicting, humility requires us to respect the deepest convictions of others.

Way of Life. In some systems of thought a distinction is made between two orders of being, metaphysical and empirical. It does not mean that the latter is illusory. The distinction between the two is not absolute. The metaphysical reality is immanent in the world of becoming and makes for the gradual unfolding of values. This world is consecrated ground. Our sages set forth in clear and shining words the ideal of participation in the work of the world in order to raise its quality. Karmabhūmim iva prāpya karta-vyayāṁ karma yat śubham says Rāma, according to Vālmiki. Having come into this world of action one should perform good deeds. Vālmiki continues that the great sages have attained heaven through the performance of good deeds. It does not matter whether you are a grhaṭhā or householder, sarīṇyāsin or mendicant. Janaka was a householder, and sage Yājñavalkya was a wandering mendicant, parivṛājaka. If we behave well, we will make the world a paradise; if we misbehave we will turn it into hell.
Vyavasāyātmikā buddhir eke’ha kurunandana. The trained understanding is single-minded. Integrity refers to the quality of oneness. It does not mean alienation from the world. Religion does not mean other-worldliness, separating oneself from all created things. It is denial of egoism. Turning one’s back on the world is a part of ascetic discipline which is not an end in itself. Liberation from the tyranny of time is not liberation from time. When we become spiritual in outlook we do not cease to be human.

The secret of true greatness is love of fellowmen. Love of neighbour is not only a moral duty but a wise policy. The right course today is co-operation and not conflict. “What merit is there in the goodness of a man who returns good for good? A good man verily is one who returns good for evil.” Rāmarāja or the Kingdom of God is the ideal for the human community. The one hope for the peoples of the world to get together is a change in the human heart.

Ethical standards are the only criteria for the distinction between high and low among men. Purity of conduct elevates a man even as impurity degrades him. All other distinctions are irrelevant. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad refers to patitas. The Cāndālas are those given to stealing, drinking, adultery and murder. These four are fallen: etc patanti catvāraḥ. A patita, a fallen man, is a wicked man, a small-minded selfish man, not an untouchable.

The caste distinctions may have had their value in another context of society but we have out-grown it.

1. upakārino yah sādhuḥ sādhvīre tasya ko guṇah ||
apakārino yah sādhuḥ sa sādhuḥ sadhir ucyate ||

2. V. 10. 9.
The Bhagavadgītā speaks of the four-fold classification as based on guṇa (character) and karma (work).

We are all unregenerate at birth and become regenerate by our effort.

janmanā jāyate śūdraḥ
saṁskārād dvija ucyate

Some are advanced; others not. We should give equal facilities to all. The Mahābhārata says that there was only one varṇa at the beginning and the four castes arose out of later developments.

ekāvarṇam idaṁ pūrvaṁ viśvam āsid yudhiṣṭhira
karma-kriyā-vibhedena caturvarṇaṁ pratiṣṭhitam

But we have come to base caste on birth though some of our leading writers have held that it is not birth or learning but conduct alone that constitutes its basis; for dvijatva,

vṛttam eva tu kāraṇam
vedapāthena vipras tu brahmajñānāt tu brāhmaṇah

It is not the colour of the skin but the conduct of the person that counts. The only way to progress is by means of good conduct. The Sāṁvarta-Smṛti says:

sadācāreṇa devatvam rṣitvāṁ vai tathaiva ca
prāpnuvanti kuyonitvam manusyāṁ tadviparyaye

Great achievement is possible for each one of us.

Professor Kane brings out with great learning and lucidity the frequent changes our society has passed through. When Manu (I. 85) tells us that different customs prevailed in different ages he suggests that the social code is not a fixed but a flexible one.¹ Social

¹. anye kṛtyuge dharmaś tretāyāṁ dvāparāyāṁ dvāpare 'pare
anye kaliyuge nṛpāṁ
customs and institutions are subject to change. Yājñavalkya tells us that “one should not practise that which, though ordained by the Smṛti, is condemned by the people.”¹ What appeals to one’s conscience, ātmānas tuṣṭih, the conscience of the disciplined, not of the superficial, the forms which the elect praise,² should be our standard.

Vital changes may be introduced in the habits of the people by parīsads or assemblies of the learned. When such assemblies cannot be constituted even the decision of one learned in dharma will be authoritative. The Āpastamba Dharmaśāstra says: dharmajña-samayah pramāṇamaḥ.³ People who are learned and compassionate, who are practical-minded can decide the issues of right and wrong. They are the conscience of the community. What we are doing by legislative enactments is consistent with our tradition.

S. Radhakrishnan

¹ I. 156.
² yam āryāḥ kriyamānam tu Śaṁsanti.
³ I. 1. 1. 2.
PREFACE TO VOLUME V

The fourth volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra was published in October 1953, i.e. more than eight years ago. This last volume was in the Press for more than five years. The delay is due to several causes. This volume in two parts contains over 1700 pages. It is thus far more bulky than any of the previous volumes. Nonavailability of sufficient quantity of good printing paper was another cause. The third cause was my age (I am now 82 years old) and frequent bad health. It is gratifying to my friends and myself that at last this undertaking spread over thirty-seven years is completed.

This volume is divided into ten sections. The first section deals with Vratas and Utsavas (religious vows and festivals); the second with Kāla (time), Muhūrtas (auspicious times), and calendar; the third with Śāntis (propitiatory rites for averting the wrath of a deity, a calamity or unlucky event); the fourth and fifth with Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra and the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India; the sixth with Tāntrik doctrines and Dharmaśāstra; the seventh with Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra; the eighth with Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Tarka and Dharmaśāstra; the ninth with cosmology, Karma and Punarjanma; the tenth with the fundamental conceptions and characteristics of Hindu (Bhāratīya) culture and civilization, and future trends.

In the Preface to the 2nd volume I have indicated the reasons for numerous and lengthy Sanskrit quotations. In the Preface to the 4th volume I have mentioned the aim I had in view in bringing together the facts
in each branch of Dharmaśāstra with detachment and integrity and without bias. The same aim and mental attitude have been kept in view in this volume also. But it may be argued that when an author selects some of the numerous facts he passes a judgement about the importance of facts and his judgement may be biased all the same. I do not dispute this argument, but will only argue that, facts being numerous and there being limitations imposed by the space available, the author has a right to pronounce a judgement as to the importance of the facts he selects.

As regards volumes two, three and four, I could rely on a tower of strength in the person of Parama-ḥamsa Śvāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai. But, unfortunately the Śvāmī passed away in March 1955 before I began to write this last volume, and I could not get the benefit of his wise counsel in this fifth volume.

In this last volume I received help from many people, either personally or by correspondence. I have to thank Mr. M. B. Arte, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, and Prof. H. D. Velankar for help in translating important passages from several French and German works. Prof. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, was always ready to render help as to manuscripts and books. He had been a close friend for nearly forty years and his sudden death has meant for me the loss of a learned, sympathetic, and ever-obliging friend. Dr. A. D. Pusalker very carefully read the chapters on Purāṇas and indicated several misprints and some inaccurate statements. Dr. Raghavan very kindly brought to my notice the calendars in use in Southern India and certain works on Vratas; Pandit Śrijiva Nyāyatirtha sent me in Sanskrit the Naiyāyika view on Kāla; Miss Kunda Sathe (now Mrs. Savkar)
kindly sent me from Paris information from French scholars on Babylonian, Assyrian and Greek astronomy. I am highly obliged to Dr. B. S. Joshi for sending me microfilms of certain papers (not available in India) from Cambridge and Chicago. Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya kindly sent me a copy of the Kāla-siddhānta-darśinī. I am under deep obligations to Svāmī Kuvalayānanda of Lonavla for reading my chapter on Yoga and suggesting valuable changes and amendments. Prof. Zala gave me details about the Vratas observed in Saurāśṭra. Prof. G. H. Bhatt (Baroda) and Mr. S. L. Katre (Curator, Scindia Institute, Ujjain) very kindly showed me the manuscript-wealth of their Institutes and helped me with the contents of several relevant mss. on Vratas and Kāla. Shri Padeśāstrī of Baroda discussed with me, personally and by correspondence, several points about Ancient Hindu Astronomy. M.M. Dr. Umesh Mishra brought to my notice his edition of the Vijñānadiṣṇikā of Padmapāda and Dr. H. G. Narahari wrote to me about the Prarabdha-dhvānta-vidhvatāmśana of Aeyutarāya and sent me off-prints of his papers thereon. Mr. Shankarrao Joshi of the Bhārata Itiḥāsā Sansodhaka Mandala of Poona helped me by bringing to my notice hand-written calendars more than two hundred years old. To all these I offer my best thanks. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi B. A. (Hons.) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for help in the correction of the proofs of this volume. I have to thank Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstrī Kokje of Lonavla, and Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya for reading the printed sheets and making suggestions and pointing out misprints. Mr. N. G. Chapekar, in spite of his being now over 91 years of age, read some chapters when they were only typewritten, and discussed them personally
with me for some hours. To him I owe a deep debt of gratitude for having taken so much trouble at such a very advanced age. I am highly obliged to Dr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and to the Librarian Mr. L. G. Parab and the staff of the Archaeological Library for rendering all help to me while I had been collecting material for this volume.

I cannot find words adequate enough to express my sense of deep gratitude to Dr. Radhakrishnan, now President of India, who has favoured me with many kindnesses during the last fourteen years. As for this volume of the History of Dharmasastra, in the midst of numerous engagements and heavy work, he found time to look into its last two chapters, made vital suggestions for their improvement, and finally contributed a learned Foreword.

I am aware that, in spite of so much help rendered by so many friends and well-wishers, this large volume might contain many mistakes, for which I alone am responsible. In the process of printing, some diacritical marks have either been elided or placed in wrong places, for which I seek the indulgence of all scholars and readers.

Lastly, I thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press of Poona for carrying out with energy and zeal the work of printing this very large volume bristling with thousands of quotations, in the face of great difficulties caused by shortage of paper, the Poona floods, and other unforeseen happenings.

Bombay, July 1962

P. V. Kane.
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

of some important works and authors

referred to in vol. V.

N. B. Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are more or less conjectural.

4000 B.C. - 1000 B.C. — The period of the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads; some hymns of the Rgveda, of the Atharvaveda and verses in the Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇas may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. and some of the Upaniṣads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B.C.. Some scholars have criticized me for assigning the Vedic Samhitās to such an early date as 4000 B.C. Bloomfield, in 'Religion of the Veda' (New York, 1908) was willing (on p. 20) to regard 2000 B.C. for the beginnings of Vedic literary productions and to assign a much earlier date for institutions and religious concepts which the Veda derived and he denies that there is any better proof for any later date such as 1500, 1200 or 1000 B.C. rather than for one of the earlier viz. 2000 B.C. Winternitz (in 'Some problems of Indian Literature' which are his Calcutta Readership Lectures, p. 20) remarks 'it is more probable that this unknown time of the Vedic Literature was nearer 2500 B.C. or 2000 B.C. than to 1500 or 1200 B.C.' Both Bloomfield and Winternitz frankly confess that they know nothing at all about the date of the early Vedic Literature. Some Western scholars are rather too cocksure or dogmatic than the facts warrant.
They mostly rely on comparisons with other extant Indo-Aryan literatures and conjectures, which is not proof.

800 B.C.–500 B.C.—The Nirukta of Yāska.

800 B.C.–400 B.C.—The principal Śrauta sūtras (such as those of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana and Satyāṣāḍha) and some of the Grhyasūtras (such as those of Āśvalāyana and Āpastamba) and Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.

500 B.C.–300 B.C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and the Grhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

500 B.C.–300 B.C.—Pāṇini.


300 B.C.–100 A.D.—The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter).

200 B.C.–100 A.D.—The Manusmṛti.

150 B.C.–100 A.D.—The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (rather nearer the former date than the latter).

100 B.C.–100 A.D.—Upavarṣa, author of a commen-
tary on Pūrvamimāṁsā and Vedāntasūtra.

100 B.C.–300 A.D.—Patañjali, author of Yogasūtra.

100 A.D.–300 A.D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti and the Viṣṇu-
dharmaśūtra.

100 A.D.–400 A.D.—Nāradasmṛti.

200 A.D.–400 A.D.—Śabar, author of bhāṣya on P. M. S. (nearer the former date than the latter).


300 A.D.–500 A.D.—Bṛhaspatismṛti on Vyavahāra
and other topics (not yet found); extracts on Vyavahāra are translated in S. B. E. Vol. 33 and extracts from Bṛhaspatismṛti on many topics were collected by Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar and published in a volume in G. O. S.

300 A. D.—600 A. D.—some of the extant Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya.

400 A. D.—500 A. D.—Maṭharavṛtti on Śaṅkhyakārikā.

400 A. D.—500 A. D.—The Yogasūtrabhāṣya of Vyāsa.

476 A. D.—Āryabhaṭa, author of Āryabhaṭṭiyam, was born.

500 A. D.—575 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Bṛhat-

samhitā, Bṛhajjātaka, Pañcasiddhāntikā and other works.

550 A. D.—700 A. D.—Yuktidipikā, com. on Śaṅkhyakārikā.

600 A. D.—650 A. D.—Bāṇa, author of the Kādambarī and Harṣacarita.

650 A. D.—660 A. D.—Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayā-
ditya, com. on Pāṇini’s grammar (was composed)

650 A. D.—700 A. D.—Kumārilabhaṭṭa, author of Śloka-
vārtika, Tantravārtika, Ṭuptikā.

600 A. D.—900 A. D.—Most of the metrical smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śaṅkha and Devala and some of the Purāṇas like Viṣṇudharmottara, Agni, Garuḍa.


V).

700 A. D.—750 A. D.—Gauḍapāda, author of a commen-
tary on Śaṅkhyakārikā and paramaguru (guru’s guru) of Śaṅkarācārya.

700 A. D.—750 A. D.—Umbeka; vide vol. V p. 1198

710 A. D.—770 A. D.—Śālikanātha (vide vol. V p. 1198)
788 A. D.–820 A. D.—Saṅkarācārya, author of Bhāṣyas on the Gitā, principal Upaniṣads and V. S.

780 A. D.–870 A. D.—Utpala, the encyclopedic commentator on Varāhamihira's works.

790 A. D.–850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkyasmṛti, author of Vārtika on the Bhāṣyas of Saṅkarācārya on Brhadāranyakopaniṣad and the Taittirīyopaniṣad and of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi; the same as Sureśvara (after he became a Sannyāsin).


1005 A. D.–1055 A. D.—Dhāreśvara Bhoja, author of numerous works such as the Rājamārtanda (on astrology), Yuktikalpataru, Rājamārtanda (a commentary on Yogasūtra).

1050 A. D.–1150 A. D.—Bhavanātha or Bhavadeva, author of Nyayaviveka.

1080 A. D.–1100 A. D.—Vijñāneśvara, author of Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yāj.

1100 A. D.–1130 A. D.—Lakṣmidhara, author of a very extensive digest on Dharmasāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru.

1100 A. D.–1130 A. D.—Aparārka, a Śilāhāra king, author of an extensive commentary on Yāj.


1127 A. D.–1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilāṣitārtha-ciutāmanī of Someśvaradeva.

1150 A. D.–1160 A. D.—Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhana (composed between these dates).

1150 A. D.–1180 A. D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā and guru of Ballālasena, king of Bengal.

1158 A. D.–1183 A. D.—Ballālasena (king of Bengal who composed five works of which two are available and printed viz. Adbhutasāgara (begun in 1168 A. D.) and the Dānasāgara composed in 1169 A. D.


1150 A. D.–1300 A. D.—Kulūka, commentator of Manusmṛti.


1260 A. D.–1270 A. D.—Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri (composed between these dates).

1275 A. D.–1310 A. D.—Śridatta, author of Pitṛbhakti, Samayapradīpa and other works.


1300 A. D.–1386 A. D.—Mādhavācārya, author of Jaiminiyāyamālāvistāra, Parāsaramādhaviya and other works.

1300 A. D.–1386 A. D.—Śāyana, author of bhāṣyas of Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

1360 A. D.–1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta and Mahārṇavaparakāsa compiled under king Madanapāla and his son.

1360 A. D.–1448 A. D.—These are the dates of the
birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of Gaṅgāvākyāvali and other works, patronized by several kings of Mithilā.

1375 A. D.—1450 A. D.—Śūlapāṇi, author of Dīpakalikā, Tithiviveka, Ekādaśīviveka and several works on topics of Dharmāśāstra called Vivekas.

1425 A. D.—1450 A. D.—King Madanasimha, completed a large digest called Madanaratna.

1375 A. D.—1500 A. D.—Digest composed by Prthvīcandra, son of Nāgamalla, called Dharmatattvasudhānidhi.

1400 A. D.—1450 A. D.—Nyāyasudhā of Someśvara, a commentary on Tantravārtika.

1425 A. D.—1460 A. D.—Rudradhara, author of Varṣa-kṛtya, Śuddhiviveka and other works.

1425 A. D.—1490 A. D.—Vācaspati, author of Krtya-cintāmaṇi and numerous works called Cintāmaṇi and some works called Nirṇaya (e.g. Tithinirṇaya).

1440 A. D.—1500 A. D.—Vardhamāna, author of Daṇḍaviveka, Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka and other works.

1513 A. D.—1580 A. D.—Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, author of Tristhalisetu, Prayogaratna etc.

1520 A. D.—1575 A. D.—Raghunandana, author of many works called Tattvas, such as Tithitattva, Ekādaśītattva etc.

1554 A. D.—1626 A. D.—Appayyadikṣita, author of Vidhirasaṅyana and numerous works on different sāstras and topics (vide p. 1199 above).

1560 A. D.—1620 A. D.—Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and author of Dvaitanirṇaya, Mīmāṁsābālaprakāśa and other works.

1600 A. D.—1665 A. D.—Khaṇḍadeva, author of Bhāṭṭa-
kaustubha and Bhāṭṭadīpīkā.

1610 A. D.—1640 A. D.—Time of literary activity of
Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of Nirṇayasindhu, Śūdra-
kamalākara and many other works.

1610 A. D.—1640 A. D.—Mitramiśra, author of a huge
digest called Viramitrodaya on tīrtha, pūjā, samaya
and many other topics of Dharmaśāstra.

1615 A. D.—1645 A. D.—Time of literary activity of
Nilakanṭha, son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, and author of a
digest on topics of Ācāra, Saṃskāra, Vyavahāra
etc.

1620 A. D.—1690 A. D.—Viśveśvara, alias Gāgābhaṭṭa,
author of Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi and other works.

1645 A. D.—1675 A. D.—Probable period of the lite-
rary activity of Anantadeva, author of a large
digest called Śmṛtikaustubha.

1700 A. D.—1740 A. D.—Śmṛtimuktāphala of Vaidya-
nātha.

1670 A. D.—1750 A. D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa, an
encyclopædic writer on Grammar, Poetics, Dharm-
śāstra, Yoga and other Śāstras (about 47 works).

1790 A. D.—date of the composition of the Dharma-
sindhu by Kāśinātha Upādhyāya.

1730 A. D.—1820 A. D.—Bālambhaṭṭa, author of a
commentary called Bālambhaṭṭi on the Mitākṣarā.
ABBREVIATIONS

used in vol. V for works in English and Sanskrit.

On pp. 251–252 there is a list of abbreviations meant for the list of Vratas alone. Many of them will be included in this list also.

AIHT = "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" by Pargiter.
A. I. O. C. = All India Oriental Conference.
A. K. = Āhalyā-kāmadhenu (ms.)
Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastambadharmasūtra.
Āp. Śr. S. = Āpastamba Śrautasūtra.
Āśv. Gr. = Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra.
A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.
B. E. = 'Buddhist Esoterism' by Dr. B. Bhattacharya.
B. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes.
B. G. S. = Bombay Government Series.
Bhav. U. = Bhavisyottara-purāṇa.
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica Series.
B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Br. = Brāhmaṇa (class of works).
Abbreviations

Br. S. = Brhat-samhitā of Varāhamihira.
C. R. C. = Calendar Reform Committee (Report of).
D. C. = Deccan College.
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica (Volumes).
E. R. E. = Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics in 12 volumes.
E. S. A. = 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' by Prof. Neugebauer (1951).
Gaut. or Gautama = Gautama-dharmasūtra.
G. K. = Kālasāra of Gadādhara.
G. O. S. = Gaikwad's Oriental Series (Baroda).
H. = Prof. Hazra.
H. of Dh. or H. Dh. = History of Dharmaśāstra, Vols. I–V.
H. P. or H. Y. P. = Haṭhayogaprādipīkā.
H. V. = Hemādri on Vratas.
I. A. = Indian Antiquary (Journal) or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (context will clearly show which is meant).
I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly (Journal).
Jai. = Jaimini or Jaimini's Purva-māmsā-sūtra.
J. B. H. U. = Journal of the Benaras Hindu University
J. I. H. = Journal of Indian History.
Jiv. = Jivananda’s edition in two volumes of Raghuvedana’s Tattvas.
J. N. = Jayantinirnaya.
J. V. O. T. = Journal of Venkatesvara Oriental Institute
K. N. = Kālanirnaya of Mādhava.
K. R. = Kṛtyaratnakara of Cāṇḍeśvara.
K. S. S. = Kashi Sanskrit Series.
K. T. = Kṛtyatattva.
K. T. V. = Kālatattvavivecana.
K. V. = Kālaviveka.
M. B. P. = Mimāṃsā-bāla-prakāśa.
M. C. = Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi.
Mit. = Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti.
M. M. = Mahāmahopādhyāya (title conferred on learned men).
M. M. = Muhūrtamārtanda (a work).
Abbreviations

N. I. A. = New Indian Antiquary (a journal).
N. S. = Nirṇayasindhu.
P. C. = Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi.
Ph. Up. = Philosophy of the Upanishads by Paul Deussen, translated by A. S. Geden.

P. M. = Pūrvamīmāṁsā.
P. M. S. = Pūrvamīmāṁsā-śāstra or sūtra (according to context).
P. O. = Poona Orientalist (journal).
P. R. H. R. = Studies in Purāṇik Records on Hindu rites and customs (collection of 16 papers by Prof. Hazra).

Rg. = Ṛgveda.
R. M. = Rājamārtanda of Bhoja (Ms. in B. O. R. I.).
R. N. P. = Rājanitiprakāśa of Caṇḍeśvara.
Śāṅ. Śr. S. = Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta sūtra.
Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ed. by Weber).
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East Series (ed. by Max Muller).

S. M. = Samayamayūkha of Nilakantha.
Sm. C. = Smṛti-candrika (ed. by Mr. Gharpure).
Sm. K. = Smṛtikaustubha.
Tai. Ā. or T. A. = Taittirīya Āranyaka.
Tai. S. or T. S. = Taittirīya-Samhitā.
T. S. S. = Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
T. T. = Tithitattva of Raghunandana.
U. = Upapurāṇa.
Up. = Upaniṣad.
Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyya Samhitā.
Var. = Varāhapurāṇa.
Varāha = Varāhamihira.
V. Dh. or Viṣṇu Dh. S. = Viṣṇudharmasūtra.
Vi. Dh. = Viṣṇu-Dharmottara-purāṇa.
V. K. K. = Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudi.
V. K. R. = Varṣakṛtya of Rudradhara.
V. S. = Vedāntasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa.
Y. S. = Yogasūtra.
Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

अ. का.  
अ. का. चे. \{ = अहृत्याकामपेतु (Ms. in Scindia Institute, Ujjain)
अमिष.  
अमिषु. \{ = अमिषपुराण (अनन्दाभ्रम ed.)
अब्र. = अब्रवेद (ed. by Pandit Satavalekar)
अपराध. = Com. of, on या. स्पृति (अनन्दाभ्रम ed.)
अ. सा. = अब्रवतासागर of बच्चलेजन (Calcutta, 1905)
आप. यु. = आपलम्बंधयप्रत्
आप. व. सू. = आपलम्बचर्चसूत्र
आप. श्री. = आपलम्बोपत्तृत्व
आय. यु. = आयापलायनश्राव्यः
आय. श्री. \{ = आयापलायनशौत्तृत्
ऋ. = ऋवेद
ए. त. = एकदशीतत्व
ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतिहासिक
कल्प.  
कल्पसह. \{ = कल्पकपाल of तत्त्वीर (separate volumes on गृह्य, 

नेयतत्व, सोश्च, वत etc.) ed. in G. O. S.

का. त. वि. = कल्पविषयविषय
का. नि. = कल्पित्वा of माधवाचार्य
का. वि. = कल्पविषय of जीतवालम्
Abbreviations

क्र. त. = क्रियात्मक of रविन्दन
क्र. र. } = क्रियारत्नक का चण्डेबर (B. I. Series)
कौ. श्र. = कौशलतिथिवाचन
गाह. = गाहपुराण
गौ. गौ. थ. सु. } = गौतमचंभेंसूत्र (आनन्दाध्यम ed. with com. of हरद्रश)
गौतम
छा. 
छा. उ. } = छान्दोत्थरीयनिष्ठु
अ. = पूर्वकृतांशायुष्म of अज्ञिनि (आनन्दाध्यम ed.)
तिथि. त. = तिथितच of रविन्दन
त. आ. = तैत्तिरीयार्यवक
त. उ. 
त. उप. } = तैत्तिरीयार्यनिष्ठु
त. श्र. = तैत्तिरीयञ्ज्ञास (आनन्दाध्यम ed.)
त. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंज्ञ्व (ed. by Pandit Satavalekar)

दुर्गच्छों 
दुर्गच्छन } = दुर्गच्छनपद्धति of रविन्दन
दु. भ. त. = दुर्गभवितार्थी of दियापाति (ed. at Darbhanga, 1900)
दै. स्क. सं. = दैत्तिकिनिन्द्रात्मासंप्रयथ
ध. सं. = धर्मसिन्धु of काशीनाथ (ed. of 1926, with Marathi translation) Nir. ed.
भ. सं. = भवसिन्धु (with Marathi translation) Nir. ed.

न्यायमंडली = Kashi S. Series
प्रथम. = प्रथमसिन्धानित्क of वराहमिहिर (ed. by Thibaut and Dwivedi)
पथसि. 
पथातु. } = पथपुराण (आनन्दाध्यम ed.)
पराम. मा. = परामाण्यसाधीव (Bombay S. Series)
पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी
पु. वि. = पुरुष्यार्थचिन्तामणि
प्राय. त. = प्रायश्चितलत्व of रुपनदन
प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चितमयूस of नीलकण्ठ
वृह. उ. = वृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
वृह. उप. = वृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्

वृहलं = वृहलंशिता of वराहमिहर (ed. by Kern, only text; by तुपाकर द्विवेदित, with com. of उपच. There is a difference of one chap. between the two editions).

वृहत्वोषि. = वृहत्वोषियांशवलय (ed. by साहिन जुल्लानन्द of Lonavla)
शै. शै. = शैवाध्यसंप्रदायम्
वांश = वांशपुराण (आनन्दाध्यम ed.)
ब्रह्म = ब्रह्मपुराण
मंड. = मंडपारिवर्तित (B. I. Series)
मंडु = मंडुस्मृति (Nirn. ed.)
मार्क. = मार्केदेयपुराण (Venk. ed. and Cal. ed. differ by two or three chapters)
मिता. = मितालकर (दीक्षा on याज्ञ. स्मृति, Nirn. ed.)
भी. प. = भैरवसामार्थिकम of कृष्णयज्ञव (निर्गृध्द ed.)
भी. वा. प. = भैरवसामार्थिकम of शक्ति (Chowkamba Sanskrit Series)

मु. वि. = मुद्रतिविचिन्तामणि
मेधा. = मेधाविद्वान् commentary on मंडुस्मृति
मै. सं = मैथियाणाचिन्तिता (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar)
यां = यांशवलयस्मृति (निण्यसागर ed. with मितालकर)
शै. सू. = शैवसूभा
रा. मा. = राजार्तिष्ण of भोज
व. किर. कौ. = वर्षिकायाणीपुरी of गोविन्दानन्द (B. I. ed.)
वन. = वनपवे (of महाभारत)
Abbreviations

वराह. = वराहमिहिर or वराहपुराण acc. to context
बाज. सं. = बाजसनेयसंहिता (ed. by Pandit Sātavālekhar)
बावन° = बावनपुराण
बि. दी. = बिशानदीपिका
बि. भि. = बीरमिहिर of मित्रमिहिर
बे. सू. = बेदान्तगूण of बादरायण with शाहरमाय (निर्णय. ed.)
ब्य. म. = ब्यवहारमीड्रेत of नीलकण्ठ
ब्र. वा. वि. = ब्रतकालविवेक
ब्रत. प्र. \{ = ब्रतप्रकाश, part of बीरमिहिर
d. प्र. \} = शतपथ ब्राह्मण (ed. by Weber)
शत. ब्रा. = शतपथ ब्राह्मण
शां. भा. = शास्त्रभाषा ब्राह्मण
शां. भौ. = शास्त्रभाषा शैतंत्रिक
श्रुतिकौ. = श्रुतिकौशूरी of बोविन्दानन्द (B.I. ed.)
श्रे. उप. = श्रेष्ठतात्त्वकोषपूर्ण
सं. कौ. = संस्कृतकौशूर of अनन्तदेव (Baroda ed. 1914)
सं. प्र. = समयप्रकाश (part of बीरमिहिर)
सं. म. = समयमीड्रेत (Gujarati Press ed.)
सिं. फौ. = सदावर्तकौशूरी of ब्रह्मदीपिका (निर्णय. ed.)
सून्द. = सून्दपुराण (Venk. Press ed.)
स्मृतिकौ. = स्मृतिकौशूर of अनन्तदेव
स्मृतिश्र. = स्मृतिश्रद्धनिर्विता (ed. by Mr. Gharpare)
हेय. यो. प्र. = हेयग्रामप्रदीपिका
हेत. = हेमाद्रि, author of भुजवर्गितालमणि (B.I. ed.) on व्रत, काल, आद, दान etc.
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CORRECTIONS

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Page  Line or note

384  20  read ‘on Śu 7th; when’
494  n. 719, l. 7  read ‘from’ for ‘form’
530  n. 765, l. 2 from bottom read ‘Gandharva’.
560  n. 832, l. 3  read ‘101 (in Kern’s ed.)’ for ‘160’
598  the figures in the photo of ‘Dhanus’ and ‘Mīna or Ma-kara’ are wrong, in position. They should be turned upside down
647  n. 991, l. 3 from bottom read ‘14’ for ‘29’
660  l. 11  read ‘aṅkṣara a’
696  l. 9  read ‘Manu IX. 301’
715  n. 1130, l. 2  read ‘purposes’
724  n. 1145, l. 3  read शामीच्छ
736  n. 1172a, l. 2  read 1690 for 1598.
737  n. 1172b, l. 8  read ‘Viṣṇor-nu kām’.
751  l. 4  read ‘specified on preceding page’ for ‘specified below’.
801  n. 1300, l. 8  omit ‘शाकुन्तल’.
813  n. 1323, l. 3  read ‘हैदराबादविनित’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Correction</th>
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<tr>
<td>817</td>
<td>n. 1328, l. 1</td>
<td>read ‘श्रीकालुदार्थन्ति’</td>
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<td>824</td>
<td>n. 1347, l. 4</td>
<td>read मूर्ति</td>
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<td>833</td>
<td>n. 1356, l. 3</td>
<td>read संवाचारप्रज्ञदम्</td>
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<td>844</td>
<td>n. 1375, l. 6</td>
<td>read ‘tonal’</td>
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<td>870</td>
<td>l. 5</td>
<td>read ‘It’ for ‘If’</td>
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<tr>
<td>888</td>
<td>n. 1414b, l. 1</td>
<td>read ‘Kālikā 92. 2’</td>
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<tr>
<td>899</td>
<td>l. 2</td>
<td>read ‘Amar Nath Ray’ for ‘M. R. Majumdar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>911</td>
<td>l. 13</td>
<td>read ‘Saura’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>970</td>
<td>l. 8</td>
<td>omit ‘way’</td>
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<tr>
<td>970</td>
<td>l. 11</td>
<td>read ‘way’ for ‘away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1019</td>
<td>l. 4 from bottom</td>
<td>read ‘it is found that it condemned’</td>
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<tr>
<td>1038</td>
<td>n. 1673, l. 4</td>
<td>put a comma after ‘Pūrṇa’</td>
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<tr>
<td>1066</td>
<td>last note is ‘1724’ and not ‘1924’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1103</td>
<td>l. 5</td>
<td>read ‘neuter’ for ‘neither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1104</td>
<td>n. 1. 2</td>
<td>read धारणं for धारणास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1115</td>
<td>l. 1901, last line</td>
<td>read 2238 for 2186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1174</td>
<td>l. 8</td>
<td>read ‘note 2052’ for note 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1196</td>
<td>l. 13 from bottom</td>
<td>put a comma after Kumārila’s</td>
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<td>1203</td>
<td>n. 1954, l. 2</td>
<td>read ‘सानिष्टा’ (= या अनिष्टा)</td>
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<td>1221</td>
<td>n. 1981, l. 5</td>
<td>read वृतादिवशायावृत्यणि</td>
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<tr>
<td>1226</td>
<td>lines 25–26</td>
<td>read ‘vidhi-lin’</td>
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<td>1231</td>
<td>l. 13</td>
<td>read ‘Soma’</td>
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<tr>
<td>1239</td>
<td>n. 2015</td>
<td>read शूर्य</td>
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<td>1242</td>
<td>n. 2016, l. 3</td>
<td>read परस्मवृक्षादि</td>
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<tr>
<td>1244</td>
<td>n. 2019, l. 1</td>
<td>read वे पुरात्तत्त्वगते</td>
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<tr>
<td>1264</td>
<td>n. 2058, l. 4</td>
<td>read परिहितन्ते</td>
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</table>
1274  n. 2077, l. 7  read ‘paribhāṣas’.
1293  n. 2116, l. 3  read ‘शहुनौ’.
1295  n. 2119, l. 3  read ‘निविशेषते कथे’.
1300  l. 29  read ‘1238’ for ‘1258’.
1315  n. 2164, ll. 4–5  read ‘सुख्यक्रमेण वज्ञानं तद्वर्तवात्’ and omit वा after V. 1.14
1356  l. 15  read 2238 for 2186
1373  l. 29  read ‘sixty’ for ‘six’
1409  n. 2134, ll. 1–2  read श्री. सू. I. 2–4
1432  last line  read ‘praṇād-apānati’
1446  n. 2371  read सत्त्रेणन्वितात् व्यानं (separate words)
1448  n. 2382, l. 9  read श्रह्मस्यति.
1449  n. 2383, l. 6  कस्मात्, l. 7 योग्यवाचकर, l. 9 असंप्रजात.
1453  n. 2389, l. 8  read levitation and n. 2390 l. 8 put a semicolon after ‘प्रवेश:
1460  n. 2402, last line read ‘उज्जवे’
    , n. 2413, l. 1  read मंदिरवसे’
1483  n. 2429, ll. 1 and 6 read Westaway
1488  n. 2439, l. 1  read कस्मात्स्वस्त्
1494  n. 2445, l. 2  read कित्यता स्रुवम: and in last line व्यचो हिन्मु
1508  n. 2462, l. 5  read छा. उप. VI. 11. 3
1559  n. 2528, last line read IV. 11
1615  l. 2 from bottom, read ‘Bagby’s’
    , n. 2602, l. 3 from bottom, read ‘unrelated
1671  lines 4–5  read ‘being sweeping ones at one stroke are likely’.
1684  l. 1  read p. 9
1708  n. 2659 l. 2  read ‘What Vedānta means to me,’ a symposium.
SECTION III

ŚāNTI (Propitiatory rites for averting a deity's wrath, a calamity or unlucky event).

CHAPTER XX

Vedic meaning and procedure of Śāntis

The word Śānti is derived from the root ‘śam’, which has several meanings (such as ‘to stop’, ‘to be appeased’, ‘to kill’ rarely) and belongs to the 4th conjugation and also to the 9th. The word Śānti itself does not occur in the Rgveda, but it occurs in the Atharvaveda and the Vājasaneyā Śāmhitā. The root ‘śam’, its several forms and derivatives and the indeclinable particle ‘śam’ occur hundreds of times even in the Rgveda. The word ‘śam’ is often conjoined in the Rgveda to ‘yoh’ either as ‘śamyoḥ’ (Rg. I. 93.7, I. 106.5, III 17.3, III. 18.4, IV. 12.5, V. 47.7, V. 53.14, V. 69.3, VI. 50.7, VII. 35.1, VII. 69.5, X. 9.4, X. 15.4, X. 37.11, X. 182.1-3) or as ‘śam ca yośca’ (as in Rg. I. 114.2, 189.2, II. 33.13, VIII. 39.4, VIII. 71.15). In these places the words are generally rendered as ‘happiness and welfare’ or ‘health and wealth’ (by Keith in translation of Tai. S. II. 6.10.3) and these meanings generally suit the context, e.g. in Rg. VI. 50.7 ‘dhāta tokāya tanayāya śaṁ yoh’ (confer on our sons and progeny happiness and welfare), in Rg. X. 182 the words ‘athā karad-yajamānāya śaṁ yoḥ’ (may Brhaspati confer happiness and welfare on the sacrificer) occur as the last quarter of all the three verses. ‘Śam’ by itself occurs about 160 times in the Rgveda and it is somewhat remarkable that in Rg. VII. 35. 1-13 the word śam occurs in each verse from 4 to 7 times (68 times in all). Rg. I. 114. 1132 ‘we bring these lauds to Rudra who is powerful, who has braided hair, who rules over valiant men, so that there may result welfare to our two-footed and four-footed beings and every thing in this village may be prosperous and free from distress’ will bring out the import of

1132. Verses 1-10 of Rg. VII. 35 are the same as Atharva 19.10.1-10.

1133. हमा रुद्राय तस्ये कामिनी क्षणश्रीराय म भरामाय सति:। यथा शास्त्रस्य द्विपदे चतुर्णेवं विश्वं गुणं ब्राह्म अरिष्टत्ततुरूपी ।। I. 114. 1.
'śam'. In some cases 'śam' and 'yoḥ' clearly appear to be employed like nouns in the objective case. For example, Rg. II. 33. 13 1134 "I hanker after the 'śam' and 'yoḥ' of Rudra (i. e. under the power of Rudra), Rg. I. 114.2 "O Rudra! may we secure by your guidance that 'śam' and 'yoḥ' that father Manu procured through sacrifice". Yāska (Nirukta IV. 21) while dealing with Rg. X. 15. 4 ' athā naḥ śam yor-arapo dadhāta' holds 'śamyoḥ' to be ablative or genitive of śāmyun and explains as 'śamanam ca rogānām yāvanam ca bhayānām' (allaying of diseases and warding off of dangers). This is an etymological explanation and is in some cases accepted by Sāyana and in others he paraphrases 'śam' by 'sukha' (happiness) and 'yoḥ' as 'duḥkha-viyojya' (freedom from pain or distress). The word 'yoḥ' presents the appearance of the ablative or genitive singular of a noun from the root 'yu' which means 'to bind' or 'separate' or from 'yā' to go. 'Yoḥ' by itself occurs only three times in the Rgveda (i. e. in I. 74. 7, X. 105. 3, X. 176. 3). The meaning of 'yoḥ' in these three cases is doubtful. In the Tai. Br. 1135 we have the mantra 'we choose that happiness and welfare and success (or progress) to the sacrifice and the sacrificer; may divine fortune be ours; let there be good fortune for (our) men; may medicine (or remedy) go up; may there be happiness to our men and quadrupeds'.

In Atharvaveda 19. 9 the word śaṇṭi occurs about 17 times. In verses 3 to 5 speech (vāk ), the mind (manah) 1136 and the five senses are referred to and it is said that these seven usually produce what is ghora (terrible or inauspicious) and these same must exert themselves for producing śaṇṭi (i. e. appeasement of angered deities or averting calamities or misfortunes). Verses 6-11 pray to several gods, planets (grahāḥ), the earth, falling stars, cows, the nakṣatras, magical rites, Rāhu, Dhūmaketu (comets), the Rudras, Vasus and Ādityas, sages and Bṛhaepati to confer happiness. Verse 12 prays to Indra, Brahma, and all

1134. । शोच योः क्षमस्व वसिः । श्र. II. 33. 13; श्लोच शोच योः मुरारयेज सिता तद्वर्धाय तत्र गृह्यति ॥ श्र. I. 114. 2.

1135. । तत्त्वसारायणीमेव । गात्रं यश्वं । गात्रं यज्ञं । दैवी स्तिरसरसु ।। स्तति-महायणे ।। कुण्डल नियाते अवयजये । लो नो अभु दिन्वाया सं चतुर्वांशौ ॥ तत् ॥ श्र. III. 5. 11.
This is partly explained in तत्. II. 6. 10. This is called जंतुयागक. Vide प. I. 4. 29 on which the first चालक is 'अतुसात्रायं शुभं' and परत्र चालक cites 'अतुसात्रायं हंसुयागक: छुङ्गलाक:.' as examples.

1136. । इसमानि चालि प्रेमदिशयायिनि सन्त:पदार्थि भो हति बहुध्या संपद्यतानि । बैशैष सबुजे चोरे तैरेश्च शास्तिरसु ।। अर्पम. 19. 9. 5.
the gods for refuge to the composer of the hymn and 13 declares that 'whatever things were appeased (by śantis) in this world—these the seven sages know. May they all be happiness for me; may happiness be mine and may freedom from fear be mine.' Verse 14 which is similar to Vāj. S. 36. 17 declares that 'the earth, mid-regions, heaven, waters, trees and plants, all gods—these have become appeased and auspicious by the śanti rites performed by the composer and that by those śantis, by all śantis I (we) appease (remove the evil effect of) what is here terrible, what is cruel (or inauspicious), what is evil; may all that be appeased, be beneficial and happy for us'.

1137 Atharva 19. 10 (verses 1–10) contains the word 'śam' 51 times and prays for welfare to several gods and 19. 11 is also a śanti containing the word 'śam' 18 times. The Vājasaneyā-saṃhitā chapter 36 (verses 8–12) similarly contain the word 'śam' several times. One of these vī. (Vāj. S. 36. 12) occurs in many Vedic texts 1138 'May the divine waters confer on us happiness, help and protection; may they flow towards us for our our happiness and welfare'.

In the Tai. S. the words 'śamayati' and 'śanti' are frequently used often in the same passage or context. For example, it is said "Rudra 1139 is the fierce (or harsh) one among gods... He (the priest) does as it were a harsh thing when he recites (that passage containing the word) Rudra; 'in the path of Mitra,' he says for the sake of appeasing". There is a similar passage in the Ait. Br. While prescribing the recital of a āk verse (Ṛg. II. 33. 1) in the Āgnimārata-śastra the Ait. Br. changes the original words of the latter half of the verse in the Rgveda and also suggests another verse altogether for recital.

1137. ताभि: शान्तिभि: सर्वशान्तिभि: शमयामोऽविवध पावेन पाविव कूर्तं पाविव पावे तथ्यातं तत्विं तर्कान्ति सार्वथिः शामसदु न: || अध्यात 19. 9. 14.

1138. हे नै देवपरिवर्तय अभय भवनु पीतये। हे योगिः सुमस्तु न: || वाजः सं. 36. 12, अध्यात I. 6. 1, सामवेद 33. से. ब्राह्म 2. 1. 1.

1139. दुःखस्वर्गेषुस्मात्यसाने। दुहो! ये कृर्तं देवनाम्—कौतिष्ठय त एतहकसों त पुष्यस्य सात्यम्। से. सं. VI. 1. 7. 7–8; The original āk is आ ते मित्यार्थं युज्यते ना:। सुप्रभक्षकययुद्धय पोहाय शास्त्रे। अभि नै बोधी सार्वत्तत्त्वस् य जनायकमिह रुद्रां नामाः। अभि नै बोधी सार्वत्तत्त्वस्य जनायकं दश्यते ब्रह्मां। || अध्यात II. 33. 1. The ए. ब्राह्म reads 'लो नै गीहो अन्तिः श्रुति यथाः' for अभि नै बोधी सार्वत्तत्त्वस्य जनायकं दश्यते... If one employed अभि नै, Rudra might have seized the progeny and the word शनिव (meaning a servant of Rudra) avoids the use of the harsh name Rudra. 'जनायकं दश्यते सार्वत्तत्त्वस्य जातिः सार्वत्तत्त्वस्य जातिः... '"सोश्चित्तका श्रीदी शाल्ता स्वर्गुः। समाजवाम।' ए. ब्राह्म 13. 10. B. D. 91
(I. 43. 6 ‘śam naḥ karatyarvate sugam meṣaya meṣye nābhīh
nāribhīh gave’) because in the first place that verse begins with
the auspicious word ‘śam’ and in the second place because that
verse, though the devatā (deity) thereof is Rudra, does not
expressly mention that word; the result, says the Ait. Br., is that
that verse being one of appeasement (śānti) the priest secures
long life and procures long life for the sacrificer.

Another example of ‘śamayati’ in the Tai. S. is as follows:
When an agnihotrin is going on a journey with his household he
should offer homa to Vāstospati, but if he goes without offering
a homa to Vāstospati evil consequences follow; ‘Rudra is indeed
Vāstospati; if he were to go out without offering homa to
Vāstospati, Agni would become Rudra, would leap after him and
kill him; (but) when he offers to Vāstospati, he appeases him
(Rudra—Agni) with his own share and the sacrificer meets no
injury (or distress)’.

Another example of ‘śamayati’ and ‘śānti’ in the Tai. S.
(VI. 3. 3. 2–3) may be set out. ‘O tree! protect it; O axe! do
not harm it; the axe indeed is a thunderbolt; (therefore he utters
those words) for allaying (the fierce power of the axe); these
worlds are afraid of the tree (of which the yūpa is made) when
it moves; (therefore he recites ‘with thy top do not graze the
sky, with thy middle do not harm the atmospheric region’. (By
these words) he appeases (removes the terrible power for evil of)
this tree’.

The foregoing passages are quite sufficient for showing the
significance attached to the words ‘śam’, ‘śamayati’ and ‘śānti’
in the Vedic samhītās. The word ‘śantama’ occurs in the
R̄gveda about two dozen times. It is applied to the great gods
like Agni, Indra, Soma (I. 16. 7, I. 77. 2, IX. 104. 3), to the
praises of gods (I. 76. 1, VI. 32. 1), to the worshipper or singer
(VIII. 13. 22), to protection by gods (V. 76. 3, X. 15. 4) and
generally means ‘beneficent or conferring happiness’.

1140. 4. 10. 3. Compare श्र. श्री. 14. 19.

1141. अर्थार्थ संप्रदेशाः साधिते मैथि मैथि हिन्दुसिद्धियः वर्तते नै साधिति: शास्त्र्याः।...इन्हें ने लोकोऽ
पुरुषस्य तत्र षड्योऽधिक्षयं क्षिप्रगणोऽधिक्षरस्य अद्वितीयस्य श्रीपुरुषस्य तत्र साधिति। तै. सं. VI. 3. 3. 2–3; compare वाज. सं. 5. 42–43 and शास्त्र्य श्री 6. 4. 13
for similar words.
larly, the word ‘śantāti’ (Ṛg. I. 112. 20, VIII. 18. 7) means ‘beneficent’.

The causal (śamayati) of the verb ‘śam’ and the word ‘śānti’ do not occur in the Rgveda, but they are as said above frequently employed in the Taśṭṭiriya and other Samhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas. Some further examples may be set out here. The Tai. S. relates the following legend “Agni was in the yonder world (heaven), the sun was in this world; these worlds were (then) unappeased (disturbed). The gods said ‘come, let us change (transpose) these two’. They placed Agni in this world with the words ‘O Agni, come here for the dainty meal’ and (placed) the Sun in the yonder world with the worlds ‘the great and powerful one, O Agni’; then indeed these two worlds became free from disturbance. Since he repeated those words in this way, it served for the purpose of quieting these worlds (that were once disturbed). These worlds became undisturbed (auspicious) for him who knows this”.

In some passages of the Rgveda the word ‘śami’ occurs (as in I. 87. 5, II. 31. 6, III. 55. 3, VIII. 45. 27, X. 40. 1.). It is generally interpreted by Sāyana in these passages as the locative singular of ‘śam’, which is explained to mean ‘karman’ (action, sacrifice or the like). Two of these may be cited here “my desires fly in many directions; I shall brighten ancient (lands) towards śami’ (for employing them in various sacrifices?); knowing the truth in Turvasa (king) and Yadu (king) he (Indra) enveloped Ahnavāyya (their enemy) in warlike action.” It is possible to take ‘śami’ as the locative singular of ‘śam’ treated as a noun. The word ‘śami’ occurs in many passages of the Rgveda (I. 20. 2, I. 83. 4, I. 110. 4, II. 1. 9, III. 60. 3, IV. 3. 4, IV. 17. 18, IV. 22. 8, IV. 33. 4, V. 77. 4, V. 42. 10, VI. 3. 2, VI. 52. 1, VIII. 75. 14, IX. 74. 7, X. 28. 12.). In all these passages

1142. श्रीमि लोकायाग्नातांतसमासते तदं तदा अभिषेत्रिताम् सिमायाताम्य आ चाहि वीरयादि इरगसिन्धिका विनम्युद्घुष्टमुयो नीर्विन्यित्यमयीमितः कार्यस्थितः सर्वाबिधाम्। ततो या श्रीमि लोकायाग्नातांतसमासते विधेयसमझायोऽवैधायम्। प्राचुष्याः। प्राचुष्याः। श्रीमि लोकावि व एवं वेदः॥ ते सं. II. 5. 8. 2. अञ्जलि here means ‘the evil, aspects or influences in which had not been removed or conjured away.

1143. वि मे दुधर्मात्य तत्प्रचारित कामाः धामपश्चा धीरे प्रव्यायिः। त्राः III. 55. 3; सर्वे सततलिङ्ग यथार्थ विश्वाय। ध्यानादूण्ड तृणं रागासि॥ क्र. VIII. 45. 27. In the last verse Sāyana takes श्रीमि as objective singular of श्रामि (instead of loc singular as he does elsewhere).
Sāyana interprets it as ‘karma’ and not as the ‘śāmi tree or branch’. But in one place at least (if not in more places) the word śāmi can easily be held to mean ‘the śāmi wood or fuel-stick’. To that mortal who worships with sacrifices and appeases with ‘śamīs’ (śāmi fuel-sticks) and gives offerings to Agni that abounds in wealth disappointment as to glory never comes nor does sin nor arrogance overtake him.'

The whole of chapter 36 of the Vājasaneyya-saṁhitā is employed as saṅtī at the beginning and end of the Pravargya rite, according to Kāt. Śr. S. 26. 41 ‘śāntikaranaṁ-ādyantayaoh; verses 9-12 of Vāj. S. 36 employ the word ‘śam’ 17 times and verse 9 is the same as Rgveda I. 90. 9.

An interesting text in connection with the root ‘śam’ is the adhrigv praiṣa, to be recited by the Hotṛ priest before the paṣu is killed in a sacrifice. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1121 note 2504 for the formula which is rather long. The important1145 words for the present purpose are at the beginning and at the end ‘O divine slayers and human slayers! begin (the process of killing the paṣu). ...O Adhrigu! you should slay (the paṣu) in such a way that it would be properly carried out'. Here the root (śam) certainly means to slay; this meaning is, however, apparently quite different from the one so far considered (viz. to appease, to remove evil effects). But it may be that there is a secondary meaning, viz. appease the gods by offering parts of the animal killed in the sacrifice.

The Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa closely connects the śāmi tree or branch with the conjuring away or appeasing the terrible or angry aspects of deities in the following myth:1146 "Prajāpati

1144. ही यज्ञभ: Šāmane śāminmāryapārāyaṇe द्वारा। एवा च चन तं भजामुद्विनी-हो मते नम्ये तं महति:। क्र. VI. 3. 2; compare क्र. VI. 1. 9 सो अग्नेजे Šāmane च मतः यस्य आन्तूर सहिता हर्षवर्तितिव।

1145. ईष्यया: Šāminārā अरभमनुष्ठत मुहुष्या। 'अधिंगं शामीं शुशामी शामीं शामीं-माणित्रार अपाय। आश्च. अवी. III. 3. The passage occurs in ते. वा III. 6. 6. 4, ई. वा. VI (अध्याय), 6-7 (क्रत्व). The words सुशामी शामीं occur in ते. सं. I. 1 5. 2, वा. सं. I. 15. The words अधिंगं &c. quoted here occur in सांसिक-पुत्र 69. 6.

1146. प्रजापतिस्निधत। सोकबित्रेन भा धर्मशतित। ते हर्षप्राप्तसमपुद। तत्रद्वये शामिकर। यत्वमीमतं सम्बाग: अहांति शामी अमुवाहय। ते. वा. I. 1. 3. 11. सांस्क explains 'हर्षप्रयन्तेनानि शुपायणा शामीति नाम संप्रभु। अत्तत्तवाभास: पूर्व विश्वामित्र द्वारस्यपादम्, इत्यं परम्ब्याय ज्य सम्यते.'
created Agni; he (Prajâpati) became afraid ‘this Agni might burn me’. He (Prajâpati) pacified (the terrible flame or glow of) Agni with śāmi (branch); that is the beneficent or happy aspect of śāmi in that the equipment required for Agni is full of śāmi in order to appease Agni and for freedom from being burnt thereafter.’ The idea is that Agni, the moment it was created had a fierce and evil aspect, that was removed by the use of the śāmi and śānti means an action or rite that appeases the evil aspects of a deity and makes the deity beneficent. Similarly, the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa says: 1147 “He recites the verse ‘they worship you with offerings whatever abodes you may have;...he says: O Soma! move towards houses in such a way as not to kill the sons (of the sacrificer).’ Houses are indeed called ‘duryâ’ and the house of the sacrificer is afraid of the king Soma when he approaches the sacrificer’s house; when he (the priest) repeats this (verse) he thereby appeases him (king Soma) by a śānti (propitiatory rite); he (Soma) becoming beneficent (by the repetition of the mantra) does not kill the progeny or the cattle (of the sacrificer).’ The idea is that king Soma might be angry with the sacrificer if there be any defect in the sacrificial rite and that when the hoṭr priest repeats the verse ‘avirahā o-’ that verse is the cause of appeasement.

In the Śatapatha-brâhmaṇa there is a similar reference to the appeasing power of the śāmi branch. “He (the priest) places fuel sticks on this (Agni). ... He places (on Agni) a fuel stick of śāmi as the first. This (Agni) was kindled when this oblation (of śāmi branch) was offered and flamed upwards. The gods became afraid of him (Agni) lest Agni might harm them. They (gods) saw this śāmi branch and appeased him (Agni) with that; inasmuch as they appeased this (Agni) by means of śāmi (branch) this is called śāmi. In the same way this sacrificer appeases with śāmi this (Agni) for procuring appeasement and not for food” 1148. It would be noticed

1147. या ते धामानि हविषा यज्ञीयवनाह। “अवरहा य चरा सोम दुयांतिः। युहां वै हुयां बिभयति सोमात्रा आवति यज्ञामयास्य युहां। स यद्यमयतात् ज्ञाते येन् तत्त्वतिः सोय शालो न प्रजाः न पूजुः हिनिः।” प्र. भ. 3. 2. The verse ‘या ते अवरहाः’ is भ. I, 91, 19.

1148. अघ्यस्मिन्यस्मिन्य आद्यातिः। “स ये शामीवर्ग्यः प्रभाद्यातिः। एतहा एव एतस्य-महायां हुतावः यज्ञीयवनात्।” तत्सामः अदिशित्वेति न तथा न हिनिः।” न एताः शामीवर्ग्यः सोमात्रा यवेत् सोय अयात्मस्माच्छूर्तः तथात्मस्यभिः ज्ञाते येन्। इत्यत् IX. 2. 3. 36 and 37.
that here the name ‘śānti’ is derived from the root ‘śam’ and it is the means of effecting śānti (appeasement).

In the Brāhmaṇas the means of appeasement are various but simple. Often times the recitation of a Vedic verse or hymn effects śānti. For example, the Taśtriya-brāhmaṇa prescribes the singing of sāmans at the time of consecrating the sacred śrauta fires; the three sāmans are Rathantara, Vāmadeva and Brhat, each being connected with the three worlds respectively. “When Agni is being taken out, he sings the Vāmadeva sāman; Vāmadeva is the atmospheric region and thereby (i.e. by singing Vāmadeva) he makes Agni established in the atmospheric region; Vāmadeva is śānti (means of bringing about the appeasement of Agni); (on singing Vāmadeva) he takes out Agni that has become appeased (beneficent) and as bestower of cattle”. The Tai. S. says "he says ‘weave ye with regular measure the work of the singers’. Whatever superfluity (or flaw) is committed in the sacrifice, this (recitation) serves to eradicate its evil effects". The Ait. Br. provides "(the priest) who is about to sprinkle holy water over him (the king) should (himself first recite the mantra and) make the king repeat it (after him) 'O Waters! look on me with a beneficent eye, and touch my skin with (your) beneficent body. I invoke all the Agnis that dwell in waters for your sake; this should be done for the purpose that waters (the evil aspects of which have been) not appeased may not destroy the vigour of him who is being sprinkled over". The Hotṛ performs a japa before and after reciting the sāmīdhēṇi verses. About this the Saṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa says that the sāmīdhēṇis are a thun-

1149. भाष्यरूपमय समस्मय मुनि कृष्णमयशान। अन्तङ्करणः वै सामवेद्यमूर्त। अन्तङ्करणः एवः मन्त्रालयमान। amvēdymān. The asvēdym is sung on the verse ‘कन्या नदिया आ शुद्धि’ अ. 4. 31. 1 which occurs also in ते. से. 4. 11. 2, वाज. से. 27. 39 and 36. 4, अमृतविवेच वायु 20. 124. 1. The भाष्यरूपमय समस्मय में (XII. 1. 29–31) provides ‘जाते भर्त्यं गायत्रे भाष्यरूपमयं ज्ञातुमिले’।

1150. अतुल्यमय समस्मय मुनि कृष्णमयशान। अन्तङ्करणः वै सामवेद्यमूर्त। अन्तङ्करणः एवः मन्त्रालयमान। amvēdymān. The asvēdym is sung on the verse ‘कन्या नदिया आ शुद्धि’ अ. 4. 31. 1 which occurs also in ते. से. 4. 11. 2, वाज. से. 27. 39 and 36. 4, अमृतविवेच वायु 20. 124. 1. The भाष्यरूपमय समस्मय में (XII. 1. 29–31) provides ‘जाते भर्त्यं गायत्रे भाष्यरूपमयं ज्ञातुमिले’।

1151. अतुल्यमय समस्मय मुनि कृष्णमयशान। अन्तङ्करणः वै सामवेद्यमूर्त। अन्तङ्करणः एवः मन्त्रालयमान। amvēdymān. The asvēdym is sung on the verse ‘कन्या नदिया आ शुद्धि’ अ. 4. 31. 1 which occurs also in ते. से. 4. 11. 2, वाज. से. 27. 39 and 36. 4, अमृतविवेच वायु 20. 124. 1. The भाष्यरूपमय समस्मय में (XII. 1. 29–31) provides ‘जाते भर्त्यं गायत्रे भाष्यरूपमयं ज्ञातुमिले’।

1152. अतुल्यमय समस्मय मुनि कृष्णमयशान। अन्तङ्करणः वै सामवेद्यमूर्त। अन्तङ्करणः एवः मन्त्रालयमान। amvēdymān. The asvēdym is sung on the verse ‘कन्या नदिया आ शुद्धि’ अ. 4. 31. 1 which occurs also in ते. से. 4. 11. 2, वाज. से. 27. 39 and 36. 4, अमृतविवेच वायु 20. 124. 1. The भाष्यरूपमय समस्मय में (XII. 1. 29–31) provides ‘जाते भर्त्यं गायत्रे भाष्यरूपमयं ज्ञातुमिले’।

Generally there are 15 sāmīdhēṇi verses, but there are optional numbers which need not be specified here.
derbolt and that if japa is performed thereby he appeases (samayati) Agni (i.e. Agni becomes auspicious and beneficent).

Water also is declared as a means of effecting the removal or appeasement of evil effects. The Ait. Br. remarks 1153 "they say what is the atonement (prāyaścittī) if a person's sacrificial material (milk or rice) when put on a fire for cooking spurts out or overflows? (The reply is) 'he should make it go down with water for the sake of sānti; water indeed is (a means of) sānti and then he should touch the material (that has fallen out) with his right hand and recite a mantra (that is specified) or he should recite another rk verse 'by whose power the worlds are made fixed', which is addressed to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa; Viṣṇu indeed is the saviour against what is badly sacrificed (i.e. the defects in it), while Varuṇa protects (i.e. prevents obstacles to securing the fruit of) what is well sacrificed; (this latter mantra is recited) for sānti in regard to both (defects as well as good points). This is the prāyaścittī in this case." It should be noticed that here sānti (rite) and prāyaścittī are identified. The Saṃkhāyana 1151 Br. also (III. 6) says "waters are (means of) sānti, (they are) an antidote and therefore after pronouncing the word 'väṣat' the priest touches water." In the Tai. Ār. (IV. 42) there are 37 mantras of sānti used in the Pravargya rite. Some of these occur in the Rgveda-saṃhitā e.g. the 8th (Vāta & vātu bhesajam) is Rg. X. 186. 1, mantras 15–17 are equal to Rg. IV. 31. 1–3; mantras 22–24 are Rg. X. 9. 1–3. The same Āraṇyaka (IV. 26–35) and Baud. Sr. S. IX. 18 contain several mantras for sāntis, some of which are interesting and are set out here to show how the theory of sāntis was being expanded or enlarged. "If the sacrificed vessel called

1153. tadarśyāścittīyaṃ samābhīṣṭam sāntiḥ vai viśyapate vā karanti or añci prāyaścittāṃ samābhīṣṭi vā samābhīṣṭiḥ svabhāvaniṣṭi. 

1151. prāyaścittāṃ samābhīṣṭi vā samābhīṣṭiḥ kriyā. 

1154. vṛttdharmam upapraśctalḥ. śaśāntībraṇam āśāntiḥ. āśāntiḥ braṇam āśāntiḥ vai yāyo kriyate. sām. pā. 3. 6. 

1155. abhāvid ghaṁghaṁ ghaṁghaṁ ti sāśāntiḥ prāyaścittāṃ kriyāviṣṭaṃ. bra. sām. IX. 18; that sānti is 'āhūtāṃ śāśāntiḥ' abhyāsāsāntiḥ yāhanti. māsāśāntiḥ abhyāsāntiḥ abhyāsāntiḥ śāntiḥ abhyāsāntiḥ śāntiḥ svātāntarābhāntarunābhyāsāntiḥ. bra. IV. 26. Ār. 19 refers to the name of the thief as in 'hē brahmānd jāh brahmāndāśāntiḥ' &c.
mahāvīra (in Pravargya rite) of the hot milk for the Gharma offering were to be stolen by a thief, one should offer in the Gārhapatya fire an oblation of ghee with the srūva ladle to the accompaniment of the mantra ‘May Day and Night disclose thee as thief’. ‘If a wild forest dog were to bark (while the Pravargya rite is on), the priest should repeat by way of a magic formula the text ‘vi gā Indra vicaran pāśayasava’ (O Indra, observe the cows while you move about’), should cast a kindled firebrand on both sides with the words ‘O Agni, converse with Agni, and then he worships Agni with the words ‘O Agni, salutation to thee once, twice, thrice &c.’ If a vulture screeches he recites the formula ‘you are undistinguishable (from other birds) since you have blood in your beak’, if an owl or she-owl hoots he recites the mantra ‘In this way the owl approaches &c.’ Therefore it may be said that śānti is used in the early Vedic texts in several senses viz. (1) the state of being freed from evil aspects or effects, (2) means of appeasing or removing evil aspects, such as water, a Vedic verse or hymn, (3) rite for appeasement.

Apart from the simple śāntis for appeasing deities in sacrificial matters, even the Rgveda contains indications that there were other occurrences which were thought to be unlucky and against the supposed evil effects of which some remedies were employed. For example, Rg. X. 164 (1–5) is a hymn declared by the Anukramaṇī and Rgvedīhāna IV. 20. 1 as counteracting the indications of bad dreams.1157 Verse 3 of it is ‘May Agni place far away from us all evil and undesirable actions which we may have done while awake or asleep whether by our desires or imprecatory or want of desire’. In Rg. V. 82. 4–51158 the

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1156. यथेक्षुको वातस्य तमसुस्त्रय हि गा हृद्धिविषया यथास्थतत्त्वत् स्वाक्षरसूत्रस्य वासुकिवृहदीपित संस्कृतं अन्नम् संस्कृतं स्वाम्यतपतिः साहित्यबुद्धिण्याय वृहदीपित। यत्र देवीं वातस्य तमसुस्त्रयं अन्नमाश्वयं सबिंधेयतपतिः वृहदीपित। ...पञ्चाकोत्तको वातस्य तमसुस्त्रयं इत्यादितपतिः। श्रीं श्रीं। IX. 18. The texts mentioned in this passage are से आ. IV. 28, 29, 33. Both the से आ. and श्रीं श्रीं refer to other phenomena which are not set out here.

1157. यदायसा निःसामामकोपारसन जायते वत्सत्सतः। अविद्विभाष्य तुष्टं स्वयंदायिर्या अस्मिद्द बधातु॥ क्र। X. 164. 3. अविभाष्य IV. 1 is अपेक्षिता अपेक्षाकृत छविश्चे क्षुराक्षण।

1158. अया नो देव सविता: प्रजात्व नस्ति। श्रीमणम्। परस्य दुःखां च तु। विविक्ष देव सविभूतिभि परं यद्रः॥ क्र। V. 82. 4–5। यो में नाजेद दुर्गोऽद्व व स्वाधू यथे भयोि भयोऽद्व महाधानम्॥ लोऽद्व यो विद्वित दृढः॥ यथे तत्र माहात्म्यमाय ि वदेन्यां प्रेमाधू यथा व। श्री। II. 28. 10। फिटे: कुःश्चाध्यं सर्वमायेऽपि इत्येक्षुको वा तृत्य: हुशान्तप्रेमाय ि उतराय:। श्री। VIII. 47. 15.
Remedies against bad dreams and cries of birds

A poet prays 'O God Savitri! today produce for us welfare endowed with progeny and frighten away the effects of bad dreams; O God Savitri! drive away all sins (or evils) and confer on us what is beneficent' (or auspicious). In Rg. II. 28. 10 the poet prays 'O king Varuna! whoever, whether a helper or a friend, declares to me who ascertained a danger (from what I saw) in a dream or whoever, a thief or a wolf, intends to harm me, from that guard us'. In Rg. VII. 47. 15 the sage exclaims 'we deliver all our bad dreams to Trita Aptya; your kindness cannot be obstructed by any one, the protection given by you is good'. Vide also Rg. VIII. 47. 14, 16-18, X. 36. 4, X. 37. 4 for bad dreams. Similarly, the Rigveda contains verses which show that cries of birds were deemed to indicate coming good or evil and the hooting of the owl was thought to be unlucky. 'It\(^{1159}\) (the bird) frequently cries and proclaims what is to come and it propels his speech as an oarsman propels a boat; O bird! May you be auspicious to us; may no overpowering (or unfavourable) phenomenon reach you from any side'. The three verses of Rg. II. 43 refer to the cries of birds. 'The birds, chirping, utter cries towards the south (of the house) like composers of songs that speak for food at various seasons; O bird! when you chirp, speak what would be to our welfare, when you are silent think of good thoughts about us; when flying up (from our house) you utter (cries) like a lute; may we be endowed with valiant sons and speak much in assemblies'. Rg. X. 165 contains several verses about a kapota bird and one about an owl. Rg. X. 165. 1 and 4 are:\(^{1160}\) 'a kapota bird, messenger of ill-luck, has come to this our house, with whatever (evil) intent; we worship you, we shall perform atonement; O God! May it fare well with our men and quadrupeds. May what the owl expresses (by its

\[^{1159}\text{राजिक्षत्वं} विभः सः प्रति एव निसकः।}
\[^{1160}\text{कपोतकृत्वा कामिनिः सः च कृत्वा शुभद्रेष्टं।}

hoots) turn out to be fruitless or (untrue). What the kapota bird (expresses) by placing its feet near our Agni (be untrue); here is salutation to Yama, the god of Death, whose messenger is this (bird) sent (by the god)'. The Āśvalāyana-grhya provides 'if a kapota (pigeon) strikes against a house (enters it) or flies along its length, the house-holder should offer into fire oblations (of ghee) with each verse of the hymn ('devāḥ kapota', Rg. X. 165) or he should recite it inaudibly'. The Kausītaki-grhya provides for the same (in V. 5. 1–2) and proceeds \textsuperscript{1161} 'if a man sees a bad dream or when the cawing of a crow is heard in the night and in the case of other adbhutas (untoward or unusual occurrences) he should cook rice grains in the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour (as itself) but in no case of a black cow and let him sacrifice with the hymn to Night (Rg. X. 127) verse by verse and having partaken of the remnants of the oblations with the mahāvyāhṛtis and having recited over his ears the verse 'bhadram karpe bhīḥ' (Rg. I. 89.8) and over himself the verse 'śatam-in-nu' (Rg. I. 89.9) donate something to the brāhmaṇas'. The Sānkhyāyana-grhya (V. 6, 7, 10 and 11) provides: 'if a disease befalls a person, he should offer boiled Gavedhuka grains with the hymn' these prayers to the powerful Rudra' &c. verse by verse (Rg. I. 114). If the honey bees make honey in a man's house, he should fast and sacrifice a hundred and eight pieces of udumbara wood besmeared with curds, honey and ghee with two verses Rg. I.114. 8–9 and murmur the hymn (Rg. VII. 35) and if an ant-hill arises in his house the house should be abandoned and having fasted three nights (and days) he should perform the 'Mahāsānti'.\textsuperscript{1162}

\textsuperscript{1161} समकऽद्विगु निजायां। काकश्वेताकाले च। आऽघेनु जाथोदेवु। च। पपसत चरव \nसुविधा सदस्तवाय सो।। वत्स।। । न लेव भुवणया।। राजिविकाले मधुचुँचे रङ्गुढ़।। हृतकेंध महापार्हतिः।। भारद। मुझ संभिनितग कर्मणि अनुसारे अति बेदा हर्षात्मानात्मात्माय भावोऽय:। किन्तु विशिष्ट।। कौशी।। च।। ।। V. 5; compare मानवसुखा II. 15 यदी दुर्लभम एवं देवेदे गणमनविनिमित्तः हुला विभूतिः।। (formulas for four quarters, lower regions, and upper regions are cited which occur in काककस्तिहि 37.10.)

\textsuperscript{1162} महासांतिः। The com of नारायण explains that महासांति means विनायक-शालस्तिः and नवभ्राहसांतिः। It is doubtful whether these two were known to the author of the ज्ञात्ययुक्तः, the कौशिकक्षु (39.27, 43.5 and 44.6) prescribes a महासांति which is different. कौशिक 43.5 is वल्लोधपार्हतिः महासांतिमातवे and कौशिक 8.23 prescribes 'हृतकेंध भुवण मातु, यमो सूखु; सरयर वदिवद्ययुक्तको वतलोष्टिकारिः।' These are अभाद III. 12.1 (हृतकेंध भुवण), VI. 73.1 (एव भुवण), VI. 93.1 (यमो सूखु), XII. 1 (सरयर बुधत्सा)। This last अख्रातक has 63 verses. Among later medieval works the ज्ञात्ययुक्तः (pp. 106–108) describes an elaborate महासांति.
The Aitareya-Āranyaka mentions ten dreams viz. a person sees a dark man with black teeth and such a man kills him, or a boar kills him, or an ape jumps on him, the wind carries him swiftly; having swallowed gold, he vomits it; he eats honey; he chews stalks of lotuses; he carries a single (red) lotus; he drives with a team of asses or boars; himself wearing a wreath of nalada flowers, he drives towards the south a black cow having a black calf. If a man sees any one of these, he should fast, cook a dish of rice in milk in a vessel, offer into fire oblations thereof with each of the verses of the hymn to Night (Rg. X. 127. 1-8), feed brāhmanas with other food (cooked in the house) and should himself eat boiled rice'. The same Āranyaka mentions in the same context some unusual phenomena such as the sun appearing like the moon (pale and without heat) or the sky becoming like madder and prescribes the recital of some Rgvedic verses (such as IX. 67. 21-27, VIII. 6. 30, IX. 113. 6-11, I. 50. 10).

The Chāndogya Up. contains a verse saying 'if a person engaged in rites for securing a certain desired object sees a woman in a dream, one should understand on seeing such a sight that he will prosper (i.e. secure that object).'

1163. In the Āsv. Šr. (quoted in H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 203 n. 481) it is provided that the corpse of an āhitāgni is to be decked with a wreath of naladas. The south is the direction of the ātiras; vide Śatapatha Br. I. 2. 5. 17 (eṣā vai dik pitṛnām'). Therefore, to see in a dream oneself wearing a wreath of naladas or driving towards the south was deemed to forebode death.

1164. अध स्माः । पुष्पं ह्युण्डः कुण्डिनम् पद्मति स एवं हनि वराह एवं हनि मर्क्कुत्र 
एनमः। हर्षवराधः शातुः पञ्चति सहुः कञ्चिला मारतिः मथनाती (बैसाति भजयये के) 
मुखः पति सपूवस्तुडळिन्विति हुण्डः देहुः कुण्डिनवसां नस्त्राग्नि भुजिणाभ्य भागिणि।
स योद्धेः किंविवधेणुवर्षेण थास्ती पारस्तः भागिणि। अपिनिला शातीयुणिल थास्ती थुवाभ्यामोने 
भागिणा भोजित्वा कर्ष स्वर्य नागर्याद। ऐं. आं. III. 2. 4; vide मार्क्केश्वराणि 40, 
1-33 for signs of approaching death (Venk. ed.) of which verses 15-20, 27, 
29, 31-33 deal with dreams. Some of these verses of मार्क्केश्वराणिय ये 
संस्करण विशिष्टम्। प्राणासंस्करण त ए जानीवलस्तोहृदुर्ग नरेन्द्रम्।

1164 a. यथा कर्मकालम् हक्केपुक्की पंडेतु पद्मति स 
संस्कारं तत्व जानीवलस्तोम्य श्च 
विदवितते। । छान्दोर्यं V. 2. 9 q. by श्रद्धार्चार्य औष्ठ्य बंधुवम् II. 1. 6.
would not be relevant in the section on sānti nothing can be said here beyond quoting three striking passages.\textsuperscript{1165}

The Atharvaveda also has several verses on dreams and on birds like kapota (pigeon). The Kauśikasūtra prescribes several verses of the Atharvaveda as sāntis in the case of dreams: 'on seeing a dream a man washes his face with the verses (Atharva VI. 45. 1 and 46. 1); if he sees a very terrible dream he offers into fire a cake of mixed grains\textsuperscript{1166} or in another direction (in his enemy's field); he changes the side on which he sleeps with Atharva VII. 100. 1; on seeing himself eating in a dream he recites the mantra (Atharva VII. 101. 1) and he looks on; with the verse 'vidma te' (Atharva VI. 46. 2) all (dreams) vanish.' Two of these verses may be set out here: 'O dream! we know the place of thy birth; thou art the son of gods' sisters; thou art the helper of Yama; thou art the destroyer; thou art death; O dream! we know thee to be so; O dream! do thou save us from evil dreams'; 'I turn round (and lie on my other side) from evil dreaming, from bad dreaming, from ill-luck; I make brahman (vedic prayer) my defence; I put away the sorrows that come through dreams'.\textsuperscript{1167} The Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra prescribes a similar verse for japa when a dīksēta sees a disagreeable dream.\textsuperscript{1168}

\textsuperscript{1165} य एव समे महायामन्त्रोपि अस्ति वर्णा। तद्वाचः दुर्युक्ताद्वश्चान्तमक्ष्य भवति स ह जान्त-हृदयः। च। उप. VIII. 10. 1; अर्धेष्व देवः समे महायामन्त्रोपि यथेत् हृदयः भवति क्षैत्रियवर्णादवश्चान्तमक्ष्य देवस्वमिदं कर्त्तव्यं देववर्णादवश्चान्तमक्ष्य तद्वाचः।

\textsuperscript{1166} The bhūtrasthā 8. 20 enumerates sīdhā�ाच्यां as सीधैवस्यधूमप्रेतार्कानिहासयिति। The com. explains 'उपासक इति अभिव्यक्तः। न राज्योऽयं परिलुल्क्यात्। जातकाः आवेदन इति।' जातकाः are called समे in Marāṭhi and उपासक is हुँसवत (in Marāṭhi).

\textsuperscript{1167} विश्र ते समे जनित्र देवमात्रानां कुदा एवस्य परस्य करणं। अन्तऽन्तऽतिः कुदा एवस्यनां ता समे तथा से विश्र स न। न समे दुःखमात्रायान्यात् पार्थि। अध्वरी VI. 46. 2 and XVI. 5. 6; परंतु कुदायान्यालापायप्रत्ययः। जातकाः इति कुदायान्यालापायप्रत्ययः।

\textsuperscript{1168} ब्रह्मशत्त्वे दुःखमात्र ज्ञेयते-परांत्यें कुदायान्यालापायप्रत्ययः। जातकाः परंतु कुदायान्यालापायप्रत्ययः। चार्या। द्रो. 25. 11. 20. The verse as printed is somewhat corrupt.
The Āpastamba-grhya (8. 23. 9) lumps together several unusual appearances and provides the same śānti in the case of all, 'If the post of a man's house puts forth shoots, or if honey is made in his house by bees or if the footprint of a pigeon is seen on the hearth or if disease arises in his family, or in the case of other miracles and prodigies, let him perform on the newmoon night, at dead of night, at a place where he does not hear the sound of water, the rites from the putting of wood on the fire to the Aṣṭabhāṣya oblations indicated in the next (Āpastamba-mantrapāthā II. 22.14-23), and then perform Jaya and following oblations.' Very similar provisions are found in Jaiminiya-grhya II. 7. 1169 The Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa contains several prāyaścittas (really śāntis) on the happening of numerous incidents. A few examples are set out here; when bad dreams1170 are seen, the person should make repetition of Rg. V. 82. 4 twice (i.e. in all at least six times); in the case of any other prognosticatory occurrence not known from any work the person should repeat twice the verse Rg. IV. 31. 1. On seeing one's enemies with weapons raised to strike, the person

1169. स्थानानिषिद्धं सधुन उपवेशने कुच्चा कण्डेन्द्रसिद्धमधामवनना शेषेकृपयायेत्। साइकृपयायेत् च चालं तीनलक्षतो निम्नाय कल्याय। न समुक्षाय तद्येव आसारणस्थानस्य समाधानम्। अणु विस्मितं कर्तव्यं। अणु विस्मितं कर्तव्यं। कर्तव्यं कर्तव्यं। अणु विस्मितं कर्तव्यं। अणु विस्मितं कर्तव्यं।

1170. वृक्षविशेषं नो वृष सतिविनिष्ठं हि निवेदयं। अवगदगदलोकालं कणानिशालस्वितं

...
should revolve in his mind the Devavrata verse, then (the enemies) would not kill him. If one’s house were to be burnt (accidentally) one should offer oblations anointed with ghee with the mantra ‘born with the highest Dharman’ (Sāmaveda no 90) and with words ‘svāhā to Agni’. In II. 2.2 The Sāmavidhāna Br. prescribes a śānti for one seized or possessed by an evil spirit. A portion of Śadvimsābrāhmaṇa (viz. V. 1–10) is styled Adbhuta-brāhmaṇa and contains śāntis for several kinds of upūtās. Some parts of it (such as V. 2–3) correspond with Āsvalāyana-grhyā-pariśīṣṭa, 4. 11–15. The Śadvimśa-brāhmaṇa V. 7. 2. provides for earthquakes and cracks in palaces, which are similar to Yoga-yātrā 3. 13. The Atharvaveda 19. 9. 9 refers to showers of falling stars (nākṣatramulkābhhihatam šām-astu naḥ) and Śadvimśa V. 9. 2. refers to falling meteors and V. 10. 2. to images laughing, weeping &c.

Reasons of space forbid further description of śāntis from the grhyā-sūtras.

The preceding discussion with regard to śāntis is enough to show that śāntis were prescribed in the Vedic literature, the śrautasūtras, Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa and Rgvidhāna, not only for appeasing the angry divinities or powers of evil, but also for occurrences like bad dreams or of portentous phenomena like the sun’s or moon’s appearance, the cries of unlucky birds &c.

This subject about śāntis against all sorts of omens and portents was very much elaborated in the post-Vedic literature. An extensive literature on śāntis exists in the Grhyasūtras, the Kauśika-sūtra, the Atharvaveda pariśīṣṭas (particularly Nos. V, XXXI on Koṭihoma, XXXIII on Gṛṭakambala, XXXVII on ‘samuccayaprāyāṣcittam’, resembling 13th chapter of Kauśika, LVIII to LXVII on upūtās, adbhutaśāntis and dreams, LXI and LXXII, the Purānas (like Matsya 92–93 and 228–238, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 90–105, II. 124–127, II. 159–164. Mārkandeya chap. 40, Agni 149, 164, 167, 259–268, 290–91, 320–324, Bhaviṣya IV. 141–145, Brahmana III. 38. 30–34, the Brhatasmhītā chap. 45, the Śāntika-paustikakaṇḍa of the Kṛtyakalpataru (Ms. in Baroda Oriental Institute), the Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena and his son Laksmanasena (commenced to be written in śaka 1089 i. e. 1167 A.D.), the Śānti section of the Madanaratna (ms. in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner), Jyotistattva of Raghunandana.
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(pp. 704 ff), the Śāntikamalākara of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (ms. in Bhaud Daji collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society), Śāntimayākha of Nilakanṭha. Of these the Adbhutasāgarā is a very extensive work of 751 pages, edited by Pandit Murlidhar Jha and published by Prabhakarī &c., Banares, in 1905 A. D. The Kṛtyakalpataru on Śāntis has not yet been edited and published in the Gaikwad Oriental Series. As compared with some other kāṇḍas, the section on śānti is meagre. It deals only with the following; Kūrmavibhāga (the distribution of the countries in Bhārata in 9 groups); Graha-makha or Grahayāga quoting Yāj. I. 295–308, Matsya, Narasimha and Bhaviṣya and Devipurāṇa; Ayutahoma, Kotihoma; Puṣyasāṇa; Grahasānti; Mātrāśānti; Lingashānti; Vinayakaśānti (quoting Yāj. I. 271–294 and Matsya); Grahanasāṇa; Sankrāntisāṇa; mṛtvatāsabhiseka; śāntis for various utpātas; Gāyatrīhoma; RUDRAJAPAVIDHI; abhicārikakarma (magic rites). It is neither possible nor necessary to deal with this vast mass on śānti in this work in detail. Many of the śāntis described therein and in older śrauta and other works have been almost obsolete for a long time. Therefore, only a few śāntis now in vogue or very interesting from several viewpoints will be dealt with in this section.172

The Kauśikasūtra (chapter 13, kaṇḍikā 93–136) is concerned with adbhutas, their descriptions and the śāntis therefor. Kaṇḍikā 93 brings together 42 portentous phenomena and the kaṇḍikās that follow deal with the description of the omen or portent and śāntis for each of these. In these śāntis, Atharvaveda mantras play a secondary role and the majority of the

172. A recently published work by D. J. Hoëas (pp. 1–197, S. Gravenhage, 1951) on ‘Śānti’ deals at some length only with śāntis in the Śaṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras. According to Keśava’s Paddhati on Kauśika-sūtra (1 8; Bloomfield’s ed. p. 307) and Śaṁyana in his Intro. to Atharvaveda there were five Kalpas of the Atharvaveda mentioned by (an ancient commentator) Upavarna in his commentary on Jaimini I. 3. 11–14 called Kalpasūtrādbhikarana viz. नक्षत्रकल्प, वितानकल्प, संहिताकल्प, आत्मिकल्प and आभिन्नकल्प, सारण says (Murdabad edition of samvat 1986) ‘आभिन्नकल्पम् गण्येत वै नक्षत्राशुभाक्रियान्वणाति तथासूत्राय सम्भवार्थस्य, अभिन्नकल्पम् तत्तदाशुभाक्रियान्वणाति’ (p 81, and p. 28 of Pandit’s ed.), अध्यात्म एतिहासिकम् तत्तदाशुभाक्रियायाम् (p. 337, 4 7). Vide JAOS vol. XI. p. 376–378 for the Kalpas of the Atharvaveda. The बाय्यन्धर्षन दूर दूर 35. 61–62 states ‘नक्षत्रकल्पम् वै वै नक्षत्राशुभाक्रियायाम्’ ब्रह्मचारिणिः कल्पः आभिन्नकल्पस्य प्रारम्भम्। अन्वेषा स्त्रयवत्तामवे संहितार्थवितकम्यः। The same verses occur in बाय्यन्धर्षन 61. 54; compare also विख्यतः III. 6. 13–14.
mantras form an independent mantra material. It should be noted that at the end all these śāntis are spoken of as ‘prāyaścitā’.

The subjects treated of in the Madanaratna (about 1425 to 1450 A.D.) on Śāntika-paustikā would indicate how extensive was the cult of śāntis recommended in medieval times. The Anukramaṇikā at the beginning of the Ms. mentions the following: Vināyakāśanā; śāntis to placate the nine planets from the Sun to Ketu; Śaṅkaścarvṛata; śāntis to placate Saturn extracted from Skanda (Nāgaraṅghaṇḍa and Prabhāśakhaṇḍa); worship of Jupiter and Venus; Śāntis based on the Yāmalas1172a on the conjunction of five or more planets; Grahasnānas from Viṣṇudharmaṭtara; śāntis of the tithi and weekday when fever and other diseases seize a man; Naksatraśānti; śāntis for the nine naksatras called Janma and the rest (vide note 772 for these nine naksatras); śāntis for birth on Amāvasā, or on Mūla, Āślesā or Jyeṣṭhā naksatras; śānti for birth on the same naksatra as that of the father or (elder) brother; śāntis for birth on Gāndha, Vaiḍūrī, Vyatiḍayoga, Saṅkṛanti, Viṣanāḍi, eclipses; śānti called Gomukhaprasava; śāntis declared for the protection of the foetus from the first and following months from conception; bali offerings; medicine for removing pains of the foetus; measures for easy delivery; for protection of the child after birth; bali on first day with mantras &c.; nirājana &c., description of sprinkling the infant with holy water, satiating gods and pitarś with water, homas, yantras (mystical diagrams);

1172a. The Yāmalas are works of Tantra class, the numbers of which are variously given. But they are often said to be eight. Vide note 1598 below on tantras. The Rudrayāmala tantra was published by Jivanaṅda containing over 6000 verses in 66 chapters in 1892. There are works called Ganesāyāmala, Brahmayāmala, Rudra-yāmala, Viṣṇuyāmala, Ākṣiti-yāmala, and several others. Certain ghaṭiś (or nāḍiś) of certain tithis, weekdays and naksatras are said by the Śrīti-kaustubha to be viṣanāḍiś or viṣaghātiś (producing very disastrous results), but in astrological works certain ghaṭiś of naksatras only have that appellation and a person born on those ghaṭiś forebodes the death and loss of the father, the mother, wealth and himself by poisoning, arms and missiles (according to Dharmasindhu p. 184). The Madanaratna on Śāntika (folios 15b to 20b) sets out numerous details about all the 27 naksatras from the work of Ātreya, one (detail) being the viṣaghāti of each naksatra e. g. as to Āvini three nāḍikās after 50th ghaṭikā constitute viṣanāḍi, as to Bhaṇari one ghaṭi after 24, as to Pūrṇavaṇu and Puṣya one ghaṭi after 30 and 20 ghaṭiś respectively and so on.
general rules about the rites on the 1st to the 12th day after birth and in the first and following months of the first year after birth; applying ointments, fumigation, baths with mantras when a child is seized (or possessed) by an evil spirit; homa with dūrvas and homa for long life; šānti for adbhutas and šāntis for strange occurrences about images, Agni, trees, rainfall, reservoirs of water, for strange births, for birth of twins, for strange happenings about implements, beasts, collapse of temples and houses; šāntis for various utpātas and adbhutas; šāntis about kapota bird and on seeing the coitus of crows; šāntis relating to fall on one's body of the house lizard and chameleon; šāntis on impurity due to births and deaths; šāntis relating to horses and elephants; šāntis on weekdays; mahāšānti; Navagrahamakha; rules about Ayutahoma and its procedure, and about Lakshahoma and Koṭihoma from Narasimhapurāṇa, Devipurāṇa and Bhavisya-purāṇa; 1172b Vasor-dhāra from Devipurāṇa. The adbhutas mentioned in kāṇḍikā 93 (of the Kauśika-sūtra) are: showers (of ghee, honey, meat, gold, blood and other terrible showers); yakṣas (supernatural apparitions like apes, beasts, crows appearing in the form of human beings); croaking of two frogs; wrangling of family members; earth-quake; eclipse of the sun; eclipse of the moon; auṣāst (day-break, morning?) does not go up; when samā (year?) becomes terrible; when there is fear of inundations; when brāhmaṇas are armed; when images of gods dance, fall down, laugh, sing or present other forms; where two ploughshares get entangled; where two ropes or two threads (become entangled); where one Agni comes in contact with another; when a cow gives birth to twins; when a

1172 b. Vasordaṛā (literally a stream of wealth). Vide H. of Dhi. vol. II. p. 1253 n 2696 for it. It is described at great length in Rājaniti-pakāṣa pp. 447-457, quoting Devipurāṇa, and in Kṛtyakalpataru (Rājadhrmakāṇḍa p. 201-212) quoting Bhaviṣya. It is an ancient idea, as Tai. S. V. 4. 8 mentions it ‘वसोपरां जुगाक वलोम धारास्वदिविति &c.’. The शास्त्रितप्रकाश p. 43 prescribes the following mantras in Vasordaṛā, viz. 9 mantras of the hymn beginning with ‘Agnim-ile’ (Rg. I. 1. 1-9), the six mantras in Rg. I. 154, 1-6 (Vi nor-nu kam), the 15 mantras of Rg. II. 33, the nine mantras of Rg. IX. 1 (svādiśṭhāyā madiśṭhāyā), the Mahāvīśvara-narasāma and Jyeštāṣāma. On p. 210-11 of the कुसुमकल्य (Rajasph) the following verses occur ‘वसुधरां धारास्वदिविति विविभक्तसिद्धिः’ त्रिष्वरां सतः देवा देवा वसोधरां हि सा नला। देवा धारा सतः वस रिजुलसार विद्विताः। तिथिहेति निरथिहोस्य न कार्तेशत कादारनि।’ अनुशासनवर्ष.

H. D. 93
mare, or a she-ass or a woman\textsuperscript{1173} (gives birth to twins); when
cows yield bloody\textsuperscript{1174} milk; when a bull sucks the udder of
a cow; where a cow sucks the udder of another cow; where (a
cow, horse, mule or a person) smells at ākāśapareṇa (white
scuttle fish bone supposed to be sea-foam); when ants behave in
an unusual way; when blue\textsuperscript{1175} bees act in an unusual way; where
the honey bees act in an unusual way; when an adbhuta
happens not known before (or that surpasses all previous records);
when anything is torn (or shattered in pieces) in a village,
residence, shed for sacred fires or meeting hall; when water
spurts up in a waterless place; where sesame yield equal oil (?);
where sacrificial offerings are polluted by being touched by
birds, two-footed animals and quadrupeds; when the locks of
hair (of a boy or girl) turn towards the left; when the sacrifi-
cial post strikes shoots; when a meteor is seen falling by day;
when a comet darkens the Great Bear; when the nakṣatras fall
frequently (from the sky);\textsuperscript{1175a} when a bird alights (on one's
house) with flesh in its beak; when a light flashes without there
being any fire; where Agni seems to breathe (or hiss) as it were;
where clarified butter, oil or honey trickles; where village fire
burns down a house; where accidental fire burns one's house;
where a bamboo splits open with a sound; where a jar splits in
a reservoir of water or a pan (when put on fire) splits or a vessel
in which barley is put splits.\textsuperscript{1176}

\textsuperscript{1173} Compare कात्यायनोऽत्तुभु 'भान्तिग्रीतुष यस्मले भास्तें भ्रणेषदापातां निगिर्वतत् 25. 4. 35 with कौरसिक 93. 17-18 यस्मलस्यां गतिः।वहसानाहुगुप्त शताभ्र प्रभु.

\textsuperscript{1174} Compare कौरसिक 43. 19 'यह भेदनो लोहितं दुःखते' with शतपथ XII. 4. 2. 1 'तदाद्विष्णुपत्मुक्ती लोहितं दुःखति विच तत् कामे क मात्रभिस्तिति' औ.

\textsuperscript{1175} 'Nīlāmbānācāre' Kauṭāka 93. 24; makkā (as a collector of honey) occurs in Rg. X. 40. 6 'Yuvor ha makkā paryaśvina madhvāsa bharaṇa nisṛctam na yōṣaṇa'.

\textsuperscript{1175a.} नक्षत्रेऽव पतापतेऽव। कौरसिक 93. 35; वातिक 6 on भा. VI. 1. 12 is परिचितपतियनिन्तःनिर्भावः चारापरः एवदा तत्तवः and वस्त्रादि gives the instances as ज्वालार, ज्वालार, दानार, दानार, वातिक 6.

\textsuperscript{1176} Many grhyasūtras have passages resembling those in कौरसिक For example, साल्यभु II. 15. 6 has मध्यां नुहोः तद्भवेणां मध्यां भरंशेणाः मध्यां भरंशेणाः मध्यां भरंशेणाः नुहोः सुस्तेत। भीवां च च पतेत। भीवां चाख्यामाहें। कर्त्तिष्ठोः होश्यां शस्यां कर्त्तिष्ठोः होश्यां शस्यां कर्त्तिष्ठोः होश्यां शस्यां कर्त्तिष्ठोः होश्यां शस्यां कर्त्तिष्ठोः होश्यां शस्यां कर्त्तिष्ठोः होश्यां शस्यां। Then ten अहुःतित with ten शाल्र are prescribed viz. Rg. I. 89. 6, V. 51. 11, V. 51. 12, V. 51.13, X. 63. 15, VI. 47. 11, VII. 19. 7, X. 152. 4, X. 180. 2, and Tai. Br. III. 5.11. Some of these like Rg. X. 152. 4 and X. 180. 2 occur in all Samhitās.

(Continued on next page)
It would be impossible for reasons of space and also of usefulness to set out the śāntis prescribed for the above adbhutas in Kauśika, but a few may be described by way of illustration. When there is an earthquake one should offer (oblations of ghee) with five verses, three of which are addressed to Jīśu (Viśnu). Three of the verses are: “Just as the sun shines brightly in the heaven, Vayu dwells in the sky and Agni enters the earth, so may this Jīśu be firm and unmoving. As the rivers day and night pour their sediment (clay or mud carried by them) in the sea without fail, similarly may all tribes (of gods?) with one mind approach my invocation (or sacrifice) without fail; may the Goddess (Earth) along with all deities be firm and unmoving for me and may (the Goddess) drive away from us all evil and pierce my enemies that hate me.” After having offered oblations with the words ‘svāhā to the earth’ he should offer oblations with the verses Atharva VI. 87.1, VI. 88.1 and with the verses of the ānuvāka beginning with Atharva XII. 1. 1. This is the prāyaścitti there (in case of an earthquake).

Where darkness seizes the sun, one should offer oblations with the verses ‘arranging according to the season divine wonders, (the sun) rises up revolving (driving away) the fierce (aspects) of the several seasons; may the sun passing over these on all sides come; may the Waters move along in all these worlds. May Indra and Agni, knowing well, protect thee with herbs (remedies); destroy all darkness according to the cosmic order and by true speech.’ Having offered oblations with the words ‘svāhā to the sun’, he should again make oblations (in Agni) with the hymn Atharva XVII. 1. He worships with the Rohita hymns (Atharva XIII, 1-4). This is the prāyaścitti in this case.

(Continued from last page)

कौशिक ९३. २६ is ‘अनाग्राते’. The śāntis for all adhutaks not specified in the well-known works is contained in कौशिक, Kāndāka ११९. ‘यह यमायो न यसुवे तत्सर्यमात्रा· शास्त्रांसिद्धम्’. The śāntis ‘यहन्यातंत्रामांतरसर्व्या कर्मधौ. ‘अन्यं लोको तस्यांत्याहि स हि वेदव यथार्थो. अर्थे स्वाहा। वायो दूरे चायेन्द्रि च। पुष्पशर्माः मन्त्राः पुष्प-संस्मिता।’ Compare यहत्वातंत्रं यद्यातं यद्याय क्रियेतु तमा. अर्थे तदरथ यहस्य लोको तस्यांत्याहि। पुष्पशर्माः च. च. पुष्पशर्माः. ‘अन्यं तदरथे’ ‘यथाः’ न. भा. III. ७. ११. २६-२७.

११७७. Vide कौशिकोद्धर्च chap. ९८ for सूर्यहस्तशास्त्र, chap. ९९ and १०० for śāntis in the case of solar eclipse and lunar eclipse respectively. कौशिक X. १७३ contains mantras similar to those in कौशिक ९८.
When the (darkness) floods the moon one should offer oblation into fire with the verse¹¹⁷⁸ "Rāhu creeps over the shining king (the moon), the former (Rāhu) strikes him (the moon) here (i. e. before us); a thousand of his (Rāhu's) bodies are to be destroyed; may (his) one hundred bodies perish!’. Having offered oblations with the words ‘svāhā to the Moon’, he should offer oblations with the hymn ‘Śakadhūmam naksatrāṇi yad-rājānam-akurvata’ (Atharva VI. 128. 1). This is the prāyaścitta in this case.¹¹⁷⁹

In connection with sāntis three words require to be carefully understood viz. adbhuta, utpīta and nimitta. Adbhuta is an ancient word. It occurs several times in the Rgveda and is generally applied to some gods in the sense of ‘wonderful’. In some passages, however, it means ‘future’ and possibly also ‘portentous’. For example, according to Nirukta I. 5¹¹⁸⁰ the sage Agastya first promised to offer an offering to Indra, but later he desired to offer the same to the Maruts, that then Indra came to Agastya and complained to him as in Rg. I. 170. 1 (what was promised today) even that does not exist, nor will it (the havis) be there (for me) tomorrow; who knows (for certain)

¹¹⁷⁸. There is difference of opinion about शक्रूम in ‘शक्रूम नक्षापरक्षेत्रे-थूलों ज्वलनालयाल’ कौरसिक 100. 3. Literally it may mean ‘the smoke from dried cowdung’ (शक्रूम = शक्रु + ध्रूम). It occurs also in कौरसिक 8. 17 and 50. 65, which latter is ‘उपयोगिता सबयो ब्रह्मणस्य शक्रूमवरदानस्य किल्लवि-निर्विव’This shows that here at least the meaning is ‘a ब्रह्मण on whose joints dried cowdung cakes were placed.’ Charpentier has an interesting paper on शक्रूम in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London) for 1935 pp. 449-450 where he states that various scholars have given different meanings, viz. constellation, dung smoke, weather prophet (Bloomfield), Agni (Caland), milky way and himself that it means 'Kṛṣṭikā'. It does not clearly appear how, conceding that शक्रूम stands for कूटिका, a ब्रह्मण could be called शक्रूम in कौरसिक 50. 15 and on what grounds. According to Pāṇini IV. 3. 34 a man born on Bahul nakṣatra was called Bahula; so one born on Śakadhūma (Kṛṣṭikā) may be called by the same name by analogy. Śīma is called the lord of plants in Jātaka VII. 2. 4. 26 and धर्मशास्त्र I. 5, and the king of brahmaṇas (भोगप्रसारक ब्रह्मणानां राजा) in Jātaka V. 3. 4. 12 and V. 4. 2. 3.

¹¹⁷⁹. For a sānti on eclipse from a late medieval work, vide इवतासर्-विनिवासिता (pp. 355-361) quoting from वर्ग.

¹¹⁸⁰. निवस्स I. 5 says ‘अग्रास इवश्रूम हस्तिनिपुष्यस्य महाध्रुवस्य संप्रायोगिकाकार स हुय एव प्रतिपद्यत्वं न च चूममयि नो च कल्पितवं पद्धतिः' अग्रास निवस्सस्य जातिवेदांश्रयस्यंशाय-धृते व विनिवासिता (न. 1. 140. 9)। च चूममयि पद्धतिः नो च मयि पद्धतेः। ‘तेषां तत् तेषां स्व अंशष्टात्।’ इवतासर् हस्तिनि अन्वयात्व अन्वयात्व। निवस्स I. 6. Rgveda I. 170 has five verses which contain an interesting dialogue between Indra and Agastya.
what will happen in future'. Yāska paraphrases 'adbhuta' by the word 'abhūta' (that has not taken place) and remarks that the word 'adbhuta' in popular speech also means 'something that has not happened before'. Rg. I. 25. 11.1181 says 'the intelligent man expects from this (Varuṇa) all wonders (or portentous happenings), whether already performed or to be performed'. Rg. X. 105. 7 is perhaps a little clearer than the preceding. '(May Indra reduce our sins) Indra who is golden-bearded, who has tawny horses, whose jaw is never broken and who made against the dasyū for easily killing him a thunderbolt like the sky that is wonderful (or full of portents)'. The word usually employed in the Grhyasūtras is adbhuta and the sāntis are called 'adbhutaśantis'. Adbhuta is a word of very general import. It includes not only such serious phenomena as earth-quakes, eclipses, comets, falling stars but such comparatively minor yet unexpected or unusual happenings as a cow yielding blood-red milk or a cow sucking the udder of another cow. The ancient writer Vṛddha-Garga defines 'adbhuta' as any occurrence that had not occurred before or a total change coming over what has occurred before.1182 The 67th Ātharvāṇaparisiṣṭa is called Adbhutaśanti (pp. 432-435). It distributes 'adbhutas' into seven groups relating to Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Agni, Kubera, Viṣṇu and Vāyu and names some adbhutas under each such as a rainbow at night (relating to Indra), a vulture or owl alighting on a man’s house or a kapota entering it (relating to Yama), smoke without fire (relating to Agni), eclipse on the naksatra of a man’s birth (relating to Viṣṇu) and prescribes as sānti the japa of Ātharvaśiras, making brāhmaṇas say ‘svaṣṭi’; honouring and feeding brāhmaṇas. That parisīṭa is based on the Adbhuta-brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda.

The word 'utpāta' is rare in the Śrauta or Grhya sūtras. The Gautamadharmasūtra, after enjoining upon the king to

1181. अति लिखयते यजुर्वेदि संकल्पः अभि पररिति। हुतानि या च कारणः यज्ञः। अथ भवद्योजणम् न ना। कारणः यज्ञः। X. 105. 7.

1182. तद्र बुद्धिः। अद्भुतां यजुर्वेदिं यजुव्र्तिः अवतेत्तरः। तद्र नम्पणिः। मौलः साङ्गिकः र्याप्राणिकाणा। q. by अनुसारोर्पण (प. 344 ff) provides how certain portents indicated evil and death to the kings of certain countries. Vide the 'Reports of the Magicians and astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon' referred to above in note 839. Prof. Neugebauer refers to Babylonian tablets containing thousands of omens and observes that from about 700 B. C. systematic observational reports were made by astronomers to the royal court, in which no clear line of demarcation was drawn between astronomical and meteorological phenomena. Vide R. S. A. p. 96.
select a learned, well-conducted brāhmaṇa as his purohita, provides that the king should give heed to what astrologers and interpreters of omens tell (him) and that the purohita should perform śānti rites, rites for prosperity (such as vāstu-homa) and magic rites (on behalf of the king). But in the Purāṇas and the medieval Sanskrit works it is far more frequent than the word adbhuta; sometimes adbhuta and utpāta are used as synonyms. Garga says ‘deities become unfavourable owing to the wrong doings of men and create extraordinary happenings in the sky, atmospheric region and on the earth. These are the utpātas for all worlds created by gods; these utpātas sally forth for the destruction (of people) and they by their (terrific) appearances rouse people (to do what is proper).’ Here the words ‘adbhuta’ and ‘utpāta’ are used as synonyms. Similarly, Matsya (228. 1–2) appears to regard the two words as synonyms. Generally, however, the word utpāta denotes occurrences that portend evil to all. Amarakośa treats ‘ajanya’, ‘utpāta’ and ‘upasarga’ as synonyms. Utpāta is defined by Garga, Varāhamihira and Atharva-pariśiṣṭa LXIV as the...

1183. Vide p. 543 note 799 above for the passage from Śrī. Ṛṣ. where the word utpāta occurs.

1184. ततोपपाये सर्वायासामपर्यन्तं देवता।: ते सुजन्तयुधः भावार्षिक्षकपूर्वते-विश्रामः।: ते संवेदनांकान्तसुपपदो देवतिनिमित्त।: निवृत्तति निविनायक सर्वोपरि: सम्बोधन्तिः । । कर्म q. by utpāta on बहूससे. 45. 3; very similar verses are quoted from मर्यासंहिता and गाईसंहिता in अन्ध. स. p. 5. सत्य chap. 229 summarises what हुसूसत q. told अधि and verse 5 is just like the first verse above; it is हुसूसतपाबहारान्तरपर्यन्तिं देवता। ततोपपाये सर्वायासामपर्यन्तं देवता।: the हुसूसतंहिता 45. 2–3 ‘अयथार्षिक्षकपूर्वसंहिता: पाणिज्ञानं गतिः’ उपाद्यायम्: शुक्राजामानिषाष्रापरापुलितो देवता।: सुजन्तयुधः।: It would be noticed that Varāha repeats almost the very words of हुसूसत. The शास्त्रभाषा (37. 14–15) speaks of a सर्वेश्चत्र visited by पालाम on the सरस्वती and credits him with proficiency in the movements of luminaries and अयथार्षिक्षकपूर्वसंहिता: 18, 38 speaks of him as proficient in वाल्यसार with its 64 अंगास. Garga was a famous gotra name. Vide पाण. IV. 1. 105 (Gargādibhyo yaṁ).

1185. बिंधाकालिकोपिन्यो यो शास्त्रभाषिणिवे। ताभां अंगोचक्षिणम् महोत्सवेऽदृष्ट। विषेयं हु भोमेभु शास्तिः: कार्यं तथा अवशेषं सत्य 228. 1–2.

1186. बालचब्धातात्त्वाः प्रातः कार्यं ताभां वरे। तेऽर्घं संक्षेपे प्रहोतरयासामपर्यन्त। बहूससे. 45. 1: य: मक्कुन्तिक्षिप्तोऽस: संक्षेपे: स उपाय:। सत्यमन्त्रविद्यायतो चार्यायं हुक्त-वरे भवति। संसारसंहिता: वरे q. by बहूससे on बहूससे. 45. 1. This verse is quoted in the अं. सत्र p. 5 as taken from a work called विकारकिल्ला, and the अं. न प्राणित the verse to वरे himself on the same page lines 3–4 ‘अति तु य: मक्कुन्ति-

(Continued on next page)
reverse of the usual natural order. *Nimitta* means, according to *Amarakośa* (*nimittam hetulakṣmaṇoḥ*) ‘cause or prognostic sign’. *Nimitta* may be auspicious or inauspicious. This is one distinction between *utpāta* (which generally denotes an unlucky portent) and *nimitta*. There is another distinction. *Nimitta* is often restricted to the throbbing of a person’s limbs (as in *Matsya* chap. 241), though here and there it is used in a wider sense as in *Gītā* (I. 31) (‘nimittāni ca paśyāmi viparītāni Keśava’ O Keśava! I see adverse omens), *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. 4. 17-19, *Bhistma-parva* 2. 16-17, *Viśālaka* 46. 30, *Atharva-pariśiṣṭa* LXIV (*Utpāta-lakṣaṇa*) 10. 9-10. 1187 It may be noted that *Manu* VI. 50 mentions ‘*utpāta*’ and ‘*nimitta*’ separately (p. 527 note 758).

meteors, she-jackals howling towards the south, fierce and dry wind with shower of sand; earth-quakes; sun eclipse at an unusual time (Rāmāyaṇa III. 23. 12, Sabhā 80. 29, 81. 23 Śalya 56. 10, Bhīṣma 3. 28); flashes of lightning without clouds; carnivorous birds like vultures and crows on temples; fort-walls and bastions; spontaneous fire; rent banners; halo of the sun and moon; river-flowing with bloody waters; rain without clouds, rain of blood or mud; trumpeting of elephants; sky filled with darkness; horses shedding tears; peals of thunder in a clear sky, rivers flowing in reverse direction; throbbing of the left arm and eye (in men); croaking of frogs; sea lashed into fury; images of gods trembling, dancing, laughing or weeping (Bhīṣma 11.2. 11); pale sun, birds like pigeons and mainas and deer weeping with face towards the sun; appearance of a headless trunk near the sun; strange births such as ass born of a cow, mouse born of an ichneumon (Yuddhakānda 35. 30). The auspicious signs described in the epics, are comparatively few as in Bālakānda 22. 4, Udyoga 83. 23–26, 84. 117, Bhīṣma 3. 65–74, Śānti 52. 25, Āśvamedhika 53. 5–6. The principal auspicious signs are: clear sky without clouds, wind blowing cool and pleasant to the skin, no dust raised, birds and animals proceeding to a man’s right side, fire without being enveloped in smoke and with flames turned towards the right, shower of flowers, auspicious birds like cūsa, krauṇca, peacock sending up chirpings to the right (Karna 72. 12–13).

The omens and portents mentioned in the two epics are generally described as occurring at certain important times and events, e.g. on the eve of battles or when Daśaratha proposed that Rāma be crowned as yuvarāja, or when Pāṇḍavas started on their exile into the forest or when Bhīṣma was anointed as commander-in-chief of the Kaurava hosts or when Arjuna vowed that he would kill Jayadratha before sunset. There is no gradation or order in mentioning the omens and portents in these two works, but they are set out pell-mell. Untimely rain, thunder without clouds, croaking of frogs are on the same level and

1183. कै सिद्धः सूक्ष्मो वायुः स्वराण्विन: स्निः || शालिपर: 52. 25; शिबचाक्षुपुराः पद्मालमभद्रः || पद्धिणामाहितोपाध्र महत्त्वा मूर्तिःशिणः || पपाणः वायुः स्वरः पर: भूमुक्षुपुराः स्वराण्विनः || उद्योग, 83. 23–24 and 26 मन्त्राश्विनिविष्ठस्वामनपा गतः || पद्धिणामाहितोपाध्र महत्त्वा मूर्तिःशिणः || सुल्क विधम: समपद्वत: || रत्नेशा III. 14 (तद्वः पशुद्रुपशनः वरु: || हुम्बः मद्भिणामाहितोपाध्रम् || रत्नेशा III. 14) implies that it seems to be an echo of the above verses; compare also रत्नेशा IV. 25, X. 72–74.
uttered in the same breath with eclipses. But Garga,\textsuperscript{1189} Parāśara, Sahā-parva, Brhaṭsambhitā 45. 2, Matsyapurāṇa 229.5, Atharvā-paṛīśita LXIX (1. 2) and other works divide utpātas into three classes, viz. divya (arising from heavenly bodies), āntarikśa (springing in the sky or atmospheric region) and bhauma (that appear on the earth). This classification is ancient enough. The Atharvaveda\textsuperscript{1190} expressly refers to the three classes of utpāta ‘May the earthly and atmospheric utpātas and the planets moving in heaven confer welfare on us’. The Brhaṭsambhitā\textsuperscript{1191} says that it is the king’s business to arrange for sāntis in his kingdom for counteracting (the consequences of portents). Garga\textsuperscript{1192} declared that those who, when advised by brāhmans for performing sāntis, perform auspicious rites with faith do not suffer defeat, but that those who having no faith or because of atheism or resentment do not perform rites for counteracting (omens) perish in a short time. Garga, the Brhaṭsambhitā, Matsya 229. 6-9, Agni 263. 12-13 furnish examples of the three kinds of utpātas,\textsuperscript{1193} viz. the divya ones are concerned with the abnormal conditions of planets and nakṣatras, eclipses, comets; those of atmospheric regions are hurricanes, unusual clouds, fall of meteors, twilights, preternatural reddish appearances of the quarters, halo, Fata Morgana (appearance of illusory town in the air), rainbow and strange rainfall (such as
of blood-red water, or fall of rain with fishes, tortoises &c.; those of the earth are earth-quake and unusual states of water reservoirs. The Brhat samhitā remarks that the evil consequences of earthly (bhauma) utpātas when counteracted with āntis are removed, the evil consequences of utpātas from the atmospheric regions are reduced to a mild form (by āntis), while, according to some (ācāryas like Kāśyapa, says Utpala) divya utpātas are not counteracted by āntis at all; the opinion of Varāhamihira himself appears to be that the consequences of even divya utpātas are conjured away by the gifts of plenty of gold, food, cows and land and by spilling the milk of cows on the ground or in a Rudra temple and by performing Kotihoma. Varāhamihira and Matsya further provide that daiva utpāta has evil effects (lit. bears fruit) in eight ways, viz. on the king himself, his son, his treasury, his conveyances (horses, elephants &c.), his capital, his queen, purohita and his people.\textsuperscript{1194}

Numerous āntis bearing different names are prescribed in Matsya, by Varāhamihira and others. The 18 āntis prescribed in Matsya (228)\textsuperscript{1194a} and bearing the names of several gods will be briefly mentioned here. Abhaya-ānti is prescribed when a king desires to be a conqueror or when he is attacked by enemies or when he fears that witchcraft has been practised against him or when he desires to uproot his enemies or when a great danger threatens. The Saunya ānti is prescribed when a man is attacked by Tuberculosis or is weak owing to wounds or when a man desires to perform a sacrifice. When there is an earthquake or when there is a famine of food or there is excessive rain or drought or there is danger of locusts or when thieves are operating the Vaiṣṇavi ānti is prescribed; Raudri ānti is employed against an epidemic among cattle or human beings or when ghosts appear or when a coronation is to take place or when there is fear of an invasion or there is treachery in one’s kingdom, or when enemies are to be killed; Brāhma ānti is performed when it is feared that Veda study would

\textsuperscript{1194} आन्तिकोस्बास्गरुहारपूर्णितेऽत्रत्संक्रमित्वा लोके च। पाक्युपानि वैर परिकृत्वमेऽस्त्र Morning 45. 7. Compare मद्य 229. 12-13 राजः जिरि लोके च पुरुषोऽ (v. l. पुरुष वृह) पुरुषसै। पाक्युपानि पुज्ञंत्व तथा है कोस्बास्ते। q. by अ. सा. p. 9, हैमाब्धि on रत्न vol. II. p. 1076. There is close correspondence between the two here and elsewhere because both expressly say that they will draw upon what Garga declared to Atri.

\textsuperscript{1194a} त्रैको हेमाब्धि वरद व ते कोस्बास्ते। pp. 1073-1075 and by अ. सा. pp. 733-736.
perish or when atheism prevails or where honour is paid to persons unworthy of it; if strong winds blow for more than three days and disease spreads due to vāta, then Vāyavi śānti should be performed; Vāruṇī when there is fear of drought or there is abnormal rain (of blood &c.); Bhārgavi when there is danger of false accusation; Prājāpatyā when abnormal births take place; Tvāṣṭri when there are abnormal conditions of implements; Kaumāri when śānti is to be performed for children; Āgneyī when fire shows portentous appearances; Gāndharvī when a person is disobeyed or his wife and servants perish, or he desires to perform śānti for horses; Āṅgirasī when elephants are affected; Nairṛtī when danger arises from goblins; Yāmyā when there is fear of an accident leading to death or a bad dream; Kauberī when wealth is lost; Purthivi when trees are affected by abnormal conditions; Aindri when portents happen on Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra or on Anurādha.

The Agnipurāṇa (263. 7–8) refers to these 18 śāntis and says that the best śāntis are Amṛtā, Abhayā and Saumya. Varāhamihira mentions numerous śāntis on the happenings of several abnormal incidents. For reasons of space nothing can be said here about them. But one śānti deserves to be set out. 1195

'If a man perceives Yakṣas, the astrologer should declare that an epidemic is very near; for counteracting them Garga performed a propitiatory rite, viz. Mahāśāntis, offerings, plentiful food, worship of Indra and Indraṇī.' The Brhatsamhitā sets out (45. 82–95) certain happenings as not portentous when they happen in certain seasons and quotes several verses of Rṣiputra which also occur in Matsya 229. 14–25 with some variations; e. g. in Caitra and Vaiśākha the following are auspicious (and not portents requiring śānti) lightning, meteors, earthquake, blazing twilight, noisy storms, halo, dust in sky, smoke in forests, red sunrise and sunset.

1195. इतेव चातुर्यानेनु निर्दिष्टस्मरकिमतुष्मयात्। अतीतात्त्व चैव ग्रं: सांति
पक्षोऽस्मात॥ भवायांन्योऽस्मात् भोजयानि सुसहासिति च। कार्यसै जगहेङ्च च माठेद्वः च समक्षेत॥ उभयाः। 45. 79–80.
CHAPTER XXI

Individual Śāntis

It is now time to turn to individual śāntis, mostly post-vedic. The first is Vināyaka-śānti or Gaṇapati-pūjā. This is performed at the commencement of all samīkāras such as upanayana and marriage in order that the fruit thereof may be had without obstacles or for averting the evil effects of portents or in order to mitigate the adverse effects of the death of a sapiṇḍa or the like. When it is performed for its own sake it should be performed on the 4th tithi of the bright half, on Thursday and the auspicious nakṣatras Pusya, Śravaṇa, Uttarā, Rohini, Hasta, Aśvini, Mṛga-śīra, but when performed at the commencement of Upanayana or the like, one may perform it at a time suited to the time of the principal rite. The saṅkalpa is given below.\(^\text{1196}\) In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 213–216 it has been shown how in the earliest stages represented by the Mānav-grhya and Bājavāpa-grhya which speak of four Vināyakas, all were evil spirits, how in the next stage represented by the Yajñavalkyasārthi (I, 271–294), Vināyaka is not only represented as causing obstacles (Vighna-kr̥t) but also as bringing success in all actions and rites (Vighnahṛt) and how later on it was prescribed that Gaṇapati-pūjā must be done first in all rites (Gobhila I, 13). Yaj. I, 293 provides\(^\text{1197}\) that by worshipping Vināyaka in the way prescribed and also the planets, a person secures success in his undertakings and the highest prosperity. The Viṣṇudharmottara II, 105. 2–24 borrows the verses of Yaj. I, 271–292, though not in the same order and adds a few. The Brahmadeśa provides\(^\text{1198}\)

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\(^{1196}\) अध्योपनयनविवादात् निबिष्टकृतमात्यथ्यथसप्तग्रिहसत्याय वा सप्तग्रिहसत्याय नितिसमकालीकृतनिरुपयथा वा नितायककालमा विनायककालमा कार्यं। तत्र कालं भ्रुःववस्त्रयुक्तवाम् युक्तवाम् पृथ्वीवामांगश्रवीमहाविश्वास्यनारायण शस्त्रात्। उपनयनविवादात् हि प्रधानकालदृश्यं वयासम्भवकालोऽग्रहः। ततायककालमा निबिष्टकृतिविधुताचन्द्रीयमिति वा उपस्थापिताचन्द्रीयमिति वा, अमुकपापप्रभावमितिविनिशाचिकृत्वापिताचन्द्रीयमिति वा स्युण्ड्रण उद्यं। धमसिन्यपु. p. 205; निकृष्ण has a special meaning, for which vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 516.

\(^{1197}\) एवं निवायकं पूण्य प्रत्येकं विनायकं: कर्मणां कृतमात्यथा कर्मानि विनायककालमा नामं यापि। यापि। I, 293, भविषय, गाथापेये 23. 30.

\(^{1198}\) नातकां विविधानानि संरात्यासिद्धिकरोऽपि च। यास्यां विक्रियायाभुद्या द्विपश्चन्ती च। सकलं कार्यसंस्कृतम् पूण्यत्वेऽथ गणानंदम्। तत्र सामान्यं कार्यां च सिद्धिकर्य संस्कृतव्यं न संस्कृतव्यं। भागावस्त्र III, 42. 42–44; भागावस्त्र (IV. 44. 65–70) gives 51 names of गणेश.
that Gajānana must be worshipped for success in all desires, in all samskāras such as Garbhadhāna and Jātakarma, when starting on a journey or engaging in a commercial undertaking, at the time of battle, in the worship of gods, in troublous times. The Bhaviṣyottara chap. 144 has a śāntī called Gajanāthāśāntī which resembles the Vināyakaśāntī of Yāj.

In the Yajñavalkya-smṛti (I. 294–308), the Vaikāṇasa-smārta-sūtra (IV. 13–14), the Baudhāyana-grhyaśeṣasūtra, the Matsya-purāṇa (93. 1–105), the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 93–105 and other purāṇas, in the Brhad-Yogatāra (chap. 18. 1–24), and in the medieval digests provision is made for a śāntī rite to the nine grahas, viz. the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn (mentioned in the order of the week-days), Rāhu and Ketu. This navagrahaśāntī is the model (prakṛti) of all śāntihomas in all medieval digests. The Vaikāṇasa-smārta-sūtra provides that all religious rites should be preceded by this navagrahaśāntī. Yajñavalkya says `one desires of prosperity, of removing evil or calamities, of rainfall (for crops), long life, bodily health and one desires of performing magic rites against enemies and others should perform a sacrifice to planets.' The Matsya (93. 5–6) states that the navagrahamakha is of three kinds, viz Ayutahoma (in which 10000 oblations are made), Lakṣahoma and Kōṭihoma. The first is described at length in Matsya 93. 7–84, Lakṣahoma in 93. 85–118, Kōṭihoma in 93. 119–139. The Matsya further provides that Ayutahoma should be performed in marriages, festivals, sacrifices, establishment of images and other rites, in order that no obstacles should arise therein and on occasions when the mind is perturbed or when some evil emen or unusual event happens.

1199. प्रहर्षाः पुरीक्रया सर्वकामः समरंबंधिति विज्ञापते | वै स्मा च। खु IV. 14; the शालिकमालकार, says, ‘अथ सर्वेऽन्निपत्तितः यहय उच्यते। तत्र स्तान्द्रायज्ञलयने श्रीकामः शालिकामवं वा’ (folio 11a).

1200. श्रीकामः शालिकामो वा यहय समुच्छते। वुष्याः पुरुषाकामे वा तस्तापाभिः पारम्पिय प्रामाणिय प्राप्तय वा ग्राह्ये। 294, मार्ग 93, 2 (reads इद्धरयुः and इच्छुक:). The शक्तिकाम explains: शालिकाम: अपयुपस्तावकामः सर्वायं इद्धरयुः अर्थां द्विः... इद्धरयुः इतिस्वामिचाः; while शालिकाम says ‘शालिका: तथातां देवसीतिस्वामिचाः’.

1201. विशालसम्प्रमेय विनाशितिकामने कार्यं। विनाशितिकामने कार्यं किं विविधग्राह्यामेत्यथास्त्वत् श्री कार्यम् इत्येकाबोधितमः। 84, मार्ग 93, 84, भविष्य IV. 141. 86–87. The notes will show that several verses are common to both Yāj. and Matsya and the latter is far more elaborate than वा ग्राह्ये. वै स्मा च। It is probable that Yāj. is the earliest of the three, that वै स्मा च comes next and Matsya is the latest of the three.
The procedure in Yāj. being concise and probably the earliest among the extant works on *grahayajīa* is set out here, with a few additions from Matsya and Vaikhānasa. The images of the nine planets should respectively be made of copper, crystal, red sandalwood, gold (for both Mercury and Jupiter), silver, iron, lead, bronze or (if all these be not available) they should be drawn on a piece of cloth with powders having colours appropriate to each planet or should be drawn on circles with fragrant substances (such as sandalwood paste). The Matsya\(^{1202}\) (93.11-12) prescribes that in drawing the images the Sun should be in the middle, that Mars, Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Moon, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu should be established with grains of rice respectively in the south, north, north-east, east, south-east, west, south-west and north-west. Yāj. (I. 298) proceeds garments, flowers and fragrant substances

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<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Ā krṣṇena, Rg. I. 35 2</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Ā satyena (Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>Imam devā, Vāj. S. IX 40, X. 18.</td>
<td>Āpyāyasva. Rg. I. 91. 16 or IX. 31. 4.</td>
<td>Somo dhenum (Rg. I. 91. 20, Vāj. S. 3. 21)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mars</td>
<td>Agnir-mūrdhā divah kakut, Rg. VIII. 44, 16,</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>Udbhudhasva, Vāj. S. 13,54, Tai. S. IV. 7.13.5</td>
<td>Agne Viṣvavat-vaṣasaḥ, Rg. I. 41. 1</td>
<td>Same as in Yāj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jupiter</td>
<td>Brhaspate ati yad-aryah Rg. II. 23, 15.</td>
<td>Brhaspate pari diya rathena, Rg. X. 103. 4</td>
<td>Same as in Yāj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>Annāt pari-srutas, Vāj. S. 19,75, Mrtrā. S. III. 116.</td>
<td>Sukram te anyat, Rg. VI. 58. 1.</td>
<td>Same as in Matsya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saturn</td>
<td>San-no devir, Rg. X. 9. 4</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ketu</td>
<td>Ketum kṛṣvaṇ, Rg. I.6.3.</td>
<td>same</td>
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\(^{1202}\) 3. 11-12 are quoted by the *śilāstaka* on Yā. I. 297 and \(\text{४, समा. भ (IV. 13)}\) specifies the same as 'मस्तप्यन्त्यदस्तिश्वनिश्वन्नम्कदश्वन्निश्वन्नम्' in the order of the seven week days, राघु and केतु.
of the colour 1203 appropriate to each should be offered to the planets, also offerings should be made, guggulu is to be the incense for all planets and oblations of boiled rice accompanied with the mantras (specified below) should be offered respectively to the nine planets.

The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 102, 7-10) gives the same mantras as Yāj. does, Bhavisya (IV. 141. 34-36) gives the same except for Rāhu, for which it gives ‘Kayā naːṣcitra,’ as in Matsya. Padma (V. 82. 30-32) is same as Matsya. Yāj. then proceeds (I. 301-302) that in homa for each of the planets the fuel sticks (samidh) 1204 were to be 108 or 28 anointed with honey or clarified butter or with curds or with milk and they were respectively to be of the arka plant, palāśa, khadira, apāmārga, pippala, audumbara, śanti, dūrva and kuśa for the sun, the moon and so on in order. A man 1205 of the three varṇas should honour brāhmaṇas according to the prescribed procedure (washing their feet &c.) and should feed them respectively (Yāj.I. 304) with boiled rice mixed with jaggery, or cooked in milk and sugar, sacrificial food (havisya), boiled rice from paddy becoming ripe in 60 days from sowing mixed with milk, boiled rice with curds, boiled rice with ghee, boiled rice with pounded sesame, rice mixed with meat, rice of various colours, for the sun, the moon and so on in order or with food that is available and according to his ability. The dakṣinā (fee) to the brāhmaṇas should be a milk cow, conch, draught bull, gold, garment (vāsas), a horse (white), dark cow, iron weapon, a lamb, in honour

1203. The colours appropriate to the nine planets and their presiding deities are stated by Śr. Śa. as follows: रक्षितसिद्धस्यंक्षामपपत्तिसिद्धास्त्रिकण्य- पुष्पम्। अनलापपतिनण्डी-महोक्रीण्य-पातिसिद्धकण्य-। The man slightly differs on both these; chap. 93. 16-17 provide that the colours are: red for the Sun and Mars, white for the Moon and Venus, yellowish for Mercury and Jupiter, dark for Saturn and Rāhu and smoky for Ketu. The presiding deities of nine planets according to Matsya (93. 13-14) are Śiva, Umā, Skanda, Hari, Brahmā, Indra, Yama, Kāla and Citrāgupta for the planets, Sun, Moon and so on respectively.

1204. कार्तिक्या मधुसुब्दध्वम्: वचनं: पातिदेवताः। अर्थः: पल्लाः: शरिरस्यचालार्धविमप्तः। औषुः: सभी दूर्गः कुञ्जांका सन्मिश्रः। क्रमाणाः। रक्षितसिद्धस्यंक्षामपपत्तिसिद्धास्त्रिकण्य-। गीताया महासुरपरिणामम कवन्त किरिण ऽि उत्तमः। वाज्जः। I. 298, 301-302, मल्ल्य 93, 32, 24-28. बिष्मणमुनिः। I. 101. 2-4 are very similar.

1205. कुष्टीवन-पापस-कूटिनं-निक्षिप्य-विद्यार्थी-कुसरमहीदीवन-कुष्ठीवन-चारानु- कालि कस्मेन लघुमेन्द्रस्य। वै. ब. सा. IV. 13; मल्ल्य (93. 19-20) slightly differs from this and also from Yāj. मल्ल्य (93. 38-41) prescribes Vedic mantras for the presiding deities of planets, which are mostly different from those in वै.शा.सा.
respectively of the sun, moon and so on. The Viṣṇudharmottara (I, 103, 1-6) contains the same fees.\footnote{1205} He should offer special worship to that planet that may be unfavourably situated (as regards his naksatra or horoscope) at a particular time. Yāj. winds up by saying that the rise and fall of kings depend on planets (vide note 800 for this verse). Viṣṇudharmottara (I, 106, 9-10) also has the same verse. Krtyakalpataru (on Śāntika, folio 5b) quotes Bhavisya to the effect that planets are always favourable to him who abstains from injury to others, who is self-restrained, who acquires wealth by righteous means, and who always observes the niyamas (restrictive rules of conduct as in Yāj. III. 313). The Śāntimayūkha (p. 21) also quotes this verse.

The Vaikhānasasāmārtṣātra (IV. 13) provides slightly different kinds of naivedya food for the nine planets (as in note 1205) and prescribes separate Vedic mantras for the presiding deities (of the planets) to whom oblations of ghee were to be offered. The Matsya remarks at the end of the description of Ayutahoma: 'just as armour is a protection against the wounds by arrows, so śānti (graha-yajña) is protection against the strokes of Fate.'\footnote{1207}

The Matsya (93.92) declares\footnote{1208} that Laksahoma is ten times of the Ayutahoma and Koṭihoma is one hundred times of Laksahoma in the matter of oblations, fees and rewards, that the procedure of invoking and bidding goodbye to the planets and presiding deities, the mantras for homa, bath and gifts are the same in Laksahoma and Koṭihoma. The Matsya gives\footnote{1209} the warning

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{1206} The दर्शिण in वै. स्म. च. (IV. 14) is: रक्षेयुष्मादित्याय शालों सोमाय तांमुक्षराकाय विलयं इत्यय श्रृङ्ख यासो बुद्धस्वरूपं हिंतं तुक्कय दुर्गणः सालं अलेशराय राहोरायमेव केतीर्यस्योपमिति। नरस्य (93. 60-62) slightly differs from both वै. and वै. स्म. च. as to दर्शिण and prescribes Paurāṇika mantras that are to accompany these gifts (verses 64-72).
\item \footnote{1207} यथा बाणामारणो वनत्व निजविवरणः। तहदू दैवोपरातानं शालिंविवलति वाणाः। नरस्य 93. 81, विशारदमेक्ष्यं 1, 105. 14. नरस्य 228. 29 is a similar verse ' बाणानां न निजति यद्र्त राजनां संतुवैत्तिकास्य। दैवोपरातानं न निजति तदन्निर्मितानं शालिविवलितानां।'
\item \footnote{1208} अमाच्छबन्ध: मोक्षः कोठिहोम: स्त्रयुङ्खः। अहृतीभि: भष्टलोक दशिणाभि: प्राप्तः श्रृङ्ख नावेनामात्याविनविनः। होममन्त्रस्त एवोक्तः स्मिने ब्राह्म तथेऽव। नरस्य 93. 119-120.
\item \footnote{1209} अश्या यादिवस्य प्रभुदेवयो नितं दसिन्नमां शिं। न तारापत्राः स्वाधेयाः हरः सांकितः। समातीदाकरीम नितं यस्मेति निरवयो च। नरस्य 93. 111-112 भ. by कूटाक्ष्य (on धार्मिक) folio 10a.
\end{itemize}
that a sacrifice devoid of distribution of food burns (i.e. brings disasters on) the country, devoid of (proper) mantras burns the officiating priests, devoid of (proper) fees burns the sacrificer; there is no enemy as (disastrous as) a sacrifice and that a poor man should not start on a Lakṣahoma, since wrangling (about food or fees) in a sacrifice always causes trouble or misfortune (to the sacrificer). The Bhādyāgāyātra of Varāha (chap. 18 verses 1–24) deals with grahajñāna and closely follows Yāj. though some details are added here and there. Verses about the sun are quoted below (n 1213). The Yogayātra also (chap. 6) deals with the same matter. The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 164) is a wholesale copy of Yāj. (I. 295–308). The Matsya (in chapter 239) again deals with Koṭi-homa which continues for a year. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 94) contains nine verses on the manner in which the figures of the nine planets were to be drawn or painted and these are quoted by the Mitāksara on Yāj. I. 297–298 and by Kṛtyakalpataru (on śānti) folio 5a. Vide Koṭihoma in list of vratas (p. 290).

The Grahajñāna in Yāj. is short and simple, but in some purāṇas such as the Bhavisyottara (141. 6–85) and medieval and modern works it has become an elaborate affair by the addition of numerous details. One or two details may be pointed out. Each planet was supposed to have a gotra and was1210 deemed to have been born in a certain country (vide note 875 p. 588 for the countries of the birth of planets). Therefore, in invoking the presence of each planet these two details have to be added (as specified below in the note for the sun by way of illustration). The gotras of the grahas from the Sun to Ketu are respectively Kāṣyapa, Átrya, Bṛhadvāja, Átrya, Ángirasa, Bhrāgava, Kāṣyapa, Paithinas, Jaimini. The Sāṃskāra-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 946) sets out from Skanda the gotras and countries of birth of the nine grahas and provides that if worship is offered to them without mentioning the gotras and countries that would be disrespectful to them. The Grahajñāna

1210. श्रवणेऽर्थम मधये बहुले हावासांगुणान् पार्वतेः पण्येः रक्तपुप्पणातः; आ द्रेष्येन ( कः १५४ २६) विवर्णस्मृतिः सावित्र निरूपति पूर्ववलोकने विचिनियन्। आयो। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन। आ द्रेष्येन।
may be simple (kevala) as in Yāj. or Ayutahoma or Laksahoma or Koṭihoma. A few further remarks are added here from the Agnipurāṇa (chap. 149), Narasimha-purāṇa (chap. 35), Matsya (chap. 93 and 239), Bhaviṣyottara (chap. 141 and 142), Atharvaparīśiṣṭa XXXI (for Koṭihoma) and other works. The Kṛtyakalpataru1211 (Rājdharmā) quotes the Brahma-purāṇa as follows: The king should perform two Laksahomas every year and one Koṭihoma which confers freedom from the fear of all calamities and he should at once perform a Mahāsānti that removes all evil consequences when there are eclipses of the Sun and the Moon and an earthquake. The Agni (149.12) says ‘Ayutahoma confers slight success, Laksahoma drives away all distress, while Koṭihoma tends to destroy all kinds of trouble and confers all desired objects.’ The Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 36. 3–4) states that Aśvapati, father of the famous pativrata Sāvitrī performed a Laksahoma with the Sāvitrī (Gāyatri) mantras for securing a son. ‘There is no utsāpa in the world that is not conjured away by Laksahoma; there is no more auspicious thing that surpasses Laksahoma. In the case of the king who gets a Koṭihoma performed by brāhmaṇas the enemies cannot stand up against him in battle: excessive rainfall, drought, mice, locusts, parrots, evil spirits and the like and all enemies on the battle-field are conjured away from him.’1212 The Bhaviṣyottara (142. 11–12) calls kotihoma a sānti rite, which yields all desired objects, by which even grave sins like brāhmaṇa-murder are removed at once, all utsāpas are conjured away and great happiness follows. Bhaviṣyottara (chap. 142. 7–54) contains an elaborate procedure of Koṭihoma and also a briefer one (in chap. 142. 56–80). Atharvaparīśiṣṭa (No. 31) describes the procedure of Koṭihoma; it was to be begun on an auspicious tīthi in the bright half, on the muhūrtā called Vijaya and on one of the nakṣatras viz. Rohini, Pusya, Amurādhā, the three Uttarās, Abhijit, Mrgaśīras, Śravaṇa, Citra, Revati. The firepit was to be of eight cubits (for Laksahoma half of this), the brāhmaṇas may be 20, 100, 1000 or even one crore, who

1211. ब्रह्मपुराणे। हौ तदापानी कुर्वित तथा संचार्यं प्रवति। एवं च कौविद्वम् च यर्नात्मकोपयाम्। ’’वहेण सूर्याशिको० सूर्यप्रतिकारतथायथिन्।’’तस्याणि महाशान्तिः: कर्त्यायानिंत्यायानिं। राजधर्मकाव्यम् ऋषियकल्पस्त्र प. 166।

1212. नानास्तित् हसकि के उवाति यो ज्ञानेन न शाम्यतिः। सत्यसंस्त्र नालिस्य यद्यपार्वमित्रिचि। कौविद्वम् यो रत्ना कारार्यप्रकाश्च हिते। न तस्य शास्त्रं संस्त्रे सुभूतं ज्ञातं काहिचिच। अति-प्रविष्टिनापृविष्टिकाः: काव्याः: छुङ्ख:। राजसायाय शाम्यतिः सर्वेचा रिपुव रते।॥ अभिः 149.5–8।
should offer fuel sticks anointed with ghee. The Brhadyogayātrā 1213 verses are quoted below.

Some of the medieval works like the Saṅtinimayukha (p. 12) quote verses from the Skandapurāṇa that state how the unfavourable aspect of Saturn led Saudāsa to eat human flesh, that of Rāhu made Nala wander over the earth, that of Mars led to Rāma’s banishment to forest, that of the Moon led to the death of Hiranyakāśipu, that of the Sun brought about the fall of Rāvana, that of Jupiter led to the death of Duryodhana, that of Mercury made the Pāṇḍavas do work not fit for them, that of Venus led to the death of Hiranyakāśa in battle.

Some of the medieval digests (nibandhas) such as the Dharmasindhau lay down that certain special gifts should be made when any one of the planets is unfavourable to a person. They are set out here from the Dharmasindhau (p. 135). For the Sun—Ruby, wheat, cow, red garment, jaggery, gold, copper, red sandalwood, lotuses; for the Moon—rice grains in vessel made from bamboo, camphor, pearl, white garment, jar full of ghee, a bull; for Mars—coral, wheat, masūra pulse, red bull, jaggery, gold, red garment, copper; for Mercury—blue garment, gold, bronze vessel, mūlga pulse, emerald, slave girl, ivory, flowers; for Jupiter—topaz, turmeric, sugar, horse, yellow corn and yellow garment, salt, gold; for Venus—garment of various colours, white horse, cow, diamond, gold, silver, unguents, rice grains; for Saturn—sapphire, māsa beans, sesame and sesame oil, kuśitha (pulse), she-buffalo, iron, dark cow; for Rāhu—gomedha (a kind of gem of four varieties), horse, blue garment, blanket, sesame and sesame oil, iron; for Ketu—cat’s eye gem, sesame and sesame oil, blanket, musk, lamb, garments. In the author’s youth these directions about dānas (gifts) were followed by many people and even now they are being followed to some extent. The Madanaratna (on Saṅti-paustika, folios 5 to 7 a) gives separate śānti procedure for each of the grahas from the Sun to Ketu from the Bhaviṣyottara.

1213. तत्तरां तात्तथां सचि सचि: पातालिक्य: कुद्व: सचिठ:। अा हुष्णेन्ति महो रसाय गन्धः: सहायक:। मातात्सीतिहकः प्रकृतिसुधारणकार निधिः भोजय: सिद्धिः। बुज्जातिकास्य पवत्साहकारकाः कुद्वाच। अहसुधारांशि विषेयं वृगिताय वृक्षिधारातारयी।। देवे बुज्जातिकास्य सहायकारणमुद्यिय: ॥ कुद्व: द्राहयः १८.३–५ (ms.). It may be mentioned that the mantras for the nine grahas in बुज्जीराम: do not agree completely either with Yāj. or with Matsya. They are आ हुष्णेति, अहसुधाराः, अहसुधाराः, उद्वाहसन, उद्वाहसनोऽवस्था, अहसुधाराः अशा सर्जस्तः:। काव्याच: निर्मिति। केवल द्राहय:।। Compare table above on p. 750.
Another śānti refers to the placating of Saturn when that planet occupies the 12th, 1st and 2nd rāsis from the rāsi of a man's birth. This is roughly a period of seven years and a half and is called 'sārdha-saplavārṣika-pīḍā' in Sanskrit and 'sāde-sālti' in Marathi. The śānti consists in worshipping an image of Saturn made of iron placed in a vessel of iron or clay, covered with two dark garments or a blanket and offering to it dark and fragrant flowers, food or rice mixed with sesame. That food and the image are to be donated to a dark brāhmaṇa or to some brāhmaṇa with the mantra 'śan no devir' (Rg. X. 9. 4). If the worshipper be a śūdra he is to repeat a paurāṇika 1214 mantra (noted below) which refers to Nala getting back his kingdom by placating Saturn. This should be done every Saturday for a year or one should every day repeat the mantra containing ten names of Saturn (in note 1214) and should also repeat a Śanistotra (eulogy of Saturn) every morning. By doing so the trouble that Saturn causes for seven and half years is averted.

Some of the medieval digests try to furnish an accurate definition of Śānti. Only one may be cited here. The Śāntimayūkha 1215 of Nilakaṇṭha (first half of 17th century A. D.) defines it as a rite prescribed by the śāstra, which (rite) has its motive or urge sinfulness that is not clear (i.e. that is only inferred or presumed), that removes evil effects relating only to this world, and the performance of which does not lead on to sin. The first clauses excludes gifts made to remove diseases like tuberculosis; 1216 the 2nd clause distinguishes śāntis from sacri-

1214. The Paurāṇika mantra is: युन्नेष्ठूष्याय नः तः परस्परतः। समेत इत्येक विन्यासम् से ते सौरिः प्रतिबद्धतः। नामोऽपरिदृश्याय ज्ञानेष्यार्य निहायाच्यानेन्द्रवाक्याय। श्रुतेन शर्यं भव कामकाः प्राप्तं भव शुरुष्युम। धर्मसिद्धः p. 135; the ten names of Saturn are कृष्णोऽपि रोद्धकृतान्तः। सौरिः ज्ञानेष्यार्य ज्ञानेष्यम्: पिण्डार्जन संगुतस्तः। II q. by बदनरस्त्र on शास्तिप्रीतिक folio 8a.

1215. अत्यापावेप्रेक्षानागृहान्तरमिति वाप्रयेश। कपोलक्षमेष्यातः शास्तिप्रीतिकाः। श्रीप्रबुद्धानावानवायविस्तारः पारं श्रीविन्यासम्। अध्यक्षानि नागरसायनमिति वाप्रयेशेति। आवर्ताय साधृवियान्तिः मात्राविद्यम्। पापमित्रोऽनुमानितिः साधृवियान्तिः। अभिधार्मिकविद्यार्यो वाप्रयेश। पापमित्रोऽनुमानितिः। तथायामिति। वाप्रयेशं निरक्तं तद्भवतः पापमित्रोऽनुमानितिः। शास्तिप्रीतिक p. 2.

1216. It was believed in ancient India that diseases and bodily defects were due to sins committed in past lives. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV pp.174–175. Yāj. (III. 207 and 209) remarks that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from tuberculosis after passing through the births of deer, dog, hog, and camel. श्रृणष्ठेष्यार्याना मन्त्रा श्रीविन्यासम्। मन्त्रा प्रकारकना: श्रीविन्यासः। श्रीविन्यासः स्यातः ।
fices (intended to secure other worldly rewards) and prayaścittas (that yield consequences in this world as well as in the next) and the last clause distinguishes sāntis from rites of black magic (for destroying one’s enemies or securing a married woman’s love &c.) which is sinful.

The number of sāntis is legion. They are prescribed for conjuring away the effects of rare natural phenomena such as eclipses, earth-quakes, rainfall (of peculiar kinds, of blood &c.) hurricanes, fall of meteors, comets, halos, Fata Morgana; for protection against the evil effects of the positions and movements of planets and stars for the world and for individuals; for strange births among human beings and animals; for the good of horses and elephants; for certain untoward happenings about Indra’s banner and about images of gods falling or weeping, the cries of birds and beasts, the fall of lizards and the like on a person’s limbs and on certain stated periods or on solemn occasions.

All rites of Śānti, Pauṣṭika rites and the Mahādānas were to be performed in ordinary fire, since there is no authority to prove that they are to be performed in śrauta fires or in smārta fire. Manu 3. 67 and Yāj. I. 97 refer only to ceremonies laid down in the Gṛhyaśūtras. On Yāj. I. 285–86 the Mitākṣarā prescribes ordinary fire for offerings in Vināyaka-śānti. Vide also Śāntimayukha p. 4.

Both Manu 1217 and the Viśuddharmasūtra prescribe that homas in which the Sun is the deity worshipped and Śāntihomas should be performed by a householder on the parvams (i. e. on Paurṇamāsi and Amāvāsyā). These were sāntis at fixed periods. Similarly, when a person, male or female, of any caste completed sixty years, there was the possibility that he may die soon, or that he may lose his mother or father or his wife or sons or that various diseases may affect him; for removing this danger a sānti is prescribed (and is often performed even now) in order that he may enjoy a long life, be free from all calamities and for his complete prosperity. This is called śaṣṭyabdādapūrti (completion of sixty years) or Ugrarathaśānti. 1217a

1217. सावित्रायणः शालिश्चोमष्ठः क्रयोऽवर्षानः निर्ययः। सत्र 1 IV. 150; पर्वयः शालिश्चोभमुः
कुषोऽवर्षानः। सत्र 71. 86.

One of the oldest available descriptions of the Ugrarathasānti is found in the Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra-sūtra (V. 8.). It is brief and the main items in it are set out here. It should be performed in the month of one’s birth and on the nakṣatra of birth. A vedi as large as a bull’s hide should be made, a jar full of water should be placed thereon and on the jar an image of Mṛtyu (Death) manufactured with two nīśkas (i.e. gold probably weighing as much) should be placed in the south-east corner; worship should be offered to the image and a japa of each of the mantras ‘apaitu mṛtyuḥ’ (‘may Death go away’, Tai. Br. III. 7. 14. 4), ‘param Mṛtyo’ (O Death! follow the path beyond &c.’, Tai. Br. II. 7. 14. 5 and Rg. X. 18. 1), ‘mā nas-toke’ (O Rudra! do not injure our progeny &c., Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2 and Rg. I. 114. 8), and ‘Tryambakam’ (‘we offer sacrifice to Rudra’, Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2 and Rg. VII. 59. 12) be made 108 times; he offers oblations of cooked food with the puronucākyā (invitatory prayer) ‘mā no mahāntam’ (O Rudra! do not destroy our grown up ones &c., Tai. S. IV. 5. 10. 2 and Rg. I. 114. 7) and the Yājñā (offering prayer) ‘Mā nas-toke’ (Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2 and Rg. I. 114. 8). Then he makes subsidiary offerings of ghee with each verse of the Gṛītasya. Then he sprinkles himself with water from the jar to the accompaniment of mantras from the Mṛtyusūkta, from the Āyuṣyasya and with Paurāṇika mantras, honours the officiating priest, gives daksīṇā to the brāhmaṇas and a dinner.

There is a Ms. (of only three folios in D. C. No. 609 of the year 1882-83, now in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona) which deals with this sānti attributed to Śaunaka and is called Ugrarathasānti at the end. The sānti is to be performed on the day or nakṣatra of one’s birth. On that day the person of 60 years should take an auspicious bath, perform his daily religious duties, should invite brāhmaṇas and choose one to officiate who is learned in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and is well conducted. First Ganeśa worship should be performed, then

1218 It is difficult to say what hymn is intended here by the word ‘ghṛtasūktaena’. It is probably Rg. VI. 70. 1-6 (ghṛtavati bhuvanānām &c.). The Mṛtyusūkta is probably the same as Rg. X. 18. The Āyuṣya hymn is a Khila hymn after Rg. X. 128 and begins ‘āyuṣyam varcasyam rāyasposam avidhīdham.’ The Karmapradipta of Gobhila (I. 17) prescribes that Āyuṣya hymns should be recited in śrāddha for sānti. The Smṛticandrika (śrāddha p. 503) quotes Gobhila I. 17 and explains that they are hymns like the one beginning ’ā no bhadrāḥ.’ Rg. I. 89. 1,
puṇyāhavācana, worship of Mother goddesses, then nāḍīrāddha. He should bring together sarvausadhis,¹²¹⁹ twigs and leaves of five trees, five jewels, pañcayuja, and pañcāmṛta; then worship of nine planets should be performed; an image of Mārkaṇḍeya was to be made from one pala or ½ pala or ¼ pala and the image was placed in a jar full of water surrounded by two garments; he should offer the 16 upacāras and offer to Mārkaṇḍeya 1008, or 108 or 28 or eight offerings of fuel sticks, boiled rice, ghee, dūrvā, superior dishes with the mantra (quoted below¹²²⁰). Then he should make a homa in honour of Mṛtyuṅjaya (Śiva) with oblations of dūrvā grass and sesame 10000, or 5000, or 3000 or one thousand in number and then he should sacrifice separately to the secondary objects of worship, viz. Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanumat, Bibhisana, Krpa and Parāśurāma. Then he should perform a homa with fried grams according to his ability and should recite Śrisūkta,¹²²¹ Rudra, the Āyuṣya-mantras, the Purusāsūkta and specially the complete recitation of the Veda; he should finish the homa and offer pūrpāhuti; then water from the jar should be sprinkled over the yajamāna (i.e. person who has completed 60 years), his wife and his near relatives; then there should be a japa of śānti hymn, the Purusāsūkta, the mantra Rg. X. 18. 1, the Āyuṣya hymn, Pāvamāna hymn (hymn to Soma from Rg. IX.), the six verses of Śivasāṅkalpa (Vāj. S. 32. 1–6), and Mahāśānti. Then the jar should be donated and the garments rendered wet by the abhiṣekā and a decorated cow with calf should be donated to the officiating priest; ten dānas¹²²² to brāhmaṇas and gold weighing one hundred mānas; he should perform ājyāveksana and offer ‘bali’ (to all beings, crows &c.); he should then receive the blessings of the brāhmaṇas and put on a new garment; then he should have nirājana performed and bow to deities and feed a thousand or a hundred brāhmaṇas and then himself partake of food along with his relatives. Whoever performs this śānti, according to the rules prescribed for grahaśānti, would certainly

¹²¹⁹. For sarvausadhis, vide p. 444 above, for five twigs vide pp. 336, 339 above under pāchamānand and pācham, for five jewels p. 337.

¹²²⁰. Mārkaṇḍeya Mahābhāgī samākālamajjīvaṁ. Auyāsāmyājyē ājyē teṣāṁ śaṁāni śaṁaṁ

¹²²¹. Auyāsāmyājyē teṣaṁ śaṁāni śaṁaṁ

¹²²². For the ten dānas vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 869 and above p. 334 for nīrājana.
live for a hundred years, all misfortunes will vanish and all prosperity will be his. The \textit{prayoga} (procedure of this śānti) is given below\textsuperscript{1223} since it is often performed even now.

It is difficult to say why this śānti was called Ugraratha. Another śānti on the completion of 70 years or on the 7th night of the 7th month of the 77th year is called Bhaimarathi-śānti, according to the Śabdakalpadruma, which quotes some verses from \textit{Vaidyaka} without stating what work is meant.\textsuperscript{1223a} Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra 1, 24 prescribes a śānti for one who has lived up to 100 years or one who has seen 1000 amāvāśyas.

The general rule about the time for śāntis is that no definite time can be fixed for them, since śānti rites are performed with the object of removing the evil consequences of men’s lapses suggested by such indications (or omens) as dreams, the evil aspects of planets and the like i. e. they are to be performed as and when omens or portents occur or are observed and one should not wait for such times as the northward passage of the Sun, bright fortnight and that one may perform śāntis even in the southward passage of the Sun or even in an intercalary

\textsuperscript{1223.} अप्रयो:। व्यशकाळी संकीर्ण सकु ष्ठं च समा कामिनी याज्ञवल्क्यस्य पुनः संकारणात् । अत्यद्वारा अन्त्यतिष्ठति ।
\textsuperscript{1223a.} सत्समाविषयं ततो योिसैव विचारा जान जानि। कृत्यभित्ति हृद्यावृद्धिप्रसः पूर्णात् सारं संकीर्ण ।

month.\footnote{1224} If there is no hurry, then a śānti was to be performed on an auspicious week-day, an auspicious tithi and on certain nakṣatras, viz. the three Uṭtāras, Rohini, Śravaṇa, Dhanisthā, Śatārakā, Puravasu, Śvāti, Maghā, Āsvini, Hasta, Puṣya, Anurādhā and Revati.\footnote{1225} As regards the Laksahoma the Matsya (93. 86) prescribes that it should be performed after securing favourable planets and Tārās (stars). Vide also p. 290 above about Koṭihoma prescribed by the Atharva-pariṣṭa (XXXI pp. 187–191). The Matsya prescribes that a Koṭihoma should be begun in Cāitra or Kārtika (239. 20–21); the invisibility of Jupiter and Venus and similar matters need not be considered when a śānti has to be performed immediately on the occurrence of an omen (or portent) or when the śānti is meant for alleviating the disease from which a person may be suffering.

As against several adbhutas and utpātas, texts prescribe a rite called Mahāśānti. The Śāṅkhâyana Gr. (V. 11) speaks of a Mahāśānti, when an ant-hill grows in one’s house, which has been referred to above on p. 730 note 1162. The details of a Mahāśānti differ in different texts and on different occasions. The Adbhuta-sāgara provides that where no specific details about śāntis against certain utpātas like a fall of meteors are prescribed one should have recourse to a śānti consisting in homa offerings to the accompaniment of one million repetitions of the sacred Gāyatrī verse (‘tat-savitur’ &c. Rg. III. 62. 10) or to the Mahāśānti called Abhayā according to the nature (grave or light) of the omen or portent.\footnote{1226} In the Marāthi commentary on the

\footnote{1224} अतएव दुःख:। नैमित्तिकानि कार्यानि निपतति पद्धति यथा यथा। तथा तैहे कार्यानि न कालस्तुविध्ये॥ नैमित्तिकानि कार्यानि समानार्थिकतम्। निमित्ताय श्रव- धार्यार्थायु: समस्ताः कर्यानि नैमित्तिकानि निमित्ताय समस्तायुः कार्यानि। न कालस्तुविध्ये इति उदयमयुनुकमिश्रितसङ्गमिणिः कार्यानि। नानुत्तरस्ते। तेन एव नैमित्तिकानि इक्षुसाधिनां निमित्ताय महिषुचारांनां न शासिकानि कर्यानि नैमित्तिकानि कार्यानि। मध्यमतत्तरः। p. 796 (vol. I). This whole passage of the कुष्ठक्षण (on शासिकानि कार्यानि) occurs on folio 4a and b in the Baroda ms. of it.

\footnote{1225} कुष्ठक्षणविहस्पतिकृत्याः प्रत्येकां अन्न-धिनिष्क-शास्त्रार्थकरुणानि। नैमित्तिकानि शास्त्रार्थकरुणानि। नैमित्तिकानि शास्त्रार्थकरुणानि। नैमित्तिकानि शास्त्रार्थकरुणानि। p. 176.

\footnote{1226} अनातुद्विशेषिष्ठशास्त्रार्थकाः कार्यानि। नैमित्तिकानि कार्यानि। नैमित्तिकानि कार्यानि। नैमित्तिकानि कार्यानि। अ. ए. p 341; the शासिकरण of कार्यानि (folios 208–211 a) prescribes a mahāśānti put in the Bhavisyapurāṇa in the name of Kṛṣṇa to be performed at the coronation of a king or before starting on an invasion, or when a person has a bad dream or the planets are unfavourable, or when there is an earthquake &c. Vide also शासितमुद्दश pp. 106–108 for महाशांति.
Nirnayasindhu (p. 233) about the question of a rite on the first appearance of a woman’s monthly illness a japa of Mahāsānti is prescribed after an elaborate homa and worship and the Mahāsānti is explained as consisting of the recitation of Rg. I. 89.1-10 (beginning with ‘a no bhadrā’), Rg. V. 51. 11-15 (beginning with ‘svasti no mimitām &c.’) and Rg. VII. 35. 1-15 (beginning with ‘śan-na Indrāgni’). The Bhaviṣyottara (143. 2-46) describes a Mahāsānti to be performed at a king’s coronation, on his marching out on an invasion, when one has bad dreams or inauspicious omens (nimittas), when the planets are unfavourable or when there is lightning and the fall of meteors, when a Ketu appears, in a hurricane, earthquake, birth on a Mūla nakṣatra or Gandānta, on birth of twins, when parasols and banners fall on the ground, when a crow, owl or pigeon enters a house, when malefic planets are retrograde (especially in the nakṣatra or rāsi of birth), when Jupiter, Saturn, Mars and the Sun are in the 1st, 4th, 8th or 12th houses (in a person’s horoscope), when there is grahāyuddha; when garments, weapons, horses and cows, or jewels and hair are lost, or when rainbow is seen at night in front, when the beam on a house pillar is smashed, when a she—mule conceives, on eclipses of the Sun and the Moon—on these a Mahāsānti is commended. The procedure is briefly as follows: Five learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇas should officiate in a maṇḍapa ten or twelve cubits on each side, in the midst of which there should be a raised platform four cubits on each side and in the south-east corner of that platform there should be a kuṇḍa (receptacle for fire). Five jars should be placed, four in the four intermediate quarters (south-east &c.) and the fifth in the middle of the platform and numerous things such as twigs and leaves of some plants, jewels, sandalwood, mustard grains, ṭami and dūrvā, kuśas and grains of rice should be collected thereon; Vedic mantras such as ‘āśuḥ śiśāno’ (Rg. X. 103. 1) on northwest, ‘īśā vāsya’ (Vāj. S. 40. 1) on north-east, were to be recited over the jars, worship is to be offered with gandha, flowers, lamps, fruits like cocanut to the jars and fire should be placed in the kuṇḍa with ‘agnim dūtam’ (Rg. I. 12. 1), seat (ūśana) should be offered with the mantra ‘hiranya-garbhabh’ (Rg. X. 131. 1), then pāyasa should be cooked to the accompaniment of Puruṣa-sūkta (Rg. X. 90), eighteen fuel sticks of ṭami and seven palāsa ones should be cast into Agni, seven āhūtis of clarified ghee and seven of rice boiled in milk should be offered to Agni with a mantra ‘Jātavedase’ (Rg. I. 99. 1), four more with the hymn
‘tarat sa mandi’ (Rg. IX. 58), seven with ‘yamāya’ (Rg. X. 14 13) and again seven with ‘idam Viṣṇur’ (Rg. I. 22. 17) and 27 āhūtis to the 27 nakṣatras, then performance of ‘sviṣṭakṛt’ homa, grahahoma with sesame covered with ghee, then prāya- ścittā; thus ends the homa; then the yajamāna sitting on a throne of kāśmarya wood should have sprinkled over him to the accompaniment of drum-beating and conch-blowing water from the five jars with five different mantras, then an offering to all the directions (dīgabali) with the mantra ‘salutation to all bhūtas’. After the bath, brāhmaṇas recite a śanti over him after letting fall a stream of śanti water all round; then purnāha- vācanā and then close of the śanti rite, then gifts of land, gold, beds, seats according to the person’s ability to brāhmaṇas; he should treat to a sumptuous meal the poor and helpless and men learned in the Veda. On doing this he secures long life, quick victory over enemies, even difficult undertakings succeed.

The huge work Adbhutasāgara is mostly concerned with rare natural phenomena such as halo, rainbows, hurricanes, glowing horizon (dīgāḍha), meteors, comets, earthquakes, rain without clouds, red rain, shower of fish, Fata Morgana &c.

A few words must be said about some striking ones out of these. First comes earthquake. The Br. S. (32.1–2) puts forth four theories of his predecessors about the cause of an earthquake viz. it was caused by huge animals dwelling inside the seas (view of Kaśyapa) or according to others (Garga) it was caused by the heavy breaths emitted by the elephants of the quarters when tired by carrying the weight of the earth; others (like Vasuṣṭha) said that earthquake noise is caused by the winds striking against each other (in the sky) and falling on the earth; other ācāryas (like Viđdhagarga) held that an earthquake was caused by adṛṣṭa (i. e. by the sins of the people on the earth127). In verses 3–7 of Br. S. (chap. 32) Varāha narrates the myth that mountains had in the dim past wings and the earth being much shaken by their movements approached Pitāmaha (Brahmā) and Brahmā seeing her sad plight asked Indra to discharge his thunderbolt for clipping the wings of mountains and for removing the anger (or sorrow) of the earth; Indra did so, but he told the earth that Vāyu, Agni, Indra (himself) and

127. The वहाद्वारण sets out a novel cause of earthquake ‘यद्वा विलुभेष्टः
कथो महायुणीलिंचन्’ तद्वा चतुष्टि भूरेष्ठ साहित्योपविकासनम्। 21. 23–24; अ. सा. p. 383 quotes this verse from विलुभेष्टः with slight variations.
Varuna would (each) at different parts of the day and night make the earth shake in order to indicate (to mortals) the fruits of their good and bad deeds. In Br. S. 32. 8–22 Varaha describes the spheres and premonitory signs of Vayu, Agni, Indra and Varuna with the nakṣatras and the countries they affect. The Adhutasāgara (pp. 383–409) quotes most of the verses of Varaha and prescribes sāntis for each of the four deities that are deemed to be connected with earthquakes. The Adhutasāgara refers to earthquakes that happened when angry Arjuna got no sleep after he made a vow that he would kill Jayadratha before the next day’s sunset (Dronaparva 77. 4) and when Duryodhana challenged Bhima for a mace fight (Salyaparva 56. 10 and 58. 49).

It should not be a matter for surprise that ancient and medieval Indians regarded earthquakes as punishments sent by God for the sins of men. The English poet Cowper gives vent to this belief in his poem ‘Timepeace’. 1228 The most distinguished Indian of modern times viz. Mahātmā Gandhi, regarded the earthquake in Bihar that occurred on January 15, 1934, and affected an area of about 30000 square miles and a population of about 15 millions and that killed thousands and made millions homeless, as God’s punishment for the prevalence of the evil system of untouchability in Hindu society. To the natural and usual query why God should punish a small country or a small community with frightful earthquakes and overwhelming waves when other countries and millions of other people are guilty of the same misdeeds, Cowper endeavours to give a reply

1228. What then? Were they the wicked above all,
And we the righteous, whose fast-anchored isle
Moved not, while theirs was rocked like a light skiff,
The sport of every wave. No! none are clear,
And none than we more guilty. But where all
Stand chargeable with guilt, and to the shafts
Of wrath obnoxious, God may choose his mark;
May punish, if he please, the less, to warn
The more malignant.

'Timepiece' lines 150–158.

1229. Vide the eight volume life of Mahātmā Gandhi by D. G. Tendulkar, vol. 3 pp. 304–308 and vol. 4 pp. 41–42. The characteristic sentences are 'A man of prayer regards what are known as physical calamities as divine chastisement alike for individuals and nations'; 'A man like me cannot but believe that this earthquake is a divine chastisement sent by God for our sins' (vol. 3 p. 303); 'I share the belief with the whole world, civilized and uncivilized, that calamities such as the Bihar one come to mankind as chastisement for their sins' (ibid., p. 305).
in the lines quoted above. It appears that, in spite of the beliefs now discredited, Vṛddha Garga and Varāha appear to have also believed that comets had orbits like planets and were visible in the firmament at certain long intervals of time.

The rules to be observed about eclipses have already been stated above (pp. 243–250). Though the real causes of lunar and solar eclipses were known long before the time of Varāhamihira as shown above (p. 242, n 622) this knowledge was not accepted by the masses for centuries and even now many people in India still entertain the old beliefs about eclipses. Varāha criticises ancient writers like Vṛddha Garga and Parāśara who prophesied an eclipse when five planets including Mercury came together or there were such mimittas as halo of the Sun, dim rays (Br. S. V. 16–17). Here the Śanti for it will be briefly described. One view was that an eclipse was auspicious to a person, if the eclipse occurs when the Sun or the Moon is in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th rāśi (zodiacal sign) from the rāśi of the birth of a person, it is neither auspicious nor inauspicious when any one of the two is in 2nd, 5th, 7th or 9th rāśi from that of birth and it is inauspicious when the eclipsed sun or moon is in the 1st, 4th, 8th and 12th rāśi from the rāśi of birth. The view of Garga was that if an eclipse occurs when the sun or moon is in the rāśi of the birth of a person or if any of them is in the 1st, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th or 12th rāśi from that of birth or if any of them occupies the naksatra of the birth of a person or the 9th naksatra from that of birth, it leads to calamities for that person. If an eclipse occurred when the Sun or Moon occupied the naksatra of the day of the coronation of the king, that portends the ruin of the kingdom, the loss of friends and

1230. Vide Bertrand Russell in ‘Impact of science on society’ p. 11 for remarks on eclipses and for the use even Milton makes of popular beliefs about them.

1231. न कथापमिन्द्रु निमित्तीप्रभुर विज्ञापते निमित्तानि। अन्यसिंहिनि कालेभवनयोगोपितापानि॥ प्रभुप्रभुदर्शनात्मक सिद्ध प्रकाशण सभयो मबति। तैं त जलेवया न विचिन्दमिव्विन्द विपञर्चिनि। बुधसंहिरा V. 16–17. Vide उक्तमें अनुमानम् on these from पराशर एव ब्रह्मणम्. एवरुपविपत्ति च वायुंधर्मणि (v. 1. विगर्दवरेषे)।

1232. जन्मसाला: जाप्कुद्रास्मतस्तिष्कारे (v. 1. विगर्दवरेषे)। र्तोरिस्टियको राजयुगं

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निमित्तानि अन्यसिंहिनि कालेभवनयोगोपितापानि॥ प्रभुप्रभुदर्शनात्मक सिद्ध प्रकाशण सभयो मबति। तैं त जलेवया न विचिन्दमिव्विन्द विपञर्चिनि। बुधसंहिरा V. 16–17. Vide उक्तमें अनुमानम् on these from पराशर एव ब्रह्मणम्. एवरुपविपत्ति च वायुंधर्मणि (v. 1. विगर्दवरेषे)। र्तोरिस्टियको राजयुगं

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निमित्तानि अन्यसिंहिनि कालेभवनयोगोपितापानि॥ प्रभुप्रभुदर्शनात्मक सिद्ध प्रकाशण सभयो मबति। तैं त जलेवया न विचिन्दमिव्विन्द विपञर्चिनि। बुधसंहिरा V. 16–17. Vide उक्तमें अनुमानम् on these from पराशर एव ब्रह्मणम्. एवरुपविपत्ति च वायुंधर्मणि (v. 1. विगर्दवरेषे)। र्तोरिस्टियको राजयुगं

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निमित्तानि अन्यसिंहिनि कालेभवनयोगोपितापानि॥ प्रभुप्रभुदर्शनात्मक सिद्ध प्रकाशण सभयो मबति। तैं त जलेवया न विचिन्दमिव्विन्द विपञर्चिनि। बुधसंहिरा V. 16–17. Vide उक्तमें अनुमानम् on these from पराशर एव ब्रह्मणम्. एवरुपविपत्ति च वायुंधर्मणि (v. 1. विगर्दवरेषे)। र्तोरिस्टियको राजयुगं
the death of the king. 1233 Atri said that when the eclipse of the Sun or Moon occurs in the nakṣatra of a person's birth, disease, journeys and death are portended, and great danger for the king (whose nakṣatra is so affected). The averting of evil would follow if the man makes gifts and is engaged (that day) in worship of gods and jayā. 1234 Several modes of śānti are prescribed, particularly for him whose rāsi or nakṣatra of birth or one of three nakṣatras (viz. that of birth, the one preceding and the one following the nakṣatra of birth) is occupied by the eclipsed Sun or Moon. One way is to make the figure of a serpent (that represents the demon Rāhu) with gold or flour and to donate it to a brāhmaṇa. Another was to make a serpent out of gold weighing a pada (i.e. 320 guṇajas) or one half, one fourth or one eighth pada and to fix a jewel on its hood and place the serpent figure in a vessel of copper, bronze or cast iron full of ghee and donate it with a dákṣiṇā and also donate a silver disc of the moon and a golden serpent when it is a lunar eclipse and a golden disc of the Sun and a golden serpent when it is a solar eclipse. Further gifts of a horse, chariot, cows, land, sesame, ghee and gold also are recommended. The mantra accompanying the gifts addressed to Rāhu is quoted below. 1235 The Nirnayasindhu also sets out a far more elaborate śānti from the Matsyapurāṇa, which is passed over for reasons of space.

The fall of meteors (ulkū) required a śānti. There were several beliefs about them. Garga held that they were missiles discharged by the Lokapālas 1236 who send down flaming meteore as missiles for indicating (coming) auspicious or calamitous events. Another view was that they were really souls that fell

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1233. यथा राज्यशय नक्षत्रे स्वभावं अपरप्रथेत्। राज्यशय ग्रहः सुमुखारं मरणं च चाय निरिषितं। भार्त्य ग. ब. ए. शा. (q. in मित्र. सित. p. 68).
1234. आह चाति। यथा राज्यशयात्र वस्त्रये भावितायामुः। च्यांचिन्ताम पुरुषः च राज्याधिकरणम्। नमस्त्वर्य व दातान्यं देवायश्च नलस्यतः। कुर्यानुसन्धित्वे उक्तस्तथ ज्ञाताभिविषयति। q. by काव्यविशेष p. 543.
1235. दूषनमन्त्रः इसः। सर्वमध्ये साधनाम सीमारुपविधानः। हेमाराजसुलुमन सम ज्ञानिवो इसः। विश्वकुलात्मनमस्तत्त्वसिद्धिवाचस्यायतः। दूषनात्मकनामस्य द्रस्तः मां बैवुभाजयाचारः। मित्र. सित. p. 68, वर्त्तमानसित. 35. Vide ब्रह्मसूत्राणि chap. 106 and Matsya 251 for the story of Rāhu at the time of the churning of the ocean and I. A. vol. 16 p. 288 (for the same) and I. A. vol. 21 p. 123 about the customs connected with eclipses.
1236. Lokapālas are guardians of the world or of the four cardinal directions and four intermediate ones from the east onwards in order viz. Indra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera, Soma. Some substitute Nirṛti for Sūrya. Vide Manu V. 96.
down to the earth (for fresh births) after enjoying in heaven the favourable results of their actions.\textsuperscript{1237} Meteors are often referred to in the epics as falling on serious occasions e.g. the Śalya-parva mentions \textsuperscript{1238} the fall of a flaming meteor accompanied by a great noise and whirlwind when Duryodhana fell in the macefight with Bhima. In Dronaparva a flaming meteor is referred to as indicative of the coming death of the great ācārya and warrior Drona. The Adbhutasāgara (pp. 342-344) quotes a long passage (of $23\frac{1}{2}$ verses) from Ātharvanādībhuta about the fall of meteors \textsuperscript{1239} by day. It is said therein that such a fall of meteors by day portends the destruction of the country and its king and therefore a Mahāsānti called Aṃrata should be performed. There is an Ātharvāṇa-pariśiṣṭa LVIII b on uṃkū, but the Adbhutasāgara verses do not appear to have been extracted from that.

Certain natural phenomena, though they may be called upātas if they occur at certain times, are not to be regarded as such at certain other times. In Br. S. 45. 82 Varāha says that certain occurrences natural to certain seasons do not lead to any unfavourable consequences; one should know them from the verses composed by Rṣiputra that are concise. Then he proceeds: in Madhu and Madhava (Caitra and Vaiśākha) the following occurrences lead to good viz. lightning, meteors, earthquake, glowing twilight, noisy whirl-winds, halo (of Sun and Moon), dust in the sky, vapour (in forest), red sunrise and sunset; possibility of getting from trees food, rasas (sweet &c.), oily substances, numerous flowers and fruits; and amorous activities among cows and birds. The following are beneficial (auspicious) in summer (Jyeṣṭha and Āśādha) viz. sky rendered dusky by the fall of stars and meteors, or in which the appearance of the Sun and the Moon is dark-brown, which is full of fiery glow without a flaming fire, loud noises, vapour, dust and

\textsuperscript{1237} Upaniṣad-परमात्मा गर्गः। अभाविनि यिन्द्रजयेन सुमयदुधमनवेदकः। लोकपाल महायमानी लोकाणां ज्ञातिमानि ह। उपनि ५० ब्रह्मसं. ३३, १ and अ. सा. p. 321: विविधतं शस्त्रभूमिनां पतलं स्पर्शः वाणि लान्युलकः। ब्रह्मसं. ३३, १.

\textsuperscript{1238} तत्तथात्माजिम वै ये पर्ये निमोत्त्तादु। महायमानी पुरीस्वता सत्यपूर्वता भवेतुस्तै। पपाल चोलाका महति पलिते प्रभुविचारास्तै। श्रावण ५८, ५०-५१; अतिश्रीपथमाना च स्वस्तिपाद सकम्यना। उपपाल वर्षीयै संवार गुंडकोिवृश्व सर्वत्र:। श्रावण ७.३८-३९; सत्य १६३. ४३ has: अपराजसकाळुका निश्चयुत महायमान:। (among the numerous portents in the light of श्रावणकालास्वकालम् with हृदिको). \textsuperscript{1239}

\textsuperscript{1239} अर्थायतुः। हिना पलित चोलाका सा हर्षायें समस्यातिम्। महायमानिः च तत्र अयोध्या विविधेशीयम्। अ. सा. p. 342.

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winds, in which evenings are like red lotus and which look like a stormy sea, and when rivers are dried up. In the rains (Śrāvana and Bhādrapada) the following portend no danger viz. rainbow, halo (of Sun and Moon), lightning, dried trees giving out fresh sprouts, the earth quaking or rolling or showing other than its usual appearance, noises in the earth or gaps therein, or when lakes increase in expanse of water or rivers rise up (in floods), or when wells are full or when houses on hills roll down. In Śārad (Āsvina and Kartika) the following are not of evil import viz. the sight of divine damsels, ghosts, gandharvas, air conveyances and other adbhutas; the planets, nakṣatras and other stars becoming visible by day in the sky; noises of song and music in forests and on mountain peaks; abundance of crops and reduction of waters. In Hemanta (Mārgaśīra and Pausa) the following are auspicious viz. the presence of cool winds and frost, loud cries of birds and beasts, the sight of rakṣas (evil spirits), Yakṣas and other (usually invisible) beings, non-human voices, directions darkened by vapour together with the sky, forests and mountains, the appearance of the rise and setting of the Sun at a higher point than usual. The following appearances are auspicious in Śīśra (Māgha and Phālguna) viz. the fall of snow, portentous winds, sight of terrible beings and adbhutas, sky resembling dark collyrium and rendered reddish-yellow by the fall of meteors and stars, the birth of various strange issue from women, cows, sheep, mares, beasts, and birds, strange appearances of leaves, sprouts and creepers. These when seen in the proper seasons are auspicious in those respective seasons, but when seen at other than the proper seasons they are very terrible portents. Two verses

1240. वे व न द्रोणा अनान्यस्मात: यथात्तुस्मात: सत्यमतत्तव:। वातावरणाय रहस्यविदेशाय वैभव:। यथा विधात: वेदवाचाय आयु:। परिवर्त्तित्व: यथाविशेषाय वैभव:।

The occurrence of these twelve verses (45. 83-94) both in Br. S. and Viṣṇudharmottara raises the important question of the chronological relation of the two works. Varāhamihira expressly tells us that he took the twelve verses (45. 83-94) from Rāṣṭrapāla and shortened them. Therefore, he did not borrow from the Viṣṇudharmottara. Rāṣṭrapāla has been often quoted by Varāha in his works (vide above p. 593 and my paper in JBRAS for 1948-49, vol 24-25, p. 15). The अ. सार. pp. 743-744 quotes the verses fromवाहिनी, नास्त्रयुग, विविधमान्तरवन्त्तेषा वाहासहस्तित:। The twelve verses occur in मल्ल. 229, 14-23, विविधमान्तर 11, 134. 15-26. It must be stated that अ. सार.

(Continued on next page)
about Madhu-Madhava and the last one (Br. S. 45. 84-85 and 95) are quoted below. The Br. S. further provides that whatever Gāthās (prakrit verses or simply verses) are recited by persons of distracted intellect, the utterances of children and what women speak out does not turn out to be wrong and that a person that understands utpātas, even though he may be devoid of mathematics (about planets), becomes famous and a favourite of the king, and by knowing the secret (or esoteric) words of the sage (Ṛsiṣiputra) which are stated (by me), a person sees the past, the present and the future.

Another very curious portent mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Kaṇḍikāṣṭhāna (kaṇḍīka 105), Matsya (243), Viṣṇudharmottara, Brhadāraṇyaka and the Abhidhānāgara (pp. 425-436), Hemādri on Vṛata vol. II. (pp. 1078-79) and Madanaratas (on śānti, folio 54b) is the trembling, dancing, laughing and weeping of the images of gods. The Bhismaparva refers to the images in the temples of the Kaurava king doing these acts. In the encounter of Hiranyakasipu with the Man-lion form of

(Continued from last page)

agrees most closely with बुद्धसं.. while in the महार्य the readings and the order of verses differ a good deal from the अ. सा. In my 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1951) pp. 64-70 I arrived for the Viṣṇudharmottara at a date between 500-600 A. D. on other evidence. In my opinion it is probable that the Viṣṇudharmottara borrows the verses from the Brhadāraṇyaka. If that he accepted, the Viṣṇudharmottara (at least the 2nd section of it.) must be later than 600 A. D. It is possible to argue that the Purāṇa might have taken them from Rṣiputra. But the Purāṇa does not say so and in keeping with the assumed character of the Purāṇas as composed by the semi-divine Vyāsa at the beginning of Kali-yuga, the Purāṇas generally take care not to admit any borrowing from a merely human author. It should be noted that three of the verses quoted only from Yogāyātra of Varāha by अ. सा. p. 494 occur in विश्वग्रामकल ि. 176. 9-11.

1241. उत्साधलो च या गाथा: सिन्हलो यशो भाषितयो. यक्षो यशो माधवस्ते तस्य नासित ध्रुविकम्। "उपात्यमच गाथित्विरजितोपि बुद्धसं विश्वायतो भाषितत नरेष्वस्वतुमभवं एतत्त्रुगिनिचारे शतास्यमा राजाला भाषित नरहस्रात्॥ बुद्धसं.. 45. 96 and 98.

1242. अथ यक्षशेषवतमि बुद्धसा व्योतित एतत्त्रुगिनिर्मति बुद्धवस्तु वानरयति वा स्पर्शं कुडळिनि व आधुरा मत्तुरा ना नी विद्रहं द्वीपवधुकु अभयावर्जित । सा वना प्रभावितः। कौशिककुः 105. प आधुरा मधुपरास is a राजस्व in कौशिककुः 104.2; ना नी विद्रहं is अध्ययः. I. 19. 1 and नसे द्वीपवधुकु is अध्ययः. VI. 13. 1. This prescribes a संति viz. the offering of अहुलिस (of ghee) with these mantras called अभयाग.

1243. बेश्यताळनननत्वाष्ट्रकौपिन्यमुः देवता:। कम्यते च हस्तने च तत्त्वं च सदर्मिनि च भीष्म 112. 11.

H. D. 97
Viṣṇu the Matsyapurāṇa states the images of all gods shut and open their eyes, laugh, weep, scream, emit smoke, blaze, and these signs indicate that great danger impends. In the Ātharvāṇa-paraśīṣṭa LXXII this matter is treated (in prose). It says there are portents called divya which occur in temples; they (images) laugh, sing, weep, shriek, perspire, cause smoke to issue out of them, they blaze, they tremble, open their eyes and shut them, blood oozes from them, they move to and fro. These strange phenomena are said to forebode drought, danger from weapons, famine, epidemic in the country and destruction of the king and his ministers (or relatives). The sānti prescribed in the same Ātharvāṇa-paraśīṣṭa (4.7) is as follows: one should boil pāyasa in the milk of 108 kapilā cows; if such cows are not available one should cook pāyasa with the milk of one hundred milch cows; he should put on the fire fuel sticks with ends towards the east, should spread round the fire darbha grass and should offer oblations (of rice) in fire to the accompaniment of the mantras addressed to Rudra and called Raudra-gana and also offer clarified butter (in fire). He should present white flowers, he should treat brāhmaṇas with boiled rice and should donate the same cows (the milk of which was used for cooking pāyasa) or donate the kingdom for a limited period for the satisfaction of a brāhmaṇa; he should give to the officiating priest a thousand cows and donate a good village.

Now sāntis on the birth of human beings should be referred to. There are several sāntis concerning the birth of a human being, such as a child’s birth on Mula, Āśleṣa, Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatras, on ganḍānta, on the 14th tithi of the dark fortnight or on

1244. उपमीललितिनिमीललितिहसनलितिचह्दनलितिच। विक्रातलितिचगमिरासभृतपलितिहनलिति

1245. दिश्यानीलयाचकरोद्वह्यतुं। अथ हसनलितिगायसिध्दहसनलितिक्रोडसिद्धिविनिज्ञलितिविनिज्ञलितिलोधितिलोधितिपरिवर्त्तितिन। आध्यात्मिक-

1246. The sāṁpradāya (the string of mantras addressed to Rudra in a sānti) specified in Ātharvāṇa-paraśīṣṭa XXXII. 17 is as follows: sāṁpradāya, yoddhāsī, vāsasī, sākṣi, vajrasākṣi, ājñā, āpā, vajra, āpā, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñā, vajra, āpā, vajra, ājñाविधाति 1. Vide note 1 on p. 146 in Bloomfield’s edition of the kṣitikāryūṇa 50.13 for identification of these pratikās from the Ātharvaveda.
amāvāsyā, on Vyātipāta-yoga or on Vaidhṛti or in an eclipse, or on the birth of twins, or when a girl is born to a person after three successive births of sons or a son is born after three successive births of girls. Some of these sāntis are performed even now. Therefore two of them which are still in vogue, though gradually becoming infrequent, are briefly described here. The consequences of birth on Mūla, Jyeṣṭhā and Āśleṣā are more or less similar. Here the sānti for birth on Āśleṣā is briefly set out.

The Āśleṣā naksatra has a mean measure of 60 ghaṭīs. It is to be divided into ten parts in order\textsuperscript{1246a} viz. 5, 7, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 6, 9 and 5; birth of a son in these parts indicates in order the loss of kingdom, death of father, death of mother, addiction to lovemaking, he has devotion to father, has strength, loses property, has proneness to charity, pleasures, wealth. If the naksatra be divided into four parts, birth in the first part is auspicious but in the other three parts indicates loss of wealth, death of father, death of mother. If the child is a girl born on the last three quarters of Āśleṣā indicates the death of the future mother-in-law of the girl; if the child be a boy and is born in the last three quarters of Āśleṣā, that indicates death of his future mother-in-law. One should perform a sānti for birth on any quarter of Āśleṣā, either on the 12th day from birth, or if that be not possible, on the next Āśleṣā or on any auspicious day. On that day he (the father or other perform er) should make a sāṅkalpa\textsuperscript{1247} as noted below

\textsuperscript{1246a} अथाध्यायांतः सूर्योपनेत्रमासकांस्तु क च बाहु हृद्यायांपदानिषद्विहरभागः। वनाशीत्रायद्विस्थानतःसूर्यायांपदानिषद्विहरभागः। निरस्तः कस्तमुख्यान्तः। सर्व विशेषाय लाभाणा नामः। चासुपृथ्विया वर्षायांगी भोगी परि कस्तः। त्वोऽसि: पृथ्विया वर्षायांगी। विशेषाय लाभाणा नामः। चासुपृथ्विया वर्षायांगी।

\textsuperscript{1247} अर्थ स्त्रियोध्यायांप्रजानन्याचिन्तसर्वाविकितश्चर्षाश्च चासर्वाविकितश्चर्षाश्च।

(Continued on next page)
after performing the Gomukhaprasava-sānti. He should worship Rudra and Varuṇa on two jars, should invoke the serpents, the lords of Āślesā, on an image placed on a jar established on the figure of a lotus with twenty-four petals and invoke Brhaspati, the lord of Puṣya nakṣatra, to the south of the jar (for serpents) and the pitrās (the lords of Magha) to the north of Āśleṣa jar and invoke on the twenty-four petals, beginning from the petal which is due east and proceeding to the right therefrom, twenty-four deities beginning with Bhaga, the lord of Purvā Phalguni up to Aditi, lord of Punarvasu; then he should invoke the lokapālas (eight); then worship all the deities invoked, establish fire (for homa) and the planets and perform anvādhāna (putting fuel on the sacred Agni). After the anvādhāna of the Sun and other planets he should offer to the principal deities, viz. the serpents, 108 or 28 of each of the materials viz. pāyasā mixed with ghee, fuel sticks, clarified butter and boiled rice, to Brhaspati and pitrās 28 or 8 offerings of the same materials and to the 24 deities (of nakṣatras) viz. Bhaga and the rest eight āhūtis of pāyasā to each with the verse ‘rakṣōhanam’ (Rg. X. 87. 1). The other deities are to be worshipped as in sānti for birth on Mūla nakṣatra and the offerings and mantras are to be the same as in that sānti. A sānti for the birth of a child on the 14th tithi of the dark half is still in vogue and the author knows about it personally; it is described at length in the Madanaratna (folio 24 from Gārgya) and in Śanti-kamalākara. The sānti on the birth of a child on Mūla nakṣatra is described in Madanaratna from Garga (folio 27b to 28b,) one peculiarity of which is that the father had to collect one hundred roots of trees and plants (mūla means ‘root’). Vide also Śanti-kamalākara (folio 77a).

(Continued from last page)

hand it over to the mother who should pass it on to the father who should then return it to the mother. The child should be placed on a piece of cloth and the father should look at the face of the infant. Then the priest should sprinkle the infant with drops from the mixture of cow’s urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee with the mantras beginning with ‘Āpo hi śṭhā’ (Rg. X. 9. 1). The father then smells thrice parts of the child’s head with the mantra ‘thou art born from each limbs of the father &c.’ (अः पीतकुलमेवविशंकितं हृदयाधिजाप्से। आः पै चकुलनामसि स जीव श्रुत्ता कल्याणं) and places it with the mother. This mantra is quoted in Nirukta III, 4 and in the Br. Up. VI. 4. 8. It would be noticed that there is a symbolic simulation of the child (that was born on an unlucky nakṣatra &c.) as having been born from the mouth of a cow (a very sacred animal from Vedic times). Vide भगवदगीता pp. 171-172 for details of गौसुर्यस्वप्नसानिति. The mantra ‘Viṣṇur yo niṃ kalpayatu’ is employed in the Garbhādhāna rite,
The birth of a girl after three successive births of boys or of a boy after three successive births of girls was supposed to indicate unfavourable consequences to the parents and the family and death of the eldest, loss of wealth and great sorrow. Therefore a sānti was recommended on the 11th or 12th day from the birth of a girl or boy (as the case may be) or on an auspicious day. He (the father) should choose ācāryas (chief officiating priest) and other priests, then perform a sacrifice to planets and offer worship to the golden images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra on a jar placed on a heap of grains. On a fifth jar he should worship Rudra and one brāhmaṇa should recite four hymns to Rudra eleven times and all sāntisūktas when homa is being performed. The ācārya should cast into the fire fuel-sticks, ghee, sesame and boiled rice 1003, 108 or 300 times to four deities viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa and Indra respectively with the mantras ‘Brahma jajñānam’ (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2, Vāj. S. 13. 3), ‘idam Viṣṇur’ (Rg. I. 22. 17), ‘Tryamabakam yajāmahe’ (Rg. VII. 59. 12), ‘Yata Indra bhayāmahe’ (Rg. VIII. 61. 13). Then he should perform ‘Sviṣṭākrt’ homa, then offer bali and pūrṇāhuti. The family members should be sprinkled with the sacred water. The performer should honour the ācārya and donate some gold and a cow to him and give dakṣīṇā to the other priests, should look into a vessel full of ghee and should make the brāhmaṇas recite sānti verses. The images with the additions or decorations thereof should be donated to the guru, brāhmaṇas, poor and helpless people should be fed according to his ability. By doing this sānti all misfortunes are destroyed. (Nirṇayasindhu p. 248 and Sāntiratnākara, folio 109).

The Kauśikasūtra (kanḍikās 110 and 111), Brhatāsāṁhita1249 (chap. 45. 51–54) and the Adbhutasāgara pp. 559–569 deal at length with the portents of births to women, cows, mares, she asses &c. A few passages only are set out here. Varāhamihira 1249 says ‘when women give birth to monstrosities, or to two, three, four or more children at the same time or they are delivered much before or after the proper time, then results

1248. For ‘Sviṣṭākrt,’ vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 208, 1257 (2nd note). Vide Nirṇayasindhu p. 248 and Dharmasindhu p. 186 for this sānti called ‘Trikaprasavasānti’ i.e. sānti on the successive births of a group of three (sons only or daughters only). The śāntisūkta (p. 20) prescribes that the ‘pūrṇāhuti’ is to be cast into fire with the mantra ‘Mūrdhānam divo’ Rg. VI. 7. 1, Vāj. S. VII. 24, Tai. S. I. 4. 13.

1249. प्रसवविकारे ब्रजेण त्रिविष्ठकप्रवृत्तिसमस्यात्ति वा। हिन्दुलिङ्गकाले च वेदाचल- संस्कृतो भाषिति॥ ब्रह्मसं. 45. 52.
destruction of the country or family’. The Matsyapurāṇa 235. 1-3 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 140. 1-3 have identical verses similar to the above. The Bhīmaparāva 1250 (chap. 3. 2-7) refers to portentous births such as the following; ‘pregnant women and women who had never before given birth to sons produce monstrosities; so also even wives of men who are Vedic scholars are giving birth to eagles and peacocks, mares give birth to calves, dogs to jackals; some women have given birth to four or five girls (at the same time) &c.’. The Br. S. proceeds 1251 ‘If mares, camels, she-buffaloes and cow-elephants give birth to twins, that portends death to them. The effect of such births will come to pass about six months later; Garga has declared two ślōkas as to the śānti in such cases. The women that give birth (to twins or monstrosities) should be removed to another place (or country) by one that desires his own happiness, he should gratify brāhmaṇas by gifts of things desired by them and should cause a śānti (propitiatory rite) to be performed; as to quadrupeds, they should be removed from their flocks or herds and be abandoned in other countries; otherwise there would be ruin of the town, the owner and the flock or herd.’

Various modes were employed to divine the future, viz. (1) the position of planets and stars, (2) individual horoscopes, (3) flight and cries of birds like khaṇḍa and crow, (4) natural phenomena (eclipses, meteors &c.), (5) dreams, (6) voices suddenly heard, (7) the physical and mental conditions of men, animals &c. The first four have already been briefly dealt with. Now dreams will be taken up for discussion.

It has already been seen (p. 728, notes 1157 and 1158) how in the Vedic literature dreams had been associated with good luck or ill-luck. The two epics, the Svapnādhyāya (of Ātharvāṇa-pariśiṣṭa LXVIII pp. 438-449), the Brhad-yoga-yātrā of Vārāha (chap. 16. 1-31), Purāṇas such as Vāyu (chap. 19. 13-18), Matsya (chap.242), Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 176), Bhavīṣya I. 194, Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa (Ganapā-khaṇḍa 34. 10-40), describe good or bad dreams; Agni (229, many verses of which are the same

1250. साधनंसपिन्तेन जनरति स्वप्नम्।। ‘सत्सागरायं द्रवयं द्रवयं द्रवयंं ||

1251. वेदवेदाः प्रामाणिकस्वप्नः पदं महोऽधिकस्वप्नः ||

1250. साधनंसपिन्तेन जनरति स्वप्नम्।। ‘सत्सागरायं द्रवयं द्रवयं द्रवयंं ||

1251. वेदवेदाः प्रामाणिकस्वप्नः पदं महोऽधिकस्वप्नः ||
as those of Matsya chap. 242), Bhujabala of Bhoja (pp. 298–304 verses 1347–1378), the Adbhutasāgara pp. 493–515 deal at length with the matters relating to dreams and sāntis therefor. Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on Vedāntasūtra remarks that those who have studied the Svapnādhyāya declare that to see oneself riding on an elephant or the like is auspicious and to see oneself sitting in a conveyance drawn by asses is inauspicious (or unlucky). It appears that rarely an ancient writer like Āngiras said ‘the movements of planets, dreams, nimbittas (like throbbing), utpātas (portents) produce some consequences by chance; wise men are not afraid of them’. Numerous dreams are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa on several occasions. Some examples may be given. In the Sundarakāṇḍa (chap. 27, 23 ff) Trijātī (a rākṣasī) details several dreams that she saw and that indicated the destruction of rākṣasas and that were favourable to Rāma. Among the evil omens that she saw in her dream about Rāvana were; he had his head shaved, he drank oil with which he was drenched, he was dressed in red garments, was intoxicated, wore wreaths of Karavira flowers, he fell on the earth from his puspaka balloon, he was carried in a chariot drawn by asses, he was wearing red flowers and was anointed with red unguents &c. (verses 19–27). Similar dreams occur as seen by Trijātī in the story of Rāma contained in the Vanaparva chap. 280. verses 64–66. In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (chap. 69. 8 ff.) Bharata who was with his maternal uncle saw in a dream his father (Daśaratha) dirty and with dishevelled hair, falling from a mountain peak in a turbid lake full of cowdung, drinking that dirty water and oil; he also saw the ocean dried up and the moon fallen on the earth, he saw his father seated on a dark seat of iron and wearing black garments and beaten by women dark and tawny in colour, he saw him going to the south in a chariot drawn by asses &c. Bharata says that these dreams indicated the death of the king (Daśaratha) or of Rāma or Laksmana. In the Mauśalaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 3. 1–4) the Yādavas saw in dreams a black woman with whitish teeth running to Dvārakā with a laugh and kidnapping their women and terrible vultures were seen to be devouring the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas in their own houses in which sacred fires had been established &c.
It is impossible to point out the unlucky and lucky dreams as their number mentioned in Adbhutasāgara (pp. 502–513), quoting the Purāṇas, Parāśāra, the works of Varāha and others is extremely large. One passage from the Matsyapurāṇa (242 verses 2–14, quoted in Adbhutasāgara pp. 502–503) is cited here by way of illustration; 'the springing of grass and plants from one's body (except from the navel); bronze vessels dashed against one's head and pulverized; shaving of the head; nakedness; wearing dirty garments; bath with oil; being smeared with mud; fall from a high spot (hill &c.); sitting in a swing, collecting mud and iron; killing horses; ascending trees that have flowers and over circles and riding boars, bears, asses and camels; eating of (the flesh of) birds and fishes and oil and rice mixed with mudya or māsa; dancing, laughing, singing and playing; playing on musical instruments other than stringed ones; going for a dip in a river; bath with water mixed with cowdung or mud or with water fallen on bare earth; entering the womb of one's mother; ascending a funeral pyre; the fall of Indra's banner; the fall of the Sun and the Moon; seeing portents of the three kinds (heavenly, those in atmospheric regions and earthly); anger of gods, brāhmaṇas, kings and one's gurus; embracing maidens; sodomy; loss of one's limbs; vomiting and purging; going to the southern direction; being overwhelmed by a disease; fall of fruits and of flowers; fall of houses; sweeping of houses with a broom; playing with goblins, birds or animals that subsist on putrid flesh, monkeys, bears and men; humiliation by strangers (or enemies); arising of calamity brought on by another person (or enemy); wearing ochre-coloured garments; playing with women; plunging into oil or drinks; wearing red flowers and applying red unguents; these and others are inauspicious dreams.

In the Brhadāyogāyātrā Varāha prescribes that the king wearing silken garments, pearls and jewels and accompanied by

1254. वजयाध्योतो दुर्वसुरैः बैराकर्वैः मन्त्रान् प्रार्थितान्। । तिथिकुशिनिपर्वं पुरा योगायान्।।
    स्वयं परिवेशे योगायानं। नमः । दयोभो विकेर्यय व्रजाय वदाय च।
    तास्मात तिथिकुशिन्य स्वाधिपतिये नमः। भयवावन देवश्रेयस्वरूपायान।
    ईश्वरिणी समाधुत । लोक सुसत्याम शाहस्वत्वम्।।

8. यवोधयानम् q. by अ. सा. p. 49: the two verses नमः दयोभो विकेर्यय व्रजाय वदाय च।
176. 9–10 and also the reference to 'yajjahgrato' (occurs in verse 11). That first mantra is वजयाध्योतो दुर्वसुरैः बैराकर्वैः मन्त्रान् यथा विकेर्यय व्रजाय वदाय च।
    तास्मात तिथिकुशिन्य स्वाधिपतिये नमः। तिथिकुशिन्य धीरवस्तूः। (भास. सा. 34. 1). This hymn is called द्विवात्सकवलय (vide मन्त्र
    XI. 250).
The manner of examining king's dream

astrologers and purohita should enter the temple of his favourite deity, should place the images of the dikpālas therein, worship them with mantras, place four jars full of water in the four directions, should thrice repeat the mantras beginning with 'Yajjāgrato dūram' (Vāj. S. 34.1), should eat only once that day, sleep on his right side and pray to Rudra (as noted in n.1254) and examine the dream, auspicious or inauspicious, seen towards the close of night.

The Matsya (242, 21–35) sets out1255 lucky dreams as follows: ascending (or riding on) mountains, palaces, elephants, horses and bulls; going among trees having white flowers; the shooting of trees and grass from the navel and seeing (the sleeper) endowed with many hands or heads; wearing garlands of very white flowers and very white garments; eclipse of the Sun, Moon and nakṣatras; sprinkling water (on one's body) all over; embracing or raising the banner of Indra; seizure of the earth and seas; slaughter of enemies; victory in disputes, in gambling and in battle; eating of wet (fresh) meat, of fish and of pāyasa (rice boiled in milk and sugar); seeing blood or being bathed with it; drinking liquor, blood, intoxicants and milk; being surrounded on the earth with intestines; sight of bright sky; sucking the udders (the milk) of cows and she-buffaloes and of lionesses, cow-elephants and mares; receiving favours from (images of) gods, gurus and brāhmaṇas; bath with water flowing from the horns of cows or falling from the Moon (this prognosticates the acquisition of a kingdom); being crowned as a king; the cutting of one's head; one's death; being burnt by fire; one's house and the like being burnt down by fire; securing the insignia of royalty; playing on the lute; swimming beyond waters; crossing difficult places; the delivery in one's own house of cows, mares and cow-elephants; being mounted on horses; weeping; obtaining of handsome women or embracing them; being bound with fetters; being smeared with excreta; seeing living kings and friends; seeing images of gods and pure (or lucid) waters. On seeing such auspicious dreams a man easily secures permanent wealth and he who is suffering from a disease becomes free from it.

In the Jain Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu (S. B. E. vol. XXII, p. 129) fourteen very auspicious dreams seen by the brāhmaṇi Devānandā are enumerated, viz. an elephant, a bull, a lion,

1255. This long passage from Matsya about auspicious dreams is quoted as from Viṣṇupurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara by SR. pp. 499–500.
anointing of the goddess Śrī, a garland, the Moon, the Sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, the ocean, celestial abode, a heap of jewels, a flame and on pp. 231–238 elaborate details of these dreams are given.

Matsya (chap. 243. 2–12) sets out the sights that are unlucky when they come before a king who is going on an invasion (such as improper drugs, corn with dark exterior, cotton, grass, dry cow dung and many others) and prescribes that on seeing these for the first time he should worship Keśava with a laud and that if he sees it a second time he should enter his palace. Yogayātrā (chap. 13. 4 ff) provides what the king starting on an expedition should hear viz. such recitations as that of the Veda, Vedāṅgas, Dharmasāstras, Arthaśāstra, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Purāṇa passages. Matsya (chap. 243. 15–25) prescribes the sights that are auspicious (such as white flowers, jars full of water, aquatic birds, meat and fish, flaming fire, courtzans, Dūrva grass, fresh cow dung, gold, silver, copper and all jewels besides several others and winds up with a fine sentiment, viz. the ease (or satisfaction) of one’s mind is the highest sign of success; on one side are all prognostications and on the other is the mind’s ease. The Bṛhad-yogayātrā of Varaha has a similar verse. Vide H. of Dh. vol, II pp. 511, 876 and notes 1192 and 2048 therein for two sets of auspicious sights. The Jyotistattva (pp. 729–730) quotes several verses on the objects that are auspicious or inauspicious when seen by a person starting on a journey or expedition and remarks that the same objects when seen in a dream are of the same (auspicious or inauspicious) quality. The Vasantarāja-śākuna (V. 2–6) sets out fifty objects that are auspicious when starting on a journey or entering a home such as curds, sandal wood, ghee, dūrva, a jar full of water &c. and (V. 10–11) specifies the thirty objects that are inauspicious.

The Matsya provides: “dreams seen in the first watch of the night bear fruit in a year, those seen in the 2nd watch after

1256. नानात्यत्ते धर्मशास्त्रे प्रस्ते जयत्सप्नम्। एकते: सर्वत्र वाणिज्य सनसारसिद्धिकालः। नानात्यत्ते धर्मशास्त्रे प्रस्ते जयत्सप्नम्। एकते: सर्वत्र वाणिज्य सनसारसिद्धिकालः।

1257. एवं सभामानं धर्म्यदृष्टिः पूजये मस्त्रायेन तथा: कलक्ष्मानं विषयां साधारणां च पूजनम्। सत्त्वम् वाचिनेवस्य तथा विसपृये दुःसन्यास्य। नागर्मश्यास्त्रवर्णं ज्ञेये दु:स्वयमपाणस्य। (Continued on next page)
six months, those seen in the third watch after three months and those seen in the last watch in a month. If on the same night one sees both auspicious and inauspicious dreams, one (the astrologer) should declare that the last dream (alone) will yield consequences. Therefore, when a person sees an auspicious dream he should not go to sleep thereafter. Declaring a bad dream to another is commended as also sleeping after seeing it; bath with water mixed with the viscous sediment of oily substances, homa of sesame, honouring brāhmaṇas, hymn of praise to Vāsudeva and worship of him and listening to the story of the liberation of Gajendra—these remove the evil effects of bad dreams.” In connection with the vrata called ‘Siddhārthakādi-saptamī’ performed for gaining the favour of the Sun the Bhaviṣya (Brāhma-parva, 194. 1–25) sets out the dreams which are auspicious or favourable to the person performing the vrata. Those verses are similar to those in the Matsya and are quoted by Kṛtyakalpataru (on vrata pp. 176–179). One verse says ‘on seeing a favourable dream one should not sleep again, but declare in the morning the dream as seen to Bhojakas and brāhmaṇas (or to Bhojaka brāhmaṇas).’ The Brhadyo-yātṛa contains similar verses as quoted by Adbhutasāgara p. 501.

The Jyotistattṛva quotes a verse ‘I shall declare what matters seen in dreams tend to bring knowledge (of impending consequences) to men who do not understand the true nature

(Continued from last page)
(significance) of objects seen in dreams that arise from their meritorious or sinful actions (in previous lives) and remarks that from this verse it follows that dreams are purely indicative and do not produce consequences (by themselves). The higher thought in India held that dreams were only indicative or suggestive of future auspicious or inauspicious events, as affirmed by the Vedāntasūtra (III. 2.4) and by Śaṅkarācārya's commentary thereon. On the other hand Bhujabala provides to sleep again (after a dream), not to declare it to another, bath in the Ganges, japa (of holy texts), śānti, svāstiyāyana (asking brāhmaṇas to say 'it would be auspicious'), to resort in the morning to cows and an Āśvattha tree, honouring brāhmaṇas with food mixed with sesame, with gold and flowers according to one's means, merit-giving recital of the Mahābhārata—these tend to destroy the effects of bad dreams.' Bhujabala further says that all white objects except cotton, ashes, bones, buttermilk are auspicious (in dreams) and all dark objects except cows, images of gods, elephants, horses and brāhmaṇas are inauspicious.

The Ātharva-paraśiṣṭa LXVIII (pp. 438–449) states that persons have different dreams according as their constitutions (prakṛti) are choleric or windy or phlegmatic (pitta, vāta and kapha) and long lists of dreams and their interpretations are given and it prescribes the same remedies against bad dreams as Varāha does.

1259. भूष: परम पत्रस्य न चारस (तद्वर द्व) कथने गहाराभिस्वीक जय: शासन: स्वर्यांने स्वयंगृहाणि राजाताम्बलयोऽः। विमृत्य विलाजरोहेनकुसे: पुस्त: प्रत्याच्छिन्न:। कुप्पे भारतकैति नाम कालिङ्गम:।। सर्वाणि तु कुप्पे सुझोगानाम नारायणसर्वाणि। सर्वाणि तु कुप्पे सुझोगानाम नारायणसर्वाणि।। भूष: परम पत्रस्य न चारस (तद्वर द्व) कथने गहाराभिस्वीक जय: शासन: स्वर्यांने स्वयंगृहाणि राजाताम्बलयोऽः। विमृत्य विलाजरोहेनकुसे: पुस्त: प्रत्याच्छिन्न:। कुप्पे भारतकैति नाम कालिङ्गम:।। सर्वाणि तु कुप्पे सुझोगानाम नारायणसर्वाणि। सर्वाणि तु कुप्पे सुझोगानाम नारायणसर्वाणि।।

1260. वियमिषा: शाक्तितो द्रान शासन: स्वर्यांने स्वयंगृहाणि राजाताम्बलयोऽः। विमृत्य विलाजरोहेनकुसे: पुस्त: प्रत्याच्छिन्न:। कुप्पे भारतकैति नाम कालिङ्गम:।। सर्वाणि तु कुप्पे सुझोगानाम नारायणसर्वाणि। सर्वाणि तु कुप्पे सुझोगानाम नारायणसर्वाणि।। भूष: परम पत्रस्य न चारस (तद्वर द्व) कथने गहाराभिस्वीक जय: शासन: स्वर्यांने स्वयंगृहाणि राजाताम्बलयोऽः। विमृत्य विलाजरोहेनकुसे: पुस्त: प्रत्याच्छिन्न:। कुप्पे भारतकैति नाम कालिङ्गम:।। सर्वाणि तु कुप्पे सुझोगानाम नारायणसर्वाणि। सर्वाणि तु कुप्पे सुझोगानाम नारायणसर्वाणि।।
The Dharmasindhu (pp. 359-360) collects in one place numerous dreams that are lucky or auspicious and that are unlucky or inauspicious and then prescribes (p. 361) the remedies to avert the consequences of unlucky dreams viz. worship of the Sun with the mantra (Rg. II. 28.10, Tai. S. IV. 14-133) 'O king Varuṇa! protect us from the danger which my helper or friend declares to me (from what I saw) in a dream or from the thief or wolf who desires or is about to injure us'; or one may recite inaudibly the verse 'Ādha svapnasya' (Rg. I. 120.12) or perform a śrāddha like the one on Amāvāsyā, or should recite the Saptāsati in honour of Carṇi or the thousand names of Viṣṇu or recite or listen to the recitation of the liberation of Gajendra in the Bhārata or Bhāgavata.

All ancient countries and peoples believed in dreams and satisfied their curiosity to know the future by interpreting them. The Chaldean astrologers and dream-interpreters were in high favour at Babylonian and Assyrian courts. The Book of Daniel (chap. 2) tells us how Nebuchadnezzar, a great king of Babylon, asked the Chaldeans not only to interpret dreams but commanded them on threat of death to make known to him the dream which he had forgotten and then to interpret it. Plato, the greatest of the Greek philosophers, regards dreams as important physical and psychic symptoms while certain dreams are conceded as of supernatural origin and explains in his Timaeus (chap. 46 and 47) that dreams are prophetic visions received by the lower appetitive soul (through the liver). In JRAS (old series) vol. 16 pp. 118-171 N. Bland contributes a long and interesting article on 'the Mahomedan science of Tābīr or interpretation of dreams.' There are striking parallels between the rules to be observed by the dreamer and by the interpreter and the principles of interpretation (of dreams) by contraries and by dependence upon the religion, country and bodily conditions (such as total fast or full stomach) of the dreamer. On p. 141 of JRAS there is an interesting account of a dream of Nushirwan, a Sassanian king (531-579 A. D.), who saw a dream that he drank from a golden goblet and that a black hog put its head in the goblet and drank from it. Then we are told 'Buzurmihr, his minister, whom he consulted, told him it signified that his favourite princess had a black slave who was her lover and suggested that the women of his harem should be ordered to dance undressed in the presence of the king. One of them showing some hesitation in complying and being protected by the others was discovered to be a Hindu male slave and the
Vazir's interpretation was verified. The name of the Vazir remarkably agrees in sound with the name Varahamihira and it is not very fantastic to suppose that Varahamihira, probably the most famous astrologer and astronomer of early times in India, had been patronized by Nushirvan and held a high position in his court. Chronology is quite in favour of this identification since Varahamihira takes śaka 427 (505 A.D.) as the starting point for finding out the ahargana.

In modern\textsuperscript{1261} times many educated people think dreams as of no consequence whatever, while there are others who regard dreams as almost infallible indicators of coming events; there is also a third class of people who are willing to listen to the arguments advanced on behalf of the interpreters of dreams and also of those who regard thoughts on the use and value of dreams as frivolous. To those who want to hear arguments on both sides and to form a judgment of their own about dreams, I would recommend the ‘Fabric of Dreams’ by Catherine Taylor Craig (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1918); Freud’s ‘Interpretation of dreams’ is the most important of his works, in which he develops his psycho-analytic technique. Then there is the work ‘Second sight in daily life’ by W. H. W. Sabine who has a theory of his own. His work deals with precognition (or foreknowledge) which according to him is a subdivision of Extra-sensory perception. He propounds the theory that the mind comprises of not only normal memory appearing to derive from physical perception but also ‘anticipatory memory’ deriving from the Basic Experience which from time to time passes to some degree into conscious awareness. Time is one and does not exist except as a verbal convenience and that what we call ‘future’ has already happened but it is not indicated in what form it has happened. Considerations of space and relevance preclude further discussion of this subject here.

Certain other interesting śántis will now be described. When a great-grandson (praputra i.e. a son’s son’s son)\textsuperscript{1262}

\textsuperscript{1261} Dr. R. G. Harshe contributes to the 'Shri K. M. Munshi Jubilee volume' (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1948) an interesting paper (pp. 241-268) on ‘two illustrated manuscripts on dreams’, the contents of which do not attempt any elaborate theory about dreams but record empirical observations on dreams for the guidance of people in general.

\textsuperscript{1262} For the importance of the great-grandson, vide the verse ुर्द्धेऽपि प्रेमोइति विभन्नासंगमित्वा विश्वमयिः श्री ० वार्षिक ते । स्वाभाविक । अवैधिक दृष्टिप्रकाशः तत्र श्री ० मयुष्य ॥ मुरु. IX. 137 विषय विषय । विगृहेऽपि । १५. ४६.
is born to a person a sānti has to be performed when he sees the face of the great-grandson. The sāṅkalpa 1263 is given below. He should perform the rites beginning with the worship of Gaṅeśa and ending with Matrpurā, then establish a jar full of water and worship (the image of) Varuṇa therein, perform the rite of nivājana 1264 to the accompaniment of the sound of drums, sit on a seat of udumbara tree covered with a blanket and should request brāhmaṇas to sprinkle sacred water on his person. The brāhmaṇas should sprinkle water on him to the accompaniment of a hymn to Varuṇa and a hymn to the Ganges. At the end of the abhiṣeka the performer should give up old garments and wear new ones and should worship the Ganges. Melted ghee should be put in a vessel of bronze and the performer should see the reflection of his face therein and then should see the face of his great-grandson in the light of a lamp placed in a golden vessel. Then he should sprinkle drops of water on the great-grandson with one hundred flowers of gold. Then he should sprinkle the great-grandson with water from the jar used for abhiṣeka. For completing the ceremony of seeing the face of the grandson, he should donate a cow and feed brāhmaṇas according to his means. Then he should worship an image of Viṣṇu, offer pāyasa to it and address the following prayer 1265 'O Viṣṇu! by your favour I have seen the face of my great-grandson. Therefore, O Lord! in all ways and always do what I desire'. Then the image should be donated with the mantra 'by the donation of the image (of Viṣṇu) may all evil influences of planets be always conjured away in the case of the child, O enemy of Kamsa and the Lord of the worlds,' and he should donate to the brāhmaṇas the ghee in which he saw his face.

One of the sāntis that is frequently performed even in these days is 'Udakasānti'. It is performed for averting the consequences of many happenings and for securing certain benefits

1263.  
1264.  
1265.  The pāyasastrā is: 'भी विश्व नवमन्त्र हरामातकपितं सया। तस्मात्कथा नमामित्वं सर्वदा वस्यं।; the द्रुमस्थर्व is: प्रतिसंप्रधाने जनमकर्त्य सदा व्यक्तः।'
such as good health, the removal of the diseases due to the three constituent elements of the human body, viz. bile, phlegm and rūta (wind), that may have already arisen or are likely to arise, or for mitigating all the trouble that is caused by planets occupying unfavourable positions from the lagna in a person's horoscope or from the rāśi of his birth, for removing the impurity on birth or death in one's house or family, for securing a happy life. Therefore, the sankalpa may assume various forms that are noted below. In modern times this is a very elaborate rite in which a very large number of Vedic verses are repeated and which takes up about three hours for its performance. Therefore, even a brief resume of the modern procedure is not attempted here. But one of the oldest available descriptions of this rite contained in the Baudhāyana-grhya-śesasūtra (I. 14) is set out here in order to convey an idea of this śānti. As the Baudhāyana-sūtras are closely connected with the Taittirīya-samhitā and Brāhmaṇa the references to mantras and texts are cited as far as possible from that Śamhitā and Brāhmaṇa. Many of the mantras occur also in the Rgveda and other śamhitās. Here are the texts; waters indeed are faith; (when a priest takes water) he begins (the rite with) faith itself; waters are indeed the sacrifice, he begins sacrifice itself; water is indeed thunderbolt, he strikes the thunderbolt against enemies; waters are destroyers of malignant spirits (and it is taken) for destroying evil spirits; waters are the favourite abode (or seat) of the gods; waters are indeed nectar; therefore people sprinkle with water him who faints; waters are indeed all gods; he begins with gods. Waters indeed are well disposed; he (priest) removes with the kindly (waters) the pain of this person (the sacrificer); this is (what) the Brāhmaṇa (text) says.

Therefore (the priest) prepares propitiatory water with two kuśas dipped therein. One should commence a śānti on the nakṣatra of (a person's birth) or on an auspicious nakṣatra or when auspicious rites are to be performed, viz. marriage, a (child's) tonsure, upanayana, Vedic student's return home, hairparting (of a pregnant woman), establishment of the Vedic fires and other

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1266.  

1267. The words 'vajro vā āpah' (water is indeed thunderbolt) occur frequently in the Sat. Br. I. 1. 1. 17, I. 2. 5. 20, I. 7. 1. 20 &c.
rites, or when a planet is eclipsed, or when a planet indicates a portent, or when danger comes (to a person) from bipeds or quadruped animals. He should make an even number of brahmaṇas wash well their hands and feet and make them sip water, seat them on seats in each of the directions, should smear with cow dung a four-cornered altar of the extent of a bull's hide, should himself sit on darbhaś with face towards the east, should hold darbhas and dūrvā grass, have two kuśas in his hand, should sprinkle with water the altar made by him, should draw lines thereon and sprinkle water over them and should spread over it dūrvā grass and darbhas and sprinkle it with water scented with sandalwood paste and cover it with flowers, should wrap with (cotton) threads the sacred vessel of palāśa leaves and place it on them (darbhas and dūrvā) with the mantra 'brahma jaiñānam' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2). Then he pours water across the two blades of darbha grass and mutters 'tat-savitur-vareṇyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10) and throws in (the water) whole grains of rice and yavas with the formula 'bhrū-bhuvah-suvarom' (Tai. A. X. 2.1). Then he spreads around flowers, dūrvā grass and fruits, covers it (jar) with dūrvās and darbhas and touches with the verse 'śan-no devir' (Rg. X. 9. 4). When the brahmaṇas have placed themselves besides the officiating priest, he mutters the verse 'tat-savitur-vareṇyam' (Rg. X. 62. 10) separately by each foot and by half verse in one breath and mutters the first words of (all) the Vedas. Then he recites the following viz. the anuvāka beginning with 'kṛṇuṣya pājāh' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14) but omitting the half verse 'made cid-asya' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 7), the anuvāka beginning with 'indram vo' (Tai. S. I. 6. 12), with the two verses 'yata indra' (Rg. VIII. 61. 13, Tai. A. X. 1. 9), and 'svastīd' (Rg. X. 152. 2, Tai. A. X. 1. 9), with the two verses 'Mahān Indro' (Tai. S. I. 4. 41) and 'sajoṣā Indra' (Tai. S. I. 4. 42), with 'Ye devāḥ purassado' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 1) repeated

1268. Compare कौसिकधर्म IX. 8 'अहतवासः कंसे शान्तदर्श करोति।'.

1269. It may be noticed that most of the verses to be recited speak of destroying evil spirits (rakṣas) or enemies, pray for welfare and happiness (svasti and śarma), for freedom from danger, for protection, for long life &c.
five times, with the five formulas 'Agnaye raksoghe' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 2), with the five formulas 'Agnir-ayushman' (Tai. S. II. 3. 10. 3), with four clauses 'ya vam-indravaruna' (Tai. S. II. 3. 13. 1), with the eight clauses 'Yo vam-Indravarunau' (Tai. S. II. 3. 13, 3.), with the four verses 'Agne yasasvin' (Tai. S. V. 7. 4. 3), the Rasrabhrty anuvaka beginning with 'rtaasad-rtaadhama' (Tai. S. III. 4. 7. 1), with the three mantras 'nomb astu sarpebyah' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 3), with 'ayam puro harikesah' (Tai. S. IV. 4. 3. 1) repeated five times, with the Apratiratha, anuvaka beginning with 'aah sivaanah' (Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 1), the anuvaka beginning with 'sam ca me mayasca me' (Tai. S. IV. 7. 3. 1), the anuvaka called 'vihavya' beginning with 'mamagne varco vihavesvastu' (Tai. S. IV. 7.14. 1), the Mruga anuvaka anuvaka beginning with 'Agner-manve' (Tai. S. IV. 4. 15. 1–11), the offering mantras to serpents beginning with 'samcii namasi praci dik' six times repeated, the offering prayers to Gandharvas in the six clauses beginning with 'hetayo namat tha' (Tai. S. V. 5. 10. 3–4); the five 'ayam (bricks) offerings with 'satayudhya' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3), the anuvaka beginning with 'bhutam bhavyam bhavisyat' (Tai. S. VII. 3. 12. 1), the Atharva-siras, the anuvaka beginning with 'Indro Dadhico astabhih' (Tai. Br. I. 5. 8. 1, Rg. I. 84. 13), the Pratyangirasa beginning with 'caksuso hete up to bhrrtyvyam padyamaasi' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 2. 1–4), the anuvaka beginning with 'prapo rakshi viisvam-jaat' (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1. 1), the anuvaka beginning with 'simhe vyaghra uta ya prdkaau' (Tai. Br. II. 7. 7. 1); the anuvaka beginning with 'aham-asmi' (Tai.

1270. It is difficult to construe the printed text here. It runs: 'Namo abhuta sarpebyah. 'Iti tasmahitu ca ca suhvasr panchacharya 'any duro harisah! 'Iti psvamhi: psvapi: &c.' panchacharya means a brick with five protuberances. The s. s. V. 3. 7. 2 has 'panchacharya upadyavamrta svantmanah abhimite ca ca' which means 'He puts down the bricks with five crests (protuberances), indeed these becoming Apsaras lie down near him in the yonder world'. But there is no mantra here. Besides abhuta ca suhvasr is not clear. Is it abhumaas with inserted between abhuta and suhvasr or is it a printer's mistake?

1271. Kityayana in his Sraddhasutra prescribes that among the holy texts to be recited when the brhmaas are eating the sraddha dinner are the Raksoghi verses and the Apratiratha hymn. Rg. X. 103 has most of the verses called Apratiratha in Tai. S. IV. 6. 4.

1272. The printed text reads srgaram'. Vide Kausikasutra IX. 1 for Mrugasa-suktani.

1273. The Atharvaasiras is an Upanishad beginning with 'Devau vai svargam lokam-ayan'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV, pp. 45–46 note.
Br. II. 8. 8. 1), the anuvāka 'tā sūryācandramāsa' (Tai. Br. II. 8. 9. 1), the three anuvākas beginning with 'agnir naḥ patu' (Vaj. S. 4. 15), the anuvāka 'rdhāya' (Tai. Br. III. 1.2.1), the anuvāka 'navo navo' (Tai. S. II. 3. 5. 3), with (the mantras of) supplementary sacrifices, with a verse containing the word 'surabhi' (Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 4 or VII. 4. 19. 4), with verses addressed to waters (Rg. X. 9. 1-3 = Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 4 ff.), with verses addressed to Varuna, with the verses beginning with 'Hiranyak-vaṁśaḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1), verses addressed to (Soma) Pavamāna (from Rg. IX. 1.1 'svađīṣṭhāyā' to end of Rg. IX), with the Vyāhṛtis (seven mystic words, bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svāḥ, mahaḥ, janaḥ, tapaḥ, satyaṁ), the anuvāka beginning with 'tac-chāmyor' (Tai. B. III. 5. 11). He repeats thrice the concluding passage 'namo brahmaṇe'. 

The (officiating priest) makes the performer rise from his seat and sprinkles water on him to the accompaniment of the Vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ &c.). (The performer) makes gifts (to the officiating priest). Then the officiating priest sprinkles sacred water on those that are possessed by an evil spirit or attacked by fever or troubled by ghosts, that are the friends, relatives, agents of the king's and of the royal priests, and the young and old members (of the performer's family), pregnant women, persons suffering from bad diseases, persons suffering from diseases for a long time, persons that are emaciated and are sick; also sprinkles sacred water on the elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and servants of the performer; in this way the rite is performed for one day, three or five or seven days. Thus doing he wards off death; so says the blessed Baudhāyana."

When a person's naksatra of birth is afflicted by an evil planet or aspect Parāśara provided a sānti as follows: 1274 after putting in a jar full of water the dung and urine of a white bull and the milk of a white cow and kuśas the person should be

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1273 a. The तै. आ. II. 13. 4 has the very words 'नमो ब्रह्मणे दृष्टि परि-धारणे दर्शनि' that occur in भू. दृ. ख्य. The verse is 'नमो ब्रह्मणे नमोल्लासः नमः पुरुस्तुति ना अंबोद्धीयः। नमः वचनाः नामो वाचवत्यते नमः विषयं (व्रह्मणे) करोमि॥' (तै. आ. II. 12). The verse occurs in आस्य. ख्य. (III. 5. 4), which reads महति for करोमि.

1274. अथ शालिमाह पदार्थः। तत्र जन्मंकृततापे भेतुष्मभरस्य शालिमाह तद्वर्तनां श्रवणं। पयः कुस्ताहस्य यथा निपासामाप्यवस्यनं कुस्तात। अ. सा. p. 271. The विश्वामित्रमावत is quoted by मदनरन्दन (on शालिमाह facsimile 20b) 'शालिमाह्ये संप्रय भेतुष्म भवभरस्य व। शेख्याः सर्न स्वसन्तं कुस्तातार्यं। जममनस्त्रवपस्यां सर्नस्य कुस्तातार्यं।'
sprinkled with the mixture. Similarly, the Matsya \( ^{1275} \) prescribes for one in whose birth rāsi an eclipse takes place a sacred bath with water from four jars full of water in which earth from the stables of horses, elephants, from an ant-hill, from a confluence, a deep reservoir of water, from a cowpen and from entrance of a palace is cast, and also pañcagavya, five jewels, rocanā, lotuses, sandalwood, saffron, uśīra, guggulu; mantras also are to accompany the bath; Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera and other gods are invoked for removing the evil results of eclipses.

If a person suffers from fever the Madananatna (folio 11) provides for sāntis for the tithis (from the first onwards) on which the fever started, derived from Baudhayāna in which the presiding deity of each tithi is to be offered worship (pūjā) and homa, for each of which the mantra (of which japa is to be made) is different, and the incense, flowers, naivedya also are different. There are also sāntis, when a person suffers from fever, about the weekday on which the fever started and images of the presiding deity of the weekday made of different metals according to the name of the day are to be worshipped with different mantras (Madananatna, folio 12a). For example, if fever started on a Sunday or on a Monday, then the images of Rudra (for Sunday) and Pārvatī (for Monday) were to be made of gold or silver and the mantras to be recited were respectively 'yā te Rudra' (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1. 1), 'gaurīr-mimāya' (Rg. I. 164. 41). The gandha, flowers, incense, lamp and naivedya were different in each case. If the fever starts on any one of the 27 nakṣatras, the Madananatna (folios 12b-15b) prescribes sāntis for all the 27 nakṣatras, specifying the deity of each nakṣatra, the figure of the deity, its colour, mantra, the five upacāras from gandha, the kinds of fuel-sticks to be employed, the āhūtis, the gifts &c. If the mantra \(^{1276} \) be not known, the

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\(^{1275}\) वर्ष राशि तमासाय नीर्धातिसाभ्यः। तत्व राशिः प्रस्थायेऽम मत्राये क्षिति-
समविततः। मल्लय व्युत्कर्य (on शालिं फूल 21b), हे. (on ब्रह्म, vol. II, p. 1021), सि. सि. p. 69 and शालिकमलाकर folio 157 b. अ. सि. pp. 87-90 and सि. सि. p. 69 quote this and about 23 verses more from मल्लय on this.

\(^{1276}\) The mantras prescribed for religious worship and rites have a certain pattern, that is, they either refer to the rite to be performed and the deity or to the benefit prayed for or there is some word therein that indicates an application of it to the deity. For example, the mantra 'जातीयसे सुलभ' (Rg I. 99. 1) is employed for invoking the presence of Durgā, because therein occurs the word 'durgāṇि' (स. न. पर्वति कुयाणि विष्ठ) or the verse 'Gaurīr-

(Continued on next page)
Gāyatrī mantra employed when mantra not known 789

Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62. 10) was to be employed and the āhūtis were to be 1008 or 108 according to the nature of the disease. The Madanaratna (folios 15b–20b) quotes from Ātreyā further details about the 27 nakṣatras, viz. the number of stars in each nakṣatra, whether a nakṣatra is masculine, feminine or neuter, its figure, colour, deity, tree, its gana\textsuperscript{1276a} (whether devagaṇa or rāksasagaṇa or manusyagaṇa), what actions should be done on each, the Visanāḍi of each.

The Dharmasindhu provides a śānti for the extremely rare occurrence of a person coming to life after people thinking him to be dead take his body for cremation to a cemetery. The person in whose house such a person enters meets death. Therefore, a homa should be performed wherein eight thousand udumbara fuel-sticks anointed with milk and ghee are to be offered to the accompaniment of the Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62. 10). At the end of the homa a kapilā cow and a bronze vessel full of sesame should be donated to a brāhmaṇa; the bronze vessel should weigh 81 palas or 40\frac{1}{2} or 20\frac{1}{2} or 9, 6 or at least three palas according\textsuperscript{1277} to one's means.

Some works prescribe a śānti on the delivery of a cow in the month of Bhādrapada, of a she-buffalo in Pauṣa and of a mare by day. The śānti is to be performed with 108 āhūtis of ghee and sesame, the Asyavāmya hymn (Rg. I. 164) and the mantra 'tad-Viṣṇoḥ' (Rg. I. 22. 20) are to be recited. It was supposed that if a she-buffalo was delivered in Māgha and on a Wednesday, or a mare in Śrāvana by day or a cow while the

\textit{(Continued from last page)}

mimāṃsa' (Rg. I. 164, 41) is said to be mantra for Pārvatī, the presiding deity of Monday, because the word 'Gaurī' suggests Gaurī, which is a name of Pārvatī. The requirement is stated in the following Brāhmaṇa passage 'एतत्रै वज्रसून्दर सत्यसून्दर वर्णमालासून्दर पञ्चम्भविवर्ति' (quoted in निःक्षन I. 16). It occurs in ऐतरेयाद्वादश several times (e. g. ऐ. ऐ. I. 4, which reads merely जगभविवर्ति).

\textsuperscript{1276a} For the gaṇas of the 27 nakṣatras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 514–515.

\textsuperscript{1277} A pala = 4 karṣas, a karṣa = 16 māṣas and 80 ratis. Hence a pala was equal to 320 raktikās Vide Manu VIII. 134 and 136 and Yāj. I. 363–365,
Sun is in the Lion sign, that portends death of the owner in six months. It may be stated that in the author's boyhood such sānti, particularly in the case of she-buffaloes, were performed. The Adhutasāgara provides that the sānti should be performed on the 4th, 9th, 12th or 14th tithi, as these are declared to be auspicious tithis for adhuta-sānti.

In modern times the entrance into a newly built house is preceded on the same day or on a previous day by a sānti called Vāstu-sānti or Vāstu-śamana (in Matsya 268. 3). It has been described at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 834–836. The description there is based on Matsya, chapters 256 and 268. Vāstusāman is also described in the Āśvalayana-grhṇya I. 9. 6–9, Pār. gr. III. 4. 5–18, Baud gr. III. 5 (which are certainly older than Matsya by several centuries), in Baudhāyana-grhṇyaśeṣa-sūtra I. 18, the Śānadvīdnānābhumāna III. 3. 5 and several medieval works. The Baud. Gr. S. S. calls it Gṛghasānti and recommends that it be performed every month, every season or every year in the bright fortnight on an auspicious nakṣatra by one who desires prosperity in his house. It is therefore passed over here. The Āṣy. gr is very brief. It says: Then

1278. ग्रं उपचार। द्वितीय भद्र ब्रह्मण च विशेषः। मानसमेव भूज जेवं प्रवेशम्। मानिकमालक फोलो 180। रात्रि सिंहमागे चेतं वदगी:। अपमुप्ते। तरपं तरपं निश्चयं भद्रमीनसेतिं संद्व:। तस्य लोकात्मक वेदयानि वेद समवेन्द्रदु:। नाम्प ० ब्र. सा. p. 568.

1279. चार्धी चाताकेव वद्राशी च चुतुद्दी। एता वै निधी: पृष्ठा:। स्मृता अद्वैतप्रभावे। नाम्प ० ब्र. सा. p. 568.

1280. Vāstu (m. in the Rgveda) means a house. Compare 'ता vām vāstūnyaśmāi gāmābhāyai' (Rg. I. 154. 6). It is derived from 'vas' (to reside). Vide Nirukta X. 17, where Rg. VII. 55. 1 is explained. There is a deity in the Rgveda called 'Vāstospatī' (lord of the house). लालाप्तिः is either (as in Rg. VIII. 17. 14) Indra or Rudra (as Durga says). The sānti is performed for averting all evil after entering a newly built house.

1280 a. The सङ्कुल्य in modern Vāstusānti would be somewhat like the following: अयोध्यायायुक्तसमायोणम् समथप्रावर्तसिद्धान्तिली विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रतिभाविहार्याः विचारलिङ्गविवाहसूर्यसिद्धांतिकोपचाईः सम्बंधशिराणीप्रति...
he makes the house śānta (as follows). He deposits gold in water that has rice and barley thrown into it, he sprinkles the house three times going round it with his right side turned towards it with the śāntātiya hymn (Rg. VII. 35) and he does so again three times pouring out an unbroken stream of water with the three verses ‘O waters! you are wholesome’ (Rg. X. 9. 1-3). In the middle of the house he cooks boiled rice, offers from it four oblations with each of the four verses ‘Vāstospate pratiṭānhyasāmn’ (Rg. VII. 54. 1-3 and VII. 55. 1), should then prepare food, should feed the brāhmaṇas with it and make them say ‘lucky is the house, lucky is the house.’ Some details from Baud. Gr. (III. 5) may be mentioned here. It provides that oblations are offered from cooked food with the invitatoty prayer (Puronuvākṣyā) ‘Vāstospate pratiṭānhiḥ’ (‘O Lord of houses! accept us as your devotees,’ (Rg. VII. 54. 1, Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 1) and the offering prayer (Yaśī) with ‘Vāstospate śagmayā’ (O Lord of houses, may we be endowed with fellowship with thee &c.’ (Rg. VII. 54. 3, Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 1). Then he offers āhūtis of clarified butter with the mantras viz. ‘Vāstospate dhruvā sthūnā’ (Rg. VIII. 17, 14), 'grhyam bhayam yac-ced',1282 'akṣispande-āṅgacale, 'duḥ-svapne pāpasvapne', ‘Vāstospate pratarano’ (O Vāstospati! mayst thou be our saviour', Rg. VII. 54. 2), ‘amivalā Vāstospate’ (O Vāstospati! Mayst thou be our friend destroying diseases’ (Rg. VII. 55. 1). Then he places the remainder of the food from which offerings were made on bunches of darbhas in front of the Fire with the words ‘salutation to Rudra Vāstospati! I offer (oblations to him) who protects when we approach, or run, walk out, depart, turn round, or return.’

Having brought together in a plate the water for cleansing the cooking vessel, the remainder of the clarified butter and the water (used in the rite) he sprinkles water therefrom on all sides with a twig of udumbara or palāśa or ṣāmi tree or with a handful of darbhas, he goes round the house thrice with his right side towards it with the verse ‘tvam viprah’ (Rg. IX. 18. 2). He prepares food, honours the brāhmaṇas (with food and fees), makes them recite blessings in the words ‘lucky is the house, lucky is the house’.

In the later digests the Vāstuśānti is a very elaborate affair which is passed over here for reasons of space.

1282. I was not able to trace the three verses cited in the Baud. Gr. III. 5 viz. ‘शृङ्ख अथ यच्छद्र हिमात्तु यद्य वेच्छद्वित्यसत्तु &c. ’, ‘अहिंस्मयद्रेष्ठचले च यद्यं पद्मासिते यद्य वेच्छद्वित्यके ’, ‘दुःध्मे पापसमे च यद्यं &c.’.
Various prognostications were based on the sounds produced by the house lizard (called pālī, pālikā, kudyaṃtsya or grha-godhikā), by its movements and by its fall on the several limbs of a person by Vasantarāja śākuna, chap. 17 (32 verses), the Adbhutasāgara pp. 666-668 (quoting 28 verses of Vasantarāja), Jyotistattva pp. 706-707, Śāntiratna or Śānti-kamalakara (folio 198), the Dharmasindhu (pp. 347-348). A few words based on the last two are set out here. A fall of the lizard on the right side of a male and on his head (except the chin), chest, navel and stomach is auspicious, while in the case of a woman such a fall would be auspicious on the left side. The same applies to a chameleon. If a lizard or chameleon falls on a limb or creeps up a person's limb the person should take a bath with clothes on and perform a śānti for removal of the inauspiciousness or for increase of auspiciousness. If a person has a mere contact with a house lizard or chameleon he should bathe, drink pañcagariya, look into clarified butter, should pay honour to (a golden image of) the lizard or chameleon clothed in a red piece of cloth, offer to the image gandha and flowers, worship Rudra in a jar full of water, offer into fire 108 fuel sticks of khadira tree to the accompaniment of the Mrtyuñjaya mantra and offer 1008 or 108 ahūtis of sesame into fire with the vyāhrtis and perform the rites from svistakṛt to sprinkling with drops of water and then donate gold, clothes and sesame.

The Yogayātrā chap. 7 (verses 1-12) and Hemāḍra on Vrata (vol. II, pp. 894-897) mention ceremonial baths on and worship of nakṣatras from Aśvin to Revati and their presiding deities as yielding various benefits. The Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa 1 (called nakṣatrakalpa) sections 37-50 deal with nakṣatrasnāna from Kṛttikā to Bharani. Sections 37-41 contain the mantras employed in worshipping and placating the presiding deities of the nakṣatras beginning with Kṛttikā. Section 42 describes the general procedure of nakṣatrasnāna; sections 43-45 set out

1282a. Mrtyuṇjaya mantra is the Tryambaka mantra, according to Vidyākara quoted in Jyotistattva (p. 707). The Tryambaka mantra is 'Tryambakaṃ yajāmahe' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12, Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2, Vāj. S. III, 60).

1282b. It is somewhat remarkable that Vasantarāja is entirely silent about the fall of the house lizard on a person's body and devotes thirty-two verses merely to the interpretation of the sounds of the lizard in different directions and at different times of the day and to the prognostications derived from its movements on the walls. It is not unlikely that prognostication from the fall of the lizard on a man's limb was a later development.
the substances to be added to the water for each nakṣatrasnāna and the benefit to be derived from so doing. Sections 47-50 contain special rules in relation to each nakṣatra from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇi, about the distribution of food to brāhmaṇas and gifts to be made on each nakṣatra together with the rewards to be expected therefrom. But the Bṛhatṣaṁhitā chap. 47 (1-87), the Ātharvana-pariṣiṣṭa V pp. 66-68, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 103, Yogayātā (VII. 13-21), the Kālīkāpurāṇa chap. 89, and Hemādri (on Vrata vol. II. pp. 600-628) speak of a sānti called Pusyaśnāna or Pusyābhiṣeka. It is said that Bṛhaspati performed this sānti for Indra, then Vṛddha Garga got it and he imparted it to Bṛhāguri. Most of the above works confine it to the king, since the king is the very root of the tree—the subjects—and since any harm to or welfare of that root (the king) results in misfortune or welfare of the people; therefore care must be taken for the increase of the king's welfare. 1283 As the treatment in the Bṛhatṣaṁhitā is the fullest and is among the most ancient descriptions, it is briefly set out here. The royal astrologer and family priest should perform the rite of Pusyaśnāna for the king, than which there is nothing more holy and nothing more destructive of all evil portents. This may be performed on pusya-nakṣatra every time, but the Sānti on this day when the Full Moon is in Pusya-nakṣatra is the highest and if such a snāna is performed without there being Pusya nakṣatra on that day, then it yields only half the fruit. There is no utpāta which is not averted or mitigated by this sānti and there is no other auspicious rite which surpasses this. About Pusya the Ratnamāla 1284 states 'Just as the lion is the strongest among

1283. मूलः महाजापिति: पञ्जाकोऽपसोपायसंतसंकायति। अधुरे युथपि च लीके भवनि वानोतो बुधविविलितत्। या वास्तवमान दालिति: कुप्पस्था उत्तरोत्मेविन्द्राय। तो मायाप्रमाण: गामात्य भारुण:। ःणु वेव्यासनानुयौ:। नाल: पर पवित्रो सुर्यो:। त्याजनकालमिति।। पर्यः पूर्वकृष्यमान पवित्रोऽपि सुव्ययमेवैविविलितारस:। इत्यादिनामारंथोऽपि वेव्यासनोऽपि। सुव्ययमेविविलितारस:। इत्यादिनामारंथोऽपि वेव्यासनोऽपि। सुव्ययमेविविलितारस:। ६५०. ४७. १-३ एवं १८४; विद्यामृगमित्वं II. १०३. ३१-३२।।

1284. सिद्धं यथा सर्वे युथमानस्तानं तव पुष्यो च कतन्त्रावन:। यथः विप्रेत्यथ गोपरे तथा सिद्धमेव कर्यावृत्ति कुरुताति पुष्योऽपि। इत्यमाना VI. ७०।। अत्र यद्यपि इत्यसाहित यथ:।। १०३. २।।

if the moon is in the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 10th or 11th rāśi from the rāśi of birth it is auspicious and it is inauspicious in the other rāśis from birth. ‘यें:’ पर त्रिपुष्यादिविशिष्टा इसानस्यास्तमानमात्रा।। ‘सर्वे’ यथा युथमान सम्पति:।। इत्यथा।। १०३. ८-१०

for the phalas of the moon being in the rāśi of birth or in the rāśis from the 1st to the 12th.

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all quadrupeds, so is Puṣya the most powerful among nakṣatras; undertakings begun on Puṣya succeed even if the Moon be unfavourable or be gocca. Then Varāhamihira states in very poetic verses (47. 4–15) that the Puṣyasṇāna of the king should be performed in a sylvan spot abounding in young and beautiful trees emitting fragrance and free from trees having thorns or trees like marking nut or from owls, vultures and the like or on rivers or on lakes or near lotus pools or near a cow-house or seashore or hermitages of sages, grand mansions resounding with the sweet cries of cuckoos and the like or near a holy shrine or tīrtha or a spot beautified by parks. Then the astrologer, the councillors and officiating priests should go out from the capital at night and make an offering (bali) in the East, North or North-east and the royal family priest, being himself pure and bowing down, should invoke with fried grains, aksata, barley, curds and flowers and with a mantra the gods, the (guardians of) quarters, the nāgas and brāhmaṇas to be present at the spot and then say 'tomorrow you will receive worship and depart after conferring welfare on the king'. The family priest and the others should stay in order to find the auspicious nature or otherwise of the dreams (of the king). On the next day in the morning they should collect materials (for the Puṣyasṇāna) on the spot chosen the previous day. He should draw a maṇḍala (a diagram) there and should place thereon various jewels and should assign places to nāgas, yakṣas, gods, pītris, gandharvas, apsaras, sages, siddhas, planets, nakṣatras, Rudras, the mātris, Skanda, Viṣṇu, Viśākha, Lokapālas, goddesses (such as Lakṣṇī, Gaurī, Indrāṇī), which should all be drawn with charming coloured powders or chalk &c., should offer them worship with sandal wood paste, flowers &c., with various edibles, fruits and meat, with drinks viz. wine, milk and decoctions; he should follow the procedure of Grahaṇayajña and worship the various deities invited with appropriate foods, incense, clarified butter, flowers, with lauds and salutations &c. (verses 30–33). Then he should set up Agni on an altar to the west or south of the maṇḍala drawn by him, should kindle it into flames and bring near it the materials and darbhās. He should offer worship on the altar to the west with fried grams, ghee, curds, honey, white mustard, fragrant substances, flowers, incense, fruits, and should donate plates full of pāyasa and ghee. Then in the four inter-

1283. The mantra for invoking the gods is अगम्यस्तु हरा: सर्वे वै गृहांभिलावणिः। विद्वति नामा हिजायथे ये चाप्तर्येत्सवाणिः॥ दुहसः 47. 20.
mediate quarters of the altar he should establish four jars the
necks of which are surrounded with white thread and that are
covered with leaves, twigs and fruits of trees having milky sap
and filled with water mixed with herbs and materials for pūya-
snāna and jewels. In verses 39–42 Varāhamihira names about
15 plants the leaves of which are to be cast in the jars and
also seeds and sarvauṣadhis, sarvagandhas, bilva fruit &c. He
should spread an old bull’s hide with its neck to the east on the
altar and thereon he should spread the reddish hide of a bull
trained for fighting, the hides of a lion and a tiger one over the
other, when the Moon is in Puṣya-nakṣatra and there is an
auspicious muhūrtā. Over the hides a throne made of gold,
silver, copper or of a tree with a milky sap should be placed. The
king should occupy the throne after placing thereon a piece of
gold, surrounded by his ministers, men of his confidence, the
family priest, the astrologer, the citizens that have auspicious
names (such or Jayarāja, Simharāja &c.).

There should be loud noises (for drowning inauspicious
sounds) made by the bards and citizens and of the tabors and
drums and of Vedic recitations. The king should wear linen and
the purohita should cover the king with a blanket, drops should
be sprinkled over the king from jars, 3, 28 or 108 in number,
containing clarified butter, with two mantras praising its
power to remove evil and then the priest removes the blanket
and sprinkles on the king drops of water from water containing
the substances collected for pūyasnāna with sixteen mantras.

1286. Several of the 15 plants mentioned in the Br. S. occur also in
Āryaputraṇa V. 1–5. 2. 2. In the Māyurāṇa eight plants are mentioned as
mahāprovat (viz. sarvāṣādhī, pūrṇa, pāmati, bhūta, avāhana, shāṅkū, sīrī, śudhāla)
that are to be employed in general for the snāpana of all gods (chap.

1287. आर्यये तेजः सर्वावषाधाः पापहरे वर्णः। आर्यये सुरणामहार आर्यये लोकोऽपि
पावित्रताः॥ भौमानान्तिक विंद्यव वा वचे कलम्बाजातमार्। सर्वं तवार्यतस्मादातिनि सवालकलकानीः ॥

1288. It may be noted that Hemādri (on Śat vol. II. p. 615) has the
mantras of Śrīhaṃ 47. 55–60 in the same order and (p. 646) has also the
mantras (verses 67–70 first-half). Varāha first gives a long list (55–70) of
Paurāṇika mantras and then (in verse 71) only mentions names of groups
of mantras. इन्द्रेत्येकांशमहार्यस्मातिदित्वं: सवालकानीः। कौमानान्तिकातिदित्वं केषभवेद्वे। सप्तसतोऽपि
पम ॥ Śrīhaṃ 47. 71. The Māyurāṇa has verses (93. 51–56) similar to those of
Varāha’s pārāśik mantras.
(set out by Varāha in verses 55–70) in which gods, goddesses, sages are invited to join in the rite, besides mantras from the Atharvakalpa,1289 the Rudragaṇa mantras, Kūṣmāṇḍa mantras, the Mahārāhuṇa, Kubera-hṛdaya and Samṛddhi verse. Then the king should take a bath and wear two cotton garments over which the three verses ‘Āpo hi śṭā’ (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3, Tai. S. IV. 1. 5. 1) and the four verses ‘Hiranyavarṇaḥ’ (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1–2, or Atharva I. 33. 1–4) have been inaudibly recited. He should sip water to the accompaniment of words like ‘this is a lucky day’ and to the sound of conches, should worship gods, gurus, brāhmaṇas, his parasol, banner, and weapons and then worship his special (or favourite) deity. Then he should put on new decorations that lead to victory, that confer long life and vigour and over which the Rāyaspoṣa1290 (bestowing increase of wealth) ṛk verses have been recited. To the south of the maṇḍala an altar should be prepared and hides of bull, cat, ruru deer, spotted antelope, lion and tiger should be arranged one over the other (tiger’s being last) and the king should sit down on the hides. The purohita should offer in the fire in the principal place (to the south) offerings of fuel-sticks, sesame, ghee and the like to the accompaniment of ṛk verses addressed to Rudra, Indra, Brhaspati, Viṣṇu and Vāyu. The astrologer should observe and

1289. The Atharvaṇa-parāśāṭa V. 3. 4–5 prescribes (p. 67) the opening passage of each Veda, the mahāvyāḥṛitis (bhūḥ, bhūvah, svāḥ) and five gaṇas as accompanying the offerings into fire, viz. ‘हर्षसमांगितं यथा स्वाह-पराशितं। न यथा यथा तथा स्वाह‘; ‘एवत्यथ गणां गुणवत्ता वाच्येऽविश्वेत् हिङ्गोऽस्मात्‘. For harsamāṅgita vide Aṣṭāṅgāparī. XXXII 14 p. 196 containing 22 verses, the first of which is harsamāṅgita, that is in L. 14. 2. 21. The Aparuṣaṅgita contains 15 verses beginning with ‘ aparājito‘ (vide Aṣṭāṅgāparī 32. 13); the Atmaśravāṅgita has 14 verses of the Aparuṣaṅgita (in A. paralysis. XXXII. 9. p. 195); for two Aparuṣaṅgita, vide at. paralysis. XXXII. 12 and 29; for śravasāṅgita vide at. paralysis. XXXII. 11. śravasāṅgita is at. paralysis. XXXII. 16 or it may be Rudras in Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11. The kūṣmāṇḍa mantras are Vai. S. 20 14–16 and Tai. A. II. 3. 1, II. 4. 1 (beginning with ‘ yad-devā devaḥ-ṛṣi namah‘). Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 43 for Kūṣmāṇḍahoma. For Rauhiṇa-sāman vide H. of Dh. IV. p. 46 n. The Kubera-hṛdaya is probably the mantra in Tai. A. I. 31. 6 (Rājñādhirājya...mahārājya namah‘). It is not known which ṛk is called Samṛddhi.

1290. There are many verses of the Rgveda cited in the Taṭṭṭiriya-samhitā which contain the word ‘rāyaspoṣa‘, but as Utpala in his commentary says that the verses are six, it is probable that the verses meant are (Ṛg. X. 17. 9–14), the first of which ends with the words ‘rāyaspoṣaṁ yajamāṇeṣu dhehi‘.
declare the prognostications derived from the flames of the sacred Agni as laid down in the chapter on the festival of Indra’s banner (Br. S. 42. 31-36). Then the purohita with folded hands should pray, ‘May all the groups of gods receive the worship from the king and depart after conferring (on him) abundant prosperity and returning (when again invoked).’ Then the king should honour the astrologer and the purohita with plenty of wealth and (honour) according to their deserts also others, viz. men learned in the Veda and the like who are well worthy of receiving gifts. Then the king should assure safety to all subjects, (order the) release of all animals taken to slaughter houses and release all persons put in jail except those guilty of offences against the king’s person or his harem. Varahamihira adds (47. 85) that this procedure of Puṣyasnāna is commended for a king who aspires after imperial dignity or who ardently desires a son or when he is first crowned king. He further states that this very procedure of ceremonial bath should be employed in the case of the king’s elephants and horses that then become free from diseases (verse 87).

A few remarks from other works may be added here. The Yoga-yātra (chap. VII. 13-14) lays down that in the ceremonial bath clay should be collected from a mountain top, ant-hill, a river mouth, the two banks of a river, the foot of the Indra figure (in the Indradhvaja festival), (clay) dug up by the tusk of an elephant and by a bull’s horn, (clay) from the royal palace-door and from the door of the house of a dancing girl (patronized by the king) and the king’s head should be purified by rubbing on it the clay from a mountain top, his ears with

1290 a. One verse from chap. 42 about the auspicious indications conveyed by Agni flaming up by itself (i. e. without being fanned etc.) at the end of the shout ‘svāhā’ (when pūrṇāhuti is offered) and having its flames turned towards the right is cited here: साहासासनमये सप्तुज्ञातार्किन: सिंधुः मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | भृगुसेन: सप्तुज्ञातार्किन: सिंधुः मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर. \[साहासासनमये सप्तुज्ञातार्किन: सिंधुः मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | भृगुसेन: सप्तुज्ञातार्किन: सिंधुः मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर.\] In the योगयाज्य (chapter 8) fifteen verses are devoted to अधिनिषिद्धक of which verses 11-15 are the same as भृगुसेन: 42.32-36.

1291. The prayer is well-known: चालु ह्रेयण: सर्व भूलादाय पारिवारु | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर. \[चालु ह्रेयण: सर्व भूलादाय पारिवारु | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर.\] 47. 79.

1292. लिपिसूचनानिधिमुच्चलुष्करत्रपद्धारस्मिन: | भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर. \[लिपिसूचनानिधिमुच्चलुष्करत्रपद्धारस्मिन: | भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर | सिंधुः दशा ते भृगुसेन: मदुकृष्णाधिको हुन्मेव दुर्पर.\] योगयाज्य VII. 13-15.
clay from an ant-hill, his sides with clay from the two banks of a river and from its confluence with the sea, his neck with clay from the foot of the Indra figure, his arms with earth on the tip of the elephant’s tusk and the bull’s horns, his chest with earth from the door of the palace and his waist with clay from a royal courtier’s door. It will be noticed that there is a suggestive symbolism in all this. The king is to hold his head high and to attain eminence; therefore his head is to be rubbed with clay from a mountain peak.

It appears that nakṣatrasnāna was meant for all. For example, the Āthravaṇa-pariśiṣṭa on nakṣatrakalpa (sec. 43 p. 22) states that a Vaiśya should undergo ceremonial bath on Rohini, being decked with all seeds, while verse 6 of the same section maintains that a brāhmaṇa who undergoes Puṣyavnāna thrice with a thousand grains of red paddy and with a thousand mustard grains and with (twigs and leaves) of Sahasrarīśā, Ananti plants and with Madayanti and Priyāngu plants acquires as much fame as a king.

From the Matsya-purāṇa it is clear that Puṣyavnāna was an item in Laksahom, undertaken by the king to counteract the evil effects of planets. That Purāṇa has a chapter (267. verses 3–4) on Devatasnāna where also provision is made for casting clay into the jar, clay being collected from the tusk of an elephant, from a horse (stable), public road, ant-hill, (clay) dug up by a boar (with its tusk), from the shed where sacred fire is kept, from a tirtha (holy spot), cowpen and from the place where cows crowd.

The Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 103. 1–10) provides that Bṛhaspatyaśnāna (i.e. Puṣyavnāna, Bṛhaspati being the presiding deity of Puṣya) should be performed in the bright half, in the

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1293. शाश्वस्त्यं स्नापनेष्येष्य सर्वविशेषतः। "तक्षालाग्रिहस्थिते। "सहस्रनागस्तिनाम् च मदयणीति। त्रीण उपवास विश्राव्यं। स्नात: पार्थविं दम्भे। यज:। आ. परि। (नक्षत्रकल्प, sec 42 verses 3 and 6, p. 22).

1294. दुधा शृष्टिकृताः तु कुष्ठस्तानम् समाचारेऽध्वेन। कुमः। प्यायस्तैः सतिस्वेष्यः। हुमकृतः। स्नायुसद्धज्ञानम् तु लेः। शास्तिकैविविधिः। एवं कुमेऽ दुर्योगहिं श्रीसङ्गीतसुद्रद्वजः।

1295. ग्रामावस्थपले विविधस्वास्तमण्डलादाः। अम्बिगारत्या तीर्थाऽध्वेन। श्रीचिं। सावधाराकारणां तत्वाधिने। श्रीमहत्त्वेण श्रीवानसाध्वेन। स्नायु 267. 3-4. The word is: "उपुष्पास्िनि स्त्राहणि। "श्रीमहत्त्वेण तीक्षितार्थां।। It occurs in वैभवसूतीम् 1. 8.
northern passage of the sun, on an auspicious day, nakṣatra and muhūrta or when the moon is in Pusya or Rohini nakṣatra or in Hasta or Śravaṇa; two square maṇḍalas of eight cubits on each of four sides should be made, one for offering bāli and the other for an altar on which a fire is to be established, both being decked with various things. Four jars with waters of springs should be placed in each of the two maṇḍalas, and also seven jars filled with seeds, corn and precious stones, one for being decked with leaves of trees and the other with flowers and fruits. It appears (verses 12–13) that the Viṣṇudhamottara contemplates Pusyaṇāna for the three higher varṇas, since it provides that a brāhmaṇa should sit on the hide of a bull as his seat, a kṣatriya may employ the hides of a lion and tiger and a vaiśya on the hides of a tiger and leopard. It provides mantras other than those mentioned by Varāhamihira. It provides that this rite of Pusyaṣṭaṇāna should go on for seven days and that the person undergoing it should give up during those days wine, meat, honey and sexual intercourse (verse 29). This Pusyaṇāna drives away all ill-luck, destroys evil spirits, brightens the intellect, confers health, brilliance and fame, kills enemies, is auspicious, destroys sins and the evil effects of strife and bad dreams (verses 30–31).

It should be borne in mind that a rite on Pusaṛ for prosperity called Pusya-vrata is mentioned by so early a work as the Āpastambhadharma-sūtra (for which p. 346 above may be referred to).

In Brhad yogayātra (chap. XIII. 1–10), Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 241. 1–14) and in Vasantarāja (chap. VI. 4. 1–14 pp. 87–92) a good deal is said about prognostications derived from the throbbing (spaṇḍana or spaḥraṇa) of the several parts of a man’s body. All the three often closely agree in words and ideas as the notes below will clearly show. There is hardly any doubt that Vasantarāja’s treatment is based on the other two works. It is difficult to decide whether Varāhamihira borrows from the Matsya or vice versa or whether both borrow from a common source. It is not unlikely that Varāhamihira might

1296. विश्रय स्नातकागामस्य सौरसार्थमं शुभम्। शत्रियस्य तथा सौरे च वैपार्यस्य च तथा
विसः। विश्रयस्य च वैपार्यस्य श्वात्स्यस्यस्त्रोपचारं। भक्तस्त्र्यस्य भाषयो वामभागे वशेषे च।
विश्रयमात्र प्र. II. 103. 12–13. I am not sure what यो means here; probably it means (dedicated to the Sun or to gods).
have followed the Matsya. They all agree that throbbing\textsuperscript{1297} of the right side of the body is auspicious and of the left inauspicious in the case of males, while the reverse is true in the case of women. They all set out the consequences indicated by the throbbing of the several parts and limbs of the body from the top of the head to the soles of the feet. To set out all these in detail would occupy much space. A few are mentioned by way of illustration. The fruit indicated by the throbbing of the top of the\textsuperscript{1298} head is the acquisition of land (or earth); of the forehead, the prosperity of the position already occupied; of the region between the eyebrows and nose, union with persons dear to one; of the region of the eye, death; of the portion near the eye the acquisition of wealth; of the upper arm, union with friends; of the hand, the acquisition of wealth; of the back, defeat; of the chest, success; of the upper part of the foot, the securing of a position; of the soles, journey with gain therein. The Matsya-purāṇa\textsuperscript{1299} prescribes that when inauspicious indications (by throbbing) occur, brāhmaṇas should be placated with the gift of gold.

From ancient times the throbbing of the limbs, particularly of the arm and eye, have been regarded in India as the harbingers of coming events, auspicious or inauspicious. Manu prohibits a sannyāsin (parivṛtjakā) from obtaining alms by means of declaring prognostications from utpātas or nimittas, from nakṣatras and from Angavidiyā etc. In the Sākuntala
Kālidāsa twice mentions the throbbing of the arm of the hero as indicative of good fortune and the throbbing of the right eye of Śakuntalā as presaging misfortune. Shakespeare in “Othello” makes Desdemona speak about the itching of her eyes as a bad omen. The Brhad-yogayātrā (XIII, 10), Br. S. (51, 10) and Vasantarāja declare that the throbbing of moles, boils, marks, eruptions (on limbs) are to be deemed to indicate consequences similar to the limbs on which they exist.

The Brhad-samhitā (chap 93 verses 1–14), Brhadyogayātrā (chap. 21 verses 1–21) and Yogayātrā (chap. 10 verses 1–75) dwell at length on the prognostications to be drawn from the arrangement of the tusks of elephants, from the marks seen when the tusks are cut, from the tired appearance and movements of elephants, particularly when the king is to march on an invasion, since as the Yogayātrā says the king’s victory depends on elephants. These, however, do not describe any sānti and are hence passed over here as not relevant to the subject of sāntis. But the Agnipurāṇa (chap. 291 verses 1–24), Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 50, 1–93), Baud. grhyāsasūtra I, 20 and Hemādri (on Vṛata, vol. II, pp. 1036–1051) prescribe sāntis for removing diseases of elephants and therefore a brief note is added here from Baud. grhyāsasūtra, which is probably the earliest and simplest description of a Gajaśānti.

“On the 8th or 11th or 14th tithi of the bright half of a month or on Śravaṇa nakṣatra, the owner should feed brāhmaṇas,

1300. Vide वदु VI. 50 न च योपायलभित्तापरं न नवात्राहेचित्ता। नायकला नावास्य निष्कार्यत निष्कार्यान！। The commentators give different explanations of उष्णिः। Probably it means सामुद्रिक or lore about the indications from the throbbing of the several limbs. A work Called Āṅgavijā edited by Muni Puyavijayayi is published by the Prakrit Text Society at Banaras. It speaks of eight kinds of निष्कार्यान viz. अङ्गां, संग्र, तलाप, भूत, दत्त, ध्रुव and अत्यतिरिक्त। For कालिकास्वरूपः vide श्रावणमासमौद्ध्रम स्त्रदिने छ बाहुः कङ्गुः। नात्यान्तरोजन्य। श्रावणम भवच्छlj j वचनोजोसे वृम्बा। श्रावणम VII. 10; श्रावणम भवच्छल्। भरोऽहो न भवति वाप्रेत्तवर्गमन्विनस्तिरूः। श्रावणम VII. 5 After verse 11.

1301. उत्तर भास्करायानस्वरूपः वीरुक्ति सूर्योयाययो वज्रित्वाभायोपयोपयो शक्रलयः। भक्ति महाकालालपत्तं मायापत्तं दस्तिकृतमितिकार्य भाविकाः वेदरस्त्रम्य। श्रवणम् 51. 10. नानां तिमिकं इतः धार्मिक व्यासम् विषयं किं स्वप्नी किद्विष। भक्ति प्रवाहितिनित्ति यात्रायायचं पर्याप्तं कालमान्य तत्तत्।। नात्यान्तरोजन्य VI. 4, 11, p. 91.

1302. Verses 8–13 of the Br. S. 93 are the same as the verses of Brhad-yogayātrā 21, 9–14.

1303. अवस्थानविदुष्करायियः भास्करायानस्वरूपयवयो नात्यान्तरोजन्य। अन्येऽपरायास्वरूपयवयो नात्यान्तरोजन्य। भास्करायानस्वरूपयवयो नात्यान्तरोजन्य।}

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make them declare ‘it is an auspicious day, let there be welfare, let there be prosperity,’ should first (or ‘towards the east’) take cut for offering havis sesame and rice grains, bring water after repeating the Gāyatī verse (Rg. III. 62. 10), should cover two jars with a new piece of cloth with the Gāyatī, should close the mouths of the jars with some fruit (a coconut or the like) and keep the boiled food towards the west and place (the two jars) on a bunch of five dūrvasā. Then after the elephant stable is decked with wreaths of darbhas the elephant inhales the smell of the food offered in fire. He then makes ready a spoon of Āśvattha wood and fuel and darbha grass. Then he goes through the items of ordinary homa 1304 from drawing lines onwards and offers oblations of the boiled food with ghee to the accompaniment of the Gṛṭasūkta 1305 (Rg. VIII. 81. 1–9). Then (the priest) offers 1008 additional dhūtis with clarified butter with the five mantras beginning with ‘namas-te Rudra manyave’ (O Rudra! adoration to you that are fury incarnate’ Tai. S. IV, 5. 1. 1–5), Then the procedure from Śvistaktī offering to the gift of the cow (should be gone through). He puts down on bunches of dūrvasā grass the remaining portion of the food from which offerings were made in front of the sacred Agni with the words ‘svāhā to the bhūtas’ (spirits). Then he (priest) makes (the elephant) eat what remains of the food cooked in the šāhī (pan or cooking vessel) and the bunch of five dūrvasā (on which the jars had been placed) to the accompaniment of the Āyusya- śūkta; 1306 he sprinkles drops from the prapitā 1307 water with the

1304. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 207–211 for the description of a model homa.

1305. It may be noted that the first verse of the Gṛṭasūkta is ‘आ जू म न जू म जू म विष खाम से द्वारात। महाभारती वधिष्योऽह।’. Here the word महाभारती means ‘great elephant’ and also ‘having long or big arms’ (as applied to Indra) and therefore is employed in the Gajasānti, following the principle mentioned in note 1276 above. Vide n. 1218 above about दुर्सहुकुम.[

1306. The आयुष्यसुकृत is the दिलकुकुम ‘आयुष्य वर्षसं’ occurring after Rg. X. 128. The आयुष्यसुकृति 32. 9 p. 195 declares what the आयुष्यसुकृत contains (from Atharvaveda). The कौशिकसुकृत 52. 18 says that Atharvā I. 50. 1–4 are आयुष्यसुकृत (conferring long life). Vide तात्त्वकसृति on आयुष्यसुकृतिं. Rg. V. 12. 9 which regards the (first) eight verses of the दिलकुकुम ‘आयुष्य वर्षसं’ as constituting आयुष्यसुकृत. The com. of Nārāyaṇa on आयुष्यसुकृति 32. 8. 16 (आयुष्य- सुकृति दिलकुकुम मभेन कपडे पापुपुच &c.) says that आयुष्यसुकृत is the दिलकुकुम (of three verses) beginning with नेत्रमेव after Rg. X. 184.

1307. प्रपिताम is water kept in a vessel to the north of the fire after repeating a mantra over it.
The Gajasānti in Agnipurāṇa (chap. 291) is entirely different from the above. One should worship on the 5th tithi of the bright half Viṣṇu, Laksrī, the Airāvata elephant and the other elephants (in all eight) and Brahmā, Śaṅkara, Indra, Kubera, Yama, the Sun and the Moon, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, the Earth and Akāśa. The elephants should be sprinkled with śāntyudaka (propitiatory water). The Agnipurāṇa proposes an elaborate worship, on a lotus-shaped diagram drawn on an altar, of several gods, several weapons, sages, rivers and mountains &c., elephants &c. and provides that an astrologer should ride the principal elephant of the king and say into its ear “you are made the chief of elephants, the king will honour you with gandha, flowers, best food and people at the order of the king will honour you; you should protect the king in battle, in his journey and in his palace. You should forget that you are a mere beast and revolve in your mind that you are divine!’ &c. The king should then ride such an elephant and armed warriors should follow and various gifts should be made to the elephant keeper, the astrologer, the ācārya &c.

The Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 50. 1–93) is far more elaborate than even the Agnipurāṇa. Its verses about the words to be muttered in the ear of the elephant (II. 50. 59–64) are the same as those in the Agni (291, 15–20). The Viṣṇudharmottara adds (II. 50. 68–70) that this sānti should not be performed on the 4th, 9th or 14th tithi nor on Tuesday nor on Saturday and the commended nakṣatras are Jyeṣṭhā, Citrā and Śravana and that this sānti rite for elephants destroys all danger to elephants.

Hemādri (on Vrata vol. II. pp. 1036–1051) contains a long Gajasānti said to have been declared by Pālakāpya. Many of

1308. According to the Amarakośa, the eight elephants of the quarters are: Airāvata, Puṇḍarika, Vāmana, Kumuda, Aṅjana, Puṣpadanta, Sārvabhauma and Suprātikā. Vide Udyogaparva 103. 9–16 and Dronaparva 121. 25–26 for the numerous progeny of these semi-divine elephants. The Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 50. 10–11) names eight dīggajas, but drops Sārvabhauma from the Amarakośa list and substitutes Nīla.
those verses occur in the Hästyäyurveda (Änandäśrama ed.) chapters 35 and 36. Considerations of space and of importance prevent any description of that sänti derived from the Hästyäyurveda.

The Brhatsamhitä (chap. 92. 1-14), the Brhadyogayättra (22. 1-21) and the Yogayättra (XI. 1-14) deal with the movements, neighing, prancing, striking the ground with hoofs, postures of horses from which lucky or unlucky consequences are to be inferred. But they do not describe any sänti and therefore are passed over. The Agnipuräṇa (chap. 290, 1-8), the Viśnu-dharmottara (II. 47. 1-42), Baud. grhyśeṣasūtra I. 19 and Hemädri (on vrata, vol. II. pp. 1031-36 taken from Śālihotra) describe a sänti which averts all dangers to horses and removes their diseases.

The sänti from Baudhāyana is as follows:—"having carried out the usual details of an ordinary homa from drawing the lines onwards (the priest) offers into Agni oblations from the cooked food after reciting the puroṇuväkyä (invitatory prayer) ‘tadaśvinäśvayujopayätäm’ (May the Äśvinä that yoke horses come near, Tai. Br. III. 1. 2. 9 and the yäjyä (offering prayer) ‘yau devänäm bhisajau’ (‘that are physicians of the gods’, Tai. Br. III. 1. 2. 11). Then he makes additional offerings with clarified butter ‘svähä to Äśvinä, svähä to the two that yoke horses, svähä to the ear, svähä to hearing’ (Tai. Br. III. 1. 6. 13). Then he performs all details from sviṣṭakrta offering to the gift of a cow. Then he puts down on Åsvattha leaves in front of Agni the food remaining after the offering of cooked food with the mantra ‘yo äsvatthah... ketubhiḥ saha’ (Tai. Br. I. 2. 1. 8-9). He brings together in a plate the water with which the sthālti is washed, the remainder of the clarified butter and of the water, sprinkles drops from it with an Åsvattha twig and goes round the horses thrice with his right towards the horses with the anuväka beginning with ‘yo vā äsvasya medhyasya lomānī veda’ (he who knows the hair of the holy horse). So said the adorable Baudhāyana."

Säntis are connected with śakunas also. The word śakuna means 'a bird' in the Rgyveda (IV. 26. 6, IX. 86. 13, IX. 96. 19 and 23, IX. 107. 20, IX. 112. 2, X. 68. 7, X. 123. 6, X. 165. 2) and is a synonym of Śakuni (Rg. II. 42. 1, II. 43. 2 and 3) and śakunti (Rg. II. 42. 3, II. 43. 1). In Rg. X. 16. 6 (yat te krsnah śakuna atutoda) the crow is referred to as 'the dark bird'. It has been seen above that birds like kapatá were regarded even
in the Rgveda as harbingers of impending evil and misfortune. Hence the word śakuna gradually came to mean premonition of evil conveyed by cries, movements, positions of birds and then any prognosticatory sign (not necessarily connected with birds). There is an extensive literature on śakunas. Some of it is mentioned here, viz. the Mātsyapurāṇa (chap. 237, 241, 243), Agnipurāṇa (chap. 230-232), Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa II. 163-164, Padmapurāṇa (IV. 100. 65-136), Bhakt-samhitā (chap. 85-95), Bhad-yogayātrā (chap. 23-27), Yogayātrā (chap. 14), the Nimitta of Bhadrabāhu (ms. in Bhaṇ Daji collection of BBRAS No. 385 in Prof. Velankar’s Catalogue pp. 136-127), Vasantarāja-śakuna,1399 Mānasollāsa of king Somesvara Cālukya (1126-1138).

1309. Vasantarāja’s work on ‘śakunas’ was published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay (1906 A.D.), with the Sanskrit commentary of Bhāmacandraṇa, who was patronized by Emperor Akbar (in the latter half of the 16th century A.D.) and a Hindi translation by Sridhara Jatāsākara Bhatta. As Vasantarāja is quoted by Adbhuta-sāgara which was begun in Śaka 1089 (1167 A.D.), it follows that Vasantarāja would have to be placed before 1100 A.D. He is probably not much earlier than 700 A.D. as he does not appear to have been mentioned by Utpala in his extensive commentaries on Varāhamihira’s works. Vasantarāja tells us (in the Introductory verses 3-5) that he was the son of Vijayarāja-bhāṭṭa and Sarasvati and the younger brother of Śivarāja, that he was honoured by king Candra-dēva (king of Mithilā, acc. to the Com.) and composed the work on śakuna at the request of that king. He mentions (I. 10) Īñāśāṇi, jyotisha-śastra, horā-śastra and Svaroṣṭaya and (in I. 27) informs us that Atri, Garga, Guru, Śukra, Vasiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Kautsa, Bhrigu and Gautama were the principal ancient sages that declared the knowledge of śakuna for the benefit (of human beings). Īñāśāṇi is rather an early work quoted in the Sārvāvalī (5. 20 and 39. 8) of Kalyāṇavarman in the same breath with Varāhamihira.

The Nimitta attributed to Bhadrabāhu is an extensive work containing 26 chapters and about 1460 verses. It is described in the colophon at the end as ‘nairgranthē (nairgranthē?) Bhadrabāhuke Nimitte svapnādhyāyaḥ’. The first chapter states that in the time of king Senajit at Rājaṅgṛha in Magadhā pupils asked Bhadrabāhu to expound to them the nimittās and he did so. He is styled (in chap. II. 1) a digambara and the best of śraṇguṇas. The contents of chapters 2 to 26 are; Ulkā (meteors), halo, lightning, evening glow, clouds, winds and hurricanes, rain-fall, gandharvanagara (Fata Morgana), march of kings on invasion, portents affecting the king and the country due to the ripening of actions in former lives (chap. XIV has 177 verses on this), graha-cāra as declared by Jīna (chap. XV, 227 verses), the prognosticatory movements of Venus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Rāhu, Ketu, the Sun and the Moon; grahyuddha; conjunctions of planets; dreams. It appears that the work is later than Varāhamihira. As it is not within the pale of Dharmaśāstra Literature and hardly ever describes a śanti in the way in which the Purāṇas and medieval dharmaśāstra works provide it has been referred to in this work only rarely,
A. D.) II. 13 pp. 102–112, Adbhutasāgara (which profusely quotes Vasantarāja’s work), Rājanitiprakāśa (pp. 345–347). Among these Vasantarāja-sākuna is the most comprehensive work on the subject of sākunas and has been quoted by the Adbhutasāgara and other later works. A brief account of the work would not be out of place and is given here. It is divided into twenty vargas (sections) and contains in different metres 1525 verses (as stated in varga II. 12). It states: it would declare the sākunas indicated in this world by groups of beings viz. bipeds (men and birds), quadrupeds (elephants, horses &c.), six-footed (bees), eight-footed (the mythical animal sarabha), beings having many feet (such as a scorpion) and having no feet (such as snakes); that is called sākuna which is the means of arriving at definite knowledge about auspicious or inauspicious consequences viz. movement (to the left, to the right &c.), the sounds or cries (of birds and beasts), their glances and activities. A person who is an expert in sākuna-sāstra, knowing that a certain object of his would involve difficulties or would be without difficulties, abandons it or begins it respectively. The work boasts that if it be well studied it requires no expounder, no mathematics and that by merely studying it, the reader acquires pleasant knowledge that yields rewards. The work repeats the view of Varāhamihira (in Brhamantika 85.5 and on p. 558 above in n. 827) that sākunas indicate to men, whether going on a journey or residing in their houses, how the consequences of actions done in past lives will certainly bear fruit. He answers the objection that, if no man can escape his fate and has to reap the rewards of his past actions, this sāstra is of no use, by saying that the actions of former lives bear fruit only at certain times and places and a man can avoid the results of past actions just as he avoids snakes, fire, poison.

1310. पक्षीतिता विचलितेऽर्थसम्य विद्वाणाः महाशाकुनसांविहरतः। सहस्राकृ तिवं इतस्तंशयं तथा सपायो महाशाकुनसांविहरतः। बालस्त्राज्ञा II. 12.

1311. व्रह्मचक्षुःतितात्रयादिधिर्महा नरसमायेनसातः। याज्ञवल्क्यमहिष्णुः विद्वानः सर्वोत्सवः। गात्रसंसारसतर्कपति श्रीसुभाषिं श्रीमहागृहि श्रीमहाविद्वानः। श्रीहरिकृष्णसदृशयं महादेवरस्तिति भहुपतेः। अग्निहोत्रे श्रीहरिकृष्णसदृशयं महादेवरस्तिति भहुपतेः। अग्निहोत्रे श्रीहरिकृष्णसदृशयं महादेवरस्तिति भहुपतेः। अग्निहोत्रे श्रीहरिकृष्णसदृशयं महादेवरस्तिति भहुपतेः। अग्निहोत्रे श्रीहरिकृष्णसदृशयं महादेवरस्तिति भहुपतेः। अग्निहोत्रे श्रीहरिकृष्णसदृशयं महादेवरस्तिति भहुपतेः। अग्निहोत्रे श्रीहरिकृष्णसदृशयं महादेवरस्तिति भहुपतेः।

1311 quotes छुपामुक्तम् and other verses.
thorns and other (dangerous) things and that if fate alone be the deciding factor what is the use of the science of politics and government by following which wise kings protect the world with great effort? Learned men declare that daiva (fate) is only the karma produced (accumulated) in past lives; the karma in past lives was acquired by human effort; how can one then say that daiva does not depend on human effort? The subjects in the 20 targas and the verses allotted to each by Vasantarāja may be briefly set down at one place: 1. Śāstraprayatīthā (establishment of the śakunaśāstra by reasoning, verses 31); 2. Śāstrasaṅgraha, 13 verses (the statement of the contents of chapters and verses); 3. abhyarcana, verses 31 (how to honour the guru who expounds the śakunaśāstra and to offer worship to the birds and the eight lokapālas according to the procedure laid down by sages); 4. miśraka, verses 72 (general directions such as that the person out of several with reference to whom a śakuna may be examined up to what distance a śakuna operates, if many beings exhibit prognostications which should be followed, what birds and animals are powerful in what directions as to śakunas; śānta, dagāha and other directions); 5. śubhāśubha (auspicious and inauspicious things and sights) verses 16; 6. nareṅgīta, verses 50 (the appearance, dress, gestures, speech, throbbing of the limbs of men and women that are auspicious or inauspicious); 7. śyāmārūta (chirpings of the bird called śyāmā, female cuckoo) 400 verses (worship of two images of the bird practically as a deity, the auspicious or inauspicious sounds, activities, motions with reference to invasion, coronation, peace and war, victory, marriage, rainfall, crops); 8. Pakṣivīcāra, verses 57 (prognostications from the cries, sight, glances, movements of several birds such as swan, crane, cakravāka, parrot, mainā, peacock, kapiṇḍala, vulture, hawk, owl, pigeon, cock); 9. Cāsa (the blue jay) verses 5; 10. khaṇjana (wagtail), verses 27; 11. karāpikā (a kind of crane), verses 11; 12. kākara (the cawing of crows) verses 181; 13. Pīṅgalikārūta (cries of an owl-like bird), verses 200; 14. catuspada (four-footed animals like elephant, horse, ass, bull, buffalo, cow and she-buffalo, goat and sheep, camel, musk-rat, rat, monkey, cat, jackal), verses 50; 15. six-footed, many footed and snakes (verses 13); 16. Pīplīkā (ants), verses 15; 17. Pallivīcāra (lizard also called kudyaṃatsya and gṛhagodhikā), verses 32; 18. Śvaceśṭīta (barking and other actions of dogs), verses 222; 19. Śivārūta (howling of female jackals), verses 90; 20. Śāstrasprabhāva (the importance of this śakunaśāstra), verses 24.
A noticeable feature of Vasantarāja’s work is that more than half of it (781 verses) is devoted to the sounds made by three birds viz. Śyāmā (400 verses), crow (187) Pīngalikā (200) and that 312 verses are devoted to the barking, movements and howling of dogs (verses 222) and female jackals (verses 90). It is remarkable that among the Sāktas it is believed that a female jackal is a messenger of Kālī and is auspicious and on hearing its howl in the early morning a person should offer salutation and then success is in the hands of the sādhaka. The brief contents set out above will show that he extends the meaning of śakuna so as to include prognostications based on the actions of men and beasts. He himself says at the end that is śakuna, which in this world is remembered, heard, touched or seen or which is declared in dreams, since they all yield results. He claims that the system of śakunas is as authoritative as the Vedas, smṛtis and purāṇas, since it never fails to convey correct knowledge. Some of his interesting statements may be briefly set out. If an owl hoot at night on the top of a house that portends sorrow and the death of the owner’s son (VIII. 40). This is in line with modern popular belief in India. The cawing of crows is at the head of all prognosticatory sounds. ‘The barking of dogs is the essence among all śakunas.’ The Brhad-yogāyātra provides that certain animals and birds are useless for prognostications at certain seasons viz. the rohita (red) deer, horse, goat, ass, deer, camel, hare, are useless in winter (śiśira); crow and cuckoo are

1312. लाभदसितिचिन्तितितिनिगृहः स्वदेशसिद्धिहिन्दुस्बोधि सर्व छया। स्मवन्द्रशास्त्रसिद्धां च प्रतिक्रियाकर्तव्यं ब्रह्मचर्यं। कथायते 7.52-54 pp. 119-120. How an ordinary man could distinguish between the sound ‘cilici’ (portending goods), cicī (portending danger), cicirici (portending trouble) and cīkuciku (portending a wretched state) is difficult to say. Similarly, the Pīngalā bird is supposed to make five sounds viz. किच्चु, किचि, किचिचि, किचिकिचि, किचिकिचिचि (सन्नाराज 13. 27-28) with different consequences.

1313. यहसि किचित्तिचितितितिनिगृहः स्वदेशसिद्धिहिन्दुस्बोधि हर्षः। स्मालाराजशास्त्रसिद्धां प्रतिक्रियाकर्तव्यं ब्रह्मचर्यं। वस्तुनम् 20. 2 p. 513.

1314. वेषः: ममायः स्तुतं: ममायः लोके पुराणानि यथा ममायः। विकृत्वा निमित्तमायाभिचायाभिचायाभिचाया ममायः शकुनामायाभिचायाभिचाया। वस्तुनम् 20. 8 p. 517.

1315. राज श्रीराजपरि भारताराज्रुहसरवर्तव वर्तव। वस्तुनम् 8. 40, p. 246.

1316. सर्वदः भारसार्वज्ञाश्चेष्टक्षेष्टसस्माः: श्रीः। निमित्तमायः: सिद्धिर्जीवः दस्य। काक- कोकिकिक्क: न तत् भारसार्वज्ञाश्चेष्टक्षेष्टसस्माः:। श्रीवास्तविनेनकिर्तिः भारताराजश्रीवास्तविनेनकिर्तिः। श्रीकुलामालातः। मया:। हेदनले निमित्तमायः जीवः बालः। सर्वत्र विमायाः। बुद्धस्यामायाः (ma.) chap. 23. 22-24.
useless in spring; boar, dog, wolf and the like should not be relied upon in Bhadrapada; in Śārad (autumn) lotuses (or conch), bull and birds like krauṇḍa are useless; in Śrāvaṇa month, the elephant and cāṭaka bird; in Hemanta (early winter), tiger, bear, monkey, leopard, buffalo and all animals resorting to holes (like snakes) are useless and so are all young ones except of human beings. Vasantarāja in IV. 47-48 pp. 56-57 has the same provisions almost word for word. Vasantarāja’s work appears to have been based mainly on Varāhamihira’s Brhat-samhitā section on śakuna, chapters 85 to 95 (321 verses) in which Varāhamihira devotes 47 verses in chap. 85 to the cries of birds in general, deals with the movements and barking of dogs (88. 1-20) and female jackals (89. 1-15), the cries of crows (62 verses in chap. 94), to horses (92. 1-15), elephants (94. 1-14) and cows (90. 1-3).

Vasantarāja states¹³¹⁷ that there are five excellent ones in the matter of śakunas viz. the Podaki bird, dog, crow, pingala bird and the female jackal. Sarasvatī is the presiding deity of podaki, Yakṣa (Kubera) of dog, eagle of crow, Cāndi of pingalikā and the friend of Pārvatī of the female jackal. He further says that all animals and birds are presided over by deities; therefore a person who interprets śakunas should not kill them, as deities presiding over them might become angry. His statements about ‘upaśruti’ (oracular voices or words) are worth citing. ‘At the time of pradāsa or about the morning twilight when people are hardly speaking anything, a person that is ready to undertake any matter (business) should consider everywhere oracular voices. What a child says without being prompted to do so would not turn out to be untrue even at the end of a Yuga. No such easily understood and true śakuna exists for men other than upaśruti.’ Both Mānasollāsa (II. 13, verses 920-926 pp. 112-113) and Vasanantarāja (VI. pp. 78-80 verses 5-12) describe a curious mode of divining the future called ‘upaśruti’.¹³¹⁸ ‘When all people are asleep and the public

¹³¹⁷. पोदकी कात्वकानं किमन्त्रितं जन्मुष्णिविलम्बं च प्रभृति। एदाय शुद्धिनिर्भवं तत्रुन्तन्त्रेऽविशेषं यथा सर्वम्। सर्वनां पाण्डिकंकां मध्ये पत्ति। वायुः कालकारुण्यं। चण्डो नुस्स्त्रितं विभुतिमयं च। वसन्तराजे III 3-4, pp. 22-23; काँतिक-पुराणस्य। च। सिद्धांक्षेत्रं सुभवं बुद्धिमयं च। प्राणमेतसाधकों चूल्ला तथा कामते। करे सिद्धां: आद्धिहस्तस्य (Jīv. I p. 345).

¹³¹⁸. पशुप्राणां चिंतनं कर्मं तथापि कधी कर्मकायं। उपशुद्धितं कर्मं समयं कर्मसंचायं। वहंमेतसाधकों चूल्ला तथा कामते। उपशुद्धितं न्यव्रतितं फिक्कवस्य सूक्षं जनान। सन्तराजे VI pp 80-81.

(Continued on next page)
road is empty of people three married women accompanied by a maiden should worship Ganeśa (with gandha and flowers &c.); then, after making an obeisance to Cāndikā they should fill a measure of corn like kudara with aksata grains on which sacred mantras have been recited seven times; they should then place the image of Ganeśa in that measure surrounded by the grass blades of a broom. They should take with them the kudara measure with Ganeśa image inside and repair to the house of a washerman. In front of that house they should cast white aksata grains after (silently) revolving in their mind their thoughts (the matter they are intent on). Then they should with concentrated mind listen. When they hear any words coming from inside of the house talked by a man, a woman or a child or any one else uttered at pleasure (or without restraint of any kind), auspicious, or inauspicious, they should consider the sense of the words heard and the conclusion drawn as to the future project from the words would not turn out to be untrue. The same method may be followed by approaching the house of a candaḷa.

(Continued from last page)
A peculiar mode akin to ‘upaśruti’ is described in the Padmapurāṇa, Pātālakhaṇḍa, chap. 100 verses 65-166. It is narrated in that chapter that Bibhīsana was put in chains by Dravidas when the former saw Śiva-linga established by Rāma at Rāmeśvara and when no one could explain how it happened, Rāma questioned Śambhu himself who explained that the Purāṇas (mentioned in verses 51-53) may be employed as containing prognosticatory words. The procedure is that a maiden more than five years of age and less than ten years or any girl who has not attained puberty may be honoured with gandha, flowers, incense and other upacāras, she should be made to recite the words ‘speak the truth, speak what is agreeable, O blessed Sarasvatī! salutation to you, salutation to you!’ She should be given three pairs of dūrā grass and she should be asked to cast them between two leaves of the book. The verse between two leaves would be indicative of success in the undertaking. The verse should be carefully considered and its meaning settled and applied to the matter in hand. This is like sortes sanctorum or sortes Vergilianae i.e. divination by opening at random the Scriptures or a book of Virgil or by pricking the text with a pin. Then directions are given as to what should be done if the leaves are half burnt or indistinct &c. and it is said that one should look upon the verse as sent by fate like the words in the upaśruti method. It is further stated that this method should not be resorted to every day, but rarely and that then one should worship the Purāṇa the previous night and in the morning should consult the Purāṇa for śakuna (verses 114-116). The Skanda is the best among all Purāṇas for this purpose of śakuna; some hold that the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa also may be consulted, but the author of the Padma says that Viṣṇupurāṇa may not be used for this purpose, since if a man devoid of proper conduct honours it for consultation, then inauspicious indications come out (verses 122-123). Śambhu himself worshipped Skanda-purāṇa, asked the question why Bibhīsana, devotee of Śiva, had fetters put on him (verses 131-132). Then three verses were seen that gave indications (verses 133-135), two of which are cited below. At the end the

1319. वेदान्ती हि म ददसक्रि दृश्य हि बलभतसर्। उपाशुद्धिः पंचम नापपराः दिस्ताय।
बिभीति गे च कृष्णो देशस्य कुटिला गति। पश्च, पाताल, 100. 77-78.

1320. लोचनाः शतश्रूः स तु सयंद्रे द्रापम् सत्यं, सयंद्रे त्रायं चरणम्। योद्धो समागति
समायदुः ताद्रापस्मालस्तिचापणवद्यः॥ अद्वृत्त जनपदः शिरस्वत दिस्ताय। पम्मां।
(Continued on next page)
Purāṇa says that the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata or all its parvans may be employed for this purpose of śakuna (verses 163–164).

A similar method of finding out omens and of divination from the two works of the great Hindi poet and saint Tulasidās (born in saṅvat 1589 i.e. 1532 A.D.) viz. Rāmājñā (or Rāmaśakunāvali containing 343 doha verses) and Rāmaśalākā is described at some length by G. A. Grierson in I. A. vol. XXII pp. 204 ff and in Festgabe H. Jacobi pp. 449–455.

It is worthy of note that even scientific works like the Carakasamhitā ask the physician to notice the condition of the patient, of the messenger, and the actions of the physician and inauspicious omens. They are described in Indriyaśāstra chap. 12. A few notable verses may be cited here. ‘That patient would only live for a month on whose head arises only powder (danduff or the like) resembling the powder of dry cowdung and that slides down (from the head); that patient will not live even for a fortnight whose chest dries up when he takes a bath and anoints his body with sandalwood paste while all other limbs are yet wet’ (verse 12). ‘Those messengers from a patient who come to a physician when the latter is offering oblations into fire or is offering pindas to his pītras, will kill the patient (i.e. indicate the approaching death of the patient, verse 16); a woman who is in a pitable state, terrified, hurried, troubled, dirty and unchaste, three persons (coming together), deformed persons, impotent persons—these are messengers of those who are about to die’ (verses 21–22); ‘a physician should not go (to see a patient) on being called by a messenger when the physician sees, while the messenger is describing the condition of the patient, an inauspicious omen or a sorrowing man or a corpse or the decoration meant for the dead’; verses 67–70 dilate on the signs of an auspicious messenger and verses 71–79 set out auspicious omens such as the sight of curds, whole grains, brāhmaṇas, bulls, king, jewels, jar full of water, white horse &c. The physician is however advised not to declare an inauspicious omen even when he sees it that would give a shock or cause pain to the patient or even to anyone else (verse 63).

(Continued from last page)
Vedic Sāntisūktas and mantras

It would be of use to students of sāntis if the sānti-sūktas of the Rgveda are mentioned in one place. They are:

1. Āno bhadrā (Rg. I. 89. 1–10)
2. Svasti na Indro (Rg. I. 89. 6–10)
3. Śam na Indrāgni (Rg. VII. 35. 1–11)
4. Yata Indra bhayāmahe (Rg. VIII. 61. 13–18)
5. Bhadram ānapi vātaya manah (Rg. X. 20. 1)
6. Āśuḥ śīśano (Rg. X. 103. 1–13)
7. Muñcāmi tvā (Rg. X. 161. 1–5)
8. Tyam-ū su (Rg. X. 178. 1–3)
9. Mahi trīnām (Rg. X. 185. 1–3)
10. Rātrī vyakhyaṭ (Rg. X. 127. 1–8)

Most of the above hymns occur wholly or partly in the Atharvaveda, the Tai, S, and other Vedic works.

Then there are certain hymns that are called Rakṣoṣghna (destroying evil spirits) such as ‘Krṇuṣya pājah’ (Rg. IV. 4. 1–15), ‘Rakṣoḥanam’ (Rg. X. 87. 1–25), ‘Indrāsoma tapatam’ (Rg. VII. 104. 1–25), ‘Agne hamsi nyatrinam’ (Rg. X. 118. 1–9), ‘Brahmaṇāgniḥ’ (Rg. X. 162. 1–6). Some of these also occur wholly or partly in the Tai, S, Atharvaveda and other Vedic works.

The eleven anuvākas of the Taittirīya Samhitā IV. 5 beginning with the words ‘namas-te Rudra manavya’ are styled Rudrāhityāya or simply Rudra. Reciting them once is styled ‘āvartana’, but the recitation of these eleven times is called ‘Ekādaśini’. Recitation of the Ekādaśini eleven times is called in popular parlance Laghurudra, eleven repetitions of this

1321. In the description of the dāna called Tulāpurusa contained in the Matsyapurāṇa chap. 274 occurs the half verse ‘अन्तुः शालिकाध्यायम् जापका: सत्वमपितस्’ (274.56) which Aparāṅka quotes (on p 317) and remarks ‘शालिकाध्यायम् इं न इद्यान्द्री वृत्तिष्ठ’

1322. कौसिकवृत्त 126. 9 mentions ‘शालिकाध्याय:’ but does not state what they are.

1323. So eminent a writer as Kaṁcakakṣubha in his śāntirṇa states that एकादशी शालिकाध्यायम् and लघुरुद्रस् mean the same thing. ‘एकादशी: शालिकाध्यायम्’ सैव लघुरुद्राः। तामिरिकाध्यायमिन्नासद्। तत्रत्वाद शालिकाध्यायम् इति। ‘एकादशीधिष्ठ च जयविषयं गोपालाः’ (folio 255a). Similarly, in the Mahāyāsa-vidbibhāṣya (ms. in the collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society, described in Prof. Velankar’s catalogue at No. 794) no Laghurudra is mentioned, but only Rudra, Rudraikādaśini, Mahārudra and Atirudra.
last are designated Mahārudra and eleven Mahārudras are
called Atirudra. The Rudra may take three forms viz. japa
(muttering), homa (offering into Agni oblations to the accom-
paniment of the mantras), or abhiseka (sprinkling a person with
the holy water over which the mantras have been recited) For
reciting Rudrādhyaḷa the yajamāna, if he cannot himself recite
it, may employ one brāhmaṇa and also for Ekādaśini; but for
Laghurudra and Mahārudra eleven brāhmaṇas are generally
employed and for Atirudra eleven or 121. Ekadaśini and
Laghurudra are very much in vogue even now in Mahārāṣṭra.
Rudrābhiseka is described in Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra II. 18.
11-16.

The mantra ‘Tryambakam yajāmahe’ (Rg. VII. 59. 12, Tai.
S. I. 8. 6. 2, Vāj. S. III. 60) is called Mrtyuṇjaya. Japa of it is
prescribed for relief against premature death. The Baudhayana-
gṛhyaśeṣasūtra (III. 11) prescribes a somewhat more elaborate
rite and provides that the mantras to be recited are ‘apaitu
14. 5), ‘mā no mahāntam’ (Rg. I. 114. 7), ‘mā nas-toke’ (Tai. S.
III. 4. 11. 2), ‘Tryambakam yajāmahe’ (Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2), ‘Ye te
sahasram’ (Tai. Br. III. 10. 8. 2).

It is unnecessary for the author to say what should be done
in these days as to śāntis. Most of the śāntis except a few, as
pointed out above in various places, are no longer performed.
Even the few that are yet performed may cease altogether in the
near future, if one is to judge from modern trends.
SECTION IV

THE PŪRĀNAS AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA

CHAPTER XXII

Origin and development of Purāṇa literature

The History of Dharmaśāstra (vol. I pp. 160-167) has a brief chapter on the Purāṇas. It has been shown therein how the Taittirīya Aranyakas, the Chāndogya and Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads mention Itiḥāsa and Purāṇa (sometimes collectively as ‘Itiḥāsapurāṇam’ and sometimes separately as ‘Itiḥāsaḥ Purāṇam’) and how some of the extant Purāṇas are much earlier than the 6th century A.D. It is further pointed out there that the number of the principal Purāṇas has been traditionally handed down as eighteen,1324 that some purāṇas such as the Mātasya, the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu and Bhaviṣya contain much Dharmaśāstra material, that the Garuda-purāṇa and the Agnipurāṇa contain several hundred verses each that are identical with verses of the Yājñavalkya smṛti, that there is great divergence as to the extent of almost all Purāṇas, that some of the Purāṇas themselves enumerate minor works called Upapurāṇas, that the Purāṇas are divided into three groups, viz. sāttvika, rājasya and tāmasa (as done by Garuda I. 223. 17-20, and Padma VI. 263. 81-84). Details were also furnished as to the chapters of the Purāṇas in which the several topics of Dharmaśāstra (such as ācāra, āhnikā, dāna, rājadharma, śrāvijha, tiriha) were dealt with.

In the present section it is proposed to trace the great transformation that took place in the ideas, ideals and practices of the ancient Indian people owing to the influence of the Purāṇas in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

Before proceeding further several preliminary matters have to be dealt with. The mention of Purāṇas as a class of literature

1324. The Mātasya (53. 18-19), Agni (272. 4-5) and Nārada (I. 92. 26) enumerate Vāyu among the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, while the Viṣṇu (III. 6.19), Mārkaṇḍeya (134. 8), Kṛṣṇa (I. 1.13), Padma (I. 62.2), Liṅga (I. 39.61), Bhāgavata (XII. 7.23), Brāhmaṇa-vārttika (III. 133 14) substitute Sāiva for Vāyu and omit Vāyu altogether from the list of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas.
goes back much farther than was pointed out in the H. of DH. vol. I. p. 160. The Atharvaveda mentions Purāṇa (in the singular) in XI. 7. 24 and XV. 6. 10–11. "The rks and sāman verses, the chandas, the Purāṇa along with the Yajus formulae, all sprang from the remainder of sacrificial food, (as also) the gods that resort to heaven. He changed his place and went over to great direction; and Itīhāsa and Purāṇa, gāthās, verses in praise of heroes followed in going over." The Śatapatha brāhmaṇa also (XI. 5. 6. 8) mentions 'Itīhāsapurāṇam' (as one compound word) and states that on the 9th day of the Pārīplava the hot priest instructs among other matters as follows: 'The Purāṇa is the Veda; this it is; thus saying let him narrate some Purāṇa' (XIII. 4. 3. 13.). The Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra (XVI. 2. 27) and the Āśvalāyana Śrauta (X. 7) remark that on two days of the Pārīplava the Itīhāsaveda and Purāṇaveda were to be recited. But the two sūtras (though affiliated to the Rgveda) differ as to the day on which they were to be recited. It is difficult to say whether the Atharvaveda, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Upaniṣads knew several works called Purāṇa or whether there was only a single work called

1325. क्रमः समाने छन्दसिंह पूर्णं वर्णया सह। उल्लिखितजीत सर्वे विवेक देवा दिविजिन्ति। अवधि XI. 7. 24; स द्राक्षीमिकद्विन्धल। समितिहास्य पूर्णतः च माध्यायः नारायणीश्चादुः। अवधि XV. 6. 10–11. Vide Prof. Hazra's interpretation of the first verse in ABORI, vol. 36, 1955, pp. 190–203 and criticism there-of below.

1326. मधुद्रायोऽह वा एता देवानां वर्णदास्यनानि विद्या वाराणयमित्सिद्धासुपुरणः। गाथा नारायणीस्तिथितः। साग्नयस्मि। शतथ XI. 5. 6. 8; अवधि नाम। "सत्यायश मत्विन्धमित्सप्रष्ठमेता भवेन। तात्तुपज्ञस्वदिगतसों वेदः। सांपित्न कौमुदिनसहस्वाभवति। अवधि नाम। "तात्तुपज्ञस्वदिगत पूर्णां वेदः। सांपित्न कौमुदिनसहस्वाभवति।। शतथ XIII. 4. 3. 12–13. According to the commentary Itīhāsa means such cosmological myths as 'in the beginning there was nothing but water' and Purāṇa means stories such as that of Purūravas and Urvaśī. Compare गोपयनाञ्ज्ञान (ed. by Gastra) I 1, 21.

1327. समासात् समासात् बुद्धिस्व आदनायेष्व हिरण्यकपिलानां सन्त्वनिर्विज्ञाय पुरुषात्मकाधिन्याय राजेन पारित्सहिती। "व्यथेक्षती मे भवेकस्तत्सर्वमेता मद्ययेल विस्तार इम आस्त इति सहभेद वर्षभास्यनानि: स्वाधिकारिणानि। अच्छो वेदः। सांपित्न सुवर्णि निम्नतिति। अभ्य. अौ. X. 6. 10–X. 7. 1. समासात् refers to the three āṭṣa to Savitr offered every day in the morning, mid-day and evening: the com. of मार्श्याल्पयात्रेभ्रम explains: समासात्सिंही बौद्धवस्भान्ति पारिंदुर्याचार्यायणां संस्कारमहतः। कौमुदिनिति तद्भवे॥ The आभ. अौ. connects Itīhāsa with the 9th day and Purāṇavidya with the eighth, while the शां. अौ. reverses this order. The आभ. अौ. winds up "यक्ताल्पयात्रेः संस्कारमहतः। इस्में इसी मयां समासात्। संस्कारानि लोपेति। शासन 9–11; the सांपित्नि वात् तथा पारित्सहिता। (XVI. 2. 36).
Purāṇa known to them. But from the fact that the Tai. Ār. (II. 10) speaks of Itihāsas and Purāṇas (in the plural) it would not be unreasonable to suppose that in the later Vedic period at least some works (three or more) called Purāṇas existed and were studied and recited by those that were engaged in solemn sacrifices like the Aṣvamedha. It is not unlikely that, where the singular ‘Purāṇam’ was employed in the Vedic texts, a class of works was meant. The facts that ‘Itihāsa–Purāṇa’ is called the fifth Veda in the Upaniṣads and that the Śatapatha employs ‘Itihāsa–Purāṇam’ as one compound word lead to the inference that the two categories ‘Itihāsa’ and ‘Purāṇa’ were similar in contents at least in several respects. The Āpastambha-dharmaśūtra²³² quotes two verses each in two places from a Purāṇa (in the singular), once cites the view of the Bhāvishyat-purāṇa and in another place gives the summary of a Purāṇa passage or verse which says that, when a person attacks another

¹³². अष्टकावर्णशः। उपासनांमात्रां भिक्षा पुरसायवेदिताः। भोज्यां मेंष प्रजायपिति दुर्गृहकारणम्। न तथा विलोकान्ति दुःख वर्णिणि पश्च च। न च हर्षव बहुरसिद्धांस्यमिदमपि। अपव. ध. त. I. 6. 19. 13; these two are the same as Manu IV. 248-249 with slight variations; अदाशैतिसहस्त्राणि वे प्रजायपिति। दुर्गृहकारणम्। ज्ञानानि ते प्रजायपिति। वैसे। अदाशैतिसहस्त्राणि वे ज्ञानानि। उत्तरे। पार्थेऽऽपि। ज्ञात्वा नेनत्वेऽऽपि कर्मम्। दुर्गृहकारण कर्मम्। आपव. ध. त. II. 9. 23. 3-6. These two verses respectively say that those who lead the life of a householder performing sacrifices and desiring progeny have to undergo deaths (lit. cemeteries, śmaśāna) and births (i.e. they only reach heaven and are born again and again), while those that do not desire progeny but remain celeberate throughout life become immortal (i.e. are not born again).

शुपेत्रतार्थम् in his bhāṣya on उप. VI. 2. 15 quotes a स्वतः verse as follows: ‘अदाशैतिसहस्त्राणि वे प्रजायपिति। उत्तरे। पार्थेऽऽपि। ज्ञात्वा नेनत्वेऽऽपि कर्मम्। विषयाधिकार II. 8. 93, वाच 50. 213, 218, मार्ग 124. 102-3 and 107, जापाण II. 7. 180 (first half). The third passage of उप. is पुनःसर्नेषु भौज्यम्। अभ्यत्तीति भविष्य

⁴²³² The 4th passage of आपव. ध. त. II. 9. 23. 6 refers to the fact that those who perform what is laid down in the Veda serve as the seed (i.e. they become Prajāpati) of the new creation after pralaya (dissolution). Compare यज्ञ III. 184-186, one of which is तत्तदाशैतिसहस्त्राणि मुनयों यहमेणिम्। पुनर्लिनो भौज्यम्। अधिवर्ज्जनम्। The 4th passage of आपव. ध. त. II. 9. 29. 7 refers to the fact that when a brahmaṇa there was a difference of opinion; उप. probably paraphrases some verses such as Manu VIII. 350-351, the latter of which is: नातत्तदाशैतिसहस्त्राणि हृदयवर्ज्जनम्। अन्यांतां शास्त्रानि मनुष्यो यहमेणिम्। तत्तदाशैतिसहस्त्राणि मनुष्यो यहमेणिम्। Both verses of Manu occur in मार्ग 227. 115-117, विषयाधिकार V. 189-190, उपेत्रतार्थम् IX 349-350; वाच V. 45. 46-46 are very similar. Vide Bühlcr in I. A. vol. 25 pp. 323 ff.

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with the object of harming him and the person attacked kills the attacker, no sin is incurred. From these passages it is clear that Āpastamba had before him a Purāṇa called Bhaviṣyat and also that the Purāṇa or Purāṇas which he knew contained rules about the food to be accepted for eating, about the stages of householder and the perpetual student, about resisting an atātya in even unto death and about creation and re-creation after dissolution. These matters fall within the province of Smṛtis and Purāṇas. As the word ‘purāṇa’ means ‘ancient’, the word Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa is a contradiction in terms. Long before Āpastamba the word Purāṇa had come to mean a work dealing with ancient tales &c; several such works must have been composed and they probably began to incorporate contemporary events and wrote about such events in a prophetic vein. Hence arose the name Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa.1329 As Āpastamba mentions a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa and also Purāṇa, it follows that before 500 B. C. several Purāṇas existed one of which was called the Bhaviṣyat and the Purāṇas then known contained the topics of sarga, pratisarga and smṛti matters.

This conclusion is strongly corroborated by other facts. The Gautama-dharmasūtra provides that a learned (bahuśruta) brāhmaṇa is one who knows peoples’ usages, the Veda, the aṅgas (auxiliary lores), Vākovākyya (dialogues), Itihāsa and Purāṇa and that the king in administering the affairs of his kingdom and justice has to depend upon the Veda, Dharmaśāstra, the (six) aṅgas of the Veda, the (four) Upavedas and Purāṇa.1330

From the above discussion it appears that, though we are not in a position to make definite statements about the contents of the Purāṇa or Purāṇas referred to in the Atharva, Śat. Br., Tai. Ār. and the Upaniṣads, by the time of Āp. and Gautama, Purāṇas approaching in contents to some extent at least some of the extant Purāṇas had come into existence. The

1329. It may be noted that the Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 177. 34) expressly mentions the Bhaviṣyat purāṇa. The reference shows that (in 177. 54–57) Sāmaka, son of Kṛṣṇa, renovated the Purāṇa called Bhaviṣyat and established images of the Sun-god in four places viz. (1) to the south of the Yamunā, (2) between Yamunā and Multan, called Kālapriya, (3) at Mūlasanā (modern Multan), (4) in Mathurā; vide Bhaviṣya (Venk. ed.) I. 72. 4–7 for three centres of the Sun image. The Matsya 53. 62 also mentions the Bhaviṣyat.

1330. अर्थ पर व्यवहारी वेदों धर्मसङ्ग्रहयुग्मयुग्मपैक्ष: पुराणम्। गी. ध. छ. XI. 19.
Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya states that 1331 ‘trayī’ means the three Vedas, viz. Śāmaaveda, Rgveda, Yajurveda and that the Ātharvaveda and Itiśaaveda are (also) vedas’. It follows that in Kauṭilya’s time Itiśa was a definite work like the three Vedas. In another place Kauṭilya provides ‘a minister proficient in Arthaśāstras and bent on the good of the king should, by means of itivṛtta (history or historical occurrences) and Purāṇas, admonish (and bring to the right path) a king led astray by other guides.’ In laying down a time-table for the king’s daily routine of work, 1332 Kauṭilya provides that in the latter part of the day the king should listen to Itiśa and defines the latter as comprehending Purāṇa, itivṛtta, ākhyāyikā (narrations), udāharaṇa (heroic examples), Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra (science of government and statescraft). It appears that Kauṭilya meant by ‘Itiśa’ a Mahābharata more or less very like the extant one, which describes 1333 itself as the best of itiśas, as a Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra and as Kṛṣṇaaveda. Among the officials 1334 to be maintained by the king with salaries are mentioned astrologers, persons conversant with portents and auspicious times, Paurāṇika, Sūta and Māgadha, who were to be paid 1000 (paṇas) as salary. The Daksāsmti, 1335 which is comparatively an early smṛti prescribes the reading of Itiśa and Purāṇa for all duija house-holders in the 6th and 7th parts of the day (divided into eight parts). The Ausanasa-smṛti prescribes that the Vedāṅgas and Purāṇas should be studied in the dark half of the months after Utsarjana (vide Jiv. part I p. 515). When the

1331. सामान्यवृद्धासर्वप्रकृति अयोध्यादिविलासनोदयै च वेदा॥ अर्थसार्थ द. ३, युत्यताः- 
क्षरीयते ब्राह्मण तत्त्वभाष्यं। इतिशास्त्राणां जोधयेद्यविश्वाश्चर्चितम्॥ अर्थसार्थ V. 6. p. 257 
(a verse at end ).

1332. पृथ्वीभूमि हस्तप्रस्तवमहाविश्वासम विशेषं गहतेः, पधिममलितहासकवे। 
Purāṇमलितक्रमाविश्वासम परममसर्वप्रकृतिविश्वासम् चेतित्वादितास। अर्थसार्थ द. ५. p. १०।

1333. अर्थसार्थम भोगम धनरत्नाशनम चहत। कामसार्थम भोगम धनरत्नाशनम 
हुँम। "इतिशास्त्राणां महाभारतम पालनं कविकुप्वयं। "अस्पदायनस्य विषयं पुरुषों वाले 
हुँम। आदियम २, ८३, ८५-८६। आदियम ६२, २३ महाभारतम चालनम अर्थसार्थम, 
अर्थसार्थम और कामसार्थम। The महाभारतम (1. ६-७) describes the Mahābhārata 
as the śāstra of all the four purusārthas and as the means of knowing the 
proper actions for all four vargas.

1334. कामान्तिकानामिकाहृदिकारी-प्राणिकाः-सूतमाध्यम। पुरोहितपुरुषः। सर्वं 
ध्वस्तमत्सार्थादिधरोऽपि। अर्थसार्थ V. ३ (भुवनसर्वसम्प्रयुक्त) p. २४७। प्राणिकाः means one who 
studies or knows the puruṇas, acc. to the sūtra ‘तद्विषेयते वद्यद्वय’ पा. IV. २. ५९।

1335. इतिशास्त्रपुराणाः प्रत्यक्समदाने च। अद्यसे तोरणां दू वहिःसर्वम् सत्: 
पनु: || द्वस II. ६९; the महाभारतम I. 2१३, १५८ has the first half.
Manusmṛti\textsuperscript{1336} provides that in a śrāddha rite the brāhmaṇas invited for dinner should recite the Vedas, the Dharmaśāstras, stories, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and kīla hymns (such as Śrīśukta), it should be taken as referring to Purāṇa works closely resembling the extant ones. The Yājñavalkya\textsuperscript{1337} smṛti enumerates the fourteen Vidyāsthānas (branches of knowledge) and sources of dharma as Purāṇa, Nyāya (logic), Mīmāṃsā (rules of Vedic interpretation), Dharmaśāstras, the āṅgas of the Veda and the (four) Vedas. These fourteen are probably arranged in the order of importance and authoritativeness at the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Yāj. refers to sages that expounded or promulgated the Vedas, Purāṇas, the vidyās (six āṅgas), the Upaniṣads, the ślokas (Itihāsa?), aphoristic works (like those of Jaimini or on nyāya), the bhāṣyas and whatever other literature exists. In another place Yāj. recommends that a householder after a bath in the morning and worship of gods and pītrs should engage in japa-yajña, in which he should mutter according to his ability parts of the Veda, of Atharvaveda, Itihāsa and Purāṇas and philosophical texts. These passages from Yājñavalkya establish that Itihāsa and Purāṇa went together, that both were works distinct from Vedic Literature and that both had attained a status of sacredness and authoritativeness in matters of dharma in the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti not later than 3rd century (A.D.). A Vārtika mentioned by the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 59–60 provides for the formation of words with the suffix ‘śhak’ (iṣka) in the case of ākhyāna (such as Yāvakritika, Yāyātika), ākhyāyikā (such as Vāsavadattika, Saumanottarika), itihāsa (aitihāsika), Purāṇa (paurāṇika) in the sense of one who studies or knows that.\textsuperscript{1338} In numerous passages the Mahābhārata mentions Purāṇa in the singular

\textsuperscript{1336} साध्याय प्राणेयित्वर्ते धर्मांगनि स्याय सि। आर्यानानीतिसांतं पुराणानि विद्या मय इः। महाभारतम् VIII III. 232.

\textsuperscript{1337} पुराणानीतिसांतं पर्यायस्यासंधा कीमित्रविता। वेदा। स्वातां विद्याय धर्मस्य च चः त्वदेव। गुरूलोकं विद्यामयविदुः। ज्ञाने। स्वातं मानसाणि वा ज्ञान वात्स्या पुराणाणि। पुराणानि सत्यिहस्यानि शास्त्रिणि। ज्ञानप्रीतिर्वियि विद्याय व्यापारिका ज्ञान। गुरू। इ III. 101. Compare विद्वानस्य वि. I. 37–38 with गुरू I. 3. Sometimes the branches of knowledge are said to be 18 by adding the four upavedas, viz. आर्यत्वेष, अत्योदयेष, वाच्यविष्णुवेष and अर्थवेष, to the 14 mentioned by Yāj. Vide विद्वानस्य III. 6. 25–26 (about 14 विद्या and उपवेष) q. by अपाराक p. 6 and कूदयतु (कूदयतु) p 22.

\textsuperscript{1338} आर्यानानीतिसांतं पर्यायस्यासंधा कीमित्रविता। महाभारतम् on ‘साध्याय प्राणेयित्वर्ते धर्मांगनि स्याय सि। कीमित्रविता। महाभारतम् VIII III. 2. 59–60. The विद्याय gives the examples cited above in brackets.
Early Sanskrit authors like Bāna (first half of 7th century A.D.) and commentators like Śabara (not later than between 200–400 A.D.), Kumārila (7th century A.D.), Śaṅkarācārya (between 650–800 A.D.) and Viśvarūpa (800–850 A.D.) leave us in no doubt that in their times Purāṇas existed, the contents of which were just like those of the extant Purāṇas. Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini X. 4. 23, while discussing the question as to what is meant by ‘devata’ in relation to sacrifices, states that one view was that they are Agni and others, that are described in the Itihāsa and Purāṇas as dwelling in heaven. Bāna in his Kādambari and Harsacarita frequently refers to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, but two passages from the Kādambari and one from the Harṣacarita are very interesting. While describing the hermitage of the sage Jábalī Bāna employs a śleṣa (there was Vāyupralapita (proclaiming by god Vāyu; babbling due to the windy humour) in Purāṇa (but no babbling in the hermitage). Similarly, in the des-

1339. महाभारतावलि महाभारतसूचने। "अध्यादेश पुराणानि धर्मसाधारणि सन्नक्त।" वेद्या: साविकस्थित भारतं चैत्य: सिद्धां। सन्तोशोपदेश ५. ४५–४६।

1340. हर्षेतमस्वरोक्रम नाम पुराण परितिक्तितम्। बनपर्व १८७. ५७ (= cr. ed. १८५. ५३); सर्वोवर्षक विष्टि गुरुसंहृत म च ग्रंथव। ज्योति ने सर्वत्राह्वात्मतताश्च मामात्मा तत्। वारु- मोक्तदुर्गुप्त पुराणसूतिसंस्तुत। बनपर्व १९१. १५–१६ (= cr. ed. १८९.१४)।

1341. का पुनिष्ठ वेष्ट नाम। एक तामस्व ता एत तृतीयमिदुदान्वत्स्याद:। संकीर्णर्व नात्संदत्सं वेष्टत इति। "येतु वेष्टतासस्व मद्वायायान युर्वेति अर्थित्वस्त वा वेष्ट युर्वेति वेष्ट चतुर्थश वेष्टित इति। "समातयत्व-भाषां ग्रंथीमधृश्च वेष्टित। झाँसे on जै. X. ४. २३।

1342. पुराणे बादुधाविवेक। कादू पृष्ठभाग para ३७; पुराणानि धर्मविवाहाद्वारभिविव- संस्कृतिनित्य निपुण। कादू पृष्ठभाग para ८५ (राजकुमार)। The बादुधारुप्य itself states that the Sūta narrated to the sages in the Naimisha forest the Purāṇa first (Continued on next page)
cription of the palace of Tārāpīḍa Bāṇa employs a ślesa (double extendre) comparing it with Purāṇa (the two meanings being ‘where the accumulated wealth of the world was arranged in appropriate groups’, ‘in which there is a description of the whole sphere of worlds each part of which was assigned a proper division’). In the Uttarabhāga (by the son of Bāṇa) of the Kādambari it is stated that in all āgamās (sacred works traditionally handed down) such as Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata there are many stories about curses. The placing of Purāṇas first shows that they were probably more honoured or popular than the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhārata. In the Hārṣacarita it is stated that the book-reader Sudṛṣṭi treated Bāṇa and his relatives and friends to a musical recitation of the Purāṇa promulgated by Vāyu, that was sung by the sage (Vyāsa), that is very extensive, that is world-wide (i.e. known everywhere), that is holy and that is not different from the career of Harsa (to which also all the adjectives applied to the Purāṇa are applicable). Here it appears that the Vāyu is expressly mentioned (as Pava-mānaproktā and Pāvana) and it is further stated that the Purāṇas contained a description of the several divisions of the world. This description applies to such Purāṇas as the Vāyu, Matsya (chapters 114–128), Brahmāṇḍa (II. 15 ff). It may be argued that the Purāṇa mentioned by Bāṇa may be the Brahmāṇḍa since that Purāṇa says in the beginning as well as at the end (IV. 4. 58 ff) that Brahmā imparted it to Vāyu, from whom it passed on to several divine and semi-divine personages and ultimately sūta received it from Vyāsa. This latter argument is not acceptable, since there was nothing to prevent Bāṇa from expressly saying that the Brahmāṇḍa was the Purāṇa recited by Sudṛṣṭi.

(Continued from last page)


1343. Purāṇa-वचन: sūktaḥ: ‘गृहिणं पारमाणृत्रेत्या पुराणं पापाः। हर्षचित्त III, 4th para; the अर्थ verse applicable to both is ‘तद्विपर रुक्मिनीतत्ततित्तुष्टि तदविपरीत सदृश्यापि पावनं तदविपृये’ हर्षचित्तविषयं मातोत्तथति हि न पुराणविदम्। हर्षचित्त III, 5th para. पावन means वायु and so पावन may stand for वायुपावण.

Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika refers in several places to the Purāṇas and their contents. A few interesting passages are set out here: On Jaimini I. 3. 1 Kumārilā says 1344: 'Therefore the authoritativeness of all smṛtis is established by the purpose which they serve; whatever therein (in smṛtis) is connected with dharma and mokṣa (is authoritative), because it springs from (is based on) the Veda; whatever concerns wealth (artha) and pleasures is based on the usages of the people. In this way a distinction is to be made. This very reasoning applies to hortatory passages in the Itihāsa and Purāṇas. The Upākhyaṇas may be explained by the reasoning applicable to arthavādas (i.e. they have a purpose and authoritativeness just like the commendatory passages of the Veda). Narration of the divisions of the earth serves the purpose of distinguishing the regions for undergoing the consequences of the (actions that are) means of dharma and adharma and are partly based on personal experience and partly on the Veda. The orderly presentation of vāṁśas (dynasties) in the Purāṇas is intended to facilitate the knowledge of the brāhmaṇa and ksatriya castes and their gotras and is based on actual experience and traditional knowledge; countries and measures of time are intended to facilitate worldly transactions and astronomical needs and are based on actual perception, mathematics, tradition and inference. The narration of what will happen in the future is based on the Veda, since it conveys knowledge of the variety of the ripening of the consequences of (complying with) dharma and of adharma and knowledge of the characteristics of yugas that have been in operation from time immemorial.' It is clear from this passage that the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas that Kumārilā knew contained stories, geography of the earth, dynastic lists, measures of time and description of what will happen in the future. These are matters dealt with in the extant Purāṇas. On Jaimini I. 3. 7 Kumārilā observes: 'In the

1344. तत्त यथावच्छमेक्षसम्बन्धी तद्वेषम्भ्रमम्। तत्त यथावच्छमेक्षसम्बन्धी तद्वेषम्भ्रमम्। यथावच्छमेक्षसम्बन्धी तद्वेषम्भ्रमम्। यथावच्छमेक्षसम्बन्धी तद्वेषम्भ्रमम्।

it is narrated that in the Kali age there will arise Śākya (Gautama Buddha) and others that will cause confusion about dharma; who would listen to their words? This shows that before the 7th century A. D. the Purāṇas contained descriptions of the nature of Kaliyuga and that the Purāṇa Kumārila knew did not regard Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, but rather condemned him. From the facts that Kṣemendra composed his Daśāvatāraracita in 1066 A. D., that Aparārka (on p. 338) quotes a long passage from the Matsya chapter 285, verse seven of which enumerates the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu (including Buddha), and that the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva regards Buddha as an avatāra, it follows that before 1000 A. D. Buddha had come to be regarded as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, though before the 7th century some Purāṇas at least had condemned him. In the discussion of the meaning of the word ‘svarga’ Kumārila asks: does it mean the region of the stars or does it mean the top of the Meru (mountain) in conformity with Itiḥāsa and Purāṇas or does it mean only a state of happiness? This indicates that in Kumārila’s day Purāṇas contained descriptions of the top of Meru as ‘heaven.’

Śaṅkaraśārya in his bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra frequently mentions the contents and characteristic features of Purāṇas that are the same as those of the extant ones, though he actually names none of them. For example, on V. S. II. 1. 36 he remarks that it has been established in the Purāṇa that there is no limit to the number of past and future kalpas. On V. S. I. 3.30,

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1345. सर्यन्ते च पुराणेऽधृतवित्तुतास्तिस्त:। कत्तै शास्कवाद्यतिस्तः की कात्ययों अयोद्यःमहति॥ तत्त्ववाचारिक प. 203 वेद. I. 3.7; some of the Purāṇas such as Varāha 113. 27-28, Brahma 122. 66-70, Padma VI. 31. 13-15 mention the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu (including Buddha). But these Purāṇas have been swollen by late interpolations and it is impossible to give a positive date for these passages.

1346. तथा सर्यवन्तेनानि वक्तव्रेद्विव व ब्रह्मविद्वायविशिष्टतिबन्धनोपवये ‘यत्व सर्यवसुपुराणार्णवध भृत्यमथुष, अत्य अत्यभवितिकारणिजिनस्तितियों वंहरके केतस्य मुखस्त॥ ॥ तत्त्ववाचारिक प. 299 वेद. I. 3.30. That gods and semi-divine beings dwell on the top of Meru is stated in many Purāṇas. Vide Matsya 11. 37-38, Parv V. 8, 72-73.

1347. पुराणे चात्मातानामानि कल्पानां न परिमिततिम तिथ्यतिम। last line of भाष्य on the सू. II. 1.36; vide Mahābhārata I. 4. 30-32 for कल्पम being endless; सुविदाभविभित्तिः तैवं ये याति कर्मयोऽयुक्तद्वै भवतिहृदयः। तत्त्वम ते प्रवर्णे उच्चवर्णोऽपि। पुनः। विश्वासहित्य युक्तकृते चात्मातानां स्तम्भितात। तत्त्वातिति: प्रवर्णे तत्स्तमस्तर्यश्चेष्टे। भाष्य on I. 3.30; these are विश्वासु 1. 6. 59-60 and भाष्य 8. 32-33 and repeated in 9. (Continued on next page)

remarks that this theory concerning the creation and dissolution of the world is found everywhere in the Purāṇas On Yāj. III. 175 which states that the path to the world of the pītṛs lies between the star Agastya (Canopus) and the Ajāvīthi, Viśvarūpa remarks that in the Purāṇa several viśhis (i.e. courses) of the Sun in the sky are found and that Ajāvīthi is immediately contiguous to Agastya.

From the foregoing discussion about the references to Purāṇas contained in writers from Śābara to Viśvarūpa it follows that between about the 2nd century AD. and the 6th or 7th century AD. the Purāṇas exhibited the same contents and characteristics as many of the extant Purāṇas do.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to say here something about the Yuga-purāṇa, a part of the Gārgī-Sāṁhitā, and one of the earliest extant works bearing the title Purāṇas. Kern in his Introduction to the Brhatsāṁhitā (pp. 32-40) brought this rare Purāṇa containing valuable historical data to the notice of scholars from a fragmentary ms. Later on K. P. Jayaswal published a text of the purely historical material of the Yugapurāṇa in 115 half lines in Anusṭubh metre based on the fragment that Kern had got and two more mss. that were secured by him and added a translation and notes. Later on Jayaswal obtained a copy made by Prof. Levi from a ms. (in Bengali script) in the Bibliothéque Nationale of Paris and published in JBORS. (vol. XV pp. 129-133) a table comparing the readings of that ms. with the text he published in JBORS. vol. XIV. Prof. K. H. Dhruba contributed a paper on the text of the Yugapurāṇa to the JBORS. vol. XVI, pp. 18-66, wherein he altered the proper names and gave free scope to his conjectures and inferences with the result that succeeding scholars have not attached any weight to his emendations and remarks. Prof. D. K. Mankad published a monograph in which he gave the text of the historical portion based on the mss. utilized

(Continued from last page)

1348 a. Vide JBORS vol. XIV, pp. 397-421 on 'Historical data in the Gargasāṁhitā and the Brahmān Empire'.
by Jayaswal and a fresh ms. that he obtained in Saurāstra, corrects some of the readings accepted by Jayaswal and considerably differs from some of Jayaswal's interpretations and added a few notes.

The Yugapurāṇa is the 113th chapter of Gārgīsainhitā and is called Skandapurāṇa in the ms. secured by Prof. Mankad, probably because the Purāṇa starts with a question by Skanda to Śiva about the characteristics of the different yugas. The characteristics of Krta, Tretā and Dvāpara are respectively described in lines 11–28, 29–45 and 46–74 of Prof. Mankad's text; and lines 75–235 (of Prof. Mankad's text) and lines 1–115 of Jayaswal's text (in JBORS, vol. XIV, pp. 400–408) describe the characteristics of the Kaliyuga, and the political, social and economic history of a few centuries before the work was composed. The characteristics of the Kaliyuga in the Yugapurāṇa bear a very close resemblance to the description of Kaliyuga in the Vanaparva (chap. 188. 30–64), one half verse being the same in both.1348c

The important points that emerge are briefly these:—I omit the discussion of different interpretations of Jayaswal, Prof. Mankad and Prof. Narain. Kaliyuga started after Draupadī died. In the beginning of Kaliyuga Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, would be a famous king but will come in conflict1348d with brahmaṇas. In Kaliyuga, Udāyī son of Śiśunāga, will find the city of Pataliputra on the south bank of the Ganges, which will come to be called Pusapura and which will last for five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days and five muhūrtas. In that Pusapura there will be a deluded and wicked king called Śāliśūka who will establish at Śaketa his virtuous elder brother named Vijaya. Then the valiant Yavanas,

1348c. The passage from Vanaparva 188. 30–64 is quoted in the 3rd vol. of H. of Dh. pp. 1012–13. The half verse is भोगाविनस्तयं श्रुतं श्रतविनस्तयं भावणाभावविनस्तयं: (मन्वे 188.39, line 38 of Jayaswal's text and 110 of Prof. Mankad's text (reads भावणाभावविनस्तयं:, which does not appear correct and yields hardly any sense). Compare Yugapurāṇa (lines 111–115 of Jayaswal and II. 182–186 of Prof. Mankad's text with Vanaparva 188. 65–66.

1348d. For the story of this quarrel, vide Matsya-purāṇa 50. 56–65. One half line is variously read 'dharma-mitatamā vṛddhā janam bhokṣyantī nirbhāyāh' (Jayaswal I. 40), Prof. Mankad reads 'dharmaḥbhātatamā vṛddhā janam mokṣyantī nirbhāyāh'. Jayaswal thinks that 'dharmamīta' refers to the Greek king Demetrius. Prof. Mankad does not agree.
Pañcalas and Māthuras will attack Sāketa and will conquer Kusumapura which had a mud fortification. All countries will be disturbed (by this onslaught of the Yavanas). Then non-Aryans will follow the practices of the Aryas. At the end of Kali age brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, vaśyas will dress alike and have the same practices. People will join heretical sects and will make friends for (seducing their) wives. Śāstras will offer oblations into fire with the syllable ‘om’ and they will address (others) with the word ‘bhoj’ and brāhmaṇas will address others with the words ‘O āryas’. The Yavanas will establish five kings in the city (of Puspapura). The Yavanas will not stay long in Madhyadeśa. When the Yavanas will vanish there will be seven powerful kings at Sāketa; in Madhyadeśa there would be bloody wars. All the Āgniveśya kings will perish by war and so will the people.

Thereafter the greedy Śaka king will undergo destruction against Sāta, the king of Kalinga, and the earth will be devastated and Puspapura will be a wilderness. Amlāta called ‘red-eyed’ will secure Puspapura. The Mlecha king Amlāta will destroy the helpless people and the four varnas. Amlāta with his relatives will perish and then there will be a king called Gopāla who will rule one year and then die. There will then be the just king called Pusyaka who will rule only one year. After two more kings, Agnimitra will be king who will wage a terrible battle with brāhmaṇas for a girl. After him his son will rule for 20 years. The condition of the people will be very bad because of his fight with Śabarās. Then Sātu king will rule. Then there will be depredations of Śakas who will destroy one-fourth of the population and make the people demoralised. In this way the Yugapurāṇa ends on a dismal note.138e

As the Purāṇa stops with the Śakas and does not dilate on the dynasties of the Andhras, Ābhīras and Guptas, it must be placed earlier than all the known Purāṇas which deal with these dynasties. Jayaswal places the Yugapurāṇa in the latter half of the first century B.C. In the opinion of the present author he is right.

138e. केवल ग्राहक वर्णाणि अनाहुति विरातिः। प्रजा नाना गृहस्थपिल दुर्भिक्षे
पीतिः। तत् परस्परसोंस्करे दुर्भिक्षोऽस्माहे। भौमध्यपि युगस्यंते सभौभविन्यमानं
जनमात्मस्तो घोरो भविष्यति न संदिग्धं। युगपुराणं तत्स्यमद्धयस्यरस्यं संयंते बालसा
श्रवे। अङ्गस्याविनं जात्र वत्तवाविकी। तत्स्यमद्धयस्यरस्यं संयंते अङ्गस्याविनं नेत्रे। ग्राहने
ध्वनिः पूर्भिः प्रभृतिः पुरुषविने। बनने १८८। ६५–६६.
A very recent work 'The Indo-Greeks' by Prof. A. K. Narain (Oxford, 1957) has an illuminating note (pp. 174-179) on several difficult passages of the Yugapurāṇa

Several Purāṇas such as Matsya 53. 3-11, Vāyu I. 60-61, Brahmānda I. 1.40-41, Liṅga I. 2.2, Nārada I. 92. 22-26, Padma V. 1. 45-52 state that Purāṇa was originally only one, that Brahmā thought of it first, that after that the Vedas proceeded from Brahmā's lips, that originally it had the extent of one hundred crores of ślokas and that the essence thereof to the extent of four lakhs of verses was declared in each Dvāpara age by Vyāsa. It is impossible to say whether the writers of the extant Purāṇas had any ancient tradition about this before them or whether all this about the original existence of a single Purāṇa was purely imaginary. The author holds that the latter view is more likely to be the correct one. It has been shown above that as early as the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka Purāṇas are mentioned in the plural. Therefore, the extant Purāṇas are only the successors of the ancient Purāṇas, about which, it must be admitted, we know very little.

The number of Purāṇas (in later times and by some of the Purāṇas distinguished as Mahāpurāṇas) has been traditionally handed down as eighteen. They are enumerated in several Purāṇas, such as Viṣṇu III. 6. 21-23, Varāha 112. 69-72 (verses 74-77 in Venk. ed.), Liṅga I. 39. 61-63, Matsya 53. 11 ff, Padma IV. 100. 51-54, Bhaviṣya I. 1. 61-64, Märkaṇḍeya 134. 7-11,

1348 ff. Vide Appendix I on 'yavana' and 'yona' (pp. 165-169) in Prof. Narain’s ‘Indo-Greeks.’ He points out that in Karṇaparva (45.36) Yavanas are described as all-knowing (sarvajña), valiant and different from mlecchas.

1349. Purāṇa sarvṛśaṃsiṃśa padam bhṛṣaṃsā bhūṣaṃ | anantā cakṣṛtryo vedaśastra vinirṇitaṃ | purāṇaṃ maṇirasatīrthaṃ śatāntaraṃ | vinirṇaṃ viśeṣan purāṇaṃ śavakāṇḍitaṃvitrān | prāktīṃ sarvṛśaṃśaṃ purāṇayavakritapadatvaṃ | kaṭṭeṇamāryaṃ dhanḍhaṃ purāṇayavakritapadatvaṃ tato śrauṃ | bhāṣaṃśu mukalā candrabaliṃḥ uṣe duṣe | chaturāṅgaṃjñāneva ṛṣaṃtā ṛṣaṃtāḥ svaṃ | tadvādāpanaḥ kulaḥ bhūtaḥkāmadiśaṃ mahāyavyaṃ | adevaṃ devaṃkāmadiśaṃ śavakāṇḍitaṃvitrān | tadvādāpanaḥ chaturāṅgaṃ saṅkheṣitaṃ nivijnantiṃ | purāṇaniḥ dṛṣṭāhī ca saṃpratā tadbhoṣaṃyaṃ |

Matsya 53. 3-11; Pat (V. 1. 45-52) contains almost all the above verses of Matsya. The first verse occurs in Bārū I. 60-61 and Bṛhadāraṇyaka I. 1. 40-41. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka 245. 4 says ‘आयं ब्रह्मानि ब्रह्मानि च सवे-वास्तवालक्षमयम्’. The Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 6. 20 states ‘आयं ब्रह्मानि ब्रह्मानि ब्रह्माम् ब्रह्मम्’. The Brahmāṇḍa I. 3 3 put Matsya as the first.
Agni 272, Bhāgavata 1350 XII. 13. 4-8, Vāyu 1351 104. 2-10, Skanda (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 2. 5-7). There is some difference about the 18 names and great difference as to their extent and contents. The Matsya (53. 18-19), Agni 272. 4-5, Nārādiya I. 92. 26-28 enumerate the Vāyu as the 4th among the 18 Purāṇas, while most of the others substitute Śivapurāṇa as the 4th in place of the Vāyu. The Skanda (in Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 2. 5 and 7) puts Śaiva as the 4th in place of Vāyu and Vāyaviya as the last (probably meaning Brahmāṇḍa thereby). The Devibhāgavata 1352 contains a verse naming the 18 Purāṇas by their first letters in which the Śivapurāṇa is omitted. The Saurapurāṇa (chap. 9. 5-12) enumerates the 18 Purāṇas, places Vāyu as the 4th (and not Śiva) and Brahmāṇḍa as the last. The Sūtasambhitā (I. 1. 7-11) names the 18 Purāṇas omitting Vāyu and putting Śivapurāṇa in its place. The Dānasāgara in its Introductory verses (11-12 on pp. 2-3) mentions both Vāyaviya and Śaiva separately. In the verses of the Kālikā-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri on dāna I. p. 531, Śiva, Kālikā, Saura and Vahnija (Āgneya, the genuine one) are included among eighteen principal Purāṇas. On the whole I agree with Dr. A. D. Pusalkar 1353 that it is the Vāyu that is entitled to be regarded as one of the 18 principal Purāṇas and not the Śivapurāṇa. Al-beruni in his work on India (com.

1350. The भास्कर says ‘सूक्ष्यीकामध्ये यह: श्लोकांश महात्मा स।’ XII. 7. 220. The late विकुलवस (IV. 131. 7-10) states that the five characteristics mentioned in note 1365 distinguish the Upapurāṇas, while the ten characteristics quoted in note 1366 distinguish the महापुराणाः. विषय 13. 6. 13 uses the word महापुराणाणि.

1351. Vāyu 104 is a chapter of doubtful authority. Several mss. of Vāyu do not contain it. chap. 104. 7 mentions Vāyu as Antapurāṇa. Vāyu (104. 2-10) furnishes a list of 18 Purāṇas in which Brahma and Ādika are both included, but no names of Upapurāṇas are given therein.

1352. महापुराणां श्रेयः च पुराणां रचितोऽध्येयैः। अनापविक्रमकार्कानि पुराणानि पृथकः पृथकः। ज्ञाते प्राप्तेण रचितेण। I 3. 2. महापुराणां स सत्यं, साक्षरवेत्त:; भ्रात्य = महीक्ष, भ्रात्य: भ्रात्य = ज्ञातं, भ्रात्येऽति, भ्रात्योऽध्ययत:; रचितं = यथा, रचितं, रचितं; अ न, प, त, स, तस्मात् रचितं; क व एवः; ध्वजः वेशः. Wilson in Preface to tr. of Viṣṇu at p. XXIV states that his ms. of Varāha omits the Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa from the list of 18 Purāṇas and inserts Vāyu and Narasimha. The ms. is singular in this respect. The printed Varāha (chap. 112. 69 in the B. I. and verse 74 in Veṅku ed.) only puts Śaiva for Vāyu; that is all.

Al-beruni's lists of Purāṇas 831

posed in 1030 A. D.) sets out one list of Purāṇas as read out to
him from Viṣṇupurāṇa, which is the same as set out below,
except this that the Śaiva-purāṇa is put in the 4th place
instead of Vāyu (Sachau's tr. vol. I. p. 131, ed. of 1888). It is
clear, therefore, that the list of 18 principal Purāṇas had been
completed long before 1000 A. D. and was introduced in the
Viṣṇupurāṇa many years before that date. Al-beruni furnishes
( ibid p. 130) another list of the names of 18 Purāṇas which he
had heard, viz. Ādi, Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha,
Vāmana, Vāyu, Nanda, Skanda, Āditya, Soma, Samba,
Brahmānda, Mārkandeya, Tārāṣya (i.e. Garuḍa), Viṣṇu,
Brahma, Bhaviṣya. It should be noticed that in this list Vāyu
is included (and not Śaiva), that some purāṇas described in
other works as Upapurāṇas are included (viz. Ādi, Narasimha,
Nanda, Āditya, Soma and Samba) and some works almost
unanimously declared to be Mahāpurāṇas (such as Padma, Bhāga-
vata, Nārada, Agni, Liṅga and Brahmanda) are omitted.
It follows that some upapurāṇas such as Ādi, Narasimha, Āditya,
Samba, Nanda (Nandi?) had been composed at least some time
before 1000 A. D. Bālamhaṭṭa (latter half of 18th century
A. D.) states in his commentary on the Mitāksarā (on Yāj. I. 3)
that the Vāyaviya-purāṇa is also called Śaiva.

The following is a table of the 18 principal Purāṇas together
with information about the number of ślokas in each.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Name of Purāṇa</th>
<th>Number of verses acc. to Matsya, Vāyu 104 and some others</th>
<th>Number of verses acc. to some other Purāṇas and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>10000 ( acc. to Nārada 25000 acc to Agni 272.1 and Bhāgavata XII.13.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Padma</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Viṣṇu</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td>The number of verses is given from 6 to 24 thousand in various works.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vāyu</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>14000 acc. to Agni (272, 4-5). 24600 acc. to Devibhāgavata I. 3. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhāgavata</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Name of Purāṇa</td>
<td>Number of verses acc. to Matsya, Vāyu 104 and some others</td>
<td>Number of verses acc. to some other Purāṇas and remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nārādiya</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>6900 acc. to Mārkandeya itself (134. 39), 9000 acc. to Nārada I. 98.2, Vāyu 104. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mārkandeya</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>15400 acc. to Bhāgavata XII.13.5, 12000 acc. to Agni (272. 10-11).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Agni</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>14000 acc. to Agni (272. 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bhavisya</td>
<td>14,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Brahma-vaiyarta</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Linga</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Varāha</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Skanda</td>
<td>81,100</td>
<td>84000 acc. to Agni (272. 17), vide below under Sknda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vāmana</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kūrma</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>17000 acc. to Nārada I. 106. 3 and Bhāgavata XII.13. 8; 8000 acc. to Agni. 272. 19; 13000 acc. to Agni 272.20-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Matsya</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Garuḍa</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>19000 acc. to Bhāgavata XII. 13.8 and Devibhāgavata I.3; 8000 acc. to Agni 272.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Brahmāmanda</td>
<td>12,200 acc. to Matsya 53.54</td>
<td>12000 acc. to Bhāgavata (XII. 13-8 and Agni 272.23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed from the table that the total number of verses in the 18 Purāṇas according to the figures furnished by most Purāṇas comes to 400600 ślokas. This closely agrees with the total of four lakhs assigned to the eighteen Purāṇas in some of the Purāṇas (vide note 1349 above). But several of the extant Purāṇas contain much smaller numbers of ślokas than are assigned to them. For example, it appears from the commentaries called Visnucitttī\(^{1354}\) and Vaiṣnava-kūṭa-candrikā on

\(^{1354}\) विश्वचुत्रार्ण व कृतिचरसहर्ष कविभवस्वतिश्रविधिविविधत्वन्त वर्तमान-मेव व्यास्यापाते। केवलाकृति-कवित्वार्थो रत्नमर्मभाषणो विश्वचु। III 6. 23; the इन-

Continued on next page)
Vishnu Purana III. 6. 23 that the estimates of the extent of the Vishnu Purana varied from 6, 8, 9, 10, 22, 23 to 24 thousand slokas and that both the commentaries comment on a text of the Vishnu Purana that has only 6000 slokas. Similarly, the extent of the Kurma is said to be 17000 or 18000 slokas by most of the Puranas that furnish the extent of Puranas, but the extant Kurma has hardly 6000 slokas. The Brahma contains 10000 slokas according to the Naradiya and 25000 according to the Agni, but the printed Brahma (of the Anandisrama ed.) contains about 14000 verses. On the other hand, the Skanda (that has two recensions at present) is said to contain 81000 slokas, but the Skanda printed by the Venk. Press contains several thousands more. The Bhavisya (Brahmaparva) states that all Puranas had originally 12000 verses each, but their extent increased by the addition of tales, so that the Skanda was inflated to the extent of one lakh of slokas and the Bhavisya to 50000 slokas. The order in which the Puranas are enumerated is not quite uniform. Most Puranas put the Brahma in the first place and set out the order as in the table above, yet the Vayu (104. 3) and the Devibhagavata (I. 3. 3) begin the list of Puranas with Matsya. The Skanda (Prabhaskand 2. 8-9) puts the Brahmanda in the first place. The Bhagavata (XII. 7. 23-24) enumerates the eighteen Puranas in a somewhat different order. The Vamana regards the

(Continued from last page)

1355. Six verses follow this, namely verses 63-64 of the same passage, but this text is not included in the commentaries. The text as given above is the only one that has been accepted by scholars. The text as given above is the only one that has been accepted by scholars.

1356. The text as given above is the only one that has been accepted by scholars. The text as given above is the only one that has been accepted by scholars.

1357. The text as given above is the only one that has been accepted by scholars. The text as given above is the only one that has been accepted by scholars.

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Matsya as the foremost among Purāṇas. Notices of the contents of all the 18 Purāṇas occur in Matsya (chap. 53), Agni (chap. 272), Skanda (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 2. 28–76), Nārada (which devotes 18 chapters from I. 92. 30–43 to I. 109 to the contents of 18 Purāṇas from Brahma to Brahmaṇḍa). There is almost complete agreement among the Purāṇas as to the names of the 18 principal Purāṇas, except as to the Vāyupurāṇa.

The question about the Purāṇas is further complicated by the fact that some of the Purāṇas themselves mention the names of a number of Upapurāṇas, though others ignore them. For example, the Matsya (53. 59–62) names the Nārasiṃha, the Nandi, the Aditya and Sāmba as Upapurāṇas and appears to say that the Nārasiṃha extended to 18000 ślokas and elaborated the description of the Man-Lion aravāra declared in the Padmapurāṇa. The Kūrma (I. 1. 16–20), Padma (IV. 111. 95–98), the Devībhāgavata (I. 3. 13–16) set out the names of eighteen Upapurāṇas. Some of the Upapurāṇas bear the same names as those of the principal purāṇas, viz. Skanda, Vāmana, Brahmāṇḍa and Nārada. Prof. Hazra states that the number of Upapurāṇas is 100. Only a few of the Upapurāṇas have been published and those published do not differ much in the matter of subjects from some of the principal purāṇas and almost all believe the definition of Purāṇa as ‘pañcalakṣaṇa’. It has been seen above (note 1349) that the number of ślokas in the 18 principal Purāṇas is said to be four lakhs. It must be remembered that this total does not include the number of the ślokas assigned to the Upapurāṇas, and no Purāṇa includes the verses of the Upapurāṇas in the total of four lakhs. Further, no one should forget or ignore the significance of the remarks of the

1358. Vide Prof. Hazra’s paper on Upapurāṇas in ABORI. vol. XXI, pp. 38–62 at p. 49 note. His studies in ‘Upapurāṇas, vol. I.’ was read by me while this section was in the Press. I have, therefore, been compelled to add only a few matters from this work, mostly in the footnotes. In note 24 p. 13 of his ‘Studies’ he reiterates that he has collected the names of more than one hundred Upapurāṇas. On pp. 4–13 he sets out 23 sources (six being quotations from Kūrma in different nibandhas) of the lists of Upapurāṇas that exhibit great divergences and chaos. Wilson in his Preface to tr. of the Viṣṇu pp. LXXXVI–XCII mentions the varying lists of Upapurāṇas and offers remarks on some of them. The H. of DH vol. I. p. 163 gives the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas as contained in the Garuḍa I. 223. 17–20. Hemādri on Vrata (part 1. p. 21) sets out the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas from the Kūrma I. 1. 16–20 (with readings different from those of the printed Kūrma, some of which are rather serious).
Matsya and Kūrma about the Upapurāṇas. The Matsya\textsuperscript{1359} speaks of the Upapurāṇas as sub-sections (upabhedas) of the principal eighteen Purāṇas and emphatically asserts ‘know that whatever is declared as distinct from the eighteen Purāṇas came forth (or issued from) these (18)’. The Kūrma is no less clear. It states that\textsuperscript{1360} the Upapurāṇas are the summaries or abridgments of the 18 (principal) Purāṇas made by sages after studying them. The lists of Upapurāṇas given by several works, most of which are set out by Prof. Hazra in his paper on Upapurāṇas (in ABORI vol. XXI, at pp. 40-48) and in his Studies (pp. 4-13) diverge a good deal from each other. As the Matsya mentions by name only four Upapurāṇas it is not unreasonable to hold that more than four were not in existence at the time when this passage of the Matsya was inserted in it or at least that more than four had not been accepted as Upapurāṇas at that time. A good many of the Upapurāṇas are of late date. Only a few of the rest such as the Narasimha, the Viṣṇu-

\textsuperscript{1359} उपभेदनिष्ठ पक्षयामि लोके ये संपत्तिहिताः। पापे पुराणं यत्रोक्तं नरसिंहपपर्यंपूर्वम्।
तस्माद्यादसत्सप्तत् नासिंहपपर्यं। विनिर्मितम्। मया 53. 58-59 and 63 q. by हेमाद्रि on ब्रत part I pp. 21-22. These verses occur in समस्त (भासकरण 2. 79-83) also; छ. ५. p. 32 explains ‘विनिर्मितसंहृतम्। यथा कालिकायुपराणात्’. Prof. Hazra in ‘Studies &.’ vol. I, p. 16 note 33 quotes परिभाषणकार p. 15 ‘सत्त्वपुराणानि पुराणेऽव निर्मातानि याक्ष्लक्षणं युक्तालेश सङ्क्षेर्दितानि’ and remarks that this implies that the Upapurāṇas were known to याज्ञवल्क्या. Prof. Hazra is wrong here. All that this passage means is that the Ṛiṣamritrodaya in the beginning of the 17th century A.D. (about 1500 years or more after Yāj.) thought that Yāj. included upapurāṇas in the word Purāṇa in Yāj. I. 3. That is Mitramiśra’s view. We are not bound by it and should not draw any inference from it, Yāj. mentions only Purāṇa as a source of dharma but he is entirely silent as to how many Purāṇas had been composed in his time. There is nothing to show that they were more than three in his day and it is impossible for us to hold that he included upapurāṇas under the word Purāṇa, simply because some upapurāṇas were composed before 1000 A.D.

\textsuperscript{1360} अद्यावधे पराणानि सुनिश्चिति कष्टतानि सु। अद्यावधे पराणानि शून्य संस्कृप्तो द्विजा॥
कृपाः I. 1. 16. This verse and the following verses enumerating the 18 Upapurāṇas are quoted by हेमाद्रि on ब्रत part I p. 21 (seven), by जवन्नद्य in the छत्रपतार (Jiv. pp. 792-793) and by मित्रमिश्र in the परिभाषणकार (part of दीर्घमिश्र) pp. 13-14 and other late medieval works of the centuries from the 15th onwards, except हेमाद्रि who belongs to the latter half of the 13th century A.D. One cannot be sure that they are not interpolations in Hemādri. It should be noted that Raghunandana first expressly names only four Upapurāṇas, viz. Nārāsimha, Nandi, अदित्या and कालिका and then quotes the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas from the Kūrma.
dharmottara, the Devi, can possibly be held to be as old as the 7th or 8th century A.D. I do not accept the view of Prof. Hazra, who places the period of the formation of the group of eighteen Upapurānas between 650–800 A.D. (in ABORI, vol. XXI, at p. 50 and also in 'Studies in Upapurānas' vol. I. by Dr. Hazra), while admitting (p. 14) that in the Upapurāna literature there are works of comparatively late dates, he boldly states that the age of the Upapurānas began approximately from the Gupta period (p. 16). For this last statement there is absolutely no evidence whatever. A detailed discussion of the dates of all the Upapurānas would demand a large space and would be somewhat irrelevant in this section. We must hold fast by the facts that even when the 18 principal purāṇas assumed their present form, the number of Upapurāṇas was small, that they were looked upon as no more than abridgments or summaries of the principal Purāṇas, that the Purāṇas that mention upapurāṇas do not state that they were composed by the divinely inspired Vyāsa (but only by some sages as the Kūrma says) and that originally they had not the status or authority of the 18 purāṇas. The Saura, an Upapurāṇa itself, speaks of Upapurāṇas as khitās (9. 5). It is only the late medieval digesta like the Smṛtitattva (1520–1570 A.D.) or the Viramitrodaya (first half of 17th century) that were separated by several centuries from the Mahāpurāṇas as well as the Upapurāṇas and the writers of which had practically lost all sense of the distance in time between the two sets of Purāṇas, that say that the mention of Purāṇas1361 as a source of dharma in Yāj. must be deemed to include Upapurāṇas also. This last may be the opinion of such late writers as Mitramiśra, but no scholar is bound to accept it. It is doubtful whether by the word Purāṇa, Yāj. refers to the Mahāpurāṇas now extant and whether he knows that there were eighteen of them. If some Upapurāṇas glorify themselves as of equal authority with the Mahāpurāṇas, that is of a piece with what the principal Purāṇas state about themselves viz. that Brahmā first thought of the Purāṇas and then the Vedas issued from his lips. Modern scholars should discount all these attempts at self-glorification. Upapurāṇas are due to sages. Upapurāṇas are distinguished from Purāṇas in several important respects. Firstly, the 18 purāṇas are attributed to the semi-divine Vyāsa; secondly, according to both Matsya and Kūrma, they were summaries of the Purāṇas; thirdly, the ślokas in the

1361. एततद्द्वारायुपाराणानि दुर्योगे प्रोपीतानीति बाणालुक्ष्येन पुराणवेन सर्वोदरानी।
Upapurāṇas are not included in the 4 lakhs of verses of all the Purāṇas together; fourthly, early commentators and nibandha writers like the Mitākṣara and the Kṛtyakalpataru either do not mention any of the Upapurāṇas or at the most only about half a dozen or so and that too rather sparingly; and lastly, as Prof. Hazra himself asserts ('Studies', vol. I, p. 23) adherents of various sects such as Sāktas, Sauras, Pāñcarātras interpolated chapters in the Purāṇas of the established group and in some cases wrote new and independent works to propagate their own ideas and styled them Purāṇas.

Early commentaries and digests of Dharmaśāstra very rarely refer to any of the well-known Upapurāṇas. The Mitākṣara, though it names the Brāhma (on Yāj. I. 3 and 45), quotes passages from the Matsya (profusely), Viṣṇu (on Yāj. III. 6), Skanda (on Yāj. III. 290), Bhavisya (on Yāj. III. 6), Mārkandeya (on Yāj. I. 236, 254, III. 19, 287, 289) and Brahmānda (on Yāj. III. 30), hardly refers, so far as I know, to any Upapurāṇa. The Kṛtyakalpataru of Lākṣmīdhara (composed about 1110–1130 A.D.), twelve parts of which published in the G. O. S cover several thousand pages, profusely quotes many of the Mahāpurāṇas, and only six of the Upapurāṇas by name, viz. Ādi (only twice on śuddhi), Nandi (profusely only on dāna and niyatakalika), Āditya, Kālikā, Devī, Narasimha (all four profusely on several topics) Aparārka (first half of 12th century A.D.) who quotes profusely from Brahma, Brahmānda, Bhavisyat, Mārkandeya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Matsya quotes by name only the following Upapurāṇas and only sparingly viz. Ādi, Āditya, Kālikā, Devī, Nandi, Nṛsiṃha, Viṣṇudharmottara (seven times), Viṣṇurahasya (once), and Śivadharmottara (once). The Dānasāgara (written in 1169) states ‘Upapurāṇas have been promulgated, which clearly set out the procedure of gifts’ and it expressly mentions as Upapurāṇas dealing with gifts the Ādya (Ādi or Brahma?), Āditya, Kālikā, Nandi, Narasimha, Mārkandeya, Viṣṇudharmottara and Sāmba and remarks that the Viṣṇurahasya and Śivarahasya are merely compilations (saṅgraharūpa). It is not necessary to refer to writers later than about 1170 A.D. in the matter of Upapurāṇas.

The references to eighteen Purāṇas in about a dozen principal purāṇas and the description of their contents in some of

1362. उपापुराणविहारिनि व्यक्तादीनिविरिति च। आदिपुराण साम्बव (सम्बव?) च कालिकाद्वयते च। नायस्मं भविष्यवर्ग्यं च नायस्मं न तथमं च। सम्बवग्यं च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरं च। अद्यां च विष्णुधर्मोत्तरं च प्रमाणवाच्यं च। सांसारिकं प्राचीनं प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंপ्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंп्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंп्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंп्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंп्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंп्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनंप्राचीनं शास्त्रसंहितां प्राचीनं
them naturally lead to the inference that these passages were added some time after all the eighteen Purāṇas assumed a complete form. It is not possible to hold that all the main purāṇas were composed at the same time by one individual author or even by several contemporary writers. Besides, most of the editions of Purāṇas are based either on a single ms. or on a few mss. collected at random and are not critically edited as is the case with the critical edition of the Mahābhārata published in Poona by the B. O. R. I. Many conclusions therefore, drawn from the current printed editions of the Purāṇas or from mss. of the Purāṇas, must be regarded as merely tentative and as likely to turn out to be wrong. What Winternitz said in his History of Indian Literature (English translation, Calcutta, vol. I. p. 469) viz. 'that the date of each section, nay, sometimes of each single verse in the Mahābhārata must be determined separately' applies with equal (or perhaps greater) force to the Purāṇas, particularly when one wants to use the section or stanza for historical or comparative purposes.1363

It may be conceded that the Purāṇas and some of the available Upapurāṇas also contain many ancient legends and traditions; but these have been so much tampered with and inflated by additions intended to bolster up particular forms of worship and particular tenets that great caution is required before one can recognize them as genuine and reliable representatives for ascertaining the general state of Indian society and beliefs in ancient and medieval times.

In the opinion of the present writer there is no positive objective evidence for placing any of the upapurāṇas except the Viṣṇudarmottara before the 8th or 9th century A.D. Even in the case of Purāṇas, there have been large interpolations such as verses about the 18 purāṇas, their number and contents. But they contain much ancient material and are far more reliable than most of the Upapurāṇas, having been quoted by writers from 8th and 9th centuries A. D. or even earlier.

The Amarakośa1364 defines 'Itihāsa' as 'what happened in the past' and 'Purāṇa' as 'what has five signs or characteristics'. It is no doubt true that some purāṇas speak of Purāṇa as

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1363. Vide Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in Kane Festschrift pp. 472-487 (about the Rāma episode in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa) at p. 474.

1364. इतिहास: इतिहास 'पुराणे पञ्चक्रियामयः । अमरकौशल संवाद्बिंबरं 4-5.'
Five or ten characteristics of Purānas

'pañcalakṣaṇa' and set out the five characteristics as sarga (creation), pratisarga (re-creation after dissolution of the world), vāṁśa (dynasties of gods, the Sun and the Moon, and the patriarchs), manvantara (the vast periods of time that are so called), vāṁśaṇucarita or vāṁśyaṇucarita (deeds and history of the descendants of the solar, lunar and other dynasties). The Bhāgavata states that ten topics are dealt with by Purānas and that some say that they are only five. The ten topics of the Bhāgavata are sarga, visarga (dissolution or creation after destruction), vṛtti (modes of subsistence, natural or prescribed for all men by śāstra), rakṣa (protection i.e. avalāras destroying those that hate the Vedas), antarāṇi (i.e. manvantaras), vāṁśa, vāṁśyaṇucarita, saṁsthā (four kinds of laya), hetu (the cause of creation viz the soul that is subject to avidyā and collects karma), apāṣraya (the refuge of individual souls, viz. brahman). The Matsyapurāṇa also mentions other characteristics of Purānas viz. in all Purānas the four goals of man (puruṣārthas) are described, also the consequences of doing what is opposed to dharma, division of Purānas into sāttvika, rājasa, tāmasa, the sāttvika and rājasa purāṇas respectively extolling the greatness of Hari and Brahmā, tāmasa Purāṇas extolling Agni and Śiva, the mixed ones extolling the greatness of Sarasvati and pīṭras. The questions addressed by Manu to Keśava (in Matsya 2.22-24) indicate the subjects that would be dealt with by that Purāṇa viz. creation and dissolution, the vāṁśas,
manvantaras, vamśyācarita, the expanse of the world, rules about dānas, śrāddha, varnas and āśramas, īśṭa and pūrta, establishment of images of gods, and everything else.

It is not quite clear why the Amarakośa seized upon the above mentioned five topics as characteristics of Purāṇas. Amarakośa cannot be placed later than the 5th century A.D. It is likely that before that time the number of Purāṇas was not large, that they had not become very inflated, and that, as Itihāsa and Purāṇa were often lumped together as the 5th Veda in the Upaniṣads, they both had certain matters in common. Itihāsa did not probably deal with creation, dissolution and manvantaras, but contented itself with the dynasties of kings and with the deeds and legends about the heroes of the past. Rarely, Itihāsa (Mahābhārata) is called Purāṇa and some extant Purāṇas describe themselves as Itihāsa. For example, the Vāyu calls itself in the same context both itihāsa and purāṇa. The Brahmapurāṇa calls itself Purāṇa as well as ākhyāna (245. 27 and 30). The Mahābhārata, though generally called itihāsa by itself (as in Ādi. 1. 19, 26, 54) or the best of itihāsas, still applies to itself the words, ākhyāna (as in Ādi 2. 388–89), Kāvyā (Ādi 2. 390), Kārṣṇaveda (Ādi 1. 264) and Purāṇa (Ādi 1. 17). From this it appears that originally the line of demarcation between the two was rather thin. In defining Purāṇa as ‘pañcalakṣaṇa’ the Amarakośa and some of the Purāṇas seized upon such topics as distinguished Purāṇas from Itihāsa and other branches of Sanskrit literature. It has been

1367. In 'India, what can it teach us' (1882) p. 328 Max Muller points out that the Amarakośa was translated into Chinese about 561–566 A.D. Mr. Oak, editor of the Amarakośa with the commentary of Kṣirasvāmin, assigns it to the 4th century A.D. and Hoernle (in J.R.A.S for 1906 pp. 940–941) on rather slender and far-fetched evidence puts it between 625 A.D. and 950 A.D.

1368. इनम हो व्यापाणी विद्यामिनिहरस पुरातनस्। हययाच्छविवेद्याधि वध्वापणयतेः। पि यह igeria of p. 103. 48, 51; vide also वर्ण 103. 56 (यत्त्वहरस) and 58 (पुराण), यत्त्वहरस IV. 4. 47, 50 (which are the same as वर्ण 103. 48 and 51).

1369. जोनः नाविहसर्वांशे श्रीमरलेविज्ञिज्ञायुष्णा। उद्धाग 136.18; जोनः ग्रामसिद्धांशे श्रीमरलेविज्ञिज्ञायुष्णा। रसार्थिकित्व 5. 51; इतिहासकान्तस्मास्मययुष्णे कविद्यम्: । आदि 2. 385.

1370. अनालयोध्राधिकार्यां कपयु चुवि न दिपते । आदि 2. 37 and 388; इवं कबिन्युः: स्वरस्मानस्मुपजीवस्ते। आदि 2. 389.
shown above that the Purāṇa and Bhavisyatpurāṇa that existed before Āpastamba contained not only sarga and pratisarga but also some smṛti materials as well. From the definition given in the Purāṇas and the Amarakośa it does not at all follow that those five topics alone were the constituent parts of the very ancient Purāṇas, as Kirfel holds:1371 What could be said at the most is that five were the distinctive topics that differentiated the Purāṇa class of works from other branches of literature and probably cognate works called Itihāsa or it may be that the five are generalized as an ideal for Purāṇas and that the very early representatives of this class (that existed before Āp. Dh. S.) had not these five as characteristics.

The extant Purāṇas contain far more subjects than the five. Some Purāṇas barely touch these five and deal at great length with altogether different topics. Only a few of the extant Purāṇas can be said to deal with all the five topics at some length. The five characteristic topics occupy less than three percent of the extent of the extant Mahāpurāṇas. Of all Purāṇas the extant Viṣṇu alone closely agrees with the definition of Purāṇa as ‘pañcalakṣaṇa,’ though it also contains a good many other topics. On a modest calculation the four subjects of vrata, śrāddha, tirtha and dāna cover at least one hundred thousand ślokas in the extant eighteen main Purāṇas. Several of them have identical chapters on several topics (e.g. Matsya1372 and Padma, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa contain long passages that agree verbatim with one another in many matters and details). It is probable, therefore, that the extant principal Purāṇas are partial and gradually inflated representatives of an earlier group of Purāṇas (not necessarily 18 in number) that

1372. For example, Matsya chapters 55 and 57–60 are the same as Padma V. 24. 64–278, Matsya 62–64 = Padma V. 22. 61–164, Matsya 69–70 = Padma V. 23. 2–146, Matsya 71–72 = Padma V. 24. 1–64, Matsya 74–80 = Padma V. 21. 215–321, Matsya 83–92 = Padma V. 21. 81–213 &c.; Kirfel in 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' (and vol. VII. pp. 84–86 of JVOI) gives a chapter concordance of Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu and remarks that Brahmāṇḍa I. 27 (of 129 verses) and II. 21–58 (of 2141 ślokas) have nothing corresponding in Vāyu, while Vāyu has 2704 ślokas that do not correspond to anything in Brahmāṇḍa (vide Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' p. XIII and J. V O. I. vol. VII. 1946, p. 87). Kirfel also furnishes a table of chapters that are common to both Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu (pp. XV–XVI) and vol. VII. pp. 88–90 of JVOI.)
existed before Yājñavalkya. In the present state of our knowledge it is almost an insoluble problem to find out what these Purāṇas were or contained. The number 18 was probably due to the fact that the number is prominent in several connections as regards the Mahābhārata. The Bhārata war was fought for 18 days, the total of the vast armies engaged in the conflict came to 18 aksauhinis, the epic has 18 parvans, the Gītā also has 18 chapters.1373

The Purāṇas may be classified into several categories, viz. (1) encyclopaedic like the Agni, Garuda and Nārādiya, (2) those mainly dealing with tirthas such as Padma, Skanda and Bhavisya, (3) sectarian, such as Linga, Vāmana, Mārkandeya, (4) Historical such as Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya and Viṣṇu are probably the oldest among extant Purāṇas, though they too have received substantial additions from time to time.

There are seven Purāṇas that contain historical material, viz. the ancient dynasties down to the time of the Bhārata war and from the Bhārata war to the downfall of the Andhras and the rise of the Guptas,1374 viz. Vāyu 99. 250–345, Viṣṇu IV. 20. 12 to IV. 24. 44, Brahmāṇḍa III. 74. 104–248, Bhāgavata IX. 12. 9–16, IX. 22. 34–49 and XII. 17, Garuḍa 140 and 141. 1–12, Bhavisya III. 3 and 4 (this account is practically worthless). Matsya contains the fullest list of Andhra kings and states (273. 16–17) that 29 Andhra kings will rule for 460 years, while the Vāyu (99. 357–358) states that 30 Andhra kings will rule1374a for 456 (406?) years. Both Vāyu (99. 355) and Matsya (373. 16) (Pulośa in Vāyu) make Puloma as the last king of the Andhras. Ptolemy who published his ‘Geography of India’ about


1374. अच्छुर याग्य च सकेत (१७) मयास्यता। एतानन्दपन्नवस्तिरे भोवस्ये गुरुक्षेत्रीः ठाटु 99. 383, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74 195 (reads अच्छुर्यायाय च अम्सतश्च); भागवत (XII. 1. 37) reads अच्छुर्यायायायाय गुरु तदनेत् मेविनिष्ठ; विष्णु IV. 24. 63 reads उत्तसाधारिक्षत्तज्ञाति नन्दनः पवनाक्षरो नाम पुराणिन्यायायायाय गुरु वत्सां सम्प्रा योक्ति ये। Vide Pargiter’s ‘Purāṇa text &c.’ p 53 where the passage is set out and variant readings are noted. Vide I. H. Q. vol. XXI pp. 141–143 on ‘Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas’ by D. C. Ganguly who criticizes Pargiter’s view (pp. XII–XIII in Intro. to Purāṇa texts) and does not agree that the Purāṇa accounts refer to 320–335 A. D.

150 A.D. states that Ptolemaios was king of Baithana (Pāṭhāna) in his days (vide J.I.H. vol. 22, 1943, at p. 84 in an article on 'Apostles of Kalyan'). So that these historical references to Āndras must be a good deal later than 150 A.D. Only four Purāṇas viz. Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu mention in a general way that kings of the Gupta dynasty will rule along the Ganges up to Prayāga, Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Magadha, but no names of Gupta kings are specified. The passages referring to the Guptas are rather corrupt. It is argued by Pargiter (in 'Dynasties of the Kali age' p. XII,) and others that Samudragupta was a great conqueror as his Allahabad Pāṛastā shows (Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' No. 1). Most scholars are agreed that the Gupta dynasty began to rule about 320 A.D. It is argued that, if the reviser or revisers of the Purāṇas had known the brilliant campaigns of Samudragupta they would have named him at least and that therefore the revision of the Vāyu took place between 320–335 A.D.

There is a large mass of Literature dealing with several questions relating to Purāṇas. For those who desire to make a close study of them and wish to be acquainted with the controversies relating to Purāṇas, some of the more important works and papers on the Purāṇas may be mentioned here: H. H. Wilson's Introduction to the English tr. of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, vol. 1. (1864); F. E. Pargiter's 'Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age' (1913), 'Ancient Indian genealogies' in Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Presentation volume pp. 107–113, 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition' (Oxford, 1922); W. Kirfel's 'das Purāna Pañcalaksana' (Bonn, 1927), 'die Cosmographie der Inder' (1920), 'Bharatavarsa' (Stuttgart, 1931); Vries on 'Purāṇa studies' in Pavry commemoration vol. pp. 482–487 (applies Kirfel's method to the subject of śrāddha in the Brahmāṇḍa, Harivamśa, Matsya, Padma and Vāyu); Haraprasad Shastri's descriptive cat. of Mss. at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. V. Preface pp. LXXXIII–CCXXV and his paper on 'Mahāpurāṇas' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. XV. p. 323–340; Prof. B. C. Majumdar's paper in Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee vol. III, Orientalia, part 2 pp. 9–30; Dr. A. Banerji Sāstrī's paper on

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1374 b. वात्स्यायनस्कन्धारोऽद्वितीयम्। महामाय महामाया। समत: ज्ञातानि चतुर्विंशति पञ्च वधु १४। वातु 99. 357–358. The words mean on the decimal positional notation $400 + 5$ (i. e. 50, tens place) and 6 (i. e. 456). महामाय 273. 16–17 reads योक्तारिकांवर्तिते आत्मा भोक्तानि ये महामाय। समात: ज्ञातानि चतुर्विंशति पञ्च वधु १४। वातु 99. 357–358. It may be noticed that महामाय speaks of आत्मा while वात्स्यायन calls them अनुभव.

1375. Prof. Mankad's theories are sometimes extraordinary and advanced without any proper or objective evidence. For example, in his paper in the B. V. vol. VI, he boldly asserts that Suṇa is a Chinese family name, that Puṣyamitra's ancestors were originally Chinese, that Bhāravāja is a family of Sāmavedins and that he believes that the origin of Sāmaveda is Chinese, as its peculiar total music suggests. When it is a mere matter of belief without any evidence being adduced, no arguments can convince such a believer that he is wrong. One of his astounding theories is that each of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇik texts is not a real king, but represents a time unit of forty years.
vol. VI, part 3-4 pp. 6-10), on ‘Manvantaras’ (IHQ, vol. XVIII. pp. 208-230) and in B. V. vol. VI, pp. 6-10; Dr. Ghurye’s Presidential Address in the section on Ethnology and Folklore in Proo. of 9th A. I. O. C. (1937) pp. 911-954; Dr. A. S. Altekar’s paper ‘Can we re-construct pre-Bhārata-war history?’ in J.B.H.U. vol. IV. pp. 183-223 (holding that the various pre-Bhārata-war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as historical and real as the dynasties of Mauryas and Andhras and the Paurānic genealogies really refer to kings who figure in the Vedic Literature also); Dr. Jadunath Sinha’s ‘A History of Indian Philosophy’ vol. 1 pp. 125-177 on the philosophy of the Purāṇas’ (1956); two papers ‘on the ancient chronology of India’ by R. Martin Smith in J. A. O. S. vol. 77 No. 2 (April-June 1957) and No. 4 Dec. 1957 (He follows Pargiter in his texts).

Some remarks on the important conclusions of Pargiter and Kiefer are necessary. Pargiter tries to construct history from the earliest times to the Bhārata war which he holds to have taken place about 950 B. C. (AIHT, chap. 15 p. 182). He holds that there were two traditions in ancient India, viz. the Kṣatriya tradition and the Brāhmaṇa tradition (AIHT, chap. 5 pp. 58-77). He harps dozens of times on the utter lack of the historic sense among the brāhmaṇas in his work (AIHT), holds that the Purāṇas represent the ksatriya tradition, that there were three racial stocks, viz. the Māṇavas (or Māṇvas as he styles them), the Ailas and the Saudymnmas, that respectively represent the Dravidian, the Aryan and the Munda (AIHT chap. 25 pp. 289-302), that the Purāṇas are Sanskritizations of works in Prakrit (pp. X-XI) of ‘Dynasties of the Kali age’. His date for the Mahābhārata war has not been accepted by later scholars, since his handling of that subject is not judicial, objective or straightforward, but relies too much on his own prejudices and on averages. In his ‘Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age (pp. 58, 74) he appears to favour the view that the Bhārata war was fought 1050 years before the Nandas i.e. about 1475 B. C. The mss. and the printed Purāṇas give four different periods between the birth of Pariksit1376 and

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1376. यात्रविभिन्नति जन्म यात्रविभिन्नति यात्रविभिन्नति यात्रविभिन्नति एवं पर्यायमयोष्ट्रम। एवमेतं तु ज्ञेयं पंचशोकस्तरम्। विवेद् IV. 24. 32; भागवत XII. 2. 26 reads (अराध्य भजतो जन्मम् सहस्य तु हरे पञ्च- विवेद्यां तु ज्ञेयं पंचशोकस्तरम्); महाभारतविभिन्नति यात्रविभिन्नति एवं पर्यायमयोष्ट्रम। एवमेतं तु ज्ञेयं पंचशोकस्तरम्। महाभारत 273. 35 (reads एवं वाप्सू), भागवत 99. 415 (reads महाभारतविभिन्नति), धर्मयात्रa III. 74. 227 (reads महाभारतविभिन्नति)। ओपचर commenting on Bhāgavata XII. 2. 26

(Continued on next page)
the crowning of Nanda, viz. 1015 years (Viṣṇu), 1050 years (Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and mss. of Matsya), 1115 years (Bhāgavata), 1500 years (some mss. of Viṣṇu and of Matsya). Pargiter himself argues forcefully for the trustworthiness of tradition and Paurāṇika genealogies in R.G. Bhandarkar Presentation volume pp. 107-113 and in A.I.H.T. chap. X. p. 119-125. Besides, there is the common experience that the total number of years between one well-known event and another can be easily remembered and handed down even orally for hundreds of years, while handing down hundreds of royal names is a difficult matter and some names may easily drop out. Moreover, the Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu themselves say that they 1377 mention only the prominent kings of the Ikṣvāku line and the Bhadratha line 1378 and even as to the Paurava 1379 line it is clear that that dynasty had many names not all of which are enumerated. There is therefore every possibility that some kings dropped out even in later genealogies also (as for example Matsya 213.16, saying that Āṇdhras were 29 and Vāyu 99.357 saying they were 30). Merely counting the total of the kings actually named in the Paurāṇas would not convey a quite accurate idea of the total length of years during which that dynasty ruled. Bearing in mind the two matters (viz. trustworthiness of tradition and Paurāṇika genealogies and the ease of remembering the time distance between too well-known events) he should have endeavoured to find out the age of the Bārata War. He brushes aside the statement of the period between Parīkṣit and Nanda as unreli-

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states that in the 9th Skandha the Bāhāvata assigns 1000 years to 20 kings from Mārjāri of the Māgadha line (a contemporary of Parīkṣit), then 5 Pradyotana kings ruled for 138 years, then the Sisūnāgas ruled for 360 years; thus 1498 years passed between Parīkṣit and the crowning of Nanda and therefore he supports the reading of the interval as 1500 years.

1377. एते वै सस्ते वदे राजानी सुरिविलिणा: । इत्यादृवस्तप्यथा: पाण्डगृषे शतीतितिः। मध्य 12. 57; एते हीलाकुसरावसाय राजान: तत्त: स्ववत: । वदे मधाना एवत्तुर्भ याराज्ञेन उकृतितिः। जमावण 3. 64. 213-214; एते इत्यादृवस्तप्यथा राजान: पाण्ड: स्ववत: । वदे... शतितिः। मध्य 88. 213 (as in मध्यीह).

1378. अतै ओहै प्रथाप्य भागपातं ब्रह्मदात्र:। जारावधारण वदे वदे सधेवत्त्वो दुःप:। अतिरिा तत्तमानाम भागपातं तथा पुनः। पपप्पयः प्रथापति नवनिमो शेषीयोः। मध्य 99. 294-295, मध्य 3. 74. 107-109, मध्य 271. 17-18.

1379. अर्थीपुष्कलमेत्येकरणाय: वार्ता:पेतान । परत्येहेति तिन्यात: प्रधानाेकेकराष्ट्रकारे बह्नी। तत्त्वणायाते भवति मायापपालकप्रयुक्त:। माहापीयं दुष्कुल राजम वक्ष्यम तथा: स्ववत: । मध्य 49. 71-73, मध्य 99. 186-187 (with very insignificant variations).
able simply on the ground (which appears to me flimsy) that the figures (1015, 1050) are discrepant (A. I. H. T. p. 180). In almost all passages of the Purāṇas there is some discrepancy or other. Therefore, he should have made an endeavour to find out which one of the three periods (1015, 1050, 1500) is supported by the best and oldest mss, and should have stuck to them, particularly when the Sanskrit equivalents of the three periods (pāñcadaśa, pāñcāśat and pāñcaśata) are so much alike that scribes might easily have been confused and made their own readings. Even taking the least period of (1015) years, the Mahābhārata War would have to be placed at about 1440 B.C. (adding 1015 to the date of Nanda’s enthronement, viz. about 425 B.C.). Most Western writers and Prof. S. N. Pradhan (in ‘Chronology of ancient India’, Calcutta 1927, pp. 249ff) find fault with Paurāṇika statements and brush them aside as practically worthless. Prof. Pradhan takes the kings actually named in the three lines, holds that 28 years are the average reign period of each and multiplying the number of kings by 28 arrives at the conclusion that the Mahābhārata war was fought about 1150 B.C. It is not possible to deal at length with his arguments. But he ignores the express words of the Purāṇas that they enumerate only the principal or important kings. Besides, there are scholars like Pargiter who regard 17 or 18 years as the average reign of a king in other countries (and in India also). The author cannot accept Prof. Pradhan’s reasoning. Most Western writers are loth to assign old dates to matters Indian. Pargiter is no exception. Instead of straightforwardly accepting one of the three periods that was strongly supported by mss, he indulges in some devices that appear like tricks of jugglery (A. I. H. T. pp. 180–183). His method requires some explanation and examination.

Vyāsa is said to have been alive when the Bhārata battle was fought at the end of the Dvāpara age and he is also held to be the author of the 18 Purāṇas. The kings before the Bhārata war, the Pāṇḍava heroes and a few descendants of them and of some contemporaries of them are treated by the Matsya, Vāyu, Bhārmanda and others as past (ālita). Adhisomakṛṣṇa or Adhisinmakṛṣṇa, who1380 was 6th in direct descent from Arjuna

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1380. The genealogy of अधिसिनमकृष्ण is as follows: अर्जुन–सोन अधिमन्मकुप्यासन परितिङ्गुरु–सोन जमेजु–सोन जातानीक, then अधिमन्मकुप्यासन, then अधिसिनमकृष्ण. Vide भाग 99, 249–258, the last verse being, अधिसिनमकृष्णं धर्मसिन्हं असङ्ग्योऽस्मान, शस्त्रम् प्रशासकति नं युधामिति यं वसुमातुराहुर्मिति। मनस्य 50, 55–67 has almost the same words as Vāyu, but states that अधिसिनमकृष्ण was son of जातानीक.
(excluding Arjuna) is said to have been alive when the Purāṇas were narrated to the sages at the sattra. Both Vāyu (99. 282) and Matsya (271. 5) state that in the Ikṣvāku line king Divākara, 6th (or 5th in Matsya) in descent from Brhadbala, was alive at the time when the Purāṇas were narrated. Then the same Purāṇas (Vāyu 99. 30, Matsya 271. 23 and Brahmāṇḍa III. 74. 113) state that in the line of Jarāsandha (ruler of Magadha), who was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas and whose son Sahadeva was killed in the Bhārata war, there was Senājit who was a contemporary of Adhisēma-krṣṇa and Divākara and who was 7th in descent from Sahadeva. These three are described as vartamāṇa kings in the Purāṇas and all those that came after these three are described as bhavisya. Pargiter first (AIHT p. 180) takes the total of the kings of the three dynasties: Aikṣvāka, Paurava and Māgadha that are actually named (ignoring what the Purāṇas say viz. that only the principal or important kings are named and not all) and the total of the reigns of all these (1408 years), finds that the average of the reign of each king in the three lines works out at such large figures as 47, 50, 31, which he regards as impossible when tested by real historical averages. But he forgets that the Purāṇas say that in the Aikṣvāka, Magadha and Paurava lines and also generally only the prominent kings are mentioned and also that the extant Purāṇas are only fragments left of the originals, since in the Brahmāṇḍa (III. 74) all Paurava and Aikṣvāka kings are altogether lost. Then he takes the total number of kings in ten kingdoms up to Mahāpadma and arrives at the average of 26 kings for each kingdom (AIHT p. 181). Then he says that the average of fourteen series of kings in Eastern and Western countries which he examined comes to 19 years for each reign and, holding that the average in eastern countries is less than in western countries, he arrives at the average of 18 years for each reign (pp. 181–182), which he regards as fair and rather liberal. He then multiplies the average 18 (of length of reigns) by 26 (the average number of kings in ten countries which he supposes to be the only kings in those ten) and arrives at the figure 468 years. He adds these to the date which he assigns to Mahāpadma Nanda 382 B. C. and thus arrives at 850 B. C. as the mean date of the beginning of the reign of Adhisēmakṛṣṇa, Divākara and Senājit, who were vartamāṇa kings. Then he takes five as the average of the kings between the vartamāṇa kings and Yudhiṣṭhira and assigning about 100 years to these 5 kings, arrives at the date 950 B. C. for the Bhārata war. He
discards (AIHT p. 180 n 3) the astronomical evidence contained in the Purānas (and the Mahābhārata) about Bhārata war in a single sentence viz. that astronomical statements can have no scientific precision and can only have been formed by estimate at the close. The probable date of the Mahābhārata war has been discussed by the author at some length on materials supplied by the Mahābhārata, the Purānas, Varāhamihira, Āryabhatā and Inscriptions in vol III, pp. 895–923 and therefore he does not go into that question here. But he strongly disapproves of the methods of Pargiter and the date he deduces. Later scholars like Kirfel have not accepted the conclusions of Pargiter about two separate traditions and about the Purānas being Sanskritizations of originals written in Prakrit and Kharosthi script (p. XVI. of Intro. to ‘Purāna Texts &c.’). The importance of another independent source has not been taken proper notice of by Pargiter and even by Kirfel. It appears that about 300 B.C. Megasthenes was supplied with a list of kings from Bacchus to Alexander’s time (153 or 154 in number) covering by their reigns a period of 6451 years and three months. Vide ‘Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian’ by McCrindle (1877) p. 115 and Cambridge History of Ancient India, vol. I. (1922, p. 409). Even supposing for argument that the account of kings is not trustworthy the fact remains that about 300 B.C. Indians claimed that they had lists of kings that reigned before that date for thousands of years (and not for a few hundred years as Pargiter would have us believe).

It has been shown above that Āpastamba mentions a Bhavisyatpurāṇa and quotes four verses from a Purāna (p. 817, note 1328). That Bhavisyat-purāṇa was probably so called because it contained in a prophetic vein the names and other details of kings that flourished after the Bhārata heroes and after a few generations of descendants of them and their contemporaries and probably purported to have been composed by some sage or by Vyāsa. As the Kali age is said to have started after the Bhārata war, as Parāśara, his son Vyāsa and Vyāsa’s son Śuka were regarded as more or less contemporaries of the Pāṇḍavas that lived in the Dvāpara age and as all the 18 Purāṇas are deemed to have been composed by Vyāsa in the Dvāpara age, the history of the kings of the Kali age from the descendants

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1381. अष्टादश पुराणानि कुला मर्यक्रीतः। भारताध्यायमिक्षितं च चक्षुः तुषयंहितय।
मर्यकः 53. 70.

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of Adhisimakrṣṇa and his contemporaries downwards has been furnished by the Purāṇas in the form of a prophetical style. It has not been clearly noticed by both Pargiter and Kirfel that the so-called future kings are divided into two groups, viz. the kings of the Aila, Aikṣvāka and Māgadha lines from Adhisimakrṣṇa, Divākara and Senājit to the last scions of these lines (such as Sumitra in the Aikṣvāka line, Ksemaka in the Aila line) form one group and later kings in the lines of Pradyotās, Śuṅgas, Āindrās, Śakas and others form another group and further that the first group was most probably dealt with in the ancient Bhavisya-purāṇa or some other Purāṇa if we rely on Āpastamba, but the other group not having been in existence when the Bhavisyat was composed (before 500-400 B.C.) was dealt with by the extant Purāṇas from information received by them apart from the ancient Bhavisyat. This is clear from the passages of the Matsya and Vāyu quoted below. The Matsya says ‘After this I shall proclaim those future kings in the Aila (Aila), Aikṣvāka and Paurava lines and those with whom those three benign (or virtuous) families will come to an end and I shall enumerate all of these kings that are narrated in the Bhavisya. Other kings different from the preceding that will arise, such as Kṣatras (? of the

1382. अर्भविक्षोकोपेय भविष्यबाहुसौदातः। इत्यादिपाम्यं बंधः सूतिणाय प्रजापति।

1383. अत उल्‌ यद्य भविष्याय भविष्यै सुप्रस्थता। ऐश्वर्यकारे चैव वै चाचाचाये तथा। येदु संस्थाये तत्र ऐश्वर्यकुऽऽ सूतम्॥ तामसार्थ गीतिप्रकाशी भविष्येत् कामिनी-
नुपायां॥ केत्याप्राप्तिः ये तरये ऐश्वर्यस्ते दुष्पृष्ठे। क्षेत्रः पाल्यवा: शुभादेवाद्वै ये बाहिष्क्रमः। अभासः। (अभासः? ) श्रवः: पुष्टीवद्धार शुचिका वयनस्थता। रैल्याविशेशवर्षे च चाचाये मेठेवासम्॥। पिराग्मणः प्रस्तुताय सामायेत् तानादेव पापायां। अर्थिसेम्यते। (सीताकुऽऽके) तथा यथार्थः॥

Compare बाणु 99,266-270 (the only important variants being भविष्ये दहित्वम्, व्याप्तातः for पृथ्वीः and भविष्ये ताल्को सूतम्), पारस्पर: (पाल्यवे क्रस्तम्: पारस्पर: ) probably stands for a warlike tribe called Pārsu. Vide 'प्राचीनिवाचयेविधिविद्धमणो' प्र. V 3 117, from which it appears that Pārsu was an आद्धुच्छिलियान like वैधिक in the times of Pāṇini. Pārsu were ancient Persians, as appears from the Bebustun Inscription of Darius (522-486 B.C.), Vide 'Select Inscriptions' vol. I. pp. 1-6 ed. by Dr. D. C. Sircar where Pars occurs as the name of a country. The other sense given above does not suit the context, Pulindas were in the Vindhya region and are associated with Andhra in the 13th Rock edict of Aśoka. The अनृष्ट्वकुऽऽ says: ‘भुवनः: किरातंस्यकलियान्य लघुङ्गख्यात्ये:’.
Pārāśavas (the Parši tribe or persons born of a śudra father and brāhmaṇa mother?), Śudras (as kings) and others that are foreigners, the Andhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Čulikas, Yavanás, fishermen, Āhiras and Śabarás and others born of Mleccha (tribes)—these kings I shall proclaim one after another in order and by name. Out of these (two groups) the first is Adhīśmakṛṣṇa who is now alive and I shall speak of the kings of his line that are narrated in the Bhāviṣya'. This passage makes it perfectly clear that in the ancient Bhāviṣyat kings of the three lines of Aila, Aiksvāka and Paurava to the last of them were enumerated (vide note 1382), but that the later kings like the Āndhras and Śakas were not enumerated therein. I agree with Pargiter (p. VIII in Intro. to 'Purāṇa Texts' &c.) that the words 'Bhāviṣye kathitān' in Matsya (50. 77) or 'Bhāviṣye pāthitān' in Vāyu (in 99. 292) refer to the descendants mentioned in the Bhāviṣya and that they do not simply mean 'mentioned in future.' I fail to understand, however, why he regards 'Bhāviṣyat' as a perversion of 'Bhāviṣya'. Bhāviṣyat is as good a word as Bhāviṣya, being employed in several passages such as Varāha (177. 34), Matsya (53. 62).

Pargiter probably wants to identify the Bhāviṣyat of Āpastamba with the Bhāviṣya of later times. There is no evidence except the name to identify the two. It, therefore, appears that the extant Purāṇas base their narrative as to the three lines of Aila, Aiksvāka and Paurava kings on the materials contained in the ancient Bhāviṣya and as to other lines and comparatively later kings they relied on other materials or oral traditions that they could collect. This inference receives support from other circumstances. The extant Purāṇas quote verses called Anuvāniśa ślokas or gāthās about ancient kings, such as Kārtavirya (in Vāyu 94. 20, Matsya 43. 24, Brahmanda III. 68-20, Brahma 13. 17) and also about the last scions of the Aila and Aiksvāka lines, viz. Sumitra and Ksemaka. But so far as kings of comparatively later dynasties such as those of the Āndhras, Śungas and others are concerned, no such gāthās or ślokas are quoted in the Purāṇas. There is absolutely no evidence to hold, as Pargiter does (p. XIII of 'Purāṇa Texts' &c.), that the ancient Bhāviṣya contained a reference to the Guptas. The ancient Bhāviṣya was composed before Āpastamba (i.e. before the 4th or 5th B.C.) and hence originally could have contained no reference to the Guptas (whose rule began about 320 A.D.). The Matsya does not refer to the Guptas and mentions only the
downfall of the Āndhras. Therefore, the Matsya should be regarded as composed or revised about the middle (or end) of the 3rd century A.D., though the possibilities of some chapters or verses being added after that date cannot be ruled out. When the Vāyu (99. 383), Brahmāṇḍa (III. 74. 195), Viṣṇu (IV. 24. 18) and Bhāgavata (XII. 1. 37) mentioned the Guptas as rulers the first two probably added these passages just about the time when Gupta rule began and the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata (which present a corrupt text) might have borrowed the information from mss. of Vāyu or Brahmāṇḍa. It is clear, however, that the first two (out of the four) Purāṇas were composed or revised about 320–335 A.D. and the other two later still.

Kirfel’s work ‘Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa’ is one of fundamental importance so far as the Purāṇas are concerned, since it adopts a new method for the treatment of Paurāṇika material. The German Introduction of this work has been reproduced in English in the Journal of the Shri Venkatesa Institute at Tirupati, in vol. VII. pp. 81–121 and vol. VIII. pp. 9–33. Kirfel disagrees with many of the views of Pargiter. His main conclusions are: Apart from the abridgement in Agni and Garuda as well as the prose paraphrase in Viṣṇu, there are only three complete groups of Purāṇa texts viz. Brahma and Harivamśa, Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu, and that of Matsya, all other Purāṇas containing only smaller or larger parts of the same. Of the three groups, Brahmāṇḍa and Harivamśa are the oldest (and not Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu as Pargiter in A.I.H.T. p. 78 says). Kirfel holds that the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu must have originally been a single Purāṇa, particularly because the largest parts of both agree with each other, that Pargiter is not right in thinking that the additions in Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa were borrowed from the ancient Bhavisya (Kirfel p. 18, vol. VII. of J. V. O. I. p. 92), but that the borrowed material goes back to an independent text. Kirfel does not accept Pargiter’s theory that the Purāṇas were Sanskritizations of Prakrit texts, that the Viṣṇu in its existing form is a younger Purāṇa than the Vāyu or Brahmāṇḍa in spite of the fact that it most faithfully observes the basic arrangement of the five characteristics of Purāṇas. The division of Purāṇas into 18 and the distribution of Purāṇas into sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa are not original items but are applicable only to the last definitive texts of the Purāṇas. Pargiter thought that there existed an Ur-Purāṇa which had treated of the five topics (of sarga &c.) in ideal completeness and clear disposition. Kirfel
says that this is scarcely more than an arbitrary assumption (p. XLVIII of Kirfel’s Intro. and J. V. O. I. vol. VIII. p. 31).

The present author may tentatively accept most of the conclusions of Kirfel, but he differs as stated above from Kirfel’s view that the five characteristic topics (sarga &c.) are the oldest constituent parts of the whole Purāna Literature.

A lengthy discussion of the age of the Purānas is not very relevant to the subject of this section. But it would not be entirely out of place if the author said a few words thereon.

The author’s position about the Purānas is as follows: We know hardly anything about the Purāṇa mentioned in Atharva-veda, the Śatapatha and the ancient Upanisads; but this much is clear that Purāṇa had attained a status of sacredness like the Vedas and was closely associated with Itihāsa even in Vedic times. This is the first stage in the evolution of Purāṇa Literature, but we know nothing about the contents of the Purāṇa in those ancient times. The Tai. A. mentions Purāṇāṇi; therefore in its time there must have been three Purāṇas at least. As Āp. Dh. S. quotes four verses from a Purāṇa and expressly names Bhavisyatpurāṇa, it follows that by the 5th or 4th century B. C. at the latest there was in existence a Bhavisyat-purāṇa and other Purāṇas or a Purāṇa, that contained sarga and pratisarga and some Smṛti material. This we may regard as the 2nd definite stage of Purāṇa Literature, of the contents of which we have some traces at least.

The Mahābhārata quotes hundreds of verses (called ślokas, gāthās, anuvānśa ślokas), some of which have a bearing upon Paurāṇika subjects and have a Paurāṇika ring. Some examples may be cited. The Vanaparva1384 quotes two verses about the spiritual prowess of Viśvāmitra and about his assertion that he was a brāhmaṇa. The Anuśāsanaparva1385 quotes certain

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1384. यज्ञातुयं भगवान जाम्बुदीयस्तथा जग्म । विज्ञामितां तत् हं भूता विवृतिमति-
माथुर्याः ॥ काव्यकुले यथासंप्रेयसिद्धान्तसत्ते सह नीतिक ॥ तत् श्रविद्याकामूः बाह्यपृणासीति
चाक्षीदेः ॥ वनय श 87. 17-18. Brāhmaṇas alone were entitled to drink soma in a Vedic sacrifice and not Kṣatriyas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1179.

1385. शाश्वासाय शाश्वतम विद्ये रीति वुद्धिश्च । सन्तकुवर्ती भगवानके सन्तपथभाषण ॥
अस्वः नः स कूले ज्ञाते ती न देशाच्योत्सवकः । मप्यासु सरसयो संडको पायसं हस्तियायनेन । आजन
वापि तीव्रं वापि तीव्रं यथास्थित यथास्थित । दर्शियायायेव विक्षित्वकायं विज्ञानीजितम ॥ प्रात्यं बोध: पुष्पा
यथे स्वरूपं गयं वृद्धे । अनुशासन 88. 11-14. Compare विश्वासु प. III. 16. 17-20,
ब्रह्माण्ड III. 19. 10-11, ब्रह्माण्ड 83. 10-12, all of which have the half verse असि नः:
किं श्रीम as in Anuśāsana. विश्वासु and ब्रह्माण्ड add one half verse ‘नौरति वायुपूर्वेक्षकणे
नीलं वा पुष्पकुलजेत्’ .
gāthās said to have been sung by the pītris about the importance of a son or sons, which agree in letter and spirit with verses on the same subject in the Purāṇas. In the Udyoga-parva Bhīṣma is said to have addressed a verse to Paraśurāma that was sung by Marutta and declared in a Purāṇa. In the Purāṇas also there are frequent quotations of ślokas; gāthās and anuvṛtti ślokas sung by people described as Purāṇika (in Vāyu 70. 76, 88. 114–116, 88. 168–169, Brahmāṇḍa III. 63. 69–70) or as purāṇidāḥ or purāṇajñāḥ in Vāyu, 83. 171 and 95. 19, Brahmāṇḍa III. 63. 171). Vāyu (93. 94–101) mentions several gāthās as sung by Yayāti, most of which occur in the Ādi-parva 75. 50–53 and 85. 12–15, Brahmāṇḍa III. 68. 96–103 and in other purāṇas also. It is quite possible that these gāthās and ślokas said to have been declared by those who knew Purāṇas were taken from the Purāṇa or Purāṇas known to Āpastamba. As Yāj. I. 3 regards Purāṇa as one of the sources of dharma, it follows that some Purāṇas containing smṛti material must have been composed a good deal before that smṛti i.e. before the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. at the latest. This is the third stage in the evolution of Purāṇas. It is difficult to say when the extant Mātṣya was originally composed but it was revised about the middle (or close) of the 3rd century A. D., since it speaks of the downfall of the Āndhra dynasty, but does not refer to the Guptas. But it is possible that the original kernel of the Mātṣya may be earlier than this by a few centuries. The same applies to Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa also were compiled or added to about 320–335 A. D., since they refer to the Guptas but do not name any Gupta king. These two in their present form may also be referred to this third stage. Most of the Mahā-purāṇas were composed or completed in the period from the 5th

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1386. अन्य वापि विष्णुस्तत्तम पुराणेन चुपते विभो न महाशेषन होऽका महातमः ॥ बुधर्मदिवलितसरी कार्यः भक्तमहाजनः। उद्वधयतिपञ्चय परिप्रमो विचर्यति ॥ उद्वध 178. 47–48. The cr. ed. has a wavy line below purāṇe and reads ‘कार्यः भक्तमहाजनः’ with a wavy line for परिप्रमो विचर्यति. This verse ‘कर्मो हस्ये’ is सामवेद 140. 48 and is also सामवेद 57. 6–7, where it is said that it occurred in सूर्यस्तित्वादि. अद्वितीय 140. 54 has this verse but reads the last पाद as न्यास्यं भक्तमहाजनः।

1387. महाय भविष्यता निष्णासु निषिद्धस। ‘‘हि चिन्द्रहर्षस्य भक्तां प्राति महाभिषेकः (भिषेकः)। यं ये कङ्गणं स्वयंभर्गो जीविका रोगिनेषु व। पुनर्ववस्य च भक्ति तस्मात समाच्छ ज्ञाताः विद्यु न। सत्य 50. 41–43, बाद 99. 238. The verse यं यं वेती contains a popular etymology of the word ज्ञाताः. The word महाय भविष्य should mean only महाय भविष्य-पुराण, since it is the सुते who says this and ज्ञाताः was a king anterior to सुते by some generations.
or 6th century A. D. to the 9th century A. D. This represents the 4th stage in the evolution of Purana literature. The Upapurāṇas began to be compiled from about the 7th or 8th century A. D. and their numbers went on increasing till about the 13th century A. D. or even later. This is the last phase. Thus there is enough evidence to hold that the Purāṇas began to influence Hindu society a few centuries before Christ, that their influence continued in full force till the 17th or 18th century A. D. and that it continues to some extent even now. After the 9th century no further Mahapurāṇas appear, but additional matter appears to have been unscrupulously inserted in several Purāṇas, the worst example of the kind being the third part of the Bhaviṣya, which contains stories of Adam and Eve, of Prthvirāj and Jaïcandra, Taimur, Akbar, Caitanya, Bhaṭṭojī, Nadirshah and so on.

The word ‘purāṇa’ occurs over a dozen times in the Rgveda, is an adjective and means ‘ancient, old’. The Nighantu (III, 27) mentions six Vedic words as having the sense of ‘purāṇa’ viz. prānān, prādiṣṭhā, prācayāḥ, sanemi, pūreyam, ahnāya. Yāṣka (Nirukta III, 19) derives the word ‘purāṇa’ as ‘purā navam bhavati’ (what was new in former times). The Rgveda does not contain the word ‘purātana’ (ancient). Purāṇa may be a very old form of ‘purātana’ through the intermediate form ‘purāṇa’. From meaning ancient the word ‘purāṇa’ came to mean a work dealing with ancient tales; it became a noun and was applied in the times of the Atharvaveda, the Śatapatha and the Upanisads to a class of works containing ancient tales. When purāṇa came to mean a work dealing with ancient tales, to speak of a Bhaviṣya-purāṇa was apparently a contradiction in terms. That contradiction was probably not minded or was ignored by the thought that works that narrated old tales gradually came to include comparatively recent ones and had therefore to adopt a prophetic style of composition with reference to the latter.

The Vāyu1388 derives the word ‘Purāṇa’ from ‘purā’ (in ancient times, formerly) and the root ‘an’ (to breathe or live), and therefore according to it the word literally means ‘that which lives in the past’ or ‘that which breathes ancient times’.

1388. यस्मात् पुराणग्रामम् पुराणं तेन तत्सृषुतम्। निःशक्यस्य यें बेञ्ञ सर्पाप्यः प्रस्थयते।
वाचु I. 203; पुराण परम्रोतवर्थे पुराणं तेन व स्वृषुतम्। पद्य V. 2. 53; the ज्ञानप्रद I. 1. 173
has यस्मात् पुराणग्रामम् पुराणं तेन तत्सृषुतम्। निःशक्य... मुद्रयते॥
The Padmapurāṇa propounds a slightly different etymology, viz. "it is called Purāṇa because it desires or likes the past" from 'purā' and the root 'vaś' (to desire or to like).

The question why the extant Purāṇas do not narrate the traditions about the dynasties of the Guptas and their successors cannot be satisfactorily answered. One reason may be that the original kernel of some Purāṇas like the extant Matsya were compiled before the Guptas rose to power, while others like the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa were compiled while the Gupta rule was in its infancy. Another reason may have been that in the 5th and following centuries when many of the extant Purāṇas were compiled northern India was very much disturbed by the invasions of foreigners like the Hūnas, 1389 Toramāna and Mihirakula, numerous sects and schisms had arisen, Buddhism had become powerful and therefore the first task of the intelligent and devout followers of the Veda was held to be to wean the common people away from schisms like that of Buddha, to lay down the foundations of a new ideology among the masses and to emphasize and assimilate as many of the doctrines of the sects and schisms as possible with their ancient traditions and practices. The intelligent classes, therefore, emphasized the importance of such virtues as ahimsā, satya, bhakti and of vrata, pilgrimages, śrāddhas and dānas and were probably not in a mood to record the names of foreign conquerors or of small chieftains fighting with each other and unable to repel the cruel invaders. For the absence of references to the dynasties of the Guptas and their successors, Pargiter blames the brāhmaṇas in the following characteristic passage (AIHT chap. 4 p. 57) 'the absolute dearth of traditional history after that stage is quite intelligible, both because the compilation of the Purāṇa had set a seal of tradition and because the Purāṇa soon passed into the hands of brāhmaṇas who preserved what they had received, but with the brahmanic lack of the historic sense, added nothing about the later kings'. Supposing for argument that brāhmaṇas lacked the historic sense, Pargiter's opinion appears to be entirely one-sided. He assigns no reason why the sūtas, whose business was to record and preserve historic tradition (as he himself says on p 58 of AIHT), did not stick to their business and did not continue to compose genealogies of

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1389. For the history of the ruthless Hūna invader Mihirakula, vide Gupta Inscriptions pp. 143–148 and 149 ff (Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman) and pp. 924–25 note 1788 a, of vol. III. of H. of Dh.
later kings and to add further items of history to already existing recorded tradition, nor does he explain how the sūtas could be ousted or allowed themselves to be ousted from their age-old avocation by the brahmaṇas. It is probable that foreign dynasties like that of Kaniska and the Hūnas did not encourage the sūtas who had sunk low in the social scale and the sūtas probably became Buddhists, as Buddhism with its Jātaka stories gave to all persons following a bardic profession sufficient scope for earning their livelihood.

The legends about Vyāsa and Sūta may be briefly considered. The Purāṇas declare that Vyāsa was the son of Parāśara, was also called Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and was an incarnation of Viṣṇu (of Brahmā also in Vāyu 77. 74–75 and of Śiva in the Kūrma II. 11. 136). He was called Dvaipāyana because he was born on an island (dvīpa) in the Yamunā river and Kṛṣṇa because he was of dark complexion. His mother was Satyavati and son was Sūka. He was called Vyāsa because he is supposed to have divided or arranged the one Veda into four parts (from the root ‘as’ 4th conjugation ‘to throw’ with the upasarga ‘vi’). He instructed four disciples in the four Vedas, viz. Pāla, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu respectively in Rgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda. His 5th disciple was Sūta Romaharṣaṇa to whom was imparted Ithāsā–Purāṇa. The son of Sūta was Sauti who narrated the Mahābhārata to Śaunaka and other sages in the Naimiṣa forest. It was believed that whenever dharma and Veda declined Vyāsas were born for the benefit of men (Brahma 158. 34). The Kūrma (I. 52, 1–9) sets out 27 names of different Vyāsas, while Vāyu (23. 115–219), Brahmanāla (II. 35. 116–125), Viṣṇu 1391 (III. 3, 11–19).

1390. अस्मिन्ये कुतो ध्यास: पराशरः परतय: (परतय:?)। भवायन इति स्वातो विण्योर्म: महीतिः। भवायन चोर्दिः सोस्मिन्ये ध्यासु प्रयत्ने। अथ विण्योर्म स जयाध चाम्हें वेदकारण्ष। "एवः रवि: अर्जुने परित: रवि: हिण्यः। यंहुद्धिवा कारे वेदायनन्त्येश:। जयाधिनि सामवेदकारे रविकारे सीतायतृत। तथेऽवेदवेदेश्य हमनसुधिविस्माद। इत्यवेदान्तपराष्ट्र व्यक्तारे सम्पन्नेः हि। मां चेत्तरु महतिज्ञाय भगवानीष्ठिः: प्रस्थ: नाधु 60.11-16, भवायन II. 34. 11–16 (almost in the same words). Compare विण्य III. 4. 7-10, कुर्म I. 52. 12–15, विण्यपारस्तर I. 74. Kūrma I. 51. 48, Padma V. 1. 43, Bhāgavata I. 4. 14–25 and XII. 6. 49–80 and Nārādiya I. 1. 18 identify him with Nārāyaṇa. The आदिश्रयं corrob oxates the Purāṇa statements: तिम्यसे च चुम्बः पो बेदौ वेदा० वर:। आदि 60. 2 and 5; यो ध्यास बेदामुर्त्सत्सा भगवानाचयः। लोके ध्यासवानामी कारणविण्यन्त्येश:। आदि 105. 15.

1391. भवारे भवारे विण्यपारस्तरमभादुरे। बेदोंक छथुधा कुतते जयाधिः। विण्यसे घोष चालवर्म सुभिधानामवधेश:। हिण्याय सर्वोत्तमानां बेदवेदार्य करोति स। विण्य III. 3. 5–6.
enumerate the names of the 28 Vyāsas of the 28 Dvāpara ages of the Vaivasvata Manvantara (which is the current one). How Vyāsa put together the Purāṇas is described in several Purāṇas ‘He who was an adept in the meaning of Purāṇa composed a Purāṇa-samhitā from (the material supplied by) tales, episodes, gāthās (stanzas) and correct ascertainment or descriptions of Kalpas’. This shows that, while the Vedic texts were preserved with unparalleled care by the brāhmaṇaśa, the very ancient Itihāsa-purāṇa, though called the 5th Veda, was not kept intact with care similar to that bestowed on the four Vedas and that this fifth Veda was allowed to be inflated by fresh additions from time to time.

In connection with Vyāsa’s legendary role as an arranger of the Veda, Pargiter has a theory of his own which must be briefly noticed and examined. He develops that theory on pp. 9-10 of A. I. H. T. He refers to the Rgveda as the greatest brahmanical book, says that it is a compilation of hymns composed by many authors and is arranged according to certain principles. His words are ‘It (Rgveda) must manifestly have been compiled and arranged by some one or more persons, yet Vedic Literature says absolutely nothing about this. The brāhmaṇaśa cannot have been ignorant about it, for they preserved it and its text with unparalleled care. ’Vedic Literature professes to know and declares the names of the authors of nearly all the hymns and even of single verses, yet it ignores all knowledge of the person or persons who afterwards compiled and arranged these hymns. To suppose that when it preserved the earlier information it was ignorant of the later work in so vital a matter is ridiculous.’ From this silence in the Vedic Literature about the persons that compiled and arranged the Rgveda, Pargiter at once jumps to the positive and emphatic conclusion, as is usual with many western writers on Sanskrit Literature and Indology to argue from silence, that ‘Vedic Literature has deliberately suppressed all information on these matters’ (AIHT p. 9). He refers to the fact that the Mahābhārata and Purāṇa are full of Vyāsa and repeatedly declare that the Veda was arranged by Vyāsa and points out that Vedic Literature is

1392. आद्यनिष्ठार्यपालनान्यान्यान्यानपि कल्पवृक्षानि: पुराणसंहितास च चक च पुराणारः-विवाहसः: विषय III. 6. 15, जगतावृत II. 34. 21 (reads कल्पज्ञानिंहिम:), ब्रह्म 60. 21 (reads कल्पबृक्षानि: कल्पज्ञानिंहिम:). कल्पज्ञानिंहिम: would mean ’words or descriptions relating to Kalpas (vast periods of time)’. The com. on विषयपुराण explains ‘सर्व पुराण्यन्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान श्रवणं स पुराणं ॥ पुराणपुराणं उपस्थितं मृच्छये ॥’
remarkably reticent about Vyāsa Pārāśarya (who is mentioned as a pupil of Viṣvakṣena in the Vaiṣṇa list at the end of the Śāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa and in the Taittiriya Aranyakas) and then he reiterates his charge of the conspiracy of silence about Vyāsa (AIHT, p. 10). Pargiter is ready with a reason for the supposed conspiracy of silence viz. ‘the Brāhmaṇas put forward the doctrine that the Veda existed from everlasting; hence to admit that any one had compiled or even arranged it struck at the root of their doctrine and was in common parlance to give their whole case away’ (ibid, p. 10).

Several objections can be raised against the positive assertion of deliberate and fraudulent suppression inferred from mere silence. In the first place, Pargiter is very loose in his statement of facts. Pargiter totally ignores that even in the Rgveda itself, ṛk verses, yajus texts and sāman chants are differentiated. To give only a few references, vide for ṛkṣas (Rg. II. 35. 12, V. 6. 5, V. 27. 4, V. 44. 14–15), in both verses of the last ṛk and sāmans being separately mentioned; for yajus vide Rg. V. 62. 3, X. 181. 3; for sāman chants vide Rg. II. 43. 2 (udgāteva śakune sāma gāyasi), VIII. 81. 5 (śravat sāma gīyaṁānam), VIII. 95. 7 (śuddhena sāmnā).

The epic and purānic texts indicate that Veda was thought to be originally one, but was arranged into four groups, that the four groups of texts were entrusted for preservation and propagation to four different disciples of Vyāsa. The Rgveda has two arrangements, one into maṇḍalas and sūktas and the other into aṣṭakas, adhyāyas and vargas. The Taittiriyaśamhitās and Atharvaveda are arranged into kāṇḍas. Not a word is said in any of these accounts to which Pargiter refers about picking up hymns already existing or their being arranged in maṇḍalas or adhyāyas or kāṇḍas by Vyāsa. Further, the reason assigned for the supposed deliberate suppression of the name of the arranger of the Veda is quite flimsy, not to say ridiculous. Every hymn of the Rgveda or every mantra has a rṣi who by the ancient Indian tradition was not the author (as Pargiter puts it) but only the seer. It is clear from Brāhmaṇa texts, Upaniṣads and smṛtis that from very ancient times it was a very strict principle.
that no one should teach or repeat in japa or employ a mantra in a sacrifice without knowing the rishi, the metre, the deity and the use (viniyoga) of it and dire consequences were declared to follow for him who was remiss in these matters. Hymns and mantras were arranged in different groups for different religious rites and solemn sacrifices or for other purposes (such as sāntis). It is not necessary to remember who arranged the required mantras for rites, sacrifices and other purposes. The Brāhmaṇa texts and śrauta sūtras prescribe the manner of the employment of the same mantras for various purposes and the Anukramanis contain the names of the seers, metres and the deities of hymns and individual mantras also. As every mantra of the Veda was supposed to be only seen by a sage and as eternal, the mere compilation of them in one or more series or the mere arrangement of mantras or hymns in different groups for different purposes did not at all affect or interfere with the eternality of mantras or hymns. Pargiter's so-called reason for suppressing the name of the arranger of the Veda is simply no reason at all.

Pargiter did not stop to consider possible explanations. One of the most plausible is now put forth. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (a very extensive literature) were attributed to Vyāsa, who, as shown above in n. 1390, had come to be looked upon as Viṣṇu or as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. The four Vedas and the several different sākhās (recensions) of each Veda were well known. By a sort of post facto explanation, the distribution of the Veda into four main groups was claimed to have been brought about by the divinely inspired Vyāsa, whose Purāṇas are, as will be apparent from note 1349 above and as will be shown in more detail later, glorified as even anterior and superior to the Veda. The eternality of the Veda had to be maintained and at the same time Vyāsa was to be glorified.

(Continued from last page)
The easiest way was to proclaim that Vyāsa, the author of the
great Epic and of the distribution of Purāṇas into eighteen, was
also responsible for the division or arrangement of the Veda.
If all this glorification of Vyāsa occurred in the centuries
immediately preceding and following Christ, how could the
supposed arranger of the Veda be mentioned in the early Vedic
Literature, which, most scholars agree, was closed some centuries
before Buddha (i.e. before the 6th century B.C.)? No body
claims that the arrangement into maṇḍalas or astakas or kāṇḍas
is eternal. It is only the hymns or mantras that are claimed
to be eternal. Even the padapātha of the Rgveda is declared
to be non-eternal and is ascribed to Śākalya whom the Nirukta
criticises in VI. 28. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 242 expressly states
that the pada and krama arrangements of the Veda are due to
human authors.1394 This theory explains all matters and has
far better claims to be accepted than Pargiter's bold ascription
of fraudulent suppression inferred from (a supposed) silence.

The Purāṇas do not speak with one voice about their own
origin and transmission. After declaring that Vyāsa entrusted
the preservation and propagation of the Purāṇas to Sūta, the
Vāyu and other Purāṇas contain a somewhat different version.
The Vāyu narrates (61. 55–61): Sūta had six disciples, viz.
Sūniti Ātreya, Akṛtavrana Kāśyapa, Agnivarca Bhārdvāja,
Mitrayu Vasiṣṭha, Śāvarṇi Saumadattī, Suṣarman Śāṃśāpāyana.
Three of these, viz. Kāśyapa, Śāvarṇi and Śāṃśāpāyana prepared
new Purāṇa-samhitās and Sūta's own was the 4th and the
original one. All were divided into four kāṇḍas, contained the
same sense (matter), but differed in their readings as the sākhās
of the Veda differ. All had four thousand verses except the
samhitā of Śāṃśāpāyana. These four are said to be the basic
samhitās (in Brahmāṇda II. 35. 66) or original samhitās (in
Vāyu 61. 58 pūrvasamhitās). The Brahmāṇda (II. 35. 63–70)
has the same account in almost the same words. Viṣṇu
(III. 6. 16–17), Agni 271 (11–12) are briefer but agree in the
main with Vāyu. The Bhāgavāta (XII. 7. 4–7) differs from all
these to some extent. That there is some substance in this story
appears from stray passages in several chapters of the Vāyu
(56. 1, 60. 33–34, 62. 1, 89. 16) and the Brahmāṇda (II. 34. 34,

1394. प्रदक्षमानीनां तु कृत्रिमकल्लाधिनृ व्याःकृतुष्टेन वादित्वाधिकं संन्यासिष्ठम्। पाल्लकाः
on या. III. 242 ‘अर्थेः नियोजो ज्ञात्वा विगुणो वेदांसंहिताम्।’ शास्त्रिः 343. 103 (=cr.
ed. 330.37) states the क्रमवाह was due to पाण्डव शास्त्र.
II. 36. 1 &c.), where Śāṅśampāyana is the inquirer and Śūta replies.

The personality of Śūta is somewhat of an enigma in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Śūta is called Romaharsana or Lomaharsana because he made the hair (roman or loman) of his audience bristle or stand erect by his touching and eloquent speech. In the Skanda it is stated that he was so called because his own hair stood on end when he was being instructed by Dvaiḍāyana. One meaning of the word śūta is 'christen' and another meaning is 'a person of a mixed pratiṣṭoma caste born of the union of a brāhmaṇa woman with a ksatriya male' and the cognate word 'Māgadha' means 'one who is born of a pratiṣṭoma union between a vālsya male and a ksatriya female' (vide Manu X. 71. Yāj. I. 93–94). The Arthaśāstra of Kautilya says the same thing about śūta and māgadha, but adds that 'the śūta and māgadha mentioned in the Purāṇas are different from these, because he (the śūta) is distinguished from (ordinary) brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas'. Kautilya means that in his days śūta and māgadha were pratiṣṭoma castes, but the śūta and māgadha mentioned as the first reciters of the Purāṇas are a category apart, that they do not belong to the pratiṣṭoma castes and are both distinguished from brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas (i.e. śūta of the Purāṇaś is treated more or less as a great sage or semi-divine person). The Vāyu (I. 26–33 and 62–147 ff), Padma (II. 27. 65–87, V. 1. 29–32), Bhārmaṇa (II. 36. 158–173), the Skanda (Prabhāṣaṅkhaṇḍa I. 8) say that in the sacrifice of Pitāmaha, (i.e. Bhārmaṇa) Śūta sprang up as a partial avātara of Viśṇu on

1395. लोमाणि हर्षार्चवके ऋषिणां यत्संपालिते। कर्मणा महत्ततेन तोक्षकिंत्रस्वास्तीम\-\-हर्षणः। वायु I. 16; तत्र ते सर्वार्थमाणि वनसा हर्षातानि यत्। हृदायायातरावतियत्वे श्रीमत्वम् (बाङ्गाल) I. 6.

1396. वैद्यानामानवहितानी। श्रीमत्व:। पौराणिकस्तथः।। सूतो मायाभवं महाभाष्यवा-\-हिन्दुवः। अर्धांश इ. 7. p. 165; Pargiter translates (AIIT p. 17) 'but the sūta who is mentioned in the Purāṇas is different and so also is the Māgadha who is mentioned there from brāhmaṇa-ksatriya offspring by a real distinction.' This is not accurate. There are no words in the Arthaśāstra corresponding to 'who is mentioned there' and for 'offspring'. This idea about the origin of sūt and māgad is very old. Vide note. धर्मसूत्र IV. 15–16 'पश्चिमापाल धर्मसूत्रायांगसुपुरुषो वैत्तिस्कम्।' भार्ष्यणमज्ञवनस्य स्\-\-वेदवागसमाधिकारः। ज्ञातानि नचेत्रगुरवाय वर्णोपनीयम्। ज्ञातानि ज्ञातानि ज्ञातानि।

1397. एतस्मिनेन्द्र काले च पदे वैतालमेव सुरेऽधिनि एतस्मिनेन्द्र काले च पदे वैतालमेव सुरेऽधिनि महावर्ण:। तस्मिनेन्द्र महावर्ण: जगत्य गुरुव्या गुरुव्या। वायु II. 155–156, भाषा 4. 60–61. It is popular etymology to derive the word सूत from the root 'śu' 5th conj. to extract.
the day when soma juice was extracted and māgadha also thus arose. It is further stated in the same Purāṇas that the hāris (offering) meant for Indra (symbol of the ksatriya class) got mixed with that meant for Brhaspati (symbol of brāhmaṇa class and learning) and that the sūta was born just at the time when the mixed-up offering was presented to the gods. From this the sūta (in later times) had duties similar to those of the original sūta and it was said that the sūta is offspring of the mixed union of brāhmaṇa (woman) with ksatriya (male). Then another story is grafted on to this (in Vāyu 62. 147 ff, Brahmāṇḍa II. 36. 170-173 and in others) that the original sūta and Māgadha sang the praises of king Prthu, son of Vena, who being pleased, made a present of the country of Anūpa to Sūta and the country of Māgadha to Māgadha and since that time sūtas and māgadhas sing the praises of kings and awaken them in the morning with blessings. The Vāyu itself, however, says (1. 33-34) that sūta was born at the time of the extracting of soma juice in the sacrifice of Prthu Vainya.

The authors of the extant Vāyu and other Purāṇas are conscious that the sūta and māgadha in their times had no adhikāra for Veda, that the business of the sūta was to note the dynasties of gods, sages and kings that are found in the Itihāsa and Purāṇas. They felt scandalized by the fact that great sages like Saunaka were said to have learnt Purāṇas from the sūta who in their times belonged to a pratiloma caste, about which Gautama, Viṣṇudharmasūtra and Kauṭilya himself lay down that pratilomas are like śūdras, are condemned by āryas and are

1398. ततः स्वामने सुपित्र: पुष्य: महायस्ते| अनुमुद्येश्य श्रुताय सम्भवे मायायाम्।
तवा व भृद्विवाहः सुर्यवेदपातः। आधिविंशति: प्रसोपस्ये सुतायनन्वितायाम्। वाद 62.
147-148, भ्राम्ण 36. 171-173. The आधिविंशति (59. 112-113) refers to the gift of अनुमुद्येश्य and मायायाम to पुष्य; भ्राम्ण 4. 67 also does so. The Padma V. 1. 31 says that Prthu made a present of the Śūta country to Śūta. It is popular etymology to derive the name मायायाम from माया, अनुमुद्येश्य means a watery or marsh country. Padma (II. 27. 86-87) mentions other countries as gifts to शूर्य &c.

1399. शूर्य उदयम् । "स्वर्णम् एव शूर्यस्य सप्तकुटिल: पुरातनः। ब्रह्मचाृताण्विभीणा च राज्या
नचितते नस्यार्थः। वेदान्तचारणीणा च राज्यानां च हृदयाण्वितायाम्। इति इत्यादिगविद्या विद्या ये ब्रह्म-
चारणीणा: ॥ न त विदेशविभीणा: कथानकृत्वं हृदयाण्वितायाम्। वेदव्यास सि इत्यादिगविद्या
विद्यां महत्त्वम्। इति इत्यादिगविद्या विद्या ये ब्रह्मचारणीणाः। वाद 1. 31-34, पुष्य V. 1 27; vide भ्राम्ण II. 36.
158-173 for the birth of शूर्य and gift of अनुमुद्येश्य to शूर्य and of मायायाम to मायायाम by प्रधुर्यन: मायायाम ।
सेविता ये शूर्यमें। वैद्याभवन्त: वैद्याभवन्त: वैद्याभवन्त: ॥ शूर्यविखयोगम् । अनुमुद्येश्य इत्यादिगविद्या विद्या V. 14. 20; त ते विद्यां महत्त्वम्। स्वर्णमक्षिकम्भवितः।
समबन्धित: ॥ शूर्यमें। अस्यम् च विद्याश्च । अर्धशास्त्र III. 7 p. 165; मायायाम ।
शूर्यमें। विषयाश्चातिन्हित: ॥ विषयाश्चातिन्हित: ॥

16. 3.
beyond the pale of the usual duties of brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas (such as upanayana, Veda study, teaching &c.). Learning by a brāhmaṇa from a ksatriya was considered even in Upaniṣad times as contrary to the natural order of things. Vide the words of king Ajātaśatru to Gārgya Bālāki 1400 quoted below. Therefore, to account for the position of Śūta as instructor in Itihāsa and Purāṇa of great sages like Saunaka, the story of Śūta's birth was invented and he was placed in a separate category by himself. This must have occurred some centuries before Kautilya who was aware of the low position of śūta and māgadhā and differentiates the Paurāṇika śūta from the prati-loma śūta and māgadhā. One need not accept the divine character of Śūta, one has only to understand that in very ancient times brāhmaṇas could, without any qualms and without loss of prestige, learn about legends from a śūta, but that in the times when the extant purāṇas were compiled the position had entirely changed.

Next to Pargiter and Kirfel, one must mention the name of Prof. R. C. Hazra who has bestowed much labour and thought on the purāṇas in general and on individual purāṇas. One cannot but feel high admiration for Prof. Hazra's industry, patience and enthusiasm. One regrets, however, to find that he has developed a tendency to assign rather more ancient dates to the extant Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas than the available evidence would warrant. Besides, he has been so much engrossed in the study of Purāṇas that he sometimes scents a reference to Purāṇas where none in fact exists. For example, in 'Puranic records on Hindu rites and customs' (p. 6) Prof. Hazra observes that Vijñāneshvara tells us of Hārīta's reference to the opinion of Purāṇas in prescribing penance in normal circumstances to those who eat the food dedicated to the patriarchs. The words of the Mitakṣara1401 of Vijñāneshvara are quoted in the note

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1401. The रिताश्चर has a long discussion on Yaj. III. 289 about the expiations for eating food tainted by various defects. About eating food in śrāddhas of various kinds it quotes several authorities as follows: हरितिनारक कुमार। एकायासहे शुचः शुचः सङ्करः तथा। उपेश्व निक्षत्रविद्वमः कुमारादेशे- शुचायारुपमम् हिति। विनयादवरुपम। पाणिपर्यं शत्कार्यं। कालापर्यं सत्कार्यं। एकायासहे खरेश्वरम्। अनयापदी तु- च चानुष्टायणं नामाद्वितीयामार्यं तु मिश्रके। एकायासहे खरेश्वरम्। पाणिपर्यं शत्कार्यं। कालापर्यं सत्कार्यं। एकायासहे खरेश्वरम्। अनयापदी तु- च चानुष्टायणं नामाद्वितीयामार्यं तु मिश्रके। एकायासहे खरेश्वरम्। पाणिपर्यं शत्कार्यं। कालापर्यं सत्कार्यं। (Continued on next page)
below and clearly show that there the word ‘purāṇesu’ means ‘Śrāddhas called purāṇa’ and has nothing to do with Purāṇa works. Another defect noticed in Prof. Hazra's writings is that he sees too much meaning in simple words and phrases and is not cautious in his conclusions as a scholar of his standing and experience should be. In a recent paper on 'the Āśvamedha, the common source of origin of the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahabhārata' in ABORI, vol. 36 (1956) pp. 190-203, he cites the Atharvaveda verse quoted above (p. 816, n 1325) in which ṛk and sāma verses are mentioned separately and ‘purāṇa’ (purāṇam yajuṣā saha) is associated with yajus, and says this collocation seemed to him highly significant and that he felt fully convinced that the Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahabhārata owe their origin to the Āśvamedha sacrifice and especially to its Pariplava ākhyānas. Reasons of available space preclude a detailed examination of this paper. But a few fundamental objections and matters must be mentioned. The words ‘purāṇam yajuṣā saha’ should ordinarily mean (as in passages like Devadattaḥ saputra āgataḥ) no more than ‘Purāṇa and Yajus’. Yaj. 1. 101 provides¹⁴º that after the daily bath, a vedic householder should undertake every day the japa of portions of the (three) Vedas, the Atharvaveda, Purāṇas together with Itihāsa and of ādyāyātmiṃk-vidyā (Upaniṣads). There is no special meaning here in the association ‘purāṇāni sethāsāni’ beyond ‘Purāṇas and Itihāsa’. One, therefore, fails to understand how the words ‘purāṇam yajuṣā saha’ are highly significant for arriving at the conviction that Āśvamedha is the origin of Purāṇa and Mahabhārata. Then on p. 202 of the paper

(Continued from last page)

Srāddhas are of three kinds, navabhaṣaḥ (up to ten days after death), nimbh or navamitraḥ (performed after ten days up to one year) and puraṇaḥ (those performed after a year from a person's death). The word purāṇaḥ means purāṇaḥ āhāreṇuḥ. Hārītī provides pañchakṛta for eating the food in the three kinds of āhāreṇuḥ. Nimbh and puraṇaḥ. The word purāṇaḥ in that verse of hārītī has nothing to do with Purāṇa works. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 262 notes 591a and 593 for more details about the three kinds of śrāddhas.

¹⁴º. बैबार्त्सूप्राणानि चैत्यासाति महेश्वर:। जयवस्मित्विद्या वियां चाहासाातिकोः

जयेत्य याज्ञ. I. 101. Compare also H. II. 46. 129 एकलसुः प्राणानि सहितासाति

कृतबः। एकत्र परमेस्वेत्वानातिरिष्ट्येत। H. D. 109
in question Prof. Hazra quotes a passage from\textsuperscript{1403} Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on Chāndogya III. 4. 1–2 and completely misunderstands the great ācārya when he observes "Śaṅkara's use of the word 'rātrī' in the plural (in 'rātrisū') shows that in his opinion the Itihāsa and Purāṇa were employed every night during the Pāriplava and not merely on the 8th and 9th nights respectively, as the Śatapatha Br. and Śaṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra say" (Italics author's). The Aśvamedha sacrifice lasted for a year and listening to the Pāriplava went on for a year, each Pāriplava being a cycle of ten days (or rather nights, as the recitation by the hoṭr priest was to take place after the morning, mid-day and evening istsī were finished). The texts to be recited and the nature of the legends to be narrated on each of the cycle of ten days are fixed and Itihāsa and Purāṇa are to be recited only on the 8th and 9th nights. As each cycle was of ten days, there would be 36 cycles of Pāriplava in a year and Itihāsa would be recited on 36 nights in the year and Purāṇa also would be recited on 36 nights in the year. It is for this reason that Śaṅkarācārya speaks of 'Pāriplavasu rātrisū' in the plural, but he does not say that Itihāsa and Purāṇa were to be recited on 'all' nights (sarvīrśa rātrisū), while Prof. Hazra represents him as so saying. There is absolutely no warrant in the ancient texts for saying that on each day (or night) of the Pāriplava Itihāsa or Purāṇa was to be recited or that Śaṅkarācārya said anything of the kind. The testimony of the Vedāntasūtra\textsuperscript{1404} is completely against this view of Prof. Hazra. Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 23 refers to certain stories mentioned in the Upaniṣads such as 'Yājñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyī and Kātyāyani' (Br. Up. IV. 5. 1), 'Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, went to Indra's abode' (Kauśitaki Up. III. 1), 'Jānaśruti Paurāṇyāna was a pious donor giving much wealth to the people and keeping an open house for distributing food' (Chān. Up. IV. 1. 1), and remarks that such stories were not to be recited in Pāriplava, since the stories to be recited therein are expressly specified beginning with the story

\textsuperscript{1403} The भाष्य passage quoted is 'इतिहासपुराणं पुष्पम्। तत्प्रभृतिइतिहासपुराणप्रायस्य योरे वमेये पारिप्लव रात्रिणु कर्मोपवेसन विनियोगः सिद्धः।'.

\textsuperscript{1404} पारिप्लवमायक्षीति-इति हि प्रकृत्य 'मुद्रान्तरको राजा' इत्येवमायक्षीति कानिष्ठिविद्वाध्यायातिव्य विशेषायं। अवधारायसामायायस्वेतस्वदशीति: स्वविक्षितमेव विशेषव्य भवेशु। तस्मात् पारिप्लवां गता आवेयायारूपः। भाष्य on वेदम. जून. III. 4. 23 (पारिप्लवार्या इति वेष विशेषितवात्).
of king Manu Vaivatsvata (which was to be recited on the first night of the Pārīplava).

Prof. Hazra has recently published (in 1958) 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' vol. I, pp. 1-400 on Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas (in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series 1958). This would be briefly dealt with a little later.

Prof. Ramchandra Dikshitar also has written a good deal on the Purāṇas. His writings are beset by the same infirmity that attaches to Prof. Hazra's work to some extent. For example, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the 13th Indian History Congress (pp. 46-50) on the Viṣṇupurāṇa he first states (p. 46) that he is more concerned with the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa and after pointing out that the topics of vratas, of fasts, of tirtha, are absent from the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa he concludes that the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa can safely be placed in the 6th or 7th century B.C. Hardly any modern and critical scholar would accept such a date for the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa. Instead of relying on the absence of certain topics he should rather have relied on what it actually contains to find out the probable date of the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa.

In connection with the Purāṇas the author must refer at some length to the Introductory remarks of Ballālasena, king of Bengal, in his Dānasāgara, edited in the B. I. series (1953-1956) by Mr. Bhābatosh Bhāttācārya (three parts of text pp. 1-722 and 4th part an Introduction in English with Indices). Those remarks evince a bold critical faculty rare in our medieval Sanskrit writers. He mentions, besides the Gopathabrahmana, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the smṛtis and dharmasāstras of Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya, (counting Śaṅkha Likhita as two), Dāna-Bṛhaspati and Bṛhaspati (as separate), Vasiṣṭha and others (in all 28), the Chandoga-pariśista of Kātyāyana, thirteen principal Purāṇas viz. Brāhma, Vārāha, Āgneya, Bhavisya, Mātṣya, Vāmanā, Vāyuciya, Mārkandeya, Vaisnava, Śaiva, Skānda, Pādma and Kaurma and the Upapurāṇas named in Kurma and Ādi Purāṇas as containing the procedure of (various) dānas, viz. Ādya, Sāmba, Kālikā, Nānda (v. l. Nandin), Aditya, Nārasimha, Viṣṇudharmottara (declared by Mārkandeya) and the śāstra called Viṣṇudharma (eight in all). He mentions that he drew upon all these for the production of his work on dānas, 1375 in number (verses 11-20
pp. 2–3). Then he mentions certain Puranās and Upapurānas which he discarded in his work on dānas for various reasons.

Some of these remarks are very important and the original verses are set out in the note below. He states that he did not draw upon the Bhāgavata, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Nārādiya as dānas are absent therefrom. He did not rely on his work upon the Lingapurāṇa, though it is a large work, because its essence, he decides, is the same as the treatment of Mahādānas declared in the Matsyapurāṇa; the Bhavisyapurāṇa has been assiduously utilised by him only up to the (vratavīdhīs of) 7th tithi, but he discards the procedures of the 8th and 9th tithis (of the Bhavisyapurāṇa), since they are overwhelmed (tainted) with the doctrines of heretical sects (Tāntrikas,

1405. ब्रजिवपरणे सत्यपुराणेष्ठत्मं भक्तमायम्। अध्यायं दृढार्यं दृढः निर्वल्लख्य:।। 58 सत्यपुराणम् भविष्यमायम् सद्वर्तितमात्मकताः॥। त्यक्तमात्रीमेव वस्तुपाद्यमित्रमात्र॥। तैराहिसारिकविद्वे सवितरिकविद्वे॥। दृढः न परतिश्रोतो वस्तुपाद्यमित्रमात्र॥। भविष्यमात्रात्मकविद्वे सवितरिकविद्वे॥। भामासप्रजापतिः॥।

1406. Both the कल्पम on ब्रज pp. 274–308 and नारादिन on ब्रज vol. I pp. 921–956 contain several vratas on the 9th tithi from Bhavisyapurāṇa in honour of Durgā (under various names such as Cāndikā, Nandā) which have a śākta flavour. For example, as regards the Udbhavanavamāvatra (Kalpataru on vrata pp. 274–282) it is provided that the eight-armed Durgā called Tryambikā is to be honoured with red flowers and the naivedya of buffalo flesh (p. 275). Similarly, as regards Nāmanavamā vrata (ibid., p. 283–288) provision is made for a naivedya of fish and flesh and in the Mahānavamā vrata pp. 296–298 a naivedya of pāyasa and flesh for Maṅgala is provided. In the Nandānavamā Durgā is called Nandā and the mantra

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Bauddhas, &c.); both the Visūrahasya and Śivarahasya, though well-known among people, have not been accepted in this work, since they are considered to be mere compilations; the Bhavisyottara ( Purāṇa ) which is followed in peoples' practices and is not in conflict (with orthodox views) has been excluded from this work, since no indications (evidence) of its authoritiveness could be found; the following are ignored in the Dānasāgara for reasons stated: three khaṇḍas, viz. those concerned with the tales of Paundra, Revā and Avanti of the Skanda apart from a part of it that is prevalent (among people), the Tārksya (i.e. Garuḍa) purāṇa, another Brahmapurāṇa, another Āgneya (i.e. Agnipurāṇa), a Viṣṇupurāṇa containing 23000 verses, another Liṅgapurāṇa containing six thousand verses; all these have been discarded for various reasons such as the procedure of dīkṣā (initiation of a disciple by a guru in a cult like the Tāntrika or Pāṇcarātra or Pāṣupata) or of the establishment of an image, heretical reasoning, testing of jewels, stories of the doings of (persons of) false genealogies, treating of such matters as dictionaries and grammar, containing incoherent tales and contradictions, because they lead to the misleading of people by the description of or reference to Love affairs, to those who are buffoons, or are heretics or make their livelihood by displaying some sign (such as matted hair); the Devipurāṇa has not been utilized in this work, because it is not included in the enumeration of the number of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas (in various works), because it contains delusive acts and because it approves of heretic śāstras.

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is 'om Nandāyai namah' (p. 304) and in the Mahānavamīvrata (on Āśvina-śukla 9) worship is commended (p. 308) with plenty of wine and flesh and with the heads of buffaloes, rams and goats. All these Navamīvratas provide a dinner to maidens which is a peculiarity of śākta worship. Tāntrik practices must have affected people in Northern India long before the 11th century as the Kalpataru mentions the Sun's mantra 'Khakholkāya namah'; vide Bhāṣya I. 215.1-6 for the basic mantra (Mūla-mantra) and its adjuncts, some of which are 'ॐ विद्विदिते विद्विदे, अं ज्ञातिने हति हिस्वा, अं सहस्रसमेभ फट कलचम्, अं सर्वजानिततथात्तभ फट अन्नम् । अं सहस्रकिरिणोवजत्याय फट उज्जवलम्।' (कल्प on Brah. p. 199). It may be noted that the Agnipurāṇa (272.3) speaks of the gift of the Viṣṇupurāṇa containing 23000 verses.

1406a. कहामत means भूति or मोह acc. to अन्याचार्य. भूति तु कहामत मोहोपययस्य- मञ्जल न्यायस्य. In the अन्याचार्य II. 2 we have 'कुत्सवा कहामलिवेव विभिन्ते समुप- विभिन्तैव' where it should mean मोहा. If we prefer the variant reading कहामत, then the meaning would be मलिन (dark) or मलीमक.
Some important conclusions can be drawn from the above mentioned remarks of Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara. Next to the Mitākṣarā, the Kṛtyakalpataru and Aparārka’s commentary, the Dānasāgara is among the earliest extant nibandha works the dates of which are nearly certain. If does not mention the Mitākṣarā, nor Kṛtyakalpataru nor Aparārka. Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattāchārya is right in his contention that the words ‘Kalpadrumo jaṅgamaḥ’ in the 3rd opening verse have nothing to do with Kalpataru of Lākṣmidhara and that Prof. Rangaswamy Aiyangar is wrong in thinking that the verse refers to the Kalpataru (vide Mr. Bhattāchārya’s Introduction to Dānasāgara p. XVIII and note 1).

The principal points that emerge from Ballālasena’s remarks on Purāṇas are that he included both Vāyu and Siva among the principal Purāṇas (sometimes called Mahāpurāṇas), that there were two Purāṇas called Linga, Brāhma, Agneya and Viṣṇu, that the four counterparts bearing these names were not treated as authoritative (one pseudo-Lingapurāṇa having 6000 verses and one Viṣṇu having also 23000 verses being unauthoritative), that he abhorred Tāntrik rites and therefore totally discarded the Devipurāṇa and parts of Bhaviṣya, that he did not utilize three named sections of the Skanda, that he did not regard the Garuda as authoritative. It may be stated here that acc. to the (printed) Kūrma I. 1. 17-20 some Upapurāṇas such as Skanda, Vāmana, Brahmanda and Nāradiya bear the same names as the Mahāpurāṇas. Prof. Hazra relies upon a passage quoted from the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa by Kalpataru (Brahmacāri-

1407. The pedigree of बहुतासन gathered from अ शात्र and द्वारासागर is: हेमसासन (in सोमवर) - his son विजयसासन - his son बहुतासन - his son द्वारासागर. The अवकाशसागर was begun in शक 1089 (1167 A.D.) and was finished by his son द्वारासागर (p. 4 अ. शात्र.). The द्वारासागर was composed by बहुतासन in शक 1091 (1169 A.D.); vide Mr. B. Bhattāchārya’s Introduction to द्वारासागर pp. XXV-XXVI. He composed three more works before the द्वारासागर viz. the अवकाशसागर and अवाचारसागर (in verses 55-56 p. 6 of द्वारासागर). So बहुतासन’s literary activity should be placed between 1155 to 1180 A.D. He mentions अवक्रसिंह, author of हरसत्ता and नित्यदुनित, as his guru to whom he shows great reverence for his learning, high character and attainments in the द्वारासागर (p. 2 verse 6) and states that he learnt the essence of all Purāṇas and smṛtis from him (verse 7). Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. (1930) pp. 340-341 for Ballālasena.

1408. भक्ष्यदात्सनेह। अन्नदेह पुराणानि तमस्य चार्किते तथा। विनिवेशमन्त्रद्वारासागरम्
शिरसामध्येन्द्रां भारतः काल्यनः च भाष्मो भेदः यत्तमद्हारांश्च द्वित। सौराष्ट्रम् राजेश्वर शान्-
(Continued on next page)
kānda p. 25) wherein it is said that the appellation Jaya is applied to 18 Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇudharmādiśāstras, Śiva-dharma, Mahābhārata, Sauradharma and Mānava-dharma (Manusmṛti?). I shall discuss the question of Viṣṇudharma-purāṇa later. But I have serious objections against the antiquity and authenticity of this passage. Being quoted in the Kalpataru it may be earlier than 1050 A.D. That is all. In order to glorify the 18 Purāṇas the meaning of Jaya is extended. Jaya is applied only to the Mahābhārata in the latter e.g. Udyogaparva 136. 18–19 and Svargārohaṇiṇa 5. 49 and 51 quoted in note 1369 above. Hence this passage was inserted very late after all 18 Purāṇas had been composed i.e. after the 9th century A.D. Besides the plural ‘Viṣṇudharmādiśāstrāṇi’ shows that many works are meant and not one, i.e. the meaning is that all śāstras dealing with Viṣṇudharma and the like. If a single work were meant, one expects ‘Viṣṇudharmādiśāstram ca’ and that would have not spoiled the metre. Besides, the Kalpataru itself indicates that this verse about ‘Jaya’ was cited by some authorities as ‘Smṛti’. Therefore, it is doubtful if it is a genuine Bhaviśya passage. Ballālasena mentions only eight Upapurāṇas on dānas by name (including the four mentioned by the Matsya).

In spite of the very admirable and praiseworthy efforts of Dr. Hazra in the matter of the place of the Upapurāṇas, their contents, the search among numerous mss. to find out what the text of the several upapurāṇas has been, the present writer must say here once for all that he does not at all agree with most of the dates that he assigns to the Samba, the Viṣṇudharma, the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Narasimhapurāṇa, which are the principal Upapurāṇas he has dealt with in the first volume of ‘Studies in Upapurāṇas’. His dates for the four Upapurāṇas are;

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Sāmba between 500 and 800 A.D. (p. 91), the Viṣṇudharma-
purāṇa between 200–300 A.D. (p. 143), the Viṣṇudharmottara-
purāṇa between 400 to 500 A.D. (p. 212) and the present
Narasimha-purāṇa between 400 to 500 A.D. To examine all
his reasons the present writer would have to write another book.
Therefore, he proposes to give only a few illustrations of the
way in which Dr. Hazra arrives at his dates. But before this is
done it is better to mention some of his own findings on the
Purāṇas and the four Upapurāṇas mentioned above. On p. 27
he observes that the text of the extant Mahāpurāṇas which are
the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpo-
lations made at different times and by different sects is scarcely
reliable and can be used with great caution and careful
discrimination. I agree with him. But the same or perhaps worse
is the case with the Upapurāṇas. Prof. Hazra himself says
(‘Studies’ vol. I. p. 23) that after the group of 18 principal
Purāṇas had been compiled many sub-systems and sects like the
Śāktas and Sauras came into prominence and their adherents
interpolated chapters in the 18 established Purāṇas and wrote
new and independent works styled Purāṇas in order to propagate
their own ideas and that some of these latter came to be called
Upapurāṇas. The result is that, unless we have critical editions of
the Purāṇas and the principal Upapurāṇas on the model of the
critical edition of the Mahābhārata at the BORI in Poona, all
chapters and often single verses are suspect. But the task of
preparing critical editions of even the principal Purāṇas and
some of the Upapurāṇas based upon ancient and medieval mss.
collected from all parts of India would be far more colossal and
costly than even the critical edition of the Mahābhārata.
Therefore, most chronological conclusions about the dates of
Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and about the borrowings of one
Purāṇa from another are just tentative at the most and likely
to be set aside by new evidence as long as critical editions of
Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas are not available.

Let us now turn to the four Upapurāṇas dealt with at
length by Prof. Hazra. About the Sāmba (which is one of the
four Upapurāṇas expressly named in the Matsyapurāṇa 53,
60–63) Prof. Hazra observes (‘Studies’ vol. I. p. 68) that the
present Sāmba-purāṇa consists of different units mostly belong-
ing to different countries and ages and after analysing in his
own way the several chapters of the Sāmba he arrives at the
conclusion (on p. 93) that chapters 17, 22 and 23 of the printed
edition were added later than 950 A. D., that chap. 44-45 were inserted between 950 and 1050 A. D. and chap. 39-43 and 47-83 were added between 1250 and 1500 A. D. There is at present only one printed ed. of the Sāmba viz. that of the Venk. Press in 84 chapters based probably only on one ms. Out of these 84 chapters Prof. Hazra himself finds that 47 chapters are later than 950 A. D., of which 42 were added between 1250-1500 A. D. Prof. Hazra has himself examined several ms of the Sāmba, but they do not come from all over India, many being from Bengal and almost all seem to be late ones (p. 33 last line), being copied in śaka 1764 i. e. 1842 A. D. When more than half of this Purāṇa ranges between 950 to 1500 A. D. according to Prof. Hazra, how can it be usefully employed for chronological purposes? Nobody can say when the verses about the four Upapurāṇas were inserted in the Matsya, but one can affirm that it was done about the 9th century A. D. or even later. Two dates about Upapurāṇas are certain, viz. that Sāmba is mentioned by Alberuni (Sachau, I. p. 130) who wrote in 1030 A. D. and that the Dānasāgara (verses 13-15 on p. 3), composed in 1069 A. D., mentions eight Upapurāṇas on dānas of which four viz. Sāmba, Nārāsimha, Nandi and Āditya are the same as are mentioned in the Matsya. Therefore, an Upapurāṇa called Sāmba must have been composed a century or two earlier than 1000 A. D. On p. 91 he holds that the Sāmba cannot be dated later than 800 A. D. It is difficult to fall in line with all the assumptions on pp. 90-91 for arriving at this date. What the Sāmba named by Matsya contained beyond the words 'story of Sāmba' is not at all known. Prof. Hazra himself has given up at least half of the printed Sāmba as later than 950 A. D. and there is absolutely no reliable evidence to hold that the remaining portion of the Sāmba is earlier than 800 A. D. or even earlier than 950 A. D.

The next Upapurāṇa is Viśnuśūlī dealt with by Prof. Hazra in 'Studies' vol. I. pp. 118-155. There is no printed edition. Prof. Hazra (p. 119) refers to six ms. but he has chiefly used only one ms. viz. Bengal Asiatic Society's ms. No. 1670. This Purāṇa has 105 chapters and over 4000 verses. Prof. Hazra admits (p. 119) that it has very little of the principal characteristics of a Purāṇa and deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of Vaisnavas. Alberuni names Viśnuśūlī but the verses that he quotes therefrom are found in the Viśnuśūlīmottara as Buhler pointed out long ago (I. A. vol. XIX. pp. 381-410 and vide table given by Prof. Hazra on p. 208 comparing the two). Prof. Hazra holds (p. 116) relying on two verses quot-
ed below from Viṣṇudharmottara\textsuperscript{1408a} that the Viṣṇudharmottara is only the latter part of Viṣṇudharma and that, as he holds that the former was composed between 400-500 A.D., the date of the Viṣṇudharma falls between 200 and 300 A.D. (p. 143). The other arguments that he advances are practically worthless. In the present author's opinion those verses can be interpreted in two other but different ways, viz. that the first section of the present Viṣṇudharmottara is called Viṣṇudharma or that the Viṣṇudharmottara is so called because it was composed after the Viṣṇupurāṇa, which contains the greatness of Viṣṇu and the dharmas of Vaiṣṇavas. He often trots out the theory that, if a work is free from Tantric elements, it must be an early work belonging to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. (see p. 142). The Sarvadarśanasāṅgaṅraha of Mādhavacārya (which was composed in the 14th century) makes no reference to the cult of Śakti or the system of Tantra, though it devotes a good deal of space to the views of even Cārvāka (a thorough-going atheist), Baudhāyas and Jainas. The Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgṛaha also does not refer to the Śaktas or the Tantras. But no one can argue that Mādhava is earlier than 4th or 5th century A.D. There may be various reasons for silence. One may abhor a thing and may not refer to it or use it at all as the Dānasāgara says about the Devipurāṇa. The argument from silence is a slippery one. I challenge the whole basis of Prof. Hazra's date for Viṣṇudharma, viz. the date of the Viṣṇudharmottara. This last is a vast work in three sections. It would be proved later that portions of the latter Purāṇa dealing

\textsuperscript{1408a} अपीते सोतरे यथ विष्णुप्रमाणमिव मुनोऽव | विष्णुप्रमाणः प. 143. 16 | संसारकार- दल्लचन्न भावालकाग्रेन च | सोतरे बृहस्पतिः ध्रमीं | सांस्कृतिकाविकासं ह। विष्णुप्रमाणः प. 74. 35.

These verses are not clear enough for holding that the present विष्णुप्रमाणः is only the latter part of another work called विष्णुप्रमाणः. That verse uses the word इत्याय which refers to the first section of the present विष्णुप्रमाणः and refers only to one who studies the first section and also the following sections. The word इत्याय cannot be proved to refer to विष्णुप्रमाणः, which is nowhere expressly mentioned as a पुराण in the विष्णुप्रमाणः. To take इत्याय as referring to विष्णुप्रमाणः, a separate work, would be equal to assuming what has to be proved. Alberuni mentions Viṣṇudharma as a short form of विष्णुप्रमाणः and nothing more. Similarly, in the 2nd passage it is expressly stated that in the first section the essence of Vaiṣṇava duties is given along with the following two sections. The Matsya (53. 16) speaks of the Viṣṇupurāṇa as one in which Parāśara proclaimed all the dharmas with reference to Vārāhakalpa; वाराहकलप- युक्तसंस्कृतविवेचन पराशरः। यथा यथावदिनसंस्कृतज्ञाने वैष्णवे विषुः। मत्याः 53. 16. The word पराशर is used in the सत्त्व with reference to four Purāṇas, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Nārada and Skanda, out of 18. The Viṣṇu is full of the characteristic qualities of Vaiṣṇavas e.g. vide III. 7. 20-33, III. 8. 9-19 &c.
with prognostications from dreams cannot be placed earlier than about 600 to 650 A.D. For the Viṣṇudharmā we have to rely on what Prof. Hazra quotes. Chap. 66 quotes the famous words of the Gītā ‘whenever there is decline of dharma &c.’ (p. 143 n. 94) and then the same chap. mentions the incarnations of Viṣṇu including Buddha (p. 125). Therefore, the mention of the ten avatāras in the context of the words of the Gītā is natural and should not be regarded as spurious simply because it comes in the way of one’s pet theories. On p. 144 he quotes ten verses from chapter 66 in which Buddha is described as son of Śuddhodana and his doctrines are stated. Prof. Hazra (on pp. 145–146) gives four reasons which are quite unconvincing. The Purāṇas mention the avatāras of Viṣṇu in several places. The Bhāgavata in I. 3 names 22 avatāras. On p. 150 Prof. Hazra himself quotes a long passage about the evils of the Kali age from the Viṣṇudharmā in which occurs a significant half verse ‘utkocāḥ saugatās-caiva Mahāyānaratās-tathā’. Here not only are the followers of Buddha mentioned but also those who are of the Mahāyāna persuasion. On p. 124 Prof. Hazra states that the Viṣṇudharmā (p. 124 n. 45) mentions by name 33 authors of Dharmaśāstras, besides the Saptarsis and others. Yāj. (I. 4–5) mentions only 19 promulgators of Dharmaśāstra (including himself and holding Śāṅkha-likhita as one). Both the Viṣṇudharmā and the Viṣṇudharmottara are not mentioned by the Matsya. Therefore, it must be held that they were not recognized as Upapurāṇas at the time when the verses about Upapurāṇas were interpolated in the Matsya and were not so recognized till at least the 8th or 9th century A.D. The Viṣṇudharmā is opposed to what is stated by all writers from the Grhya and Dharmaśātras, by Manu (III. 128–186), by Matsya, Kūrma and other Purāṇas about the qualifications of the brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha dinner (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 384–387). It expressly says that squint-eyed, hunch-backed, impotent, poor and diseased brāhmaṇas should be mixed up at a śrāddha along with those who are deeply versed in the Veda.1409 This does not bespeak an early date. On p. 138 Prof. Hazra refers to several nibandhakāras as quoting from Viṣṇudharma such as Gadādhara up to Ballālasena, Aparārka and Kṛtyakalpataru. These do not carry the date beyond 1000 A.D. and besides an examination of quotations in only one work (Aparārka) will show that the

1409. काण: कुंजाध वण्डाध दरिात्र्य व्याधितात्तथा। सरी आद्रे नियोजया विक्रिया। वेक्षपाते क्र (Hazra p. 153 n 117).
Visṇudharma was an hotch-potch bringing together passages from several sources (vide note). Prof. Hazra himself holds that the original Visṇudharma was appropriated and recast by Bhāgavatas and that many verses quoted from Visṇudharma by Raghunandana, Govindananda and the Madanapārījata do not occur in the present work (pp. 154–155).

Then we come to the Visṇudharmottara. The only printed edition is that of the Venk. Press. It is a vast work divided into three sections. The first deals with geography, solar and lunar dynasties, astronomy and astrology, gotra and pravara, śrāddhas, Manvantaras, Bharata’s fight with Gandharvas and Śatrughna’s with Lavana. The 2nd section deals with various aspects of Rāja-
dharma and the third section of the Purāṇa deals with Citrasūtra-
vidhāna and contains several topics such as painting, dancing, music, song, rasas, riddles, dramaturgy, metrics, figures of speech, construction of images, building of temples, symptoms of approaching death, gifts of various kinds, law and justice, hermits and sannyāsins. On p. 212 Dr. Hazra places this Purāṇa between 400–500 A.D. Reasons of limitations of space preclude any detailed criticism of Prof. Hazra’s treatment. In III. 351.54 Buddha is mentioned as an avatāra which Prof. Hazra says is ‘most probably spurious’ (p. 212) and advances no reasons for this summary judgment. He puts in his usual argument of its non-
Tantric character and frequent use of the word prādurbhāva

1410. अपराकर् on pp. 368–370 quotes about 20 verses from विष्णुप्रम, some of which may be examined here: शदि वर्षसहा रूपसे कस्म तस्मिन् भूमिन. आयद्येन रात्रियमत्ता च तत्तथेत नक्से प्रसेतु. This very verse is q. by अपराकर् on p. 370 from आदिक्षुपराण. This verse is stated to be derived from त्र्वास and मथ in E.I. vol. 12 p. 135. The रुत्सर्वतकार p. 517 quotes it from उद्दस्तित, while उद्दस्तितस्वरूपः (Ānan. collection) verse 29 has the latter half of it. On p. 369 the verse परिविक्षिप्तं परस्परं is quoted from विष्णुप्रम but the same is quoted by अपराकर् himself on p. 370 from मथ and it is verse 7 of उद्दस्तितस्वरूपः and is also अद्वित्ता 62. 19 and आदिक्षुपराण 29. 16. Then at the end of that long passage is verse आदिक्षुपराण पाटिर् (अपराकर् p. 370), which is उद्दस्तितस्वरूपः 17 and आदिक्षुपराण VI. 33. 17.

1411. I fail to understand what Prof. Hazra definitely means by non-
Tantrik character. He admits (on p 218) that bijas and kavacas are found in Visṇudharmottara of which section I chap. 226 names over 100 मत्ता, some of whose names are कांड़ी, महाकाव्य, अपराजिता, कांड़े, त्र्वास, कांड़े, कांड़ी, अवकाशी &c.; chap. 237 of विष्णुस्वरूपः (verse 20) refers to ब्रह्मविज्ञान and at the end we have purely Tantrik formulas, some of which quoted as specimens are: ‘अं दुरू मण्डलविषय विशेष-

(Continued on next page)
and not 'avatāra' which latter, he says, occurs in two places only. Prof. Hazra often attaches undue importance to insignificant details. Whether the word 'prādürbhāva' is used or 'avatāra' is used matters little. The same Purāṇa uses both words promiscuously e. g. Narasimha (36. 1, 'avatārānabham vaksya') begins with the word 'avatāra' and in 39. 1 employs the word 'prādürbhāva' (atah param Hareḥ punyam prādürbhāvam) and in the colophons of all chapters from 36 to 53 the word 'prādürbhāva' is used. The Matsya 247. 1 starts with 'prādürbhāvān purāṇa Viṣṇoramatjetasah'. In 247. 19-21 the Matsya employs the word 'avatirnāh' with regard to Vāmana and Nṛsimha and in 246. 4 'avatirṇo jagadonyōḥ...Vānanenēha rūpeṇa &c.' Padma V. 13. 182 speaks of twelve avatāras; Viṣṇu V. 16 also uses the word 'avatāra'. On p. 199 he gives a table of passages that are common to Manu, Yāj., Nārada and Viṣṇudharmottara, on p. 200 another table of passages common to Bharata's Nātyaśāstra and Viṣṇudharmottara, and on page 202 a table of passages common to Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara and holds that the Matsya borrows. This is a most astounding proposition. The Matsya does not even mention the Viṣṇudharmottara as an Upapurāṇa; the only sure and earliest date is the latter is mentioned by Alberuni. That does not carry the matter beyond 900-1000 A.D. The Matsyapurāṇa might have been tampered with. The reasons assigned for his opinion by Prof. Hazra are, to say the least, flimsy and unconvincing. It is further to be noted that there are twelve verses that state that some phenomena are not to be held to be utpātas, that are common to Matsya 229. 14-25, Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 134. 15-26) and the Brhatsamhitā (45. 83-94), which are quoted by the Adbhutasāgara pp. 743-744 as occurring in all these three and in Bārhaspatya. I have dealt with this matter above on p. 768 n 1240. Varāha states that these

(Continued from last page)
verses are the summaries (ṛṣiputraṅkaśaḥ ślokair-vidyād-etat samāsoktaḥ) of the ślokas of Rṣiputra. Therefore, the view that they are borrowed by Varāha from the Matsya or Viśnudharmottara would be out of question. The two Purāṇas do not say whence they have taken them. Therefore, it would not be unjustifiable to hold that in both Purāṇas the verses of the Bṛhat-samhitā were inserted. There is another circumstance that strengthens this last view. The Adbhutasāgara on pp. 493–494 quotes seven verses from the Bṛhad-yātrā of Varāha alone. These verses are quoted by Utpala on Br. S. 47. 22 (where Varāha says 'sadasat-svapnamāttam yātrāyām svapnavidhir-uktaḥ) from 'Yātra'. These verses (8 in all) are Varāha's own (as he says) and not taken from any other source. Three of these verses on dreams occur in the Viśnudharmottara (II. 176. 9–11). They are quoted above on p. 776 note 1254. Prof. Hazra does not appear to have carefully gone into the several works of Varāhamihira and is not right when he says (on pp. 201 and 211) that 'the Viśnudharmottara does not refer to or utilize the works of Varāhamihira'. The Viśnudharmottara is an encyclopaedia, while Varāhamihira was a great astronomer and astrologer. He would turn to his predecessors in his own subject if he wanted to borrow and he expressly mentions numerous predecessors (vide pp. 591–594 above) and not to an Upapurāṇa (which in my view did not exist or at least was not recognised as an authority when Varāha wrote in the first half of the 6th century A. D.) Besides, the presumption to be drawn from the nature of the Upapurāṇa is in favour of holding that it borrows.

Prof. Hazra deals with the Narasimha-purāṇa on pp. 219–266 of his 'Studies' vol. I. The only printed edition is that published in 1911 by Gopal Narayan and Co. (Bombay) in 68 chapters based on three mss. about which no information is given. This Purāṇa appears to have been composed solely for the glorification of Narasimha identified with Nārāyaṇa. Prof. Hazra has used several mss., two, the oldest, being dated in saka 1567 (i.e. 1645 A. D.), some of the others are not dated and a few are dated so late as 1798 A. D. and 1810 A. D.; and some are written in Bengali script. On p. 322 Prof. Hazra says about one ms. in Eggeling's cat. of India Office mss. that it was copied about 1500–1600 A.D. and its last five folios were supplied in 1789 A. D. No reasons are given why this ms. should be regarded as being copied between 1500–1600. This is probably a guess, so all the mss. consulted are not earlier than the 17th and following centuries. Most mss. do not
agree with the printed edition in the number of chapters and also lack certain chapters of the printed edition. Prof. Hazra holds (p. 242) on various grounds, all of which cannot be examined here, that the "present Narasimhapurāṇa is to be placed between 400-500 A. D." One or two of his characteristic arguments will be noticed here. In chap. 36. 9 (kalau prāpte yathā Buddhō bhaven- Nārāyanaḥ prabhuḥ) Buddha is mentioned; Mārkandeya promises in chap. 36 to narrate stories about eleven avatāras (among whom Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha are included) and in chapters 37-54, the stories of all avatāras except Buddha are given and it is added in chap. 54 that 'I have spoken of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu.' The devotee of Nṛsiṁha who always listens to these attains Viṣṇu'. It may be noted that Balabhadrā is mentioned in a half verse (36. 8) which is found only in ms. 'ga' of the three mss. of the printed edition. In chap. 53 a few exploits of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are narrated in the same chapter and so the half line was inserted later. As the story of Buddha is not given Prof. Hazra holds that the verse in 36. 9 is undoubtedly spurious (pp. 230 and 249). It never occurred to Prof. Hazra that the sectarian zeal of a bigoted Vaiṣṇava might have never cared to give the life of Buddha who was not concerned with (but was antagonistic to) the varna system and the Vedas or might have omitted the story of the life of Buddha even if it occurred in the ms. from which he copied. The present author thinks that 36.9 is a genuine verse and enumerates Buddha as an avatar following the universal belief held in India at least from the 9th or 10th century A. D. that Buddha was an avatar, but probably bigotry led to the omission of the details of Buddha's life. Besides, the verse is capable of another interpretation. It is only the stories of ten avatāras (excluding Buddha) that lead a devotee to Viṣṇu. A devotee may worship any one of Nṛsiṃha, Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, and reach Viṣṇu, but hardly any orthodox work has ever stated that worship of Buddha alone (an avatar) will lead to attainment of Viṣṇu. Therefore, it is proper to hold that the story of Buddha's life might not have been given at all or was purposely omitted. On p. 239 Prof. Hazra puts forward a peculiar argument. According to the Narasimha-purāṇa chap. 53. 31, says Prof. Hazra, Kṛṣṇa embodies only a part of Viṣṇu's sakti and therefore 'the Narasimha is to be dated

1412. बस्यायमः कवितालश्वस्य दत्ते स्यायमः पार्थिव पापहस्तुः। इर्म सदा यस्तु बुद्धिसभ्यः श्रूणानि निर्यं स ह यति बिश्नुः। नरसिंहः 54. 6.

1413. शिल्पकह्यो च नुवलक्ष्मी कृष्णनिधित्वं चावलिपितः। "तिथि: सिता च रेशिंयों पुविषाधार्यं हृ तदरूपणः च वेश्वरं वेश्वराधार्यं हृ नरसिंहः 53. 31, 33-34.
earlier than the present Bhāgavata in which Kṛṣṇa is called bhagavān himself (Bhāgavata I. 3. 28). As the present Bhāgavata is to be dated in the 6th century A. D. the Narasimha is to be placed not later than 400 A. D.’ Great controversies have raged over the date of the Bhāgavata. The present author holds that the Bhāgavata-purāṇa does not belong to the 6th century A. D. It will be shown below that while Rāmānuja quotes more than a hundred verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa, which he regarded as one of supreme authority over other Purāṇas (in Vedārtha-sangraha pp. 141–142 of D. C. edition) he does not quote the Bhāgavata at all in his bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra. A bigoted devotee of Narasimha may say that Narasimha avatāra is the perfect avatāra of Viṣṇu, while Kṛṣṇa is only a partial one. But surely that cannot determine the dates of the respective purāṇas. What bigoted devotees are capable of saying may be seen from Brahmānda III. 36. 18–20 quoted later in this section, where it is asserted that the reward of repeating thrice the thousand names of Viṣṇu is yielded by repeating one name of Kṛṣṇa once. The strongest argument against the authenticity and early date of the present Narasimhapurāṇa has not been properly and adequately emphasized or appreciated by Prof. Hazra. The Matsya (53. 60–63) gives meagre details about the four Upapurāṇas expressly named by it, but about the Narasimha it makes one definite statement that it contained 18000 verses (53. 60). The present Narasimha contains only about 3400 verses.1414 Therefore, the old Narasimhapurāṇa exists no more and in its place a new one has been substituted, probably containing some of the topics and chapters contained in the old one. We do not know the extent of the Narasimha mentioned by Alberuni. For ought we know he might have referred to the old extensive purāṇa or the new stripling substituted in its place. Even some of the mss. copied in comparatively recent times drop several chapters of the printed purāṇa; on p. 249 Prof. Hazra holds that chapters 34 verses 43–55, and chapters 61, 65 (on 68 holy places for Vaiṣṇavas), 66, 67 are genuine parts, though dropped in

1414. Even a late writer like नारसिंहासनविवेक patronized by the Gajapati king Mukundadeva (1559–1568 A. D.) says in his निष्पादनसरस्वति (B. I. ed.) vol. I. p. 18 ‘प्रथम नारसिंहासन अत्याद्वसाहस्सत्वा द्वागुरीं नोपायते किष्ट्व नापुराणाः प्रात्मनामिति प्रतिभाति 11. It further says that the Nandi or Nanda purāṇa is a part of Skanda and that, since Ėkāhika says that the Kālikā is an Upapurāṇa, those that say that by the word Bhāgavata the Kālikā is meant are wrong and then enumerates the 18 Upapurāṇas.
some mss. Prof. Hazra’s judgments on various matters are most liable to be challenged; but considerations of space prevent any detailed treatment. On p. 252 he holds that in chap. 6 the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya as the sons of Mitra and Varuṇa, the story of Yama and Yami are comparatively late additions. The story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha from Urvaśī and Mitra and Varuṇa is alluded to even in the Rgveda (VII. 33. 11) and in the previous verse (10) of the same hymn Vasistha, Agastya and Mitrāvarūpau are brought together. The story of Yama and Yami occurs in Rg. X. 10. The Narasimha itself states (in chap. 14. 1) that the story of Yama and Yami is Vaidik. The Purāṇa may have added some fringes and embellishments, but the main theme is the same in both. On p. 254–255 and note 330 Prof. Hazra was constrained to admit that the Narasimhapurāṇa had been revised more than once, remarks that Hemādri had a more extensive purāṇa before him than the printed one and that a comparison of the verses quoted from the Narasimhapurāṇa by the Madanapārijāta pp. 301–302, Smṛitattva on śāhika (vol. I. p. 411) and Nityācārapradipa (vol. I p. 617) show that the text of the Narasimha used by Raghunandana and Narasimha-vājapeyin agrees more with the printed text than the text used by Madanapāla (about 1375 A. D.), less than 200 years before Raghunandana.

The extant Narasimhapurāṇa is an insignificant one as compared with the principal Purāṇas like Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu; the Śāmba is not quoted at all by Aparārka, the Viṣṇudharma only twice and even the Viṣṇudharmottara is quoted by Aparārka only 7 times for about 25 verses in all. The very extensive digest Kalpataru (first half of 12th century A. D.) contains hardly any quotation from Viṣṇudharmottara on vrata (though the latter devotes about 1600 verses to vratas), nor is it quoted in the sections on brahma-cāri and other kāṇḍas, while hundreds of verses are quoted from Matsya, Brahma, Bhaviṣya, Mārkaṇḍeya and other Purāṇas. Aparārka in his huge digest of 1252 printed pages quotes the Narasimhapurāṇa only 9 times and in all about 30 verses only, of which about half are in respect of sannyāsa, while the Brahmapurāṇa is quoted 68 times for hundreds of verses, the Matsya is quoted over 50 times for several hundred verses. The Tulasi plant is now sacred to the devotees of Viṣṇu, but it does not figure in early Paurāṇika or other literature. It is mentioned in chapters

H. D. 111
31. 87 (in a prose passage) and 34 (19 and 23) of the printed Narasimhapurāṇa. As usual Prof. Hazra holds these references are due to later revisions and should not be held to suggest a late date for the extant Narasimhapurāṇa (p. 255). Tulasmāhātmya is very much in evidence in the Padma e.g. in IV. 94. 4–10, V. 58. 109ff and V. 59, VI. 24. 2–43. The very late part of Padma VI (chap. 98–107) contains the story of Jālandhara, whose wife Vṛndā is said to have become Tulasī. Prof. Hazra fails to realize the full force of his own admission that the Narasimha was revised several times and that writers of the 16th century had a version before them different from that before the writers of the 13th or 14th century. In the author’s opinion the whole Purāṇa becomes suspect and that by mere diplomatic criticism one would not be able to support beyond doubt any chronological conclusion derived from the present truncated and garbled version of the original Narasimha.

So much space had to be devoted to an examination of Prof. Hazra’s work on the Upapurāṇas for cogent reasons. His is the latest and most elaborate treatment of Purāṇas and particularly of Upapurāṇas, on which he has bestowed immense labour. His opinions, particularly about the dates of the Upapurāṇas, are likely to be taken as the last word on the subject and even his unfounded surmises are likely to be taken as well-established conclusions. Modern Sanskrit scholars have sad experience about such matters. Max Muller, working back from the date of Buddha and assigning arbitrarily two hundred years each for three periods viz. the Upaniṣad period, the Brāhmaṇa period and the Samhitā period, inferred that the composition of the Vedas was to be assigned to a period about 1200 B.C. He no doubt said that his periods were the minimum and that his was a pure surmise. Yet most writers who have not themselves made a deep study of the Veda assign the Vedas to about 1200 to 1400 B.C. even after the lapse of about one hundred years from the time when Max Muller launched his surmises. For example, Prof. Toynbee in the table of the time spans of the growth phases of civilizations on p. 758 of volume IX (1954) gives the dates of Epiphany and of breakdown of the Indic civilization as 1375 B.C. and 725 B.C. respectively. The present author does not at all agree with the dates assigned to the Upapurāṇas by Prof. Hazra and with the methods and reasoning adopted for arriving at those dates. He had to perform this painful duty even in spite of his regard for Prof. Hazra.

In the following notes on individual Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas the author adds a few notes based on his own study of the Purāṇas and (printed) digests (nibandhas) of an early age. He desires to emphasize that the earliest works that can be called digests and are available in print cannot be placed earlier than about 1100 A. D. Though there is difference of views among scholars about the exact dates of composition, the Mitāksara, the Kṛtyakalpataru (which is a regular Digest of various kinds of materials on Dharmasāstra) and Aparārka’s work (though in

1414a The verse is समाचारपुराणायाम्यास्मि भरतं ददव अद्यतन्त्रदेवसेविय स
य वादनस्वमस्यामः प्रवशयो त्य श्रीवर्धनाधि ये स
vide I. H. Q. vol. 22 pp. 221-223.
form a commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti is still in the nature of a Digest) are three printed works more or less contemporary and composed between about 1100 to 1140 A.D. The Kṛtya-kalpataru on Vyavahāra mentions by name Prakāśa, Halāyudha, Kāmadhenu and Pārijāta. Besides, Kṛtya-kalpataru (Niyata p. 280) cites the explanation of Parārika (in Āp. Dh. S. I. 17. 26) by the Smṛtimaṇḍari (of Govindarāja) and also on śrāddha (pp. 46 and 259). It has been shown in H. of Dh. vol. I. that Prakāśa (pp. 306-308), Pārijāta (pp. 308-309), Smṛtimaṇḍari (pp. 312-314) were works of the digest genre. The Kāmadhenu of Gopāla also appears to have been a digest (H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 293 ff.). The author Gopāla was a friend of Lakṣmidhara (vide Introd. to Dānakānda p. 49), but, since the latter employs the past tense (cakre) with reference to Gopāla’s work and the present tense (tanyate kalpavrksaḥ) as regards his own work it follows that the Kāmadhenu was composed at least a few years before the Kalpataru. As no mss. of the Prakāśa, Pārijāta and Kāmadhenu are available it is impossible to say anything about their exhaustiveness or otherwise. But from the summary at the end of the ms. on the Prāyaścitta section of the Smṛtimaṇḍari (H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 312 note 714) it appears that it must have been fairly large and was composed on the same lines as the later Kṛtyakalpataru, since it began with Paribhāsakānda and Brahmacāri-section, then dealt with Gṛhausthadharmas, Dāna, Śuddhi and Āśa, Śrāddha, then with Vānaprastha and Pravrajyā (corresponding to the mokṣakānda of Kalpataru) and ended with Prayaścittas. These predecessors of the Kalpataru were superseded by the extensive work of Lakṣmidhara, who himself receded into the background when the works of Hemādri, Candeśvara, Madanaratna, the Viramitrodaya, the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha became popular. Even before the Kāmadhenu and probably the Smṛtimaṇḍari also, Bhoja (about 2nd quarter of 11th century A.D.) composed (or patronised the composition of) several works such as the Bhujabala and Rājamārtanda which exhaustively dealt with the astrological requirements of sāṃskāras from puṁsavana to marriage and also of vratas, yātrā, śāntis, pratiṣṭhā (vide the author’s paper on ‘King Bhoja and his works on Dharmaśāstra and astrology’ in JOR, (Madras), vol. XXIII for 1953-54 pp. 94-127 for five works of Bhoja). So there was nothing very novel in the Kṛtya-kalpataru except its exhaustive and logical treatment of all topics and profuse quotations from the Epics and Purāṇas. The Mitāksāra does
not quote much from the Purāṇas, but Aparārka and Kalpataru quote them profusely. The Kalpataru quotes about 600 verses from Devipurāṇa, over 200 verses each from Kalikā, Adityapurāṇa, Nandipurāṇa and Narasimhapurāṇa (all Upapurāṇas) while it quotes none at all from Viṣṇudharmottara. The Kalpataru did not probably regard it as authoritative, though Aparārka and the Dānasāgara utilized it to some extent. The learned editor of the extensive Kalpataru, Prof. Aiyangar, has made great efforts to identify the quotations therein from the Purāṇas, and laid all workers and scholars under great obligations. But many quotations have eluded him as will be shown later on. He has been assiduous in pointing out how Hemādri, Cāndesāvara and Mitramiśra have copied wholesale from the Kalpataru. It is not impossible that even the Kalpataru might have done the same to some extent as regards its predecessors such as the Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Smṛtimañjari, and Kāmadhenu. But as those works are not yet available, no positive conclusion can be drawn about its borrowing for the present.

The present author edited 286 verses from the Rājamārtanda (containing 1462 verses) on tithis, vratas and utsavas in ABORI vol. 36, parts III-IV, 1956, pp. 306-339). It describes several vratas and utsavas like Indradhvajotthāpana and the work is about 75 years older than the Kalpataru. The Kalpataru is studiously silent as regards Bhoja, though it mentions Kāmadhenu, Govindarāja, Prakāśa and Halāyudha and it hardly anywhere mentions the vratas described by the Rājamārtanda. The Mitāksāra does mention Dhāresa Bhoja. Probably Lakshmīdhara did not like that a comparison should be instituted between his treatment of vratas and Bhoja’s.

Alberuni’s work on India translated by Sachau furnishes us with some data about the chronology of Purāṇas. On p. 130 (of Sachau’s tr.) he says he heard the following as the Purāṇas viz. Ādi, Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana, Vāyu, Nanda, Skanda, Aditya, Soma, Śamba, Brahmānda, Mārkaṇḍeya, Tārksya (i.e Garuḍa), Viṣṇu, Brahma, Bhaviṣya. It will be noted that he mixes in this list Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. He further states that he had seen only portions of Matsya, Aditya and Vāyu. Then on p. 131 (of Sachau’s tr.) there is another list which was read to him from the Viṣṇu (viz. the 18 principal Purāṇas, Śaiva being substituted for Vāyu). Then, on p. 229 (of Sachau’s tr.) he sets out from Aditya some details about the regions below the earth and shows how Vāyu differs from it and
on p. 248 he sets out details about Meru from Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Āditya. As he wrote his work in 1030 A. D. one has to conclude that Purāṇas having the names cited by him existed some time before 1000 A. D. at the latest.

Some of the papers of Prof. Hazra and others on the principal Purāṇas and on some of the Upapurāṇas are brought together in one place by Dr. Pusalkar in his work ‘Studies in Epics and Purāṇas’ pp. 218–225; a few of them are mentioned here. About sixteen papers of Prof. Hazra contributed to various Journals from time to time were included in his work ‘Studies in Purāṇik Records of Hindu Rites and customs’, which is referred to as PRHR here and H. stands for Prof. Hazra and U. for Upapurāṇa.
CHAPTER XXIII

Brief Notes on individual Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas

*Agnipurāṇa*—‘Present Agni’ (by H.) in I. H. Q. vol. XII pp. 683-691; ‘Studies in genuine Agneya alias Vahnipurāṇa’ by H. in ‘Our Heritage’ vol. I part 2 pp. 209-245 and vol. II part 1 pp. 76-109; ‘Discovery of genuine Agneyapurāṇa’ by H. in J. O. I. (Baroda) vol. V (1956) pp. 411-416 (shows that present Agni published by Ānan. Press is not the original Purāṇa, that this was compiled late, while the original Agneya or Vahni is not yet printed); the Dānasāgara p. 7 verse 63 speaks of an Agneya which it has discarded apart from one which it has utilized (p. 2 verse 11). As usual with most Purāṇas, the printed Agneya glorifies itself by saying (in chap. 272. 13 and 17) that in that Mahāpurāṇa Hari resides in the form of different lores and the Agneya is a great purāṇa full of Veda and all vidyās.

*Ādipurāṇa* (U.)—B. V. vol. VI (1945) pp. 60-73 (H. postulates an earlier and a later version). Vāyu 104.7 mentions an Ādika among the 18 principal purāṇas (including the Brāhma). Alberuni’s list (which mixes up Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas) mentions an Ādipurāṇa; an Ādipurāṇa is published by the Venk. Press in 29 chapters. H. in ‘Studies &c.’ vol. I. pp. 279-303 deals at length with this and tries to establish that there was an earlier Ādi Purāṇa of which no mss. are yet available (p. 211) and holds that it is to be dated between 1203 to 1525 A.D. (‘Studies’ p. 288). Ādi and Ādya mean the same thing. But Kullūka on Manu II. 54 quotes some verses from Ādi which are ascribed to Brāhma by G. R. p. 314. The digests make a confusion between Ādi and Ādityapurāṇa. Vide H. in ‘Studies’ vol. I. pp. 302-303. The printed one is a late compilation and none of the verses quoted by Lakṣmīdhara and Aparārka occur therein (vide ‘Studies’ vol. I pp. 286-289).

*Ādityapurāṇa*—Mentioned by Matsya 53.62 as U. and Alberuni (Sachau I. p. 130, 229, 248); quoted by Kṛtyakalpataru on Rājadharmā (about 2 verses), Dāna (about 125), Śrāddha (about 20), Vrata (about 22); the Sm. C. quotes many verses on Āhnikā and Śrāddha from both Ādi and Āditya and quotes both
separately on ‘sauca’ on the same page (I p. 94). Aparārka also quotes many verses from both Ādi and Aditya. The Dānasāgara quotes about forty verses from both the Ādi and Aditya purāṇas.

Ekāmra. (a work of Orissa):—H in P. O. vol. 16 pp. 70–76 and ‘Studies &c.’ vol. I, p. 341 (assigns it to 10th or 11th century A. D.)

Kālikā:—(an U. in 93 chapters pr. by Venk. Press, Bombay); vide H. in A.B.O.R.I. vol. XXII, pp. 1–23; Sharma in I. H. Q. vol. 23 pp. 322–326 (holding that Kālikā was completed during the reign of king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa); H. in B. V. vol. 16 (1956) pp. 35–40 questions the view of Sharma; ‘Date of Kālikā’ by Prof. Gode in J. O. R. (Madras) vol. X, pp. 289–294; Dr. Raghavan in J. O. R. (Madras) vol. XII, pp. 331–360 (shows that there are three separate recensions of the Purāṇa). H. distinguishes between an earlier version and the extant and places the latter in the 10th or 11th century; on the words of Matsya 53, 60–64 ‘tad-etyābhīyā vinirgatam’, the Kalpataru explains ‘vinirgatam’ as ‘udbhūtam’ (sprung from) and gives the Kālikā as an illustration (Brahmacāri p. 30) of an Uppurāṇa sprung from Mahāpurāṇas; the Kalpataru quotes from it about 100 verses on vrata, on dāna, on gṛhastha, 12 on vyavahāra (about witnesses and ordeals), 5 each on niyatakāla and tirtha and 2 on brahmacārin; Aparārka quotes it on pp. 15, 226, 377 (15 verses on marriage and house settlements for brāhmaṇas), 924; the Sm. C. II, p. 442 quotes one verse from it on śrāddha. The Dānasāgara quotes many verses from it. The Venk. ed. mentions Viṣṇudharmottara in chap. 91. 70 and 92. 2114b; the extant Kālikā would have to be placed before 1000 A. D. Vide p. 809 n 1317 above for the Kālikā saying that the howl of a female jackal is auspicious.

Kalkipurāṇa.—Vide H. in ‘Studies &c.’ vol I, pp. 303–303. There are three editions, all from Calcutta; H. remarks that it is a late work not quoted by any writer (p. 308) and that it is not to be placed later than the 18th century A. D.

Kūrma.—(Venk. Press ed.); is divided into Pūrvārdha (53 chapters) and Uttarārdha (46 chapters); vide H. in ‘Purāṇas

1414 b. कालिका 192. 2 says विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे तत्स्मै बहुप्यथ सरस्तः पुनः। बहुप्यथ सदाबारो बहुप्यथे समाहत्। II and then narrates the story of वैसालिय and मेत्र श्रेष्ठ who required a son.
in history of Śruti’ I. C. vol. I. pp. 587-614 and in ‘Śruti chapters of Kūrma’ in I. H. Q. vol. XI. pp. 265-286 and P.R.H.R. pp. 57-75; H. holds that it was originally a Pāñcarātra work, but was altered to make it a Pāñcupata one. In several passages the Kūrma speaks of God as one (II. 11. 112-115), but divided into two. Nārāyaṇa and Brahma (in I. 9. 40) or as Viṣṇu and Śiva (in I. 2. 95) or in three (as in I. 10. 77). The Sm. C. I. p. 199 quotes verses from I. 2. 94, 95, 97-99 which allow a person to worship either Viṣṇu with the mantra (Rg. I. 22. 20 or X. 90) or Śiva with Rudragayatri, Rudras (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11) or ‘Tryambakam’ (Rg. VII. 59. 12, Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2) or with ‘Om namo Śivāya’. The Sm. C. quotes from Kūrma about 94 verses on āhārika and 19 on śrāddha. In I. 1. 21-22 it states that there were four samhitās of the Purāṇa viz. Brahmī, Bhāgavati, Sauri and Vaisnavi and that the present one is the Brahmī in 6000 verses; the Nāradiya (I. 106. 1-22) furnishes a summary of the other three samhitās. Padma (Pātalakhaṇḍa 102. 41-42) expressly names the Kūrma and quotes a verse from it. Kalpataru (on śrāddha p. 119) quotes two verses from it. Aparārka (pp. 201, 204, 207) quotes three verses from Kūrma (all in relation to fast).


Garuda — Vide p. 769 above for Ballālasena discarding it; H. in ABORI. vol. 19 pp. 69-79, PRHR pp. 141-145; A. P. Karmarkar on ‘Brhaspatinitisāra’ in Siddha-bhārati vol. I. pp. 239-240; Dr. L. S. Sternbach in ABORI. vol. 37 pp. 63-110 on ‘Cānakyarājanītiśāstra and Brhaspati-samhitā of Garuḍapurāṇa;’ the Garuḍa is quoted by the Sm. C. II. p. 357 (on Ekādaśī); vide H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 173-175 which show how the Garuḍa either reproduces or summarizes verses from Yāj. I. and III.; chap. 107 of the present Garuḍa gives a summary of the i-arāśarasūrī in 39 verses (vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 191). The extant Garuḍa will have to be placed not later than 950 A. D. and not earlier than the 6th century A. D.

Devi-purāṇa — (U.) Vide H. in NIA vol. V. pp. 2-20 (assigning it to the latter half of the 7th century A. D.). Vide p. 769 above

1414 c कौम समस्तपाणां नासात् शिवभक्तिः। इदं पर्यं च शुभाव पुराणज्ञेन भवितस्। जनवर भयं लेखनमथ युगतः॥ कौम सुराणे खुलने युग्यते पालकात्॥ पश्च (पालारक्षस्त्र 102. 41-42).
for the reasons for which the Dānasāgara refused to utilize it; it is quoted by Bhujabala-nibandha (about 1040-50 A.D.) on how Saṅkrānti when occurring at different parts of the day affects different people. Kalpataru quotes Devi-purāṇa in several kāṇḍas viz. about 210 verses in Rājadharmā (88 verses on fortified capital); 37 verses on worship of Devī on Āśvina śukla 9 with the bali of goats and buffaloes, 53 on raising a banner in honour of Devī, 10 verses on gavotsarga on Kārtika-amāvasyā &c.; in Vrata-kāṇḍa about 80 verses (on Durgāśṭami, 25 verses on Nandāvrata, 44 verses with a prose passage); 245 verses on dāna (such as 28 on Tiladhenu and Ghṛṭadhenu pp. 147-151, 56 verses on Vidyādāna pp. 201-207, 98 verses on the construction of kūpa, vāpi, dirghākā &c. pp. 289-299, 27 verses on laying out a park and planting trees pp. 300-303, 10 verses on building a rest-house for ascetics &c. pp. 312-313); in Tīrthakāṇḍa 103 verses (20 verses on śrāddha at a tirtha without examining character and learning of brāhmaṇas); Niyatakālanābha quotes 30 verses; Brahmacāri-kāṇḍa quotes only a few; Gṛhaṭakāṇḍa quotes 6 verses; Śrāddhakāṇḍa p. 21 quotes only one verse on Maghāśrāddha. Aparārka quotes about 34 verses (3 of which on qualifications of a sthāpaka are interesting, p. 16), as they require that he should possess a knowledge of the Vāma and Daksīṇa paths, of the Mārṇaka cult, of Pāñcarātra and Śaiva śāstras.

Devībhāgavata (pr. by Venk. Press in 13 skandhas)—Vide H. in JOR (Madras) vol. 21 pp. 49-79 (tries to prove that it is younger than the Bhāgavata); 'Devi-bhāgavata and Bhāgavata' by Mr. Tadpatrikar in ABORI vol. 23 pp. 559-562; IHQ vol. 27 pp. 191-196 (Mr. Ramchandran says that the relief in Deogarh of Nara-Nārāyaṇa is based on Devībhāgavata IV. 5-10); H. in IHQ vol. 29 pp. 387-392 does not agree with Mr. Ramchandran.

Nandipurāṇa (U). Vide H. on 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara and Nandikesvara' in Dr. B. C. Law Presentation vol. part II. pp. 415-419 and in JGJRI vol. II pp. 305-320; Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar in NIA vol. IV. pp. 157-161 on Nandipurāṇa (holds that the original Purāṇa is probably lost, that verses quoted from it by Lakṣmidhara are almost all on gifts of various kinds).

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1415. Vide above p. 328 for Nandāvrata for the mālamantra and p. 425 of the Vratakāṇḍa (of Kalpataru) for other Śaṅkta mantras.

1416. मूलेण पीवले राजा मध्यावधे च विजयसमाः। अपराहे यथा वैरया: गोवर्धानात्मिनि एवोऽस्मिद्धास्मिते एवं॥ सुरजपल p. 337 quoting देवीपुराण.
Kalpataru on dāna quotes over 200 verses from it on dāna (of which 140 are on Vidyādāna pp. 207–222, 12 verses on Ārogyadāna, which provide for the establishment of an hospital with a physician knowing the eight aṅgas of āyurveda and provided with drugs &c); Aparārka (pp. 396–403) quotes about 100 verses on vidyādāna agreeing with those in Kalpataru and also quotes (pp 365–366) the same verses on Ārogyadāna; Kalpataru on Niyatakāla quotes 13 verses from this purāṇa advocating total abstention from flesh-eating (p. 323) and abstaining from flesh at least on the 4th, 8th, 12th 14th and 15th tithis, on Śaḍaśiṭi and sun’s passage from one rāśi to another &c. (pp. 353–360). As this is one of the four upapurāṇas expressly named by the Matsya, as Alberuni mentions a Nanda-purāṇa which (appears to be the same as Nandi) and as it is largely quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka and Dānasāgara it is one of the earliest Upapurāṇas and may have been composed in the 8th or 9th century A.D.

Narasimhapurāṇa (or Nrṣimha). This U. has been dealt with above on pp. 878–882. Kalpataru on vrata quotes 29 verses from it (22 on Ganeṣacaturthi pp. 84–87 almost all of which are found in the current work, chap. 26. 2–20); Kalpataru on Tīrtha quotes 66 verses from it, almost all of which are in chap. 65. 2–31, 66. 1–9, 20–45 of the current work; Kalpataru on Niyatakāla quotes 65 verses almost all of which are found in chap. 58; Kalpataru on Mokṣa quotes 57 verses, which can be traced in chapters 17, 58, 59, 60, 61; the Dānakāṇḍa of Kalpataru quotes 13 verses (found in chap. 30. 27 ff.), and Brahmacārīkāṇḍa quotes four verses; Aparārka quotes about 40 verses from Nrṣimha, of which 16 concern yati (pp. 951, 965 from chap. 60. 12 ff.), 17 verses deal (p. 140) with ārghya to the Sun (from 58. 91–93) by the employment of the 16 verses of the Puruṣāṣṭka for nyāsa on the different parts of the body and also the sixteen (from chap. 62. 5–14) upacāras from āvāhana (invoking to come) to visarjana (bidding adieu) in worship, 5 verses on Narasimha-pūjā with the mantra ‘Om namo Nārāyaṇāya’ (63. 3 and 6). Out of 3½ verses on p. 125 dealing with evening sanāhyā and homa attributed to this Purāṇa two are the same as Dakṣa-smṛti (II. 28–29). Sm. C. quotes 27 verses on Āhnikā from Narasimha. It appears that both Kalpataru and Aparārka had a much longer version before them than the present purāṇa. It may be noted that Kṣemaka, who was the last king of the Aila-vamśa (acc. to Vāyu 99. 432 and others), is described in the Narasimḥapurāṇa (chap. 23) as the son of Naravāhana and grand-son of the famous ancient couple
Udayana and Vāsavadatta. The extant purāṇa may be assigned to about 9th century A.D.

Nāradapurāṇa—(Venk. Press). Vide H. in I.C. vol. III, p. 477-488, PRHR. pp. 127-133 on ‘Bṛhan-nāradīya and Nāradiya’ and ‘Studies &c.’ vol. I pp. 309-345. The Bṛhan-nāradiya was published by the Calcutta Asiatic Society and by the Vāngavāsi Press in 38 chapters and about 3500 verses. H. holds that the Bṛhan-nāradiya is a purely sectarian Vaiṣṇava work, is wanting in the characteristics of a purāṇa, that the Nāradiya noticed by the Matsya (53. 23 as containing 23000 verses and in which Nārada proclaimed the dharmas of Bṛhatkalpa) and by the Agni (272, 8) is different from the present Nāradiya and that the extant Nāradiya borrows from the Bṛhan-nāradiya (pp. 336–341 of ‘Studies &c.’ vol. I). The Nāradiya (Venk. Press) is divided into two parts, the first in 125 chapters and the 2nd in 82 chapters (and about 5513 verses in all). Out of the 5513 verses of the 2nd part 3400 deal with various tirthas and most of the remaining are concerned with the story of Rukmāṅgada and Mohini. The first part deals with several matters such as praise of Viṣṇu and bhakti, Geography of India, story of Sagara, Bhagiratha and Gaṅgā-māhātmya, a few vratas, Varna-dharma, Āsramadharma, pātakas, saḍācāra and Āśraddha. Nāradiya I. 9.40 has a verse which echoes a Kīrtārjunīya verse¹⁴¹⁷ and proclaims that a brāhmaṇa who enters a Bhaṭṭa temple even in a great calamity cannot get rid of the sin by hundreds of expiations, since the Bhaṭṭhas are heretics and revilers of¹⁴¹⁸ Veda. The first part speaks of Vaiṣṇavāgama (37, 4) and Pañcarātra procedure (53, 9). The Sm. C. quotes many verses from the extant Nāradiya on Ekādaśī and the story of Mohini. One characteristic passage may be quoted here.¹⁴¹⁹ Rukmāṅgada proclaimed that any person more than eight years of age and below 80 years who would eat food on the day of Viṣṇu in his kingdom would be liable to corporal punishment, fine or banishment. Aparārka also (p. 205) quotes two verses about fast on

¹⁴¹⁷. अहं को वि विष्णुस्वामी यार्थवेदम पार्श्वम | नारदीय 1.9.50; compare 'सहस्र विकृतिः न किताब्विकाराः परमपदम पार्श्वम।' किरसाला 1.1.15 50–52.

¹⁴¹⁸. बौद्धस्वत्वम विश्वविद्याय सि हृिन। न तथ विकृतिः सार्वभूतस्तलावर्षम्। वैद्यम्: भायविष्णु: भोजक मनी बौद्धविकाराः। किरसाला 1.1.15 50–52.

¹⁴¹⁹. अद्वेदावताभिन नमो अहं महापुरुषो भवति। यो युक्ते नामको राजेन्द्र विकृतिः पपाप-ब्रह्म! स मे वप्पक्त्र द्रव्यक्ष्य निकृत्याभ विद्यादिः। नारदीये पु. q in स्थानोऽभ. II. p. 355; in the printed नारदू (उपनिषदं) chap. 23. 41 the words are 'यो न कुर्याभिनो भवे वस्मु विनिर्माणम्। स मे वप्पक्त्र द्रव्यक्ष्य निकृत्याभ विद्यादेः प्रवृत्तम्।'
Ekādaśi. The above circumstances lead to the conclusion that the present Nāradiya was compiled between 700 and 1000 A.D.

Padmapurāṇa—H. in I. C. vol. IV. pp. 73–95, Mr. M. V. Vaidya in Kane presentation vol. pp. 530–537 (holds that the tirthayātra section of Padma is older than the tirthayātra section in the Mahābhārata), Dr. Belvalkar in F. W. Thomas Festschrift (pp. 19–28) holds that Padma is based on the Mahābhārata; Prof. Luders tried to prove that the Rṣyaśṛṅga legend in Padma is older than the same legend in the Mahābhārata (vide I. H Q., vol. XX. p. 209 for Luders’ view); H. in PRHR. (pp. 107–129) states that there are two recensions of the Padma the North Indian and the South Indian, that the former is in five kāṇḍas and the latter in six, that the South Indian recension alone is published in the Ānandāśrama and Venk. Press editions, though the arrangement differs in the two editions. H. in PRHR (p. 126) states that the Uttara-kāṇḍa (of the Padma) is later than 900 A.D. and earlier than 1500 A.D. One remarkable fact is that hundreds of verses are common to Matsya and Padma and some writers like Hemādri quote long extracts from the Padma, which others quote from the Matsya. In view of the vast smṛti material in the Matsya and the fact that thousands of verses therefrom are quoted in the medieval nibandhas the present writer is inclined to hold that it is the Padma that is the borrower. There are no materials to assign a definite date for the borrowing, but it is likely that it was before 1000 A.D. Padma (IV. 102. 40–41 and IV. 110. 483) mentions the Kūrma (and a verse is quoted from it) and IV. 5. 32–43 contain such alaṅkāras as Śīśa and Parisaṅkhya. The Kalpataru quotes from Padma about 55 verses on vrata, 50 on niyatakāla, 50 on dāna, 12 on tirtha, only a verse here and there on other kāṇḍas. Aparārka quotes only about 12 verses from it, the Smṛticandrikā only about 25. In the Ānandāśrama edition of Padma there are 48452 verses and 628 chapters. It speaks of the Aśvattha as Bodhisattva (Svētikhandha 55. 16) and mentions a place called Vanasthala in Gurjarādeśa (II. 51. 36–37).

Brahmapurāṇa—The one printed at the Ānandāśrama appears to be a late compilation. Vide H. on ‘Apocryphal Brahma purāṇa’ in I. C. II. pp. 235–245 and PRHR pp. 145–157. H. states that numerous quotations from the Brahma occurring in the works of Jumātavāhana, Aparārka, Ballalasena, Devanabhatta and Haradatta are not found in the printed Brahma, that the current Brahma borrows chapters from the Mahābhārata, Visṇu, Vāyu and Mārkandeya and that the present Brahma
was composed between 10th century and 12th century A. D. H. Otto Schrader states that chapters 236–244 of the present Brahma dealing with Sāṅkhya and Yoga are borrowed from the Mahābhārata (I. C. vol. II. pp. 592–93). The Dānasāgara refers to two Brahmapurāṇas one of which it did not utilize (p. 7 verse 63). The Kalpataru quotes at least about 1500 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa (600 in niyatakāla section, 66 on tirtha, 60 on moksa, 78 on rājadharmā, 21 on grhaṇa, 20 on vyavāhāra, verses 15 on vrata, 15 on brahma-cārin of which the editor has traced only 9 in the printed text). The Kalpataru on śrāddha quotes several hundred verses from the Brahma, the number of quotations being larger than the quotations from any other Purāṇa, the next being Vāyu and Matsya. On p. 388 of the śrāddha section the Kalpataru quotes from Brahma-purāṇa a few verses about showing honour to Buddha and Baudhāna monks on a certain tithi. The printed Brahma contains 245 chapters and 13783 verses. Chapters 70–175 deal with various tirthas in 4640 verses, chapters 28 to 69 dilate upon several tirthas such as Konāḍita, Ekāmra, Avanti, Puruṣottama-tirtha. The whole purāṇa or at least a section seems to come to an end with chapter 175 and from chapter 176 it is Vāsudevamāhātmya that is set forth up to chap. 213 and the narrator is Vyāsa and not Brahma as in the chapters up to 175. Many of the verses from chapters 42 onwards are quoted by the TIRTHACINTĀMAṆI (e. g. chap. 43. 1–13 in T. C. p. 58–59, chap. 45. 52–89 in T. C. pp. 61–64, chap. 49 in T. C. pp. 65–72). As Vācaspati flourished in the latter half of the 15th century A. D. (vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p 405), the first part of the present Brahmapurāṇa cannot be placed later than the 13th century A. D. The present Brahma has several verses in common with Brahmanḍa and Vāyu (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 388 n 870). It is not unlikely that the other Brahmapurāṇa which Ballālasena discarded is the present Brahmapurāṇa and that both Kalpataru and Ballālasena had an older work of the same name before them. The present Brahma was probably compiled in some part through which the Godavari (Gautami) flows in Dāndakāranya; chap. 88. 18. 123. 117 and 129. 55 state that Dāndakāranya is the holiest country and that the river Godavari flows through it (chap. 129. 62, 66); chap. 88. 22–24 derive Janasthāna on the Gautami as the sacrificial ground of the kings of the Janaka race.

Brahmasvāmin—A huge work printed by the Ānandāśrama, Poona, in four khandas (parts) viz. Brahma, Prakṛti,
Ganapatī and Krṣṇajanma. It has some chapters on Dharmasāstra topics, such as on castes, gifts, vratas, hells, duties of varṇas and āśramas, women. Many of the verses quoted from this Purāṇa in the Sm. C., Hemādri and other writers are not found in the current Purāṇa. Wilson, in the Introduction to the Viṣṇu, says (pp. LXXVI-LXXVII) that it has not the slightest title to be called a Purāṇa. Vide H. in ABORI vol. XIX pp. 75-76 and PRHR pp. 166-167.

Brahmāṇḍa (pub. by Veṅk. Press). It is divided into four pādas (I. 1. 35-39) viz Prakriyā (5 chapters), Anuṣaṅga (33 chap.), Upodghāta (74 chap.), Upasamhāra (4 chap.) followed by Lalitopakhyāna in 40 chapters. The Kūrma expressly states that the Brahmapāda was narrated to the sages engaged in a sattrā in the Naimişa forest and the Skanda (Prabhāsa-khanda 2. 8-9) states there was formerly only one Purāṇa called Brahmapāda containing one hundred crores of verses and that later it was distributed into 18 parts. It was probably composed near the rise of the Godāvari, since it says that that part of the country towards the northern ranges of the Sahya mountain where the Godāvari rises is the most charming in the whole world and that there a city called Govardhana was founded by Rāma. In the first two parts it deals with the subjects of creation, the geography of the earth and of Bhāratavarṣa, and the manvantaras, pupils of Vyāsa, the distribution of the Veda Śakhās &c. The third section is the longest and after mentioning Vaivāsvata Manvantara and, after dilating upon the creation of gods, asuras, gandharvas, sages and their progeny, it deals at length with all aspects of śṛaddha (in chap. 9-20 and 879 verses), describes Parasurāma's austerities, his securing of weapons, his slaughter of Kārtavīrya and ksatriyas, filling five lakes with their blood (in chap. 21-47 and over 1550 verses); then follow in chapters 48-57 the story of Sagara and the bringing down of the Ganges by Bhagiratha, the protection of Gokarna from the sea, and the story of Śūrpaṇakha (chap. 57 and 58), the dynasties of the solar and lunar race (chap. 59ff); then it speaks of Dhanvantari receiving from Bhāradvāja Āyurveda in eight áṅgas; in part IV. it refers to Manus, jñāna, karma, mokṣa &c.

1420. अत्य पूर्व स भगवानः परिवर्तितोऽविवर्तिते। स वै गोविंशति ब्रह्मणः पुराण ब्रह्म- भावितम्। कुमः II. 43. 14.

1421. सहस्र चौरं दैत्यं यत्र गदावती नरी। प्रजायामिति कस्तन्तायं स पदेशो मनोरमः। तत्र मोहचिन्यं नाम पुरं रामं लिखितम्। ब्रह्मणः II. 16. 43-44. For गोविंशति vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 710 n 1618.
The Brahmanda is one of the oldest of the 18 Puranas and has hundreds of verses in common with the Vayu. Vide above p. 852. The Mit. on Yaj. quotes a verse from the Brahmanda stating that a person, on touching Svivas, Pasupatas, Lokayatikas and atheists, persons of the three varnas following forbidden paths and sudras, should bathe with the clothes on. Aparaksha quotes about 75 verses from it of which 43 are concerned with sraddha. The Sm. C. quotes about 50 verses on Ahnika and Sraddha, of which ten occur also in Aparaksha. The Kalpataru does not quote a single verse from it in the sections on vrata, ghrastha, tirtha, rajadharma, but quotes 16 verses from it on sraddha, and 16 on moksa, none from Niyata, and from Vyavahara. If we may judge from some of the matters noted here it cannot be placed as early as the Matsya. In III. 48. 8 and 20 it employs long compounds, mentions Bhimasena and Narada as writers on music (III. 61. 42-43), contains a chapter (III. 62) on Gandharva, refers to the opinions of former acaryas, to 30 alankaras of nitya and four purposes of such alankaras (chap. 62, verse 22). It may be placed between the 4th and 6th century A.D. For discussion on Brahmanda, vide Pargiter in AIHT pp. 23, 77 and H. in PRHR (pp. 17-19). The Brahmanda is very fond of etymologies; vide for example, those of vaisya and sudra (II. 7. 157-158), of deva, manusya-praja, rakshas and yaksa (II. 8. 9-10, 20, 34), of Tryambaka and Rudra (II. 9. 3-4 and 78), of raja (in II. 29. 64), of Vasudha, Medini and Prithivi (I. 37. 1-3), of Atri, Vasistha, Pulaha and Pulastya (III. 1. 44-46), of Kubera (III. 8. 44-45).

Byad-dharma-purana (U.) — Vide H. in J. of University of Gauhati and 'Studies &c.' vol. I. pp. 115 and 277. It is a work of Bengal of the 13th or 14th century A.D.

Bhavisyapurana — Accounts of the contents of the Bhavisya in Matsya 53. 30-31, Agni 272. 12 and Naradiya 1. 100 do not tally with the printed Bhavisya (Venk. ed.). It is divided into four parvans viz. Brhma, Madhyama, Pratisarga and Utarata. It is only the Brahmaparva that can claim an early date. The Pratisarga-parva is a modern fabrication containing stories of

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1422. द्रेवयं पत्रपत्रम्र सुष्णक्षो तोपक्षयतकिंत्रकाय। विकर्षणान्विते हिजान्य नूतन्यः। सवासस सतमाविशेषं। स्वत्। on p. III. 309, स्धूतिव. I. p. 118.

1423. तस्मात्सौभायुम्बरणश्रुतिष्ठत्वोद्वृद्धिभिःसौभायुम्बरणतत्त्वस्वध्ययनः। संयोगः। III. 48. 8.

1424. Vide नाथवाच 32. 484 'गान्धवेंतकाधिक मया हि दूसरे युवस्म लिख नारायण.'
Adam and Eve, Prthvīrajā, and Saṅyogītā, the mlecchas of Dehali, Ramānuja, Kabir, Narāśi (Narsi?), Nanak, Caṅtāy, Nityānanda, Raideś, Madhvācārya, Bhaṭṭoji &c. The Bhāvisyottara is discarded by Ballālasena as unauthoritative, though it was popular in his day (vide. p. 8:9 above). Aparārka quotes 160 verses from Bhāvisyottara on dānas of various kinds. The Sm. C. (I. p. 203) quotes a single verse from the same. Hence the Bhāvisyottara cannot be later than 1000 A.D. The Kalpataru quotes hundreds of verses from Bhāvisya on vrata and many verses in other kāṇḍas, e.g. 55 in brahma-cāri, 110 on niyata-kāla, 101 on grhaṭha, 100 on rājadharma, 15 on śrāddha. The Mit. quotes a single verse from Bhāvisya about donating a golden image of a snake when a man is bitten by a snake. Aparārka quotes about 125 verses from Bhāvisya, of which about 90 relate to prāyaścittas.

One remarkable feature of the extracts from Bhāvisya in Aparārka is that they quote the views of Āṅgiras, Gautama, Parāśara, Manu, Vasiṣṭha and Saṅkha. There are several passages quoted by Aparārka from the Bhāvisya which approximately indicate the age of the current Bhāvisya. It also refers to eight Vyākaranas in I. 1. 59–61 viz. Brāhma, Aindra, Yāmaya, Raudra, Vāyavya, Vārūpa, Sāvitra and Vaiśnava. But these are different from the well-known eight grammars (except Aindra). It mentions the foreign words Ara (Mars) and Koṇa (Saturn) and states these planets are to be worshipped along with Śiva, Pārvati, Ganesa, the Sun &c. In prescribing a prāyaścitta for killing a person who is merely a brāhmaṇa by caste the Bhāvisya prescribes (as one of the alternatives) the prāyaścitta prescribed by Parāśara. Therefore, the extant Bhāvisya

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1425. सन्दिर्घनिमित्तं सीवधाननदाम प्रतिकूलितन्तेऽपि भविषयपुराणं हस्तमुनानिविषयम्। सन्दिर्घनिमित्तं सीवधाननदाम प्रतिकूलितन्तेऽपि भविषयपुराणं हस्तमुनानिविषयम्।।

1426. अत एवं स्मृतयः पद्यविश्रवाविषयं। लघुद्विविषयम् यात्रा पद्यविश्रवाविषयं। कृपया दत्ता विधिविशर्यतदेतुस्मास्तुत्वतः। इत्यि। निमित्तं या III. 6.

1427. चिंचनीकर्जे तु समुज्जय पार्थिवी भीमजं तथा। हुष्ट्रयं चिरवित तत्त अर्ज्यम्। सिलं तथा। विषयं क्रेणपुरुषं च ज्ञानं तद्दशं च भरत। अपराक् p. 564.

1428. जातिमयं यद्य हन्याद्वः भाग्योऽद्वः भाग्यं यह।। "पापिष्ठं तदा कृपयाद्वे पप- विशुद्धयेत्। घ्रने तथा जीवनावधाम् यह वा पापिष्ठम्।। यदा परशानोऽद्वे पापिष्ठम् शुभति। अपराक् p. 1061, who then sets out ten verses from पराप्रसंस्कृति, all of which except three occur in the पराप्रसंस्कृति chap. XII pp. 50–51 of Jivananda's ed.
cannot be placed earlier than about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Vide H. in I.C. vol. III. pp. 223-229 and PRHR pp. 167-173 for Bhavisya and JOI (Baroda) vol. III. pp. 8-27 for Bhavisyottara. The Bhavisya mentioned in Vayu (99. 267 tan sarvan kirtayisya. Bhavisye pathitan nrpani tebhyah pare ca ye canye utpatsyante mahkstaha) is not the present one but the ancient Bhavisyat mentioned by Ap.Dh.S. (vide p. 817 and n 1328 above). The Varahapuraṇa expressly mentions Bhavisyat-purāṇa twice (177. 34 and 51). The second reference is quite interesting. It appears to say \(1429^a\) that the Purāṇa well-known as Bhavisya was revised by Samba who then established an image of the Sun.

\[\text{Bhāgavatapurāṇa. None of the early works such as the Mit., Aparārka, Kalpataru, the Sānticandrika draw upon this. The Dānasāgara knew it, but, as the Bhāgavata did not contain a disposition on dānas, the author passed it over. Its date is very controversial, ranging from the 5th century A.D. to the 10th. Dr. Pusalkar (in 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas' 1953, pp. 214-216) brings together most of the papers on this subject; Shri S. S. Sastrī in ABORI vol 14 pp. 241-249 on 'the two Bhāgavatas' claims that the Devībhāgavatapurāṇa is earlier than the Bhāgavata, while H. in JOR (Madras) vol. 21 (pp. 48-79) takes the opposite view, viz. that the Devībhāgavata is much younger than the Bhāgavata. In 'Date of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa' by B. N. Krishnamūrti Sharma in ABORI, vol. 14 pp. 182-218 it is argued that the Bhāgavata is as old as the 5th century A.D. and he cites in support certain passages from the Mokṣadharma of the Mahābhārata (Kumbhakonam edition), but the critical edition from Poona treats those passages as apocryphal. Prof. Das-Gupta in the 4th volume of his 'Indian Philosophy' deals with this Purāṇa, but his views are criticized in JBRS vol. 36 pp. 9-50. Vide H. in NIA vol. I. pp. 522-528. The Padma part VI. (chapter 189-194) contains a Māhāmya of Bhāgavatapurāṇa in 518]

\(1429^a\) The Varāha mentions (178. 5-7) three temples of the Sun, one to the south of the Yamunā, the 2nd in the middle called Kālapriya and the third to the west at Mulaśthāna (modern Multā). The Bhavisya mentions three important places of sun-worship (viz Munḍira, Kālapriya and Mitrawāna). I agree with Mr. Dilipkumar Biswas that Munḍira is modern Modhera in North Gujarāt (vide p. 30 of summary of Proceedings of 15th Indian History Congress) where there has been a sun temple for about a thousand years.
verses. The author of the Purāṇa is said to be a native of the Tamil country by Mr. M. R. Majumdar in IHQ vol. 8, pp. 49-53. The present writer thinks that it is a late Purāṇa, since even in the Mokṣakanda (of Kalpataru) it is not cited, while about 300 verses are cited from the Viṣṇupurāṇa in that kāṇḍa alone. Vide note 1604 below. No reliable and cogent evidence has been adduced to prove that the current Bhāgavata can be placed earlier than the 9th century A.D.

Matsyapurāṇa (Anandaśrama ed.). It has 291 chapters and 14062 verses. It is one of the ancient Purāṇas and has perhaps the largest number of smṛti chapters among Purāṇas. Many verses of the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata occur in it. Some verses of Yāj. also occur in Matsya e.g. Yāj. I. 295 is Matsya 93. 2, Yāj. II. 279, 295–6 and 303 are the same as Matsya 227. 200, 202–203 and 304. It appears that the Matsya holds the balance between Viṣṇu and Śiva. It glorifies not only Viṣṇu in the Matsya avatāra but devotes 1570 verses to the slaughter of Tārakaśura and 623 to the destruction of Tripura, both by Śiva. The Vāmanapurāṇa (12. 48) speaks of it as the principal among Purāṇas.

The Mit. on Yāj. I. 297 expressly quotes all the nine verses of chap. 94 of the Matsya (about the form of the images of the planets) and two verses from chap. 93 (11–12) about the position to be assigned to each with white grains of rice in a mandala. The Kalpataru quotes hundreds of verses from Matsya on vrata, quotes about 750 on dāna from Matsya (all of which except 30 are identified in the present Matsya by the editor); about 410 on Rajadharmakāṇḍa, 157 verses on tīrtha (of which 100 are identified by the editor in the Matsya), 115 verses in Gṛhasthakāṇḍa, 112 verses on śrāddha, about 67 on nīyatakāla (all except 12 identified), 18 in vyavahārakāṇḍa, 6 in brahmaśīrṣa and 2 in mokṣa, in all about 2000 verses. Aparārka quotes about 400 verses from Matsya (about 250 being on dāna). It is not necessary after the preceding statement to go into the large number of verses quoted in Dānasāgara, Smṛti-candrikā and Hemādri. It may be said without fear of contradiction that long before 1000 A.D. the Matsya-purāṇa had the same arrangement and presented almost the same appearance as at present. This is more than what can be said about the other Purāṇas except Viṣṇu, Vāyu, probably Bhavisya (1), Mārkandeya.

In the present author's opinion the Matsya is among the best preserved and the earliest of the 18 Purāṇas. It may be
dated between 200 A. D. to 400 A. D. The author does not wish
to deny that a few verses here and there might have been inter-
polated at a later date.

Vide H. on the dates of the smṛti chapters of Matsya in
ABORI vol. 17 pp. 1-33 and PRHR pp. 26-52 and Prof. Ram-
chandra Dikshitar on ‘Matsyapurāṇa, a study’ (Madras, 1935,
pp. 1-140). Four verses from a Svalpa-matsya-purāṇa are quoted
in the Pitādāyita (p. 92) of Aniruddha (about 1160 A. D.) and
there is a paper thereon by Shri Manoranjana Shastri in
J. G. J. R. I. vol. IX pp. 183-188. Matsya and Padma (as stated
before) agree verbatim in many chapters on tīrthas and vrātas.
Śaṅkarācārya quotes a verse from Paurānikas which is
Matsya.430 Among the sages to whom water is offered in
tarpāna are included (by Matsya) Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu and
Paṇcaśikha. The first two and the last are mentioned in the
Śaṅkhya-kārikā as the three great founders of the Śaṅkhya system.
Vararuci is said to be a profound scholar of Nātya-veda. In chap.
24 the Purāṇa refers to the fact that the Apsaras Urvaśī and her
friend Citralekha were kidnapped by a demon called Keśin, who
was vanquished by Purūravas and Urvaśī was released and was
given by Indra to Purūravas. While she was acting the part
of Lakṣmī in a drama called Lakṣmī-svayamvāra composed by
Bharata, she, being engrossed in her passion for Purūravas,
forgot the proper abhinaya taught by Bharata and was cursed
by Bharata to be a creeper. It is difficult to say whether the
Matsya got its inspiration for this story from the Vikramor-
vāśiyya or whether the great poet Kālidāsa was influenced by
the story in the Matsya. The story in Matsya and in Kālidāsa’s
drama agree very closely as regards names and incidents. The
Matsya says (24. 24) that for vanquishing Keśin Purūravas
employed Vāyavya-astra. The drama also mentions it (1.).

1430. तथा चाहुः पौराणिकः। अचिन्त्यं खडः ये भवता न तांस्केत्यो योजयेत्।
प्रकृतिस्य परं ज्ञः तत्व-विचित्रत्वम् तन्मयम्। सत्यञ्जाय चैव on वैः सूत्रं II. 1. 27. This is
सत्यम् 113. 6. This verse occurs also in भूमपूर्व 5. 12 but there the reading is
सत्यञ्जाय स्या तथा। तथा। Besides, the word पौराणिकः (हुरणप्रीते ह्वति पौराणिकः acc.
to गाणिके IV. 2. 59) suggests that the आचार्यa refers to a पुराण and not to the
महाभारतं कविदेशाजुरिकै लोकं पञ्चमहेश्वरस्तथा। सर्वं ते तुम्हाराप्राप्त महेश्वरमाध्यमाखितम्।
सत्यम् 102 18 quoted in स्वतितिम् 1. 193. The सांस्कृतिक अध्याय says at the end
‘एकादशविकास्य विद्विज्ञानस्य तुक्तकम् प्रमेयं। अच्छिति पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः
कुस्माय पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः पञ्चाः। द्विषत्वम् एकस्मिन्निष्ठी प्रत्येकमेव पार्थम्। सत्यम् 10. 25।
नृथित्यमपि नाम महतेन मवशिष्टम्। सत्यम् 24. 28.'
The only points of difference are: in the drama Lakṣmi-svayamvara is said to have been composed by Sarasvati, while Matsya does not say so. Besides, the Purāṇa says that Urvaśī was cursed by Bharata to be a creeper, while Kālidāsa says nothing of the kind and shows that her being reduced to the condition of a creeper was due to Kumāra (Kārtikeya). The decision depends on the exact dating of the Matsya from other evidence. I am inclined to believe that Kālidāsa was familiar with the episode related in the Matsya. There are scholars who believe that Kālidāsa flourished under Vikramāditya about 57 B. C. The present writer does not subscribe to this belief. There is hardly any reliable or positive evidence to show that a powerful ruler called Vikramāditya ruled Northern and Central India about 57 B. C. The tradition of the nine jewels is of no use and if relied upon would make Vikramāditya rule about the 5th or 6th century A.D., since Amarasimha, Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa would be contemporaries. A coin of the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II (Allen’s Catalogue of coins, pp. 35 ff.) has शिल्लिमधविन्य श्वरात्रैर्द्वितिव जय्ति शिल्लिमधविन्य. The present writer believes that the most probable date for Kālidāsa is between 350 to 450 A. D.

Mārkandeya-purāṇa—There are two editions, viz. B. J. edition (of 1862) and the Venk. Press ed. The present author has mainly used the latter for quotations. The two differ slightly as to the number of verses in almost each chapter e.g. there are 270 verses in chap. 8 of B. J. edition and 287 in Venk. ed.; chapter 16 of the Venk. edition corresponds to chapters 16-18 of the other edition. There are 134 chapters in the Venk. edition and 137 in B. J. edition. Pargiter translated into English the Mārkandeya. In the first 42 chapters (B. J. ed.) Mārkandeya takes hardly any part, but in the remaining chapters he is the principal speaker. This is a peculiar Purāṇa. The first chapter opens with four questions put by Jaimini to Mārkandeya about Mahābhārata saga, viz. (1) why nirguna Vāsudeva assumed a human form, (2) how Draupadi became the wife of five brothers, (3) Balarāma performed expiation of brahmanatya by pilgrimage (and not by his own death), (4) how the five unmarried sons of Draupadi, themselves great warriors, met death helplessly although they had the great Pāṇḍava heroes to protect them. Mārkandeya directs him to go to wise birds in the Vindhya mountain and the answers are given in chapters 4 to 7. One wonders why Jaimini said to be a pupil of Vyāsa in the Purāṇas did not go to Vyāsa but to Mārkandeya. A portion of this Purāṇa is called
Boar incarnation. It is remarkable that Vyāsa does not appear in the Purāṇa, though the Śruti figures at the beginning of several chapters (e.g. chap. 1, 2, 39, 50, 127, 137–138, 148, 151, 181, 213). It deals with most of the general topics of Dharmaśāstra such as vrata, tīrtha, dāna, images and their worship, āśauca, śrāddha, karmavipāka, narakas, cosmology and geography, prāyascitta &c. The Kalpataru quotes 150 verses from it on vrata (most of which are traced by the editor), 40 verses on śrāddha (none of which is traced), 250 verses on tīrtha (many of which are traced), 17 on niyātakāla (half traced), five on dāna (all traced), 4 in grāhasthakānda (not traced). One peculiarity is that it mentions some tīrthas like Lohārgala and Stutavāmī which are not described in other Purāṇas. Aparārka quotes about 55 verses from it on several topics.

The Brahmapurāṇa1435 refers to a Vāraha text laying down a śrāddha for pīthis on the Full Moon when the sun is in Virgo. The Bhaviṣyottara also (32. 12) refers to Vāraha vacana. For the priority of the Bhaviṣya to Vāraha vide above p. 898. Vāraha refers to a śaka prince called Nandavardhana (in chap. 122. 34) and verse 56 refers to a śaka king.

Vide H. in ABORI vol. 18 pp. 321–337. It is difficult to assign a date to the Vārahapurāṇa. It is not one of the early Purāṇas. In any event it is earlier than the 10th century A.D.

Vāmanapurāṇa (Venk. ed.). It is a short purāṇa as compared with Matsya, Vāyu, Vāraha &c. It has 5451 verses in the Venk. ed. There is prose in chapters 26, 44 and 93. For its size it contains many legends, such as Śaṅkara cutting off a head of Brahmā, the story of Prahlāda and his grandson Bali and the latter's downfall, the greatness of Devī and her exploits, marriage of Śiva and Umā at the request of gods, the birth of Kārtikeya and explanation of his various names, the story of Daṇḍa who was cursed by Śukra for rape, enmity between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, Gajendramokṣa &c. It briefly deals with many of the usual dharmaśāstra subjects viz. tīrtha, sadacāra, āśramadharma, sāmānyadharma, vrata, karmavipāka &c. The Kalpataru quotes from Vāmana about 88 verses on tīrtha (only some of which have been traced), about 80 verses

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1435. नाभिकृतव्यासन्त: कर्त्तव: कर्माराजाः परं देवी प्राप्तान्या तथा।
साधारणस्य देवी प्राप्तान्या तथा।
...निर्विवेचनयति देवी... कर्त्तव: यद्वा च तस्मादिति यत्वकर्त्तव:... कर्मवैभवाः तृत्याः नारायणोदयंकितोऽविषये। भाष्य 220. 44–47 (Anan. ed.).
on vrata, 14 verses on dāna (which are also quoted by Aparārka p. 364) and 11 verses on niyatakāla.\textsuperscript{1436}

The Vāmanapurāṇa mentions Kāmaśāstras in 91. 73 and Maṅgalavāra (Tuesday) in 41. 24. It has been stated above p. 899 that it expressly mentions Matsya as the best among Purāṇas. The story of king Daṇḍa (in 63. 19 ff.) who perished along with the kingdom because he tried to violate Śukra’s daughter appears to be an echo from Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra (I. 6 p. 11 ‘Daṇḍakyonāma Bhojaḥ kāmāt brahmaṇakanyām abhimanyamāṁaḥ sabandhurāstro vinanāśa.’). It states that the king is called rājanya because he keeps the subjects contented, just as Kalidāsa says.\textsuperscript{1437} It says that Umap was so called because\textsuperscript{1438} she was forbidden to practise ‘tapas’ in the words ‘u mā’ and that Śiva assumed the form of a Vedic student carrying a staff of Aśādha (Palāśa) and wearing a girdle of Muṇja grass. This also appears like an echo of Kumārasambhava V.

The Sm.C.I p. 168 quotes the two verses in which the Vāmana prescribes that a man after a bath and homa should leave his house (for business &c.) after touching certain objects deemed to be auspicious (noted below).

Taking all these matters into consideration the Vāmanapurāṇa would have to be placed between 600 to 900 A. D. Vide H. in IHQ XI. pp. 115-130 and PRHR pp. 76-92.

\textsuperscript{1436} On p. 358 of the Kalpataru on Niyatakāla three verses are quoted as from Vāmanapurāṇa which the editor was not able to trace. They are three verses from Vāmana 14. 48-51 quoted above on p. 71 note 173. The first of those three verses is quoted from the Vāmanapurāṇa by Bhujabalanibandha p. 343. The last two of the three verses are quoted from Vāmana by Sm. C. p. 125.

\textsuperscript{1437} ततो सुन्तति शम्भुस्य प्रविष्टतो रुहनाद्रसुरत्। वामन 47. 24; compare ‘राजा शारविकालार’। रू. IV. 12; राजा महाप्रमाणद्वर्कवर्ण: परस्परी नामयाचर्यनामा। रू. VI. 21.

\textsuperscript{1438} तपसो वारयामास उ नेत्येवाब्रह्मसः सा। वामन 51. 21; compare उ मेति मात्रा तपसो निविष्टः प्रशान्तुमात्राय हस्तक्षीणाम्। कुमāरः I. 26; बुद्धवर्य समाधय (समाधय?) आपायु हुज्जसम्भवी। कुमारः 51. 45; compare अभासनवालधर: प्रमहनवः। 'शार्कानः: प्रसन्नमानसीन ‘न्यथा। कुमारः V. 30; द्वारव निविष्टं सरविष्टेकुण्ठम् चेषाच सवत्तुष्पम् हुज्जस्मृयः। द्वीपेर्य सस्तकसम्भारि ताना मध्यायामयक्रकारः। अधेतरुपति च समार्थभित्ते तत्तत्रु कार्यों निर्ज्ञानिन्याः।। वामन 14. 36-37 q. in स्वकृमिच, I. p. 168.
Vāyuśastra (Anandāśrama ed.). This has 112 chapters and 10991 verses. It appears to have been divided like the Brāhmaṇḍa into four pādas, Prakriyā (chap. 1–6), Anuśāṅga (chap. 7–64), Upodghāta (65–99) and Upasamāhāra (100–112). In the first chap., the first verse is the famous one ‘Nārāyanam namaskṛtya’ and the 2nd eulogises Vyāsa (both these are not found in several mss.). The third verse refers to bhakti for Śiva. Chap. 104 is not found in many mss. and the chapters at the end on Gayāmāhātmya are deemed to be later additions by some scholars. There is Śaiva bias in several chapters such as chap. 20. 31–35 (with a prose passage containing Vedic texts), 24. 91–165 (called Śarvastotra), chap. 55 (Śivastuti put in the mouth of Viṣṇu), chap. 101. 215–330. Probably to counterbalance this the chapters on Gayā were added and also the praise of Viṣṇu in chap. 98 where Dattātreya, Vyāsa, Kalkin are said to be avatāras of Viṣṇu, but Buddha is not mentioned. Chapter 99 is the longest one in the Purāṇa, contains 464 verses and is full of legendary material and historical references. There are several verses in the Purāṇa that appear also in the Mahābhārata, Manu and Mātysya. For its relation to Brāhmaṇḍa vide pp. 852, 896 above. This Purāṇa, like the Mātysya, contains much Dharmaśāstra material. It is one of the oldest and most authoritative Purāṇas, though it contains some later additions.

The Vāyu is not quoted in the vrata and niyata-kāla sections of the Kalpataru, but it is largely quoted in several other sections. From the Vāyu Purāṇa Kalpataru quotes about 160 verses on śrāddha1439 (of which the editor identified only about 21), about 35 on moksa (most traced), 22 on tīrtha, 7 on dāna, 5 in brahmacāri and 5 in gṛha-stha. Aparārka quotes about 75 verses from Vāyu out of which 60 concern śrāddha and the rest deal with fast, dravya-suddhi, dāna, sannyāsa and yoga. The Sm. C. quotes only about 24 verses from Vāyu on śrāddha, on atithi, on Agnihotra and fuel-sticks.

The Vāyu makes a passing reference to the Gupta dynasty (vide p. 852 above), it knows the yuga of five years (50. 183),

1439. In spite of great efforts the learned editor of Kalpataru has failed to notice in the Kalpataru several verses on śrāddha, tīrtha and mokṣa. I have succeeded in identifying a few more, viz. Vāyu 75, 24–25 and 45–46 occur in Kalpataru on śrāddha (pp. 216–217). In Kalpataru on śrāddha (p. 168 on Gayā) there are eleven verses quoted from Vāyu left untraced by the editor, which are found in Vāyu 77. 98–103 and 105–109. On p. 300 of gṛha-stha-kāṇḍa two verses not traced are Vāyu 62. 161–162.
Vāyupurāṇa

and Mesā, Tulā (50. 196), Makara and Simha (Jupiter therein) in 82. 41-42. Chapter 87 describes Gitālankāras basing its treatment on the doctrines of pūrvacāryas. Brahmāṇḍa III. 62 is a similar chapter on the same subject and has almost the same verses.

As it refers to the kings of the Gupta dynasty and as Bāna refers to it in the Kādambari and the Harsacarita, it must be placed between 350 A.D. and 550 A.D. This date is corroborated in several ways. Śaṅkarācārya in his Bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra II I. 1 quotes a verse as from a Purāṇa, which is Vāyu except for one word. In another place Śaṅkara quotes a verse as smṛti which is found in Vāyu with slight variations. Another verse which is cited as smṛti by Śaṅkarācārya occurs in Vāyu. The Tattvaraisāradī of Vācaspati on Yogasūtra I. 25 expressly quotes from Vāyu 12. 33 and 10. 65-66.

Vide Prof. Dikshitar on ‘Some aspects of the Vāyupurāṇa’ (1933, 52 pages, University of Madras); H. in IHQ, vol. 14 pp. 131-139 and PRHR pp. 13-17; Shri D. B. Patil’s ‘Cultural History from the Vāyupurāṇa’ (1946, Poona, a Ph. D. thesis).

Viṣṇupurāṇa—(Venk. Press edition and another published by Messrs. Gopal Narayan and Co. in saka 1824 with two commentaries, one called Vaiṣṇavakūtacandrika of Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya and the other called Viṣṇucittī). The present text is divided into six anīsas, 126 chapters and about 6000 verses. There are many chapters in prose alone such as in 4th anīsa chapters 7, 8, 9 and many in mixed prose and verse as in anīsa 4 chap. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12 &c. As stated above this purāṇa agrees with the definition of purāṇa as paṅca-lākṣaṇa far more than any other purāṇa. This purāṇa is declared to Maitreya by

1440. अति बहु संपोषनिम् ""तदर्थ धृष्। इति पुराणे। दक्षिणाखण्डे on वे. ध. I. 1. 1; बादू I. 205 is the same, except that for नारायणा, बादू reads महेश्वर: . Vide p. 825 note 1347 for this verse. This change was probably made by some later re
ductor on account of the obvious Saiva bias of the Purāṇa. The previous verse (बादू I. 204) states that महेश्वर is the creator of नारायणा. "अभाय-सनो महापुराण
तत्त्वज्ञया दुहिति: हस्तित्वस्तः। महासंविधिविविषेय स्वतित्व परिपदम्॥ इति सुधे।
जाप्रभारये on वे. ध. I. 4. 1. Vide बादू 4. 27-28 मनो महामविवेजः दुहिति: हस्तित्व
सास्क। महा चित्ति: स्वति: सविधिपुरो चिन्तयते बुधे:। One ms. of बादू does read दुहिति;
धो दूरभूमिं यथा विद्य वयुति कसे नामि चाचत्मां च नेते। विषः: अवेि विन्ध्य पावी सिरं च
सृष्टिविवधात्मा सर्वधात्मणे। दूरभूमिस्तत्वस्तः सविधिधृष्टयते। जाप्रभारये on वे. ध. I. 2. 25; compare बादू 9. 120 बौद्धिकम् "सुधे। नेते। विषः: अवेष चर्चो चाचाय। सृष्टिम्
चोः ॥ ""वृत्तमभूतः: ॥
Parāśara (son of Vasiṣṭha), which he received from Śrāsvata, who received it from king Purukutsa on the Narmāḍā, who heard it from Dākṣa and others who learnt it from Brahmā.

Five out of the seven verses of Brahmāṇḍa III. 68. 97-103 are the same as Viṣṇu IV. 10. 23-27 (about what Yājñavāli said about trṣṇā). The same occur in Brahma-purāṇa 12. 40-46. It is likely that all borrow from the Mahābhārata, Ādiparva 75. 44 ff., 85. 9 ff. and Anuśāsana 7. 21 ff. The Mit. on Yājñavalkya III. 6 quotes on Nārāyanabali about 14 verses of the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Kalpataru on Mokṣa quotes 250 verses from the Viṣṇu (most of which have been identified), 70 on niyatanā (almost all traced), 21 on brahmacārī, 28 on śrāddha (only one not traced), 21 on tīrtha (all traced), about 45 on gṛhasthakāṇḍa.\(^{1441}\) Aparārka cites about 75 verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the Smṛticandrīkā about 100. The Kāvyaparākṣa\(^ {1442}\) (IV.) quotes two verses from this (V. 13. 21-22 about a gopakanyā attaining final release by her thorough unswerving devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa). The Viṣṇupurāṇa teaches in some places the sublime philosophy of advaita;\(^ {1443}\) for example, it says ‘He who seeks mokṣa should strive for treating all as equal, gods, men, beasts, birds, trees and creeping life are all the form of the Infinite Viṣṇu, though appearing as distinct from each other; one who realizes this should look upon the world as his own self &c.’ In another place the Viṣṇupurāṇa\(^ {1444}\) states ‘The mind alone is the cause of the bondage of men and their release; mind that is attached to the objects of the senses tends to bondage, but when it is beyond attachment to them, it tends to mokṣa’. It teaches the central doctrine of the Gītā that actions done without an eye to the reward or fruit thereof do not lead to bondage\(^ {1445}\).

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\(^{1441}\) The editor has traced several verses from gṛhasthakāṇḍa, but he did not notice that the three verses on pp. 272-273 (about brāhmaṇas having to undergo far more trouble than the śūdra) are Viṣṇu VI. 2. 22-24.

\(^{1442}\) The two verses begin ‘तद्भावनति’ and ‘चिन्तयन्ति’; and are quoted as examples of ऐसा स्वाभाविक अवधारणार्थी by the काव्यपाकाश.

\(^{1443}\) यत्तिरियं समन्ते च निर्वृत्यमणि चेतना। देवे महत्वः पत्रसः पश्चात्तुसरसरीवरः। श्रमावटवस्तवः विवरणोपन्धिशिक्षाः। द्रव्यशास्त्रं योगेष्वरौ विवरणार्थेऽविवरणार्थेऽविवरणम्। विष्णुपुराण: VI. 19. 46-48.

\(^{1444}\) नन्देन्द्रियप्रकीर्तिः सर्वे ज्ञानसंस्कृते। विष्णु VI. 7. 105; ‘तद्भवं स्वयं बन्ध्यस्य तथा तिष्ठते’। विष्णुपुराण: VI. 19. 41.
The date of the Viṣṇupurāṇa is a difficult question. There is no doubt that it is one of the early Purāṇas and that its text is not very much inflated. Hundreds of verses quoted in the three early digesta viz. Kalpataru, Aparārka and Smṛtiśandrika can be traced in the current text and this leads to the inference that the text has remained fixed for at least a thousand years. One important fact is that in this Purāṇa Vyāsa and the Sūta do not play a prominent part as in many other Purāṇas. It states as some other Purāṇas do, that Vyāsa had four pupils to whom he imparted the four Vedas and a fifth pupil the Sūta Romaharsaṇa (III. chapters 3–7). But the sūta does not appear anywhere as the narrator of this Purāṇa. In the 4th aṁśa one remarkable matter is the mention of Śākya, Śuddhodana and Rāhula and it is stated that Śuddhodana was 23rd in descent from Bṛhad-bala of the Ikṣvāku line (chap. 22). The possibility of interpolations, particularly in the prose passages, would have to be admitted. Rāṣis are referred to in III. 14. 5 (rāṣiśvarke ca gacchati) and the words lagna and horā also appear (in a prose passage). Vācaspati in his commentary on the Yogabhāṣya 2. 32 quotes it by name on yamas and niyamas (Viṣṇu VI. 7. 36–38) and a half verse ‘evam bhadrāsanādīnāṃ’ etc, Viṣṇu VI. 7. 49 in com. on Yogabhāṣya III. 49. Vācaspati wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in vatsara 888 which should be taken as Vikrama year as he was a northerner and as the word ‘vatsara’ is used (and not śaka) i.e. 841 A.D.

The following may be read on this question. Wilson’s Intro. to the translation of the Viṣṇu, vol. I, pp. LIX–LXXXIII; H. ‘date of Viṣṇupurāṇa’ in ABORI vol. 18 pp. 265–275 and PRHR pp. 19–26 (puts if between 100–350 A.D.); Prof. Dikshitar in Pro. of the 13th Indian History Congress pp. 46–50; Jos. Abs in Festgabe Jacobi pp. 386–396 (on heterodox systems mentioned in different Purāṇas including the Viṣṇu). Vide above p. 869 for a Viṣṇupurāṇa of 23000 verses not utilized by the Dānasāgara. It would not be far from the truth to hold that the present Viṣṇu was composed between 300 to 500 A.D.

Viṣṇudharma-purāṇa—Vide pp. 873–876 above for discussion of the date assigned to it by Prof. Hazra. Shri Aśoka Chattarjee read a paper at the A.I.O.Con. at Delhi which has been published in ABORI vol. 38. 305–308, wherein he gives the date of composition of this Purāṇa as between 1250–1325A.D. H. P. Sastrī Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf ms p. LIII says that a ms. of it was copied in
1047 A.D. Bühler in I. A. vol. 19 at p. 407 holds that this Purāṇa as well as the next were canonical acc. to Alberuni's pandits.

**Viṣṇudharmottara** (U. pub. by Veṅk. Press). It is a huge work and has been dealt with above (pp. 876-878). In spite of its huge size it is not quoted by the Kalpataru on vrata, tīrtha, brahmacāri, gṛhaṭha, rājadharma, mokṣa and other kāṇḍas. Aparārka quotes only 30 verses from it, of which 24 are on dāna: the Śmrṭiḍandrikā quotes about 30 in all and that Dānasāgara quotes profusely from it on dāna. It cannot be earlier than 600 A.D., and cannot be placed later than the 10th century, though parts of it may be later additions. Chapters 52-65 of the first section are called Śaṅkaragītā. The Kālikā Purāṇa expressly refers (in chap. 91. 70 and 92. 2) to the Viṣṇudharmottara as having been concerned with Rājaṇiti and Sadācāra.

**Sāmbapurāṇa** (U. pub. by Veṅk. Press). Vide H. in 'Sāmbapurāṇa through the ages' in JASB vol. 18 (1952) pp. 91-111, 'on Sāmba-purāṇa' a śaiva work in ABORI vol. 36 (1955) pp. 62-84 and 'Studies &c.' vol. I. pp. 32-108. This purāṇa is hardly ever quoted by early digests such as the Kalpataru, Aparārka or Śmrṭiḍandrikā. Only four verses from it are quoted by the Dānasāgara. Prof. Hazra's propositions that the Bhavisya (pp. 68-82) and Brahmapurāṇa (present) borrow from the Sāmba are not at all acceptable to the present author, particularly in view of his own admission (in 'Studies &c.' vol. I. p. 68) that the present Sāmbapurāṇa consists of different units belonging to different climes and ages. All that can be said positively is that a purāṇa called Sāmba is mentioned by Alberuni in 1030 A. D. (Sachau I. p. 130).

**Śivapurāṇa** (a Mahāpurāṇa according to some Purāṇas); Printed by Veṅk. Press in two volumes. Vide H. on 'Problems relating to Śivapurāṇa' in 'Our Heritage' (Calcutta 1953) vol. I. part 1 pp. 46-48. Dr. Pusalkar in 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas pp. 31-41 (holds that the printed Vāyu is a genuine Mahāpurāṇa, that the Śivapurāṇa is a late work and is only an Upapurāṇa); the oldest datable reference to it is in Alberuni's work (vide Sachau, vol. I. p. 131). It is quoted in the Dānasāgara several times, but is not quoted in Kalpataru, Aparārka and Sm. C. It is divided into seven samhītās called Viḍyēśvara, Rudrasamhitā (in five parts called Srṣṭi, Satī, Pārvati,1444a Kumāra, Yuddha).

1444a. उन्मेलि साम्य तस्से निविज्ज्या कालिका च सा। पश्चामानां मरुकी ज्ञाम
खुचे धुने ही स्मिर्ति दक्षरते परिेति सूक्ष्म 8. 17; compare 'उन्मेलि' 'ज्ञाम' कुमारसम्भव I. 26;
(Continued on next page)
Satarudra, Kotirudra, Umas, Kailasa, Vayaviya (in two parts). It contains about 23000 verses. In Satarudrasam., chap. 42, the twelve jyotirlingas are mentioned, are spoken of as avatāras of Rudra and described; in Kotirudrasam., chap. 35 one thousand names of Śiva are set out; in Kailāsasam., chap. 5 mandala in pūja is described; in chap. 7 verses 5–26 various Mudrās and Nyāsas are provided for; in the Rudrasam. section, Pārvati, there is a close resemblance between this purāṇa and the Kumārasambhava as noted below.

Śivadharma. Vide H. in JGJRI vol. X. pp. 1–20; Aparārka p. 274 on Ya. I. 193 quotes one verse from it which is a paraphrase of Ya. 2


Śkanda—This is the most extensive of Purāṇas and poses perplexing problems. It is found in two forms, one being divided into seven khaṇḍas, viz. Maheśvara, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma, Kaśi, Āvantya, Nāgara and Prabhāsa, the other being divided into six saṁhitās, viz. Sanatkumāra, Sūta, Sāṅkara, Vaiṣṇavi, Brāhma and Saura. The Skanda in seven khaṇḍas has been published by the Venk. Press and the Saṁhitā with the commentary of Mādhavacārya has been published by the Anan. Press, Poona. The extent of the Skanda is variously given as 81000 ślokas, at 100000 ślokas (vide PRHR p. 158), at 86000 (in PRHR p. 159). The god Skanda does not figure prominently in this Purāṇa named after him. The Skanda is named in the Padma V. 59. 2. Skanda I. 2. 6. 79 is almost in the same words as Kīrātārjuniya (II. 30 ‘sahasā vidadhita na kriyām’). Skanda, Kaśikhaṇḍa 24 (8 ff) is full of Ślesi and Parisaṁkhya in the style of Bāna as in ‘yatra ka-

(Continued from last page)

वेरेंद्रे ये शुणा: मोक्षा नारीणाः सुक्लवाक्यः। तन्मध्ये हि निरंगास्य एकोन्य न शुणा: न्यूतः॥ पारसीखण्डः २७. ३२. Compare वेरेंद्रे यदालोमुगाशि...तवस्ति वि व्यस्ततया विलोकने॥ कुमारः व. ७२; केवलदे भवेयां निन्यां कत्रुः स्ववविषा हि। गी ते श्रुतं तधिं त्विन्यां पापभासा स भवेयविषा॥ पारसीखण्डः २८. ३७; compare न केवलते धी महाय...स पापभासा॥ कुमारः व. ८३; अधापुरुषि ते दस्तापतिमित्रि कीत एवं ते॥ पारसीखण्डः २८. ४४; compare कुमारः व. ८६. There are several other close parallels, which are not set out for reasons of space.

1445. सहसा न क्रिःं कुपोषयप्रेतत्वमहैप्रयायं। विद्वद्यकारिणिः धीरे हुण्ये सरस्वतः॥ स्त्रायुं I. २. ६. ७९.
pañakā eva drṣyante maladhārīnāḥ' (verse 21) or ‘vibhramoyo yatra
nārīṣu na vidvatsa ca karhicīt’ (verse 9). Nātyaveda and Artha-
sāstras are mentioned in Kāśikhaṇḍa (Pūrvārdha 7. 4–5), Dhan-
vantari and Caraka on medicine are mentioned in Kāśikhaṇḍa
(Pūrvārdha 1.71); the word Jhotīṅga occurs in Kāśikhaṇḍa 72, 74
(Jhotīṅga rākṣasāḥ krūrāḥ). Skanda is quoted on topics of
Dharmaśāstra in early commentaries and digests. The Mit. on
Yāj. II. 290 mentions it in connection with the status of veṣyās
(courtezans). Kalpataru on vrata quotes only 15 verses from
it, Kalpataru on tirtha (pp. 36–39, 32, 46, 130–135) quotes 92
verses from it, on dāna only 44, on niyatakāla 63 verses, 18
verses on Rājadharma (on Kaumudimahotsava), only 4 in
śrāddhakāṇḍa and 3 in grhaṇasthaṇḍa. Aparārka\textsuperscript{1446} quotes
only 19 verses from it; one quotation indicates Tāntrik
influence (vide note). The Dānasāgara cites 48 verses on dāna
from it and the Sm. C. only 23 in all. Considering the colossal
figure of slokas in the Skanda it must be said that it is rather
sparingly quoted in the Dharmaśāstra works. A verse in it
seems to echo the very words of Kālidāsa and quotes the view of
Devala.\textsuperscript{146a} In such a huge work interpolations could easily be
made. So it is difficult to assign a definite date to it. A ms.
of the Skanda in the Nepal Durbar Library is written in charac-
ters which belong to the 7th century A. D. according to
Haraprasad Shastri (vide Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf mss. p. LII.)

It would be not far from the truth to say that the Skanda
cannot be placed earlier than the 7th century A. D. and not later
than 9th century A. D. on the evidence so far available.

\textsuperscript{1446} स्कन्दपुराण is quoted by अपरार्क in p. 295 on या. 1. 204 on the gift of
a cow. After citing five verses and a half a prose mantra is quoted as
follows: "ओह हेम नमो भवाति ब्रह्मातविभुपातिष्ठति श्रद्धकृति सर्वपापपापोऽसि स्कन्द स्तर
इदं इदानि हर्मे चान्द्रे भूतिमति सरस्वति हुष्टते एषोहि हुष्टरु हुष्टकृत्सन्ति चर्कवियते एकाग्रयक्षगुरुः
स्तर: द्विदुर्लभ्येतः। द्वैती वै द्विदुर्लभ्येतः। भाषाः कर्म च विद्या च संसाध्यं वन्ताभयं। स्कन्द 1. 2. 10, 27; compare
मर्यं प्रकृति: द्वीरिषणं विभूतिनिविन्दसुपत्ते इत्यं:। सुधव्या VIII. 87; ग्रीकं उपत्यकेन द्वैतं द्वैति
द्रवस्य द्वे वै द्वीरविवेकतः। भाषाः कर्म च विद्या च संसाध्यं वन्ताभयं। स्कन्द 1. 2. 15, 10.
SECTION V

CHAPTER XXIV

Influence of Purāṇas on Dharmaśāstra

Literary works and society act and re-act on each other. The state of Indian society a few centuries before and after Christ, riven as it was by the growing strength and onslaught of Buddhism, Jainism and other dissenting sects and disturbed by invasions of the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas, Hūṇas and other foreign tribes, gave much food for thought to those who were devoted to the Vedic religion and induced them to write works setting forth new ideologies and practices and effecting a re-statement of the ancient Vedic and Smṛti religion. When these works attained a position of authority and eminence, the endeavour of the followers of the Veda was to follow them as far as possible and to adapt their practices and religious rites to the requirements of the Purāṇas. We have to see how the Purāṇas set about their task of re-orientation. We must note that current Hindu religious practices, judging from the svākalpa made at the beginning of every rite, are meant to confer upon the performer the rewards declared by Śruti (Veda), Smṛti and Purāṇas (Śruti-smṛti-purāṇokta-phalaprayātham). The task was twofold, viz. (1) to undermine the power and prestige of Buddhism and Jainism and the influence of the numerous philosophical schools that had sprung up and (2) to wean away large sections of the masses from the attractive features of Buddhism and to convince them that they could secure in the re-orientated Hindu faith the same benefits, social and spiritual, as Buddhism promised and that the religious principles of the followers of Veda coincided with many of the teachings of Buddhism and were borrowed by Buddhism from Vedic practices. Ultimately Buddhism vanished from the land of its origin. The main causes of this disappearance of Buddhism from Bhārata will be stated at the end of this section, but this much may be said here at once that the Purāṇas played a substantial role in bring-

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1447. It is stated in the Mahāvagga (part of Suttanipāta) that there were 63 philosophical schools at the time of Buddha (vide SBE vol. X, part 2 p. 92).

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ing about the decline and disappearance of Buddhism by emphasizing and assimilating some of the principles and doctrines of Buddha such as ahimsā, by accepting Buddha himself as an avatāra of Viśnu, by adopting vegetarianism as a high form of austerity, by making use of monasteries and asceticism as stated in such smṛtis as those of Manu and Yāj.

The Purāṇas set about their task by saying that for the proper understanding of the Veda, knowledge of Itihāsa and Purāṇa was essential. A famous verse says ‘one should strengthen the Veda by (the study and application of) Itihāsa and Purāṇa; the Veda is afraid of the person of little learning (with the thought) that he (the man of small learning) may harm it’. Manu states that those brāhmaṇas that have learnt according to the rules (of Veda study) the Veda together with the works that strengthen it are to be understood as śīṣṭas and are instrumental in making (the meaning of) the Veda clearly perceptible. The Vāyu emphasizes in this connection that that brāhmaṇa who knows the four Vedas together with (the six) ancillary lores and the Upaniṣads would not be a wise man if he did not know Purāṇas. The Upaniṣads drop brief hints about the creation of ākāśa from the one brahma (in Tai. Up. II. 1), of tejas (Chāṇ. Up. VI. 2. 3), of waters (Chāṇ. Up. VI. 2. 4). The Purāṇas explain at great length the creation and dissolution of the elements (in the order reverse of that of creation) e.g. Vāyu 4.17 ff, Brahma 1-3, Agni 17, Brahmapāṇḍa II. 3 ff, Kūrma I. 2, 4, 7, 8 &c. The stories of Hariścandra and

1448. Fargiter (in 'Paurāṇa texts of the Dynasties of the Kali age' p. XVIII footnote) thinks that it was largely through the Paurāṇika Literature that Hinduism secured its revival and the downfall of Buddhism.

1449. इतिहास-पुराणानि हेतु समपपदेवतिः। विभववस्यसुबन्धो भागम् प्रदर्शयति ॥ आदिपर्व I. 267-268, वायु I. 201, पद V. 2. 51-52, ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1. 171, नसिडल्लक 27. 6, लघुप्राचीन विद्वान् II. 86, ब्रह्मविद्या chap. 3 p. 50 in Jivanda's edition (reads प्रदर्शयति). The मृदुलतिः (I. p. 3) ascribes this verse to प्रदर्शयति. The प्रदर्शयति p. 511 quotes it from नसिडल्लक. The कृतम् I. 2. 19 reads 'इतिहास-पुराणाणि हेतु समपपदेवतिः'. रामायण in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र (p. 72 B. S. S.) quotes this verse and reads प्रदर्शयति.


1451. यो विद्वानायुर्वेद्यमानायामनोलिवो हिं:। न च पुराणं संविद्यान्य स स्त्रादिशक्षणं। वायु I. 200, पद V. 2. 93, brahma 2. 93, reads the second half as 'पुराणं च विज्ञानायि ष: स तस्मादिस्हयस्य।'. ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1. 170 has the first half.
Naciketas that occur in the Ait. Br. and the Kathopanisad are explained at length in Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 104 and 150 about Hariścandra), in Sabhāparva chap. 12 (for Hariścandra) and in Anusāsana chap. 91 (for Naciketas). The famous dialogue of Yama and Yami (Ṛg. X. 10) is expanded in the Narasimhapurāṇa (chap. 13, 6-36). The Viṣṇupurāṇa1452 (IV. 6. 34 ff) sets out the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, refers to the hymn in the Ṛg. X. 95 for that story and quotes the first verse of the hymn in a somewhat corrupt form.

But the claims of the extant Purāṇas go far beyond the above viz. as strengtheners of the Veda. The Kūrma1453 states: ‘(put) on one side all the Purāṇas together with Itihāsā (Mahābhārata) and on another the highest Veda; it is this (Purāṇas) that surpasses (the other viz. Veda)’. The Mahābhārata also makes a similar claim. The Purāṇas appear to claim priority (and even equality) with the Veda. In note 1349 passages from the Māsya and other Purāṇas have been cited, stating that Brahmā first thought of the Purāṇas before all other sāstras and then the Vedas sprang forth from his lips. Several Purāṇas are spoken of as equal to the Veda (Vedasammita) as in1454 Vāyu I. 11, 4. 12, Brahma I. 29, 245. 4 and 21, Viṣṇu I. 1. 13, VI. 8. 12, Padma VI. 282. 116. Further, several Purāṇas claim to have been delivered by some God such as Brahmā (Brahmapurāṇa I. 30) or by the Wind-god (Vāyu I. 196)1455 or by the avatāras of Viṣṇu as in the case of Māsya-purāṇa (I. 26) or Varāha (2. 1-3). The japa of Vedic texts was deemed to destroy all sins as shown in H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 45-50. The Purāṇas also say that reading the Purāṇas or listening to a recitation of them

1452. विष्णुपुराण IV. 6. 64 in prose runs : तत्त्वोन्नतस्य जापे हे तित्त मनसि चोरे तित्त वचसि कपितिके तित्तेश्वरमनेककारे शुभम्वचत्। Compare अनेके X. 95. 1 ‘हे जापे मनस्ते तित्तेश्वरे वचसि शुभम्वचत् हु’.

1453. एकतरं पुराणानि सेविष्ठानि दिविष्ठानि। क्रमम II. 46. 129 (q. in note 1402 above). एकतरं शक्तिस वेदां भारते वैदिकविकारे। पुराण किंतु हुः। सर्वं सृष्टियुत्पत्ति पुराणम्। भार्तर्य: सर्वस्येववेदस्य धार्मिकेषु युद्धठ। वेदावद्भिः देविकम् सम्भवायस्तु चहुः। अद्वितेयः 1. 271-273.

1454. पुराणम संस्कार्थमानि ज्ञानोऽपि वेदसंस्कर्तम। वायु I. 11; युद्ध प्रकरण कथाम बुद्धोऽपि पुराणवेदसंस्कर्तम। ब्रह्मा I. 29; पुराणवान्योऽपि नारदोपपोषणेद्वै वेदसंस्कर्तम। नारद्येष्यः I. 1. 36.

1455. Vāyu (103. 58-66) narrates how from Brahmā the purāṇa came to Vāyu and how through a succession of about 30 teachers it came down to Dvaitapāyana and lastly to Śūta.
would destroy all sins.\textsuperscript{1456} Vide \textit{Vāyu} 103. 58, \textit{Brahma} 175. 89–90, \textit{Matsya} 290. 20, 291. 29 and 31, \textit{Viṣṇu} VI. 8. 3. 12. Some of the \textit{Purāṇas} indulge in extravagant praise of themselves, e.g. the \textit{Varaha-purāṇa} (217. 12–13, 217. 15–16) states that reading ten chapters of that \textit{Purāṇa} confers the merit secured by the performance of \textit{Agniśṭoma} and \textit{Atirātra} sacrifices. Vide \textit{Brahma} 254. 34–35, \textit{Agni} 384. 13–30, \textit{Devi-Bhāgavata} XII. 13. 11–17 in a similar strain. Moreover, the \textit{Purāṇas} dwell upon the superior value and efficacy, as compared with the Vedic sacrifices, of some of the institutions on which they lay emphasis, such as pilgrimages,\textsuperscript{1457} \textit{vratas}, \textit{bhakti}. The \textit{Padma} states (I. 38. 2 and 18) that by merely going to Gayā or by taking a bath in the Phalgu river one secures the reward that the performance of \textit{Aśvamedha} confers. The \textit{Skanda} proclaims\textsuperscript{1458} ‘I have no use for sacrificial rites that are declared by the Veda, that have no life in them, that are within the domain of ignorance and that entail injury (to animals). If (a sacrifice) is performed with such inanimate things as fuel-sticks, flowers and \textit{kusa} grass, the result must be similar (inanimate), since the effect is like the cause’. Vide \textit{Sāntiparva} 337 for a story on the discussion between sages and gods about offering in sacrifices merely products of grains or goat-flesh. Offerings of flesh in sacrifices to gods were made in the Rgvedic period. But even in the Rgveda there are a few verses that indicate that offerings of ghee and fuel-sticks were declared to be able to win the favour of gods as much as animal sacrifices might do. ‘Whoever\textsuperscript{1459} offers to (or worships) Agni with a fuel-stick or with an oblation of ghee or

\textsuperscript{1456} सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य पवित्रिः च पशुसि च। बग्नि दृढः साक्षरिन्द्रे पुराणं सतार्थेन।
बारु 103. 58; पुराणसंस्कारं च चुवेत् ता पुराणं सतार्थेन।
सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य पवित्रिः च।
वारु 290. 20; पुराणं वेत्तिः चैतत्त्वकिल्यकालानाम। विशिष्टं संवैत्ताकेष्यं: पुरायापरमानन्म॥
	extsuperscript{1457} Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 561–564 for superiority of \textit{ṭirthas} to solemn Vedic sacrifices and pp. 43–45 above for the eulogy of \textit{vrata}s. The efficacy of \textit{bhakti} (loving faith in God) will be dealt with later on in this section.

\textsuperscript{1458} \textit{Abhidharma\textsuperscript{\textit{सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य}}} \textit{प्रयोजनम्। मनं हिंसास्मकैरिन् निन्दोपैस्वेचिन्।}
\textit{सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य।}
	extsuperscript{1459} व: समया य आदृत्ती यो बंदन दुःखास्त्र मर्त्य अभये। यो नमस्तेस्वरुपः॥
\textit{सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य।}

\textsuperscript{1459} य: समया य आदृत्ती यो बंदन दुःखास्त्र मर्त्य अभये।
\textit{सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य।}
\textit{समया य: समया य आदृत्ती यो बंदन दुःखास्त्र मर्त्य अभये।}
\textit{Sarvapapayadyyapamnam prajnajanam. Mani hisastharmakina nimodaseschena.}
\textit{Sarvapapayadyyapamnam. Sapatyanchochane. Kriyate tattvam bhavant kary prarajnavanam.}
\textit{Sarvapapayadyyapamnam.}
\textit{Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 561–564 for superiority of \textit{ṭirthas} to solemn Vedic sacrifices and pp. 43–45 above for the eulogy of \textit{vrata}s. The efficacy of \textit{bhakti} (loving faith in God) will be dealt with later on in this section.

\textit{Abhidharma\textsuperscript{\textit{सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य}}} \textit{प्रयोजनम्। मनं हिंसास्मकैरिन् निन्दोपैस्वेचिन्।}
\textit{सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य। सापथवेणचत्तमेन्। क्रियते तत्तथा भावत् कार्यं कारणवस्तुणां।}
\textit{सक्ति}
1. 2. 13. 59–60.

\textit{Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 561–564 for superiority of \textit{ṭirthas} to solemn Vedic sacrifices and pp. 43–45 above for the eulogy of \textit{vratas}. The efficacy of \textit{bhakti} (loving faith in God) will be dealt with later on in this section.

\textit{Abhidharma\textsuperscript{\textit{सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य}}} \textit{प्रयोजनम्। मनं हिंसास्मकैरिन् निन्दोपैस्वेचिन्।}
\textit{सर्वत्रपाप्याद्यपन्य। सापथवेणचत्तमेन्। क्रियते तत्तथा भावत् कार्यं कारणवस्तुणां।}
\textit{सक्ति}
1. 2. 13. 59–60.
with (the study of) the Veda or who performs a good sacrifice with prostrations, for him alone run fleet horses and his is most brilliant fame; and no evil whether brought about by gods or by men might reach him from any side'. Another mantra says 'O Agni! we bring to you an offering accompanied by a rūkṣa mantra fashioned (or produced) by our heart. May those mantras be oxen, bulls and cows from you'.

The Purāṇas only pursue an attitude to Veda and sacrifices that is found in some of the Upanisads. The Muṇḍakopaniṣad says: 'one should know two vidyās (lores), parā (the higher) and aparā (the lower); the latter comprehends the four Vedas and Phonetics, aphorisms about solemn sacrifices, grammar, Nirukta (derivation of words), metres, astronomy; while the highest lore is that whereby the Imperishable (Reality) is known'. The same Upanisad condemns aparā-vidyā when it says 'these sacrifices are infirm (leaky) boats constituted by eighteen (persons) depending on which are declared actions that are inferior; those foolish people who welcome these actions as the highest good become subject again to old age and death'. The Kathopaniṣad states that what are known as avidyā and vidyā are far apart from each other, are contradictory and lead to different results. When Nārada approached Sanatkumāra and requested the latter to teach him, the latter said to him 'tell me what you know and then I shall tell you what is beyond that.' Then Nārada stated that he knew all the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa the fifth Veda and several other lores, whereupon Sanatkumāra told him that the four Vedas and the other lores he had learned were merely a name and then he led Nārada gradually to the understanding of the Highest Self. The Br. Up. I. 4. 10 condemns him, who worships a deity thinking he is different from the devatā, that he does not know the truth, that he is like a (sacrificial) animal to the gods. Similarly, in

1460. आ ने अयः क्रन्तः हरिहरो तद्वने वरामरीः । ते ते भवतुक्रणः क्रवभासो वधा उत। ।
ब्र. VI. 16. 47.

1461. ते विचे वैदिकेऽति हस्त । यस्य यद्य ब्रह्मविद्या द्वृत्तिः परा चैवापरा च। तत्रापि
मन्त्रवेदः साम्प्रदीयसंवेदः शिष्यः कल्य व्याकरणं निर्मलं उपदो योजितविमिति। अथ
प्रकार च ज्ञानसम्बिन्यते ज्ञानसम्बिन्यते मुनिकोप भ. I. 4–5; प्रवासे वहे अयः प्रकार ज्ञानसम्बिन्यते
सत्यं यथौ कर्ये। परत्रेद्यो येद्य भवत्तुर्विद्या मुनि जपायुं स केवलो द्वितीयसंवेदन्यपिते मुनिकोप
भ. I. 2. 7.
The 18 are the 16 priests, the sacrificer and his wife. In his माध्यम on Vedāntasūtra I. 2. 21 Saṅkarācārya holds that this verse is part of the condemnation of aparā vidyā.

1462. दूरस्ते विषयिते विच्छेदन्ते अन्विता या च निमित्त प्रत्य ज्ञाता। कठोप. I. 2. 4.
several passages of the Upaniṣads austerities, liberality, straightforwardness, ahimsā and truthfulness are put forward as equal to or superior to the actual performance of the ceremonial of sacrifice (yajña); vide Chāndogya III. 17. 4, Praśna I. 15, Muṇḍaka I. 2. 11.

Though in a few passages of the Upaniṣads the knowledge of the Highest Self is put higher than the four Vedas, the Upaniṣads generally treat the Vedas as authoritative and quote Vedic verses in support of their statements. For example, the Ait. Up. II. 5 quotes Rgveda IV. 27. 1 (taduktaṃ-ṛṣīṇa-Garbhaṇu &c.), Praśnop. I. 11 quotes Rg. I. 164. 12 (pañcāpiḍāmaṃ pitaram), Br. Up. II. 5. 15, 17 and 19 quote respectively Rg. I. 116. 12, I. 117. 22, VI. 47. 18 (rūpam rūpam pratirūpo). The Upaniṣads further emphasize1463 that brahmavidyā is to be imparted only to those who are śrotṛiya (who have studied the Veda), who engage in their duties and who have properly performed Śirovṛata. The Br.1464 Up. shows that Veda study, sacrifices, charity &c. are preparations for the knowledge of brahma: 'Brāhmaṇas (and others) desire to know this (great Self) by study of the Veda, by sacrifices, gifts, tapas, fasting'. These passages make it clear that study of the Veda and performance of sacrifices enjoined by it are accepted by the Upaniṣads as preparatory and as cleansing the mind of its lower passions and as making a person worthy of receiving the knowledge of the highest truth about the One Supreme Spirit and that the Upaniṣads do not altogether condemn and give up the Vedas and sacrifices.

The Purāṇas adopt, in spite of the claims made by them here and there about their priority to the Vedas, about their own value and efficacy, the same attitude towards the Veda as the Upaniṣads do. They treat the Vedas as authoritative and enjoin

1463. तदावधाने प्रज्वलिते। किरियालल: ऋणित्रिया ब्रज्जित्या: सप्तं ज्ञेत्र एकाये अज्जन्तत:। तेष्वमंगलां ब्रज्जितं वन्देत विश्रेतसं विश्वायायु वीणस्य।। सूक्ष्मकोटन् III 2. 10. श्रीरोधन् is carrying fire on the head (according to Ātharvāṇa rules). The देविभाग्नस (XI. 9. 12-13) remarks 'अन्तर्दिनिषिद्धमित्रेजै: प्रतिकृति: सूक्ष्मकोटम् III. 9. 12-13). "यथावत् द्वितीयोरस्तायस्य स्वद्विधायेव खलुभूतम्। ग". The six aṣṭakṣatva mantras are: अन्तर्दिनिषिद्धति भस्म, बारुषिति भस्म, जमतिति भस्म, श्लिष्ठमति भस्म, चण्डेशिति भस्म, सूक्ष्मकोटम्।

1464. तमेतेत वेदार्थसुभन्तेन जान्या: विनिग्रहितं प्रज्वलम दानेन तपस्या। न प्रज्वलेषु प्रज्वलम्। वै. उप. IV. 4. 22; vide संहै 18. 5 यज्ञानतपेक्षम न र्यात्मे कार्यमेव भवत्व। ग्रहो दानेन तपस्यायः पावनान्ति समीश्चिताश्च।।
the employment of Vedic mantras in many rites. The author contributed a paper to the Dr. Kunhan Raja Presentation volume pp. 5–8 on the ‘Vedic mantras and legends employed in Purāṇas’ citing illustrations from the Brahmapurāṇa. A few illustrations from other Purāṇas may be set out here. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 93) when describing the procedure of the homa to the nine planets prescribes nine Vedic mantras, five of which are different from those provided by Yaj. (I. 300–301). Vide p. 750 above for a comparative table of the two sets of mantras. In the Udāhātattva Raghunandana remarks that the mantras ‘ā krṣṇena’ and others are common to persons following the four Vedas and that Bhavadevabhātta held the same view. Matsya prescribes that when inauspicious birds (like an owl) or animals cry near a house or enter it, a homa should be performed, or five brāhmaṇas should engage in a japa of the hymn beginning with ‘Devāh kapota’ (Rg. X. 165.1–5). In describing the whole procedure of the establishment of images of gods or the liṅga (of Śiva), the Matsya (chapter 265) prescribes numerous Vedic verses and hymns for the different parts of the ceremony. For example, for bringing about the purification of the image four mantras are prescribed viz. Rg. VII. 49.1–3 and X. 9.1; in providing for the placing of a jar full of water near the head of the bed on which the image is to be placed, two mantras ‘Apo devi’ (Vāj. S. 12.35, Tai. S. IV. 2.32) and ‘āpo asmān mātarah’ (Rg. X. 17.10) are to be recited. Matsya (265.24–29) prescribes for the japa of several sūktas (hymns) by four door-keepers learned in the Vedas that are to stand in the four main directions. The Agnīpurāṇa (41.6–8) providing for the laying down of baked bricks or stones in building a temple prescribes the recital of many Vedic mantras, viz. Rg. X. 9.1–3, Rg. X. 9.4, Rg. IX. 58.1–4, Pāvamāṇi verses (either Rg. IX. 1.1–10 or verses from Rg. IX), Rg. I. 24.15, Rg. IV. 31.1, Vāj. S. IV. 36 (Varuṇasya), Rg. IV. 40.5 and the Śrīsūkta (of 29 verses

1465. शहोमे तु आ कूलेन्त्रपायिद्विचरणः सचेबेदसाधारणः पुराणोक्तपावः। तथा च मस्तिपुराणः। आ कूलेन्त्र सचेब रेन्द्रः कार्यं हिजनमसा। “केवल कूलेन्त्रस्ति कूलेन्त्र केतुपन्\nसुप्तसतयः”, अत: एव भद्रसेन भविष्यति तथा दिशितम्। यदहातव् (Jiv. II. p. 126). The
masvapuran verses quoted are 93, 33–37. The mantras are taken from the Rgveda, Tai. S., Vāj. S. What शुचिलक्षण emphasises is that whatever Veda may be studied by a man and his family, he has to employ the mantras specified by Matsya when he performs a grahahomā.

1466. सुचियतिकविकारेऽवर्णार्थोम सवक्षिणम्। नेना: कार्यों इति ना जतया। पश्चाभिः
हिजे।। सत्य 237.13.
beginning with ‘Hiranyakavarnam harinim’). The Nāradīyapurāṇa (II. 73. 83-90) contains at end of each of the verses parts of Vedic prayer, which occur in Rg. VII. 66. 16, Tai. Ār. IV. 4. 2-5 and Vāj. S. 36. 24; Bhāgavata I. 2. 21 (bhid yat &c.) is taken from Muṇḍaka Up. II. 2. 8.

The Purāṇas not only prescribe Vedic mantras for various purposes, but suggest the employment of numerous Paurāṇik mantras. It appears that Paurāṇika mantras came to be employed along with Vedic mantras in religious rites even of Brāhmaṇas at the beginning of the Christian era or within a few centuries after Christ. Yāj. I. 229 prescribes that the Viśve Devas should be invited to come to a śrāddha with the rāk, ‘O Viśve–Devas! Come, listen to this my call, sit down on these kuṣas’ (Rg. II. 41. 13). On this the Mitāksarā (about 1100 A. D.) remarks that along with the Vedic mantra mentioned by Yāj. a śmārta mantra should also be employed viz. the mantra1467 ‘āgacchantu mahābhāgā,’ which occurs in Skanda and Garudapurāṇa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 440 note 984 for the ascription of this verse to various authorities. The Vāyu-purāṇa1468 prescribes that the mantra ‘adoration to the devatās, to pīṭras, to the great Yogins, to svadhi and svāhā; they are always present’ should be recited thrice at the beginning and at the end of śrāddha and at the time of offering pīṇḍas; the pīṭras quickly come when the mantra is repeated and goblins run away; this mantra protects the pīṭras in all three worlds’. This mantra is styled ‘Saptārcis’ (having seven flames) in Vāyu 74. 20, Brahmāṇa III. 1. 30 and in Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 68 and by Hemādri on śrāddha pp. 1079 and 1208, who notes that it occurs in seven Purāṇas. In chap. 206 of the Agni in the procedure of offering arghya to the star Agastya (Canopus) Rg. I. 179. 6 has been adopted as verse 13.

1467. The mantra is: आगच्छंतु महाभागा विष्णुधर सहसा। ये यथा विष्णुधर साथथाना भवति तेऽ॥. This is Garudapurāṇa I. 218. 7, but q. by Āparākṣa on p. 478 from Bhūropāti and on p. 481 from Viṣṇudharmottara.

1468. The mantra is: देवतार्चिस् विष्णुधरमहापर्ययस्य एव च। नमं स्वाहाये स्वाहाये निर्यायमेव महत्तमं॥ वायु ७४. १५-१६। Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 458-459 note 1020 for all the verses in relation to this mantra and the purāṇas where they occur. In the printed Bhāgavata III. 11. 17-18 the mantra is देवतार्चिस्। प्रबुद्ध च। नमं स्वाहाये स्वाहाये निर्यायमेव महत्तमं। Some read निर्यायमेव nām nām: The nām. on yā. I. 121 says that this mantra should be employed by sūdras in all the five daily sacrifices according to some, while others said that the sūdra was only to utter the word nām.
Not only are mantras from Vedic Samhitās prescribed by the Purāṇas for certain rites, but Upaniṣad passages also sometimes with slight variance are bodily transferred into some of the Purāṇas. For example, Kṛṣṇa II. 9.12, 13 and 18 embody Tai. Up. II. 4 (yato vāco nivartante), Śvetāsvatara. III. 8 (vedāham-etam puruṣam) and VI. 11 ‘eko devaḥ’. The Viṣṇupurāṇa VI. 5. 65 is ‘dve vidyā veditavyā iti cātarpant śrutīḥ’ and contains a passage of the Muṇḍaka Up. I.1.4 (vide note 1461 above). The Vāyu 20. 5 (pranavo dhanuh) and 20. 28 (Ajām-ekām) are respectively Muṇḍakopa. II. 2. 4 and Śvetāsvatara-up. IV. 5. Vāyu 14. 13 (sarvataḥ paṇipadāntam) is almost the same as Śvetāsvatara Up. III. 16 and Vāmana 47. 64–65 has the same verse. Vāmana 47. 67 is almost the same as Rg. I. 10. 1.

This gives rise to interesting questions. The śūdras had no right to study the Veda. But as a matter of fact the Purāṇas contain as exemplified above a good many Vedic mantras. It is stated in the Bhāgavata 1468a ‘women, śūdras and brāhmaṇas in name only are beyond the pale of the three Vedas; therefore the sage (Vyāsa) composed through compassion for them the Bhārata tale’. The Devbhāgavata states ‘study of the Veda

1468a. śrīdevarājadevaḥ ब्रह्मणि न शर्तिपौर्णवम्। ’तस्माद्विनिर्माणयायव्रुप्तया शुभिना हुनम्। भवति I. 4. 25 q. by paribhāṣyapakās p. 37, which remarks ‘vedakāryaśaktiḥ-कमलमात्नराय वैद्यकार्यज्ञानकालिकसिद्धिः.’ śrīdevarājadevaḥ न वेदविश्वय मतम्। तेपावेत हिताविशाय पुरुषागिनि कुतुम्बानि च। देवीभवति I. 3. 21. śabdāraśāyaḥ is careful to point out on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 38 that śūdras have no adhikāra for brahmavidyā based on the study of the Veda. But he does not deny to the śūdras the knowledge of the Self altogether. He refers to the instances of Vidura and Dharmavijñāna that were possessed of the knowledge of brahma due to the effects of their former lives, states that they would secure the result of brahmajñāna (viz. mokṣa, final liberation from saṃsāra), that śūdras have the right to learn from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas as stated in ‘he should read to the four varṇas’ and that in that way they might secure knowledge of brahma and mokṣa. ‘वेदवर्गं रक्षान्यं संस्कारं नस्तिः स्‌स्माकम्। तस्माद्विनिर्माणयायव्रुप्तया शुभिना हुनम्।’ On v. 1. 3. 38. On v. 3. 4. 36 śabdāraśāyaḥ refers to the woman śākasyā as one who had the knowledge of brahma ‘रक्षान्यं संस्कारः नस्तिः स्‌स्माकम्।’ śākasyā figures as a great seeker after brahma in the Bhāgavat up. III. 6. 1, II. 3. 8, 1 and 12. The Mahābhārata says that what it dilates upon as to the puṇḍarīkāḥ, पुण्डरीकाः, अर्जुन, काम and मोक्ष, is found elsewhere and that what it does not contain on those subjects can be found nowhere else and that the Mahābhārata should be listened to by him who desires mokṣa, by brāhmaṇas, kings and pregnant women (Svārgārohana-parva 2. 50–51).

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is not accepted for women, śūdras and brāhmaṇas in name only and Purāṇas are compiled for the purpose of benefitting them. From this it follows that in the case of śūdras the listening to the Bhārata was deemed to bring about the same results that the Veda does for dvijas and that even the śūdra may acquire the knowledge of the Self (and mokṣa) from the Bhārata.

Though the brāhmaṇas in the 5th and following centuries A. D. wanted to placate the śūdras who were probably a majority of the whole people and to wean them away from Buddhism, they still kept a distinction between dvijas and śūdras and the only concessions made were that the śūdras could worship in the same way as dvijas did and that they could have mantras (Paurāṇika) in their rites and ceremonies. For example, in allowing bharmacānāma (smearing ashes on the body) the Padma (IV. 110. 236-289) provides Vedic mantras for men of the three varṇas but Paurāṇika mantras only (Padma IV. 110. 290-293) for śūdras. The Padma further provides that śūdras could not perform prāṇāyāma or utter the sacred syllable ‘om’ but that they should substitute dhyāna in place of prāṇāyāma and ‘Śiva’ in place of ‘om’.

Gradually in some matters the procedure provided in the Purāṇas came to supersede the ancient Vedic procedure prescribed for them. Aparārka states (on p. 14) that in Devapūja one should follow the procedure prescribed in the Narasimhapurāṇa and the like and not the procedure of the Pāṣupatas or Pāñcarātratas and (on p. 15) he says the same about the consecration of temples, images and the like.

The Narasimhapurāṇa (chap. 63. 5-6) says that the mantra ‘om namo Nārāyaṇāya’ enables one to secure all objects and jāyā of it frees a man from all sins and leads him to absorption into Viṣṇu.

1469. प्राणायामभ्रमणं तत्रेव न विभिषिते। प्राणायामवध्येन सिद्धिः प्रभुपदवर्णनस्य॥ पदम IV. 110. 316॥

1470. नरसिंहपुजा: chap. 62 deals with the procedure of विष्णुपुजा।

1471. एवं महिदायामवध्येन पुराणात्तैवतिर्थनामं प्राणायामभ्रमणं वायुवपविन्यासं। तेषामेव वायुविन्यासं प्राणायामभ्रमणं भविष्यताद्रव्यं पहिर्वतत्त्वात॥ अपरार्क p. 15॥

1472. किं तर्थं बधुभ्रमनं किं तर्थं बधुभ्रमनं । आः नस्ते नारायणेऽति तर्थं सत्त्वं सत्त्वं- साधकं । इति तर्थं जपेतातु हि भ्रामणं भविष्यति। सत्त्वसंविन्यसं विन्याससंविन्यासं।

नरसिंहपुजा 63. 6-7; किं तर्थं बधुभ्रमणः भ्रामणं ज्ञाति। नस्ते नारायणेऽति तर्थं सत्त्वं सत्त्वं- साधकं। विन्यासं ज्ञातं ज्ञातं। विन्यासं विन्यासं। तेषां हस्यविन्यासं। उद्ययो ज्ञाते॥ नरसिंहपुजा 94. 58-59; the stanzas says ‘आः नस्ते नारायणेऽति सत्त्वं उद्ययः’।
Procedure of king's coronation in Purāṇas

The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 218) describes the procedure of the king's coronation and (chapter 219) sets out the Paurāṇika mantras (about 70) employed at the coronation. Similarly, the Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 21) describes the procedure of coronation with Vedic mantras and (in II. 22) with 184 Paurāṇika verses invoking various gods, minor deities, sages, rivers &c. Medieval digests like the Rājanitiprakāśa (pp. 49–83), Nītimayukha (pp. 1–4), Rājadharmanāstubha (pp. 318–363) describe the combined coronation procedure of Vedic and Paurāṇika mantras from the Viṣṇu-dharmottara (vide pp. 78–79 of the H. of Dh. vol. III. for details). The Rājanitiprakāśa (pp. 430–433) prescribes numerous mantras derived from the Viṣṇudharmottara as prayers and as blessings.

The Padmapurāṇa narrates the interesting story of a person called Dhanaśarmā whose father followed only the Vedic path (srauta-mārga), who did not engage in such Paurāṇika prescriptions as Vaiśeṣikasāna and who therefore became a horrible and distressed preta. Some of the verses are very interesting. 'I performed in my ignorance only Vedic rites and I never observed Vaiśeṣikasāna in honour of God Mādhava (Viṣṇu), nor observed a single Vaiśeṣika Full Moon vrata which is like an axe for cutting the tree of sins that afflicts one like a conflagration fed by the fuel of sinful deeds &c.; to one who studies many śastras and several Vedas with their extensive ancillary Literature, learning does not come, if he has not studied Purāṇas'. This shows what importance came to be attached to Purāṇas not only for śūdras but even for brāhmaṇas who performed the Vedic rites prescribed for them.

The influence of the Purāṇas went on increasing gradually. At first it was said that the dharma understood from the Veda was the highest, while the dharma declared in the Purāṇas

1473. भया केवलमेवेकोऽतौसार्केवकं त्यतमानानीसारिनां।
रुक्तस्य माधवं देवं न स्नाते माति मातवेच्।
वैदिकं केवलं कर्मेण तुम्तमातानानीसारिनां।
पार्वतिकं बजनागदामारदुकालिकां।
हता बैराजिपी
वैशेषिकं लिङ्गपरि पूर्णितम।
अवसा यस्य वैशेषिकं संशोभिन्यन्ति अवसरः।
इति समानमि च स तन्त्रित्योगिनविषु जातीये।
पार्व 94, 68, 88–90; ब्रह्मणसंसारमध्ये
कृपयेत।
एसोः श्रुतस्वल्पराजस्य स सङ्क्षेपति दर्पणम।
पार्व 94, 105, 13।

1474. अन: स पर्यो? प्रस्थो यो बेदार्थधाममदये।
अब्र: स हु विज्ञायो त: पुराणविद्वु
स्थान:।
यथा ग्राहि।
by अतक्रः प. 9, हे. on व्रत त. p. 22, परिधानकारा p. 29.
The अः र. p. 39 reads 'अवार्त: स हु विज्ञायो '।
It may be noted that while अपार्कां read
अवार्त (inferior), the अः र. (about two centuries later than अपार्कां) reads
अपार्त: (another).
and the like was inferior. This gradually changed and dharma was said to be of three kinds, Vaidika, Tāntrika and Mīśra and it was said in the Bhāgavata\textsuperscript{1475} and the Padma that one may worship god Viṣṇu in any one of the three ways that one desired. The Padma adds that the Vaidika and Mīśra methods are declared to be proper for brāhmaṇas and the like, while the Tāntrika method of worship is meant for a devotee of Viṣṇu and also for sūdras. The Devībhāgavata (XI. 1. 21–23) states that Śrutī (Veda) and Smṛti are the eyes of dharma and Purāṇa its heart, and that that is dharma which is declared by these three and that dharma can be found nowhere else than in these, that in Purāṇas sometimes what is found in Tantras is put forward as dharma, but one should not accept that.

The Bhāvisya (Brāhmaṇaparva I. 43–47) in a dialogue between Śatānaka and Sumantu first enumerates the 18 dharma-śāstras from Manu to Atri, states that the Vedas, the śāstras of Manu and others and the angas are promulgated for these varṇas and not for the benefit of sūdras, that sūdras appear to be very much helpless; how can they be able to secure the four puruṣārthas? They are devoid of āgama (traditional lore); what traditional lore was declared for them by the wise among the brāhmaṇas for enabling them to secure the three viz. dharma, artha and kāma? Sumantu replies:\textsuperscript{1476} listen to the Dharma-śāstras that were declared by wise men for the benefit of all four varṇas and specially for sūdras viz. the 18 Purāṇas, the life of Rāma of the Raghu race (i. e. the Rāmāyaṇa) and the Bhārata

\textsuperscript{1475} वैदिकसामार्थको निषेध इति में सबिथे मा: > त्रयाणामविद्वेदन्विधे शिक्षा मां समवेत: > भागवत XI. 27. 7, 9. by तिथ्याधारपद्धतिः p. 516; मद्व (1V. 90. 3–4) reads बैदिकः हिबिनास्विद्विधे मा: > त्रयाणामादित्वेव विधे मा तर्मवेत: > वैदिको मां कस्वैरपि विमादीनासाधार: > तात्रिपको विशुध्यकर्षण शुद्धर्थसाधिः प्रकटितिः।।

for almost the same words as in भागवत. Compare इन्द्रज्जस्वसत्सुमति 11. 77 'अन्तःस्मार्थास्विद्विधे युज्ञेन स्वरूपः'>

\textsuperscript{1476} चतुर्वार्थसिद्धि वैभन्ना यानि ऑकानि अब्यस्ये। धर्मसाधारणी रवेन्द्र द्वेष्य लाभिः। वैदेवत्व दुष्कर्तकाणां पापंतिक मनोक्षेत्रेण:। अद्वैतः पूर्वांगि बचिते शक्तिस्वरूपः।।

The bhārata also says that the whole meaning of the Veda was put forward under the name Bhārata, in which even women and sūdras find what dharma is: 'भारतानवल्लेषेन द्राक्ष्यसार्थः इतिः। द्विपते यथे धर्मात्मि श्रीदुर्भादिनिर्भ्रूपः।' भागवत I. 4. 29. Vide above p. 870 and note 1408 about the lack of antiquity in the case of this passage from Bhāvisya (Brāhmaṇaparva),
declared by Pārāśara’s son (Vyāsa); the compassionate Vyāsa composed a śāstra for the benefit of all four varṇas in which he comprehended the entire meaning of the Veda and the Dharma-śāstras; it is an unparalleled boat for all that are engulfed in sanskāra. This makes it clear that the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana embody pristine traditions and thoughts and were deemed to have been composed as the instruments of the education and enlightenment of the common people. As a matter of fact we find that some Purāṇas like Agni, Matsya, Viṣṇudharmottara are encyclopaedic and include treatises on politics and government, on law, medicine, astronomy, astrology, poetry, music, sculpture &c. They illustrate India’s life and character as a country and exemplify Bhārata’s achievements, weaknesses and shortcomings. Two questions that arise are: (1) could the Purāṇas including the Vedic mantras quoted therein be read by the śūdras themselves; (2) supposing that Vedic mantras could not be read by the śūdras, could they, if they were able to do so, by themselves read the purāṇas without a brāhmaṇa’s help. All writers of digests and commentaries were agreed that śūdras could not read or listen to the Vedic mantras contained in the Purāṇas (which being meant for the benefit of all varṇas contained Vedic mantras also), but only those that belonged to the three upper classes. Some writers, however, were agreeable to śūdras reciting Paurāṇika mantras in religious rites, relying on a passage of the Padmapurāṇa. But others like Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of the Nirvayasindhu and Śūdrakamalakara, held relying on verses of the Bhaviṣya that Paurāṇika mantras alone were to be used by a brāhmaṇa in a religious rite for a śūdra, that the śūdra was only to listen to the reading of a purāṇa by a brāhmaṇa reader. There was a third view held by Śrīdatta and others that a śūdra could recite a paurāṇika mantra, but he should not himself read the Purāṇas and should only listen to the reading of Purāṇas by a brāhmaṇa. In the times of the Dharmasūtras the only mantras employed were mostly Vedic and therefore in the case of śūdras Gautama1477 provided that the śūdras were allowed the alternative of saying ‘namah’ in place of a Vedic mantra. In the centuries preceding Christ the śūdras would naturally have been attracted to Buddha’s teaching as it was addressed to all including śūdras. Comparatively early orthodox writers like

1477. अनुबन्धत्वस्य नमस्कारी मन्त्रं: भौ. X. 66; compare the quotation from the Padma in note 1469 p. 922.
Kumārila knew that the śudras formed the largest number of professed Buddhists when he says 1478 'the dicta of Śākyamuni and others were all opposed, except a few relating to self-restraint, charity and the like, to all the fourteen sources of learning, were promulgated by Buddha and others that had strayed from the path of the three Vedas and did acts contrary (to the Veda) and that those dicta were presented by them to those who were deluded, who were outside the pale of the three Vedas, who mostly comprised the 4th varṇa (i.e. śudra) and those that had lost caste'. Therefore, the learned brāhmaṇas who wanted to wean sections of the masses (including śudras) away from Buddhist teachings composed new Paurāṇika mantras by the thousand and employed them in all religious rites like śrāddhas, vratas &c. It was, therefore, that earlier nibandha writers like Śāriputra were prepared to allow śudras to recite Paurāṇika mantras. But when centuries had elapsed after Buddhism had disappeared from India, orthodox brāhmaṇa writers like Kamalākara 1480 (who wrote his N.S. in 1612 A.D.) showed a stiffer attitude by confining śudras merely to the listening to Purāṇas read by a brāhmaṇa and by not allowing them even to recite a Paurāṇika mantra. It may be noted that the Naraśimhapurāṇa in laying down the duties of śudras provides that they should listen to the reading of purāṇas by a brāhmaṇa.
(reader) and should worship Narasimha (avalāra of Viṣṇu).
The relation of Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇas and their spheres of
application are summed up in the Nāradiyapurāṇa as follows:—
"The Veda exists in different forms; there is the Veda which
has the performance of sacrificial rites (as its sphere); smṛtis are
the Veda for the householder's stage; both those are centered in
(or supported by) the Purāṇas. Just as this wonderful world
sprang from the ancient Being (God), there is no doubt that all
this literature arose from the Purāṇas. I hold that the meaning
(or purpose) of the Purāṇas is more extensive (or superior to)
the meaning (or purpose) of the Veda. All the Vedas
always rest on the Purāṇas; the Veda is afraid of the man of
little learning (with the thought that) that man may harm it.
The Veda does not deal with the movements of the planets, nor
does it contain correct calculations about the proper times (for
religious acts), nor does it deal with the titihvādhi or titihśaya,
nor with the determination of the parvans (anāvāsyā, pūrṇimā
&c.) or eclipses. Determinations about these were formerly
made in Itihāsa and Purāṇas. What is not seen in the Vedas
is all noticed in the Smṛtis; what is not seen in both is declared
in the Purāṇas. What is declared by the Vedas and what is
declared by the auxiliary lores—it is Veda that is declared by
Smṛtis and Purāṇas. The person who looks upon Purāṇas in
any other light would be born as a lower animal".1481 The
Nāradiyapurāṇa1482 further states 'the merit acquired by those
wicked men who speak about Purāṇas as arthatvās (mere
laudatory or condemnatory statements) are destroyed and

1481. श्रयू करितिनि मद्यत्वं वेदो्रं वद्धुधा सिधतं। यज्ञमन्त्रकिर बेदं स्वरितं तो
पुराणेषु पतितं। पुराणपुरुषाजातं पवेदं जगदङ्गुमयं॥ तथावृतः
प्रथायं जातं पुराणेश्व न संध्यं। वेदपान्धविकं सनं पुराणार्यं वासने॥
वेदं पतितिता सर्वं

1482. पुराणवाक्यादि ये वद्धुधा नारायणः। तैरसदिवानि पुराणि श्यां
पावनिन्दिते। समस्तकरितिलिङ्गः नारायणम्। पुराणपावनिन्दिते (पुराणपावनिन्दिते?) नाराय
मरमाश्च। नारायणः II. 24. 15-24. Some of these verses (such as बेदं पतितिता:
समस्तकरितिलिङ्गः and यज्ञमन्त्रकिर) occur in स्मण, भारतलक्ष, 2. 90-92.

1483. The great वाक्याविशेषण is its I. 2. 1-18. There are Vedic
passages like 'संस्मात्रिवाहि भवेद्वादितं दुध्वम्' (पौ. सं. I. 5. 1. 1), 'स आजाने
वषाणविश्रावम्' (पौ. सं. II. 1. 1), 'क्रेबे वे वेदप्रजनमभवसाय दिवों न प्राजानं' (पौ. सं.
(Continued on next page)
the wicked man who regards as arthaśādas the Purāṇas that are the means of uprooting (the evil effects of) all acts, reaches Hell.

The Purāṇas introduced several striking changes in the religious rites, practices and ideals of the people. The most characteristic thought and the keynote of the Purāṇas is to declare how great rewards and results could be secured with little effort. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (VI. 2) narrates how sages approached Vyāsa with the question ‘in what age does a little dharma yield very great rewards’? Vyāsa was bathing in the Ganges; he came out, uttered ‘śūdra is good and Kali is good’ and then again plunged into the river; then he again came out and said ‘well done, O śūdra! you are blessed’; he again plunged into the river, came out and said ‘women are good and blessed; who is more blessed than they’. When he finished his bath and performed his morning rites, the sages asked him to explain what he meant by calling Kali, śūstras and women good and blessed. He replied: ‘a man secures in a single day and night in Kali age as much reward of tapas, celibacy and japa as is obtained in ten years in Kṛta age, in one year in Tretā and in a month in Dvāpara; therefore, I spoke of Kali as good; in Kali age a man secures merely by the glorification or incessant repetition of the name of Keśava what he would secure by deep meditation in Kṛta, by sacrifices in Tretā, and by worship in Dvāpara; I am pleased with Kali because a man secures great eminence of dharma with a little effort. Persons of the three higher varṇas have to study the Vedas after observing many strict rules, then they have to perform sacrifices which require wealth; they incur sin if they do not perform their duties properly; they cannot eat and drink as they please, but are dependent on the observance of many rules as to food &c.; dvijas secure higher worlds after great trouble; the śūdra secures his worlds by serving the three varṇas, he has the right to offer the pākayajñās (without mantras) and therefore he is more blessed than a dvija. He has not to observe strict rules about proper and disallowed food or drink and therefore he was

(Continued from last page)

VI. 1. 5. 1), ‘तत्रति ब्रह्मद्वार्यः पोषयन्ति यज्ञते’ (तैं सं. V. 3. 12. 2), ‘न दृष्टिपद-सत्तविवेष्टष्य नास्ति न दिवित।’ (११२. सं. V. 2. 7. The question is: are these passages to be taken literally or do they convey any meaning? The reply is: ‘शिविधन रेण्वलावम्पलत सदृपमेल विपोलेन तु;’ (११२. I. 2 7) i.e. they are laudatory and are meant to praise vidhis.
declared ‘good’ by me. A woman by serving her husband in thought, word, and deed secures with less trouble the same worlds that her husband secures with great effort and trouble and therefore I said a third time about women that they were blessed. The acquisition of dharma is secured with small trouble in Kali age by men who wash off all their sins by the water in the form of the qualities of their soul; śudras do the same by being intent on service to dvijas and women also secure the same without trouble by service to their husbands. Therefore all these three are regarded by me as most blessed.’

The Brahmapurāṇa chapter 229 verses 62–80 are identical with Viṣṇupurāṇa VI, 2. 15–30 and 34–36. The Viṣṇupurāṇa emphasizes that each one must do one’s duty in the society in which one is born or one’s duty which one has undertaken, that, if a person does this, he reaches the same higher worlds, whether he be a brahmaṇa or a śūdra. This doctrine is the same as taught in the Bhagavadgītā 18. 45 and 46 ‘a person secures the highest perfection (final emancipation) by being intent on carrying out the duties appropriate to him; man secures perfection (or bliss) by worshipping with the performance of his peculiar duties (not with flowers and the like or by words) Him from whom all beings proceed and by whom all this (world) is enveloped.’ Ancient works like the Vedas, Jaimini’s sūtras on Mīmāṃsā and the Vedāntasūtras did not consider or discuss how women or śudras were to secure higher spiritual life and final Beatitude. The Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 34–38) denies to the śūdra the right to study the Veda and the Upaniṣads. Buddha’s teaching held out the same promise of liberation from suffering.

1484. Some of the verses are striking and they are therefore quoted here: प्रयासान्ते जयते जीवेतानां सप्तपदर्शयन। यदृच्छिकतः तद्भाविताः कलं सर्वकेष्य काव्य। प्रमोदलीकान्तगीतिः प्रभुति पुरणः कालः। अन्ततरमेवेव धर्मायते तु दीर्घस्य कलः। ० •••जापल्लि नेमनांत्रेश्च कृष्णेन महता द्विजा। द्विजादधियाच वचन्ताविधिकाराय। निजान्तरति ये तोषकां दूती निष्ठारतमातः। भद्रायामेवं नारायांसि नेवायामेवं वष। लिप्यन्ति छुलियाहुङ्गेऽस्ते लोकाः साधातीरितिः। णिणिपुष्किन्यापनाभाणुः कर्मः मनससि मिर। गणरूप्ता जुण्यासात्ततिः तस्मात्कोश्वयं यथा ब्रज। नायिकेष्च महता मनविन्दुः यथा। तस्मस्य व्याहति अमेव मया वशिष्यति योस्यभिः। च वैयज्ञेन हि प्रसन्नेन धर्मः सर्वायते तदसः। कालो नरसूक्तामासम: यात्रातिभित्रिकिलित्य:। यहैहुः द्विजाद्वरुषां तस्मात्कहिङ्कस्तमा:। तथा सौभाग्यालयस्य पवित्रनुष्मवेष एव। तत्तत्त्वज्ञानयमेवमयमपुराणः प्रसन्ने नातुः। धर्मसम्पूर्णे कुंजिहो विज्ञायांताः कुलहिङ्कः। ० विज्ञायः ० VI. 2. 17–18, 22–24, 28–28, 34–36. The कल्पतं (गुप्तकाल्य pp. 272–273) quotes from विज्ञाय VI. 3. 22–24 पारस्तनयः ० रितिः (तम v. 1.). The editor of कल्पतं was unable to trace these.

1485. के से कर्मविनिर्माणः संसिद्धं तन्मयं नरः। •••यतः पञ्चशिरोत्तरानां चेन सर्वत्रिभेदः। तत्वेन तस्मात्कस्मातं सिद्धं बिनिर्माणः। \( \text{भगवान} 18. 45–46. \)
to all men irrespective of class or caste and was therefore most attractive to śudras. The Bhagavadgītā and the Purāṇas changed the whole outlook of Indian society, high or low, and promised the same higher spiritual life or worlds to all who did their work under a sense of social duty, did not hanker after mundane rewards and brought all their actions, in whatever avocation they might be engaged, as an offering to God. In the Padmapurāṇa Vyāsa is made to say to Yudhisthira: "It is not possible to observe in the Kali age the rules of Dharma laid down by Manu and by the Vedas; the one thing which one should do is to observe a fast on Ekādaśī in both fortnights (of a month), which is an easy means (that) requires little wealth, that entails little trouble, but yields great rewards, that is the very essence (of the teachings) of all Purāṇas; he should be pure and on Dvādaśī after worshipping Kesava with flowers he should first feed brāhmaṇas and then himself take his meal; those who desire to secure heaven should perform this vrata throughout their lives; even persons of evil conduct, the greatest sinners devoid of dharma, do not go to Yama (do not fall into hell) if they fast on Ekādaśī." The Sūtasamhitā states ‘effort for acquiring true knowledge (of the Self) is meant for all (for persons even lower than śudras), that effort made by explaining in a different language (than Sanskrit) and by the lapse of enough time will tend to the good (of the lowest)’. This clearly shows how the Purāṇas put before all people easy ways whereby they could attain bliss in the Hereafter.

The Baud. Dh. S., Manu and Vasistha emphasize that one should not invite a large company of brāhmaṇas at a śrāddha, because a large company destroys these five (advantages) viz. showing proper respect to invitees, propriety of place and time, cleanliness and the securing of worthy brāhmaṇas and

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1486. बैद्यासु उत्साह। शुद्धम मानवम धर्मम वैदिकाय पुत्रस्यम्। काव्यं गुणं न वर्णने तत्वे च कालं नाराज्ञम। सुक्रवास्यस्मात्यन्त्यस्यमये महाकलिक। पुराणान्ति व सविभागं सर्वस्य महामें। एकादश्यं न शुचिन प्रयोजयानीय। ह्रदयं तु शुचिपञ्चवा पुन: संतुगः केशवम्। सुचितः छत्रेऽपि पहुँचियाः। सर्वत्री यान: च विहिन्यं कथां च ज्ञातेः। कृपया यापुरुषाः पाधिकरण: पाथिकरण: परम्परय:। एकादश्यं न शुचिन न ते यापन स्मारकम्। भवन VI. 53. 4-9. These verses are quoted as from महाभारत by हे, on वर vol. I. p 1089. Vide p 44 note 108 above for some of these verses; आपि ग्रामीण संवेदना ज्ञान-विस्तार विशेषीते। मध्यमार्थन काव्यसमान तेणां सौदृढ़कर्मक। II. 7. 22.

1487. सत्यिन्य देशकालिन: शीर्षम भार्त्तानासम्म:। प्रेरितम विस्तरो हतित तस्मात्सङ्गिरेत। विस्तरम्। भाष. III. 26, कृत्यपुस्तक प. II. 22, 27, भ. र. II. 4. 30, वास. XI. 28 (the last two read the 4th pada as 'तस्मात्सङ्गिरेत').
it was further provided by the Anuśāsana-parva and others that one should not go deep into examining the learning, family and character of brāhmaṇas in a rite for the gods, but in rites for the Manes close examination as to these matters is proper (or justified). The Purāṇas went against both these prescriptions. They are not tired of recommending again and again profuse expense in śrāddhas and condemning stinginess (lit. roguishness in spending money) in śrāddhas and also in such other matters as the observances of Ekādaśi. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa quotes nine verses (III. 14. 22–30) as uttered by the pīṭras, two of which may be translated here 'Would that a wise and blessed person be born in our family who not indulging in stinginess in spending wealth will offer pīṇḍas to us and who would donate to brāhmaṇas for our sake jewels, clothes, a large conveyance, wealth and all enjoyments if he has riches'! Padma recommends that avoiding stinginess brings pleasure to the pīṭras. The Matsya (56. 11) prescribes that one should not show stinginess in the Kṛṣṇaśatamivarata. The Padma says that that bad man who being possessed of wealth celebrates the jāgara on Ekādaśi in a close-fisted way loses his soul. The Brahmapurāṇa says in a general way that whoever does a religious act with stinginess is a sinner.

Manu (III. 149) provides that 'in rites in honour of gods one who knows dharma should not critically examine the brāhmaṇas to be invited for dinner, but in a rite for ancestors one should carefully investigate (the fitness of) brāhmaṇas'. This does not mean that in rites for gods any one may be invited. We have to observe the general rule of Manu (III. 128) that donors should give only to a man who has studied the Veda.

1488. Brāhmaṇa parīkṣaṇa śātriyo dūrādhyādaśaḥ | DeVey karman naiva yu na phaladhaḥ
parīvartanaḥ 90. 2; q. by हे. on आदिस p. 511; DeVey karman brahmaṇaḥ na parīkṣaṇaḥ.
pratipadyate parīkṣaṇaḥ. Viṣṇu-purāṇa, 82. 1–2; n Brāhmaṇaḥ parīkṣaṇaḥ saṁda DeVey tu maṇiḥ; DeVey karman naiva yu na phaladhaḥ. Viṣṇu 83. 51.

1489. Apī ṇaṇya; kūte jayānaṁśmānāc maitīrśatavāḥ; ākuate viṣṇuṣṭhaḥ yāḥ viṣṇuṣṭhaḥ 
neṣāvādhipatitāḥ. Raste vassyāḥ sañcaraṁ śaranta-gaṇāḥ iti vasiṣṭhaḥ | Viṣṇu-purāṇa, 13. 42–23, varttā 13. 50–51 (reads Saranta-gaṇāḥ vasiṣṭhaḥ). All the following seven verses are the same in both Purāṇaḥ. Verses III. 14. 24–30 are q. by Ṛṣi. kṛtā. pp. 253–254 and are also explained.

1490. Viṣṇuṣṭhaḥ puranāḥ; Prātiṣṭhāṇaḥ, pūjā I. 9. 181; Prātiṣṭhāṇaḥ Viṣṇuṣṭhaḥ 

dinner in rites for gods or paitras. So what Manu III. 149 means is that deep investigation of ancestry &c. is not necessary in rites for gods.

It is provided by the Vāyu\textsuperscript{1492} that there is to be no examination of the qualities and character of the brāhmaṇas at Gayā and the Varāhāpurāṇa provides that all brāhmaṇas of Mathurā are like gods and that a brāhmaṇa of Mathurā not knowing even a रक् verse is superior to a brāhmaṇa of another place that has studied the four Vedas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 579, 670 for details of Gayā and Mathurā brāhmaṇas. The Padmapurāṇa and the Skanda (Kāśikhaṇḍa 6.56–57) recommend that at tirthas (sacred places) one should not engage in investigation of the worth of brāhmaṇas, and that Manu declares that brāhmaṇas appearing (at a tirtha) and desiring food should be fed\textsuperscript{1493}.

It is not unlikely that the above passages from the Vāyu, Varāhā and Padma are later interpolations. When Buddhism was flourishing large companies of Buddhist monks were fed by the people. When Buddhism declined and disappeared from India after the 12th or 13th century A.D. people came to believe that there was great merit in feeding poor brāhmaṇas just as in former times people fed monks and the Purāṇas might have only echoed and emphasized the general sentiments of the people. If the people in general had not come to believe in this, the author feels that no amount of interpolations or insistence by the so-called crafty brāhmaṇas would have been effective. Writers, Western or Indian, that, relying on the notions current in the 19th and 20th centuries, pass severe and unmeasured strictures on the previsions for brāhmaṇas in the Purāṇas do great injustice to the authors of Purāṇas that flourished about a thousand years ago or more. Such writers should compare Indian medieval conditions, ideas and doings of brāhmaṇas with the claims of the Popes, Christian priests, Inquisitions and the state of monastic Orders in Europe from about the 10th century A.D. to the 15th century. In comparison it would be

\textsuperscript{1492} विचार शुद्ध कुलं श्रीलं विद्या च तपं एव च। पुरोकस्तेन सार्वेध्यं शास्त्रं प्राप्तिः मानवः॥ वातु 82. 27; अन्तः साधुरो यत्र चतुर्दश्चावपारः। केवले शास्त्रियं व स्त्रालयपुरे हम्। कवित्वम् शम्पुरां ये वास्ति लिङ्गश्च अति ते नमः॥ वराह 165. 55 and 57.

\textsuperscript{1493} सीराये महाप्रथां सत्व परिक्रेत कथ्यते। अभ्यासनामपूर्वको भोजये तं महाविषयं॥ पद्म V. 29. 212. The first half is q. by आ. क्रि. की. from महागुप्त on p. 34 and from वेश्यप्राण on p. 266.
found that the conditions in Europe were terribly worse than in India in those centuries.\footnote{1494} As a consequence of the abovementioned dominating principle the Purāṇas strongly recommend dāna (gifts, particularly of food), pilgrimages and baths in sacred waters, vratas, ahiṃsā, bhakti, repetition of the name of god, śrāddhas &c. These will be briefly illustrated below.

The Purāṇas institute a comparison between solemn Vedic sacrifices on the one hand and pilgrimages and baths at sacred places on the other. The Vanaparva\footnote{1495} contrasts the two as follows, “the solemn sacrifices promulgated by the sages cannot be accomplished by a poor man; sacrifices require many implements and a collection of various materials, which are secured by kings or sometimes by rich men, but not by poor men who have to rely on themselves alone, who have no helpers and who do not possess means. Going to holy places confers merit and surpasses sacrifices. One does not secure that reward by such sacrifices as Agniṣṭoma, in which profuse fees are distributed, which is secured by repairing to sacred places.” Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 561-564 for further encomiums of sacred places and the virtues to be cultivated for reaping the full merit of pilgrimages.

In pursuance of the same dominant principle the Anuśāsana-parva and Purāṇas extol fasts and vratas. The Anuśāsana-

\footnote{1494. For the barbarities and abominations in every European country of the Inquisition, particularly in Spain, one may read W. H. Rule’s ‘History of the Inquisition’ (1868), particulary pp. 298-314 on ‘Inquisition in Goa’ and Rafael Sabatini’s work on ‘Torquemeda and the Spanish Inquisition’ (8th ed. in 1937), ‘the Spanish Inquisition’ by Prof. A. S. Turberville (Home University Library, 1932), who is constrained to say on p. 235 that at the best the Holy Office in Spain has a terrible record of destruction; Cambridge Medieval History vol VI, chap. XX on ‘Heresies and the Inquisition in the Middle Ages’ (1929) pp. 699-726; Cambridge Medieval History vol. VI, pp. 694-695 where it is shown that ‘Indulgences’ (granting forgiveness of sins and a certificate of entry in Paradise) were freely put on sale by the highest ministers of the Christian Church in the hands of licensed traders without the necessity of any confession and penitence and that they became a formidable bar to the proper working of the penitential system of the Church.

\footnote{1495. सीधार्थभिमार्ण वर्णम युद्धरथ विक्रियापि विक्रियापिष्ठते। वामपे 82. 17; vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 561 n 1263 for the whole passage.}
parva\(^{1496}\) (107. 5–6) remarks that fasts are equal to sacrifices in the matter of rewards. They are put forward as superior to sacrifices in Padma.\(^{1497}\) It says: Viṣṇuvrata is super-eminent; a hundred Vedic sacrifices are not equal to it; by performing a sacrifice one may go to heaven, but one who observes the Kārti-kavrata goes to Vaikunṭha (the world of Viṣṇu). For the exaggerated importance attached to fasts and vrataś, vide pp. 43–45 above.

First dāna. High eulogies of gifts have been sung from the Rgveda downwards. The subject of dāna (gifts) in all its aspects has been dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 837–888. The Mahābhārata in numerous places (particularly in the whole of Anuśāsana-parva) and the Purāṇas such as Matsya chap. 82–92 and 274–289, Agni chap. 208–213, Varāha 99–111, Padma V. 21. 81–213 (which agree almost verbatim with Matsya 83–92), Padma II. 39–40 and 94, III. 24, Kūrma II. 26 devote a great deal of space to the subject of dānas. But here only two topics in relation to gifts will be dealt with, viz. gifts of food and gifts to brāhmaṇas. The Rgveda condemns the person as merely a sinful one who does not offer food to the gods nor to his friends and uses it only to fill his own belly.\(^{1498}\) The Ait. Br. and the Tai.\(^{1499}\) Br. speak of ‘food’ as ‘prāṇa’ (life). The Baud.\(^{1500}\) Dh. S. states “all beings depend on food, the Veda says ‘food is life,’ therefore food should be given (to others), food is the highest offering”. Manu\(^{1501}\) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. state ‘the man who cooks food only for his own sake (and not for offering to gods and men) eats merely sin’. The Bhagavadgītā carries the same message ‘those who eat food left after offering in sacrifice are freed from all sins, but those who cook food for their sake alone eat sin’. The Padma has a fine passage ‘those who always feed the cripple, the blind, children, old men, persons that are dis-

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1496. इदमाधिः श्रीकृष्णपारमसुतात्मकौ। विद्य यज्ञोपत्तवाः तत्शति युवां विद्यिताः। अनुपासन 107. 5–6.

1497. अत्र विभिन्नति विश्व तपस्या न शतवं महात्र। छुट्टा कितु ब्रजेश्तर्मे देवल्लहं कार्तिक-वती। पदम III. 21. 29. The same idea is repeated in padm VI. 96. 25.

1498. मोहणमें विनिः अपजेता: तस्य ब्रह्मांि वथ द्वस्त तत्त्व। नायकमण पुरति नो सम्बन्ध केनत्वाच सरी परि केनति केलाती॥ स्त्र. X. 117. 6.

1499. अस्म पायासमन्धानाधृत। तै. ब्र. 11. 8. 3; अर्थ ह मण। ऐ. ब्र. 33. 1 in the fifth gāthā recited by नारदह.

1500. अस्म ब्रह्मानि दुर्लभति अर्थ पायामन्तिः। तस्माद्यस्म पद्मात्मवाक्यं हि परम हुहः। चौ. प. ब्र. 11. 3. 68.

1501. अर्थ स केवल दुःखं य: पचर्यासमकारणाः। मद्व. III. 118, बिभुद्धाद्वृत्त 67.43.
Eased, helpless and pinched by penury, always enjoy bliss in heaven; there is no end to the merit (accumulated) by constructing wells and tanks, where aquatic animals and others moving on land drink water when they desire, for water is the life of living beings and life is centred in water. The distribution of food particularly to learned brahmanas is highly praised in Brahma-purāna. Padma V. 19. 289-307m, Agni 211. 44-46. The gift of food is superior to all gifts; food is the life of men, from food spring all beings; the worlds are dependent on food, therefore food is praised; man secures heaven by the gift of food; a person who joyfully gives food acquired by just means to brahmanas deeply learned in the Veda is released from all sins' says Brahma. The Agnipurāna says 'The gifts of elephants, horses, chariots, male and female slaves and houses do not come up even to a sixteenth part of the gift of food (in merit); a person who committing a great sin afterwards distributes food becomes free from all sins and secures everlasting worlds' (211. 44-46). The Kūrma prescribes 'a man should give to a brahmacārin (Vedic student) food every day (i.e. when he comes begging); thereby he becomes free from all sins and reaches the abode of Brahmā'. Similarly, Padma calls upon house-holders to give as much cooked food to ascetics as would fill the begging bowl. From very ancient times a householder was called upon to perform five Yajñas (sacrifices) daily, two of which were Baliharana and honouring a guest (Manu III. 70) and he was to place food on the ground for persons who had lost caste, who suffered from loathsome diseases, to cāndalas, dogs, crows and even insects (Āp. Dharma S. II. 4. 9. 5, Manu III. 92). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 745-747 on Vaisvadeva and Baliharana. Underlying these provisions was the noble sentiment of universal kindliness and charity, the persistent idea that, in spite of social gradations, rules and prejudices dividing

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1502. सर्वपालयन दानानामवच अदुरुत्साहनां। 'मण्ड्रान द्वारसं भव्यमाणां तस्मातानां। प्रजायते अि प्रतिनिषिद्वा हस्तोस्त्वाद्विक्ष्य भव्यमाणां। 'अधर्मः कह प्रदश्न्त्ति सर्वपालयनां स्मारति मानवः। 'सर्वपालयनामवच तु नारेः हर्षसमानवति। 'श्रीनिले भव्युत्साहनो बुद्धा पापासंस्वयमेऽति। भ्राह्मणः 218. 10-13, 22-23.

1503. व्याधिरस्वस्य अदुरुत्साहनां नस्त्रिकारणोऽस्मातनां। 'सर्वपालयनामवच मनुस्यः स्थानानां स्थानानां। 'सर्वपालयनामवच नासी नुसारं नुसारं तुसारं यथा वत्स्यते। भ्राह्मणः 218. 10-13, 22-23.

1504. सर्वानुपद्धिता भायति: कुमारेण पञ्चपूणायः। आप. प. सु. II. 4. 9. 5; कुमारो च पतितानां च भव्यां पापसंस्वयमेऽति। वायस्यानां कुमारां च घनभिमाणां च नस्त्रिकारणां भ्राह्मणः सु. III. 92.
men from each other, one Supreme Light pervades and illuminates the meanest of creatures and makes the whole world kin. This spirit of a householder to regard it as his duty to offer food to all needy persons and particularly to poor and deserving students and brāhmaṇas has prevailed almost to the present day, though during the last few years shortage of food, high prices and rationing have undermined it a great deal.

Then as to gifts to brāhmaṇas. In the first place, it must be remembered that all brāhmaṇas were not priests and are not priests in modern times. Similarly, all priests in all Indian temples and shrines are not brāhmaṇas. Temple priests are comparatively a later institution and in olden times they were looked down upon and are regarded as inferior brāhmaṇas even in modern times. Manu (III. 152) states that a devalaka (a brāhmaṇa who performed for remuneration service before the image in a temple) was unfit to be invited at a śrāddha or to officiate in a sacrifice to gods, if he continuously served for three years in that capacity. The ideal set before brāhmaṇas from very ancient times was of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of abandoning the active pursuit of riches, of devotion to the study of the Veda and śāstras, of cherishing a high culture and of handing down literature and cultural outlook. Smṛtis like Yaj. I. 213 recommend that even if a brāhmaṇa be fit for receiving a religious gift he should refuse gifts and thereby he secures the same worlds that habitual donors secure. It was for preserving such high ideals among brāhmaṇas that Yaj. I. 333 prescribes that a king should make gifts of cows, gold and land and should bestow on learned brāhmaṇas houses and requisites for marriage (maidens, expenses of marriages &c.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 856-858 where references are given to inscriptions containing donations to brāhmaṇas of houses and marriage expenses. In these days every body talks of the high culture and literary traditions of ancient India. But who cultivated the vast Vedic and other Sanskrit literature, preserved it and propagated it for several millenia? The answer would have to be that it was mostly due to some of the brāhmaṇas who stuck to the ancient ideal for thousands of years. If the Rgveda can be put forward in these days as the most ancient of the literary monuments in any Aryan language, who preserved its more than ten thousand verses with unparallelled care by oral transmission without hardly any variant readings. The reply will again have to be that the brāhmaṇas did it by a
Self-denial by many brāhmaṇas

self-denying ordinance. The Brāhmaṇas had to study the Veda with auxiliary lores without an eye to any ulterior motive, but simply as a duty and to understand the meaning thereof, they were to teach the Veda and other lores without demanding beforehand a fee, they had to bring up their own families, perform sacrifices and make gifts themselves. The only substantial sources of income were officiating at sacrifices and religious rites and receiving gifts. These sources must always have been variable, fitful and precarious. The brāhmaṇas had no power to tax people as in the case of tithes in the West. Nor had they a regularly paid hierarchy of deacons, priests, bishops and archbishops as in the Anglican Church. Therefore, the brāhmaṇas are advised to approach the king or a rich person for their livelihood (vide Gautama IX.63 'Yogakṣemārthaṃ-īṣvaram adhigacchet'). It should be noted that before Buddhism spread far and wide the sūtras and smṛtis emphasized that religious gifts should be made only to a worthy brāhmaṇa, learned and well-conducted. For example, Āpastamba prescribes 'one should invite for dinner in all religious acts brāhmaṇas that are pure, that have studied the Veda and that one should distribute gifts at a proper time and place, on occasions of purificatory rites and when there is a worthy recipient.' To the same effect are Vas. Dh. S. III. 8, VI. 30, Manu (III. 128, 132, IV. 31), Yāj. (I. 201), Dakṣa (III. 26 and 31). Not every brāhmaṇa was in those ancient times a proper recipient for a gift, but he had to possess qualities of what is called 'pātra'. A few definitions of pātra may with advantage be cited here. The Anuśāsana-parvā has a long passage emphasizing the qualities of a deserving brāhmaṇa: 'gifts made to good brāhmaṇas that are free from anger, that are intent on dharma, are devoted to truth and self-


1506. चुँचोति मन्त्रित: सर्वव्याप्ते भोजयेत्. इत्यत: कालत: श्रुतिः सत्यमुख यति यथस्तृत हृति द्रष्टव्यं मतिप्रसाधयति. आय. ध. स. II. 15. 9-10. Compare मुख III. 98.


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control yield great rewards; the sages regard that brāhmaṇa as pātra who studies the four Vedas with their aṅgas (auxiliary lores like phonetics, grammar &c.), who is active in doing six acts (viz. abstaining from wine and meat, observing the bounds of morality, purity, study of the Veda, sacrifices, making gifts). Even a single eminent brāhmaṇa endowed with intellect, Vedic learning, good conduct and character saves the whole family; one should bring from afar a brāhmaṇa on hearing that he is possessed of good qualities and is approved by good men and should welcome him and honour him in all ways’. Yāj. furnishes a brief but striking definition of a worthy brāhmaṇa ‘not by Vedic learning alone nor by tapas (austere life) alone worthiness arises; that person is declared to be pātra (worthy recipient for a religious gift) where both these (i.e. Vedic learning and tapas) and good conduct exist’. Manu provides that religious gifts given to a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda or who is avaricious or deceitful are fruitless and lead the donor to hell (IV. 192–194). The Bhagavadgītā also (17.32) condemns a gift given to an unworthy person as tāmasa (affected by tamas, arising from ignorance or delusion).

As Buddhism grew in popularity and secured also royal support, the brāhmaṇas had to tackle several tasks. They had to keep the number of brāhmaṇas at a high level, they had to find maintenance for those devoted to the deep study of the Veda and they had to make accommodation with prevalent Buddhist thoughts by assimilating as many of them as possible in their own writings. Every brāhmaṇa could not possess the memory, the intelligence and the persistent endeavour for long years required for memorizing and mastering even his own Veda and its subsidiary Literature. If one hundred brāhmaṇa families were patronized, hardly ten percent of them could have been masters of their own Veda, but there was always the possibility that those who were not themselves good Vedic scholars might have sons, some of whom might turn out to be profound students of the Veda. Therefore, the number of brāhmaṇas was to be increased and they had to be fed and not to be allowed to fritter away energy and time in working for their bread. It is mainly due to these factors that some of the Purāṇas contain incessant and frantic appeals for gifts to brāhmaṇas.

1508. न विद्या केवलम् तपसा वचि पार्श्वता। पच बुद्धिमानि सोभे तद्भिः पार्वेत् नवसेवितत्वम्॥
वाङ्कु. I. 200.
At the time when most of the Purāṇas were composed, the brāhmaṇas were hemmed in by great difficulties and hostile forces. From about the 3rd century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. Buddhism enjoyed royal patronage under such great kings as Aśoka, Kaniska and Harsa. Buddhism was not really a revolt against caste, but against the sacrificial system, against the Veda and its authority to show the way to salvation. Buddha did not found a new religion, but he was a great reformer of Hinduism. He laid sole stress on moral effort, ahimsā, satya &c. which had already been integrated into Hinduism and were part of it and which continue to this day to be part of Hinduism. Buddha in his first sermon in the deer-park near Banaras preached that one who renounced the world should shun two extremes viz. the pursuit of pleasures and the practice of useless austerities, that it is the course discovered by him that led to wisdom and nivṛtti. He expounded the four noble Axioms or Truths (Āryasatyaṇī) viz. suffering (duḥkha), the cause of suffering viz. taṇhā i.e. trṣṇā (duḥkha-samudaya), the suppression of suffering (duḥkha-nirodha), and the way that leads to the suppression of suffering (duḥkha-nirodha-gāmini pāṭipada). This last is the Noble Eight-fold path (aṣṭāṅgiko).

1509. For the two extremes to be shunned, vide Dharmacakka-ppavattana-sutta (inauguration of the kingdom of Righteousness) S. B. E. vol. XI, p. 146.

1510. It may be noted that in the Upaniṣads and Mahābhārata the giving up of nṛti or kāma is emphasized. Vide यदा सर्व प्रमुखने कामाय वेद्यस्य हुव नित्यता; तथा मय्यायं अयुस्वो भर्तरचक्र जम्बु समयमत्रे। किंचिदं VI. 14; या तुस्याज तुस्यमतिज्ञं वे वै क्षण्डित्यो जीवित्यो जीयते। या श्रद्धा प्राणात्मस्य तुष्णा यथाज: सुखम्। वनमयं 2. 36, अनुषासन 7. 21, ज्ञानप्र. III. 68. 100; यथा कामसुधार तोऽके यथा विद्य जम्बुसंस्धाय। तुष्णाश्च जर्जरस्य। सांस्कृतिक 174. 46, वारु 93. 101, ज्ञानप्र. III. 68. 103.

1510 a. Vide Dharmacakka-ppavattana-sutta in S. B. E. vol. XI, p. 147 for the eightfold path. The Pāli words are: सम्म-विद्यति, सम्म-संकल्पयं, सम्म वाच, सम्म कामनो, सम्म आचरणे, सम्म-नासयो, सम्म-सति (सन्त्वसु) सम्म-समाधिय. Vide also Śīlavatikāya (Pali Text Society) vol. I, p. 157, Mahābhārata (Oldenberg) vol. I, p. 10 (I. 6. 18) and धम्म-चक्र-व्यासस्वत्व यथा सत्सुप्त वा 4 p. 3 (ed. by Sister Vaijāra, Sarnath) and for दुःखा, दुःखसम्बुद्ध, दुःखनिरो, दुःखनिरोगान्तिकी पदिक्षेत, vide Mahābhārata (I. 6.19–22), ṛbid p. 10. These four are called आर्यस्यतापि which may mean 'the four Noble Truths or 'the four Truths found by the Ārya' (Buddha). This bears a very close resemblance to the fourfold axioms in Yoga and Medicine set out in योगदर्शनाधि 'यथा विविधसाधारं च नित्योपसरितां नियमतक्षां वस्तु-सर्वं, अन्नदातः शाश्वं च ताब्दुःखिनं तथा-तत्त्वं-संसारं, मोक्षं, मोक्षपाप-हृति। तत् तु दुःखभूतं संसारं वेदः। प्राणान्तरोऽयं संसारं हृदयेतु; संप्राणतत्त्वत्तितत्त्वस्य हृदयेतु; हातस्य: सर्वदा व्यक्तेष्म। योगदर्शनोऽन्योऽन्यः।
mārgaḥ) viz. right views, right thoughts or aspirations, right speech, right actions, right living, right exertion, right recollection (or mindfulness), right meditation (i.e. briefly leading a virtuous life). These doctrines preached to all by the noble Buddha and his disciples were attractive as remarked by Rhys Davids, particularly to the sūdras whose social position was low in the Vedic times and also in the days of the smṛtis. No one could study the Veda in the presence of a sūdra, a sūdra could not perform sacrifices and had to serve the three higher varnas in very ancient times. Almost the same position was assigned to him by Manu (VIII. 413) viz. that he was created by God for serving the brāhmaṇa, though it is doubtful whether this could be or was enforced. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 33-36 and pp. 154-164 for the position and disabilities of sūdras from the Vedic times up to the days of the Smṛtis. It should not, however, be supposed that all India had become Buddhist. Millions still remained Hindus. There was the danger and fear that with royal patronage and the attractive features of Buddha’s teachings large masses might forsake their ancient faith.

The brāhmaṇas of the times when Buddhism was at its peak had to strive to keep the banner of the Vedic religion flying, to deprive Buddhism of its hold on the masses of the people and even on the intelligentsia and to make them stick to the old fold. Buddhism itself had changed a great deal in its ideals, doctrines sometime before the beginning of the Christian era and for centuries thereafter. Buddha’s original doctrines were aimed at individual effort and salvation of the individual by his own effort and self-culture. Early Buddhist texts deny the existence of anything like a soul and find no place for

1511. Vide his eloquent Intro. to S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 142 'Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put forth so simple in its nature, so free from any superhuman agency, so independent of, so even antagonistic to the belief in a soul, the belief in God, the hope for a future life. Buddha put forth deliberately the doctrine of salvation to be found here in this life in an inward change of heart to be brought about by perseverance in a mere system of self-culture and of self-control. That system is called the Noble Eight-fold Path.'

1512. Vide ‘Questions of Milinda’ (II. 3. 6) in S. B. E. vol. XXXV pp. 88-89 for a discussion of the doctrine that there is no soul and pp. 520, 71-77 for the Buddhist theory of kamma (karma) and for the theory that what is reborn is nāma-rūpa (name and form) and not the soul. The Saundarāṇāanda (B. I. ed. 16. 28-29) says: ‘त्रैतीयो यथा गृहकियुप्तो। विभि तन्मित्रविविधं तन्माधित्यो विकासवित्तधारितिः शास्त्रितम्।’ एवं चतुर्ती तस्य तामस्यपालकमेति शास्त्रितम्।’
the idea of God. Though Buddha spoke of Nirvāṇa he did not clearly define it nor does he specify the condition of the individual when he enters nirvāṇa. Aśvaghosa compares nirvāṇa to the extinction of a flame (Saundarananda, chap. XVI. 28–29). Because the doctrine of karma was deeply rooted in the popular mind at the time of Buddha, Buddhism took over that doctrine, which, to men who are not Buddhists, appears to be contradictory of the denial of the existence of a soul. The word 'Dhamma' is used in three senses in the Pāli 'Dhammapada' (which being mentioned in the questions of Milinda is earlier than the 2nd century B.C.) viz. (1) the truth or law preached by Buddha, (2) thing or form, (3) way or mode of life.

As stated above, the original Buddhism preached by the Buddha and his followers in the first century or two after his parinirvāṇa was more or less a strict ethical code for individuals who sought salvation from the misery of the world. The three central conceptions of very early Buddhism were the three refuges (or ratnas) Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. Gradually a new doctrine was evolved.\textsuperscript{1513} It came to be thought that to care for one's own deliverance and spend all efforts thereon was rather selfish, that as the Buddha himself out of compassion for suffering humanity worked for forty-five years to lead men to salvation by his exhortations and sermons, so a Buddhist should prefer to put off his own deliverance, should work for the deliverance of his fellowmen out of compassion (karuṇā) for their miserable lot and in doing so should be ready to be born again and again, should not care for his own salvation and should not be afraid of saṃsāra. Those holding these latter views deified Buddha, taught that Buddhahood was attained by Siddhārtha after undergoing numerous births in doing service and rendering help to others and that this was a superior code of conduct (Mahāyāna, the Great Vehicle or Way) to the selfish code of salvation for an individual himself (which came to be called Hinayāna, the lesser Vehicle or Way). This extra-regarding gospel of Mahāyāna was very attractive and won great support in most countries of Asia.\textsuperscript{1514}

\textsuperscript{1513} H. Kern in his ' Manual of Buddhism ' (in the Grundrisse p. 122 holds that Mahāyānism is much indebted to the Bhagavad-gītā. Compare \pah\oldtext{‘सत्त्वमे महायानन्तरसुन्यवृणि:\’ \pah\oldtext{सपूतुःति रसः\’} V. 25 with the Mahāyāna view.}

\textsuperscript{1514} The number of Books on Buddhism is legion. For Mahāyāna Buddhism, vide ' An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism ' by W. M. McGovern (London, 1922); ' Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism ' by Dr. M. N.
This doctrine of Bodhisattvas (meaning 'beings destined to be enlightened') is not consistent with the gospel of Buddha as preached by him in his first sermon at Banaras. There is a difference of ideals between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. The original gospel relies on self-effort and moral regeneration and on the elimination of suffering and misery by the extinction of all passions and of hankering or desires and of the desire of

(Continued from last page)

Dutt (1930); the 'Bodhisattva doctrine in Sanskrit Literature' by Dr. Har Dayal (Kegan Paul, London 1932); 'The path of the Buddha' ed. by Prof. Kenneth W. Morgan (New York, 1956) written by several scholars from different countries (for both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna).

A few books for those who want to know more of Buddhism in general and of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna are recommended here. 'The central conception of Buddhism' (London, 1923); 'the conception of Nirvāṇa' (Leningrad, 1927); 'Buddhist Logic' vol. I (1958), all by Th. Stcherbatsky; 'Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha' by J. G. Jennings (Oxford Un. Press, 1948); 'Creed of Buddha' by Edmond Homes (5th ed.); 'Introduction to Tantrik Buddhism' by Dr. Shashi Bhushan Das-Gupta (Cal. University, 1950), 'the Flame and the Light' by Hugh I. Faussett (London and New York, 1958); 'the Buddha and his Dharma' by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (1957) in which he refrains from considering Buddhist Texts except those in Pali; 'Comparative study of Buddhism and Christianity' by Prof. F. Masutani (Tokyo, 1957). The Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga (ed. by Prof. S. Levi) summarises in two verses (I. 9-10) the points (five) on which the two schools are in conflict. It—sings 'Records of the Buddhist religion' translated by Dr. J. Takakusu (Oxford, 1896) surprisingly enough states (p. 15) 'These two systems are perfectly in accord with the noble doctrine. Both equally conform to truth and lead us to Nirvāṇa'. Buddha at least ignored (if he did not positively deny) God, he denied the individual soul and Eternity, he did not emphasize the most vital Upaniṣad teaching viz. 'anando brahmeti vyajñāt'. He imagined salvation as a state of absolute quiescence and therefore regarded ordinary life as misery and asserted that salvation may be attained even in this very life. He did not claim to be God, but a human being. There are various kinds of Mahāyāna doctrines and great diversity of definitions. It may generally be said that works professing to teach Mahāyāna practically forsake the ideal of a human Buddha, preach the worship of Buddha and future Buddhas, and assert that Nirvāṇa cannot be attained by the ancient method, that salvation cannot come in this very life but after centuries and aeons of the practice of virtue and helping others.

Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna are said by some to be branches of Mahāyāna, about the latter of which a good deal will be said in the next section. According to Bhiksū Rābula Sāṅkrtyāyana, Vajrayāna (700-1200 A.D.) is a synonym of Mahāyāna (400-700 A. D.) and merely the ulterior development of it (vide p. 211 of the paper 'L’ Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas' in J. A. vol. 225 (1934) pp. 209-230.
life itself. Buddha's original teaching regarded it as a waste of time to ponder over such questions as 'Have I existed during the ages that are past or have I not? Shall I exist during the ages of the future? Do I after all exist or am I not?' The Saddāsāvāsuttā (9–13) says that a wise man walking in the noble eightfold path understands what things ought to be considered and what things ought not to be considered. Vide S.B.E. vol. XI. pp. 298–300. Buddhism brought half of Asia under its influence not only by its promise of salvation to all by self-help, but more so by its teachings of profound tenderness, of active charity, of goodness and gentleness. Mahāyāna laid great stress on doing good to all and on bhakti. Both the original teaching of Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna teaching are attractive in their own way.

Buddhism insisted on the five śīlas that were binding on all Buddhists viz. prohibition of injury to and destruction of life, of theft, of sexual impurity, of lying and of intoxicating liquors. Five more precepts (which together with the preceding five were called Daśaśikṣāpadas) were added for Buddhist priests, viz. prohibition of eating at forbidden hours, of attending worldly amusements such as dancing, song, music and shows, of the use of unguents and ornaments, of the use of a large or ornamented couch and of the receiving of gold and silver. About the śīlas it is clear that they were adopted from the ancient Upanisadic and Dharmasūtra teachings. The Chāndogya narrates how Asvapati, king of Kekaya, boasted before five great householders and theologians 'in my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without a fire-altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress'. The same Upaniṣad quotes an ancient verse 'a man who steals gold, who drinks liquor, who dishonours his guru's bed, who kills a brāhmaṇa—these four fall and a fifth also that associates with any one of these four.' It will be shown

1515. That destruction of desires is nirvāṇa is stated in Ratnasuttā 14 and the simile mentioned is that of a lamp being extinguished (by lack of oil).

1516. Vide खुद्द्रभाषा 2, दीपमिलाय (II. 43 p. 63) for the five śīlas and Kera's 'Manual of Indian Buddhism' p. 70.

1517. स ह माति संजित्तम उच्च न मे लेने जनपदे न कब यो न मथ्यो नानाहिताति-नानिष्टात्स लेनी सौगती कुजा। छा. उप. V. 11. 5.

1518. तद्वै निर्दिष्टस कृत्य सुरु बिंदुभ स्वयमात्मासुद्धरश्चैते पतिति प्रसस्त: पञ्चमध्याचरस्तिरिति। छा. उप. V. 10. 9.
a little later how ahimsa was emphasized even in the Upanisads. Thus ahimsa, non-stealing, sexual purity had already been emphasized in the oldest Upanisads. That an ascetic had to give up all property and beg for keeping body and soul together is made clear by Br. Up. III. 5. 1 and IV. 4. 22, Jabalopanisad 5, Gautama III. 10-13, Vasistha X. The other five precepts for priests such as not receiving gold or silver or giving unguents, flowers, dancing, singing and music are laid down by Gautama II. 19 and III. 4, Vasistha X. 6 &c. for Vedic students and ascetics. Vide H. Kern (in 'Manual of Indian Buddhism, Grundrisse p. 70) who remarks that the superior morality for monks is nothing else but the rule of life for the dvijas in the 4th astrama, when he is a yati and all the details were taken from the Dharma-sutras and Dharmastra.

Ahimsa—The Mahabharta and the Puranas lay great emphasis on ahimsa (not harming or giving pain to a living creature). The Upanisads too emphasized ahimsa. The Chandogya does so in several passages. In III. 17. 4 it says 'tapas, charity, straight-forwardness, ahimsa, speaking the truth—these are the fees of this (sacrifice without ceremonial)'. While describing how the person who has attained true knowledge of the Self does not return (to this samsara), the Chandogya says that 'he causes no pain to any creature except at tithyas'. The Br. Up. (V. 2.) says how Prajapati told the gods, the asuras and men that the sound 'da da da' produced by thundering

1519. एत वै समालाने वितिलि जाग्निकः पुज्यणायक्ष विनितेष्यायक्ष लोकेत्समायक्ष यथार्थायक्ष भिन्नायक्ष चरितम्। ब्रह्मास्य II. 5. 1 (after the brāhmaṇas have gained knowledge of this Self, they abstain from desire for sons, desire for wealth and desire for the worlds and wander about as beggars); अः परिताष्ठ विकृतादिसा युक्तोपाधिक भीतरीषाः हृदिचिरोहिती नाशनाना शक्तिः प्राप्तीतिष्ठति। जाग्नाययव। वितिलि 5 quoted by शास्त्राचार्य on ब्रह्माचार्य II. 1. 3 and III. 4. 20.

1520. वज्ञ्येऽन्त्रभूमिमात्राक्षयायां प्रतिवारसमायां जनवायोपवेदन्तः भागः काम-चोच्चलबोबावाहेतुमानानात्थरावनवर्गः युद्धोद्वर्गः प्राप्तिवारसमायां॥ गौ. II. 19; युद्धोद्वर्गः प्राप्तिवारसमायां॥ पारिज्यम्. X. 6.

For the other sīlas of priests, compare with श्रृवः II. 19 the following from श्रीनिवासन (vol. I p. 64 Samāññha-phala-sutta II. 45) 'सिद्धो विकालोमा तन्नीतिवातिवासस्वात्तलो कर्मितान्ति होति। माति-सध्य-विदेश-भारायण-मण्डल-विभद्धण-धाणा पदविताति होति। जातिसंप्रदाय-दस्तिष्ठायणह दस्तिष्ठायण पदविताति होति। अन्न-मांस-पालितायण पदविताति होति।'

1521. अथ यथाव धान्याव्रत्मवेदिन्ति सर्वनाशनमिति ता अर्थ ब्रजिणः॥ गौ. उप. III. 17. 4; आद्यावे ब्रह्मज्ञानप्रवेधीत्। त्वायायोपवेदन्तः धार्मिकाविविध्यान्तति। सर्वद्विष्ठाये श्रीमतावार्त्तान्तसंहितायि तुम्हारायः॥ भृगु उप. VIII. 15; तद्वेद्यवेद्य सिद्धो अथवा ब्रजिणः। ब्रह्म. उप. V. 2.
clouds conveys to the gods the necessity of self-restraint (dama), to the asuras of compassion (dayā) and to men of charity (dāna). Gautama\textsuperscript{1522} specifies eight virtues of the soul, the first of which is compassion for all beings and states that he who has the forty satyakāras performed on him but does not possess the eight virtues does not secure absorption into brahma. The Ādiparva provides ‘ahimsā is the highest dharma for all beings; therefore a brāhmaṇa should never harm (or give pain to) any being’. The words ‘ahimsā paramo dharmaḥ’ (ahimsā is the highest dharma) occur very frequently in the Mahābhārata\textsuperscript{1523} (e.g. in Dronāparva 192.38, Śanti 265.6, 329.18, Anuśāsana 115, 25, 116.38, Āsvamedhikaparva 28.16-18, 43.21). Śāntiparva (296.22-24) enumerates thirteen virtues common to all men, of which freedom from cruelty and ahimsā are the first two. Vasiṣṭha IV.4, Manu X.63, Yāj. I.122 prescribe certain virtues as necessary in men of all varṇas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 10 notes 25-27.

A few examples of emphasis on ahimsā in the Purāṇas may be cited here. The Vāmanapurāṇa\textsuperscript{1524} provides: ahimsā, truth-

\textsuperscript{1522} This Sargaṇeśvara śāntirnāḍaṇa sūrya āraṇaṃvatsaḥ mahāpurāṇam sahaḥ. Bṛhadāraṇyaka: kahī. [Ahārīya 11.12-14; Ahārīsa sāravatātīryā pāṁ tṛṇdūṣṭaḥ visā: Bhāg 192.38; Ahārīsa sāravaṭītīryā phāpaśā tatiyā mahā. Śānti 265.6: N h śāntahyā satyakārā tattvāntarāntaraṃ. Śānti 329.18: Ahārīsa pāṇiḥ trāṃ satyakārāḥ satyāḥ tatiyāḥ. Ahārīsa satyāḥ satyāḥ satyāḥ. Bhāg 43.21.

\textsuperscript{1523} Ahārīsa pāṇiḥ satyāḥ tatiyāḥ. Bhāg 115.25: Ahārīsa satyāḥ satyāḥ. Bhāg 43.21.

\textsuperscript{1524} Ahārīsa satyakārāḥ bhāg 43.21.
fulness, absence of stealing, charity, forbearance, self-control, quiescence of senses, absence of poor spirit or weakness, purity, tapas—this is the tenfold dharma applicable to all varnas. The Padma says: not by (the study of) the Vedas, nor by gifts nor by tapas, nor by sacrifices do men who kill creatures reach the goal of heaven; ahimsā is the highest dharma, the highest tapas and the highest charity—this is what the sages always say; men that are compassionate treat flies, reptiles, stinging insects, lice and the like and human beings as themselves. Matsya goes so far as to state; great sages do not commend sacrifice in which there is killing; by donating grains of corn gathered in a field, roots, fruits, vegetables, vessel for carrying water according to their ability, sages practising austerities became established in heaven; absence of hatred and greed, self-restraint, compassion towards all beings, control of senses, celibacy, tapas, tenderness, forbearance and firmness—this is the root of the ancient dharma, which is difficult to accomplish. The Brahmāṇḍa (II. 31. 35 'tasmād-ahimsā dharmasya dvāram—uktam mahārsibhiḥ') says that great sages have declared that ahimsā is the door of dharma. The Padma (V. 43. 38) says 'there is no dāna nor tapas equal to ahimsā'. It is interesting to note that the Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa regard ahimsā as 'sanātana dharma' and condemn animal sacrifices. The Kūrma provides 'ahimsā, truthfulness, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possession of wealth—these are briefly declared yamas that produce purity of mind among men. The great sages declare that ahimsā consists in causing no pain to all beings at all times by thought, word or

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1525. अहिंसा सत्यसत्यं ज्ञानशील्यपरिवर्ती । यम: संकेत: येहाकालितहुतिधिर्मदा ॥ ५३ ॥ कर्मण: मनसा वाचा सर्वप्रथेतु सर्वदा । अज्ञान्य जोभा लहिसा परमायुष: ॥
अहिंसापि: परो धर्मं नास्त्यहिसामेव लुक्सम: । विविधा वा भोहिसा लहिसैव महायुष: ॥ कुर्म II. 11. 13-15. The Ādi Purāṇa (chap. 8. 8-9) enumerates the eight sōdhanas of which yam is first and mentions five as in kūr. Yamas (abstinences) are variously enumerated. Kūrma appears to follow the yōgamukha II. 30-31 'अहिंसा-सत्य-अस्तेव-ज्ञानशील्यपरिवर्ती' यम: । शोच-सङ्कोच-सङ्क: कायायन्य-ईवयथ: धानायपि नियम: ॥'. Manu IV. 204 provides generally that one should always practise yamas and that one may not always practise the niyamas, but does not name them. Medhātithi explains that yamas are prohibitions (viz. not to injure life, not to steal, not to tell an untruth, not to have forbidden sexual intercourse and not to possess wealth that belongs to another or not to accept gifts), while niyamas consist of positive acts, such as one should always study the Veda (as in Manu IV. 147). Yāj. III. 312-313 enumerates ten yamas viz. celibacy, compassion, forbearance, charity, absence of crooked conduct, ahimsā, non-stealing, sweetness, restraint of senses and ten niyamas. The Bāṣāṇaḥ-स्मार्कम् (IX. 4) enumerates ten yamas.
Eulogy of ahimsā in Purāṇas

There is no dharma superior to ahimsā, no happiness higher than (the practice of) ahimsā; the injury (to life) that is caused according to (Vedic) precepts is declared to be ahimsā. The Upaniṣads commended a qualified ahimsā, while the original Pali books like the Saṃāñña-phala-sutta forbade injury to all living beings. Most of the Purāṇas, in order to convince the masses that they did not lag behind the Buddhist preachings, generally insist upon unqualified ahimsā. Time brings about strange changes. Professing Buddhists in Ceylon, China, Japan and many other countries have no objection to partaking of fish and meat, while following the insistent advice of the Purāṇas, millions of Indian people (not only brāhmaṇas but also others like vaśyas and śūdras if Vaśyavas) have been strict vegetarians for centuries, though Buddhism vanished from India centuries ago.

It may be noted, however, that some of the Purāṇas are against carrying the doctrine of ahimsā to extremes. The Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu both say that there is no sin, great or small, in killing a person (e.g. a tyrant or a desperado), when many will live in happiness by his death. 1526

Pūrta—The Purāṇas lay the greatest emphasis on what is called pūrti-dharma, works of public utility, charity, social service and the relief of the poor and distressed. The word Iṣṭā-pūrta occurs in the Rgveda once1527 ‘May you be united in the highest heaven with your pitrs (ancestors), with Yama and with Iṣṭā-pūrta’ (merit acquired by sacrifices and works of public utility). The word iṣṭa occurs several times in Rg. (I. 162. 15, I. 164. 15, X. 11. 2, X. 82. 2), but the meaning is not certain except in Rg. X. 11. 2 where it appears to mean ‘sacrifice’. Pūrta also occurs in Rg. VI. 16. 18 and VIII. 46. 21, but the meaning is not certain. ‘Iṣṭā-pūrta’ occurs in several Upaniṣads.

1526. यस्यिस्तु निहत्ते अङ्गे जीवने चक्षुः सुखः। तस्मिन हते नासिति सुभये पातकं चोप-पातकम्। ब्रम्हणां II. 36. 188, बालु 69. 162 (reads तहते for जीवने). The ब्रम्हणां 141. 22 has the same idea in different words ‘यस्मिनः सविपत्तिवृत्तिस्य सौथयेन ब्रम्हणाय वाहिने। सुनपत्त्वं सुब्रम्हणेयतालिङ्गम्।।1। The कल्यकारण (कृष्णकारण) प. 300 quotes the verse from बालु (with slight variations viz. एवस्ये for जीवने). The editor was unable to trace it. The verse should be read as निहते अङ्गे and not निहतेभागे as it is printed on p. 300.

1527. संगमध्रम् नितुभवे सं ब्रम्हणेयायां तदमे स्वीमाम। ॥ ये. X. 14. 8; । ब्रह्मणे अद्वितियिः धारु नो भाता नो ज्वाल यहो बिवोचति। ॥ ये. X. 11. 2.
The Chāndogya states\(^{1528}\) ‘But they who, living in a village, practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility and alms-giving reach toward smoke &c.’. Similarly, the Praśna-upaniṣad asserts ‘those, who practise the (mode of) sacrifices and works of public utility as activities to be engaged in, reach only the world of the Moon, and it is these that again return to this world’. The Mūḍaka says ‘deluded people regarding sacrifices and works of public utility as the best do not know (recognize) any other higher good; having enjoyed (their reward) on the top of heaven, they again enter this world or even a lower one’.\(^{1529}\) Manu speaks of ‘iṣṭa’ and ‘pūrta’ and recommends that one should always practise with a pleased heart sacrificial gifts and gifts of the pūrta kind according to one’s ability on securing a deserving brāhmaṇa. The Amarakośa defines ‘iṣṭa’ as sacrifices and ‘pūrta’ as works such as digging a well or tank. The Mārkandeya\(^{1530}\) defines them as follows ‘Maintaining the sacred fires, tapas, truthfulness, study of the Veda, hospitality and Vaśvaveda—these are called iṣṭa; digging wells and tanks and building temples and distribution of food to those that need it—these are declared to be pūrta. The Agnipurāṇa has similar verses. The Padma (VI. 243. 10–14) cites the following as dharmakārya (religious works); temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva, tanks, wells, lotus ponds, forest of vāta, pippala, mango, kakkola, jambu and nimba trees, flower garden, distribution of food from morning to sunset, water distribution outside towns &c. The Skanda\(^{1531}\) says: the term ‘pūrta’ is applied in the dharma-śāstras to the erection of temples, construction of tanks, ponds and wells, laying out parks. Padma (VI. 244. 34–35) says that those who build monasteries, cow stables, houses of rest on roads,

\(^{1528}\) \textit{Aṣṭādhyāyī} 1.13.3; \textit{Tatparya} 1.13.3; \textit{Jitendra} 1.13.3; \textit{Vedantāadarśa} 1.13.3; \textit{Pradhan} 1.13.3; \textit{Sadhana} 1.13.3; \textit{Mimamsā} 1.13.3; \textit{Bhāratavāsa} 1.13.3; \textit{Vedānta} 1.13.3.

\(^{1529}\) \textit{Aṣṭādhyāyī} 1.13.3; \textit{Jitendra} 1.13.3; \textit{Vedantāadarśa} 1.13.3; \textit{Pradhan} 1.13.3; \textit{Sadhana} 1.13.3; \textit{Mimamsā} 1.13.3; \textit{Bhāratavāsa} 1.13.3; \textit{Vedānta} 1.13.3.

\(^{1530}\) \textit{Aṣṭādhyāyī} 1.13.3; \textit{Jitendra} 1.13.3; \textit{Vedantāadarśa} 1.13.3; \textit{Pradhan} 1.13.3; \textit{Sadhana} 1.13.3; \textit{Mimamsā} 1.13.3; \textit{Bhāratavāsa} 1.13.3; \textit{Vedānta} 1.13.3.

\(^{1531}\) \textit{Aṣṭādhyāyī} 1.13.3; \textit{Jitendra} 1.13.3; \textit{Vedantāadarśa} 1.13.3; \textit{Pradhan} 1.13.3; \textit{Sadhana} 1.13.3; \textit{Mimamsā} 1.13.3; \textit{Bhāratavāsa} 1.13.3; \textit{Vedānta} 1.13.3.
dwellings for ascetics, cottages for the poor and helpless, extensive house for Veda study, houses for brāhmaṇas, enter the world of Indra (i.e. heaven). Ātri says\textsuperscript{1532} that iṣṭa and Pūrṇa are dharma common to all dvijas; a śūdra is entitled to perform pūrtā-dharmas but not Vaidika rites (i.e. sacrifices). The Anusāsaṇa-parva (chap. 58) describes how parks should be laid out and tanks constructed with trees on their banks. But the Varāhāpurāṇa and some smṛtis went so far as to declare that a man secures only heaven by iṣṭa, but he secures mokṣa (final release from saṁsāra) by pūrṇa\textsuperscript{1533}.

Sometimes the Purāṇas express ideas that might strike us as rather modern, when they put forward social service and removal of suffering and distress as the highest dharma. In the Mārkaṇḍeya\textsuperscript{1534} a king solemnly states ‘men do not obtain that happiness in heaven or in the world of Brahmā, which springs from giving relief to distressed beings. Sacrifices, gifts, tapas do not conduce to the relief here and in the next world of that man whose heart is not set on relieving the distressed’. The Viṣṇu recommends ‘a wise man should say (and do) that alone by thought, word and deed which would be for the benefit of creatures here and hereafter’. The Skanda-purāṇa (Kāśikhaṇḍa) avers ‘adversities of those good men in whose heart doing good to others is awake (i.e. active) vanish and prosperity comes to them at every step. That purity is not secured by baths at holy places, that reward is not obtained by numerous gifts, that (result) is not obtained by severe austerities, that is obtained by doing good to others. After churning all extensive dicta the conclusion reached is this viz. there is no dharma higher than doing good to others and there is no sin greater than harming

\textsuperscript{1532}  
1532. इधापूर्ती हिजलीन न सामाज्य घरसाधने। अपकारी अयूस्खल तृतीय पृथ्वी न। \footnote{verse 46. On p. 24 Assarhe quotes this from Jātaka \r(\textit{reads पृथ्वी सामाज्यी भली})}. Vide\textsuperscript{1535} p. 290 for quotations from नारक in which the illustrations of इष्टा and Pūrṇa are given.

\textsuperscript{1533}  
1533. इधापूर्ती हिजलीन मधमें घरसाधनम्। इमें तभी स्वरूप पृथ्वी मोक्ष से विचारति। \footnote{बारा 172. 33, यमसुद्दित 68, आशिर्वैदिक 145.}

\textsuperscript{1534}  
1534. न तएं ब्रह्मलोके वा तत्सुकं मायते भरे। युवहस्तनिन्दितां घरसाधनम् \footnote{वायुमती 15. 57 and 62; पाणिनाभकारिय वस्तुं परमेश्वर च। कार्यम् सत्स वषा तद्भरत मनवता भद्दे॥ विचार III. 12. 45; परमारण खेलते जागरति ब्रह्मद्वारेष सतार। नन्दपति विपक्षतरं सवधः सदः पार्थे परे॥ वीर्यास्ततीति सा छात्राद्वैतं तत्कालम्। तपोग्रस्समाजवर्ण। प्रचक कस्मिनेष वाराज्ञ सेवणां विनायकीयने हि। नीरकारसरो भयं नासातारणेऽप्रभु॥} रक्षा, कारोकाश 6. 4-5 and 7; अत्विषे सप्त सप्त युपरोपायः सहः। अतिरिक्ते श्रयुर्ब्रह्मत सत्युमानि विश्वबाल च। परात्म तिर्थमें तेषां सता चार्या विलोकत:॥ बारा 125. 36-37.
others. The Brahma states 'the life of the man who always strives for the good of others is fruitful (blessed); fire, water, the Sun, the earth and various kinds of crops exist for the benefit of others, and particularly the good (exist for others' benefit').

It is surprising that the Bhāgavata avers what is in advance of modern socialistic doctrines 'men have ownership over only that much as would fill their belly; he who thinks as his own what is more than that is a thief and deserves punishment (as such).'

_Bhakti_—The Purāṇas lay very great emphasis on bhakti (religion of loving faith in God). This is not the place to dilate on the history of the cult of Bhakti from the earliest times to modern days. For that purpose there are special treatises (some of which are noted below) that may be consulted. But a few words on bhakti in general may be said here before going into the question as to what the Purāṇas have to say thereon. Traces of the doctrine of bhakti may be discovered even in the Rgvedic hymns and mantras, some of which are full of loving faith in God, particularly in some of the hymns and verses addressed to Varuṇa and also to Indra. A few examples may be cited. 'All my thoughts' (or hymns) praise Indra in unison, seeking light, longing for him, as wives embrace their husband, their fair young lover, they (thoughts) embrace him (Indra), the divine giver of gifts'; 'your friendship' (with your devotee) is indestructible (everlasting); to him who desires a cow, you become a cow, to him who longing for a horse, may you be a horse; 'O Indra, you are far better (or richer) than my father or my brother who does not feed me; (you) and my mother, O Vasu, are equal and protect (me) for (confering) riches and favours'; 'You gave to Kaksīvat, who offered a hymn and Soma libation to you and who had grown old, Vṛcayā, who was a young

1535. भावः निर्भेक ज्ञात तालवक्षः द्वेशमाह्नाः। अधिक योड्यविद्येत स स्तोनो वष्णु-महात्मनः॥ भागवतम् VII, 14, 8.

1536. अत्राः पुमभृत्य चत्यस्त्रिवः सत्यवः सत्यविद्याः उदगिर्धत्वस्त्रें। परिभाष्यते जनयो तथा वहनां गतिर्भिः स द्राक्षेद कपालाः।। कप. X, 4, 1; compare Rg. I, 62, 11 for the simile.

1537. द्राक्षेरां संबंधे तत् गौरिसि गतायते। अभो अभाये भव॥ कप. VI. 45, 26; सबस्य इत्यादिः मे विस्तुसृत्य भृत्सक्ते।। मताः च मे न श्रवयथः समा वसो वुङ्क्तवाय राखे॥ कप. VIII, 1, 6; अस्मै च एव चे द्राक्षरं गुणं विचारक्षति।। इसं जन्मसत्वं पिव वाणवक्तं कर्मविद्यायुस्मनस्य-सृष्टिकायय॥ कप. VIII, 91, 2; सन्ताकामो डूळानवस्त्र छूको विष्णुता ते सवः स्वात्स्या॥ कप. I, 51, 13.
woman; you became the wife of Vṛṣaṇaśva; all these (favours) of yours deserve to be loudly proclaimed during the offerings of soma libations; 'you who, shining brilliantly, come to each house assuming the form of a small man, (O Indra!) drink this Soma juice (produced) by being crushed with my teeth and mixed with fried grains, gruel, cake and laud'. Compare Rg. III. 43. 4, X. 42. 11, X. 112. 10 (in all of which Indra is called 'sakhā' friend) and I. 104. 9, VII. 32. 26 (in both Indra is said to be like a father). It will be clear from these passages that the Vedic sages had reached the stage of sakhyā-bhakti, that the sages believed that Indra was like a mother, that he assumed the form of a wife for the sake of a devotee, that Indra partook soma juice from a devotee who, in the absence of the proper implements for crushing soma stalks, extracted soma juice from soma stalks crushed with the devotee's own teeth. These stories in the far-off ages of the Rgveda remind us of the stories in the works of the medieval ages about Rāma having accepted badara fruit from a Šabarī (Bhil woman) devotee who first tasted them with her teeth to see whether they were sweet or sour and the story of the God Vithoba of Pandharpur, having assumed the form of a mahār (an untouchable) and paid up to the Moslem king of Bijapur the money equivalent to the price of corn which, Dāmāji (a great devotee), who was in charge of the royal granary, allowed people distressed by famine to take away. Some mantras addressed to Varuṇa show the same kind of sakhyā-bhakti. Vasistha\textsuperscript{1537 a} prays 'O Varuṇa! what is that great offence (committed by me) on account of which you desire to harm me, your friend and bard; declare that to me, O Invincible and self-willed God, so that (after propitiating you) I shall be free from sin and may be able quickly to approach you with adoration'; 'where are those friendships of ours (of you and me) which we safely enjoyed in former times, O self-willed Varuṇa?; I (then) went to your big dwelling house that has a thousand doors; whatever offence we mortals commit against the divine hosts, O Varuṇa, whatever laws of yours we may have violated in our ignorance (or heedlessness), do not, O God, harm us on account of that sin'. It is remarkable that in the Rgveda there is a verse in which

\textsuperscript{1537 a} किंगम आस वरण उवें यस्तोतारं जित्यांसारं संविताय | प तन्मे वैची इतरम | स्वापियोऽव वानेन नास्रम द्व वृजयम् || स्र. VII. 86. 4; क व्याति नास्रय पद्युः: संवितासे यज्ञवल्क्ये पुत्र विष्टु। ब्रह्मजन्म वरण स्वापियः सहस्वाद्वा जगाम दृष्टे ते॥ स्र. VII. 88. 5; वाल्मिकीस्वरण उवेः जम्बुनिनोऽहम नरसशाबदारांसि। अत्याच्छन्न वरण धमाम जुपयोपिन मा नस्सनं-व्रजसी स्वेत रीतिः || स्र. VII. 89. 5.
there is an apoteosis\textsuperscript{1538} of ‘namas’ (namaskāra, adoration or homage); ‘Adoration itself is mighty, I offer service with adoration; adoration upholds the heaven and the earth; adoration to the gods, adoration rules these gods, whatever sin is committed (by me) I worship it away with adoration’.

Though the word ‘bhakti’ does not occur in the principal ancient Upaniṣads, the doctrine of the bhakti schools that it is God’s grace alone that saves the devotee is found in the Kaṭha and Muṇḍaka Upaniṣads, viz. ‘this Supreme Soul is not to be attained by expositions (of a teacher) nor by intelligence, nor by much learning; He is to be attained by him alone whom the Supreme Soul favours, to him this Supreme Soul discloses His form.’\textsuperscript{1539} This emphasizes the doctrine that God’s Grace alone brings salvation to the devotee. The Śvetāsvataraopaniṣad employs the word bhakti in the same sense in which it is used in the Gitā and\textsuperscript{1640} other works on bhakti. ‘These matters declared (here) reveal themselves to that high-souled person who has the highest faith in God and the same faith in his guru as in God’. The same Upaniṣad emphasizes a doctrine of the bhakti school in ‘I, desirous of mokṣa (liberation from saṃsāra), surrender myself as my refuge to that God who in former times created (established) Brahmā, who transmitted to him (Brahmā) the Vedas, and who illuminates the intellect of the individual soul’.

The word ‘prapadye’ in the Śvetāsvatara serves as the basis of the doctrine of ‘prapatti’ in the Vaiṣṇavite system such as that of Rāmānuja.

But among the original sources of the Bhakti cult are the Nārāyaṇiya section (chapters 335–351 of Citraśāla ed. = cr. ed. 322–339) of the Śantiparva and the Bhagavadgītā. For the

\textsuperscript{1538} नाम इत्यद्य नाम आ विवासे तमो द्रापार पृथिवीसुत भाद । नामो देवेण्यो नम हेष एवं कुते विब्रेणो नमसा विवासे॥ क्र. VI. 51. 8.

\textsuperscript{1539} नायकाला जयचनेन हुये न भैया न श्रुता नृतात । योगवेषु जयुने तेन नन्दसर्वस्य आत्मा विलक्षणे तदृस लाम । कहोप 2. 22, मुन्तक III. 2. 3.

\textsuperscript{1540} यदि देवे पदा भक्तिपदया देवे तथा स्वरी । ततस्ये कथ्यते प्रभ्य: भक्तिसः भक्तिसः महात्मन:॥ ॥

\textit{Gita}, VI. 23: यदि देवे पदा भक्तिपदया देवे तथा स्वरी । तदृस भक्तिसः भक्तिसः महात्मन:॥

\textit{Bhagavad Gita}, VI. 18. This last verse is relied upon by Barth in his bhāṣya on \textit{विज्ञानलय-भक्तिपदय} I. 1. 1. Barth in his ‘Religions of India’ translated by J. Wood (3rd ed. 1891) sets out the grounds on which western scholars (particularly Weber) held that the religion of loving faith in Kṛṣṇa was due to Christian influence and then states that he is not satisfied with this theory (pp. 219–223).
antiquity of Kṛṣṇa worship (vide pp. 129-131 above). Megasthenes states that Heracles (Harikṛṣṇa?) was worshipped by Soursenoī (Śaurusenas) on the banks of Jobares (Yamunā) and had two cities Methora (Mathurā) and Cleisbora (Kṛṣṇapura?). In the Nārāyaṇiya it is stated (in chap. 335. 17-24) that king Uparicara Vasu was a devotee (bhakta) of Nārāyaṇa, that he worshipped the Lord of Gods according to the sāttvata rules that were proclaimed by the Sun, that he (Vasu) consecrated his kingdom, wealth, wife and horses to God, thinking that they all belonged to the Bhagavat (the Adorable One) and performed sacrificial rites according to the Sāttvata rules.

In the Śāntiparva, Śātavata and Pāñcarātra are identified and it is said that the seven sages called 'citrasikhaṇḍin' (lit. whose top-knots on the head were bright or wonderful) viz. Marici, Atri, Angrīras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kṛatu and Vasīṣṭha, proclaimed the (Pāñcarātra) śāstra and God Nārāyaṇa told them that the śāstra would be authoritative in the world and that king Vasu would learn the śāstra from Bṛhaspati to whom it would come by degrees from the seven sages. Chapter 336 of Śānti declares that to the north of the Milky Sea there was territory called Śvetadvipa, where dwelt devotees of Nārāyaṇa who were called 'Ekāntin' and Pāñcarātra is called 'Ekānta-dharma'. A peculiar doctrine of the Pāñcarātra school is that of the four vṛūhas (mūrtis or forms) viz. that the Supreme Person is Vāsudeva, the individual soul is Sāṅkaraṇa, Pradyumna is mind and springs from Sāṅkarāṇa and Aniruddha is ahaṅkāra and originates from Pradyumna. It is this doctrine of the four forms of Vāsudeva, each springing from the preceding, that is refuted according to Śāṅkara in the Brahmasūtra II. 2. 42-45. The Śānti 348. 8 expressly refers to the Gitā as already declared.
to Arjuna. In 1544 chap. 349. 64 it is said that Śāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāṇcarātra, Vedas and Pāṣupata are five lores that differ in their views and were promulgated by Kapila (Śāṅkhya), Hiranyakāgarbha (Yoga), Apāntaratamas (the Veda), Śiva (Pāṣupata), the Bhāgavat Himself (promulator of Pāṇcarātra). The Viṣṇudharmottara 1545 remarks `for seeking Brahma (the One Reality in the Universe) there are five Siddhāntas (systems) viz. Śāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāṇcarātra, 1546 Vedas and Pāṣupata`. Relying on Śantisparva 339. 68 several writers particularly those of the Rāmānuja school assert that the whole of the Pāṇcarātra system has Vedic

1544. सांख्य योगः पाण्ड्रात्र वेदः पाषुपतं तथा। ज्ञानान्येनाति शार्येति विश्व ज्ञानमातामि वै ॥ शास्त्रिण 349. 64; but later on it is said सांख्य वेद तथा कावितः परमादि: स उपयोगः।।३४९।। उपनिषदेऽसौण्डलेऽ। शास्त्राणि मात्रेऽ। पाण्ड्रात्राणि कूलराष्ट्रं बैतकं तु मन्नाथं स्वपः। सपचं च वाकश्रेण ज्ञानेत्रात्तु हृदयं।। शास्त्रि 349. 65-68 q. by परम्परायम् ॥ p. 21 (which reads बैतकं तु मन्नाथं स्वपः।) These verses are borrowed almostverbatim by the योगिप्रावीरक्रयम् XII. 5-6 and the same work reads सांख्य योगः ॥त्मः। अतिरिक्तान्यायेन विश्वाचार्येन् ॥ XII. 4 (q. by अतिरिक्तान्यā on p. 11), which means that the five systems are beyond the ordinary means of knowledge and should not be disturbed by mere ratiocination.

1545. सांख्य योगः पाण्ड्रात्र वेदः पाषुपतं तथा। कूलराष्ट्राणि विश्व गिरयम्। परम्परायम् ॥ विश्वमौर्यदेवी ॥ I. 74. 34 q. by हे, on द्रव्य वी. I. p. 25 and परम्परायम् ॥ p. 22.

1546. Why the cult of Vāsudeva was called Pāṇcarātra has not been satisfactorily explained anywhere in the English Histories of Indian Philosophy so far as I know. The name leads to the inference that the cult has something to do with five matters. But why is the word rātra or kāla used? That is the difficulty. In Śantis 336. 46 (cr. ed. 323. 42) Pāṇcarātra is referred to as 'Pāṇcarāṭa' (तैरिः पाण्ड्रात्राणि विश्वाचार्येन् ॥). Several guesses have been put forward, some of which are: (1) on five nights Nārāyaṇa taught Ananta, Cāruḍa, Viśvakṣena, Brahmā and Rudra; (2) The Parama-sambhīta (31. 19) states that God imparted this doctrine in five nights to four sages, Sanatkumāra, Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanātana; (3) this cult blackened (rāṭri is dark) five teachings, viz. सांख्य, योगः, पाषुपतं, बौद्ध और आइत; (4) this (पाण्ड्रात्रa) teaches five aspects पर, ध्यान, विश्व (i. e. अतिरिक्त), अत्यधिकतिन, अच्छी (images); (5) it dwells upon five duties of Vaiṣṇavas viz. tāpā (branding on the arm and other limbs), pūṇḍra (upright lines made on the forehead with some colouring substance), nāma (names of Vāsudeva), mantra (like 'Om namo Nārāyaṇaya'), yāga (worship of images of Vāsudeva). The Ālvar literature mentions fivefold nature viz. Para and the others. Vide K. Č. Varadachari’s paper on 'Some contributions of Ālvars to the philosophy of bhakti' in Silver Jubilee vol. of BORI, p. 621. The Parama-sambhīta (I. 39-40 G. O. S. ed.) states that the five great Elements, the five Tanmātras, Ahamkāra, Buddhi and avyakta, (five categories or Tattvas of the Śāṅkhya) are the night (as it were) of the Puruṣa and therefore this śāstra (which propounds how to be free from the meshes of these five) is called Pāṇcarātra.
authority, while others like Aparākha p. 13 and Parbhāsaprakāśa (p. 23) do not accept it as thoroughly Vedic but only partially.

In the Vedāntasūtra \textsuperscript{1547} there are four sūtras dealing with the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system. The great Ācāryas are not agreed upon their interpretation, Śaṅkara saying that all the four sūtras refute some tenets of the Bhāgavatas, Rāmānuja saying that the first two sūtras (out of four) contain refutation of the Bhāgavata doctrine and the other two do not. Śaṅkara-cārya makes it clear that the doctrines of the Bhāgavatas that the Supreme God Vāsudeva is the Highest Truth, that He assumes four forms, that the worship of Vāsudeva consists in continuous single-minded contemplation of Vāsudeva are not the targets for attack, that what is refuted is the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas that the individual soul called Saṅkarṣanā by them springs from Vāsudeva, that Pradyumna (mind) arises from Saṅkarṣana and that Aniruddha (ahāmkāra) arises from Pradyumna. It appears from Śaṅkara’s remarks \textsuperscript{1548} on II. 2. 45 that in his day Śaṅdilya was supposed to have promulgated the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra śāstra, because he did not find the

\textsuperscript{1547} The four sūtras in the Vedāntasūtra (II. 2. 42–45) are: उत्तमसम्भवतः, न च कालः करणम्, विज्ञानादिभावे य तत्मतिवेदः, विमितिवेदः. Though Rāmānuja enlarges upon the Pāñcarātra doctrine in his comments on the last two sūtras out of these four and quotes three passages that may be called Pāñcarātra, he does not avow either in his Śribhāṣya or in his Vedārtha-saṅgraha that he is a Śātvata or Pāñcarātra.

\textsuperscript{1548} वेदविवादिनां भवति। चतुर्दशेण च स अंगोदयत्वसा शाश्विन्यव इङ्क शास्त्रविधे गत्व बधवविधयिन्विवादिनां तः। शास्त्रविह्य on बैद्यनाथस्वास्यां II. 2. 45. बधवविधयिन्विवादिनां भवति। तत्र प्राचीन मन्वन्त्र । (on बधवविधयिन्विवादिनां II. 2. 42) and under II. 2. 44 he remarks ‘न च प्राचीन विवादिनामपि विवादिनाः काविज्ञानोऽणमभिः।’ It may further he noted that in the Śāntiparva पारस्पर is called सातततस्त्व (chap. 348. 34 and 84). बधवविधयिन्विवादिनां, while describing the persons professing various religious and philosophical doctrines gathered near the great ācārya Divākara-mitra, separately mentions Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas ‘विवादविधापास्त्यास्तिविवादिनामपि।’ What Bāṇa probably means is that Pāñcarātra stands for the general cult of bhakti (in the Gītā) and पारस्पर for one school among Pāñcarātras, that had as its characteristic the doctrine of four vyuhas. This is like बधवविधयिन्विवादिनां. The भाज्यारीसचूति (11. 181–192) states that Śaṅdilya composed a work for performing the worship of Viṣṇu by a non-Vedic procedure, that Viṣṇu cursed him to remain in hell but relented when Śaṅdilya threw himself on his mercy and reduced the period of hell-residence.
highest bliss in all the four Vedas. In the Dronaparva (29. 26-29) there is another and different reference to the four mārtis of the Supreme for the benefit of the worlds viz. one performs tapas (asuteries) on the earth, the 2nd has an eye on the world's good and evil deeds; the third comes to the world in a human form and does such acts as men perform; the 4th slumbers for a thousand years and when it arises from slumber confers the highest boons on those who deserve them.

It may be noted that even in the Mahābhārata Nārada's name is connected with Pāñcarātra. It is said 'this very secret doctrine, connected with the four Vedas, having the benefit of Śāṅkhya and Yoga and spoken of as Pāñcarātra, was (originally) uttered by the lips of Nārāyaṇa and was again communicated by Nārada.'

Other great sources of the cult of bhakti are the Bhagavadgītā, which is expressly mentioned in the Nārāyaṇya section (348. 8 = cr. ed. 336. 8), the Bhagavatapurāṇa and the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Gītā contains the words bhakti and bhakta several dozens of times. It may be stated here that the so-called Nārada-bhaktisūtras, Nārada-pāñcarātra, the Śāṅdilya-bhakti-sūtra and the several extant Pāñcarātra-samhitās so far published are all later than the Gītā. The Agnipurāṇa gives the names of 25 works on Pāñcarātra quoted in the note below. The Maheśvara-

1549. इन मद्यपिष्के चतुर्वेदसमगृहितम्। सांहितायनमें तेन पञ्चरात्मानाबिन्द्यं। नारायणस्वप्रसोदति नारायणस्वाध्ययम्। शास्त्री 339. 111-112 ( =cr. ed. 326. 100-101). The words हृदय्जित्वम् are q. by रामाञ्जु in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मवृत्त II. 2. 45 (42 in रामाञ्जुभाष्य B. S. S.).

1550. The reasons for this statement are not relevant to this work, but by way of example, attention may be drawn to some Śāṅdilya-sūtras: तत्रेष वाक्यान्यायम् नाथमयवद्वा, प्रत्यामुखमानामाधिकसिद्धः (I. 2. 22-23 in Jivanand's ed. = I. 2. 15-16 in भाष्यान्वितका), which clearly refer to Gītā VI. 46-47 and XII. 1 and 6-7 respectively. There is one sūtra where the Gītā is expressly mentioned viz. रक्षक्षाङ्गनाय गीतायामपाहितात् (II. 2. 83 in Jivanand's ed. = II. 2. 28 in भाष्यान्वितका). समारा comments on this sā भाष्यान्वितका नाथमयवद्वा। कुल: गीतायामपाहितान्तरित: पथा नारायणीपर : भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भ�ाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका। भभाष्यान्वितका।
Numerous Pañcarātra tantras

There is an extensive Literature on the Bhakti cult. Only a few of the important works in Sanskrit, their translations and works in English are noted here. Barth, Hopkins, Keith, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and others have propounded different theories as to what Kṛṣṇa represented, how he was identified with Viṣṇu who appears to be another name of the Sun in the Rgveda and came to be regarded as the highest God in Brāhmaṇa times (as in Ait. Br. ‘Agnir-vai devānām avamah, Viṣṇuḥ paramah’) and came to be identified with sacrifice (Yajñō vai Viṣṇuḥ). When Kṛṣṇa, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas was identified with the Supreme Spirit, the full-fledged doctrine of Avatāras appeared as in the Gītā. The important works on bhakti are: The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva (chapters 323–351 in the Citraśālā edition and chap. 323–339 of the critical edition); the Bhagavadgītā; several Purāṇas, the most important being Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata;1552 the Bhaktisūtra of Śāndilya with the bhāṣya of Svapneśvara (ed. by Jivananda, Calcutta 1876) and translation of both these (in B. I. series) by E. B. Cowell

1552. It is remarkable that the Bhāgavata, which is practically the most important or sole authority for all great medieval Vaishnava teachers like Vallabha and Caitanya and their disciples, is not quoted anywhere by Rāmacandra (who was born in sāke 1049 i. e. 1127 A. D.) in his bhāṣya on the Brāhmaṇasūtras, when he quotes over a hundred verses from the Viṣṇupūrāṇa in the same. In fact, in the Vedaśāṅgraha Rāmacandra states that in the same way as the section (anuvāka) on Nārāyaṇa among all śruti texts serves to expound the special aspect of highest Brahma so the Viṣṇupūrāṇa also defines a special aspect of the highest Brahma and that all other Purāṇas should be so interpreted as not to be in conflict with it ‘यथा सर्वदा उन्निष्ठ वेशांगस्यभूसमात्रायिनी यथासंस्कारसंस्करणस्यसबसों ज्ञाती च परंपरा’—परमात्मा—सबकालविनिमयोपनीयः प्रमुखसः। अन्यानि सर्वा ज्ञानप्राप्तेष्वरस्यापेन नेतानि। वेदांतसंग्रहः para 110–111 pp. 141–142 (D. C. ed. 1956). Ganiotis mentions (in a paper on Vedaantabodhī II. 2. 41 and 45) एकाधिकरितपरसंस्कारों में सत्संस्कारितता, साधुसंस्कारितता, और परसंस्कारितता among the पालनपालितता, but does nowhere affirm that he is a follower of the वैदिक doctrine. There are numerous commentaries on the Bhāgavata and commentaries on commentaries (Das Gupta in vol. 4 pp. 1–2 lists over 40 commentaries on the Bhāgavata). It is unnecessary in this work to refer to the numerous commentaries of the disciples and followers of Madhava and the great Vaishnava ācāryas. The position of Vallabha ācārya (1479–1531 A. D.) appears to be that the Bhāgavata is the supreme authority in case of doubt वेदांतकाल: श्रीकृष्णायामनि व्यासद्वारां चैत्यमि। समाबिभाषा यत्रस्य मनां तथा श्रावयोगियः। उक्तज्ञ युगात्मकमेकादिकाचतुर्विद्याय (Ahmedabad, 1928); vide also Prof. G. H. Bhatt in I. H. Q. vol. IX, 300–306. Vallabha ācārya’s is called सूक्ष्मदार्शन (meaning कृष्णदार्शन) and he holds that even bhakti is difficult to accomplish in the Kali age.
History of Dharmaśāstra [Sec. V, Ch. XXIV

(1878); Śāndilya’s smṛtiḥ (Bhaktikhandā) in the Sarasvatibhavan Series, edited by Anantasastri Phadke, (1935); Nārada-bhaktisūtra with English Translation by Nandial Sinha (Pāṇini office, Allahabad, 1911); the Nārada-pāṇcarātra (containing the Jñānāṃrtasāra section) in eleven chapters (ed. for B. I. Series by C. M. Banerji, Calcutta, 1865) and English translation of it by Swami Vijñānānanda (Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1921); Sir R. G. Bhadarkar’s ‘Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.’ (1913, in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research); ‘Das–Gupta’s History of Indian Philosophy’ vol. IV. (1949), wherein he deals with the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and the doctrines of Madhva, Vallabha, Caitanya and their followers; Grierson’s paper ‘Gleanings from Bhaktamālā of Nābhādāsa’, in J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 607–644; ‘History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas’, by T. A. Gopinatha Rao (Madras, 1923), ‘the Gospel of Nārada’ by Duncan Greenless (Adyar, 1951); Nārada-bhakti-sūtras (text, translation and notes) ed. by Swami Tyāglīśānanda (Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, 1943) in five adhyāyas and 84 sūtras; the Ahirbudhnya-samhitā in two volumes (Adyar, 1916); Dr. F. Otto Schrader’s Introduction to the Pāṇcarātra and Ahirbudhnya-samhitā (Adyar, 1916); Jayākhyā-samhitā with English and Sanskrit Introductions (G. O. S. 1931); the Parama-samhitā (G. O. S., 1946) with English Translation by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar; the Brhadbrahma-samhitā (of Nārada-pāṇcarātra) in the Anandāśrama series, 1912); Bhātikandrikā (commentary on Śāndilya’s Bhaktisūtras) by Nārāyaṇatīrtha (Sarasvatibhavan series, 1921, 1938); Bhaktiprakāṣa of Mitramiśra (Chowkamba Series, 1934); Bhaktinirnaya of Anantadeva (ed. by Pandit Anantasastri Phadke, Banaras, 1937). There is a good deal of Bhakti literature in South India, such as the hymns of the Alwārs, but no reference is made here to it for several reasons.

Before proceeding with the treatment of bhakti in the Purāṇas the words ‘bhakti’ and ‘Bhāgavata’ must be briefly defined and explained. Śāndilya definesbhakti as ‘sā

1552a. अवस्थी भक्तिज्ञानम्। सा पश्चाताकाशितर्वर॥ शाक्तित्वम् । । 1. 1. 1–2; समेतम् comments: आराध्यतिशयसमालेखसा।। हुः ते परमेवार्थणकात्रःक्रजनसतिकिणेष एव भक्तिः।।। The verse relied on is: यद्यिष्टिविवेतां विषयविषयविवेकी ।। शास्त्रविद्यां श्रावश्यमात्सर्वपूर्वम्॥ विषयम् । । 1. 20. 19। समेतम् also quotes शीताः ‘भक्तित्व श्रद्धाप्राप्ताणानि प्रकरणानि।।। कथापति मां सिद्धं द्युष्टिः च समिष्टि च तेन जस्ततु मा भजते नीतिशृवृद्धिः ।।। व्रती इति दलितोऽयं तेन मायाप्राप्तिः।।। X. 9–10।। On अन्तर्क्रिके he remarks ‘भक्तभक्तिहितकेष्मेवधारिः पवनातुराणामन्यतेकिंचित्तूकृष्टुम्।।। समेतम् refers

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parānuraktirīśvare'. This may be interpreted in two ways 'the highest form of bhakti is affection fixed on God' or 'bhakti is the highest affection fixed on God'. Svapneśvara, the author of a bhasya on Śaṅḍilya, prefers the first and Nārada-bhakti-sūtra, Tilak and others favour the second. Svapneśvara explains that in general 'bhakti' means 'affection fixed on a being that is to be won over or worshipped', but that in this sāstra it means 'a particular state of the mind having the Supreme Lord as its object' and quotes a verse from the Viṣṇupurāṇa uttered by the great devotee Prahlāda 'May that fixed (or unwavering) love, which the ignorant (or unreflecting) people feel for worldly objects, never depart from my heart, ever remembering you'. The Gitā employs the word 'priti' (affection) and conveys that the word 'bhakti' is derived from the root 'bhaj' to resort to. 'Those whose minds are on me, whose lives are offered to me, who instruct each other, who speak of me, are always contented and happy. On these who are continuously devoted to me and serve me with affection, I bestow that knowledge by which they reach me'. Svapneśvara explains that the word 'anurakti' (with prefix 'anu') is employed to convey that the affection for God arises after the devotee secures knowledge of the greatness and other attributes of the Bhagavat (Adorable One). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa the word 'anurāga' is used for 'bhakti', where, after describing the ascent of Rāma and his brothers to heaven, it says that the people of the capital of Kosala who had deep affection for those incarnate parts of the Bhagavat (Viṣṇu), having their minds fixed on them, reached the position of residence in the same world with them. Śaṅḍilya further 1553 says that there is the teaching that there is immortality for him who abides in Him. In the Chāndogya Up. it is said 'He who abides in brahman reaches immortality'. The idea is that immortality being the promise of abiding in God, there will be no indifference in the effort to know God or in the effort to

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1553. तत्सरस्यधारणसत्तततदप्रेमसत्तत। सांक्षिप्त्यः 1.1.30; स्थाप्त्यं एकमात्र; 'सत्यत्रिष्ट-know the same meaning is conveyed by Viṣṇu I.1.7 'sānkhya आत्मविश्वासाः'.
cultivate highest affection for God. It may be noticed that the sūtras of Nārada appear to be a mere paraphrase of Śāndilya’s aphorisms. Śāndilya further (sūtra 7) provides that bhakti, like knowledge, is not an action because it does not follow an effort of the will and that (sūtra 9) it is different from jñāna, as the Gitā refers to self-surrender being attained by one having knowledge after many births (Gitā VII. 19).

Our ancestors had a great penchant for classifications, divisions and sub-divisions. Bhakti is divided into laukīka (of the common people), Vaidīka (laid down by the Veda) and adhyātmika (philosophical), as in Padma V. 15. 164; or mānasī (mental), vācīka (verbal) and kāyīka (done with the body, such as fasts, vrata &c.) in Padma V. 15. 165-168; into Sāttviki, Rājasī and Tāmasī (as in Bhāgavata III. 29.7-10 and Padma VI. 126. 4-11); into best, middling and inferior as in Brahmanda III.34. 38-41).

Prapatti (self-surrender) is distinguished from bhakti in works of the Rāmānuja and of other Vaiṣṇava schools. It consists of five points viz. resolution to yield (to God’s will), the abandoning of opposition, faith that God will protect (the devotee), praying to God to save the devotee, and a feeling of helplessness shown by casting one’s soul on Him. Bhakti has as synonyms the words’ dhyāna’, ‘upāsana’ &c. and is subsidiary to prapatti. The Gitā explicitly makes no such distinction. In Gitā II. 7 Arjuna speaks of himself as ‘prapanna’ (who has approached or surrendered himself for salvation). The final advice at the end of the Gitā enjoins what is called prapatti in later works ‘On me fix your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice

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1554. अध्यात्मेऽभक्ति ध्यायत्वम्। सा लसिन्यमेगः। असुतस्तहः प्राज्ञवः। नारायणभक्तिः।

1555. The ब्रह्मचित्त mentions नारायण, छुक्स, अमरीषः, रतिदेव, माति, बलि, विभूषण, गुहाल, गोपि and उत्तर as exemplars of highest भक्ति, विश्रां न न्यूकति कथितम्। ब्रह्मचित्त 83 mentions many of these as भक्तियार्ययय। इत्ययं वचनः। जनजातिनिर्भर्याः। एकाःशिसुः। कुमारभासदृशिकाराः। भक्तियार्ययय। उत्तरौ सृष्टिः। इत्ययं वचनः। उत्तरौ सृष्टिः।

1556. ध्यायत्वमे भक्तिविध्यामेवाद्वहन्यविषयः। "अन्तर्विषयम् आनुकृत among सृष्टिः।

This work remarks that this पति must be learnt from the lips of a guru and therefore it does not expound it. Some read आत्मनिधियोः to six.
to me, offer adoration to me; you will certainly reach me; I declare to you truly, you are dear to me. Giving up all (dharmas) duties, come to me as your (only) refuge; I shall release you from all sins; do not grieve’.

1557 Vide also Gita VII. 14, 15 and XV. 4 for other instances of the use of the root ‘pra-pad’. The theory propounded in the Gita and other works on bhakti was that bhakti led on to ‘prasāda’ (favour or grace) of God which enables the devotee to attain mokṣa. The Gita (18, 56, 58, 62) says ‘a man, though always performing all actions, but solely depending on me, obtains an imperishable and eternal place through my favour; if you fix your mind on me, you will get over all difficulties through my favour; go to Him as the refuge with all your heart, O Arjuna, through His grace you will attain the highest peace and an everlasting abode.’ In the Viṣṇupurāṇa Prahlāda is told by the Adorable One ‘as your mind is firmly and devotedly fixed on me you will by my favour attain the highest bliss’. The idea of God’s grace occurs both in the Katha and Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣads: The Self, smaller than the small and greater than the great, is hidden in the heart of the creatures; a man who is free from willing anything and free from grief sees the greatness of the Self through the favour of the Creator’.

There is a great difference between the Gita and the Nārāyaṇiya section. In the former, though the Supreme Soul is called Vasudeva, the doctrine of the four vyūhas, that is very
characteristic of the Nārāyanīya section, is totally absent and further even the names of Śaṅkarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha do not occur in the Gitā. In my opinion the Gitā is the older of the two, as it propounds the general doctrine of bhakti, while the Pañcarātra doctrine in the Nārāyanīya is only one of the several bhakti schools. Moreover, the Nārāyanīya section represents that Gitā had already been proclaimed and that the knowledge brought from Śvetadvipa by Nārada is the same as that declared in the Harigītā (chap. 346. 10–11, 348. 53–54). Śānti (348. 55–57) mentions that there was only one vyūha or there were two, three or four and that the Ekantins attached great importance to ahimsa. Besides, the worship of Vāsudeva is older than Pāṇini, since Pāṇini teaches the formation of the word Vāsudevaka as meaning ‘one whose object of worship is Vāsudeva’. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar’s ‘Vaishnavism, Saivism &c.’ paragraphs 2–10 (pp. 3–19 of vol. IV of the collected works) for the antiquity of Vāsudeva worship. The general view of most medieval writers on Dharmasastra about Pañcarātra is represented by the Pārijata quoted in the K.R. that the Pañcarātra and Pāṣupata śāstras are authoritative only so far as they are not opposed to the Vedas. This was the view of the Sūtasamhitā also, on which a commentary was composed by the famous Mādhavacārya.

In some Purāṇas the word Vāsudeva is not derived from Vasudeva (as the son of Vasudeva) but from the root ‘vas’ to dwell. ‘Vāsudeva is so called because all beings dwell in the Highest Self and Vāsudeva dwells in beings as the soul of all’. Compare Gitā 9. 29 ‘I am alike to all beings; none is odious to me nor dear; but those who worship me with faith dwell in me and I too dwell in them’.

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1562. भक्ति: "बाहुबलोसारुबिनमां हुष्ठ। पा. IV. 3. 95 and 98 (बाहुबलेः: भक्ति: सेवय: यस्य स बाहुबलेकः:)."

1563. पूजीयमेतितद्वितीयां शास्कांि वेदविविज्जानी प्रमाणमेति पारिजातः। नाम-रसलक्षण p. 37; तथा च योक्ते मार्गमाणि वेदेन न निरुक्तयेति। संस्कृत: प्रमाणमेतितकेसविविज्जाने-कारकारिणाः। अत्यन्तमहिलाः हृ पारिजाताः वेदमार्गमाणि:। सूतसंहिताः IV. 4. 16-18.

1564. सर्वाणि तथा भूतानि वसलि परमामानि। भूतेदु स स शर्माणि वायुवेनस्ततः। रसाः: || विनयम् VI. 5. 80, बाहुबले 233. 68 (reads निरसन्न्ति परस्यानि)। There is another verse ‘भूतेदु यस्य थोल्लकस्यत्वः च तानि यत्। पाणी विनयमा ज्वात्सों वायुवेनस्ततः। माणूः || विनयम VI. 5. 82, बाहुबले 233. 70 (but it says that this verse contains what Prajāpati declared to great sages). विनयम (II. 2. 12-13) states ‘सर्वाणि समस्तं च परस्यानिः विनयम: परिपक्वते:’.
The word bhagavat calls for a brief notice. It was generally applied to Vāsudeva. The Viṣṇupurāṇa says ‘The word bhaga is applied to the six qualities collectively viz. fulness of sway, manliness (or energy), glory, auspiciousness, knowledge and indifference to worldly objects. This noble word bhagavān applies to Vāsudeva who is the Highest Brahma and to no one else’.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa further states that the word ‘bhagavat’ may be applied secondarily to others on the ground of possessing special qualities “that person may be called ‘bhagavān’, who knows about the creation and dissolution (of the world), about the origin and final destiny of beings, and knows what isvidyā and avidyā (nescience). Knowledge, strength power, sway, manliness, splendour—all these in their entirety, excluding the three gunas (and their effects) that are to be avoided, are expressed by the word bhagavat.” Bhagavata is one who worships ‘Bhagavat’ (i.e. Vāsudeva). This is an ancient word. It occurs in the Besnagar column inscription (of the 2nd century B.C.) of Heliodora, a Greek of Takṣaśilā and ambassador of Antalikita, who calls himself a bhagavata (a devotee of Vāsudeva); vide above p. 516 n. 742 and ‘Indo-Greeks’ by Prof. A.K. Narain (1957), where at end he gives the full Besnagara Ins. of nine lines and its reading (Plate VI.). It appears that ‘bhagavat’ was rarely applied to Śiva also. The Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad speaks of Śiva as ‘bhagavān’. Patañjali in his bāṣya on Pāṇini V. 2. 76 speaks of Śivabhagavata. In the Ghosūndi stone

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1565. ऐस्वार्य समस्त्र स्वपरिष वातस्य श्रवण: भ्रम:। ज्ञानवेदान्तयो वेदन्तबिन्दुं मन्यतिः। परमसङ्गीत वातस्य नान्ययमः। विषयुः VI. 5. 74 and 76. The विद्यन्तसुलतत्तु VI. 164–165 has ऐस्वार्य च तथा वाती तेजः श्रमिकपतं। ज्ञातं वर्तं यद्वतं व्रतं भ्रम इत्यतिः। एवंधिरेष्व: भ्रमणं व भृगवातः हितं। श्रवणार्थाय i.e. मानविन्दा भ्रमणस्त्र नान्ययम II. 2. 44 remarks about the भ्रमेऽपि रघुनंदनस्य ज्ञानमेतः ज्ञानमेति ज्ञानमेति ज्ञानमेति ज्ञानमेति ज्ञानमेति ज्ञानमेति ज्ञानमेति ज्ञानमेति ज्ञानमेति। श्रवणार्थाय probably follows the विषयुः VI. 5. 78–79.

1566 उपविषय मध्ये चैत्र सूर्यामाहागतिः गतिः। एवंक इत्यादियाय च स्वत: भ्रमित:। वेददिशाय इतिहासिनिः॥ वेदांतविदाङ्गो वेदान्तोत्तरतां विपिनः॥ भगवान्तवार्तविनिः विना हैदिनांतिवधिः॥ विषयुः VI. 5. 78–79; भ्रमुः 233. 66–68.

1567. स्त्रावयास्य स्म भगवान्त समस्तक्रमितः। श्रवण: भ्रम: III. 11.

1568. अतःपुरुषोऽविनामाय तूकृत्तः॥ पा. V. 2. 76; महाभारत: ‘किं योद्धस्य: तु: भ्रमितःत: स्मार्थाशिल्खितः। किं चात्मे। श्रवणार्थाताः पायते।। एवं तर्कात्मकावाच्यतं बुद्धिः।। अतःशुद्धिकियम्।। यो पुरुषोऽविनामाय तूकृत्तः॥॥ स्मार्थाशिल्खितः स उच्चे आपः-शूलिः।। श्रवणार्थात is to be explained as हैदात्म भगवानमर्फतमात्। तिभावकतस्मिन् श्रवणार्थात् भ्रमावतः। i.e. a devotee that carried with him a trident, which is a weapon of Śiva.
Inscription\textsuperscript{1569} in Sanskrit (near Nagari in the Chitorgadh District of Rajputana) there is a reference to both Saṅkarsana and Vāsudeva as bhagavat and it calls them Sarveśvara (about 200 B.C.), while the Besnagar inscription speaks of Vāsudeva alone and Heliodora calls himself bhāgavata. In some early records such as the Pikira grant of Sīmha varman (E.I. vol. VII. p. 161) and in Gupta Inscription No. 4 (at p. 27) Sīmha varman and Candragupta (II) son of Samudragupta are called ‘paramabhāgavata’. Akrūra is styled mahābhāgavata in Brahma purāṇa 190. 20; Padma VI. 280. 27 defines a Mahābhāgavata as noted below.\textsuperscript{1570}

Three mārgaś (paths) are spoken of in ancient works viz. karmamārga, bhaktimārga and jñānamārga. It is necessary to say here something about the path of bhakti and that of jñāna. Both these paths are deemed to lead to the same goal, viz. mokṣa. The mode of approach in the two is, however, different. In the path of knowledge (or avyakto āsanā) it is not bare book knowledge of brahman as the Supreme Soul and as nirguṇa that will lead to mokṣa; for that purpose what is required is the brāhmaṇi-sthiti (state of identifying oneself with brahmu) mentioned in Gitā II. 72. This condition can be secured only by great efforts and long practice as described in Gitā II. 55 and the following verses. In the path of knowledge whatever actions the person concerned may do are brahmaṇa, as described in Gitā IV. 18–24. In the path of bhakti the bhakta resigns himself to God’s grace and whatever he does Le consigns to the God worshipped by him such as Vāsudeva (saguna and vyakta). Arjuna asks the Lord a question in Gitā XII. 1 ‘of the worshippers who thus constantly devoted meditate on you and those who (meditate) on the Unperceived and Indestructible, which

\textsuperscript{1569} Vide E.I. XVI pp. 25–27 and I. A. vol. 61 pp. 203–205 for the Ghosūḍā Stone Inscription, where Saṅkarsana and Vāsudeva are both styled ‘ Bhagavat ‘ and ‘ Sarveśvara ‘.

\textsuperscript{1570} तापतिः कांस्यस्कारी नवेस्याकारकारकः। अर्थ: अर्थविव्य विनो महाभागवतः रूपः।
पञावः।
\textsuperscript{1568} शास्त्रीय प्रातिस्पर्धा निबेस्याकारकारकः।
For तापतिः, vide note 1546 above. The nine modes of worship are शास्त्रीय and quoted in note 1571. The five heads under which the doctrines of the गोसुंडाइ school are discussed are: (1) श्रवण, (2) ध्येय, (3) उपाय (way to God), (4) विषय or दुःख (the goals of human life), (5) नियोजितः (obstructions or obstacles to the attainment of God). There is a work called अर्थविव्य by नरायण, in which each of the above five heads is shown to have five sub-divisions. Vide Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar’s paper in Proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886, Aryan section, pp. 101–110 for a summary of the work called अर्थविव्य.
best know devotion'. The reply given in XII. 2-7 is 'those who, being constantly devoted and possessed of the highest devotion, worship me with a mind fixed on me are regarded by me as the most devoted. But those who, restraining the group of the senses, and with a mind equable to all, meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived (Principle), which is all-pervading, inconceivable, unconcerned, immovable, and constant, they, devoted to the good of all beings, certainly attain to me. In the case of those whose minds are attached to the unperceived (Principle or Spirit) the trouble is much greater, since the unperceived goal is attained by embodied beings with difficulty. In the case of those, however, who dedicating all their actions to me and regarding me as their highest goal worship me, meditating on me with a devotion towards none beside me and whose minds are placed on me, I, without delay, become their deliverer from the ocean of samsāra and death'. In chapter 9 the path of bhakti is spoken of in these terms 'it is the chief among vidyās (lores), chief among mysteries; it is the best means of sanctification; it can be directly apprehended, it is in accordance with dharma, imperishable and easy to practise'. According to the Gītā, therefore, the path of bhakti is easier than the path of knowledge.

The Bhāgavata says that bhakti is ninefold viz. hearing about Viṣṇu, repeating his name, remembering him, worshipping the feet (of the image of Viṣṇu), offering pūja, bowing (or homage), treating oneself as the slave of Viṣṇu, treating Him as a friend and surrendering one's soul to Him. According to Nārada-bhakti-sūtra it is elevenfold (as noted below). It is

1571. The Bhāgavata says this to his father. The Bhāgavata (part of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam) in pp. 30-128 explains these nine at great length. Even the tāntrīc writers took over these nine modes of bhakti e.g. the Brahma-sūtra (27.103-104) provides 'nine in Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam'.

1572. The Bhāgavata (pp. 81-83 gives slightly differing nine aspects of bhakti.
not to be supposed that all these nine methods have to be practised at the same time. A devotee practising any one of these, viz. remembering or reciting His name, may thereby become a true bhakta, and may win God’s favour and secure liberation (Śāndilyaśūtra 73). The Gitā (VII. 16-17) states ‘four classes of men, who are (all) fortunate, worship me viz. one who is in distress, the seeker after knowledge, one who seeks some desired object (or seeks wealth), one who is possessed of knowledge; of these he who is possessed of knowledge, who is always devoted and who worships One (Being) only is distinguished (above others), for to the man of knowledge I am extremely dear and he is dear to me’. Śāndilya provides that the four aspects (out of nine) viz. remembering God, reciting His name, narrating stories about Him and bowing to Him (His image), find their place in the bhakti of those who are distressed, for these are said to be the means of expiation of sins, as the Viṣṇupurāṇa says (II. 6.39) that remembering Kṛṣṇa is superior to all pārāścittas. Śāndilya further says that those guilty of mortal (grave) sins are only entitled to the bhakti of the distressed; but when their sins have been wiped off they would be entitled to the other forms of bhakti.

Gitā does not expressly enumerate all these nine modes of bhakti, but most of them can be gathered from various passages of the Gitā such as IX. 14, 26, 27 and from passages in other Purāṇas. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa says ‘whatever be the expiatory rites, consisting of austerities, deeds of charity &c., to remember Kṛṣṇa is superior to them all’ and ‘that repetition of His name with bhakti is the best solvent of all sins, as fire is of metals’. In the Bhāgavata it is said ‘whatever the devotee does by his body, speech, mind, organs of sense, by his intellect or by his soul or by the force of temperament that he follows—all that he should offer to Nārāyaṇa who is highest’. This is entirely in line with Gitā IX. 27 and may be called ‘dāśya-bhakti’; while Arjuna’s bhakti is ‘sakūlīya-bhakti’, as Lord Kṛṣṇa himself speaks of him as ‘my devotee and a friend’ (Gitā

1573. भावित्वित्वस्थितिः पापः—कर्मिकतानि से। याति तेषांग्रीवाणां क्रुद्धवस्मायेः परम्। विष्णुः II. 6. 39 = पत्र VI. 72. 13; यज्ञाक्ष्यातः भक्तां विद्यायांबलकामयम्। मेधयस्यपापानां धातुनिमित्तपत्तकः॥ क्रियाः। विष्णुः q. by स्नेह स्नेहम् on यज्ञाक्ष्यातः भक्तिस्वरूपम् 74.

1574. कार्यान्वयन सन्निहित्वाच बुद्धवसामनं वाच्युत्तोत्तरमप्रसः करतोति यवत्सकातः परस्य नारायणेऽपि समवेत्यतुः॥ भाग. XI. 2. 36.
The position of the Gitā as to worship and one's duties

IV. 3). It appears that the Gitā regards the performance of the duties of his station in life by a bhakta as worship (arcana or pājā) of God, worshipping by the performance of one's duties (without an eye to the fruit or rewards of them) God from whom the world springs and by whom all this world is permeated, a man obtains perfection (and not only by offering flowers or by reciting the name of God).

This central doctrine of the Gitā of what is called 'niṣkāma-karma' was accepted by the Purāṇas. The Viṣṇu II. 3. 25 adopts it. The Agnipurāṇa in chapter 381 gives a summary of the Gitā in 58 verses which are mostly made up of passages from the Gitā. It winds up the summary with the verse quoted in note 1575 and emphasizes bhakti in the last verse. The Garuda-purāṇa summarises the Gitā in 28 verses (I. 237–238). The Padma (in VI. 171–188) contains the māhātmya of each of the 18 chapters of the Gitā interspersed with legends about the fruit of reading each Gitā chapter (1005 verses in all). A few further examples may be cited. The Kūrma says, 'therefore even a man not possessed of (high) wisdom should perform all his duties (or actions) abandoning with all efforts the fruit (or reward) of actions; he obtains (high) abode after some time'; 'actions done after offering them to me do not tend to bind down the doer but tend to mukti (liberation)'. The Mārkandeya also refers to 'niṣkāma-karma'. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa provides 'a man performing (the rites) prescribed by the Veda but without attachment (not caring for the reward) and surrendering them to God secures freedom from the bondage of kūrma and the declaration of the reward (in the Veda) is only meant for stimulating effort.'

The doctrine of adraita in the Upanisads (such as in Īsā 16, Tai. Up. III. 4 and 8, Br. Up. II. 4. 14, IV. 3. 30–31, IV. 5. 15) was for the wise. They offer very little to the ordinary man.

1575. यत्: प्रवतित्वेनानां येन सर्वाति तत्सात्। शक्रकोण्यम् सम्पथ्यं सिद्धिः विनिर्दश्य मनवः।
मीता 18. 46.

1576. अतः प्रवतित्वम् ेश्रीमविश्वं सिद्धिः च विनिर्दश्यं। कर्णना नववा सर्वप्रथमायुर्वर्धिता
वर्षोऽपि। महाविलस्यस्मिन् जयद्विपश्च वं चति यः। सिद्धिः सम्पवित्त भुजार्जुनो भागवते भुवनाऽरुपः।
आयुर 381. 56–58 कर्मायस्सुक्लिततः भागवते सम्पत्तिः श्रीयं धर्माभासमिद्। अपाव तो
कर्माश्चमश्च सिद्धिः च येन ताम तामः प्रवतित्त मनवः। विश्वमिरुर 11. 3. 25.

1577. तत्स्मातं दृशाय तत्काव्य कर्माश्च विद्यते फलम्। अविश्वेत्य कुद्रेति कर्माश्च च चिरागाय
व्रतम्। कुर्म 1. 3. 21। 'सर्वदर्शितानि कर्माशि न वन्धनाय विद्यते'। कुर्म 11. 7. 28। न च
कुद्रकाय तक्ष्यम् वदवन्धनाय शिष्याधिकारं। मार्करी 92. 15। देवदासम् कुशाणा निवात्सुक्ष्य्यितापि
ज्ञातमेव बुद्धाय विद्विधिः। भागवत XI. 3. 46.
about God or the ultimate destiny of man or the way to God and did not solve the common man's problems. The Gītā took up the problems of the common man; it shows to the lowliest of the lowly that there is hope for him, that the One and the True Being can enter into his life, if he consecrates all the daily duties and actions of his station in life to God and that salvation will come to every one if one has loving faith in God and surrenders himself entirely to his Grace. The Gītā proclaims (IX. 30–32) 'If even a man that has been very badly conducted worships me without worshipping any one else he should be regarded as a good man, since he has resolved upon the right course; he quickly becomes a righteous soul and reaches everlasting peace: O Arjuna! you may affirm that my devotee is never ruined. By taking refuge with me even those that are born in despised castes, also women, vaiśyas and śūdras reach the highest goal'.

The Śāndilya-bhakti-sūtra provides\(^{1578}\) that all down to persons of the despised castes are entitled (to follow the path of bhakti) as they are capable of learning bhakti at second hand just as they can learn the common rules (of ahiṃsā, truthfulness &c.). The Purāṇas speak in the same strain as the Gītā and are sometimes even more explicit and emphatic. The Brahma-purāṇa paraphrases Gītā IX. 32 and proceeds 'my devotee even if he be a cāṇḍāla attains the desired beatitude, if he be endowed with the right faith; what need be said about others?' The Padma\(^{1579}\) states 'A Pulkasa or even a śvāpaka and other persons belonging to Mleccha tribes become eminent and worthy of being honoured, if they are solely devoted to the worship of the feet of Hari'; 'Even a śvāpaka is a Vaiṣṇava if on his lips there is the name of Hari, in whose heart there is Viṣṇu and in whose stomach goes food offered to Viṣṇu'. The Bhāgavata contains\(^{1580}\)

\(^{1578}\) आत्मन्यैवीषयीयः पररस्मयः सामान्यः। शास्त्रवृत्तम प्रदत्त 78।

\(^{1579}\) पुलकस: भवाय वान में चाचाय स्नेवमातरः। तेनिवि प्रवा महाभाभा हरिप्रदेव: सेवकः॥ पद 1: 5. 10। रेवे तु हरेन्नाम हुड़ि विश्व:। सनातन:। उद्धे विश्वज्ञेद्वि स भद्राहृतिप्रि वैष्णवः॥ पदः IV. 10. 66।

\(^{1580}\) किरतापुरुषाप्रदत्तं बुकस: आयुर्मक्कुः यक्ष:। सत्ताय:। रेवे च पपा युज्योग्रवेद्यः। श्रुतिगति तत्रेख मथविवेदि नमः॥ भारत: 11. 4. 18; विज्ञानान्ति प्रकृति तत्तत्त्वात: मनोदिनि तत:। एते एते। पुनः। ज्ञानः विद्विषिञ्च सूतिच भुविश्वेन्द्रः। वहो भविष्ये वैष्णवसिता देवस्वां ज्ञातिः॥ रो 18 (chap. 33, 6)। In E. I. VIII p. 88 there is an Inscription of the 9th year of king Iśvarasena, an Ābhira, son of Šivadatta, an ābhira, in the Nasik caves (No. 15 plate VII).
the following remarkable statement: 'Homage to that Supreme Lord, by resorting to whom as refuge Kirātas1581 (mountain-dwellers like Bhils), the Hūnas, Andhras, Pulindas, Pulkasas, Ābhiras, Kaṅkas, Yavanas, Khasas and the like and other degraded men are purified.' These sentiments were not mere platitudes, but had been very largely acted upon. Even in the medieval ages in India we have women saints like Mirābai and Āndāl (in South India), untouchables as saints like Nanda, Cokhāmelā (in Mahārāṣṭra), Rai Das (a chāmār disciple of Rāmānanda), sinners like Ajāmila honoured as saints. Saints like Kabir1582 (a Moslem weaver) and Tukārām had probably not much book learning, but their hymns are recited by Hindus including orthodox brāhmaṇas.

The invasions and gradual conquest of India by Moslem invaders from the Northwest threw down a challenge to Hindus from 11th century A.D. onwards. It was met in various ways. The first was the composition of comprehensive digests of smṛtis of which the earliest extant one is the Kṛtyakalpataro of Lakṣmīdhara (about 1110–1130 A.D.) in the North and Hemādri in the Deccan (third quarter of 13th century). The second and the most important way was on the spiritual front. From the 13th to the 17th century there was a great revival of spirituality on an unprecedented scale which produced saints and mystics in all parts of India such as Jñānesvāra, Nāmadeva, Rāmānanda, Kabir,1582 Caitanya,

1581. Pulkasas and Śvaṭākas were degraded and untouchable castes, Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 88–89 for Pulkasa and p. 97 for Śvapāka (lit. who subsists on dog-meat). Pulkasa occurs in Vāj. S. 30. 17. Kirātas are assigned to caves in Vāj. S. 30. 16. The Ābhiras are described as dasyus and mlecchas in Mausala-parva 7. 46–63, they are said to have attacked Arjuna in Pāṇcanada when he was taking women with him after Kuṇa’s passing away and to have carried away Vṛṣṇi women (Mausala S. 16–17). Vide also the same account in Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 38. 12–28. Matsya 273. 18 speaks of ten Ābira kings. The Khasa tribe had the custom of a brother marrying his deceased brother’s widow. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 861 n. 1671.

1582. Vide G. H. Westcott on ‘Kabir and Kabir-panth’ (Cawnpore, 1907) and ‘Kabir and his followers’ by F. E. Keay (1931). Kabir’s teaching was an amalgam of both Hindu and Moslem ideas. He preached a doctrine of theism that did not tolerate polytheism, incarnations and idols. Kabir is said to have been a disciple of Rāmānanda (who lived about 1400–1470 A. D.), an ascetic who preached at Benares that God should be worshiped under the name of Rāma. Kabir held to the doctrines of Karma and Transmigration. He believed in the unity of God, but makes use of many names such as Rāma, Khudā, Allāh, Sakti in speaking of Him.
Dadu (in Rajasthan), Nānak, Vallabhācārya, Ekanātha, Tukārām, Rāmadāsa (and many others of lesser fame) who all agreed on fundamentals viz. unity of God, the need of self-purification, condemnation of the pride of caste and of formalities of worship, and surrender to the Deity for salvation. The third was the creation of such independent kingdoms as that of Vijayanagara (1330–1565 A.D.), of Mahārāstra (under Shivaji and the Peshwas) and of the Sikhs in Punjab. This last cannot be dealt with in this work. The doctrine of bhakti had a great appeal to all sections of the Hindu community and its propagation by the Purāṇas went a long way in weaning away Hindus from Buddhism. Not only so, Mahāyāna Buddhism took over the doctrine of bhakti and works like the ‘Questions of Milinda’ and the Saddharmapuṇḍarika contain passages which agree closely with the Gītā. The Gītā exhibits a wonderful spirit of tolerance and accommodation, not found in the scriptures of other religions which were founded by great prophets. It says ‘even those, who are devotees of other deities and worship them with faith, (indirectly) worship me only but with a non-sāstric (or irregular) procedure.’ The Bhāgavata-purāṇa elaborates the same idea; ‘O Adorable One! others worship you alone in the form of Śiva while following the path promulgated by Śiva and propounded in different ways by severalācāryas, all worship you who are Lord and who comprehend in yourself all gods; those also who are devotees of other deities and appear to have different ideas do in the end reach you, just as all rivers rising in mountains and flooded by rains enter the ocean from all sides’. The Śānti parva also contains a similar idea ‘Those who worship Brahmā, Śiva or other deities and whose conduct (or practice) is intelligent will (ultimately) come to me, who am the Highest’. This doctrine has its germs in the Rgveda


1584. वेदवर्गार्थाय स्वयं प्रभु स्वायत्ति:। नेपि मात्रेश्वर यज्ञस्वतिः। पूर्वकरुः। वीता इक. 23; लामेवार्ये मिश्रोकैन मर्गं जित्स्वरिलयम। बहादुरविध्वंसन भवस्य- सुयास्ते। सर्व इव ज्ञाति तां सदिस्तस्मयंप्रम। येदुपूर्वकन्यान्त्यायं यथाप्रविशिष्यम। भयो॥ वा बालालमनायं सत:। पञ्चपुरुसित:। यथो॥ विद्याग्रं तथै:। सिद्धून तद्वत्स गताश्चनन्ति।॥ भागवत X. 40. 8–10.

1585. ब्रह्मचार्यं स्वित्तकामो च यात्रायस्मै तथवत:। स्थुतो॥ ब्रह्मचारी: सेवतो मातिमयस्यन्ति पत्यर्थम॥ भालिं 341. 36.

1586. एकं सद्यन्त ब्रह्मचार्यं सङ्क्ययति यमं मातिरिष्यायमाहु॥ स. I. 164. 46.
The Rgveda teaching of One God

itself where it is said ‘the One Reality the sages speak of under various names; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan (wind-god)’. This work cannot afford, for reasons of space, to go into the several bhakti schools such as those of Rāmānuja, Madhava (who postulated five eternal bhedas), Caitanya and Vallabha (that gave rise to an erotic-mystical brand of bhakti) and others.

In their zeal for the spread of the cult of bhakti the Purāṇas are sometimes guilty of gross exaggeration. The Brahmapurāṇa\textsuperscript{1587} says ‘men even after having committed many sins under the influence of error (or delusion), do not go to Hell, if they worship Hari who removes all sins; those men also who always remember Janārdana, though they may be guilty of roguery, reach, after they die, the happy world of Viṣṇu. Even a man who is habituated to flying into extreme rage, if he recites the name of Hari, has his faults destroyed and attains mukti (liberation) as the king of Cedi country did’. The Vāmana-purāṇa\textsuperscript{1588} observes “what has that person got to do with many mantras (i.e., he has no use for those), who is a bhakta of Viṣṇu? The mantra ‘namo Nārāyanāya’ is able to accomplish all objects. Success is for those who have bhakti for Viṣṇu; how can there be failure for them in whose heart is enthroned Janārdana dark like a blue lotus?” The Vāmana and Padma Purāṇas say that a man secures the same results by repeating the names of Viṣṇu that he would secure by visiting all the tīrthas (sacred places) and holy shrines\textsuperscript{1589} in the world.

Many Purāṇas, particularly the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, are replete with the eulogies, the theory and practice of bhakti.

\textsuperscript{1587} कृत्याय पर्याय: पर्याय ना मोहसंभविनः। न यास्ये नरकं नला सर्वप्रयासं हरिः॥

\textsuperscript{1588} अभ्योगवाणिज्यो तद् यथाय नामणि सर्वमिथ्य रत्नं॥ अयन्नकोपकारोऽर्जुनव जयायते नायवं॥

\textsuperscript{1589} अयन्नकोपकारोऽर्जुनव जयायते नायवं॥

Many Purāṇas, particularly the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, are replete with the eulogies, the theory and practice of bhakti.
and illustrative stories about it. For reasons of space it is not possible to go into this matter at any length. A few noteworthy points alone will be touched. A few verses eulogising the Bhāgavatapurāṇa may be cited as samples of extreme exaggeration. ‘Thousands of Āśvamedhas and hundreds of Vājapeya sacrifices are not equal to even the 16th part of the story narrated by Śuka; he who always recites a half or a quarter verse of the Bhāgavata secures the merit of Rājasūya and Āśvamedha; he who listens to the words of the Ṛṣtra of Śuka (i.e. Bhāgavata) at the time of death, Govinda being pleased with him confers on him Vaikunṭha; this is a good expiation for all sinners viz. uttering the name of Viṣṇu, since (at that time) their mind has Viṣṇu as the only object of thought.’ Another point is the story of Ajāmila in the Bhāgavata (VI. 1. 20 ff and VI. 2), Padma (I. 31. 169 and VI. 87. 7) and other Purāṇas. Ajāmila (who abandoned his brāhmaṇa wife and kept a mistress) was a moral wreck addicted to gambling and thieving. When on his deathbed at the age of 80 he loudly called upon his youngest son named Nārāyaṇa (out of ten sons born of the mistress) with affection and recited that name and thought of that alone, he became free from his sins and attained a high position difficult to attain. Such stories have given rise to the common belief that the last thought at one’s death leads to a new birth appropriate to that thought (ante matiḥ sā gatiḥ). The Upaniṣads contain the germ of the idea of the last thought; vide, Chāṇ. Up. III. 14. 1, VIII. 2. 10, Br. Up. IV. 4. 5. In the ‘Questions of Milinda’ (SBE vol. 35 pp. 123–124) this idea of the importance of the last thought is taken up. It may be that a single heart-felt invocation of the name of God, a single act of faith after

1590. Āśvamedhaśāstraṇī vṛṣaṇeṣu śrāvaṇaḥ keśaśākṣaḥ kriyāḥ nābhūtyo pūbāśāpyaśrayo prakakuṇḍāikāh pāṇiḥ. 1591. The Padmapurāṇa (VI. 189–194, 518 verses) contains a lengthy eulogy of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa and of listening to its recitation for seven days (saptaḥa) &c.

1592. काव्यकुमारे हिंदूः कविंदूः वायुपतिज्ञामिदि। नामय ग्रंथादायाः पौराणियं कस्मशीर्षक। नामायं ग्रंथदायाः पौराणियं कस्मशीर्षक। नामायं ग्रंथदायाः पौराणियं कस्मशीर्षक। नामायं ग्रंथदायाः पौराणियं कस्मशीर्षक।
The idea of the 'last thought'

repentance and complete surrender to God's will, cancels the result of a whole life of crime and sin. This is the moral of Ajamila's story, but it is liable to be grossly misapprehended and might create a complacent belief that a man may commit as many sins in his life as possible, but if he remembers God at his death and repeats His name then, all sins of his are cleared away and wiped out. This is a rather dangerous doctrine. The Gītā (VIII. 5-7) puts the matter in a clear light. 'That person, who remembers me at the time of death and passes from the world leaving the body, attains my essence, there is no doubt about that. Whatever form a man remembers when he leaves the body, to that he goes, because he was always engrossed in that form. Therefore remember me at all times and engage in battle; there is no doubt that having fixed your mind and intellect on me you will attain to me'. This passage of the Gītā suggests that a person will remember the name of God at the time of his death only if he had been so doing all his life, while engaged in actively performing all his duties and not caring for the rewards thereof and that it is extremely rare or almost impossible for a man to remember God at the last moment when throughout his life he had been ungodly and a great sinner. The above idea is again emphasized in verses 10-13 of chap. VIII (of the Gītā) and in chap. XIII. 3 (yad-ya ca-raddhaḥ sa eva saḥ).

In spite of the doctrine that God is one and the doctrine that whatever form of the deity one may worship, the worship reaches the Supreme Being, Vaisānas and Śaivas have been wrangling and abusing one another. For example, the Varāha-

1593. The proposition that God is only one, that He is worshipped under various perceptible forms for concentrating the mind on Him, worship or contemplation of a formless object being difficult, are doctrines taught in the Puruṣas in spite of the fact that they preach worship of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Devī and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 714-715 and pp. 118-119 above. The विष्णुप्रमोदित I. 65. 32 states: साक्षर वाजदन क्रांति शुश्रुष शुमकिल विनिऱूँ। अन्यथा तु सुकृत स्याबिहारात्मक चित्रतन।; vide also विष्णुप्रमोदित III. 108. 23 ff, particularly the verse आदि-वात्तव्यां महाभाष्य सक्षर स्त्रयश्चष्णम्। सत: समयं भक्ति शुश्रुषे ्घाने नामोत्सवम् ॥ २६. Indian theologians and philosophers deliberately spared lower forms of worship with the thought that it was better to begin at a lower rung of the ladder to the highest goal than not to have a footing at all. A well-known verse is: अत्रो द्रिष्टव्यं देवो दिव्ये देवो मनोविषयं। ज्ञात्रात्यमथविन्द्रियान्योगिनां हृदये हरि॥ द्रामिन्दुराण ६२. ५ q. by अयासार्य on p. 140.
purāṇa makes Rudra declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu (chap. 1594 70. 14 Nārāyāṇaḥ paro devaḥ), denounce Śaiva-siddhāntas that are outside the pale of the Vedas and put forward the outstanding view ‘that such non-Vedic views were promulgated by Śiva himself at the request of Viṣṇu in order to delude people’. Some Purāṇas started by saying that the Baudhas and Jainas were asuras and enemies of gods that were purposely deluded by god. For example, the Matsya (24, 43–49) says that the sons of Raji deprived Indra of his kingdom and share in sacrifices, that Bṛhaspati, at Indra’s request, deluded the sons of Raji by composing a treatise of Jina-dharma which was opposed to the Veda and then Indra killed them. Vāyu 96. 230–32, Matsya 47. 11–12, Bhāgavata I. 3 24 appear to suggest that Viṣṇu himself deluded the people. The Agni (16. 1–4) also says with reference to the Baudhas that Viṣṇu deluded them. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (III. 17–18) narrates that when the gods were
defeated by the asuras (who also practised tapas and studied the Veda) they approached Visnu and prayed to him to help them and to destroy the asuras and that then Visnu produced from his body Mayā-moha (lit. who causes delusion by wiles) and made him over to the gods. Mayāmoha, who was naked, had shaved his head and held a bunch of peacock feathers in his hand, went to the asuras that were practising tapas on the banks of the Narmadā (III.18.1-2) and told them that if they followed his words they would secure mukti, led them away from the path of the Veda, taught them formulas of sceptical reasoning and weaned them away from their dharma. Then he approached other asuras and taught them that sacrificing animals was sinful, taught them nirvāṇa and the doctrines of vijnānavāda. Some of the passages are very striking; 'In a short time the asuras were deluded by Mayāmoha and abandoned all concern with the path depending on the three Vedas. Some condemned the Vedas, some condemned the gods, while others condemned the body of sacrificial rites and brāhmaṇas. (They thought or said) The statement that killing an animal (in sacrifices) is desirable for the sake of Dharma (for accumulating merit) does not stand to reason; to say that offerings burnt by fire would conduce to reward (in the next world) is childish talk; (if it be said that) Indra attained the position of God by means of many sacrifices and enjoys the fuel-sticks of the śāmi tree, then an animal (that subsists on leaves) is superior to Indra (who enjoys hard and thorny śāmi samidhs). If it is desired (by the Veda) that the animal killed in a sacrifice attains heaven, then why does not the sacrificer kill his own father in a sacrifice (and send him to heaven)? If one (the son) performs śrāddha (with the thought) that what is eaten by one (brāhmaṇa diner at śrāddha) tends to give satisfaction to another (i.e. the deceased father of the offerer of śrāddha), then travellers would not carry food (on their backs) which causes weariness to them.' These are the arguments used by atheists (cārvākas). It is remarkable that even tāntrik works like the Kulāṇavatāntra make Śiva say that he declared certain śāstras purely for deluding certain bad people who did not know the Kaula dharma.1597

From condemning the Jainas and Baudhāyas some Purāṇas, entirely unmindful of what the Gitā declared (in note 1584),

1597. शास्त्रिन्य हि मया देवो देवान् हृदयः शास्त्रिन्यादिवृत्तं। कुलायणं न जाननस्ति तथा शास्त्रमीमांस्यानं। पाणिज्ञानिः सत्यानं मेघेन कथितानि हि। शुद्धिन्तत्र हृ गलेयो मोहनाय गुरुम्यमायं। कुलायणवत्तत्र II, 96-97 (ed. by Arthur Avalon).
proceeded so far as to say\textsuperscript{1598} that a brāhmaṇa who is not a Vaiṣṇava is a heretic, that Viṣṇu himself assuming the form of Buddha proclaimed a false śāstra, and that all śāstras such as the Pāṣupata, Vaiṣṇesika of Kanāda, Nyāya of Gautama, Sāṅkhya of Kapila, Cārvāka of Brhaspati are tūmasa; that the māyāvāda (of Śaṅkara) is a false śāstra and is disguised Buddha (doctrine) and the extensive śāstra (Purvamimāṃsā) of Jaimini is condemned, since it made gods as of no use (in his system). The words of the Padma-purāṇa are; ‘Listen O Goddess, while I declare to you in order the tūmasa śāstras, by merely remembering which even wise men become sinners. First of all I promulgated Śaiva śāstras such as the Pāṣupata system; then the following were declared by brāhmaṇas that were possessed (or engrossed) by my śakti (power); viz. Kanāda proclaimed the great Vaiṣṇesika system, the Nyāya and Sāṅkhya systems were declared respectively by Gautama and Kapila: the much despised Cārvāka doctrine was declared by Brhaspati, while Viṣṇu, assuming the form of Buddha, promulgated, for bringing about the destruction of dāiyas, the false doctrine of Baudhāyas that go about naked or dressed in blue garments; I myself, O goddess, assuming the form of a brāhmaṇa declared in the Kali age the false śāstras of the doctrine of Māyā which is buddha in disguise. The brāhmaṇa Jaimini composed the great system of Purvamimāṃsā, which is unmeaning on account of its atheistic discourse’. Vijñāna-bhikṣu in his Sāṅkhya-pravacanabhaṣya (who flourished about 1550 A. D.) quotes eleven verses from the Padma VI. 263 and holds the peculiar view that no śāstra that is āstika (admits a soul) is unauthoritative nor is there any contradiction, each śāstra being of full force and true in its own sphere. The original Sāṅkhya śātra, on which he comments, tries to establish the impossible thesis that the teachings of the Sāṅkhya are not in real or irreconcilable contradiction with the doctrine of all-pervading oneness of brahma or with the doctrine that brahma is bliss (ānanda) or the system of theism (i. e. a personal God). Sectarian exclusiveness and bigotry went so far that the Brahmanda\textsuperscript{1599} contains a dialogue between sage Agastya and

\textsuperscript{1598} अवैण्णवस्य यो विषः स पाण्ड्यः प्रकृतितः। प्रया VI. 262, 27. The हृद-हारितस्रुति also requires the zealous Vaiṣṇava not to pay homage to or worship another god nor to enter the temple of another god ‘नान्य देवं नामस्तु॥ भान्य देवं महजयेद्। नामयास्तु मूक्रीतत नामयास्तु विशिश्व॥ 8. 83-86.

\textsuperscript{1599} शूष्क ब्रह्माः प्रकृताः स्मारवाचनः यथाकामम। यथाः सम्प्रदायार्थ पालियं शास्त्रानार्थम्। पद्धतिः हि मया चं चं द्वैतं पाण्डुपनाविकः। मण्डलोपमेश्चतिमयेः। शृणा च च च शृणु॥ (Continued on next page)
Rāma in which it is said that the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa (who is acknowledged by all to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu) are so potent that the merit secured by repeating thrice the 108 names of Viṣṇu is secured by repeating only once one of the 108 names (of Kṛṣṇa).

The Viṣṇu and Padma do not stand alone in this strange story of Viṣṇu himself or through Rudra teaching false doctrines for deluding the ungodly or those that dissented from or reviled the Vedas. There were other Purāṇas that sing the same tune; for example, the Kṛṣṇa-purāṇa indulges in a vendetta against many sāstras and systems in several places. A few passages are set out here. (Devi says) ‘the various sāstras that are found in this world and are opposed to the Vedas and smṛtis are based on tāmas (ignorance), viz. Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala (a class of Tantra works), Vama (left-hand practices of a class of Tantras), Ārhatā (Jain doctrines), these and others are meant for deluding (persons); I produced these sāstras in another birth for deluding people’; ‘therefore in order to protect (people) against those who were beyond the pale of the Vedas and for the destruction of sinners we shall, O Śiva, compose sāstras for deluding them; Rudra being thus advised by Mādhava (Viṣṇu) composed sāstras that delude and Viṣṇu also urged on by Rudra did the same:

(Continued from last page)

1600. श्रद्धा हि वर्षामोऽन्तश्या नामस्वबोधाय शतम्। सहस्राणां पूणानां विशिष्टव्या तु यथा। (B. I. edition).

The one thousand and eight names of Viṣṇu are set out in Mahābhārata, Anuśasana-parva 149. 14–120 and the Garuḍa-purāṇa (I. 15. 1–160) contains names of Viṣṇu, but often different from those in Anuśasana.

1601. यात्रि मृत्युभावो दुःखास्तीन लोकेश्वराधिविधानि हि। श्रद्धातिरिक्तनिष्ठ्यानि निष्ठा तेषां हि तामसी। काव्यम् श्रद्धाभिधानी श्रद्धामाध्यायांत्यं। (Vide also Kūm. I. 16 17–19 and 24–26 where Kānta, Nākta, Var., Bṛhas, Pārśva and Pāṇḍuva are mentioned as produced for the same purpose. The ताराभक्तिसुङ्गलियम् (6th तद्र) p. 272 quotes the Kūm. passage and remarks that those passages are meant only for praising the Veda and are not to be understood as conveying that Tāntrik āgamas are unauthoritative.

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they produced the śāstras) called Kāpāla, Nākula, Vāma, Bhairava (early and later), Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata and thousands of others; Śaṅkara came down to the earth, wearing garlands of skull-bones and covered with ashes from a cemetery and wearing profuse matted pair, trying to delude this world and engaged in begging for the benefit of these'; 'One should not honour even by words Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata people that are heretics, following prohibited avocations and those who follow left-hand sākta practices; when Buddhist mendicants, Nirgranthas, those who study the Pāñcarātra doctrines, Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas and other similar heretics, being bad and deluded, eat the śrāddha food (meant for a deceased person) that śrāddha would be of no use in this world and the next.' For details of some of the heretical sects, vide 'Heretical sects in the Purāṇas' by Śrī Radhakrishna Choudhary in ABORI vol 37 (1956) pp. 234-257.

The Gītā (in chapter 16) speaks of two classes of people, viz. those born to godlike endowments and those born with demoniac qualities and describes the latter in verses 7-20. Some of the verses probably indicate that the reference is to atheists and the like; for verse 8 states 'they say that the world is devoid of truth


1603. पाण्डुलिपि विक्रमसाहित्यावलिकारसंतंत्रकाः पञ्चारात्मक पञ्चायतयावलिकाः पञ्चायतयानुभवानुभवयोजना।।

केर िः िः 16. 15; हुह्वात्मकसंस्कृत्य: पञ्चारात्मको जनाः।।

पदार्थाः पञ्चायतयावलिकाः पञ्चायतयानुभवानुभवयोजना।।

केर िः 21. 32-33. The verse ब्रह्माख्यातीये: "सत्यम् इति q. by हे on आदाले p. 365 from कुर्माध्याय and on p. 476 हे quotes both the verses from केरे and reads हुह्वात्मकसंस्कृत्य।।

The nityans were naked Jain monks (vide SBE. vol. 21 p. 263 and E. I. vol. 20 p. 59) where a Jain teacher is called Nigrantha श्रीमान्याचार्य in Gupta year 159 i.e. (478-79 A. D.). The words are: 'पञ्चप्रेमविनियम-पञ्चप्रेम-अनुष्ठानविनियमपञ्चसिद्धितिविविधविहिरे।'


1603. पाण्डुलिपि विक्रमसाहित्यावलिकारसंतंत्रकाः पञ्चारात्मक पञ्चायतयावलिकाः पञ्चायतयानुभवानुभवयोजना।।

केर िः 16. 15; हुह्वात्मकसंस्कृत्य: पञ्चारात्मको जनाः।।

पदार्थाः पञ्चायतयावलिकाः पञ्चायतयानुभवानुभवयोजना।।

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(i.e., contains nothing that one can believe), devoid of any fixed principle (such as virtue and vice), devoid of a Ruler, and is produced by union brought about by lust and nothing else'. After describing their thoughts and aspirations the Gitā winds up 'these perform sacrifices which are so in name only with hypocrisy and against the prescribed procedure; they hate me in their own bodies and in those of others; these impure and cruel enemies I continually throw down in demoniac wombs; coming into demoniac wombs and being deluded, in each birth they go to vilest states without ever coming to me'. This is entirely different from what the Padma and other Purāṇas say about Pāṣupatas, Pāṇcarātras and about non-Vaiṣṇavas.

Both the Bhāgavata and the Padma say that the cult of bhakti first arose in Dravida country, it progressed or prospered in the Kārṇataka, it was found in only a few places in Mahārāṣtra and declined in the Gurjara country; it was, on account of the terrible Kaliyuga, broken up by heresies and remained weak for a long time; but having reached Vṛndāvana (near Mathurā) it got a fresh start and assumed fine form. In book XI the Bhāgavata again reverts to this assertion that in Kali people are solely devoted to Nārāyaṇa only in a few places but to the greatest extent in the Dravida country where flow the rivers Tāmrarpanī, Kṛtamālā, Kāverī and Mahānadi flowing to the west and states that those who drink the waters of these rivers are generally devotees of Vāsudeva.

Most great moral and spiritual upheavals have a tendency to reach a very low level in course of time. That appears to have happened in the case of bhāgavatas. The Atri-smṛti has a verse containing a sarcastic reference to bhāgavatas: 'Those who are devoid of Vedic studies learn śāstras (such as grammar, vedānta, logic &c.), those who are wanting in śāstric lore become readers of Purāṇas for others; those who cannot be readers of Purāṇas become tillers; but those who are broken down even

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1604. उत्सवा भ्राष्टि सहि हुहिं कर्षकं गता। कामित् कविश्याराजे युजसे जीवलां गता॥ तत्र पोरकल्यायंति पानहे: खण्डिताः। कर्षकत्स्त्रेषां। दुर्लभां चिरं जाता पुराणां सह मन्यताम्। ॥

1605. चेत्तुहिरहिं तद्भि पदार्थ शाश्वेक हिन्नाथ पुराणपाठाः। पुराणहीना क्रियो भवति प्रहावतो भागवता भवति॥ अधिवसित में vers 384.
there, become bhāgavatas’. Atri appears to say that bhāgavatas are idlers, who do not study Veda or sāstra or who cannot even read Purāṇas to others for their livelihood or do not engage in agriculture and who pretend to be worshippers (or bhaktas) of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa and fatten on what is given by others that are deluded into thinking that they have forsaken everything for the sake of their love of God. They become what are called ‘buwās’ in Marāṭhi and other modern Indian languages.

Another striking development of the bhakti cult is the Erotic Mysticism (madhurā bhakti) associated with the worship of Kṛṣṇa and of Rādhā in that form of Vaishnavism established by Caitanya and Vallabhaścārya. For the Vaishnava movement inspired by Caitanya, vide Dr. S. K. De’s work on ‘the Vaishnava faith and movement in Bengal’ (Calcutta 1942) and the author’s ‘History of Sanskrit Poetics’ (1951) about Ujjvalaṇīlāmāni of Rūpa-gosvāmin pp. 298–302. In the bhakti cult established by Vallabhaścārya great importance is attached to the guru, who is one of the descendants of Vallabhaścārya and to whom almost divine honours are paid. A wonderful development of bhakti towards Rāma, regarded in the Rāmāyaṇa and in popular tradition as a paragon of restraint and all manly virtues, culminated in an erotic mysticism about Rāma and Sītā also. The devotees of this mystic cult have to consider themselves as brides of Rāma or the female friends of Sītā, they are supposed to seek Lord Rāma’s favour through Sītā, who graciously intercedes with the Lord for the devotees. Among the followers of Vallabhaścārya the guru tells the devotee to look upon him (the guru) as Kṛṣṇa and upon himself or herself as Rādhikā.

For want of space further details about these bhakti cults have to be passed over.

Supreme importance is attached to Vedic mantras and also Paurāṇika mantras. They will have to be dealt with at some length in the sections on Tantras and on Purva-māṇṣā. But some treatment of mantras, particularly vedic, may be given here as well. The word mantra occurs about twenty-five times in the Rgveda. Only once does the word mantrakṛti occur in the Rgveda1606 (IX. 114. 2) ‘O sage Kaśyapa! offer obeisance

1606. क्रमं मन्त्रकृंतां स्वतः: कश्चर्पर्व्यर्प्यनं मिर: || सामं नम्पर्व राजां नै ग्रहे विश्वां परिप्रेयवेर्मणो परिक्षित । क्र. IX. 114 2: हस्ते अपने श्रुण्या विधाययमेव वेदावन्धुः किन्नीक्षु। विकाशीमव नरो विद्या हिन्दा तुप्तांत्र मन्त्री अंशोऽस्तव || क्र. I. 67. 2: सायण
to king Soma Lord of plants with the chants of the composers (or authors) of mantras, thereby sending forth your own voice &c.' Mr. Kapali Sastry is inaccurate when he states (on p. 67 of the translation of his 'Rgīśāya-bhūmika in English') 'we see frequent mention made in the Rik Samhitā of the rishi as the author of the mantra' and he cites only Rg. IX. 114. 2 and I. 67. 2. The latter contains no word like mantrakt. Rg. I. 67. 2 (addressed to Agni) runs 'holding in his hand all powers (or riches), sitting in a cave (i.e. concealed) he placed the gods in fright; heroes (men or gods) that place (offer) prayers know him (Agni) to be here when they recite mantras formed in the heart.' There is no direct reference to rāśī here (but to nāraḥ) and what is emphasized is that mantras already extant as the heart's outpourings enable the reciters of the mantras to find him (Agni). There is nothing to show that the mantras referred to in the verse are meant to be impromptu; the idea is rather that mantras that already existed and conveyed heartfelt devotion have to be employed to find Agni. The very next verse makes the position clear when it says, 'like the unborn (Sun) he (Agni) supports the wide earth and fixes in its place the sky on account of the mantras that turn out true'. This clarifies two things, viz. that when this mantra (I. 67. 3) was recited there already existed a host of mantras\(^{1607}\) and secondly, that the mantras that existed long before were deemed to have helped in supporting the earth and the sky. The ancient mantras were supposed to bring Indra to attend thrice in the day for a short time to the sacrifices of devotees when invoked with mantras addressed to him (Rg. III. 53. 8); similarly, mantras when recited by wise men bring Yama to receive offerings (Rg. X. 14. 4); Rg. X. 88. 14 states 'we raise our voices with mantras towards Vaiśāvanara Agni, who is wise and who shines brilliantly all days'. The word mantra\(^{1608}\) is

\(^{1607}\) Rg. I. 67. 3.

\(^{1608}\) As Vedic mantras were not composed by men but were handed down from generation to generation, they were not written down until comparatively late times. The oldest extant mantras are those in the Atharva Veda. (\textit{Continued from last page})
also employed in the singular several times. A few striking passages are set out here. 'Indeed, God Brahmanaspati (Lord of Prayer) proclaims the mantra fit for recitation (by the mouth of the hotr), in which the gods Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman make their abode, O Gods!' 'We utter that very mantra (in which Indra and other gods are praised together) in our sacrifices, the mantra being one that produces bliss and being free from all blemishes (or is incomparable); 'Do place among the Gods a mantra that is not short, that is well-arranged and that is well ornamented; ancient fetters do not reach him who is in (the good grace of) Indra by the sacrifice (or praise); 'I address the same mantra for you (all) and offer for you (all) one offering (into fire). From these passages it appears that when these verses were recited there was a body of already existing mantras; which were supposed to be inspired by the Lord of prayers (or speech) and from which the choice of a long and well-formed one was to be made. Apart from the above passages the word mantra occurs in Rg. I. 31. 13, I. 74 1, I. 147. 4, I. 152. 2, II. 35. 2, VI. 50. 14, VII. 7. 6, X. 50. 4 and 6, X. 106. 11, in only one of which (Rg. II. 35. 2), apart from Rg. I. 67. 2 already quoted, the words 'hrda a sutastam mantra' (mantra well chiselled from the heart) are used and in another verse more simply the word 'ataksan' (in VII. 7. 6 mantram ye varam narya ataksan) alone is used. In two passages (Rg. X. 95. 1 and X. 191. 3 first half) the word 'mantra' appears to mean 'consultations, holding counsel together'. In Rg. I. 20. 4, Rbhus are called 'satyamantrah' and are said to have made their parents young. There are controversies about what the Rbhus stand for and it is difficult to say what is meant by 'satyamantrah' in relation to Rbhus. Rg. VII. 76. 4. is a somewhat enigmatic verse. It means 'they (Angirases) alone, (our) ancient pitrs, learned (or wise) and following the right path, enjoyed companionship among gods and they found out the Light (the Sun) concealed (by Svarbhana, eclipse); they, whose mantras were true, brought forth Usas.' In some passages where other words like stoma or brahma are used, there is

1609. त इइतानां समवाद आसन्तुतानां कय युज्यान्ति: वित्तोऽव- विदुःसतनमच अजमवासान्तः क्ष्म . VII. 76. 4. Angirases are spoken of as Pitrs in Rg. X. 14. 6 (अथर्वसो म: वित्तोऽवस्थो न: न: न: न: न: न:) and in Rg. V. 40. 9 Atris are said to have found out the Sun afflicted with darkness by Svarbhana, an Asura and no one else was able to do so (य वे वे समवादोसात्सतसात्सतसात्सतसात्सतसात्सतसात्सत) This last is a reference to a total eclipse of the Sun, on the occurrence of which the Atris probably assured frightened people that the sun would shine forth in a short time.
mention of the stoma or brahma being made and polished by the devotee (e.g. X. 39.14 ‘etam vām stomam-Aśvināvakarmātakṣaṁa bhṛgavo na ratham’). Vide Rg.I.62.13 for ‘navyam ataksad brahma’, Rg. V. 29.15 (Indra brahma kriyamāṇa jūṣasva śavīṣṭha yā te navyā akarma); brahmakṛtaḥ (composers of prayers or praises) are mentioned in Rg. VII. 32.2 and X. 50.7. Other words like gir (several hundred times), dhitī (about 100 times), brahma (over a hundred times) mati (about 100 times), maniṣā (over 60 times), vacas and vacasyā (over 100 times), stoma (about 200 times), dukṣārī (five times), sūkta (four times) are employed in the sense of ‘thought, word or thought out hymn or verse of praise’ and in several cases the sages of the Rgveda state that it is a new verse or hymn of praise that they employ. Vide ‘navyasībhir-girhiḥ’ and ‘giram bhare navyasim jāya-
mānām’ in Rg. V. 42.13., in Rg. VI. 49.1, VII. 53.2; ‘Pra-
tavyasim navyasim dhitimayamaye’ in Rg. I.143.1; ‘vaiśvānaraśya 
mātir-navyasī śuciḥ soma īva pavate’ (Rg. VI. 8.1) and ‘iyam 
te navyasī mātir agne adhāyyasmā’ (Rg. VIII. 74.7); iyam te 
agni navyasī maniṣā’ Rg. X. 4.6; ‘tā vaṅgū 1610 Dāsī puruśā-
katamā pratnā navyasā vacasā vivāse’ (Rg. VI. 62.5); ‘navyasī 
sukritih’ in Rg. I. 60.3; ‘sa pratnavat navyasē viśvavāra sūkta
ya pathāḥ kṛpahi’ in Rg. IX. 91.5; ‘nū navyasē navyasē sūkta
ya sādhaya pathāḥ’ in Rg. IX. 9.8. It is a remarkable fact that 
when words like ‘sukritih’ and ‘sūkta’ that occur only four or 
five times in the whole of the Rgveda are qualified by the word 
‘new or fresh’, the word ‘mantra’ occurring so many times does 
not even once bear the adjective ‘new’. This emphasizes the 
conclusion stated above that in the times of many of the extant 
Rgvedic verses mantras were a large group already existing, 
from which prayers were drawn as occasion required, though 
now and then new verses were added to those already existing. 
It may here be stated that in some places the Rgveda looks upon 
prayers (dhitī) as divine and as on the same level with Aśvinis, 
Uṣas, and the Sun (VIII. 35.2) and that ancient prayers were 
inherited from ancestors (III. 39.2 ‘seyamasme sanajā pitryā 
dhīḥ’).

Several hymns and verses of the Rgveda are purely philo-
sophical, cosmological, mystic and speculative as I. 164.4, 6, 29,

1610. Here the contrast is great. The Aśvinis are pratnā (ancient) 
but the rśi (in VI. 62.5) says that he worships the ancient Dāsīras (Aśvinis) 
with a new prayer. This rśi at least does not convey that the Aśvinis were 
seen by him.
About the meaning and purpose of Vedic mantras there are great controversies. This much may be said here that according to the Pūrvamimāṃsā system the whole Veda is concerned with sacrifices, that Veda is divided into two classes, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, that Vidhis (hortatory passages) are the most important part of the Veda, that a very large number of Vedic passages are mere arthavādas (that contain either praises of vidhis or are to be explained metaphorically or merely repeat what already exists or are of a legendary character) and that mantras only serve the purpose of bringing to the mind of the sacrificer or priests what is to be done in a sacrifice and that the words used in the mantras ordinarily bear the same meaning as that in popular Sanskrit.

Long before Yāska (several centuries before Christ) there were several schools of Vedic interpretation such as the Aīthiḥsīkas (who acc. to Nir. II. 16 said that Vṛtra was an Asura son of Tvasṭr, while acc. to the Nairuktaś Vṛtra means only 'cloud' and the Veda contains metaphorical descriptions of battles, that the twins that Śaranyu is said in Rg. X. 17. 2 to have given up are according to the Nairuktaś Indra and the Mādhyanikā-वाक, while according to the Aīthiḥsīkas they are Yama and Yami, as stated in Nir. XII. 10), the school of Nāïḍānas is mentioned about ‘syāla’ and ‘śāma’ in Nir. VI 19, the school of ancient yajñikas in Nir. V. 11. Rg. I. 164. 32 (yam ca kāra) is differently explained by the Parivṛjaṇkas (ascetic school) and the Nairuktaś (etymologists). The Nairukta also mentions the names of seventeen individual predecessors (from whom it differs often and who differ among themselves) such as Āgrāyana, Audumbaraṇa, Kauntṣa, Gārgya, Gālava, Śakata-yana, Śakapūṇi. There are several mantras of which two different meanings are given in the Nairukta as in Nir. V. 11 on Rg. VIII. 77. 4. In Rg. I. 164 there are several verses with two meanings or more e. g. verse 21 (yatā suparṇa &c.) has two meanings (acc. to Nir. III. 13) one relating to the devatā Śūrya (adhitāirudd) and the other spiritual (ahyātmaka); similarly, verse 32 of the same hymn has two meanings in the Nairukta (II. 8); the verse 39 (ṛco aksare paraṃ vyoman) is explained in four ways by Śāyanā; verse 41 (gaurir-mimāya) is explained by Śāyanā in two ways, both being different from Yāska's explanation (in Nir.
XI. 40); verse 45 (catvāri vāk parimitā padāni) is explained in six ways (more or less different from each other) by Śāyāna; it is also explained in the Mahābhāṣya (p. 7 of M. M. Abhyankaraśāstri's ed.). The verse 'catvāri śrīngā' (Rg. IV. 58. 3) has been the subject of varying explanations from very early times. Nir. (XIII. 7) explains it as referring to Yajña. The Mahābhāṣya (p. 6 of the Mahābhāṣya ibid.) also does the same. Śāyāna explains it as referring to Agni (identified with yajña) and Sūrya. This verse is a riddle. Śabara in his bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 2. 38. ('abhidhāne arthavādāh') explains it but Kumārila differs from him. Śāyāna and others explain it (e.g. the word 'tridhā') with reference to Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa, but when this verse was first proclaimed there must have been no Brāhmaṇas and Kalpasūtras. In several cases the Nirukta gives the adhidaivata (physical) and adhyātma (metaphysical or spiritual) or adhiyajña and adhyātma as in Nir. X. 26 (on Rg. X. 82. 2 'Vivakarmā vimanā'), Nir. XI. 4 (on Rg. X. 85. 3, adhiyajña and adhidaivata meanings), Nir. XII. 37 (on Vāj. S. 34. 55 'sapta ṛṣayaḥ', both adhidaivata and adhyātma), Nir. XII. 38 (on Atharva X. 8. 9 'Tiṅya-g-bilas-camasa &c.' both adhidaivata and adhyātma). In Rg. (I. 164) verses 11–13 and 48 contain a very imaginative and poetical description of the year, the seasons, months and total days and nights.

In recent years Śrī Aurobindo in 'Hymns to the mystic Fire' (translated in the esoteric sense, 1946) and his ardent and devout disciple Sri. T. V. Kapali Sastry (in 'Rg-bhāṣya-bhūmikā in Sanskrit and its English translation, Pondicherry 1952) have started a theory about the Rgveda mantras which must be briefly stated and examined. Śrī Aurobindo first intended to publish an edition of the Rgveda with a word by word construction and an English translation. But he gave up that idea on account of other pre-occupations and rests content in the above book with the text and translation of about 230 verses in all from the 1st, 2nd and 6th maṇḍalas of the Rgveda and a foreword of 48 pages in which he propounds his theory. While

1611. अष्ट (on पू. मी. सृ. I. 2. 38) explains: 'वृक्षो होता: श्रुत्यः भवितस्य। वचोर्यों पादा इति सर्वाभिमायय। हे हीर्को होति तत्वियज्ञि। सतहस्तसाय इति चर्याया-सत्यभिषेकै। विधा बोधू होति विभिन्नवच्चुरूः। ॥. The tattvātikā on this says 'चेतार्थ श्रुत्यों भवितस्य चर्याया-सत्यभिषेकैः कस्याति उसात् करोति।' 'चालारुः श्रुत्यः इति विब्ययाभासात् सत्यवच्चुरूः। विधा बोधू होति तत्वियज्ञि।' It would be noticed that the tattvātikā differs from अष्ट on almost every clause.

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this was being written by the present writer, Śrī Aurobindo’s large work of 634 pages ‘on the Veda’ published in 1956 reached his hands. Over 60 hymns are dealt with in this big book and 283 pages are devoted to the elaboration of his theory first outlined in the brief work of Śrī Aurobindo mentioned above and reiterated with greater emphasis. On page 9 of the work of 1956 he states “the ritual system recognized by Sāyana may stand, the naturalistic sense discovered by European scholarship may, in its general conceptions be accepted, but behind there is always the true and still hidden secret of the veda – the secret words which were spoken for the purified in soul and the awakened in knowledge’. In this work also he sticks to the meaning of rta as truth and on p. 84 translates ‘ṛtam’ as ‘Truth-consciousness’, when in his first work he translated ‘ṛta-cit’ as Truth-consciousness’. Instead of comparing the several hundred passages where the word rta occurs in the Rgveda he sticks to his own rendering which is unacceptable to most scholars and makes a very perfunctory attempt at finding the correct meaning. One should like to have some clear examples of the distinction between Light and Consciousness in modern times and also in the Veda. So far as the present writer knows, in the language of ancient symbolism Consciousness is identified with Light. In the recently published book he deals with less than $\frac{1}{15}$ th of the total hymns (1017 or 1028) of the Rgveda. Readers are asked to subscribe to his views although he condescends to translate in the first work less than $\frac{1}{15}$ th of the total number of verses in the Rgveda and hardly ever enters into a discussion about the meaning of words like rta. Śrī Aurobindo (Foreword p. III.) concedes that Sāyana does not reject the spiritual authority of the Veda and that Sāyana does not deny that there is a higher truth contained in the ṛks. He further says (IX) that we must take seriously the hint of Yāśka (Śrī Aurobindo does not quote the Nīruktā, but probably he has in mind Nīr. I. 20 ‘sāksātkṛtadharmāna ṛṣayo babhūvuh’). Then he proceeds to state (XVII) that many whole hymns of the Veda bear on their face a mystic meaning and that the ṛṣis (p. XIX) for the sake of secrecy resorted to double meanings, a device easily manageable in the Sanskrit language. This is a hypothesis which cannot at all be accepted and is no more than mere conjecture. The Vedic mantras were composed thousands of years ago, when all persons among whom the sages moved must have spoken the same language, though generally not so polished and poetical as that of the mantras and they were not addressed to men like the moderns whose
every day thoughts, surroundings and languages are entirely different. Both the Master and the disciple (Mr. Kapali Sastry) cause confusion (or, may be, are themselves confused) by supposing that the difficulties of the modern students of mantras did exist even at or near the time of the mantras. The most sublime thought of the Rgveda is that there is only one Spirit behind the various gods, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, Yama, Matarisvan, that originally there was only that One, there was no day and night, no death and immortality. Sri Aurobindo himself describes (p. XXXII) Rg. I. 164. 46 and X. 129. 2 as 'the summit of the Vedic teaching.' This view of the one Entity is also illustrated in Rg. VIII. 58. 2 'one and the same Agni is kindled in many places, the one Sun enters the whole world and becomes many; the one Dawn illumines all this (physical) world, One became all this (assumes various forms)'. No secrecy was observed about this fundamental truth and it was proclaimed in mantras that can be understood even by an ordinary man of to-day who knows a little Sanskrit. Because we of these recent centuries cannot understand some mantras, that does not mean that the ancient seers were guilty of a subterfuge and purposely composed mantras with two meanings. They might have indulged in the pastime of two meanings (express and metaphorical) in a few cases as poetic devices.1612 It is no fault of the sages, if we cannot understand their meaning, just as a blind man, who does not see a wooden post and comes to grief by dashing against it, should not blame the post, but should blame himself; we are to blame ourselves and should not foist upon the ancient sages a stratagem created by our own imagination or lack of knowledge (Nir. I. 16).1613

1612. The Master (Sri Aurobindo) and the pupil are at variance about the poetic character of the Mantras. Sri Aurobindo (p. XXXIV) after saying that his translation is a literary and not a strictly literal one speaks of the hymns as 'great poetry', magnificent in their colouring and images, noble and beautiful in rhythm. Now let us hear the disciple. On p. 65 Mr. Kapali Sastry states 'the hynmal poetry is unusual, different from other poetry, even from the most superb specimen' and then he chides the readers and men like the present author and impliedly his own Master 'it is not permissible (why?) to class Vedic hymns with poetry of a literary and aesthetic kind'. On p. 31 Mr. Sastry asserts that 'mantras have two meanings, the inner which is psychological or spiritual and the true meaning and a gross or external meaning for common men' and he adds that the use of words with double meanings was deliberate but was effortless and natural.

1613. यथो एवद्विस्थायां भवन्तिः। नेष स्थानोपसर्वो च देवनमच्छो न एवचित्त दुःखा-परापः स भवति। निरुक्तः I. 16.
Śri Aurobindo admits (p. XXXIII) that there are some key words in the Rgveda such as ṛta, krau, ēravas, ketu and that elaborate work would have to be done to fix the meanings of such words. But he does not undertake a study of the key words (each of which except ṛtā occurs hundreds of times in the Rgveda) by comparison of Rgvedic passages and considering the light shed on these words by the other Śāṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. He mentions the occurrence of the word ṛta in I. 164. 47 and IV. 21. 3 (sadanāt-rāṣya) and ‘ṛṣya pathyā’ in Rg. III. 12. 7 and jumps to the conclusion that the last two words mean ‘the path of truth’ and remarks that ‘we have to find the path of Truth’ (Foreword p. XXX.). In the H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 2-5 it has been shown that ṛta in the Rgveda has three meanings, viz. (1) the regular and general order in the cosmos; (2) the correct and ordered way of the cult of the gods; (3) ‘moral conduct of man.’ In the Rgveda ṛta is not the same as ‘satya’, but the two are differentiated. In Rg. V. 51. 2 the Viśve-devas\(^{1614}\) are described as rādhityāḥ (whose thoughts are fixed on ṛta) and ‘satyadharmāṇāḥ’ (whose ordinances are true or fixed) and the sage prays to them to come to his sacrifice and to drink (ājya and soma) by the tongue of Agni. In Rg. X. 190. 1 both ṛta and satya are said to have arisen from rigorous or refulgent tapas (of the Creator). In the Rgveda ṛta involved a very wide conception as stated above and ‘satya’ had a restricted meaning viz. truth or static order. In Rg. IX. 113. 4 Soma is described as one who proclaims ṛta, satya and śraddhā (faith). Therefore, Śri. Aurobindo is quite inaccurate when he translates ṛta by the word ‘Truth’ and draws important conclusions from his inaccurate renderings. Similarly, Śri. Aurobindo does not give a correct rendering when he translates ṛta by the word ‘ṛtacit’ as truth-conscious (whatever that may mean acc. to Śri. Aurobindo). Mr. Kapali Sastry (p. 46) goes a step further than his great master by stating that in the mantras true knowledge is termed ‘ṛtacit’ Truth-consciousness (with a capital C). It appears that both Master and disciple are misled by the meaning of ‘cit’ in such an attribute as ‘sat-cit-ananda’, applied to brahma. They appear to take ‘ṛta-cit’ as meaning two distinct things ‘ṛta’ and ‘cit’. The word ‘ṛtacit’ occurs

\(^{1614}\) सदनात्रज्ञातांज्ञातां अवस्थितं। अस्तेः स्वयं जिज्ञातां॥ सृ. V. 51. 2; 
क्रतुं च सर्वं चाभीमृत्वपीयस्यसत्तयत्। ततो शापोपायत तत: सहुद्रो अपेक्षा।॥ सृ. X. 190.1; 
चतुर्भुजस्य च सर्वं वद्यस्यसत्तयत्। अतः वद्यसोम राजा धात्रा सोम परिवहत इत्यं यथीकृतः 
परिधान इत्यः॥ सृ. IX. 113. 4.
five times in the Rg.; in 1615 I. 145.5, IV. 3.4, V. 3.9 ('rtacit is here an epithet of Agni'), in VII 85.4 (it is an adjective of hotr) and in IV. 16.10 it qualifies the word nārī (in the context, Śaci, the wife of Indra). The present author wonders whether Śrī Aurobindo and his disciple cared to go into the meaning of 'rtacit' in the several verses where it occurs. They pay no attention to the word 'ṛnacit' that occurs in Rg. II. 23.17 as an attribute of Brahmānapati. 1616.

The space at the author's disposal does not allow him to show up the other unwarranted propositions and conclusions of Śrī Aurobindo and Mr. Kapali Sastry. The author will set out the final conclusion of Śrī Aurobindo (Foreword p. XXIX.)

"what then is the secret meaning, the esoteric sense which emerges by this way of understanding the Veda? . . . . . . . The thought around which all is centred is the seeking after Truth, Light, Immortality. There is a truth deeper and higher than the truth of outward existence, a Light greater and higher than the light of human understanding which comes by revelation and inspiration, an immortality towards which the soul has to rise. We have to find our way to that, to get into touch with this Truth and Immortality." This is a grand peroration, but all this is built on shaky and meagre foundations, such as the wrong meanings attached to the words rta and rtacit. Mr. Kapali Sastry (on p. 46) practically reproduces this grand summing up of his guru-

Mr. Kapali Sastry launches (on pp. 22–26) a bitter diatribe against Sāyaṇa but ultimately he has to admit (pp. 27–28) that Sāyaṇa is not merely useful, but indispensable to the students of the Veda. On p. 23 he translates a sūtra from Jaimini's work 'the purpose of the Veda being ritualistic, words which do not have that significance are useless' and remarks that this clearly lays down that the only purpose of the Vedas is that of ritual, those that do not pertain to that (ritualistic action) are worthless. The author doubts whether Mr. Kapali Sastry has carefully read the Purvamāṁsāsūtras or has at least

1615. स्वारे सुभवर्धन भवेयो प्रकाशेषिक तदसंविद सत्यः ॥ कः I. 145.5. It will be noticed that here सत्वत्वित्त and सत्य are both epithets of Agni. They must be given some separate meanings; स हृदत्तात्वेषिकत्व होता य आदिविय शक्तां नम्नवायः कः VII. 85. 4 (O sons of Aditi! May that Hotr priest, who makes obeisance to you with strength (in a loud voice), be a man of good deeds (or will) and knowing rta, moral conduct (or cosmic law). सत्यः in I. 145.5 would have to be rendered as truthful or pure. The word चित्त may be derived from root चित्त to gather or from चित्त to know.

1616. स उष्णचित्तिद्भवति वाक्यायुत्तिदं हन्ताम एव अत्तर्थ ध्वनिः ॥ कः II. 23.17.
correctly stated the position; what he quotes is the Pûrvapakṣa view (prima facie view). Jaimini’s position is contained in the 7th sūtra ‘as those passages (that do not directly concern themselves with ritualistic actions) form one syntactically connected whole with the passages prescribing vidhis they are to be considered as commendatory of the vidhis’. Mr. Sastry is not satisfied with saying (on p. 8) ‘the sages Madhucchandhas and others are seers of the mantra, the Gods were present to the vision of these seers of old’, but he adds ‘this seer of the beyond is also the hearer of the truth; therefore that the poet-seers are truth-hearers kavayāḥ satyaśrutoḥ, is famous in the Veda’ (p. 64). The present writer wonders whether Mr. Sastry carefully read the original passages where the words ‘kavayāḥ satyaśrutoḥ’ occur in the Veda. The words kaviḥ and kavayāḥ occur several hundred times in the Rgveda, but ‘satyaśrutoḥ’ occurs only thrice in Rg. V. 57. 8, V. 58. 8 and VI. 49. 6; Rg. V. 37. 8 and V. 58. 8 are identical. In Rg. V. 57. 8 and 1617a V. 58. 8 it is the wind-gods (Maruts) that are addressed as kavayāḥ (wise) and satyaśrutoḥ (well-known as conferring true rewards) and not sages. VI. 49.6 (first half of which is addressed to Parjanya and Vātā—wind god) runs ‘O establishers of the world! (O Maruts!) that are wise and well-known as conferring true rewards, make the world turn towards the man by whose lauds you are praised’ (this half seems to be addressed to the band of Maruts). Further comment is superfluous.\footnote{1617. आमनाप्रय कियार्यान्तायकरायमसमसामीहां तस्मानाध्यायाः \textsuperscript{1} 'विषाण लेकरायास्तुतान्यमानिः विधिनं स्तु \textsuperscript{2} पु. मी. छ. I. 2. 1 and 7.}
\footnote{1617a. हे नरो मनो शुल्का नस्तैयमभारे अयुतः कृत्याधिन्यो

बृहद्योगी बृहद्योगाना \textsuperscript{1} काव्यो भवानी शुद्धित्याः पूर्वानी जित्यते नात्मकम् \textsuperscript{1} सत्यसूतिः कृत्यो वेष गमिनेन्द्राणि स्वामिः \textsuperscript{2} सर्वं \textsuperscript{2} वर्ण. VI. 49. 6.}

All words including सत्यसूतिः, कृत्यो in the latter half of V. 57. 8 are epithets applied to Maruts in the first half. सत्यसूतिः, कृत्यो in the latter half of VI. 49. 6 are vocatives as the पद्यास shows and are addressed to Maruts as in V. 57. 8 and V. 58. 8. The words सत्यसूतिः, कृत्यो do not refer at all to Vedic poets in any of the three cases.

1618. The present author is aware that thousands of people look upon Sri Aurobindo as a yogin, a prophet and as a World Teacher. But the search for truth is higher than all prophets and yogins put together. Sri Aurobindo and his disciple claim that he has received a new revelation about the Veda beyond the ken of all scholars of antiquity and modern times and they have very severely handled Yāska, Jaimini, Śāyaṇa and other commentators. The devotees and admirers of Sri Aurobindo must allow the same freedom to the critics of Sri Aurobindo’s Vedic lucubrations for showing how and why they are wrong and are requested not to take umbrage at what the present writer has said about his theories but only to reply to the author’s brief criticisms on their merits or demerits.
The Mīmāṁsāsakas made a sweeping generalisation that the whole Veda is meant for sacrifice. They went rather too far but they had substantial grounds for doing so. On pp. 980–982 of the H. of Dh. vol. II, it has been shown how even the Rgveda discloses that a complicated system of sacrifices with three satanas, numerous priests, three fires, existed in those far-off days and sacrifices like Atirātra (Rg. VII. 103. 7) and Trikādruka (Rg. I. 32. 3, II. 11. 17, VIII. 13, 18, VIII. 92. 21, X. 14. 16) were being performed. The Mīmāṁsāsakas had a long tradition behind them. But the case of Śrī Aurobindo’s theories is entirely different. On flimsy grounds and mistaken meanings he builds up an imposing structure of an exoteric and also an esoteric meaning of vedic mantras, propounds that the sages wanted secrecy for their doctrines and all that they were concerned with was Truth, Light and Consciousness. It has been already shown that there are several philosophical and speculative hymns in the Rgveda. But there is no motive of secrecy therein. If it is only Truth, Light and Consciousness with which the vedic sages were concerned ten thousand verses would not have been necessary. One should like to know what secret or higher or deeper esoteric Truth or Light or Consciousness to be kept concealed from common men is contained in hymns such as Rg. VII. 55 (sleeping charm), VII. 103 (manḍūka-stuti), X. 34 (gambler’s song), X. 119 (exhilaration of power of Soma on Indra), X. 166 (invoking destruction of enemies), X. 190 (brief creation hymn), X. 191 (for concord and co-operation). Many more such hymns may be cited, where the theory of secrecy and Truth, Light and Consciousness would entirely fail. Besides, what is the secret (or spiritual or esoteric) element in such passages as those quoted above viz. I. 164. 46, X. 129. 2, VIII. 58. 2, which clearly express the most profound Truth. If the Mīmāṁsāsakas made a too wide generalization, Śrī Aurobindo makes a far wider generalization with very little basis.

The mantras of the Rgveda have a meaning and are not unmeaning letters as often in Tāntrik works. There is a discussion in Nirukta I. 15–16 where it is said that in the absence of the Nirukta the apprehension of the meaning of the words used in mantras would not follow and the view of Kautsa is cited that the Nirukta is useless for understanding the meaning of mantras, since the mantras themselves have no sense (or are useless or purposeless). Yaska 1618a replies that mantras do possess

1618a. अध्यापितद्वै वाचस्पतियोऽनं न विशिष्टे। ’’तददेहं विद्याज्ञानं व्याख्यतये कालस्य स्थानसाधनम् च।’’ अध्यात्मिकः शब्दसाधनाय। ’’यथेतैभमद्यानुविद्यताय कुसम्बकम् (Continued on next page)
a meaning since they employ the very same words that are used in ordinary Sanskrit, and then quotes a passage of the Ait. Br. (I. 5). Śabara on Jai. I. 2. 41 states that where one cannot get at the meaning one has to come to some meaning on a consideration of other Vedic passages and on the basis of roots following Nirukta and Grammar.

One of the important topics dwelt upon at length in the Purāṇas is that of avatāras. This emphasis on the conception of avatāras has greatly influenced the forms of religious worship, vratas and festivals. The subject of avatāras has been dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 717–724. It has been shown there that the beginnings of the doctrine of avatāras and of some of the well-known avatāras may be traced to the Vedic Literature viz. to the Śatapatha–Brāhmaṇa (story of Manu and the fish in I. 8. 1. 1–6), story of Kūrma (tortoise) in Śatapatha VII. 5. 1. 5, of Varāha (Boar) in Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 2. 11, Vāmana (Dwarf) in Śat. Br. I. 2. 5. 1 ff., Kṛṣṇa, son of Devaki, in Chān. Up. III. 17. 6 and that the number of avatāras and the names also varied. But the treatment was not exhaustive and hence some details are added here from the Purāṇas and from general considerations.

Avatāra (from root tr. with ‘ava’) means ‘descending’ or ‘descent’ and the word is applied to gods, assuming the form of a human being or even of an animal and continuing to live in that form till the purpose for which that form was assumed was carried out. Reincarnation is one of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But there is a vast difference between that doctrine and the Hindu theory. Re-incarnation in Christianity is single and unique, while in the Hindu theory as adumbrated in the Gītā (IV. 5–8) and the Purāṇas there have been many incarnations of the Deity and there may be many more in future. It is a comforting belief for ordinary men to hold that when the affairs of the world are in a mess God comes down to the earth to set matters right. And this belief is held not only by the Hindus and Buddhists but by many peoples (including some in the rich and educated West) far apart from each other. Most Hindus, however, do not believe that great

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men, saints or prophets like Śaṅkara-cārya, Nānak, Shivaji or Mahātmā Gandhi are born again as avatāras in times of crisis. The Buddhists made Buddha in their Mahāyāna teachings go through many avatāras as bodhisattva before he attained Buddhahood. In modern times many persons pose or are made to pose as avatāras by their admirers or followers. Recently, Mr. J. G. Bennett (Hodder and Stoughton, 1958) has published a book called ‘Subud’ (Sushila, Buddha, Dharma) in which he suggests his firm belief that one Pak Subuh who hails from Indonesia is an avatar, the messenger from above for whom mankind is waiting. The Indian theory of avatāras is connected with the theory about yugas and manvantaras. When the world is in serious trouble, people believe that deliverance will come by the grace of God and they are often justified in their belief by the appearance of godly men who appear with some noble mission and masterly idea suited to the particular time and place when they appear.

In medieval and modern times the avatāras of Viṣṇu have been regarded as ten, viz. Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha or Narasimha (Man-lion), Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma (son of Daśaratha), Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin. The Varāha-purāṇa mentions these ten in that order. In an inscription on the lintel above the figure of Śaṅkara-Nārāyana in the Varāha-Perumal temple, this Paurāṇik verse except the first six letters (which cannot be read) is seen inscribed. The locus classicus about the descent of God in different forms is in the Bhagavad-gītā viz. ‘Whenever piety or righteousness (dharma)

1619. MATLAB: रामेश-नारसिंहस्व वास्तवाच वास्तवाच। तात्त्विक रामेशकुण्डाक्षे भैरों कल्याणे च वेदः। दस्राह 4. 2, मदय 285. 6-7 (reads कल्याणे च वेदः). The madhyam verse is quoted by अपराक प. 338.

1620. Vide Memoir No. 26 of the Archaeological Survey of India by H. Krishna Sastri on two statues of Pallava kings and five Pallava Inscriptions in a rock-cut temple at Mahābalipuram (p. 5), which the writer ascribes to the latter half of 7th century A.D. The preserved engraving reads “रामेश नारसिंहस्व वास्तवाच। तात्त्विक रामेश (अः) नारसिंह (अः) भैरों च वेदः। The same page notes that at Sirpur in the Central Provinces is a shrine of about 8th century A. D. in which are found side by side the images of Rāma and Buddha in his usual meditative attitude.

1621. यद्य यद्य हि धर्मस्य ’’गुज्जायमादि’’ यद्य यद्य हि धर्मस्य ’’गुज्जायमादि’’ परित्वरणाय साधुवान्तुस्सर्वसंपर्वायणाः सहस्रात्मा वृत्ते श्रीते। मीता 4. 7-8; compare हरिवंश I. 41. 17 ‘यद्य यद्य हि भाषाः। परित्वरणाय पद्यां सहस्रात्मा पद्यां। हरिवंशार्याणां तदात्त्विक व श्रीमते पद्यां। कदास् परम-पद्यार्याय परमशास्त्राय नामादिः। वाँस 98. 69, मदय 47. 235 (reads धर्मस्य परमशास्त्राय and अत्याचार्य परमशास्त्राय) वहीं: संस्कृताङ्गोऽस्म पद्यात्मान्तमाय सत्तम। परित्वरणार्याय परमशास्त्राय (Continued on next page)
declines and impiety grows up, I create myself. Age after age I am born for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers and the establishment of piety'. The same idea occurs in some of the parvans of the Mahābhārata, as in Vanaparva 272. 71 and Āśvamedhika-parva 54. 13. None of the ten avatāras, except those of Kṛṣṇa and probably Rāma, ('Rāmaḥ śastraḥ śrīmān-aḥau', Gitā X. 31) are, however, mentioned by name in the Bhagavat-gitā. The number and names of the avatāras are not uniform in the Mahābhārata. In the Nārāyaṇya section of the Śantiparva (chap. 339. verses 77–102) only six avatāras and their exploits are expressly mentioned, viz. Varāha (bringing up the earth submerged in the ocean), Narasimha (killing demon Hiranyakaśipu), Vāmana (vanquishing Bali and making him dwell in Pātalā), Bhārgava Rāma (extirpating ksatriyas), Rāma, son of Dāsaratha (killing Rāvana), Kṛṣṇa (killing or vanquishing Kamsa, Narakāsura, Bāṇa, Kalavavana, Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla). Then the same chapter 1622 mentions ten avatāras as follows: Hāimsa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma Dāsarathī, Sātvata, Kalki. Here Buddha is omitted and Kṛṣṇa is called Sātvata and Hāimsa is added. In the Harivamśa it is said that the past avatāras have been thousands and in future also they would be thousands. Śantiparva says the same thing. The Harivamśa (I. 41. 27 ff.) names only the following and their exploits, viz. Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma), Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Vedavyāsa. But as Keśava is said to be the 9th (I. 41. 6) it is to be understood that Matsya and Kūrma were counted, though not expressly named and Kalki Viṣṇuvas is mentioned as a

(Continued from last page)
future avatāras. The usual ten avatāras are named in Varāha\textsuperscript{1624} (4, 2, 48, 17-22, 55, 36-37), Matsya 285. 6-7, Agni (chap. 2-16 stories about all ten), Narasimhapurāṇa (chap. 36), Padma VI. 43. 13-15). In Vāyu 98. 68-104 the text presents the avatāras in a confused manner and appears to mention ten avatāras, viz. Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Māndhātā, Jāmadagnya, Rāma (Dāśarathi), Veda-vyāsa, Vāsudeva, Kalkin Viṣṇuyaśas. In Brahmāṇḍa III. 73. 75 ff there are lists of avatāras different from the present ten. In the Bhāgavata the avatāras of Viṣṇu are mentioned in several places. In I. 3. 1-25 twenty-two avatāras including Brahma, Devarsi Nārada (who promulgated the Sātvata system), Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Kapila (who taught to Asuri the Śaṅkhya system), Dattātreya, Rṣabha, (son of Nābhi and Merudevi),\textsuperscript{1625} Dhanvantari, Mohini, Vedavyāsa, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Kalki are mentioned. In II. 7 twenty-three avatāras are mentioned, many of which are the same as in I. 3, but in II. 7 Dhrūva, Prthu son of Vena, Hayagrīva are mentioned, the first two of which are mentioned as avatāras hardly anywhere else. In Bhāgavata XI. 40. 17-22 the following avatāras are mentioned, viz. Matsya, Hayāśvaka, Kūrma, Śukara, Narasimha, Vāmana, Bhārgava Rāma, Rāma, Vāsudeva, Śaṅkara, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Buddha, Kalki. In Bhāgavata XI. 4. 17-22 sixteen avatāras are set out, viz. usual ten plus Hamsa, Datta (Dattātreya), Kumāra (Nārada), Rṣabha, Vyāsa and Hayagrīva. Twelve avatāras are noted in Matsya 99. 14 and Padma V. 13. 182-186. The Prapañcasārāntātra (ascrived to the great advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya) mentions (in Paṭala 20. 59) Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛśimha, Kubja (i.e. Vāmana), three Rāmas

\textsuperscript{1624} The passage of Matsya (285. 6-7) is very likely a later interpolation, because in another place in the Matsya, the names of avatāras are different. In Matsya 47. 106 there is a reference to the curse on Viṣṇu by Bhṛgu that since Viṣṇu killed his wife he would have to be born seven times as a human being and the seven avatāras are Dattātreya, Māndhātā, Jāmadagnya (Bhārgava) Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathi, Vedavyāsa, Buddha, Kalkin and three more (in 47. 237-240), viz. Nārāyaṇa, Narasimha and Vāmana are added; in Matsya 54. 15-19, Nakṣatrapuruṣā-vrata is described and the usual ten avatāras are named.

\textsuperscript{1625} Rṣabha, son of Nābhi, appears to be the first tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas and was probably raised to the status of an incarnation of Viṣṇu as Buddha was raised. In Mahābhārata I. 3. 24 Ṛṣabha is referred to as follows: ततः कर्ती संपुरे संमोहाय सूक्ष्मिक्षा। इत्या मान्याजननहु: कौकटेतु भविष्यति॥; नन्दे मुक्ताय छिद्राय हैत्यावव्यावोहिने। भाष्यम X. 40. 22.
(i.e. Bhārgavārāma, Dāsarathi Rāma and Balarāma), Kṛṣṇa and Kalkin (i.e. it omits Buddha). The Ahirbudhnya Samhitā (5. 50–57) enumerates 39 avatāras of Vasudeva, that are set out by Otto Schrader in his Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, pp. 42–43. The Viṣṇupurāṇa⁶²⁶ states that Laksmi follows Viṣṇu in his avatāras. The Purāṇas are full of the descriptions of the exploits of Viṣṇu in his several avatāras. But it should not be supposed that Śiva had no avatāras. The Vāyu (chap. 23) mentions 28 avatāras of Maheśvara the last of which was Nakuli (Lakulī) as verse 221 says. In Varāha 15. 10–19 all avatāras are praised except that of Buddha. But Varāha (48, 20–22) provides that worship of Narasimha frees men from the fear of sins, of Vāmana leads to removal of delusion, of Paraśurāma to wealth, one should worship Dāsarathi Rāma for the destruction of cruel enemies, one desirous of a son should worship Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, one who desires a handsome form should worship Buddha and one should worship Kalkin for the slaughter of enemies.⁶²⁷ The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 49. 1–9) describes what characteristics the images of the ten avatāras should possess and says that the image of Buddha should be represented as having a quiet face, long ear-lobes, fair complexion, wearing an upper garment, seated in Padmāsana posture and his hands should have the varada and abhaya poses.

From the facts that Kṣemendra in his Daśavatāra-carita⁶²⁸ (composed in 1066 A.D.), and the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva (court poet of Laksmanasena) mention the usual ten avatāras with Fish as the first and that the Matsya passage about ten avatāras is quoted by Aparārka (first half of 12th century), it follows that all the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu had become recognised throughout India at least about the 10th century A.D.

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⁶²⁶ एवं यथा ज्ञातामी देवराजो जनाईनः। अवतारं करते वेष तथा श्रीतस्ततः।। दुन्हश यथा यथा भवति। यदा च भंगि र श्रीतस्ततः पुत्रवर्तानी लिंयम्।।

⁶²⁷ श्रीवान्दा तम्भकार्यं भृगुआध्यायं श्रवणं।। उधीये पदवंशो बुझी वर्णभाष-द्रष्टः॥। अद्व 49. 8; वृषभसति 57. 4 पद्मादितकर्मयम्। नववर्णोऽस्मिन्।। तु नीचश्चेतान्।। पद्मलोकितोपि विवेद जगतो भवति दु:हः॥। विदे वराह 48. 20–22 गायनं मोहनामाय विवेदं जमादातां रावः।। कुलश्रवणानां वर्जितादानत्थिः।। बुधद्विशिष्ठं वर्जितमानस्।। पुष्करान् न संसारम्।। रुपकामो भजेऽवुः क्रुः जपताताः कलिकाम्॥।

⁶²⁸ नन्दव: कुम्भवः। युक्तिपुराणां जानमय्यः। काकुश्च: कंसद्व: स च हमलेवः। काकिनाना च विश्चं।। इत्यावतारचरितम् I. 2.
Kumārila (7th century A.D.) did not accept Buddha as an āvātāra, though about that century some people had come to recognize him as such (vide note 1629). Besides, as shown above, there were many views about the total number of āvatāras, their names and the order in which they appeared. Vide Dr. Katre's paper in Allahabad University Studies, vol. X. pp. 37-130 for discussion on 33 āvatāras. The Varāha āvatāra is mentioned in the Eran stone Boar inscription of Toramāna (Gupta inscriptions pp. 158-160) in the first quarter of the 6th century. The Raghuvāmśa (IV. 53 and 58) refers to the recovery of land near the Sahya mountain from the Western Sea by Rāma (Bhārgava); vide pp. 89-90 and note 224 above for references in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas to Pāraśurāma's exploits. The Sarvānukramāṇi p. 42 on Rg. X, 110 names as rṣi Jamadagni or his son Rāma. The Meghadūta mentions the planting of the left foot of Viṣṇu on Bali (i.e. the Vāmanā āvatāra). Māgha in Śīsūpāla-vadha (XV. 55) regards Bodhisattva (Buddha) as an āvatāra of Hari and as sought to be tempted by the hordes of Māra. Māgha flourished about 725-775 A.D. The knowledge of Vāmanā and Kṛṣṇa āvatāras can be carried back centuries before the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, since it refers to works and dramatic representations of the imprisonment of Bali and the killing of Kaṃsa (vide pp. 130, 203 and notes 330, 521 above). In the Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora one sees the representations of Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmanā and Kṛṣṇa. These caves are ascribed to the 8th century A.D.1630 Therefore, it appears almost certain that some at least (viz. Vāmanā, Pāraśurāma and Kṛṣṇa) of the usual ten āvatāras had been recognised some centuries before Christ and all ten had come to be recognised by some writers and other people before the 7th century A.D.

1629. The first verse of the Inscription is: जयति धर्मे यो श्रयु नसीमायायामायायामायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायामायायā

1630. द्रव्य तत्त्वा लिङ्कल्पमें भविष्यितोत्सवस्य एव। महादत्तम भगवद्गुरुस्तवम् एविन्दितमस्य सत्त्वादित्ययमानयनम्। ग्रंथार्थत्ववर्गम् XV. 58. For Māgha's date, vide the author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1951) pp. 112-113 and 139.

1631. Vide 'Cave Temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 438; Archaeological Survey of Western India by Burgess, Vol. V. p. 25.
The conception of avatāras contributed largely to the increase of Dharmaśāstra material. They gave rise to numerous vratas and festivals. For example, the Varahapurāṇa devotes chapters 33-48 to dvādaśi-vrata in honour of the ten avatāras from Matsya to Kalkin. There are separate festivals called Jayantis of the avatāras such as Narasimha-jayanti on Vaiśākha śu. 14, Paraśurāma-jayanti (on Vaiśākha śu. 3). Vide pp. 262-263 for the tithis and months in which the different avatāras appeared. 1631a

Descriptions of each of the ten well-known avatāras occur in several Purāṇas; for example, Matsya avatāra is described in Matsya chap. 1-2, Agni 2, Narasimha 37; Kūrma in Agni 3, Bhāgavata I. 3. 16, VIII. 7-8-10, Narasimha 38; Varāha in Matsya 247-248, Vāyu 6. 11-26, Bhāgavata III. 13. 18-45, III. 19. 25-30, Narasimha 39; Narasimha avatāra in Brahma 58. 12 ff., 213. 43 ff., Matsya 161-163, Bhāgavata I. 3. 18, VII. 8. 18, Narasimha-purāṇa 41-44; Vāmana in Brahma 73 and 213. 80-155, Vāyu 98. 74-87, Vāmanapurāṇa 78. 51, Bhāgavata VIII. 18. 12 to VIII. 22. 33, Narasimha 45; Paraśurāma in Matsya 244-246, Bhāgavata IX. 15. 13, IX. 16. 1-26 and vide above pp. 89-90 and note 204; Rāma in Brahma 176, Agni 5-11 (the seven lāṅgas of the Rāmāyana are summarised), Vāyu 88. 183-198, Bhāg. IX. 10-11, Padma IV. 1-68, Narasimha 47-52; Kṛṣṇa in Brahma 14-17, 180-212, Agni 12-15, Bhāg. X. 3. 44-45, 50-52 &c., XI. 1 and 30, Narasimha 53; Buddha in Brahma 180. 27-39, Agni 16. 1-3, Varāha 160. 27-29, 213. 32 ff., Padma VI. 31. 13-15, Bhāg. I. 3. 24; Kalkin—Vide H. of Dh. III. pp. 923-925 for references. The avatāras and their jayantis are described in many Dharmaśāstra works, but the Tōdarānanda, vol. I, edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya in the Ganga Oriental Series probably contains the longest account of the ten avatāras (pp. 39-386). Thousands of verses are devoted by the Purāṇas to each of the topics of dāna (gifts), śrādha, tirtha and vrata and they have been quoted at length by works on Dharmaśāstra. It would be

1631a. The following verse is cited from the Purāṇaśāstra in तिनं सिद्ध. p. 81: सत्यधर्म्मजयते सम्पत्ति, हुमानं षियो मायेः, वर्शारं निरंजातुलं नमस्ति, परमं निन्ति मभो। निहीं, मायेः षिते पीरस्य भ्रमणो मायेः रामी रीरिहिष्यति: एतंचुः रामां नवभायं सवीः हुमानस्य नमस्तिम् सितं परस्य, चाविस्ते यज्ञमप्या इत्यः कक्की नमस्ति सम्पत्तं ज्ञातवेन्द्रवं कपले। The भिन्निन्द्रि: p. 79 (of the श्रीरीवंचि) also quotes this. The तिनं सिद्ध remarks that others cite some stray verses where some of the tithis are different and that some Kōṅkaṇa writers cite some verses as occurring in वराहपुराण in which मर्त्यधर्म्मजयते is on आषषामकर्त्र eleventh, Buddha should be worshipped on चौस्थान्तर 7th and so on.
best to bring together by way of illustration a few of the pages of the previous volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra on these subjects.

Vide vol. II. pp. 880–881 (for gifts of certain dānas called dhenus from Matsya chap. 82, Varāha, chap. 99–110, Agni, chap. 210), p. 882 (for gifts called parvata or meru from Matsya 83–92, Agni 210 quoted by Aparārka pp. 344–454), pp. 884–885 (for grahaśānti from Matsya 93 and about images of planets from Matsya 84), p. 892 (for dedication of a reservoir of water to the public from Matsya 58), pp. 895–896 for the planting of trees and the dedication of a garden to the public (Matsya 59, Agni 70), pp. 896–899 (for dedication of temples and consecration of images in Matsya 264–266, Agni 60 and 66); vol. IV. pp. 162–164 about various hells (Agni 203, 371, Brahma 22, 214–215, Brahmaśastra, Prakṛtikhandā 29 and 33, Nāradapurāṇa I. 15, Padma IV. 227, Bhaviṣya, Brāhmaṇaparva 192, Bhāgavata V. 26, Viṣṇu V. 6, Māraṇḍeya 12 and 14); vol. IV. p. 170 about heaven being really happiness of the mind (Brahma 22. 44 and 47, Viṣṇu IV. 6. 46); vol. IV. pp. 177–178 on the doctrine of Karmavipaṇa (Vāmana 12, Māraṇḍeya 15, Varāha 203, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 102); vol. IV. p. 181 on the signs of approaching death (Vāyu 19, Liṅga 91, Māra. 43. 29–39 or chap. 40 of Venk. ed. and Viṣṇudharmottara III. 218); vol. IV. p. 212 on cremation (Varāha 187, Garuda II. 4); vol. IV. p. 256 on the persons entitled to perform funeral rites (Viṣṇu III. 13, Mārk. chap. 30 of B. I. ed. and 27 of Venk. ed.); vol. IV. pp. 261–262 the rites after death being called pūrva or nava, madhyama (navamiśra) and uttara (or purāṇa) in Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13; vol. IV. p. 265 about an ātivāhika body being assumed by the soul of a dead person (Brahma 214, Mārk. 16, Agni 230 and 371); vol. IV. p. 272 on āśauca (impurity on birth and death) from Kūma II. 23, Liṅga I. 89, Garuda, pretakhandā 5, Agni 157–158, Vāmana 14. It is unnecessary to refer to the pages of this volume itself for numerous references to Purāṇas as regards tithis, various vratas, times for religious rites, astrological matters &c.

It should not be supposed that the Purāṇas are restricted to topics called religious in popular parlance and to the five characteristic topics of creation, re-creation (śarga, pratisarga &c.) Some of the Purāṇas contain an exhaustive treatment of the duties of kings, ministers, commander-in-chief, judge, envoy scribes, court physician and of coronation, invasion &c
Many of these matters have already been dealt with in vol. III. of the H. of Dh. The most exhaustive treatment of what may be called political matters is found in Matsya chap. 215-226 and 240, Agni 218-242, Viṣṇudharmottara II, chap. 2-7, 18-21, 24-26, 25, 61-63, 66-72, 145-152, 177. Among other Purāṇas Garuḍa I. 108-115, Mārkaṇḍeya 24 (in Venk. ed. or 27 in Banerji’s ed.), Kalika 87 contain some discussion of matters political. It should be noticed that both Matsya (240.2) and Agni (223.1) employ the two technical words, ‘Ākranda’ and ‘Pāṭṣnigrāha’ that are part of the theory of Maṇḍala in Kauṭilya (VI. 2. p. 260) explained in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 232. The Matsyapurāṇa is profusely quoted by one of the earliest extant digests on Dharmaśāstra viz. the Kṛtyakaḷpataru on Rājadharma (pp. 23, 25-30, 34-38, 42-43, 55-61, 118-122, 123-124, 158-161 and many verses from chap. 227 and 241 of the Matsya on the administration of justice in Vyavaharikāṇḍa pp. 342, 345, 348, 317, 406, 409-10, 562, 581, 594-95, 599). The same digest quotes many verses (pp. 9-13, 128, 166, 178-181) from the Brahmapurāṇa which are not found in the printed Brahma (Anan. ed.), but which are quoted by the Rājanitíprakāśa of Mitramiśra (borrowing from Kṛtyakaḷpataru) pp. 138, 158, 283, 416-419 and some by the Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva (pp. 326-330). The Viṣṇudharmottara on rājadharma is not quoted in the Kṛtyakaḷpataru on rājadharma, but it is frequently quoted by the Rājanitíprakāśa e.g. Vi. Dh. II. 18. 1, 5-14 are quoted by R. N. P. on pp. 32-33, Vi. Dh. II. 18. 2-4 are quoted by R. N. P. p. 61, Vi. Dh. II. 22. 1-185 are quoted by R. N. P. pp. 66-81 (on mantras to be recited and the several divinities to be invoked at a king’s coronation), Vi. Dh. II. 23. 1-13 are quoted by R. N. P. on pp. 82-83 (describing the rewards of the mantras recited in Vi. Dh. II. 22). Vi. Dh. is quoted 21 times by the Rājadharmakaustubha. These three Purāṇas alone (Matsya, Agni, Viṣṇudharmottara) devote several thousand verses to the topic of rāja-dharma and allied matters. The Garuḍa-purāṇa (I. 108-115) devotes about four hundred verses to Rājanití (political thought) but many of them are like subhāṣītas (bon mots) and are borrowed from Manu (e.g Garuḍa I. 109. 1 and 52, 110. 7, 115. 63 are respectively Manu VII. 213, VIII. 26, II. 239, IX. 3), the Mahābhārata, the Nāradasmṛti (e.g. ‘na sā sabhā’ in Garuḍa 115. 52 is Nārada III. 18). The Garuḍa itself states that it will expound the essence of nṛt (Rājadharma) based upon Artha-
Summary of references to dāna and other topics in H. of Dh. 1001

śāstra and the like; while the colophons at the end of chapters 108-114 aver that they contain the Nitisāra promulgated by Brhaspati. One verse is almost the same as the Introductory verse 5 of Bāna’s Kādambari and I am disposed to hold that it is the Garuda that is the borrower.

Certain verses from the Mārkandeya-purāṇa (24. 5, 23-33 or chap. 27 and 21-31 in Banerji’s ed.) are quoted by R. N. P. pp. 30-31 (about the duties of kings and their acting in the peculiar ways of five gods, viz. Indra, Sūrya, Yama, Soma and Vāyu). The Dāyabhāga quotes the Mārkandeya-purāṇa for pointing out that sāpindya in the matter of inheritance and succession is different from sāpindya for the periods of aśauca (impurity on death). The Kṛtyakalpataru on Rājadharma (pp. 182-183) quotes a passage from Skandapurāṇa on the festival of Kaumudimahotsava to be celebrated by the king. The same passage is quoted by R. N. P. pp. 419-421.

The Kṛtyakalpataru (on Rājadharma) quotes a long passage (pp. 201-212) from Bhavisyapurāṇa on ‘Vasodhārā’, which is quoted by the R.N.P. (pp. 447-457) from the Devipurāṇa. The Kālīkāpurāṇa in chapter 87 devotes 131 verses to Rājanīti, in which a summary is furnished of the course of conduct that should be followed by the king. This chapter expressly mentions the works of Uśanas and Brhaspati (verses 99 and 130) and advises the king to honour brāhmaṇas that are advanced in knowledge, learning, tapas and age, to control his senses, to employ the four upāyas (sāma, dāna, daṇḍa and bheda), to avoid the vices of gambling, drinking, indulgence in sexual matters and hunting, to practise the six guṇas (yāna, āsana &c.), to test the princes, councillors, the queens and other female relatives by upalās (investigation of character by various tricks).
It appears that Kautilya's Arthasastra was not available to most medieval writers and therefore they relied on the purânas for the treatment of Rajadharma. But the early purânas like the Matsya appear to have made use of Kautilya's work. Vide the author's paper on 'Kautilya and the Matsya-purâna' in Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume II. pp. 13–15.

In the matter of the administration of justice and the law of succession and inheritance also some of the Purânas have influenced the views of writers of nibandhas. The Krtyakalpataru on Vyavahâra quotes about twelve verses from the Kâlikâ-purâna on the marks of a truthful party or witness and on the appropriate ordeals in the case of the several varṇas, their procedure and the different causes of action (vide pp. 79, 205, 210, 211, 221, 231, 238). Three verses from the Kâlikâ (chap. 91. 35–37) about the twelve kinds of sons and the impropriety of making a punarbhava, svayamdatta and a dāsa successor to a kingdom are quoted in the R. N. P. pp. 35 and 42. Verses 38–41 of Kâlikâ, chapter 91, about the sons that can be adopted and the age up to which they can be adopted are quoted by the Dattakamāmśā p. 60 (Ānan. ed.) and by the Vyavahāramayūkha p. 114, though the latter remarks that they were not found in two or three mss. of the Purâna. In connection with the question of the seniority among twins the Mayūkha quotes Śrīdhara's comment on Bhāgavata (III. 19. 18) that the son born first is the younger one; but the Vyavahāramayūkha makes the interesting remark that in the Purâna practices opposed to the śrītis are frequently seen.

1636. The three verses on pp. 210–211 beginning with 'paradārabhiśāpe' etc. in Krtyakalpataru are quoted also by the Vyavahāramayūkha p. 45 and the Rājadharma-kautusubha p. 408.

1637. यदृ कालिकाकुराणे—पितृमात्रेऽविधवा यः पुत्रः...स्यादव्याप्तिः पाच वर्षं चारस्तय तवस्योच्चवर्य।...हुसूः हि वसो न तथा विश्रवर्णव्रीयेऽद्विकालिकाकुराणुपलस्यत्वर्षानादृ। ब्र. म. 114 (B. O. R. I. ed. 1926).

1638. शौ—ह्री तदा भवती गर्भी सुधिव्याप्तिपर्यार्थ—हर्माबिन्न भागते पद्धारात्तस्य ज्ञेष्टवर्षन्त तत्तपतेन भास्ते। पुराणेऽयु मुदितविव्याप्तात्त्वाणं बहुाशो दस्यानादृ। ब्र. म. 98.
CHAPTER XXV

Causes of the Disappearance of Buddhism from India.

At the beginning of Chapter XXIV (pp. 913–14, n 1448) above, it was stated that the Purāṇas had a large share in bringing about the final disappearance of Buddhism from India, the land of its birth. The disappearance of Buddhism from India was complete and seemed to be sudden and is a complex problem. No single cause, nor even a few causes can fully account for this phenomenon. A combination of causes, both internal and external, must have been in operation for a pretty long time to bring about this remarkable event. It may be admitted that some of the causes are more or less conjectural. In the first quarter of the 5th century A.D. Fa-Hian found Buddhism in a flourishing condition in India, while in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Yuan Chwang appears to say that the decline of Buddhism had set in. It-sing found Buddhism very much on the decline in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. An attempt will be made here to discuss briefly the several causes that have been put forward by scholars for explaining the almost total disappearance of Buddhism from India. A few of the contributions bearing on this subject may be noted here. 'Religions of India' by A. Barth, translated by J. Wood (1882) pp. 133–139; Journal of Pali Texts Society (1896 pp. 87–92) on 'Persecution of Buddhists in India' by Rhys Davids; Kern's 'Manual of Buddhism' (in the German Grundriss pp. 133–134); 'Buddhist India' by Rhys Davids (1903, pp. 157–158, 319); L. H. Q. vol. IX pp. 361–371 (where the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism emphasized by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri are enumerated); 'The Sum of History' by René Grousset, translated by A. and H. Temple Patterson pp. 101–105 (Tower Bridge Publications, 1951); 'The Decline of Buddhism in India' by Dr. R. C. Mitra (1954), particularly pp. 125–164; 'Life and Teaching of Buddha' by Devamitta Dharmapala (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1938); '2500 years of Buddhism' edited by Prof. P. V. Bapat, 1956 pp. 360–376; 'The Path of the Buddha' by Prof. Kenneth W. Morgan pp. 47–50 (New York, 1956); 'How Buddhism left India' by N. J. O'Connor, Ralph Fletcher Seymour, Chicago (1957).
Before setting out the main causes of the virtual disappearance of Buddhism from India certain general points have to be emphasized. Buddha was only a great reformer of the Hindu religion as practised in his time. He did not feel or claim that he was forming a new religion, nor did he renounce the Hindu religion and all its practices and beliefs. The Buddha referred to the Vedas and Hindu sages with honour in some of his sermons. He recognised the importance of Yogic practices and meditation. His teaching took over several beliefs current among the Hindus in his day such as the doctrine of Karma and Rebirth and cosmological theories. A substantial portion of the teaching of Buddha formed part of the tenets of the Upaniṣadic period. At the time when he was born there were two main currents of thoughts and practices prevalent among the people, one being the path of sacrifices to Gods and the other being the path of moral endeavour, self-restraint and spiritual goal. It has been shown above (pp. 917–918) how the Upaniṣads assigned a lower position to the Vedas and the sacrifices enjoined therein and how spiritual knowledge after cultivating high ethical qualities was deemed greater than sacrifices. The Upaniṣads first began by symbolic interpretation of Vedic sacrifices, as for example in Br. Up. I. 1. 1, where Uṣas, Sūrya and Saṃvatsara are said to be respectively the head, the eye and the soul of the sacrificial horse or as in Chān. Up II. 2. 1–2, where the five parts of the Śāman employed in a sacrifice are symbolically identified with earth, fire, sky, sun and heaven. Then they proceed to belittle the Veda as mere name and as much inferior to brahmaṇidhyā (e. g. Br. Up. IV. 4. 21, I. 4.10, Chān. Up. VII. 1–4, Mundaka I. 1. 4–5. It is generally held by all Sanskrit scholars that at least the oldest Upaniṣads like the Brhadāranyaka and the Chāndogya are earlier than Buddha, that they do not refer to Buddha or to his teachings or to the pitakas. On the other hand, though in dozens of Suttas meetings of brāhmaṇas and Buddha or his disciples and missionaries are reported they almost always seem to be marked by courtesy on both sides. No meetings are recorded in the early Pali Texts or brahmanical Texts about Śākyans condemning the tenets of ancient brahmanism or about brāhmaṇas censuring the Bauddha heterodoxy. Besides, in all these meetings and talks, the central Upaniṣad conception of the immanence of brahma is never attacked by Buddha or by the early propagators of Buddhism. What Buddha says may be briefly rendered as follows: "Even so have I, O Bhikkhus, seen an ancient path, an ancient road followed by
rightly enlightened persons of former times. And what, O Bhikkhus, is that ancient path, that ancient road, followed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times? Just this very Noble Eightfold Path, viz. right views...&c. This, O Bhikkhus, is that ancient path, that ancient road, followed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times. Along that (path) I have gone and while going along that path, I have fully come to know, old age and death. Having come to know it fully, I have told it to the monks, the nuns, the lay followers, men and women; this brahmācārya is prosperous, flourishing, widespread, widely known, has become popular and made manifest well by gods and men.”

It will be noticed that the Noble Eightfold Path which the Buddha put forward as the one that would put an end to misery and suffering is here expressly stated to be an ancient path trod by ancient enlightened men. Buddha does not claim that he was unique, but claimed that he was only one of a series of Enlightened men and stressed that the moral qualities which he urged men to cultivate belonged to antiquity. In the Dhammapada and the Suttanipāta (Mahāvagga, Vāsāḷha sutta) the truly virtuous man is spoken of as brāhmaṇa: “I speak of him as brāhmaṇa, who causes no harm (or evil) in body, word and thought, who is guarded as regards these three sources”; ‘neither by matted hair nor by lineage, nor by caste, does one become a brāhmaṇa’; ‘that man in whom there is truth and righteousness is blessed and is a brāhmaṇa’; ‘him who does not cling to desires (or pleasures) as water does not stick to a lotus leaf or as a mustard grain (does not stick) on the top of an awl, I call a brāhmaṇa.”

Moreover, it does not appear that at any time

1639. Vide संसूचितकाय (P. T. S.), part II (Nidānavagga) edited by M. Leon Feer pp. 106–107 paragraphs 21–33, a few sentences from which may be quoted here: ‘एवमेव खाय भिक्षवे अहसः पुराणं मम् पुराणजसं पुनयः सम्मार्गद्वृत्तिः अनुपातं। कत्मौ च सो भिक्षवे मम् पुराणजसं।’”अनुपातं। अययः अन्तभिर्मयो मम्। सम्मार्गद्वृत्तिः।””अवयः रो भिक्षवे पुराणमयो अनुपातं।””तएव अदुर्गुः। ते अदुर्गुच्छो जरासम् अभिद्वासिः।””तादु अभिद्वाय आचार्यविख्यातिभिः भिक्षुप्रवाहीनेन उत्साहकान्तेन उपासितान।””तयं भिक्षुधराय ईड़े चेव फोरे च विपालिक श्रद्धजनम् एवृपुष्य याय देवमदस्तैहु सुप्रकाशितं लिः।”

1640. यस्य कार्यान वाचया नन्दसा नाथं भुक्तं। संद्रतं तीर्थावेन तद्वेक्सनि तमाः हृद्म हावांस। न जदाहि न गोचरं न जाहि रोहित ब्राह्मणं। यथि सत्तं च धम्मं च सो सुस्वा सो च ब्राह्मणं। वारि पार्वत्येव अरमागित साक्षात्। यो न हिम्मिति कामसू तमाः हृद्म हावांस। यथमदृश्यं वर्गसं 391, 393, 401 (of Dr. P. L. Vaidya's edition of 1934 in Devanāgarī type); दुर्गतिनिपात (महावग्ग, वासेंद्वद) has the last verse. With the verse ‘ना जाताहि (Continued on next page)
the whole of India or even large portions of it were completely Buddhistic. The people of India as a whole were always Hindus. There were many millions of people at all times who professed Hinduism and not Buddhism. Besides, even when Buddhism secured the patronage of emperors like Asoka, Kaniska and Harsa Buddhism was mainly restricted to monasteries and schools and great tolerance prevailed. For example, Harsa’s father was a great devotee of the Sun and he himself is described in his Banskhera and Madhuban plates as a great devotee of Siva, though his elder brother Rājyavardhana is described as paramasaugata (a great devotee of Buddha) and he appears to have shown favour to the Buddhist pilgrim (Yuan Chwang).1642

Some recent authors like Prof. K. W. Morgan hold that the most important causes of the disappearance of Buddhism were decline of vigour in the Saṅgha, the Moslem invasions and the opposition of the Hindu community (‘The Path of the Buddha’ p. 48).

There is a good deal of truth in A. Coomaraswamy’s contention that the more profound is one’s study of Buddhism and Brahmanism the more difficult it becomes to distinguish between

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1641. Vide a similar view expressed by a great French savant and Sanskrit scholar Prof. L. Renou in ‘Religions of ancient India’ (University of London, 1953) p. 100.

1642. For Banskhera Plate of the year 22 (of the Harsa era) i. e. 628–29 A. D., vide E. I. vol. IV pp. 210–211 and for the Madhuban plate of Harṣa in the year 25 i. e. 631–32 A. D., vide E. I. vol. I pp. 72–73 (Bühler) and E. I. vol. VII pp. 157–158 (Kielhorn). Yuan Chwang does not mention that Rājyavardhana was a great devotee of Buddha but he tries to paint Harṣa as full of faith in Buddha from the beginning and narrates a fictitious story describing how Harṣa was prevented from mounting the throne and induced to take the title Kumāra by a Bodhisattva who miraculously appeared to him in return for his worship. This shows that the accounts by the ‘Master of the Law’ must sometimes be taken with a pinch of salt. Vide Watters on ‘Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India’ (London, 1904) vol. I p. 343 for this story.
the two or to say in what respects Buddhism is really unorthodox (vide his 'Hinduism and Buddhism' p. 452). Buddha and his successors really attacked some popular varieties of Brahmanism. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her lecture on 'The relations between Early Buddhism and Brahmanism' (published in I. H. Q. vol. X. pp. 274–286) endeavours to show that the Tripiṭakas do not refer to rupture with brāhmaṇas and that what Buddha preached was in agreement with the central tenet of immanence in the Brahmanism of the day. Buddha agreed (or at least had no quarrel) with the Upaniṣad teaching about high moral endeavour being a necessary pre-requisite for brahma realization and mokṣa (as in Br. Up. IV. 4.23 'tasmād-evamvic-chānto dānta uprata-sstitiṣuḥ samāhito bhūtvā ātmanyevātmānam paśyati', Kaṭha Up. I. 2.23, I. 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, Praśna Up. I. 15–16, Muṇḍaka I. 2.12–13).

The main matters of controversy between Buddha and the Hindu religious and philosophical system current in his time are generally held to have been caste divisions and pride of caste, the absolute authoritativeness of the Vedas and the great importance attached to sacrifices. 1642a Buddha asserted that righteousness and wisdom were the best, he did not expressly deny the existence of God but proclaimed that it was unnecessary to be definite nor did he pronounce his definite views on such questions as whether the world is eternal or non-eternal, since according to him, to cogitate on such points would be "a thicket of theorizing, wilderness of theorizing, the tangle of theorizing, the bondage and shackles of theorizing .... nor would it conduce to aversion, passionlessness, tranquillity, peace, illumination and nirvāṇa." 1643 Buddha did not think much

1642a. Barth in 'Religions of India' (pp. 125–126) scouts the theory that the institution of the Saṅgha and primitive Buddhism were a reaction against the regime of caste and the spiritual yoke of the brāhmaṇas and calls that theory 'a fiction of romance.'

1643. Vide Majjhima-nikāya (Cūla-Māluṅkyasutta and Aggi-vaccagottasutta) ed. by V. Trenkner, vol. I suttas 63 and 72 pp. 431 and 486 'निबिध्याय न विरामाय न निरोधाय न उपस्माय न अभिज्ञाय न सम्बोधाय न निबिध्याय संबंधिति.' These very words occur in the Poṭṭhapada-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya when Buddha was asked by Poṭṭhapada whether the world was permanent or otherwise, whether it was without end or not, whether the soul (jīva) and body were different and he replied that he did not expound these matters because they served no purpose and did not lead to nirvāṇa (Pali Texts Society, vol. I pp. 188–189 para 28).
of worship or prayer. According to him, what mattered was the deliverance of man from sorrow and suffering and the attainment of nirvāṇa (which state he did not care to define clearly and precisely). The original doctrine (called hinayāna, ‘the lesser way or vehicle’) held that the experience of enlightenment and nirvāṇa can be secured by human beings in this very life if they follow the path chalked out by Buddha.

The causes that have been advanced from time to time by scholars for the total disappearance of Buddhism from India must now be dealt with. (1) Persecution is alleged by some scholars as at least one of the main causes. King Puṣyamitra of the Sūṅga dynasty is charged with having proclaimed that whoever would bring to the head of a śramaṇa would receive one hundred dināras; Mihirakula, king of Kashmir,

1643 a. The word 'Nirvāṇa' literally means 'blown out, extinguished, or become cooled'. Taking the view most favourable to Buddha’s teaching, it implies the blowing out or extinction of the fires of kāma (lust or desire), krodha (anger or ill-will), moha (ignorance or stupidity) and transformation of these into moral purity, goodwill (or charity) and wisdom. It is not like the Biblical Heaven. It is a state of perfect enlightenment, peace and bliss, attainable not merely after death, but in this very life and on this earth. It is really indescribable as stated in the Pali Udāna VIII 'unbecome, unborn, unformed &c.' and resembles the words used in speaking of brahma as 'neti neti' in Br. Up. II. 3. 6, IV. 2. 4, IV. 4. 22, IV. 5. 15.

1644. The words in the Aśokavādāna No. 29 (the Divyāvadāna ed. by Cowell and Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 434) 'वायसरं पुजयित्वा यागसाधनात् निश्चितं प्रायतनम् प्राप्तिम् ततः स प्रायतनात्मकायां ते भाग्यितौ युथे अभ्राधिशो लोकतान्त्रिकायां भाग्ययां' and 'पद्म पुजयित्वा रजने प्रायतनत्वं मांश्य्येश्वरः शुभेच्छा:'. Puṣyamitra is said by most authorities to be a Sūṅga and was called senāni in the Purāṇas, in Harṣacarita (VI) and in the Ayodhya Inscription (in E. I. vol. 20 p. 54), while the above avadāna calls him Maurya. This shows either the ignorance of the writer of the Divyāvadāna (which is a late work) or the text itself may be incorrect or corrupt. Vide Pro. of the 6th Indian History Congress (Aligarh, 1943) pp. 109–116 where Mr. N. N. Ghosh propounds the theory that Puṣyamitra did persecute Buddhists, though his successors did not; on the other hand Dr. Ray Chaudhari in ‘Political History of India’ (5th ed.) does not agree to the theory of persecution by Puṣyamitra. In the Āryaṃmahāśri-mūla-kalpa (T. S. S. part III, 53rd chapter pp. 619–620) it is stated in a prophetic vein that a certain king called Gomukhya (and also Gomisanda) extending his rule from East India to Kashmir will make Buddha’s sāsana (system) disappear, will destroy vihāras and kill monks’. K. P. Jayaswal in ‘Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit text’ (p. 19) holds that Gomukhya is a concealed name for

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is accused by Yuan Chwang (or more correctly, Hsuan Tsang according to some modern writers) with having overthrown Buddhist topees in Gandhara, with destruction of monasteries and the slaughter of myriads of Buddhists (vide ‘In the footsteps of Buddha’ by René Grousset pp. 119-130 on Mihirakula, the Indian Attila); king Śaṅkha is said by Yuan Chwang to have destroyed the Bo-tree (Bodhidruma), replaced the image of Buddha by one of Maheśvara and to have destroyed the religion of Buddha and dispersed the order (vide Beal’s ‘Buddhist Records of the Western World’ Vol. II. pp. 118, 122 and Watters on ‘Yuan Chwang’s Travels’ Vol. II, pp 115-116); king Sudhanvan is supposed to have issued at the instigation of Kumārila a proclamation to take effect from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin (which is palpably absurd) that he would put to death any servant of his who did not kill the Buddhists. These instances are carefully examined by no less a scholar than Rhys Davids in the Journal of the Pali Texts Society for 1896 (pp 87-92). After adverting to the facts that there is nothing about persecution in the Pali Pitakas, that the tone of Pali books is throughout appreciative of brāhmaṇas, that no details are given and that hardly any names of persons suffering by

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Puṣyamitra, that the portion above quoted was written about 800 A. D. and was translated into Tibetan in 1060 A. D. (Intro. p. 3). Vide ‘Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire’ by Ramaprasad Chanda in I.H.Q. vol. V pp. 393-407 at p. 397 (for the concluding sentences of the Divyāvadāna in English) and pp. 587-613 and a recent paper on ‘Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and Buddhists’ by Hari Kishore Prasad in JIBRS, vol. 40 pp. 29-38.

1644 a. Vide also ‘Buddhist India’ by Rhys Davids pp. 318-320 (5th ed. of 1917, the first being of 1903) about persecution and ‘Life and Teaching of Buddha’ by Devamitta Dharmapala p. 7 about Kumārila and Śaṅkara having waged only a polemic war and nothing more. The Tantra-vārtika of Kumārila also suggests that the Buddhists were afraid of polemic skirmishes with the Māmāsaṅkas and that, while stating in one breath that everything is momentary, the Buddhists at the same time foolishly boasted that their sacred texts also were eternal, borrowing that idea from the Vedic doctrines; सध नीमास्कर्तात् शाक्यवेदेश्विकादृष्टात् ॥ नित्य एवमेव वधाकर्षितप्रदातात् ॥ सूचने चेतनम् ॥ p. 235; तत् साहसे भाषा सम्भवितादित्व। त्वप्रथते वेदस्तिद्वान्तिज्ञातोऽन्नमास्मि। तत् प्राप्ते चेष्टास्मात्विज्ञातोऽन्नमास्मि। p. 236. Vide note (2011) which will show that Kumārila was prepared to admit the usefulness of Buddha’s teachings up to a certain point. Other literary works also show that it was a polemic war e.g. the बालभद्रता of सूचने (not later than 6th century A. D.) says ‘केवलमेवमिति मतांभाराण इव तथा गतस्तर्गः’ (p. 144, Hall’s ed.).

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persecution are mentioned, he asserts that he does not believe in these stories, but adds that he does not go so far as to maintain that there is no truth at all in the legend about Pusyamitra (but judgment must be reserved in view of the text in the avaśīṇa being corrupt and the author of it being grossly ignorant). As to the legend about Sudhanvan and Kumārila he holds that of all the cases of alleged persecution this is the weakest and that it is no more than boastful and rhetorical exaggeration. Rhys Davids emphasizes that the adherents of both faiths so diametrically opposed to each other lived in continuous peace side by side for a thousand years, that this redounds to the credit of the whole Indian people from the time of Aśoka.

1645. In the Mahābhārata it is stated (I. 56 and 59) that king Sudhanvan was an avatāra of Indra and Kumārila of Skanda (who is also known as Kumāra). The order of Sudhanvan is couched in that work as follows: स्याधाराओ यहो जो राजा व्यायं भूतस्वतिष्ठित:। आ विस्तृता तुवालाइया श्रीकार्न्त्यहुः तह्याष्ट्रकमः।

This seems to be a palpably absurd legend. No king in ancient India, much less one called Sudhanvā, ruled over the vast territory from the Himālayas to Rāmeśvara. Further, it may be noted that the order, supposing one was issued, was addressed only to the king's servants and not to one and all. The Śaṅkaradigvijaya (XV. 1) states that when Śaṅkaracārya started on a pilgrimage to Rāmeśvara king Sudhanvan accompanied him. Mādhavācārya, being blinded by his zeal to glorify his hero to the utmost, goes on heaping one legend on another and casts all history and chronology to the winds. For example, he narrates that Ācārya Abhinavagupta (a great Śaiva and Tantrika teacher) was vanquished by Śaṅkara in disputation (XV. 158) and that Abhinavagupta practised black magic against the great Ācārya. From Abhinavagupta's own works it appears that his literary activity lay between 980 to 1020 A.D. (vide the author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics', 1951, pp. 231-232), while no scholar would place Śaṅkaracārya later than 800 A.D. Mādhavācārya also says (XV. 157) that Śaṅkara vanquished by his arguments Śrīharṣa, author of Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa-khaḍya, who could not be vanquished by Guru, Bhaṭṭa and Udayana. Śrīharṣa flourished about the end of the 12th century A.D. Taranath in his 'History of Buddhism' says 'It was probably about this time that the terrible enemies of the Buddhists, Śaṅkaracārya and his disciple Bhaṭṭacārya appeared, the former in Bengal and the latter in Orissa. A short time after the Buddhists were persecuted in the South by Kumārillā and Kaṇādaruru; here mention is made of the Buddhist king Sālivāhana, though the Buddhists relate that in the end Dharmakīrti triumphed in the discussion with Kumārillā, Śaṅkaracārya or Bhaṭṭacārya &c. (I. A, vol. IV, p. 365). It will be noticed how the account is altogether confused. Vide Dr. Mitra's 'Decline of Buddhism' p. 129.
downwards and that India never indulged in persecution in anyway approaching to the persecution of reforming Christians by the orthodox Church or the persecution of Christians by the Roman authorities. Dr. R. C. Mitra in "Decline of Buddhism in India" (pp. 125–130) arrives at the same conclusion about the cases of persecution. Barth (in 'Religions of India' p. 136) admits that everything tends to prove that Buddhism became extinct from sheer exhaustion and that it is in its own inherent defects that we must seek for the causes of its disappearance. He prefaces this remark with the words 'the most reliable documents, coins and inscriptions, bear evidence of a tolerance exceptionally generous on the part of the civil powers' (p.133) and illustrates this by examples.\textsuperscript{1645a} It should be noted that great Smṛtikāras like Yājñavalkya laid down that when an Indian king reduced a kingdom to subjection, it was the conqueror's duty to honour the usages, the transactions and family traditions of the conquered country and to protect them. Aśoka, though himself a believer in Buddha's teachings, shows great

\textsuperscript{1645a} यस्मिन्नेहे य आचारो भवत्त्व: कुलस्थिति:। तथैव परिपाल्याः संस्कृतम्। वहसुपालातः॥ Nothing is gained by a total denial of even sporadic cases of religious persecution and vandalism. But such cases are very few and their very paucity emphasizes and illuminates the great religious tolerance of the Indian people for more than two thousand years. One interesting instance is found in an inscription from Ablur published in E. I. vol. V pp. 213 ff (at p. 243), where the story is told of an intense devotee of Śaivism named Ekāntada Rāma, who, in a controversy with the Jainas of Huligere (Lakṣmesvara) led by a village headman named Saṅkagauḍā made a wager in a writing on palmyra leaf to the effect that he would cut his own head, place it at the feet of Somanātha in Huligere and have the head restored after seven days and that, if he succeeded, the Jainas were to give up their faith and God. Ekāntada Rāma succeeded, but the Jainas refused to destroy the image of Jina, whereupon Rāma routed the horses and guards sent by the Jainas, laid waste the Jaina shrine and built a big Śiva shrine there. The Jainas complained to king Bijjala who sent for Rāma and questioned him. Rāma produced the writing containing the terms of the wager, but offered to perform the same feat. The Jainas were not prepared to face the same test again. Bijjala asked the Jainas to live peaceably with their neighbours, gave a jayapatra (document of Rāma's success) and granted a village to the temple of Somanātha. It is clear that a Jain image was overthrown and a Śaiva one was substituted by Rāma (leaving aside the superhuman feat ascribed to him). Rāma is to be placed shortly before 1162 A. D. There is a great difference between local brawls as in the above case and a general policy by a community or a king of wholesale persecution.
tolerance by requiring honour to be shown to all beliefs and sects in his 12th Rock Edict in the words 'Neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place,' that 'other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case', that 'concord (samavāya) alone is meritorious, that is they should both hear and honour each other's Dhamma'.

In the 7th Pillar Edict (Delhi-Topra p. 136) Aśoka proclaims that he appointed officers called Mahāmatras to look after the Sangha (the community or body of preaching Buddhist mendicants), brāhmaṇas, Ājivikas, Nīggaṇṭhas and all other pāṣaṇḍas (sects). India has been for thousands of years a country of nearly absolute tolerance, which is literally a religion, while European religiosity has nearly always been intolerant and, when not intolerant, it is tantamount to mental hostility or complete indifference. Most Indian religious people were and are ready to agree that there may be alternative approaches to the mystery of life and the salvation of the soul. Indians feel amused at the claims of millions of people that some prophet revered by them has got the monopoly of the knowledge of God and the Hereafter. This tolerance for differing tenets and cults persisted in India with rare exceptions throughout the long stretch of time from centuries before Aśoka onwards till about 1200 A.D. when Moslems overran India. A few striking instances (both early and late) may be cited here: (1) Kharavela again, a Jain king of Kalinagara (2nd or 1st century B.C.), granted freedom from taxation to brāhmaṇas in the 9th year of his reign (E. I. vol. XX. p. 79 and 88); (2) The Nasik cave Ins. No. 10 records that Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna of the Ksaharāṭa lineage made very large gifts to gods and brāhmaṇas on the

1646. Vide 'Inscriptions of Aśoka' ed. by Dr. Hultzsch (1925) pp. 20–21 for the text and translation of the Rock Edict from Girnar. Dr. Minakshi in 'Administration and Social life under the Pallavas' (University of Madras, 1938, pp. 170–172) after remarking that Pallava monarchs as a class were tolerant towards all religious sects, points out that king Pallavamalla indulged in some harsh methods and persecution. Prof. Arnold Toynbee in 'East and West' (Oxford Uni. Press) points out that Christianity and Islam have seldom been content to follow the practice of 'live and let live' and that both of them have been responsible for some of the bitterest conflicts and cruellest atrocities that have disgraced history' (p. 49). Similarly, V. O. Vogt in 'Cult and Culture' condemns the unending arrogance of Moslems and Christian Missionaries in their claims of revealed authority and laments that religion will meet disaster unless it universalizes its own conception of Revelation to embrace the future as well as the past (p. 70).
banks of sacred rivers and at Bharukaccha (modern Broach), Daśapura, Govardhana and donated a field for feeding a congregation of Buddhist monks (E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78); (3) The Gupta kings were generally devotees of Viṣṇu but they also made gifts to Buddhist monks e.g. Gupta Inscription No. 5 ('Gupta Inscriptions' ed. by Fleet pp. 31–34) records a grant by Āmrakardava (an officer of Chandragupta II) to an Āryasaṅgha in the Gupta year 93 (412–3 A. D.); (4) Siri Chāntamūla I, an Ikṣvāku king of Śripārvata in Andhradesa, had performed Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Āśvamedha sacrifices but the ladies of that family were almost all Buddhist and one of them erected a pillar in honour of the supreme Buddha (E. I. Vol. XX. p. 8 and Jayaswal's 'History of India' 50–350 A. D., p 175); (5) The Maitraka rulers of Valabhī (in Katiawar) were all orthodox Hindus and almost all are described as great devotees of Maheśvara (Śiva). The Journal of the University of Bombay vol III. (pp. 74–91) sets out five grants (four Buddhist and one to a brāhmaṇa) The first is issued by a feudatory Gārulaka Mahārāja Varahadāsa in Valabhī year 230 (= 549 A.D.) and the others by the Valabhī kings themselves. The four Buddhist records make grants to Yakṣaśūra-vihāra and Pūrṇabhaṭṭa-vihāra (both monasteries for nuns) of lands and villages for providing garments, food, beds, seats and medicines to the nuns and for providing for incense, flowers, sandalwood &c. for the worship of Buddha images; (6) A king of Orissa, named Šubhākara-deva, who was son of a Buddhist king and who styles himself paramasaugata, made a grant of two villages in the latter half of the 8th century to a hundred brāhmaṇas belonging to various gotras (E. I. vol. 15 at pp. 3–5 Neulpur grant); (7) Vigrahapāla, king of Bengal, who belonged to the Buddhist Pāla dynasty, granted in the 13th year of his reign a village to a Sāmavedi brāhmaṇa after taking a bath in the Ganges on a lunar eclipse in honour of Buddha (Bhagavantam Buddhhaṭṭarakaṃ uddīṣya) by the Amgacchi grant (E. I. Vol. XV. p. 293 at pp. 295–298, about 1000 A. D.); (8) The successor of king Vigrahapāla (iii) by name Mahīpāla granted a village in honour of Buddha after a bath in the Ganges in Viṣvua-saṅkrānti to a brāhmaṇa (E. I. Vol. XIV. p. 324); vide also I. A. vol. 21 pp. 253–258 for a grant of Devapāladeva, a Buddhist king of Bengal, about the end of the 9th century, recording a grant of a village to a learned brāhmaṇa. (9) In the Kalacuri stone Inscription from Kasia (E. I. vol. XVIII p. 128) the first invocation in prose is to Rudra and then to Buddha, the first two
verses are in praise of Śaṅkara, 3rd in praise of Tārā (a Buddhist deity) and the 4th and 5th verses praise Buddha (who is styled Munindra); (10) Kumāradevi, 4th queen of Govindaśandra (1114–1154 A.D.), a Gāhodavala king of Kanauj and an orthodox Hindu, built a vihāra in which she placed an image of Dharma-cakra Jina i.e. Buddha (vide E. I. Vol. IX p. 319 at p. 324); (11) Govindaśandra himself made a gift of six villages to a Buddhist learned ascetic (Śakyarakṣita by name) who hailed from Utkala (Orissa) and to his pupil for the benefit of the Saṅgha at Jetavana Mahāvihāra (vide the Sahet-Mahet plate of Govindaśandra dated saṃvat 1186, i.e. 1128–29 A.D. recorded in E. I. vol. XI p. 20 at p. 24). (12) The Madanapur plate of the Buddhist king Śrīcandra of East Bengal records that the king made a grant of land to a brāhmaṇa named Śukradeva ‘in honour of Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka’ after having bathed on the Agastityā day. (13) The Dambal (inscription of the times of Calukya Tribhuvanamalla alias Vikramāditya (in śaka 1017 i.e. 1095–96 A.D.) begins with an invocation to Buddha and records certain grants to two viharas, one of Buddha built by certain Seṭṭīs of Dharmāpura or Dharmavolal (i.e. Dambal in Dharwar District) and the other of Tārādevi by a Seṭṭī of Lokkiguṇḍi (or modern Lakkūṇḍi). (14) In E. I. vol. XVI p. 48 at p. 51 (Inscription of Laksmeśvara in 1147 A.D.) a general is styled as the restorer of the four sects viz. Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Baudhā and Jainā (catuḥ-samaya-samuddharaṇam). (15) A stone inscription from Śrāvasti (modern Sahet-Mahet) of (Vikrama) saṃvat 1276 (1219–20 A.D.) records that a certain person Vidyādhara of the Vāstavya family established a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town where the inscription was put up (I. A. Vol. 17 p. 61). (16) The Kumbhakonam Inscription of Sevappa Nāyaka of Tanjore (of 1580 A.D.) records the gift of some land in the brāhmaṇa village (agrahāra) of Tirumalirājapuram to an individual attached to a temple of Buddha at Tiruvilandura.1648

1647. There is divergence of views about the date of Śrīcandra. Vide Dr. R. C. Majumdar’s ‘History of Bengal’, vol. I p. 196 (where the beginning of 11th century A.D. has been accepted by some scholars as the date of Śrīcandra).

1648. The last two examples indicate that, though Jayacandra of Kanauj was defeated and Kanauj was taken by the Mahomedans in 1193 A.D., Buddhism had not become totally extinct in North India in the first quarter of the 13th century A.D. and that some remnants of Buddhism existed in South India up to the 16th century A.D.
The above examples show that in all parts of India in the North as well as in the South, the general rule among kings and their officers was tolerance and care for all faiths. If there was rarely some persecution it was by an individual king or officer or the like. On the other hand, though Aśoka, as an inheritor of the Indian royal tradition of showing honour and respect to all faiths of the subjects irrespective of his own religious views, breathes a striking spirit of tolerance in his 7th and 12th Rock edicts, one cannot help a suspicion that in the later part of his life he seems to gloat over the fact that the gods worshipped as divinities in Jambudvīpa had been rendered false and he proudly proclaims that this result is 'not the effect of my greatness but of my zeal'.

It should be noted that even Aśoka's ahimsā was at first not thorough-going but qualified. In his first Rock Edict he himself states that in his royal kitchen thousands of animals were killed, but that he had reduced the slaughter to two peacocks a day and one deer (that too rarely) and that even the three animals would not be killed in future (vide C. I. I. vol. I. pp 1-2). Whether this last promise was really carried out is not clear. Besides, Aśoka appears to have carried his solicitude for the protection of all life too far and used against human beings his absolute power like a dictator. In the 4th Delhi Topra Pillar edict (C. I. I., vol. I p. 124) he mentions that his revenue settlement officers called Lajūkas had to deal with many hundred thousands of men and were given the discretion to award punishments including the death sentence and that a respite of three days was allowed in which the relatives of the man condemned to death could persuade the lajūkas to grant reprieves. In the fifth Delhi–Topra pillar edict (ibid. pp 125-128), after 26 years of his being anointed he declared that 23 kinds of birds and other animals (such as parrots, mainas, ruddy and wild geese, doves, certain kinds of fish, tortoises) were not to be killed at all, that ewes and sows that were with young or were in milk or the young of these that were less than six months old were also not to be killed; he also forbade the sale of fish on certain Full Moon days and the days previous to them and following them, the castration of bulls, rams, horses on 8th, 14th and 15th days of a month and the branding of horses and bulls on Pusya and Punarvasu and on cāturmāsī. These sweeping regulations must have caused great hardships to poor people and must have assumed the form of rigid coercion more or less, particularly
when all discretion was left to the lajūkas. Later in life Aśoka appears to have tried to undermine the worship of Hindu Gods. In a Rupnath Rock Inscription²⁶⁴⁹ published by Bühler in I. A. vol. VI pp. 154–156 it was stated that he had been an upāsaka (lay worshipper of Buddha) for certain years but that he was not zealous, that for a year or more (he had become zealous), that during that (last interval) those gods that were held to be true gods in Jambudvīpa (i.e. India) had been made (to be regarded as) false and that was the reward of his zeal. This could be construed as saying that when he became a zealous Buddhist he tried to dissuade people from the

²⁶⁴⁹. The important words in the Rock edict at Brāhmaṇī, Rūpanāth and six other places are quoted here (there are slight variations and some omissions in almost all of them here and there); I follow the reading in the Rūpanāth text given by Prof. Jules Bloch in ‘Les Inscriptions d’Aśoka’ (Paris, 1950 pp. 145–148) ‘द्वारां विच लेवमाह • सातियकानि अतित्यागि श्यात्तिष्ठे (स्थानि) य शुमप पाकासे (उङ्गाकाते?) नो च बालिपकृते (पक्षानि) • सातिष्ठे च उपचरे य शुमप हक्क संच (संचे) उपेते बालि च पाकासे • या इमाय कालाय जन्मविपरिति अनिलिता देवा हुते ते द्वारनी मिस्ता कट • पक्षासि हि इस फटे • नो च इस महत्ता पावोते • बुधकेन नि पक्षामिनि सकृति हुष्टूलि नि सम्य आलेहे • (the rest is omitted). The Erragudi copy of the edict reads ‘इमिला चु कालन अनिलिता शून्यसाह देवेहि ते द्वारनी मिस्तिस्पूता’. Two others from near by regions read ‘इमिला चु कालन अनिलिता समाना शून्यसा जन्मविपरिति मिस्ता देवेहि’. There are some gaps and mistakes in these and it is not clear what is meant. Probably the sentence in these latter may be rendered ‘During that time men that were true (or, if we take amissā as equal to amīśa ‘that were not mixed with gods’) became false (or, became mixed with gods’). The words from pakṣās onwards mean ‘this is the result of zeal; it cannot be attained by greatness (by one occupying a merely high position); even for a small person it is possible to reach heaven by zeal.’ Mr. Ramchandra Dikshitar in Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar Presentation volume pp. 25–30 argues that Aśoka was a Hindu as he refers to ‘svarga’. This is not correct, since the edict itself recites that Aśoka had been a lay follower of Buddha for more than 2½ years before the date of the edict and that for more than a year before it he approached the community of monks and became a zealous Buddhist (or probably a monk). Even early Pali works speak of Gods from heaven coming to pay respect to Buddha. So the mere mention of svarga means little. Aśoka does not appear to have been trained in the sacred Pali books if any existed. He hardly ever mentions nirvāṇa, never mentions fundamental tenets of early Buddhism (in all his numerous edicts) like the Four Noble Truths or the Noble Eight-fold Path or Pratītya-samutpāda. He was probably attracted by Buddha’s teachings on moral endeavour and subscribed to them and disliked sacrifices. He appears to have believed in gods and desired that the people should strive for heaven (vide 6th Rock edict at Girnar ‘परश्र व स्वर्ग आलाचवन’ and similar words in the 10th Rock edict). This is all that can be said positively.
worship of gods and probably resorted to coercive measures in that direction. This very inscription is edited at C. I. I., Vol. I. pp. 166 by Dr. Hultsch and the translation of the important sentence is changed and is given as 'And those gods who during that time had been unmingled with men in Jambudvīpa have now been made (by me) mingled with them; for this is the fruit of zeal'. This new translation cannot be understood as it stands and on p. 168 (note 3) Hultsch admits that this sentence is enigmatical and tries to show that it refers to religious shows at which effigies of gods were shown in order to convey to the subjects that they would be able to reach the abodes of gods by the zealous practice of Buddha's Dhamma. This interpretation is extremely far-fetched and does not fit into the context. How can the mere showing of exhibitions and their effect on people be regarded as the reward of zeal? Besides, in the very first rock edict he forbids assemblies or festival meetings (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 1 ‘na ca samājo kattavayo’) except such as were regarded good by Aśoka and asserts that the king sees great evil in festival meetings. Aśoka probably followed what Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 19 provides for Vedic householders ‘sabhā samajāṁśca’ (varjayet), sabhā meaning ‘gambling hall’. The author is not satisfied with the translation of Hultsch, particularly when Bühler and Senart (pp. 168 note) agreed as to the meaning of the important sentence about gods.1650

About Emperor Harṣa also Yuan Chwang narrates that he caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies and he prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties (vide Watters’ work cited above p. 344). This also must have been felt by large populations as coercive and bordering on persecution. It is remarkable that Harṣa felt no qualms in reconciling his zeal for bird and animal life and keeping vast armies on a war footing for conquest.

1650. Hultsch himself in JRAS for 1910 at p. 1310 translated ‘those who at that time were (considered by me) the true gods of Jambudvīpa are now considered false (by me)’. The Mysore texts of this edict insert ‘men’ after the word ‘those’. The great difficulty is about the words ‘amissā’ and ‘missa katā’. They may respectively stand for ‘amṛśā’ (not false) or ‘amṛśā’ (not mixed) and ‘mṛśā kṛtā’ (made false) or misra kṛtā (made mixed). There is no word for ‘considered’. A straightforward translation of ‘amissā devā husu’ would be ‘that were the true (not false) gods’ and of ‘missa katā’ would be ‘were made false’.

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A few more striking examples of tolerance of other faiths and spirit of accommodation may be cited here. The great Hindu emperor Samudragupta allowed the building of a splendid three-storied convent at Bodh Gaya at the request of the Buddhist king Meghabarṇa of Ceylon about 360 A.D. Vide ‘Early History of India’ by V. A. Smith (4th ed. of 1924 pp. 303–304), where the historian further points out that when Yuan Chwang visited Bodh Gaya, that convent was a magnificent establishment occupied by a thousand monks. One Muhammad Ufi relates an anecdote. Though Mahomed of Gazni plundered Kathiawad and Gujarat several times and desecrated temples, the Hindus made a distinction between such invading and destructive marauders and peaceful Muslims residing in Gujarat for trade. Some Hindus at Cambay, being incited by some Parsis, destroyed a mosque and killed some Muslims. One Muslim that escaped approached the king Siddharāja with a petition. The king in disguise inquired into the matter, punished the offenders, gave to the Moslems one lakh of Balotras to rebuild the mosque and presented to the Khatib four articles of dress which were preserved in the mosque. Ufi declares that he never heard a story comparable to this. Vide Elliotts’ History of India, Vol. II pp. 162–163. The Somanath–Paṭṭan Inscription (in I. A. Vol. XI p. 241) is a most remarkable document. A Muslim ship-owner from Hormuz acquired a piece of land in the sacred town of Somanath–paṭṭan, built a mosque, a house and shops thereon. The purpose of the grant was to confirm the purchase and to provide for the application of the income from the shops for particular Moslem religious festivals to be celebrated by the Shia sailors of Somanath and to provide that the surplus left, if any, was to be made over to the sacred towns of Mecca and Medina. It is dated in four eras, first in Rasul Mahammad saṁvat i.e. Hijra year 662, then Vikrama saṁvat 1320 (1264 A. D.), Valabhi year 945 and Simha saṁvat 151 (i.e. probably of Ĉalukya Siddharāja Jayasimha). Syrian Christians were given special privileges by generous Hindu rulers in South India.

The above examples will indicate what tolerance was practised by Indian kings and people even in the mediaeval period when Moslem invaders were ruthlessly attacking India. The reader should visualise to himself what the fate of a Hindu would have been, if he had the audacity to build a temple in Christian or Moslem countries or tried to collect materials for
describing the Christian or Muslim religion and ways of life in the 13th century A.D. like Alberuni, who was able to collect, without molestation, from Hindu Pandits and people vast material in the 11th century A.D.

How intolerant most Moslem kings were need not be dwelt upon at length. A few typical examples may be cited from the Cambridge History of India, vol. III. Firuz Shah Tughlak burnt a brāhmaṇa who tried to propagate his religion (ibid. p. 187); Sikander Lodi did the same (ibid. p. 246) to a brāhmaṇa and was guilty of wholesale destruction of Hindu temples; Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir offered his subjects the choice between Islam and exile (ibid. p. 280); Hussein Shah of Bengal sent an army to destroy Navadvipa and converted many brāhmaṇas forcibly. Jehangir says in his ‘Memoirs’ (translated by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge, 1909 pp. 72–73) that he killed Guru Arjun for his religious activities. Vide ‘History of Aurangzeb’ by Jadunath Sarkar vol. III. chap. XXX. pp. 265–279 for firmanās to demolish temples such as those of Somanātha, Mathurā, Visvanātha in Benares, Ujjain and Appendix V. It is not necessary to go into great details about the terrible persecution of the Jews in Europe and the horrible deeds of the Inquisition in Europe and particularly in Spain and Portugal. For the persecution and expulsion of the Jews in Europe one may read ‘A short History of the Jewish people’ by Cecil Roth (MacMillan and Co. 1936) chapters XX–XXI. References to several works have been given above on p. 933 note 1494 about the Inquisition. A few instances of the intolerance and barbarities of that body may be cited. The Inquisition staged what are called acts of faith or ‘autos-da-fé’. In the presence of thousands of people severe punishment would be inflicted on harmless individuals whose adherence to the Holy Catholic faith was suspected. Those that professed penitence were stripped of their property and condemned to imprisonment, deportation or the galley. The minority who refused to confess to their crime of heresy or gloried in their views would be burnt at once. Kings and nobles graced such spectacles by their presence and such spectacles were arranged at the marriages of high persons or on the birth of a son to the reigning monarch. During the three centuries when the Inquisition was active, it is found that the it condemned about 375000 people, of whom at least one-tenth were burnt; vide Cecil Roth’s ‘A short History of the Jewish people’ (1936) p. 312. Henry C. Lea in ‘Superstition and
force' (1878) pp. 426-427 remarks 'The whole system of the Inquisition was such as to render resort to torture inevitable. Its proceedings were secret; the prisoner was carefully kept in ignorance of the exact charges against him and of the evidence on which they were based. He was presumed to be guilty and his judges bent all their energies to force him to confess. To accomplish this no means were too base or too cruel'.

It would be instructive to read what the state of Hindus was under Portuguese rule in Goa, where the infamous Inquisition was established in 1560 A.D. and continued its intolerant and inhuman work for about 250 years more. Those interested may consult 'A India Portuguesa', vol. II, published by the Portuguese Government in 1923, particularly the paper by Antonio de Noronha, a former judge of the High Court of Goa, on 'Os Indus de Goa' pp. 211-355. A brief passage from a paper on 'Historical essay on the Konkani Language' by J. H. de Cunha Rivara, who was General Secretary to the Portuguese Governor General in India from 1855 to 1870 A.D., is very illuminating. It runs (original in Portuguese) 'we shall now endeavour to investigate the causes, which under the Portuguese regime, were either favourable or contrary to the culture of the Konkani language. In the first ardour of conquest temples were demolished, all the emblems of the Hindu cult were destroyed and books written in the vernacular tongue, containing or suspected of containing idolatrous precepts and doctrines, were burnt. There was even the desire to exterminate all that part of the population which could not be quickly converted; this was the desire not only during that period, but there was also at least one person who, after a lapse of two centuries, advised the Government, with magisterial gravity, to make use of such a policy.' The writer further notes that the long distance of Goa from Portugal, the invincible resistance offered by a numerous population amongst whom the principal castes had reached a very high degree of civilization, obliged the conquerors to abstain from open violence and to prefer indirect, though not gentle, means to achieve the same end.1650a.

Buddha's renunciation of his princely position, of his young wife, child and home, to become a wandering ascetic for discovering the path of humanity's deliverance from sorrow and

suffering, his subsequent mortification of the body for years, his retirement into solitude for meditation, his struggle with Mara and final victory, his confidence that he had discovered the path of deliverance, his constant travels from city to city and village to village for about forty-five years for preaching the great truths he had discovered, his crusade against the slaughter of innocent and dumb animals in sacrifices, his passing away full of years and in peace and contentment—this panorama of Buddha's life had a noble grandeur and irresistible human appeal. Edwin Arnold in his preface (p. XIII) to his poem 'Light of Asia' (1884) pays a very eloquent tribute to Buddha's teaching in the following words 'this venerable religion which has in it the eternity of an universal hope, the immortality of a boundless love, an indestructible element of faith in the final good and the proudest assertion ever made of human freedom'. The torch lighted by Buddha was kept burning brightly by a succession of able and worthy disciples till Buddhism reached its peak about the 6th century A.D. A reaction had already begun by that time. Substantial changes in the old Buddhist faith had been made, the ideals had changed (as noted above). From being a faith without a clear acceptance of God, many sects arose that had become thoroughly theistic and Buddha himself came to be worshipped as if he were God and the sects were gripped by the strange doctrines and evil practices of Vajrayana Tantrik sects; and Buddhism became a medley of conflicting dogmas and was riven with dissensions and internecine rupture. Discussions as to doctrines arose immediately on the passing away of Buddha, when the first council was held at Rajagrha, a second one being held about one hundred years later at Vesali and a third one at Pataliputra under Ashoka. In all four councils appear to have been held to secure 'sangiti' (standardized scriptural recital) according to traditions, but no Pali book can be traced back to a time before the council held in the time of Ashoka (about 250 B.C.). These discussions and subsequent schisms very much undermined Buddhism. This is mentioned as the first of the four main causes of the decline and disappearance of Buddhism from India by N. J. O'Connor.

III. From about the end of the 7th century A.D. India was divided into several independent but small and warring States. Buddhism could not secure the favour and patronage of powerful and zealous monarchs and emperors like Ashoka, Kaniska and
Harsa. Royal patronage on a large scale having ceased from the end of the 7th century A.D., except under the Pāla kings of Bengal, Buddhism began to wane.

IV. Many of the ablest and most vigorous exponents of Buddhist thought and faith left India for propagating their faith in other lands. Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'India and China' names 24 eminent Indian scholars who went to China for propagating Buddha's teachings from the 3rd Century A.D. to 973 A.D. (p. 27) and also mentions a few Chinese scholars who came to India for visiting the sacred places of Buddhism and for making a study of Buddhism on the spot (ibid. pp. 27–28).

V. The observance of the high moral ideals inculcated by Gotama Buddha must have been found irksome by at least a great many of his followers, and particularly after his personal example ceased to exist. In the Mahāparinibbānasutta (S.B.E. vol. XI. p. 127) we are told that Subhadda, a barber who had been received in the Order in his old age, addressed the brethren, that deeply mourned and lamented on Buddha's nirvāṇa, as follows: "Weep not, neither lament. We are well rid of the Great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told 'this becomes you, this beseems you not'. But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like that we shall not have to do." Ordinary people could not be fed for long on mere repetition of the sermon on suffering being the lot of man, on monasticism, aversion to speculation and on promises of nirvāṇa which was hardly ever well defined. By nirvāṇa Buddha probably meant extinction of egoism and desires, a state of bliss beyond understanding and not a complete annihilation or extinction. But this last was the sense in which many understood it. Buddha had an aversion to speculation and particularly to issues that were irrelevant to his purely moral approach and purpose. Several questions of a metaphysical or speculative character such as whether the world is permanent or not, whether it is finite or not, whether the soul is the same as the body or other than the body, whether the Tathāgata continues after death or not were left unanswered by Buddha (vide Majjhima Nikāya discourse 63, Trencker's ed. vol. I.). Monasteries of Buddhist monks and nuns became in course of time centres of idleness, pleasures and immorality, and of debased practices like those of Vajrayāna Tāntricism. A well-known scholar like Rahula Sānkṛtyāyana, himself a Buddhist bhiksu, in a paper on 'Vajrayāna and the 84 Siddhas' contributed to the
Journal Asiatique vol. 225 (1934) pp. 209–230 was constrained to say "The monasteries and temples were gorged with riches due to the pious offerings made by the multitudes. The life of the monk became more comfortable than that of the layman. The discipline weakened and many unfit persons entered the community." The easy life associated with the culture of a sensual art under the cover of cultured paintings, meditation, gods and goddesses must have inclined the minds towards sensuality. Already from the Kathāvatthu (XXIII, 1) we know that the Andhaka School was disposed to permit Maithuna (copulation) for a special object; it was introduced in the mystic cult. Coming to the south, the practice of mantras, psychical practices, and a certain indulgence in the pleasures of sense were united; the Vajrayāna was complete.

VI. Smṛtis like those of Gautama (IX. 47, 68, 73), Manu (IV. 176, 206, X. 63), Yājñavalkya (I. 156, III. 312–313), while asking the people to honour the Vedas and learned brāhmaṇas laid great emphasis on Ahiṃsā, truthfulness, charity, self-

1651. A paper of Dr. A. S. Altekar in the Pro. of the 17th All India Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad, 1953 (pp. 243–246) on Śrāmanera-Tīkā (about 11th century A. D.) on the Ācārasāra (laying down rules for Buddhist novices) enumerates admonitions (some of the striking ones being set out on p. 245) that lead to the conclusion that the monks had a fairly large number among them that brought Buddhism into disrepute. In the 'Questions of king Milinda' S B, E, vol. 35 pp. 49–50, to the question why people joined the saṅgha, Nāgasena gives the significant answer that some joined the saṅgha for the reason that sorrow may perish and no further sorrow may arise, 'the complete passing away without clinging to the world is our highest aim'; '...some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings; some have joined to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debts and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.

1652. Ahiṃsā, sàrmanasthāyā, and śāchāntiyāṇaśānti: and sāmāsikān kām śāchāntiyāṇaśānti. 1651 A. S. Altekar in the Pro. of the 17th All India Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad, 1953 (pp. 243–246) on Śrāmanera-Tīkā (about 11th century A. D.) on the Ācārasāra (laying down rules for Buddhist novices) enumerates admonitions (some of the striking ones being set out on p. 245) that lead to the conclusion that the monks had a fairly large number among them that brought Buddhism into disrepute. In the 'Questions of king Milinda' S B, E, vol. 35 pp. 49–50, to the question why people joined the saṅgha, Nāgasena gives the significant answer that some joined the saṅgha for the reason that sorrow may perish and no further sorrow may arise, 'the complete passing away without clinging to the world is our highest aim'; '...some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings; some have joined to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debts and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.

1652a. Ahiṃsā, sàrmanasthāyā, and śāchāntiyāṇaśānti: and sāmāsikān kām śāchāntiyāṇaśānti. A paper of Dr. A. S. Altekar in the Pro. of the 17th All India Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad, 1953 (pp. 243–246) on Śrāmanera-Tīkā (about 11th century A. D.) on the Ācārasāra (laying down rules for Buddhist novices) enumerates admonitions (some of the striking ones being set out on p. 245) that lead to the conclusion that the monks had a fairly large number among them that brought Buddhism into disrepute. In the 'Questions of king Milinda' S B, E, vol. 35 pp. 49–50, to the question why people joined the saṅgha, Nāgasena gives the significant answer that some joined the saṅgha for the reason that sorrow may perish and no further sorrow may arise, 'the complete passing away without clinging to the world is our highest aim'; '...some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings; some have joined to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debts and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.

1652b. Nāgasena: A paper of Dr. A. S. Altekar in the Pro. of the 17th All India Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad, 1953 (pp. 243–246) on Śrāmanera-Tīkā (about 11th century A. D.) on the Ācārasāra (laying down rules for Buddhist novices) enumerates admonitions (some of the striking ones being set out on p. 245) that lead to the conclusion that the monks had a fairly large number among them that brought Buddhism into disrepute. In the 'Questions of king Milinda' S B, E, vol. 35 pp. 49–50, to the question why people joined the saṅgha, Nāgasena gives the significant answer that some joined the saṅgha for the reason that sorrow may perish and no further sorrow may arise, 'the complete passing away without clinging to the world is our highest aim'; '...some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings; some have joined to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debts and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.

1652c. Ahiṃsā, sàrmanasthāyā, and śāchāntiyāṇaśānti: and sāmāsikān kām śāchāntiyāṇaśānti. A paper of Dr. A. S. Altekar in the Pro. of the 17th All India Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad, 1953 (pp. 243–246) on Śrāmanera-Tīkā (about 11th century A. D.) on the Ācārasāra (laying down rules for Buddhist novices) enumerates admonitions (some of the striking ones being set out on p. 245) that lead to the conclusion that the monks had a fairly large number among them that brought Buddhism into disrepute. In the 'Questions of king Milinda' S B, E, vol. 35 pp. 49–50, to the question why people joined the saṅgha, Nāgasena gives the significant answer that some joined the saṅgha for the reason that sorrow may perish and no further sorrow may arise, 'the complete passing away without clinging to the world is our highest aim'; '...some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings; some have joined to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debts and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.
restraint, sexual purity and other virtues for persons of all the four varṇas, just as Buddha and early Buddhist works did for his followers. The sentiment in Manu V. 45 and the Visnu-dharma-sūtra 51. 68 'he, who kills harmless animals (like deer) merely for the sake of his own pleasure, never increases nor prospers in happiness, whether living or after death,' finds a parallel in Dhammapada 131. Even the Rgveda solemnly says ( X. 85. 1) 'the earth is supported by Truth, the sky is supported by the Sun'. The Mundaka Up. exhorts 'Truth alone is victorious, not falsehood' ( III. 1. 6 ).

VII. The strong faith and the alertness of brāhmaṇas who welded into a coherent whole the Veda, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, Yogic practices of a middle path as in Gitā VI. 15-17, the doctrine of salvation by faith and bhakti for all preached in the Gitā gradually held an irresistible appeal.

VIII. In reorienting their religious outlook and practices to stem the tide of Buddhism and make Hinduism popular, the brāhmaṇas and other leaders of Hindu society of the centuries before and after the Christian era had to make compromises of a far-reaching character; the old Vedic gods (like Indra and Varuṇa) receded into the background though not totally forgotten, most of the Vedic sacrifices had to be given up, deities like Devi, Gaṇeṣa and the Mātrs had to be brought to the front, Paurāṇika mantras came to be used along with Vedic ones as the mantras even in śrāddha (e.g. 'dātaro nobhivardhantām' &c. which occurs in Manu III. 259, Yāj. I. 246, Matsya 16. 49-50, Padma, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9. 117, Kūrma II. 22. 60 and 'other works'). Even an early writer like Varāhamihira (first half of 6th century A.D.) in describing the Pusya-snāna for the king provides ordinary mantras (Br. S. 47. 55-70) to be recited by the purohita along with mantras in the Atharvaveda, Rudra (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), the Kūṣmānda mantras (Vāj. S. XX. 14-16 and others, Br. S. 47. 71) and winds up the whole procedure with a well-known Paurāṇika verse. 1653 Even Aparārka (pp. 14-15) had to say that in Devapūjā the procedure to be followed is that in the Narasimhapurāṇa (probably something like the one in chap. 2 of the Narasimha Purāṇa) and in the matter of 'pratisthā' (establishment of images) also Paurāṇika procedure was to be adopted. Besides, emphasis was laid on ahimsā, charity (dāna),

1653. यान्तु देवसनात: सर्वः पुजामात्राय पारिष्ठित । सिद्धि दुष्प्र ै विनुहां दुनरा-कम्यनाय च ॥ वृहदस. 47. 49.
Changes introduced by Purāṇas

pilgrimages and vrata and it was said that the latter two were more efficacious than even Vedic sacrifices. These changes seriously reduced the appeal of Buddhism. The purāṇas contained stories of gods and avataras that vied in their appeal to the common man with the Buddhist Jātaka tales. The Kādambari of Bāna (first half of 7th century A. D.) states that the people of Ujjayinī were fond of the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and Rāmāyana (Mahābhārata-Purāṇa-Rāmāyana-nurāgipā &c). This is put down as the last of the four causes of the decline of Buddhism by O' Connor.

IX. From about the 7th century A. D. Buddha began to be recognised by Hindus as an avatar of Viṣṇu and by the 10th century Buddha came to be so recognised throughout India by almost all Hindus.

X. Moslem fanaticism and invasions of India delivered the coup de grace (final blow) to Buddhism about and after 1200 A. D. by ruining famous universities like those of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā and the monks were mercilessly killed in large numbers. Those who escaped the carnage fled to Tibet and Nepal. H. M. Elliott's History of India (as told by its own historians) vol. II p. 306 contains a passage from Tabakat-i-Nasiri about Bakhtiyar Khilji that states that Bakhtiyar led his army to Behar and ravaged it, that great plunder fell in his hands, that most of the inhabitants of the place were brāhmaṇas with shaven heads, that they were put to death, that large numbers of books were found and it was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (madrasa). The description indicates that brāhmaṇa with shaven heads were Buddhist monks.

It should not be supposed that Buddhist bhikkhus renounced wealth altogether. Vide I. A. vol. VII pp. 254–256 (Inscriptions 2 and 9 at Kuda) where bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs are donors and Cunningham's 'Bhilsa Topes' p. 235–236 where there are many bhikṣus and some bhikṣunīs among donors. The great appeal of the original Buddhism to common men lay in its spirit of self-abnegation, discipline, service and sacrifice.

When Moslem invaders exterminated the monks the laity became bewildered and were either converted to Islam or became slowly absorbed among Hindus. It has been already stated that Buddha himself was against the admission of women into the Saṅgha but at the persistent requests of his favourite pupil
Ananda he yielded and prophesied that his pure Dharma, which otherwise would have flourished for a thousand years, would not last so long but only for 500 years. Vide ‘Cullavagga’ in SBE. vol. XX p. 325.

The Pātimokkha for monks contains 2:7 articles which were to be recited twice a month in an assembly of at least four monks and confessions of breaches of the rules had to be made. If one reads the Cullavagga (SBE. XX. pp 330-340), one may understand how the gatherings of legions of monks and nuns in immense monasteries led in some cases to sapping the ordinary observances of decency and morality. At first the Pātimokkha could be recited to nuns by monks and the nuns could confess their lapses to monks but this had to be changed later and it was laid down that only bhikkhunis could do these things for them. P. 333 of the same shows how nuns quarrelled among themselves and came to blows and p. 335 narrates how some monks threw dirty water on nuns and how they uncovered their bodies and thighs before nuns.

The author has cited the above as the main causes of the disappearance of Buddhism following what most have written. Different writers attach importance to a few of them according to their individual leanings. While prepared to concede that the causes noted above went a long way in bringing about the downfall of Buddhism in India, he feels that the principal cause was that large sections of the Indian population came to realize that the persistent teaching of the world being a place of suffering, of giving up all desires and of monasticism, which were preached by the writers on Buddhism to all and sundry, was too much for ordinary men to attempt and that the Hindu ideal of an ordered scheme of life into four āśramas, with peculiar duties and rights, particularly the importance attached to the grhaśāramā showed to vast populations that family life properly regulated and disciplined was capable of realizing the highest that man was capable of and that too much insistence on the giving up of all desires (including desire for life) sapped the very stability and continuance of human society and

1654. In 'the Philosophy of the Upanishads' by Deussen tr. by A. S. Geden (1906), the distinguished author after advertng to the peculiar rights and obligations of the four life-stages (āśramas) remarks 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought' (p. 367).
gradually led on to the loss of physical and mental virility, to idleness, base morals and race suicide. Manu III. 77-78, VI 89-90, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 14-17, Visnu Dh. S. 59, 29, Dakṣa II. 57-60 and many other sages and writers praise the stage of householder as the highest. The Mahābhārata (Śānti 270. 6-11) and the Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhya 103, 2) and the Purāṇas also sing the same tune; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 425-426 and 540-541.

Not only Dharmaśāstras but also great poets like Kālidāsa emphasized the supreme importance of the householder’s stage to society. In the Raghuvamśa (V. 10) king Raghu says to a learned brahmaṇa student ‘it is now time for you to pass on to the second stage of life that is capable of being useful to (men of) other āśramas’. In the Śākuntala also Kālidāsa harps on the same idea.

When Buddha came to be worshipped by Buddhists as God, when Buddhists gave up the original characteristic doctrine of the attainment of the peace and bliss of nirvāṇa in this very life through the eradication of selfish desires by following the Noble Eightfold Path, when Buddhists adopted the doctrines of bhakti and the ideal they set up was the evolution of bodhisattvas through aeons by good deeds, the line of demarcation between Buddhism and popular Hinduism became very thin and was gradually obliterated. Buddhism disappeared from India because of these deviations from the original doctrine and because the brahmaṇas made Hinduism very comprehensive by finding a place for purely monistic idealism, for the worship of several gods, for the performance of vedic or other religious rites (i.e. Karmamārga) as a preparation for higher spiritual life. The ultimate victory of Hinduism shows the strength and comprehensiveness of its religion and philosophy as against the onesidedness of Buddhism in its various phases and its silence on matters of great moment to the inquiring human mind.

1655. Vide वस्मात्यमोरायश्रमं ज्ञातनामेव वाचनम् । गृहस्थेनात्र धार्मिके तस्माः ज्ञेयाः क्रियाम् गृहस्थाम् गृहस्थाम् गृहस्थाम् मनु III. 78; मार्कन्देयपुराण 26. 3-6 ‘वस्तु गृहस्थमयम् तद्यथा सर्वं मिदं जगत्। गृहस्थाम् तेन तोभं सं ज्ञेयायमस्मिष्ठिततः। पितरं क्षुद्रम् ईयो भृताः महाजान्यस्य। हुमिकोटपरिन्धा श्रवणिः प्रवृत्ताः। गृहस्थस्यार्पिनी तत्समाध्यमैः प्राप्ताः स। एवं खास्य निरीक्षयेके अथै त्व द्वारायतीति वै। सर्वेनाधाराः प्रत्येकं वस्तु गृहस्थाम् प्रत्येकिन्या।’ (chap. 29. 3-6 of B. I. edition).

1656. अर्थ प्रकृत्यां महं त्रिसंधाविनायकान्यत्मास्य । कालो ब्रह्म संस्किर्तिः खितान्यं सर्वप्राकाशसमामिः ते॥ रघुवंश V. 10; अथायांत्य बन्यतिः गृहस्थान्यामस्मि सर्वभाग्। शाश्वतः क्रृष्ण.
The Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras put so much emphasis on ahimsā that millions of people in India became and are even now strict vegetarians not only among brahmanas, but also among vaishyas and śudras, while it appears that Buddhists all over the world are not strict vegetarians at all. To-day very few of the ideal virtues that Buddhism set before even laymen are a matter of endeavour for most Buddhists in all lands. In spite of Buddha's crusade against animal sacrifices and Asoka's drastic measures to eliminate the killing and cruelty to birds and beasts, it is found that some Vedic sacrifices (including animal sacrifices) continued to be performed by Indian kings and common people during the centuries before and after the Christian era. A few examples are cited here: (1) Senāpati Puṣyamitra (about 150 B. C.) performed two Aśvamedhas (E. I. vol. XX. pp 54–58, Harivamśa III, 2. 35 ff.1657 (which latter speaks of Senāni Kāṣyapa-dvija as performer of Aśvamedha in Kali age) and Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra (Act V) where he is spoken of as engaged in Rājasūya sacrifice; (2) Khāravela, king of Kalinga and a Jain, performed in the 6th year of his reign a Rājasūya (E. I. XX. p. 79); (3) Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśīva lineage (about 200 A.D.) glorified as the performer of ten Aśvamedhas in Vākāṭaka plates (Chammak plate of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II. in Gupta Inscriptions No. 55 pp. 236–237,1658 and in Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta, the chief queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II in E. I. vol. XV. p. 39); (4) Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I. (about 250 A.D.) is described as the daughter's son of Bhavanāga and as the performer of four Aśvamedhas (in E. I. vol. XV. p. 39); (5) The great Gupta emperor Samudragupta (about 325–370 A.D.) is described in some Gupta Inscriptions as one who restored the Aśvamedha sacrifice that had long been in abeyance (vide Bilsad Stone inscription in Gupta Inscriptions No. 10 at p. 42 and the Bihār Stone pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, ibid.,

1657. The reference from पृष्ठभिः is as follows: ओदिको भविता कविकेल्पाती: काश्यो विनिः।। अथवेष्ठ कविकेल्प एति: पर्याहिरिप्ति इति तदृगे तत्कुमिन्द्र राजस्वमाम विकृत। आहिरिप्ति रजेन्द्र वेणदामिनवाचकः।। सर्वदूतः २। ४०–४१।। Here it is said that a सेनापति of the काश्यप in भविता will perform an अथवेष्ठ in कविकेल्प and a scion of his family will perform राजस्वमाम।

1658. About Bhavanāga it is said 'असभासंप्रगतिसिद्धिकारोहस्तेन्द्र- सुपरितं-सर्पकान्तिन्त-राजस्वमाम्य -पराक्षयीशिलमानवज्जयसंप्रभिकानां द्वाराप्च- मेषधारणवालानां महाशिवराम महाराजाधीनत्यां-व्रजितंस्य‘ वाकाँकानां महाराजाधीनयुक्त- सेनापति &c.'। Gupta Inscriptions No. 55 pp. 236–237.
No. 12 at p. 51); (6) The Pallava King Śivaskanda-varman (about 300–350 A.D.) is praised as the performer of Agnistoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha (E.I. vol. I. p. 2 at p. 5); (7) The Pallava king Simhavarmā is spoken of as the performer of several Aśvamedhas (Pikira grant in E.I. vol. VIII. p. 159 at p. 163); (8) Cālukya king Pulakesi I (about 570 A.D.) performed Aśvamedha (Aihole Inscription of śaka 536 in E.I. vol. VI. p. 1); (9) Cālukya king Pulakesi II performed Aśvamedha (Aihole Ins. of śaka 536 in E.I. vol. VI. p. 1 and Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya I. in E.I. vol. IX. p. 98 in A.D. 660); (10) the Viṣṇuśudimān Mādhava-vārma (a relative of the Vakāṭaka family) is recorded (in E.I. vol. IV. p. 196) as having performed eleven Aśvamedhas, one thousand Agni-ṭomas, Paundarika, Purusamedha, Vājapeya, Śodāsin and Rājasūya (about the 7th or 8th century A.D.). For other instances of Aśvamedhas performed by kings, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1238–39.

It may be noted that even learned brāhmaṇas sometimes performed elaborate Vedic sacrifices. For example, the fifth in ascent from Bhavabhūti performed a Vājapeya at Padmapura in Dakṣināpatha. In the Vājapeya, seventeen was a characteristic number and seventeen animals were to be sacrificed therein. Vide for description of Vājapeya, H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1206–1212. As Bhavabhūti flourished in the first half of the 8th century A.D., the fifth in ascent from him who performed Vājapeya must have flourished about a hundred years before him i.e. in the first half of the 7th century A.D.

In these days it has become a fashion to praise Buddha and his doctrines to the skies and to disparage Hinduism by making unfair comparisons between the original doctrines of Buddha with the present practices and shortcomings of Hindu society. The present author has to enter a strong protest against this tendency. If a fair comparison is to be made it should be made between the later phases of Buddhism and the present practices of professed Buddhists on the one hand and modern phases and practices of Hinduism on the other. The Upaniṣads had a nobler philosophy than that of Gautama the Buddha, the latter merely based his doctrines on the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. If Hinduism decayed in course of time and exhi-

1659. It is possible that this statement about the performance of so many solemn Vedic sacrifices is boastful and exaggerated.
bited bad tendencies, the same or worse was the case with later Buddhism which gave up the noble but human Buddha, made him a god, worshipped his images and ran wild with such hideous practices as those of Vajrayāna. As a counterblast to what modern encomiasts often say about Buddhism the present author will quote a strongly-worded (but not unjust) passage from Swami Vivekananda's lecture on "The sages of India" (Complete Works, volume III, p. 248–268, 7th ed. of 1953 published at Māyāvati, Almora) "The earlier Buddhists in their rage against the killing of animals had denounced the sacrifices of the Vedas; and these sacrifices used to be held in every house ... These sacrifices were obliterared and in their place came gorgeous temples, gorgeous ceremonies and gorgeous priests and all that you see in India in modern times. I smile when I read books written by some modern people who ought to know better that the Buddha was the destroyer of Brahmanical idolatry. Little do they know that Buddhism created brahmanism and idolatry in India. ... Thus in spite of the preaching of mercy to animals, in spite of the sublime ethical religion, in spite of the hair-splitting discussions about the existence or non-existence of a permanent soul, the whole building of Buddhism tumbled down piecemeal; and the ruin was simply hideous. I have neither the time nor the inclination to describe to you the hideousness that came in the wake of Buddhism. The most hideous ceremonies, the most horrible, the most obscene books that human hands ever wrote or the human brain ever conceived, the most bestial forms that ever passed under the name of religion have all been the creation of degraded Buddhism" (pp. 264–265).
SECTION VI
CHAPTER XXVI

Tāntrik doctrines and Dharmashastra

In H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 739 while dealing with the worship of Durgā, who is also worshipped as Śakti (cosmic power or energy), it was stated that the influence of Śakti worship has been great throughout India and a promise was given that a brief treatment of Śaktism would follow in a later volume. It is now time to deal with Śaktas and Tantras, which exercised some influence over the Purāṇas and directly and through the Purāṇas over Indian religious ritual and practices in the medieval ages.

There is a vast literature on Tantras, published and unpublished. There are Buddhist Tantras, Hindu Trantras and Jaina Tantras. There is a philosophical or spiritual side in some of the Tantras which has not been much studied except by Arthur Avalon, B. Bhattacharya and a few others. In the popular mind Tantras have been associated with the worship of Śakti (Goddess Kāli), with mudrās, mantras, mandalas, the five makāras, the Dakṣinamārga and the Vāma-mārga, and magic practices for acquiring supernatural powers. All that can and will be attempted here is to trace briefly the origin of Śaktism and Tantra and point out some of the ways in which tantra has entered into Hindu ritual directly and indirectly through the Purāṇas.

The Amarakośa states that tantra means ‘principal matter or part’, ‘śiddhānta’ (i.e. doctrine or śāstra), a loom or paraphernalia. But it does not state that tantra means a certain peculiar class of works. Therefore, the inference is not altogether unjustifiable that in its time works bearing the peculiar character of what are called Tantras were either not composed or had not at least attained great vogue. In Rg. X. 71. 9 the word ‘tantra’ occurs and appears to mean a loom. ‘These ignorant men do not move about lower down (in this world) nor in a higher

1660. इन्हे रेडग्राह्य न परवर्ति न ब्रजाग्रासों न सहानकासः || त गैरि शास्मायथ पापया मिरितनर्यं नमस्ते अवज्ञयेः || क्र. X. 71. 9. सारण explains: सिरी: चारणो भूष्या तथ्र कुशिताः स्तरं तथा विसर्ययस्य कुर्वलीययतः।
world, being neither (learned) brāhmaṇas nor some-extracting priests; these resort to speech (of a vile kind) and with that vile speech they engage in handling ploughs and looms'. The Atharvaveda (X. 7. 42) ('tantram-ke yuvati virūpe abhyā-kṛīmam vayataḥ san-mayukham') employs the word tantra in the same sense and so does the Tai. Br. II. 5. 5. 3 in a closely similar passage. Pāṇini (V. 2. 70) derives the word 'tantrakā' (a cloth that is recently taken away from a loom) from 'tantra'. The Āp. Śr. employs the word 1661 tantra in the sense of 'procedure containing many parts'. The Śān. Śr. applies the word tantra to what being once done serves the purpose of many other actions. The Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini IV. 2. 60 and Vārtika 'sarvasād-dvigośca lah' cites 'sarvatantaraḥ' and 'dvitantarāḥ' as examples meaning 'one who has studied all the tantras' or 'one who has studied two tantras', tantra probably meaning 'siddhānta'. In Yāj. I. 228 ('tantram va vaiśva-devikam') the word tantra is employed in the sense in which the commentary on the Śān. Śr. takes it. The 15th adhikarana of Kautilya's Arthasastra bears the title 'Tanrayuktī' (vide J. O. R., Madras, vol. 4, 1930, p. 82 ff) meaning the main canons or propositions or principles of exposition of a śāstra. Caraka (Siddhāsthāna, chap. 12. 40-45) also speaks of '36 tantrasāya yuktayaḥ' and Suśruta (Uttara-tantra, chap. 65) names 32 tanrayuktis. In Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana and in the Bhāagavata the word tantra is employed in the sense of 'doctrine' or 'śāstra’. Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini XI. I. 1 remarks that when any thing or act, once done, becomes useful in several1662 matters, that is called 'tantra'. Sankarācārya in several passages of his bhāṣya on the Vedānta-sūtras speaks of the Sāṅkhya system as sāṅkhya-tantra and of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā as 'prathama-tantra'.1663 In the Kālika-

1661. उक्ति आदि ये पौर्णिमावस्तन्त्र प्रक्रमण्यति बासवेदयादभास्वयातः। अप. श्र. I. 15.1, on which the com. says 'अड्ढा-सन्तुति-सन्तान्वत्र । तत्त्वक्रमण्यति वजुमात्राः।', 'तत्त्वस्थलानु तदन्' श्र. श्र. I. 16 6 on which the com. says 'वसा-समुत्तमः भुजःसूची-करोति तत्त्वमितुसुप्ते।'।

1662. आदिनाथे सत्सारितार्थे बोधीकर्षये च कृतिमित्रः। बृहदर्शं स्मृति ज्ञान-पुराणपथे फले सम।। दार्शनिक q. by अर्जुर्णु p. 740, दार्शनिक XI. 1. 2 p. 149. कुःकुः on मन्त्र IX 187; अधिलमषे दू यथाको तत्त्वस्तुपरतात्त्विकम्। q. from ब्रजरूपम् by सुचितम् p. 5; तत्त्वः साक्षात्समतायत्न नैकर्षे करणिम् यतः। भानमित I. 3. 8. Here the पश्चात् is called मातातहतः। 'पश्चात्तमा शत्रूपकरोति तत्त्वमितुसुप्ते यथा श्रद्धा बहुभाषणानि संयो 'हृदयः।' श्रविषये भाष्य on मन्त्र XI. 4 1.

1663. On वे. च. II. 2. 1 the Śaṅkara-bhāṣya says 'तथापि महाजनपरियतांलाभिः महालत्व साङ्केतिकत्वाति ... सम्पादितापादिपादिपादिपादिपादिपादिपादि। c.'; vide also भाष्य (Continued on next page)
purāṇa (87. 130) the works of Uṣanas and Brhaspati on Rājaṇīti (the science of statecraft) are called tantras and in 92. 2 the Viṣṇudarmottara-purāṇa is called tantra. In all these cases the peculiar meaning attached to the word tantra in medieval times does not occur.

It is difficult to determine the exact time when the word tantra came to be employed in the sense in which it is used in the so-called tantra literature nor is it possible to decide what people first introduced tantra principles and practices or where they first arose. M. M. Haraprasad Shastri was inclined to hold that the principles and practices of tantra came to India from outside and he relies mainly on a verse in the Kubjikāmatatantra

(Continued from last page)

on V. S. II. 1. 1, and II. 4. 9 (where a half verse from तांत्रिकरीति 29 'सामान्यः करणपूजी: मोनिया भवयं बहु' is cited as belonging to तन्त्रस्थल. The सांस्कृतिकरीति itself calls तांत्रिक system 'Tantra' in verse 70 'तेन का बहुदाम् क्रमं tantram'. On ए। दू। III. 5, 53 the पूर्वीमालासाधु is referred to as 'पञ्चमे संधि' in the भाष्य.

1664. Vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Intro. to Buddhist Esoterism (p. 43), which work will be referred to hereafter as B. E.

1665. I. H. O. Vol. IX p. 358 f, n. 'गच्छ ले भारते वर्ष अविकाराय सरसः । पीन्द्रपरिवर्जने वृक्ष वितरनेकः' 13. Vide H. P. Sastri's Cat. of Palm-leaf mss. in Nepal Durbar Library (Calcutta, 1905), Preface p. LXXIX, for the verse in Kubjikāmatā, the ms. of which is written in late Gupta characters (i.e. about 7th century A. D.). Dr. B. Bhattacharya appears to hold the same opinion (p. 43 of the work cited in the preceding note). Arthur Avalon in Mahānirvāṇatānta (3rd ed. of 1953 p. 560) holds that tantra was brought into India from Chaldea or Śākadvipa. In 'Modern Review' for 1934 pp. 150-156 Prof. N. N. Choudhuri tries to prove that Indian tantricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet. He relies on the Tibetan tradition of Asaṅga having introduced Tāntricism in India. But that tradition is mainly based on Taranath's History of Buddhism. Lama Taranath was born in 1573 A. D. (1575 A. D. according to some) and completed his history in 1608 i.e. he wrote about twelve hundred years after Asaṅga. Prof. Choudhuri further relies on the colophon to Ekajātāsādhana (in Sādhana-mālā No. 127, आर्यनामालानिपधेनपद्धतिः उद्धृतमिति). But this sentence is dropped in three out of the eight mss. on which the edition is based. Prof. Choudhuri further asserts that the guru's position 'in tantra' is neither Vaidika nor Paurāṇika. Here he is wrong. The Vidyāśikta in Nirukta (II. 4) and the passage of the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad quoted in note 1540 make the Vaidika position of the guru clear. As for the Paurāṇika position of guru, vide the Liṅgapurāṇa (quoted in note 1718 below) and Devībhāgavata (XI. 1. 49 'Gurur-brāhma' &c. in the same note) and the verse 'पद्यं देवं परा भक्तियं देव्यं तथा दुःशं' (1718 below) वेदराध्य, उप. VI. 23 and अश्विन 392. 6.

H. D. 130
which says 'go thou to the country of Bhārata for exercising dominance on all sides and bring about new creation in various ways in pithas, upapithas and kṣetras'. With all respect to that great scholar it has to be said that the passage does not affirm that tantra principles were then unknown in India and were first introduced in Bhārata after that verse was uttered. That passage could very well have been uttered even when tantra practices had already taken hold of people’s minds in India and the reference to pithas and kṣetras (in the verse) clearly indicates that what is meant is only a record of an existing fact, just as the Purāṇas speak in a prophetic vein about what is past. It is possible that a few mystic practices of Kulācāra or Vāmācāra owe their origin to foreign elements or sources. But the one verse on which M. M. H. P. Shastri relied is far too inadequate for proving this. The Rudrayāmala (ed. by Jivananda, 1892) contains a panegyric of the Atharvaveda (17th paṭala, verse 4), saying that all gods, all beings (on land, in water and air), all sages, Kāmavidyā and Mahāvidyā dwell in it; verses 10–17 dwell upon the mysterious Kuṇḍalini, verses 31 ff dilate upon Yogic practices and six calras in the body, verses 51–53 mention Kāmarūpa, Jālandhara, Pārṇagiri, Uḍḍiyāna, and a few others as Kalikā pithas. Bagchi (in ‘Studies in Tantra’ pp. 45–55) adduces some evidence of foreign elements in the tāntrik doctrines. The Rudrayāmala (1666 (17th Paṭala, verses 119–125) states that Mahāvidyā appeared to sage Vasiṣṭha and asked him to go to Cinadesa and Buddha, who is said to have taught Vasiṣṭha the Kaula path, Yoga practices for the attainment of siddhis (extraordinary powers) and directed him to make use of five malāras (madhya &c.) in his sādhanā for becoming a perfect Yogin. All this shows that pithas flourished in India when the Rudrayāmala was composed, that Tāntrik practices had grown in China or Tibet and that Buddha was deemed to have taught those practices, which is a libel and a vile travesty of Buddha's noble teaching.

1666. य: कुलार्य सिद्धमसी भवेः वारिनार्तमः।। माराति साधनं पूर्णं श्रवणामकम्-गोचरम्। बृहृदेशः शताच्छवर्णाति महाच्छवानं सदा बजं।। "मकुलार्य महर्षि लो महासिद्धी भविष्यसि।।
सतो मुरिषा: श्रवणं महाविवाहसत्वानाथं। जगाम श्रीनमसी च पवं बुधं: मितिविश्वसं।। "वुधि उवधृत। विष्णु या जणार्य कुलार्यस्यमस्य।। वेण विज्ञानमव नता माराति महायणार्य।। अस्त: कुलार्य साधनार्य सत्तित्तिर्भवो भव।। मारातस्यकर्णं सिद्धिविश्वाम तापायमभूत।।
"शाच शिवा ज्ञोरोज्जातं: किमस्य ग्रहेऽज्जातं।। इवृत्त्वा वुध्यस्य च कायनासाय साधनम्।।
"वुधि विष्णु याज्ञवल्क्यस्य महायणास्य।। "मारातार्य साधनं कथा जगाम कुलार्यस्य।। महायणार्य सतां तथा मल्यं सत्ता मेघुषास्य च।। दुध: नु: सपार्यपिता पूणयोगी भवं स:।। कुलार्यस्य, 17th पहल verses 121–123, 125, 135, 152–153, 157–158, 160–161.
Mystic words and magic spells in Veda

Magic spells are found in plenty in the Atharvaveda and some mystic words or syllables are used even in the Rgveda; e.g. the word 'vasaṭ' occurs in Rg. VII. 99. 7, VII. 100. 7 and other verses and the word svāhā occurs over a dozen times in the Rgveda (e.g. in I. 13. 12, V. 5, 11, VII. 2. 11). A sleep-inducing spell occurs in Rg. VII. 55. 5-8, which verses occur also in the Atharvaveda IV. 5. 6, 5, 1, 3 and which spell was probably employed by a purohita to put to sleep some noble man complaining of sleeplessness at night. Some Western scholars have held that this hymn is a lover's charm for a clandestine meeting with his lady-love. But the whole hymn has hardly any words of love in it and the author is not able to accept that theory as proved. Rgveda X. 145 is a hymn to be employed against a co-wife, the first verse of which is 'I dig up this herb, which is a most powerful creeper, by which (a woman) injures her co-wife and by which she secures her husband (to herself alone)'.

The Rgveda frequently mentions magicians who appear to have been mostly non-Aryans described as deva (godless), antrladeva (worshipping false gods), śiśnadeva (lecherous, Rg. VII. 21. 5, X. 99. 3). For reasons of space, it is not possible to go into great details. Tāntrik works describe the six cruel acts which will be dealt with later on. In the Vedic times it was supposed that some wicked people could by charms and incantations bring about the death of men and animals or make them ill. Two long hymns (VII. 104 and X. 87 both containing 25 verses) are enough to show how the Rgveda people were afraid of black magic. Both hymns are full of the words 'Yāudhāṇa' (one who employs black magic) and 'rākṣas' (devil or evil spirit), the word yātu being the same as 'jālu' (employed in Marathi and other regional Indian languages). There were female evil spirits also called 'piśācī' (Rg. I. 133. 5 'O Indra! destroy the reddish very powerful piśācī and kill all evil spirits'). A few verses from the Rgveda may be translated.

1667. In the Tantras the word 'svāhā' in mantras is indicated by such a word as 'wife of Agni'. Vide Tāntrik Texts, vol. 7, where svāhā is called याविजयाय, ज्ञातहभा and हिंद, also शारदातितक VI. 62-63.

1668. सत्सु माता सत्सु पिता सत्सु भा सत्सु विवाहिता: ससन्तु सत्सु ज्ञातव: ससन्तप- मभितो जनव: य अतिस वध चरणि यथ पेयति नि जनव: तेस्वा सं हमवी अहस्मिष्टं यथेऽहम् त्वचा। "मोदेः श्रीमयां तत्र विवाहितां नानीयततल्यक्षः।" क्षिप्यो या: गुप्ताशवाच्यास। सत्सा: श्वप्यामासिः "व्र. VII. 55. 5-8."
here. ‘May I (Vasiṣṭha) die this very day if I be a practitioner of black magic or if I have scorched the life of any person; may he, who falsely called me a practitioner of black magic, lose his ten sons; may Indra kill with a terrible weapon him who called me yātudhāna, though I am not so and who, being himself a rākṣas, declares himself to be pure; may he, being most wretched, fall below all beings (Rg. VII. 104. 15–16); O Maruts! may you spread in different places among the people, and wish to seize the devils and pound to dust the devils (rakṣasaḥ) who assuming the form of birds fly about at night and who, when the sacrifice is shining, produce deadly obstacles (śūnd. verse 18); O Indra! kill the male practitioner of black magic and also the female (magician) that destroys with wiles; may the (devils) worshippers of foolish deities perish with their necks cut off; and may they not be able to see the sun rising (Rg. VII. 104. 24); O Agni, split the skin of the yātudhāna, may thy destructive bolt kill him by its heat; O Jātavedas! shatter his joints, may some carnivorous beast longing for flesh seek (devour) the broken (yātudhāna); O Agni! shatter the yātudhānas by your heat, and the rākṣas by your glow and destroy the worshippers of foolish gods (mūrdeviṁ) and, shining towards those that feed on the lives of men (asutraḥ), shatter them’ (Rg. X. 87. 5 and 14).

In the Āp. Gr. (III. 9. 5–8) it is said that the plant used by the co-wife is called Pāthā and the hymn (Rg. X. 145) is employed for securing domination over the husband and for harming a co-wife. Rg. I. 191 is a charm against various poisons. In the Āthravaveda there are numerous hymns styled ‘satrūṣana’ (destructive of enemies) e.g. II. 12–24, III. 6, IV. 3 and 40, V. 8, VI. 6, 65–67 and 134. Āthrava II. 11 is styled ‘Kṛtyā-dūṣaṇa’ (counteracting black magic). A few of the typical verses may be cited here. ‘Employ magic spells against him, who hates us and whom we hate; attain (i.e. dominate) him who is superior and surpass him who is (our) equal; ‘O Soma! strike in the mouth with your thunderbolt him who speaks evil of us that speak what is good and may he, being crushed, run away’. The Śukranītisāra (ed. by G. Oppert, 1882) provides that the Tantras are the Upaveda of the

1669. प्रति तत्त्वमि चर वोक्ष्मादुपि ब्रह्मिः पं वर्ष द्रिष्टम्। आप्सुदी अष्टमन्तिर सभ्य च हि ||
अष्टम् II. 11. 3; धो न सोम हस्तिनो दुक्षिण आविष्कृति। व्यथुगार्य सूक्ष्म जाहि स संपिदो
अपायनि। अष्टम् VI. 6. 2; विद्योवधायस्मानो रत्नो: हस्तिनो:। कथितव: सोऽसंहारः
स्ववनिष्मेय यद्। अपायनि चोपेभवस्त्रोऽय: स हि। । कुमानितिसार IV. 3. 39.
Atharvaveda. Atharva III. 25 and VI. 130 are spells respectively employed by a man and a woman to soften the heart of the person loved; Atharva II. 30 and 31 are charms for driving away or destroying worms that cause diseases and V. 36 is a charm against piśācas (goblins).\textsuperscript{1670} The sound ‘phaṭ’ occurs in Vāj. S. In the Āp. Śr. Sātra phat is employed in offering Soma stalks in abhiśāra (employment of spells for a malevolent purpose). Phat is a sound frequently employed in the worship of Devī in Tantra works. But no direct connection or line of evolution from the Atharvaveda to the Tantras can be traced. The Tattvasaṅgṛaha of Śantaraksīta (705–763 A.D.) connects even Buddha with magic practices. It says ‘all wise men declare that it is dharma from which results worldly prosperity and the highest beatitude. Seen results such as intelligence, health, rulership are produced by properly observing the rules about mantras, yoga and the like declared by him (i.e. \textsuperscript{1671} by Buddha)’. But one cannot place implicit reliance on any writer’s statement made more than a thousand years after the event or person referred to in it. There are, however, stories in the Pali sacred books about the cultivation of magic powers among Buddha’s own disciples, e.g. the story of Bhāradvāja\textsuperscript{1672} who rose in the air for a bowl carved out of very fragrant

\textsuperscript{1670} For the sound ‘phaṭ’ in Durgā-śūja, vide p. 161 n. 416; 

\textsuperscript{1671} Tattvasaṅgṛahaṇa, p. 905: 

\textsuperscript{1672} The story of Puṇḍola Bhāradvāja, a disciple of the Blessed One (Buddha) rising in the air, taking the bowl and going thrice round the city of Rājaghaṇa in the air, is narrated in Cullavagga (S. B. E. Vol. XX pp 78 ff). But it is said there that Buddha rebuked his disciple, ordered that bowl to be broken and reduced to powder.
sandalwood. Further, there is a story of miraculous powers possessed by all the members of the family of a layman called Mendaka (viz. himself, his wife, son and daughter-in-law) in Mahāvagga VI, 34. 1 ff. (S. B. E. vol. XVII, pp. 121 ff.). Here again we have to remember that there is nothing in the Tipitaka or any early Buddhist document to prove that Buddha or his first disciples had anything to do with mudrās, mantras and mandalas and that neither Yuan Chwang nor I-tsung refers to any Tantras, though both of them refer to the Buddhist monasteries as centres of Buddhist culture (vide Dr. De in N. I. A. vol. I. pp. 1 ff.). In the introduction to Sādhanamālā (vol. II. LXVIII.) Dr. Bhattacharya relies upon the words ‘Sugatopadiṣṭām’ and ‘Sugataih’ occurring on pp. 334–335 of the Śādhanamālā for holding that Buddha himself must have promulgated some mantras. There are two weighty objections viz. ‘Sugataih’ does not always mean Buddha, but means also ‘followers of Buddha’ and secondly, just as most Hindu Tantras are dialogues between Śiva and Pārvati, so later Buddhist writers might have easily said that they are quoting the Buddha; the same objection applies to Kamalaśīla’s remarks quoted by Dr. Bhattacharya, as Kamalaśīla and his teacher flourished about 1200 years after Buddha.

The question whether Buddhist Tantras were prior to Hindu Tantras or vice versa is difficult to decide. It appears probable that both arose nearly about the same time. Vide ‘The Śāktas’ by E. A. Payne pp. 72–74 for discussion of views. In the Śādhanamālā (a Vajrayāna work consisting of 312 small works composed according to Dr. Bhattacharya from the 3rd century A. D. to 12th century A. D.) four pithas (chief centres) of Vajrayāna are mentioned viz. Kāmakhyā, Śīraṭṭa (or Śīraṭṭa), Purnagiri and Uḍḍiyāna. The first two are respec-

1673. It appears that in some Tantra works five Pithas are named (according to H. P. Sastri’s Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf and selected paper mss. in the Nepal Durbar Library, Calcutta, 1905, p. LXXX) viz. Uḍḍiyāna (in Orissa, says H. P. Sastri), Jāla (in Jalandar), Pūrṇa Mataśā in Śrīśaila and Kāmakhyā in Assam. The very fact that five pithas are named in the work supposed to be delivered by Śiva shows beyond doubt that before the work Tāntrism had spread in all parts of India. The Śādhanamālā (vol II pp. 453 and 455) mentions Uḍḍiyāna, Purnagiri, Kāmakhyā and Śīraṭṭa; the Kulaciddamani Tantra (Tāntrik texts, Vol. IV) in 6th paṭala verses 3–7 refers to five pithas viz. Uḍḍiyāna, Kāmarūpa, Kāmakhyā, Jālandhara and
tively identified with Kāmākhya or Kāmarūpa (three miles from Gauhati) and modern Sylhet. The exact situation of the other two is a controversial matter. M. M. H. P. Shastri identified Uḍḍīyāna (which is most frequently mentioned as a pitha) with Orissa. His son Dr. B. Bhattacharya thinks it most probable that Vajrayāna Tāntricism arose in Uḍḍīyāna (p. 46 of Intro. to B. E.). Dr. Bagchi in ‘Studies in the Tantras’ pp. 37–40 furnishes good grounds for holding that Uḍḍīyāna was near Swat valley in N. W. India and Grousset ‘In the footsteps of Buddha’ pp. 109–110 holds the same view. The Bṛhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by F. W. Thomas) names eight Śāktakṣetras (III. 123–124). In his Intro. to Sādhanamālā (vol. II, p. LXXVIII) Dr. Bhattacharya holds that the Hindu tantras were introduced on the model of the Buddhist tantras. But Winternitz (in ‘History of Indian Literature’, Eng. tr., vol. II, p. 401) states that this view of Dr. Bhattacharya is contrary to the facts and the present writer agrees with this view.

Though Dr. Bhattacharya admits that Buddhism and Jainism exploited Hindu gods in the earlier period, he asserts (on p. 147 of his Intro. to B. E.) that ‘it is possible to declare without fear of contradiction that the Buddhists were the first to introduce the Tantras in their religion and that the Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times’. It is no honour to ancient Hindus to be called the pioneers in the practice of black magic. But scholars have to seek truth irrespective of the question of honour or dishonour. Very weighty arguments are advanced by Vallée Poussin (in E. R. E. vol. XII, p. 193), Winternitz and Payne (on ‘Śaktas p. 73) for the opposite view and the present author agrees with them. Hundreds of works were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan and Chinese. The traffic of borrowing has been all one way from India to Tibet and China. Vide a paper on ‘China’s debt to India’ by Prof. Liang Chi Chao in Visvabhāratī Quarterly, vol. II, for 1924–25 pp. 251–261, where it is stated that 24 Hindu scholars from A. D. 67 to 789 came to China, besides 13 from Kashmir and that the Chinese scholars that went to India for study from 265–790 A. D. numbered 187 of which the names of 105 can be ascertained.

(Continued from last page)

Fūnagiri (vide also 3rd paṭala, 59–61). In I. H. Q. vol. XI, pp. 142–144 it is argued that Uḍḍīyāna and Sahore are in Bengal. The Devībhāgavata (VII, 30, 55–80) names over one hundred kṣetras of Devī.
There is hardly any evidence of the translations of Chinese or Tibetan works into Sanskrit. Besides, the three great Chinese travellers never refer to the study of Buddhist Tantras in India. Watters on "Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India" vol. I. p. 360 narrates a story from the pilgrim’s life that when he left Ayodhyā in a boat and proceeded east down the Ganges, thugs that looted the boat decided to sacrifice him to Durgā but that the Chinese pilgrim was saved by a hurricane which put the thugs in terror, who released him and treated him with reverence. Vide also ‘In the Footsteps of Buddha’ by René Grousset pp. 133–135 for this incident. We see that there is evidence of the prevalence of Tāntrik and Śākta worship in India long before the 7th century A.D. There is hardly any evidence of any Buddhist Tāntrik work before 650 A.D. except perhaps the Guhyasamājatantra and Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, both of which contain late elements. In this way, presumption and chronology are both against borrowing by Hinduism from Buddhist Tibetan or Chinese Tāntrik works. Vide ‘Tibet past and present’ by Sir Charles Bell (1924) pp. 23, 25, 29, Sardar K. M. Panikkar’s work ‘India and China’ (1957) p. 70, ‘Introduction of the alphabet in Tibet’ by M. M. Dr. Satischandra who holds that it was borrowed from Magadha in 7th Century A.D., that show that a written script based on an Indian alphabet as prevalent in Kashmir was first introduced about 640 A.D., that the Tāntrik Buddhist Padmasambhava was summoned from Udāiyāna by a Tibetan king Ti-son De-ton (749–786 A.D.) on the recommendation of Sāntarakṣita Bodhisattva and was induced to settle in Tibet. Bunjiu Nanjio’s ‘Catalogue of Tripitaka’ (Oxford, 1883), appendix II. p. 445 No. 155 shows that Amoghavajra translated many works between 746 and 771 A.D., died in 774 A.D. and that it was under his influence that Tantra doctrines gained currency in China. It is clear from the works of Bāna as detailed later on that worship of Cāndikā with wine and flesh was prevalent in India long before 600 A.D., that Śriparvata was famed for its tāntrik siddhis, that Śivasamhitās existed, that japa of mantras a crore of times in a cemetery was supposed to confer siddhis, that he 14th of the dark half of a month was deemed the proper tithi for japa and black magic. Therefore, it is most likely that Śākta or Tāntrik doctrines were taken to China and Tibet from India and not vice versa. Prof. P. V. Bapat in ‘2500 years of Buddhism’ (pp. 360–376) follows (at p. 363) Dr. B. Bhattacharya and tries to prove that Tibetan Tāntrism is earlier than Hindu Tāntrism, but his arguments
like those of Dr. Bhattacharya do not carry conviction at all. Dr. A. S. Altekar in his paper on Sanskrit Literature in Tibet (ABORI, vol. 35 pp. 54-66) shows how Buddhism entered into Tibet in the reign of Strong-Tsan-Gampo (637-693 A. D.), that about 750 A. D.; Padmasambhava from Orissa and Vairocana from Kashmir were pioneers and how about 4500 works were translated into Tibetan.

Even Dr. Bhattacharya admits that Buddhist Tantras in outward appearance resemble in a marked degree Hindu Tantras (p. 47 of Intro. to B. E.), but he contends that in the subject matter, the philosophical doctrines and religious principles there is little similarity. As Buddhism did not believe in Hindu gods they do not speak about Śakti or Śaktism. But just as in Hindu Tantras there is the male principle Śiva and the female principle of Devi, the Buddhists postulate Prajñā (which is feminine) and Upāya (masculine) as two principles and invest them with the same roles as those of Śiva and Devī but reversed in character. They had to graft on the idea of Śūnyatā the ideas underlying the concepts of Śiva and Devī or Śakti. The subject matter is very similar as regards the goal and means (Yoga &c) and the procedure of mantra, guru, maṇḍala &c. is the same. The most important and early works of Buddhist Tantric cult, the Prajñopāya–viniścayasiddhi and Jñānasiddhi are not earlier than the 8th century A. D., when Śaktism and Tantrism had both been long established in India.

The word ‘Śākta’ means one who is a worshipper or devotee of ‘Śakti’ (cosmic power or energy). It appears that long before the 8th century A. D. this cult had spread in almost all parts of India, particularly in Bengal and Assam. Śakti under different names (such as Tripurā, Lohitā, Śīlaśikā, Kāmeśvari) was conceived to be the primordial principle of all activity in the universe and is generally worshipped under the name of Devī. The Devimāhātmya is one of the chief works of the Śaktas and has been described above on pp. 155-156. The chief characteristics of the Śākta cult are the doctrine that God or Deity is one and is to be conceived as the mother and also the destroyer. One of the dhyānas of Devī as Kālī is as follows: शणवश्वां महाभीमां | वोरदंपि हस्सतुभीम | नर-धनुजा ख्रेष्टु-रथभक्तरस्तिवाम | सुण्डमालापरं देवीं तलजिहां धिमभिर | एवं संकुलवेष्टिकाः इम्हानालपवासिनीं | काजयितस्मिन्हर्वक्ष्मोद इति (Venk. ed.)

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worship which sometimes assumed debased and revolting forms. Devī has been eulogised in other Purāṇas also as in Vāmana (18–19), Devi-bhāgavata (III, 27), Brahmāṇḍa (that contains the Lalitāmāhātmya in 44 chapters), Matsya (13. 24–54, where 103 names of Devi and 108 places of her worship are set out), Kūrma (I. 12). In the last Purāṇa (Kūrma I. 12) Devi is called Mahāmahisamardini (98), Anāhatā, Kundalini (128), Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Candī, Bhadrakāli (143 and 148) and it is stated that the śāstras opposed\(^{1675}\) to the Veda and Smṛti that are popular among people such as Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala, Vāma, Ārhaṭa were propagated by Devī for deluding the world and were based on ignorance. Vide also Brahmāpurāṇa (181. 48–52) for names of Devī and for the proposition that Devī when worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh and other edibles becomes pleased and grants men’s desires. Bhadrakāli is comparatively an ancient name. In the Śaṅ. Gr. (SBE vol. XXIX p. 86) it is provided that an offering is to be made to Śrī at the head of the bed on which the householder sleeps and at the foot of the bed to Bhadra-kāli, while Manu provides that, in the daily bali harāṇa, bali (offering) is to be offered to Bhadrakāli in the south–west.

The Tantras and Śākta works have much in common, the main point of difference being that in the Śākta cult Devī (or Śakti) is worshipped as the highest, while Tantras (which include also Buddhist and Jaina works) are not restricted to the worship of Devī or Śakti, but may be agnostic, Vedāntic or Śaṅkhya in their philosophical outlook. Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in Intro. to Guhyasamājatantra p. XXXIV and in Intro. to Sādhanamālā vol. II, p. XIX) states that, for a work to be called a real Tantra, there must be the element of Śakti in it. But this is plainly rather an over-statement. The Vāyupurāṇa enumerates the Śākta among six darśanas (philosophic points of view) as in note \(^{1675a}\).

Even the Ṛgveda speaks of the Śaktis of the great gods of the Vedic pantheon. But the Śakti or Śaktis are of the God

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1675. पाणि शास्त्रानि हर्षान्ते लोके तिस्मिनिष्पितानि हु। शूलसुसूतीविधुतविद्वद्विगुणां निष्ट तेव्रं त तामस | कापाळ केहि जयां तामसैं तामसाः हो। तपस्यायां भोजनायां माहात्म्य तांतानि हु। कृम्भ म I. 12. 261–262. These verses are quoted by चुंबनद्र in शूलसूत्र सूतीविधुत विद्वद्विगुणां मन्त्रम् I. pp. 785–786 (under मन्त्रमन्त्रम्).

1675a. अहंः सैव विद्यमानं च सौरं आकृत्तं तथाहंतम्। पद्ममन्यानि स्रीकान्ति स्वभावनात्तज्ज्ञतानि च । 104, 16.
himself and not a separate creative principle and sometimes Śakti is meant as part of the poet, priest or sacrificer (as in Rg.I 31. 18, I 83. 3, IV. 22. 8, X. 25. 5). The word ‘Śakti’ occurs in the Rgveda about a dozen times in the singular as well as in the plural, five times with Indra,\(^{166}\) once with Aśvins (Rg. II. 39. 7), twice with pīṭṣ (I 109. 3, VI. 75. 9) and once with gods in general (X. 88. 10, who are said to have created Agni with their powers). Sometimes, the word ‘Māya’ is used with regard to Indra instead of the word Śakti. ‘O Indra! I long for your great friendship and powers (śaktiḥ)...understand that you are our great protector; I proclaim your ancient and recent deeds, O Indra endowed with powers (Śaktīvāḥ)!...; ‘Indra assuming\(^{167}\) many forms by his powers (māyāḥ) repairs (to many sacrifices), ten hundred horses are yoked to his chariot’. In these passages there is no question of worshipping śakti or śaktis of the god praised. The more frequent word, however, is ‘Śacī’ (‘śacīḥḥiḥ’ occurring 36 times and ‘sacyā’ 12 times). The word ‘Śacīpati’ (lord of Śacī or power) occurs sixteen times in the Rgveda and has been applied in all places to Indra, except once in Rg. VII. 67. 5 (where it is applied to Aśvins). It cannot be said that in the Rgveda ‘Śacī’ is the wife of Indra (as it is said in later mythology), since the plural is more frequent than Śacī in the singular and since Aśvins also are called ‘Śacīpati’. Once. Similarly, the word ‘Śacīvāḥ’ occurs eleven times, in nine of which it is addressed to Indra but it is once applied to Agni (Rg. III. 21. 4) and once to Soma (Rg. IX. 87. 9). The ideas associated with the words ‘Śakti’ and ‘Śacī’ are those of creation, protection, valour, and bounty. In Rg. I 56. 4 Indra’s power is called ‘Devi taviṣṭ’ but the word Śacī does not occur in that verse. There is a sublme hymn (Rg. X. 125) of the power of Vāk (speech), wherein Vāk is said to associate with Rudras, Ādityas, Vasus, all gods and is

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\(^{166}\) Vide also Rg. VII. 20. 10, X. 88. 10 (स्मृतेन हि दिशि देवस्यो अमेंगीजनस्यमण्डिकी प्रोक्तिसामाय ॥

\(^{167}\) इन्द्रो मायाभः पुरुषस्य इत्यते हितस्य हर्षितस्य हर्ष: सता द्वा ॥ अव. VI. 47. 18.

On this the इत्यय. उप. II. 5. 19 says ‘इन्द्रस्य इति हितास्य पुरुषहर्षितास्य पुरुषहर्षितास्य इति। इति। अयं ये हितस्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इ�ि। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति। अयं ये हितास्ययते इति। इति।
declared to support Mitra and Varuna, Indra and Agni, the Ṛṣis, Soma, Tvāṣṭṛ, Puṣan and Bhaga. Vāk is said to stretch the bow for Rudra in order that the destructive enemy of brahma (prayer or God Brahmā) may be killed, that Vāk stands occupying all worlds and that her body touches heaven, that it is beyond heaven and the earth, that Vāk stands so vast by its greatness. Vāk becomes the principle of all energy. According to the Nighaṇṭu (I. 11), menā, gnāḥ and śaṭ are three of the 57 words meaning ‘Vāk’. In Tāl. S. V. 1. 7. 2 the metres are called ‘gnās’. Ṛg. I. 164. 41 is an enigmatic description of Vāk explained in Nirukta XI. 40. It should be noticed that, just as Devi or Śakti is associated with Śiva in later literature, so are Indrāṇi, Varuṇāṇi, Agnāyī, Rodāsi associated with Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and Maruts respectively as wives. ‘I invoke Indrāṇi,’ Varuṇāṇi and Agnāyī for my welfare and for drinking Soma’; ‘May the women, the wives of gods, partake of the offering, viz. Indrāṇi, Agnāyī, the brilliant (wife) of the Ṛṣis, Rodāsi; may Varuṇāṇi listen (to our laud); may the goddesses partake (of offerings) at the time (appropriate) for women’. It must be said, however, that these goddesses (devīḥ) play a very subordinate part in the Ṛgveda. No direct connection can be traced between these Vedic goddesses and the later conception of Devi or Śakti. Indrāṇi is invoked for protection in Ṛg. I. 22. 12, II. 32. 8, V. 46. 8, X. 86. 11–12. In Ṛg. V. 46. 8 Indrāṇi and three others are called Devapatniś and ‘gnāś’. In Ṛg. I. 61. 8 it is said that the gnāś, the wives of gods, wove, when Indra struck the demon Ahi, a song of worship. The word ‘gnā’ occurs 20 times in the Ṛg. in the nominative, objective, instrumental and locative and is an Indo-European word for wife (Greek has it.). Vide Nir. III. 21 where ‘menā’ and ‘gnā’ occur. In the Kenopaniṣad Umā Haimavati (daughter of Himavat) tells of Brahma to the gods Agni, Vāyu and Indra (III. 12). In the Śvetāsvataraúpaniṣad it is said ‘they (brahma-vādins) endowed with meditation and Yoga saw Śakti (power) abiding as non-different from God and concealed (from com-

1678. इन्द्राणि: क्रुः द्वये वषणानि स्तवते। अन्तः कं सामपीतते। क. 1. 22. 12; उत्तमपं तदाद्वन्माद्वन्माविन्यासायिन मद्दतेऽवचः। आ गोवर्ददी वषणानि इर्द्धतु युध्यन्ते क्रुः क्षणिनामेन। क. 1. 46. 8. युध्यन् is said to be the wife of Āśvins in Ṛg. X. 85. 8–9; पालक explains Ṛg. V. 146. 8 in लिङ्क XII. 46 and holds रोदसी as the wife of रोदस। in Ṛg. V. 56. 8 the Maruts are said to have ‘Rodāsi’ on their chariot; in Ṛg. V. 61.4 the Maruts are said to have a beautiful wife; in VI. 50.5 Rodāsi is called devi and is said to be mixed up with Maruts. In Ṛg. I. 167.4 and VI. 66.6 Rodāsi is connected with Maruts.
prehension) by its own attributes (or by sattva, rajas and tamas). The same Upanishad (in VI. 8) speaks of Brahma as possessing the highest Sakti in various forms and this text is quoted by Śaṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 24. In the bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 30 and in the sūtra itself Brahma is said to be endowed with all powers. Vide also Śvetāsva. IV. 1. The Nārāyanopaniṣad contains an invocation of Durgā-devī. I approach as a refuge the blazing goddess Durgā, brilliant like fire, luminous owing to tapas, that is resorted to for (yielding) the rewards of religious actions; O goddess possessed of excellent might! adoration to your power'. Rāghavabhaṭṭa avers that Tantra cult is based on Śruti as can be seen from the Upanisads called Rāmapūrvottara-tāpaniya and Nṛṣimhapūrvottara-tāpaniya. Similarly, Bāṣkarārya in his commentary Setubandha on Vāmadevavaranatānta mentions several Upanisads as treating in detail of the bhakti of Mahātrīpura-sundari and interprets Rg. V. 47, 4 'catvari im' as referring to Kādīvīdyā. But all these Upanisads seem to be purposely composed to bolster up the tantras that had come to be looked down upon and they

1679. ने ध्यायोगार्थता आचरणवाचार्यानि द्रष्ट्रामणवहारम्। द्वेषात् । इ ।।
परार्च ज्ञानविवेकेन युक्ते साधारणिक ज्ञानाधृतिकाया च। द्वेषात् । VI. 8। सत्यवादव च
लवणात्। वेदांतसूत्र II. 1. 30, on which Brāhma says ‘एकत्रुयाय ब्रह्माय लिङ्गचक्रसिद्धिर्योगावृत्ताय विचारणांक्षेपम् हृदये।’ But this is entirely different from the later Sākta doctrines. Here Brahma is said to be endowed with various Saktis (not one), white Sakti among Sāktas is the female principle that is supreme. It is possible that such a Vedic doctrine of Sakti might have suggested the later all-engrossing form of Sakti as the only deity or principle.

1680. ताम्यविद्याय तत्त्व सत्यनित्य पूर्वांना कर्मालेपोऽज्ञात। भुवि तेन ज्ञायमहां भये
श्रणुक्तसिरसरूप) नमः। नारायणोपनिषद् । । ।

1681. द्रष्ट्रमणवहारम् हु रामपूर्वोत्तराधीनै-द्रष्ट्रमणवहारम् तां रोयकाया विद्या विद्याः ।
रामसूत्र on शारवाचार्य p. 2; ओमहरीशाहितसूत्रवर्त्तको गौणो नियोक्तशब्द-प्रवर्तकशब्दात्
तथा श्रवणनित्यवनानां लिङ्गचक्रसिद्धिः प्रकृतिकालोपदेशा। श्रवणविद्याय परीक्षानित्यवनानां लिङ्गचक्रसिद्धिः।
सेतुवन वामवेशार्य p. 4; तत्परिक्षानित्यवनानां लिङ्गचक्रसिद्धिः। अच्छ हि
कालिकायाः हृदयाकृतिप्रणागतार्गोद्रोऽहुः। सेतुवन p. 17. In the śākyapāniscrft, edited with the com. of upanīdāṇa-nāyaṇīya by Pandit A. Mahadevaśastri, Adyar, 1925, are printed śūraṇa, śūraṇāśī, कु, श्रवण, वाक्य, सरस्वतीयस्य, वृद्धि, 
सीता, सौभार्यस्मात् (the śākyapāniscrft occurring on pp. 68-73). In the bhadra- 
निश्चय (on p. 62) occurs the passage 'तथा परस्परं तथा वाक्यमात्र श्रवणविद्याय तः।' The com. explains: ओमलक्ष्यात्मकिकार्यविद्याः कहूँ ता श्रवणविद्याय वाहन तु कहूँ ता श्रवणविद्याय वाहन तु श्रवणविद्याय वाहन तु
are mostly mentioned by late medieval writers like Rāghava-
賓lets and Bhāskararāya. There are two great hymns
addressed to Durgā in the Mahābhārata, viz. in Virātapa
ccha (chap. 6) by Yudhiṣṭhira and the other in Bhishmapa
ccha (chap. 23) by Arjuna, but they are discarded as apocryphal in
the Poona critical edition. The Gangadhara stone Inscription of
Viṣṇavarman of 480 of the Mālava era (424 A.D.) refers to Mātrās
(Mother Goddesses) and Tantra. The Br. S. 57. 56 mentions
the groups of Mātrās. The Vṛddha-Ḥarita-smṛti recommends
that the householder should not enter places of Śaiva, Baudhā,
Śākta and Śākta cults. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (one of the
earliest among extant Purāṇas) speaks of the whole world as
that of Viṣṇu, who is the highest Brahma and is endowed with

1682. In JRAS for 1906 pp. 355-362 B. C. Majumdar endeavours to
show that the two hymns to Durgā are late interpolations in the Mahā-
bhārata, probably derived from practices of non-Aryan Śūdras in Oriya-
speaking hill tribes of Sambalpur. But he forgets that apart from other
sources Kālidāsa (not later than about 400 A. D.) speaks of Pārvatī as
Umā, Aparāṇā, Durgā, Gaurī, Bhavāni and Caṇḍi in his several works
and also that Kālidāsa refers to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. In
the last verse of the Śakuntala Kālidāsa speaks of Śiva as 'parigata-śaktī' and
thereby suggests that at least the germs of the later Śakti worship were not
unknown in his times. Therefore, the worship of Durgā in her several
aspects is older than 300 A. D. by at least a century or more; vide pp.
185-186 above.

1683. श्रीमत्रुण्यम् ो मयामिशनाक्षरस्मिन्निदातिविनीतीनां तन्त्रोज्जुन-प्रत्यक्षत्वाद्विविदितात्मगा
नियत्री नामम् in Gupta Inscription No 17 p. 72 The Harshasāñhitā 57. 56 provides
rules about images of Mātrās ‘मातृणम् क्वस्य: स्मायदेवस्य क्षतिक्षणे’; the
विषयप्रमित्तिषु (in I. 226) mentions a large number of मात्रा including कार्तिकी
and महाकाली (in all over 180). Vide a recent work on ‘the Cult of the Mother
Goddesses' by E. O. James (London, 1959), of which pp. 99-124
deal with India; ‘Matsyendranātha and his Yogi cult' by Dr. Karambelkar
in 1. H. Q. Vol. XXXI (for 1935) pp. 362-374, which show that Ādīnātha
(Śiva Himself) was the guru of Matsyendranātha, who was himself guru of
Gorakṣanātha, the former being called Luipa (in Tibet), one of the 84
Siddhas; vide Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey Report IX, for the
temple of 64 Yoginis at Bheraghat and ‘Tāntrik cult in Epigraphs' by Mr,

1684. श्रीमत्रुण्यम् ो मयामिशनाक्षरस्मिन्निदातिविनीतीनां तन्त्रोज्जुन-प्रत्यक्षत्वाद्विविदितात्मगा
नियत्री नामम् XI. 143.

1685. एतसविद्विदं विश्वा जयदेवधराचरम् । एतस्राचार्यविन्दनं भलिमिनित।
विषयु V. 7. 60: श्रीमत्रुण्यम् ो मयामिशनाक्षरस्मिन्निदातिविनीतीनां तन्त्रोज्जुन-प्रत्यक्षत्वाद्विविदितात्मगा
नियत्री नामम् II विषयु, V. 1. 86. This verse occurs in विषय 181. 52 and the
preceding three verses which contain the names of Durgā are the same
in both.
Śakti, enumerates some of the names of Durgā as Āryā, Vedagarbha, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadra-kārti, Kṣemādā, Bhāgyadā and winds up by stating that when Durgā is worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh, various kinds of foods, she, being pleased, would fulfil all desires of men. In the Kādambarī of Bānabhaṭṭa there is a long description of the temple of Cāndikā at a few days' journey from Ujjayinī, where there was an old Draviḍa devotee, in which the following points deserve to be noted, viz. offerings of the heads of animals, lion as vāhana, the slaughter of Mahisāsura, the doctrines of Pāśupatas written down on small books of palm leaves containing jugglery, tantra and mantras, Durgā-stotra written on a piece of cloth, ruined temples of the Mātris and description of the Draviḍa devotee as knowing thousands of wonderful stories about Śrīparvata. Bāṇa describes at length what queen Vilāsavati, pining for a son, began doing to placate all Gods viz. sleeping in the shrines of Cāndikā where guggulu was being incessantly burnt, taking auspicious baths on nights of dark 14th in public squares where magic circles had been drawn by great magicians, visiting temples of Mātris, wearing amulets inside which were pieces of birch leaves on which mantras had been written with yellow pigment, and, when delivery was near, her bed was rendered holy with various herbs, roots and yantras (figures or diagrams). In the Harsacaritā (III) there is a reference to magic circles and to human sacrifices in the description of the Śaiva ascetic Bhairavācārya who had all the Śaiva-samhītās by heart, who performed the japa of a mahāmantra called Mahākālaḥdaya a crore of times in a cemetery and wanted the help of Puspabhūti (an ancestor of Emperor Harṣa) for perfection in that mantra to be achieved by subduing a vetāla and who ultimately attained to the position of Vidyādhara and rose into the starry firmament. In the last Introductory verse of the Harsacaritā the Emperor Harṣa is, by means of puns, called the Śrīparvata in yielding all Siddhis (supernatural powers, or fulfilment) according to the wishes of all suppliants.  

1686. जपति उबस्नानाशपनिवेशिते राज्यमायाकर्षणं कदिमः। संस्कृततमंषायनं ति श्रीरफः । भर्ष्य 1 21; सीधालोनी says in मालंतिकाण्ड 'यह सर्जमों तपस्तन्त्रमर्यादा श्रीमानं। द्वामालकोतियां सर्जमानसाम्य सिद्धां ॥ ॥ IX.
and small, rich and poor. In the Mālatimādhava (Act V) we have a gruesome picture of human sacrifice to Cāmundā. In the same drama Saudāmini is described as observing the vows of a Kāpālīka on Śriparvata and as having secured supernatural powers by means of mantras. Śriparvata is mentioned as a holy place of Śiva and Devi in Vanaparva 85.19-20. The Vāsavadatta of Subandhu (p. 87 of Hall’s ed.) speaks of Śriparvata as ‘Sannihita-mallikārjunaḥ.’ Later on a few passages from Sanskrit and Prakrit literature will be cited to show how the teaching of Tantrik practices led to great moral debasement and revolting orgies in the name of religion.

The literature on Tantras was vast (vide ‘Principles of Tantra’ ed. by A. Avalon, part 1 pp. 390-392 for a long list of Tantras). Both Hindu and Buddhist writers composed numerous works on Tantra and a very large number of subjects came to be included in Tantra works. Buddhist and Hindu Tantras are alike in some respects but they differ in the topics discussed, philosophical doctrines and some religious principles and practices. Tantra works were introduced into Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan and South East Asia. Originals of many of the Sanskrit Tantrik works are now not available, but the translations of some of them in Tibetan are available.16 It is aid that even now if proper search is made, three hundred works on Tantra may be discovered (vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya in vol. X. of Śrī Rāmavarmā Institute of Research at Cochin p. 81).

It is difficult to give a general definition of Tantras. The word ‘Tantra’ is derived usually from ‘Tan’ to spread and ‘tra’ (to save). ‘It spreads (dilates upon) many matters including the tattvas and mantras and affords protection;

1687. The following works will convey some idea of Śākta doctrines and practices: R. G. Bhandarkar’s ‘Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.’ (in Collected Works, Vol. IV pp. 203-210); ‘Sakti and Śākta’ by Sir John Woodroffe (1920); ‘Serpent Power’ by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe); the Śāktas’ by E. A. Payne (Oxford University Press, 1933) ‘Sakti or divine power’ by Dr. Sudhendu Kumar Das (Calcutta University, 1945); ‘Doctrine of Śakti in Indian Literature’ by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti (1940). Vide Prof. Dagchi’s ‘Studies in the Tantras’ pp 1-3 for the introduction of four Tāntrik texts in Kambuja (Cambodia) about 800 A. D. named ‘Śīraścāda, Vināśikha, Sammohā and Nayottara and ‘Inscriptions from Kambuja’ by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta, 1953) pp. 362, 373-374 and JRAS for 1950 pp. 163-65 for relics of Śāktism in Moslem Malaya.
therefore it is called Tantra'. They can only be described but one matter is included in almost all of them, viz. the five 'Makāras'. Often they contain an amalgam of religion, philosophy, superstitious dogmas, rites, astronomy, astrology, medicine, prognostications. They resemble the Purāṇas in several respects. The Buddhists deified many important personages of Buddhism and took over in course of time certain Hindu deities like Ganeśa and Sarasvatī. Tantras are classified by comparatively later works into three groups, Viṣṇukrānta, Rathakrānta and Aṣvakraṇta and 64 Tantras are assigned to each of the three groups (vide Tāntryik Texts, vol. I. ed. by Arthur Avalon, Introduction pp. II–IV); but these numbers seem to be fictitious. The same Tantra is put in two classes by certain works. The Kulārṇava-tantra (III. 6–7) speaks of five āmnāyas (East, West, South, North and ērdhva) as the paths to Mokṣa. The Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra I. 2 does the same. Besides, Tāntrik worshippers are divided into three classes viz. Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava. Bagchi states ('Studies in Tantras' p. 3) that Tantrik literature is classified into Śrotas (which are three) Pitha and Āmnāya. The Saundaryalahari, ascribed by some to the great Advaita teacher Śaṅkaraścārya, refers to sixty-four Tantras (in verse 31 which begins 'catuṣṭṭastyā tantraih' which, it is said therein, were declared by God Śaṅkara for deluding the world. Several Hindu and Buddhist Tantras

1688. तनोति विपुलान्यासः तर्चममवन्दितात। बाप्पं च कुक्ते समालं तन्त्रविद्यामिविध्वस्ते।

1689. भगवान् परमेश्वरं भक्तिस्मृतम्।....भगवतं दैवत्यं वाचामायिक्यं प्रृतः प्रशासिते।

1690. The evidence for attributing the work Saundaryalaharī to the great Śaṅkaraścārya is not strong. In H. P. Sāśtri's Cat. of Palm-leaf mss. in Nepal Durbar Library p. LXII there is an entry for सवंदर्भयज्ञितका, a Tāntric compilation by Śaṅkaraścārya of Gauḍaṭaśa. This would emphasize that caution is required in accepting works ascribed to Śaṅkaraścārya as genuine works of the great Advaita teacher. Vide D. N. Bose on 'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets' pp 29–30 for the names of 64 tantras mentioned in the Vārāhi-tantra together with the verses therein and Saundaryalaharī (tr. pp. 117–120) for a list of 64 tantras and Bagchi's 'Studies in the Tantras' p. 5 for the names of tantras considered authoritative in the 8th century A.D. and even prior to it. The tanātraśāstra of Abhinavagupta states that there are groups of ten, 18 and 64 Śaiva tantras 'दशाध्राहस्तराश्चतपि वच्चासं विभो।'

(Continued on next page)
have been published and we have now a fair idea of what the
umerous Tantras must have been like. Some of the published
Hindu Tantras are Kulārṇava, Tantrasāra, Nityotsava,
Paraśurāmakalpa-sūtra, Pārānandasūtra, Prapañcasāra, Mantra-
mahodadhi of Mahīdhara, Mahānirvānatantra, Rudrayāmala,
Vāmakēśvaratantra, Śāradātīlaka (about 11th century A.D.).
Besides, there are works like the Tantraloka and Mālinivijaya-
vārtika of Abhinava-gupta of Kashmir Tāntrism. They stand
somewhat apart from the works enumerated above. Among the
published Buddhist tantras are; Ādityavajrasaṅgraha,
Āryamañjuśrīmālākalpa, Guhayasaṃjaya-tantra (probably 6th
century A.D.), Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti (717 A.D.), Nispān-
yogavali of Abhayākaragupta (composed between the last
quarter of 11th and first of 12th century A.D.), Prajnopāya-
vinīcaya-siddhi of Anangavajra (about 705 A.D.), Sat-cakra-
nirūpaṇa (1577 A.D.), Sādhana-mālā (containing 312 small
works supposed to be from 3rd to 12th century A.D.). Of the
Buddhist Tantras Āryamañjuśrīmālākalpa and Guhyasamāja-
tantra are the oldest according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya
(Intro. p. XXXVIII. to Guhya-saṃjaya-tantra). Most of the
above works have been published by Arthur Avalon (Sir. John
Woodroffe) and in the Gaikwad Oriental Series. Some of the
Hindu Tantras contain sublime philosophical views derived from
the Upānisads and the Gītain or from the Śāṅkhya and Yoga
and the final goal according to them is Mukti (liberation from the

(Continued from last page)
cycle of births and deaths) for all men but to be secured by following the path laid down by the Tantras. As the number of published Hindu Tantras is considerable, reference will be made mainly to a few viz. Kulārṇava, Pārānandasūtra, Prapañcasāra, Māhānirvāṇatantra, Vāmakesvaratantra (Ānan. ed.), Śaktisaṅgamatantra, Śāradātilaka and in the case of the Buddhist tantras to Āryamañjuśrīmūla-kalpa, Guhyasamājatantra, Prajñopāyavinīcayasiddhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śādhanamālā, Sekoddeśāṭikā. The purpose of most Buddhist Tantras is to indicate a short path for attaining Buddha-thood through Yoga practices and they introduce the element of Śakti for Yogic practices and for securing miraculous powers (called siddhis). In the History of Dharmashastra not much need be said about Buddhist Tantras except for comparison and stress will have to be laid on the Hindu Tantras alone. The philosophical aspects of Tāntrik culture may be studied in the Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, the Vāmakesvāra-tantra, Tantarāja, the works on Kashmir Śaivism, works of Bhāskararāya, Bhāvanopanisad. This last is a late work dignified with the title of Upaniṣad, as it deals with bhāvanā and summarises the Vāsanāpatala of Tantarājatantra (vide Intro. to the latter p. 3). There are also Vaiṣṇava Tāntras like the Vaiṣṇava-tantra (D.C. ms. No. 1120 of 1886–1892) and Kramapikā of Keśava (who was a successor of Nimbārka) with the commentary of Govinda Vidyāvinoda (published in the Chowkhambra S. series), which are not referred to in this work from considerations of space. Vide Agnipurāṇa 39. 1–7 for the names of twenty-five Vaiṣṇava Tantras dealing with the establishment of Viṣṇu image and other matters and Māheśvaratantra 26. 16–20.

The Hindu tantras which are supposed to have embodied dialogues between Śiva and Devi or Skanda or Bhairava and rarely others as in Dattātreya-tantra (D.C. ms. No. 962 of 1887–91) endeavour to show that they base themselves on the Vedas, Āgamas, Smṛtis and Purāṇas, that there is an easier and quicker way to the final goal of mokṣa and they often quote Vedic verses. For example, in the Kulārṇava, Śiva says to Devī ‘I churned the great ocean of Vedas and Āgamas with the churning handle of (correct) knowledge. I knew the essence of these and took out the Kuladharmā,¹⁶⁹² that the Kaulaśāstras are autho-

¹⁶⁹². मधिसा ज्ञानमये बेदायमारागार्यम्। साराज्जय हि वदि कुलार्णे: सहुज्जितः। कुलार्णे II. 10; the परावनव्युह III. 64 is almost the same। मधिसा ज्ञानमये। (Continued on next page)
ritative like Vedic texts and should not be nullified by ratiocination.’ The same Tantra further asserts ‘one who has studied the four Vedas but is ignorant of Kuladharma is inferior to a cāṇḍāla, while a cāṇḍāla who knows Kuladharma is superior to a brāhmaṇa. If all dharmas such as sacrifices, pilgrimages and vratas are put on one side and Kuladharma on another side, Kaula (dharma) is superior.’

It is, therefore necessary to understand what is meant by Kula or Kauladharma. The Guhya-samāja states that Guhya means the three viz. body, speech and mind and ‘samāja’ means ‘coming together’, that Kula may comprehend five matters or three or 101 and that Guhya (as defined) is trikula.’ God Śāṅkara declared five tattvas, viz. wine, flesh, fish, mudrā (hand and finger poses or the woman helper of a yogin) and sexual intercourse, that are acts that become the means for the attainment of the position of a vīra and that the mantra of Śakti does not confer perfection unless one follows the practices of Kula; therefore a person

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1693. एकतः सकल धार्मिक पञ्चतीयतादं। एकतः कुलपालित तच्छ कौतोधिक: चिन्ते॥

1694. विविधं काव्याचिन्तनम् युग्मनित्यभिद्विस्ते। समां गीतन्त मोक्षं सर्वदुःखिनिध- धानकम्॥

1695. वीरारुपालिनां प्रजातिवेद्विनिवंति च। मध्य गांठं तथा महायुधसामुदायमेव च।

विभिन्नं पञ्चमेव विविधतियतादं। एकत्र चक्रवर्तिन कौतोधिकं चिन्ते॥

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should be devoted to the Kula practices whereby he would attain to the sādhana of Śakti; wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse—these are declared to be the five tattvas in the procedure of the worship of Śakti. In another place the Mahānirvāṇa \textsuperscript{1696} says that the individual soul, prakṛti, space, time, ākāśa, earth, water, fire and Vāyu—these are called ‘Kula’ and that way of life whereby one looks upon all these as brahma without distinction is called Kulācāra, that confers the four goals viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa. The Śaktisāṅgama-tantra states that Kula means the upāsakas (worshippers) \textsuperscript{1697} of Kāli. The Kulārnava states ‘Kula means gotra and that springs from Śakti and Śiva; that man is called Kaulika who knows that mokṣa is secured from that (i.e. Śakti and Śiva). Śiva is called ‘Akula’ and Śakti is called ‘Kula’; those who contemplate on Kula and Akula are the wise kaulikas.” Various other definitions are given in Guhyasamāja (İst paṭāla p. 6), in the Preface p. VIII of the Śaktisāṅgama tantra, Tārakhanača. But the same Tantra clinches the matter by declaring that “Śakti is known as Kula; her worship and the like are described; that should be known as ‘Kulācāra’, which is difficult of attainment even for gods. Worship, done with these alone viz. wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse, is known as Kulācāra.” The Parānanda-sūtra, \textsuperscript{1698} provides that the highest self is one,

\textsuperscript{1696} जीव: मक्खलितं च विक्रान्तकालपानं च। सितस्वेदोमचवर्षकुलस्मात्विदीये। ब्राह्मणचुद्भुथमितिकृत्यस्वच्छचतुर्यणं च यत्। कुलाचार: स एवाचे धर्मनामार्थमात्मकः॥ महानिर्वाणः VII. 97-98. In VII. 109-110 it identifies the five tattva, मया, मात्र, मात्र, शुद्र and मेतुन्मेत्वा with the five elements viz. तेजः (अग्नि), पवन, आप, उपेतीरी व विपुलः।

\textsuperscript{1697} श्रीकृष्णपादका च व तक्तुं परिवृत्तम्। तेनः सहित्यादे देवेन कुले समर्पितम् मया॥ शाक्सिकः, नाटीश्वरः chap. 3, 32; मद्य सांस्थ तथा मात्र शुद्र। मेतुन्मेत्वा च। एक्षिरेव अत्य दुःख फुला कुलाचारः प्रकृति:॥ शाक्सिकः, ताराश्चारः, 36th पदः, verses 18-20; कुले गीत्वा सहासरात्म तथा शाक्सिकं बुद्धविष्णुः। येन मौत उत्थिते ज्ञानो विनिविधिष्णुः। सौभिधीयोऽकुले शुद्रे दुःखे कुले शाक्से प्रकृति:॥ कुलाचारकृता विस्मातान्तराविचार: कृत्तिकः। श्रीकृष्णपादका च अनुप्रयोगम्। श्रीकृष्णपादका (ms D. C. No. 994 of 1891-95 fello 13 b) states ‘मयः...मेतुन्मेत्वा च। भास्योऽस्मि (ले? !) न प्रयत्ने महास्ते: पंच हुँभम्।’

\textsuperscript{1698} एकः प्रयत्नः। ईश्वर: सत। असंयस्य जीवः। ब्राह्मचर्यात्माधिकृतमाधिकृतभैरवशेषः। पारानादे मतेः नयेऽनामः। विक्षिणः। नामः। उत्तरः। ततेव धार्मादार्थिना। विक्षणादआत्मा वादित्वदर्शस्त्रात्र। उत्तराद्यात्मा किंतु इत्यत्र ब्राह्मचर्यम्। बांधवार्जी विवाहारी मनोमयादिभोदितवात्। मथाप्रेमलस्मात्मात्रादेवस्तुधुः नुस्तत दीति। मथास्थुलादेवगतां कोसाणिकाः। पारानादृश्या (G. O. S.) pp 1-3, 13; compare कुलाचारात्मकः II. 7-8 ‘वेषणादात्मा श्रृव्ये शैवे शास्त्रात्मा विद्यादर्शस्त्रात्र। विक्षणादात्मा वादित्वद विद्यादर्शस्त्रात्र। विद्यादर्शस्त्रात्रात्मा कोसाणिकोऽस्त्यावर्तते नहीं।।। वामाचार इति। वामाचार इति। वामाचार इति।
that there are seven Lords (Īśvara) viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Ganeṣa, Śakti and Bhairava, that individual souls are countless, that there are three mārgas (paths) viz. Dakṣina, Vāma and Uttara, each succeeding one being superior to each preceding one, that Dakṣina-mārga is the one declared in the Veda, śrūtis and purāṇas, that the Vāma (way) is declared by the Veda and Āgamas, while the third (Uttara) is the one declared by the words of the Veda and of the Guru and that the Guru-vākyā is that of one’s guru who is himself Jivan-mukta and who gives instruction as to a mantra. That sūtra further provides that the Vāmācāra is of two kinds, madhyama (middling) and uttama (best), that uttama is the one which is concerned with wine, sexual intercourse and hand postures, while madhyama is one where all five, wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and maithuna are resorted to. It should be noticed that the Tantras themselves designate the use of five makāras in worship as Vāmācāra and not their orthodox partisans of Yoga, as Heinrich Zimmer alleges in ‘The art of Indian Asia’ vol. I. p 130. Pārānandasūtra1699 prescribes that the disciple has to undergo dikṣā (consecration) from a qualified guru, who instructs the disciple as to the mantra, who holds a mouthful of water in his own mouth and passes it into the mouth of the disciple that accepts the mantra while he gulps down the water. This procedure applies if the guru is a brāhmaṇa, but if the guru is a ksatriya he should recite the mantra in the right ear of the disciple. The Tantraraja-tantra provides that the guru should wait for 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 years according as the intending disciple belongs to the four varnas or to a mixed caste, should test his qualities and devotion and then communicate to him the mantra; otherwise, both guru and disciple would come to grief (Tāntrik Texts, vol. VIII. II. 37–38). Most works on Tantra provide that the knowledge conveyed by the guru and worship with five makāras must be kept secret and if made public falling in hell is the result. Vide Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra I. 12 and Śaṅkīsāṃgama-tantra.1700 After undergoing dikṣā and receiving the mantra the disciple has to follow the orders

1699. प्रवदयुक्त उद्वक्तं शिषय तत्वदत्ता गृहस्थोद्विषेदः। पुरा गृहा जनम जीविर्द्वेदपिनिधिविषेदः। नितिनिर्देशस्य शिषय भगवान्य यदी संस्कारे। ॥ तत्केषमन्त्रेय गृहस्थसनीय दूषणे कन्त। पराराम सूत्रं प. 5 सूत्रं 12–16।

1700. आलमृत्यु व्यक्तं तदा तीन षष्ठायस्विन्दम् । तश्यविविधान्या प्रक्ष महारा तेजवेत। तेजवेत। शुच्या ज्ञानाय गृहस्थ गृहस्थ गृहस्थ: ॥ प्रवदयुक्तं प्रक्ष महारा। नेवसादुविपर्यण्यं लक्ष्यं नेव्ययस्य नेव्ययस्य: ॥


dikṣā 12-16.

Vide Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra I. 12 and Śaṅkīsāṃgama-tantra. After undergoing dikṣā and receiving the mantra the disciple has to follow the orders.
of the guru till the former has a vision of the deity. Guru is higher than all other men, mantra is higher than guru, the deity is higher than the mantra and the highest self is higher than the devatā. In order to attain siddhis the guru is to be served by disciples with devotion in all ways. There is only one way viz. bhakti (devotion) for those (disciples) that long for worldly pleasures, heaven or mokṣa, as the Śruti says ‘there is no other way’. Jīvan-mukti means ‘to have a vision of the Deity worshipped’ and ‘one who is liberated, though living, is not tainted by his acts, whether meritorious or otherwise’. This doctrine closely follows what is said in some of the Upanisads about the man who has realised brahma that ‘he shakes off punya and pāpa and having cast aside the body he reaches the world of brahma; he does not return i.e. he never again undergoes samsāra’. One should strive for that stage. Therefore one who has obtained correct knowledge should become a bhakta (devotee). All these, viz. one in distress, the seeker after knowledge, one who seeks some desired object and one who has obtained correct knowledge, are noble, but the man, who has knowledge about God, when he becomes a devotee, reaches the world of the Highest Self, as the Vedic words say ‘one who knows brahma reaches the Highest’. With all this sublime philosophy as the background the Pārānandasūtra frankly provides that the guru, after completing the worship up to the offering of a handful of flowers and having offered into fire some food, should make a collection of makāras, should again come to the place for worshipping the Deity and offer food into fire, should hand over to the neophyte a bowl for drinking wine.

1701. मन्त्रीक्षात्रय पार्थवसासाशक्तारुद्वाचाप्पो भवति। संस्यं परं स्वर्गं श्रवानसम्बन्धेन विनियोज्यं पार्थवसासाशक्तारुद्वाचाप्पो भवति।

1702. स्पष्टपरम्परतं जीवनसाधनं जीवनसाधनं स कर्मिन्वितस्य प्रेयणं पार्थाय। न स हुनसाधित। न स धूपं संसारं सम्पन्नते। त्साठुगतायं त्समसंसारं सम्पन्नते। आर्यसीतकं स्यथा विज्ञानं उद्भवतासाधित । ज्ञानी भवति भवति। आस्तिकं स्यथा विज्ञानं उद्भवतासाधित । ज्ञानी भवति भवति। अस्तिकं स्यथा विज्ञानं उद्भवतासाधित । ज्ञानी भवति भवति।
mudrā, materials for dinner with condiments and a courtezan and should instruct the neophyte, that has accepted the three makāras (madya, mudrā and maithuna), as regards the kula practices.\footnote{1703} Then the Parananda-sūtra devotes two pages (16–17) to the kauladharmas taught to the neophyte, from which a few striking passages may be cited. "A young\footnote{1704} courtezan is Śakti incarnate, is brahma; women are gods and the very life-breath and are ornaments (of the world); they should not be censured nor angered"; ‘after worshipping the gods and gurus in the way laid down by the Veda and the Tantras a man does not incur sin if he drinks wine while remembering god or has sexual intercourse with a courtezen. He who partakes of wine and the rest merely for pleasing himself falls into a terrible hell. He who giving up the ordinances of sāstra acts as he pleases does not attain siddhi in this world, nor heaven nor the Highest goal (mokṣa). A worshipper should drink wine only up till his eyes do not begin to roll and up till his mind does not become unsteady; to drink beyond that stage is bestial'. The Paranandasūtra (pp. 70–71) describes the procedure of a festival (Utsavavidhi) among Tantrikas. The mantra is ‘Īśvarātman, tava dāsoham’, which may be given to even a cāndāla or may be accepted from a cāndāla. It is further provided that the followers of Vāma-mārga may employ the following mantras about the three makāras, that (the best among)
Vāmācāras should resort to. They are: ‘I take this holy nectar, which is a medicine (antidote) for saṁśāra, which is a means of cutting off the snares by which the paśu (in man) is bound and which is declared by Bhairava’ (this when taking the first i.e. wine); ‘I take this mudrā which is ‘ucchīṣṭa’ of the Lord (i.e. which has been first offered to God), which destroys the torments of the heart, which produces joy and which is enriched with other food materials’ (this when taking mudrā); ‘I take this divine young woman who has drunk wine, that always makes the heart full of bliss and that brings about my sādhanā’ (when taking one of the women that are brought together).

The Hindu Tantra works present two sides, one philosophical and spiritual, the other popular, practical and more or less magical, which relies on mantras, mudrās, maṇḍalas, nyāsas, cakras and yantras as physical means to realize one’s identity with the Supreme Power or Energy by concentration and as conferring extraordinary powers on the devotee. This may be illustrated by reference to two typical tantras, the Śāradātilaka and the Mahānirvāṇa-tantra. The Mahānirvāṇa-tantra, though it speaks of the five makāras as means of upāsanā and though it states that when the great Tantra is understood, the Vedas, Purāṇas and śāstras are hardly of any use, puts forward the striking conception in IV. 34–47 that Paramēśvara is one and to be described as sat, cit and ananda, that He is one without a second, is beyond the guṇas and is to be known from the Vedānta texts. It further on says that the best mantra is ‘om sac-cidekam brahma’ (III. 14), that those who perform the upāsanā of the Highest Brahma do not require other means of worship (sādhanā); by sticking to this mantra man becomes brahma. In the 4th chap. however, the Mahāparinirvāṇa starts by saying that Durgā is the highest prakṛti of Paramātmā, she has various names such as Kālī, Bhuvanesvari, Bagalā, Bhairavi, Chhin-namastakā, that she is Sarasvati, Lakṣmi and Śakti, that she assumes various forms for securing the purpose of her devotees and for the destruction of demons. In the Kaliyuga perfection cannot be attained without following kula practices, which lead

1705. Mudrā has not here the sense of ‘hand and finger poses’ but one of the meanings that will be noted under mudrā later.

1706. निवेदे: निवेदे: पुराणेष्ठिं शाक्षेपहि: सिवे। विज्ञातेश्विन्तथाचतवे सत्तिशुद्धरे
महानिग्रण II. 31.
H. D. 133
to the knowledge of brahma and the man who possesses knowledge of brahma is a liberated soul, though living (he is Jivanmukta). Then there is high praise (IV. 10 ff) of Devī who is spoken of as the primordial Śaktī (ādīyā paramāśaktī) and all gods including Śiva himself derive their powers from this Highest Śaktī. A rather astounding statement is made in the words 'as there was partaking of wine and the rest in Satya, Tretā and Dwāpara yugas, one should do the same in Kali-yuga, but in accordance with the kula way, and that Kali does not affect those who give to the truthful Yogin the five tattvas (wine &c.) sanctified according to the kula way'. Then a mantra of ten syllables is declared 'hram śrīm krīm paramesvāri svāhā', by merely listening to which a man becomes jivanmukta. Then by various combinations of the mystic syllables with Paramēśvarī and Kālīkā twelve mantras are produced (V. 18). But the mantras do not confer siddhi unless the kulācāra way is followed viz. the five tattvas 'madyā' &c. are offered (V. 22-23). Then a Gāyatri mantra is set out (V. 62-63) as 'ādyāyāi vidmahe Paramēśvaryai dhimahi tān-nāh Kālī pracodayāt', which is to be muttered thrice daily. The Śāṅkhya tattvas, Prakṛti, Mahat, Ahaṅkāra &c. are welded on to the worship of Śaktī and the Vedic mantra 'Hāṁsā śuciṣad' (Rg. IV. 40. 5) with the Tāntrak biha Hrim (V. 197). The Tantra gives directions for the sanctification of flesh (V. 203-208, where Rg. I. 22. 20 'tadviṣṇuḥ paramam padam' is employed), of fish (V. 209-210) where the mantra 'Tryambakam' (Rg. VIII. 59. 12) is employed, of mudrā (V. 211-212 where the mantras 'Tad Viṣṇuḥ paramam' and 'tad-viprāso' Rg. I. 22. 20-21, are employed) to be offered to Devī. The Mahānirvānatantra

1707. सर्वथेताहारएखन यथा मध्यचित्तेनन्म्। कृपात तथा कुणांत कुलवसवसारतः।।

1708. In the mantras the letters of the bijas in mantras are often indicated in a roundabout or mystical way. One example about the śaṇkara-śīrṣa hṛi may be set out here. यानेत्रस्माः जस्ययोगी भवेन्द्रा योगबिनयुवम् (महानिर्वान V. 10); here h is याणें, r is तस्स, ṣ is भवेन्द्र, योगकिन्न्यु is अत्यन्तर and this gives the bija hṛi; ह्र and ह्र are described in निर्वानसिद्धार्थ (I. 162-64) in a similar way, ह्री and ह्री are respectively the शिख of मायाः (or शिखराः) and of ह्री. [Vide महानिर्वानतन्त्र (Tāntrak Texts Vol. I. 5-22, pp 36-34 for शिखालिखढ़, pp 35-45 for महानिर्वानसिद्धार्थ i.e. for ओष्ठ and letters of the alphabet from अ to श्र). Every bija mantra must have the bindu on it, as in Hrim, Śrīm, Krim &c. 'बिनूदेश्यं बिन्ना शिखस्वयंत्यात्' (संस्कृत p 50 on निर्वानसिद्धार्थ)
(18th century) being composed after Śaktism had come into great ridicule and obloquy is rather sober. It says that women of good birth should simply smell wine and not drink it, while householders sādhakas should drink only as much as is contained in five cups, since by drinking too much men of good family incur the loss of siddhi, and should drink only so long as the wine quaffed does not make their eyes roll or does not make their mind confused. As to the last tattva (maithuna) the sādhaka was to confine himself to the woman he chooses as his Śakti (VI. 14) and if his wife is alive he is not to touch another woman with a vicious intent, otherwise he would go to hell.

In keeping with its desire to present respectability along with tantrik practices, the Mahānirvāna devotes chapter VIII. to the duties of vānas and āśramas, the duties of the king, the duties of servants in general, provides that persons of all vānas are to marry within the varna and dine with persons of the same vāna, except when engaged in Bhairavi-cakra and Tattva-cakra (VII. 150), when men of all vānas are like the best brāhmaṇas, and no consideration of the castes of the participants arises nor any question about ucchista. It prescribes that no one has the adhikāra to engage in the performance of Tattva-cakra unless he is a sādhaka endowed with knowledge of brahma. In that cakra the tattvas (wine and the others) should be collected and placed in front of the Devi, the mantra 'Hamsaḥ' (Rg. IV. 40. 5) should be recited over all tattvas and the tattvas should be offered to the Highest Self with the verse 'Brahmārpanam brahma hāvīr' (Bhagavadgītā IV. 24 = Mahānirvāna VIII. 214)

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1709. अतिपारं कुलकृष्णं गवधसारकारकम्। साप्तादनं दिश्यनात्यं पञ्चपारं प्रकृतितम्। आतिपारं कुलकृष्णं सिद्धान्तः प्रजायते। यद्व चालिप्रसूतिः पञ्चपारं चालं। चेम्मनं। साप्तादनं पञ्चपारं पञ्चपारं प्रकृतितम्। महानिर्वाणः VI. 194. The cup should be of gold or silver or of glass or of cocoanut shell but should not be more than five tolabas in capacity and not less than three 'पानपारं पञ्चपारं मर्मांकारकारकम्। तोत्तक्रजितपारसुतं स्तानी राजस्थेत च। अथवा काशीजित नारिकेलाः पञ्चपारं च। महानिर्वाणः VI. 187-188. For similar provisions about pānapāra, compare कौशलसिद्धान्तिकाः VIII. 55-56.

1710. स्ठिरेऽदुर्दीर्घस्य प्रकृतिपरको न संप्रसूक्तः। कुलेऽन चेतसा विद्वानंतथा नारकी भवेत्। महानिर्वाणः VIII. 40.

1711. संयमः मैयेरीकः सर्वं वर्णो द्विजोत्सवः। नवजुकवे मैयेरीकः सर्वं वर्णं पुष्करं पुष्करं। महामायेनविवाहसिद्धिपतिताः। चक्रसंयमः वदिः महामयां सत्साधनोः। महामायेनविवाहसिद्धिपतिताः। द्विजोत्सवसिद्धिपतिताः। सर्वं सत्साधनोः। महानिर्वाणः VIII. 179-180, 197. The verse पद्मे मैयेरीकः...पुष्करं occurs also in कौशलसिद्धान्तिकाः VIII. 48-49. मैयेरीकः and चक्रसंयमः are described in महानिर्वाणः VIII. 154-176 and VIII. 204-219 respectively.
and all the sādhakas should engage in drinking and eating. Chap. IX enumerates and describes ten saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to marriage for members of the three varṇas and nine for sūdras (omitting upanayanā), wherein Vedic mantras are prescribed as in the Dharmasūtras and smṛtis. One interesting item is what is called Śaiva marriage, which is of two kinds, one entered into according to the rules of cakra and the other lasting for life. It is further provided that in Śaiva marriage no question of varṇa or age arises and that if a man has children from a wife married in the brāhma form and also children of a Śaiva marriage, it is only the former that take as heirs and the latter are entitled only to food and raiment (IX. 261-264). Chapters X, XI, XII of the Mahānirvāṇa deal respectively with śrūddhas, prāyaścītatas for sins and vyavahāra.

It is necessary now to turn to the Śadarātālaka which belongs to about the 11th century A. D. That work is divided into 25 paṭulas and contains over 4500 verses. It presents in the beginning a somewhat abstruse and involved philosophy. It says that Śiva is both nirguṇa and saṅguṇa, the former being different from Prakṛti, the latter being associated with Prakṛti. Then it describes the order of evolution and manifestation as follows:—From the Saṅguṇa Paraśesvara described as "Śac-cidānanda-vibhava" Śakti proceeds; from the latter arises nāda (para) and from nāda arises bindu (para) which is divided into three viz. bindu (apara), nāda (apara) and bija; the first is indentified with Śiva, bija being Śakti and nāda being the coming together of the two (Śiva and Śakti). Śakti creates the worlds, she is sabda-bhaṭṭa (I. 56) and is called paraśakti (I. 52) and para-devatā (I. 57). She flashes like lightning in the ādhyāta-cakra.

1712. ततो ब्राह्मण मनस समायं परमालमे। ब्रह्माः भाष्के सारव विद्वद्यालयेष-भोजनम् VIII. 216. मन is often used in the sense of मन्त्र; vide कुलार्य द. XII. 18, ब्रजेति तुसारिणिः VI. 161, 163. मन्त्र and मन भूते are both derived from the same root 'man' to think. The ब्रह्म मन is अ भविष्यसिंह ब्रह्म.

1713 यथोपयोगितत्तावस्तु इशोद्वारो न दिल्दे। ibid, IX. 279.

1714. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the very learned commentator of the Sāradātīlaka, who composed his commentary in Baranaras in Vikrama year 1550 (1494 A. D.) explains that in the Śākhya system Śakti is called Prakṛti, in Vedānta Māyā and in Śīvatantaras Śakti.

1715. Vide तन्त्रकृतिकारण (Tāntrik Texts, vol. II. ed. by Arthur Avalon) verses 4-49, Daksīṇa-mūrtisamhitā VII. 11-16 for cakras and "Serpent Power" (by A. Avalon, ed. of 1953) which contains an English translation (Continued on next page)
Śakti assumes the form of Kundalini in the human body. From Śambhu in the form of bindu arise in order Sadaśiva, Īśa, Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā; from the avyakta bindu arise in order the mahat-tattva, ahaṅkāra and the other tattvas mentioned in the Sānkhya system. Śakti is all-pervading and yet more subtle than the subtlest, she is the Kundalini coiled like a serpent and manifests herself in the form of the fifty letters of the Sanskrit alphabet (from ‘a’ to ‘kṣa’).

Before proceeding further some explanation of the six cakras which form an important constituent subject of several tantras is needed. There are said to be six cakras (centres) in the human body viz. Ādhāra or Mūlādhāra (at the base of the spine), Svādhiṣṭāna (near the generative organ), Manipūra (near the navel), Anāhata (near the heart), Viśuddha (near throat), and Ajīnā (between the brows). Besides these, there is Brahmāndhra figured as the pericarp of the thousand-petalled lotus

(Continued from last page)

of vidyā in which plate I shows the positions of the six cakras also called lotuses (padma), plates II to VII facing pp. 356, 357, 370, 382, 392, 414 illustrate the six cakras from Mūlādhāra to Ajīnā together with their colours, numbers of petals, letters, the devatās in each and other details. These are drawings used by the Yogis. Plate VIII facing p. 430 illustrates ‘sahasrāra’. Vide C. W. Leadbeater's work on ‘the chakras’ (Adyar, 1927), in which the author claims that the illustrations of the cakras represent them as they actually appear to those who can see them and on p. 56 he furnishes a table of the colours of the lotus petals as observed by Leadbeater and his friends, and as described in the Śrīvaiḍavacakraśāstra, Śrīvaiḍavacakraśāstra, Śrīvaiḍavacakraśāstra and Śrīvaiḍavacakraśāstra. The Rudrayāmala (17th Paṭala, verse 10) speaks of Kundalī as ‘Atharvavedacakrakraśa Kundaḷī paradvata’, verses 21-24 speak of Kundalī passing from Mūlādhāra-cakra and reaching the crown of the head that has the thousand-petalled lotus, that when united with Śiva he (śādha) drinks nectar there. Rudrayāmala (27. 58–70) dilates on the six cakras and the Sahasrāra together with the dalas (petals) and letters assigned to each. A stern warning has to be given that none should try to experiment about the cakras by reading books or try to rouse the Kundalini except under the guidance of a real Master in Yoga, as otherwise very dangerous consequences would follow. Even as regards wrong methods of prāṇāyāma and Dhāraṇā, the Vaiṣṇavpurāṇa (chap. XI. 37–60) states that Yoga practices by ignorant men result in dullness of intelligence, deafness, dizziness, blindness, loss of memory, premature old age and disease and it specifies certain remedies to cure these defects. The present author knew a person who practised prāṇāyāma continuously for long periods becoming stone deaf, though otherwise he was strong and muscular, and an expert in ear diseases declared on examination that there was no possibility of his recovery by the methods of modern medical science.
within the crown of the head. The cakras are often identified with the nerve plexuses of modern physiology, but the descriptions in Sanskrit works of the Kūḍālini and the cakras are meant to refer not to the gross body but rather to what is situated in the subtle body that vanishes when a man dies. The idea of the relevant Sanskrit texts is that the Kūḍālini Śakti ('Kundalin' means a serpent) is asleep in the Mūlādhāra-cakra coiled like a serpent and has to be roused by the practices of Yoga and deep meditation.  

The Śrādatīlaka asks in an eloquent stanza the sādhaka to meditate upon the Kūḍālini which when roused passes from the Mūlāadhāra-cakra by means of the Suṣumna-nāḍī (which is in the centre of the spinal column) through all the six cakras, unites with Śiva in the Sahāsra-rā (thousand-petalled) cakra and then returns to Mūlāadhāra. Each of the six cakras is said to have a certain number of petals viz. 4, 6, 10, 12, 16, 2 (50 in all) in order from Mūlāadhāra to Ājīva (vide Rudrayāmala, 17th Paṭala, verses 55-56). The letters of the alphabet also are 50 (from 'a' to 'ksa') and they are assigned in groups to the six cakras as follows: ha and ksa to Ājīva, 16 vowels to Viṣuddha in the throat, letters ka to thā (12 in all) to Anāhata, letters Da to Pha (10) to Manipura, ba to la (6 in all) to Svādhiṣṭāna, letters va to sa (4) to Mūlāadhāra. Some tantras state the colour of each of the six cakras and identify them with the five elements and the mind. These speculations of the Yoga and Tantras are

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1716. शैवभाष्यम् XI. 1. 43 is: आयारे हिःशिवायामकतदसवः ताठूरुते सत्तारे प्राणवं विद्युत्स्वगतसादाश्च चतुर्वेदी. नासिनि शुद्धिः सत्तारे हिःशिवायामकतदसवः ताठूरुते सत्तारे प्राणवं विद्युत्स्वगतसादाश्च चतुर्वेदी । that nectar flows over कुण्ठलिनी when it reaches सहस्रार is stated in verse 47 of the same 'महामाल्यानाम प्रथमेण मण्यान् भृत्यायोपसर्वानतः. अस्ति: पद्मयामुद्ग्भूमीनाम सुधरामवर्गानि श्वेते', मुलोकादेशग्रामेषिणी यात्री सुधरामवर्गानि भिन्नात्मारससुधरामवर्गानि विषप्रतीकांशिणीः सब्धभाषा। योधम्मवर्गानणमुद्ग्भूमीनाम सुधरामवर्गानि श्वेते प्रसंपरम् सहस्रारकुण्ठलिनी। सर्वाकारे 25 65; vide ibid. 25. 78 for the योजित assigned to the six cakras. मुलोकादेशग्रामेषिणी in (verse 65) mean the मुलोकादेशग्रामेषिणी and मुलोकादेशग्रामेषिणी means कुण्ठलिनी. Vide श्वेतक्रमिक्यम् verse 53 also, for the stream of nectar flowing over कुण्ठलिनी in सहस्रारकारे. Vide महामाल्यानाम IV. 19-25, 'शारीरेण तथा (24. 45-54), महामाल्यानाम V. 113-115, for the number of petals in cakras, their colours, the letters assigned to each and their identification with the five elements and mind and सोंवर्तकारे. verse 9 'सहस्रारे प्राणवं विद्युत्स्वगतसादाश्च चतुर्वेदी' for identifying the five elements and the mind with the six cakras. In 'Sarasvatibhavana Studies' Vol. II, pp. 83-92 Pandit Govinda Kavirāja describes the system of cakras according to Gorakṣanāth. The शैवग्राम (36. 6-168) sets out 1008 names of कुण्ठलिनी, all of which begin with the letter क.
developments of the ancient Upaniṣad theories briefly noticed below.¹²¹⁷

Letters form words and words form mantras, that are the power incarnate of Śakti. Then the Śāradātilaka describes āśana, mandapa, kunda, maṇḍala, pithas (on which images of gods are to be placed), diḵṣā (initiation), prāṇapratīṣṭhā (vivifying images), production of sacrificial fire. The Śāradātilaka (II. 109 and V. 81–91), the Varivāryārahasya (II. 80), the Parasurāmakalpasūtra (I. 4, ‘Ṣaṭ-trīṁṣat tattvāni viśvam’) and other Tantrik and Āgamic works enumerate 36 tattvas (including those of the sāṅkhya system). From chap. VII. to XXIII mantras of different deities, their formation, use and results, abhiṣekas and mudrās are described. Yantras are dealt with in chap. XXIV and Yoga in chap. XXV. It must be said to the credit of the Śāradātilaka that it treats of only mantras and mudrās and hardly anywhere treats of the other makāras. The Śāradātilaka has been profusely quoted as an authoritative Tantra by medieval Dharmaśāstra writers like Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Kāmalākara, Nīlanātha, Mitramiśra and others. In J. G. J. R. I. vol. III pp. 97–108 M. M. Gopinath Kavirāja contributes a learned paper on nāda, bindu and kāla and takes great pains to elucidate these and hopes that his exposition will make the meaning of these words clear (p. 103). But the author feels grave doubts whether most readers will find the meanings clear.

Many tantras speak of the five makāras as the means of worshipping Devi, as enabling a man to possess miraculous

¹¹¹⁷ From the times of the Upaniṣads the heart is likened to a lotus and it is said "There are hundred and one Nādis (arteries or veins) of the heart; one of them penetrates the crown of the head; moving upwards by it a man (who is emancipated) reaches immortality." Vide 'अध यद्‌निद्रास्मिस्‌ बह्व्नुि तद्दव युज्यिक पायते स्मुहः सिद्धतालकाशास्त्रार्थम्‌ यत्तत्त्वात्‌ विद्विज्ञानासमाधिन्यति। चा. उप. VIII. 1. 1.। तत्यश्च तत्सः। श्रे. च भेजा हरियम्भाग्यां स्वरूपतमहिमादिति:। तत्त्वात्। तत्त्वसंगमसुलभतमे तिथमहत्तमा उत्क्रमण प्रभावति। चा. उप. VIII. 6. 6.। The same verse (श्रे. च भेजा) is कठोप. VI. 16 and compare प्रभोप. III. 6 for a similar statement; compare वे. च. III. 2. 7 'तदत्त्वात्‌ नामीतुयु स्वत्तोत्तसामति:। च्छः। अव. IV. 2. 17; in the भाष्य on IV. 2. 17 शुक्लाचार्य quotes the verse 'श्रे. च भेजा' &c. The मित्र. on चा. III. 108–109 refers to हृदा, पिङ्कला, सुसागर and बद्राह्म and the बृहदार्थ (VI. 49) speaks of ten Nādis of which the three ठंडा &c. represent Soma, Sūrya and Agni. चदमानविषयः VI. 21 is: अत्यन्त्यन्त्युपकारस्य। उत्तेजना नाही सुसुधाका भार्तस्तारिणी तत्त्वसंगमसुनिमित्तताः। The word is written sometimes as सुधुण्डा. The बृह उप. II. 1. 19 speaks of 72000 Nādis that start towards Puritat from the heart and चा. III. 108 also says the same,
powers and as leading to final liberation. The Kulārṇava states ‘the great Bhairava has prescribed that in the Kaula system Siddhi (perfection) results from those very substances by (resorting to) which (ordinarily) men incur sin’. That means that the Kaula system eradicates poison by poison or, to employ modern terminology, its principles are like those of Homeopathy.  

The Tantras seem to be not unaware that in prescribing the five makāras as leading to mukti (final liberation) they were playing with fire. The Kulārṇava itself remarks (II. 117–119 and 122) ‘If by merely drinking wine a man were to attain siddhi (miraculous powers, perfection), then all wretched drunkards may attain siddhi. If, by merely eating meat a holy goal were to be secured then all meat-eaters in the world would be holy men. If by mere intercourse with a woman (called šakti) mokṣa was to result, then all men in the world may attain liberation. To follow the path (of Kula) is indeed more unattainable than walking on the edge of a sword, than clinging to a tiger’s neck, than holding a serpent (in one’s hand)’. The Kulārṇava prefaces the preceding dicta by the words ‘Many, who are devoid of traditional knowledge and who profane (the sāstra) by false ideas, imagine that the Kaulika doctrine is this and that, relying on their (poor) intellect’ (II. 116).

The Devibhāgavata provides (XI. 1. 25) that so much of tantra as is not opposed to the Veda is undoubtedly authoritative (vedāvirodhi cet tantram tat pramāṇam na samśayaḥ), but what is opposed to Veda is not authoritative.

There appears to have been great rivalry between the Hindu and Buddhist tantras. The Saktisaṅgama-tantra, one of the most popular and most exhaustive works on tantra, states that Devi manifests herself for the destruction of Baudhha and other heretical sects, for the removal of the confusing admixture of

1718. वैरेज पतले इत्यादि: सिद्धिशीरसं व्याजितां। श्रीकोलस्वरूप्य वाचि भैरवेण महायमाः। कुला र्वृत्त। V. 48; vide ज्ञानसिद्धि (Buddhist tantra) I. 15 ‘कर्मणा वेन वै सत्त्वः कुल्लकौकौटिसिद्धार्थप्रियः। प्रतिहतं नरके दृशः तेन यामी सुधारात्॥’ and compare महायमाः (Buddhist) V. p. 23 verses 24–25 ‘जनानियः ससरत च सत्त्वः भाविकाशि। कामगण तत्त्वमेव तथु सिद्धेत साधकः॥’ (both works in ‘Two vajrayāna texts,’ G. O. S.). Bagchi in ‘Studies in tantras’ (pp 36–37) shows that according to some Tāntrik works the words जनानियः, सत्त्व, भाविकाशि have esoteric meanings and not the ordinary meanings. But in the context in which they are employed in the two vajrayāna texts, it is rather difficult to hold that they are employed in any esoteric or symbolic sense.
different cults, for the establishment of the (true) cult, for the protection of what the brähmaṇas stand for and for the perfect attainment of mantra-śāstra. The Baudha tantras, on the other hand, were not slow to retaliate.

It would not be entirely out of place if a few words were devoted to the Baudha Tantras, particularly of the Vajrayāna. It has already been shown above (pp. 943-44 note 1516) that all Buddhists, whether of the hīnayāna or mahāyāna type, were required to observe strict rules and regulations such as those of pañcasīlas and of taking refuge with Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and of dasaśīlas (for monks). The goal of nirvāṇa (particularly under Mahāyāna doctrines) could be reached only after a very long time or after several births. As luxuries viz. flesh, fish, wine and women had been banned, the general mass of the people and probably monks also were tired of the strict mode of life and long waiting for the goal. Buddhist Tantras like the Guhyasamājā (that belongs to the Vajrayāna school) provided an easy process by which liberation and even Buddhahood could be secured in a short time and even in one life and avowed that Bodhisattvas and Buddhhas attained the seat of dharma by enjoying all objects of pleasure as they pleased. The word Vajra means both 'diamond' and 'thunderbolt'. The first meaning appears to have been principally meant in the Guhyasamāja but the 2nd meaning also must have been sometimes intended. Vajra denotes anything which is hard like a diamond. In the Guhyasamājatantra the word Vajra, either singly or in compounds, occurs hundreds of times. Kāya (body), Vāk (speech) and citta (mind) are called 'trivajra' (Guhyas, pp. 31, 35, 36, 43). Numerous other things are called 'vajra'.

1719. आविष्कारिते वेषेऽऽद्विप्रेष्ठारसति: सिवेः। पौपशाङ्काराविनेषोहं संप्रदायपरमेव च। संप्रदायपत्राणां विनेषोहंतिमेवपरिः। संप्रदायपत्राणां वादुपकर्षणाय च। मन्त्रप्रकाशसिद्धार्थमाधिर्भियम्यापिः। शक्तिकंताः, कालीकंताः। I. 17-19.

1720. तद्विवेदज्ञातिः युद्धमाझारितत्र धोधिरसु: सर्वसत्तानां दुःख इति संप्रांगन्ध्वती। सुभासः p. 144 ; vide ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 4 एव तु सत्य: समसत्य: सर्वसुधुल्लाविताः। ते सुधास्तिः परं भोधिः जनमनाहृव सारस्कुः। and also प्राणपायो V. 16.

1721. सर्वदागीयोमश्च सर्वभाषायस्मेच्छति:। अनेन कथा प्रेममन तथा विद्वानमहमादिः। हृदयालिन्यासीन्द्रियं: सर्वप्रभाणो न सिद्धति:। तद्राह्यशोधितमन्युर्लिङ्गप्रभारिण:। पासा धार्मासत्वे भैरवान्मेवः। सुभासः 71वम पाठ p. 27.

1722. Vide Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature' (English tr.) vol. I, p 388 for the application of the word 'vajra' to many things. It may (Continued on next page)
such as the śūnya (the Absolute of the Mādhyamaka school) and also Vijñāna (consciousness), which is the sole reality according to the Yogācāra school, and the Mahāsukha (Bliss) added by the Śāktas. It also means the male organ in the mystic language of Śāktas. Though the original Buddhist rules insisted on ahimsā, Guhyasamāja permitted several kinds of flesh, such as that of elephants, horses, dogs and even human flesh. Early Buddhism insisted upon truthfulness and continence (brahmacarya); vajrayāna, being an innovating revolt, allowed the killing of all animals, speaking untruth, intercourse with women (including even incest with the mother, sister and daughter) and appropriating wealth not donated by any one. This was called vajramārga (the path of vajra), which is said to have been the doctrine of all Buddhhas.

The Prajñāpāya (I. 20) describes the state reached by the Vajrayāna method as follows. It is neither duality nor non-duality, it is full of peace, beneficent, present everywhere, to be realised by one’s own self, steady (unchanging), undisturbed and full of Prajñā (wisdom) and Upāya (activity with compe-

(Continued from last page)

be noted that the Jānasiddhi II. 11 (Buddhist work) states शून्यच धर्मा ज्ञानं परमं दृष्टि़तं तत्त्वम्. शून्यता is called धर्मा because it is दृष्टि गहनां (सं.) शून्यचेतुः शून्यता धर्माद् तत्त्वम् अथाहि अविनासिती शून्यता धर्माद् तत्त्वम् (G. O. S. pp. 23, 37). This is somewhat like the doctrine of Brahma and Atman in the Bhagavadgīta II. 23–23 (नै दयनाम शाश्वतं, जानसिद्धि p. 76 explains: सशुचारण्यं भावश्वरामाणांतत्त्वं धर्माद्विवेचं ब्रह्म ज्ञानं: i.e., ब्रह्म व ज्ञानितिः (Enlightenment) are synonymous, ज ज्ञाते नानानां शाश्वतं सत्त्वं सत्त्वं संस्कारं. परानवंतेः अविनासितं शून्यानमुक्तम् प्रज्ञापायाः V. 1.20; प्रज्ञापायस्तथा सर्वत्रा शृङ्खलाभविकः ।... puffa, sabbhājasāyaveda । ब्रम्हस्त्रोतमोऽस्मिन् सुनितियोऽस्मिन्... सद्यस्य ।... प्रज्ञापायः V. 22–23.

1723. अन्तर्गतं श्रवणं महामां संकल्पं।... हस्तिहस्त महर्षस्त्र स्तनमांस तथा तमास्या। भोज्याहास्यकुमारः न च भूयं विवेचयेत्। पिय्योऽभिन्नं दुर्योग्या धृतिसहस्रोऽशीलाः। अनेन वधु रोगेन दुर्योग्यं वहक्र्ममाण्यात्। युधिष्ठिराः 6.४. p. 26; vide ज्ञानसिद्धि of दुर्योग्यं I. 12–14 for similar verses, प्राणिनां तथा यथायं वस्तः् च सूचयं वा: अद्वैतं तथा तवं प्राचे सेवे च यथात्मायाम्।

1724. अनेन ब्रम्हस्त्रोतमोऽस्मिन् संकल्पं परमपाली। एवं हि स्वस्तिधातां समयं। ज्ञानं पाली। यद्य भद्रां परमाविर्भवति निर्यं कामात्मं ये ।... मुनामातिनी- इत्यत्र कामविर्भवं सापकं। स मुनिन्द्र विपुलाभ्येत् महाराजशक्तिसंवृतम्। युधिष्ठिराः 5.४. p. 20; भन्थकुपलक्तां न तु मुनरविवाहनं।। स्वर्यं स्वस्तिधातां देशहोऽदुर्धर्षाशितं ज्ञातां केषाः शोभिकाः या निवेदयं।। युधिष्ठिरतुत्तरपरम। सेवकं शुद्धिमाण्याः। ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 80 and 82. Vide Dr. Guenther’s exposition of this passage and of a similar one from Prajñāpāya. V. 25 in ‘Yuganaddha’ pp. 106–109. Vide Dr. S. B. Das-Gupta in ‘Introduction to tantrik Buddhism’ p. 114.
sion) and it further provides (V. 22-23) that 'by those who hanker after liberation perfection of wisdom must be sought (resorted to or adored) in all ways. This perfection of wisdom is everywhere present assuming the form of woman'. Prajñā was linked up with an intense state of emotion called Sukha or Mahāsusukha (great bliss). "It being of the nature of endless bliss is designated mahāsusukha; it is beneficent all round, most eminent and conduces to complete enlightenment' (Prajñopāya. I. 27) and 'this all Buddha knowledge which is by its nature to be experienced by one's inmost self is called Mahāsusukha (great bliss) since it is the most eminent of all pleasures' (Jñānasiddhi VII. 3). The word Prajñā is feminine in gender and therefore some Vajrayāna writers identified Prajñā with woman; by erotic symbolism and far-fetched analogies the cult of woman was started.

Dr. H. V. Guenther has published a book styled 'Yuganaddha' propounding the Tantrik view of life based only on Buddhist Tantras and endeavours to prove in that work (of about 190 pages) that the Buddhist Tantrikas try to restore life in its entirety, which is neither an indulgence in passions nor a rejection and escape, but a complete reconciliation to the hard facts of life, that the sexual aspect of the Tantras is but the corrective against the one-sided intellectualism and rationalism of mere philosophy which is unable to cope with the problems of everyday life and that the symbol of Yuganaddha points to the unique harmony and interpenetration of masculinity and feminity, of blunt truth and symbolic truth, of intellect and humanity. It is not possible even to summarize this work or criticize it here. The core of the doctrine of the Vajrayāna tantras is found in the passages quoted in notes 1720-21, 1723-24. The argument is: according to these Tantras perception of wholeness is the most joyous of all human experiences and man's experience will not be full but only partial if he has no experience of feminity i.e. of everything female. He may experience feminity through all female members of his family. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at, says Dr. Guenther, that 'this experience so often has an incestuous character'. Then he offers (on pp. 106-112) a lengthy explanation of what he means which, the present author has to confess, is not quite clear to his moderate mental abilities. Dr. Guenther appears to be steeped in all the latest theories of modern psychologists like those of Freud and tries to expound that Buddhist authors of the 8th century A. D. like Anaṅgavajra and Indrabhūti had plumbed the depths of the
psychical life on the lines of modern psycho-analysis. Granting for a moment all that Dr. Guenther says about bi-sexuality, about sexual partnership being the best expression for the most intimate relation between two opposites, about woman being for the male a material object and a goddess, the present writer feels that one question appears to have been not satisfactorily answered or explained, viz. why did not the Buddhist Tāntrikas simply exhort the sādhaka to understand the emotions, viewpoints and value of woman as a mother, sister, wife, daughter or as a woman in general and why did they frequently and blatantly harp upon sexual intercourse of even an incestuous kind as a quick method of realizing the goal?

The Guhyasamāja-tantra puts forward a quick and short method for realising Buddhahood and for the attainment of miraculous powers (siddhis) through the processes of Yoga. The siddhis are said to be of two kinds, Śamānya (ordinary,1725 such as becoming invisible) and Utama (highest i. e. attaining Buddhahood). Four means for securing ordinary siddhis are mentioned and they are called Vajra-catūṣka. It is further provided that the best siddhi is acquired by the nectar of knowledge due to the six aṅgas1726 of Yoga (and by no other way) viz. Pratyāhāra, Dhyāna, Prānāyāma, Dhāranā, Anusmṛti and Samādhi. It is worthy of note that the first three aṅgas of yoga mentioned in the Yogasūtra viz. yama, niyama1727 and āsana are omitted and a new one, Anusmṛti, is added. Yama could not be included because to the Guhyasamāja it did not matter if the sādhaka ate flesh, or indulged in sexual intercourse or told lies, while in Yogasūtra yamas are ahiṃsā, satya (truthfulness), asteṣā (not appropriating anything that does not belong to one), brahma-caryā (sexual purity) and aparīgraha (non-acceptance of gifts). Niyasas could not be included among the five

1725. आनन्दतन्त्रः सत्त्वः (तत्त्वः) सत्यम् हि कौतिष्ठ। सत्त्ववस्तम् मिश्रालक्षणम् इति कौतिष्ठ। सत्त्ववस्तम् मिश्रालक्षणम् इति कौतिष्ठ। सत्यम् हि कौतिष्ठ।

1726. उक्तविन्यासात् पद्यस्तम्। सत्यम् हि कौतिष्ठ। सत्यम् हि कौतिष्ठ।

1727. For रम and śīṣya vide note 1525 above and the eight aṅgas of siddha are: रम-शीष्या-प्राणायाम-प्राणायाम-प्राणायाम-प्राणायाम्। रमवर्ग II. 29
niyamas are svādhyāya (Veda study) and (īśvarapraṇidhāna) devotion to or surrender to God. Many Baudhās reviled the Veda and acknowledged no Supreme Deity. The Guhyasamājā introduced Yogic practices for quickly securing Buddhahood. The idea of allowing flesh and sexual intercourse seems to have been that the Yogan is to be indifferent as to what he does so long as he is striving for the goal of Buddhahood, for development of his psychic life and that he may disregard all social conventions and rules. 

Another innovation of the Vajrayāna was the introduction of upāsanā of Śakti for liberation through Yoga. The Guhyasamājā provides that if even after making efforts for six months, the sādhaka has no realisation, he may repeat his efforts for three times more and if even after that he has no enlightenment he should resort to Ṣaṭṭhāyoga and then he would attain correct knowledge through Yoga. A further innovation was the theory of the five Dhyāni-buddhas, emanating from the Bhagavān, who represent the five Skandhas or fundamental principles of which the whole creation is composed and each of whom was associated with a female Śakti. The teaching of the Guhyasamājā is that if psychical power and miraculous siddhis are to be developed females must be associated with those who undertake Yogic exercises to achieve their ends. Thus the prophecy of the founder of Buddhism pronounced, when yielding to the pressure and entreaties of his favourite disciple Ānanda for allowing women to be members of the saṅgha and to be nuns, that on account of this innovation his system would stand fast only for five hundred years, though otherwise it would have lasted for a thousand years, was literally fulfilled (vide Cullavagga

1728. भवयमचम्यधिनन्दि च पेयापेयविवाहितं गमयमयमचम्यधिनन्दित्वो भवे द्रोपाम समाहितत\।

1729. Vide Dr. Bhattacharya's Introduction to Guhyasamājata-tantra p. XIX and his Intro. to B. E. pp. 32-33, 70, 80-81, 121, 128-130 for the theory of Dhyāni-buddhas, their śaktis, kulas, the meaning of kula &c. On p. 32 of B. E. Dr. Bhattacharya observes 'we have already mentioned that Buddhism was a challenge to and repudiation of earlier Brahmanism. It was now the part of Tāntrik Buddhism to challenge the authority of Buddha and repudiate the original Buddhism. All kinds of worldly enjoyments were forbidden (by Buddha), especially wine, women, fish, meat and exciting food. All these the Tāntrikas of the later age introduced into their religion and even went so far as to declare that without these emancipation was impossible'.

X. 1. 6 in Vinaya Texts, vol. III. S. B. E. XX. p. 325). If we accept 483 B. C. as the date of Buddha’s Parinirvāna (as many scholars hold) or 477 B. C. (as A. Foucher holds) 500 years therefrom would bring us to the first century A.D. and it is clear that by a century or two after that time much of Buddha’s teaching appears to have been almost completely swamped by doctrines of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Tantras. By a strange irony of fate Buddha’s ‘dharma-cakra-pravartana’ came to be transformed into ‘adharma-cakra-pravartana’ by many of his so-called followers of the Vajrayāna. In the Mahā-parinibbānasutta V. 23 (S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 91) the Buddha was very strict and warned bhikkhus not to see bhikkhunis, not to talk to them if they could not avoid seeing them, and to be wide awake if a nun talked to them. Buddha severely rebuked one of his disciples for showing his miraculous powers (vide p. 1037 and n. 1672 above), but Guhyasamāja and other Buddhist tantras make provision for endowing the sādhaka with miraculous powers, such as causing rainfall in case of drought (Guhyasamāja p. 84), killing an enemy by magical rites over an effigy of the enemy (ibid. p. 96). Besides, the Guhyasamāja knows the six cruel or terrible magic acts (called śaṭkarmāni), viz. Śānti (rite for averting disease or black magic), vaśikaraṇa (bewitching women and men and even gods), stambhana (stopping the movements or actions of others), vidveśana (creating enmity between two friends or two persons who love each other), uccātana (making a person or enemy flee from the country, town or village), māraṇa (killing or causing permanent injury to living beings). The Guhyasamāja mentions these six (putting ‘ākāraṇa’ for ‘vidveśana’) respectively at pp. 168, 165, 96, 87 (Ākāraṇa), 81, 130. Vide Śādhanamāla pp. 368–369 for the same and for the shape of maṇḍalas and times for each of the six cruel rites. Even the rather sober Śaradatilaka-tantra mentions these six (23. 122), defines them (23. 123–125), provides that Rati, Vāṇī (speech or Sarasvati), Ramā, Jyeṣṭhā, Durgā and Kālī are respectively the six deities of these six cruel acts and must be worshipped at the commencement, that six periods of ten ghaṭikās from sunrise are respectively appropriate to these six and so also are certain seasons (23. 126–139). It is most astounding that the Prapañcásāra (23. 5) ascribed to the great advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya describes at length a mantra called Trailokyamohana for accomplishing the above six cruel acts.
Both Hindu and Buddhist Tantras\textsuperscript{1730} lay great emphasis on the importance and qualifications of the guru. The Baudhāyana-Tantras have the highest praise for the guru. The Jñānasiddhi (13. 9–13) prescribes high qualifications and the Prajñāpāyaviniścaya-siddhi (III. 9–16) contains a grand eulogy of the guru, identifying him with Buddha and calling him omniscient and so on. The Advayasiṣṭhī of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa (about 729 A.D.), who started the astounding doctrine that one should offer worship to one’s own body wherein all gods reside, says that in the three worlds there is none higher than the acārya. In the Nityotsava of Umānanda-nātha, pupil of Bhāsurānanda-nātha (i.e. Bhāskara-rāja as he was called before he took dīkṣā) the guru Bhāskararāja is praised in the following hyperbolical terms\textsuperscript{1731}

‘to whom no part of the earth was unseen (owing to his yogic sight), there was no king who was not his slave, to whom no śāstra was unknown; why use more words, whose form was the highest Śakti herself.’ But the Jñāna-siddhi and Kulārṇava (XIII. 128) warn against gurus who falsely pretend to know the truth and give instruction in dharma from greed for money. The Kulārṇava (ullāsas XII and XIII) are devoted to the qualifications and greatness of guru. The Śrādadālaka also sets out the qualifications of the tāntrika guru (II. 142–144) and of the disciple (III. 145–152).\textsuperscript{1732} The guru among other matters ‘must know the essence of all Āgamas and the principles and meaning of all śāstras, he must be one whose words come out true, who has a quiet mind, who has profoundly studied the Veda and its meaning, who follows the path of Yoga and whose bearing is as beneficent as that of a deity.’ Among the many requirements about a disciple,\textsuperscript{1733} one is that he must keep secret the mantra and pājā imparted by his guru. The disciple places the guru’s feet on his head and surrenders his body, wealth and even life to

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\footnote{1730. आचार्यांतरस् नास्ति वेदीके सच्चिन्तोऽवस्था वदेशार्जय च। यशस्व प्रसादार्थाय लिङ्गोऽपत्तः। इति Intro. to साधनमाला vol. II. p. LXIV–LXV.}
\footnote{1731. यशस्वस्य वै भूमिन्द्रदकम् यस्तावासी विभक्ते न क्वित्वतः। यशस्वस्य वै यहां जीवां जित्वचरी: यस्तावासी सा परा शक्तिः॥ Introductory verse 4 of the निर्दिष्टवस्त्र. Dr. B. Bhattacharya in his Intro. to the शुद्धसामाला p. XIII has completely misunderstood this verse when he translates it as ‘the Parā Sakti is she to whom no part of the wide universe remains unseen &c.’.}
\footnote{1732. सर्वाभासानां सर्वत्र: सर्वसार्थार्थार्थविविधः। अनोद्वादनां ज्ञातो नेद्योपद्भार्यवर्गः। बोधायांकुलात्मानी ने जवासान्ताद्वियज्ञः। गाढः। II. 142–144.}
\footnote{1733. मत्तमूढः जारजार्जी यो गोपयति सर्वदा। ज्ञास्तः। II. 151.}
\end{footnotes}
the guru. The necessity of a guru for the acquisition of esoteric philosophy is stressed by the Upanisads also. For example the Kaṭha-paniṣad says *this knowledge cannot be obtained by rationalization, it can be understood well only when expounded by another*; the Chāndogya (IV.9.3) says *Sir, I have heard from men like you that only knowledge that is learnt from a teacher leads to real good*. The Linga-purāṇa and others say that guru is identical with Śiva and the rewards of devotion to Śiva and to the guru are the same. The Kulārṇava (XI.46) emphasizes that the order of the succession of gurus, the Āgamas, Āmnāya, mantra and practices—all these when learnt from the lips of a guru become fruitful and not otherwise. The Prapañca-sastra provides *the disciple should consider in his mind that guru, devatā and mantra are one and should repeat a hundred times the mantra that he received by the favour of the guru.*

The Vedānta system requires for its understanding high intellectual and moral attainments and could be followed by only a few gifted souls. It is claimed that Tantras provide a method which assists men of ordinary intellect and which utilizes visual and physical processes for the attainment of spiritual experience, for the development of psychic forces and for the quick attainment of liberation by such practices as the repetition of mantras, mudrās, nyāsa, maṇḍalas, cakras and yantras. The respect for the guru sometimes reached amongst Tantrik writers to extreme and disgusting lengths as the note below will indicate.1736

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1734. नैया तर्केण मतिरामेश्वर मोर्चाम्पेश्वर हुज्जानाय नेछ। कठ II. 9.

1735. यो युक्: स सिद्धः मोर्चा य: स सिद्धः स्वूतः। पथा सिद्धस्थारा विषय यथा विषया तथा यथा। शिव-विधायासुरकारापथ्या भृस्या च सत्रेष्ठ फलम्। सदृशयोऽदेव सर्वश-स्तुति तिर्थयति च सलिलापा योः। सत्रेष्ठ I. 85. 164-165; श्रवणेन शुद्धिविद्धात्त्वादेव महेश्वरः। श्रवणे परं ज्ञाते सत्स भोजुरे नमः। एवेश्वरास्त्रे XI. 1. 49; in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka in the ज्ञानार्थम्, it is said ‘तथ्यध्यानं बद्धः: सतायामनिल्लिन: स्यम्। सत्वस्यायनार्थाय शुद्धे परोपकारे शिष्ये।’ अथवानेर: शिवः सतायामनिल्लिन् हृदयः। अयुर्देवनो ज्ञाते भीष्मः कामेति: निर्मोः।’ 43. 68-70. These verses from Bṛhadāraṇyaka are the same as कुलार्णव 113-114 has ‘युक्तेन्त्रतात्त्वामके सम्भवेश्वरम् विषया। शुद्धेनुष्णाम् खरे ते वेद्यतालकः; तथय पारदुहुजस्तू सिद्धेषु नियममा विषये। शरीरस्य गणेन च ससै तस्माद निददेवेत्।’ ज्ञानाय सत्यहसुरतिः सदृशं सत्यो जापेष्वतालकः। युक्ते तत्तात्त्वामके सम्भवेश्वरम् विषयम् स्विर्यः। प्रशासक VI. 122.

1736. भूमिपव च छलो भार्यो द्वाराकुलायैरविलिने। महुमसाप द्वेषिति तस्म तत्स पूर्यः न वण्यते।† q. by ताराकिलाद्वारणे IV. p. 116.
The teaching of Täntrika texts about the five makāras must have created a very unhealthy and debased state among all classes, particularly the lower orders of Society. The centuries from the 7th to the 12th A. D. were the peak period of Täntrik works and cults, both Hindu and Buddhist. In a certain cult of the Vajrayāna the gurus wore a blue vesture. A story is narrated of a guru (a monk) of the saṃmiṭiya sect who went dressed in a blue dress to a courtesan. He did not return to the monastery at night. When asked in the morning by his disciples why he put on a blue dress, he explained the great spiritual merit of the blue-coloured dress. Since then his followers began to wear blue dress and in their book called 'Nilapatadārśana' it is written 'the god Kāmadeva (Eros) is a jewel, a courtesan is a jewel, wine is a jewel; I bow to these three jewels; other so-called jewels are three glass beads'. It should be remembered that for devout Buddhists, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha are three Ratnas (jewels). The followers of the Nilapatadārśana deemed these last three to be worthless as glass beads. Vide Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's paper 'On Vajrayāna or Mantrayāna' in J. A. vol. 225 (1934) p. 216 where this is narrated. False gurus must have gone about deluding people with rosy prospects of bliss and liberation by the easy method of drinking wine, eating flesh and free association with all sorts of women. The Indian literature of those centuries is full of condemnation and caricatures of the methods of Täntrik worship by means of wine, flesh and sexual laxity. A few instances may be cited here. In the prākrit play called Karpūramaṇjarī of Rājaśekhara (about 900 A. D.), a character called Bhairavānanda 1737 who was

1737. The original verses I. 22-24 are in Prākrit. Their Sanskrit equivalents are set out here. मन्त्राणां कण्ठाणां न किमपि जाने ध्यानं च नो किमपि युद्धसाधारण। मये विशामी महिला रसामो मोहाम् च यामेस कुलमार्गादिन्यं।। रण्डा चक्ष्यो भक्ष्यं धर्मवारा मये मांसं पीयते सायतं च।। भिक्षु भौर्यं उम्मितवं च ज्ञाता किलो धम मांस नामाति रुपं।। युक्तं भण्डविन्यासं वियायासमुखं अथ तेन ध्यानं रेपुपालेन किल्लिकापिण्यं।। एकेन केवलमुद्यायेन दुधं मंगलं समं भृतकेलितिसरसं।।। It is quite possible that the name भृतकेलितिसरसं is doubly suggestive. The पारसादवृत्त mentions several Täntrik teachers whose names end in आनान्द such as अनुतानान्द (pp. 54, 73), उमतानान्द (pp. 54, 72, 76), ज्ञातानान्द (pp. 54, 73, 91), तेजसानान्द (p. 44), पारसादव (pp. 72, 91 the author of the पारसादवृत्त), हुजातान्द (p. 54), शुरुवान्द (pp. 54, 70, 72). Besides, several teachers have the word भृत as part of their names and are profusely quoted in the पारसादवृत्त, viz. आनानान्द (9 times), उमतानान्द (17 times), तेजसानान्द (11 times); भृत as an author is mentioned once on p. 66. राजशेखर probably meant a hit at one or more of these

(Continued on next page)
supposed to possess wonderful powers is introduced and he says (while representing that he was somewhat tipsy) ‘owing to the favour of our guru we know nothing about mantras or tantras or meditation. We drink wine, daily with women and yet, being devoted to the Kula path, we reach mokṣa. A fierce strumpet is given dikṣā and made a lawful wife, wine is drunk and flesh is consumed, our food is got by begging for alms, our bed is a piece of hide. To whom would the Kauladharma not appear attractive? Even gods headed by Viṣṇu and Brahmā declare that liberation is attained by meditation, Veda study and performance of Vedic sacrifices; only one God, the husband of Umā, perceived that mokṣa (can be attained) by dalliance with women and by wine’. The Yaśastilaka-campū (composed in 959 A. D.) after referring to the Daksīṇa and Vāma paths of Śaiva-gama quotes a verse of the great poet Bhāsa “a person should drink wine, look at the face of the woman dear to him, wear a dress naturally charming and free from being odd; may the adorable Śiva be long-lived, who (first) discovered such a path to mokṣa!” The Daśāvatāra-carita of Kṣemendra (3rd quarter of 11th century A. D.) states in one verse what the Tantrik gurus and their followers did “Gurus declare that liberation follows by the drinking of wine from the same goblet by various craftsmen such as washermen, weavers, workers in hides, kāpūlikas, in the procedure of cakrapūja, and by dalliance with women without the least scruple and by always leading a life of festivities.”

(Continued from last page)

tantrik authors who favoured the makāras. Acc. to Intro. (p. XII) to पारातन्त्र, the work was composed probably between 900 to 1200 A. D. The परहृत्रमकपूज (I. 40) provides that after दीप्त्रा the guru is to give a name to the disciple ending in आनन्दनाथ. The महालनिवाण (X. 182) also says the same thing.

1738. इत्येव च मार्मिकान्वितवाचार्य भासेन महालनिवाण, पेंतागुरषितम् महालनिवाण, स्मरयं भास्वतिकार्तिकम्। वेदमात्राश्रयितम् भवन्ति। दीप्त्राः दीप्त्राः भवन्ति। यथा तत्तदिकम्। वग्निर्विद्देशस्य। वग्निर्विद्देशस्य। प. 251. This is verse 7 in the यथात्तत्तदिकम् महालनिवाण, put in the mouth of a कपार्ती. This creates a puzzle. Either the Yaśastilaka committed a mistake in naming the author or the verse is one from Bhāsa’s genuine drama, not yet found and bodily taken by the author of the यथात्तत्तदिकम् which, being a parody, was after all not a serious matter. I incline to the latter view.

1739. वर्णितभित्र रजा-राम-जात-अवसानक-स्मरयेंक-प्रकाशितम् महालनिवाणकम्। पातने मुहिमविविधतास्यांतः इत्येव चोरस्वता शुद्धो वदति। वग्निर्विद्देशस्य। प. 162 of दस्यानिवाणकम्। बज़पूण्या will be referred to a little later.
century A. D.) has several references to the Tantrikas and their doings. In V. 66 Kalhana says that during 1740 the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir, siddhas (persons possessed of miraculous powers like animā) such as Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa were born for the benefit of the world. In describing the effects of the rule of a good king Yaśasarkara (939–948 A. D.), Kalhana 1741 remarks that during his reign were not seen housewives figuring as divinities at the rite of gurudaksā and shaking their heads for detracting from the eminent character (attributed to) of their husbands.” King Kalaśa of Kashmir (1063–1089 A. D.) became a pupil of PramadaKaṇṭha, son of Amarakāṇṭha who was a good brāhmaṇa, but Kalaśa, who by nature was evil-minded, was instructed in evil practices by his guru PramadaKaṇṭha and the latter made the former ignore the distinction between women who are approachable and who are not. In this connection, Kalhana bitterly 1742 bewails “what other unscrupulousness of this guru (of Kalaśa) should be described by me, when, leaving aside all scruples, he committed incestuous intercourse with his own daughter.” This establishes that in the 11th century A. D.

1740. अभियाप लोकानां भद्राकारतास्य: अवस्तित्वम: काले स्युद्ध वृषभवाचरणः ॥ राजाः V. 66. अवस्तित्वम्: reigned from 855 A. D. to 883 A. D. Kallatas is a great name in Kashmir Śaivism. It may be noted that the Vajrayāna cult of Buddhism speaks of 84 siddhas that flourished from the 7th to the 9th century A. D. Vide Intro, to E. B. p. 34 and Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s paper on ‘the origin of Vajrayāna and the 84 siddhas’ in J. A. vol. 225 (1934) pp 209–230 in which at pp. 220–225 there is a detailed list of the 84 siddhas from Lūpā to Bhalipā with their castes and status, place of origin and names of the contemporaries of some of them from the 8th century A. D. onwards. मत्वेक्त्र काले is said to be the same as Lūpā; vide I. H. Q. vol. XXXI pp. 362–375 for Dr. Kambhekar’s paper on ‘Matsyendranātha and his Yogini cult.’

1741. नान्दरथस्य च गोरैयं युक्तीमोक्षदेवता: ॥ कुटिणे भृत्तिलोकसीमित्वं सम्झने: ॥ राजाः VI. 12. This shows that there being equality of sexes among Tāntrikas, women used to be made gurus in Tāntrik rites. Vide प्राणिकीपिर्ध p. 179 for qualifications of a woman guru and p. 540 for worship of the wife of a guru and of a woman as a guru in her own right. The guru and his predecessors are to be worshipped by disciples as sacrificers. When the latter praised the husbands of the women that had become gurus, they shook their heads in disagreement and thereby impliedly criticized the character of their husbands. Kalhana says that this did not happen in the reign of Yaśasarkara, who must have frowned upon the practices of tāntricism and hence occasions for women being gurus did not arise.

1742. गुरुविकल्पलं तस्यान्यकिमिस्तथाताम् ॥ त्यक्तस्य: नवन्तवतास्येपि य: ॥ राजाः VII. 278.
in Kashmir there were Tántrik gurus that literally carried out what the Guhyasamājatantra quoted in note 1724 apparently recommended to Buddhist Yogis. In the drama called Mohaparājāya by Yaśahpāla under king Ajayadeva, successor of Kumārapāla, among the dramatis personae is a kaula who declares his doctrine to be eating flesh every day, drinking wine without any qualms and allowing the mind free scope.\textsuperscript{1743} Aparārka quotes a verse which shows that, in the midst of numerous cults, it was difficult to be consistent: “A person may be at heart a Kaula (follower of the Kula doctrine), in outward appearance he may look a Śaiva, and he may follow Vaidika rites in his usual practices. One should live grasping what is essential like the cocoonut\textsuperscript{1744} fruit”. It appears that great scholars and poets had a sneaking admiration for Tántrika worship. The great writer Vidyāpati of Mithilā appears to be a Vaiṣṇava from his devotional songs, but wrote the Śaivasarvvasvasāra (so he may be called a Śaiva), and wrote also Durgābhaktitarāṅgīni (and thus appears to have been a Śākta) and composed also a Tántrik\textsuperscript{1745} work. The very first verse of Vidyāpati’s ‘Purusaparikṣā’ contains an invocation of Ādi-Śakti.’ Bengal and Assam were the strongholds of Śākta doctrines and even now Kālī worship is still in vogue there, but it was the great Bengal

1743. In Mohorahajapalay (G. O. S.) p. 100 the kōd says ‘स्थायीति मंत्रमुद्विन वै':' (Sanskrit rendering of a Prākrit verse). The drama was written between 1172–1175 A. D.

1744. अन्तःकोऽलं बहिर्विशेषं तोलाचारे तु बैबिकाया। सार्वत्रही विलेति नारिकेलकृतं यथा। अपराकैं p. 10. I prefer the reading of one the mss. noted in the foot notes. The printed text reads अन्तःकोऽलं बहिर्विशेषं तोलाचारे etc. The cocoonut fruit presents three aspects, first there is the hard outside shell, then there is the soft and tasty kernel inside the hard shell and thirdly there is water in addition to the soft kernel. The कुतलानवनम् has ‘अन्तःकोऽलं बहिःसैरं वनस्ये’ शाल्यते। कौलं सुगोगपेते दीर्घं नारिकेलकृत्वामुक्तः॥ XI. 83. One ms. reads अन्तःकोलं बहिःकौलं समानं वैरल्या मनः: and this last is often quoted. The कौलहीलिन्यं (X. 84–95) reads अन्तःकोलं बहिः शेषं:....मनः। नारिकेलकृतं बहिः बिकृत्वा महीतें॥

The sect mark of both Śaivas and Śāuktas is tripūndra (three parallel lines of holy ashes on the forehead from one eye to the other, drawn with three fingers other than the thumb and small finger). Vide बृहदाराजायोगपिनिल् IV. 10–11, वेदीभागम् XI. 15–17–23.

1745. Vide a paper of D. C. Bhattacharya in J. G. J. R. I. vol. VI pp. 241–247 on Vidyāpati’s work on Tantra. The first verse of वृषभप्रीतः (Darbhanga ed. of 1888) is ‘भ्राह्यि यत्वं नौति हुङ्क्यः सङ्करणं (व्रह्ण! )’ ज्ञातितोष्पवर्ष्य- पशूचुम्बौलितः। यत्र ध्यायिति ध्यानमलोगि निश्चितामाहिषिक्षिति विषस्य गदवे॥
king Ballālasena who discarded Devipurāṇa as an authority in his encyclopaedic work on gifts called Dānasāgara.1746

It is possible that the founders of the Tantrik or Śākta cult of the five makāras threw defiance at the terrible aspect of God or the Highest Spirit, that rules the destinies of men and things and that made men sometimes suffer terribly even if they led lives of virtue to do the worst for their disregard of conventional morality and social practices and hoped by their Yoga exercises to attain to high psychical powers and bliss.1747 There is another possible motive also. Masses of common people were being drawn towards Buddhism. The founders of Hindu Tantrik cults wanted to retain them within the Hindu fold. As common people drank wine and ate meat, they were told that they would attain higher spiritual levels even while indulging in meat and drink provided they followedTantrik gurus and practices. The idea was that Śakti was all and was for all; bhoga (enjoyment) need not be given up, as man is part of Devi or Śiva. Bhoga should be sublimated, that is all that is required in Kaualśāstra. The Tāntrikas1748 substitute a yoga of enjoyment (bhoga) for the yoga of abstinence and asceticism. When indulging in the left-hand path practices the sādhaka is supposed or held to be destroying the egoistic elements of the soul.

The Mahānirvāṇatantra and a few others endeavour to stem the tide of sexual immorality and promiscuity. For example, Rāmeśvara, the commentator of Paraśurāmakalpaśṭra, says that one that has not conquered his senses has no adhikāra for Kaulamārga (p. 153). This is in direct conflict with what even the Mahānirvāṇatantra says that all men from brāhmaṇas to the untouchables have adhikāra for Kula practices. Modern apologists for Tāntrism emphasize that the instructions embodied in the Guhyasamājā, the directions for the mode of life to be led by followers of Vajrayāna, apply only to the Yogis who have attained some degree of yogic perfection. But the obvious

1746. नामावस्थाप: कौल: कुलाचाररूप मिथ्यपि। सेवनलयां कुलाचारीभिन्न नत: माथे कल्यम्:। महानिद्विनिदिनतः IV. 63.

1747. Vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya’s Intro. to Guhyasamājā p. XXII for the above sentiments.

1748. यत्रातिसूचिरः न च तत् मोक्षो यत्रातिसूचिरः मोक्षो न च तत् भागः। श्रीमुद्दरदिशेन- तत्त्ववर्णः मोक्षः मोक्षः करस्य तथ।। इति quoted in इतिविवादः (from कौलसर्व:) p. 104; विमानस्यनयनतः द्रिष्टः एक्षः शुल्कः। ते सर्वत्रस्मिन्कुलाचारे भवेदविदिकारिणः। महानिवाण 14. 184.
reply is 'who is to decide that a particular person had attained the minimum spiritual level except the man himself and, supposing that all the directions were meant for Yogis, why was it necessary to say in a blatant manner and language that a Yogi practising Vajrayāna may engage in what common and less sophisticated people deem to be incest? This is not the place to reply to all apologists for ancient and medieval Tāntrik works. But a few must be dealt with because they are liable to create misunderstandings, if allowed to go uncriticized. In his Preface to 'Principles of Tantra' Part 2, Sir John Woodroffe states (p. IX.) that the use of flesh, fish and wine was common in the Vedic age and that the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas like the Kālikā, Mārkandeya and Kurma refer to consumption of wine, meat and fish. This looks like special pleading and is misleading. The question is: was surā offered to the gods in every day or periodic sacrifices as an offering in the Rgveda or any other Veda. In the Vedic age wine may have been known and even drunk, but what is material to recognize is that there is a difference made between Soma and surā. Vide Śat. 1749 Br. "Soma is truth, prosperity, light and surā is untruth, misery and darkness" (V. 1. 5. 28). While Soma is mentioned hundreds of times in the Rgveda, has the 9th manḍala of the Rgveda specially reserved for its praises and was offered to gods, the word surā occurs only six times in the Rgveda and it is nowhere expressly stated that it was offered to any god as a religious offering; on the contrary, in a hymn to Varuna, surā is put forward as leading to the commission of sin just as anger and gambling do (Rg. VII. 86. 6 'na sa syo. daksō Varuna dhruṭih sā surā manyur-vibhidako aicitthi). In his zeal for the vindication of Tāntrism Arthur Avalon is injudicious enough to misinterpret simple words. In the Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' p. VII he quotes Rg. I. 166. 7 "arcantyarkam madirasya pitaye" and translates "worshipping the Sun before drinking madirā (wine)." The word here is madirā (and not 'madirā'), it is an adjective and means "exhilarating". The word "Madirā" never occurs in the Rg. while "madira" as an adjective, occurs at least sixteen times and qualifies Soma, Indu, Aṁsu, Rasa or Madhu, generally expressed (and rarely implied). There is no word for "before." That quarter means 'they (the worshippers or Maruts) worship (Indra) who is worthy of praise (and a friend of the Maruts) in order that he may come for

1749. सत्यम् वेव श्रीपरमेश्वरे सोमेऽक्षत्र पापाय तमः: सुरा। इत्यय। V. 1. 5. 28.
drinking the exhilarating (Soma).’ The word madirā (for wine) hardly ever occurs in any genuine work of Vedic times. Its earliest occurrence is probably in the Mahābhārata. Reference is also made by modern apologists to the offering of surā in the Sautrāmaṇi ḍsti in honour of Indra. But the circumstances are peculiar. Sautrāmaṇi is only one out of numerous sacrifices and the occasions for performing it were rare i.e. it was performed at the end of Rājasūya and also at the end of Agnicayana and when a priest who had drunk too much of soma vomited. The most important fact, however, is that the remnants of surā offered in Sautrāmaṇi were not drunk by the priests engaged in it but a brāhmaṇa had to be hired for drinking the remnants and if no brāhmaṇa could be secured then the remnants were to be poured over an ant-hill (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1226 for details). The Kāṭhakasamhitā 1750 contains an interesting passage “Therefore an elderly person and a youngster, the daughter-in-law and the father-in-law, drink liquor and remain babbbling together; thoughtlessness is sin; therefore a brāhmaṇa does not drink surā with the thought that ‘otherwise (if I drink it) I may be tainted by sin’; therefore this is for ksatriya; one should say to a brāhmaṇa that surā, if drunk by a ksatriya, does not harm the latter.” These passages show that not only the priests did not drink surā even in Sautrāmaṇi but that it had become difficult to hire a brāhmaṇa for drinking it by the time of the Kāṭhaka-samhitā. The passage of the Vājasaneyā Samhitā 19.5 relied on at p. VII (of Intro. to ‘Principles of Tantra’ part II) also refers to Sautrāmaṇi and to no other sacrifice. The mantra is “Brahma ksatriam pavate teja indriyam surayā somāḥ suta āsuto madāya” and means that “Soma when mixed with surā becomes a strong drink and leads to intoxication.” The Chāndogya V. 10. 9 (q. above p. 1578 n. 943) counts the drinker of surā among the five grave sinners. Therefore, there is hardly any analogy between the offering of wine in Sautrāmaṇi and the teaching about offering wine to Devī as provided in the Tantras. Similarly, the reference to the Atharvaveda as containing magical rites does not help at all. Society had advanced far beyond that stage and Manu XI. 63 looked upon abhicāra (i.e. performance of a magic rite like Śyenayāga for killing a person) and mūlakarma (i.e. bringing

1750. नमस्तम्यायत्र तथास्त्रयैर्यत्र च श्रुतिः श्रुतिः सुरां च पीतः सह नाटपत आसि। पापमै न नात्राय सत्यम् वाक्राय: सुरां न निष्ठितम्पापम् तन्मित्रयुः इति तन्मेतः ज्ञेयायश्च वाच्यावस्य सुरापीतः हिन्निः। काउकसंहिताः XII. 12.
under one's control a person or a woman by herbs and mantras) as a sin, though a lesser one (an upapātaka). The reference to the Mahābhārata (Udyogaparva, 59.5 ff) is again misleading. Wine was drunk by people in the Mahābhārata times, but not as part of a religious ritual as in the Tantras. Vide pp. 964–966 of H. of Dh. vol. III for a note on 'intoxicating drinks.' The reference to Mārkandeya and other purāṇas is of no avail as evidence, since at least the present author holds that those parts of the Purāṇas were written and interpolated after Tāntrik rites had taken a firm hold on some sections of the Hindu society. The reference to sexual intercourse in the Mahāvrita is most misleading. In the Tantras like the Kulārnava and the Guhyasamājā it is the sādhaka himself who is to practise maithuna as one of the ways of securing marvellous powers and higher spiritual attainments. But in the Mahāvrita the sexual intercourse is by strangers to the sacrifice (and not by the yajamāna nor by any of the priests), is a purely symbolical act and bears no analogy to a sādhaka himself engaging in maithuna as a religious rite to placate the Devi. Even a late reformist work like the Mahānirvāna (VII. 174–175) expressly says that those of the five tattvas which a sādhaka can secure, such as flesh and others, should have recited over them the mantra ‘ām, hrim, krom, svāhā’ a hundred times, that he should reflect that everything is a product of brahma, should close his eyes, should offer those to Kāli and should himself drink and eat them. As the Tāntrik prescriptions of the makāras for attainment of miraculous powers and of liberation had shocked people and had brought the tantras into great disrepute, later Hindu Tāntrik works like the Saktisāṅgamasāstra (between 1555–1607 A. D.) began to offer symbolic interpretations. They say that the 1751. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp 1243–1245 for the Mahāvrita, which is the last day but one in a satrīa.

1752. । सुहादेवमल देवि सुदर्शन मयी मता। विभवां नरम्य देवि द्विविशिष्य परिकृति। । लघुन्ति सिन्हिती वृंच द्विविशिष्य परिकृति। गोपुरानवमस्मृतूत हुस्त्री च चतुरुपिका। यश्नवपाल । परवर्तन वितत श्रुतम्। श्रीमती। श्रीसंस्कार, ताराकान, 32, 13–15; vide महानिर्वण सन्नारी VI. 9–10 where products of grains of rice, barely or wheat with ghee or fried grain are called सुदर्शनः । न मद्य मातास्य मद्य शकिसंस्कारः। सुदर्शन श्रेष्ठी सुदर्शन उच्चस्त्रियाम्र स्मृतः संग्रामप्रविधानसंबंधौ मेधयुति च सुदार्शनः। भक्तियुक्ती श्रीरामोपाय पद्य । ...संग्राम संस्कार नृत्य ताराकानसंबंधायः। श्रीसंस्कारः, ताराकान 32, 23–27, 32. Vide 'Saṃkṣa and Saṃkṣa' pp. 339–340 where madya, māmsa, matsya and maithuna are interpreted esoterically for a 'divyabhāva' following Yoginītantra (chap. VI) and from Āgamasāra. One verse from the former may be quoted (Continued on next page)
words ‘madya, mudrā, maithuna’ &c. are not used in the ordinary popular sense but in a special esoteric sense. For example, mudrā has several senses, viz. a mixture of jaggery and ginger, or of salt and oil-cake or garlic and tamarind fruit, or wheat and māsa beans, that madya (wine) is not what is prepared from mādhabī (spring flower) but it springs from the joyful experience (or rasa) of Śakti, when effort is made to awaken the Kūndalini. It may be admitted that some Tāntrik works and writers divide men into three classes, paśu (the bestial ones), vīra (those that have made great progress on the path of spiritual discipline) and daiva (those who are godlike). As regards these three, the five makāras are assigned by some apologetic writers different meanings. D. N. Bose in his work ‘Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets’ boldly asserts (p. 110) that the real significance of the five makāras has been deliberately perverted by vicious people and explains (p. 111) that madya is the nectarine stream issuing from the cavity of the brain where the soul resides, mātya means suppression of vital airs, māṃsa means ‘vow of silence,’ ‘maithuna’ means ‘meditation on the acts of creation and destruction.’

The Tāntrikas clothe their practices in bombastic and high-sounding words. The five makāras are called paṇca-tattvas, kuladravyas or kulatattvas. Maithuna is generally referred to as paṇcamatattva, the woman with whom sexual intercourse is to be had or who was at least to be associated with a male in Tantra worship is called Śakti (vide Kulārpaṇa VII 39–43 and Mahānīrṇaṇa VI, 18–20) or prakṛti or latā and this special ritual is called ‘Lātāsādhaṇa’ (Mahānīrṇaṇa I, 52). Wine is called tīrthavāri (holy water) or kāraṇa (VIII, 168 and VI. 17). The Mahānīrṇaṇa-tantra, though a reformist work and in certain cases asking the king to punish drunkards (XI, 113–121),

(Continued from last page)
waxes eloquent over wine and praises it as Tārā in the form of a fluid substance, as the saviour of individual souls, as the mother (or producer) of bhoga (enjoyment) and mokṣa (liberation) and as the remover of misfortunes and diseases and after some further praise of wine winds up by saying that those men who drink wine according to the rules and with a well-controlled mind are gods on earth (XI. 108). For the worship of Śakti the five tattvas are absolutely necessary (Mahānirvāṇa-tantra V. 21–24 quoted in note 1635 above and 1754 Kulārṇava V. 69 and 76). Some tantras say that the meaning of tattva differs according as the person concerned is Tāmasika (a paśu kind of worshipper), Rajasika (a vīra as he is called), sattvika (a divya, a person who is godlike). Madya means according to various Tantrik Texts real wine as well as a substitute like coconut water or any other liquid; it also means that intoxicating knowledge that comes of Yoga practices, whereby the worshipper becomes senseless as regards the external world. Māyā is the act whereby the sādhaka surrenders himself and his action to Lord Śiva. Matsya (fish, of which the first part ‘mat’ means ‘mine’) is that psychical state by which the worshipper sympathizes with the pleasure and pain of all beings. Maithuna is the union of the Śakti Kūṇḍalini (the woman inside a man’s body) in the Mūlādhāra-cakra with the supreme Śiva in the Sahasrāra-cakra in the highest centre of the brain and is the stream of the sweet juice that drops from the Sahasrāra. Preparation of hemp (called vijayā or ‘bhāṅg’) is madya for some. The Mahānirvāṇa says (VIII. 170 and 173) that ‘madhura-traya’ may be substituted for wine and for ‘Maithuna’ meditation on the feet of the (image of) Devī and japa of the desired mantra may be substituted. The Kaulāvalīnirnaya (III. 111) boldly states that if a man, after partaking of vijayā (bhāṅg) engages in meditation, he sees directly before him the form of the goddess as described in the Dhyānamantra. Some Tantras like the

1753. सुरा ज्ञानी तारा जीविनिस्तारकारिणी। जननी भोगमोक्षणां नासिनी विपुः प्रजास्। महानिर्वृणि। XI. 105.

1754. कुलाल्पत्तस्युपरियोज्यत्त्रत्त्व। निश्चितं त्र्यं वै भवत भवती यथा हनुमन। महानिर्वा तुद्द्वैयुग्यो द्वेष्टयुग्यो प्रत्येकः। धृष्टिकर्मिन जनानीकां सत्यस्यां न वियत्तेः। कुलाल्प V. 69 and 76. The words सत्य ... विद्येत तारा he is not born again. The Kūḷālpan (V. 79–80) ordains ‘सुरा शाल्किः जिसे मांसे तद्वैयुग्य भाग भयाः। समथं त्यथेष्ठं भवति ज्ञानी। आनन्देन ब्रम्हाणी स्वर्ण तथ वै यथा स्वर्णस्थितस्। सत्याभिधिः कर्म येष अन्वितेषी दीप्यते।’.
Kaulajñānarāmāya and Bhāskararāya in his commentary on Lalitāsahasranāma say that when Kundalini is roused by a yogin and it reaches the thousand-petalled cakra (Sahasrāra) from which (that has on its pericarp the moon) drops nectar which is figuratively spoken of as madya (vide notes 1716, 1752). The Kulārṇava at first asserts (I. 105–107) ‘Mukti does not result from the study of the Veda nor by the study of sāstras, it results from (correct) knowledge alone, that the āśramas are not a means of mokṣa nor are the darśanas the means, nor all the sāstras, that it is knowledge alone that is the cause, that it is the knowledge imparted by the teaching of the guru that confers mukti, all (other) vidyās are mockery.’ Then in the Vedāntic strain it affirms (I. 111–112) ‘two words (respectively) lead to bondage or liberation viz. (this is) ‘mine’ or ‘nothing is mine’. A person falls in bondage by the thought ‘this is mine’ and becomes liberated by realising ‘nothing is mine’ and that is proper action that does not lead to bondage and that is real lore that leads to liberation.’ After these high thoughts the same Tantra (II. 22–23 and 29) proceeds to Kaula doctrine. ‘If a man is a yogin he does not (ordinarily) enjoy life, while one who enjoys life does not know yoga; but the Kaula doctrine combines both yoga and bhoga and is superior to all (other doctrines); in the Kaula doctrine bhoga turns into yoga directly, what is sin (acc. to ordinary people) becomes meritorious, samsāra turns into mokṣa. Kaula knowledge enlightens him whose mind is purified by the mantras of Śaiva worship, Durgā worship &c.’

The Kulārṇava appears to be in two minds to ordinary men like the present writer. While in one breath as shown in note 1718 it frankly recommends the drinking of wine and eating of flesh to the followers of Kaula doctrine, it also endeavours to give an esoteric meaning to the makāras as follows (V. 107–112): Frequently reaching the brahmakāraṇa from the mūlādhāra, there arises the bliss of the union of the Kundalini-Śaktī with the moon in the form of Intelligence (cit, Śiva); the person who is intent on tasting the nectar oozing from the lotus in the

1755. स (कुष्ठनविनी) हि सुराधारले यच्च सार्वेऽज्ञेयायादयाय चुता सती भैरविशेषः त्वायाः प्रभुकारणं भद्रश्वराय भद्दीन्द्री वनवारण भैरवती भैरवती तथास्मात् भैरवतीत (Nir. ed. of 1935). Compare कौला नानासूपा VI. 18–19 p. 16.
crown of the head is said to drink sudhā (nectar, wine); other people drink mere wine. When the adept in Yoga cutting the beast (ego) doing good or evil actions with the sword of knowledge (of reality) makes his mind merge in the Highest, he is said to be eater of pala (the Highest, flesh). The Yogin) who restraining the several senses by his mind concentrates them on the Self, becomes ‘matsyāsī’, others are only killers of living beings. The Śakti (the woman associated with a sādhaka) of a beastly man is unenlightened but that of the Kaulika is enlightened; he who honours (or resorts to) such a Śakti is really a worshipper of Śakti. When a man is filled through and through with the bliss due to the union of the Highest Śakti with the Self (Śiva), that is called Mathūna (copulation); all other men are merely licentious persons.

The apologists for unpopular Tantrik practices offer explanations of the five ‘makāras’ more or less on the lines of the Kulapāvaya. For example, in his Introduction to the ‘Principles of Tantra’ (part II) Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) gives (pp. CVII–CVIII) an esoteric explanation of the word ‘drinking’ used in such a verse as that in the Pārānandasūtra, ‘Having drunk again and again, having fallen upon the earth, then having got up and again drunk (wine) there is no rebirth.’

1756. आमूलाधारामानवधारिणीः गवता पुनः।। मित्रमधुकुशीकाशिकामत्सरसंभाषये॥ प्रयोगः।। श्रेयसंभाषयेनवधारिणीः पुनः॥ । हुपापाभिः मेघोमिता वदवाविच।।। प्रवावः।। पुनः ज्ञानवृत्तिः पोषणित।।। परे तयं नवनिता पलायनी स निगाथित।।। मनसा चैवतिन्यायां संप्ययामानी पोजनेत।।। मनसाः।। भवेदांविशेषः रुपः।। मणिविवसाय।।। अवृत्तः।। पशोः।। शार्कः।। महान्तः।। कौटिल्यः।।। शार्कः पूर्ववृत्तिः सभायत्वसही।।। पराक्षक्यात्तत्त्वानुवृत्तिः पोषनात्मकः।।। य आस्तेन मूर्णूर्द्ध वर्गायने।।। शास्त्रविवसाय।।। कुटलाप व. 107–112. The 4th tattva is Muddrā, but the latter word is often applied to the Śakti associated with a sādhaka.

1757. ‘Palāśi’ means ‘eater or enjoyer of Pala.’ Pala means ‘flesh’, and pala stands for Para (Highest) ‘aś’ r and l are often interchangeable in Sanskrit and the root ‘aś’ may mean ‘to reach’ as well as ‘to eat. Matsyāsī literally means ‘eater of fish,’ but in the esoteric interpretation ‘matsya’ stands for ‘manas’ (mind) plus ‘sya’ representing ‘samyama’ (restraint).

1758. जीवनसुकृतः परिवेदिनयत्वः पलितो भविष्यति।।। पुनः।। पीला पुनः पीला पलिता प्रविष्किलते।।। उदाहरणः पुनः।। पीला पुनः दूरिः न विभिन्ते।।। पालामञ्चसूत्र व. 17 sutras 81–82; the Intro. to ‘Principles of Tantra’ (part II) p. CVIII. It reads the first half of the verse as पीला पीला पुनः।। पीला पीला पलितव्यत न करते।।। But there is hardly any difference in the literal meaning. Vide कुलापण्डितः VII. 100 which reads पीला पीला ... वाचकत्वतः सूत्रते; रामेंद्र, commentator of परसुराम-कल्पब्रह्म (Continued on next page)
He explains 'Being thus awakened Kundalini enters the great road to liberation (mukti), that is, the Sushumānā nerve, and penetrating the centres one by one, ascends to the Sahasrāra and there coming in blissful communion with the Lord of Lords, again descends down through the same passage to the Mūlādhāra Chakra. Nectar is said to flow from such communion. The sādhaka drinks it and becomes supremely happy. This is the wine called Kulamrta, which a sādhaka of the spiritual plane drinks. In reference to a sādhaka of the spiritual (ādhyātmika) class the Tantra says 'Pitvā pitvā...vidyate'. During the first stage of Śat-cakra-sādhana the sādhaka cannot suppress his breath for a sufficiently long time at a stretch to enable him to practise concentration and meditation in each centre of Power. He cannot therefore detain Kundalini within the Sushumānā longer than his power of Kumbhaka permits. He must consequently come down upon the earth i.e. the Mūlādhāra, which is the centre of the element earth, after having drunk of the heavenly ambrosia. The sādhaka must practise this again and again and by constant practice, the cause of rebirth i.e. vāsanā (desire) is removed.' This explanation sounds very profound and highly psychical, but it is not at all convincing. Similarly, the present author wonders how many writers on Tantras and how many Tāntrikas understood the theory of sublimation put forward in 'Tantras as a way of realization' (Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV. pp. 233-235) by way of explaining the insistence on five makāras. The first question is: why was it necessary to employ vulgar language to describe a state of profound bliss? Supposing the explanation of madya offered by Woodroffe is accepted, what is the explanation about offering flesh and fish? One cannot easily get out of 'matyāśī' and 'māṁsāśī' the esoteric sense required by the apologists. The Kulārnava, the Pārānanda-sūtra and several

(Continued from last page)
other works almost always employ the words madya, māṃsa and fish in the ordinary sense. They rarely, if at all, drop the hint that words like matsya and māṃsa are being used in an esoteric sense and proceed to deal with realities of madya and flesh. The Kulārṇava quotes (II. 126) the verse of Manu IX, 93 (surā vai malam-annānām &c.), provides for the preparation of the three kinds of surā (V. 15–21), and says (V. 30) that surā is the 12th kind among intoxicants and that there are eleven other kinds of intoxicants made from jack-fruit, grapes, dates, sugar-cane &c. (V. 29). In XI. 22–35 the Kulārṇava dilates upon the etiquette to be observed in drinking wine as part of Kaula practice. It proceeds (V. 44) to divide flesh into three classes viz. of animals that fly in the sky (birds), of aquatic animals and of those that move on the earth. The Svachchandatantra (a work of great authority in Kashmir Śaivism) prescribes that various kinds of fish and meat and other food that can be licked and drunk should be poured in front of Śiva (image) and one should not stint for money. Quotations from Pārāṇanda-sūtra (notes 1698, 1703-4) make it perfectly clear that the words madya, māṃsa, and maithuna are employed therein in the ordinary sense. Pārāṇandasūtra (on pp. 80–81, paragraphs 69–70 and pp. 82–83 para. 76–80) describes such obscene details of the sādhaka’s sexual intercourse that it is not possible to set them down here. The ordinary worship of Devī was elaborate enough, containing as it did 16 upacāras (vide p. 164 note 420 above). Where was the necessity of bringing in wine, meat and maithuna as an absolutely necessary part of the worship of Devī? The Kulārṇava and other tantras praise the Vedas, employ vedic mantras and quote Upaniṣad and Gitā passages. For example, Mahānirvāṇa V.197 ff employs Vedic mantras (as noted on p. 1058) for sanctifying the five makāras, the three mantras ‘Āpo hi śtha’ Rg. X. 9. 1–3 in Nāmakarana (ibid. IX. 150–152), ‘Tac-caksur’ Rg. VII. 66. 16 in Niskramana (ibid. IX. 163), ‘Viṣṇuryonim’ Rg. X. 184. 1 in Garbhādhāna (ibid. IX. 96), ‘Ayuṃ te yonim’ Rg. III. 29. 10 in the worship of Agni (ibid. IX. 21) and the verse ‘Kāli Karāl’ (Mundakoṇiṣad I. 2. 4).

1759. मत्यायामार्यवन्यानकानि लेखपेय्यानि वानि च। अध्यायपेत्याभ्यासाचाचाचाव- विविष्यं || सत्तवात्वरस्तनम् II. (पदच) 135 (Kashmir S. series with the comm. उपशत । महीनाराका); सर्वो तथा मत्यायामार्यानि च वर्णने। सांवासेष निराभारावसादिऄगिनि व ः किंतहऽ। ibid V. 48.

1760. कुलायण XII. 33 cites the verse यथे वेषे &c. (which is एकताश्चत्वोप. VI. 23); vide महानिर्वाण II. 44–45 for adopting ये. उप. ‘भाषामाद्याचार्य: पवेदे भोज्यदत्ति स्वर्गः।... शुद्धिवंति पशुमाः।
in the worship of the seven tongues of Agni. The Mahānirvāna (VIII. 214–215) prescribes Gitā IV. 24 (brahmārpaṇam brahma havir) as the mantra to be recited by the leader of the Tattva-cakra in offering the five tatvas and in sanctifying them. In spite of all this lip service to the Veda the tantras ignore the great moral dangers involved in their persistent teaching of five makāras and also pay no heed to the impressive advice of the Gitā (III. 21) that whatever a great or honoured man does or holds as authoritative is followed by all common people. There are several late medieval works about the Kaula cult that speak of drinking wine, eating flesh and maithuna in the vulgar sense as means of Devi worship and yet assert that by doing so mukti (liberation) would be secured. Two verses from a ms of a tāntrik work called Kaurarahaśaya (containing one hundred verses) will bring home to the reader how common people understood the cult of the makāras.1761

Prof. Heinrich Zimmer in the ‘Art of Indian Asia’ (vol. I pp. 129–130) observes ‘such living forms are suggested to the Indian artist by a dynamic philosophy that is intrinsic to his religious and philosophical tradition, for the worship of the life-force pouring into the universe and maintaining it, manifesting itself no less in the gross matter of daily experience than in the divine beings of religious vision constitutes the very foundation of Indian religious life. According to this doctrine which was particularly influential in the great periods of Indian art, release from the bondage of our normal human imperfection can be gained not only through the world-negating methods of asceticism (yoga) but equally through a perfect realization of love and its sexual enjoyment (bhoga). According to this view which has been eloquently expressed in the so-called Tāntric symbols and rituals of both the Hindu and Buddhist traditions, there is intrinsically no antagonism between yoga and bhoga. The role played by the guru, the spiritual guide and teacher in the stern masculine disciplines of yoga, is

1761. निधिच चांसा वदने सुधाया: श्रीकमसबर्ष फुलकमेन। आरक्षा मध्ये विषाले सुगमामालिकः मोरें सुधियें लहने। आशाययमः विषालस्य क्षणमाक्षणवर्यम् च सुधां बिवन। सुगमासंस्कृतमालिकाः मुखः च मुखः च वर्य ब्रम्हा। वर्ष 4 च वर्ष 7 च बोद्धरस्व, D. C. ms. No. 959 of 1884–87 copied in संवत् 1790, i. e. in 1734 A. D. This may be compared with the doctrine of the नीरस्वकृतिन हमारा ग्रंथ quoted above (p. 1073). There is a ms. in the BORI at Poona (D. C. No. 994 of 1891–1895) called नीरस्वकृतिन हमारा ग्रंथ, which describes the sanctifications of five makāras with Vedic mantras on the same lines as the महानिन्दामत्रनम् cited above,
taken over in the initiations of bhoga by the devout and sensual helpmate. The initiating woman plays the part of Śakti while the male initiate assumes that of Śiva and both attain together to the realisation of the immanence within themselves of the consubstantiality of the Goddess and the God.' It has already been stated (p. 1054) that Prof. Zimmer is wrong in thinking that the Tāntrik rites were systematically disparaged as 'vāmamārga' by the Indian partisans of Yoga. He is also wrong (p. 130) when he says that 'throughout the first millenium A. D. they (Tāntric rites) were a basic element of normal Indian experience.' There is really very little evidence to substantiate this claim. He makes this sweeping generalisation as an art-critic and historian of Indian Art from the few tāntric sculptures on the Puri and other temples in Orissa and some other places in India. Vide the well-known work 'Bengal Lancer' by F. Yeats-Brown (London, Golancz, 1930) pp. 23²–237, where the superintendent of the temple of Jagannātha justifies the obscene frescoes on the ground that until a man is master of his gross body he cannot see the Godhead and feels sure that future ages will look on Tāntrik psychology with understanding.

One or two very peculiar notions and practices of the Tāntrakas may be briefly mentioned here. The offering of flesh, wine and mudrā to the devatā with the recital of three bijas ‘ān, hrim, krom’ and the mantras ‘om Anandabhairavāya namaḥ’ and ‘om Anandabhairavyai namaḥ’ was technically called śuddhi ¹⁷⁶². The Mahānirvāṇa and Tantrarāja-tantra state that to drink wine without śuddhi ¹⁷⁶³

¹⁷⁶². चुङ्छ्व विना मद्यपान कैसे विश्रामण्यः। चिररागी वेदविन्द्री स्तवपायुधिप्रती-विरासः। महानिर्वाणः VI. 13. Sir John Woodroffe offers the rather amusing explanation that wine without food produces greater injury and that japa of mantra and the performance of other rites were believed by the sādhuṣkas to remove the curse from wine and that the sādhu meditates upon the union of the Goddess and God Śiva in the wine, the latter being itself a devatā सत्यन्ताराध्ये यथा मद्याधिसेवनम्। कठोपय तथा कुष्ठो तु कुलवर्धिणसातः॥ कुलार्गेण नसनाति शोभितानि च योगिने। ये त्रूः सत्यवर्षसि नहि तान्य वाहिते काहः॥ महानिर्वाणः IV. 56–60.

¹⁷⁶³. The कुलार्गेण (17. 25) defines वीर as 'चतुराममक्षिकोयमात्यंमोहः। रजस्तोविवृवत्वाहीर देवभिधीयते॥'. In spite of these requirements of high qualities the वीरमात्य (in 28. 31–36) provides that a वीर should honour the beautiful wife of another (or 'his own wife or another's') wearing charming ornaments whose body is suffused with erotic passion and who has become

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was like swallowing poison, that the person doing so would suffer from diseases for a long time, would soon die prematurely and that wine was to be drunk even by one who has attained some perfection only up till the mind has reached an ecstatic state of absorption (in thoughts of Devī) and that if he drinks beyond that stage he at once becomes a sinner (vide also Kulārṇava VII. 97–98 for the last proposition).

A most revolting rite from the viewpoint of all unsophisticated people is what is called ‘cakra-pūja’ (worship in a circle). An equal number of men and women without distinction of caste and even near blood relations secretly meet at night and sit in a circle (vide Kaulāvalinirnaya VIII. 76). The Goddess is represented by a yantra (diagram). There is a leader of the cakra. The regulations were that only persons who had attained the status of Vīra (defined above in n 1763) were to be admitted and pāsus (ordinary men with beastly passions not curbed) were to be excluded. What assurance was there that the leader of the cakra himself possessed the noble qualities mentioned in the verse quoted above and would choose only men possessed of similar qualities? The women assembled cast their bodices in a receptacle and each of the assembled men secured a female companion for that night by lot i.e. by taking a bodice out of those contained in the receptacle. The practice of

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gay with wine ‘अथ चारो वदेवकालो एकोयामधभारि वा। ... महानान्ततसङ्क्रमासावान्यु- विकाशान्। &c. The Mahañcariṇa I. 57 refers to the three categories of satkalas viz. पश्च , बीर and विकाश, the last being defined as विकाश वेदवाय: रुद्रान्तः-करणः सत्वा। इत्यते लोकः पीतरागः सप्तृतसम्मः भृगी (ibid. I. 55). The Tantras contain conflicting views on these three bhāvas. The Kālīvīlāsa-tantra says that men of divya type existed only in Satya-yuga and Tretāyuga, Vīra only in Tretā and Dwāpara and these two were non-existent in Kali and Pāsū-bhāva remained in Kali (VI. 10 and 21).

1764. Vide ‘Sakti and Sākta’ p. 235, Farquhar’s ‘Outlines of the religious Literature of India’ p. 203, Mahañcariṇa I. 204–219, श्रीचक- दुर्जान्ते सुभं वा यति वायुमार्गे। काव्याबित्वं वक्ष्यलिप्याज्ञा परवेरविविषे कुलविद्विषे सर्व सर्वभुगानं सर्वां गोष्ठे श्रवणन जननीयास्मपति। के स्वार्पविद्विषे स्वा। तु ते सामवी सुभं सुभा कुलविद्विषे कुलविद्विषे XI. 79, 84, 85. In the Mahañcariṇa (IV. 79–80), however, Sīva is made to say that the Kaulika-sādhana should be made openly and that what he said in other tantras about the concealment of Kaulikadharma not being blamable was not applicable when the Kali age became powerful.
Śrīcakra must have given rise to great obloquy and unpopularity for the Tāntrikas. Therefore, the Kūlārṇava\textsuperscript{1765} advises that cakrapūjā should be sub rosa. 'What happens at Śrīcakra, whether good or bad, should never be uttered (in public); this is the order (of God); one should never give out information about what happens at Cakrapūjā'. The 18th century Mahānirvāṇatantra, which is reformist in character, states that, since in the Kali age (in which people are weak and the influence of sinful age is very strong), for the last tattva (i.e. maithuna) one's own wife is alone to be the Śakti because in that case no fault can be found or some substitute like red sandalwood paste may be employed. In the author's youth whispers floated about that in some towns in Mahārāstrā cakrapūjā was practised, that even great Pandits thought that their learning was due to the favour of Devi, that they, though very orthodox in other respects, took once a year in Devipūjā a thimbleful of wine as prasāda. The learned Achyutarāya\textsuperscript{1766} Modak of Nasik composed at Nasik a work called 'Avaidikadhikrīti' (condemnation of non-vaidika practices) wherein he severely handled the cult of the five makāras.

Naturally common people, who could not appreciate or understand the abstruse and subtle philosophy of Śakti, Nāda, Bindu and so forth, seized with avidity upon the apparently easy path of worship of Śakti by the five makāras and the mantras, bijas, cakras and the like taught by the Tantras and it has been seen above (pp. 1673–76) to what depths some persons professing to be gurus, Śaktas and Tāntrikas descended in course of time.

The path of the Tantras was in its higher level one of Upāsanā or Bhakti, though it very often degenerated into magic and moral depravity. The deity worshipped viz. Paramēśvarī

\textsuperscript{1765} श्रीधरसंग्रहं महेश्वरि निमीचिं मद्वीरु काठी। स्त्रिरीिा केवला ज्ञेयं सवध्रुपविवाजिता। अथवां रचयिता कृष्णम माणस्यं। कथयतं तत्त्वविनिधं कृषिं एकरीयितिम। महानिवाल!। VI. 14–15; अथ means ‘in offering श्रीतल्ल’ (i.e. the 5th). The com. explains ‘कृषिं हक्कश्यादन्या’ Women that could be saktis were of three classes, स्त्रीवाय (one’s own wife), परस्त्रिवाय (wife of another) and सावली (a woman who is a वेयाय).\textsuperscript{1766} Vide for Achyutarāya Modak 'Taraporevala Commemoration volume' of the Deccan College Research Institute, pp. 214–220. The work was finished at Pañcaṭa in śaka 1736 Phālāguna bright half 10th (i.e. in 1815 A. D.).
presented three aspects to the *upāsaka*\(^{1767}\) (devotee) viz. gross (sthūla), subtle (sūksma) and para (highest). The first aspect is represented by the form of Devī with hands, feet and other limbs, which is fit for worship with the hands and the eyes of the devotee; the second aspect consists of mantras which are fit for apprehension with the organs of hearing and speech by those who have the good fortune to receive the mantras from a worthy guru. The third aspect (*para*) is one to be apprehended by the mind of the sidhākha and described as all-pervading consciousness and the like (in *Nityāsodāśikā* VI. 49–50).

Some modern writers have been somewhat unjust to the whole Tāntuṅik literature in labelling it all as black magic or as full of obscenities. The present writer is not one of those who sometimes hold that what is not understood is either false, absurd or non-existent. He is prepared to believe that the end and aim of a few of the higher minds among Tāntuṅikas and of some of the works on Tantra was the attainment of high spiritual powers by Yoga practices, the Realization of the Supreme Tattva (Principle) variously designated as *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva* or Devī, and Liberation (mokṣa). He is aware that many of these claim to be based on Vedic traditions, teachings and practices and have to further developed the conceptions underlying Vedic teachings and ritual and that even the magic rites contained in several Tāntuṅik works had their counterparts, though on a much smaller scale, in the Rgveda, the Atharvaveda, Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa and other Vedic works. The present author, though he has carefully studied many of the Tantras and the Yogasūtra of Patañjali with the bhāṣya and commentaries thereon, has to admit that he has had no mystic experience, but he is not prepared to deny that prophets, saints, poets and others might have mystic visions and experiences. Man’s psychic powers are vast.

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1767. अधाङ्ग्रोपास्यपः परमेश्वरांशीर्मण्डितो वल्लभुपोष्यस्यर्ग्याणि स्थूलं शृङ्खलस्य जयवसदाः प्रसिद्ध ।
तत्रायं कर्त्ताराब्यतयत्वः मन्नसमिद्विद्यता चुरुचिरितावस्यानां सत्यमप्राप्त्याय।
तत: प्राशितं वेद्विंद्र वाल्लभकार्यकाब्ध्यार्यामहामहेश्वरः
हिंदीम् मन्नसार्थानुसत्त्वा दुरुपपरता अववेदक्षिणः
वाल्लभप्राप्त्यायाय। ततौ वाल्लभकार्यकथानुसत्त्वा बलान्त्यायायायायः
वाल्लभप्राप्त्यायाय।

The words जित्यमालामली शब्दम् occur in निर्माणोदशिकः VI. 50 p. 213. निर्माया is ‘अय्योधिकाय ब्रह्मख्य तस्कसि—
स्याद्वपि’ सेवियम् on p. 25. The निर्माणोदशिका (I. 138–160) contains a finely worded description of the gross aspect of Devi beginning with the half verse ‘तत: प्राशितं वेद्विंद्र वाल्लभकार्यकाब्ध्यार्यामहेश्वरः.’
and unknown as propounded in Alexis Carrell's work 'Man the unknown' and in 'Invisible influence' by Dr. Alexander Cannon (15th Impression, Rider and Co., London, 1935). He knows that some of the Tantrik works made a distinction between the rules of ordinary social life and conventions (samājā-dharma) and the peculiar forms of Tantrik worship, in which, while it lasts, no distinction is made on the ground of caste or sex (vide notes 1711 and 1713). It may further be conceded that the Tantra works placed women on a footing of equality with men, gave them an exalted position and that they endeavoured to provide a common platform (as shown in n. 1704 above) for differing and wrangling sects of Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and others by putting forward Devi as the object of worship for all; but they had not much success as is shown by the facts that Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas still carried on their quarrels and that the Tantrik texts themselves fell into five classes, viz. Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, Saura and Gaṇapatya and that there are differing doctrines among the Tantrikas called Kādimata, Hādimata &c.

The matters that distinguish Tantrik works from other religious literature in Sanskrit are the promise of the attainment of miraculous powers, the Realization of the one Supreme Principle in a short time by means of the Tantrik sādhanā 'method or procedure' (vide Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' p. XIV), by their insistence on the worship of Devi with makārās alone as yielding the desired results (as in Mahā-nirvāṇa V. 24 ‘pañcaatattva-vihināyāṃ pujāyaṃ na phalod-

1768, Sir John Woodroffe remarks (in the Introduction to his 'Principles of Tantra' part 2, pp. XII-XIV) that the one topic that appears to differentiate Tantras from other religious works is the constituent parts of its ritual such as the mantras, bijas, mudrās, yantras, bhūtasuddhi and that it is mainly by these items rather than by anything else that the tantrik character of a work is established. Vide also 'the Śāktas' by E. A. Payne p. 137 for a similar view. Sir. John Woodroffe, while reviewing Payne's work (in JRAS for 1935 at p. 387), himself agreed that what distinguished the Śākta ritual is the mantra and magical sections and that part of it which deals with the secret ritual, that, while there is ordinarily no bhoga (enjoyment) where there is yoga, in the Śākta doctrine a man may have both yoga and bhoga and that this is a distinct and profound characteristic of that doctrine. Even the Buddhist Vajrayāna Tantras purport to aim at the attainment of bodhi (vide Guhyasamāja p. 154, Sādhanamāla I. p. 225 and II. p. 421) and ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 4 वे तु समा: समालय: सर्वसुकुस्मविजिता: I ते स्वासिन्द्र वा निधि ज्ञातं प्रसादः II.
bhavah') and on their peculiar ritual of mantras, bijas (syllables meaningless to ordinary men), nyāsas, mudrās, cakras, yantras and similar things for attaining their goal. The condemnation poured on Tantricism is principally due to their insistence on wine, meat and sexual unions as the best and the only means for the effective worship of Devi, their theory that by merely repeating some mantra or mantras over wine, meat and other tattvas, by offering them to Devi and by meditation on her, one may drink wine or eat meat, when in the same breath they say emphatically that partaking of wine and meat is sinful without this ritual. This antagonizes those who are not kaulas and who hold that this persistent teaching is very dangerous for the common run of men and savours of hypocrisy.

Some of the Tantras practically inculcated what appears to non-tāntrikas unbridled licence. The Kaulāvalī-nirṇaya (IV. 15 ff) asserts: 'The Sāktas have no higher means of happiness and liberation than the fifth tattva (i.e. maithuna); a sādhaka becomes siddha only by the (practice) of the fifth tattva. If he resorts only to the first (i.e. wine) he becomes only Bhairava, if only to the 2nd (meat) he becomes Brahma, by the third (fish) he becomes a mahābhairava, by the 4th (mudrā) he becomes foremost among sādhakas,1769 The same Tantra goes further and frankly says 'all women are fit for intercourse to a (Śākta) worshipper except the wives of his guru or of those Śāktas who have attained to the status of Vīra, that for those who have reached the stage of advaita there is no prohibition nor is anything enjoined. To the pure everything is pure, it is only the hankering that is blamable.' In this connection that work advances certain puerile and obscene arguments (in VIII. 223–225) about illicit or incestuous intercourse that cannot be set out here. That tantra does not stand alone in such statements. For example, the Kāltvilāsatantra (x. 20–21) allows adulterous intercourse to a 'Śākta' devotee pro-

1769. अथः समस्वधार्मः पञ्चतत्त्वविनिर्णयः। पञ्चामात्र परं नालित शास्त्राणं छल्ल-मोक्षाय। केवलीः पञ्चणर्निश्चि भवति साम्भवः। केवलनायप्यथेन साम्भवी भैरवो भवेऽत्॥ &c. कोतिलीविनिर्णयः IV. 15–16; सुधैरसुरसृजस्य रथवः सनातनो योधिवः। श्रेष्ठयं यात्रे यज्ञविनाशया च सवया अद्यतनान्तैः कुचिनि गृहोष्ठि नैव निबिद्धि। 'अत एव यज्ञ यथेष्ठ परस्माय कृतस्य भवेऽत्॥ तदा स्नेहान्त्यते नास्यथा दूषण रुपस्य कृतिः॥' कोतिलीविनिर्णयः VIII. 221–222, 226; पवित्रं सकां जैव वसना कृतस्य भवेऽत्। ibid. XVII. 170. तत्त्वित्त: परस्मार्थं यत्वे मेघुमायकमेऽत्। न विद्वते पातनं कार्यं इते च महार्थं भवेऽत्। यदि न यज्ञस्य बिन्दुः परनार्थं परवते। सांवित्तिक्यं भुवनेऽविदर्भं भूमिपतत्त्वं॥ कात्यत्तित्तास्यम् X. 20–21.
vided it is not carried to the last stage of emission and aver
that, if he observes the condition in the proviso, he would
become the master of supernatural powers in spite of adultery.
It should be noted that the author of this work has unabashed
hardihood to make Śiva tell this to Pārvati. About wine that
work remarks ‘just as drinking of soma is prescribed for
brahmanas is solemn Vedic sacrifices, similarly wine should be
drunk at proper times (or according to the practice of Kaulas),
since it confers enjoyment as well as mokṣa; drinking wine is
blamable in the case of those who hanker after benefits or who
are egoistic; but in the case of those that are free from egoism
there is neither prohibition (of drinking) nor the enjoining of
it. One who is free from the fetters of making distinctions
should practise drinking wine for the purpose of remembering
the meaning of the mantras and for making his mind fixed (on
worship) but he who resorts to wine, and other tattvas merely
for pleasure is sinful.’ The teachings of works like the Kaula-
varti-nīrṇaya about drinking wine and sexual intercourse with
all sorts of women as the highest means of Śakti worship by
persons professing to be advaitins led to great depravity and sexual
immorality and orgies as indicated by the criticism in medi-
eval works cited above (pp. 1073–76) that regarded Tāntrik teach-
ings as execrable, though some medieval Hindu works admitted
into religious practices nyāsa, mudrā, yantra and the like, which
were deemed to be innocuous and which would be described in
this work later on. The mere intention of doing good if certain
conditions were fulfilled is not enough excuse, when it is most
likely that the means proposed for attaining a high spiritual
level and for liberation would have the opposite effect on most
people. Taking all things into consideration, the present
author is constrained to observe that medieval and recent
writers who severely criticized Tāntrik works were on the whole
largely justified in their condemnation of Tāntrik practices as
enunciated in many Tāntrik works and of the works themselves.
For one man that attained super-normal powers, high spiritual
level and great mystic experience there must have been hundreds
of hypocrites, charlatans, and licentious men who deluded trustful
and ignorant men and particularly women.

1770. यथा क्रतुः विमाणों संस्थापनं विचारयेत्। महापाणी तथा कार्यं समयं भोगावसरं नु
विलायत-वनस्पतिः दृष्टिसमेत विद्यार्थीं। लिन्दरकारिण्यं जीवं न लिखितं न वा विद्येः॥ चौतालिणी॥
VIII. 90–91: मन्त्रध्वनिमं पुरुषा तनसं वैयक्तिके। मेधापालिनिर्गुणो महापारं श्रीमान
प्रेमेत। संतेत यं: हस्तायं ज्ञानिनि स पायकी॥ ibid. VIII. 74.
Only a few Purāṇas like the Devipurāṇa, the Kālikā, the Devimāhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya provide for the employment of some of the condemned makāras (madya, māṁsa, matsya) in the worship of the Great Goddess. From about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Purāṇas began to incorporate the special ceremonial characteristics of the Śāktas and Tāntrikas. Aparākṣa quotes a passage 1771 from the Devipurāṇa wherein the qualifications of a Sthāpaka (one who performs Devapratishṭhā) are set out, viz. he would be the best Sthāpaka for establishing images of Devi and the Mātrīs, who knows the vāma (left or opposite) and the daksīṇa (right) path of worship, who has thoroughly mastered the veda relating to the Mātrīs (the Mother Goddesses), who is clever in the interpretation of Pañcarātra works and is proficient in the Tantras of the Mātrīs &c. The Kālikā-purāṇa devotes many chapters (54 ff) to the description of mantras, kavacas, mudrās, nyāsas &c. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa also and Agni 1772 372.34 expressly say that the worship of gods and of Viṣṇu also is either vaḍīki, tāntrikī or miśrī, the first and third being for the three higher varṇas and the tāntrikī for śūdras. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa refers to the worship of Keśava laid down in the Tantras for him who desires to cast out the knot (bondage or grief) of the heart. It (Bhāgavata) also mentions 1773 Vaidīki and Tāntrikī dikṣā (in XI. 11. 37) and refers to the Tāntrik method of the aṅgas, upāṅgas, āyudhas and decorations in the worship of the Lord of Lakṣmī.1774 Some of the Purāṇas and medieval nibandhas, however, fully utilized what Tantras had to say about mantras, japa, nyāsa, maṇḍala, cakra, yantra and

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1771. यद्विष वेदवराणे—वामक्रिया रूप वामोपवराणसः। स भवेकावशाकः
पश्चो वेदिनां वामता(कुक्ता) स च। पारस्त्रायोऽक्षुसो मातुरवचनिशाः। &c अप्रादिः
p. 16, who then quotes Matsya 265. 1–5 for the qualifications of sthāpaka in which there is no reference to vām, दक्षिण or तन्त्र. This and the quotations from the Bhāgavata indicate that the Matsya was composed some centuries before the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and Bhāgavatapurāṇa.

1772. यद्विषकालशिककाविषुः विनास्को विनासोऽविनास विनासः। त्रयोगाविनिवेशयोऽविनिवेशया विनिवेशया नवनिवेशयात्। अविषे 372. 34.

1773. य आशु हृदयमन्यितिर्निर्जिता। परास्त्रा। विनिवेशयोऽविनास्को विनासोऽविनासोऽविनासोऽविनास
विनास कालकालानां कालस्थितिः। विनिवेशयोऽविनास्को विनासोऽविनासोऽविनासोऽविनासोऽविनास।
भागवत XI. 3 47 and 49. Here विनिवेशयथa refers to the विनिवेश prescribed in such कालकालs works as महादेवयत्रित्र (V. 93–105) and taken over in some medieval works like the पुराणम्भा pp. 129–133 and व्यास also is mentioned as a means of protection against evil.

1774. ताविष्नवः परिचारां केसलय भ्रातः। पते।। अविष्कारायुपकृतां कल्पमणि
प्रचार हि। भागवत XII. 11. 2.
similar matters. This will be illustrated later by some examples. Even for such a simple and common topic as the 16 upacāras of worship, the Varṣakriyā-kaumudi (p. 156) and Ekādaś-tattvā (p. 59) quote the Prapaññasāra-tantra (VI. 41-42).

The Purāṇas and some smṛtis prescribe short mantras of five, six, eight, twelve, thirteen and more syllables as very efficacious for securing all objects. A few of them are set out in the note 1775 below. Medhātithi or Manu says that the word mantra primarily means a part of the Veda comprising Rgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda, treated as such by those who have studied the Veda, and that expressions like “Agnaye svāha” 1776 employed in rites like Vaiśvadeva are called mantras in a secondary sense by way of praise. The vedic conception was that a mantra has great potency and that it must be correctly repeated to secure the desired result, that a mantra defective as to accent or as to a letter or wrongly applied did not convey the meaning intended and that becoming a thunderbolt in the form of a word or words it destroys 1777 the yajamāna. Vedic mantras are

1775. Vide शास्त्रालिक्त I. 73 ff for references to mantras of five or more letters. A pañcākṣara mantra is नमः जिवाय (in लिङ्गपुराण I. 85); the same becomes a mantra of six letters when ‘om’ is prefixed. Other mantras of six letters are: ओ नमो विष्णुवे (in बुद्धहातितस्मिन VI. 213), ओ नमो हरय (in हेमादी on तत्त vol. I. p. 227), ओरामनस्तत्तमयित (vide note 219 above) and two more on p. 434 under ‘Saḍaksaramantra’; ‘Khakholkāya namah’ is a saḍaksara mantra of Āditya quoted from भविष्यपुराण in हेमादी (तत्त II. p. 521) and in Kalpataru on vrata p. 9 and 199 (in the latter it is called मुद्रमन्त्र under निम्बशाप्तामि, the description of which is taken from Bhaviyā, Brāhma- parva, chap. 215 and 216); mantras of eight letters are: ओ नमो नारायण (in नारदपुराण I. 16. 38-39, ब्रह्मपुराण 60. 24, वराहपु. 120. 7), ओ नमो वासुदेवे (in वैष्णवसमांतःहुः IV. 12, नरसिंहपु. 63. 6, q. by अपराधक, मन्त्रपु. 102. 4 q. by स्वर्णिम I. p. 182 as मूढमन्त्र); a mantra of twelve letters is ओ नमो भगवते वासुदेवे (in नारदपु. I. 16. 38-39, नरसिंहपु. 7. 43); for a mantra of 13 letters about राम, vide note 219 above); mantras of 16 letters are गोविष्णुवत्तमन्त्रमये शरणप्रस्वः (in नारदपु. II. 59. 44) and हृदी गौरी बध्विद्वितेय गोविष्णुव फुद्र साहा (in शारदांत IX. 99).

1776. मन्त्रवाणिन्द्र मेवतीथेयसाध्वाय लक्षाकातास्त्रोग्रं लक्षेक्षेत्रायुक्तिविधिः।

न ह्येऽन्त्र श्रवणेष्व वर्णकातेऽधुतो श्रवणेष्व मन्त्रान्तर्भवस्यते।

न तु श्रवणखपितानां मन्त्रायुक्तोऽहस्तास्त्रोग्रं कालध्वनिन्त्येन स्मारकोऽन्तर्भवस्यते।

श्वराहरस्यां वध्विद्वितेयामनं।

मेधालिङ्गम् on नर III. 121 (in Dr. Jha's edition).

1777. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 347 and note 840, where verse 52 from the शिनियासिक्त is quoted and the story of the result of wrong accentuation of the word ‘indraśatrūḥ’ is briefly set out from Tai. S. II. 4. 12 1 and Sat. Br. I. 6. 3. 8-16.
of four classes viz. ṛk (which is metrical), yajus (which has no restriction as to metre but which must be a sentence), a sāman (which is sung) and nigada (i.e. praśa, meaning words that are addressed by one person to another calling upon the latter to do a certain act, e.g. the words 'srucaḥ samṛddhi, proṣanir-āsādaya'. Nigadas are yajus in form but are distinguished from yajus by the fact that the former are loudly uttered, while a yajus is ordinarily recited in a low voice. The most sacred mantra is the Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10 'tat-savitur' &c). The Atharvaveda (XIX. 71. 1) calls it Vedamātā (the mother of the Veda). The Brahadāranyakopaniṣad (V. 14) contains a grand eulogy of the Gāyatrī. Om is a very sacred syllable, a symbol of brahma and may be called in the language of the Tantras a bija. There are only a few syllables such as om, phat, vasāt in the Vedic literature that on the face of them have no meaning but are like bija mantras in the Tantra sense. There is a Bijajñāghaṭṭa (a dictionary of bija mantras) printed in 'Ṭāṇṭrika texts' Vol. I. pp. 28-29 (where monosyllabic bijas such as Hrim, Śrim, Krim, Hum, phat, are set out and described in symbolic words indicated in note 1708 above. It is stated about a dozen times in the Altareya Brāhmaṇa viz. it is the perfection of sacrifice when it is rūpasamṛddha (perfect as to its form) i.e. when the ṛk verse pointedly refers to the sacrificial act that is being performed. The Nirukta (I. 15-16) starts a lengthy discussion on Kautsa's view that mantras have no sense (or are purposeless). There is a long discussion in the Pūrvamāṁśastra (I. 2. 31 ff) on the same lines as in the Nirukta. Jaimini states that there is no difference in the meanings of words employed in the Veda and those employed by people and Śabara adds in his bhāṣya (on P. M. S. I. 2. 32) that mantras are recited in sacrifices only for the purpose of conveying or manifesting the meaning. It is difficult to

1778. Vide Jai. II. 1. 35-45 and H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 983-984 and note 2232 for further details about these.

1779. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 302-304 for the meaning and eulogies of Gāyatrī in various Sanskrit works and pp. 301-302 for the eulogy of 'om', which is called 'praṇava'.

1780. एनेच वजरस समुच्छ यद्वा प्रकार सिद्धार्थ कियम्याद्विविधतीति ए. ला. III. (अभाव), 5 (श्रेण).

1781. The Nirukta (I 16) quotes this Brāhmaṇa passage but reads जयक्रियाधिबिन्दिति in its discussion on the question whether Vedic mantras are significant. The words of the Ait. Br. 'yat karma kriyamāṇam gṛabbhavadāti'

(Continued on next page)
define what a vedic mantra is and it is generally understood, as said by Śābara, that passages or verses are mantras that are recognised as such by the learned. The whole Veda is divided into five categories viz. Vidhi (hortatory passages as in ‘Agnihotram juhuyāt’), mantras, nāmadhya (names such as Udbhid in ‘Udbhida yajeta’ or ‘Viśvajit’ as in ‘Viśvajitī yajeta’), nīsēlha (prohibition as in ‘nānrtam vadet’) and arthavāda (explanatory or laudatory passages as in ‘Vāyu is a deity that is swiftest’). The Nirukta (I. 20) embodies the ancient view that the sages had an intuitive perception of Dharma and they transmitted the mantras by oral instruction to those that came after them and that had no intuitive perception of Dharma. The mantras and stotras were supposed even in the Rg. to induce the gods to come to the sacrifices and to bestow on those who recited them protection, valiant sons, cattle, wealth, victory and all sorts of things (e.g. vide Rg. I. 102. 1-5, II. 24. 15-16, II, 25. 2, III. 31. 14, IX. 20. 7, IX. 72. 9, X. 78. 8, X. 105. 1). It has been shown above p. 920 (in notes 4167-4168) how the Purāṇas prescribed their own mantras for many religious acts but those mantras also are significant and not meaningless.

Mantras are the very heart and core of Tantrāṣṭra so much so that the śāstra is often spoken of as mantrasāṣṭra. The theory of Tāntrik writings such as the Prapañcasāra and Šāradātilaka about mantras may be briefly stated as follows: In the human body there are ten nādis, the three principal being Idā (on the left side from the left testicle to the left nostril), Suṣumna (in the middle of the body in the spinal chord) and Pingalā (on the right side from the right testicle to the right nostril). The Kuṇḍalini lies asleep coiled like a snake in the Mūlādhāra cakra. It is a form of the śabda-brahma. The Devī (or Šakti) assumes the form of Kuṇḍalini, all gods reside in Devī and all mantras are Her forms (Šāradātilaka I. 55-57). It has already been stated how from contact with light (Jyotiḥ) Šakti becomes conscious and has a desire to create, then it solidifies and appears as a bindu. Through the instrumentality

(Continued from last page)
of Kāla (Time) bindu divides itself into three, gross (i.e. bija), subtle (suksma i.e. nāda which is bijabindu) and para (i.e. bindu which is kāryabindu). This last is of the nature of an unmanifest sound and is called sabdabrahma by the sages (Śrādātilaka I. 11-12, Prapañcasāra I. 41 ff). Sabdabrahma exists in all things as consciousness; it exists in the bodies of living human beings in the form of Kundalinī and then appears as letters in prose, poetry and so forth, being carried by Vāyu (air) to the throat, palate, teeth &c. The sounds thus produced are called aksaras and when written they are spoken of as varnas (letters of the alphabet, mātrkā, which are 50 from a to kṣṇa). The impulse to sound production arising in mūlādhāra-cakra is called ‘parā’ (vāk), it is called pāśyanti when it reaches ‘svādhiṣṭhāna-cakra, madhyamā in the heart and vaikhari in the mouth. Both aksara and varna are Kundalinī made articulate in speech and visible in writing. All the mantras (some say they are nine crores) are evolved from the varnas of the alphabet that are deemed (by Tāntrikas) to be living conscious sound powers. It is the bija mantras like hrim, śrim, krim that make visible the form of the Devatā (Mahāśivāna V. 18-19). It is wrong to suppose that mantras are mere letters or words or language. They assume different forms, such as bija-mantras, kavaca, hrdaya &c. The bijamantras like Hrim (representing Tribhuvanesvari or Māya), Śrim (representing Lakṣmī), Krim (representing Kali) cannot possibly be called language, since they convey no meaning to ordinary men. They are the Devatā (Iṣṭadevatā of the

1782a. Ṣvetṣi is described in śāradāśī Ṛeti I. 56-57 as śvadāyakṣarasvādī and pānākṣarasvādī.

sādhnaka, the worshipper) imparted to the sādhnaka by the qualified guru at the time of dikṣā (initiation). They are not efficacious if merely learnt by reading books. A mantra according to Tantrik works is the sound body of Śakti charged with the vibrations of the spiritual personality of the original Tāntrika seer of the mantra and endowed with a perpetual store of power by the Tantrik seer. What is needed to awaken Power in the disciple and to reap the full effect of the mantra is the touch of the guru, the imagination and concentrated will power of the sādhnaka. The deity willed that certain letters uttered by the seer should as sound or sounds convey such and such a meaning and should have a certain potency. The sounds represented by the letters are forms of Śivaśakti i.e. Śabda brahma. From this last the whole world proceeds in the form of sounds (śabda) and the objects (artha) which sounds or words denote. The Devatā, the mantra and the guru are the essentials of sādhanā (procedure that leads on to Siddhi, laid down in Tantrik works); the disciple has to revolve in his mind that the three are non-different. Mantra is not the same thing as a prayer. For a prayer a person may employ any words that he may choose, but in the case of a mantra definite letters are considered necessary, which are deemed to be the forms in which Śakti manifests Herself to the worshipper. A mantra may be in the form of words that have an obvious meaning or in the form of letters arranged in a particular order and that have no meaning to the uninitiated. It is recognised in some of the works on this sāstra that thought has creative power, that each person is Śiva, and can attain to higher and higher spiritual levels depending upon his ability to realise himself as Śiva. Thoughts are real, kind thoughts will do good to ourselves and to those around us, evil thoughts and wishes of others may cause us suffering.

Tantrik works have their own mantras and they also employ Vedic mantras. For example, the mantra ‘Jātavedase sunavāma’ (Rg. I, 99, 1), though addressed to Agni, is employed in later works for invoking Durgā, the mantra ‘Tryambakam yajāmaha’ (Rg. VII, 59, 12) is addressed to Rudra, but is called Mrtyunjaya-mana or mṛtasanājivini mantra in Tāntrik works and is prescribed for purifying the mind (cīltaśūndili) in the Mahānirvāna (VIII, 243). Similarly, the Gāyatri mantra (Rg. III, 62, 10) is employed by the Tāntrikas. Vide Śāradātilaka XXI, 1–8 and 16 (latter for dhyāna of Gāyatri) and Prapañcasāra, which
devotes the whole chapter 30 to the explanation of om, the vyāhṛtis and the words of the Gāyatri and Gāyatri-sādhana). The Mahānirvāna prescribes the performance of Vaidikī sandhyā to be followed by the Tāntrikī sandhyā. The Tāntrikī Gāyatri is 'Ādyāyai vidmahe Paramesvaryaḥ dhimahi ṭan-nāḥ Kāli praco-
dayātāḥ' (Mahānirvāna V. 62–63). Even Śūdra Tāntrikās were
to recite this last, while the three higher classes were to repeat
the vedic Gāyatri employing om, śrīṁ and aṁ before it respec-
tively. The importance of guru, mantra and devatā is emphati-
cally brought out in the following verse 'the person, who considers
guru as a mere mortal, a mantra as mere letters and images (of
deities) as mere stones falls into Hell.' The Rudrayāmala
says 'If Śiva is angered, Guru can save (the pupil), but if Guru
is angered, no one can save (the pupil).

The Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Jñānārṇavatantra, the Śāradā-
tilaka and almost all Tāntrika works say that mantras possess
wonderful and inconceivable powers, that a follower of
Tāntra secures all powers by following the practices of the
school of his guru traditionally handed down and by faith, that
mantras are the means of securing the fruits desired, that the
authoritativeness of Tantrasāstra depends mainly on the faith
of the followers of the sāstra; that the sādhaka should come to
feel that guru, mantra, the deity, his own soul, mind and life-
breaths are all one and then he will possess the knowledge of the
Highest Self. Some of the Tāntrik works contain most exag-
gerated praises of mantras, particularly the śrīvidyāmantra of
sixteen letters; e.g. Jñānārṇava says 'Even crores of Vājapeyas
and thousands of Āsvamedhas are not equal (in merit) to even
the utterance of Śrīvidyā and also gifts of crores of Kapilā
cows cannot be compared to one utterance of Śrīvidyā.'
Numberless mantras are contained in the Tantras made from different arrangements of the constituent parts of a mantra. The Mahānirvāṇa first gives a mantra of ten syllables as noted below and then by different arrangements of the letters and by addition of certain other syllables and words like ‘Kalike’ it forms twelve mantras, remarks that there are crores of mantras and that the mantras contained in all Tantras are all mantras of the Great Devi.

The word mantra is explained as derived from ‘man’ to think and ‘trai’ or ‘tra’. Vāska’s Nirukta (VII, 12) derives it simply from ‘man’. The Kulārnava says ‘mantra’ is so called since it saves from all dangers, as the sādhaka thereby is led to ponder over God of immeasurable refugefulness that is the only principle in the world. A similar derivation is given by Rāmapūrva-tāpanīya Upanisad, by the Prapañcāsāra and other Tantras.

Numerous varieties of mantras called Kavaca, Ṣrīdaya, Upābdāya, Netra, Astra, Raksā and so forth are specified in the Tantrik texts, one or two of which may be illustrated in the note below and the rest are passed over for reasons of space.
The Śāradātilaka divides mantras into male, female and neuter; masculine mantras end in ‘hum’ and ‘phat’, female mantras in ‘svāhā’ and neuter mantras end with ‘namaḥ’. This is stretched further so as to apply to letters viz. the vowels ర, ఱ, ల, ళ are said to be neither and the rest are said to be not neuter but only short and long (Śāradātilaka, VI. 3 and Rāghavabhaṭṭa thereon). Śāradātilaka (from chap. VII to XXIII) is devoted to mantras of Sarasvati, Laksṇī, Bhuvaneśvari, Tvāritā and others, Durgā,¹⁷⁸⁹ Tripūrā, Gaṇapati, Candramas. Many of the mantras are to be repeated thousands of times or lakhs of times in order to secure full effect. For example, in X. 105–107 the Śāradātilaka prescribes that a certain mantra should be repeated five lakhs of times and then fifty thousand āhūtis of ghee should be made and worship of the Devī with the procedure prescribed should be performed. The worshipper then secures whatever he may desire and can make kings sub-servient to his will. Another noticeable feature is that the mantras are treated like the mantras of the Veda and mention is made in the manner of the Anukramaṇas of the sage, the metre, the deity and the viniyoga (or purpose for which it is to be used or employed). Though the Śāradātilaka is a sober work free from the sexual practices of Vāmamārga, still it does contain mantras for magical purposes such as bringing women under control (IX. 103–104, X. 76),¹⁷⁸⁰ bringing about the paralyzing or the death of an enemy by mantras (XI. 60–124, XXI. 95 XXII. 1 ff).

The Buddhist Tantras did not lag behind the Hindu Tantras in the matter of the potency of mantras. The Śādhanaṃāla¹⁷⁹¹

¹⁷⁸⁹. The దుం దుం is ‘ఒ కుర్రే నా:’ (భారతీ XI. 1–2) and then the work proceeds కుర్రిసైంతండు గాయంది దేశితం మనె:। దుంగా సమిషితం దాండిడిరి–
పండారింగా (XI. 3); పండారింగారింగా refers to the విత్తింగా: about the monosyllabic mantra ‘śrīm’ these are set out as follows; పండారింగాంగా,
పండారింగాం మనె: సమిషితం శ్రావాం: VIII. 2–3.

¹⁷⁹⁰. ప్రుతమంగా జయమంగా సిషింంంగా నిసింగాం పండారింగాం నారిమాఛరేశప్రామాణికమాం.
శ్రావాం: IX. 103–104; ప్రామాణికమాం సాధనముల శ్రావాంశింగాం. యు విభిన్న శిష్య రాత్రి సా సరాయాతిత తామామాం.
ibid. X. 76. ప్రుతమంగా would be ప్రుతమంగా కి.

¹⁷⁹¹. క్రియనుగాంశమాం మన్యాంగాం సిషింంంగా వదాయింగా. సాధనముల p. 575; అం అం
మూ మూ మూ మూ: అంగా మాంగాం ఉన్న ఉన్న ఉన్న ఉన్న ఉన్న ఉన్న: లింగా: ibid. p. 270; పండారింగా పండారింగా పండారింగా పండారింగా.
ibid. p. 62, అంచి తిరంగా సిషింగా సిషింగా సిషింగా సిషింగా సిషింగా.
ibid. p. 87; the (Continued on next page)
asserts that there is nothing that cannot be accomplished by mantras if proper procedure is followed. For example, it says that a certain mantra that is a prince among mantras confers Buddhahood, what need is there to say about other Siddhis, that by another mantra even Buddhahood which is extremely difficult to attain is like a jujube fruit placed on the palm of the hand and that a certain mantra (of unmeaning words) if repeated five times at three periods in the day viz. the morning, noon and evening, makes even a fool (lit. an ass) master of three hundred works. The Buddhist Tantras also prescribe repetition of mantras for a lakh1792 of times (vide Sādhanamālā, vol I, No. 165

(Continued from last page)

Sukhāvatīkṣaṇa chap. 21 (B.I. series ed. by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, 1952) contains several Dhāraṇīs (Talismanic sentences), one of which may be cited here (p. 267) ‘अथ सुख शोभाः सति ... इति धारणीमन्त्रवानि अपने स्त्रे।... तथाया। जब तद्देव तद्देव तद्देव तद्देव अद्वातिते तद्देव ... इत्यादि निधित्ति ... तद्यथावति साहा।’

1792. अत मणिनारे हूँ। तज्जगेपनारां अद्वत मणिनारे हूँ। यद्यमति तस्वेव दुःधार! बिना मणिवत्करणोपाध्यायेन केवल आयामवेगिण सिध्धिवति सबः कार्यं च साधयति। साधनालया

vol. I. p. 221. आणि here means Goddess Tārā. The most famous mantra among Buddhists is 'Om Manipadme hūm' where 'manipadme' is vocative (and probably refers to Tārā deity, who has a jewel lotus). Vide Dr. F. W. Thomas in JRAS for 1906 p. 464. It is often rendered as 'Hail, the jewel lotus'. While these pages were passing through the press the present author received a work called 'Foundations of Tibetan mysticism' according to the Esoteric Teachings of the Great Mantra 'Om Mani Padme Hūm' by Lama Anagarika Govinda (pub. by Rider and Co, London, 1959). It is impossible to deal with this work in this note. He states that the Mantra 'Om' &c. is dedicated to Avalokiteśvara (a fine photographic plate of whom occurs as the Frontispiece). None who is not a confirmed Tibetan Buddhist scholar or monk will accept his interpretations of the words of the mantra. On p. 27 he states that the mantra is pronounced in Tibet as 'Om Mani Peme Hūm' and that the complete formula is 'Om... Hūm, Hṛṣiḥ' (p. 230); on pp. 84 ff. he scouts the idea that tāntrism is a Hinduistic reaction taken over by later Buddhist schools. He offers different esoteric meanings of the words of the mantra, e.g. on p. 130 he says 'om is the ascent towards universality, Hūm is the descent of the states of universality into the depth of the human heart'; on p. 131 'Om is the infinite, but Hūm is the infinite in the finite, the eternal in the temporal' &c.; on p. 230 'In the Om, we experience the Dharmakāya and the mystery of the universal body, in ‘mani’ the Sambhogakāya, in the Padma we experience the Nirmānakāya, in the Hūm we experience the Vojrakāya as synthesis of the transcendental body of the three mysteries; in the Hṛṣiḥ, we dedicate the totality of our transformed personality to the service of Amitābha; on p. 256 'thus Om... Hūm embodies the happy tidings of liberation, of the love towards all living beings and of the way that leads to final realization.' The present author is constrained to say that by similar arbitrary interpretations the words of any mantra may be made to yield similar senses.
p. 336 and No. 108, p. 221). Some of the mantras embody the doctrines of Mahāyāna with the addition of syllables like om, phat, svāhā (such as 'om śūnyatā-śūnāvajravabhāvatmakoham' in Sādhanamālā vol I, p. 62). The Prapañcasāra, which is ascribed to the great advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya and on which Padmapāda is said to have written a commentary (both published by A. Avalon in Tāntik Texts, vol. XVIII–XIX, 1935), contains a mantra called Trailokya-mohana for the purpose of the six cruel magic rites and (in 34. 33) describes a yantra (diagram) by worship of which a sādhaka can make a woman smitten with passion for him and draw her to him. This, among other matters such as ungrammatical forms, raises grave doubts as to whether the work was really composed by the first Śaṅkarācārya. It may, however, be stated that the learned Rāghavabhaṭṭa in many places in his commentary on the Śāradātīlaka (such as I. 7, 8, 12) quotes the Prapañcasāra (I. 42, 44) as the great ācārya's work and several later writers do the same. It has to be borne in mind, however, that about 400 works are ascribed to the great advaita Ācārya and that Rāghavabhaṭṭa was separated by at least seven centuries from the great Ācārya and his ascription therefore cannot be accepted with implicit faith without more evidence.

Several Purāṇas are affected by the theory about the power of mantras of the Tāntrika type. The Garuḍa-purāṇa (I. chap. 7 and 10) employs many monosyllabic unmeaning mantras like hrām, kṣaum, hrīm, hum, huḥ, śrīm, hrīm and says (I. 23) that 'om Khakholkāya Sūryamūrtaye namah' is the mūlamantra of the Sun and this mantra is employed for sun-worship in an early digest like the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata (p. 9 note). The Bhavisya-purāṇa (Brāhmaṇa 215 4) gives 'Khakholkāya namah' as the mūlamantra in Sun worship. The Bhavisya (Brāhma. 29. 9-15) provides that 'gam svāhā' is the mūlamantra of Ganapati worship, cites the mantras for hrdaya, śikhā, kavaca &c. and a Gāyatri suited to Ganapati.1791 Garuḍa I. 38 contains a long prose mantra of Cāmundā. The Agni-

1793. मारणार्थात्मान्यभक्तिः कारणकालिक: । भजेदं: सर्वदेवैर्मन्म चैत्यमोहनस्म ॥

1794. म साक्षात्मुदयत्तिय ग्यात्सन समविधिः । मा नमो हथथ्य वेष्य गी सिद्धं परिरित्तिः

[Text continues...]

H. D. 139
purâna also contains many mantras of the Tântrik type. Chap. 121 verses 15–17 provide\(^{1795}\) for a mantra whereby enemies are brought under control (as noted below) and verses 17–19 speak of a mantra for paralysing (stambhana) of an enemy. Chap. 133–135 of the Agni contain several mantras of the Tântrik type. Chapter 307 contains several mantras of bringing under control the three worlds.

A mantra called Mahâśvetâ is spoken of in the Bhavisya-purâna which is mentioned in the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata (p. 9) and in Ekādaśitattva p. 40 and it is 'hrâm hrîm saḥ' and the japa of that mantra on Sunday with fast is said to yield what one desires.\(^{1796}\)

The later medieval digests on Dharmaśâstra adopt the Prânapratishthâ-mantra evolved by the Śâradâtilaka (XXIII, 71–76). The Devapratishthâ tattva\(^{1797}\) (pp. 506–507) quotes these verses from Śâradâtilaka, sets out the mantra and explains the verses at length. The Divyatattva also (pp. 609–610) does the same. The Vyavahâramayûkha (p. 86) sets out the same mantra for the consecration of the image of Dharma in the ordeal of Dharma without expressly naming the Śâradâtilaka. The Nirnayasindhu (pp. 349–350) has an elaborate rite of the Prânapratishthâ of images full of Tântrik elements like the words vasat, hrîm, and phat and employs the same procedure as the one prescribed by the Śâradâtilaka without expressly mentioning the latter. The Śâradâtilaka appears to follow earlier works like the Jayâkhyasamhitâ (Pañala XX) and Prapañcasâra-tantra (35. 1–9 ff).

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1795. पाणिवे चाहेह्वा कारे मरे नाम च विषु च || हृदं नृते पाणिवे विषु हों विषु विशेषतयसू। गोराचनाकुलुमन जूतं वले मरे धृतुम || श्रवण पदमालित मन्मेहाण्यन निषिद्धम ||
अंश: 121, 15–17.

1796. उपवासं च ये कुरुशिश्वरसं दिनं तथा। उपवासं च महाबलेशं ते तपस्यं वशे
विमलम || महाबलेश्वरसं यस्यम्। देवतादेवताः कौशल्यम् || महाबलेश्वरसं यस्यम् ||
सैंस्करश्रावणन इतिने। परं. परं. परं. परं. परं. परं. परं. परं. परं. परं.
The verse उपवासं च is quoted by हें. on नर vol. II. part 2 p. 520.

1797. तेनार्थां महात्। अर्हते कौं रं रं रं हं सं हं हं हं || असुद्ध भागे इति भागे ||
असुद्ध जीव इति स्वयम्। असुद्ध बालकसंर्थ्यं || असुद्ध भागे इति भागे ||
बालक इति भागे || बालक इति भागे ||
देवपाठवत्तल भागे ||
The verse तेनार्थां महात् refers to the name of the divinity whose image is to be established. If it is a Goddess then the words असुद्ध to अर्हते are to be substituted. The तेनार्थां महात् (XIII, 62–68) sets out the मानण्डिनिपादिक्यम of 40 letters from अर्हते to स्राव in the technical language of Tântrik works.
Reasons of space preclude further illustrations of the use of Tantrik mantras by medieval digests on Dharmaśāstra. One matter of contrast between Vedic mantras and some Tantrik mantras may be noticed. A Vedic mantra, according to Jaimini (I 2, 32), was significant, but the Tantras go so far as to teach the repetition of mantras that have no meaning or that contain the letters of the mantra in reversed form. For example, the Kālviśaṭaṭa (XXII, 21) says that the reverse of the three letters of the mantra ‘om Durge’, as ‘rgedu om’ yields all desires (‘rgedu om tryaksaram mantraṃ sarvakāmaphalapradam’). The Sad-dharmapūndarika1798 (a standard work of Mahāyāna Buddhism) chap. 21 (text edited by Kern and Bunyiu Nanjiu, 1912 and translated in S. B. E. vol. XXI. pp. 370–375) contains spells (called Dhāranipadāni). It should not be supposed that spells were peculiar to Hindus or Buddhists. Many ancient peoples believed that words and letters have magic power and that belief led on to another belief that it did not matter even if the letters and words had no sense. E. J. Thomas in ‘History of Buddhist thought’ (reprint of 1953) states that spells similar to Hindu and Buddhist types exist in old English, Old High German and Keltic (p. 186).

The repetition of mantras, Vedic as well as Tantrik, is called ‘Puraścaraṇa’1799 (which literally means ‘performing or carrying out before’). The Mahānirvāṇa (VII, 76–85) sets out various modes of puraścaraṇa (brief as well as elaborate). One way is to bring together five tattvas on the 14th tithi of a dark fortnight or on a Tuesday or Saturday, then the Devi is to be worshipped and the worshipper is to repeat ten thousand times with single-mindedness the mantra in mahānīśā (midnight), then he is to feed persons devoted to brahmaṇ and becomes one who has carried out puraścaraṇa. Another way is that he should repeat every day one thousand times the mantra beginning on a Tuesday up to (including) the next Tuesday, so that by repeating the mantra in all eight thousand times on eight days,

1798. A very brief spell from the sadāmṛta of the mahābhadraka may be set out here by way of sample: अत्य विषयते ते गोपाच गोपाविदु ... सेवा। p. 372 of SBE vol. XXI which is quoted above in note 1791. All the words excluding सेवा are in the vocative. ते, for तेषः, ज्ञेते for ज्ञेते.

1799. Puraścaraṇa of a mantra has several constituent elements viz. dhyāna (meditation on the form of the deity to be worshipped), worship, japa of the mantra, homa, tarpana, abhiṣeka and feeding brāhmaṇas. In a brief puraścaraṇa the first three alone are included. Tarpana means satiating with water the deity and the pīṭras.
he will be deemed to have performed purāscaraṇa. Sometimes, it is prescribed\(^\text{1800}\) that a mantra such as ‘Śivāya namaḥ’ (this is five-lettered mantra) or ‘Om Śivāya namaḥ’ (a sadakṣara mantra) should be repeated 24 lakhs of times and the sādhaka should offer into Agni twenty-four thousand āhūtis of pīyasa. Then the mantra becomes perfect and confers on the sādhaka whatever he desires. The Kulārṇava states that Purāscaraṇa is so called because by the five-fold upāsina the deity desired (as if) moves\(^\text{1801}\) before the worshipper for conferring on him her favour. A mantra like the Gāyatri is\(^\text{1802}\) to be repeated every day 1008 or 108 or 10 times. This requirement is in keeping with what the Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra works say. For example, the Nāradapurāṇa (II. 57.54) provides that a mantra is to be repeated 8, 28, or 108 times. The Ekādaśītattva\(^\text{1803}\) quotes Devipūrāṇa for the proposition that the offerings in the homa to planets should be 108, 28 or 8 according to one’s ability.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on Śāradātyalaka (16. 56) has a very exhaustive and learned note on the details of purāscaraṇa that are common to all mantras. According to the Vāyaviya-samhitā\(^\text{1804}\) the perfecting of the procedure of the mūlamantra is called purāscaraṇa, since it has to be practised before the acts in which it is to be employed. The Kulārṇava\(^\text{1805}\) provides that there are at least five constituent elements of purāscaraṇa viz. pūjā (worship of the desired deity) three times a day, japa (muttering of the mantra), tarpāṇa, homa, and

\(^\text{1800}\) Ṛg. 4. 1. 22. 

\(^\text{1802}\) VI. 3. 5; 9. 1; 9. 1; see also Vṛtta III 26; compare also 3. 3. 3. 5, 9. 1; 9. 1; cf. the panditāya dāsa p. 1.

\(^\text{1803}\) Anv. 12. 1. 12. 1. 12. 1. 5; compare also 3. 3. 3. 5, 9. 1; 9. 1; cf. the panditāya dāsa p. 1.

\(^\text{1804}\) VI. 3. 5; 9. 1; 9. 1; see also Vṛtta III 26; compare also 3. 3. 3. 5, 9. 1; 9. 1; cf. the panditāya dāsa p. 1.
dinner to brāhmaṇas; that if any one of these cannot be carried out, then he should perform japa of the mantra twice as many times more as the number prescribed for that constituent, that, in the absence of some constituents, by providing a good dinner to brāhmaṇas everything becomes successful and that if one mantra is perfected by performing the five constituents mentioned above, then he secures siddhi of all mantras. Rāghavabhaṭṭa suggests another way of puruṣa-carana viz. one should be pure.382 observe a fast and then in an eclipse of the sun or moon should stand in the navel deep water of a river directly falling into the sea, should recite a mantra with concentration of mind from the time the eclipse begins till its end, thereafter perform homa and the rest in order reducing each to 1/10 of the number of japa recitation, then secure the guru’s contentment (by gifts) and that by this method mantra becomes perfect and the deity becomes favourable. The Kaulāvalinirṇaya describes (14th patala, verses 75–260) a terrible sādhanā whereby in a single night a sādhaka secures mantra-siddhi viz. by going to a cemetery or other lonely spot after one watch of the night, securing the corpse of a cāndāla, or of one who is killed by some one with a sword or one bitten by a snake or a young handsome warrior dying in a battle (not killed by himself), he should wash the corpse, offer worship to it and to Durgā and repeat the mantra (‘om Durgē Durgē raksan i svāhā’). If he is not frightened by the terrific sights that he may see and after following a very long procedure he secures mantrasiddhi. The Tārābhaktisudhārūṇa (tārāyā IX pp 345 ff) describes the ‘śivasādhanā-vidhi’ and so does the Kulacūḍāmani-tantra (Tāntrik texts, vol. IV.) VI. 19–28.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa further quotes a passage386 to the effect that if the sādhaka satisfies his guru who is a form of the deity

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1805. अभवान्यमयकरण पुरुषरणसुधस्यते। ग्रहमेकस्य चेदवर्गं छुमिः पुष्पशोभित। नया समुद्राभासिः नाभामायोगिः रिषिः। ग्यानादि संकेतान्तरं ज्ञेषांश्च समाविष्टा। अन्तरं तद्यंकावङ्गाह्यांत्रिकं चरतु। तदन्त्र मन्त्रसिद्धम्यं शुद्ध संपुत्र संवेदयेत। ततथ मन्त्रसिद्धं श्राद्ध वेष्टत च प्रसीदित। q. by राजभाषा on आश्रम 16 56 and by स्वतिः कोशम (pp. 73–74); vide य. क्रि. को. pp. 109–110 where these verses (with slight variations) are quoted from आश्रम. Vide द्वाकात्मकामयेन (तारायाय) 17. 40–45, some portion of which is ‘यथेन्द्रस्य पुरुषरण संसर्गितांद्रियं मनोः। यथेन्द्र विमेत तत्तस्रं द्विजोक्षणम्। हुतां हवनं कुर्यात्त्ययो तद्यंकावङ्गवी। मार्जनं तद्यंकावङ्गवी तद्यंकावङ्गवी-भिषेञ्चितम्। यथेन्द्र विमेत तत्तस्रं द्विजोक्षणयो जयः’।

1806. अधव्य देवसर्वस्य स्यं भक्त्यं प्रतिष्ठेत्। पुरुषरणानि मन्त्रं सिद्धेच्छस्य संहस्त:। ... पुरुषविषया तु मन्त्राणा प्राध्यं गोपालसुधस्य। येक जयेन्च हृदयं च सत्यं नोक्ता समाधिम:। (Continued on next page)
worshipped, he would secure perfection of mantra even without pūrascaraṇa, that pūrascaraṇa is the main seed (cause) of (the perfection of) mantras, that where the number of times a mantra is to be recited is not expressly stated, it should be repeated 8000 times. Rāghavabhaṭṭa quotes a verse saying that just as a man in the grip of diseases is incapable of performing all actions a mantra devoid of pūrascaraṇa is declared to be in a similar condition.

The Agnipurāṇa, Kulārṇava and Sāradātilaka lay down rules about the places where pūrascaraṇa of a mantra is to be practised. The following places are commended for those who are engaged in perfecting a mantra, viz. holy places, river bank, caves, mountain top, ground near a tirtha, confluence of rivers, holy forests and parks, the root of a bīlava tree, mountain slopes, temple, seaside, one's own house or any place where the mind of the sādhaka feels happy. Rules were also laid down as to the food on which the sādhaka was to subsist during the days of pūrascaraṇa viz. food obtained by begging for alms (for brahmacārin and yātī), havisya food (prescribed for vrataś), allowed vegetables, fruits, milk, bulbous roots, barley meal. The Mantramahodadhi (25. 66-71) sets out what is havisya food in śanti and proper food in the other cruel rites. Rāghavabhaṭṭa (on 16. 56) adds many rules from other sources, such as the sādhaka performing pūrascaraṇa should avoid sexual intercourse, flesh, wine, should not speak with women and śūdras, nor speak untruth, nor pamper his senses, should carry on the japa from morning till noon, should not allow a break, should repeat the mantra the same number of times every day.

(Continued from last page)

1807. पुष्पकेव नृदीतीर्थं सुल्तनमस्तकम्। सीच्छेदेव निर्मलं सम्मस्यम्। पन्ननविन नवगुरुं तत्त्वमिति।

1808. भैरवं हविकर्म शाकांति चिन्तितनि फलं पवः। मृत्यु सच्चेदायवस्त्रो भक्षणेत्तिनि मल्लिन्याय।
The Jayākhyā-saṁhitā (19th pātala, verses 13–33) says that, for three years after the sādhaka begins pūraścaraṇa of the mantra chosen, various obstacles and disturbances present themselves but if his mind and action are not affected by them, then from the 4th year he comes to be served by disciples that surrender everything to him, that after seven years even proud kings approach him for favour, after the 9th year he notices many wondrous things such as joy, sound dreams, sweet music and fragrance, hears loud vedic recitation, he eats and sleeps little (yet does not become lean), that these are signs of his having reached perfection in the mantra. The same work provides that such signs he should not divulge to any one but his own guru and if he divulges those happy signs to others siddhis run away from him (19. 34–37). The same Samhitā (15. 186–188) provides that the syllables svāhā, svādhā, phat, hum and namaḥ are to be respectively employed in homa, in rites for manes, destructive activities, creating hatred among friends and for securing mokṣa. All tāntrik works emphasize that mantra must be received from a qualified guru and the sādhanā of the mantra must be done under the guidance of the guru till the disciple himself becomes a siddha. As shown above it was believed that mantras would confer the highest spiritual and supernormal powers, would bring to the sādhaka all desired objects and mokṣa. The Kulārṇava states 'It it declared in the doctrine taught by Śiva that without dikṣā there would be no mokṣa, that dikṣā cannot be had without an ācārya (guru) and that mantras would yield no fruit unless a guru instructs (a disciple) about them'.

1809. The Yogasūtra III, 36 and bhāṣya thereon state that some of the powers developed are that the yoga expert hears divine music and receives the impression of fragrant scents. In 'Bengal Lancet' F. Yeats—Brown (London, 1930) narrates (pp. 246–247) how he had the experience that the room in which he and his American friends were sitting was filled by a yogic teacher who wore nothing but his dhoti with the perfume of attar of roses, then with the scent of violets, musk, sandalwood, with nothing else with him except cotton wool on which he focussed a magnifying glass. The Śv. Up. II, 13 details the first signs of the effectiveness of yoga practices 'तुलज्ञायेयम्मल्लोद्यति व्रजतसाधनं च। साहिङ्गः स्वप्नसिद्धिः प्रमुखः विपवाहिति नामम् यथा।। कुलार्णवां त्र्यम् 3–4।'.

1810. तिना वृद्धां न मोक्षं श्वासंहृतं हितप्रसङ्गसे। सा च न श्वासंहृतं चित्तप्रपायं परम्परा।। अन्तर्योगेष्ठेदां मन्त्रा स्वरुपन्नतः यथा।। कुलार्णवां त्र्यम् 14–15।
It was further provided\(^{1811}\) that there was no siddhi (miraculous powers due to mantras) nor mokṣa for him who had not had dikṣā performed for him, that therefore a man should by all means receive dikṣā from a guru and that when one is endowed with the ceremony of dikṣā the distinctions based on caste vanish and a śūdra and a brāhmaṇa cease to be so (when both have undergone dikṣā). It was held that, if a person were to engage in the japa of a mantra written in a book, he would not secure siddhi and he would surely meet losses at every\(^{1812}\) step.

In the Mahānirvāṇa (II. 14–15 and 20) it is said that Vedic mantras yielded desired results in Satya and other yugas, but in Kaliyuga they are like serpents without poison or like dead ones, that in the Kaliyuga the mantras declared in tantra works yield fruits quickly and are commended for employment in all actions such as japa and sacrifices. There is no such path as the one propounded in Tantras that would lead to mokṣa or to happiness in this world and the next. The Mahānirvāṇa prescribes that ‘om sac-cid-ekam brahma’ is the best of mantras (III. 14), that those who perform the upāsanā of the highest brahma are in need of no other sādhanā and that by the mere perfection of that mantra the individual soul merges in brahma.\(^{1813}\) So Mokṣa was one of the aims. Another aim was the attainment of miraculous or supernormal powers. The Prapanḍaśāra enumerates\(^{1814}\) the eight siddhis and states that one who is endowed with these eight is a liberated soul and is spoken of as a yogin. The theory of siddhis is an ancient conception and occurs in the Apastamba-dharmasūtra.\(^{1815}\)

\(^{1811}\) देवी दीर्घाविद्विन्नस्य न सिद्धिः च सदुत्तिः। तस्माद भयस्ते शुद्धिः श्रीक्षितं भोस्ते ॥ गर्व शुद्धस्य श्रुद्धवं विशवापि च विनिता। दीर्घाविद्विन्नस्य जातिभेदे न विविधते ॥

\(^{1812}\) एतकाविद्वितो मन्त्रः येन सुदर्शन जगते ॥ न तर्प जापे मस्तिष्ठितं पदे पदे ॥

\(^{1813}\) श्रीक्षितं शुद्धौ श्रुद्धवं विशवापि च विनिता।

\(^{1814}\) एतकाविद्वितो मन्त्रः येन सुदर्शन जगते ॥ न तर्प जापे मस्तिष्ठितं पदे पदे ॥ q. by Šrīkṛṣṇa on Śrīdāma IV. 1.

\(^{1815}\) अष्टोत्तत्वोऽस्य च तथा गार्तक्तः तत्तत्त्विकता वहि च। भावः प्राकारे चेत्त्वदर्शनात्मचेत्त्व श्रुद्धवं अविद्विते जीवनसमयं श्रवणे योगिः ॥ वस्मासार 19. 62-63.

For a personal experience of levitation in modern times; vide ‘The invisible influence’ by Dr. Alexander Cannon (15th impression, 1935) chap. II. pp. 39–41. The Kātakā (Mośkārāṇa pp. 216–17) quotes a long prose passage from the ancient writer Śvetā who names and illustrates the eight siddhis or vibhūtis (omits gārta and adds yavakrtoṣṭa).

\(^{1815}\) अथवा सक्त्रसिद्धिः प्राहुति। यथा वर्ष प्रजा वान दैर उस्त्ते मनोजनता वशायचेत् सुक्ष्मं। आय. प. खं II. 9, 23. 6-7.
explained in the Yogasūtrabhāṣya as follows: Anīman (becoming small like an atom, atomization), laghīman (levitation), mahīman (becoming magnified like a mountain or the sky, magnification), prāptī (all objects becoming near to him such as touching the moon with one's fingertip, extension), prākāmya (the non-obstruction of his desire such as diving into the earth underground and coming up as if he were in water), vaśītvā (mastery of the five elements and their products such as a jar), Iśītvā (sovereignty over the production, absorption or arrangement of elements and their products), yatra-kāmāvasā-yītvā (the power to determine things according to his wish or will i.e. he may will that poison should have the effect of nectar and brings about that result). A siddha would be one who has secured these eight siddhis. The Gītā (X. 26) says that the sage Kapila is the great one among siddhas (‘siddhānām kapilo muniḥ’). The Yogasūtra further speaks of siddhis as fivefold viz. proceeding from birth, from ‘drugs, from mantras, from tapas (austerities) and from concentration. There were other objects also sought to be achieved by mantras, such as the six cruel rites and making women to have passion for a man. This shows that not only Tāṅtrikas, but those who practised yoga believed in the power of mantras to confer supernormal powers on the yogin. The Yogasūtra provides that some of the siddhis (as in III. 37) are obstacles to the attainment of samādhi and they are siddhis only to those who have awakened from trance.

Yāj (III. 202–203) provides that the power to disappear, to enter another body and temporarily to abandon one's body, to create at one's will objects—these and other powers are characteristic signs of the attainment of siddhis by Yoga and that when one attains perfection in Yoga one can cast away the mortal coil and be able to become immortal in brahma.

A great deal is said about the six cruel rites in the Tantras such as Prapañcāsāra (V), Śāradātilaka (23. 121–145), Śaktisāṅgamatantra (Kālikapāda VIII, 102–106), Mantramahodāhi (25th Taranga). The Śāradātilaka (23. 137–141) deals with the six methods or arrangements of mantra along with the name of the enemy against whom the six rites were to be practised.

1816. विभूतिमिथिते शर्मित्वा मिथ्यमातिविकमाध्या। अमरकोश; तत्तृतिर्ग्रामार्कायामी: काय-सम्प्रज्ञाननि-भितात्। योगसूत्र III. 44; जगद्योग-सम्म-श्रवणः समाधिः: सिद्धः। योगसूत्र IV. 1. The bhāṣya explains जन्मेर्कायाममातिविकमाध्या।

1817. ते समयामुपसर्ग खुश्याने सिद्धः। योगसूत्र III. 37.

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viz. the arrangements called grathana, vidarbha, samputa, rodhana, yoga and pallava. These are all passed over here. But it appears that even the early Purāṇas were influenced by rites of black magic. For example, the Matsya¹⁸¹⁸ says ‘in vidveṣya (creating enmity among friends or among those who love one another) and in abhicāra, a triangular kunda is recommended and homa should be offered in it by priests that wear red flowers and red sandalwood paste, that wear the sacred thread in the nivīta way, that put on red turbans and red garments, the fuel sticks should be smeared with the fresh blood of crows collected in three vessels and should be offered with the left hand holding the bones of a hawk. The priests should have their hair untied on the head and should contemplate the befalling of evil on the enemy; they should recite the mantra 'durmitriyās-tasmai santu' and also the syllables 'hrim' and 'phat' and having recited over a razor the mantra used in Śyenayāga, the priest should cut into pieces an effigy of the enemy with that razor and throw into the fire the pieces of the effigy. This rite yields results only here (in this world), but no good results in the next world and therefore one (who engages in this rite) should then perform a śānti. The Matsya also provides for a rite for bringing a person (or a woman) under control or for uccātana (chap. 93. 139–148). It is possible that the Tāntrikas and the Matsya both developed their magic rites of six kinds from the Śyenayāga mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras. The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 138) also deals with those evil rites. The Aḥirbudhnya-samhitā, though mainly a work of the Pāṇcarātra cult, is full of lore on mantras.¹⁸¹⁹ In chap. 52 (verses

¹⁸¹⁸ विद्वेषणोभिराच्च तिरिकोणकुण्डिलमः।...होमे छूटसतो विमा रक्तलापायान्। एतेनि। निविहितोन्निश्चिवा लोकस्मरयर्थिरि।।नवायासर्वकाव्यपात्रसमस्यिता।।सांवर्ते वामद्वत्र शेषारिषिष्ठसंस्यता।।होतया हुतत्त्वपीपत्यायथेनिष्ठिःसिद्धीः।।पुनिष्ठियतयः शतम् तन्त्र तथा हृद कौतितिः।।शेषनामिकारसम्बन्धं हर्ष समसमस्यां।।प्रतिहार्यरिति।हुस्ता द्वरण परिकर्त्यन्तु।।रिम्पेश्वर यक्षायथेयव्यायीविनिर्देशेतु।।...इहैव फलस्य पुलोपन्ने नासुवातःस्मोगकन्तः।।तसार्थस्तितसकारात्र कतर्यां चूतिलिपितः।।सत्य 93. 149–155. For 'nivīta' way of wearing Yajñopavita, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 287–289 footnotes 673–674 and 679. In the t२, 1. 4. 4. 5 and t२. वा. भृ 6. 6. 3 occurs the mantra सुझिमा न आप आयसप: तरु दुर्मिश्लसमे भृगुयोगोऽस्मात् हृदि य च वयः हिमমः।।वेशेन ने the name of an abhicāra (magic) rite (vide Jaimini I. 4.5 and Sābara thereon), was a modification of सिरंगम and in the texts about शेषेन (viz. शेषनामिकारसम्बन्धं प्रमेत) occur the words 'लोकिैवोन्निश्चिवा लोकस्मरयर्थिरि' (ासिं, श्री. 22. 4. 13 and 23) q. by शास्त्र on श्री. X. 4. 1. Vide पट्टाच्य-भाष्यम III. 8. 2 and 22 for the same passages.

¹⁸¹⁹ तत्रादिपरिशिष्टविधिसाध्योगदिरित्यता।संस्कृतिज्ञ महाशया नामांग्रामयि परा॥ अहिपूर्वस्यसं 59. 70.
2-88) it deals with the linguistic occultism of such mantras as ‘om namo Viṣṇave’. It says that mantras have three senses: sthūla (gross), sūkṣma (subtle) and highest; chap. 51 explains these three about the Tāra or Tāraka mantra viz. Om.

It may be noted here that the Buddhist Tantras also claimed to show the way to the attainment of various objects, from success in love affairs to liberation and all these could be mostly secured by mantras. The Buddhist Tantra writers of the Vajrayāna school state that there were 84 siddhas, whose names are still cherished and honoured in Nepal and Tibet. The Buddhists mentioned eight siddhis but they were somewhat different from those of the Yogasūtra. The Sādhanaṃalā mentions them as follows: Khadga (a sword over which mantras have been muttered whereby the user of it succeeds in battle), Aṇjana (collyrium applied to eyes which enables a person to see buried treasure), Pādalepa (ointment applied to the soles of the feet enabling a person to move anywhere undiscovered), Antardhāna (becoming invisible before the very eyes of persons watching him), Rasarasāyana (power of transmitting baser metals into gold or finding out an elixir for immortality), Khecara (being able to fly up in the sky), Bhūcara (going swiftly anywhere on the earth) and Pāṭalasiddhi (diving underneath the earth). As the Buddhist monks were to possess no property, they had a craving for wealth and supposed that by means of certain mantras, the lord of wealth (Kubera) would confer on them riches that would last for ever. They also believed that by mantras they would make

1820. Vide Dr. Bhattacharya’s ‘Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism’ pp. 84, 96 and 126 for references to 84 Siddhapuruṣas and ‘Cultural Heritage of India’ Vol. IV, pp. 273–279 on ‘Cult of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryas’ by Prof. P. C. Bagchi at p. 274 for the names of 84 Siddhas according to Tibetan tradition. The tradition of Siddhas continued right down to modern times; vide ABORI, Vol. 19 pp. 49–60 for the account of a brāhmaṇa called ‘Śivayogi’ of Srāgārapura in the Ratnagiri District, who went from Koṅkaṇa to a siddha at Rādhā in Bengal, served him devotedly for a long time, himself became a Siddha, returned to his native place and built a monastery there. The hṛdayopahāra (I. 5–8) names about thirty Mahāsiddhas from Ādinātha (Śiva), Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, Allamaprabhu and others.

1821. ख्रृङ्गनाथपुलक्तपन्तासर साधनयोगृष्पांतरात्मात्सिद्धिप्रदेयः सिद्धः साध-प्रेतः साधनमाला No. 172 p. 350.

1822. एवंकर्त: सत्तदहन्ति: सन्तुष्टिभावे विविषमिस्वरुपः बवे नारसाधकवृत्ति: भविष्यति तस्मादयो रत्नपङ्क शाखपः साधनमाला No. 296 p. 580.
some of the Hindu gods their servants, viz. that they would be surrounded by many *apsarasas* (heavenly damsels), that Indra would be their umbrella-bearer, Brahmā would be councillor and Hari door-keeper.\(^{1823}\) They wanted to defeat opponents in public discussions and to acquire proficiency in Śastras without study through the power of mantras alone (vide Śādhanamāla Nos. 151, 155, 256). They were also anxious to cure and avert diseases and remove snake poison. They thought that by mantras they would attain to omniscience and Buddhahood (vide notes 1791–92).

As stated above (notes 1810–11) a mantra had to be received from a guru after initiation (dikṣā). Therefore, a few words must be said about dikṣā. The Tāntrikas did not discover any new concept in dikṣā. From very ancient Vedic times there was upanayana regarded as the beginning of the spiritual birth of a boy and the sacrificer had to undergo a purificatory ceremony before embarking on the performance of a sacrifice, but both were not so elaborate as the dikṣā described in some of the Tāntrika works. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1135–1140 for Vedic dikṣā (in Agniṣṭoma), the observances and references to the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras. The Tai. S. (VI. I. 1–3 and VII. 4. 8) refers to dikṣā and the Ait. Br. (I. 3) mentions the main items in Vedic dikṣā, such as bath with sacred water on the sacrificer, smearing the face and other parts of the body with butter, applying collyrium to the eyes, purification of the sacrificer’s body twice by the *adhvaryu* with three bunches of seven *darbhas* each above the navel and then below it with mantras, entering a pavilion specially prepared for the sacrificer, covering him with a garment that envelopes him as a sack envelopes an embryo, dark antelope skin as an upper garment. The Śat. Br. also refers to the details of dikṣā and states that thereby the sacrificer becomes one among the gods for the time being (vide III. 1. 2, 10–21, III. 1. 3, 7–28) and for the idea that dikṣā symbolizes a new birth for the sacrificer. The Atharva-veda says ‘Great truth, formidable moral order, vows of initiation, austerities, prayer (or knowledge) and sacrifice support the earth.'\(^{1824}\)

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1823. किं च भगवते शक्त्रयजापू, उपवयक्तिरायमासुलीभवति, अशुकामनोऽभिः: परिप्रेयः गुरुकन्तो विद्यास्परागने वहलविश्वरंभवेव तिथिं, द्वेश्वरस्त्रतथेरो भवति, ब्रह्मा च मन्नी ...हि: पतिः। सार्वनानां No. 260 pp. 509–510.

1824. The *śatapatha* III. 2. 1. 19 and 22 is ‘वेनालम् एव उपवर्तते यो दीनते स शैवाणनामेको भवति’; सर्वं द्वितीयसमें दीनता तं परं ब्रह्म चाय: पृथियो धारायनसि। अधर्मः XII. 1. 1.
Dikṣā is treated elaborately in some of the Tantras such as Prapāṇcasāra (V and VI), Kulārṇava (14. 39 ff), Śāradātilaka (4th pataḷa), Nityotsava (pp. 4–10), Jñānārṇava (24th pataḷa), Viṣṇusamhitā (X), Mahānirvāṇa (X. 112–119) and in Lingapurāṇa (II. 21). The Nīrṇayāgara Press brought out an edition (in 1935) of a work called Dikṣāprakāśikā of Viṣnu-bhaṭṭa, pupil of Satyānandanaṭha, composed in sāka 1719 (1797 A.D.). Almost all of them derive the word from the root ‘dā’ (to give) and ‘kṣi’ to destroy, in various ways. The Kulārṇava defines it as ‘the good call it dikṣā because it confers a divine (holy) state and wipes off all sins, thereby freeing a man from the bondage of samsāra’; the Śāradātilaka states ‘since it confers divine knowledge and destroys sins it is named dikṣā by the teachers that know the Tantras.’

The Saktisangama-tantra regards an eclipse of the sun or the moon (particularly of the moon) as the best time for undergoing initiation for a mantra from a guru and remarks that when performed in an eclipse, the week day, tithi, nakṣatra or month or Yoga or Karaṇa need not be considered. The Kālivilāsatantra states that if one is fortunate enough to secure Svāti nakṣatra and Friday on the 5th tithi of the dark half of Phālguna and undergoes dikṣā on that date, that yields the rewards of a crore of ordinary dikṣās (VI. 3–4). The N. S. (p. 67) quotes the Jñānārṇava to the effect that the dikṣā as to a mantra should be on the day of a solar or lunar eclipse or within seven days from an eclipse and adds that the principal time is solar eclipse and quotes Kālottara to the effect that, if the time of a solar eclipse is secured for dikṣā, one need not consider the month, tithi, the week day and the like. N. S. also quotes a passage from Yoginītantra condemning dikṣā on a lunar eclipse. Vide Muhūrtakalpadruma of Vīṭṭhala p. 94 verse 6 (Nīrṇ. ed.) for further details about times and places for dikṣā.

1825. द्याभि विष्णुभाष्य विष्णुभाष्य त्रिशत्रयोत्तत्रो भवेदविश्वा। पत्रशास्त्र V. 2; द्याभि विष्णुभाष्य पत्रशास्त्र क्षणात्मकसम्प्रवर्त्यृत।।

1826. चन्द्रयुर्यस्य श्रीयुर्यस्य काळेश्वरश्री। चन्द्रयुर्यस्य काळेश्वरश्री।
The Agnipurāṇa (chapters 27, 81–89 and 304) deals with dikṣā at great length and is full of Tantrik mantras and rites, but reasons of space forbid any treatment of the same here. The Jñānānārāmya (24. 45–53) provides that at the time of initiation (dikṣā) the guru has to instruct the disciple or novice as regards the six cakras (Ādhāra up to Ājñā) together with the number of petals in each, the colour of each, the letters of the alphabet assigned to each.

Late Dharmaśāstra works relied for the initiation into mantras on tantra works. For example, the Dharmasindhu (p. 32) expressly says so. There is a difference between Dikṣā and upadeśa, which latter means the communication of only a mantra in a solar or lunar eclipse, at a tīrtha, Siddhaksetra (sacred region once inhabited by a siddha) or in a Śiva temple. Raghunandana in Dikṣātattva (vol. II, pp. 645–659) gives a lengthy treatment of dikṣā at the beginning of which he remarks that in the Śradātilaka and other works numerous topics of dikṣā are described but as in his time all those were not being followed he attempts only a brief treatment.

The Mahānirvāṇa states (X. 201–202) that the guru for giving dikṣā when the disciple is a Śākta, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura or a Gānapatya, should be of the same sect, but a kaula is a good guru for every one. The Mahānirvāṇa (X. 112) provides that a person does not become a Kaula by merely drinking wine, but he becomes so only after abhiṣeka. Then (in verses 113–193 of 10th ullāsa) the Mahānirvāṇa provides an elaborate procedure of complete abhiṣeka somewhat resembling Christian Baptism. There is first on the day previous to the day of abhiṣeka worship of Gaṇeśa, then of eight Śaktis (Brāhmi &c.), lokāpālas and their weapons. Then the next day (i.e. the day of abhiṣeka) after a bath the neophyte donates sesame and gold for the removal of all sins and approaches a guru with the prayer to perform abhiṣeka. Then the guru draws a sarvatothadra maṇḍala on an altar, sanctifies the five tattvas, places an auspicious jar and fills it with wine or with holy water. The principal part consists in the guru’s sprinkling with water the disciple to the accompaniment of 21 mantras (X. 160–180) invoking the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Mātrīs, various Śaktis, the avatāras, the numerous forms of Devī, the dikpālas,

1827. One अविषेकमन्त्र may be quoted for sample 'त्र्यस्वतमभिष्टिं सक्त्वात्र जलाविषुवन्मनष्टिं' वुर्गाहनहमस्वात्मिस्वातिनिः श्रुद्वा. X. 160.
the nine planets, nakṣatras, ṣogas, weekdays, karṇas, seas, sacred rivers, nāgas, trees &c. Then the guru gives the disciple a new name ending in Ānandanațha, who honours the guru and other Kaulas present. This ceremony may go on for 9, 7, 5, 3 nights or one night. Vide Tantrarājatantra II. 58–72, Jñāna-siddhi (XVII) for similar procedure of abhiṣeka. Vide the Introduction to the Sekoddeśațika, a Buddhist Tāntrik work (in G. O. S.) edited by Mario E. Carelli, for its resemblance to the Christian rite of Baptism. The Ahirudhnya-samhitā (chap. 39) provides a procedure of Mahāabhiṣeka as one remedy against all diseases, as one destroying all enemies and for the attainment of all desired objects.

There were four kinds of dikṣas, Kriyāvati, Varnamayi, Kalāvati and Vedhamayi and there were elaborate rules about vāstuyūga, construction of maṇḍapa, kuṇḍas and sthaṇḍila, which are all passed over for reasons of space.
CHAPTER XXVII

Nyāsas, Mudrās, Yantra, Cakra, Maṇḍala, etc.

One of the important items in the Tāntrik ritual and worship is nyāsa, which means ‘mentally invoking a god or gods, mantras and holy texts to come to occupy certain parts of the body in order to render the body a pure and fit receptacle for worship and meditation’. Several works such as the Jayākhyā-saṃhitā (Pātala XI), Prapañcasaśāra (VI), Kulārnava (IV. 18 ff) refer to several kinds of nyāsa; the Śāradātilaka (IV. 29–41, V. 5–7), Mahānirvāṇatānta (III. 41–43, V. 113–118) describe several varieties of nyāsa. Rāghavabhaṭṭa on Śāradātilaka (IV. 29–41) cites numerous quotations on nyāsa from an extensive literature. There are several kinds of nyāsa such as Hamsanīśa, Praṇavanyāsa, Mātrkānyāsa, Mantranyāsa, Karanyāsa, Aṅganyāsa, Pīthanyāsa. Praṇavanyāsa is illustrated as ‘om ām Brahmane namaḥ’, ‘om ām Viṣṇuve namaḥ’ and so on for all the names set out by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on Śāradātilaka 25. 58. The Aṅganyāsa (nyāsa on parts of the body) is illustrated as follows: om hṛdaya namaḥ, om śīraś svabhā, śikhāyai vaṣṭ, om kavacāya hum, om netratabhāya (or netravadabhyā) vaṣṭ, om aṣṭāya phat'. Several Purāṇas contain provisions about nyāsa. The Garudapurāṇa (I. chapters 26, 31, 32) describes aṅganyāsa as part of worship, japa and homa. The Nāradypurāṇa (II. 57. 13–14), the Bhāgavata (VI. 8, about 40 verses), Brahma (60. 35–40) provide for nyāsa of the mantras ‘om mano Nārāyaṇaya’, and ‘om Viṣṇuve namaḥ’. The Kālikapurāṇa (chap. 77) deals with Mātrkānyāsa. The Smṛtimuktāphala (Āhnikā pp. 329–331) quotes several passages dealing with nyāsa of the 24 letters of the Gāyatrī (Rg. III. 62. 10) on several parts of the body, meditation on each of the 24 letters as having certain colours of flowers and as identical with certain gods and avatāras and nyāsa of the Gāyatrīpādas on limbs. The Brahmapurāṇa

1828. शास्त्रविद्याः इत्यादि विद्यां शास्त्रविद्यां साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुषर्वस्वः साधुः पुरुṣार्थः VI. 5–6. Compare शास्त्रविद्या IV. 33–35 and Mahābhārata III. 114 for similar provisions.
(60. 35-39) deals with the nyāsa of the mantra 'om namo Nārāyanāya' on the fingers and also on other parts of the body, and speaks of Karanyāsa and Anganyāsa in 28. 36. Padma 1829 (VI. 79. 17-30) describes the nyāsa of the names of Viṣṇu on the limbs of the body from the head to the feet and Padma VI. 85. 26 speaks of Anganyāsa and Karanyāsa with the mantra ‘om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya’. The Matsyapurāṇa 1830 provides for the employment in nyāsa of mantras with ‘om’ prefixed to them. Karāṇgyāsa and Anganyāsa of Gāyatrī are dealt with in Devibhāgavata XI. 16. 76-91 and it expressly names nyāsa as part of sandhyā worship. 1831 Vide also Devibhāgavata XI. 7. 26-33 for nyāsa and Kalikapurāṇa 53. 36. The Devibhāgavata (VII. 40. 6-8) mentions the nyāsa of certain letters on such parts of the body as the chest, the space between the eyebrows, the head. The Brhad-yogiyājñāvalkyā 1832 contained

1829. The passage of Purāṇa VI. 79. 17-30 begins and ends as follows: शिशाय श्रीभव मध्व सिस्मा: श्रीकल तथा. जिनस्तिम हं केतेषु दृष्टिः नारायण परम्॥ एवं न्यासनिच्छ्व हृदा सार्वदारायणो भोजे॥ यावह स्वाभिर्कृतं तत्सहिन्णयम् सिस्मा॥

1830. ओऽहार्यकरको होते स्वरुपे भक्तिविरुद्धे. मरणः स्तु: सर्वकार्याणां वृद्धिदुर्फल-पद्यः॥ तत्र 266. 29,

1831. अम्ब न्यासनिच्छ्व हृदे सर्वपाया आक्रमया शतम । XI. 16. 76. The sākṣāta-rāthāpana, a comparatively modern work, remarks (p. 229) that Nyāsa has no Vedic authority and hence some do not perform it ‘एष्यां हृदेषु स्तुतिः स्वरुपेऽपरम्॥ तत्र न्यासनिच्छ्व श्रीकल तथा। The पद्दल पद्धति of पर्वती takes the form ‘तत्साहिन्णयम् नारायणो भोजे॥’ श्री दृष्टिः नारायण परम। एवं न्यासनिच्छ्व हृदा सार्वदारायणो भोजे॥ यावह स्वाभिर्कृतं तत्सहिन्णयम् सिस्मा॥

1832. अत्म चाचिन्तित्वम् कठोर्यां तहीर्याः। मध्यमां जिनके क्रियासमावेशार्थ चिन्तितम्। स्वरूपां परम्। I. p. 198 quoting योगिन्याजः। These verses are quoted by स्वरूपचादन (अन्वित p. 331) from the स्वरूपचादन. The ed. of श्रोतिशिलायण् (chap. V) published by the कैलापापम् of Lonavala deals with nyāsa but does not contain the above verses.
verses dealing with the nyāsa of the names of Viṣṇu such as Govinda, Mahidhara, Hṛṣikeśa, Trivikrama, Viṣṇu, Mādhava on the fingers of the right hand and the palm and back respectively, which are quoted by the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 198) as from Yoga-yājñavalkya and which have been taken over in the sandhyā worship in modern times. The latter work (Sm. C. I. p. 145) also contains Aṅganyāsa of several portions of Gāyatri, the nyāsa of the single letters of the Gāyatri on the limbs and Aparārka (p. 140) quotes a passage for the employment of the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90) for nyāsa on the several limbs in the worship of Viṣṇu. For the nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet from ‘a’ to ‘kṣa’, vide Śāradātilaka V. 5–8 and Raghavabhaṭṭa on V. 4 who quotes verses setting out how each letter is to be meditated upon. The Mahānirvāna (V. 176-178) also specifies the limbs on which there is to be nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet from the forehead downwards.

The above passages show that the item of nyāsa was taken over from Tāntrika works in the Purāṇas for the rites of the orthodox people several centuries before Yogayājñavalkya, Aparārka (first half of 12th century A. D.) and the Smṛticandrikā. The Varsakriyākaumudi1833 (about first half of 16th century) shows that long before it the Garuḍa and the Kālīka purāṇas contained provisions on nyāsa. The Devapratīṣṭhātattva of Raghunandana (p. 505) speaks of Mātrkānyāsa and Tattvanyāsa. The Pūjāprakāśa section of the Viramitrodaya dwells upon Mātrkānyāsa, Aṅganyāsa, Gāyatrīnyāsa on pp. 130, 131, 132 respectively. The Bhaktiprakāśa (pp. 88-89) of the same work deals with Mātrkānyāsa. In modern times some orthodox people still perform two kinds of nyāsas as follows; The Antarmātrkā which consists in the mystic assignment (mentally) of the letters of the alphabet (from ‘a’ to ‘ksa’) on the fingers of the hands and on the palm and back of the hands and on several parts of the body viz. the throat, organs of generation, the ādhāra place and the middle of the eyebrow (as the seats of the six psychic cakras mentioned in note 1715 above). The Bahrinātrkānyāsa consists in assigning the individual alphabet letters with anusvāra on each on the limbs from head to feet in such forms as ‘ām namaḥ mūrdhni’ and so on.

1833. श्रवकालिकाकुशुणाधिकृ पञ्चमान्तानां चेतनामुदयादीनां स्यासदस्सनात्र। व. क्रि. कृ. प. 124.
The word *nyāsa* is derived from the root ‘as’ ‘to cast’ with ‘ni’ and literally means ‘placing or depositing in or on’. The Kulārnava explains it as follows:1834 ‘nyāsa is so called because therein riches that are acquired in a righteous way are deposited or placed with persons whereby all-round protection is got’ (so by the ritual touching of the chest and other limbs with the tips of the fingers and the palm of the right hand accompanied by mantras the worshipper can act fearlessly in the midst of bad men and becomes like a god). Vide Jayākhyasamhitā quoted below.1835

The subject of *nyāsa* was briefly dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 319–320. In ‘Principles of Tantra’ Sir John Woodroffe (pp. LXXI–LXXVII) compares the ritual of *nyāsa* with the Christian method of making the sign of the cross.

Mudrā is another characteristic item in Tāntrik ritual. The word *mudrā* has several meanings, four of which have a bearing on Tāntrik practices. It means a posture in yogic practices in which the whole body plays a part. It also means the symbolic or mystic intertwining of the fingers and hands as part of religious worship. Mudrā is also the 4th of the five *makāras* and means various kinds of grains mixed with ghee or other ingredient (vide note 1752 above) or parched grains. A fourth meaning of mudrā is the woman with whom a Tāntrika yogi associates himself (as in Prajñāpāya V. 24 and Sekoddesātīka p. 56). The Kulārnava derives the word from ‘mud’ meaning ‘delight’ or ‘pleasure’ and ‘drāvay’ (causal of ‘dru’) and says ‘mudrās’ (ritual finger and hand poses) should be shown (in worship) and are so known because they give delight to the gods and make their minds melt (with compassion for the worshipper). But the Śrādarātilaka1836 appears to derive it from ‘mud’ and ‘rā’ (to

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1834. स्थापोपायितवतानामः प्रति परिवर्तनात। सर्वाकाराः देवी स्थाप इति बोधितो ये। कुलार्गम 17. 56.

1835. समुद्रविभा जनी मन्त्रिनां समाचरत। बन इति प्रतियोज्या देवश्वामसी भवेत। युज्योऽ चरणार्यां गायनवार्तशास्त्रेः जापते। व दुल्लु निरंपत्तिदेवोऽसे दुस्माकुले। विजयेन्द्रगुप्तद्वारा याचयों विद्वितेन च। जानकङ्वसंहिताः। रामायणम्। II. 11. 1–3.

1836. भुंढः कुर्णिन देवाणि मनासि वाचाय्यति च। तामास्त्रां इति द्वारा आविष्कारत। कुलार्गम 17. 57; भुंढः कुर्णिन देवाणि राजवास्रं वाचाय्यति च। विष्णुसंहिताः VII. 43; अबहवादायित्वक शुद्धः प्रस्तावाय यथाकृतम्। साधनेविशिष्टार्थं इति संकेते। शाश्वाद 23. 106, on which Sarabhin comments ‘रा वाने। भुंढः राजि वाचाय्यति कुर्णिन निवर्तनम्। ... अत एव तद्देशेन दुस्माकुले। स्थापोपायितवतानामः प्रति परिवर्तनात। स्थापोपायितवतानामः प्रति परिवर्तनात। सः साध्यायित्वक अकृत्यम्। (Continued on next page)
give) and according to it mudrā means 'what affords pleasure to the Gods'. Other derivations are also proposed (vide J. O. R. Baroda, vol. VI. p. 13). Rāghavabhāṭa states that the fingers from the thumb to the small finger are identified with the five elements viz. ākāśa (sky or ether), wind, fire, water and earth and that their contact with each other tends to make the deity favourable and delighted and induces the deity to be present at the worship, and that various appropriate mudrās are to be employed in worship, at the time of japa, in meditation and in all rites performed for securing some desired object or benefit, since they induce the deity to be present (near the worshipper). It was supposed that mudrās helped in enhancing concentration on the part of the worshipper. Even as early as the 7th century it was believed that the making of mudrās may bring to life one who, being poisoned had fallen into comatose, as the Kādambarī quoted below shows. The Varsakriyā-kaumudi quotes a verse saying that japa, prāṇāyāma, worship of gods, yoga, meditation and āsanas are fruitless unless accompanied by appropriate mudrās.

The word mudrā occurs in the name of Lopāmudrā, wife of Agastya, who figures in a hymn of the Rg. (I. 179. 4). The word ‘mudrā’ is not mentioned in the Amarakośa.

(Continued from last page)

1837. अर्थे जापकारे तु ध्याने कार्ये च कर्मणि। तत्स्मुद्रा: प्रसंगकथा त्र्यतमतिथिभक्षणम्। ध्यानक: Q. in भुजामकार। p. 123 and by रायभाद्र on सारारा 23.336: स्नाने चाराहने चौव भित्रियान्य च रचने। नैवै तथाचे च तत्स्मकाराने। स्नाने मुद्रा: प्रक्ता न शुभावेच स्वाभासम्। संस्कारम्। Tāntrik texts vol. I. p. 46, verses 1-3; मुद्राभवाद स्वाप्न: विभव्यत: स्थोत्यायने कीर्ति:। कार्यमी, ऊर्जाभाग (in सुभानसे's consoling speech to तारासे on the reported heart failure of Candrāpiḍa; compare आयोमचुलूरी p. 369 'सिध्दोषिपि भवेलिम्यो यो जनविध्ययभिषिष्टः'। चलनिर्भरति समस्यामया मुद्रा भ्रम्य परिवर्तिता; व. क. की. p. 156 'मुद्रां विना तु रज्जव्यम् भावयम्: सुराचनन्तः। योगे ध्यानसे चारे तिथिसारवरुणि तु भैरवः।' This verse is कालसाक्षात 70. 35. मुद्राभिषिप परिवायति न पुण्याविकर्षये। महापुजा कृता तेन रेत मुद्रासम्बंधम। नेत्योऽपि 17. 22.

1838. लोपामुद्रा दुर्योगो नी रिसाति प्रेमस्थली प्रहरिति भस्मन्म। क. I. 179. 4.
The H. of Dh. vol. II. (pp. 320-321) makes a brief mention of mudrās in worship and refers to the work of Miss Tyra de Kleen on the mudrās practised by Baudhā and Śaiva priests called pedandus in the island of Bali. Here the same subject will be dealt with in a little more detail and from different points of view.

There is a great divergence among the Tantra, Purāna and Yoga works on the number, names and definitions of mudrās. This may be briefly illustrated.

In the Tāntrik texts (Vol. I. pp. 46-47) there is a nighanta (a glossary or enumeration) of mudrās with names and definitions, where it is stated that nine mudrās (āvāhāni and others) are common (i.e. capable of being employed in any worship); and then are enumerated mudrās specially appropriate to Viṣṇu worship (19 in all viz. Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gada, Padma, Veṇu, Śrīvatsa, Kaustubha, Vanamālā, Jñāna, Vidyā, Gruḍa, Nāramihā, Vārāhi, Hayagrīvī, Dhanus, Bāha, Paraśu, Jagan-mohini, Vāma; ten of Śiva (Linga, Yoni, Trīśula, Akṣamālā, Abhīti i.e. abhaya, Mrga, Asikā, Khatvāṅga (a club with a skull at the top), Kapāla, Damarū; one of the Sun (viz. Padma); seven of Gaṇeśa (Danta, Paśa, Ankuśa, Avighna, Paśu, Laddūka, Bijapūra (i.e. a citron).1839

The Śaṅkunītaka (23. 106-114) names only nine mudrās and defines them, while the Viṣṇusamhitā (VII) says that mudrās are innumerable (verse 45), names about thirty and defines them and Jñānārṇava (IV), mentions at least nineteen. The Jayākhyasaṁhitā (8th Paṭala) has about 58 mudrās. The Tāntrik1840 works provide that mudrās should be practised

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1839. These Mudrās are also mentioned in a work called Mudrālakṣaṇa (D.C. Ms. 291 of 1887-91). Some of these mudrās in connection with the worship of individual gods occur in Viṣṇusamhitā VII and in Jñānārṇava IV. The Mudrānighanta names and defines mudrās of Śakti, Agni, Tripurā and other deities. The mudrās specially appropriate in the worship of Viṣṇu, such as Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gada, Padma, Kaustubha, Śrīvatsa, Vanamālā, Veṇu are described in a work called Nāradataptra quoted by Varṣakriyākaumudi pp. 154-156.

1840. वासां न चापित कथयेत् रुपः। कथनाधारिते संसस्तत्तात्त्विपथाण सदा चुः। आनज्ञातिकातिच चुः वर्ज ज्ञानृत्व च श्रव्यते। विपुसक्षिप्तविषय 14-45 (T.S.S.); न जात देवदीर्घरेष्ट महाजनमयगमे कृतेत्वमेत्वमतमिष्ट तस्मादेवसिद्धितस्य योजनेत्। माधवीकृष्टि कुद्राण क्रियानि महाकाव्येत्। दुर्योगिन्ते कृष्णकालमं सत्वं च विनंति भेतेन॥ quoted from महासंहिता by श्रीमद्भागवतम् 23. 114: स्वरत्निक पृ 148) quotes the first verse and the last half verse.
secretly under cover of a garment and not in the presence of many people and should not be announced to another as otherwise they become fruitless. The Kāmakalāvīlāsa of Puṇyānanda expressly mentions (in verse 46) Trikhandā-mudrā and refers to the fact that there are nine mudrās.\footnote{1841} The Nityāsodoṣāsikārṇava (3rd viśrāma) first defines Trikhandā, then names and defines nine mudrās most of which bear names different from those in the Śāradātilaka. The Mudrās mentioned by Nityāsodoṣāsikā apart from Trikhandā, are: Sarvasaṅksobhākārini, Sarvavidrāvinī, Akarṣini, Sarvavēśakari, Unmādini, Mahānkuśa, Khecarī, Balamudrā, Yoninudrā.

The Jūnārṇava Tantra (IV. 31-47 and 51-56 and XV. 47-68) names over thirty mudrās, several of which bear the same names as those in Nityāsodoṣāsikārṇava, are defined in a similar way and are quoted by Bhāskararāya in his commentary on the latter work. In these circumstances the author proposes to name and describe first of all the nine mudrās of the Śāradātilaka.\footnote{1842} (1) Āvahani mudrā consists in folding both hands in a hollow and filling the hollow completely with flowers; (2) sīhāpanī is the same as āvahani but the folded hands are held upside down; (3) the 'sannidhāpana-mudrā' occurs when the two hands are formed into a closed fist, are joined together with only the

\footnote{1841} अधारणकर्त्थ निध्यस्ते शरस्वते परिणाति यात: || नवनाथाष्टकोपिन् च हुष्ट्राकरण तास्क: || कामकलाविलास वर्ष 67.\footnote{1842} समपद्ध समुस्र: पुंजे: करार्योऽहित्योऽहितिः। आवाहनी सामविहायं हुष्ट्र देविकस्मात:। अंगपुक्तीं कुता संबंधोऽस्मानकरणीयः। आदिहृदयप्रायं श्रीशताकाण्ठयां। सहिष्णुस्वते सहिष्णुस्वते समस्यात् समाधित्वाः। अन्नुत्तरमण्यीं सैव सक्षरेश्च समस्यात् सम्मिलितं। उदासीनं हस्ते कुन्ता सुन्दरं संस्कृतस्यां समस्या। देवस्थानं श्रद्धानां न्यासं च स्वामत्कल्पति:। सप्तहलिता सुषिद्धयोगेश्वरस्तिः। अपयुक्त्त्वपरम्परां भाविता सति:। अर्थार्थयिनी: सुन्दरितेषुधिगतार्थाकार्यं देवस्थानं न्यासं सममा:। अनुवर्तकर्णेऽकार्यं कुरुपतवेदिता देविकस्मात:। अपोययथयाधिकार्यं भस्माकरकर्याचले:। महाशरस्वतज्ञविदेशां परमी:। करणे दुते:। प्रकृतेश्चिद्मा हुष्ट्रं देवस्थानकरणिः॥ शरस्वतेऽ: 23. 107-114. It may be noted that the जन्मायनमात्र (IV, 32-37) names and describes eight of these nine mudrās almost in the same words, omitting संस्कृतकरणी and calling the महाशरस्वत of शरस्वत by the name परमीकरण. The कुरुपत (17. 90-93) has eight out of these nine, omitting संस्कृतकरणी and employing the words परमीकरण for महाशरस्वत. Both कुरुपत and शरस्वत connect अस्त्रकरण with श्रद्धार्धाः. The कलेखलितिप्रयव VII. 5-14 has eight out of the nine described by शरस्वत and appears to be based on the कुरुपत. The half-verse देवस्थाने... कुते: occurs in कुरुपत 17. 92 and कुरुपत 17. 93 says "अस्त्रकरण अस्त्रकरण परमीकरण वश्ये"। महादिनियो VI. 77 states "प्रकृतेदुश्चिद्मधुचर्य पदुः करीकृति:।" The mudrās described in शरस्वतिकल्प are quoted by व. क्र. को. p. 153.
thumbs raised up; (4) 'Sannirodhani' means the same as the preceding but with the thumbs closed inside the fist; (5) the mudrā is called 'Samnukhikaraṇī' when the two closed fists are held upwards; (6) 'Sakalikṛti' mudrā is the action of making the nyāsa of the six limbs on the limbs of the (image of) the devatā (deity worshipped); (7) the 'Avagunṭhana' mudrā consists in closing the fingers held straight and turned downwards and waving the hand round (the image); (8) 'Dhenumudrā' (a complicated pose) is formed by putting the right small finger over the right ring finger, intertwining the former with the left ring finger, the left small finger as it is, to be intertwined with the right ring finger, the left ring finger is to be passed over the left middle finger and the left thumb, and to be intertwined with the right hand middle finger brought to the right side of the left index finger and the right hand index finger to be joined with the left hand middle finger; (9) Mahāmudrā is constituted by intertwining the thumbs of both hands and holding the other fingers straight.

Some of the works on Yoga describe various mudrās. For example, the Hathayogapradipikā (III. 6-23) describes at length ten mudrās and the Gherandhasamhītā (III. 1-3) speaks of 25 mudrās and describes them in one hundred verses. The Śivasamhitā (IV. 15-31) mentions ten mudrās as the best. An important mudrā in Hathayoga practices is the Khecarians described in Devībhāgavata XI. 66. 62-65, Śivasamhitā IV. 31-33, Gherandhasamhitā III. 25-27, Hathayogapradipikā III. 32-53. This description differs from the definition of Khecari in Jñanārṇava (15. 61-63) and Nityāśaśikārṇava III. 15-23. The Vajrollingudrā (in Hathayogapradipikā III. 82-96) cannot be set out here for reasons of decency and it was supposed to prolong the life of a yogin even after indulgence in sexual orgies.

Some of the Purāṇas contain an extensive treatment of mudrās. The Kālikāpurāṇa mentions anganyāsa, karanyāsa in chap. 66 and mudrās like Dhenumudrā, Yonimudrā, Mahāmudrā, Khecarians in 70. 36-56, 78. 3-6; Devībhāgavata (XI. 16. 98-102) speaks of 24 mudrās at the time of Gāyatrī-japa; the Brahmapūrāṇa and Nārādhyapurāṇa set out eight mudrās

1843. पर्च शुभ ऊँचसे गदा मगवा एव च। चराँ शुभ ऊँचाँ च अधी कुट्राः। प्रकटितम् || अ 61. 55, नारायण II. 57. 55-56. It may be noted that these are mentioned among 19 Viśu mudrās enumerated from Tantrik texts vol. I.

(Continued on next page)
of Visnu worship. Vide Agnipurana, chap. 26, for a brief reference in 7 verses to some mudras. The Kalikapurana (70. 32) states that there are 108 mudras, 55 for general worship and 53 on special occasions, such as collecting materials, drama, acting (natana).

Most verses of the Brahmandaapurana (in the Lalitopakhyana, chap. 42) are the same as in the Mudrannighantu pp. 55–57 verses 110–118; but the largest number of mudras in dancing is contained in the Visnudharmottara (III). In chap. 32 it speaks of numerous rahasya (secret) mudras in prose called mudrathastas and in chap. 33 (1–124) it describes over one hundred samanyamudras and the colophon at the end of the chapter calls them 'nruttasastra mudras' (mudras in the science of dramaturgy).\textsuperscript{1844} This opens up a subject which cannot be gone into here, viz. whether the mystic hand poses (mudras) in worship were derived from the postures (karanas), recakas (gestures) and 32 angaharas (movements of limbs) described in the Natyasastra\textsuperscript{1845} of Bharata (chapters 4, 8 and 9). It may be noted that the Natyasastra (in IV. 171 and 173) speaks of 'nruttahastas'. Panini knew natasutras of Sialin and Krsasvya.\textsuperscript{1846} Bharata speaks of four kinds of acting (abhinaya 8. 9–10) viz. angika, vaciika, ahaarya, and sattvika. In the 9th chapter the movements of the hands and fingers intertwined or joined are set out. Musti is defined by Bharata in 9. 55. Mudras would fall under angika abhinaya; angaharas depended upon karanas.

\textit{(Continued from last page)}

cited above. All these except shreers are named and defined in the \textit{Vijnana}\textsubscript{1844}. Vide \textit{Vijnana}\textsubscript{1845}. 32 which begins and ends with a verse \textit{Vijnana}\textsubscript{1846}. 33–34; illustrations of the 108 angabharas enumerated in the \textit{Vijnana}\textsubscript{1846}. 34–55 are given in the GOS edition of the \textit{Vijnana} (vol. 1), copied from the Nataraaja temple gopuras at Chidambaram in South India.

\textsuperscript{1844} Vide \textit{Vijnana}\textsubscript{1845}. III. 32 which begins and ends with a verse
\textsuperscript{1845} Natyasastra IV 33–34; illustrations of the 108 angabharas enumerated in the \textit{Vijnana}\textsubscript{1846}. IV. 34–55 are given in the GOS edition of the \textit{Vijnana} (vol. 1), copied from the Nataraaja temple gopuras at Chidambaram in South India.

\textsuperscript{1846} Parasharshilatalimyam \textit{Vijnana}\textsubscript{1846}. 33–34; illustrations of the 108 angabharas enumerated in the \textit{Vijnana}\textsubscript{1846}. IV. 33–55 are given in the GOS edition of the \textit{Vijnana} (vol. 1), copied from the Nataraaja temple gopuras at Chidambaram in South India.
and the latter consisted of different arrangements of hands and feet. It is likely that the mudrās in the Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrik works are based on the poses that were evolved in ancient Indian dance and drama and that find their earliest extant description in Bharata-nātyaśāstra and that are also to be found in later medieval works on dramaturgy such as the Abhinayadarpaṇa.  

The Āryamaṇjuśrīmūlakalpa names and defines 108 mudrās (p. 380). On p. 376 it states that the combination of mudrās and mantras would bring success in all actions and neither tīthi, nor nakṣatra nor fasting would be required. In the Viṣṇudharmottara-puṇāṇa there is a fine eulogy of the mudrās made in dancing viz. they are the graces of the rich, the removers of the sorrow of the distressed, the instruction of the ignorant, the increase of the blessedness (or charm) of women; they were created by Vāsudeva for the removal of portents, as the means of prosperity and of the attainment of desired objects.

The Buddhists also had mudrās. One of the early works of the Mahāyāna school viz. Āryamaṇjuśrīmūlakalpa is full of mudrās in the 35th paṭala (pp. 355–381) and states (on p. 380) that there are 108 mudrās. L. H. Waddell in 'the Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism' (London, 1895) describes nine mudrās practised in Tibet by the Lamas (pp. 336–337).

In the Indian Antiquary, vol. 26 (1897), pp. 24–25, Burgess mentions nine Buddhist mudrās (slightly differing from Waddell's descriptions) as follows:—(1) Bhūmiśpṛś or Bhūmi-sparśa mudrā, an attitude of Sākya Buddha (making the earth as witness); (2) Dharmacakra mudrā (teaching attitude); (3) Abhaya mudrā (of blessing), in which the left hand is open.

1847. Vide अभिनयदर्पण (edited by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, 1957) p. 47 where certain postures of the hands are called Saṅkha, Cakra, Sampuṭa, Paśa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Garuḍa, Sinhamukha, which, as noticed above, are among the mudrās mentioned in the Madrāṇīgaṇḍu (Tāntrik texts, edited by Avalon, vol. I p. 46 verses 5–7 and pp. 49–50 verses 32 ff, which define Vaiṣṇava mudrās some of which like Garuḍa occur in the Nātyaśāstra IX. 201 also.

1848. ईश्वर सिद्धां तत्त्वात सूक्तान्त्यं । सुखान्त्यस्वदेहां तत्त्वसैमामयथापरम् । तद्नीति शैविकते कायम् । वासुदेव निमित्तम् । विष्णुर्माणिर III. 34. 30–31.

1849. Vide अध्येतात्मेन्द्रूपकल्प (35th paṭala) p. 372 for अमृतस्रद्वा and वस्तुद्वा.
on the lap, the right hand is raised in front of the chest with the fingers and thumb half extended and with the palm facing forwards; (4) Jñānamudrā (Dhyāna mudrā?) or Padmāsana-mudrā (posture of contemplation); (5) the Vara or Varadamudrā, in which the right hand hangs down over the knee, the palm of the hand turned outwards symbolising charity; (6) Lalitamudrā (enchanting or bewitching); (7) Tarkamudrā (right hand raised to the chest and slightly constricted); (8) Śaraṇamudrā (of refuge or protection); (9) Uttarabodhimudrā (pose of highest perfection, which is apt to be confounded with Dharmacakramudrā).

The Jainas also had mudrās. In J. O. I. (Baroda), vol. VI, No. 1 pp. 1–35 Dr. Priyabala Shah contributes an interesting paper on two Jaina works, one of which called Mudrāvičāra describes 73 mudrās and the other called Mudrāvidhi lists 114 mudrās.

In a recent work 'Royal conquests and cultural migrations' Mr. C. Sivaramamurti (Calcutta, 1955) remarks (on p. 43) that the 'hastras' and 'karaṇas' on the Gopura at Chidambaram are found also in the Śiva temple at Prambanan in Java, where one can observe many of the karaṇas like Patakā, Tripatakā, Ardhaḍandi, Śikhara, Kartarimukha, Śāci and hastras like Aṇjali, Puspaduta. In another recent work 'Contributions to the History of the Indian Drama' by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh (Calcutta, 1958) it is stated that in the bas-reliefs of Bayon (Angkor Thom) certain aspects of the Cambodian dance and drama, particularly certain gestures depicted and actually observed in practice now in the dances in the royal palace, are similar to those described in the Nātyaśāstra of Bharata such as Aṇjali, Patakā, Ardhaḍandi, Muṣṭi, Candrakalā and Kapota (p. 63).

Some Sanskrit medieval Dharmāstara works from the 13th century A.D. dilate at some length on mudrās. Hemādri on Vṛata (vol. I. pp. 246–247) speaks of mudrās called Mukula, Paṇkaja, Niśthura and Vyoma. The Śmrṭicandrika (1st half of 13th century A.D.) names and defines 24-mudrās (I. pp. 146–147). The names are the same as in Debibhagavata XI. 16. 98–102. The Pujāprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) defines in all 32 mudrās of which eight, viz. Āvāhanī, Sthāpani, Sannidhāpani, Samrodhini, Prasāda, Avagunthana, Sammukha, Prārthanā are common to the worship of all gods, some are specially appropriate
in Viśnu worship, some in worship of the Sun, Lakṣmi and Durgā and the Aṅjali and Saṁhāra mudrās (the last two) used in the worship of all gods. The Āhnikapraṅkāsa (part of Vīramitrodāya) names 24 mudrās to be shown at the time of the japa of Gāyatri (pp. 298–299) which are the same as in Devibhāgavata XI. 16. 98–102, but it quotes them as from Brahmā. It is difficult to say what work is meant by Brahmā. Mudrās were not universally practised. It is clear from the Dharmasindhu and Saṁskāra-ratnamālā quoted in note 1831 that Nyāsa and Mudrā were held to be non-vedic in Mahārasāstra at least.

Another item in the Tāntrik worship is that of Maṇḍala which has been also a prominent feature of orthodox Hindu practices in medieval and modern times. But it cannot be said that the concept of maṇḍalas was borrowed by Sanskrit writers from the Tāntrikas. The word was used in the sense of orb or circle. In the Tai. S. V. 3. 9. 2 reference is made to circular bricks (maṇḍaleṣṭākā); vide also Sat. Br. IV. I. 1. 25. The orb of the Sun is also called the wheel (cakra) in Rg. IV. 28. 2 and V. 29. 10. The Br. Up. says 'this Āditya is what is (called) truth' (satya) and refers to the Person in the orb (maṇḍala) of the sun. Then it came to mean any figure or diagram (generally

1850. वरदाभयस्मिन् च वरदाभयत्वं भिचे। Javaiprakāśakram II. 39; the Vara and Abbaya mudrās are defined in Jayākhyasamhitā VIII. 104–5 as follows: सुपरम्भकृत्य हल स्तम्भनस्तु परासुज्ञ्य। परास्तुख्यं तन्मानस वाप्पणम पक्कन्येत्। समाध्यावगते तु इदं दुर्गच्छ द्विजः। विज्ञप्ति तीर्थापातानामाधिअर्थैं समासः। See 'Buddha and the Gospel of Buddha' by A. Coomaraswamy (London 1916) p. 262 for a Bhumispaṁśa-mudrā from Ceylon (of 18th century A. D.) and 'Buddhist Art in India' by Prof. Grünwedel tr. by Agnes C. Gibson, figure 126 p. 178 for Bhumisparāmudrā (of Buddha) and pp. 38 and 330 (of Coomaraswamy's work) for Dharmacakramudrā respectively of Gupta period and from Gandhāra (1st or 2nd century A. D.) and Dr. B. Bhattacharya's 'Buddhist Iconography' plate XXVIII for the same. Vide 'Serpent Power' by A. Avalon (5th edition, 1953 pp. 480 and 488) for illustrations of Yogimudrā in Siddhāsana and Mahāmudrā respectively as practised by modern practitioners of yoga. In the Memoirs of Arch. S. I. No. 66 plate XIII (g) has Abbayamudrā of standing Buddha and 'Buddhist Art in India' (above) p. 192 has Abbaya-mudrā of Maitreya from a relief in Swat, while in V. A. Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' (ed. of 1930) plate 113 shows Buddha seated in Abbayamudrā from Java. Vide N. K. Bhattachal's 'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum' (1929) plate VIII opposite p. 30 for a fine Bhumisparāmudrā of Buddha and pp. 56 and 57 plates XX and XXI for Varada mudrās (right hand).

1851. तत्त्वज्ञानसंस अनिद्रयो च एव एतस्मिनमाध्यं एव मध्याय अन्तर्गतं पुष्पं। बृह. उप. V. 5. 2; vide बृह. उप. II. 3 3.
circular) drawn on an altar and the like. In the Śulbasūtras of Āpastamba and Kātyāyana reference is made to the squaring of a circle (mandala).\textsuperscript{1852} The Matsyapurāṇa refers in several passages to mandalas drawn with powders of five colours (as in 58. 22). It also refers to the figure of a lotus of twelve or eight petals drawn with saffron or red sandalwood paste or with various colours (72. 30; 62. 15; 64. 12–13; 74. 6–9 a lotus figure with eight petals and pericarp for sun worship). Varāhamihira in Br. S. (chap. 47) describes\textsuperscript{1853} a very auspicious ceremony called Puṣyāsnāṇa in which a mandala was to be drawn on holy ground with powders of different colours in which positions were to be assigned to gods, planets, stars etc. The Brahmaṇapurāṇa (28, 28) mentions the invocation of the Sun on the figure of a lotus and Brahmaṇapurāṇa (61. 1–3) about the worship of Nārāyana on a mandala in the form of a lotus is quoted by Raghunadana in Purusottama-tattva (p 569). The Harsacarita\textsuperscript{1854} (first half of 7th century A.D.) refers to a large mandala being drawn in several colours. The Varāhapurāṇa refers to the images or paintings of Lakṣmi and Nārāyana in a mandala for worship (chap. 99. 9–11). The Agnipurāṇa (chapter 320) refers to eight mandalas, Sarvatobhadra and others. Several mandalas are described in Śāradātīlaka III. 113–118, 131–134, 135–139 (navanābhamandala), in Jñānārṇava 26. 15–17 and other works. According to the Amarakośa\textsuperscript{1855} Sarvatobhadra is a variety of

\textsuperscript{1852} चुत्रभं मण्डलं चिकित्सिन्यं मध्यायं कोठवं निरपेक्षं। पार्श्वं परिश्वानेति।

\textsuperscript{1853} चालोध्य चिकित्सिन्यं मध्यायं कोठवं निरपेक्षं। सा सितवा मण्डलं।

\textsuperscript{1854} चालोध्य चिकित्सिन्यं मध्यायं कोठवं निरपेक्षं। यथाविधम् परिश्वानेति।

\textsuperscript{1855} चालोध्य चिकित्सिन्यं मध्यायं कोठवं निरपेक्षं।
residence for kings or rich people. The Śāradātilaka (III. 106-130) deals at length with the construction of a Sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala and remarks that it is common to all worship and provides (III. 122-124) that the maṇḍala should be drawn with five coloured powders viz. yellow with turmeric powder, white produced from husked grains of rice, red with Kusumbha powder, black with the fine powder of half burnt inferior cereals sprinkled with milk and greenish with powder of the leaves of bilva. The Prapañcasāra (V. 64-65) and Agni (30. 19-20) provide for similar coloured powders. The Vāstuyāgatattva of Raghunandana (p. 416) quotes the Śāradātilaka (III. 123-124) about the five powders. The Jñānārṇavatantra (34. 8-10 and 26. 15-17) appears to hold that maṇḍala and cakra are synonyms and states that a maṇḍala with nine angles may be drawn on an altar in a pavilion (maṇḍapa) with saffron or vermilion powder. The Mahānirvāṇatantra also refers to maṇḍalas drawn with coloured powders (X. 137-138). Four characteristics of maṇḍala ceremonies are maṇḍala, mantra, pūja and mudrā.

The Buddhist tantras also make much of maṇḍalas. In the Maṇjuśrīmūlakalpa maṇḍalas are described with special directions for painting them. The Guhyasamājatantra speaks of a maṇḍala of 16 cubits with a cakra inside. Vide Prof. G. Tucci’s ‘Indo-Tibetica’ vol. IV part I (Rome, 1941) which gives tables containing manalas and A. Getty’s ‘The Gods of Northern Buddhism’ (1908) Plate XVI for a maṇḍala of nine elements, and ‘Contributions to the study of maṇḍala and mudrā’ by Erik Haahr pp. 57-91 of vol. XXIII. Nos. 1 and 2 (1958) of Acta Orientalia of the Oriental Societies of Denmark, Norway &c. in which at the end there are photographs of about 100 hand poses (mudrās). The Nispannayogāvali (G. O. S.) of Abhayākara-gupta, a contemporary of Rāmapāla, king of Bengal (1084-1130 A. D.), describes 26 maṇḍalas in 26 chapters, each maṇḍala having a central deity and other minor Buddhist deities, sometimes more than one hundred in number.

1856. मण्डले सर्वोदयमंतस्थापनं स्वतं। शास्त्रं III. 131.

1857. मण्डले (श्रव) वेदविख्ययुज्यतम्। ...सदेवलयं वसाते कुज्ञेन- नाथ वा मिष्ये। सिद्धर्थजय सम्बंधितस्मिनः। ज्ञानपथ 24. 8-10; मण्डले विश्वाय बिन्दुर्णं महाभासमं। कल्पानां नव संस्कृतयं हेमरत्नादिप्रसिद्धिः। एके वा कल्पस्य रथं स्थापेक्षेऽकातः। द्रष्टो मण्डले हुः कुज्ञेनात्मचिन्तितम्। ibid. 26. 15-16.

1858. Vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya’s article in J. G. J. R. I. Vol. VI. pp. 273-281 for the importance of Nispannayogāvali of Abhayākara-gupta for Buddhist deities and psychic literature.
In the collection of the rites and worship called ‘Rgveda-brahmakarmanasamuccaya’ published by the Nirñayasāgara Press (6th ed. Bombay 1936) there are at the beginning several maṇḍalas, plain or drawn in various colours, such as the Sarvatobhadra, Caturilingatobhadra, Prāśadavāstumandala, Gṛhavāstumandala, Graha-devatāmandala, Hariharamandala, Eka-lingatobhadra. The Smṛtikaustubha mentions Dvādasalingatobhadra, Harihara-maṇḍala inside which there is Sarvatobhadra pp. 410–411 (of Nirn. ed. of 1909). They are all passed over here. Sarvatobhadra literally means ‘auspicious on all sides’. This concept of an auspicious figure or diagram was carried over in the realm of Poetics. Dandin in his Kāvyadārśa cites a verse in the form called Sarvatobhadra, which is an illustration of what are called ‘citra-bandhas’.[1859] About a century before Dandin, the Kirātārjunīya (15.25) gives an illustration of ‘sarvatobhadra’.

In the Acta Orientalia volume referred to above there is an interesting analysis of the contents of two Tibetan mss., one containing what is called ‘Rice-maṇḍala’ in which 37 elements

![Diagram of Rice-mandala](image-url)

1859. ਮਾਹੁਰਪਿੰਡੀ ਰਾਮ ਸ਼ਲੋਕਾਰਪਿੰਡਾ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਾ। ਸੰਤਾਪਮਾਂਧ ਭਾਸਨ ਕਰਦੀ ਸੰਤੇਹਗਰੰਠ ਪੰਪੂ। 

Kāvyadārśa III. 80. किताबदारशाय (sarga 15 v. 25) furnishes the following as सावत्तेह: द्रव्याकारितिकाववाद यादिमायकास्तवकारध वा। काविरम्भरे काइका निस्सिद्धान्यभवति। 

An example of a verse in the सावत्तेहमायन is furnished by Kāvyadārśa III. 82, which is as follows:

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are indicated by their names (vide figure 1) and the other containing 123 drawings of mudrās (hand poses).

Another characteristic item in Tantrik worship is ‘yantra’ (geometrical diagram), sometimes called cakra also, which one finds to some extent also in the Purāṇas and slightly in modern orthodox practices. A yantra is a diagram (or figure) engraved, drawn or painted on metal, stone, paper or other material. It resembles a maṇḍala but differs from it in this that a maṇḍala may be employed in the worship of any devatā, while a yantra is specially appropriated to the worship of a particular deity or employed for a particular purpose. The Kulārnava-tantras states; ‘Yantra is a development (or product) of mantra and a deity apprehended in the form of a mantra; the deity worshipped on the yantra immediately becomes favourable; yantra is so called because it removes all pains (or perturbations) arising from such faults as love and anger; if God is worshipped in yantras, he is pleased’. The same Tantra further says ‘if worship is done without a yantra the devatā is not pleased’. Here the word ‘yantra’ is derived from the root ‘yantr’. In another place the same tantra states ‘Yantra is so declared because it always saves (the worshipper) from Yama (god of death) and goblins and other dangers’. The Rāmapūrṇatapanyā Upanishad observes ‘the arrangement (or preparation) of a yantra is the body of the deity which confers safety’. The Kaulāvalinirnaya observes ‘worship (of a deity) without employing a yantra, satiating (the goddess) without offering flesh, drinking wine without being accompanied by a Śakti (the wife or other woman associated with a Śakti worshipper)—all these yield no fruit.’ Some works evolved a ‘yantra-gāyatri’ also.

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1860. यन्त्र अन्तमय्यम् वाक्र देवता मन्त्रस्यथि। यन्त्रे सा पूजिता देवी सहस्रम प्रसीदति॥ कामकोषायस्यन्ताध्यादृष्टिः स्वयं स्वयम्। यन्त्रम् श्रीमत्वोत्स्तस्य देव-श्रीमाति पूजितत॥ कुलार्याय VI, 85-86 (The first half verse is quoted from अस्तस्मयस्मिन्नम् ज्ञानीयवन्यां। यन्त्रम् वेदाभस्मिन्नम् देव-श्रीमाति पूजित॥)

1861. यन्त्र अन्तमय्यम् वाक्र देवता मन्त्रस्यथि। यन्त्रे सा पूजिता देवी सहस्रम प्रसीदति॥ कामकोषायस्यन्ताध्यादृष्टिः स्वयं स्वयम्। यन्त्रम् श्रीमत्वोत्स्तस्य देव-श्रीमाति पूजित॥ कुलार्याय VI, 85-86 (The first half verse is quoted from अस्तस्मयस्मिन्नम् ज्ञानीयवन्यां। यन्त्रम् वेदाभस्मिन्नम् देव-श्रीमाति पूजित॥) कुलार्याय VI, 85-86 (The first half verse is quoted from अस्तस्मयस्मिन्नम् ज्ञानीयवन्यां। यन्त्रम् वेदाभस्मिन्नम् देव-श्रीमाति पूजित॥)

1862. The यन्त्रमय्यम् वाक्रे सा पूजिता देवी सहस्रम प्रसीदति॥ कामकोषायस्यन्ताध्यादृष्टिः स्वयं स्वयम्। यन्त्रम् श्रीमत्वोत्स्तस्य देव-श्रीमाति पूजित॥ कुलार्याय VI, 85-86 (The first half verse is quoted from अस्तस्मयस्मिन्नम् ज्ञानीयवन्यां। यन्त्रम् वेदाभस्मिन्नम् देव-श्रीमाति पूजित॥)

1863. The यन्त्रमय्यम् वाक्रे सा पूजिता देवी सहस्रम प्रसीदति॥ कामकोषायस्यन्ताध्यादृष्टिः स्वयं स्वयम्। यन्त्रम् श्रीमत्वोत्स्तस्य देव-श्रीमाति पूजित॥ कुलार्याय VI, 85-86 (The first half verse is quoted from अस्तस्मयस्मिन्नम् ज्ञानीयवन्यां। यन्त्रम् वेदाभस्मिन्नम् देव-श्रीमाति पूजित॥)
These passages make it clear that a yantra was deemed to be a factor helping in restraining the restless movements of the mind due to anger, love and the like, and in making the mind concentrate on a diagram or model deemed to represent the deity worshipped. It induced concentration and encouraged the mental realization of the deity. The distinction between the devatā and yantra is similar to that between the soul and the body. Most Hindus look upon such forms of worship without antipathy because it is felt that they serve as a way of approach to divinity for ordinary unsophisticated people and that it is better to have one’s foot on the lowest rung of the ladder to higher life than to have it on no rung at all.

Yantras are described in such Tantrik and other works as Tripurātāpani Upaniṣad (II. 3), Prapañcāśatranta (pataallas 21 and 34), Śāradātilaka (VII. 53-63, XXIV), Kāmakalāvīlāsa (verses 22, 26, 29, 30, 33), Nītīsodaśikārāva (I. 31-43) Niṣṭītsava (pp. 6, 64-5), Tantrārājatātra (II. 44-51, VIII. 30 ff. XXXIII), Ahirbudhnya-samhitā (chap. 23-26), Mantramahodadhi (20th Tārānga), Kaulajñānanirnaya (X, which speaks of them as cakras). Kaulāvalinirnaya (III. 105-135), Merutantra (33rd prakāśa, 562 verses), Mantramahānirnaya-tantra (Uttarakhaṇḍa, 11th tārānga). It is not possible to deal with all this large material here. The Padma (Pātalakhaṇḍa, 79. 1) provides that the worship of Hari (Viṣṇu) may be performed on the Śālagrama stone or on a jewel or a yantra, a maṇḍala, or images, and not merely in a temple. The Ahirbudhnya-samhitā (chap. 36, verses 5-66) describes the procedure of the worship of a Sudarsana-yantra by a king or other personage desiring wealth or prosperity. One yantra or cakra may be explained and illustrated here. The most noted is Śrīcakra described in two verses quoted1863 below and explained in some detail in the

1863. Bhūrīṣṭi-śrīkṣītasya-sūkṣmādārāsyuṃ-śvēṣnānāgatasmāntaraśāśrasya, āśāraṇy ac phalimātasya ac bhūvyākṣaraṇātvāntāt pariturānāya: q. by Ādityāvijaya of Ānandaśīrī (B. I, ed. of 1868) p. 255 and by Bṛhatkathā on Niśākṣikā 1. 31 from Yagant (probably from the Śvetāmbara said to be composed by the great Śvetāmbara himself) and kalpaṃ: bhīkṣuṃ: śiśūyaśeśam: pāṇibhāṣyam: bhūvyākṣaraṇam: jāmaṃbhīṃbhāsam: mūlāṃśvākṣarasam: āṣāraṇy ac phalimātasya ac bhūvyākṣaraṇātvāntāt pariturānāya: q. by Śrīcakra verse 11 in ed., by Ganesha and Co. Madras, 1957 with Com. Śrīkṣītastava. Some writers read in the 2nd verse cādityāvijayaṃ, naḥ stands for 8, naḥ for 14, nām for 8, kāla for 16. There are two ways of describing it viz. from the bindu onwards (which is called Śṛṣṭi-krama) or from the outer lines to the bindu (which is called saṃhāra-krama). Vide ‘Shakti and Shākta’ by Sir John

(Continued on next page)
Setubandha commentary on Nityāsolasikārnava (I. 31-46). The latter verses explain how the Cakra is to be drawn with the bindu in a small triangle. The bindu represents Śakti or Mūlaprakṛti solidified. In published works on Tantra the Śrīcakra is represented in colours (as in Saundaryalahari published by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1957, facing the title page), while others represent it only by means of plain uncoloured lines (as on the outer cover of the above edition of Saundaryalahari or on the cover of the Kāmakalāvilāsa ed. by A. Avalon and published by Ganesh and Co. 1953). In some works the figure of Śrīcakra shows no gates as on the cover in ‘Principles of Tantra’ by A. Avalon or on the cover of Kāmakalāvilāsa, while gates are shown in other works (as in the above edition of Saundaryalahari before the Sanskrit text). There are nine triangles, five of which have their apex pointing downwards and these represent Śakti and four (representing Śiva) have an apex pointing upwards. The bindu is situated in the smallest triangle pointing downwards. Then there are two pairs of ten triangles (shown in some books as blue and red respectively), then fourteen triangles (coloured blue in some works), then eight-petalled lotus (sometimes coloured red), 16 petalled lotus (coloured blue), then three circles, then three boundary lines with four gates, these two latter being the outer sections of the yantra and the lotuses of 8 and 16 petals being the inner section of the yantra. There are in all 43 angles (some works make 44). The part of the Cakra within the boundary lines is called bhūpurā. The worship of yantra is bahiryāga (outer or external worship of Śakti). The internal worship (untryāga) consists in taking the awakened Kundalini through the cakras from Mūlādhāra to Ajñācakra and then uniting it with the Lord Śiva in the Sahasrāra-cakra, the six cakras from Mūlādhāra being identified with

(Continued from last page)

Woodroffe (3rd edition of 1929 published by Ganesh & Co, Madras) pp. 399 ff for explanation of the figure of Śrīcakra. A tāntirik work called Devirahasya (D. C. ms. No. 490 of 1895-98) quotes the verse विन्दुविकोण...वेतत्ताया: (on folio 31a) but also cites another verse describing this cakra somewhat differently. Cakras are differently enumerated in different works. For example, in D. C. ms. No. 962 of 1884-1887 called चक्रप्रमाण, five cakras employed in the worship of Durgā according to Kaulāgama are रामचक्र, महाचक्र, बैन्चक्र, शीर्षचक्र and प्रमुचक्र (Cat. vol. XVI. on Tantra p. 163), while in another ms. D. C. No 964 of 1887-91, several other cakras are described such as अक्षाचक्र, कणयनमायचक्र, शान्तचक्र, नवचक्र (Cat. vol. XVI. on Tantra p. 251).

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the five elements and mind. This is described in Saundaryalahari (verse 9). To what lengths ‘Sakti’ worshippers had gone in the worship of Devi by the bahiryāga method would be clear from a passage quoted from the commentary of Laksmidhara, almost the latest among the numerous commentators of the Saundaryalahari, who was horrified by the methods of Kaulikas.1861

The Setubandha on Nityāsodaśikārṇava is at great pains to emphasize that the worship of Tripurasundari is of the nature of upāsanā and not of the nature of bhakti and that this upāsanā is of two sorts, one consisting of the recitation of the mantra of the Devi and the other consisting of the worship of the yantra1865 (or cakra). Verses 126–204 of the Nityāsodaśikārṇava detail the different items in the worship of the Śrīcakra. The Nityāsodaśikā and other Tantrik works say that the great Tripurasundari is seated in the Śrīcakra.1866 The great aim of the Śākta sādhaka is apparently to realize his identity with the yantra, the mantra, the guru and Tripūrādevi. The Varsakriyā-kaumudi quotes a verse stating that worship of yantra performed with all mantras is commended and by so doing a worshipper may secure whatever he desires.1867

Even a comparatively sober work like the Śāradātilaka provides for the drawing up of yantras for wicked purposes. For example, in VII. 58–59 it describes an Agneya-yantra to be drawn on a garment secured from a pile in a cemetery and buried near the house of one’s enemy for the latter’s destruction.

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1864. तवाधारे मूळे सह समया तालपरया नवानाम वन्ये नवसमस्ताल्पन्द्रम्।
उभागामिताविद्विनिश्चिद्रिह दृष्टया सनाधाम्या जञ्जं जनकजनजीवज्ञाड़िद्रुम। सौधप०
verse 41 p. 181 (ed. of Ganesh and co. 1951). The com. of तपस्योऽर्थ remarks
‘अत्य यो तालकाल्पिको निन्दुः निन्यं समर्थयति।... श्रीक्रियािततन्तङ्गोपात्यतपोर् चुज्जितम्
पदवर्णीतिः दिशितम् पूज्ययति। तत्कारणः... श्रीक्रियाविद्विनिन्यात्कोऽज्जितम् पूज्ययति।... उभयः
यो विन्दित्र साहाययो नातस्यं। अमलयाप्राप्तंतकमेव पूजययम्।... अत्य वह वस्त्रमण्डलं तत्
अविन्दिताल्पन्द्रम् स्मारणािंतैं न भवति।’

1865. अस्त्र तन्मय्याय पालपर्यायः हिमपुरुसदर्शनानिन्यानि एव तालयायवायः।
सा चोपासमा मानस्कालिकाविशेषः।... तस्मात्सुजायसुज्ञाता किंवत्पूरपोर्वा।
सा च हिलिया-तन्मय्यायसुज्ञाता सतादृष्ट्याः। वैस्वमण्डलये निन्या। I. 125 p. 68.

1866. संतिकान्ता महाश्रमके महाविपुरुरसुरी। निरायोऽविनिपित्या I. 82।
अस्त्र तालया
भेज्जास्तालं ज्ज्जे च बाहिर्सिद्धम्। श्रीक्रियाविद्विनिन्यात्कोऽज्जितम्।
तस्मात्सुजायसुज्ञाता 35, 6; अस्त्र तालया
अस्त्र तालया। चित्रितम् काल्पनिक नैकत्यात्
काल्पनिक। verse 37 of काल्पका।

1867. संपूर्णमानं वृष्णां युज्ये यथे प्रस्थाने। यथे मन्त्रेष समारास्य धन्यमेव तथा-
मुद्यात्। व. क्ष. कै. p. 147.
In XXIV. 17–18 and 19–21 two yantras for the destruction of an enemy are described. Vide above p. 1105 for Prapañcasāra (34. 33) providing a yantra for creating passion in a woman and making her run to the person practising magic.

The Tantrarājatāntra provides (8th Paṭala, verses 30–32) that yantras that yield all desired objects should be engraved, painted or drawn on pieces of gold, silver or copper or on cloth or birch leaf with paste of sandalwood, agalochnum, camphor, musk or saffron and should be worn on the head or the arms or neck, waist or wrist or one should worship them after placing them somewhere (on the ground &c.); vide also Prapañcasāratantra XI. 46 for similar provisions.

At the end of this chapter on Tāntrik doctrines and practices reference must be made to a remarkable circumstance. The Sarvadarsañasaṃgraha of Sāyana-Mādhava (14th century A.D.), that deals with 15 Darśanas (points of view or philosophical views), has not a word to say about Tantras, though it devotes considerable space to the atheistic Cārvāka-darśana and the unorthodox Baudhā and Jaina systems. It is impossible to believe that the most learned brothers Sāyana and Mādhava were unaware of the works on Tantra. The silence must be due to some special reason. If one may make a conjecture, it appears that Tāntrik doctrines were discarded for the same reasons that induced the Bengal king Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara to exclude the Devipurāṇa from the authorities on which he meant to rely. At the time when Sāyana and Mādhava flourished (about middle of 14th century A.D.) Tāntrik doctrines and practices had come into great disrepute. Therefore, Tāntrik doctrines were probably passed over in silence by Sāyana-Mādhava.
APPENDIX TO SECTION VI

Some important published texts consulted by the author on Tantricism are set out here. Sanskrit works are arranged in the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, but are transliterated in English and their names are printed in italics. Information about authors, dates and editions is set out briefly where available.

Advayavajrasaṅgṛaha of Advayavajra (11th century A.D.); contains 21 short works on Buddhist philosophy (in G.O.S.), ed. by H. P. Shastri, with a valuable Introduction.

Ārya-Maṇjuśrīmūlakalpa (published in TSS in three parts and 721 pages); contains parts of different dates (from 4th to 9th century A.D.). It is Buddhist and included in Tibetan Kangyur. It has now 35 chapters, but a Chinese translation of 10th century has only 28 chapters. Dr. B. Bhattacharya ascribes it to 2nd century A.D.; but Winternitz disagrees (vide IHQ. IX. pp. 1 ff.). Jayaswal in 'Imperial History of India' gives the text of pataḻavisāra 53 containing 1003 verses, out of which verses 6-344 deal with the biography of Buddha up to his nirvāṇa and real history is given from about 78 A.D. to 8th century A.D. in verses 345-980.

Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati of Īśānaśivagurudevamīśra, in four parts, Sāmānyapāda, Mantrapāda, Kriyāpāda and Yogapāda; it contains about 18000 ślokas and is published in T. S. S.; it mentions Gautamiya Tantra, Prapañcasāra and Bhojarāja; composed about 1100 A.D. or a little later.

Kāmakalūrilāsī of Puṇyānandanātha, with the commentary Cīdvalli of Nātanānandanātha (Kasmīr S. S.); there are 55 verses with tr. and notes by Arthur Avalon (pub. by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1953), originally in Tantrik Texts vol. X.

Kālacakratantra (Buddhist) - Vide J. A. S. B., Letters, vol. XXVIII (1952) pp. 71-76 for an account of this work by Biswanath Bandopadhyaya

Kālajñānanaṁśya - ed. by Prof. P. C. Bagchi (in Calcutta S. Series, 1934); H. P. Shastri assigned the ms. of it to 9th century A. D., but Prof. Bagchi (p. 3) places it in the
middle of the 11th century A. D. It is ascribed to Matsyendrapāda in the colophons. Vide p. 1115, n 1820 above for Matsyendranātha.

Kālīvīlāsatantra—ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. VI (1917) in 35 pātalas. In X. 20-21 it frankly allows adultery provided the sexual act is not completed. It mentions (in XX. 1) the Kālikāpurāṇa and in XV. 12-13 contains a mantra in a language resembling Assamese and eastern Bengali.

Kulacūḍāmanī-tantra (ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. IV, 1915) in seven pātalas and 430 verses. In I, 4-12 names of 64 tantras are cited.

Kulārṇava-tantra—It is in 17 ullāsas and contains over 2000 verses. It is a famous work profusely quoted (published in Tāntrik Texts, vol. V, London, 1917). It is an early tantra, probably composed before 1000 A. D. In the colophons it is said to be a tantra of the Ṣūdrāvīṣṇuṇāya (the fifth of the five amnāyas) and as part of the work of one īdhā and a quarter verses. Vide A. B. O. R. I. vol. XIII, pp. 206-211 for a paper on ‘Kulārṇava-tantra, its extent and contents’ by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti.

Kaulāvalīnirnaya of Jñānānandagiri in twenty-one ullāsas, ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XIV; in I. 2-14 names numerous Tantras including yāmalas and in I. 92-93 eight former gurus are named.

Ganapatitattva—Old Javanese Text, critically edited, annotated and translated by Dr. (Mrs.) Sudarsadevi Singhal (pub. by International Academy of Sciences, New Delhi, 1958); refers to Mūlādhāra and other Cakras with their positions and colours, six āṅgas of Yoga excluding yama, niyama, āsana and adding tarka; gives an account of the production of nāda from Niśkala and of bindu from nāda and so on, of mantras, bijās &c.

Guhyasamājatantra or Tathāgata-guhyaka (Buddhist): It is published in G. O. S.; it is assigned to 4th century A. D. by Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in Intro. to Sādhanamālā, vol. II, p. XCV); vide p. 1050 above for criticism of this view. It probably belongs to the 5th or 6th century A. D. Vide notes 1673 and 1691.
Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha published in S. B. Texts (1925); mixture of Yoga and Tantra.

Cidgānaacandrikā; ascribed to Kālidāsa; ed. by Trivikramatirtha in Tāntrik Texts, Vol. XX.

Jayākhyasaṁhitā (published in G. O. S.)—a Pāñcarātra work ascribed to 450 A. D. by Dr. B. Bhattacharya; contains some Tantra topics such as Yakṣini-sādhana, Cakrayantra-sādhana, Stambhana.

Jñānasiddhi of king Indrabhūti, disciple of Anaṅgavajra and father of guru Padmaśambhava; pub. in ‘Two Vajrayāna Texts’ (G. O. S.); assigned to about 717 A. D. (Intro. p. 10); gives in a nutshell leading doctrines of Vajrayāna.

Jñānārṇavalantra, pub. by Anan. Press, Poona; contains 26 pātalas and about 2300 verses.

Tantraraśātantra, ed. in Tāntrik Texts, vol. VIII and XII and pub. by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1954, with the commentary Manoramā by Subhagānandaṇātha; it has 36 chapters. It gives an account of the Kādimata.

Tantrasāra of Krishṇaṇanda, pub. in Ch. S. S.; about 17th century A. D.

Tantrasāra of Abhinavagupta, a summary of Tantrāloka, pub. in Kashmir S. S. (1918). About the first quarter of 11th century A. D.


Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the com. of Jayaratha, pub. in Kashmir S. S. in several volumes; composed about 1000 A. D.

Tārātantra, ed. by Śri Girisacandra and pub. in the Gaudagranthamāla No. 1 (1913); in 6 pātalas and 150 verses. It declares that Buddha and Vasistha were Tāntrik sages of old and nine Kaula gurus whose names end in ‘nātha’ are mentioned; refers to Mahācīnākhyā Tantra and provides for devotee (only male) offering his own blood to Tārā.

Tārābhaktisudhārnava, of Narasimha Thakkura, who was 5th in descent from Govinda Thakkura, author of Pradipa, com. on Kāvyaprakāśa; composed about 1680 A. D.; ed. by Pancanan Bhattacharya (in Tāntrik Texts vol. XXI, 1940);
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a large work in eleven Taraṅgas and 435 pages on the worship of Tārā, one of ten vidyās connected with Śakti (not the Buddhist divinity Tārā). The 9th Taraṅga deals with the horrible rite of Śavasādhana (pp. 345–351).

Ṭārārahasya of Brahmānanda, pub. by Jivananda (1896); mentions Mahācīna, Nilatантra, Yogīnītانتra, Rudrayāmala.

Tripurārahasya of Hāritayana, with com. called Tātparyadīpīka of Śrīnivāsa; pub. in S. B. series; it is a discourse by Hāritayana to Nārada. Tarākhanda portion of it is philosophical.

Tripūrārasamuccaya of Nāgabhatta with the com. of Govindācārya; pub. by Jivananda (1897).

Daksināmūrti-saṁhitā on Śrīvidyopāsanā in 65 paṭalas and about 1700 verses; pub. in S. B. series.

Nityāsodāsikārṇava (part of Vāmakesvaratantra) with the com. Setubandha by Bhāskararāya (1700–1750 A. D.); pub. by Anan. Press (1944).

Nityotsava of Umanandananātha (who bore the name of Jagannātha before diṅḍā and who was a Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇa patronized by the Tanjore Maratha Chief); this is a supplement to Paraśurāmakalpasūtra; Umanandananātha was a pupil of Bhāsurānandananātha (Bhāskararāya before diṅḍā) and composed the work in Kali era ‘rasārṇava-karivedamiteśu’ (Kali 4846 i.e. 1745 A. D.). It is probable that the word arṇava is used for seven instead of for 4 as usual (i.e. 4876, equal to 1775 A. D.); pub. in G. O. S. (1923).

Nispamanyogāvali of Abhayākaragupta, a contemporary of king Rāmapāla of Bengal (1084–1130 A. D.). It is Buddhist. The author was a Professor at the Vikramaśilā University in Bihar; describes 26 mandalas, each having a central deity and other minor Buddhist deities that sometimes exceed 100. It is valuable for later Buddhism, its pantheon and ritual; pub. in G. O. S. (1949).

Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, with com. Saubhāgyodayā of Rāmeśvara, pub. in G. O. S. (1923); earlier than 1300 A. D.; claims to be composed by Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni and chief disciple of Lord Mahādeva.

Pādukāpañcaka, ed. by A. Avalon in Tantrik Texts, vol. II (1913), Pārānandasūtra, pub. in G. O. S. (1931); not earlier than 900 A. D., says Dr. B. Bhattacharya.
Prajñopāya-riniścaya-sidhi of Anaṅgavajra, one of the 84 siddhas venerated in Tibet; Buddhist Vajrayāna work pub. in G. O. S. (1929); composed about 705 A. D. acc. to Dr. B. Bhattacharya in Intro. p. XII.


Prāmatosini, compiled by Rāmatosana Bhattacharya and pub. by Jivananda (Calcutta); it is a very large modern work in 1097 pages.

Brahmasāṅhitā, with the commentary of Jiva Gosvāmi; for Vaiśṇavas; pub. in Tāntrik texts; vol. XV.

Mantramahodadhi of Mahīdhara with his own commentary; composed in Vikrama year 1645 (1588–89) A. D.; pub. by Jiv. and Venk. Press.

Mahānirmāvatantra, with the cc. of Hariharānanda Bhārati. It is a leading but late work on Tantra, published very often; ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XIII in 14 Ullāsas as the first part; the ed. of 1929 by Ganesh & Co. has been used in this work; the third ed. of 1953 differs slightly here and there.

Mārkā-cakra-viveka of Svatantrānandanaṭha, with the cc. of Śivānanda; pub. in S. B. series, 1934.

Māheśvaratanaṭra, in 51 patalas and 3060 verses (pub. in Ch. S. S.); mentions that Tantras are 64 (1. 15 and 26. 11) and names 25 Vaiśṇava tantras (26. 16–20) and holds that Baudhāya tantras are misleading and meant for cruel rites (26. 21–22).

Merutantra; extensive work in 35 chapters, 821 pages and about 16000 verses; pub. by Venk. Press, Bombay, 1908.

Yoginitantra, published by Jivananda; q. by Raghunandana in Ekādaśītattva p. 58.

Yoginiḥradaya—the last three chapters of Nityāśodaśikārṇava (VI–VIII) are so called.

Yoginiḥradayadīpikā of Amṛtānandanaṭha, disciple of Pūnyānandaṇḍaṇaṭha, pub. in S. B. series, 1923; about 10th or 11th century A. D.

Rudrayāmalatantra, ed. by Jivananda (2nd ed. in 1892). A very extensive work in 66 chapters and in over 6000 verses
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(mostly in Anuṣṭubh metre), supposed to have been declared by Bhairavi to Bhairava (Siva). It was said to be a huge work in a lakh and a quarter slokas, e.g. D.C. ms. No. 667 (1) of 1895-1902 called Dhanadāpuraścaranavidhi states in the colophon that it is part of the Rudrayāmala (i.e. Rudrayāmala-sapādalaksāgrantha... Kīṁkīṁ-tantroktā-Dhanadā-puraścarāṇa-vidhiḥ; BORI cat. of mss., vol. XVI. on Tantra p. 247).

Lalitāsahasranāma with the com. Saubhāgyabhāskara of Bhāskarāya son of Gambhirarāya, minister of the Bijapur Moslem king; written in samvat 1785 i.e. 1729 A.D.; Nir. ed. of 1935.

Vavīsyaṃrahasya of Bhāskararāya (called Bhāsurāṇandanaṭha after dikṣā) with his own com. called Prakāśa. He flourished between 1700-1750 A.D.; pub. at Adyar, 1934.

Viṣṇu-saṁhitā in 30 paṭalas; pub. in T. S. S. 1925.

Śaktisaṅgamatantra, in four parts, viz. Kālī, Tārā, Sundarī and Chinnamastā; three parts dealing with the first three pub. in G. O. S.; between 1505-1607 A.D. Vide Poona Orientalist, vol. XXI. pp. 47-49 (between 1530-1700 A.D.).

Śaktisūtra—Vide Sarasvatibhavana Studies, vol. X. (pp. 182-187); has 113 śūtras and com. on 19 śūtras; attributed to Agastya by the commentary; the śūtra mentions Jalmini and Vyāsa.

Śaktapramoda (a recent work), compiled by Śrīrājadevanandanasimha, chief of Śivahara; pub. by Venk. Press, 1951; contains 17 tantras viz. Kālītantra, tantras called Śoḍāsi, Bhuvanesvari, Chinnamasta, Tripurabhairavi, Dhūnavati, Bagalamukhi, Mātaṅgi, Kamalātmikā, Kumārikā, Balidānakrama, Durgā, Śiva, Ganesa, Śurya, Viṣṇu.

Śaradātīlaka of Laksmana-deśikendra (disciple of Utpala); one of the most famous works on tantra. Aufrecht (p. 64) enumerates several commentaries, the most learned and lucid of which is the Padārthdārśa of Rāghavabhaṭṭa, composed in samvat 1550 (i.e. 1493-94 A.D.). Rāghavabhaṭṭa hailed from Mahārāṣṭra and was a resident of town Janasthāna (Pañcavaṭā) on the banks of the Godāvari; pub. in Kashi S. S. and in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XVI and XVII. Śaradātīlaka was composed about the 11th century.
A. D. Raghunandana expressly names Rāghavabhaṭṭa as the commentator of the Śāradatilaka in Jyotistattva p. 380.


Śyāmārahasya of Pūrṇānanda in 16 chapters, ed. by Jivananda; 16th century A. D.

Śat-cakra nirūpaya, of Pūrṇānanda in 85 verses; pub. in Tāntrik Texts, vol. II; composed śaka 1499 (i.e. 1577–78 A.D.).

Sanatkumāra-tantra— is a dialogue between Sanatkumāra and Pulastya in eleven pātañlas and about 375 verses. Published by Jyesthamukundji in Bombay in 1905. It is a mixture of Yoga and tāntrik technique and inculcates the worship of Kṛṣṇa in Tāntrik bijas like ‘klim, gauṁ &c’.

Śādhanaṃalā, published in two volumes in G. O. S. with a long Intro. to vol. II by Dr. B. Bhattacharya; contains 312 Śādhanas, many of which are anonymous and are known to Tibetan Kangyur; Dr. Bhattacharya states that the Śādhanas range in dates from third century A. D. to 12th century A. D. Winternitz, in I. H. Q. vol. IX (pp. 5–6), does not accept the view that the Prajñāpāramitāśādhana was composed by Asaṅga.

Sāmrājiya laksñmi-pithikā—said to be part of Ākāsa-bhairava Mahātāntra, published in Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahāl Series in 139 chapters, of which the first 30 are connected with mantra, japa, homa; chapters 31 ff deal in detail with departments of State, coronation (chap. 43 ff) and festivals like those of New Year, Rāmanavami, Navarāṭra, &c.

Sekoddeśatikā—a Buddhist work of Śrīnādapāda.; text ed. by Mario E. Carelli in G. O. S. with an Intro. in English.

Saundaryalahari, ascribed to the great Śaṅkarācārya, has numerous commentaries; ed. by Sir John Woodroffe and pub. at Adyar (1937); ed. of 1957 with three commentaries and English translation published by Ganesh & Co. Madras. There is an excellent edition of this work in 100 verses (text, English translation by Prof. W. Norman Brown, Harvard University Press, 1958).

Śrīvidyāratnasūtra, attributed to Gaudapāda (in 101 sūtras) with the commentary of Śaṅkarācārya, pupil of Vidyāraṇya,
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on 21 sūtras; ed. by Pandit Gopinatha Kaviraja in S. B. Texts series, Benares (1924).

Hāṃsaviśālā, of Hāṃsamīththu; pub. in G. O. S. (1937); the author was born in Gujarat in Vikrama year 1794 on Phālguna Full moon day (1738 A. D.). Though not a purely Tāntrik work it quotes many Tāntrik works such as the Kulārnava (pp. 68–76), Kaularahasya (p. 104), Yoginī- tantra (p. 103), Šāradātilaka (pp. 84–85, 105 ff). It deals with many other topics such as figures of speech, erotic subjects.

Hevajratantra, edited and translated by Dr. D. L. Snellgrove (Oxford University Press, 1959), in two parts. This work came to the author’s hands while this Appendix was passing through the Press. Part I (pub. in 1959) contains Introduction (pp. 1–46), English translation (pp. 47–119), contents (pp. 121–125), diagrams (pp. 126–129), Glossary (pp. 131–141) and Index (pp. 142–190); Part II contains Sanskrit texts and Tibetan texts based on a Nepalese ms. lent by Prof. Tucci; com. called Yogaratnamalā by Pandita Kānha has been included from an old Bengali ms. The editor holds (part I p. 14) that Hevajratantra was in existence towards the end of 8th century A. D. and that Advayavajra- saṅgraha and Sekoddeśatikā borrow from Hevajra-tantra. Śādhanamalā No. 229 (two opening verses) are the same as Hevajra II. 8. 6–7. Hevajra is an invocation of vajra. On p. 11 part I the editor questions how the yogins could call themselves Buddhists when they experienced enlightenment in the embrace of a yogini. Part I p. 70 mentions Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, Paurnagiri as pithas and several upāpīthas, upaksetras. The term Śaktī does not occur in Hevajra but its place is taken by Prajnā. Part II verses 11–15 p. 98 express how the followers of this tantra had sexual experiences with women called mudrās and how thereby they secured siddhi. Part I p. 54 contains ritual for gaining mastery over a young woman. Part II p. 2 states ‘Hekāreta mahākarunā vajram Prajnā ca bhanyate; Prajñopāyat- makam tantram tan-me nigaditam śṛṇu’. This is a very valuable addition to the literature on Tantra and has been very well edited.

Some important works and papers on Tantra — vide also note 1687 for works on Śaktī cult.

Tārānāth's History of Buddhism in India (translated into German by A. Schiefner (St. Petersburg, 1869). Portions were translated into English in I, A. IV. 101 ff. and 361 ff.


'History of Buddhism in India and Tibet' by Bu-ston translated from Tibetan by Dr. E. Obermiller.

Descriptive catalogue of mss in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VIII (deals with 648 mss. on Tantra in 892 pages).


Tantra of the Great Liberation (translation of the Mahānirvāna Tantra) with Introduction and commentary by Arthur Avalon (1913).


'Principles of Tantra' parts 1 and 2, ed. by A. Avalon (1914, 1916) with a long Introduction to part 2.

'Wave of Bliss'—translation of Ānanda-lahari (first fortyone verses of Saundarya-lahari) and comments by Sir John Woodroffe (1917).


'Chakras' by Right Rev. C. W. Leadbeater (Adyar, 1927) with plates.

'Śivasambhitā'—translation of—by Srisechandra Vidyarnava.

'Thirty minor Upanishads' translated by K. Narayanswami Aiyar.

'Mysterious Kundalini' by Dr. V. G. Rele (1927).

'Śakti or Divine Power' by Dr. Sudhendu Kumar Das (Uni. of Calcutta, 1934).
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P. C. Bagchi's Introduction to Kaulajñāna-nirñaya (Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934).


Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Introduction to Sādhanamālā vol. II. (G. O. S.) pp. XI-LXXVII; the same scholar's Introduction to Guhyasamājatantra (G. O. S.) and 'Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism' (Oxford University Press, 1932).

'Philosophy of Tripūra Tantra' by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in Sarasvati Bhavan Studies (1934), vol. IX. pp. 85-98.

'Some aspects of the philosophy of Śākta Tantra' by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in Sarasvati Bhavan Studies, 1938 vol. X. pp. 21-27.


'Influence of Tantras on the Tattvas of Raghunandana' in I. H. Q. IX. (1933), pp. 678-704 by Prof. R. C. Hazra.


'Comparative and critical study of Mantraśāstra' by Shri Mohanlal Bhagavandas Jhavery (1944).


'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets' by D. N. Bose (Calcutta, Oriental Publishing Co.).
'Vajra and the Vajrasattva' by Dr. S. B. Das-Gupta in 'Indian Culture' vol. VIII, pp. 23-32;

'Introduction to Tāntrik Buddhism' by Dr. S. B. Das Gupta (Calcutta, 1950);

'Philosophies of India' by Heinrich Zimmer (1951) pp. 560-602;

'The Veda and the Tantra' by Shri T. V. Kapali Sastry (Madras, 1951) pp. 1-255;

'Yuganaddha' (which literally means 'bound together or yoked together in the case of opposites') 'the Tāntrik view of Life' by Dr. Herbert V. Guenther in Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 'Studies' vol. III. (1952);

The following articles in the Cultural Heritage of India vol. IV, viz. 'Evolution of the Tantras,' by Dr. P. C. Bagchi pp. 211-226; 'Tantra as a way of realization' by Swami Pratyagātmānanda, pp. 227-240; 'The Spirit and Culture of the Tantras' pp. 241-251 by Mr. Atal Behari Ghosh; 'Śakti Cult in South India' by Shri K. R. Venkataraman, pp. 252-259; Tāntrik culture among the Buddhists' by Dr. B. Bhattacharya pp. 260-272; 'The cult of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryas' pp. 273-279 by Prof. P. V. Bapat.

'Lights on the Tantra' by M. P. Pandit (published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1957) This is a booklet of 54 pages of text and pp. 55-71 of notes containing hardly anything valuable of the author's own; over three-fourths of it consists of long quotations from the works of Woodroffe (particularly from 'Śakti and Śākta'), Sri Aurobindo and Shri Kapali Sastry and is here and there marked by bold and unwarranted assertions such as 'It is the central truths of the Tantra thought and ritual that form the backbone of the Hindu religion today' (p. 36). The present author repudiates totally this assertion. The author of this booklet has to admit that in the case of the Tāntrik cult that abuse of the body of occult knowledge for malevolent purposes instead of for the material and spiritual advancement of man and the vulgarization of the profound rationale of the mystic ritual are deplorable deformations (p. 36), that there has doubtless been a gross misuse of the knowledge developed by this science and that spurious texts have sprung up (p. 21).


'Tibetan Yoga' by Bernard Bromage (2nd ed, 1959 by Aquarium Press) - deals with magical and religious practices of Tibetans, spells, and exercises which are deemed to produce supernatural powers.
SECTION VII
CHAPTER XXVIII

MĪMĀṂŚĀ AND DHARMAŚĀTRA

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti provides that there are fourteen sources of vidyās (knowledge) and of Dharma,168 viz. Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṃśā, Dharmaśāstra, Āngas (six) and the Vedas (four). A similar verse is quoted by some as Manu’s, but it is not found in the extant Manusmṛti. It is therefore necessary to consider the origin and meaning of the word Mīmāṃśā, to set out the principal doctrines of that Śāstra, to mention the important rules of interpretation and the maxims of the Mīmāṃśā in their application to topics of Dharmaśāstra and to refer to some of the important works of that Śāstra together with their approximate dates.

The word mīmāṃśā has a great antiquity behind it. The Tai, S. VII. 5. 7. 1 1869 says ‘the expounders of Brahma (Veda) discuss (the question) whether a day should be omitted or not’. Here the verbal form ‘mīmāṃsante’ is employed in the sense of discussing or investigating a doubtful point and arriving at a decision thereon. In another passage of the Tai, S. the same form

1688. पुराणण्यपितामहसे... च चतुदृढः ॥ या. १. ३. quoted in n 1337 above. The पुराणण्यपितामहसे...चतुदृढः ॥ (12. 3.) अपराके p. 6 quotes from विश्वदर्शण the verse ‘अद्वितीये ब्रह्मदान्तारसे निर्माणसे व्याख्यातसि। द्रुणे धर्मेश्वररूप च विश्व एताचतुदृढः॥’. It is विश्वदर्शण. III. 6. 27, वार्त 61. 78. This is quoted as Manu’s by Prof. T. R. Chinamani in JOR, Madras, vol. XI. supplement p. 1. It occurs in विश्वदर्शण (जातिक 2, 6) also. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 112 note 198 where आदिनन्दनाध्यायः is quoted for 14 विश्वदर्शण and H. of Dh. vol. III. p 10 note 17 (for the four additional vidyās bringing the total up to 18). Vide a recent publication of Dr. G. S. Ghurye (1957, Bombay) on Vidyās (or Indian contribution to Sociology of knowledge) for detailed treatment. Even before the days of Kālidāsa the Vidyās had been 14 as indicated by Raghuvēnda V. 21 (विश्वदर्शणिन्यायमें कोटीश्चतुसो दश वातरे:॥).

1689. उद्घुप्त-च ोपुप्ता ३ मिति मीमांसले ब्रम्हनिदिनलाभाद्वयमेधेकलि...। तेषु. सं. VII. 5. 7. 1; यथा दु:द्व्यना याज्ञवल्क्यास्य वयं पात्रे वा तल्ये या मीमांसकां नैनेपात्रे न तल्ये मीमांसले। तेषु. सं. VI. 2. 6. 4-5. The last sentence means ‘they do not have any doubt about his being fit for dining with them or fit for relation with him by marriage’,
and another ‘mimāṃseran’ are used in the same sense. In several other places the Tai. S. raises points for discussion with the words ‘the brahmavādins discuss’ but without employing the word mimāṃsante or a cognate word. Vide Tai. S. II, 5, 3, 7 (about the deity of sānnāyya), V. 5, 3, 2, VI. 1, 4. 5., VI. 1, 5, 3–5. The Kāṭhaka Samhitā1873 puts forward a doubtful point for investigation without the words ‘Brahmavādins say’, but with the word ‘mimāṃsante’. The Atharvaveda 1871 states ‘men separately discussing many times noted on the earth her actions’. In another place it employs the words mimāṃsita and mimāṃsamāna. The Śāṅkhāyana 1872 Br. has ‘they discuss the question whether one should offer homa after the sun rises or before the sun rises’. The Tai. Br. employs the word mimāṃsā and the Śatapatha also in the Kāṇḍa recension does so (vide S. B. E. vol. 26 note 1.). In the Chāndogyopaniṣad 1873 it is stated that five scholars very learned in the Veda and possessed of large houses (wealth) named Prācīnasāla Aupamanyava and others got together and entered upon the consideration of the question ‘what is (the nature of) our self and what is Brahma?’. In the Tai. Up. occur the words ‘this is the investigation into (the nature of) Bliss (Brahma)’. In both these passages the word mimāṃsā is used in the sense of ‘consideration’ (vicāraṇā) of high philosophical topics.’

Pāṇini provides 1874 for the formation of seven roots with san affix (Desiderative), one of which is ‘mimāṃsate’ from

1870. आचेरूःला नन्दिः । दृष्टि मीमांसनेन। ‘विभिन्नध्वस्यमयेना । दृष्टि । काटकसं. VIII, 12.

1871. ध्रुवन्दप्रयोगान्येऽविधिः पुरुषः सुभ्रयं \ सदृष्टि मीमांसमाना।। अर्थं IX, 1, 3; स च \ एव विश्वास स्वप्नसमाना। विवेकोऽपि वेदोऽपि मीमांसितर्य \ न मीमांसमानर्य।। अर्थं \ IX, 6 (2), 24.

1872. सदिते होरत्वः सा मादृशिः दृष्टि मीमांसने । शास. भा. II, 8. Compare माद \ II, 15; सेवा मीमांसान्तः शोभें एव स्मिर्या । तै. भा. III, 10, 9.

1873. याहैत्यर्थात अपमन्यवः ... ते हेतु महाशास्त्र महामौदियम: समेत मीमांसां चकृ: \ को न आत्मा फळ हत्रोऽविहारः । भा. V, 11, 1; सैवतन्त्रस्य मीमांसा भवितः । तै. भा. II, 8.

1874. श्रीकृष्णिवादः सन्ता। मान-चकचार्योर्वोद्विपत्यार्थस्य । पा. III, 1, 5-6; \ the कार्यिका explains ‘मान अवज्ञानम्’ ..., एतेऽविष्णूः सन्ता । अर्थोऽलाभः \ अवज्ञानस्य चेकार्योऽत्मा भवितः मीमांसः ... मानविज्ञानस्यातः ।। The bhāṣya of Śāṅkara- 
\ cārya on V. S. I. 1 winds up the discussion with the words तस्मात् ब्रह्मविज्ञानस्य \ संस्कृतः वेदान्तमात्रमीमांसा । \ तत्वात्विद्वाद्विकारणानि मीमांसन्योऽविहारः ।। on \ which the साहित्य remarks ‘मान-चकचार्योर्वोद्विपत्यार्थस्य । मान- \ चकचार्योर्वोद्विपत्यार्थस्य सति युन्नार्थतयं मीमांसात्वत्यं सुविज्ञानायत्वं \ च । ।

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mān and the Kāśikā adds that it means ‘desire to know i.e., investigation and final conclusion’, having in view probably the sūtras ‘Athāto dharma-jijnāsā’ and ‘Athāto brahma-jijnāsā’.

The foregoing brief discussion shows that long before the Upaniṣads the word ‘mīmāṃsā’ had come to mean ‘investigation into a topic of discussion and coming to a conclusion thereon’. The same word acquired a restricted sense (as in the verse of Yāj. quoted above) viz., investigation into Dharma and arriving at conclusions on doubtful matters by interpretation and reasoning.

Some of the Dharmasūtras disclose familiarity with purely Mīmāṃsā terms and principles. For example, Gaut. states that an option is allowed only when there is a conflict between two texts of equal authority. The Āpastamba Dharmasūtra is the only Dharmasūtra that contains numerous Mīmāṃsā terms and doctrines. It says ‘a positive Vedic text has more force than an usage which merely leads to an inference (of its being based on a Vedic text now lost)’. This is similar to Jaimini I. 3. 3 ‘If there is a conflict (between an express Vedic text and a smṛti text) the latter is to be discarded but if there be no conflict an inference may be drawn (that the smṛti text is based on some Śruti)’. Āp. says ‘the rules about anādhyāya (stopping Veda study on parvan &c.) are applicable only to learning the Vedic mantras and not to their application in sacrifices’. In another place Āp. provides ‘where activity takes place because of finding pleasure therefrom (i.e. from a worldly motive), there is no (inference of its being based on) sāstra’, which is similar to Jaimini’s rule. For reasons of space other examples of close agreement between Āp. Dh. S. and Jaimini are simply referred

1875. हत्यचन्द्रयोगिनिन्द्राद्। मित्र. I. 5; compare जै. XII. 3. 10 स्तिरास्त्रु विकल्पस्य सभुवश्च व्याख्यात:। स्मार्ताध्यात्मकम्। साधूर्व्यस्मात्। येव वेदाभिर्मिति। विकल्पैर्मिति। यथा श्रीहिष्टाः। vide शत्रु ‘हत्याचन्द्रयोगिनिन्द्राद्। तत्त्वमात्रीयम्। भवति न भावाभ्याम्।’ on जै. X. 6. 33; compare शुरु II. 14 ‘शुरुतिन्द्रे यथा वया स्वास्त्रज्ञानोदितां स्वतः।’

1876. शुरुतिः कथायतिस्तत्वरामानसाताश्च। अप. चै. I. 4. 8; compare ‘निरोधे वनमुष्मिति स्त्वादसति हातुमानम्।’ जै. I. 3. 3; vidhā वस्तुपलिपियम्। शुध्धेते न स्तिरास्त्रे मन्त्रावलम्। अप. चै. I. 4. 12. 9; compare जै. XII. 3. 19 शुरुतिः पति। विधानां सवालं कालं। यथा महामथ्याह कर्मवाताम्।’ जै. I. 4. 12 11, compare जै. IV. 1. 12 ‘स्वास्त्रीया। शुरुतिः। वयस्तक्रयमुदितात्मकान्तिः।’

1877. अजुनान्ते तु मुनिनिष्ठ परेण। हर्तिस्तविविद्याहम्। अप. चै. II. 4. 8. 13, compare जैविनिः I. 3. 14-14 (कल्पनिकारणम्); अथापि। नवाच्याशुभतिविविद्याहत्वपि। (Continued on next page)
to in the note below and not explained at length. These examples show that in Āpastamba’s day Mīmāṃsā doctrines had been far advanced and since he employs the words ‘Nyāyavī-
samaya’ (the siddhānta or doctrine of those who know Nyāya) and ‘Nyāyavidāḥ’, it follows that he is referring to some work on Mīmāṃsā or some author who composed a mīmāṃsā-sūtra. The correspondence in ideas and words between Āp. and the PūrvaMīmāṃsāsūtra is so close that one is tempted to argue that Āp. knew either the extant mīmāṃsāsūtra or at least an earlier version of it containing almost the same expressions. It will not do to say that all the above passages are later inter-
polations. They have all been commented upon by Haradatta.

Some Śrautasastras such as that of Kātyāyana contain rules of the interpretation of Vedic texts that are similar to Jaimini’s sūtras and sometimes are stated almost in the same words.1878

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1878. It may be noted that P. M. S. writers are often called ‘Nyāyavi-
dāḥ’ by Saṅkara (on V. S. III. 4. 22), by Viśvarūpa and others. Bhāskara in his commentary on Brahmasūtra (I. 1. 1. p. 5, Chowkhamba series) states: यच्चन्च आह तदस्मात् मानामिति हि र्म्यायविदः. These are the words of Saṅkara in his bhāsya on P. M. S. III. 2. 36. On Yāj. I. 58 the Bālakṛīḍa of Viśvarūpa says ‘Tathā ca naiyāyikāḥ, ‘na bi vacanasayātibhārosti-
tyāḥ’’. These are the words of Saṅkara on Jaimini III. 2. 3 viz. ‘Kimivā 
vacanam na kuryāt nāsti vacanasayātibhāraḥ’. So here Saṅkara is called 
Naiyāyika. On Yāj. I. 53 the Bālakṛīḍa says ‘Nyāyavidasa Yājñikā tapī 
vā sarvadharmāh syat tanniyāyavād vidhānasya’. This last is Jai. I. 3. 16. 
So here Jaimini is called Nyāyavid and Yājñika. Similarly, on Yāj. I. 87 
the Bālakṛīḍa quotes Jai. VI. 8. 17 as the words of ‘Nyāyavidā yājñikāḥ’. 
The J. N. M. V. says nyāyas are the adhikaranas, deciding points of 
Dharma and expounded by Jaimini ‘जैमिनिनिभक्ति धर्मनिर्देशकारित्वकारणिनि 
र्म्यायः.’ The writers of Śrautasūtras are called merely Yājñikas by Bālakṛīḍa 
on Yāj. I. 38 ‘Tathā ca yājñikāḥ vyavahāryā bhavanti ityābhuḥ’. This 
quotation is from Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra 22. 4. 27-28. Besides, the 
sūtra ‘Prāyaścittavidhānacca,’ is the same in both Kāt. Ś. I. 2. 19 and 
P. M. S. VI. 3. 7 and Kāt. Ś. I. 8. 6 is the same as P. M. S. XII. 3. 15; 
morover, Kāt. Ś. IX. 11. 14-15 employ almost the same words as in P. M. S. 
III. 5. 36-39, though they hold opposite views. The P. M. S. (IV. 4. 19-21) 
holds that the Pindapiṭhyājīa is not an ānga of the rites on darśa (i. e. 
amāvāṣyā), but an independent rite, while the Kāt. Śr. (IV. 1. 28-30) holds 
that it is an āṅga. In the discussion on the meaning of the word Vaiśā-

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Only a few examples may be cited here; compare Kāt. I. 1. 9–10 (about rathakāra) with Jai. VI. 1. 44; Kāt. I. 1. 12–14 with Jai. VI. 1. 51 and VI. 8. 20–22; Kāt. I. 1. 18–20 with Jai. XII. 2. 1–4; Kāt. I. 2. 18–20 with Jai. VI. 3. 2–7 (about nitya-karma yielding full reward, even though some aṅga could not be performed), also Kāt. I. 3. 1–3 with Jai. I. 1. 35–40; Kāt. I. 3. 28–30 with Jai. VI. 6. 3. Sometimes, the Kāt. Ś. takes a view opposite to that of the Pūrvamimāṃsā but the words are often almost the same.

The Vārtikas of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini and the Mahābhāṣya show that Mīmāṃsā technical terms and doctrines had been elaborated long before them. For example, the Vārtikas employ the technical Mīmāṃsā terms ‘prasājyapratisedha’ (Vārtika 7 on Pāṇini I. 1. 44, Vārtika 5 on I. 2. 1, Vārtika 2. on VII. 3. 85), paryudāsa (Vārtika 3 on I. 1. 27), the word ‘Śastrātideśa’ (in Vārtika on VII. 1. 96), the distinction between ‘niyama’ and ‘vidhi’ (in Vārtika 1 and 2 on III. 3. 163), the word ‘prakaraṇa’ (vārtika 4 on Vi. 2. 143). Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya is full of Pūrvamimāṃsā matters. The word ‘Mīmāṃsaka’ occurs in bhāṣya on Pāṇini II. 2. 29. The Mahābhāṣya cites the well-known passage ‘the five five-nailed animals may be eaten’ and remarks that the sentence conveys that others than those five were not to be eaten.1879 But Patañjali does not employ the word Parisaṅkhya of which the above (five) is an example, according to mimāṃsā works. Jaimini employs the word

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nara occurring in Rg. I. 98, 1. and I. 59. 6 the Nirukta (VII. 21–23) cites the views of ‘aceaḥ’, of the ancient Yājñikas (who held that Vaisvānara means the sun in the sky) and of ‘Śakapūṇi’ (who holds that it means the terrestrial Agni). The Nirukta mentions the views of Yājñikas in V. 11, VII. 4 (where Yājñikas differ from the Nairuktas), in IX. 29 where the Nairuktas hold that Anumati and Rākā are wives of the gods while the Yājñikas held that these were the names of Pauruṣmāṣī), in XI. 31 (where a similar conflict between the views of the two interpreters of Sinivali and Kubh is mentioned) and XI. 42–43 (where also the views of Yājñikas and Nairuktas are mentioned).

1879. भूयनियमेनाभावस्यात्सहस्यां सम्प्र. वध वाज्ञक्ष भत्य इवस्ये सम्पत्ते। वध वाज्ञक्ष भत्य इवस्ये तस्य भवति। महाभाष्य (ed. Kielhorn vol. I. p. 5). Compare शब्द on जे. X. 7. 28 ‘संस्कृत परिवर्तन प्रतिवर्तन स्पष्टे। वध वाज्ञक्ष भत्य इवस्ये शास्त्रीयो वधानां कीर्तनावल्यों भाष्यं प्रतिवर्तन इत्यादियम् शास्त्रयमौं शास्त्रयमौं सम्प्र।’ The five animals are: शास्त्रक: भाष्यमेष तेष शास्त्रक: प्रमुखम्: समावेश IV. 17. 39; समू व. 18 शास्त्रक: शास्त्रक: (rhinoceros) to these five. Vide ya I. 177 for five and मृ. u. शृ. 17. 27 पञ्जक्षाथ्य। शास्त्रकक्षाभाष्यविद्वांशशुकुम्बुद्या। (अभय:).
Parisaṅkhya in VII. 3. 22, The Mahābhāṣya on IV. 1. 14 (vārtika 5) and on IV. 1. 93 (vārtika 9) gives valuable information viz. a brāhmaṇa woman is called ‘Kāśakṛtsnā’ if she studies the Mīmāṃsā expounded by Kāśakṛtsnā.1880 This establishes that in Patañjali’s time a mīmāṃsā work composed by Kāśakṛtsnā was in existence and women were found studying it. It is not certain what the Kāśakṛtsnī- mīmāṃsā contained i.e., whether it was like the Pūrvamīmāṃsā of Jaimini or it was like the Utara- mīmāṃsā (Vedāntasūtra) or deals with both mīmāṃsā and vedānta, which latter is not unlikely. The V.S. mentions the opinion of a teacher Kāśakṛtsnā (in I. 4. 22), which Śaṅkaracārya regards as the final conclusion supported by the real import of Śruti. The son of Kāśakṛtsnā might have been called Kāśakṛtsnī (Pāṇini IV. 1. 95). The Vārtikas and Patañjali are full of the discussion of important matters on which the Mīmāṃsā has its own doctrines. In the Vārtikas 35 to 59 on Pāṇini I. 2. 64 (Sarupāṇām-ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau) there is a lengthy discussion on the question of the import of words, viz. whether it is ākṛti or vyakti. It is said in Vārtika 35 that, according to Vaijayāyana, ākṛti is the import of a word, while, according to Vyaḍi (in Vārtika 45 ‘dravyābhidhānam Vyādih’), dravya (or vyakti) is the import of a word (pada). The Mahābhāṣya notes that Pāṇini wrote some sutras (such as I. 2. 58 ‘Jātyakhyāyām’ &c) in which he accepted jāti as the import of words, while in other sutras (such as I. 3. 64 ‘sarupāṇām’ &c) he

1880. काशकृत्सनिः चेत्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्सनी मीमांसकाद्रुत्त मीमांसे काशकृत्सनां बालिन्य।
महाभाष्य च पृ. IV. 1. 14. If काशकृत्सनिः मीमांसा dealt with पूर्वमीमांसा matters it is surprising that the extent पूर्वमीमांसासूच this makes no reference to काशकृत्सनिः when it names, besides जैसिस, nine predecessors viz. आदिशय, आलेरण (VI. 15), आदिशय (VI. 5. 16), बैलिम, बैलिम, कालिम, कालिम, कालिम, कालिम, कालिम, कालिम, कालिम, कालिम, कालिम, कालिम. Dr. Umesha Mishra omits by oversight आदिशय from the list of the predecessors of जैसिस in his ‘critical bibliography of mīmāṃsā’ added at the end of M. M. Jha’s ‘Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its sources,’ काशकृत्सनिः मीमांसा, being mentioned by जैसिस, must be placed not later than 200 B.C. If काशकृत्सनिः wrote on पूर्वमीमांसा as is most likely, one would naturally expect that if the extent पूर्वमीमांसासूच was composed after 200 B.C. and about 200 A.D. (as both Jacobi and Keith propose) काशकृत्सनिः should have been mentioned by the पृ. में. च. But if जैसिस was earlier than काशकृत्सनिः or was a contemporary of the latter, then it would be natural if the पृ. में च. does not mention him. Therefore, though an argument from mere silence is not very strong, it is likely that the present P. M. S. was composed at least before 200 B.C.
accepted 'dravya' as the import of words.\footnote{1881} It is to be noted that, according to Jaimini (I. 3. 33 'ākṛṣṭānuśu kriyārthavāt'), ākṛti is the import of words. On vārtika 3 on Pān. IV. 1. 92 (Śāmānacodanāstu viśesāsū) Patañjali says that the vīdhis declared with reference to certain things and objects in general really apply to individuals and he gives purely mīmāṁsā examples in this connection as set out in the note. The Vārtika-kāra and Patañjali both use the word 'codanā'\footnote{1882} in the Pūrvamīmāṁsā sense and give examples which are familiar to us from Śābarasbhāṣya. Among the purposes served by a study of grammar, ūha (which is the subject of the 9th chapter of PMS) is one. On Pānini I. 4. 3 Patañjali uses the language of Mīmāṁsā 'apurva eva vidhirbhavisyati na nīyamah.'

It appears that the Śaṅkarākṣaṇa was very much neglected from early times. There is a conflict of views about its authorship. The Nyāyaparīśuddhi of Venkatanātha (I. H. Q. vol. IX. at p. 299) states that Kāsākṛtsna was the author of the Śaṅkara-śaṅkāṇa. It appears from Śābara's bhāṣya that\footnote{1883} that Kāṇḍa existed in his day and was looked upon by him as Jaimini's work. Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 43 (pradānadvacana tad-uṭkam) mentions the Śaṅkarāsa, quotes a sūtra therefrom, holds that it was known to the Vedaṇatasūtra and appears to convey that it was a work of Jaimini. Rāmānuja also appears to hold that Jaimini was the author of 16 chapters (comprising

\footnote{1881} ‘किं पुनःकृतः पदार्थ आहोदितिः द्वयम्। उपयस्मिताः क्षणं ज्ञातः । अभ्यस्ता हा भाषायणं सूचयितं परिभाषितं । आकृतिं पदार्थं मला जातायायं ... तत्त्वधार्मिकम् इत्यर्थं।

\footnote{1882} ‘तः याहेन श्रावणीष्ठातैः’। वाििक 44 on पा. I. 2. 64; on which the महाभाष्य remarks ‘तः याहेन श्रावणीष्ठातैः भाष्यमम् आकृतिनिधित्वम् हि। आदेशान् नागावर्धनं निन्दितेन।’ वाििक 47 on I. 2. 64, on which the महाभाष्य comments ‘तः याहेन श्रावणीष्ठातैः भाष्यमम् आकृतिनिधित्वम् हि।’

\footnote{1883} ‘तितिक्षितसम्बमेऽपि कहखल इति। सिद्धृत्तकृत्तकार्थवनस्तिस्विरहे स्तुत्यन्त वचनात्र। सिद्धृत्तकृत्तकार्थवनस्तिस्विरहे स्तुत्यन्त वचनात्र।’
the twelve called Purvamimamsa and the four forming the Sankarsa). The Kalpataruparimala of Appayradiksita on V.S. III. 3. 43, while conceding that the Sankarsakanda was undertaken for discussion about devataas, insists that it is a parisista (supplement) of the P. M. S. of twelve chapters consisting as it does of discussions on several topics treated in the P. M. S. and being of a miscellaneous nature, that it does not begin with nor conclude with the discussion about devataas and that its first sutra is 'anuyajatiti anuvasaatakaarasa codyate'. Since the Sankarsakanda has had hardly any influence on Dharmastra works no further reference need be made to it in this work. 1884

Later medieval writers look upon the Mimamsastra as the most important of vidyasthanas (other than the Vedas), since it removes the ignorance, doubts and mistaken notions about the sense of several (Vedic) passages, and since all vidyasthanas require its aid for the determination of the nature of their real meaning. 1885

In some works like the bhasya of Ramanuja on V. S. and the Prapancahrdaya 1886 the Mimamsastra is stated to be as one whole containing twenty adhyayas (chapters) and we are told that there was a (bhasya) commentary called Krtakoiti on the whole of it by Bodhayana, that later on a concise commentary was composed by Upavarsa, that Devasvamin wrote a commentary.

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1884. Vide a paper by Pandit V. A. Ramaswami Shastri in I. H. Q. vol. IX. pp. 290-299 on Saankarsa as a supplement to the P. M. S.

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1886. Vide vide a paper by Pandit V. A. Ramaswami Shastri in I. H. Q. vol. IX. pp. 290-299 on Saankarsa as a supplement to the P. M. S.
on 16 chapters and Bhavādāsa also composed a commentary on Jaimini, but that Śabarā wrote a bhāṣya only on the first 12 chapters and did not comment on Saṅkaraśa. In I.H.Q. (vol.15 pp. 262–263) reference is made to an inscription of Rājarāja (999 A.D.) which records the gift of certain lands to a learned brāhmaṇa who was to provide to four pupils board and teaching in several subjects, one of which is specified as the mīmāṃsā of twenty adhyāyas. These 20 chapters are made up as follows:—12 chapters (each divided into four pādas, except chapters III, VI and X, each of which has eight pādas, in all sixty pādas) ascribed to Jaimini, 4 chapters called Saṅkaraśakāṇḍa and 4 chapters constituting the Vedāntasūtra. The twelve chapters often called Pūrvamīmāṃsā make an extensive work containing 915 or about one thousand adhikaraṇas (according to different writers) and about 2700 sūtras, dealing with numerous topics and laying down important rules of vedic interpretation. Yāj. (in I. 3) means by Mīmāṃsā probably the work of Jaimini in 12 chapters. Many writers such as Madhavacārya 1887 speak of two Mīmāṃsās, Pūrva and Utτara, respectively comprising the 12 chapters ascribed to Jaimini and the four chapters forming the Vedāntasūtra. Saṅkaraśa refers to the extant Pūrva-mīmāṃsā as Dvādaśa-lakṣaṇa in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra III. 3. 26, as ‘Prathama-tantra’ in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 25, III. 3. 53 and III. 4. 27, as Prathama-kāṇḍa in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 1, III. 3. 33, III. 3. 44, III. 3. 50, as Pramaṇalakṣaṇa in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 4. 42. On V. S. III. 3. 53 he speaks of the first pāda of the P. M. S. as ‘Sāstrapramukha eva prathame pāde’ and thereby conveys that he regards that the PMS and VS form one entire sāstra.

From here onwards up to note 1890 the discussion is also comprised (though a little more briefly) in the present author’s paper on ‘Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Brahmasūtra &c’ contributed to the Prof. De Felicitation volume (pp. 119–139).

There are very difficult and controversial questions about the authorship of the extant Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra and of the extant Vedāntasūtra (or Brahmasūtra) and their relation to each other. All of them cannot be gone into here. The first matter to be noted is that, though the number of the Vedāntasūtras is only about 1/5th of the number of the P. M. S., the V. S. contains

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1887. ये पूर्वअसमस्ते ते समालयापातिसंस्थित। कालामीग्मधवभाषाः नेवेद्य समस्यस्मत॥
Intro. verse 4 to the Com. on the चर्चेय (Poona ed.), Some mss, read सारणामयाः for मधवभाषाः.
more personal references (i.e. 32) than the P. M. S. (i.e. 27). In the 2nd place, we find that the Vedāntasūtras mention Jaimini eleven times and Bādarāyaṇa nine times, while the P. M. S. names Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini only five times each. The question arises whether Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were contemporaries and, if not, what the relation between the two was. Scholars are generally agreed that they were not contemporaries. There is a tradition of some antiquity contained in the Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa according to which Jaimini was a pupil of Pāṇa Vyāsa. It has been shown above (p. 557, note 1390) how the Purāṇas declare that Vyāsa Pāṇa Vyāsa, also called Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, arranged the one Veda into four and imparted the Rgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda respectively to PaiLa, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu. In the Mahābhārata Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampayana, PaiLa are stated along with Śuka (the son of Vyāsa) to be the pupils of Vyāsa; vide Sabhā 4.11 and Śāntiparva 328, 26-27 (cr. ed. 314, 23-24, 29) and 350. 11-12 (cr. ed. 337. 11-12). In the tarpana provided for in the Āśvalāyaṇagṛhyasūtra (III. 4. 4) occurs the very interesting passage ‘Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-PaiLa-Sūtra-bhāṣya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata-Dharma-cāryāḥ.’ The above passages make it clear that several centuries before the Christian era Jaimini’s was an honoured name and connected with the Sāmadeva. Scholars have examined the references to Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa in the P. M. S. and the V. S. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in I. A. Vol. 50 pp. 167-174 on Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa arrives at the somewhat startling conclusion that there were three Jaiminis. T. R. Chintamani on p. 14 of the supplement to J. O. R. Madras, Vol. XI agrees with Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. Jaimini is named five times in the extant P. M. S. viz. at III. 1. 4, VI. 3. 4, VIII. 3. 7, IX. 2. 39, XII. 1. 7. Commonsense requires us to hold that these five

1888. सोपैं जानायथे विभिन्नलिमिद्वजापतिसुधास्य नारदी विभवः

सेनाय विभवस्यनो महायण पाराजायथे यस्यस्: पराजायथे जैमिनि: पौषिणिद्वाय विभवः सारायण्यय सारायण्यो बाद्रायण्यानि: बाद्रायण्यस्या वैषम्यायमिनि: वातिणिद्वायमिनि: बहु: य: सामविधानवः. (at end). The सामविधानवः. (at end). The भाषा. रा. on वैश्वका.

(पंक्तिभाष्या 23) sets out the उपपरमसांस्या as ब्राह्म-वजस्वतिस्य-आदिम्ब-\n
कसीद-पालय-उपपरमसांस्य-जैमिनि. The तुक्षसंहितरुप्यतः p. 8 (in Chowkhamba series) gives two similar तुक्षसंहितरुप्यतः slightly differing from that of the सामविधानवः and from each other. The उपपरमसांस्या is practically useless up to यतिका. It may be noted that in the सामविधानवः Jaimini is said to be the disciple of Vyāsa Pāṇa Vyāsa while between Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa intervene two other names.

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references about Jaimini must have been made to the same person. If two different Jaiminis were intended by the P. M. S. (other than its own author) in the five sūtras a clear warning would have been given by the author. As shown below a sūtra should leave no ambiguity. Prof. Sastry holds that Jaimini mentioned in VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini in the other four passages, because Śabara does not employ the word ācārya for qualifying Jaimini on VI. 3. 4 as he does in the four other cases and because the view put forward in VI. 3. 4 appears to be Pūrva-pākṣa, while in the four other cases Jaimini’s view is the siddhānta view of the Māṁśa-sūtra. The number of sūtras in which Jaimini is named is very small (only 5), out of which the word ācārya is applied to Jaimini by Śabara in four places and not so applied in one. This is a very slender and inadequate ground for holding that the Jaimini in P. M. S. VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini named in four other places. The usages of ācāryas as to employment of qualifying words like ‘ācārya’ or ‘bhagavat’ to authors mentioned by them differ. Kumārila applies no epithet like ‘ācārya’ or ‘bhagavān’ to Jaimini and in one place charges Jaimini with composing sūtras containing not much substance. In the sūtras in which Jaimini is named in the V S (viz. in I. 2. 28, I. 2. 31, I. 3. 31, I. 4. 18, III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18, III. 4. 40, IV. 3. 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11) Śankara-ācārya adds the qualification ‘ācārya’ in all except on III. 4. 40, although Jaimini propounds many propositions not acceptable to Bādarāyaṇa the author of V. S. or to Śankara. In III. 4. 40, however, he omits the qualification ‘ācārya’ as regards both Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa. No one has argued that because the word ācārya does not qualify Bādarāyaṇa in III. 4. 40, the Bādarāyaṇa in that sūtra is different from the Bādarāyaṇa named in other sūtras. In another place (on V. S IV. 1. 17) it may be noted Śankara-ācārya remarks that both Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa are in agreement that certain acts of the kāmya type are of no help in

1889. ‘मनि च जमिनेन्द्रपारायणस्य मानवरुपानी सुचारूति।’ तत्त्वार्थ: p 895 (on यथाशील विद्याधूर्जित सर्वायि: स्यात), which is the first of six sūtras after III. 4. 9 that were omitted by Śabara.

1890. The sūtra is ‘तत्त्वादाय तु नात्त्वादाय जमिनेन्द्रपि नियमतादायमावेधः’ व. चौ. III. 4. 40 on which Śaṅkara remarks: ‘जमिनेन्दरप्रथमप्रवेदेन जमिनेन्द्रपारायणस्य- यथा संविकृति कालिक अविनवस्यायि:। तिथि नात्त्वादाय जमिनेन्द्रपि नियमतादायमावेधः। तस्मात् शास्त्रायां वचन तद्भवनात्मकाः। This means that शास्त्रायां is the author of III. 4. 40 (in which शास्त्रायां is not named at all) and therefore of the entire Vedānta-sūtra.
attaining real knowledge of brahma. This shows that according to Śaṅkara, Jaimini had treated of how brahma-vidyā arises. As regards the second reason, it does not clearly or indisputably appear that VI. 3. 4 is a pūrvapakṣa view. In that adhikarana the Pūrvapakṣa is stated in the first sūtra viz. as to such nitya rites as Agniḥotra or Darśapūrṇamāsa a man who can carry out all the details in their entirety is alone entitled to engage in them. The 2nd sūtra states the siddhānta view that, as regards nitya acts, it is not absolutely necessary that one should be able to perform all details (āngas) therein; the third sūtra only states that smṛti declares that it is a fault if the principal rite is not performed and therefore the principal rite being obligatory must be performed. Then comes the 4th sūtra in which the name of Jaimini occurs. Śaṅkara’s bhāṣya on this sūtra is extremely meagre (2 ½ lines in print) and not clear. The Ṭūp-tikā does not comment separately on each of the sūtras of VI. 3. 1-7. It omits the name of Jaimini in its explanation and its concluding words on this adhikarana appear to support the interpretation of the 4th sūtra advanced by the present author. No one doubts that sūtras 5-7 support the siddhānta view. If VI. 3. 4 were a pūrvapakṣa sūtra, it is expected that sūtra 5 should contain the word ‘tu’ or ‘api vā’ in order to indicate that it refutes the

1891. सर्वाणि प्रद्विति: श्रावणासुताप्तात्। अथ बालवेक्षणेऽव्यवधाने ताप्तान्य-वन्धूस्माधविकथत्वात्। तदकरणीय च द्विप्रति-सारधिकृत:। श्रावणासुतानानाविधित्वात्। काममेव छ जैनिनिम: प्रयासवचनेनकलात्। सर्वाणि-सुपद्धेन:। श्रावणासुतात्। अर्धसम श्रवणायकारिणि। पवित्रे हस्तरथ ब्रह्मनाथे। पू. मी. सू. VI. 3. 1-5. It appears that the अर्थयोगीयांसात्रोपुनिर्दृश्य by Vāsudeva-dīkṣita (ms in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library) reads कमभेदं for कमभेदं and अर्थयोगीयानसात्रो in sūtras 4 and 5. I am indebted to Dr. V. Rāghavan for this reference. In a complete ms (zz A in Prof. Velankar’s Catalogue p. 317 No. 1091) of the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara in the Bombay Asiatic Society’s Mss. Library on VI. 3. 1 the words जैनिनिमार्थात् स are omitted and कमभेदं is read for कमभेदं. The word ‘upadesa’ in the 4th sūtra may be taken in the same sense in which it is used in PMS I. 1. 5 ‘autapātikakṣa... tasya jñānam-upadesaḥ’ or in the general sense of ‘instruction’.

1892. The हुस्तक्षिप्त on पू. मी. सू. VI. 3. 4 appears to make this clear ‘धर्मार्थानि तत्त्बमात्रां दयाविनियोजित्।... एव य यस्मात् श्रवणिवेष न यथाभवति कालदिपि कालिनिति एव। यास्त्वक्षयायास्त्वप्रमोदस्य। अतर्य आंकलो आयत्तात् स्म'। The last sentence means ‘if one, being able to finish an obligatory rite with all details, omits some part at his sweet will, then there would be defect in the rite itself’. 
view expressed in sūtra 4. What that sūtra means is that the dropping of some aṅga in the nitya rite does not make that rite a different one from the same nitya rite when performed with all aṅgas, since the text about its performance (with all aṅgas or with some aṅgas) is one and the same and the vedic instruction is that all aṅgas have to be done (if possible). Interpreted thus, that sūtra is not a pūrvapaksa at all, but only emphasizes the siddhānta with additional reasons. The upshot would be that Jaimini mentioned five times in PMS is only one person and that he is a different person (who had written on P. M.) from the reputed author of the extant PMS.

A parallel may be cited. Śaṅkarācārya makes one adhikaraṇa of sūtras 26–33 of V.Ś. I. 3 (devatādhiṅharaṇa) which establishes that not only men but gods are qualified to study the Vedāntaśāstra and names Bādarāyana twice in the same adhikaraṇa (in I. 3. 26 and 33) and in I. 3. 33 he employs the word ‘tu’ because that sūtra is a reply to Jaimini’s view contained in I. 3. 31–32. Similarly, the PMS puts forward the siddhānta view in VI. 3. 2 and names Jaimini in VI. 3. 4 for the same purpose.

Even Prof. Sastry admits that in four out of the five references where Jaimini is expressly named, his views are the siddhānta views. The cases of PMS IX. 2. 3 and XII. 1. 59 are somewhat remarkable. The adhikaraṇa in both cases consists of only one sūtra, which is the siddhānta view and Jaimini is expressly named therein. In PMS III. 1. 4 Jaimini differs from Bādari (III. 1. 3) and two more sūtras are added to complete the adhikaraṇa. In PMS VIII. 3. 7 Jaimini’s view is opposed to that of Bādari (VIII. 3. 6), is the siddhānta view and there is no separate sūtra setting forth the view of the author of the PMS.

From the remarks of Śaṅkarācārya on V.Ś. III. 4. 40 (quoted in note 1890) it follows that he regarded Bādarāyana as the author of the Vedāntasūtra. In V.Ś. III. 2. 38-39 the Siddhānta is stated that the rewards of actions are given by Īśvara (God), while Jaimini’s view is that it is Dharma that gives the rewards of actions (III. 2. 40) and in the next sūtra (III. 2. 41) it is stated that Bādarāyana holds the former view (or that the former of the two, Īśvara and Dharma, gives the reward is the view of Bādarāyana). Here Bādarāyana is expressly mentioned as holding the same view as that in the Siddhāntasūtra III. 2. 38.
The observations of Śaṅkarācārya in introducing the last sūtra of the VS make it perfectly clear that he regarded Bādarāyana as the author of the entire Vedāntasūtra. No satisfactory explanation is offered why it was necessary to mention Bādarāyana nine times in the VS when all the 555 sūtras thereof are deemed to have been composed by Bādarāyana, or why it was necessary to mention in a work containing about 2700 sūtras all deemed to be composed by Jaimini, the views of Jaimini five times when in all cases or at least in four out of the five cases the views are identical with the reputed author of the PMS. Only two theories are possible viz. to hold that there is no explanation or to hold that there were two Jaiminis and two Bādarāyanaṣ.

The problem of the author of the VS is rather complicated. Bhāskara (like Śaṅkara) holds that Bādarāyana is the author of VS, since he begins his commentary on VS with an obeisance to Bādarāyana who sent forth (into the world) the Brahmasūtra that brings about the cessation of the bondage of birth. The Pañcapadātikā of Padmapāda (a disciple of Śaṅkarācārya) performs (in the 2nd Introductory verse) an obeisance to Bādarāyana. Rāmānuja, on the other hand, makes confusing statements. In the 2nd verse of his introduction to the Śrībhaṣya on VS he calls upon all good men to drink the nectar-like words of Pāṇaśarya, but in his bhaṣya on VS II. 2. 42 he holds that Bādarāyana was the author of the Mahābhārata, wherein the Pañcarātra-śāstra is expounded at great length (in Sāntiparva chap. 334–339 = cr. ed. 321 ff.) as also of the VS. But Yāmunācārya, the preceptor of the teacher

1893. नन्देश्वर संति सातिश्चायवसादान्तबलवेयवर्षय स्यातरत्वेषाणभवति: प्रसर्येतपि उत्तरे भण्डार राजाराजेश्वर अचार्यः: पञ्चिति—अनानुज: ... जात्रम्। जात्रमभाष्य on व. खा. IV. 4. 22.

1894. नमः स्नित्सिंहः प्राणवास्मार्पिण्यत् सूदवे प्रज्ञावेश्वरे॥ पञ्च- वार्तिका 2nd Intro. verse (Madras Govt. series, 1958).

1895. कथ्येश्वर हाराराजश्वे वेदित्ववेत्तो द्वात्तेवतपंश्वुद्वाहलुङ्कासा नानाभिप्रभारोपयो नात्वत्वार्बारं सावर्तवाक्याभासामायाः श्रवातः। p. 509 of भ्रामणश (B. S. S.) on व. खा. II. 2. 42.

1896. यथाप्रयोगारूपार्थो श्रवणार्थे घुमाणि यथार्थाय विशेषाय च तत्त्वि पतिमहत्सिद्धान्तार्थ्यम् भवेतवक्ता विस्तुताय च तत्त्वि समवेत्यायसास्मास्मार्तविशेषार्थः ज्ञात सिद्धचय (Chow. S. S.) pp. 5–6.
of Ramanuja, ascribes the VS to Badarayana. In spite of Shankaracarya, Vacaspati-misra, author of the famous Bhamati on \[1897\] Shankaracarya’s bhasya on VS, makes an obeisance to Vedavyasa, the author of Brahmasutra The ParasaramadHAVIYA is in two minds; in vol. I part I pp. 52, 97, vol. II part 2 pp. 275 Badarayana is said to be the author of the VS, but in a few other places VS is spoken of as VyasaSutra (vol. I part 1, pp. 56, 113). The above conflict of testimony gives rise to the important question whether Badarayana, the supposed author of the Vedantasutras, is identical with Vedavyasa or is different from him. Shankaracarya’s bhasya points to the conclusion that in his opinion at least they are different.\[1898\] For example, on V. S. I. 3. 29 he quotes a verse of Vedavyasa in support of the proposition of the VS that the Veda is eternal. On VS II. 3. 47, in support of the proposition that, though the individual soul is an ariasa of the Supreme Self, the latter is not at all affected by the suffering of the individual soul, Shankara quotes two verses as smrhti from the Mahabharata. This makes it clear that, if the author of the VS was identical with Vedavyasa, the author of the Mahabharata, Shankaracarya would not have cited the latter as an independent smrhti source supporting the former or would at least have used some such language as ‘this very author has said elsewhere that’ &c. The same reasoning would apply to Shankaracarya’s comments. If that great acarya was of the opinion that the author of the VS was the same as that of the Mahabharata and the GitA he would not have cited passages from the Epic and the GitA as Smritis supporting the reasoning of the VS.

If it were contended that there is only one Jaimini (and not two, much less three) a serious difficulty arises. Why should the author of PMS (containing about 2700 sutras) refer to himself by name in five places only. The usual explanation offered

\[1897\] ज्ञानशृङ्खलाभाय नमो भगवते हरे:। भामती, 5th Intro. verse.

\[1898\] अत स च निरालम:। वै. सू. I. 3. 29: । भाष्य ‘वेदांतायां’भेदमेव समाहित। युगानलोकितायांयुगसनितासामान्यम्:। ।।। तैनिमं तपस्या पूर्णसुज्जाता: सर्वभृत्वा।।'। इति। This verse is शास्तिवेद 210. 19 (Cr. ed. 203. 17); समाहित: च। वै. सू. II. 3. 47; भाष्य ‘समाहित: च व्य प्राये यथा अत: कु:कन्ये न परस्मास्य कु:कार्यात्।।। इति। तेष य: परस्मास्य हि स नित: निन्हस्य: स्मृत:। न निष्पर्ये वैद्याधिष्ठि पवयः ज्ञातायामभसा।। कर्मम् तपस्ये योः सम्बन्धस्य शास्तिनां युगाते:।।।'। इति। These two are शास्तिवेद 352. 14-16 (Cr. ed. 339. 14-15).
by some commentators when Pāṇini names\textsuperscript{1899} his predecessors, viz. that they are named for showing his reverence for them, would be of no avail as to Jaimini, since it cannot be said that the author of PMS Jaimini shows respect to himself. When Jaimini mentions Bādarāyana in I. 1. 5 and XI. 1. 65 Śabara\textsuperscript{1900} explains this is done for showing respect to Bādarāyana or for spreading his fame. Another explanation that ancient authors often refer to themselves in the 3rd person will not do. Why should the author of about 2700 sūtras choose five places only for referring to himself. Therefore, one is compelled to hold that, if Jaimini is the author of the extant PMS and mentions the views of Jaimini five times only, there was a predecessor and namesake of his called Jaimini who had expressed his views in a different work.

There are eleven sūtras in the VS in which the views of Jaimini are referred to. They are (as stated above) VS I. 2. 28 and 31, I. 3. 31, I. 4. 18, III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18, III. 4. 40, IV. 3. 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11. Out of these eleven there are six references to Jaimini (viz. I. 2. 28, I. 2. 31, I. 4. 18, IV. 3. 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11) for which no corresponding adhikarana or sūtra in the PMS can be pointed out, while sūtras III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18 attribute views to Jaimini, which are well-known doctrines of the PMS. VS I. 3. 31 corresponds to PMS VI. 1. 5 and on III. 4. 40 (quoted in note 1890 above) Jaimini and VS agree. Therefore, it appears that the Jaimini who expresses views on purely Vedāntic topics and whose views are not found in PMS composed a work on Vedānta.

There are in VS nine sūtras in which Bādarāyana is named viz. in VS I. 3. 26 and 33 (Bādarāyana being twice named in the same adhikarana as opposed to Jaimini). III. 2. 41, III. 4. 1, III. 4. 8, III. 4. 19, IV. 3. 15, IV. 4. 7, IV. 4. 12. It may be noted that in all these cases (except in IV. 3. 15) the views ascribed to Bādarāyana are opposed to those of Jaimini or are slightly different (only VS IV. 4. 7 and IV. 4. 12). Prof. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that all the views mentioned as Bādarāyana's are the views of the author of the VS who employs

\textsuperscript{1899} On दृष्टिकृत्वे कार्याः कार्याः (पा. I. 2. 25) the महाभाष्य says ‘कार्याः कार्याः कार्याः किमशमूर्त्। कार्यविन्यासं पुनजान्तर्।’

\textsuperscript{1900} बादरायणादयां बादरायणादयां मां कृतपि बादरायणां कृत्यमेव नात्मीवं मां पद्यंदत्तम्। शाश्व on पौ. मी. XI. 5 p. 25; बादरायणादयां कृत्यमेव नैकृत्यमनार्थम्। शाश्व on पौ. मी. XI. 1. 65.
the third person for himself as ancient authors do (I. A. vol. 50 at p. 169). This does not afford a satisfactory explanation of the question why it was necessary to invoke Bādarāyana's name in nine cases only for buttressing up the position of the author of the VS (that has 555 sūtras). If the author of the VS and Bādarāyana named nine times are identical, the name of Bādarāyana should ordinarily appear towards the end of the adhikaraṇa and not in the middle. Two examples may be cited here to illustrate how VS deals with references to Bādarāyana. In III. 2 38-41 (which is one adhikaraṇa) the siddhānta view is first stated with reasons in III. 2. 38-39, then Jaimini's view is cited (III. 4. 40) and then Bādarāyana is mentioned as agreeing with the view first put forth 'pūrvam tu Bādarāyaṇo hetuvyapadesāt', the difference being that the siddhānta is based upon 'upapatti' while Bādarāyana relies upon 'hetuvyapadesa' (in śruti and smṛti). This shows that different reasons were assigned by the author of VS and by Bādarāyana for the same proposition. VS. III. 4. 18-20 form one adhikaraṇa about sannyāsa. Jaimini starts the pūrvapakṣa that the Chān. Up. (II. 23. 1 'trayo dhrmaregandhaḥ') only makes a passing reference to the āsramas, there is no vidhi (injunction) in that text and there is no exposition also. Then Bādarāyana's view is cited 'anustheyaṃ Bādarāyaṇaḥ sāmyaśruteḥ' i.e. sannyāsa should be resorted to just as one resorts to the householder's stage. Then comes the view of the author of the VS that there is a vidhi of sannyāsa in that text. If Bādarāyana and the author of VS be held identical, why was it necessary to add the sūtra 'vidhīrvā dhāraṇavat' (VS III. 4. 20) after stating Bādarāyana's view? It would be also noticed that the reasons given in the two sūtras differ. In VS IV. 4. 10-14 first the views of Bādari and Jaimini on Chān. Up. VIII. 2. 1, 5 are set out, then Bādarāyana's view is set forth (in IV. 4. 12) and then two more sūtras are added by the author of VS. Therefore, these illustrations show that, though the final conclusion of Bādarāyana and the author of VS is the same, the language and the reasons are different, and that Bādarāyana named in the VS was a predecessor of the author of the extant VS that had composed a work on Vedānta, whom the author of the VS strengthens with reasons of his own.

In Pāṇini's time there were mendicant ascetics (bhikṣus) who studied the 'Bhikṣusūtra of Pārāśarya' or 'the Bhikṣusūtra of Karmanda' and were designated 'Pārāśarinaḥ' and
'Karmandina',\(^{1901}\) A bhiksu represents the order of Sannyasa. Therefore, a Bhiksu sutra must have had as its subject sannyasa, the time for it, the rules of the order, the final goal to be attained and so on. The Br. Up. (III. 5. 1 and IV. 4. 22) emphasizes that those who realize brahma give up all desires and practise begging. The Gautama-dharma sutra\(^{1902}\) says the same thing. No trace is found of the Bhiksu sutra of Karmanda. But it is possible to say that the Bhiksu sutra propounded by Parasharya must have been somewhat like the extant Brahma sutra or one of its predecessors. This would be the earliest reference to a sutra by Parasharya on the sannyasa ashrama. The date of Pāṇini is not beyond dispute. But no modern scholar would place him after 300 B.C. The present writer would place him as early as at least 500 or 600 B.C. The result would be that the Bhiksu sutra of Parasharya named by Pāṇini would have to be placed at some time between 400 B.C. to 700 B.C. Further light is shed by Vartika\(^{1903}\) (1) on Pāṇini IV. 1. 97, from which it follows that Vyāsa's 'apatya' (son) was called Vaiyāsaki, that is Śuka (according to the Mahābhāṣya). Bādarāyana is formed from Bādara which is a word in the Naḍādi-gana (consisting of about 76 words), according to Pāṇini IV. 1. 99 (Naḍādibhyah phak), Bādari being the son of Badara, Bādarāyana being the grandson (or a remoter male descendant) of Badara. At some period Vyāsa and Bādarāyana came to be confounded and Śuka, who was the son of Vyāsa according to the Vartika and the Mahābhāṣya, came to be called Bādarāyani (son of Bādarāyana) as shown by the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (XII. 5. 8 where Śuka is said to be 'Bhagavān Bādarāyaniḥ'). It appears that from the 9th century A.D. Bādarāyana came to be confounded with Vyāsa Parasharya.

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\(^{1901}\) पारशायनिः सिद्धिहारिर्मिहृदयातं भिषजनार्यादिनि। पा. IV. 3. 110-111: पारशायनिः मोक्षार्थमिहृदयातं भिषजनार्यादिनि। कर्मचर्यायां भिषजनार्यादिनि। सि. कृ.\, It is possible that Pāṇini refers to a sūtra work on ancient Sāṅkhya by Pañcasikha. This will be briefly discussed in another chapter below. It will be shown later from the Mahābhārata that Pañcasikha was called bhikṣu and Parasharya (vide note 2186 below).

\(^{1902}\) बद्रनाथी गृहमिहो भिषजवानसस:। \...अनिच्छ्यों भिषुः। \...भिषज्य ग्राम-भिषज्य। गोतमभ्रमसूत्र III. 2. 10-13.

\(^{1903}\) शुद्धार्कवः च पा. IV. 1. 97; सुधार्यस्य: वार्तिक।; सौधार्यस्यः। भैयासकिः। भैयासकिः। महाभाष्य।

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A brief examination of the citation of the views of Bādarāyana and Jaimini in the PMS and the Brahmāsūtra is necessary. Bādarāyana is named only five times by the P. M. sūtra as said above. (1) In P. M. S. I. 1.5 the author claims that he and Bādarāyana are agreed on the eternity and infallibility of the Veda; (2) In P. M. S. V. 2. 17–20, there is a discussion on Nāksṛesty. In the model sacrifice there are certain homas called Nāristha; the question is whether in the modifications of the model wherein certain subordinate homas called upahomas are prescribed, the Nāristha homas precede or follow the Upahomas. The siddhānta view is that Nāristhahomas precede, Ātreyā being of the opposite view and Bādarāyana supporting the siddhānta. (3) In P. M. S. VI. 1. 8 Bādarāyana's view is that not men alone but women also are entitled to take part in kratus (Vedic sacrifices) and this is the siddhānta of the P. M. S.; (4) P. M. S. X. 8. 35–46 make an extensive adhikarana in which the question is whether the texts prescribing Āgneya and Aindrāgna puroḍēṣas in Darśapūrṇamāsa for a sacrificer who has not performed soma sacrifice constitute a vidhi of the two or only an anuvāda, Bādarāyana's view in PMS. X. 8. 44 being that its is a vidhi and the siddhānta being that there is an anuvāda (X. 8. 45). (5) PMS XI. 1. 54–67 constitute a lengthy adhikarana and the discussion concerns the question whether āgḥara and other angas are to be repeated with each of the principal matters (Āgneya and others) in Darśapūrṇamāsa or are to be performed only once.

With regard to these five cases where Bādarāyana is cited in the P. M. S. three points emerge, viz. the author of the P. M. S. agrees with Bādarāyana's view in all except in X. 8. 44 (where the two differ), that the view attributed to Bādarāyana in P. M. S. I. 1. 5 has correspondence with the views of the V. S. (1. 3. 28–29) and that four views out of five refer to purely sacrificial matters to which nothing corresponds in the V. S. It follows that the author of the extant P. M. S. had some work of Bādarāyana dealing with Pūrvamārīsā matters before him and that, if Bādarāyana be the author of the extant V. S., the latter had composed a work on Pūrvamārīsā matters also or that there was another Bādarāyana who wrote only on Pūrvma-

1904. Prof. Nilakanṭa Sastry's paper referred to above is valuable, but several of his conclusions set out on p. 172 of I. A. vol. 50 cannot be accepted by the present writer, who regrets that Prof. Sastry did not consider much other matter relevant to the points discussed by him.
mimāṃsā. The five references to Jaimini in P. M. S. have been noted above and the sūtra VI. 3. 4, which led Prof. Sastrī to postulate three Jaiminis, has been already explained as not necessarily leading to any such conclusion.

Another alternative might be put forward viz. that works by Jaimini and Bādārāyana did not exist before the extant V. S. and P. M. S., but that the references to Jaimini and Bādārāyana concern views current in the schools of Jaimini and Bādārāyana. But this is not a likely hypothesis. The extant V. S. and P. M. S. are meant for all throughout Āryāvarta and it is not likely that the oral traditions of two schools were supposed to be known to all and sundry in the whole of the country.

In several cases where Bādārāyana is mentioned, the extant V. S. makes certain additions and explanations. It has been shown above that Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and Yāmuna ascribe the V. S. to Bādārāyana and that Vācaspati and others hold that Vyāsa Pārāsārya is the author of V. S. It is difficult to explain how Vedavīṣa came to be identified with Bādārāyana after the 9th century A. D. Some other relevant matters have also to be considered. A verse about kṣetra and kṣetrajña in the Bhagavadgītā raises a problem. In Gītā\textsuperscript{1905} 13. 4 it is said ‘this

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1905. नाशिमिन्दु सली उन्द्रामिनिविविय: पुरस्त्रु व निरानुमिनिनिविविव: गीता 13. 4; the first half refers to the passages in the Vedas and Upaniṣads and the 2nd half to the Brahmaṣūtrapadās. यस्मिन्दुस्त्रये must be connected with gītam according to all commentators. The present writer feels that the word ‘ṛṣibhiḥ’ also must be understood in the second half of the verse. If ṛṣibhiḥ is required to be connected with ‘chandobhiḥ’, there is no reason why that word should not be connected with ‘Brahmaṣūtrapadaiḥ’ also. Two words in the instrumental are employed in the first half (viz. ṛṣibhiḥ (agents) and ‘chandobhiḥ’ (means); if we understand ‘ṛṣibhiḥ’ in the 2nd half, we shall have a symmetrical arrangement viz. ‘ṛṣibhiḥ’ (agents) and ‘Brahmaṣūtrapadaiḥ’ (means). There is a contrast between Vedic and Upaniṣadic passages in the first half and Brahmaṣūtra passages that are well reasoned and definite in the 2nd half. Then the meaning will be that sages had composed several Brahmaṣūtras. The author is inclined to hold that the Gītā refers to several Brahmaṣūtras current in its day and not to the extant Vedāntaṣūtra. Here commentators other than Śaṅkarācārya understand by the word ‘Brahmaṣūtra’ the work going under that name in these days. The late Lokamāṇya Tilak in his Marathi ‘Gītārahasya’ discusses (in appendix part 3 pp. 527–534 of the ed. of 1915) the question of the relation of the Gītā and Brahmaṣūtra and puts forward his own surmise
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\textit{(Continued on next page)}
real nature of kṣetra and kṣetrajña has been separately sung (i. e. propounded) in many ways by the sages in different Vedic hymns (or metres) and by the words of the Brahmasūtra that are full of reasoning and that arrive at definite conclusions. Here the Gītā expressly mentions Brahmasūtra. If one turns to the extant Brahmasūtra (or Vedāntasūtra), it is found that in many sūtras reliance is placed on smṛti, which is taken to mean the Gītā by all ācāryas. For example, on ‘Smṛtiśca’ (V. S. I. 2. 6) the only Smṛti passages cited by Śaṅkarācārya are Gītā 18. 61 and 13. 2. Similarly, on ‘api ca smaryate’ (V. S. I. 3. 23) Śaṅkara cites only Gītā 15. 6 and 12; on ‘api ca smaryate’ (V. S. II. 3. 45) the only Smṛti passage quoted by Śaṅkara is Gītā 15. 7; on ‘Smaranti ca’ (V. S. IV. I. 10) only Gītā 6. 11 is quoted; on ‘Yoginaḥ prati ca smaryate smārita caite’ (V. S. IV. 2. 21) Gītā 8. 24–25 alone are set forth as the passages meant to be explained. Therefore, though the Bhagavadgītā is not expressly named in the Brahmasūtra, the ācāryas are agreed that the Bhagavadgītā alone is relied upon and referred to in all the above-mentioned sūtras. We have, therefore reached this position that the Gītā mentions the Brahmasūtra which must be held to be earlier than the Gītā, but as Gītā passages are declared to be at the basis of some of the Vedānta-sūtras, the Gītā must be earlier than the V. S. This is contradictory; Śaṅkarācārya, who saw the contradiction, therefore explained ‘Brahmasūtrapadaḥ’ as passages (of Upaniṣads) that suggest (i. e. propound) doctrines about brahma (i. e. he interprets ‘sūtra’ as meaning ‘sūcaka’). But this explanation is far-fetched and has not been accepted by other commentators. Therefore, other theories have to be put forward viz. that the author of both is the same or that the Mahābhārata and Gītā were receiving accretions from time to time and that when the

(Continued from last page)

that the author who composed the extant Brahmasūtra redacted the original Mahābhārata and Gītā and gave them both the present form. The present writer regrets that he cannot accept this surmise of the late Lokāmāṇya. It may be pointed out that Prof. R. D. Karmarkar in (ABORI vol. III, pp. 73–79) did not accept Lokāmāṇya’s explanation of ‘Brahmasūtrapadaḥ’ and held that in Gītā 13, 4 the word ‘Brahmasūtrapadaḥ’ does not refer to the Bādarāyaṇa sūtras but refers to some similar other works. But he did not pursue that matter further.

1906. ब्रह्माण्डः सूत्रकालिनः वाक्यानि ब्रह्मसूयमाणि सैः पश्चे गधेते ज्ञापते हि सति ज्ञाति पदार्थद्विष्यः। तेन स्वयं येवोपयोगवाचार्य गीतम् इत्यतर्काः। ‘आलोचनाभावस्तीत्र’ \n
इत्यादिभवतृति ब्रह्माण्डः प्रदर्शणप्रसंगम् ज्ञापते। झ्मुरू on Gītā 13. 4.
final redaction of the Mahābhārata (including the Gitā) was made the verse about Brahmaśūtra was inserted in the Gitā or that in the times of the Gitā there were several works called Brahmaśūtras other than the extant one.

The present writer thinks it highly probable that the Gitā had before it several works called Brahmaśūtras and in 13.4 refers to them and not to the extant Brahmaśūtra of Bādarāyana. A brief examination of the authors mentioned in the PMS and VS is necessary. Both these works mention by name several individual authors (besides Jaimini and Bādarāyana). Both PMS and VS mention the following:—

Atreya — PMS IV. 3. 18, V. 2. 18, VI. 1. 36 and VS III. 4. 44;
Āśmarathyā — PMS VI. 5. 16 and VS I. 2. 29, I. 4. 20;
Kārṇājini — PMS IV. 3. 17, VI. 7. 35 and VS III. 1. 9.

Bādari — PMS III. 1. 3, VI. 1. 27, VIII. 3. 6, IX. 2. 33 and VS I. 2. 30, III. 1. 11, IV. 3. 7, IV. 4. 10;

PMS also names Ālekhana (VI. 5. 17), Aitiśāyana (III. 2. 44, III. 4. 24, VI. 1. 6), Kāmakāyana (XI. 1. 58 and 63) and Lāvukaśāyana (VI. 7. 37), these being not mentioned at all in the VS. On the other hand VS mentions Audulomi (I. 4. 21, III. 4. 45, IV. 4. 6) and Kāśakṛtsna (I. 4. 22), both being absent from PMS. The PMS very rarely refers to some ācāryas as ‘eke’ in I. 1. 27 and IX. 3. 4; VS has ‘eke’ in I. 4. 9 and 18, II. 3. 43, III. 2. 2. and 13, III. 4. 15, IV. 2. 13 and ‘ekeṣām’ in I. 4. 13, IV. 1. 17, IV. 2. 13 and ‘anye’ in III. 3. 27, in all of which the reference in VS is to other recensions of the Veda or Upanisads, while in III. 4. 42 ‘eke’ refers to ācāryāḥ and in III. 3. 53 ‘eke’ refers to Lokāyatikas. Vyāsa or Parāśārya is not mentioned by name in PMS or VS. The case of Bādari requires careful consideration. The PMS mentions both Bādarāyana and Jaimini only five times each, while PMS and VS mention (each) Bādari four times. Bādari differs from Jaimini on two important points viz. the denotation of the word ‘śesa’ and the remarkable view that even śudras are entitled to perform agnihotra and other Vedic rites. In VS, Bādari is mentioned as differing from Jaimini on the upāsanā of Vaiśvānara in Chān. Up. V. 18. 1–2 and on the words ‘sa enān brahma gamayati’ (Chān. Up. IV. 15. 5) and in VS IV. 4. 10 Bādari is opposed to Jaimini about a released soul. It follows from this brief analysis and the mention of Bādari four times in PMS and also in VS that both the latter had before them a work of Bādari dealing with Pūrva-
mimamsa matters and also with Vedanta. Aalekhana and Asmarathy are both quoted at least 16 times in Ap. Sr. Sutra, their views are quoted frequently as in conflict on the ritual of sacrifices and these are the only two individual authors quoted in Ap. Sr. S. It is likely that Atreya, Asmarathy and Karshajini composed a work or works dealing with both systems and Audulomi (quoted thrice by VS) and Kasakrtana composed works on the Vedanta. Vide Tantravartiika on I 3. 2 p. 169 note 2010 for the present PMS was preceded by several efforts in the same direction.

From the above discussion it may very plausibly be held that the word 'Brahmasuratapadaih' in Git 13. 4 refers to some sutra works such as those of Baddari, Audulomi, Asmarathy and one or two others and not to the extant Brahmasutra. No one can say that Baddari and Atreya are not 'rsis'. Sabara refers to Atreya as 'Muni' on PMS VI. I. 26.

It should be remembered that Jaimini, Baddari and Badaraya are gotra names. But Vyasa is not a gotra name and Parasharya is one of the three pravaras of the group of Parasaras.1907

The Ap. Sr. Sutra 24. 8. 10 (ed. by Garbe) and the Pravara-manjari (ed. by Chentsalrav. Mysore, 1900) p. 61 mention Badaraya as a sub-section of Visnuvrdhagotra, while p. 38 of the latter work mentions Jaimini along with Yaska, Vadhula, Mauna and others as having the pravara 'Bhargava-vaitahavya-savatasei' and pp. 108 and 178 cite Baddari (or Vaddari) as a sub-division of Parasaras. Therefore, it was possible that several individuals separated by a century or more could bear the name of Jaimini or Badaraya.

We have also to answer the observations of the Naishkarmyasiddhi of Surevaracarya (the most famous of the disciples of Shankaracarya himself) that Jaimini does not mean that all passages of the Veda relate to sacrificial rites and that if he really meant that, he would not have composed 'Sarirakasutra' beginning with 'athan brahma-jijasa' and 'jnanadyasya yatah', containing an investigation of the purport of all Vedanta passages, laying bare the nature of brahma and supporting his words with profound reasoning; but that as a matter of fact he

1907. अध. पारिाशरणान्न व्याकरणः || वसिष्ठ-साजाय पारिाशरणि || पारिाशाख्यविट्ठल्यसिद्ध-विज्ञानि || आय. भृत्र चूत् 24. 10. 6.
Naiśkarmyasiddhi on Śārīrakasūtra

This passage means that Jaimini composed a sūtra work called Śārīrakasūtra on the investigation and knowledge of brahma, which began with two sūtras that were the same as the first two sūtras of the extant Vedāntasūtra. Col. Jacob in his Introduction (p. 3) to the first edition of the Naiśkarmyasiddhi thought that the Naiśkarmyasiddhi made Jaimini the author of the Vedāntadarśana. He is inaccurate, since all that Sureśvara says is that Jaimini composed not only a sūtra work on the Karmamāṁsā but he also composed a work called Śārīrakasūtra on the doctrines of brahmamāṁsā, but he does not convey that the whole of the extant Vedāntasūtra is the work of Jaimini. Dr. Belvarkar postulates two propositions, viz. that there were brahmaśūtras written separately for the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and the Brhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad and other Upaniṣads for each Śākha and secondly, that the Śārīrakasūtra of Jaimini was bodily incorporated within and forms the main part of the contents of the present text of the Brahmasūtra. The present author takes strong objections to both these propositions. He cannot go into this question at length here but has to remark that these propositions are based on little evidence. If ‘jānmatīyasya yataḥ’ was also a sūtra of Jaimini who was specially connected with the Śāma-veda by the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, why is it that that sūtra is supposed by the bhāṣyakāras as based on a passage of the Taittiriya-upaniṣad? The Chāndogya and Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads are each nearly thrice as long as all the other eight Upaniṣads (out of the principal ten Upaniṣads) and six times longer than the Taittiriya Upaniṣad. Therefore, these two Upaniṣads figure largely in the discussions in the extant Brahmasūtra. The 2nd proposition is hardly more than a pure guess. There is no evidence to establish that the main part of the extant Vedāntasūtra is bodily taken from Jaimini’s Śārīrakasūtra, when the latter has not come down to us and when no sūtras therefrom

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1908. यो ते जैमिनिर्यम्मभिमाध्यम आनानाथः सर्व एवं क्रियार्थ इति। यति ह्याय्यम्भिमाध्यम-भियम्भियं अथात: ब्रह्मभिजस्वल जन्मादाय यतः—इत्येवम्मिद्यस्यपुरुषस्यम्मभियम्रायार्थमकालां-परं कामिनयमायत्तुद्वच्च स्वतःभियम्भिमाणं भियम्भिन्तं भेदसाम्यादिति।

1909. Vide his 'Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy' pp. 141-142.
(other than the two noted above) are quoted anywhere as from Jaimini's Śārirakasūtra.

Then some sūtras of VS in which the words 'tad-uktam' occur have to be considered. There are eight sūtras that contain those words. Śāṅkarācārya holds that in VS I. 3. 21, II. 1. 31, III. 3. 18 (where 'tad uktam' occur) the reference is to the preceding sūtras of the VS itself. On V. S. III. 3. 26, III. 3. 33, III. 3. 50 and III. 4. 42 Śāṅkarācārya holds that these respectively refer to PMS X. 8. 15, III. 3. 8, XI. 4. 10 and I. 3. 8–9 and that VS III. 3. 43 refers to a sūtra of the Śāksamāṇḍa. The other ācāryas differ from Śāṅkarācārya in several places and among themselves. Vallabhācārya, who had come to regard the Bhāgavata as of equal authority with the Veda and as even superseding the latter, holds that the words 'tad-uktam' in VS III. 3. 33, III. 3. 50 and III. 4. 42 refer to passages of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. The VS III. 3. 44 appears to echo the words and principles of PMS III. 3. 14. The words 'tad-uktam' should ordinarily mean the same thing throughout i.e. they should everywhere be taken as referring to the PMS or to VS. But no ācārya is prepared to accept entirely one of these two alternatives. It may further be noted that the extant P. M. S. very rarely employs the words 'tad-uktam' as in V. 3. 9 where it refers to PMS V. 1. 19. The P. M. S., though it mentions Bādarāyana five times, nowhere appears to be influenced by the V. S. On the other hand, not only are some of the sūtras of V. S. containing the words 'Tad-uktam' deemed to be references to the P. M. Sūtras, but the V. S. frequently employs peculiar Pūrvamāṇisā words such as arthavāda, prakaraṇa, linga, vidhi, śesa and purely P. M. matters such as in III. 3. 26 (kuśāchandastutypagānavat), III. 3. 33 (anupasadavat), III. 4. 20 (dhāranavat), IV. 4. 12 (Dvādaśāhavat). Therefore, the extant VS very much presupposes the P. M. S., while the latter cannot be said to have been influenced by VS to any noticeable extent.

The present author now wishes to draw together the separate threads that have been spun so far about Vyāsa, Jaimini,


1911. Compare 'तितिर्दुष्पत्यकभिः तदीयेवतदिः' वि. सू. III. 3. 44 with 'तितिर्दुष्पत्यकभिः तदीयेवतदिः' प. मी. सू. III. 3.14.

1912. अर्थे तददुक्तम् प. मी. सू. V. 3. 9. This refers to V. 1. 19 (�र्थे तददुक्तम्) which refer to प. मी. VII. 2. 13.
Bādarāyana, the PMS and the VS and tries to present a tentative pattern of conclusions as follows:—

1. The Mahabhārata and some Purāṇas state that Jaimini was a pupil of Pārāśarya Vyāsa. But this is said in relation to the transmission of the Sāmaveda to Jaimini and therefore must be confined to that matter alone (and not extended to other matters) in accordance with the mīmāṃsā maxim 'yāvad-vacanam vācānikiṃ.' We have got a Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, a Jaiminiya Śrānta-sūtra and Gṛhya-sūtra. The tradition about the imparting of Sāmaveda to Jaimini may be true and at present there is no evidence to show that it is wrong. There is, however, no warrant for extending this tradition to the reputed authors of the PMS and the VS. Late medieval writers like Vallabhācārya, whose weakest points were lack of correct knowledge of history and chronology and the obsession to glorify to the skies their favourite authors and works, extended the above tradition about the Sāmaveda to the authors of the two sūtra works,1913 viz. PMS and VS. From the above discussion it follows that the extant PMS is earlier than the extant VS and that the author of the extant PMS could not have been a disciple of the author of the extant VS. The medieval writers failed to pay proper attention to the fact that Jaimini and Bādarāyana are also gotra names and not merely individual names.

2. From Pāṇini we know that there were two bhikṣu-sūtras composed by Pārāśarya and Karmanda before his time. Patañjali mentions a mīmāṃsā work composed by Kāśakrtana. There is, therefore, no doubt that sūtra works on 'bhikṣus' and mīmāṃsā had come to be composed several centuries before the Christian era.

3. From the examination of the views of Jaimini mentioned in the extant VS it appears that Jaimini composed a work on Vedānta also. Some corroboration is lent to this view by the remarks of the Naiśkramyāsiddhi quoted on p. 1175 above. There is nothing to show that this Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyana or of Pārāśarya. On the contrary, the words 'Jaiminer-api' in VS. III. 4. 40 convey great solicitude on the part of the author of the extant VS for Jaimini's support. The author of the

1913. On ततु समावत (V. S. I. 1. 4) भद्धभाषव says: तथा हि जैमिनिभद्ध
ज्ञासासमेत भविष्यापतिपिन्दकर वर्णकाण्डम समावताय. अहमत्याक्रम्योऽवस्थास्मयां प्रकाशय
केषवाद. न च सर्वशिष्येऽवें धम्मं एव ज्ञात्मवस्तुस्तुत्तयेऽव स्वास्ति भद्भजाजास्यायाः
भविष्यति-स्त्रायाः.

H. D. 148
extant VS shows special respect for Jaimini’s views, since he quotes Jaimini more times than other ācāryas (including Bādarāyana). It becomes necessary to hold that there were two authors named Jaimini, one dealing with both PM and Vedānta subjects and the other deemed to be the author of the extant PMS. This Jaimini is different from Jaimini deemed to be the author of the extant PMS.

4. The fact that PMS mentions five times Bādarāyana’s views, four of which are concerned with purely sacrificial matters and the fact that the VS mentions Bādarāyana nine times in connection with Vedānta matters, leads to the inference that Bādarāyana must have composed a work dealing with PM and Vedānta topics. That work has not come down to us. This Bādarāyana is different from the Bādarāyana regarded by Śaṅkarācārya and others as the author of the extant VS. Thus there are two authors named Bādarāyana.

5. The author of the extant VS was, according to Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and some other early bhāsyakārās, also Bādarāyana, but from about the 9th century A.D. onwards he came to be confounded with Vedavyāsa.

6. So far as the PMS and VS are concerned, there are only two Jaiminis (and not three, as Prof. Sastry holds in I. A. vol. 50 p. 172) and two Bādarāyaṇas.

The present section is concerned mainly with the influence of Pūrvamāṁśā doctrines and methodology on Dharmaśāstra works. But it must be mentioned here that Pūrvamāṁśā works from that of Jaimini onwards also rely upon smṛtis and Dharmaśāstra. A few examples may be cited. The PMS I. 3 deals with the limits of the authoritativeness of smṛtis, PMS VI. 7. 6 mentions the word ‘Dharmaśāstra’. The P. M. S. expressly relies on smṛti in support of its propositions (as in XII. 4. 43). On PMS VI. 1. 12 Śabara quotes a smṛti verse, which is almost the same as Manu VIII. 416 and Ādirṣa (82. 23=Gr. Ed. 77. 22). Śabara frequently quotes Dharmaśātras and metrical smṛtis to elucidate and strengthen his arguments; e.g. Śabara on PMS VI. I. 10 quotes Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 11 and states on PMS VI. I. 15 that the sale of a daughter mentioned in the smṛtis is not approved of by sīṣṭas.1914 It is not necessary to cite further

1914.  "विप्रगो दहूर निगमितिः कृत्वात् विच्छिन्नेन वद्यादित। अयूः गोमिन्यन्ति-हस्ति।। शास्त्रोऽन्व VI. 1. 10 and ‘स्माती च कृत्वात् शुभागन्यन्तु विधर्मान नाहुम्मयते’ on PMS. VI. 1. 15. Vide (Continued on next page)
examples to support the proposition stated above. Those interested may consult the present author's paper on "Gleanings from Śabara and the Tantravārtika" JBBRAS vol. 26 (old series, 1924) pp. 83–98 and on 'Tantravārtika and Dharmāśāstra' in JBBRAS, New series, vol. 1 and 2 for 1925 (pp. 95–102).

We must now turn to the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra itself. In relation to every sāstra there are what are called four anubandhas (indispensable elements) viz. Viśaya (the subject to be treated of), prayojaṇa (the purpose or object), sambandha (the relation of the sāstra to the prayojana) and adhikārin (the person entitled or competent to study the sāstra). The Ślokavārtika remarks 'as long as the purpose of any sāstra or of any undertaking (or act) whatever is not declared, so long no one will take it (i.e. study or do it). Therefore, the very first sūtra of the PMS puts forward the subject (viśaya) and the purpose of the sāstra (prayojana). That sūtra states 'next, therefore, (should be undertaken) the investigation and consideration of dharma'. The sambandha of this sūtra with the prayojana is that of sādhyā (the object to be attained) and sādhanā (the means of attaining) i.e. this sāstra is the means of attaining the knowledge of dharma. Therefore, as remarked by the Śāstra-

(Continued from last page)

1915. The four abhedas in the case of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā may be briefly put as 'क्रियाविधिविशेष:', तत्सत्तापि: प्रयोजनं, वैषयिकार्थाय, विषयविषयिवाचार: सम्भवः.'

1916. प्रयोजनं तत्र शाखाय तत्स्तिति वरिष्ठं कर्मचित्त। प्रयोजनं तथा तत्वतात्सै: यथये तत्र कर्मचित्त। श्रोवकः (प्रतिज्ञात: 12) q. by वासुकीत्वा on भ. I. I. p. 2.

1917. अयस्ती सर्वविद्याशास्त्रातामकाय:प्रापय: प्रयोजनसं ज्ञाते तत्त्वतात् भूलोक: (प्रतिज्ञातः) v. 11. यथौ means अयस्ती, i.e. after the study of the Veda from a guru that has already taken place. The Śākharākṣika says (p. 12) भूलोक: (प्रतिज्ञातः) v. 11. यथौ means अयस्ती, i.e. after the study of the Veda from a guru that has already taken place. The Śākharākṣika comments on verse 18 (of प्रतिज्ञातः) 'यथौ प्रयोजनसं ज्ञाते तत्त्वतात्'. Compare the well-known maxim 'प्रयोजनसं ज्ञाते न स्तवति प्रत्येकः' found in अरुकरः. (सर्वविद्याशास्त्र:प्रतिज्ञ्यत: 55). Writers of the Prābhākara School hold that the word dharma in P. M. S. I. 1. 2 means 'Vedārtha'. Vide रुविमाल:पांचिकाः on ब्रह्म (p. 20) 'चौदर्भविषय: चौदर्भविषय: कार्यसं तवेद्यार्थ: न स्तवति प्रत्येकः' of प्रतिज्ञात:.
dīpikā (on P. M. S. II. 1. 1), the proper subject of this sāstra is Dharma and not the meaning of the Veda (tasmād dharma ityeva sāstravisayō na vedārtha iti). The aṭhikārin is one who has studied the Veda or a part of it from a guru and is treated of at length in the 6th chapter of the P. M. S.

The Mīmāṃsāsūtra does not state how much of the Veda has to be studied before one enters on understanding the meaning of it. Here the Smṛtis come to one’s help. Gauḍāma II. 51–53 prescribes several options viz. twelve years for one Veda or 12 years for each of the four Vedas so long as he can commit to memory (one Veda). Maṇu III. 1–2 are similar viz. one should study Vedas for 36 years under a guru or for 18 years or nine years or for as many years as would be required for committing Veda to memory and they permit the option of studying the three Vedas or two Vedas or one Veda. Yāj. I. 36 remarks that Vedic studenthood lasts 12 years for each Veda or five (for each Veda) or some sages say for as many years as the student would require to master (one Veda or more). But even these prescriptions must have been rather a tall order for many brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas. Further, the Mīmāṃsā requires that not only should a person of the three varṇas (classes) study the Veda but he must also engage in understanding its meaning. On PMS I. 1.1 Śābara states that the venerable Yājñikas do not 1918 declare that rewards result from the mere study (memorizing) of the Veda and that where the Vedic texts appear to assign a reward for the mere memorizing of Veda they are merely arthavādas (intended only to praise Veda study), as in Tai. Ār. II. 15 which states 1919 whatever (vedic texts about a), sacrifice he memorizes the result is that he, as it were actually performs that, and he secures absorption into (or communion with) Agni, Vāyu, Śūrya. The Tai. Up. I. 9 attaches the greatest importance to svādhyāya (memorizing the Veda) and pravacana (teaching it or expounding it) and after stating the views of two sages cites the view of Nāka Maudgalya that svādhyāya and pravacana are the most important to be resorted to or striven for, though ṛta, satya, dama, śama, āgnihotra, hospitality and others may be combined with them, the reason

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1918. न च सत्यायनमात्रात्मत्वात्मवन्दिः पालिका: फलसमाननामिः। श्रव्यो 02.1.1.1.
1919. तस्मात्सत्यायणोद्ययोंद्रपदीति तेन तेनान्तिहि भवत्येवोपरिवास्तितेव साधुम् गच्छतिः। (ते. आ. 11 15); इत्य च सत्यायनवचने च...सत्यवचा रक्षितेऽः। तत् हृते तपोनियः। प्रवचितः। सत्यायनवचने एवाति नाको मोहरयः। तद्धित तपः। तद्धित तपः। (ते. उ. 1.9).
being that those two constitute tapas. The PMS in III. 8. 18
(jīnāt ca vācānām na hy-avidvān vihitostī) provides that only
he who knows the Veda has adhikāra for performing sacrifices.
Śabara\textsuperscript{1920} raises the question how much of the Veda must a
man know in order to be entitled to perform a vedic sacrifice
and replies that he must have memorized as much of the veda as
would enable him to carry to its completion the vedic sacrifice
undertaken by him. The Tantravārtika on the same sūtra
adds that the whole veda is to be studied during the period of
studenthood, but if anyone is unable to memorize the whole
veda, but somehow only the portion on Agnihota and Darśa-
pūrṇamāṣa, then it cannot be said that he has no adhikāra for
performing those two. To memorize the Veda and also to study
its meaning was a formidable task. Many verses of the Veda
had a threefold application with reference to sacrifices (adhī-
yajña), with reference to the deities (adhidaivata or adhidaiva)
and adhyātma (with reference to the spiritual or metaphysical
meaning). Vide Nir. III. 12 (where Rg. I. 164. 21 is explained
in two ways, adhidaivata and adhyātma.), X. 26 (where Rg. X.
82. 2 is explained in two ways, adhidaivata and adhyātma), XI. 4
(where Rg. X. 85. 3 is explained in adhiyajña and adhidaivata
ways), XII. 37 (where Vāj. S. 34. 55 is explained in the adhi-
daivata and adhyātma ways), XII. 38 (where Atharva X. 8. 9
is explained in adhidaivata and adhyātma ways). Manu (VI.83
lays down the japa (muttering) of Veda of the adhiyajña,
adhidaivika and adhyātmiya types. Manu I. 23 and Vedaṅga-
iyotisa say that the mantras of the three vedas were drawn from
Agni, Vāyu and Śūrya for the carrying out of yajñas. Viśva-
rūpa on Yāj. I. 51\textsuperscript{1921} explains the words ‘vedam vratāni vā
pāram nītvā’ as memorizing the Veda and completely under-
standing its meaning and not merely memorizing it. Dakṣa
says that Vedaḥgyāsa (study of the Veda) comprehends ‘five\textsuperscript{1922}

\textsuperscript{1920} न हृदयित्वा विद्यति। ये हृदयित्वासाधित्वित: समाप्तिः भवति। ...
\textsuperscript{1921} वेददार्श विद्यति। \textsuperscript{1922} वेददार्शिकरण श्रेष्ठत्वा शीर्षकरण न ग्रन्थम् एव। विभाषा 03 या I. 51.
matters viz. first memorizing it, reflection over it, constant repetition of it, japa and imparting it to pupils. These were ideals attained by a few persons only, while most brāhmaṇas generally rested content with memorizing one Veda or a portion of it.

The Pūrvamāṁśāsāstra is the most extensive of all the ṛṣāṇa. 1923 Śāstra is that which regulates and declares (human) activities and abstentions by means of eternal words (Veda) or by works composed by men. 1921 And it has about 2700 sūtras and over 900 adhikaranas (called nyāyas or conclusions on topics for discussion). Some sūtras are often repeated such as 'Lingadarśanaḥ-cā' (which occurs about 30 times) and 'tathā cāyārthadarśanam' (that occurs about 24 times). An adhikaraṇa is described as having five constituents, viz. (1) the topic for discussion, (2) the doubt about it, (3) the prima facie view, (4) the refutation of the prima facie view, (5) the final conclusion. 1925 A sūtra (aphorism) should be concise 1926 (contain a few letters), but clear in its meaning, substantial, of wide application (lit. facing all directions), should be without pauses or interjected letters and should be faultless. A bhashya is that which sets out the meaning of the sūtra in sentences that follow the words of the sūtra and that makes its own contribution (to the elucidation of the subject of the sūtra), while a vārttika is one that considers what is stated in the sūtra, or what

1923. The Dāraṇas are many, as appears from the sātvadīnāṃśa of māyā, but the orthodox and famous dāraṇas are six and run in pairs, viz. nāyika and vaidyikā, satyakā and śāṃkā, ātmānāṃśa and uttkāta. In I. A. vol. 45 pp. 1–6 and 17–26, it is stated that the sātvadīnāṃśa was not composed by māyāvādīya, who became later on Vidyārānya, but was composed by a nephew of māyāvādīya, who was a son of māyā (at pp. 22 ff.).

1924. प्रमुखार्थिक निर्दिष्टिक निष्येणात्कै व । शास्त्रार्थाचार्यान्त्र शास्त्रिविभ-
धीयते॥ भामकी से शु: 1. 1. 3, which is quoted by परा. मा. 112 2 p. 288 as from a pūrāṇa. The first half is स्वार्थका. (शब्दपरिचय v. 4).

1925. विषयो विद्ययात्र दृष्यकामतोत्तरसम। निर्दिष्टिक पर्वहृ म्वार्थविभिक कर्त्तव्यम् q. by निर्दिष्टिक p. 92, अवधारणकोषम् of शास्त्रकामा (Chowkamba series), सम्बोधन-कोषम् p. 89 (T. S. S.). Some read निर्दिष्टिक सिद्धांतः; others like माधवचारय set out the five as विषय, विवर्ष (or सन्देश), संस्कृति, प्रयोग and सिद्धांत.

1926. अध्यात्मार्थाचार्यानं सारार्थविभिंतोस्मधणम्। अतिरीक्तनिर्देस्य च दुष्क्रियो विषयः। (वाक्यविश्वका of वाक्यविश्व p. 82, धृत्य 11.33. 58, वाक्य 59. 142, शब्दपरिचय p. 3 which explains अतिरीक्त as अपूर्वकृत). The वाक्यविश्वका quotes this verse as from पौराणिक and remarks 'सामाजिकानिमानि नानाध्यायां अपूर्वकृते' and the com. says 'अपूर्वकृतान्मानि नानाध्यायिता नायाग्राम्ययं न वाक्यमेवः'.
is omitted or what is not well stated.\textsuperscript{1927} The Kāvyamīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara defines the words sūtra, bhāsyā, vṛttī, tīkā, kārikā &c. in chap. II.

Having declared in the first sūtra that after a person has studied the Veda and because he has done so, PMS proceeds to say that he should start on the consideration of what dharma\textsuperscript{1928} is. The 2nd sūtra, therefore, defines 'dharma as an act conducive to a man's highest good, that is characterized by an exhortative (vedic) text.' Śābara explains that 'codana' means a sentence that urges or exhorts a person to do an act. So this conveys that the means of knowledge (pramāṇa) as regards dharma are vedic sentences and it also means that what is characterized or indicated by codana is dharma i.e. the nature (svarūpa) of Dharma is made manifest.

The word 'artha' is put in to exclude acts (from being designated dharma) that may be mentioned in the veda but the result of doing which is evil, such as the sentence 'one practising black magic (to harm a person) may perform the Śyena sacrifice.' This is not dharma, but adharma, since the practice of black magic is condemned as sinful. This vedic sentence does not say that one should inflict injury, it only says that Śyenayāga brings about injury and if one desires to inflict injury, Śyena is the means.\textsuperscript{1929} The Ślokavārttika remarks that the words, 'codana', 'upadesa' and 'vidhi' are synonyms according to

\textsuperscript{1927} शुद्धार्थो वर्णि यथा वाक्ये: सुतुतुसारिनिः। सप्तद्विति च वर्ष्यते भवप्रय-भवितो व्यूः। भावानी on ब्रह्मसूत्र I. 1. 1 quotes a verse 'व्रत्तिः सुवि-त्रित्यथा विवर्णयस्तवतराति च।' सर्वदेवानांवधारणात् समर्थीतृतीयैः।' q by संसारिक विभाषां प्रकाशितैः।

\textsuperscript{1928} अनन्तरम् धर्माः जः ज्ञानितहत्र तथं इत्यतः सहस्रसंस्यां सामान्यारूपं। the व्या. र. says एवंदेतेके भवति। वेदाध्ययनंन्यतस्तथाय एवाध्यायपुज्ज्यताभन्दनात् तत्थिराधिनाशस्तरितेयं कर्त्येति। (on v. 112 of प्रतिज्ञात्रूप of कठोरक)।

\textsuperscript{1929} श्रवणोऽनुवादनापूज्योऽपभोकतः। य एव अपभोकतः। स प्राचीनवादनार्थिते। उच्छरितबोधिती चतुर्वेदोऽयोगेऽपभोकेत। कोडः। तोम: अपेक्षाय योगदेशिताय। कोडः। योधावायु इत्यात् ज्ञ इत्याच्छिन्नं च। तब अन्यथा धर्मं उक्तो मा सूचित प्रथमं अपभोक्त:। कर्त्यैं उत्तरात्मनः। हिंसा हि सा हिंसा च पाभिषेक:। नेि इत्याच्छिन्नं च कर्त्यैं विज्ञाप्त:। यो इति हिंसातिरं तथापवेयययुः। इति वेद्यात्तमः। इत्याच्छिन्नं च कर्त्यैं विज्ञाप्त:। यो इति हिंसाविरहितस्तु सर्वार्थस्य स्वाधिकृतम् इति। इति अविचारित:। इति इति। on I. 1. 2 at end. Vide पू. भ. सू. I. 4. 5 and III. 8. 36-38 for इत्याच्छिन्न which is a modification of व्यापन्नम and पू. भ. सू. VII. 1. 13-16 for इत्याच्छिन्न, where on VII. 1. 13 श्रवण quotes अप. भ. 22. 7. 18 'समानिष्ठविच्छिन्नेऽनेऽि:'.
Śabāra, the bhāsyakāra. The word ‘vidhi’ is often translated as injunction (i.e. an authoritative order) but in common parlance ‘injunction’ means ‘restraining a person from doing something.’ Therefore, the word, ‘odana’ or ‘vidhi’ has often been translated in these pages as ‘exhortatory passage or exhortation.’ The result is that dharma means a religious act (a yāga) which confers highest good. In Rg. X. 90. 16 ‘yajña’ is spoken of as the first (or arcaent) dharma (yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dhrmaṇī prathamāṇyaśan) and Śabara (in the bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 1. 2) quotes this verse for the proposition that the Veda expressly says that dharma means ‘yāga’. That Vedas have been promulgated for yajña is stated by the Vedāṅga-jyotisa 1930 verse 3 (Vedā hi yajñarthamabhipraṇātah). Medieval Dharmaśāstra writers like the Mitākṣara (on Yāj. II. 135), Dāyatattva (p. 172), Vy. M. (p. 157) quote a verse ascribed to Devala or Kātyāyana, which provides that all wealth is created for sacrifices, that, therefore, one should expend it on purposes of dharma and not on women, fools and irreligious people 1931 (vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 609 n. 1155 for further passages of similar import and their application).

Śabara introduces the 2nd sūtra by saying that what is to be investigated and understood is what dharma is (i.e. what is its nature-svarūpa), what are its characteristics, what are the means of attaining it, what are deceptive (wrong) means of attaining it and what does it lead to (what the fruit or reward of knowing it is) and replies that the second sūtra explains the first two of these (viz. dharma is and what its characteristics are 1932).

1930. Ḫούν. चोदना चोदनस्य स्रिविषयसाध्यवाचिनः। क्रोकमया. ोत्पत्तिकृतः व, 11, on which the kāśīka remarks ‘तत्र चोदना विभिन्दार्थं सर्वद्विषेषेऽथ भवान्कारसामियं नर इत्यादि चोदनोत्तरः। एतुस्ये भवति — विवाहवक्षयं उपयोगे इति.’

1931. यज्ञीय विहितं विचि तस्माद्य किनियोजयेः। ‘धार्मिकतु धार्मिकतु न क्षेत्रवर्णविधिमिदुः। The śīla on p. II. 135 strenuously opposes the proposition contained in this verse.

1932. स धर्मः। कर्म जिज्ञासिततः। को धर्मः। कर्मवत्ततः। कार्यः साधनाय कार्य ग्राहमानि कार्य साधनामासानि मित्यविकारित। तत्र को धर्मः। कर्मवत्ततः। इति एवेकेन सुवर्ण व्यस्तपावत् … चोदनलक्षण धर्मः। हृति। … चोदना हृति किपियात्ं। परदेस्य वचनमाहुः। आचार्यचौहित। कर्मविनिता हि हृतकोने। हृतकोने हि स्वतःसङ्गकृत। धृतोऽर्थविनिता हि ववेति। तथा हृतकोने हि स्वतःसङ्गकृत। पूर्वः निःस्क्रीये संयुक्तसाम्यं गृहन्तन्योतिः। शास्त्रभाष्या on I. 1. 2; again on II. 1. 1 ‘धार्मिकता च किपियात् अभिधारणक बार्त्तव वा वर्णमासानं।’ क्रोकमया। ‘तत्र धर्मः। हृतिकर्म च चोदनलक्षणात्मकम्।’ धार्मिकता v. 3); तत्र गृहः। हृतिकर्म स चोदनलक्षणात्मकम्। हृति प्रामाण्याच इति प्रामाण्याच इति प्रामाण्याच इति:। क्रोकमया।
That is, 'cōdanāś' (vedic hortatory texts) are the pramāṇa (means of knowledge) about dharma and whatever is laid down by hortatory veda texts is dharma (i.e. Dharmasvarūpa). The relation of Dharma to the Veda and the Purvamimāṃsā-śāstra is clearly and succinctly brought out in a verse of Kumārila himself as follows: 1933 'When discussion about the correct knowledge of Dharma is being carried on, Veda being the means of such knowledge, mimāṃsā will supply complete information about the subject of the procedure or method.' Just as even if a man has good sight he cannot perceive anything unless there is light, so unless a man knows the methods laid down by PMS he cannot correctly judge what Dharma is. Jaimini then examines the means of knowledge (pramāṇas) and holds that except śabda (i.e. the Veda) there is no means of knowledge about Dharma. One cannot perceive directly what Dharma is i.e. Dharma is not prayākṣa. All the other pramāṇas except śabda are based on prayākṣa and therefore they cannot define or explain what Dharma is. According to Kumārila there are six pramāṇas, prayākṣa (direct perception), anumāṇa (inference), upamāṇa (analogy), śabda, arthāpatti and abhāva (non-existence). Prabhakara does not accept the last as a pramāṇa.

The subjects of the twelve chapters of the PMS are stated in the J. N. M. V. to be respectively: (1st chapter) pramāṇa (means of knowledge); (2nd) bhedā (six grounds on which religious rites are distinguished from each other and the distinctions of rites as principal and subsidiary); (3) Śesa (the meaning of śeṣa being ‘ancillary or what subserves another that is called śeṣa or what is helpful to another’), how it is employed and the relative strength of śrutī, liṅga, vākya, prakaraṇa, sthāna and saṃkalpya; (4) prayukti (what is obligatory and what is addressed to the performer’s conscience i.e. what is kṛativartha and what is purusārtha); (5) Krama (principles of settling the order or sequence depending on śrutī &c.); (6) adhikāra (persons entitled to perform yāga); (7) saṃnyātidaśa (extension of items in the model yāga to its modifications); (8) Viśeṣātidaśa (extension of items to individual rites); (9) uha (adaptation of mantras and saṁskāras); (10) bādha

1933. धर्मं प्रयोगायमाणि हि वेदेन कर्मधार्मम्। इतिकर्मसमार्थम् भीणमान्सा पुरुस्वरथिति।
बुद्धिक्षेत्र (of कुमारिक) q. by तारकर (G. O. S., 1956, p. 36). This verse is introduced with the following lucid remarks 'वेदार्थायांसंस्य तति तत्त्वंधानी-पारमाञ्जलित्युपभावमि हि शास्त्रं भीणमान्सा। ...सा च कर्मभूतस्य बौद्धकारित्यं। यथा
चचिदा आलोकः। यथा यातुनानुस्य त्यतितत्त्वं।' यथा बौद्धकार्य साहित्यस्। यथा बौद्धकार्य साहित्यस। यथा ना
अयोप्यतः सन्देशायतः।”

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(omitting certain items or details in modifications of model yāgas; (11) *tantra* (one item being useful and enough for several acts or persons); (12) *prasāṅga* (extension of application). In the four pādas of the first adhyāya four matters are respectively dealt with viz. vidhi (hortatory texts), arthavāda (laudatory or explanatory passages including mantras), sūrtis (including customs and usages) and names (of rites, such as *udbhid*, *citṛa*). Śabara himself gives a summary of the first chapter of PMS as follows; viz. the pramāṇas; principles of the conclusions about vidhi, arthavāda, mantra and sūrtis, examination of gunavidhi (texts laying down some subsidiary or accessory matter as in ‘dadhnā juhoti’, where curds are prescribed as offering) and nāmadheya; the determination of doubtful matters by the help of the remainder of a passage or by the sāmarthya (the suitability of things for the actions prescribed).

It is unnecessary for the purpose of this section to furnish here a summary of the contents of the other chapters of the PMS. For a tolerably full summary of the contents of the twelve chapters of the PMS the reader is referred to the author's paper 'a brief sketch of the Pūrvamāṁsā system' in ABORI, vol. VI. pp. 6-12. At the beginning of each chapter Śabara summarizes what he dealt with in the preceding chapter and sets out the principal topics of that chapter.

The P. M. S. itself is of enormous extent and it has been overlaid with commentaries and with numerous commentaries on commentaries. Even before Śabara there was a commentator described as Vṛttikāra, who is mentioned in several places

1934. सामकेऽत्तुप्तो प्रमाणवाजप्य श्रुत्याः। तत्र विध्यध्वासप्रमाणवाजः पुनः परिष्कर्तः। सौन्दर्यानुपाल्यां वायुप्रेष्यां यथा वायुप्रेष्यांवायुप्रेष्यां। द्विः at the beginning of II. 1. 1. The *sūtravārttikā* explains *tattva*: in the above as follows 'विध्यध्वासप्रमाणवाजः पुनः परिष्कर्तः। सौन्दर्यानुपाल्यां वायुप्रेष्यां यथा वायुप्रेष्यांवायुप्रेष्यां।' द्विः... श्रुत्रतालूकम् विज्ञानविसन्तियां संविदामाण्यां श्रुत्याः। नामवेत्ताय वायुप्रेष्यांवायुप्रेष्यां यथा वायुप्रेष्यांवायुप्रेष्यां।' द्विः... At the beginning of II. 1. 1. The P. M. S. is divided into twelve chapters it is called 'वायुप्रेष्यांवायुप्रेष्यां'।

1935. Śabara expressly mentions (Bhagavān) Upavarṣa (on I. 1. 5) as to what is 'śabda', while Rāmānuja says (note 1886 above) that Bodhāyana composed a bhāṣya on both P. M. S and V. S. There are controversies about Vṛttikāra, Upavarṣa and Bodhāyana. Vide M. M. Prof. Kuppuswami in Pro. of 3rd All India O. Con. pp. 465-468 and Pandit V. A. Ramaswami in I. H. Q. vol. X. pp. 431-433 for identity of Vṛttikāra and Upavarṣa, while Dr. S. K. Iyengar in 'Manimekalai in its historic setting' p. 189 and

*Continued on next page*
by Śabara (sometimes with great respect) viz. on II. 1. 32 and 33, II. 2. 26, II. 3. 16, III. 1. 6 (‘atra bhagavān Vṛttikāraḥ’), VIII. 1. 1. (‘vṛttikāraḥ’ in the plural), X. 4. 23. On P. M. S. I. 1. 3-5, II. 1. 33, VII. 2. 6 Śabara differs from Vṛttikāra. The earliest extant commentary on the P. M. S. is the bhaṣya of Śabara. Śabara quotes many verses concerning PMS matters and a few also on other topics. Verses quoted on PMS matters are found on II. 1. 32 (one on p. 434 and another on p. 435), II. 1. 33 (p. 436, two verses),1936 II. 2. 1 (p. 462, two verses on adṛṣṭārtha), on IV. 3. 3 (one verse on p. 1247), IV. 4. 21 (p. 1279 a verse on pindapitryajña), IV. 4. 24 (p. 1280 an Āryā verse on the girdle of sacrificial post), IV. 4. 28 (p. 1281 about ‘svaru’), V. 2. 23 (p. 1319, same verse on XII. 2. 30 p. 2251), VII. 1. 12 (p. 1534 definition of atadesa), X. 4. 20 (p. 1924 one verse), XI. 1. 1 (p. 2096 on tantra and prasaṅga), XII. 3. 20 (p. 2263 on bhāṣika-svara). All these verses are apparently quoted by Śabara from some work or commentary on the PMS or on Pūrvamīmāṃsā, one or two probably from some Śrautasūtra and one or two may be his own composition.

Many glosses on PMS composed by writers of the 10th and following centuries are extant, of which 22 are referred to on p. 166 of vol. VI. of the Sarasvatibhavana Studies (Benares) by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in his paper on the ‘Mīmāṃsā Mss. in the Government Sanskrit Library at Benares’ (pp. 165-196). On Śabara’s bhaṣya there were numerous commentaries as is

(Continued on next page)


1936. It is remarkable that the two verses about the ten topics dealt with by Brāhmaṇas (on P. M. S. II. 1. 33) occur also in the Brahmaṇa purāṇa II. 33. 47-48. In shab they are: 1. स्त्रात्मादेव नदित्वा प्राणसा संज्ञरो विविधः । परशाय युर्दक्षितं व धार्मानक्षिप्यो बालस ॥ II. उपगान्त वस्तुते तु विधिहृद बालस्य तु ॥ एवं राजलाभं व तथा जीवनं निरोच्चग्राघ्यत ॥. There are a few variants in the Brāhmaṇa. The verse about विविधाञ्च on IV. 3. 3 is introduced with the words एवं हि परवाक्यार्थं- ्राघ्यति: प्राणसा संज्ञरो विविधः ।
clearly indicated by the Ślokavārtika that says that the very first sentence\(^{1937}\) of Śabara’s bhāṣya was interpreted in six different ways before it by commentators and by the Tantravārtika that the bhāṣyakāra did not notice six sūtras after the ‘nīvītādhi-karaṇa’ (III. 4. 1–9) and that commentators differed in their reasons for the omission, but all commentators other than Śabara did explain those six sūtras.\(^{1938}\) None of the commentaries composed before Kumārila is now available.

Kumārila wrote the Ślokavārtika on Śabara’s bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 1 (in about 4000 verses) and the voluminous Tantravārtika on I. 2 to the end of chap. III of PMS and the Ṭup-tikā on P. M. S. IV–XII (stray notes, not a regular commentary). Kumārila is credited with having composed two more commentaries, ‘Madhyama-tikā’ and ‘Brhaṭṭikā’ on P. M. S.\(^{1939}\) The latter has been referred to by the Nyāyaratnakara\(^{1943}\) and the Nyāyasudhā on Tantravārtika quotes several verses from it (on pp. 201, 329–30, 393) and the Jaiminiya-sūtrārthasangraha of Śrīputra Paramēśvara quotes Brhaṭṭ-tikā several times. On the Ślokavārtika two commentaries have so far been published viz. the Nyāyaratnakara of Pārthasarathi and the Kāśikā of Sucaritamiśra (in T. S. S.). In the Introduction to his English translation of the Tantravārtika, M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha notices eight commentaries on the Tantravārtika of which the Nyāyasudhā or Rānaka of Someśvara (published in Chowkhamba Series) is a very exhaustive one, the others being in Ms. The

\(^{1937}\) लोक इवयादि भाष्येऽपि धुर्धऽपंसन्द्रमसतः। भाष्यकारासर्वसंस्कृत स्युचयात्विदः प्रथमः। \(\) लोककारः। (अतिज्ञासूत्र, verse 26)

\(^{1938}\) अथ: परं यदृच्छाय: भाष्यकारान्त दितिततानि तत्र भाषयात्तासंबद्धते। केविददाहि्विस्मृतानि। \(\) दितितां गत्य: मद्दीन इवयात्। फल्यावनांविशेषामितियत्यते। अनवर्तः। व्यवहित्यते। …हृदयनरकारकरते सर्वविधायतानि। संति च ज्ञात्सेवंस्यकर्त्त्वर्त्त्वमध्यर्थसर्वविधायतानि। तत्रतथा। after III. 4. 9 p. 595.

\(^{1939}\) Vide ‘Kumārila and the Brhaṭṭ-tikā’ by K. S. Ramasvami Sastri and A. Sankaran in Pro, of 3rd All India O. Conf. pp. 523–529 where on p. 526 the Sarvadarśanaakumudi of Madhava-bharati is quoted as cataloguing all the five works of Kumārila and ibid., p. 475 where Prof. Kuppu-swami cites the same Sarvadarśanaakumudi.

\(^{1940}\) तामभाषोद्विलोकमावधायस्तम्भात्तेः। पश्चद्वेष्यु: भाष्यायामध्यस्तम्भात्तेः। \(\) \(\) श्रेष्ठकारः। (अप्राप्तस्यसत्यविशेषौ v. 9), on which स्यायः, remarks “अप्राप्ताद्विलोकमावधायस्तम्भात्तेः। पश्चद्वेष्युः। ‘भाष्यादिनास्यत्त्यमद्यस्तम्भात्तेः। श्रेष्ठकारां दशित। इत्यादिः पश्चद्वेष्युः।”
Commentaries and works on PMS

Ṭuptikā ¹⁹⁴¹ has some regular commentaries but none is published. The Tantraratna of Pārthasārathīśa deals at some length with the same chapters of P. M. S. (published partly in Prince of Wales, Sarasvatibhavana S.). On Śabara's bhāṣya Prabhākara wrote a commentary called Bṛhatī, a portion of which on the Tarkapāda (PMS I. I) with the commentary Rujvimalāpaṇeśika of Śālikanāthamiśra has been edited by Pandit S. K. Ramanaṭha Sastri and published by the Madras University (1934). The Śāstra-dipikā of Pārthasārati is not a regular commentary on the P. M. S. but it is a classic work on the P. M. S. and follows the views of Kumārila. Another very useful work is the Jaininīya-nyāya-mālā-vistārā ¹⁹⁴² of Mādhavācārya (published by Anan. Press, Poona) that gives summaries in verse of the aihikarāṇas of the PMS with brief prose comments and also points out some of the differences of Prabhākara (called 'guru' by Śālikanātha and others) from Kumārila (in all about 15 points of difference being noted between the two as regards the first chapter of the PMS and three in the 2nd chapter). Śālikanātha wrote an independent work called Prakaraṇapāṇeśika (published in the Chowkhamba S. S.). There is another work of Prabhākara's school called Nayaviveka of Bhāvanātha or Bhavadeva (ed. by Pandit S. K. Ramanaṭha Sastri and published by the Madras University in 1937). This Bhāvanātha is eulogised in the Madanaratnapradipa on Vyavahāra (pp. 324–325, published by the Anup S. Library, Bikaner, 1948) as the sun to the lotus of Prabhākara's doctrine. The Tantrarahasya of Rāmānujācārya (2nd ed. published in G O. S., 1956) composed about 1750 A. D. is the last noted work of the Prabhākara School and this work furnishes some useful information about the works of Prabhākara and the commentaries thereon by Śālikanātha. A verse in the Prabodhacandrodaya (Act II) after referring to Guru, Kumārila

¹⁹⁴¹ It is difficult to explain the name Ṭuptikā: It is explained as an abridged form of antarāṇupīṭikā or Ṭupo is an indeclinable in the sense of 'small' 'Ṭupu Ṭuptikāpravāyaṃ'...

¹⁹⁴² The Śr. śta. ma. vi verse 9 says: śravāṇī sahāse ṛṣe nātikāmaṇi śaṅgàhā; and it is remarked śravāṇī saḥharanankariṣṭasadāhūḥ caṃha: rāksahadāyapūrṇeśvarī śamānyasye n ṛṣaḥ sahāṅkāmaṇi. This works puts down the number of adhikarāṇas in Śr. m. s. c. at 1000, while some other works say there are only 915 adhikarāṇas. The Nīlāniversaṁghat of Indruḥ (pub. by Haridas Gupta at Benares in 1904) gives the summary of 1000 adhikarāṇas in 250 verses, the concluding verse being: nīlāniversaṁghatadānunāmaḥ śravāṇī saḥsaṃśaṅkāni. Nīlāniversaṁghatadānunāmaḥ śravāṇī saḥsaṃśaṅkāni. Nīlāniversaṁghatadānunāmaḥ śravāṇī saḥsaṃśaṅkāni.
Prabhākara differed from Kumārila on numerous points.\textsuperscript{1943} The divergence starts from the very first sūtra of the P. M. S. (as the note below will show\textsuperscript{1944}). Prabhākara is called guru' by Śālikanātha in many places in the Prakaraṇapañcikā (vide first Intro. verse and pp. 17, 32 &c.). There is a very great divergence of views about the relative chronological position of Kumārila and Prabhākara. Vide 'the Prabhākara School' (1911) by M. M. Ganganath Jha, A. B. Keith's 'Karmamīmāṃsa' (1921) pp 9-11, Pro. of 2nd All India O. Conf. pp. 408-412 and Pro. of 3rd All I. O. Conference pp. 474-481 (both by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri), J. O. R. Madras, vol. I pp. 131-144 and 203-210. The fundamental question is whether Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara or only a later follower. From several considerations the present writer holds that Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara. Śālikanātha not only speaks of Prabhākaraguru,

\textsuperscript{1943} Vide Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. II. pp. 309-335 for collection in Sanskrit of the points of difference between Prabhākara and Kumārila (called Bhāṭṭa), particularly pp. 331-335 for a table of the points of difference. Vide also Intro. to Tattvakānda by Pandit V. A. Ramaśwami Sastri, 1936, pp. 37-40 for a few important points on which the two differ.

\textsuperscript{1944} According to the Bhāṭṭa school, the 'visāyavākyā' of PMS I. I. 1 is स्त्रायामापा(प्रस्ताव), in śāstra XI. 5. 6. 3 and अ. II. 15. 1 (एतस्मात्साध्यायों द्वारा प्रस्तावः यथा कृतवर्धिते तेन तेतथाविर्भवर्द्धिते). According to the Prabhākara school the visāyavākyā is अवविद्या कर्क्कर्तव्ययोग्यविद्यमानी सत्यप्रेयमीति, the idea in this latter case being that study of Veda (Vedādhyaṇa) is only an aṅga (a subsidiary matter) of the vidhi to teach a student the Veda after his upanyāsana. The objections of the Prabhākara school against the visāyavākyā 'svādhyaśyoḍhityavāyaḥ' are that it has a seen fruit or reward and that when a seen fruit can be found it is improper to suppose that there is an unseen reward. Vide II. of Dh. vol. III. p. 837 n. 1628 where several passages from Śabara and others are cited about this maxim. The एकादशप्रभास (pp. 88-89 on अन्न after quoting P. M. S. III. 2. 1 winds up 'इति इत्यर्थसमस्ते नाद्योग्यविद्यमेवति). I have not been able to find from what Vedic work the sentence 'अवविद्या...परितः' is taken. It seems that the view that this passage contains a vidhi about teaching the Veda is only an inference from passages like Manu II. 140, III. 2, and Gautama I. 10-11. The प्रदर्शणांतरिक्त (on p. 6) admits this: कः पुनःवाचकर्णविद्यम्; 'उपनीयः...वचनम्' (तथा 2. 140) इति स्त्रायामापा। According to this understanding is only an aṅga of the अन्नययमानिधि. On p. 225 of the प्रदर्शणकारिता of एविवत (published with two commentaries in the Govt. Oriental Series, Madras, 1958) there is a scathing criticism of this विद्यवाक्य (अवविद्या...परितः).
but in one place states ‘our teacher does not tolerate this’. Śālikanātha in his Prakaranapañcikā quotes several verses of the Ślokavārtika (e.g. on p. 5 he quotes and criticizes verse 11 of Ślokavārtika quoted in n. 1916 above, on p. 122 quotes Ślokavārtika v. 28 of abhāva-pariccheda and on p. 114 verse 21 of arthāpatti-pariccheda.). Mandanamiśra wrote several works on PM viz. Vidhi-viveka (published at Benares with Nyāyakanikā of Vācaspati), Bhāvanāviveka (with com. of Umbeka, edited in S. B. series.), Vibhramaviveka and Mīmāṃsānukramaṇī (Chow. S. S.). The Śāstradipikā (on PMS II.1.1) cites Mandana’s explanation of Kumārila’s verse 1916. Therefore, Mandana is later than Kumārila or was a younger contemporary of Kumārila and flourished about 690 to 710 A.D. Śālikanātha quotes Vidhīviveka of Mandana (pp. 243, 302) in Prakaranapañcikā p. 178 and Brahmasiddhi in Rjuvināla (p. 20). Moreover, Śāntarakṣita in his Tattvasaṅgraha (GOS) frequently criticizes the kārikās of Kumārila (without naming him) and his pupil Kamalāśīla names Kumārila many times. Śāntarakṣita does not name or quote Prabhākara. He flourished between 705–762 A.D. (vide Foreword to Tattvasaṅgraha p XVI, GOS). Therefore, Kumārila must be placed about 650–700 A.D. As Śālikanātha quotes the Ślokavārtika and Mandana’s works he would have to be placed between 750–800 A.D. If Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara it follows that the latter (who appears to be unknown to Śāntarakṣita, should have been a contemporary (i.e. should be held to have flourished nearly between 700–760 A.D. or a little later) and was later than Kumārila. There is a tradition that Prabhākara was a pupil of Kumārila. Traditions (such as of

1945. यद्य बलिकु ज्ञातासेक्वरतितन्मैसू ज्ञातालं सामान्य प्रभाविष्टामाहेषः
कैःहिंदुर्वतीत तदाध्य सङ्गमानां न सङ्गमानां प्रकरणः p 31. He would have said simply “सङ्गमानां प्रकरणः” if he were a later follower and not a pupil.

1946. शाखादिविशिष्टे मु. मी. सं. II. 1. 2 (p. 101) says: उक्ते बल्लावतापचयः।
प्रभाविष्टाध्य प्रकरणः यथापदे।। This is तत्तवादिक p. 382; then शाखादिविशिष्टे बल्लावतापचयः।। This is भावादिविशिष्टे
p. 80 (with slight variations). The भावादिविशिष्टे on p. 61 quotes तथा क्रमाविशिष्टे...
प्रकरणः।। This occurs in तत्तवादिक. p. 381. The author regrets that M. M. Dr. Jha (in Intro. to ‘Pūrvamāṃsā in its sources’, p. 21) asserts, on the very slender basis of the above quoted words of the शाखादिविशिष्टे, that Mandana wrote a commentary on the Tattvārātra. M. M. Jha himself felt uneasy about his own sweeping assertion (p. 22 bottom), but he was not able to discover the verse of the Bhāvanāviveka referred to above.
the nine gems at the court of Vikramāditya) often arise without much evidence to support them; they should not, however, be summarily rejected but should be tested by other available evidence.

At one time Prabhākara appears to have occupied a very prominent position. The Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI (in 1088 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākaras’ system at Lakṣagūndi (vide E. I. vol. XV p. 348). This and the reference in the Mitāksāra (on Yāj. II. 114) to the views of Gauru on 1947. the Lipsāstra (PMS. IV. I. 2.) in the third alternative interpretation put on that śūtra, holding that the rules about the acquisition of wealth (in Gautama and other śrūtas) are puruṣārtha (addressed to the conscience of the performer of sacrifices) and not krautara, show the outstanding position that the Prabhākara school occupied in the 11th century A. D. in the Carnatic and Maratha countries. The Madanapārijāta, a north Indian work (1360–1390 A. D.), quotes a half verse of Gauru 1948. (on p. 89). The Śrūtaandrikā (on Vyavahāra p. 257), the Viramitrodāya (on vyavahāra p. 523) and the V. M. (p. 89) refer to the Nayaviveka of Bhavanātha, almost the last outstanding work of the Prabhākara school. Gradually, the Prabhākara School lost ground and the Bhāṭṭa school of Kumārila has been most predominant for several centuries. The present writer holds that Prabhākara is later then Kumārila but he is not in a position to say from whom he borrowed his peculiar views or whether they were started by him for the first time (though this appears more plausible). Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri (in Intro. to Tantrarañahasya, G. O. S., 2nd edition of 1956) holds that Prabhākara took his views from Bādari (p. XXV). The learned Pandit offers hardly any tangible evidence for his remark (on p. XIX of the Intro.) that Bādari held views similar

1947. तथाहि श्रावोधय तस्य नीतिर्विद्वादिति स्वायार्थिति समयवेदि। तदा दि निषेधायुर

1948. न च निषेधायुरै गृहायुरै। रुपमानं च वैश्वद् स्वायार्थम्। समनात�

रुपमानं — इति निषेधायुरैव रुपमानं। वैरिक्ष्यं दि निषेधायुरै। रुपमानं च वैश्वद्द्।
to those of Bhartrmitra who so interpreted the PMS as to make it atheistic. Bādari's views on Mimāmsā matters are quoted only four times in PMS viz. in III. 1. 3 (on what matters are śesa), VI. 1. 27 (that vedic sacrifices can be performed even by śūdras), VIII. 3. 6. (purely sacrificial matter about application of Sadaha procedure), IX. 3. 33 (about method of singing sūman, Bādari's view being accepted by Jaimini). In none of these does one find the slightest touch of Bhartrmitra's atheistic tendencies or of Prabḥākara's special propositions.

From Kumārila onwards there are numerous commentaries, commentaries on commentaries and manuals on some aspects of mimāmsā doctrines or of the contents of the PMS. Several difficult questions of identity and relationship among some of the early writers whose works are wholly or partially extant have also arisen during the last fifty years and many papers have been written. The present writer has read most of them, but if the whole evidence is to be set out and discussed a bulky volume of several hundred pages would have to be written. That cannot be done here. The several questions of identity and relationship are set out below and the present author's replies to all of them will be given with a little discussion on a few out of them:

(1) Whether Prabḥākara was a pupil of Kumārila; the reply is that there is no substantial or compelling evidence for this except tradition, but Prabḥākara is certainly later than Kumārila;

(2) Whether Śālikanātha is a direct disciple of Prabḥākara—yes;

(3) Whether Maṇḍana was a disciple of Kumārila; there is no substantial evidence for an affirmative reply, but Maṇḍana certainly explains in his Bhāvanāviveka a verse of Kumārila and quotes another verse from Tantravārtika. Vide note 1946 above. In the Vidhiviveka also (Benares ed. 1907), which Maṇḍana wrote after Bhāvanāviveka he quotes (on p. 15 'abhīdhābhāvanā...liṇādayaḥ) from Tantravārtika (p. 378) and on p. 315 of the Vidhiviveka quotes (yathoktam-śreyāḥśādhanāt... ...pratiyate') from Ślokavārtika (codanāsūtra, verse 14). Maṇḍana also quotes a passage from the Brahatī (p. 38) of Prabḥākara in Vidhiviveka 1949 (p. 109). So Maṇḍana, if not a disciple, was

1949. उक्तं च-कर्तव्यद्विविषयः नियोजनोः न नियोजः कृत्यकालमाहः विधिविवेकः p. 109, on which the स्थापककृष्ण of स्थापकतिः remarks 'अन्वेष जराविभारितीपुरविशेषः सम्बन्धः'. This sentence occurs in हृद्यम प. 38 (तक्षिपपादः pub by Madras Un., 1934).
certainly later than or a younger contemporary of Kumārila.

(4) Are Māṇḍana and Umbeka identical—no; Umbeka wrote a commentary on the Bhāvanāviveka of Māṇḍana in which on pp. 17 and 76 he discusses various readings in it; it is not possible to hold that a writer would discuss variant readings in his own work (as would follow if the two were identical).

(5) Are Māṇḍana and Viśvarūpa identical—No;

(6) Are Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara identical—yes; the latter name being assumed after Viśvarūpa became a śravyādīn.

(7) Is Umbeka identical with Bhavabhūti—the evidence is not enough to give a definite affirmative reply; but it is likely that they may be identical.

(8) Is Umbeka a disciple of Kumārila—yes; as shown in note below.1950

1950. That Umbeka was a pupil of Kumārila follows from the following considerations. In his com. on the Bhāvanāviveka (p 43) Umbeka quotes a half verse from Bhaṭṭapāda (व्योमं भद्दप:। अन्यत्र विविधमाशामयम करताः।) and on the same page he quotes another half verse 'वयाकार युक्तम् अन्यत्र भावना नाम साध्वितेन व्यवैषययम्'. These two halves make one verse on p. 383 of the Tantravārītika, the latter half of which is again ascribed by Umbeka (on p 92 of his com. on the same work) to Bhaṭṭapāda. It follows that Bhaṭṭapāda was his guru. Prof. Kunhan Raja tries to wriggle out by advancing the theory (on pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII of his Intro.) that some later scribe inserted the word 'guruṇā' and argues that there is no proof of Bhaṭṭapāda being Umbeka's guru. Unless another reliable ms. of Umbeka's commentary is found which omits the word 'guruṇā' or substitutes in its place some other word it is not open to us to hold that the reading is not trustworthily and then build positive or negative propositions on our own speculations alone. The Uveyaka whose view is quoted by Kamalasila in Tattvasaṅgraha (G. O S p 812 'उन्मेषक्लाल नवाधालक्ष्ण नाम ज्ञानानां पारमाण्य, किन्तु तदी, अर्थविविधसङ्ग्राम') is probably Umbeka, whose name is written in several different ways in works and mss. (vide M. M. Jha's Intro. to Bhāvanāviveka p. 2). If this identity is correct Umbeka must have flourished before 750 A. D and chronology would not be against Umbeka being a pupil of Kumārila. The Yukti-srūṣhpaprūṇi on Sāstra-dipikā quotes Umbekabhaṣṭa in several places. But one long quotation from Umbeka on p. 30 is very striking. In this both Sabara and Vārtikakāra (i.e. Kumārila) are severely criticized and after quoting the famous verse frequently cited in the Mahābhārata (सुरस्वयमतित्व... परिषयाणविधोपयोगे) he discards the views of the Vārtikakāra. Sabara is separated from Umbeka by several centuries and was not Umbeka's guru. Therefore, this passage (that occurs on pp. 105-108 of the G. O S of Umbeka on Ślokavārītika, pub. by Madras Un in 1940) leads to the inference that the Vārtikakāra was (Continued on next page)
(9) Is Sureśvara, a pupil of Śāṅkarācārya? — Yes.

The result of the above replies is that the following is the most probable chronological order of Pūrvamināmsā writers mentioned in questions 1 to 9 viz. Kumārila, Prabhākara, Mañḍana, Umbeka, Sālikanātha. They flourished between 650 A. D. to 750 A. D., Kumārila being the earliest of the five, Prabhākara (who quotes Kīrtārjuniya II. 30 twice on pp. 242, 343) and Mañḍana being contemporaries or Mañḍana being younger than Prabhākara.

The opening and ending verses in Sureśvara's Vārtika on the bāṣyā of Śāṅkara on the Br. Up. and the Tai. Up. leave no room for doubt that he was a disciple of Śāṅkara.

From the present author's paper in JBBRAS for 1928, pp. 289–293 and Prof. Kuppuswami's paper on 'Mañḍana, Sureśvara equation in the History of Vedānta' in ABORI vol. 18 pp. 121–157 it follows that Mañḍana and Sureśvara are not identical.

Some remarks in the learned Introduction of Prof. Kunhan Raja to the edition of Umbeka's Com. on the Ślokavārtika invite criticism. Prof. Raja (on p. XLIX) states that his attempt has been only to raise doubts and to attempt at weighing the evidence for and against various theories. The present writer has no serious objection to this. But he thinks that Prof. Raja has gone wrong in his interpretation of words like 'anupāsitaguravas-codayanti' (p. 33) and 'anupāsitaguruprajñā-vilāsitam-itii' [sic] grantha-jñāna-mānino manyante' (p. 30). He starts (XLII) by saying 'whether it meant (i.e. 'anupāsitaguru' meant) one by

(Continued from last page)

Umbeka’s guru. The युक्तिभेदपूर्णी writes 'अत्रोपेक्षेत्वर्तिष्य त वािककारियं दृष्टं सममितं सर्वमात्रताबिधिमितथात्मा इच्छाभो न कर्षचिदन्त्वेत्...' तत्तानन्दातीपर्वते देवश्री दृष्टं भान्यमुक्तेर्विनिवर्षीयम्। युवा व्रतपि... दिनिकै इच्छिस्ये वर्णो तद्भवित मात्यम् च दृश्येत्। It is quite clear that at least the युक्तिभेदपूर्णी holds that the ताधित view is discarded by Umbēka. The words इच्छिस्ये वर्णो तद्भवित मात्यम्... विद्विषोम् occur on p. 103 (at end) of the ताधितीका; the words देवश्री दृष्टं भान्यमुक्ते... occur in साराबाबाज्या on p. 18 (Anand. ed.). The verse युवाव्रतप्रिविवस्य occurs on p. 108 of ताधितीका.

1951. The words are to be dissolved as अनुपासिततां युक्त: वेतन (or वेतन; if अनु- पासिततां वेतन सूच: occurs) तथा (or तथा) व्रत: तस्य: विकारितम्, उपासितम् युवाव्रतयुक्तिर्युक्तिर् (कुप्यसित) तथ। वेतन: उपाय:...सूचता (in the Introductory remarks in Tātparyaṭkā to Ślokavārtika verse 2). In this last the word 'guru' is meant for Kumārila's guru (or gurus) to whom he makes obeisance in the 2nd verse, while with regard to the objector, who is ridiculed, guru is meant to refer to Kumārila.
whom the teacher was not respected or a teacher who was not respected (by his disciples)’ and then proceeds ‘but the expression ‘upāsitagurutām’ (appearing in the commentary on the 2nd verse of the Ślokavārtika) settles the point. It must mean ‘one by whom the teacher was not respected’. ‘Upāsita-guru’ literally means ‘one who waited on the guru i.e. listened to the explanations of his teacher and made them his own’. ‘Honoured’ is at most a secondary meaning of ‘upāsita’. Upa-ās literally means ‘sit near, wait upon’. I fail to see how it settles the point. The word ‘upāsita-gurutām’ (when introducing the 2nd intro. verse of the Ślokavārtika) is applied by Umbeka to Kumārila himself in relation to the Ślokavārtika verse ‘abhivyandyā gurūnādau’. It means ‘the characteristic or quality of one who has served his teacher i.e. who has carefully listened to what the guru expounded and understood it.’ The expression ‘anupāsita-guru’ (which, according to Prof. Raja, always refers to Prabhākara) frequently (vide also pp. 14, 52, 75, 291, 441) used by Umbeka means ‘he or those who have not waited upon the guru and listened to his words carefully and therefore have failed to grasp the correct meaning of the passages’. The inference suggested by these words of derision is that the objector (either Prabhākara or some one else) has not understood the doctrine taught by Kumārila to him and the present author is disposed to hold that the frequent emphasis on the word ‘guru’ in ‘anupāsita-guru’ is a veiled reference to Prabhākara-guru (as Śālikanātha puts his name in his Prakaraṇa-paṅcika ‘Prabhākara-guro-dṛṣṭyā), who was Kumārila’s pupil but deviated from his guru’s doctrines and wrote against them and Umbeka attacks and derides him for this. Supposing that Prabhākara had once been a pupil of Kumārila and later on propounded views that very much diverged from Kumārila’s, it is natural if Umbeka took up the cudgels on behalf of Kumārila and attacked Prabhākara as one who had forsaken his Guru’s views, had not digested them properly and had written a work (not now available but well-known to Umbeka) severely attacking Kumārila. Prof. Raja (Intro. pp. XLIII and XLIV) throws out the suggestion that on p. 14 and p. 291 Umbeka possibly suggests that Prabhākara preceded Kumārila. There is nothing of the kind. Umbeka holds that Prabhākara had not grasped his master’s doctrines and tries to show what the real doctrine misunderstood by Prabhākara was.

It appears desirable to set out a tentative chronological table of the outstanding works and writers of the Pūrvamimāṃsa, with
a few remarks here and there. Most of the dates are approximate and tentative.

Pūrvamimāṃsāsūtra of Jaimini—400 B.C. to 200 B.C.

Vṛttikāra—There is great conflict of views about the person who the Vṛttikāra quoted several times by Śabara was. Pārthasārathi in Śastradīpikā p. 48 (first line) holds that he is Upavarsa. Vṛttikāra is cited with great respect by Śabara, but he also differs from him frequently. The Prapañcāḥdyāya (p. 39) attributes to Bodhāyana an extensive commentary called Kṛtakoti on both mīmāṃsās. It is remarkable that Bodhāyana is not mentioned by name by any early work on P.M.S. nor does Saṅkara mention him though he twice mentions Upavarsa. Rāmānujaśārya in the opening words of his bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra refers to the extensive commentary of Bodhāyana on the Brahmasūtra. But he does not say that Bodhāyana commented on P.M.S. The present author is not even now prepared to hold that Vṛttikāra mentioned by Śabara so often is identical with Upavarsa. Śabara cites at some length the different interpretation of P.M.S. II. 1. 3–5 by Vṛttikāra and in the midst of it mentions (on p. 45) by name the view of Upavarsa on 'what is śabda'. He appears to regard the two as different. The fact that the Tantravārtika (pp. 602–3 on II. 3. 16) appears to identify Upavarsa with Vṛttikāra is not conclusive. From Kumārila himself we know that several Vṛttis were written on P.M.S before as well as after Śabara. So even Upavarsa may have been deemed to be Vṛttikāra by Kumārila (on II. 3. 16) and his views quoted, though the Vṛttikāra in other places in Śabara's bhāṣya may be different.

Upavarsa—between 100 B.C. to 100 A.D.

Bhavadāsa—The Ślokavārtika (Pratijñāsūtra, v. 63) mentions him by name and verse 33 of the same as explained by the Nyāyaratnakāra shows that Bhavadāsa was deemed to be earlier than Śabara by the Ślokavārtika; between 100–200 A.D.

Śabara—between 100–400 A.D. (nearer the former date). From the Tantravārtika on II. 3. 23 p. 612, on II. 3. 27 p. 620 and III. 4. 31 p. 967 it appears that there was another person called Bhāsyakārāntara, who was earlier than Śabara. From Tantravārtika on III. 4. 12 (p. 909) and Tūpāntika on VI. 5. 10 (p. 1462) it seems that Kumārila sometimes applies the word vṛttikāra to Śabara also.
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Bhartṛmitra—On verse 10 of the Ślokavārtika, the N. R says that the former refers to Bhartṛmitra who so interpreted the Mīmāṃsā as to make it atheistic. According to Umbeka (in Tātparyatīkā p. 3) his work was called Tattvāsuddhi; between 400-600 A. D.

Kumārilabhaṭṭa—About 650-700 A. D. 1952

Prabhākara—author of Bṛhatī on Śabara’s bhāṣya—between 675-725 A. D.

Maṇḍana—Disciple of Kumārila or a younger contemporary, wrote on both P. M. and Vedānta; in Vidhiviveka p. 109 he quotes the Bṛhatī (vide Pro. of 3rd O. Conf. p 479); his other works are Bhāvanāviveka, Vibhramaviveka and Mīmāṃsā-nukramāṇikā; between 680-720 A. D. Vide ABORI vol. 18 pp. 121-157 (by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri), J. I. H. vol. XV pp. 320-329.

Umbeka—pupil of Kumārila and commentator of Ślokavārtika and of Maṇḍana’s Bhāvanāviveka; generally identified with dramatist Bhavabhūti between 700-750 A. D.

Śālikanātha—pupil of Prabhākara and author of the commentary Rjuvimalā on Prabhākara’s Bṛhatī and of an independent work ‘Prakarana-paṇcikā’. It is noteworthy that in Rjuvimalā on Bṛhatī (p. 91) he quotes a verse from Ślokavārtika (Vākyādhyākaraṇa verses 43–44) and refers to Kumārila with great respect as ‘Yadāhur-Vārtikākāra-miśrāḥ’; 710–770 A. D.

Sūresvara—(called Viśvarūpa before he became a sannyāsin) disciple of Śaṅkaracārya. Between 800–840 A. D.

1952. One circumstance which fixes the earliest limit of Kumārila’s time is furnished by the Kāśikā (com. on Aśādhbhāṣyā). In the lengthy pūrvapaksa against Grammar contained in the Tantravārtika on P. M. S., I. 3. 24 (from p. 254 onwards), on p. 260 an objection is raised that Pāṇini himself violates his own rules laid down in ‘trījakābhyaṁ kartaṁ’ (Pāṇ. II, 2. 15) in the śūtras ‘Janikartah prakṛtiḥ’ (Pāṇ. I. 4. 30) and ‘tatprayojaṁ hetuṣcā’ (Pāṇ. I. 4. 55). The Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmana defends the śūtra ‘tatprayojaṁ hetuṣcā’ in the words ‘तत्स्तथ योऽज्ञः तत्स्तथपरमः’ (p. 91 of Benares ed.). The pūrvapaksa in the tattvārthika on p. 260 does not accept this explanation of the Kāśikā in the words: न च यथा निपत्ते सत्तव- सिद्धे। सुमुखिते | प्रकटस्तवलीया जनिकायस्यप्रत्येका ।। From I-tsing’s remarks it appears that Jayāditya died in or about 661 A. D. Therefore the Tantravārtika in which fault is found with Kāśikā’s explanation must be later than about 650 A. D.
Vācaspati-miśra—wrote famous works on all śāstras; author of Nyāyakaṇṭhā on Maṇḍana’s Vidhiviveka and Bhāmati on Śāṅkara-bhāṣya; between 820–900 A.D.

Pārthasārathimīśra—author of Śāstrādippikā (pub. by Nirn. Press 1915), Nyāyaratnākara (com. on Ślokavārtika), Tantraratna (com. on Tūptikā) and Nyāyaratnamālā (pub. in G. O. S. with com. Nāyakaratna of Rāmānujaśīva); between 900–1100 A.D.

Authors later than Pārthasārathi are placed below in one paragraph.

Sucaritamiśra—author of com. called Kāśikā on the Ślokavārtika (a part published in the T.S.S.); Bhavanātha (or Bhavadeva), author of the Nayaviveka, pub. in Madras Uni. Sanskrit series, with the com. Vivekatattva of Rāvideva (on Tarkapāda, 1937), between 1050–1150 A.D.; Somesvara—son of Mādhava, author of the Nyāyasudhā or Rānaka (a voluminous commentary on the Tantravārtika), pub. in Chowkhamba S.S. at Benares, 1909, about 1200 A.D.; Murārimiśra—who is supposed to have founded a third school of Mīmāṃsā (Murāres-tritiyaḥ panthāḥ), author of Tripādībīnyana (part pub. in J. O. R. Madras, vol. II pp. 270–273 and vol. V. pp.1–5) and Āṅgavani (Anan. ed. pp. 1141–1190), between 1150–1220 (acc. to Intro. to Tattavabindu); Mādhavācārya, author of Jaliniya-nyāyamānlavistāra (pub. by Anan. Press); vide H. of Dh. Vol. I. pp. 374–381), between 1297–1386; Appayya-dikṣita, author of Vidhīraśīyaṇa (pub. at Benares), is deemed to have written 100 or 108 works on different śāstras, said to have flourished between 1520–1593 A.D., another view being that he flourished between 1554–1626 A.D.; Laugakṣibhaṇḍaka, author of Arthasaṅgraha (text with translation, pub. by Dr. Thibaut in 1882 and by several others); Śāṅkara-bhāṭṭa, author of Mīmāṃsā-bālaprakāśa (Benares), between 1550–1620 A.D.; Apadeva, son of Anantadeva, author of Mīmāṃsā-nyāyahapprakāśa (pub. by B. O. R. I. Poona, with a lucid commentary by M. M. Vasudevasastri Abhyankar, 1937); there are several other editions of this work, one of which edited by Prof. Edgerton with transliterated text, translation and notes in Harvard O. Series is very useful; between 1610–1680 A.D.

Khaṇḍadeva, author of Bhāṭṭakahastubha with Bhāṭṭadippikā (published in Mysore Govt. Oriental series), and Bhāṭṭarahasya. About 1600–1665 A.D.
Gāgābhaṭṭa or Viśvesvarabhāṭṭa, son of Dinakarabhāṭṭa, author of Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇī (part published at Benares); between 163’–1690 A.D.

Rāmānujācārya, author of Tantrarahasya (G. O. S.), belonging to the Prābhākara school and of Nāyakaratna (com. on Nāyakaratnamālā of Parthasarathi, G. O. S., 1956); about 1500–1575 A.D.

Mīmāṃsākośa (in Sanskrit)—An encyclopaedic and most learned work on Pūrva-mīmāṃsā—prepared by Swami Kevalānanda Sarasvati, published by the Prājñāpāṭhasālāmandalā at Wai in the Satara District, Bombay State; four parts have been published so far, covering over 2400 pages and four more are to be published. The press copy of the whole is, it is understood, ready. Unfortunately the great Swami entered Brāhmaṇī state five years ago.

Some of the works written in English on the P. M. S., apart from short papers and the translation of the Śābarabhāṣya (3 vol. in G. O. S.), the Tantravārtika and the Ślokavārtika of Kumārila (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1900) by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha, may be noted here for those who desire to make further studies in P. M. S. The following works and papers are also useful.

Max Mūller’s ‘Six systems of Indian Philosophy’ in collected works (ed. of 1899), pp. 197–214; The Prabhākara school of Pūrva-mīmāṃsā by M. M. Ganganath Jha (1911); Karmamīmāṃsā by A. B. Keith (1921); ‘Indian Philosophy’ by Prof. Das-Gupta, vol. I. pp 367–405 (Cambridge, 1922); ‘A Brief Sketch of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā system’ by the present author in A. B. O. R. I. vol. VI pp. 1–40 (1925); ‘Outlines of Indian Philosophy’ by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, pp. 298–325 (Allen and Unwin, London, 1932); Introduction on ‘a short History of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-āstra’ to the edition of the Tattvabindu of Vācaspatimīśra by Pandit V. A. Ramaswami Sastri (Annamalai University S. Series, 1936); ‘Indian Philosophy’ by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, vol. II. pp 374–429 (1941); Introduction (pp. III–LI) to the edition of the Tātparyatikā of Umbeka on Ślokavārtika by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja (Madras Un. 1940); ‘Pūrva-mīmāṃsā in its sources’ by M. M. Ganganath Jha (Benares Hindu University, 1949) with a critical Bibliography (pp. 5–51) by Dr. Umesha Mishra; ‘Citations in Śabarabhāṣya’ by Dr. D. V. Garge (Poona, 1952), a painstaking work
in which the learned writer has been able to identify many of the quotations in Śabara’s bhāṣya that had eluded such a deep scholar as M. M. Ganganath Jha, though even Dr. Garge has not been able to identify a large number; Introduction to the Tantrarahasya of Rāmānujācārya by Pandit K. S. Rāmaswami Sastri (G. O. S. 1956); Mīmāṃsā— the Vākyasastra of Ancient India, by Prof. G. V. Devasthal (Book-sellers’ Publishing Company, Girgaon Back Road, 1959); Mīmāṃsā Jurisprudence by Shri Nataraja Aiyyar, Allahabad (Jha Research Institute).
CHAPTER XXIX

Some Fundamental Doctrines of Pūrvamimāṃsā

Some of the characteristic fundamental doctrines of the Pūrvamimāṃsā will now be set out with some references and a few remarks as to some of them, the views of Prabhākara and his followers being also rarely referred to.

(1) Veda is eternal, self-existent, not composed by any author, human or divine, and is infallible. This is the core of the P. M. system. Vide P. M. S. I. 1. 27-32 and Śābara on I. 1. 5 (p. 53) and Ślokavārttika (Vakyādhiśkarana, verses 1353 366-368). The argument briefly is: Veda is learnt at present and was studied in the past also by students from teachers, that there is no evidence about the person who first composed it or who first studied it. If it be argued that such a reasoning may be put forward as regards the Mahābhārata, the reply is that people know that Vyāsa is the author of it. Similarly, the passages in Sūtras and Purāṇas that Prajāpati created the Veda are merely arthavādas (laudatory) not based on any evidence or perception and are meant only to convey the absolute authoritativeness of the Veda. If the connection between word and sense is eternal and not brought about by any person, the same reasoning holds good as to the Veda. This view is opposed to the view of the Naiyāyikas who hold that God is the author of the Veda or the interpretation of V. S. I. 3 (Śārayonītīvāt) by Śaṅkarācārya based on Br. Up. II. 4. 10. Manu I. 21 (stating that Brahmā created from the words of the Veda the names and appropriate duties of all) seems to suggest that (according to

1953. On P. M. S. I. 1. 5 Śābara comments (pp. 52-53) ‘तस्मानमन्यातः कैनापि पुर्व्येष्य शास्त्रानांतः सह सम्बन्ध हुना। संस्कृत्यहैं वेदेन्द्री परीति। देवायुधपि च। अयोध्यस्य लाभस्य च। संस्कृत्यसः कर्ममेष्य एव। सम्बन्ध हुनां। पुरुषस्य संवेदन्यातः। कर्म सम्बन्धो नालि। पर्यक्षस्य प्रावृत्तासा ततपूर्वकृत्वान्तर्वतं।’ वेदाध्ययनमेव सर्वे शर्यतपूर्वकोस्य। वेदाध्ययनायस्य नात्र नात्र च। भाषाविवर्ते भेदेव्यं कर्तुष्ट्रयुतयु तु वाचयते। वेदेव्यं तत्त्वातिश्वरातुं संप्रदायायायत्या। परस्पर्यं च कर्तरं नात्रेवात्रं स्मरल्लि। ध्रुवेंद्रानेक्षितेवर्तायायिकायं वर्तवे 366-368: the प्रकरणपारित्वम् (p. 140), remarks ‘कर्म पुनःस्पष्टस्य वेदेन्द्री। पुरुषस्य कर्तुष्ट्रयुतसः। ... काठकाल्यिन्तमाहंपि कर्तुष्ट्रयुतसः विशुद्धसः।’ प्रवृत्तेणापि तद्भवसः। 1. The argument when put in a syllogistic form would run like this: ‘वेदेन्द्री: अयोध्यसः, अयोध्यस्य लाभसः। यथात् तत्त्वत्त्वसः यथा महाभारतसंगीताः।’ श्रीराचर्यांवर्तेower. स. 1.3.29 (अथ एव च नित्यस्मि) begins his भाष्य with the words ‘स्तत्स्रव्यं कः श्रमस्रव्यादिन्द्रियः श्रीदेवेन्द्री नियमसः.’
Manu) the Veda was self-existent. Similarly, the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 3 on Pāṇini IV. 3. 101 (‘tena proktam’) remarks that the Vedas were not composed by anyone, that they are eternal, that the meaning of the Veda is eternal, but the arrangement of the letters is not eternal and therefore we have different Vedic texts like Kāthaka, Kalāpaka, Paippalādaka &c. The Smṛtis also sometimes state that there is no author of the Veda, that Brahmā remembers it and that Manu also has remembrance of Dharma in different Kalpas (Parāśarasmiti I. 21).

In P. M. S. I. 1. 28 (‘Anityadarśanāca-ca’) the opponent of the eternality of the Veda puts forward such passages as ‘Babarā Pravāhanī (son of Pravāhana) desired’ (Tait. S. VII. 1, 10. 2) and ‘Kusuruvinda Auddālaki desired’ (Tait. S. VII. 2. 2. 1), which mention men named Pravāhanī and Auddālaki (son of Uddālaka) that are mortals and argues that Veda did not exist before those mortals and is, therefore, not eternal. To this the Siddhānta replies in P. M. S. I. 1. 31 (‘param tu śrutisamānyam’) that such examples are to be explained differently viz., ‘Babarā’ is an onomatopoeic word meaning ‘rustling’ and Pravāhanī (from ‘pra’ and ‘vāhay’ causal of vah) means the wind.

It may be noted that centuries before Jaimini and Yāska there was a school of Vedic interpreters called ‘Aitihāsikas’. For example, Rg. X. 98. 5 and 7 refer to Devāpi, son of Rṣṭiṣena, and to Śantanu. Yāska (in Nīruktā II. 10), starting with the words ‘tatra-itihāsamācikatsate’ states that Devāpi and Śantanu were brothers of the Kuru family and the younger brother Śantanu was crowned king ignoring the rights of the elder and that these verses refer to them. In Rg. X. 10 there is a dialogue between Yama and Yami and Nīr. V. 2 refers to the 8th verse of it. Those who hold that Veda is eternal would explain Yama as Aditya and Yami as ‘Night’. Rg. III. 33 is a dialogue between the sage Viśvāmitra and the rivers. The Nīr. (II. 25–27) explains verses 5–6 and 10 of that hymn from the Aitihāsika point of view and states that Viśvāmitra was son of king Kuśika and does not mention the Nīruktā interpretation of these verses.

1954. नरु चौके न हि छबंद्वीसक स्त्रिषये निर्माणं विवाहितिः। जन्मद्वारं निद्रये
कस्मसि वर्ण्युक्ति सा निर्माणं। नवाद्वारं वर्णितसि काटकेन काटिणेकं भौलकेष पैवालाकवासितिः।
महाभाष्यं कष वालिक 3 कशि ‘अधिकृतं कुरं ग्रंथं’ परं। IV. 3. 87। पैवालिकम् ग्रंथे
this distinction between being the author of a work and being only the expounder or transmitter in the two sūtras ‘तेन श्रेयश्च’ (IV. 3. 101) and
‘कृते ग्रंथे’ (IV. 3. 116)। The पूर्ववादमहाश्च 1. 3. 30 ‘आलयं प्रवचनात्’ also
ephasizes the difference between कुट and पैव।
About the Āśvins the Nirukta (XII, 1) states several views viz. they are Heaven and Earth, or Day and Night, or the Sun and the Moon and remarks that according to the Aitihāṣikas they were kings who had accumulated great merit. Probably the Nairuktas were divided among themselves and explained that the Āśvins represented different natural phenomena. About Vṛtra (occurring in such verses as Rg. I. 32. 11) the Nairuktas (Etymologists) said in Nirukta II. 16 that the word means 'cloud', while the Aitihāṣikas say that he (Vṛtra) was an Asura, son of Tvaṣṭr. As to the hymn Rg. I. 105 of 19 verses (in the first 18 of which the refrain is 'vittam me asya rodasi') the Nirukta IV. 6 states that the hymn was seen by Trito who was thrown into a well. In Rg. VII. 33. 11 there is mention of Urvāśī and Vasīśtha (Maitṛa-Varuṇa) as born of Urvāśī and Nirukta (V. 13-14) explains that verse and remarks that Urvāśī was an āpsaras and Rg. X. 95 is a dialogue between Aila Pururavas and Urvāśī. But the interpretation of the Nairuktas and Aitihāṣikas on this story are not expressly set out. Probably the Nairuktas would explain Urvāśī as lightning and Pururavas as the roaring wind. The hymn Rg. X. 108 is a dialogue between Saramā (Indra's bitch) and the Paṇis and the Nirukta XI. 25 explains the first verse and remarks that there is a story (Ākhyāna) therein viz. that there was a dialogue between Saramā sent by Indra and the Paṇis who were Asuras. In all such legends the Nairuktas would insist that they are to be taken allegorically as referring to natural phenomena, while the Aitihāṣikas would insist that there is historical basis in all these. Though it is not stated by the Nirukta expressly that the Aitihāṣikas do not hold the doctrine of the eternity of the Veda it implicitly follows from their explanations that they did not subscribe to that doctrine.

2. The connection between word and sense is eternal.\textsuperscript{1955} This is explained by the words of Śabara (in n. 1953) that there is no person who could be put forward as having brought about

\textsuperscript{1955} The sūtra (P. M. S. I. 1. 5) contains several conclusions. The first is आयैनात्तिकः (नियतः) शास्त्रप्रभव सध्यगयः, the 2nd is तत्र ज्ञानसपदेः (exhortation is the means of knowing it i.e. dharma); here ज्ञान means ज्ञापते पेन (धूर्तकृत्ता अधृतिकृत्तावर्गे verse 9); the next part is अभ्यस्तकृत्तान्तर्गत्वथ (it is unfailing or infallible as to all that is not perceptible); तत्तत्सापमिस्याय इे Vedic Injunction is a valid means of knowledge since it is independent; बादरायणस्य (this is the view of Bādarāyana also). The question 'what is a

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the connection of word and sense. Vide P. M. S. I. 1. 6-23, Šabara’s bhāṣya thereon, the elaborate treatment in 444 verses in Ślokavārttika (pp. 728-815) and Prakaraṇa-paṅcikā pp. 133-140 (seventh Prakaraṇa). On the question “what does a word like ‘gaṇḍ’ denote,” the P. M. S. replies that a word denotes ‘ākṛti’ (or jāti) i.e. the universal, the class. Briefly, the Mimāṃsāsakas hold that the word, the denotation and the relation of these two are eternal. Vide P. M. S. I. 3. 30-35.

3. The individual soul. The P. M. S. does not expressly affirm the existence of the soul in any sūtra. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. III. 3. 53 refers to this fact, states that Šabara, the Bhāṣya-kaṇāra, propounded the existence of the soul and that the venerable Upavarsa refrained from going into that question in his exposition of the Pūrvamimāṃsā with the remark that he would expound it when dealing with Śāṅkara (i.e. the Vedānta-sūtra). It was probably due to this fact of the absence of a statement about the soul that the Pūrvamimāṃsā was interpreted by some as favouring atheism. Kumārila complains that the Mimāṃsā, though not really atheistic, was put forward as Lokāyata (atheistic) by some and that therefore he endeavours (in the

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word’ is answered differently by different writers. The revered Upavarsa said that in a word like ‘gaṇḍ’ it is the letters that constitute the word (vide Šabara quoting Upavarsa p. 45 on I. 1. 5 and Śaṅkara on V. S. I. 3. 28). The other view is that the letters manifest the sphaṇa and it is the sphaṇa that conveys the sense. This subject cannot be dealt with in this work.

1956. परमेश्वर हि सृष्टिकर्तर लोकयातिकक्ष्ये। तामसिकक्ष्ये कृतवचं वत्तन: कृती मया। श्रीकपित, verse 10. The śruti, notes that भूतिकत्र मानते put forward several wrong doctrines about the Mimāṃsā such as the one that the performance of obligatory acts or of prohibited acts leads to no desirable or undesirable results. Vide II. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 46-47 note 57 and vol. II. pp. 358-359 on लोकायतिक and भूतिकत्र. The meaning of लोकायत is changed from time to time. कृतिक (I. 2) included लोकायत under आत्मविद्या along with सांख्यवैद्य. पाणिनि appears to have known the word लोकायत, his sūtra (IV. 2. 60) is ‘कृतद्विभावप्राप्तादुङ्गु’ and लोकायत is the 2nd word in the उक्तवैद्यन. the Kāśīka on this sūtra mentions लोकायतिक: at least before the 6th century A. D. लोकायतिक had come to be identified with one who did not believe in the existence of a soul independent of the body. The कास्मिन्न (paragraph 153) has ‘लोकायतिककाष्ठेयवाच्चेन:’. श्रीकपित on प्रेमविद्या III. 3. 54 says that the Lokāyatikas do not admit any principle other than the four elements (earth, water, heat and wind) and do not believe in the existence of a soul apart from the body. Vide Prof. Das-gupta’s ‘Indian Philosophy’ vol. III, p. 512-533 and ‘Lokāyata’ by Dr. W. Ruben (Berlin 1954). From the Chān. Up. VIII. 8 it appears that Āsura Virocana held that there was no soul

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Ślokavārītika) to show that it treads the path of belief (in soul and another world). The souls are many, eternal, all-pervading (omnipresent) and different from the body, the senses and the mind. The soul resides in the body, is the agent ( kartṛ) as well as bhokṭṛ (enjoyer), is of the nature of pure consciousness, and is cognised by itself (svasamvedya). Though the P. M. S. does not expressly deal with the existence of the soul, there are indications that the P. M. S. itself must have impliedly accepted the existence of the soul. The reward of many religious rites is Svarga and the P. M. S. refers to numerous Vedic passages where svarga is the reward of rites and assumes that the reward goes to the performer (e.g. in the adhikarana III. 7. 18-20 beginning with 'Śāstraphalam prayokitari' that expounds the meaning of such vedic passages as 'agnihotram jhuyāt-svargākāmāh'). Śabara on I. 1. 5 expounds at great length the existence of the soul as different from the body, senses &c. (vide particularly pp. 60-72 of Ānan. ed.). The Ślokavārītika devotes 148 verses to this subject and the Tantravārītika also briefly deals with it on P. M. S. II. 1. 5 (pp. 402-403). The Ślokavārītika (Ātmavāda, verse 148) has this interesting verse 1957 'the Bhāṣyakāra (Śabara) desirous of refuting atheism has established here (i.e. in bhāṣya passages) by reasoning the existence of the soul; the

apart from the body and that the body alone was the soul. There is a recent book published (while these pages were being sent to the press) viz. 'Lokāyata' (study of ancient Indian materialism) written by Shri Devaprasad Chattopadhyaya (New Delhi, 1959), which deals with the subject of Indian materialism in detail.

1957. इऽयाह नास्तिकविनिरिविवग्नास्तिततां भविष्यद्वते युक्तवा। ह द्वस्तमेतिविवयस्य

Bhāṣya: प्रभृति वैद्यानाथिपेशुन || भूककर्ता, (आभव्य) 148. About the soul being

स्वस्वत, द्वार एस यस्य। स्वस्वत, शास्त्रित सर्वेछ शास्त्रवेद शास्त्रवेद तदाधिकृतम्।

यथा च कालिकसुधापृथीमते सत्यं पतितं न च शास्त्रवेदपूर्वे जात्वयथाय साहित्यिकृतम्।

तन्त्रवारीतिका नास्तिकवादीयम् साहित्यिकृतम्।) राज्यां व के स्वस्तमेति तत्तथित साहित्यिकृतम्।

As the words आन्तरिक and नास्तिक are put in juxtaposition in आन्तरिक it follows that, acc. to कृतारिथित, a नास्तिक is primarily one who does not believe in the existence of the soul. वास्तविक है the sūtra 'अति नास्ति दिवर्ध मति' IV. 4. 60 on which the महामायYA explains 'अस्तित्ववेद मतिरिविवग्ना।

नास्तिकवाद मतिरिविवग्ना।; the नास्तिक explains 'पर्यायवेदिता वर्ष मतिरिविवग्न स आन्तरिकं अप्रत्यारोपीत मतिरिविवग्ना।; so नास्तिक primarily means 'one who does not believe in the existence of the soul (and as a consequence in a world other than the physical). The तन्त्रवाद, (pp. 402-404 on II. 1. 5) establishes the following propositions about the soul: तन्त्र विनापथम नाश्यत जीवनमयतेऽक्य तथाधिकोत्तरवासितम्। (नामझामा; न कालिकस्वस्तमेति; सर्वगत; आत्मनागान्वते लघुभ; सर्वतुल्लासित्रुप्तमानां विश्रात्वम्।

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knowledge on this subject (viz. existence of the soul) becomes sound and enduring by the study of Vedanta passages'. The Padma-purana states that Jaimini composed a vast, but useless Sutra by expounding the view of there being no god.1957a

4. God and the devatās in sacrifices. Śabara's position is that the Vedas were not created by God, nor was the connection between word and sense created by Him. The Prakaraṇapañcikā also (pp. 137 ff) denies a creator for the whole universe. Kumārila's position 1958 also is peculiar and startling. He says in the Ślokavārttika that it is difficult to prove that God first created the world together with Dharma and Adharma and the means of attaining these, words, senses, and their relations and the Veda. Thus it appears that he does not expressly deny the existence of a supreme power or God but simply ignores such power or God. In spite of this he begins his Ślokavārttika with an obeisance to Śiva.1959 The Nyāyaratnākara says that the verse can also be an apotheosis of Yājñā. But in that case Kumārila would have to be charged with duplicity. It is better to say that the tradition of beginning a work with a māṇḍala verse could not be discarded even by Kumārila.

The consideration of the question of what is meant by the devatā with reference to which an offering is cast into the sacred fire leads to startling results. Jaimini (in VIII. 1. 32-34) takes the position that in a sacrifice the havis (offering) is the principal matter while the devatā is a subordinate one (guṇa) and that if there be a conflict between the havis and the devatā, the final conclusion is to be arrived at by relying on the havis. The reasoning is that the Veda connects the deity with the sacrificial act, as in 'one desirous of progeny should offer an havis for Indra and Agni cooked on eleven potsherds and then Indra confers on him progeny' (Tai. S. II. 2. 1. 1.). Even though

1957a. वेदार्थप्रबंधानां भावाय गुणानविदिकम्। मयेव रूपये केवि जगतां नाशकार्यात्। द्विजनानां भौमिनिनां पूवे वेद (चंद?) मार्थकम्। निरीक्षरोयं वादेन कुते जालं महत्तस्म। परम्पुरव ख, 263. 74-76.

1958. यदि लाइ जग-चंद्र धर्मात्मां सतायात्। यथा शतयासस्यवात् वेदान्त
कविज्ञाकृति। जगादित्वा बेंद्रव तथा बिंचित दुहाति। सर्वातु दु:साधयितायेवं रसिंहाः। यथा सर्वस्य मासस्य कारमात्र तत् सम्पत्तम्। प्रजापति: क गर्वं स्वयं किं र्वं च मध्यपताः॥ भूतमार्थाः। (सम्यक्षार्य:।) वेदांश्च। वेदच्च।

1959. विविधसृजनाद्वैतक्षण निर्बिद्विद्विश्वसृजन। अत्र: वातिनिविविद्विश्वसृजन। यथा शतयासस्यवात् वेदान्त।

first verse. The न्या. r. remarks 'सोमस्य अर्थ श्लोक र्वमयमात्साहि नवाद्वित। इति यज्ञप्रक्षेपं स्नायुः॥. मद् यह:। मद्युरताचारिकानां। निर्विधार्थो न विश्वसः। इत्यवस्ते। IV. 146.
it is so, the *phala* (the reward) is conferred by the sacrifice and not by the deities (Indra and Agni in this case) and the words *‘Indra’* and *Agni* confer progeny on the sacrificer are purely laudatory. P. M. S. I. 6–10 are very important in this connection. Śābara quotes Vedic passages like Rg. X. 47.1, III. 30.5, VIII. 17.8 (where Indra’s right hand, fist, neck, stomach and arms are mentioned), Rg. I. 95 10, VIII. 77.4 (where Indra is said to have put in his stomach all foods and to have drunk thirty vessels full of soma), Rg. VIII. 32.22 and X. 89.10 where Indra is said to be lord of the world, of heaven and earth, waters and mountains and then remarks that these are all *arthavādasas*, though at first sight they appear to postulate that Vedic deities have bodies, eat and drink. The Śāstrādīpikā advances the argument that if the devastā had a body, ate, drank and was pleased, devastā will be *anitya* (ephemeral) and could not in that case be treated of in the Veda that is eternal. He further asserts that men of limited intelligence not knowing the real import of the Vedic passages may hold wrong opinions. Śābara notes (on X. 4.23) that there are various opinions as to who the Devatās are to whom either a hymn (*sūkta*) is addressed (as Rg. I. 94) or to whom *‘havis’* is directed by the Veda to be offered as in *‘one should offer to Agni an offering cooked on eight potsherds’*; that the devastā becomes connected with the sacrifice not in its own nature but by the word used with reference to an offering and that where the Veda directs an offering to be made to Agni, one cannot use a synonym for Agni such as *‘Śuci, Pāvaka, Dhūmaketu, Krśānu, Vaiśvānara or Śaṇḍilya.* Thus Devatā is a matter of words, as admitted by 1961

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1960. Note the following *sūtras*: विद्विषयः हविषयः निधेत्य राधेणसदुपापवन्यः 

VIII. 1. 32; ādhi va श्रव्युरस्त्वात् यज्ञवर्गमण्यानस्य स्पङ्ग्यालेक्षादशिति।IX. 1. 9. श्रव्य के words on VIII. 1. 34 are quite frank and clear: *र्वाददेवयेव यदि देवता फलं स्थापुरुषः* यागाधि फलं सर्वांगाथियो यथादेवति अशुः। यथै तु युनं एवमांगुष्ठं इति तवेव देवाय युवानुष्ठातुष्ट: स्याणुः। यागे युवानुष्ठातुष्टः। तथा दशानुस्तुष्टः उच्चायते। यथा अङ्गावेशे श्रव्यः यथा वेष्टनेणैव यथा दशाय गुणि इति। न वामायायः सेनानाथेऽग्रामस्य प्रभादितः। रजोऽमः समभावति। इत्यस्तिन् युवानुष्ठातुष्टः सत्याय युवानुष्ठातुष्टः। युवानुष्ठातुष्टः तत्सम: सन्नाधितः।

1961. तस्मानमन्वेः विद्विषयः उपादात्वम् इति। उच्चायते। नमेवः श्रव्यः एव देवता भामोलि। अर्थात् तयः तस्मानसागरस्य भवति। न हीद्युर्गङ्गायात्मकः प्रभादितः। श्रव्ययोः आश्चर्यमाप्नुतः सत्यायामाप्नुतः। ... अतोऽऽ देवादेवोऽऽ गम्यायथः गम्यायथम् गम्यायथम्। प्रकाशप्रकाशः pp. 185–186; सःः सःः नववेशः सत्यायात्मकः प्रभादितः। तस्मान रामादेवः उपादात्वम् इति। श्रव्यायामाप्नुतः। श्रव्यायामाप्नुतः। 

शास्त्रीपिका p. 580 on PMS IX. 1. 6–10.
Sabara. The Prakaranapañcikā also states that there is no proof that a sacrifice (yāga) is a means of pleasing the deity and that to say that there is worship of a deity in a yāga is really metaphorical. From this and the preceding doctrine (No. 1) it follows that P. M. S., Sabara, and Kumārila discard the idea that the Veda is the word of God or that rewards of religious acts are due to the favour or grace of God. It is therefore that the Padmapurāṇa quoted (in note 1957a) above dubs Jaimini’s doctrine ‘nirīśvaravāda’ (Godless).

When the Veda says ‘one desirous of heaven should perform a sacrifice’, three aṅkṣās (expectancies) arise. The first is ‘what is to be brought about’; this is satisfied by the word svarga, stating the reward or the purpose. The 2nd is ‘by what means’ is the first to be brought about. That is satisfied by the meaning of the root ‘yaj’ (i.e. by yāga); the third is ‘what is the procedure or in what manner’; that is satisfied by the establishment of the sacred fires and other rites that are described in the context of the passage ‘svargakāmo yajeta’. It is learnt from this passage that the reward or purpose (svarga) springs from (is brought about by) yāga and not by the devatā. 1962

Later writers could not digest all these ideas about the deities in sacrifices. Venkatanātha (or Venkatadesika, 1269–1369 A. D.) composed a work called ‘Seśvaramāṁśa’, in which he criticizes both Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara schools and being an ardent Vaisnava of the Rāmānuja school attempts a synthesis of the two mīmāṁsā and brings in the idea of God as the dispenser of the reward of sacrifices against the combined testimony of Sabara, Kumārila, Śālikanātha and others. Vide Dr. Radhakrishnan in ‘Indian Philosophy,’ vol. II pp. 424–429 for ‘God and world according to Pārvatīmāṁśa’.

5. There is no real creation nor dissolution of the whole universe. The constituent parts may come and go but the universe as a whole has no beginning and no end. The descriptions of creation and dissolution are only meant to illustrate the power of ṛta (fate, destiny) and the vanity of human effort and urge men to perform duties enjoined by the Veda. Without any human effort the world may come into being and in spite of

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1962. यज्ञसत्ववादायः साकाष्ठे प्रजत किं केन कार्यात्मकाति, सर्वगतं तुर्यनेन पञ्चजातनेन श्रान्त्यप्रकारः। शाश्वात् ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ Vide दुर्दृष्टिका on IX 1. 9 अति या...वेतताषुति: quoted in note 1960.

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all effort it may come to an end. The world is real and has always been there and will go on for all time. Vide Ślokavārtika (V. 112–117), Prakaranapañcikā pp. 137–140 and Nyāyaratnākara on the former. The Ślokavārtika goes so far as to say ‘it must be admitted that all these (worlds &c.) existed before the creator, and again such a creator may be proved (by anumāna) to have been preceded by the Veda on account of his being an intelligent being, just as ourselves are preceded by the Veda.’

It would be noticed that the Mīmāṃsā idea of creation and dissolution is opposed to the Mahābhārata and Gītā (X. 8 ‘aham sarvasya prabhavo matāḥ sarvam pravartate).

6. The doctrine of apiṣca (invisible mysterious or subtle potency). The Veda lays down that one desirous of heaven should perform a sacrifice. But the reward heaven comes off only after a long time, while the sacrifice lasts only for a short time. There would thus be no direct connection between the sacrifice (the cause) and heaven (the reward) or purpose. It must be presumed from the Vedic injunction that there is some connecting link between the activity of man to perform a yāga and the reward. Before the principal and subordinate acts in a sacrifice are performed men have no capacity for svarga and sacrifices (described in the texts) are also incapable of producing the effect ‘svarga’. The principal and subsidiary acts in a sacrifice when carried out remove the incapacity and produce a certain capacity or potency for svarga. This must be admitted by all. Unless such a capacity exists there would be the unacceptable conclusion that not doing the acts and doing them are on the same level. This capacity or potency either residing in the man (agent) or arising from the sacrifice that is performed is called apiṣca in this sāstra. It is true that this capacity cannot be proved by direct perception or other means of knowledge except by śrutarthāpatti. When we are told that a man

1963. तस्माय भवेते च सर्वं तद्यथाकरणम्। समस्तख्यातमायेः न विशेषत्वप्रमाणिकाः॥ सर्वज्ञानबिन्धर्य च चुडुḥः सुद्रसाक्षरवाय।।... स्तम्भतुलकल चारय चैत्यास्माहस्वकान्तियोऽदृशः। एव ते युक्तिः माहुशेष्यो दुम्भस्वचरणः। अनेकयोषि व्यवहारायमानादेवनादिगौरियः। भोजकम्। (समस्तवाक्यप्तं वर्णम 113-117)। बुद्ध वच च गुरुः, as the all-knowing states ‘सर्वज्ञः सुस्नयः बुद्धः।’ और The न्या र. remarks on verses 113-114 यथा च बुद्धायः सर्वज्ञं पुरुषाद्वादोद्विसम्बन्धितम्। एवं प्रजापतिविपक्षः तस्थत: विष्णुभवनादोऽद्विसम्बन्धितम्। ततो दैवतभवनादोऽद्विसम्बन्धितम्। वहीन विष्णुअत्येवदशस्य विस्मृतिवतवृत्तिः। समस्तप्रजातीयभन्तिः संस्कृतिकारे वेदनेत्रोऽद्वितीयस्वप्नः। यथा र. On नूतनकश्च। (समस्तवाक्यपरं वर्णम 112)
who is fat does not eat by day we presume, in order to account for this, that he must be eating food at night. Similarly, the Veda brings sacrifice and svarga together; we have to presume that sacrifice gives rise to a subtle potency, though the sacrifice itself comes to an end in a short time, and that this potency is the cause of bringing about the reward svarga and that we may look upon it as abiding in the soul of the sacrificer or as an invisible effect (a reaching forth of the yāga itself that has vanished).1961 Mimāṃsakas do not admit that the results of religious acts are given by God. The V. S. III. 2. 40 states that this is the view of Jaimini (dharmam Jaiminir-ata eva) and is opposed to the view of Bādarāyana, Śaṅkara and the Bhāmati that it is God who confers the reward. According to the Prakaraṇaṇapañcika (p. 186) the invisible force or potency is not in the agent but arises as a subtle form from the action itself. Four kinds of Apūrva1965 (with further sub-divisions) as regards Darśapūrtiamāśa sacrifice are stated by Mādhavacārya.

The idea is that every rite as a whole produces an apūrva, and that each subordinate part (āṅga) of the rite has also an (apūrva) which is subordinate to the apūrva of the whole rite.

The Tantravārttika explains why it is called apūrva. The invisible potency was not in existence before the performance of

1964. चोड़ा दुर्गाराम्: पृ. मी. सू. II. 1. 5; चोड़नेपञ्चुर्वी ब्रमः। अपूर्व: पुनःसिति पत आरम्भः सिद्धंते स्वर्गाकामो वज्जेति। इति वि विष्णुमन्नयकं स्वर्गाल्पमालयम्। यथ- न्द्र्यन् पुलयाचार्य विष्णुपदेष्टो छल्लालयते ल चारं। इत्यद्वारे च मार्गीतः। शावर; फलाप महति कर्म शङ्कुकं विवाहाभाजितः। तत्तिद्विधानांत्येऽन्येऽन्येऽन्येऽन्येऽन्येऽन्ये यागिदालयम्। चौदनवेष्टथामृत्युष्टता चोड़नेवेष्टथामृत्युष्टता चोड़नेवेष्टथामृत्युष्टता च। अस्त्या तत्रावर्तमानसमलक्ष्याद। सेव च पुराणता क्रुद्दता। वहारा वायवनधिरुपिण्डते। यत्र प्रत्यक्षादि संपरस्याद। नासितीति सत्यं, श्रुतार्थपिथि-व्यतिकृतेपि गमयन्ते स लयोपः। तत्तवः क. 394; in the कङ्गः (अक्षरपिथि) Kumārila says 'पीयो ब्रजन न तुकं के मेयाविविच्छुन्ति।' श्रुतीभोगजनितविभाषणे श्रुतार्थपिथितिरिप्रयते। v. 51.तत्त्वः फ़र्तर सिद्धेंद्रायेव प्राप्तादि तत्त्वकालस्य अनुसरणे तथा स्वर्गाल्पमालयम्। इत्यद्वारे च मार्गीतः। कर्म शङ्कुकं विवाहाभाजितः।

1965. तत्त्वकालस्य कर्माल्पमालये। फलापार्थुपुणे, सहस्रायायुं, उपदायार्थु, अद्यः। पुलयाचार्यः। इति भाषा मा. ति। इति फलापार्थु त्रयोद्वृहिपूर्विकिष्ठं। इति इति इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति। इति इति इति इति।
the sacrifice and arises as something new after its performance and hence apūrva has a purely etymological sense.\(^{1966}\)

If one holds the view that apūrva is some potency coming to reside in the performer of a sacrifice one's views would be like those of some modern writers who hold that real prayer is not mere repetition of certain words deemed to be sacred, but it is an upward movement or a real increase in the intensity of spiritual power in the man who prays, it being immaterial to ask to whom he prays (vide W. James' 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 467).\(^{1967}\)

7. *Scatah-prāmāṇya* (self-validity of cognition). It has already been stated that the *prāmāṇas* are six (five according to Prabhākara). The P. M. system postulates that all cognitions as cognitions are intrinsically valid in themselves, do not require any extraneous help to establish their validity but invalidity of cognitions is (*paratāk*) established extraneously by showing that there was defect in the organ that produced the cognition or it is established later on that a particular cognition was wrong.\(^{1967}\) Prabhākara goes much further and holds that every experience as such is valid and no experience can be said to be wrong or illusory.


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\(^{1966}\) Yādavindujñitam ca puṁsān prabodhanamāyārtha-prāktyāḥ yāmānubhāvauḥpūrṇamākhyataḥ pā应 jñitam prāmadharmamāyān ca eva yāt vijnāna-vidyāvādānavādānām sarvāḥ vicare tathāgatāḥ. Tathā, p 299 on I. 3. 30; on p. 8. 7. VII. 4 1 शासन says 'इवमयी चोके विज्ञापनां साधयति तन्त्राद्यापूर्वाविवाहोऽर्थं नासिनी वा चोदना दुनियामुख इत्यत्त।'.

\(^{1967}\) शर्म विज्ञातविवाहीति तत्त्वाद्यतमाय। प्रमाणावलमणावले स्व: किं परतोऽध्वन। स्व: स्वत्त्वावानां प्रमाणालमणिन्ति गमयमतः। न हि स्वतीतः स्वान्। किंतुस्मायन घटायने। तस्माद्यामात्रकालेन प्राता दुः: प्रमाणता। अवार्थविवाहीत्वा दोषार्थानुपीडोऽति।। कोक्षवा। (चोदन्यास्तु) वर्गेस 33, 47, 53: the last two verses are respectively quoted by शासन in तत्त्वाद्यतमाय pp. 745 and 788. On verse 33 the *व्यर. र.* comments 'तत्त्वादोऽध्वनीयं। किं तत्त्वाद्यात्माध्यमामर्पयानं च स्वतः एव विचित्रस्यं। किं शोभामयिपुर्वादिनामिनिः सृष्टिविभावः, उत्पादायमहेऽस्व: प्रमाणण्यं स्वतः परस्योऽविदेशितं वेदित।'^ Here four possible views are put forward about प्रमाणण्यं अवार्थविवाहिनयमार्पयानम्। The जीतात्मक view is that cognition is स्वतःप्रमाण, while its invalidity has to be established by other means (अवार्थविवाहिनयमार्पयानम्). शासन on I. 1. 5 says 'तत्त्वाद्यतमाय स दुः: कारणं यत्र च विचारेति प्रमाणयः स एवार्थविवाहिनः प्रमाणप्रमाणयः इति।'; 'पत्र मयादीश्वरमामार्पयादि कारणाद्वृत्ते वात्सर्यिङ्गानां यथोपयोंमात्र स्व: प्रमाणम्, इतरतथा: प्रमाणम्।' शाश्वाद्वीपिकाः on I. 1. 5 p. 50 (of Nirn. ed. of 1915).
165-167 and 168-171 for descriptions of the joys of heaven in the Vedic literature, the Epic and the Purānas. From considerations of space the remarks will have to be brief. In Ṛg. IX. 113. 7-11 the sage prays to Soma to place him in that immortal world where there is continuous light, where all desires are fulfilled, where there are joys of various grades. Heaven was deemed to be the place where the souls of valiant men that fought battles and sacrificed their lives went (Ṛg. VI. 46. 12) and in Ṛg. X. 154. 2-4 the soul of the dead is asked to join those departed men that had become invincible by great tapas, that had died in battle, that had made gifts of a thousand cows, that had led a life of right and virtue and that were wise sages.

The Atharvaveda IV. 34. 2 and 5-6 say that in heaven there are many women, they get edible plants and flowers of various kinds, there are streams of ghee, honey and wine (śura), milk, curds and there are lotus ponds all round. The Śatapatha Br. (XIV. 7. 1. 32-33) states that the joys of heaven are 100 times greater than those on earth. Vide Macdonnell’s ‘Vedic Mythology’ pp. 167-168 and A. B. Keith’s 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda' etc. pp. 403-406 (1924). Even the Upanisads refer to the joys of heaven e.g Chān. VIII. 5. 3. speaks of two lakes in the world of Brahmap, āśvattha tree showering down Soma and the city of Brahmap called Aparājitā; the Kausitaki Up. (I. 3 and 4 ) elaborates this and adds that five hundred Apsaras go out to meet him (who reaches heaven), one hundred with garlands in their hands, one hundred with ointments, one hundred with perfumes, one hundred with garments and one hundred with fruits. Poets like Kālidāsa love to dwell upon the instantaneous arrival of the soul of the warrior whose head was cut off in battle and who was at once joined by an apsaras in heaven (vide Raghuvamśa VII. 51 ‘Vāmāntasamsaktasurānganaḥ svam nityat-kabandham samare dadarśa’). The Purānas furnish graphic descriptions of the joys of heaven. Vide Brahmapurāṇa 225. 6, Padma II. 95. 2-5, Mārkandeya 10. 93-95, which enumerate Nandana garden, aerial cars with bevy of Apsaras, golden beds and seats, absence of sorrows, all pleasure &c. Sabara on P. M. S. VI. 1. 1 refers to two popular views about svarga; one is, whatever gives pleasure to a person such as silken garments of fine texture, sandalwood, damsels sixteen years old is designated svarga. Another popular view is that svarga is a certain place where there is no heat nor cold, no hunger nor thirst, no dissatisfaction, no tiredness.
Śabarā and Kumārila say that popular\textsuperscript{168} ideas about svarga are invalid, that the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, being composed by men, need not be considered and that the Vedic descriptions of svarga are mere arthavādās for praise.

P. M. S. IV. 3. 15. provides that svarga\textsuperscript{169} is the reward of all religious acts (such as Viśvāmitra) for which no express reward is provided by the texts. Śabarā states ‘happiness is svarga and all seek that’; an old verse says ‘that state of happiness in which there is no mixing of pain, which is not immediately overwhelmed by pain, that comes to one when one desires it, is called by the word svarga’.\textsuperscript{170}

Medhātithi remarks that smṛtis sometimes state\textsuperscript{171} that the gift of a single cow yields all rewards and relieves from sins with the result that fruits of great religious acts and of slight ones would be deemed to be the same but it should be understood that the rewards differ in their duration; otherwise, no one would engage in great or difficult rites.

Some Vedic rites expressly declare fruits of sacrifices that are other than svarga. For example, the Tai. S. provides ‘one desirous of (plenty of) cattle should offer the citrā sacrifice’ (II. 4. 6. 1.) or ‘one desirous of (leadership or control over) a village should offer the Īṣṭi called Sāṅgrahānti’ (Tai. S. II. 3. 9. 2.).

\textsuperscript{168} 藉此來/>\textsuperscript{169} 藉此來/>\textsuperscript{170} 藉此來/>\textsuperscript{171} 藉此來/>
Śabara says the Veda does not say that the result of such sacrifices cannot be had in this very life. This the Tūpīṭkā 1971 expands in an interesting note. The remedy declared by the Veda for securing desired objects (son's birth and the like) is bound to yield the result in this life or in the next. If a man has committed evil deeds in a previous life he has to undergo the effects of those sins and while he is undergoing the effects of sins the fruits of sacrifices are postponed. But if the effects of sins have been extremely reduced he secures the fruits of kāmya rites in this very life. The words of the Veda laying down an injunction state only so much that the fruit of the rite performed does come about but they do not say that the fruit follows immediately (after the rite is performed). Therefore, there is no definiteness (about the time when the fruit will follow). But svarga is to be enjoyed only in another life (as a fruit of rites performed in this life). It (svarga) means unequalled happiness and is achieved in a degree proportionate to the actions; but it cannot be enjoyed in this life, since men experience in this world every moment both happiness and misery. Every happiness is not the fruit of Jyotiṣṭoma and every being does not perform Jyotiṣṭoma. But some happiness does come to a man. Therefore, it (happiness) is natural. The existence, however, of another body has to be imagined for the experience of unequalled happiness, there being no other reasonable explanation. That unequalled happiness does not come to a man unless he dies; therefore svarga is to be enjoyed in another life.

9. Mokṣa (liberation): Neither the P. M. S. nor Śabara nor Prabhākara deals with the topic of Mokṣa. Kumārila and

1971. दुर्विदीनि कामयानांत्योपायों विदीर्दे। उपायेः च हृदे नियतप्रवेशेन भविष्यम्। तदद् पूर्वजमयम्यद्वां कुमुम्। तदास्तायुष्मी तस्मांतुविविधंतथमविस्मृतते। तत्वदि अनुभासं तदोपायम्य विदीर्दे जनमति फलम्। अनुवच्यात् तस्मातु च यथाचासं विस्मृताः। च तद् भविष्यति विदीर्दे। विदीर्दे न निबुद्धते तस्मानुविचयम्। स्थस्तु स्वागतर्य एव। स द्विरतिसागराय मृतिः कस्मुरुपणपूर्वकं न श्राब्ध हस्तमयमभवितुम्। यतोद्देशस्तीकों क्षणे क्षणे एषाः अस्तुम्भति। न च चतुर्तिमायु उपसन्तिस्वमम्। यथानत्यावर्तु च सा विद्यते न च चतुर्तिमायु उपसन्तिस्वम करोतिः। तस्मानभवित्तेऽस्ती। द्वेषाद्वारः न तत्र चतुर्तिमायु भवित्तेऽस्तीमयम् वपन्नते करोतिः। तदास्तार्य न भवित्तेऽस्ती जनमात्यावर्त्ते क्षणे॥ दुर्विदीकाः on IV. 3.28. It should be noticed that a distinction is drawn here between prīti (a moment of happiness) and niratisāyapruiti. The Dvīdeka on VI. 1.1 says that the siddhānta view is that svarga means 'prīti' (happiness), while the pūrva-pakṣa holds that svarga signifies the means for things that cause happiness, but both do not hold that svarga is some place 'एकर्ष शीतीति । स्वभावहृदायपर्यं। अपराष्ट्र भीतिमय्य नरम्। बिलिः देश उपयोगस्वाभायः।' दुर्विदीकाः on पृ. मी. च. VI. 1.1 p. 1348.
Prakaranapāncaikā deal with it. They both say that liberation consists in not having to assume a body again. The Ślokavārtika states 'one desiring Moksa should not do any act that is forbidden or is Kānya (prescribed for those who desire an object like riches, son &c); he should perform obligatory rites (such as agnihotra) and naimittika (like bath, japa and gifts on eclipse &c.) in order to avoid the sin that would accrue owing to non-performance of those two; if he does not desire the rewards of doing nitya and naimittika acts they will not come to him, as such a reward comes to him who seeks it. The results of acts in a former life would be eliminated by undergoing them in the life in which he seeks liberation. This differs from Śankarācārya's position who holds on V. S. IV. 3. 14 that, as declared in the Śvet. Up. III. 8, there is no other way to Moksa except knowledge and realization of the Ātman. In his bhāṣya on the same sūtra he seems to attack Kumārila's position. According to Kumārila Upaniṣad passages about the knowledge of the Ātman are only arthavādas as they convey to the performer the knowledge that he has a soul and that the soul has certain characteristics, while Śankara maintains (on V. S. I. 1. 1) that the phala, the subject of investigation and the Vedic exhortation (codanā) are different in Pṛṇamimāṃsā and in Brahmamimāṃsā. There exist smṛtis that ridiculed the idea that the mere

1972. तत्र ज्ञानविधावानं भिन्नता पूर्वकःप्रियः। उत्तरपर्याचार्यांही मोक्षयोऽपि।
सैकृतिकां न प्रस्तुतं तत्र कार्यप्रियोऽपि। निम्नमिमांसिके कुष्ठाद्वेषविज्ञाहारये।
पार्थमानं फलं ज्ञातं न वाचितोपितयोऽपि। आरम्भे पौर्वविकस्तुततामुखयुगां।
गृहशैली (सर्वप्रपातश्च vv. 108, 110-111). On v. 111 पत्रा रा. ब्रजत् श्रीति VI. 1
अनाभित् कर्मवै कार्योऽविकर्त्तादि या। the दुधुपूर्वका on VI. 3. 2 propounds the
same views. 'उपायविद्विशेषिनी निम्नमिनिति महाबिठ्ठिपुणमात्' चौकिरा २०
वैन्यमिनिश्च। I. 83: पक्षविवेका p. 156 says. 'न अविकर्षयमोऽस्माः। आरण्यकसि
स्थानरूपीचार्योऽन्नकर्मसंपर्श्चनितकर्मोऽस्माः मोक्ष स्मिर्यै'।

1973. Vide the passage (in ज्ञानभाष्य on वृ. IV. 3.14) यदूः कर्भितकल्पने
निम्नमिनिति नैविदिकसमान कर्म्यं कुष्ठिव्रवये मर्मवाचार्यां कार्यमिनिति नापरिरूपितेः
समस्तेदसोपायोऽयो मय्यामिनिति च कर्म्यं कर्मयमिनितिः प्रभृतिः विकारे वस्मात्
विद्यामुखयुगायैः द्राक्षारहितविकल्पविममात् नैविदिकोऽन्नतिः ब्रम्हामुग्गविममात्
नैविदिकोऽन्नतिः। ततस्तु॥। प्रमाणभाष्यः। The तत्त्वगौर्यात्तिक oड़ पु. मी. वृ. I. 2 7
remarks 'एवम् कर्भितकालिकन्नविदिकहस्ताक्षरोपायकृति नैविदिके विश्वासे।' p. 114 and
हृदस्त्रेयाः (सर्वप्रपातोऽर्थं) verses 103-104 'आत्मा ज्ञातं इत्यतमोर्त्तमाश्च न च चौतत्तवेतः।
कर्मपरमिनिति संपर्ष्यायं ज्ञात्तथेऽपि।' निकाते चार्य पश्चात् वचोऽस्माः मोक्षसृजित।
साहित्याभिषेक २५७२ वणान्तरम्। सुरेश्रेष्ठचार्य on साहित्यात्मकविनिश्चार्य (सिद्धार्थपाय I. 9-10) quotes the verses मोक्षात्म न प्रस्तुत &c cited in note 1972 and remarks
इति मीमांसकाभ्यं। कर्भित केत्तसाधारणः।
knowledge of the Self would lead to Mokṣa. For example, 1974
the Br. Y. Y. affirms that both knowledge and actions lead to
Liberation, that to say that knowledge alone leads to liberation
is a sign of indolence, that out of the fear of bodily labour
ignorant men do not want to engage in actions.

The doctrines of the early and principal writers on Pūrva-
mīmāṁsā are rather quaint and startling. Their arguments
about the eternality and self-existence of the Veda are fallacious
and were not accepted even by other ancient Indian systems.
Both Prabhākara and Kumārila have in their scheme no place for
God as the dispenser of rewards or as the ruler of man’s destiny,
as being pleased with men’s prayers. They do not expressly
deny the existence of God, but they assign to God or the deities
mentioned in the Vedic texts a secondary role or rather practi-
cally no role at all. They raise yajña to the position of God
and their dogmas about yajña seem to be based upon a sort of
commercial or business-like system, 1975 viz. one should do so
many acts, dispense gifts to priests, offer certain offerings,
observe certain ethical rules and other rules of conduct (such as
not eating flesh, subsisting on milk) 1976 and then the reward
would follow without the intervention of God. There is hardly
any appeal to religious emotions, there is no omniscient Being,
no Creator and no creation of the world. The Pūrvamīmāṁsā
no doubt lays emphasis on (the rights and) duties of man in
life. The other dārśanas are far more concerned with the ques-
tion of escaping permanently from the world and with man’s
destiny after death. The P. M. S., Śābara and Kumārila, how-
ever, make substantial contributions to the exegesis of Vedic

1974. ज्ञान वधानं न तु कर्मकारं कर्म पधारं न तु बुद्धिशीनम्। तत्र मात्र यज्ञेऽव भवेत
सिद्धिः संगवधकः विहंगः प्रतिः। परिज्ञानं वेबुत्तरकिलमदातिस्पृहाः॥
कामेन्द्रसम्पर्येनावस्तुनिपत्तिः॥ कुःशम्यः। IX. 29, 34। भरतकर्तर:- (भूमिका) p. 146.

1975. For a striking example of the spirit of bargaining with God, vide
the mantra श्रीहि से बुद्धि से नी से चेति से नी से दुःखे। तिर्थामिनि मे हरि निरां नि हरामि
ने ये। सै. १. ८, ४, १-२, वा। सै. III. ५० (with slight variations); compare अध्वेशि
III, १५, ६.

1976. Vide Tai, S. II. 5. 5. 6 about one engaged in Darśāpūrṇamāsā;
तत्तेव नैर्वात्स्यं वेदवके मोक्षमीयधिः स्वयमेवयाताध्युतेव ग्यूत्तेवं विद्युते। विद्युतदेशोऽयोऽज्ञानः।
अनुवाद.- The food prescribed for a Brāhmaṇa, Brāhmaṇa and Brāhmaṇa are respectively,
Jaimini (IV. 3. 8-9) declares that this is kṛtvārtha (obligatory). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II.
pp. 1139-1140 for the observances of the person who has undergone dikṣā
(conscription) for an Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.
texts. There are about three thousand quotations in Śabara's bhāṣya, out of which several hundred have not been yet identified. At least one thousand of these are taken from the Tai. S. and Br. About twelve adhikaraṇas are concerned with the Adhriyugpairoṣa (a long formula) which is quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1121 note 2504. Some adhikaraṇas are devoted to the explanation of certain words in that praisa e.g. PMS IX. 4. 22 explains urūka as 'vapā', IX. 4. 23-24 explain 'praśasa', IX. 4. 25-27 explain five words (syena, śalā, kaśyapa, kavaṣa, srekaparṇa). Similarly, X. 1. 32 explains the word bṛṣaya as meaning 'bṛhat.' Śabara's and Kumārila's stands on the individual soul and mokṣa confer on the P. M. system some status as a philosophical one. For a systematic and exhaustive study of Śabara's contribution to Vedic and post-vedic exegesis, vide Dr. S. V. Garge's citations in Śabara-bhāṣya' pp. 140-213 (Poona, 1952).

The doctrine that the Veda is eternal and of absolute and unquestioned authority has led to certain undesirable tendencies. Propounders of new doctrines make great efforts to show that there is Vedic authority for what they hold. For example, the sūtras in V. S. I. 1. 5-18 are concerned to show that the Upaniṣads do not postulate Pradhāna as the cause of the world, as the Sāṅkhya imagine. Śaṅkaraśārya expressly states that the Sāṅkhyaśa explain Vedānta passages as favourable to their theories and therefore a refutation of their arguments was provided in V. S. I. 1. 5-18. It has been shown above how followers of Śaṅkta worship try to interpret a verse like Rgveda V. 47. 4 (catvāra im bibhṛati &c) as referring to the Śaṅkta doctrines and how treatises dignified with the title of Upaniṣads were produced by Śaṅkta writers such as the Bhāvanopaniṣad. Śabara in his bhāṣya on PMS. I. 1. 5 states that the Vijñānāvādi Baudhāyas put forward Br. Up. IV. 5. 13 (Vijñānaghana evaitebhya bhūtebhyaḥ samutthāya tāṇyevānuvaśyati na pretya saṁjñāṣṭi) as supporting their position. One of the most glaring examples of this tendency is the explanation of Rg. I. 141. 1-3 by Ānandaṭhṛtha, also called Madhvācārya, who in 'Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya' claims to be the third incarnation of Vāyu, the other two being Hanumāt and Bhīmasena, one

1977. संक्यरस्यस्य परिनिर्दिष्ट वस्त्र प्रणालीतः प्रयोजनाशीलस्य समस्यान्विति मन्यतमानः: प्रणालिकी कारणाल्पक्षविनिविधानाल्पक्षकारणाँ वेदान्तवाद्यां प्रयोजनाय वाचकतिः। शब्दोऽन्त्य। उप. I. 1. 5; संक्यरस्य: स्पष्टत्वाध्यायेन वेदान्तवाद्यां चिन्तामण्डलयो योजनाय प्रयोजनाय व्याचर्यात्। शब्दोऽन्त्य। उप. II. 2. 1.
of the Pāndavas, and who endeavours to interpret Rg. I. 141. 1-3 as referring to these three avatāras. The words ‘Madhvah’ and ‘Mātariśvā’ (meaning ‘wind-god’) occur in Rg. I. 141. 3. This was deemed sufficient to claim that Madhva, the propounder of the Dvaita system, was mentioned in the Rgveda. I do not know how Madhvācārya would have met the charge of Veda not being eternal if it referred to Bhimasena (who even according to the traditional account in the Mahābhārata lived at the end of Dvāpara age i.e. about 5000 years ago) and to Madhva himself who lived barely seven centuries ago. The Veda would be later than these dates. The argument that this refers to a previous Kalpa would not be available to rebut the charge, as the Kalpa, Manvantara and Mahāyuga when Bhima and Madhvācārya flourished and in the present day are the same. There was no pralaya (dissolution of the world) at the end of Dvāpara and Kaliyuga immediately set in. The Bhārata war was fought between Dvāpara and Kali (Adiparva 2. 13) and Kaliyuga was about to start at the time of that war (vide Vanaparva ‘etat kaliyugam nāmācīrād-pravartate’ and Śalya 60. 25 ‘(prāptam Kaliyugam viddhi)’. It is on account of this pretension that he was very roughly handled by eminent writers like Appayya-dīkṣita who charges Madhva with citing fabricated Vedic and other texts in support of his doctrines. Vide I. A. vol. 62 at p. 189 where the writer, Shri Venkatasubbiah, sets out over thirty works mentioned by Madhva which he states occur nowhere else. M. M. Chinnavswami, who has edited (Benares, 1941) Appayya’s work in 60 verses with the commentary of Appayya called Madhavamata-vidhvamsana and notes of his own, sets out on p. 4 thirty-six unknown works and the sūtras where they are cited by Appayya.

1978. तुल्यमानिः प्रकरण: स्वयं तद्भवार्थमन्यादानाय। प्राच्य चक्रवर्तांडार्योवक्तिः प्रेषिते रमणे हरिसनामाय। तृतीयांस्त्र ह्रदयरसी दृष्टांस्त्र द्वितीयांस्त्र जनमय:।(नियमीं

| चक्रवर्तांडार्योवक्तिः | प्रेषिते: | रमणे: | हरिसनामाय: | तृतीयांस्त्र: | ह्रदयरसी: | दृष्टांस्त्र: | द्वितीयांस्त्र: | जनमय: | नियमीं
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<table>
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<th>Chakravarthandaarka</th>
<th>Prajna</th>
<th>Harisanaa</th>
<th>Tretaasatram</th>
<th>Hridayarasa</th>
<th>Dvitiyaasatram</th>
<th>Janaamaay</th>
<th>Niyaami</th>
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...form latter half of Rg. I. 141. 2 and nitya...Mandapaati is Rg. I. 141. 3.
Rg. I. 141. 1 begins with vartha. In the Vaisnavism the verse etc. quoted here reads the last line as ‘...katha tatha turiyakha kramin...Vaisnavam hri...ten hi’. The celebrated Appayyadiksha delivered a heavy onslaught on Madhvacarya in his Mahabhurshamukhavarnam (Anand.) for this claim of avataramship.
History of Dharmaśāstra [Sec. VII, Ch. XXIX

It is remarkable that great ācāryas like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja never claimed in their own works that they were the avatāras of some deity. It was left to their disciples to say so, if at all.

Having established that Veda is eternal and self-existent the Mimāṁsakas give free rein to their ingenuity, powers of reasoning and logic. They have a logic of their own which governed not only the interpretation of Vedic passages but also of the Smṛtis and the medieval works on Dharmaśāstra (including law and procedure). As Colebrooke, one of the most accurate and level-headed of Western scholars of Sanskrit, said more than 130 years ago 'the disquisitions on the mimāṁsā bear therefore a certain resemblance to juridical questions; and in fact, the Hindu law being blended with the religion of the people, the same modes of reasoning are applicable and are applied to the one as to the other. The logic of the Mimansa is the logic of the law; the rule of interpretation of civil and religious ordinances. Each case is examined and determined upon and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well-ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of law and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mimansa' (Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. pp. 316-317, Madras ed. of 1837).

The first division of Vedic material is into Mantra and Brāhmaṇa. It has been already stated above (p. 1096 note 1776) that those are mantras that are recognized as such by the learned. P. M. S. (II. 1. 31-32) provides 1979 that mantra is that which simply asserts (and is not hortatory) or (to say the same thing in another way) 'those are mantras that are so called on account of their asserting something'. On P. M. S. I. 4. 1 Šābara describes mantra as one that at the time when the procedure of a sacrifice is being followed, recalls or reminds or makes clear to the performer the matter that is prescribed e.g. 'I cut (the blades of) kuśa grass that is an abode for the deity'. This is only a general description of mantra and not an accurate definition. Mantras are not supposed to be useful in sacrifices by

1979 अपि च प्रयोगासमाधयमन्थयमींभिधानानांप्रवा स्थानाः पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 31; ज्ञात्वभावण 'परस्ये किर्मिष्यावेशय सामसर्वं सिद्धते गोदान गोमांग ्वय पर्यायपति न विचायतु 'य; तथायतेन मन्थयपणः पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 32; ज्ञात्वभावण 'अभिधानाय चित्रेक्षेत्रिवजाति-यक्षैवाभिनुक्ता उपविद्वाति मन्थनानाम, मन्थनन्यपाययां; मन्थन वर्तना इति 'य; the tathāyaṇa dissolves 'तथायतेन' as तत् अभिधानन चित्रेक्षेत्रिवजाति वहूऽविदायिते भूताकाशिति। कशीन्तनां भो सिद्धितमभी प्रयोगािलि प्रकाश्यति। यथा विधिद्वस्तर्वं द्वाय इत्येवादी। शाबर on पू. मी. सू. I. 4. 1. बालिकस्वत् occurs in मे. सं. I. 1. 2.
their mere utterance (uccāraṇa) but are really 'abhidhāyaka' (reminders of what is to be done or is being done). Śabara remarks that lakṣana is the only way for the recognition of mantras and not an enumeration of some characteristics of mantras as done by the Vṛttikāra such as these viz. some end in 'asi' (thou art) or 'tvā' as in Tai. S. I. 1.1 'iṣe tvā', prayer or wish (as in 'āyurduhā asi' in Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 1), praise ('agnir mūrdha divah' in Tai. S. IV. 4. 4). Śabara points out that 'asi' and 'tvā' occur even in the middle of mantras, the other characteristics such as blessing and praise are found in Brāhmaṇas also. The M. B. P. remarks that there are (p.66) one hundred kinds of mantras and that if we take into account the fourteen Vedic metres and their sub-varieties there would be 273 different varieties of rāj mantras alone (p. 67). There are certain texts regarded as mantras (e.g. 'Vasantāya kapinījalanālabhate' Vāj. S. 24. 20) which are not merely assertive but rather relate to the procedure of a yāga (in the case of Vāj. S. 24. 20, of Aśvamedha).

Mantras are classified under three heads viz. Rk, Sāman and Yajus. These are defined in P. M. S. II. 1, 35–37; the name rāj is applied to those 1981 mantras that are divided into feet, metrical pādas (often) based on the meaning. Sāman is the name applied to Vedic mantras that are sung. It has been established in P. M. S. VII. 2. 1–21 and IX. 2. 1–2 that the mantra 1982 texts are not called Sāman but only the music, that

1980. क्रायोधिपि पदावृक्षोऽनालं गाणि पुष्करनः। तस्मातन तु सङ्गमान्तर्य गाणि विषयितः। q. by शाबर on II. 1. 32; तत्त्वार्थिकः proposes to read this very sloka as 'क्रायोधिपि हि लक्षणाः'.

1981. तेषांसुरक्ष्याध्यक्षोऽनालं पादस्यस्य। गीतितु गाणार्थः। शेषे यजुःशाखः। प्र. भी. ध. II. 1. 35–37. In अंगिमंत्रं प्रकटवते (Rg. I. 1. 1) the first pāda has a complete sense, but in अंगिमा विभिन्नपर्वमित्रितः पूजनेत्र (Rg. I. 1. 2) the meaning is not complete in the first pāda. Therefore, the only definition is 'पादस्यस्य' and अंगिमंत्रं is only illustrative as शाबर says ‘यतो नार्थवक्ष्याति वृद्धिविभित्तिपुस्तर्थम्, कि न अवहान एव पदर्थपार्थम्। तस्मातः पादस्यस्य व्यस्य सा गीतिः'.

1982. तत्त्वार्थिकः सामावति गीतितु गाणार्थस्य। शाबर on IX. 2. 2; सामावेदे सहस्रं गीत्यार्थः। ... गीतितु ग्रामिः। शाबर on IX. 2. 29. In the महाभारत on the Vārtika the द्वारेका in the first आदिक we read चलारो वेदं: सामावा: सत्तृया वस्यम् विभिन्नो एकर्षमचयस्यायुगातः सहस्रलोकः सामावेदेः एकयोगिनाया बाह्यं नार्थवक्ष्यात्वा वेदः। एव। Here the word शाबर is not used in relation to सामावेद but the word व्यस्य (way). As शाबर expressly (Continued on next page)
*giti* is an action which manifests various tunes owing to the internal effort made by the singer and in order to bring about the musical effect the singer has to resort to modifications of the letters of the *rāk*, to disjunction (of parts of it), to omission (of a letter), to repetition, to pauses, to 1983 *stobha*. In VII.2. 1–21 the PMS establishes that the words ‘Ranthantara-sāman’, ‘Brhat-sāman’ refer only to the music and not to the *rāk* or basic text set to music. Yajus means those Vedic mantras that are neither *rāk* nor sāman. There is another word ‘nigada’ applied to certain mantras that are addressed to others as directions to do certain acts and are uttered loudly such as ‘agnidagnīn vihara’, ‘proksapitāsādaya, ‘idhmābarhirupasādaya’. They are Yajus (i.e. in prose), the only difference being that they are loudly uttered (in order that the persons to whom they are addressed may hear them), while ordinary Yajus is uttered inaudibly. Vide P. M. S. II. 1. 38–45 for discussion on Nigadas and Mai. S. III. 6. 5 for ‘uccair-ṛcā kriyata uccaiḥ sānopāṃśu yajusā’.

Mantra and Brāhmaṇa constitute the Veda. The P. M. S. 1984 states that all those parts of the Veda that are not or cannot be called Mantra constitute Brāhmaṇa. Śabarā notes that the Vṛttikāra, in order to enable students to decide what texts are Brāhmaṇa texts, pointed out certain characteristics found in Brāhmaṇa texts such as abounding in the word ‘īti’ or ‘ityāha’ (so it is said), anecdote, stating the reason for an injunction, etymology, condemnation, praise, doubt, injunction, instance where another did something of the same kind, what happened in

(Continued from last page)

says that in sāmaved there are a thousand श्रद्धेपाय, सहस्र्यत्वम् means ‘सहस्र्यत्वपाय’ and it is not correct to render सहस्र्यत्वम् as सहदात्मक, as many scholars do. The विश्वासाच त III. 6 gives a confused account of the recensions of the sāmaved, verses 3 and 6 speaking of 1000 संहिता propagating by sūkṛma, and 24 संहिता propagating by a pupil of विश्वासाच respectively.

1983. Stobhas are musical interjections and flourishes added or introduced in the chants such as ‘hāi, hai, i, ā, hum’. Vide Chān. Up. (I. 13. 1–3) where hum is said to be the 13th stobha and undefinable (identified with highest Brahma) and the other 12 stobhas are specified among which are हारु, हाह, हाह, हाह &c. Vide Jāi. IX. 2. 39 (adhibham ca vivārahām ca Jaimineḥ stobhaśabdatvā).

1984. सेवे भद्राणकरः पु. मी. ख. II. 1. 33; ‘भद्राणकर च वेदः’ तथा मन्त्रलक्षण उक्ते परिशिष्टप्रक्षात् भद्राणकरणमवचनीये मन्त्रलक्षणवचनेत्विस्त्रु शाचर.
past ages, changing the meaning after considering the context. Šabara also quotes two verses summarising under ten heads the characteristics of Brāhmaṇa texts, points out that all this is only illustrative and that the characteristics mentioned by the Vṛttikāra sometimes occur in mantras also, such as ‘iti’ in Rg. X. 119. 1, ‘ityāhā’ in Rg. VII. 41. 2, ‘ākhyāyikā’ as in Rg. I. 116. 3, reason (hetu) in Rg. I. 2. 4. The Rgveda alone contains over ten thousand mantras.Hardly one-third of them are employed in all the Vedic rites. The rest are employed in japa. Besides, the other Vedas also have thousands of mantras. Therefore, no formal definition of mantra is attempted and all that is stated is that mantras are those which have been recognised as such by the learned.

Brāhmaṇas are attached to each Veda, such as the Aitareya and Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇas to the Rgveda, the Taittirīya to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, the Śatapatha to the Sukla Yajurveda, the Tāṇḍya to the Śāmaṇa and Gopatha to the Yajurveda. The Brāhmaṇas contain the oldest known specimens of prose in Indo-European languages, though prose formulas (probably earlier in date than those in the Brāhmaṇas) are found in the Kṛṣṇa and Sukla Yajurveda Samhītās. They are the primary source of information about sacrifices, ritual and priests. They contain numerous myths and legends put forward for illustrating ritual and sacrifices. They often mention contests between gods and asuras (titans) and abound in etymologies. Their contents can be divided into two broad classes, viz. injunctive (hortatory) passages (vidhis) and explanatory (or laudatory) passages (arthaṇās). The scope and purpose of arthaṇās will be explained later on. But one important point to be noted is that the Mīmāṃsakas are strongly opposed to holding that any part of the Veda, even the smallest, is useless or meaningless.

It is now time to see how the Mīmāṃsakas deal with the contents of the Veda. The extant Vedic literature is of

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1985. दृष्टिकोणोऽविद्या पञ्चाश्रयोऽविद्या सांस्कृतिक विविधः। परिक्रिया पुरातनेऽविद्या सांस्कृतिक विविधः। उपमानं दृष्टि हेतु विषयं भाषणार्थ हृ। एवं स्वतः सबवेदेत् निषयं विविधशंक्यम्॥ q. by नारायण on II. 1. 33. The तत्त्वम् explains that the word विविध in निःस्वातः here means भाषण. About भाषणकल्पना it says ‘प्रशस्तप्रथमः प्राप्तम:। प्रेक्षाय-लोकनेत स्त्रयार्थप्रत्येकः सा भाषणकल्पना। तत्त्वम् प्रतिशुम्भितवादित्र श्रुते प्रतिशुम्भितवादित्र विविधिकल्पविलये।’ and परक्रिया and पुरातन as ‘एकुष्णकर्तरुप्सत्तमानं परस्पर:। पुरातनसः पुरातन:।’ यद्र भाषणकल्पः। यद्र भाषणकल्पः।

1986. स्वाभायेऽष्ट्राः उपासनकु मया। नवमेद्यं स्वतं। तेन मन्त्रा नामिताः हि मन्त्राः तथां लक्षणं रिस्तम्॥ तत्त्वावलितं on पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 34.
enormous extent and of greatly varied content. Once it is admitted that the Veda is self-existent and not the work of any author, human or divine, every sentence in it apparently becomes of infallible authority. The Veda being the only means of knowing Dharma, the Mimāmsakas had to accept that whatever the Veda says was authoritative and binding on them, as Śābara\textsuperscript{1887} admits. But many Vedic texts are apparently in conflict with each other and often are in conflict with ordinary experience. A few striking instances may be given to show how difficulties arose. The Tai. S. V. 2. 7 and Mai. S. state ‘one should not pile the fire altar on (bare) earth, nor in the sky, nor in heaven’.\textsuperscript{1888} No one can build a fire altar in the sky, nor in heaven. The Veda apparently prohibits something which is quite impossible and therefore this prohibition seems at first sight senseless. The Tai. Br. (III. 8. 10. 5) states that by offering the Pūrnāhuti the performer secures all desired objects. If Pūrnāhuti yields all objects, then one need not perform any further rites of Agnihotra &c. Does the Veda mean this? The Veda contains stories and legends about individuals e. g. Tai. S. mentions Babara Prāvāhāni who desired to be an eloquent speaker and therefore performed a sacrifice called Pañcaratā and secured his object. The Veda would then be later in time than this Babara and this would forfeit the claim of being eternal &c. Therefore, Śābara states that a story that never happened is described for the sake of praise. This may be an escape from a tight corner but the explanation does not redound

\textsuperscript{1887} शाबरे जटीलमाण क्र स चन्द्रक आदि नन्दलालं सर्वदा। शाबरे पूर्ण त्रि. सू. III. 2. 36. These very words occur in the महाबायक on वालिक 9 in the first अध्यक्षः।

\textsuperscript{1888} न पूजितमाण भिक्षेतर्वर्ष मानसरसं न दिवि - ह्रद्यानं। अध्यक्षः बै हिर्णमन्नाने स एव। सं. III. 2. 6. Vide P. M. S. I. 2. 5 and 18 on this and \textit{व्यवहारमूलक} p. 202 (which says it is शिक्षाव्यवस्थामन्त्रम्). All that is meant is that, just as agnicayana in the air or sky is not at all known, so doing it on bare earth also is unknown and it should be done after placing a piece of gold on the ground. This is a \textit{stuti} (laudation) of gold. पूर्णाहुति is explained as पूर्णाः सुचा आश्चर्यः by the com. on \textit{काक्यावेशिक} सू. IV. 10. 5. अध्यक्षः पावाहिनिकात्मकम् चाच:। अवज्ञता र्माणि त स एव पीतार्यग्राह्यसं तेनायतं चतो वै स \textit{व्याख्यानम्। तं एव विष्ठा पीतार्यम् सोंते महत्तति वाचा भवेत् च। शाबरे एवं वाच्यस्य र्माणि सर्वालिकः।} नै सं. VII. 1. 10. 2-3. शाबरे अध्यक्षः would mean ‘son of Mahābhārata’. Vide P. M. S. I. 2. 6 and 18 for this. शाबरे remarks ‘अस्मा \textit{व्यवहारमूलक} शाबरे एव \textit{व्यवहारमूलक} महामा \textit{सर्वधर्मा} चाचाचाचाचा। शाबरे on I. 2. 10, on which \textit{सूत्रम्} remarks ‘एव \textit{व्यवहारमूलक} तांत्रिकात्मकान्यान्यायान्याय तांत्रिकात्मकान्यान्यायान्याय न च। तत्काल हस्ताक्षरम् किंविष, दृष्टयतः। भारतमाण महामा \textit{सभधारिला। तस्मादुपायर्नासीलतमस्त्रात्रुं।} तत्त्वक्रमे on I. 2. 10.
to the credit of the Veda which is here admitted to have manufactured a non-existent story for pushing up one of its injunctions; besides, if people come to know from what Śabara says that the story is false, people would not be induced to go in for performing that rite. A true story might encourage persons to follow the prescription of the Veda in this case. The Tantravārtika (p. 125) on this explanation of Śabara tries to meet the objection raised here. Sometimes Veda is divided into three portions viz. Vidhi, Arthavāda and Mantra, names of yāgas like udbhid and viśvajit being placed under vidhi. The Ślokavārtika refers to this threefold division in its last verse. 1989 Though the whole Veda is the only means of right knowledge about what Dharma is i.e. what should be done and what should not be done, the different parts of the Veda are not all directly related to right knowledge about Dharma. Large portions of the Veda are related only meditatively to the principal part. 1990 In one place Śabara very succinctly but clearly defines the three classes of Vedic texts and illustrates them. The Veda is also divided into five parts viz. vidhi, arthavāda, mantra, nāmadhyeya and pratisedha. These five have already been mentioned above. Here some details will have to be added on each of these. Vidhi is an injunction (or exhortation) that is meaningful on account of enjoining a matter that has a (useful) purpose and it prescribes

1989. इति प्रमाणविविक्तं पदस्तुर्द्वे धर्मं मति चौद्वान्यः। अतः तरु मविषय
वेदं वेद्य ततो व्यवस्थितं यथा यथैः। q. in मी. भा. म. p. 7; on this ग्रह. २. remarks
'तत्र समर्थः चौद्वान्यायः तत्परं विविषयवातिनामः वेदं वेद्य तिष्ठति तत्तत्त्वादिः-
प्रयोगनमस्तिष्ठानेन कुशलविविषयवातिनामः चौद्वान्यायः। चौद्वान्यायः चौद्वान्यायः
तत्परविविषयवातिनामः चौद्वान्यायः। वेद्य तिष्ठति तत्तत्त्वादिः।' On the
पूर्वाकालसूची 'उद्ध समानविविषयवातिनाय तत्परविविषयवातिनाय तत्तत्त्वादिः। मानविविषयः
तत्तत्त्वादिः। वेद्य तिष्ठति तत्तत्त्वादिः।' (पृ. मी. सू. च. 1. 4. 1.) शबर
states 'क्षेत्रवेदं (वेदं) भागः विविषयविविषयवातिनाय तत्तत्त्वादिः। चौद्वान्यायः
क्षेत्रवेदं यथा विविषयवातिनाय तत्तत्त्वादिः। चौद्वान्यायः। चौद्वान्यायः।
क्षेत्रवेदं यथा विविषयवातिनाय तत्तत्त्वादिः। क्षेत्रवेदं यथा विविषयवातिनाय
तत्तत्त्वादिः। क्षेत्रवेदं यथा विविषयवातिनाय तत्तत्त्वादिः। क्षेत्रवेदं यथा विविषयवातिनाय
tतत्तत्त्वादिः। अथव अथव। विविषयवातिनाय तत्तत्त्वादिः। अथव अथव। विविषयवातिनाय
tतत्तत्त्वादिः। अथव अथव। विविषयवातिनाय तत्तत्त्वादिः।' (पृ. मी. सू. च. 1. 2. 1
(आन्तर्याय लिपिविक्रमः अथवा)।

1990. The शास्त्रेन्निपि on I. 4. 1 states 'तत्त्व चौद्वान्यः साधारणायामस्त। अथवा-
वातिनाय तत्तत्त्वादिः। तत्तत्त्वादिः। तत्तत्त्वादिः। तत्तत्त्वादिः।' (p. 54). That विविषय
means something not known before or from another source follows from the
पूर्वाकालसूची I. 2. 19 विविषयवातिनाय अथवा। On I. 4. 4 (p. 333) शबर
says 'अविविषयवातिनाय अविविषयवातिनाय अविविषयवातिनाय अविविषयवातिनाय
tतत्तत्त्वादिः। तत्तत्त्वादिः। तत्तत्त्वादिः। तत्तत्त्वादिः।' (p. 339). This last
states that ordinarily a vidhi is laid down by a verbal form or by a potential
passive participle (ending in या, तथा, or अनीय).
something that does not follow (or is not established by) from any other authority. Śabara himself describes in many places what vidhi means. For example, the injunction ‘one desirous of (attaining) Heaven should offer Agnihotra’ prescribes (the performance of) homa that does not follow from any other authority and that has a beneficial purpose, its meaning being ‘by the Agnihotra offering one should effect (the attainment of) svarga’. Where, however, a rite is otherwise established, all that can be done is only to enjoin an accessory with regard to it. Thus in the sentence ‘one should offer an oblation with curds’ the homa being already established by the words ‘one should offer Agnihotra (if one desires heaven)’ all that is enjoined is the offering of curds with regard to it, the meaning being ‘by curds one should effect the oblation’. Vide Tūp-tīkā on P. M. S. VI. 3. 17 and M. N. P. p. 17 (B. O. R. I ed.). 1991

The collection of vidhis in the Vedic texts forms the core of the Veda and refers to many specific rites. The central element in a vidhi is the verb or verbal form, which will be analysed later on. The question is: how is one to recognize a vidhi. Śabara quotes a verse which those who know the propositions about the meanings of words and sentences declare traditionally, viz. in all the Vedas the fixed (or definite) sign of a vidhi is the words ‘one shall do’, ‘it should be done’, ‘it ought to be done’, ‘it should be so’, it ought to be so’. 1992 From this it follows that a vidhi is ordinarily couched in the optative form (called vidhiling in Sanskrit), and that a verb in the present tense cannot ordinarily be taken as laying down a vidhi. 1993 But sometimes a vidhi may be inferred even from a text in which the verb is in the present tense. For example, there is a Vedic text occurring in the Mahāpiṭryajñā which states ‘he should follow holding the

1991. सच्चा कर्म पकायत्नानें पार्थ तस्म भुवेहेष्ट युष्मात्रविधानाम्। यथा ‘भक्षण
शुचयानां’ इत्यथा होरस्य ‘अद्वयस्य शुचयान’ हृस्यने मलायत्य होमोद्वेषन दृष्टमात्रविधानाम्;
शुचना होम्य भास्वेतु हृस्य। सर्थ. व्या. भ. 17.

1992. एवं हि पवाश्चण्यस्मृतिसर्वस्मृतिस्यः भूषोऽगमस्ति। कुशलत्वात् क्रियेत् कार्ययं भोज्यमात्रा
किं तं प्रमादम्। एतत् सत्सर्ववेदेऽऽन्नित्यं विचित्तेत् विविधात्मम्। श्वर. पु. भ. सु. IV. 3. 3.

1993. श्वर himself says on पु. भ. सु. I. 3. 13 ‘क्रियाकालों छेदि... तपस्यनं
सन्धयस्यस्ति। नात्र विचयमितिनं वर्तमाणकालोपयोगिनिश्चातुं न च चात्र व्याप्तिमेण नात्रा स्तायितम्।’
and on III. 4. 15 (while discussing हे. से. II. 5. 2. 4 तसाजायमायानेन सुस्वर्णस्यन्यायिनं
स्वपुष्टं हृस्य। यामापान्तवित्तमनास्ये) ‘नात्र विचयांको भक्तियुपाधेने य एव यामापान्तवित्त
सन्धयस्ति हृस्य। वर्तमापादेशं एव न विचयक्त स्तायित्वं भवति सन्धयस्ति।’ similarly,
on IV. 1. 32 (p. 1215) ‘नात्र विचयमितिनं, वर्तमापादेशं हृस्यमिति।’ यशोदतिथि on
सन्धुः V. 40 employs very similar words.
fuelstick below the handle of the ladle in the pitryajña, since the
performer of rites for the gods holds the fuel-stick above the
handle.\textsuperscript{1991} This has been construed as a vidhi (exhortation)
and not as a mere arthavāda. Another example is that of
Rātrisattras (Soma sacrifices occupying more than twelve days).
A passage in the context of Rātrisattras states \textquoteleft those who
perform rātrisattra attain stability (or fame), are endowed with
brahma lustre and eat or possess food'. This looks like a mere
praise (arthavāda) of the performance of rātrisattras, but really
it is a vidhi about the reward of rātrisattra mentioned in the
above passage and states an exception to the rule that svarga is the
reward of a rite in which no reward is specified by the Vedic
texts. This is employed in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 226 which
states that the sin committed through ignorance is removed by
the performance of penances. Ordinarily, a sinful act is deemed
to be destroyed by undergoing the penalty that God may inflict,
but Yāj. states a special rule. Medhatithi on Manu V. 40
(stating that animals, birds and herbs dying by being offered in
yajñas reach higher levels) says that this is merely an arthavāda
and no vidhi can be imagined from this by the maxim of
Rātrisattra.\textsuperscript{1995} Vide Par. M. (I. 1. p. 149) which holds that an

\textsuperscript{1994}\textit{दिवमतानन्दते महापरिवर्ज्ये वा वृष्यते। अवस्थासरसतमिः धारयनमयदेवेशुपरि हि
देवेश्ये धारयन्ति।} quoted by तत्त्वज्ञान. on III. 4. 6 (Sabara has dropped this sūtra along with five preceding ones); it then proceeds \textquoteleft पिच्छे होमेवहस्तात् सत्यदशंष्ट
समिद्रुतविष्णुज। \textquoteleft देवे च चुनलिज्ज्ञित्रे। \textquoteleft विष्णुवं बृहदायः कथनमायकः।
tसमाहितिसिद्धिति॥' p. 899. It may be noted that the \textit{सृजसिद्धि} (I. pp. 72-73)
mentions this Vedic passage and the conclusion in its discussion about
the validity of marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or one's
paterna aunt's daughter, after quoting a \textit{Satapathā} text I. 8. 3. 6
\textit{तत्त्वातिपत्योदेशृष्टा चाचाक्ष्य जापेरे इत्यि संधुर्धूः उद्भवेऽ पुरी रोही संगीत्यामुः}
\textit{विद्ये वीर्यमणा जारया आस्ते।} (where the verbs are in the present tense and
not in the optative mood and yet the Sm. C. holds that it is not a mere
anuvāda, but it leads to the formulation of a vidhi). Vide also \textit{परा. मृ.}
I. 2. pp. 66-67 for a similar treatment. It was held that the use of words
like \textit{हि} indicating a reason or \textit{वै} (indicating what is well-known) is not
generally allowed in a vidhi. Vide \textit{शवर} on पू. भृ. सृ. IX. 1. 41 (p. 1690)
\textit{तः च निधिर्गमाने वैश्वद्वा भवति मस्तिद्रताचनो वेष दह। ते ये मृणुलि सरस्वति सति— इति
यथा।} N से &c. occurs in र्ग. X. 95. 15.

\textsuperscript{1995} रसिके विषयक बृष्यते। \textit{प्रसत्तिन्ति हि वा य एता राज्येपरिविंश। ब्रह्मचर्याकोटोको
याब्य भवति य एता उपपान्ति।} The words \textit{सति...} \textit{सति} occur in \textit{सण्णमाठासम्या} 23. 2. 4. This is considered in पू. भृ. IV. 3. 17-19. The \textit{ढूळका} holds
that there is a \textit{सति} here. The \textit{सिद्धिः} on Yāj. III. 226 says \textquoteleft न च चेतसमथेवासमुन्नस्त्रुभु
अधिकारिक्षेपेनार्थानि राजिस्मेवेनाधिकारिक्षेपेन कथनस्य भार्यतः। अतो युक्त मात्यश्रेष्ठेऽपेक्षेऽदृश्य।
This \textit{अधिकार्य} contains an exception to the
(Continued on next page)
adhikāravidhi about one desirous of stability has been assumed from the passage about rātrisattra. Raghunandana in Ekādaśītattva (p. 28) explains the sūtras (P. M. S. IV. 3. 17–19) and illustrates this nyāya.

Following the Vedas, the Smṛtis also lay down numerous vidhis by means of verbal optative forms or participles ending in 'ya, tavya &c.' For example, vide Manu IV. 25 'agnihotram ca jhubyāt' and XI. 53 ('caritavyam-ato &c.') as instances of the two ways. From different points of view vidhi is classified in various ways. One classification is into four, Utpattividhi (originative injunction), Viniyogavidhi (applicative), prayogavidhi (performance), adhikāravidhi (eligibility). Utpattividhi is one which shows in a general way the nature of the rite, as in 'agnihotram jhuboti' (he offers the agnihotra oblation); an applicatory injunction is one which conveys the connexion of a subsidiary matter with the main rite as in 'dadhanā jhuboti' (he offers oblation with curds) and this is dealt with in the 3rd chapter of the P. M. S.; a prayogavidhi is an injunction that governs the order of parts in a rite and suggests non-delay or promptness in the performance, though often times it is implied rather than expressly stated. This is considered in the chapters IV and V of the P. M. S. An Adhikāravidhi (injunction of qualification or eligibility) is one that points to the ownership of the fruit of an action as in 'svargakaśmo yajeta' (he who desires to secure heaven should perform a yāga). This is the subject of the 6th chapter of P. M. S.

(Continued from last page)

general rule in पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 15 'स सर्वं स्वास्तिकमित्रद्विपाटानां'.. About such special passages Sabara remarks 'नन्दु वर्तमानादेन्तैयथः... सत्यमेवेति... आपेक्षणिक वर्तमानादेन्तैयथः सम्बन्ध एवतं भवति...' on पू. मी. सू. III. 4. 24 (p. 955) and the सत्यमेवेति the same states 'सत्यपि चाहेतदस्तस्तस्मे पापाद्वर्यन्तिधनावये... चतुर्थार्थक्षेत्रि कत्विधिविस्तरति 'कर्मात्मको नहेतु' इति.' फलमयो is the सत्यमेव in पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 18 (about राविवर्त). 1996. The मी. न्या. प्र. gives the following definitions 'तत्सिद्ध विधि: प्रयोजननाटमार्थस्य विषिष्टप्रतिविधिः... तत्र कर्मसहभावीयोकारी विषिष्टप्रतिविधिः... श्रावण जुहोतिति... प्रायोगिकाभावोकारी विधि: प्रायोगिकिकिति... स चाहेतदस्तस्तस्तस्मे पापाद्विधे... फलस्यक्षेत्रिकुर्तिक्षेत्रिकालिकिति... फलस्यकुर्तिक्षेत्रिकालिकिति... न च जहात स्वर्गीयम हुधृवक्षेत्री...' pp. 66, 72, 171, 193 (BORI ed., of 1937). The आप. मी. (I. 2.1) prescribes 'सार्व पाद: सिद्धचक्र वायुक्रम जुहृतां'... Here जुहृतां is जुहोतिति, सिद्धचक्र हुधृतस्य would be वित्यवस्तुतिवृति. The आपेक्षणिक गives another definition of प्रयोगिकिति as 'हानाएत्र कामाभावोकारी विधि: प्रयोगिकिर्तिकालिकिति... तास्यायम्' (p. 11 text) i.e. prayogavidhi is one that conveys the order of the subsidiaries in a principal rite,
Another and an important classification is apūrva-vidhi (injunction of something quite new and not otherwise established as in 'svargakāmo yajeta'), niyamavidhi (a restrictive injunction) as in 'he pounds the rice' and parisānkhyāvidhi (an injunction in form where two alternatives being simultaneously possible one is precluded). The Tantravārttika defines these three in a well-known verse.\(^{1997}\) For a sacrifice a plot of land is required which may be quite flat or may have ups and downs. Here there are two alternatives only and both cannot be availed of at the same time (i.e., a man cannot perform a sacrifice at the same time on even as well as on uneven ground). Therefore, 'same desa yajeta' (one should offer a sacrifice on an even spot) is a niyama (it restricts the performance to flat land only) and excludes the use of uneven land for a sacrifice. 'Five five-nailed animals are to be eaten'. This is a parisānkhyā. This sentence is not a vidhi, as eating flesh is already established by men's appetites. Nor is it a niyama, since one can eat the flesh of five-nailed animals as well as of other animals at the same time. It is a parisānkhyā, i.e., it prohibits the eating of the flesh of animals other than of five five-nailed animals. In form the sentence is a vidhi (as it employs the word 'bhaksyaḥ' (which is optative or potential passive participle), but in substance it is a prohibition of eating the flesh of animals other than the five five-nailed ones. The

\(^{1997}\) विधिर्ममायिसे नियमः पाश्चिमके सूतः। तत्र चाल्यक्ष च चालो परिसंहितेष्ठित कीर्तिये। विधिर्ममा वे केनचिन्द्रिकेशिपते भिंते। तत्र योक्त्वत्तमायिसे न च भाष्यति भाष्यनादिर्यमायिसे तत्र नियमः। झाडः इति विचित्ति योगोध्योगिन्नीति। यद्य तु भाष्यनादि पाश्चिमके सूतः। सम्रामायिसे तत्रामार्निक्षिप्त शरवन्यो विधिः। शराज्ञे स नियन्त्रिक्षिप्त इशुव्यं भवाय श्रीभद्रावनः। तंत्रम्। on I. 2. 34 p. 152। On P. M. S. VI. 3. 16 the कुंडाके ये says 'यस्य क्षतिपुरस्य भाष्यति म सूतः। यथा, अस्मिस्ताः, ब्रह्मायस्त—इति। पूलनको: भाष्यदिति ततन्तरसत्यकाः नियमाः निमातः। कनिचित्तिः।' 'मेध्याः on सन्, III, 45 (अत्तकाम्यमी) reads धारोऽस्मिति भश्याः। निमातः भक्तिये। निमातः भस्याः। नक्षित्रये। भस्याः। निमातः। कनिचित्तिः।' भस्याः on सन्, III, 45। The sprinkling of water on rice in a rite is not established by any other means and is therefore a vidhi. Rice can be unhusked with the nails or by being pounded by the use of a mortar and pestle. Therefore 'vrihiṇ avahanti' is a niyama, since it does not allow the use of nails and puts the restriction of pounding.
word parisāṅkhya occurs in P. M. S. X. 7. 4 and 7 and Śabara notes that it is liable to three faults. 1998

Dharmaśāstra writers make frequent use of the doctrine of nīyama and parisāṅkhya. Madhātithi on Manu III. 45 (ṛukan-lābhigāmi syāt) has a long note on nīyama and parisāṅkhya, quotes the verse of Tantravārttika and explains the passage about five five-nailed animals. The Mit. also on Yāj. on I. 79 (tasmin yugmāsu saṁvīset ‘the husband should approach the wife on every even night next to the 4th night up to the 16th after her monthly illness starts) and on I. 81 holds a lengthy discussion whether there is a vidhi or nīyama or parisāṅkhya. The Mit. defines the three in prose, cites examples and tells us that some thought that there was only a parisāṅkhya, while Bhāruci, Viśvarūpa, and others (including the Mit.) hold that there is a nīyamavidhi only in I. 79 and 81. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 17 deals with the same subject as Yāj. I. 79 and 81 and Haradatta says it is a nīyama, while others thought it was a parisāṅkhya and that in any case it is not a pure vidhi. On Gautama V. 2 Haradatta comments that the ācārya (i.e. Gautama) holds that there is a parisāṅkhya only (the sūtra is ‘sarvatra vā pratisiddhavərjam’). Compare Yāj. I. 81 (yathākāmi bhaved-vāpi &c.), on which the Mit. emphatically says that in both Gautama and Yāj. there is a restrictive rule (niyama). Gautama prescribes that a brāhmaṇa should eat at the houses of persons of the three higher classes that are commended for the performance of their duties and should receive gifts also from such persons. Haradatta treats these two rules as 1999 parisāṅkhyaavidhis. Āp. Dh. S. II. provides the rules of conduct for husband and wife after their marriage, the first being ‘taking food two times (morning and evening). Haradatta takes it as a parisāṅkhya, meaning that eating a third time is prohibited (but they may or may not eat twice in the day), while others take it as a nīyama meaning ‘they must eat twice in the day’.

1998. On पु. मी. सू. X. 7. 5. शाबर says ‘न चैतदिसिः परिसंख्येति. तत्र हि चयो दोषा। स्वरुपभायं पराधक्षणम् मात्रायापथे।’ Vide शाबर on III. 7. 33 for the same words. As said in the भावद्विपक्ष ‘शाब्दिक: फलीयो च यथं शास्त्रस्यार्थिनिहितसिद्धिमेव: स परिसंख्याभिषिक्तम्। तत्र चार्यत्र च पातिन्तु सारि लक्षणपरिवर्तिते कथयेत।’ (P. 9. B. I. ed.)

1999. खुदुपणायायं भोजने मद्धीत। श्रवणं च यथं कारणोपयोगे ज्ञातनें खुदुपणतः। तत्र परिसंख्ये प्रसः यथैव ब्राह्मणो वृत्तिः नार्योपाविषेयति। हरस्वति on मासम 17. 1; पाशिष्णुमाण-रविः शुभेधिभोजनम्। कालप्रार्थिनयम्। आय. ध. सू. II. 1. 1-2; काल्योक्षप्योषेषि भोजनं कालस्य सारि प्रातः। हरस्वति (this is a nīyama and not parissīkṣa).
Niyamavidhīs are of three classes, viz. those concerned with prātiṇīḍhis (substitutes), those about pratiṇipati (concluding act or final disposal of certain materials employed in a sacrifice), and those that are concerned with matters other than the preceding two. The Taṇḍya-brāhmaṇa says if one is not able to obtain the soma plant, one may extract juice from pūtikās. Jai. III. 6. 40 and VI. 3. 13–17 deal with this matter and Jai. and Śābara prescribe that if no soma plant is available in a soma sacrifice, the sacrificer should substitute pūtikas for Soma and no other substance, even if the latter be more similar to Soma, can be used. The word pratiṇipati is used in several sūtras by Jai: vide IV. 2. 11, 15, 19, 22). The casting into water of all utensils and things smeared with some (such as the dregs left after Soma is extracted, the stones, two wooden boards and the post of udumbara in the midst of the sahas) at the time of the final purificatory bath (avabrthā) in Jyotiṣṭoma is said to be pratiṇipattikarma (P. M. S. IV. 2. 22). This terminology is employed in Dharmaśāstra works. Manu (III. 262–263) provides that out of the three pindas (balls of boiled rice) that are offered to the three male ancestors of the performer of śrāddha the wife desirous of a son should eat the middle pinda (meant for the paternal grandfather) and Devala provides that the pindas may be given to a brāhmaṇa or may be eaten by a goat or a cow or cast into fire or water. This is the pratiṇipati of the pindas according to Aparārka (on Yaj. I. 256) and the Sm. C. II p. 486. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 480–481. The word pratiṇipati is opposed to arthakarma. For example, in Tai. S. we read 'after the soma plant is bought, he gives the staff to the Maitrāvaruna priest'. Here the staff had been first given to the performer (Yajamāna) at the time of Dikṣā and then transferred to the Maitrāvaruna who has several uses for it, viz. he can walk with its help in darkness, may enter water, can prevent cows and snakes from coming near him and he can

2000 यदि सेंभ न विन्दृयः पूर्तिकान्तिबिन्दुषुपर्वत्री न पूर्तिकान्तिउपासिनि च। ताण्वा IX. 5. 3.

2001 नियमार्थं युणाशि। पू भो च। III. 6. 40। नियमार्थं कविः।। पू. भी। च। VI. 3. 16। on which Šābara comments 'सोमाभवस्व सहृदयो महावं श्रीमान्य नियमं किर्तिते। पूर्तिकाम अभियोषितवम् इत्य। स्मार्थलिपिभिरिीवयदाय ग्योतं: कलेयं इति'।

2002 तेन पत्तिपावित्रत्वं मध्यमोपिण्यं श्रवणश्रवणित्वं प्रतिपि: कार्य। अपरार्कं 550। (quotes मध्य 16. 52–53 which are similar to यज्ञ. I. 256).
support himself on it. So this is different from pratipatti, where the substance is finally disposed of and no further use is made of it. This is dealt with in P. M. S. IV. 2, 16-18. This (giving of the staff) is arthakarma as opposed to pratipatti-karma. This is mentioned in Tai. S. VI. I. 4. 2 (krite some maitrāvarunāya dandam prayacchati &c.). Another example of pratipatti is the casting of the horn of the black antelope on the cātvāla (Tai. S. VI. I. 3. 8 and PMS IV. 2. 19). PMS XI. 2, 66-68 deal with an example of arthakarma. Cremating a sacrificer when dead with his implements of sacrifice (mentioned in Tai. S. I. 6. 8. 2-3) is pratipattikarma of the implements (P. M. S. XI. 3. 34). Manu V. 167 provides that if the wife of an āhitāgni dies before him she is to be cremated with the sacred fires set up by him and with the sacrificial implements. An example of the third kind of niyama (which is not concerned with pratinidhi or pratipatti) is ‘one should take his meal, 2003 facing the east’. A man can take food facing any direction but this restricts him to the east alone. Here no question of a pratinidhi or of pratipatti arises.

Vidhis are also divided into Kratvartha (for the rite) and Purusārtha (for the man) They are concerned with ‘Prajukti’, (motivating force) which is the subject of chapter IV of the P.M. S. P. M. S. IV. 1. 2 defines 2004 purusārtha and Śabara advances three interpretations of that sūtra, one of which is ‘(Purusārtha) is that matter on doing which follows the happiness of man, as its understanding is due to man's desire for obtaining it (happiness) and purusārtha (man's purpose) is not different (from happiness)’. From this rather obscure and clumsy definition it appears to follow that purusārtha is what a man ordinarily undertakes for securing the reward of happiness, while kratvartha is that which helps in the accomplishment of purusārtha and does not itself directly yield any reward to the performer. All principal sacrifices like Dāraś-pūrṇamāsa are included under purusārtha, while under kratvartha are put all those auxiliary acts that have the


2004. ‘विशिष्ट्वाति: पर्यर्थ तत्स्य लिप्तसायत्त्वायविभिकलया’ पु. मी. स. IV. 1. 2. The meaning of the sūtra as given by मुद्रामणिक्षा on शास्त्रीयिक is ‘विशिष्ट्वाति: पर्यर्थ भूते पर्यर्थ शैक्षित्वायविभिकलया स दश्यामुर्याभायम्’ पु. मी. ज्यां अवर्ग्यां अर्थादंपर्युप्तधर्मसत्त्वायविभिकलया. The words of the sūtra are underlined in this explanation. लिप्तत्व is a desiderative noun from the root ‘labh’ (to get) and means लघुमूलस्थाय. The लिप्त of the root लिप्तै. वा. II. 114, therefore, calls it लिप्तलघु. 
purpose of accomplishing the principal rite itself e.g. the five \textit{prajājas} that are auxiliary to the \textit{Darśapūrṇamāsa} are \textit{kratvartha}, while \textit{Darśapūrṇamāsa} itself is \textit{puruṣārtha}. The importance of this distinction lies in this that if what is \textit{kratvartha} is not followed the rite itself becomes defective, while if what is \textit{puruṣārtha} is not followed, the result is that the man himself becomes blamable or sinful but the undertaking or rite does not become defective. One set of the three interpretations of P. M. S. IV. 1. 2 given by Śabara is that it refers to the rules about the acquisition of wealth viz. that a brāhmaṇa should earn wealth by receiving gifts, a kṣatriya by conquest and a vaiśya by agriculture and the like (vide Gaut. X. 40–42, \textit{Manu} X. 76–79). These are in the nature of niyamas. If the acquisition of wealth is \textit{kratvartha} and, if one acquires wealth by means other than those prescribed by the Śāstra and performs a sacrifice with such wealth, the sacrifice itself would be defective and would not yield the desired reward. But if the acquisition of wealth be \textit{puruṣārtha}, then, by whatever means wealth with which a \textit{yāga} is to be performed be obtained, the sacrifice would not be affected. The \textit{Mit.} on \textit{Yaj.} II. 114 quotes a passage from Guru Prabhākara (vide note 1947) which is quoted by the Dāyabhāga also (II. 67) but without name, while the Sm. C. II. pp. 257–58), Madanaratna (on \textit{Vyavahāra} pp. 324–325) and \textit{Vyavahāraprakāśa} (p. 420) quote a similar passage from the Nāyaviveka. Viśvarūpa also on \textit{Yaj.} II. 144 holds that rules about acquisition of wealth are \textit{puruṣārtha}. To acquire wealth is natural to man and acquisition of wealth does not depend upon Śāstra. Besides, every one can directly perceive that wealth when earned confers pleasure on the acquirer. Therefore, wealth is \textit{puruṣārtha} and sacrifices which are performed with wealth are also \textit{puruṣārtha}. The general rule is that all \textit{āṅgas} (auxiliary rites) are \textit{kratvartha} and all principal rites (like

\textit{2005. The Tai. S. III. 6. 1. 1 mentions five \textit{prajājas} (oblations of clarified butter) introductory to the principal offerings of \textit{Darśapūrṇamāsa} viz. ‘Samidho yajati, tanuṇāpātam yajati, ido yajati, barbir-yajati, svahākāram yajati.’ There is a difference of view as to whether these are names of rites or of devatās. Vide H. of \textit{Dh.} vol. II p. 1057 note 2361.}

\textit{2006. The \textit{Mitra} explains ‘यद्र द्रव्यांजननियमानां कल्लखं तथा नियमाधिस्थितियें द्रव्येण कृतसिद्धिः नियमाधिस्थितिकालिनुष्ठानं द्रव्येण नियमाधिस्थितिकम कर्मणुपकारे। सिद्धान्त लघुनियमसयं द्रव्याध्यक्षात्तत्सारित्यात्तत्सारितेनाय द्रव्येण कृतसिद्धिः प्रमाणायति, द्रव्यस्वरूपध्विश्वेत्र नियमाधिस्थितिकम कृतसिद्धिः प्रमाणायति)’ Intro. to \textit{Ya.} II. 114.}

H. D. 155.
Darsapūrṇāmāsa, Somayāga) are puruṣārtha; all texts prescribing the rewards of rites are puruṣārtha. Some individual examples may be given.

In the Śāṅkhāyana Br. (VI.6) after saying that certain observances (vrata) must be followed by the sacrificer, it is provided that he should not see the sun rising or setting. These observances are called ‘Prajāpativrataṇi’ by Śabara and are declared by him to be puruṣārtha, the meaning being that the sacrificer should make a resolve not to see the rising or setting sun.

This distinction between Kratvartha and Puruṣārtha is often taken over into Dharmaśāstra matters. For example, Yāj. I. 53 provides that one should marry a girl who is free from diseases, has a brother and who does not belong to the same gotra or praśvara as that of the bridegroom. The Mit. 2007 explains that the status of being a wife does not at all arise if the girl is a sapinda or is of the same gotra or praśvara as the bridegroom (i.e. marriage itself is null and void), but a girl who has some disease when married becomes a wife, the only result being that there is a visible defect (such as a diseased wife is a constant source of anxiety and unhappiness). KulluKa on Manu III. 7 (providing that one should not marry a girl from a family in which prevail diseases like phthisis, epilepsy, white and black leprosy, refers to this doctrine of Śabara elaborated above. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 quotes a verse ‘a wise man should not marry a girl who has no brother, nor father, for fear that she may be a putrikā (daughter appointed as a son).’ Here the prohibition is like the prohibition of marrying a deformed girl i.e. it is a perceptible purpose. Therefore, the marriage would be valid i.e. the prohibition is puruṣārtha. Manu says (IX. 168) ‘that is known to be an adopted son whom the mother or father might give (to another) with water in a time of distress &c.’. The Mit. on Yaj. II. 130 quotes this verse and remarks that, as the word ‘distress’ is specifically mentioned, a son is not to be given in adoption to another when there is no distress and that this prohibition would affect only the giver (but not the act of adoption) i.e. this prohibition would be

2007. सपिष्टा—समानमीया—समानपत्राः भारतस्मैते नोत्तेजिते दुष्टविरेष एव। निदा:। या। 1.53; this means that the provision against marrying a sapinda, sagotra or sapravara girl is śravā, while that about not marrying a diseased girl is only दुभाराय।
purusārtha and not kratvartha. It may be noted that the Vyavahāramayūkha disagrees and holds that the prohibition is kratvartha. It may be said in a general way that those prescrip-
tions that have an invisible, spiritual or other-worldly result or reward are kratvartha, while those that have a visible result are purusārtha.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to analyse the notions underlying the word ‘yajeta’ used in such Vedic sentences as ‘one desiring heaven should offer a sacrifice’ (svargakāmo yajeta). In the word ‘yajeta’ there are two parts viz. the root ‘yaj’ (to sacrifice) and the termination (of injunctive third person singular). In the termination also there are two parts (elements) viz. general verbal nature and injunctioniveness (or injunctive force). General verbal nature is found in the ten lakāras (verbal forms in ten moods and tenses), but injunctioniveness is found only in the injunctive form. Both general verbal nature and injunctioniveness express only bhāvanā (force that brings into being something, efficient force). Bhāvanā (lit.) means a particular operation or activity of an agent which conduces to the coming into being of the result (lit. which is to come into being). And this bhāvanā is of two kinds, sābdi (word force) and ārthī (result-producing force).

It has been already stated that vidhis are the very core of the Veda. The doctrine of bhāvanā is the very heart of vidhis and is therefore one of the most important doctrines of the mīmāṃsā.

In ordinary life when a person says to another ‘this should be done by you’, the prompting to do something comes from a person. But Veda has according to the Mīmāṃsā no author, human or divine. Therefore, in a Vedic vidhi the prompting arises from the injunctive or the optative form of the word; there is no person, human of divine, behind the injunction; hence the bhāvanā is said to be sābdi (i.e. based on the word itself and not on the will or direction of a person). There-

2008. Ānandaśāstra, p. 107 disagrees: अर्थ तिथिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषिषि
fore, sābdī-bhāvanā is defined as a particular operation (or activity) of an agent (here the word of the Veda) that conduces to the activity of a man; and it is expressed by that part or element which is optative. It is called 'sābdī' because it is 'sabdanistha (centred in the word of the Veda) and not purusanistha (centred in a person). In a sābdibhāvanā there are three elements viz. (1) there is prompting of the agent to activity, (2) the injunction is the instrument and (3) the manner is furnished by the desirableness proclaimed by artha-vāda passages. The sābdibhāvanā gives rise to arthi-bhāvanā.

In an arthi-bhāvanā (that aims at or seeks the artha, the phala) also there are three elements viz. (1) svarga is the phala that is to be brought about, (2) the means or instrument is yāga, (3) there is also the procedure or method (itikartavyata) of the yāga. All this is based on the P. M. S. sūtra II. 1. 1, on Śabara's bhasya and certain important verses of the Tantravārtika quoted below. This whole discussion leads on to the idea of apūrva. Yāga lasts for a short time, while svarga comes to a man after death, which may be years after the performance of the sacrifice. What is the connecting link between yāga and svarga (the cause and the result)? It is the force or potency generated by yāga that brings about svarga.

Briefly, the idea is; both the root and the affix together express the sense of the affix and as the bhāvanā is the principal element in this, it is held to be the sense of the affix. There are numerous 2010 'bhāvaśabdas' such as yajati, juhoti, dadāti,

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2010. Bhāvanā: कर्मश्चयास्तेः: किया महारष्ट्रस्थिः श्रार्थं विचित्रप्रेषि। गु. सी. सा. दो II. 1. 1 ;
In the महावर्तक on शाश्वतीपुरक this is explained as follows: भावाय: भावनायः रोजनमः ये कर्मश्चत्तमः; धातुविनियोगसाधन भावित एव एव धार्यायः; पद्धतिः भावनाभावणेन श्रायिते। कर्मश्चत्तमः: means कथामित्वादि.: कः; पुनर्वविक के ते पुनर्वविक इति। व्यक्ति बुद्धां इहरोपे यस्मिन:... यज्ञोपवेशकाय:... साक्षात्सखः यज्ञो तेन कथानित्व सर्वकामुः इहरोपे यज्ञो निराकाराः। शार्क (q. above in note 1962); अधिभावनामित्वादि विचित्रप्रेषि:... अधिभावनानि तयां सत्यविदेशं गम्ये। तत्त्वम। पृ. 378; शार्क ते सार्व अनुथायाः भावनेति वश्वाः:। तत्त्वमात्मात्माः। यज्ञवर्तक सह भूत: महाभित्तिमये सावः। भावनायामवता तेन प्रस्ताविनाध्ये।। तत्त्वम। पृ. 380. The महाभावण on शाश्वतिः 2 on पा. III. 1. 67 has the maxim 'सहभावनायः' प्रस्ताविनाध्ये सह भूत:; and शार्क refers to it as अन्तर्भचित्तम् on III. 4. 13 p. 922. Pāṇini's special technical names for tenses and moods and does not employ words expressive of meaning, present, past or future. They begin with ति and therefore are called त्वचात्माः. They are: ति (सत्वान, present); तेर्स (Vedic subjunctive), तिर्स (perfect), तिर्स (Aorist), ति (अन्तर्भचित्तम् Imperfect), तिर्स (optative, पा. III. 3. 161, 173), तिर्स (blessing or prayer, पा. III. 1. 173), ति (distant future in (Continued on next page)
dogdhi, pinašṭi. These are of two sorts, viz. pradhāna (principal) and guṇabhūta. Those by which a substance is not intended to be produced or embellished (or made fit) for a religious rite, are expressive of principal karma (such as prayājas), while those which are meant to produce a substance or to make a substance fit are guṇabhūta (such as pounding rice grains or chiselling a piece of wood for making a sacrificial post, wiping strec ladle). Therefore the latter kind of actions are called guṇakarma. There are two kinds of verbal forms (1) those in which the form only conveys that the kartā (doer of the action) exists such as the forms ‘asti, bhavati, vidyate’; (2) there are others where not only there is the existence of the kartā but there is also the understanding of some activity that produces a result such as ‘yajati’ (meaning ‘yāgam karoti’), ‘dātī’ (i.e. dānam karoti), ‘pacati’ (pākam karoti), ‘gacchati’ i.e. gamanam karoti). That is, in such cases the sense of karoti is also understood. Jaimini (in P. M. S. II. 1. 4) divides words into two classes viz. Nāmāni (nouns) and Karmaśabdāḥ (verbs).

Under the first Śabara would include pronouns and adjectives. The 2nd is called ‘ākhyāta’. Śabara (on II.1.3.) paraphrases (nāmāni as ‘dravya-guṇaśabdāḥ’ and remarks that in the sūtra (II.1.3) the word ‘nāmāni’ is employed in the sense of dravyagaṇuṇaśabdāḥ’. Śabara remarks that dhātvartha (the

(Continued from last page)

sa), तदु (future in य), तद्द (conditional). The words भावानि: कर्मशङ्क्या: echo the निवव 1. 1 भावप्रभधनामामयिः.

2011 न देश कश्ची भावान। उच्छेष्टे सुविष्णुवृक्षो ध्यानानिर्विचारः। स एव विषयः (i.e. देशिष्णुव्यापः): लिङ्गविशेष्यं अर्थं प्रचरंतिततः निवेशम् महते-त। भा. न. प. p. 267 (BORI ed.) and अलक्ष शब्दगुण एवं वेयापायोपायो ध्यान: शाब्दी भावान। भा. न. प. p. 269; स्वग्नेष्क्याजनितो याविधिः यद: प्रववः स भावना (अर्थ) एव वाचारयात्तीति चैव। जयेतीयापायत्वं याविधिः यत्नतः पूजनेन नवेति सत्तेति गृहाचार्यमानवाल्ल। भा. न. प. p. 274. Vide तत्त्वार्थिक 1. 375-377.

2012. तातिः त्वं सुप्रभवान्तुति। पैदायें न चिन्हिष्ण्येति तातिः प्राणान्तुति सुधार्य युननेन लाल। भैस्य देष्य चिन्हिष्ण्येति सुधन्त्रप सति तस्य प्रचारान्तुति। पू. भा. न. II. 1. 6-8 और शाब्द देशे; महति कर्मणि तदद्वस्था द्रव्येवात्तात्सिद्धांद्रार्थं भावं युननेन द्वारा जशान्मादिरि। भा. न. प. p. 2.

2013. वेष्यं स्वपनादिगुणवत्ती नृत्यं स्वयममानान्तं स्वपनात्मस्य। पदार्थादिनां कलान्तरं निवदितं न क्रियेवत्यात्मस्य तत्त्वार्थिकं। ताती नामानि: ते द्रव्यस्वरूपः। ईद्यो द्रव्यस्यात्मकान्तानां: ते द्रव्यस्वरूपः द्रव्योऽसि वात्ति नामानि नामानि महतेति। अतो नामानि वेष्यं नामानि द्रव्यः। शाब्द on पू. भा. न. II. 1.3. When we say पाप: it is a नामानि and denotes an accomplished fact, while when one says 'pacati' it is not one accomplished fact but includes from beginning to end several acts, such as preparing fire, placing on it a pot containing water, putting rice

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meaning of a verbal root) can have no ākāṅkṣā (expectancy) for Dharmas but it is the pratayārtha that has ākāṅkṣā for the procedure (itikartavyatā).

We must now turn to the 2nd great division of Vedic texts, viz. Arthavādaśas. They are dealt with in P. M. S. first adhyāya, 2nd pāda. There are numerous Vedic passages such as ‘he roared; because he roared he came to be called Rudra’ (Tai. S. I. 5.1.1.), ‘Prajāpati cut out his own fat’ (Tai. S. II. 1.1.4.), ‘the gods, having reached the sacrificial ground, did not know the directions’ (Tai. S. VI. 1.5.1.); ‘who knows whether one lives in the other world or not’ (Tai. S. VI. 1.1.1.); ‘there should be no piling of fire altar on the earth nor in the sky nor in heaven’ (Tai. S. V. 2.7.1.). The objector says ‘you have yourself declared that enjoining religious rites is the purpose of the Veda’ (P. M. S. I. 1.2.). The above and similar passages do not serve any purpose in the matter of religious acts, they are therefore useless and are non-eternal (or do not refer to any permanent matter). The reply is that these passages form one syntactical or connected whole with hortatory passages of the Veda and they serve the purpose of commending (or glorifying) the hortatory passages. Sabara cites on I. 2.7 the passage ‘one desiring prosperity should sacrifice a white animal in honour of Vāyu; Vāyu indeed is the swiftest deity; he runs near Vāyu with the share proper (to Vāyu); he (Vāyu) leads the sacrificer to prosperity’. 2011 These words form one whole passage; the first

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grains therein when the water is boiling, stirring it and taking it down from the fire. The चिन्द्र says ‘भावायामधामास्यायं सत्यायामानि नामामि... पूर्वभीमुः भावायामधामास्यायं सत्यायामानि नामामि...’ (I, 1.). श्वर also follows this ‘एवं तथ्यर्यामधामास्यायं प्रयासिवर्तिति, प्रवत्यक्तार्या प्रयासिवर्तिति। उपक्रमादात्मण यथानिर्विवर्तिति, यथानिर्विवर्तिति, यथानिर्विवर्तिति। उपक्रमादात्मण यथानिर्विवर्तिति, यथानिर्विवर्तिति, यथानिर्विवर्तिति।’ On पृ. शृ. VI. 2.13; न हि धात्रेय च धात्रेय च परस्परविशिष्टता विद्यते, अभावपूर्णे शृद्धिक्षेत्रसङ्गठयन्ति कल्प्ते कथामिति न पश्चि: कीर्ति: इति। तस्मादात्मण तरस्तिवेदित्यतया सष्ठ:। अपूवः च तत्। तस्मादात्मणुऽवृक्षीः इति। श्वर on पृ. शृ. IX. 1.1. p. 1639.

2014. आभायर्य ियायामधामास्यायं तस्मादात्मणुऽवृक्षीः (पृष्ठ)। विन्द- ना विन्दनास्यामधामास्यायं ध्वनिन्याम रतुः। पृ. मी. शृ. I. 2.1 and 2. The passage quoted on I. 2.7 is ‘वायुर्य भूमितमेव वृत्तिकादम। वायुविषेक्षः देवता वा भूमि वेदेऽ भावायाम नामप्रायतम्। स एवं मिथ्य निर्यात्मकः।’ This अस्याद् (वायुविषेक्षः देवता) is an auxiliary (शेषः) to the भावायाम च भेदात् etc.; this occurs in सं. II. 1.1.1. The भाव on I. 2.10 (शुचार्ययाद्) points out the passages of which the three passages cited under I. 2.1 are अस्याद्. For example, the passage ‘सोऽस्तीकायावर्तिता- (Continued on next page)
part ‘vāyavyam...bhūtikāmāḥ’ is clearly a vidhi, as the word ‘ālabheta (in the optative form) shows. The latter portion is an arthavāda for the purpose of commendation. People are familiar with the fact that Vāyu is swift. Therefore, the latter portion (Vāyurvaī &c.) merely repeats what is already well known (that is, it is an anuvāda). In sūtras 19-25 of I.2 the P. M. S. considers certain passages that look like vidhis but are declared to be arthavādas. For example, (Tai. S. II. 1.1.6) ‘the sacrificial post is to be of udumbara wood; the udumbara wood is indeed vigour (or food or sap); cattle are vigour; by this strong (or juicy) post, he (sacrificer) secures cattle, for ‘the securing of strength’. The objector says that this is a phalāvīdhi (an injunctive text about a result) as the words ‘ūrjosvaruuddhyāi’ contain the purpose and there is no word of commendation. The reply is that there is only commendation.

There are some passages in the Veda in which occur words like ‘hi’ (because) such as in ‘one should offer into fire the oblation with the winnowing basket, because food is prepared by means of it’ (Tai. Br. I. 6. 5). 2015 The question that arises is

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वृद्धरूप चन्द्रपियम् ‘बालिविनं विस्त न देय्य’। न च स। I. 5. 1. 1-2. This arthavāda (सांस्कृतिक तपिः etc.) is an auxiliary (शेष) to the aśraye ‘बालिबिनं विस्त न देय्या। The word आलिविन in the sūtra is purposely used. Veda is nitya and therefore pramāṇa. Hence the passages not referring to any religious rite are different from the portion dealing with rites and anitya i.e. apramāṇa (not authoritative). Vide p. 927 note 1482 about calling वृद्धाणि as merely arthavādas.

2015. हेतुवत्र स्यायांकोपालयपतित्रघायम्। सुतितस्तु वाजपेयसिद्धवृंचोदना च तत्स। पू. मी. च इ. 2. 26-27; अद्य इद्वार्थिकम्। शूर्यं जुर्भोति तेन धार्यं कियत इत्येवस्तुते। तेनु सम्बंधः। की सुतितस्तों कार्यसुहृत सुतितितिः। अस्तस्तों कुलं। शूर्यं स्तुतिते। तेन हारस्तिकियत इति बुञ्जयाज्यामाण्यं न च इत्येवस्तुति। की तद्देव प्रोचनाय। सतप्रत्येकियसम्पाय परस्तिरविद्याधिकारिञ्चित्तिः। शूर्यं इ। I. 2. 30, शूर्यं was used like a jhum ladle to make a homa of Karambhapātras (pots full of husked grains of yava slightly fried, ground and mixed with curds) in the Varuṇaprabhāsa, one of the cātur-māyas. The position of the P. M. S. is clearly that what Veda declares is authoritative; there is no need to cite reasons for the statements of the Veda. It may cite a reason for its declaration, even though no necessity exists. As stated by the Bhāṣācintāmaṇi “अनेन वेदज्ञात्रभेदेः स्वप्नसामन्तो नातिशीतोष्णक्षारोपितसर्वद्वितीयपूर्वपरिशिष्ट षडयनस्य विद्याधिकारिञ्चित्तिः। उत्त्र च ‘न व वेदज्ञानामाय वेदज्ञाणेत्र्येते’ इति।” Vide for a detailed discussion of this हेतुवत्रस्यपतित्रघायम् in connection with the rule of Vasiṣṭha 15. 3-4 (na tvekam putram dadyāt pratigrññiyādva, sa hi sanātāya pūrveśe) in H. of Dh, vol. III. pp. 676-77 n, 1277. Here the first is a vidhi, 'dadyāt' and 'pratigrññiyāt' being in the optative mood,

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whether this and other passages containing words denoting reason should be construed as arthavādas commending what is enjoined in the preceding sentence or whether as stating a reason for the injunction. The established conclusion is that they are commendatory. If the other view were adopted (viz. that śrutī gives a reason for the vidhi) then it may be argued that the ladle, pan and other utensils also may be used for making an offering (not merely the sūrpa), as they also are required in preparing food. Raghunandana in Malamāsatattva p. 760 relies upon and explains this maxim with reference to Laghu-Hārīta's words 'cakravat parivarteta sūryaḥ kalavaśād yatah'. It should not be supposed that commendation (stūti) is the purpose of all arthavādas. In 'he lays down anointed pebbles, ghee is indeed brilliance' (Tai. Br. III. 2. 5. 12) a doubt arises about the material with which pebbles are to be anointed. That doubt is removed by the remainder of the passage that it is ghee with which they are to be anointed (P. M. S. I. 4. 24).

Arthavādas are of three kinds viz. guṇavāda, anuvāda and bhūtārthavāda; 'when an arthavāda text is in conflict with ordinary experience it is metaphorical; when something is definitely ascertained by other means of knowledge and becomes the subject of a text it is called anuvāda and when a text is not opposed to other pramāṇas or is not definitely ascertained otherwise, it is called 'bhūtārthavāda' (statement of an accomplished fact, or of a past event); in this way arthavāda is of three kinds'.

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while the latter part containing a reason (in 'sa hi &c.') is on arthavāda, lauding the importance of a son). This topic of Hetuvava-nigadādhikaraṇa figured very much in the case of Beni Prasad vs. Hardai Bibi I. L. R. 14 All 67 (F. B.). The court was misled on two points, by counsel as to the first and by Mandlik’s wrong statement (in ‘Hindu law’ p. 499) as to the 2nd. viz. that Jaimini flourished in the 13th century A. D. and secondly (p. 73, 125) 'it is a rule of the Pūrvamāmāṣā that all texts supported by the assigning of a reason are to be deemed not as vidhis but simply as arthavādas (commendatory)’. This case went up to the Privy Council as Radha Mohan vs. Hardai Bibi L.R. 26 I. A. p. 153, where the Privy Council was more cautious and did not accept in its entirety the wrong statement of Mandlik.

2016. निचेत १. १६ speaks of उद्धतावादः स भवति विसर्गे स्युवादः स्यादृढङ्गार्दौगुणाधिति। स्युवादःवाच्यानिर्स्वेत्वादिविधिया मतः। q. by मृ. भा. म. p. 48; अनु-वाच्यानिर्स्वेत्वार्थ हर्ष्येत्वाहारहर्षं तु दुस्रत्वाहिमेकन्तः। आदेशिस्मेव वेजन्द्र-इति। तत्तथाशयम्।

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only the smoke of fire is seen and not its flame' (this is Tai. Br. II. 1. 2. 10). One sees both smoke and fire during the day and night. What this text desires to emphasize is that by day the light of fire is not so well seen as at night (or not well seen from a distance by day as at night).

'Fire is the medicine (antidote) for cold' (Vâj. S. 23. 10 and Tai. S. VII. 4. 18. 2) is cited by some as an example of anuvâda. The M. B. P. finds fault with this on the ground that it is well-known as a mantra and does not form part of a vidhi by syntactical relation, and that it is cited by Nrsimhâsrama as an example owing to neglect of the study of the Veda or absent-mindedness. A proper example would be 'Vâyu indeed is the swiftest deity' cited above. 'Prajâpati cut off his own fat' is cited by some as an example of bhûtârthavâda, but the M. B. P. does not approve of it and cites the verse 'yan-na duhkhenâ sambhinnam' (cited above in note 1969) as an example.

The Mîmâmsâparibhâsa of Krîpayajvan classifies Arthavâdas into four kinds, viz. ninda (censure), stuti (praise), parakrti (performance by another great person) and purâkalpa (what

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It may be noted that Mûla-rakshita in Mâsanâsthâna, ârthasamhâra (p. 26, Thibaut) and M. M. Jha cited this very text as an anuvâda (in 'Pûrva-Mîmâmsâ in its sources' p 201). A strict definition of ârthasamhâra is 'nâma mukhâvârah bhvarti yodha-pratyakshâna-labhe-vâdhârya' (Tattvavâda p. 911 on II. 4. 13). Medhâätirhi on Mâna II. 227 (Matsya 211. 22) saying that a man cannot require even in a hundred years the parents for the troubles they undergo in the birth and upbringing of the child holds that it is a drutravâda. Mûla-rakshita in Mâsanâsthâna and ârthasamhâra (p. 26) cites 'yajyâre brahmavastra prasthâya as an example of drutravâda, and ârthasamhâra defines it as 'yajyâre brahmavastra prasthâya' (when the Tai. S. I. 7. 4. 4, or II. 6. 5. 3 says 'yajyâre prasthâya' or 'yajyâre yupa' the literal meaning is opposed to our perception (there is prayâyâva-rodha, therefore the sentence has to be understood in a metaphorical sense' (as when a boy is called 'fire') and is therefore a gûnavâda, that is, the meaning in 'yajyâre yupa' is that he stands up (or erect) like a sacrificial post and looks brilliant. Where a statement (not being a vidhi) is neither an anuvâda nor a gûnavâda it is called vidyamanavâda or bhûtârthavâda. This is lucidly explained by Sâbara in P. M. S. I. 4. 23 and by Saṅkarâcâryya on Vedântasûtra I. 3. 33. The first handful of dabha grass cut is called 'prastara'. These passages have to be interpreted in such a way as to avoid conflict with perception and other pramânas but also as intended to convey praise (of some vidhi already expressed). Vide Bhûmîti 'nâcha bhûtârthâ bhuva

The gûna stressed is lejasita (brilliance) since the post is smeared with gûna.
happened in bygone ages). 2016 Devala states that sages have laid down expiation for the first wrong, for committing a second double of that, for committing a third time thrice as much but there is no expiation for committing it a fourth time. The Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhavadeva says that this is not to be taken literally, but it is only nindārthaṁva. The P. M. S. itself (VI. 7. 26 and 30) states that parakṛti and purākalpa are arthavādās.

The Vyavahāra-mayūkha quotes a verse of Devala 2017 ‘on the father’s death the sons should divide the paternal wealth, for they have no ownership as long as the father who suffers from no blemish (that deprive him of ownership) is alive’. Here the first half lays down a time for partition (it is a vidhi), the latter half is only an arthavāda praising the vidhi and means that, as long as the father is alive, the sons are not independent and not that they have no ownership in ancestral property.

Smṛtis also abound in arthavādās. For example, Medhātithi on Manu V. 56 (na māṁsabhaksane doṣaḥ) says that from V. 28 up to V. 56 all verses except two or three are arthavādās. Medhātithi points out in several other places in the Manusmṛti a few vidhis and numerous arthavādās. For example, Manu II. 117 contains a vidhi about abhiśādana, while verses II.

2016. स (अध्यात्म:) च चतुर्भ्रात्र: निंद्रौ-प्रकथात-परक्रत:-पुराकल्पभेदात। ...परमः महता पुत्रावेदना कर्म क्रत्वात्मति बिधिणमनकोर्थातः परक्रत:-यथा अज्जयः अनाकामतः- दुधाति। प्रतिधिकान्ति-पन्नाद्रिः-पुराकल्पः यथा तमसाधनिः धिया तं वथातः-दुधाति। 
मी-परि. pp 27-28. On मह II. 151 where an Āṅgirasa taught his pupils and is said to have called them ‘putraṅaḥ’ सदानिधि remarks ‘पुरास्य पितृवृद्धिनिदेवयो- वार्धने परक्रत्तिनाम:.’ The वायुपुराण (59.134-137) defines बिधिः, स्तुतिः, निंद्रौ, परक्रतिः and पुराकल्प. The same four are said to be the constituents of अध्यात्म in वैद्यमुय II 1.65. परक्रतिपुराकल्पः व मनुष्यमः: स्तुतिः यह दातिनामः ...अन्यान्याः श्री विष्णुवलासमनिश्चित्याकाव्याः: श्यातः। यु. भी. च. VI. 7. 26 and 30. The story of Sunahāśeṇa whom his father sold to Hariścandra’s son and was willing even to kill him as offering to Varuṇa (narrated in the Ait. Br.) is really an अध्यात्म of the परक्रति type. Vide मह X. 105 where this legend is mentioned and भ्रम thereon.

2017. युधुतेन:-नित्यपरते दुःधात्रिब्रजेजयेन विशिष्टाः। अस्तायम् हि यंत्रेवं नित्ये वित्तीप्रक्षेते। तत्र पूर्णी तातित्विकान्तिबिध्याक्षेतितत्त्वावरणाः, उत्तरायेऽहु तथे युधस्य स्तुतिः क्षेत्रायात्रा-स्वामय्यपरं न स्तुवतावर्षं। यु. म. p. 90. The यु. म. extends this to a sūtra of Saṅkha which forbids partition by sons during the father’s life-time even of property earned by them after they are born and states that they have no independence as regards wealth and religious ceremonies during the father’s life and that the words about absence of independence are only an arthavāda eulogising the prohibition about non-division.
118-121 are arthavādas in relation to it. In Manu II. 165 a vidhi is laid down for the study of the whole Veda by persons of the three upper classes; when Manu (X. I) again lays down that the three classes should study the Veda, this is merely an anuvāda. Medhātithi on Manu. IX. 135 remarks that many verses in Manu contain arthavādas.

The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra and Viṣṇudharmottara provide that cow’s urine, excreta, milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which kuṣas have been dipped and a fast for a day and night will purify even a śvapāka. A Śvapāka was the lowest amongst untouchables and followed the same avocations as a cāndāla and was governed by the same rules (vide Manu X. 51-56). This verse is not to be taken literally, as nothing could make a cāndāla touchable. Therefore, this is a mere arthavāda meant to praise the purifying effects of paṇcagavya and a fast.

It would have been noticed that every Vedic passage is not of the nature of a vidhi (of an injunctive or exhortatory character). There are numerous Vedic passages that are commendatory of a vidhi, condemn an act that is prohibited, give an illustration of some one having performed the vidhi in the past or put forward an easily understood reason for the specific act which is enjoined. These commendatory, condemnatory and illustrative passages are not to be treated as unnecessary or purposeless, but are to be taken along with the vidhi passages to complete their full import. This doctrine of arthavādas saves a huge portion of Vedic texts from being neglected or treated as unnecessary.

The Garuḍapurāṇa states ‘Gāndhāri, who observed a fast on Ekādaśī mixed with daśamī, lost her hundred sons; therefore Ekādaśī mixed with daśamī should be given up’. Here the first part is only s nindānuvāda (i.e. it indirectly supports the positive rule ‘tām parivarjanyeta’), as the maxim is that ‘nindā in a text is not meant for the mere sake of condemnation but for prescribing the opposite of what is condemned.’ Vide.Kṛtyaratnākara p. 635 for this interpretation. The M. B. P. (pp. 50-58) gives another classification of arthavādas into 38 varieties. They are passed over here from considerations of space.

The arthavādas constitute the largest part of the Veda, particularly in the Brāhmaṇa texts. About arthavāda the

2018. मामुन्त गोमय शैरे दियि सायि: कुशोंकपि। एकतायेवाचार्यर्य वपकरणि स्थिनयेत॥ बसिद 27. 3, विभुर्मोक्षर II 42 31-32.
Tantravārtika makes 2019 a general statement that arthavāda passages coming after vidhi passages are weak, while those that come before vidhīs are stronger.

The 3rd class of Vedic texts are mantras. They have already been treated above (vide p. 1320, notes 1979 ff.). Some mantras also lay down an injunction as in Rg. X. 117. 5 ‘prṇiyād-in-nādhamāṇya-tavyān’ (the strong must bestow wealth on one who begs), also the mantra ‘vasantāya kapīṇjalānālabhate’ (Vāj. S. 24. 20) cited above on p. 1281. But generally mantras are only expressive or assertive and call to mind things that are connected with the acts enjoined by vidhi-vākyas (injunctive passages). The Tantravārtika 2020 notes that it is definitely understood that religious acts that are performed with mantras that recall to the mind the things enjoined lead to prosperity (or to svarga). The reader would notice how the Pūrvamāṁsā system came to relegate mantras to a secondary place and made them play a passive role in the sacrificial system. The Rgveda contained sublime prayers, but in the mimāṁsā system the most prominent place was given to Brāhmaṇa texts, that contained almost all the vidhīs. It has been seen above pp. 950-952 how Rgveda mantras are full of faith (bhakti) in God and fervent appeals to God after confession of sin and repentance; vide Rg. VII. 36. 4-6 (kim-āga āsa varuṇa jyeṣṭham &c.); Rg. III. 39 is a hymn full of beatitude, verse 2 of which says ‘this prayer (dhīḥ) born of yore in heaven, sung in the holy assembly with earnestness, dressed in pure (lit-white) and auspicious garb is ours, ancient and inherited from our forefathers’.

The 4th part of Vedic texts bearing on Dharma is ‘Nāmadheya’ (proper names of sacrifices). There are such texts as ‘one should sacrifice with the udbhid’ (Tāṇḍya Br. 19. 7. 2-3), ‘one desirous of possessing cattle should sacrifice with citrā’ 2021 (Tai. S. II. 4. 6. 1). The question is whether in these passages what is laid down is some substance to be offered in some rite (as in

2019. ये ति विद्युद्धश्चात्लसारङ्गत्वादः शुरूने तेषामिः दीर्घायते। य ह्यूस्ताश्चूपने ने शुचयाट्तु चतुर्थांशोऽपि महति। स्त्राभ, on III. 3. 2.

2020. श्रवी on पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 32 says अर्थपर्यायानाये सिद्धे मनोहारणम्। पद्मालवकास्तिनयं पर्यावरणम्। स्नेहेर्य स्वयम् चतुर्थांशोऽपि महति। स्त्राभ, on III. 1. 31 p. 433.

2021. पद्मालवकास्तिनयं पर्यावरणम्। पद्मालवकास्तिनयं पर्यावरणम्। स्नेहेर्य स्वयम् चतुर्थांशोऽपि महति। स्त्राभ, 19. 7. 2-3. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 269 n. 618 for the application of the Udbhidadikaraṇa (P. M. S. I. 4. 1-2) by स्थानराधामाद्रा and above p. 137 by the समयस्मृति.
‘dadhnā juhoti’) or whether they are names of sacrifices. No substance is well-known as ‘udbhid’ (as dadhi is a well-known substance). Citrā means a female animal of variegated colour. If it is gunavidhi (in the case of ‘citrayā yajeta’), there would be the fault of Vākyabheda (one sentence broken up as laying down two vidhis) i.e. the injunction would be that a female paśu was to be sacrificed (not a male) and further injunction that its colour should be variegated. Therefore, Udbhid, Citrā, Balabhid, Abhijit, Viśvajit (Kausitaki Br. 25.14) and Agnihotra (P. M. S. I. 4.4), Vājapeya (P. M. S. I. 4.6-8), Vaiśvadeva (P. M. S. I. 4.13-16) are names of rites and are not substances. Similarly, in ‘Śyenābhibicaran yajeta’ (one practising black magic for bringing about the death of an enemy may perform a yāga called śyena). Here ‘śyena’ is the name of a yāga, because the yāga swoops down upon the enemy and seizes him just as a falcon swoops down upon its victim and catches it (Śadviṃśa Br. III. 8.1.3). The point to be noted is that these names serve the purpose of particularising the meaning of what is enjoined. The Vedic text ‘svādhyāyosdhyetavyah’ enjoins the study of the Veda consisting of all parts including nāmadheyas of sacrifices and we directly see that in such Vedic vidhis as ‘Citrayā yajeta paśukāmah’ the name citrā is a part of the vidhi. Therefore, nāmadhya also is a puruṣārtha and is authoritative like other parts of the Veda (vide Śastradīpikā on Jai. I. 4.1). In the sentences mentioned above yāga is enjoined with the fruit as the object, since it is not otherwise established. Since it is not intended to lay down a general injunction to sacrifice, a specific variety of sacrifice has to be enjoined. When one wants to know the specific variety enjoined, from the word ‘udbhid’ it is known that it is the sacrifice called udbhid. Dharmaśāstra writers apply this maxim called ‘Udbhid-nyāya’ to ‘Upanayana’ which literally means ‘taking (a boy) near an acārya’ (teacher of the Veda’). The Sāṃskāraprakāśa says so.

2022. नामधेयानां विशेषार्थिपरिचितात्यदेशस्वस्थं। तथा विदिता यजन भुतानां शिष्यानां प्रकरणात यानां यथा संभवात्। तत्र तृतीयो विशेषार्थिपरिचित हुवनमर्यादाय केवलं न विदितं। तत्र समधीष्टा विशेष तिरंगेयानं ज्ञातं तत्रात्मक-प्रकरणार्थाः। ॥ भग दयुम् ॥ प. 206 (Abr.)

2023. तिरंगार्थाः कर्मकार्य्य यानां। तत्र नौकानुण्। ज्ञानसाधनां भाव-शुल्कः यस्मादकार्य ब्यवहारः भवेऽवत। स यथा। उष समस्यो संस्कारार्थिएवं सदांतहिन्यं यथास्तयात्। समस्यो आर्थिशास्त्रो नीतिः वहुदिनं तदलयमण्डितं वा। ॥ संस्कारकालम् ॥ प. 334.
The fifth (and last) part of Vedic texts consists of ‘pratisedha’ (nisedha, prohibition). Prohibitions serve the ends of man by causing men to desist from actions which would produce undesirable results. To explain, just as vidhis, which express an urge or prompting (to do something), suggest, in order to effectuate their prompting quality, that the matter to be enjoined such as a sacrifice is the means to attain a desirable result and so urge a man to do it, so also prohibitions such as ‘one should not eat Kalaṇja (red garlic)’ or ‘one should not utter what is false’ (Tai, S. II, 5, 5, 6) denote a turning away and in order to effectuate their own deterring quality, suggest that the thing to be prohibited viz. eating Kalaṇja or speaking untruth will be the cause of bringing about an undesirable result and so make a man desist from it. The particle ‘na’ may come before a verbal form, a noun or an adjective and ‘na’ becomes in certain cases ‘a’ (as in ‘abrahamaṇa,’ ‘adharma’) and ‘an’ in certain others when it is prefixed to a word beginning with a vowel (as in ‘anāśva’, ‘anuṣṇa’). Panini devotes several sūtras to ‘na’ and expressly refers to ‘pratisedha’ as one of the meanings conveyed by ‘na’ (vide Pan. II, 2, 6, VI, 2, 155 &c.) 2025; ‘na’ is said to convey six senses as noted in the verse quoted below. 2026

The first meaning of ‘na’ is ‘abhāva’ (non-existence). But that meaning would not suit all cases. When one says ‘bring abrahamaṇa’ the meaning conveyed is not ‘non-existence’ since, if that were the meaning, one could not bring non-existing brähamaṇa and so might not bring any one at all, or might

2024. अन्योत्तरं तपस्या: स्त्रां धीरूक्षरम् निबुत्तिकरणेन निषिधानां पुष्पानां संस्थितिस्वरूपम्।
तथा हि । यथा शिवम्: परम्पराभिधर्मः समासक्तानालिनियोत्तरो संवेदना:। एवान्यान्यानालिनियोत्तरो निषिधान:।
कार्यास्त्योत्तरोक्रान्तिके निषिधान:। परम्पराभिधर्मसंशोधनेण निषिधानस्तुत्तरमात्रांत्रिकम्। यथा हि ।

2025. नां यूपध्ययपथ निबुत्तमहाभिन्नासाक्षरतिः। पा. VI, 2, 155.

2026. तत्साधुपरमाण: तदपर्यंत: तदर्यादः। अभासितयेकान्तय नम्वर्य:। श्रद्धा
परापत्तिः । q. on p. 430 of the com. Bhaṭṭaṭakṣar on Mi. Śāstra M. (Chowkhamba S.S.).
अभासितय स्वाभाबिक (I. e. तत्साधु suggests here तद्यथा) and अभासितय यथार्थस्वयम्, as stated by कुचकास. (अभासितय, verse 33)।

The स्वाभाबिक on वात्तिक 4 on पा. III, 1, 12 says ‘नवि नविनममत्सरसाधिनयेन तथा अभासितयः। श्रद्धा मां आश्चर्यमात्रांमत्सरसाधिनयेन।'

'अभासितय स्वाभाबिक नयं तथा अभासितयः।' श्रद्धामां आश्चर्यमात्रांमत्सरसाधिनयेन।'
Meanings of ‘na’

bring a cloud of earth which would not fulfil any purpose of the person addressing these words and therefore, on hearing this, a person not a brāhmaṇa but resembling a brāhmaṇa (such as a kṣatriya) is brought. So in this case ‘abrahamana’ means a person other than a brāhmaṇa; ‘na’ also conveys the opposite (virodha) of that to which it is prefixed. It has been seen above that the verb is the main part in a sentence and in the verbal form it is the termination that is the principal part. So, in ‘one must not eat kalaṇja’ the negative particle ‘na’ must be held to be connected with the optative termination in ‘bhaksayet’. In a vidhi2027 (or on hearing a vidhi) one perceives that the sentence urges the listener to be active. When ‘na’ is prefixed to an optative from it conveys the opposite of urging viz. ‘niṣartaṇa’ (desisting from something). The phala that one understands from a vidhi is as in ‘yajeta svargakāmah’ svarga, while in a prohibition the phala is cessation of harm (anartha-nivṛtti). The adhyakṣa in a vidhi is one who desires svarga; in a nisedha the adhyakṣa is one who is afraid of harm and desires to avoid what is undesirable. Therefore, these considerations establish that exhortation and prohibition are entirely different in their import.

But when there is an obstacle or difficulty in construing ‘na’ with the verbal termination, then it is construed with the meaning of the root. These obstacles are of two sorts; one is where the whole passage is introduced by the words ‘his vows are’ or where an option will emerge if the meaning of prohibition is stuck to. In the case of these two obstacles in sentences where

2027. अतो विद्धलाङ्किन नञ्ज सम्बंधते। तत्र समाधिधार्यम् सामाध्यायत। नञ्ज चेत्र

वस्मादि यत्समवस्मादिविशेषस्वयंभव। ... तद्रिद्ध निदृश्यसारसवर्तन्ता। अस्तते सप्रभवः

मानो नञ्ज वदनीभवतिरहस्य निन्ततया सम्बंधते। अत्र सर्वापि निद्रेर्युषु निरंतरेऽव च

प्रवायः। अतः वाह्यः लोके ब्रह्महत्या सम्बंधते। इत्यस्य नान्यं नञ्जे निदृश्यमानवर्तन्ता।

इति तथा। ... सर्वापि तु नञ्जा। यज्ञयात्रायास्वयंभव। 

यथा तत्र चतुर्दशम् निद्रेर्युषु चतुर्दशम् निद्रेर्युषु पुष्करम्यवर्तन्ता।

तत्र च भवत्ता नञ्जे तु नञ्जे पुष्करम्याभ्याः भवति।

तत्राचे निद्रेर्युषु च। पुष्करम्य तस्मात्तत्त्वावर्तन्ता।

प्रह्यवस्मात् स निद्रेर्युषु चतुर्दशम् नञ्ज।

प्रियखल्य। स निद्रेर्युषु किंचिद सर्ववाच च

नञ्जे नञ्जे।

हृदयस्मात् तत्त्वावर्तन्ता। तत्र तेन्नच्चालमाधुर्यायोहारौ एवैववेदास्यम्यन्त। तत्र

ब्रह्मायंप्रवलं। तत्त्वार्थाः पद्ध्यवेर्युषु चतुर्दशम् निधित्याः।
'na' occurs, we would have to resort to paryūdāsa (exclusion or exception). In the case of the Prajāpativrataś c (which are purusārtha as decided in P. M. S. IV. 1. 3) the passage starts with the words 'his vows are' and then comes the sentence 'he must not see the sun: rising or setting' (Kauśitaki Br. VI. 6). Vrata means a mental act, a resolve not to do a certain thing, the meaning being 'he should make a resolve to act in such a way as not to see the rising or setting sun and stick to it'. This really is niyama (restriction). This passage does not mean that he should never look at the sun (there is no prohibition of seeing the sun) but it only excludes the sight of the rising or setting sun; therefore, this is only exclusion and he who observes this niyama (restriction) secures the reward while in the case of eating kalaṅja there is a total prohibition. 'Paryūdāsa (exclusion) is to be understood where the negative particle is taken with another word (i.e. with the verbal root or a different word such as a noun); prohibition is to be understood where the negative particle is taken with the verbal form'.

In Dharmāśāstra works, 'na' is frequently explained as laying down a paryūdāsa (proviso or exception). In the section on the duties of a snātaka in Yāj. I. 129–166 'na' occurs very often. The Mit. explains (on Yaj. I. 129) that in this section wherever 'na' occurs it is meant to denote a paryūdāsa (sarvatrāpi asmin snātakaprakaraṇe naṁ-sābdaḥ prayekam paryūdāsārtha eva). To take only one example, Yāj. in I. 132 provides that one should not speak (to a man or woman) what would be painful without any necessity or cause. This does not altogether prohibit speaking what is painful; what it means is that a snātaka may say to another what is painful except when there is no proper reason nor proper occasion to do so. One may have to speak what is painful to an erring son or friend or near relative. Aparārka (pp. 206-207) quotes two well-known

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2028. पूर्णां यत्रजापिताद्वितैः पुरुषां निविषयेत। तत्र नियमं कर्तवेत्
तपोक्सर्यिः।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।.. at the end.

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verses on the distinction between paryudāsa and pratisedha (the two halves of which are quoted and underlined in note 2027) on the interpretation of a verse requiring a man having a son not to observe a fast on certain days &c. The first halves of those verses are; ‘Pradhānātvaṃ vidhauyatra pratisedhespradhānataḥ (paryudāsāḥ...naḥ) || aprādhānayam vidhau yatra pratisedhe pradhānataḥ || prasajyapratī...naḥ.||

When the particle ‘na’ is employed in a sentence, it is either a prohibition or a paryudāsa or an arthavāda. These three have to be clearly distinguished. In Darśapūrṇamāsa the two ājyabhāgās are an āṅga (P. M. S. IV. 4. 30) and a passage states that the two ājyabhāgās are the eyes of the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice. In connection with this the Veda says ‘these two are not performed in an animal sacrifice nor in a Soma sacrifice’. The question is; is this a prohibition or a paryudāsa or an arthavāda. A pratisedha occurs only when there is the possibility of what is prohibited following as a matter of course. As the ājyabhāgās are prescribed in Darśapūrṇamāsa there is no possibility of these two being required in a Somayāga and there is no real prohibition. Nor is there paryudāsa, for if it be a paryudāsa there would be no proper connection, since in paryudāsa one would have to say ‘there are ājyabhāgās in darśapūrṇamāsa except in somayāga’, which would be absurd. Therefore, these words ‘na tau paśau karoti na some’ contain an arthavāda. A true prohibition would occur only when something is first prescribed and then prohibited. The stock example is of the Śodāsin cup; there are two Vedic sentences of equal authority ‘he takes the śodāsin cup in Atirātra’ and ‘he does not take the Śodāsin cup in atirātra’; owing to this conflict an option is allowed. Similarly, there is a Vedic passage ‘Vribhībhir yajeta yavairvā’ (one shall offer a sacrifice with grains of rice or with yavas). Therefore, in the above two cases where the two texts are irreconcilable, there is

2029. चशुधी वा एते यज्ञस्य यज्ञार्थप्रथमो यज्ञिति चशुधी एव तद्यज्ञस्य वर्तविधाति।

2030. शिस्ता तु दृष्टिः स्याद। पु. मी. द. X. 8. 6. श्रावर एते विद्यमाने यज्ञार्थमप्रथितम्। न तत्र शर्ये वेदं पृथिवीतेऽपि। स्सत्यम् एव हि न स्याद। अथार्थस्तु तथाविदशेषमः यज्ञार्थमप्रथितम्। नाति कस्यं शिस्तिः मय्यान सम्बन्धिति। ... श्याद पुंसस्य यज्ञार्थमप्रथितम् देवस्य तत्र न विकल्पो भवति। श्याद गौतिमानसं गौतिमानसं न विचारते। श्रावरमभुजा विद्यानेषुयज्ञस्य शर्ये स्याद। श्रावरम। on I. 3. 3 p. 175. Vide also तार्किपन्नांदं हि विद्यानेषु भवति। श्रावर मी. द. VII. 3. 20 and VII. 3. 23.

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no way except that of allowing an option (vikalpa). But 'vikalpa' is liable to eight faults. Therefore, an effort has to be made to avoid option and accept as far as possible a paryudāsa or arthavāda, since by accepting an option, the authoritative statement in one case or the other has to be regarded as unauthoritative and not binding. Śabara and Tantravārtika provide that vikalpa should be resorted to only in case there is no other way. The P. M. S. lays down that vikalpa may be accepted when several things having the same object (or sense) are stated by several authoritative texts.

There is one more word that must be explained, viz. nityānuvāda. This word occurs in Āpastambadharmasūtra II. 6. 14. 13 (vide n. 1877 above). It occurs frequently in Jaimini (vide II. 4. 26, IV. I. 5, VI. 7. 30, VII. 4. 5, VIII. 1. 6, IX. 4. 36, X. 2. 38) and Śabara uses it oftener still. He explains that where the Vedic text apparently prohibits something when there is no possibility of what is prohibited as happening, there is nityānuvāda (as in 'the fire altar should not be piled on bare earth nor in the sky nor in heaven'). The Ṭuptikā states the same thing in a different form when it says that where a prohibition amounts to an arthavāda, that is nityānuvāda.

Vikalpas (options) are grouped under three heads viz. those indicated by logic or reasoning, (2) those due to express words and (3) those dependent on the will of the performer. An example of the first kind is the option about rice grains and barley grains (yavair vṛthibhir-vā yajeta). The 2nd may be exemplified from Manu III. 267, which says that the Manes derive satisfaction for a month when offerings are made of sesame or of rice or of barley or of māsa pulse or of water or of fruits and roots.

2031. एकादशत्तौ विकल्पमेव सहूचने काल्पितः स्थायिन्यमयः न. स. १२. ३, १०. The eight faults of allowing an option between two provisions are set out in n. स. १५१ and Prof. Edgerton's translation of स. स. p. paragraph 318 pp. 163-164, n. 212. The एकादशत्तौ (p. 42) discusses the विकल्पमेव, quotes the verse एकादशत्तौ and points out the eight dosas. The three words पूर्व्यस्त, प्रतिवेद्य and विकल्प occur in one sūtra viz. पूर्व्यस्त. १२. १५ ‘अपि सूक्तयोग्यविकल्पपूर्व्यस्तः: स्थायिन्यमयेद्विकल्पः स्वादत्’ (which is quoted in the शास्त्रभाष्य on सूक्त. न. १२. ३, २६). The भाष्यती remarks (on this sūtra) that these words are only a summary of the original sūtra which is ‘अपि व वाक्यवेद्यः स्थायिन्यमयेद्विकल्पः विकल्पमेव: स्वादति.’

2032. अविनाशी विकल्पिते नियत्य नियतादि: शाश्व on I. 2. 18; यथार्थसाधने नितिवेद्यं नितिवेद्यादि नियमति: सुप्रविक्षिताः on VII. 3, 21; on IX. 4. 36 (विकल्प नियतादि: शाश्व.) शाश्व explains: शिष्यमेतः सत्यमस्य वृत्ति.
Option depending on a man’s-will exemplified 1251

An option depending on the will of a person occurs in the Jābālopaniṣad 2333 (4) ‘after finishing the period of studenthood one should become a householder, after becoming a householder, one should become a forest hermit and after becoming a forest hermit one may become a wandering ascetic (sannyāsin or parivrād); or following another method one may become a wandering ascetic after finishing studenthood or after becoming an householder or after becoming a forest hermit.’ The latter part of this passage gives an option as to āśramas.’ This option is referred to by Gautama in the words ‘some sages allow an option as to āśramas to him (to brahmačārin).’ When Yāj. I. 14 provides that the Upanayana of a brahmana boy may be performed in the eighth year from conception or from birth there is an option depending on the will of the father.

Manu IV. 7 provides that a dviṣa should amass as much corn as would fill a granary (i.e. as would last for a year) or a Kumbhi (for six months) or as much as would suffice for three days or may not care to amass even for to-morrow. These are four options and then Manu IV. 8 provides that a dviṣa who is an householder may choose one of these four, but each succeeding one is superior in point of merit and otherworldly rewards.

A vikalpa may also be vyavasthita (restricted or limited to a certain set of circumstances) or avyavasthita (not restricted). The Āp. Dh. S. provides 2341 that one should offer bali with his hand in the aupaśāna fire or in the kitchen fire with the first six mantras. Haradatta remarks that ‘This is a limited option’ viz. in the aupaśāna fire bali should be cast every day by those who have kept up that fire and in the ordinary kitchen fire by

2333. ब्रह्मचार्य परिसमाय पुष्यं भोजेदु। युधी चूला वनी भोजेदु। रणवीर चूल महजत।
2341. ब्राह्मचारिणी भोजेदु। चूला चूल महजत। युधी चूला वनी भोजेदु। गगन चूल महजत।

The viśvarūpa (Ⅲ. 4. 18–20) is ब्रह्मचार्य III. 4. 18–20 is ब्रह्मचार्य III. 23. I ‘तर्यो तर्योऽस्य: ... ब्राह्मचारिणयोऽस्य:’ and the ब्रह्मचार्य mentions the views of जीवनिःसाधनम ब्राह्मचार्य on this ब्राह्मचार्य passage and the established conclusion is ‘विविधं वाध्यं वेदं’ III. 4. 20. गीतमायथवरी तत्त्वं ब्राह्मचार्य does not appear to have been known to the Brahmaśūtra while views similar to those propounded by it were known to Gautama. The Mīt. on Yāj. III. 56 refers to the Jābālopaniṣad as allowing an option ‘तथा यह विकल्पो जीवनिःसाधनम ब्राह्मचार्य ... ब्राह्मचारी। इति। ... एतेऽस्य संस्थपतिकल्पमपत्तकामां संबंधं क्षेत्रादिविज्ञानिकाः विकल्पं।’

2344. आयुष्यमेत्येकस्मा विनिघर्षणम् । गीतमायथवरी तत्त्वं ब्राह्मचारी। आय. व. 16. 2. 23. 16; 'भौतिकविज्ञानमें विकल्पाः। यथास्य विनिघर्षणां विकल्पः।' विकल्पः.
him whose wife is dead. Manu III. 82 prescribes that one
should offer śrāddhā everyday with food, water, milk etc. Here
there is vyavasthita-vikalpa i.e. first food, then in its absence
milk, fruits and roots, and in the absence of these water. When
Manu IV. 95 prescribes “Having performed the Upākarma rite
according to proper procedure on the Full Moon of Śrāvana or
of Bhādrapada a brāhmaṇa should diligently study the Vedas
for four months and a half.” Medhātithi says that this is a
‘vyavasthita-vikalpa’ viz. the Śānavedins should perform
upākarma on Bhādrapada Full Moon, while Rgvedins and
Yajurvedins on Śrāvana Full Moon. Vide the Mit. on Yāj.
I. 254 about the sapindana of a mother, where the Mit. introd-
uces order among conflicting texts. When Gaut. prescribes (III.
21) that a sannyāsin should completely shave the head or keep
only a top-knot, there is an option depending on the will of the
person. Gaut. II. 51-53, Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 11, Manu III. 1
prescribe brahma-caryā for Veda study for 48, 36, 24, 12, 3
years. Here there is an option depending on the capacity and wish of
the student. It should be noted that the eight faults about
accepting an option do not occur in a vyavasthita2035 vikalpa
nor do they apply where the option is dependent on the volition
of the performer nor where option is given by express texts.
Those eight faults apply only to an option indicated by
reasoning.

The Mimāṃsā-balāprakāśa (pp. 153-165) provides a long list
of the divisions and subdivisions of Vikalpa.

Śāstra is meant to give definite rules as stated by Patañjali2036
and therefore all Śāstrik works try to reduce options to the
minimum and assign to apparently conflicting passages
separate and definite provinces of application (Viśayavyavas-
thā). Sometimes, the options are so many that commentators
give up the task of assigning them different scopes e.g. the Mit.
on Yāj. III. 22, after quoting the conflicting passages on
impurity on birth and death, for kṣatriyas, vaisyās and śūdras

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2035. सर्वसिद्ध स्यास्थिकृतकाले पुरुषां अद्वी दोषा न सन्न। ...एवमेवकालविकल्पाय
पत्थरेण दोषा न सन्तति कर्याय शास्त्रमेव सत्तायाम्यपदायधामाधवात। ...एवमेव शास्त्रिकपर
विकल्पस्तो दोषा न सन्तति। ...तत्त्वायाम्यपद विकल्प पुष्टदेशस्तिमय सिद्धस्य। मी. वा. म.
pp. 161-162.

2036. न शास्त्रयुक्तकालिण शास्त्रेण सत्तायाम्यपदाय। शास्त्रोद्विगु नाम स्यास्थम। महाभाष्य
on वाक्रिक 4 (सत्त चातुर्दशस्य) on रा. VI. 1. 135; एवमेवचार्यविनीतकपविविद्व इति।
लेण देशिक समाचाराधिकृतानि स्यास्थायामदर्शितत्वसंगीति नाश्त्वस्य भद्दयन्ति। मी. वा.
on रा. III. 22.
from Parāśara, Śatātapa, Vasistha and Atri gives up the effort to bring order because it would be of no use as people do not accept the dicta of these in practice.

Two other words require some explanation. They are ‘ārādupekāraka’ and ‘sannipatyopakāraka’. In the 3rd chapter of the PMS the author deals with seṣa, its definition and explains how to determine what things are called seṣa and what are seṣin. Kumārila sets out five definitions of the word seṣa, discards four and accepts one, viz. ‘seṣa’ is that which serves the purpose of another. Śabara comments that what serves to help another is called seṣa and the other is called seṣin. Śabara adds a qualification viz. that is seṣa which is of very much help to another. Bādari holds that there are three groups of seṣa viz. dravya (materials for sacrifice such as rice-grains), guṇa (such as the reddish colour of the cow that is the price of the soma to be purchased), saṁskāra (purificatory acts such as the pounding of the grains in mortar and pestle which make the grains fit for turning them into purodāsa). Jaimini adds that rites (karmāṇi) like yāga, fruit or result (of yāga) are seṣa as regards the performer and he performer is seṣa with reference to the yāga. According to Bādari, dravya, guṇa, saṁskāra are always seṣa, while according to the established conclusion, yāga, reward and performer (yāga, phala and puruṣa) may be according to circumstances either seṣa or seṣin. After a long discussion the Tantravārttika sums up the discussion that dravya, guṇa, and saṁskāra are with reference to yāga invariably seṣa, though they may be seṣin with reference to their own constituent elements, while as regards phala, yāga and the performer they can be both seṣa and seṣin with reference to each other. For example, in the Dāsa-Pūrnāmā sacrifice there are various items, such as taking out handfuls of rice grains (for sacrifice), sprinkling water on them, pounding them; then certain acts are to be performed with reference to ājya (clarified butter) viz. purifying it with two blades of kuṇa grass, melting it, also bringing a branch, starting the cows towards the meadows &c. These auxiliaries are of two kinds, viz. (i) that are already accomplished, (ii) that are of the nature

2037. क्रेष्य: पराधेलंतृ। प. भी. अ० III. 1. 2। के: क्रेष्य: केन हेतुनाह क्रेष्य: कर्थै च विनिमित्तः। है। अवयवतैः च विनिमित्याय गारणात्तैः वशये च। लेभैः च बलचन्दवतात्रा। शमनः लेषभौ केलिकिर्कातैः गारणाभवववस्य। मपोषायलेभैः तदनावधिनाय चाहारस। अन्ये ललचा तदन विश्वताताशरभाद। उपकारोऽकर्षः लेभं वसिन्याशेष लक्षितं। तर्कव्यः, on III. 1. 2 p. 654.
of actions. The first comprehend substances, number &c.; those that are of the nature of acts are two-fold viz. sannipatyopakāraka and ārād- upakāraka. In the Paurṇamāsi rite there are such auxiliaries as Prayājas, the Āghāras, the Aṣyabhāgas. These are ārādupakāraka. Sannipatyopakārakas are also called sāmanvāyika, or āśrayikārmāni; they are such as the pounding of grains, prokṣaṇa etc. The Ārādupakāraka are rites prescribed without being meant to do something about substances and are directly the aṅgas of the principal rite. These do not give rise to any sanskrāra (embellishment or making fit) in the substance meant to be offered in sacrifice, are helpful in producing the paramāpūrva that yields the fruit of the whole rite. They produce a subordinate apūrva of their own. They are directly aṅgas of the principal rite and are distinguished from sannipatyopakārakas, which are sanskrāraka (bring about some embellishment or fitness). The Sannipatyopakārakas are more powerful than Ārādupakārakas and therefore the Tantra-vārttika states the proposition that where it is possible to hold an act in a rite to be sannipatyopakāraka or sāmanvāyika, it is not proper to regard it as ārādupakāraka. It is somewhat remarkable that Prof. Keith in his ‘Karmamānaśā’ (p. 88) inverts the meaning of these two words. The explanation of sannipatyopakāraka in ‘Prābhakara School’ (by M. M. Jha) (p. 181) also is rather obscure. The Ekādaśattattva (p. 97), while discussing the substitutes (pratīnīdhi) to be employed on Ekādaśī for ghee, for milk and honey (being milk-powder, curds and jaggery) quotes P. M. S. VI. 3, 18 ‘na devatāgniśabdamkrīyam- anyārthasahinyogat’, explains that in place of a prescribed kriyā like prayājas (that have an unseen or spiritual reward) there is to be no substitute, since what has an invisible result is ārādupakāraka, but in place of rice grains (that are the means of preparing puroqūsa) a substitute may be employed, since the rice grains are sannipatyopakārakas and have a seen purpose viz. preparing purodāsa. Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on

2038. अतः त्रिविधायत्वम्। आराधुकारकाणि सामवधायिकानि च। आराधुकारक- केश्रः सामवधायिकानि दर्पक्षी। तथा हि सामवधायिको। आराधुकारको भुज्जनेन पराशेषक- वाक्यं स्यात्। तस्यास्तार्थकम मन। शब्द on X. 4. 38. आराध्य means दुरार्थ acc to शब्द on X. 8. 16. तथा करोड़ुर्मयुधवैदङ्गिनि विद्ययानां कम्य संबिनयपकारकम्। यथा अस्तार्थका। शब्द on X. 4. 38. आराध्य means दुरार्थ acc to शब्द on X. 8. 16. तथा करोड़ुर्मयुधवैदङ्गिनि विद्ययानां कम्य संबिनयपकारकम्। यथा अस्तार्थका।

2039. न च सामवधायिकः सम्बर्त्ताराधुकारककल्पना धुता। तत्स्या on III. 4. 12 p. 902.
V. S. IV. I. 16 states that the performance of obligatory vedic rites (like Agnihotra) by a man who has to acquire knowledge of brahma is helpful for attaining it as an ārādupakāraka. 2040

Apart from the Veda and śruti the Pūrvaśāṅkṣerā relies upon or refers to loka or lokavat (usage of the ordinary people) for elucidation. For example, I, 2, 20, I, 2, 29, II, 1, 12 (Lokavat), IV, 1, 6 'tathā ca lokabhūtesu' meaning 'lokepi'), VI, 2, 16 (loke karmāṇi vedavat-tatodhipuruṣajānām), VI, 5, 34 (na bhaktitvād-eṣā hi loke), VI, 8, 26 (yāñcā-krayānam-avidyamāne lokavat), VII, 4, 11 (Lingahetutvād-aliṅge laukikam syat), VIII, 2, 22 (payo vā tat-pradhānātva-lokayata-dadanhā-tadarthatvāt) gives the illustration that in order to solidify milk a little of curds is enough; VIII, 4, 6, (na laukikānāṁ &c. where 'laukikānāṁ' means 'lokānāṁ'); X, 3, 44 (śabdārthācāpi lokavat), X, 3, 51, X, 6, 8, X, 7, 66 (Lokavat, Śabarā saying 'Yathā mātuyāṁ na payasā samaśniyāt'), XI, 1, 23, 26, 62. Śabarā himself uses the word 'Laukikanyāya' in bhāṣya on PMS III, 4, 13 (evam varṇyamāne laukikayāṇugataḥ sūtrartha varṇito bhaviṣyati' p. 926). 2041

Jaimini dealt with the eternal, self-existent and absolutely authoritative character of the Veda as regards Dharma in the first pāda of the first chapter and also dealt with the means of knowledge, the eternal character of the relation of words and senses. In the second pāda of the first adhyāya he pronounced that arthavādās which form a very large portion of the Veda were meant to laud the Vidhis with which they were connected and were not to be treated as useless. He also provided that mantras (that formed part of the veda) had a purpose to serve viz. that of recalling to the mind the meaning of the rites performed, that some mantras like 'cātvāri śrṅgā' 2041a (Rg. IV.

2040. श्रवेदास्मातः सविचार्य श्लोकार्थमेंगेः। न्यायार्थायेः श्रवेदः कर्मसह कर्मकार्यलेखने। एवम् द्विते। आर्यलक्ष्यकार्यसह:। ज्ञानसौंधले लोकः प्राप्त: प्राणाका मोक्षकारणमित्वपर्यं। न्यायार्थाय: IV. 1, 16.

2041. शब्द on VII, 4, 12 explains the nyāya श्लोकार्थमें: सविचार्य श्लोकार्थमेंगेः। न्यायार्थायेः न्यāयार्थायेः न्यायानां न्यायार्थानां न्यायानां। शब्द on VIII, 1, 11 employs it अविचार्यायेः श्लोकार्थमेंगेः। the sāntānātik on VIII, 3, 19 (p. 991) अविचार्यायेः न्यायार्थमेंगेः।

2041a. The objections about 'cātvāri śrṅgā' and the quotations are raised in P. M. S. I, 2, 31, which is a very long sūtra, and are answered in I, 2, 32-43, P. M. S. I, 2, 38 deals with the verse ब्रह्मभाष्यम्। This verse is explained in Nirukta XIII, 7, in अनुग्रहम् महालभण: by Śabarā, by Kumārila.

(Continued on next page)
58. 3) are laudatory of yāga, by means of a metaphor, that the sense of some words in the mantras like ‘Jarbhārī turpharitū (Rg. X. 106. 6) or ‘Indrah somasya kāṇukā’ (Rg. VIII. 77. 4) about which it is argued that no sense can be made out of them are really explicable with the help of Nirukta (etymology) and grammar, that some words like ‘Kikaṭa’, ‘Naicāśakha’, and ‘Pramaganda’, that are claimed to refer to a country, a city, a king and therefore are claimed to make the mantra (Rg. III. 53. 14) non-eternal, can be explained in a different way. In this way, no part of the Veda is anarthaka (without sense or useless) or non-eternal. The Mimāṃsakas are very keen on avoiding anarthakya of any Vedic words or sentences.

In the third pāda of the first chapter Jaimini deals with the authoritativeness of smṛtis, the usages of respectable and learned people (sadācāra), the Vedāṅgas &c.

It appears that before Jaimini composed his sūtra, smṛtis had come into prominence and the usages of the śīṣṭas had been recognised as one of the sources of Dharma. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, and 2042 others had declared that the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the usages of those who know the Vedas are the sources of Dharma. Therefore, the Śāntiparva (137.

(Continued from last page)

(in Tantravārttika p. 155-156), by Durga and Sāyaṇa. These differ a good deal (even Kumārila widely differs from Śabara). जमीरी तुर्फिरत्तु are epithets of the Aśvins and explained in Nirukta (XIII. 5), Kāṇukā (in Nirukta V. 10), Kikaṭa and other words in Nirukta VI. 32, Yāska says ‘Kikaṭa is a country in which non-Āryans resided, while Tantravārttika (p. 158) first explained it as meaning a country and affirmed that a country is eternal. Then Kumārila proposes that Kikaṭa means ‘close-fisted’, Pramaganda ‘usurious man’, ‘naicā-ākham’ means wealth of an impotent person. Śabara on P. M. S. I. 2. 41 (pp. 156–157) विद्यमानोपयथ: मागानासुधाविनिमांगपतत्त्वे मन्त्रसमन्वितप्रयाक्षेण धातुकोषे कपृष्ठपरम: यथा स्मृयये जमीरी तुर्फिरत्तु द्रव्यभावाविशेषविविधिभाषानां दिविवनानात्मान्तन तदस्त्वे। स्मृयये जमीरी तुर्फिरत्तु occur in Rg. X. 106.6; the words निययम... कपृष्ठपरम: again occur in शास्त्रभाषय on P. M. S. I. 3. 10. In सन्ध्यावांक p. 259 (on I. 3. 24) we find ‘कल्याण्यन्त् प्रक्ष्यायय निम्नलिङ्ग: हिन्दुस्तान: कपृष्ठपरम: यथैव यथैव भाष्यन्तः बवादिति:’ The निष्क्रिय 1. 15 has the words तदस्त्वे विद्यमानोपयथ: प्रक्ष्यायय: शास्त्रभाषय: Vide सन्ध्यावांक pp. 268–269 for other references to निष्क्रिय. On P. M. S. XI. 1. 24 Śabara quotes भाषाध्यात्मकत्वात् (निष्क्रिय 1. 1).

2042. बेड़ो धर्मसमुद तथ्यद्र च स्थलतिलोगः मी. I. 2: धर्मसमुद: मागः बेड़ाः। अभि. भ. १. 1. 2–३: तथैव यस्मात् बेड़ो धर्मसमुदायप्रक्ष्यायय: पुराणमः। मी. XI. 19, where हरकुलः explains तथैव श्रावः यथैव श्रावः लोकमयायाहुपवनमः विद्यमः II. 6 and वा. I. 7.
23, 135. 22 in Citrao ed.) mentions Dharmaśāstras and Amuśānas-anaparva (45, 17) quotes gāthās from Yama’s Dharmaśāstra. Therefore, Jaimini had to consider whether smṛtis and usages were authoritative in the matter of Dharma and, if so, to what extent. Even if smṛtis were held to be unauthoritative, the authoritativness of the Veda would not be affected; but the very first sūtra (of P. M. S.) postulated that the work would consider the question about the characteristics of Dharma and, therefore, smṛtis that were called Dharmaśāstra (Manu II. 10) were connected with the discussion about Dharma. Besides, from VI. 7. 6 it follows that Jaimini knew Dharmaśāstras as he provides that in a Viśvajīt the performer cannot make a śūdra a subject of gift simply because he serves a man of higher caste on account of the ordinances of Dharmaśāstra. Even in the Upaniṣads (as in Tai. Up. I.11) the teacher after the pupil had completed Veda study impresses upon the latter that whenever he would have a doubt about the rites enjoined or about proper conduct he should follow the conduct of brāhmaṇas in his country that act after proper consideration, that are devoted to their duties and are not driven to do anything by another, are not harsh of character, that are intent on doing their duties. This amounts to following ‘sadaśāra’ as a source of dharma. Jaimini employs the word ‘smṛti’ in the sense of works in several sūtras as in VI. 8. 23 (which contains the very words that the Ap. Gr. sūtra employs), IX. 2. 1, XII. 4. 43. Śabara mentions ‘smṛti’ and the word ‘smarati’ and ‘smaranti’ more than a dozen times.

The following passages may be noted. On P. M. S. I. 3. 2. Śabara says “pramāṇam smṛtih”; on P. M. S. I. 3. 3 he

2043. शुद्ध धर्माशास्त्रान्। पृ. मी. स। VI. 7. 6: विभशिष्येन सन्त्वन्ति। किं परिधारणं शृंगङ्गे ब्रजये। ... एवं पृष्ठे ब्रज।। शुद्धम् न केवल उपसागरः। कुतः। धर्माशास्त्रान् परीक्षायाः पद्धत्तातिर्भुवः। Vide मु. X. 123 for śūdra’s duty to serve higher varnas and śāstras (XI. 57-59).

2044. अध्यायाचारित्रश्चित्तिः नेवेदयं चतुर्वर्णम्। जातपुजुः। हिऊष्कोषौग्रीषाप्रवृत्ति। लीलाकोषोयेत्वा इति।’तत्साधिराये संसिद्धुनिवन्तं ज्ञातानां निर्ध्यानिविशिष्येन विविधम्। शास्त्र on I.3.2; िै. ध. स। I. 2. 1 is अद्वातारित्रश्चित्तिः नेवेदयं चतुर्वर्णम्। अपूर्व. ध. स। I. 6. 18. 16 and 23 are शुद्धमानसवस्त्रः। द्विविधानाद्रीकोषान्तः। Manu X. 89 forbids the sale of horses and other animals that are ekaśarpa, while Tai. S. II. 3. 12. 1 stating that Varuṇa seizes him who accepts the gift of a horse practically forbids it. The Rigveda highly praises donors of horses e.g. in X. 107. 2 उद्भविति तु विद्यापत्तिः अधुतं अधिवा। सत्ते शुद्धेन। On p. 226 of ‘Pūrvamāṁsā in its sources’ Sir, G. Jha translates "giving and accepting in gift and buying and selling of lions, horses &c." केवलितेश means ‘lion’ and also as an adjective ‘having a mane’ qualifying ‘horses’; vide H. of Dh, vol, III. p. 850 n. 1647 criticizing this translation.

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mentions three smṛti rules, two of which can be said to correspond with extant smṛtis; on PMS VI. I. 5, while dealing with the question whether lower animals (dogs &c.) have adhikāra for Vedic rites, Śabarā denies their adhikāra, since they do not study the Veda nor the smṛtiśāstras (as men do); on PMS VI. 2. 21–22 (when the question is whether the smārta rules that a teacher should be followed or obeyed and obeisance be made to him and whether one should get up and honour an old man apply to even children whose upanayana is not performed) Śabarā states that smṛti is equal to Veda (Vedatulyā hi smṛtiḥ, vaidikā eva padarthā smaryanta ityuktam). On VI. 8. 23 he quotes one quarter of a śloka as smṛti (smaranti-tesu kaṇeṣu daivāṇi-ītī). On VI. 7. 31 he says that smṛti speaks of gandharvas living for a thousand years. On VI. I. 20 Śabarā says a woman owns no wealth, if one follows smṛti, but is owner of property if śruti be followed. On IX. 2. 2 Śabarā says ‘naisa smṛtih pramaṇan, drśtamūla hyeṣā’; on X. 1.36 Śabarā says that from the usage of respectable people smṛti is inferred and from smṛti Śruti text is inferred; on X. I. 42 Śabarā says ‘Smṛti is stronger than usage’. On X. 3. 47 Śabarā says ‘there is a smṛti that one should not sell a horse’. In one place Śabarā employs the words ‘pramaṇayām smṛtau’ instead of ‘pramaṇe smṛtau’ as one would expect and the Tantrāvartika is at great pains to show that this lapse on the part of Śabarā may be somehow justified (pp. 183–184) on I. 3. 3. The Baudhāyana Dh. S. (1. 1. 19–26) sets out five practices peculiar to the countries of the South (Southern India) and five others peculiar to the North and says that if one belonging to the South follows any of the usages peculiar to the North and vice versa he would be guilty of sin. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 858 and note 1663 for the passage from Baudh. Dh. S. The objector says 2015 that smṛtis should be

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2015. धर्मस्य सत्त्ववृद्धिस्वलमाध्यमपेशकं स्यतः। अपि वा कडुरसमापत्ताप्रमाणमन्त्रां रूपाणि। I. 3. 1–2. The words कडुरसमापत्तां प्रमाणमन्त्रां रूपाणि are explained by the भाष्यकार as कडुरसमापत्ताप्रमाणमन्त्रां प्रमाणमन्त्रां रूपाणि। i.e. the people who perform Vedic rites and also observe the Smṛti prescriptions are the same; they would not do so unless they firmly believe that smṛti prescriptions are based on Vedic authority though it may not be possible in every case to point out Vedic passages expressly or impliedly referring to them. भाष्यकारने वा मन्त्र II. 6 clearly puts it, quoting from his own work called स्त्रितिकेस, the following verse: मन्त्रार्थार्थकरणः सूक्तं वेदविद्या परिहासः। ततुक्ः कडुरसमापत्ताप्रमाणमन्त्रां प्रमाणमन्त्रां रूपाणि। प्रति, the words underlined are taken from पूण्यस्मीं च. I. 3. 2. मन्त्रसूतिः (II.7) has ‘यः कक्षिकार्ययणिः’.
discarded, since smr̥tis were composed by men (i.e. they are pauruṣeya and not apauruṣeya, as the Veda is) and men are often deluded and forgetful. This is the main basis of the objector. To this the reply is that for prescriptions of the smr̥tis, there are passages in the Veda that suggest some of the smr̥ti rules e.g. that the Āṣṭākā śrāddhā was prevalent long before the smr̥tis is indicated by the Vedic mantra ‘yām janāḥ pratinandanti’. The usages about obeying the teacher, about providing cisters for travellers have a seen purpose, viz. the benefit of others. Even the Veda mentions ‘prapā (Rg. IX. 4.1 ‘dhanva-nniva prapā asi ‘meaning’ O Agni! thou art like a prapā in a desert’. The Tantravārttika is most exhaustive on this and the following sūtras, differs from the Bhāsyakāra in many places, finds fault with him and gives alternative matters as the subjects for discussion. He puts forward two theories about smr̥ti provisions for which it is impossible to suggest Vedic indications. He says (firstly) that Smr̥ti2047 prescriptions may be based on lost Vedic sākhās, or (2) they may be based on texts contained in the very parts of the Veda that are available at present. If any one asks ‘how is it that they are not found’, Kumārika gives the reply: the several branches of the Veda are scattered about (in many distant territories), men are negligent, and the texts are contained in different sections of the Veda; on account of these one cannot point out the texts that are the basis of the smr̥tis.

That many Vedic texts were lost or are unavailable now was the view even before the days of the Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 10), which states ‘rites were promulgated in the Brāhmaṇa texts, but the exact words (of the Brāhmaṇa texts) are lost and have to be inferred from the performance of the rites (or from procedure prescribed in Smr̥tis’).2048 There was danger in relying on the

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2047. लैट वर्ष धार्मिक प्रोत्साहन-बलका...। यद्यविधातामार्गातीतिः सर्वधीर्षातं श्रीमतापि गुणोऽर्जुनम्। नानायनं भवत्वा धन्वन्तरस्वयं विष्णूमि महाभारात्।। तत्ततः । I. 3. 1 p. 164, quoted by विधाता in his com. on यजुर्वेदं I. 7 p. 14 (without name).

2048. ब्राह्मणकोश विधाताप्रच्छस्य: पाठः भयं परायणान्वीयः। यद्य श्रीमतत्रोपक्रमितः प्रपूर्तिः तत्र शास्त्रामलि। आप. ध. स. I. 4. 12. 10-11.
theory that Smṛtis were based on Vedic texts that are lost (or disappeared), because that very argument might be urged by heterodox sects like the Baudhāyas. Therefore, Kumārila put forward the other theory viz. the basis of smṛtis are texts that are not found in the existing Vedic texts because the Vedic sākhās are scattered about (as said in the verse quoted above).

This whole subject about Smṛtis according to the views of the Mimāṃsākās has been dealt with at great length by the author in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 827–841. Therefore, only a few examples and conclusions may be mentioned here. Śabara himself proposes that PMS I. 3. 4 should form a separate Adhikarana by itself and puts forward an important maxim viz. where one can find out or ascribe a visible motive for an act one should not postulate an unseen Vedic text or a transcendental motive. The result of Śabara’s dealing with PMS I. 3. 3–4 is neatly put by the Śāstradipikā as follow; Smṛti rules that are opposed to Śruti rules and such smṛti provisions as can be shown to have a clear worldly motive are not authoritative or binding, while the rest of smṛti texts are authoritative. This doctrine is older than the Āp. Dh. S. (1. 4. 10. 12) which provides ‘where men act because they find pleasure in doing that act there Śāstra has no scope’. Kumārila does not agree with Śabara. He says that visible and invisible or spiritual motives are often inextricably mixed up. ‘Unhusking rice-grains’ has a visible purpose in order that they may be well boiled and the boiled rice may be offered in a sacrifice. In this act then there is a visible purpose and yet this act is prescribed by the Veda. In a trenchant, finely worded and very accommodating passage redolent of a cosmopolitan outlook and the desire to give even the devil his due, Kumārila examines (in pp. 166–168) all the known classes of Sanskrit works with regard to their usefulness.

2049. यदि तु मतीनकाशामुत्तम कल्पैत तत्ततासाः ब्रह्मविवेकीनानाथि तद्वारा प्रामाण्य प्रस्तुते। तत्वार्थः on I. 3. 1 p. 163.

2050. विरोधेऽल्लेखेऽस्यांतिसंसाधुमानम्। हेतुवर्षनात्। पु. भि। तृ 1. 3. 3–4. There is another reading in I. 3. 3 vis. अन्येतरयम्. Vide तत्वार्थः p. 193 quoted on p. 833 n. 1622 of vol. III. of H. of Dh.

2051. On I. 3. 2 Śabara says ‘ये दुर्भाग्यं तत् एव दाययात्सतं वैविवे क्षत्र्याधिकामम्।’ The तत्वार्थः on this says ‘उपवसात चैत्यं देवादिप्यातुमानत्। इद्य हि सर्वदेशस्य कल्पना के निलगमिका।’ (p. 186). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 837 n. 1628. It appears that Kumārila thought that Śabara stated his case as merely a counter blast and his own opinion is that a smṛti text which has a visible purpose may still be Vedamāla.
and relation to Veda and ordinary worldly experience. Only a
few sentences will be set out here and in the notes. Therefore, he
provides that all Smṛtis are authoritative according to the pur-
pose they serve. Those parts of Smṛtis that are concerned with
Dharma and Mokṣa have the Veda as their source, while what-
ever parts of Smṛtis are concerned with wealth (artha) and
worldly pleasures (kāma) are based on worldly practices. The
same rule applies to the hortatory passages of Itihāsa (the
Mahābhārata) and Purāṇas, both of which are often spoken of as
Smṛti. The episodes and tales in these two should be taken as
arthavādās. Then he refers to the descriptions of the divisions
of the earth and the vāṃśas (dynastic lists) (both of which are
among the subjects treated of in the Purāṇas) and sets out the
purposes they might serve. The six Vedāṅgas (grammar,
metrics, etymology, astronomy &c.) are useful as kratvartha and
purusārtha, and Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya (logic) have been estab-
lished (worked up) from worldly experience by means of pratyakṣa
(direct perception) and inference based upon the technique
evolved by a continuous and unbroken line of learned men;
that no single person would have been able to put together for
the first time such a large collection of arguments \(^{2052}\) (as in the
Mīmāṃsāsāstra). For the necessity of Nyāya (in the interpa-
lation of the Veda) he relies upon Manu XII. 105–106. Kumārila
is prepared to concede that philosophical systems in which are
postulated pradhāna and puruṣa (Sānkhya) or the supreme
Lord or atoms (Vaiśeṣika) should be deemed to explain the
creation and dissolution of the world, should be looked upon as
exhibiting perceived, minute and gross substances divided into
causes and effects due to the knowledge derived from mantras
and arthavādās. The purpose of these is to make known the
distinction of svarga and yāga as result and cause. The purpose
of the description of creation and dissolution is to show the

2052. सर्वश्रेष्ठ च यथा कमतित्वोक्पत्रकः (यक्षक?) सहरायणवानातपश्चाया
विभिन्नतयात भव्यतायोलाय वृक्करी। न चात्मकतादीनां दृश्यकालमायातादीनां च इत्यत्तर
नामपदिकल्पः। तत् मात्रावदैव इत्यत्तरं समाभाष्यं वेद्यसूचिं नियमाहितस्तिरनमेत्यत्तर
कल्पः। तत्तत्त्वाः पृ. 166 (00 पृ. मी. श्रृ 1. 3.2): मीमांसा हू तौकोदेव पराशारमानवमिदिन्दने
विशेषज्ञसंदर्शनात्मकत्वस्यत्तहस्त्व:। प्रभुति। न हि कथितन्व यथासारभावस्य कृतां
गत:। एतत्स्पात्वकविण्वयं चापचापती।। तत्तत्त्वाः पृ. 167 on I. 3. 2. M. M. Jha in his
translation of Tantravārttika (p. 121) translates 'mīmāṃsā is based on the
Veda, upon ordinary experience &c. But in the Ṣaana edition there are
no Sanskrit words corresponding to the words underlined. This passage
indicates that Kumārila firmly held that many authors had tried their hands
at composing sūtra works on Mīmāṃsā before the present P. M. S. emerged.
distinction between the power of luck and human effort. He goes even a step further and is prepared to admit that even heterodox hypotheses of Baudhāyas such as the theory that only Vijñāna (cognition) exists, that everything is in an eternal flux and that there is no (permanent) soul, which (theories) sprang from the arthavāda passages in the Upaniṣads, serve the purpose of inducing people to give up extreme attachment to sensual pleasures and are useful and authoritative in their own ways.

He sums up the distinction by stating that as regards those smṛtis (or portions of them) in which the fruit or result promised cannot possibly be experienced in this life, but where the result is promised as fructifying in the remote future (i.e. after death), an inference as to their being based on Veda may be drawn, but, as in the case of scorpion lore (i.e. incantations for curing the sting of a scorpion), works dealing with matters that can be seen are authoritative only because the result can be perceived in other men similarly stung.

The medieval Dharmāśāstra works take up this discussion about the distinction between smṛtis based upon the Veda and those on perceptible motives or purposes. For example, the Kalpataru (Brahma-cāri-kāṇḍa p. 30) and Aparārka (pp. 626–627) quote verses from Bhavisyapurāṇa (Brāhmaṇarva chap. 181, 22–31) that divide the contents of smṛtis in five categories and exemplify that division. The Sm. C. II. p. 24 quotes two of these and the Paribḥāṣāprakāṣa of Mitramisra (p. 19) quotes all of them. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 840 note 1634 for all the verses.

Kumārila (pp. 194–196 of Tantravārtika) holds that the passages quoted by Śabara on I. 3. 3 are not really opposed to Veda at all and that the proper subject for discussion under I. 3. 3–4 is the authoritativeness in matters of Dharma of the schools of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata, Pañcarātra and Śākyas.

2053. विज्ञानमात्रा-रण्वपृयय-वनस्पतिविद्यावादयाम-पृथ्वीविद्यायथावतूति, विज्ञानान्तिके राम निति विज्ञानार्थपवयस सर्वार्था प्रायस्यम्। सर्वां वाग प्रातिविद्यार्थीतथाभासिताय-भवानविभाषोऽनुष्ठात। सम्बंधिकं तत्र देवर्भवितवादान्ये धर्मावृद्धशास्त्रानि। पवयस्यमिति निवेदितर्मिति। तत्त्वाः। p. 168 on I. 3. 2.

2054. पाण्डुर्णीली च संप्रियानिधि रूपरूपावदमुविकानि-सत्सबविषय-पाण्डुर्णी-विषयविद्यावादसः विषयविद्यावादसः। अवभविषयविद्यावादान्ये भावावतीतार्थविद्याभासिताय। गम्यविद्यावतीतार्थविद्यावतीतार्थविद्यावतीतार्थविद्यावतीतार्थविद्यावती। यथा वाग प्रातिविद्यार्थी। सम्बंधितार्थविद्यार्थी। पवयस्यमिति तत्त्वावहसंतुतिषोदितथाभासितान्ये धर्मावृद्धशास्त्राणि। पवयस्यमिति। तत्त्वाः। p. 194.

Here the reading in the sutra would have to be अष्टेष्वार्थ्य. 
and he holds that all these are outside the pale of the three Vedas and are to be discarded as unauthoritative, although they contain a few matters such as ahimsa, truthfulness, self-control, charity and compassion, that agree with Sruti and smriti. It will have been seen from the above that Kumārila was aware of the emphasis placed by Buddhists on some moral values but he differed from them in many other matters, that he was ready to admit that Buddhist works had some value and he did not preach that they should be burnt or destroyed. Therefore, it appears that his attitude was far from being one of total hatred and persecution of the Buddhists, as alleged by Taranatha cited above on p. 1010 n. 1645.

Śabara explains that sūtras 5-7 of P. M. S. I. 3 are concerned with certain religious acts such as ācamana (sipping water) when one sneezes in the midst of a rite, the wearing of Yajnopavita (the sacred thread), the use of the right hand alone in all acts. These interfere with the sequence and quick performance of the subordinate items in a religious rite, says the objector. Śabara establishes that there is no substance in the objection. Kumārila feels that Śabara is not right as regards the three instances cited by him. He splits the three sūtras into two adhikaraṇas (topics for consideration); sūtras 5 and 6 deal (acc. to Kumārila) with the contention that those precepts of Buddha and other founders of unorthodox sects, such as the construction of monasteries and parks, the insistence on desirelessness (vairāgya), the continuous practice of meditation, ahimsa, truthfulness, restraint of senses, charity and kindness are such as are laid down also by the Veda, are not opposed to the ideas of sīṣṭas and cannot arouse the antipathy of those who know the Vedas and that therefore those parts of the unorthodox systems should be deemed to be authoritative. This contention is repelled by Kumārila with the remark that only 14 (four Vedas, 6 Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā and Dharmaśāstra) or 18 (adding four Upavedas) have been accepted by the Vedic sīṣṭas as authoritative in matters of Dharma and the works of Buddhas and other sects are not included therein. Kumārila gives a telling example viz. milk, though by itself pure and useful,

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2055. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841-844 for details of Śabara’s views on P.M.S. 1. 3. 5-7 and Kumārila’s criticism thereof.

becomes useless and unacceptable, when poured into a bag of dog-skin.

Kumārila holds that sūtra 7 of PMS I. 3 is an adhikarana by itself and is concerned with the authoritativeness of sadācāra (the customs and usages of śiṣṭas). His position as elaborated in the Tantavārttika is that those usages alone are authoritative that are not opposed to express Vedic texts, that are practised by śiṣṭas under the belief that they are right conduct (dharma) and for which no visible motive (such as pleasure or the satisfaction of desires or the acquisition of wealth) can be predicated. Śiṣṭas are only those that perform the religious rites and duties expressly enjoined by the Veda. The practices traditionally handed down from generation to generation that are observed by śiṣṭas (as defined above) with the conviction that they form part of Dharma must be regarded as Dharma and as leading to heaven. The Tantavārttika remarks that practices do not become authoritative merely by the fact that no visible motive or purpose can be postulated for them; but they become so only when they are observed by śiṣṭas as part of Dharma.2057 Many activities such as agriculture, service or trade, that are the means of securing wealth and pleasures and such actions as eating sumptuous food, drinking, sleeping on soft beds, possessing a charming house or garden, all of which are common to Āryas and Mlecchas are not deemed by any one to be part of Dharma and it does not follow that because a few actions of śiṣṭas are accepted as Dharma, all their actions are to be looked upon as Dharma. Kumārila quotes the advice that a man should follow the path by which his father, grand-father and other ancestors went, provided it is the path of the good, following which he will not come to harm.2058

Very intricate questions arise with regard to the relative force of śrutī (Veda), smṛti and sadācāra (usages observed by śiṣṭas as defined above and in Manu XII, 109). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 7 (laying down five sources of Dharma viz. śrutī, smṛti,
sadācāra, and two more) states the general rule that in case of conflict each preceding one is more powerful than each succeeding one. Manu (I. 12) states that, for those who desire to know Dharma, Śruti (Veda) is the highest authority. Therefore, in case of conflict between śruti and smṛti the former prevails. There are a few exceptions even to this clear rule which may be illustrated later on. But where two smṛtis are in conflict, the ordinary rule, following the Śoḍāśi-nyāya and the words of Gautama I. 5 (Tulyabalavirodhe vikalpaḥ), should be an option. Many works on Dharmasāstra must have been composed long before 500 B. C., since Gautama mentions Manu (in 21. 7) and ‘acāryaḥ’ (in 3. 35, 4. 18) and Ap. Dh. S. (I. 6. 19. 2–12) mentions no less than nine individual authors’ opinions on the single question as to whose food may be eaten. Manu (in III. 16) mentions three views held by four sages on the position of a brāhmaṇa who marries a sūdra wife or has a son or child from her. A striking example of a conflict between smṛtis is the rule of Manu (III. 13), Baudh. Dh. S. I. 8. 2, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 1–4, Vas. I. 25, Pār. Gr. I. 4 allowing anuloma marriages and permitting a brāhmaṇa to have a sūdra woman as a wife and the emphatic statement of Yāj. I. 56–57 that it does not agree with those that declare that persons of the three higher classes can take a sūdra woman as wife. Later writers of smṛtis and nibandhas should have said that on account of this conflict there is an option. But they do not say so. They struck upon various devices to wriggle out of such apparent contradictions. The first device was declared by Bṛhaspati (about 500 A. D.) that the Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position as it correctly represents the sense (the real view) of the Vedas and that a smṛti which is opposed to the teaching of Manu is not held in esteem. But this was not satisfactory and some other devices were resorted to. One was to insert passages in Manusmṛti itself and in other works opposing what had already been declared as the law. Two examples may be cited. As against Manu III. 13 (referred to immediately above) we find in the extant text (III. 14–19) verses very strongly condemning persons of the three

2059. बेधार्मोणिनिष्ठ्युतिवां भावान्यं न मुद्दतानि। मन्त्र्याध्यरीति यास्मृतिः सा न मास्सरं ब्रह्मयति १। by अरविन्दके प. 628 on या. II. 21 and by कुले on मनु I. 1. मन्त्र्याध्यरीति I. 7 (quoted above in note 2045) claims that whatever it says on dharma has all been declared in the Veda. The मन्त्र्याध्यरीति frequently echoes the very words of the Veda; e g. Manu I. 31 and Rg. X. 90. 12, Manu II. 2 and वाण्य. सं. 40. 2, Manu IX. 8 (about Jāyā) and Ait. Br 33. 1 (7th gāthā), Manu IX. 32 and Ait. Br. 33. 3 (4th gāthā).

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higher varṇas taking a sūdra woman as wife. Manu allowed the practice of niyoga (in IX. 59-62), but the extant Manusmṛti (IX. 64-68) condemns it in no measured terms. These contradictory statements were known to Brhaspati who expressly says that Manu permits niyoga and himself forbids it and assigns a reason viz. that in former ages (Kṛta and Tretā) people practised tāpas and were endowed with knowledge while in the Dvāpara and Kali ages men have lost the powers possessed by men of the past ages and therefore niyoga is forbidden. Yājñavalkya himself proposes (II. 21) that when two smṛtis are in conflict ‘reasoning based on the practices of elders was of greater force’. Nārada has a similar rule. Another device was to declare that the nature of Dharma differed in each of the four yugas and that in the kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali ages the Dharmas respectively promulgated by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara were to prevail. This also could not solve all difficulties, since medieval commentators and digests found that even what was allowed by Parāśara (such as permitting a brāhmaṇa to eat food at the house of such sūdras as his dāsa, cowherd, barber, family friend and a cultivator of his land for a half share of the crops, permission for a married woman to re-marry in certain circumstances), came to be disapproved of or condemned by people. Another expedient in cases of conflict among smṛtis was provided by Gobhila viz. where there is a conflict of (smṛti) passages, the opinion of the majority should prevail.

2060. उक्ती निपोनो मुनया निविष्ठः स्वच्छेत तु | युपकमाइश्वरियों काँउरवेष्णी | विवाहः q. by कुलक on मुन IX. 68; two more verses of Brhaspati cited by Kullaka are not quoted here.


2062. अर्थे इतनो धर्मस्वतां श्रवणे अर्थे कांतिस्वरूपा विवाहः | मुन I. 85. The same verse occurs in शास्तिवर्त 232. 27 (=cr. ed. 224. 26) and in पराशरस्वति (I. 22) (which reads तुलसिप्रसारस्त) ; कुते तु मातृश्यां धर्मस्वताः गोपतम: स्वातः। द्वारे शास्त्रविशेषे काठी पाराशर: स्वातः। पराशर I. 24 q. by स्वच्छेत् I. p. 11.

2063. तास-नापित-गोपाल-कुर्मिनिर्धार्यसिंहिशम:। एने स्वरे भोजयाया यक्षास्वामन निस्स्वातः। पराशरस्वति XI. 21. Compare यज्ञ I. 166 for about the same words and स्वातां नापितो गोपः; कुर्मः कुर्मिनिर्धार्यः। भोजयायां भोजयाया: पायाते स्वरेनयतः। वेचल q. by अयोरार्क on p. 243 on यज्ञ I. 168. न चेते मूर्तिः चौर्षेवे च परस्य मूर्तिः। पराशरस्वति XI. 30, on which यज्ञा भ. II. I. p. 53 remarks ‘अर्थे च कृष्णशास्त्रे यक्षास्वामप्राप्यः।’

2064. विनीयमे तथा वात्सायनाम् मानायनं तत्र युपसामस। गोभिरस्वति q. by महामासतिच p. 767.
As shown above smṛtis had been composed before 500 B.C. and they continued to be compiled till about 900 or 1000 A.D. i.e. for over 1500 years. Yāj. (I. 4-5) mentions 19 smṛtis including his own. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. I. pp. 132-135 for the enumeration of different numbers of smṛtis in different works. At least a hundred smṛtis if not more can be named. During the long period of over 1500 years vast changes in the religious and social ideas of the Indian people, in their customs and usages had occurred. Buddhism arose, flourished and disappeared from India, the caste system became rigid in the matter of food, marriage and social behaviour; Vedic rites, divinities worshipped and language underwent great transformations, animal sacrifices, though occasionally performed, had ceased to be looked upon as meritorious. The religious literature had therefore to be recast to suit new ideals, new worship and new patrons (viz. the common people who had ceased to follow ancient ritual and worship). Smṛtis reflected the changes in ideas, beliefs, worship and usages that occurred from time to time and naturally gave rise to great conflicts among themselves. At last it appears that the learned men of the 10th and following centuries of the Christian era hit upon the plan of providing that certain customs and practices, though formerly allowed and practised, were harmful in the Kali age. A theory was put forward that great sages came together at the beginning of the Kali age and declared that certain rites, customs and usages, though allowed in past ages, should be prohibited in the Kali age. The actions prohibited or to be avoided in the Kali age (about 55 in number and therefore called Kalivarṣya) have been set out and discussed at length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 926-967. It is clear from Medhātithi’s bhāṣya on Manu (IX. 112) that long before his time (9th century A.D.) there were writers who had condemned govadha (in Madhuparka &c.), nīyoga and the giving of a larger share to the eldest son and expressed the view that those practices were only allowed in bygone ages.

This subject of Kalivarṣya requires some serious consideration. Three of the Kalivarṣyas are the prohibition of nīyoga, of

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2065. एतानि लोकसुधारयो कोठिरवृं महालयमि। निर्विष्कारे कर्ममि धर्मशास्त्रविधेये। 
lines 39-40 from the appendix (pp. 1014-1015) to vol. III. (of H. of Dh.): 'समाजसुद्धारे-नितिविधा-साध्वपुरुष उपविद्य नातुः यथा! श्रेयोऽनुकृतं।' मेधाः. on महान IX. 112; 
यथा नितिविधां नै नातुः राज्यप्रयोगां च। तथा द्वारा विभाषणां तैव संप्रति विकसिते॥ q. by 
नितायकः या II. 117.
the offering of the anubandhyā cow (after avabhrtha) in Jyotisṭoma and of the allotment of the largest share (of ancestral wealth) to the eldest son. All these three were either enjoined or permitted by the Veda. From Rg. X. 40. 2 it follows that a sonless widow raised a son for the sake of the spiritual benefit of her husband’s soul by sexual intercourse with the husband’s brother.\footnote{2066} The Tai. S. (III. 1. 9. 4) has two contradictory passages viz. ‘Manu divided his wealth among his sons’ (without making any distinction among them) and ‘therefore they endow the eldest son with (the paternal) wealth’ (Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7). In this last case it may be argued that as two Vedic passages are in conflict there is an option. But from very early times there is a prohibition against allowing the whole ancestral wealth or a major portion of it to the eldest son. Āpastamba quotes both\footnote{2067} Vedic passages, holds that equal division among sons is the proper rule and remarks that allowing the eldest son to take the whole or a major portion of ancestral estate is prohibited by the Śāstras. Among actions forbidden in the Kali age but practised in Vedic times some striking ones (apart from the three already cited above) may be mentioned here: (1) being initiated for Sattras (which were sacrifices extending from 12 days to 12 years or even more and which could be performed by brāhmaṇas alone); Jaimini\footnote{2068} deals with them at some length in VI. 6. 16-32 and other places. It is remarkable that neither Śabara nor Kumārila says anything against Sattradīkṣa as prohibited in Kali. So it was not among generally recognized Kalivarjyas till at least the 8th century A. D. (2) killing of a cow or bull. There were several occasions on which this was

\footnote{2066} को पां शान्तानुष्ठानं संयोजनं न योक्ता कुष्ठेः सदार्थ आ। अः Rg. X. 40. 2. For the treatment of niyoga from ancient times, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 599-607. Some regard this verse as indicating re-marriage and not niyoga. But that does not appear to be correct. Manu (IX. 65) states that niyoga is nowhere mentioned among the mantras relating to marriage nor is the remarriage of a widow referred to in the procedure of marriage. But Gautama and some other sūtrakāras and even Yāj. (I. 68-69) prescribe in detail the procedure and conditions governing niyoga; all writers are entirely silent about the procedure of the re-marriage of widows. Therefore, it has to be said that Rg. X. 40. 2 was rightly held by ancient smṛtis as referring to the practice of niyoga.

\footnote{2067} ज्ञेयदीर्घचादनं इतयेको। ... तत्स्मृतसमालिखितम्। ... मनुः पूर्वेणो द्वारम् धर्मश्रविश्वस्यस्य बुध्यते। ... अद्वर्त्तकोऽन्तमेव च धर्मेन निष्क्रियसाधीनात्मक्ष्यहृतं। ... सत्येव हि पर्याटितः भविष्यते। ... अय य. स. II. 6. 14. 10-12, 14.

\footnote{2068} Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp, 1239-1246 for details about Sattras.
done in the Vedic age. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 939-940. As flesh-eating came to be looked down upon, cow-sacrifices became most abhorrent and medieval Kalivarjya texts only register a prohibition which had been acted upon for centuries before them. (3) The employment of cups of wine in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.\textsuperscript{2069} Jainini, Śabara and the Tup-ṭikā of Kumārila describe it and both Śabara and Kumārila refer to the offering of cups of wine in it. Therefore this rite must have become Kalivarjya after Kumārila’s day. (4) Offering an animal with the recital of Vedic mantras to the bridegroom, to a guest and in honour of pitr̥s. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 542-546 for Madhuparka in which a bull or a cow was offered according to the Ait. Br. and Vol. III. pp. 945-946 for this Kalivarjya. Manu (V. 41-44) allows the killing of animals in Madhuparka, in sacrifices and in rites for the pitr̥s (Manes) and gods and emphasizes that sacrificing an animal as laid down by the Veda is no hiṁsā but is ahiṁsā. Yāj. (I. 258-260) prescribes the periods of time for which pitr̥s are gratified by the offering of sacrificial food (such as rice or sesame), various kinds of fish and the flesh of several animals. The Mit. was\textsuperscript{2070} constrained to observe that, although Yāj. shows that sacrificial food (rice &c.), flesh and honey are offerings in Śrāddha for all varṇas, yet (in its day) the rule established by Pulastya should be followed viz. food fit for muni (i. e. rice) should be offered by brāhmaṇas, flesh by ksatriyas and vaisyaṇas and honey by śūdras.

According to the Pūrvamimāṁsā Veda is eternal, self-existent and of absolute authority; one fails to understand how sages could have authority at the beginning of the Kali-yuga to prohibit what the Veda enjoined or permitted. This seems to be a fiction invented to accommodate as Dharma the changes in people’s ideas and practices that had occurred. It would have been honest and straightforward if the writers on Dharmasastra had

\textsuperscript{2069} For reference to Sautrāmaṇi, vide above p. 1079 note 1750. Jai, III. 5. 14-15 and IV. 3. 29-31 deal with it. The Tai S. V. 6. 3-4, states ‘Agnim citvā saustrāmanyā yajeta’. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 1224-1228 for a description of this sacrifice, which is a combination of an ṭiti with animal sacrifice. The peculiarity of this rite is that, along with cups of milk, cups of wine are offered to Āśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra.

\textsuperscript{2070} अत्र पद्धति स्वयंभावसंस्कारादि वर्तणां समामन्येन आचार्योपायानि दिशतानि तथापि गृहस्योक्तः स्वयंभावसंस्कारादि। स्वयंभाव ब्राह्मणस्वयोक्तं मांसे क्षत्रियवैद्यस्य:। मधुपार्काण्ड शृद्धर्म स्वयं चाविरागि यत् ॥ इति। मित्या। on याज. I. 260-261.
said that changed circumstances required that the words of the Veda or of the old smṛtis should not be followed. And there is nothing novel or revolutionary in saying this. Both Manu and Yājñavalkya prescribe that one should not observe but give up, what was (once) deemed to be dharma, if it had become hateful to the people and if it would end in unhappiness and not lead to the attainment of heaven. Even the Mitāksara follows this precept of the two smṛtis and expressly says that unequal distribution (at partition) of ancestral wealth, though found in the Śāstras, should not be followed because people had come to hate it. It may be noted that the word used by Yājñ and others is ‘lokavidvīṣa’ or ‘lokavikruṣṭa’ (hated or reviled by the people) and not ‘śīṣṭa-vidvīṣa’, the idea being that even if orthodox learned paurūṇī insist that people must follow what the Veda and smṛtis declare to be Dharma, common people may give up practices condemned by them or hateful to them. This attitude recognizes the historical facts that practices change in the course of centuries and common people are entitled to ignore the dicta even of the Veda (much more of the smṛtis). To the question why should one not be allowed to marry one’s mother’s sister or

2071. परिप्रेयन्त्यकामी वि स्थातं धर्मन्विन्ति। धर्मं चाप्येवहुःकादके लोकविक्रुद्दच स। मान्। IV. 176; विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7 reads धर्मिकादात्सर्य श्राप विभिर्भक्ति। कर्मण सनसा बाधा वर्णान्य धमेन समाचरेत। अस्तर्ग्य लोकविक्र्द्ध धर्ममययाचरेन त। याज्ञ। I. 156। विडे विष्णुपुराण 71. 17-21 (परिप्रेयं) धर्मरिङ्गी व्याकरणी लोकविक्र्द्ध च धार्मिके । शुचिराभिनि। यु। 24. 12 has the verse कर्मण सनसा ... श्रापेषु मुल्लकालस्यं च धर्ममययाचरेषु। कुमार। I. 2. 54। 'विज्ञति विभाग: शाब्दकहलभापि लोकविक्र्द्धत्वावलित:।' निम्न। on ya. II. 117। on याज्ञ। I. 156 the मिति। says 'धर्म्यं विरिधितमविद्य लोकविक्र्द्धं लोकाविविष्ठतिः न समुद्भुतमभिमाधिकारिः नाचारेषु यहाःविद्विज्ञानादिविश्वस्याद्यनन्तरं न भवति।' विडे also मिति। on ya. III. 8, which says about the different days of impurity for sapindas of the 4th, 5th, 6th or 7th degree prescribed by a Smṛti that it should be discarded 'तद्भिन्नत्वादादर्पणम्। यद्यवचिरिति व्याख्या वहांकाव्यमाणयमहालक्षेत्रद्वादशयम्।' the स्युतिन्त। (I. p. 71) says ‘न समारायो न प्रविषयैत्यित किंतु लोकविक्र्द्ध श्रापः। धर्म्यं धर्ममययालोकविक्र्द्ध श्रापेषु।’ ‘तदन्त्यमययालोकविक्र्द्ध तदन्त्यमययालोकविक्र्द्ध।’ यज्ञ पुराण। सर्वोत्तमवत्। वायुमिल्लेयो लोकाविविष्ठः न लोकाविविष्ठः न लोकाविविष्ठः न लोकाविविष्ठः।’ विधिरः सर्वत्र (III. 4. 1-2) has ‘तस्मां (सोचान) दिक्षात श्रापः न बालग्नाया वा महाक्। महाक्षाः न अवस्थतः मातृयं हितविनामियमाना अद्वितियः करोद्यत।’ विष्णुपुराण (4. 8) and याज्ञ। I. 109 have the same provision as in शास्त्रपाठ। Medieval writers could not subscribe to this practice. Viśvarūpa says that an ox or goat is killed only if the guest desires it. कल्पनं (लिङ्गकारिका section p. 190) quotes both विष्णु and याज्ञः and remarks अऽृहं युद्धनित्याभिप्रयोगिध्वथा गोधानः कर्तनं हृदि वतीये तथापि कर्तित्वम् नास्रं धर्मं किं दु द्वायः। तत्काल विनिवृत्तम् यथाविनिवृत्तम्। विकल्पविविष्ठः न दु द्वाय यथायथ यथा। अस्तर्ग्यं श्रापेषु हृदि निविष्ठाय।"
mother's sister's daughter if a maternal uncle's daughter can be married, the Śrītānanda replies 'we do not say that she could not be married according to Śāstra, but she should not be married as people abhor such a marriage' and it quotes Yāj. I, 156 (by oversight it ascribes the verse to Manu). In modern times when any change or reform in religious or social practices is suggested, Pandits calling themselves Sanātani put forward the pleas that the proposed change or reform is opposed to the śāstras, that the controversy should be carried on according to the Mīmāṁsā rules, that all Smṛti and other dicta should be so construed as to lead to samanvayya (consistent arrangement of apparently discordant texts), that the historical approach leads nowhere and should not be resorted to. All these objections are here briefly dealt with. It has been shown how from Vedic times to the present day great changes have taken place in religious ideas, worship and practices, how smṛtis from Gau- tama, Āpastamba, Manu downwards espouse conflicting views so much so that as early as the Mahābhārata Vyāsa 2072 had to protest that 'rationalisation is unstable, Vedas are in conflict with each other, there is no single sage whose opinion is held to be authoritative (by all), the truth about Dharma is enveloped in a cave (i.e. it cannot be clearly discerned) and that therefore the path (to be followed) is the one followed by the great mass of people.' The Mīmāṁsā does not often lead to certain conclusions and it has already been seen how great Mīmāṁsā writers like Śābara, Kumārila, Prabhākara differ among themselves on numerous topics and it would be further illustrated later on how even great Mīmāṁsakas evolve highly conflicting conclusions in the interpretation of simple smṛti passages. Change is the one absolute in the long history of our religious and social ideas and what those who appeal to the historical approach mean is that the smṛtis were composed by human authors during a period of 1500 or 2000 years and were greatly influenced by the then prevailing religious and social atmosphere, that many of their dicta cannot be fully reconciled so as to form a consistent code of conduct, that they cannot be

2072. तत्कालमहेश्वरां श्रुत्येव विभिन्न तत्त्वो भूतिपर तत्त्वे स्मार्यत्। धर्मस्य तत्तं निरंतरं यथार्थां महारथां येव मनः स परमः॥ यथावतः, च च वर्णवेद पाणिनी, प्रमाण्य स्मार्यत्। But this verse does not occur in the Cii ed. of चष्टुप्पा चप 297, though several other questions and answers do occur. The words 'महारथ...परमः' may also mean the path to be followed is the one that some great man (or men) takes; महारथ in the sense of 'mass of people' is employed by Śaṅkara in भ. 2. 4. IV. 2. 7 in the words 'पद्धतिः यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा'.

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regarded as forever binding on all Hindus, that in the 20th
century our people are free to introduce or recognize such
changes as are required or have already taken place among the
people in the changed circumstances and that this course is
sanctioned even by Manu and Yājñavalkya and medieval emi-
nent authors and works on the Dharmaśāstra such as the
Mitāksāra and the Kalpataru. It is of course clear that changes
in practices and principles should not be made merely for the
sake of change or for the whims of some leader, but the gov-
erning principle of conscious change should be the feelings and
needs of common people, while retaining the foundations on
which society has been based for thousands of years.

It has further to be noted that the Mīmāṃsā rules were
concerned only with the interpretation of the Vedic passages on
sacrificial rites and matters relating thereto and had very little
to do with the practices of people unconnected with sacrifices
or religious rites. 2073 The Mīmāṃsāsūtra nowhere says that the
same rules should be applied to the interpretation of smṛtis.
On the contrary, the P. M. S. is very critical about smṛtis and
usages (vide P. M. S. I. 3.3-4 and 7). There are fundamental
differences between the Veda and the smṛtis. The Veda was
deemed to be self-existent, eternal and of absolute authority,
while smṛtis are pañcayeya (works of human authors), have only
a derived authority (as being presumed to be based on Vedic
passages most of which are not now available), their number is

2073. For an example, where Dharmaśāstra refused to allow the
application of Mīmāṃsā rules to vratas and utsavas vide above p. 133 n.
337. For examples of medieval digests and commentaries saying that
certain inconvenient smṛti texts referred to previous Kalpas and Yugas, vide
Sm. C. I. 24 and Par. M. I. 2 p. 83 about Hārīta speaking of Upanayana for
women (H. of Dh, Vol. II, p. 295); Par. M. I. part 2 p. 97 refers to Manu
III, 13 allowing the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śudra woman and III. 14
forbidding it and to Yāj. quoted above in note 2071 and remarks that this
conflict is to be resolved by saying that there is difference of opinion among
smṛtis on that point or that they refer to different yugas. Vide also above
p 89 n. 222 on the divergence about Yugādi Tithis. The V. M. (P. 99 of
my edition, Poona, 1926) states that the verse of Nārada which says ‘as to
those sons who are separated by their father himself by giving to each of
them less or more, it is their duty to abide by it since the father has power
over all’ is declared as referring to another Yuga. Vide also V. M.
pp. 242-243 about killing an ətātyayin brāhmaṇa अत: कलौ स्वभोधितःपूयात्तत्तरी
विगो न वच्यः। युवानसेवे तु वच्य एव । This conclusion is due to the verse in
कौमरसंग्रह 50 अतात्तत्त्तराय धर्मं सुखेन हिसदस्य। ... हमावः धर्मोऽव अतिषयं
वच्यानास्तु भयेयो नाफः।"
very large, they often differ so much from each other that even eminent authors and works like the Mitākṣara had sometimes to give up in despair the idea of bringing order out of the welter of smṛti passages and in their efforts at samanuṣṭa had to say that certain smṛtis refer to a former Kalpa or Yuga (i.e. to a society of several thousands or millions of years ago). One of the well-known maxims of the P.M.S. is the one called ‘Sarvasākhāpratyangāya’ (II. 4. 8–33). In the several recensions of the Veda and the Brāhmaṇas attached to the Vedic recensions the same rite is mentioned and is dilated upon with details some of which occur in one or more recensions but are absent from others. Jaimini and Śabara establish that all the Śākhās of the Veda and the Brāhmaṇas form one corpus, that such rites as Agniḥotra and Jyotistoma are one and the same in all recensions of the Veda, though the details may vary here and there, and this is the proper conclusion because the name (Jyotistoma and the like) is the same in all recensions, the promised reward of the rite is the same, the materials of the sacrifice and the devatā are the same and the codanās (the exhortatory sentences) are the same. This very maxim was extended to smṛtis from very early times. Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, the Mitākṣara, Aparārka and other commentators extend this to smṛtis and provide that where smṛtis are in conflict there is to be an option but that in other cases all the details are to be added up. But as an option was liable to eight faults the tendency developed that all smṛti passages on a topic were to be so interpreted as to give no rise to conflict or to allow no option by means of various devices.

2074. एवं वा संस्थाप्तधोऽन्तरक्षणालिङ्गितां। पू. मी. सं. II. 4. 9; शाश्वसः \(\text{सर्वत्रसागृहत्यं सर्वकामामयं वैकृत्यं कर्मं} \) on jy. II. 4. 9 pp. 635–636; the tattva. p. 635 remarks ‘एकत्रात्मिक शाखायां भाषामीलिकापि तदेष कर्मस्मिन्निर्मियाविश्वासनिवर्तितान्य ऽविदयेव।’ Compare Sarvaśākhāsāga on जोऽन्तरक्षणालिङ्गितासत्त्व. वे. सं. III. 3 1.

2075. Vide विभागितान्तरक्षणालिङ्गितां on या. I. 4–5 ‘न तत्वशास्त्रायोध्येनभेद्यत्वविपष्कितः’, न च तत्वशास्त्रो ग्राह्यः। अर्थात् अमीलिकापितां तत्वशास्त्रायोध्येन तत्वशास्त्रायोध्येन ग्राह्यानि’ vide नेत्रां on नेत्रां II. 29; ‘तत्त्वशास्त्रायोध्येन विभागितान्तरक्षणालिङ्गिताम्’ अविश्वासिन्यस्वतः ‘शास्त्रान्तरक्षणालिङ्गिता सर्वत्रसागृहत्यं कर्मस्मिन्निर्मियाविश्वासनिवर्तितान्य।’ विषयीं on विषयीं III. 325; vide aparān pp. 1053 q. on p. 89 n 211 of vol. IV. and also p. 1102, सत्त्वविज्. I. p. 5, सत्त्वविज्. pp. 11, 91, छठिज्ञप्त pp. 378–380, जितासागरसंस्कृतम् p. 523. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 72 and H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 89–90 and 453–455 for explanations and illustrations of this maxim. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 4–5 provides ‘तत्त्वशास्त्रायोध्येन भेद्यत्वविपष्कितः’ q. in I.L.R. 39 Bom, 373 at p. 379.
such as ‘Viṣaya-vyavasthā’, reference to another Kalpa or Yuga and so on. For example, even as regards the stock example of vikalpa (viz. taking or not taking the Śodaśin cup in Atirātra) the Mit. says that it is proper to assume that it should be taken if it is possible to do so, or it may be assumed that by taking the Śodaśin cup in Atirātra the attainment of starga is hastened &c.\textsuperscript{2076} The result of regarding all smṛtis as constituting one Śāstra was that many simple rites became in course of time overloaded with details, complicated and taxing to the performer. But sometimes it is necessary to apply this doctrine. For example, Yāj. I. 135 requires the snātaka not to look at the sun (nekṣṭārkam); this would mean that to look at the sun is prohibited at all times, but the dictum of Yāj. should be read along with Manu IV. 37 which forbids a person to look at the rising or setting sun or at the sun when eclipsed or as reflected in water or when it is at the meridian. So the rule will be as stated by Manu.

While on this subject of the authoritativeness of Smṛtis it would be useful to glance at what Jaimini and particularly Kumārila say about the Vedāṅgas. As regards Śikṣā (Phone- tics) Kumārila says that the account given in that work about the organs employed in pronunciation and the rules about Vedic accents have their use in the correct recitation of mantras. On the Kalpa-sūtras Jaimini\textsuperscript{2077} has a separate adhikarana (I. 3. 11–14). Śabara mentions by name the Māsaka, Hāstika and Kaṇḍinyaka Kalpasūtras and the Tantravārtika draws a distinction between kalpa (ritual of Śrāuta sacrifices) and Kalpa- sūtras, and refers by name to eight.

These sūtras (PMS I. 3. 11–14) have been interpreted by Kumārila in several different ways, firstly as referring to the authoritativeness of Kalpasūtras (as done by Śabara), secondly

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\textsuperscript{2076} न को गोहिंक्रणयायादास्विषुमययोगिनि निविद्धपरस्तिति वाचनं, यत्सत्तत्त्व सति सम्बन्धे श्राद्धायनि सुर्ये कल्याणिमयम्।

\textsuperscript{2077} केद द्वेष: कल्याणक्रम्य दुःखध्वनि प्रभु:। कल्याणाधिक वनावासम्यवर्तमानात्। सुर्ये हुयुक्तमम्ब्रयांसुर्ये कल्याणाधिक वन्यसेषमात्रेह। कल्याणाधिक प्रविष्णूवते। तथावर्तमानात्।
as referring to all the six Vedāngas and thirdly as referring to the so-called smṛtis of Buddha and others. That the Buddhist works claimed to be smṛtis is clear from the Manusmṛti\textsuperscript{2078} ‘the smṛtis that are beyond the pale of the Veda and whatever other false systems may exist, they are all fruitless as to the (soul’s) Hereafter (destiny after bodily death), since they are all based on tāmas (ignorance).’ Here some words will be said about the Vedāngas according to Kumārila. According to both Śabara and Kumārila, vyakaranā is dealt with in Jaimini I. 3. 24–29. In the Tantravārtika Kumārila launches an elaborate and telling (pūrvapakṣa) onslaught against Pāṇini himself, againist Kātyāyana (the author of the Vārtikas) and Patañjali (author of the Mahābhāṣya) in which some very interesting points are made but they have to be passed over for reasons of space. Kumārila says that the proper subject of grammar is to determine what words are correct or incorrect. It is interesting to note that in the \textit{prima facie} attack against grammar two Pūrvamāṁsā sūtras are said to offend against grammar.\textsuperscript{2079}

The Nirukta of Yāska, which is one of the six āṅgas of the Veda, is an extensive work and deals with the derivation of words, semantics, explanations of several hundred Vedic verses in whole or in part. Jaimini agrees with several conclusions of the Nirukta, which claims that without its help one cannot understand the meaning of the Veda, that it has a purpose of its own and is a complement of grammar, and it controverts at great length the view of Kautṣa\textsuperscript{2080} that Vedic mantras have no meaning

\textsuperscript{2078} या वेदांगाः स्मृतांय यात्रा काष्ट कुदयत्। सर्वोत्तमाः सिद्धाः पौर्णी ततोमूला
हि तत्। स्मृताः॥ सन्तप्तिः तत्।

\textsuperscript{2079} यथा पुर्वपक्ष सत्वादिूः। पू. मी. ६. VIII. 1. 18; here kṣay is employed in the sense of श्वासन sacrifice; यात्रात्सैति केवल। पू. मी. ६. IX. 3. 18. Here यात्रा stands for यात्राश्रयोः। On these the तत्तत्वा. (p. 259) remarks ‘तथा गीण्यायायधि-स्नायूयः च तदादितुष्ट इति गौर्णिकारान्याब्यवस्थाधुन्यायः। क्षयोः
स्नायूयः गौर्णिकार्यने प्रथुः।’ तथा यात्रात्सैति चेत-इति यात्राभवत्यायातिः बचायेयो तद्वपुर्वादिते नीतेऽविनास पदोऽरुपसः॥।’ ।

\textsuperscript{2080} अथापीतमस्तेन सन्तप्तिः सत्वादितुष्टैः अधिष्ठानाः। वैधानिक तथोपयोः स्नायूयः तत्तत्वा।...

(Continued on next page)
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The very first sentence of Śabara’s bhasya says the same thing. Jaimini further agrees with the Nirukta about the denotation of verbs and nouns. Śabara frequently quotes either the very words of the Nirukta or pointedly refers to them. Jaimini agrees with the Nirukta in the matter of the nature and functions of the Devatas in sacrifices.

2081. तोऽके येवेपदं पञ्चिष्ठानि पदाति सति सम्बेद तद्वर्धानेऽषुविवाह्ययमतायति।
...एवं वेदवाययात्मानविशिष्टपत्तयाति। जात्रबायक्ष, first sentence.

2082. Compare भाषानित्राज्ञानसंस्कृतिनामानानि नामानि। निष्क्रियां I. 1 with जै. II. 1. 1 'भाषायोऽक्षभासलाभस्य: किच्या भारीयेन श्रव्यमिक्षायते।'

2083. Vide for example, त्रयोऽकृत्रियाः occurring in निष्क्रियां III. 4 which cites it as a ṛk; त्रयोऽकृत्रियाः on जै. VI. 2.13, p. 1396 (एवं तत्त्वार्थंपरंपरात्मृतात्मृतयुक्तम् — उपक्रमेन्युपक्रमेयंयुक्तमाहिति उपक्रमानुसारयत्तत्त्वार्थिनिर्दिशेऽवत्तत्त्वार्थिनिर्दिशेऽवत्तत्त्वार्थिनिर्दिशेऽवत् यथा विवेकाभिन्यक्ष्ययमानि न च यथा पाकस्यनां हृदि, which quotes the words in निष्क्रियां I. 1); त्रयोऽकृत्रियाः on जै. X. 4. 23 p. 1927 (the words अतिभिविभिन्नमं विभिन्न: हरिन्येन्योऽकृत्रियाः that occur in निष्क्रियां VII. 5), त्रयोऽकृत्रियाः on जै. X. 4. 34 p. 1935 (स हार्ष 'सरसंस्काराः...युक्तममेति'), भवतः; which occur in निष्क्रियां II. 1 in the first sentence); त्रयोऽकृत्रियाः on जै. X. 8. 35. quotes the verse यथेष्ठ लिङ्ग: occurring in निष्क्रियां II. 4 and remarks that एव should be placed after ण्येष्ठ 'तथा विषयमेति लिङ्ग: ववितपेदे चेवमेति: निष्क्रियांमेति।

2084. Compare निष्क्रियां VII. 6-7 with जै. जै. IX. 1. 9 अथवा व्याख्यान्त्रयमणं स्पष्टं श्रव्यवेत्यति। त्रयोऽकृत्रियाः on this has several phrases like यथेष्ठ-विभिन्नमति: (त्रयोऽकृत्रियाः on p. 1654, निष्क्रियां VII. 7), which appear to be taken from the निष्क्रियां.
Kumārila makes a general remark that all the six āṅgas and the Dharmaśāstras are comprehended under Smṛti. 2085

It appears that Jaimini did not attach much importance to Smṛtis, since out of 915 (or 1000) Adhikāraṇas barely about a dozen are concerned in any way with smṛtis alone, viz. I. 3. 1–2, I. 3. 3–4, I. 3. 11–14, I. 3. 24–29, VI. 2. 21–22, VI. 2. 30, VI. 8. 23–24, VII. 1. 10, IX. 2. 1–2, XII. 4. 43. Śabara, however, refers to smṛtis in many more places such as on VI. I. 5 and 13, IX. 1. 6–9.

We are here concerned with the attitude of Jaimini and his early commentators like Śabara and Kumārila towards Smṛtis. The established conclusion arrived at by Jaimini (in I. 3. 2) is that in case of conflict with the Veda Smṛti is to be discarded, but if there be no conflict (of Smṛti with Veda), it may be inferred (that Smṛti is based on some Vedic text).

This amounts to saying that there is always a presumption that smṛtis are based on Veda, if their prescriptions are not directly in conflict with the Veda. Smṛtis prescribe the observance of Aśṭaka śrāddhas, the digging of tankes, following and obeying a teacher. These are authoritative because they do not conflict with any Vedic text of opposite import. The Smṛtis do claim that they are based on the Veda. Gautama says so (in XI. 19 in note 2042) and Manu states (II. 7) ‘whatever Dharma is proclaimed by Manu for anybody has all been (already) declared in the Veda, since Veda possesses all knowledge’.

In connection with smṛtis and usages an important question arises viz. if there is conflict between smṛtis and usages of śīstas, which is to be regarded as more authoritative. Kumārila holds that if the practice of good men is not opposed to what is taught in the Veda and Smṛti, such practices can be understood to be authoritative but if there is contradiction between what is taught by Veda and by Smṛti and by usages, then their authoritativeness would be opposed (i.e. would be lost) and further that 2086 smṛti is more authoritative because it is based directly

2085. स्त्रुतिर्लि लक्षणानां धर्मसूत्राणां चाबिनिस्तम्। तत्त्वाः। p. 285 on I. 3. 27.

2086. इति वाचनानांतरं दृष्टिमहें। तत्त्वातः स्त्रुतिः प्रत्येकं च प्रमाणम्। तत्त्वाः। p. 216 and again on p. 220 'उभयाः भ्रातिशृंगवशों न सूत्राग्राहपूर्वं समयं। समस्यापदाय श्रुति-सौपिनिस्यन्त। तथा भ्रातिशृंगवशों न सूत्राग्राहपूर्वं समयं। आचारानुसारं श्रुति-सौपिनिस्यन्त। ततः। तेन भ्रातिशृंगवशों तत: वाद्यान्यं सौपिनिस्यन्त।' प्रथम means ज्ञानं विन्यासो त्रा (as Manu and others were sages).
on the Veda, while in the case of usages, one has to infer that śiṣṭas must have based their conduct on some smṛti, which in its turn has to be deemed to be based on some Vedic text i.e. usage is removed from the Veda by one step further than Smṛtis and besides it is well-known that smṛtis are compositions by persons who were deeply versed in the Veda, while the origins of usages are vague and unascertainable.

Though this is the theoretical rule, supported by Dharmasāstra works such as Vas. I. 5, Mit. on Yāj. I. 7 and II. 117, Kullūka on Manu II. 10, one finds that usages opposed to smṛtis have been in vogue from ancient times (such as the usage of marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter that is condemned by Manu and authoritative smṛtis). The Vyavahāramayūkha (p. 98 of the text in B. G. S.) was constrained to observe that in the Purāṇas one often finds usages opposed to smṛtis. The courts have held that 'immemorial usage is transcendental law' and that this is the translation by Sir William Jones of 'ācārah paramo dharmaḥ' in Manu I. 108. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp 874–876 for two interpretations of this verse of Manu I. 108 in modern times. Manu in (II. 10) asserts that Veda and smṛti are in all matters not to be subjected to (hostile) reasoning, since Dharma shone forth from these two. Manu further provided that as regards matters not specifically provided for, whatever brāhmaṇas that have studied the Veda together with the supporting lores (viz. the six āṅgas, mīmāṃsā, Purāṇas &c.) and that make others realize what Śruti says are śiṣṭas and whatever they declare to be the Dharma in such unprovided cases is undoubtedly the Dharma.

It was declared by the Privy Council that 'under the Hindu system of law clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law.' From very ancient times customs and usages have been held to be authoritative. For example, Gautama XI. 20 says 'the usages of countries, castes and families are authoritative, provided they are not (directly) opposed to Vedic texts.' Manu I. 118 states that he has embodied in his Śāstra the long-standing customs and usages of countries, castes, families, heretical sects and guilds. In some matters

modern legislation in India allows to customs and usages over-riding authority.

In the examination of certain Kalivarjyas mentioned above, (p. 1268-1270) it has been shown how several actions prohibited in the Kalivarjya texts were practised in Vedic times or were enjoined by Vedic texts.

Kumārila points out that even brāhmaṇa women of Ahi-cchatrā and Mathurā drank liquor in his day, that northern brāhmaṇas engage in such transactions as the gift and sale of horses that have a mane, of mules, camels and animals that have two rows of teeth and eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends, that brāhmaṇas of the South enter into matrimony with the maternal uncle's daughter and take their meals while seated on a couch of wickerwork, that both (brāhmaṇas of the North and South) take cooked food (kept in pots) that remains after their friends or relatives have partaken of it or that has been touched by them (at the time of eating), that they chew tāmbūla of betel leaves, betelnut, catechu and lime made into a roll that has been touched (in a betel-seller's shop) and do not sip water at the end of the chewing, wear clothes cleaned by washermen and brought on the back of asses, that they do not avoid the contact of persons guilty of grave sins except of the murder of a brāhmaṇa; there are also an infinite number of obvious violations of the subtle dictates of Dharma laid down for each man, caste or family, that these (transgressions) are contrary to Śruti and Smṛti and have a visible purpose and that it is not possible to regard such adulterated practices as Dharma inculcated by sadācāra. The requisites of valid usages according to the Pūrva-Imāṃśa school are that they must be ancient, not opposed to the express texts of the Veda or of Smṛti, must be such as are deemed by śīṣṭas to be obligatory and must

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2088. For example, the Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) by section 5 provides that the parties to a marriage must not be within the degrees of prohibited relationship and must not be sāpindas of each other and yet adds 'unless the custom or usage governing each of them permits of a marriage between the two'.

be observed by them with the consciousness that they are so; they must not have a visible purpose and must not be immoral. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 853-855 for discussion on valid customs and usages.

The general rules laid down by Dharmaśāstra works about the binding character of customs and usages are in line with the rules of the Pūrvamimāṃsā. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 871-884. But deviation from Vedic texts and smṛtis gradually arose as noted above.

Even all actions done by great men cannot be called sadācāra, according to Kumārila, if they can be attributed to greed or some such base motive and should not be looked upon as Dharma. Gautama,2090 Āp. Dh. S. and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa remark that even great men were guilty of violations of Dharma and defiant excesses, that those great men incurred no sin (got over the effects of such violations) on account of their being endowed with eminent tapas (spiritual merit due to austerities) but that others of later ages following their examples and treading the same path would sink (into hell). Kumārila cites twelve such instances of lapses, explains them away or says they were due to wrath or other passions and were not intended by the authors (of those acts) as dharma and are not looked upon as śiṣṭācāra by modern men. The twelve instances are: Prajāpati who became enamoured of his own daughter (Uṣas, explains Kumārila), Indra is described as the jāra (paramour) of Ahalyā (night, according to Kumārila’s explanation); Vasiṣṭha through grief for the slaugther of his hundred sons by a demon contemplated suicide; Viśvāmitra who became officiating priest to Trisāṅkhu that had become a cāndāla through a curse; Nahuṣa who, when he occupied the position of Indra, made approaches to Śaci, wife of Indra and was transformed into an ajagara (huge reptile); Purūravas, when separated from Urvāśi, thought of dying (by hanging &c.); Krṣṇa-dvaipāyana who was naiṣṭhika (perpetual) brahmācārin raised sons on the widows of his uterine brother, Vicitravirya; Bhīṣma, though unmarried, performed Aśvamedha sacrifices; Dhrtrāśtra, though congenitally blind, performed

2090. इहै धर्मार्थिक्रियः साहसं च महताय। अतर्घौक्षयति। गी I. 3-4; इहै धर्मार्थिक्रियः साहसं च पुवःवाय। तेषां तेजोविशेषणं प्रयत्नायं न विषये। तद्विचयः मुखाः सीवस्यकर। आप. घ. च. II. 6. 13. 7-9; vide भासकर X. Pūrvarādhia 33. 30 धर्मार्थिक्रियों इत्यं देवश्रवणं च साहसं। तेजीयां न दीपायं वहो। सव्यस्यं यथा। That by prāṇāyāma and other practices the impurities of the senses and mind are cleared away is stated by Manu VI. 71.
sacrifices which blind men are not authorised to do (compare Jai. VI. 1. 42); five Pāṇḍavas marrying one Draupadi; Yudhiṣṭhira who prevaricated and thereby caused the death of Drona, his brāhmaṇa guru; Krṣṇa and Arjuna are described in the Mahābhārata as drunk with wine ('ubhau madhvāsavyākṣibau drṣṭau me Keśavārjunau' in Udyogaparva 59. 5) and married their maternal uncle's daughters; Rāma performed Āśvamedha by associating a golden image of Sītā with him.

Kumārila displays great ingenuity in explaining away most of these transgressions by plausible and specious arguments, by relying on the great tapas in some cases (such as about Viśvāmitra) and in some cases by downright denial (as in the case of Subhadrā being the sister of Krṣṇa). 2091 Those interested may refer for all these instances and their explanations by Kumārila to H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 845–848.

One interesting adhikarana is the Holākādhikaraṇa (Jai. I. 3. 15–23). It is said that Holākā should be observed by the easterners, Ārniabuka by Southerners, Udvrṣabhayajña by northerners. The established conclusion is that such observances are meant for all (and not merely for persons of the East or South &c.), if they are fit to be done by 2092 easterners or southerners (there is no reason why these should not be observances fit for all). The general rule about Vedic vidhis that is that they are applicable to all Āryas; no cogent reason exists why a restricted Vedic text should be inferred in the case of the above observances. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 851–853 for detailed explanation of this maxim and above pp. 237 ff. The Dayabhāga (II. 40 and VI. 22–23) refers to this maxim in connection with a double share to be allotted to the acquirer and with reference to a person acquiring property without detriment to the ancestral estate and explains the purpose of the Holākādhikaraṇa.

The Holākādhikaraṇanyāya is frequently mentioned by writers on Dharmaśāstra. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 53 quotes the

2091. The अविद्रष्टव expresses says about सुभ्रत दुहिता वुधवेशर्या वशवेशर्य ज सवा। आश्रय 219, 18 (cr. ed. chap 211. 18). The नीमासाक्षीर्य of समवेश states 'एवमावुधवेर्य नातुलकुट्यकायः सुभ्रताय वशवेशर्य सातस्यार्यायत्ववस्तीताम्। (p. 48, Chowkhamba S. S. 1924). This is a sample of what to expect from some orthodox Sanskrit writers, when hard pressed by facts contrary to their pet theories or views.

2092. त्रायोऽक्षाय याज्ञिकायः —अपि श्र विद्रष्टव-इति (से. I. 3. 16)। अस्त कार्येभ सति सर्वधर्मात्याः। विधिशास्त्र on या. I. 53.
siddhāntasūtra ‘api va sarvadharmaḥ syāt tannyāyatyād vidhānasya’ (Jai. I. 3. 16) and adds that it must be regarded as ‘Sarvadharma’ (as applicable to all) if it is recommended as something to be observed by some people. There is a difference of opinion between medieval writers on Dharmaśāstra as to the exact import of this adhikaraṇa. The Dāyabhāga says that the Śrutī to be inferred from the practice of Holākā by easterners is simply the general one (sāmānya-śrutī) that Holāka rites should be observed. On the other hand Govindānanda in his Com. on the Prāyaścitta-viveka of Śūlapāṇi says that the Holākādhikaraṇa leads to this only that the Śrutī to be inferred from this practice is not in the form ‘the easterners should perform Holākā’ but it is in a general form viz. ‘the usage of a country should be observed by those in the country’.

2093. तत्त्त्वाद्वृत्तांवाभासं शृंगतिविश्वासः या शृंगतिवर्ण कल्पनीयं तत्वव तद्यवण्य-प्रवाहारम् शृंगतिवर्ण चौपान्तोरं तत्त्वापिककल्पनेति होताकालिकेन्द्रपत्याम्:। वायुभाग II. 42: मात्येषान्तकां कर्त्तव्यं किषोधश्रुतं कल्पति किं दू स्वेच्छस्म कर्त्तव्यम् क्रिटि समावयत
ए, अन्तः क्षेत्रादिक सत्य्यतरकल्पनान्तरं स्थापिति होताकालिकेण्याण्।
तत्त्वापिकेन्द्रे उष्ण साप्तिविशेष p. 142 (Jiv. ed.).
CHAPTER XXX

On Mimāṃsā principles and rules of interpretation in relation to Dharmasastra

The Pūrvamimāṃsā evolved a method of its own and a set of principles for the interpretation of Vedic texts. It is now time to set down and explain some of these principles and rules and point out how they have been employed by Dharmasastra writers for solving their own difficulties.

The Mimāṃsā principles and rules of interpretation fall into several groups. There are rules that are concerned only with the details of Vedic sacrifices and their inter-relations. The most important rule in this field is this that only Vidhis properly so called have absolute authority and binding force, while what are called arthavādās have authority in so far only as they form one syntactical whole with the vidhis and as they are meant to praise the vidhis. (P. M. S. I. 2. 7). Vidhis and Arthavādās are not discussed consecutively, but they are scattered over the several chapters of the P. M. S. For example, arthavādās are first dealt with in I. 2. 1–18 (the arthavādādhi-karaṇa), but in many other places there is a discussion about arthavādās as in III. 4. 1–9, III. 4. 10, III. 4. 11, IV. 3. 1–3, VI. 7. 26–30, X. 8. 5, X. 8. 7 and 8.

It should not be forgotten that the Mimāṃsā is not concerned with legislation by the king or a sovereign popular assembly. It promises to convey correct knowledge of Dharma (meaning religious rites and matters connected therewith) and the means of arriving at that knowledge is the Veda itself and the main purpose of the Mimāṃsā is to regulate the procedure (iti kartārvyatā), the various auxiliary and principal matters in Vedic sacrifices. 2994

There is a great deal of difference between the interpretation of statutes and the Mimāṃsā rules of interpretation. In the

2994. धर्म भीष्माद्य तृतीय मार्गम्। इतिकार्यतायां भीमांसां पूर्वविशेषत।

q. by दुर्गसिद्धार्थी on दुर्गसिद्धार्थी (p.36), अधिकरणकौशली on कौशली p.3, तत्त्वस्थर्थः।
The word iti kartārvyatā occurs in P. M. S. itself (III. 3. 11 असातुः प्रकरण-विशिष्टार्थातिर्यकताः). On the preceding sutra (पूर्वविशेषायां पूर्वविशेषायां) शाश्व remarks कित दुर्गसिद्धार्थी and on P. M. S. XI. 2. 8 (अज्ञानि तु विधानला

| भास्माआन्यविशेषत्वस्त्वाद्यक्ष्यिकवात्मकत्वातः।) शाश्व explains कित दुर्गसिद्धार्थी.
first place, statutes are man-made, they express the will of the
enacting authority, have mostly secular purposes, may be
amended or even repealed and have to be expounded according
to the intent of those that made them. But the Mīmāṃsā is
concerned with the Veda that is deemed eternal and self-existent
(and not man-made), that deals with religious matters, cannot
be amended or repealed and is to be expounded according to
the intent of the Vedic words. Therefore, though some rules of the
interpretation of Vedic texts evolved by the Pūrvamīmāṃsā are
identical with or resemble the rules of the interpretation of
statutes developed in such works as Maxwell's on 'interpretation
of statutes', the author will not enter into any detailed treat-
ment showing the parallelisms between Mīmāṃsā rules and
Maxwell's rules. This task was attempted over fifty years ago
by Mr. Kishorilal Sarkar in his Tagore Law Lectures published
in 1909. It would appear ungracious on the part of the present
author to offer criticisms against a predecessor in the same field
who wrote more than half a century ago when Mīmāṃsā studies
by modern educated Indians were in their infancy. But the
author cannot help stating that Mr. Sarkar was obsesed by the
notion that he must show somehow or other that Jaimini's rules
of interpretation were not inferior to those of Maxwell's and
agreed closely with him. For this purpose he relies often on
far-fetched analogies and employs obscure explanations. In
several cases it appears that he had not been able to grasp
correctly what Jaimini and Śabara meant. 2075

In this work the author is concerned only with the question
of the influence on Dharmāstra of Pūrvamīmāṃsā doctrines
and rules of interpretation. He has already shown how many
of the doctrines and technical expressions of the Mīmāṃsā have
dominated Dharmāstra. He would now turn to the rules of
interpretation.

The first rule is that no part of the Veda (not even a word)
can be treated as anarthaka (meaningless or purposeless). It is
therefore that a very large part of the Veda is treated as artha-
vādās intended to praise vidhis. This has been stated above
(p. 1243). The result of the vital importance attached to vidhis

2095. Vide his explanation of the words 'Vedam kṛtvā vedim karoti'
in pp. 241-242 of his work and the remarks of the present author in H. of
Dh. Vol. III, pp. 841-42 and his explanation of 'arthakarma' and 'prati-
pattikarma' as 'essential act' and 'non-essential act' respectively (pp.
186-187) and the explanations of these given above on pp. 1231-32,
in the PMS and of the assignment of a very subordinate role to arthavādās (as merely intended to praise) and to mantras (as merely ‘abhidhāyaka’) has resulted in this that a small portion of the Brāhmaṇas has been held to be of supreme authority, while a large part of the Brāhmaṇas and of Samhitās containing mantras has become of secondary importance or of little importance.

The Mimāṁsā rules of interpretation fall into different classes from different standpoints. Some rules are general and some are special. Some rules have to do with the proper procedure to be followed when several texts laying down matters relating to the same subject are in conflict by means of the application of the technical words śruti, śāṅkhyā, vākya, prakarana, sthāna and samākhya (III. 3. 14) and there are rules about adhikāra, atidēśa, āha, bādha, tantra and prasanga.

Some examples of general rules may first be cited. That vidhis alone have special obligatory authority and that arthavādās are authoritative only in so far as they form one syntactical whole with the vidhis is a general rule. The rules distinguishing between vidhis (properly so called), nīyama vidhis and parisaṅkhya are general.

The Mimāṁsā rule is that where there is a doubt about the exact meaning of a part of a passage, it may be determined by relying on the remaining parts of the passage. Vide above for the example ‘he puts down anointed pebbles’ &c. (p.1240). The Mimāṁsā is very much against assuming conflict among Vedic texts and therefore allows an option only if there is no other way out. Vide remarks on vikalpa above (p. 1250). Another general rule is that the singular includes the plural. In the Mimāṁsā it is called ‘Grahākatvanyāya (P. M. S. III. 1.13-15). In the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice a number of cups (grahas) filled with Soma are offered to deities and drunk at the three saranas (pressings of Soma) and Śruti states ‘he wipes or cleanses the cup with the strainer made of white wool’ (daśāpavītrena graham sam-mārṣṭi) and in the Dārśapūrṇamāsā it is said ‘he carries a firebrand round the purodāsa (cake)’. The question is

2096. सन्धिरेष्यव वाक्योपयात्। पृ. मि. चु. I. 4. 24. The विनयचक्र is ‘अन्त: शालकर उपद्धाति तेजः व पुरस्म’ (सै. भा. III. 2. 5. 12). Compare Maxwell p. 29 ‘the words of each clause should be so interpreted as to bring them in harmony with other provisions.’
whether a single cup ('graham' is the word used) is to be cleansed or a single puroḍāsa is to have a firebrand carried round it or whether all cups called grahas or puroḍāsas are to be treated as stated. The established conclusion is that all grahas are to be cleansed and all puroḍāsas have the firebrand carried round them. The singular number is not intended to be insisted on. 2097 From this a further general rule is derived by Kumārila and others that an attribute of the subject (anuvādy or uddisya) about which something is predicated (vidheyā) is not intended and should not be insisted upon. This is frequently relied on in Dharmaśāstra works. Yāj. II. 121 states that the father and son have equal ownership in land, a corryody and wealth (gold and silver &c.) acquired by the grand-father. Here the word pitāmaha is not to be insisted upon and the same rule applies to land or wealth acquired by a great-grand-father, as the V. M. says. 2099 Similarly, when Nāradasmṛti says (16. 37) 'of brothers being undivided religious worship (or rites) are one, but if there is a partition then they may have separate religious worship'. Here the proper subject is the word 'undivided persons', and the word 'brothers' is used only as an attribute, which is not intended to be insisted on and the same rule applies to undivided grand-father, father, sons, uncles and nephews. Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 mentions this maxim. The same rule is applied in some cases to gender also i.e. a word importing males includes females also. For example, Yāj. II. 182 and Nārada (8. 40ff) lay down certain rules about a dāsa (male slave). The V. M. says that the masculine gender in these passages is not intended to be insisted upon, but the rules

2097. Vide Maxwell (10th ed., of 1953) p. 349 for the propositions that words importing masculine gender include females and that the singular includes the plural and vice versa.

2098. The Ṭupikā on III. 4. 22 remarks 'उद्विग्मान्य विवेषानविविधिते-मिति स्थितमेत्' and on X. 3. 39 'उद्विग्मान्य च संमेतम न विविधये प्रदुःखव.'

2099. The V. M. says 'स्वतंत्रत्वं पितामहपदमविक्षिप्तम्। अत्यथा प्रतिमात्र- द्वारा सट्टानामान्यवाभयोपयते। अनुवादविवेषानांवादां।' p. 90. अनुवाद means the same thing as उद्विग्मान् or उद्विग्म (the subject, of which something is to be predicated) 'अत्र अयोध्यानामान्यवाभयोपयतेन प्रकरणम्। अनुवादविवेषानां तद्विवेषानांविविधितम्।' ध. म. p. 132. मैत्रित्विधि on मनु II. 29 says 'न च मप्रप्ये लिङ्गसंरक्षणे विवेषान्विविधये प्राप्ते संदीर्घनिति सत्यप्रकरणवचने सत्यं ग्याति: संबुध्यते॥'. भोजकवः defines उद्विग्म as 'व्यवस्थ- योग: प्राध्यमिनियः विवेषानांवादात्। तद्विवेषानांवादविविधितम्। दुलभेकाकारः स्वप्नपिरायत्वादात्॥ वहत्यथे सदास्ततरं च शास्त्रो वक्तव्यपेक्षया। अनुसारार्थेव verses 109-110).
apply even to female slaves.\textsuperscript{2100} There are exceptions to these rules. The rule about \textit{grahas} does not apply to \textit{camasas} (P. M. S. III. 1. 16–17).\textsuperscript{2101} This rule that the qualification (\textit{viśeṣaṇa}) of the subject in a vidhi is not meant to be taken literally and emphasized is applied in many other cases. Three verses from the \textit{Kālikāpurāṇa} are quoted by Kalpataru (on vyavahāra pp. 210–211) and V. M. (pp. 45–46) about the performance of an ordeal in certain grave charges and this maxim is applied by the V. M. there in the words 'parādarūpam viśeṣaṇam-avivāskitam-abhiśāpasyānuvādyatvāt'; vide notes to V. M. pp. 83–84. But in 'paśūm-ālabheta', where there is a vidhi about 'yāga' it must be held that what is laid down is yāga as qualified by being made with a male animal and therefore only one paśu (and that paśu a male) is to be sacrificed.

Although the Veda employs the masculine gender (in svargakāmo yajeta, 'one desiring heaven should offer a sacrifice'), yet Jaimini establishes (in VI. 1. 6–16) that even women are included and have a right to offer a yāga.\textsuperscript{2102} Jaimini further provides that husband and wife should perform a religious right in co-operation (VI. 1. 17–21), but he provides that where the Śruti specifically provides for certain matters to be done by the \textit{yajamāṇa}\textsuperscript{2103} (the male performer) it is the male alone who can perform them as the wife is not equal to the husband in the knowledge of mantras and is ignorant and therefore she is restricted to the performance of those acts that are expressly enjoined for her such as looking at the clarified butter, observing \textit{brahmacarya} and the like (VI. 1. 24 'tasyā yāvad-uktam-āśirbrāhmacaryam-abulyatvāt'). The wife also 'performs bath and such

\textsuperscript{2100} अस्मिन् वक्तः यास्यायामात्पुरस्याभिप्रियताः ग्रहाम् सत्यीविदिशः। य. म. p. 210. Vide also यववहारपकाति (part of वीरमिजीदः) p. 322. As to 'पद्मादेव' छुर्द remarks on VI. 1. 9: 'येव तु पद्माल पापम यस्यविशेषाणां शुपिते। तत्र पद्मल पाठवें च सवर्ध्यां न द्राफ्यापावाम्।। यथा पद्माल यागसमन्त्रां नुम नुविभुक्तेऽच। स्त्रीप्रजाक्रियाविभिन्नविशिष्ठाय पाठवें। शुपिते। स पथाशुपितेऽवत्सः। उपाध्येयेऽवत्सः। चहितलवात्।' p. 1359.

\textsuperscript{2101} These two rules that the singular includes the plural and words importing the masculine gender shall be taken to include females are the same in section 13 of the Indian General Clauses Act X of 1897, subject to this that if there is anything repugnant in the subject or context the rule will not apply.

\textsuperscript{2102} तस्मान्त्वालालिखिती सती स्तुतिममणाक्षरयः द्रस्तः पारिश्चित्तीयमित्रे चेति। छुर्द on पु. मी. शू (VI. 1. 13).

\textsuperscript{2103} तस्मान्त्वस्मिन् स्तुतियमा नर्मस्मिन् कर्त्स्मिन्। आहार्य सिद्धिं पत्नया च। शूपितिका on VI. 1. 24 p. 1376,
acts as applying collyrium, sipping water (ācamana), observes silence till the morning or evening agnihotra is gone through. She has her waist girt up with a yoktra (a triple cord of muni ḍ grass) in Darśapūrṇamāsā and other sacrifices. She has also to look upon the clarified butter in the pot with a mantra (Tait. S.II.). 10. 3 ‘maṁnāṁ payosyasadhīnaṁ rasacṣi adadhenā tvā cakṣūṣā veṣe suprajāstvāya’ (‘thou art the milk of cows, the fluid of herbs, with an invincible eye I look on thee for securing good progeny’). The wife was to learn the mantras she had to repeat in sacrifices from her father or husband before the husband set up the sacred fires (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 1041 n). Gradually, the wife lost all importance in Vedic sacrifices and came to be a mere silent spectator of all the weary details that had to be gone through by the sacrificer and the priest.

In spite of the above restrictions on the wife’s powers about Vedic sacrifices many smṛti rules apply to women also, though the text employs the masculine gender. For example, Manu XI. 93 provides that a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaśisyā should not drink surū. This prohibition applies to wives of the members of the three varṇas according to the Mit. on Yāj. III, 256.

The P. M. S. holds that the gender and number of a word in a vidhitāya may in certain cases be intended and insisted on. For example, in PMS IV. I. 11–16 it is established that the Agni-ṣomīya animal to be sacrificed in Jyotisṭoma as prescribed in the words ‘yo dikṣito yad agnisomīyam paśum-ālabbhati’ (that the person who has undergone dikṣā and offers the animal to Agni and Soma) is only one and that the words in the āsvamedha ‘he offers kapīṇjalas to the season of spring’, the

2104. The Paddhati in the Com. on Kārṣṇa. Brā. IV. 13 remarks ‘उपवेष्टन-भवतिर्लक्ष्यं वसी किमभो न करोतिते संबंध:। तत्र सपुष्टतम्’। विविधतया यथानेव कुर्यां-विवर्धिताः। बद्रायनस्य दशमास्तु। मतिविंदुः हि तत्त्वम्।’ शास्त्रीयसिद्धान्तम् VI. 1. 24.

2105. वस्तस्ताय वर्णितात्माहं वर्णां च वर्णिव्याकरणां &c.; this occurs in Bāj. सं. 24. 20 and Bāj. सं. III. 14. 1. This is कवित्वादयुग्म: embodied in पृ. भ. प. XI. 1. 31–46. The plural Kapīṇjal’s is satisfied by offering three as the lowest number. To offer a thousand would not yield more abundant reward, since only a single provision is made and not several alternate numbers. The शास्त्रीयसिद्धान्त remarks ‘यो हि चैवयाद्भरवम् यथ शहसं त्वांसोभयो विषयभस्यायानं-विविधोत्त्वत्। निजेवत्तरायानं च विषयो। न हिर्यद्राह्विद्वतरायानं शरात्रायानं वित्तायानं वित्तायानं।’. It is referred to in परा. म. I. 2. 281 ‘प्राणयानसिद्धिः भवन्त्युत्तराय वर्णिव्याख्या व्रजमे पर्येषांसतत्त्वं भिन्न: प्राणयाये: हुष्ठति हर्षये:।’. Compare also P.M.S. IV. 1. 11 ff.; ‘तत्त्व च निःस्माः।’ पृ. भ. प. भ. IV. 1. 17. The passage is तत्त्व 1. 2. 5 ‘वस्तस्ताय वर्णितात्माहम् वर्णितानां न भीत च साध्यात्मानां झरक्षयभायो’ च रूपायानं च य साध्यात्मानं च। and then is तत्त्व 1. 2. 6 ‘नातिप्रयत्नो भयान्ति। हुष्ठयये व न भेदे हुष्ठयो भवान्ति।’
kapiñjal birds to be offered are only three (and not one or two
nor more than three). Similarly, the gender in the passage ‘he
sacrifices in the morning in spring an animal with dark coloured
neck to Agni, in summer in the noon an animal of different
colours, in the autumn in the afternoon a white animal to
Bṛhaspati’, it is a female animal that is offered because immedi-
ately thereafter the words ‘they become pregnant’ occur. Dharmā-
sāstra works often say that the masculine gender used in many
texts excludes women. For example, the Agnipurāṇa\textsuperscript{2106} (175.
59–61), when dealing with the rules to be observed in all vratas
in general, provides that the person undergoing vṛata should
take a bath, should worship the golden images of the deities of
the vṛata, perform japa and homa and at the end of the vṛata
make gifts according to his ability and should feed 24, 12, 5 or
only three vipras. The N. S. quotes this from Pṛthvīcandra and
observes that as the masculine gender ‘viprāḥ’ is employed only
males of the brāhmaṇa class are to be fed and not women.

As against this, when Hemā dri\textsuperscript{2107} quoting Padma says ‘If
a woman is pregnant, freshly delivered, or is ill and becomes
impure, she should get her vṛata performed through another and
when she becomes pure she may observe it personally,’ the N. S.
remarks that this applies to men also when they are impure,
since the gender here is not intended to be emphasized.

There are Mīmāṃsā rules about the interpretation of words
and also about sentences. First a few of the rules about words
may be illustrated. (1) Śābara in the very first sentence of his
bhāṣya propounds the principle that as far as possible the words
in the sūtras of Jaimini and in the Veda are to be understood in
the sense in which they are understood in popular usage and not
in a secondary or technical sense. The same rule is propounded
by Jaimini in III. 2.1–2 in connection with the meaning of
‘barhis’ in the mantra ‘I cut the barhis as an abode for gods’. Here
the conclusion is that barhis is to be taken in the primary
sense of ‘handful of kuṣa grass’ and not in a secondary sense

\textsuperscript{2106} पुष्पाचायवमीतीपणेश्वरायें-स्नात्वा भवतति सप्तवितोषु भवमूँष्। पुष्पायाः सुखर्षणम्-
स्मात्वा। ब्रह्मार्जुने दण्डने च। सहस्रदृश्याः पञ्च वा चय एव च। विना भोजया यथाविषे तेनेषु वड़ापाव्येऽवधाकृत्तं। अत्र विना इत्य बुधिः प्रमिद्विडतातु सुमातिः एव भोजया। न तु भ्रमिः।
एवं सहस्रभोजस्तनानादात्। विना प्रभुवस्य व्रमणात्तरे विनायुपवात्। नि. सि. प. २४। It also
relies on what Śābara says on III. 3, 17 and 19.

\textsuperscript{2107} तथा हेमाद्री वदने। गाम्भीर वृक्काकाविष्ठ कुमारी वच्य रूपिणी। पद्यास्त्यम्
तद्भवणेन कर्तवेदु मद्यद्व मद्यौ। इति एंसोव्य विन्धोः। लिङ्गमाविकारित्। नि. सि. प. २८.
such as kāśa or other kind of grass. Śabara winds up with the words 'between the primary and secondary senses of a word it is proper to hold that the primary sense is to be taken for the business in hand'. Again, on I. 3. 30 Śabara says that the words are the same as in the Veda and popular use and the meanings are the same.

As regards the setting up of Vedic fires, the Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 and Āp. Sr. V. 3. 18 prescribe different seasons for men of the three varṇas and add that a 'rathakāra should set up Vedic fires in the rainy season'. The question arises whether the word 'rathakāra' in these passages means a person of that caste (i.e. whether it is to be taken in the popular sense) or whether it refers to any one of any varṇa who manufactures chariots (i.e. the etymological sense). The established conclusion is that the popular sense is to be taken and not the etymological (P. M. S. VI. 1. 44-50). In the case of the rathakāra the mantra for ādhāna (setting up of Vedic fires) is 'ṛbhinām tvā' (Tai. Br. I. 1. 4. 8). Though not belonging to one of the three higher varṇas, the rathakāra could repeat that mantra because the Śruti expressly authorized him to do so, but he was not entitled to upanayana. The P. M. S. (VI. 1. 50) held that the rathakāra (mentioned in the Tai. Br. and Āp. Sr.) was a caste called Saudhanvana which is neither śūdra nor one of the three higher varṇas but is slightly inferior to them. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 45-46. The S. Kau. argues that if once the right of a Hindu

2108. तस्मान्मूलन्योऽयुक्तेऽक्षरसंसाधनम्। श्रवण on III. 1. 1. The same words occur in the महाभाष्य on वातिक 4 on पा. VI. 3. 46 as कोषमुखव्यथुलायं कर्णसंसाधनम्। तस्मान्मूलन्योऽयुक्तेऽक्षरसंसाधनम्। श्रवण on same खूँ on p. 293, श्रवण on V. S. IV. 3. 12 employs the same words as the first quotation from Śabara. Vide श्रवण on III. 2.1-3. In Umāid Bahadur V Udaichand I. L. R. 6 Cal. 119 (F. B.) at p. 126 (where the question was whether the word 'sapiṇḍa' defined by the Mitākṣarā in the acāra section as a person connected by particles of one body can be taken for purposes of inheritance as persons connected by the offering of funeral oblations) it is stated 'it is a well understood rule of construction among the authors of the Institutes of Hindu Law that the same word must be taken to have been used in one and the same sense throughout a work, unless the contrary is expressly indicated.' Vide Ramchandra V Vinayak L. R. 41. I. A. 290 where the above passage in the Calcutta case is quoted with approval at pp. 303-304.

2109. य एव तैकिकम्। कविलास य वैदिकालक वैश्वर्ग्यम् ह्यति। श्रवण on I. 3. 50.

2110. य एव प्रतिष्ठानां भवनाभिकाराभवस्विभिर्भिर्भिर्भिगोपिण्यो यथार्थम्। अयस्य यस्य सर्वार्थानिवासया-भविष्यवेदार्थात्यत्वेतरेच शास्त्रार्थात्यत्वनाल्पक्षपक्षभवाय। एवेनाद्वेगं सर्व्यांभविषयः परिवर्त्य ह्यति निरस्तस्य। सं. कौ. p. 168.
widow to adopt is conceded, the mere fact that she is not entitled to repeat Vedic mantras in general cannot deprive her of that right and that it is possible to hold, as in the case of the rathakāra, that she can repeat the specific mantra required in adopting a boy. The Tai. S. IV. 5. 4. 2 separately mentions several craftsmen such as takṣan, rathakāra, kulāla, karmāra &c. From Atharvaveda III. 5. 6 and Vāj. S. 30. 6 (medhayai rathakāram dhairyāya taksānam) it appears that the rathakāra held a good position in the then society.

A word is to be understood in that shade of its meaning that is appropriate to the act in hand. For example, śrutī says 'he cuts off with sruva, he cuts off with a knife, he cuts off with the hand' (the same verb 'avadyati' being used for all the acts). The question is whether one is to cut all offerings, whether liquid or solid, whether of flesh or other substances, with sruva ladle or whether he is to employ the method or implement appropriate for each i.e. clarified butter should be taken from a pot and offered by means of a sruva ladle, flesh should be cut off with a knife and offered, and hard or thick things (like fuel sticks) should be offered with the hand. The conclusion is that one is to offer in the way most appropriate to each kind of offering. This is called 'sāmarthyādikarana' (PMS. 2111 I. 4. 25). The V. M. relies on this when dealing with the homa prescribed by Pitāmaha for all ordinances in the words 'homa should be offered in the four directions with clarified butter, boiled rice and fuel sticks &c' and declares that the homa of clarified butter should be made with sruva ladle, of havis (i.e. 'boiled rice &c') with sruca and of fuel sticks with the (right) hand, on account of the fitness (sāmarthya) of these for the various offerings and sharply criticizes Raghunandana who in his Dāyatattva provided that the homa should be made of all three together (and not separately). A similar rule is applied to the ten sacrificial implements.

2111. अर्थान् कल्पनेके देवास्त। पू. मी. ४. २५; शब्रि quotes 'व्रेणाधिकृ, साधिन्तायमयि हस्तेनायमति, हेिति यथते। किं व्रेणाधिकारिः स्वस्युप संहतत्त्व मांसस्य च। तथा साधिनिः हस्तेन च उष संस्काराध्यं च व्यवस्थाौ। The पूर्वपाक्र is अर्थान्, विभागालूक्ष्मेऽति। The conclusion is अर्थान् कल्पना, साम्रर्ताक्षालि व्रेणाधिकारिः साधिनिः तो यस्य शाक्तात् तस्य चोिति। आर्यावतस्वात्मतं स्वस्युप शाक्ताध्यं च अविभाज्यति। एवं ब्यवस्थालूक्ष्मी तथा अर्थान्तथा तस्यं पदार्थं अविभाज्यति हेिति। This last is a quotation from Tait. S. III. 3. 8. Vide vy. म. p. 54 for the text and notes pp. 89-93 for detailed explanations of the passage by the present author. The शाक्ताध्यं on the above remarks 'तस्माच्छाकिस्वरो परिषेष व्यवस्थालूक्ष्मिः'.
enumerated in Tai. S. I. 6. 8. 2 viz. sphyja (the wooden sword), the potsherds &c. Here the Pūrvapakṣa is that one may employ any one of these for any purpose required in the sacrifice; the established conclusion (PMS III. 1. 11. and IV. 1. 7–10) is that the enumeration of ten implements is a mere anuvāda and is not to be understood as the pūrvapakṣa states, but each is to be employed for the purpose for which the Vedic texts prescribe it (such as one cooks the purodāsa on potsherds, pounds grains in mortar and pestle). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 985 n. 2233 for ten implements of sacrifice and others that are required and p. 1232 above for their disposal.

One and the same word must not be used in two senses in the same sentence, that is, in the primary sense and also in the figurative sense. This maxim is relied upon by the Dāyabhāga. When brothers (sons of the same mother) come to a partition, smṛti texts (like Yāj. II. 123) prescribe that the mother takes a share equal to that of a son. On this the Dāyabhāga remarks that the word 'mātā' (in Yāj. II. 123 and others) primarily means a real mother (janani, that gives birth) and this smṛti rule has no application to the step-mother, since it is improper to hold that the same word once used in a sentence has a primary and a secondary sense at the same time. But it must be pointed out that all Dharmaśāstra works do not observe this rule. Aparārka (p. 730) on Yāj. II. 123 (pitur-ūrdhvam vibhajatām mātāpyaimśam samam haret) includes the step-mother under the word 'mātā' following a text of Vyāsa. The Mitakṣarā interpreting Yāj. II. 135 about obstructible heritage stating the order of succession as wife, daughters, parents, brothers, their sons, provides that full brothers first succeed, in default of them half brothers, in default of the last, full brothers’

2112. अवायवकृत्तिकत्वम्। श्रव्यम् on III. 2. 1 and VII. 3. 3; न होकरण हास्ययानेकार्यं सदया गती न्यायम्। श्रव्यम् on VIII. 3. 22. Vide श्रव्यम् on IX. 4. 13 also. श्रव्यम् in his bhaṣya on Brahmaśūtra II. 4. 3 puts this rule very clearly "न होकरणमुपर्ययां एकास्मिन वाक्ये एक: सब्र: सक्षुद्धारोत्ती बहुमि समस्थायमान: कविस्युन्यः कविच्च गौत्र इत्यव्यवसायं श्रव्यम्। वैध्वपत्सुन्तरः।"

2113. पितरि चौपत्रसंवाद्यादिभिः किंचिदात्रं मात्रेणि हुत्रसमांको वाण्यवत्। समालक्षणीकाति मातिषि चतुरात्। मातुपुत्रस्य जननीवेयस्य सप्तमीवायुवच्चाति सहस्रः। वर्तथ्युपऽगमनकालोपचे।। दायमान III. 29–30, p. 67; मातुमानसंतस्यपाविषयवत्स्य । अपराधे p. 730. It may be noted that in Viśal V. Prahlad (I. L. R, 39 Bom. 373) a paternal step-grandmother was held entitled to a share when a partition took place between the sons of a deceased son of her co-wife.
Maxim of primary and figurative sense of same word

sons. The V. M. disagrees with this and says that the word 'brother' primarily means 'full brother' and only secondarily 'half-brother', that, as it is not allowable to use a word like brother in two senses in the same passage, in default of full brother his son succeeds (and not half-brother as the Mit. provides). The primary sense of a word is got by 'abhidhā', the secondary sense by 'laksana' and sometimes a third sense called suggested sense is said to be due to vyañjanā. These are the three vr̥tis (functions) of a word.

One of the rules about the interpretations of words is contained in P. M. S. I. 3. 8–9. Śabara cites three instances of wordsviz. caru made from yavas, sandals made of boar skin, a cane mat. The words yava, varāha and vetasa are respectively employed by some people in the sense of 'priyāngu' (long pepper), dark bird (crow) and jambu (black berry). The prima facie view insists that one may use those words in any one of the two senses. The Siddhānta is that those words must be used in the sense in which the Veda (or śāstra) or śīstas employ them i.e. the usage of learned Aryan people is to be followed where words

2114. МАТУРМА ЫАТА САВАРСА; ТАДАЙА ЫАТУОРТА. ЫЛА ВИЯННАСАНДАЯ: СОДАРАМАЙЕ МИШОДАРСАБАЙЕ СОИЮРСАТА ИУЯХУСАНДА, БАЛУСАСА САВАРСА САККАЯ МИШОДАЯ САЙЯ ИУДУНПАРИСОПАТАЯ. ВЯ- МА. П 142.

2115. According to there is a slight difference between and . Vide According to there is a slight difference between and . The words yava, varāha and vetasa are respectively employed by some people in the sense of 'priyāngu' (long pepper), dark bird (crow) and jambu (black berry). The prima facie view insists that one may use those words in any one of the two senses. The Siddhānta is that those words must be used in the sense in which the Veda (or śāstra) or śīstas employ them i.e. the usage of learned Aryan people is to be followed where words

2116. तेस्वययागिीस्राय समा विद्यविद्यति: स्यात्त। दृश्य मी, थ, इ. 3. 8: सतसमा, वाराह पुनाहाय, सैयैव क्ये राजसान्त साध्यवति इति राजसान्तसाध्यावृत्तिः समामनति । तव केवलीयायस्रूहकु एवाद्व पुनाह्य तत्केवतिस्रूहकु। वरोभवर्ति केवलितहि केवलितस्रूहकु। मेनदाय: केवलितहि केवलितस्रूहकु। श्यात्। श्यात्। सतसमा बुद्धि श्यात्ता वा तस्वयमानि

As regards , Gaut. (I. 22) prescribes that a kṣatriya or vaisya brahmācārin should carry a staff of the aśvattha or pilu tree (अश्वत्थवैश्यवैश्यवै), while Manu II, 45 prescribes a staff of pilu or udumbara tree for a vaisya brahmācārin. The Amarakoṣa states that pilu means a tree as well as an elephant.
may have two or more senses. As in several other cases Kumārila does not like Śabara’s explanation and proposes two other explanations, viz. one being that the sūtras relate to the word ‘plu’ used in the sense of a tree and mlecchas employ it in the sense of elephant. The meaning of the word in smṛtis is a tree and that should be followed. Here ‘Śāstrasthāḥ’ means ‘the sense given to the word in the Śāstra i.e. smṛti’. Another meaning he sees into those sūtras is the comparative strength of smṛti and ācāra. This adhikaraṇa is relied upon by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (I. 225) on the question of the primary meaning of the word Śrāddha which he states is ‘piṇḍadāna’ (offering balls of boiled rice to the manes) and not feeding brāhmaṇas. The Parāśara-mādhavrīya refers to Parāśara-smṛti (VI. 70–71) about the food cooked from rice in such quantities as measuring an āḍhaka⁹¹ or drona and rendered unclean by being pecked by crows or touched by dogs and smell by asses and provides that the measures āḍhaka and drona were to be taken as those known from śāstras and not those known among mlecchas.

Another rule (PMS I. 3.10) about words is that words, though of foreign origin, that are in vogue in Sanskrit, are to be understood in the sense which they have in the foreign language and one should not think of an attempt to derive them with the help of Nirukta and grammar. Śabara cites four such words viz. pika (cuckoo), nema (half), tamarasa (lotus), sata (circular wooden vessel).

Another rule about words is that where a single substance connected with several attributes is concerned in an action laid down for being carried out, all of these attributes should be taken to refer to the same substance (PMS III. 1. 12). The Tai. S. prescribes ‘he purchases Soma with a heifer one year old and having brown eyes and reddish in colour’. Here the two words ‘piṅgākṣī’ and ‘ekahāyant’ yield a good etymological meaning, are in the same case and so refer to the same substance

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2118. चोरितं तु सार्वप्रसादित्तिसमवयस्मातेन। पू. मै. सू. I. 3. 10; न चार्सीया (विकालि- प्रत्यये) आर्यवर्ध: काँभदिति। ... तत्स्मास्तस्यस्य। एवाधानादीविषयं निर्देशनानवस्तीवं। शास्त्रीया विंदु 1. 3. 10. The Mārdulmādhavika gives सत्राया as मर्दुश्रीकृतदविं शाश्वित। बादक स्वार्थिति यावद। प्रमाणपरं श्लोकवस्तीवाहिनीर्द्रात्र। The underlined words occur in the sūtra.
(heifer in this 2119 case). But the word ‘arunayā’ (of red colour) causes a doubt viz. whether it should be separated from the other two words in the sentence and taken in the sense of ‘any reddish substance such as a piece of cloth’ or whether it should be connected with the verb (he purchases), should thus be subordinate to the purchase and should be taken as referring to the one year old heifer. This last is the established conclusion. How Soma is to be purchased does not follow from any other text. Therefore, in such a case several subsidiaries can be laid down in one injunction. If ‘arunayā’ be taken as referring to any red substance such as a piece of red cloth this one sentence would have to be divided into two vidhis ‘he should purchase with a red piece of cloth’ and ‘he should purchase with a brown-eyed (heifer) one year old’. This would be a fault called ‘vākyabheda’. This nyāya is explained by the Madanapārijāta pp. 88–89 and Aparārka (p. 1030) makes use of 2120 it in explaining the correct import of the words of the Br. Up. IV. 4. 21 ‘tamesam vedānuvacanena brāhmaṇā vividīsauti’ by saying that when the highest object in view is one but the subordinate elements are different these latter are to be lumped together.

Another rule about words is evolved by what is called ‘niśadasthapatinyāya’ (PMS VI. I. 51–52). 2121 It is stated that the Iṣṭā in which an offering of boiled rice is made to Rudra is

2119. अर्थानि वेयमयास्योकाक्षापरिमं: स्वतः। पु. भी. छ. III. 1. 12; 

2120. किं च परमायझंक्षेत्रसत्यारामादे तु कारसं कारांकारण सत्यारामे वया—अरुणया...क्षणार्थि ह्याक्षणामेकारायम्या। अपराजेय. p. 1030 on याज्ञ. त्री. 205 

2121. स्वयमनिपाहः स्वाभवसभांत्याः। पु. भी. छ. VI. 1. 51. ...निबावान निम्नतितिति वटित्तसत्यो भविष्यति।...ेन भो ज्ञो: स्वयमनिपाहः स्वतः।...कसाज्ञा शास्त्र: सम्पूर्णः।...समानामकारामसामासत श्रवणः। तत्र हि सार्थे शब्दो हुजू भवति। द्वितीय च भविष्यत्त्रोप्योपोमणं सम्बन्धते। शास्त्र: compare मैया. सेक. II. 2. 4 for the इंतु and the words तथा निबद्धार्थस्तर्वति पावनेत्। अत्र तथाविशेषोर्वतितिप्राप्त श्रवणं:
one that should be performed for nisāda-sthapati. A nisāda is
a person born of a brāhmaṇa father and śūdra mother (vide
Manu X. 8). He does not belong to one of the three higher
varṇas. Sthapati means ‘chief or leader’. The question whether
the compound word means ‘a nisāda who is a chief (that is a
karmadhāraya compound) or whether it means ‘the ruler of
nisādas’ who may not necessarily be a nisāda himself but may be
a kṣatriya (i.e., whether one should take the word as ‘ṣaṣṭhī-
atpuruṣa’ as ‘nisādānām sthapatiḥ’). The conclusion is that
a karmadhāraya is more powerful than a tapuruṣa, since in
the former both the words may be directly connected with the
verb (nisādāsāsau sthapatiśca, tam yājyayet). The V. M. makes
use of this ‘maxim’. The Śaunaka-smṛti authorizes śūdras to
adopt a son, yet some writers like Rudradhara, author of
Śuddhiviveka, held that adoption required a homa with mantras
and as a śūdra could not repeat Vedic mantras he could not
adopt. To this V. M. replies that his power to adopt a son being
established by Śaunaka’s smṛti all that is required is that he
may get the homa performed through a brāhmaṇa. The Bhāmati
on Śaṅkarā’s bhāṣya on V. S. I. 3. 15, where the meaning of
the word ‘brahmaloaka’ in Chāndogya-Up. VIII. 3. 2 is in question,
says that the nisādasthapatinyāya applies and so ‘brahmaloaka’
means ‘brahma as the goal’ and not ‘the world of brahma’.
Manu XI. 54 enumerates five Mahāpātakas (deadly sins), one
of which is ‘gurvaṅganāgama’ (sexual intercourse with
gurvaṅganā). Commentators have differed about the meaning
of this word, some like Bhavadeva in Prāyaścitapratarāna
stating that, following nisādasthapatinyāya, the word must be
dissolved as a Karmadhāraya compound (guruh or gurī śāsau
āṅganā ca), the meaning being one’s own mother, while many
others dissolve it as a tapuruṣa compound meaning ‘guror or
gurīnām āṅganā’ (which would then include a step-mother,
an elder brother’s wife and teacher’s wife &c.). Vide H. of Dh.
vol. III. pp. 23–25 for a discussion of this.

Prabhākara held that no word was significant in isolation,
but that words became significant when joined together in a

(Continued from last page)
sentence. Therefore, he and his followers were called ‘anvitābhidhānavādinaḥ’ as opposed to Kumārila and his followers who held that words have different senses of their own and then they combine in a sentence and yield a further sense of the sentence. These latter were called ‘abhibhitānvaśavādinaḥ’.

Vide notes to Sāhityadarpāna (I., II., X) pp. 86–88 for explanations of these two terms by the present writer (ed. of 1956).

Let us now turn to the interpretation of vākya (sentence). The Rgveda and the Sāmaveda are metrical and therefore there is generally no difficulty in arriving at what constitutes in them one syntactical unit (vākya). But much of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda is in prose. Therefore, PMS (II.1.46) defines what makes one vākya by stating that when a number of words serve a single purpose, but if one or a few of those words are separated from the rest, the latter words are incomplete in effecting a purpose and stand in need of the words separated, then all these words make one vākya. An example is the mantra ‘I offer thee, that art dear to Agni, at the command of God Savitṛ with the arms of Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan’. This is one sentence, the purpose of which is nirvāpa (offering). For other definitions of vākya, vide the author's notes on Sāhityadarpāna (II.1) p. 34. For constituting words into a sentence with an understandable meaning expectancy (ākaṅkṣā), compatibility (yogatā) and proximity (sannidhi) are required, particularly the first. For example, Saṅkarācārya on V.S.I.4, 3 says that without ākaṅkṣā there is no cognition.

2122. अथेक्षलादेः वाक्यं साकाजलं चैविष्ट्यभएस् स्यात्। पु. मी. सू. II.1.46; अर्थात् मात्रप्तिहेद चरुचा तथस्वरूपेत्, इत्यदेक्त वभवित। यावता पदार्थादनादेः ताबन्यप्रेक्षा-समूह एकं चरुचा। कियता ब्रेह्मेते। यावता कियता उपकारं ब्रह्मेते तावता। चरुचा वाक्यसिद्धेते। तत्त्वादेकारं पदार्थादनो वाक्यं अथे च विभवायामानो साकाजलं विद्यवभवित। कियता वाक्यं तदवं सत्त्वं पञ्चत्रतेत। प्रति जयते। विषयं देवस्य त्वो सत्त्वं प्रसंस्कृतिहेतु यत्त्वो हलटस्यामये। उत्त्व निर्यामि (तै. सू. I.1.4.2, काठक I.4) और एक वाक्यम् वौद्धमेते देवस्य सत्त्वम् निर्यामि। विनीता भवेत्। अर्थिता भवेत्। विनीता भवेत्। विनीता भवेत्। विनीता भवेत्। विनीता भवेत्। विनीता भवेत्。”

2123. आकाशाः सक्षांस्य च योग्यतां चैविष्ट्यभएस्। समवयाश्चार्थयेन वाक्यम् नामस्तर्थयेन। पृ. 455; वाक्यस्य नामस्य मात्रानां भाष्यस्य यात्रा। वाक्यमात्रामात्रायं युनः सत्त्वम् ज्ञातो। सत्त्वम् p.166 on I.4.24 (सत्त्वम् अथवा वाक्यस्य)। इस वर्ण अथवा वाक्यस्य प्रायोगिक सत्त्वम्। इस वर्ण में सत्त्वम् p.166 on I.4.3.
that the words form a vākya. The word ekavākyatā occurs in V. S. III. 4.24 and conveys that there is a twofold ākāṅkṣā viz. grammatical as well as psychological. It is the listener or reader who has, on hearing or reading a word, a desire to know another idea or word to get a complete sense. When several sentences, each conveying its own sense as far as it goes, are brought together having regard to the fact that one of them may be principal and the others auxiliary, they form one syntactical whole. This shows that sentences are of two kinds, vākyas and mahāvākyas, as the Sāhityadarpaṇa puts it.

It follows from the definition and the bhāṣya thereon that, in order to constitute a vākya, three conditions are necessary viz. (1) there must be a number of words uttered or put down together (padasamāha), (2) the words must have an expectancy for each other (i.e. if a word in the collection is dropped no complete sense can be had), (3) all the words must serve one purpose or convey together one meaning (arthāikatva, acc. to another view). It is not absolutely necessary that the words in order to form a vākya must be in close proximity. Even if some words intervene there may be a sentence, provided there is ākāṅkṣā between the words. Śabara on PMS IV. 3.11 illustrates this well as stated in the note.²¹²⁴ In the verse quoted ‘paśyasi’ is to be connected with ‘jaradgavam’, though several other words intervene. Though there is proximity (sannidhi) between ‘pinakṣi’ and ‘jaradgavam’ they do not form a sentence as there is no capacity as also ākāṅkṣā between the two. The upshot is that sannidhi (proximity) of words is generally required to form a sentence, though not necessarily required in every case.

The different parts of a mantra text, meant to serve different purposes, may be regarded as distinct sentences. For example, the mantra in Tai. Br.²¹²⁵ (III. 7.5) ‘I make an agreeable

²¹²⁴. व्यवहारसारि परायणो व्यवाधाकामनत्तॊमण मनसि विषयरसारि समानमानमेव भवति विशेषसमुपज्ञनविद्युत्।

²¹²⁵. द्रणो भूयमयू पुरुषभयं भारारणं सोर्वें कलपयामि। तस्माति तीक्ष्णते अविस्तरित कर्त्तिकमेव। श्रवणे (on P. मी. श्र. III. 1. 46) हे ते सर्वज्ञाने कियेण सहकरणं शूष्कायांतिकरणं च। तस्मात् भिष्मेऽवक्ष्ये पूर्वं सदनं

करणे विनियुक्ते। उत्तरे प्रसर्वायांतिकरणे।
seat (or abode) for thee (O cake!), I prepare it as a very happy one with a stream of clarified butter; do sit thereon with pleased mind, be established in ambrosia, O sacrificial essence of rice'.These are two sentences, the first part being concerned with making a seat, the latter part being concerned with depositing the purodāśa on the seat. Similarly, in the passage 'I (cut) thee (O palaśa branch) for food, I (wash or rub) thee for vigour' there are two different sentences, that are independent of each other, as the Śat. Br. employs these with the words 'he cuts the palaśa' branch with the words 'for food (I cut) thee', he washes it with the words 'for vigour thee'. The same rule applies to the ten different clauses 'āyuryajñena kalpatām, prāṇo yajñena kalpatām' in Tai S.I.7.9.2. They are all different sentences. 2127

The doctrine of Vākyabheda plays a very important part in Mīmāṃsā as well as in Dharmaśāstra. Vākyabheda literally means 'split of sentences'. When the sentences are equally independent and one sentence does not require or expect words from the other sentence to complete it, they should be treated as separate sentences. This is one sense of 'Vākyabheda.' Another and more frequent sense of Vākyabheda is as follows: The underlying principle of vākyabheda is that one and the same text cannot be construed as laying down two separate vidhis (prescriptions) or that when a certain matter has already been prescribed and then several auxiliary matters are to be prescribed, prescribing 2128 all the auxiliaries in one sentence would

2126. समेतु वाक्यभेदः । स्थानः। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 47; समेतु परस्परानामाक्षेपणं वाचनं मिलते। इद्व ला इत्यवेदनात्मकं, स्वातं, उच्चा वा इत्यवेदनात्मकं। ... शुच्या तु समयं इहे लेखि चिन्तितं उज्जो लेखुभयाति इति। इहे लोके ला आहे वे वे अहीं लेखि लेखि। इहे लोजें लोजें लेखि लेखि। The śūtra may be explained as समेतु परस्परानामाक्षेपणं तत्तुष्यं युज्यं गुरुभेदः । स्थानः।

2127. तत्रेव परस्परानामाक्षेपणं आयुर्यज्ञनं कलपताम्। इत्येक शब्दं सर्वोत्तमं विवेकं। शान्तं च धार्मिकं सत्यं विषयात्। एवं तु सर्वोपलक्षणवचना। शाब्दः on II. I. 47.

2128. पासे कर्मणेक्यणविशेषां वाक्यभेदं प्रत्यसे। प्राप्तं। पासे कर्मणं (तत्ववा. p. 485 on II. 2.6 quoted in n. 2119). अत्र कर्मदन्तं युज्यं विवेकं। एकस्येद्भेदनानं विभागं वाक्यभेदं। मी. सू. p. pp. 36, 39. All this is based on Sabara’s words 'कर्मचिदं वा आवर्धायं रुपं। कुसः। दणानं दुः, श्रवणं च। एकेऽद्भेदयते तथ। न च शब्दार्थार्थ्यं चौत्तौल तथ। नानां विधायं विषयं भला। न च शब्दार्थार्थ्यं चौत्तौल तथ। नानां विधायं विषयं भला। (on II. 2. 6. pp. 485-486). Vide also शाब्द on p. 593 on II. 3. 4. The सद्दार्थार्थ्यं (on p. 88) has an elaborate discussion upon the proper tithi and time for upākarma in which it echoes the very words of the तत्त्रां. quoted at the beginning of this note, when मू. पा. states 'तथा च दुष्परियानि वाक्यभेदः पासे कर्मणेक्यणविशेषां।
give rise to the fault of väkyabheda (syntactical split of sentence). In the sacrificial post is to be the udumbara tree, the udumbara (tree) is vigour, cattle is vigour; he obtains for him the sacrifier by means of vigour ürj (i. e. by udumbara post) vigour (i. e. cattle) for the attainment of vigour'. This is one syntactical whole (vākya). If it be said that there is a vidhi prescribing the use of udumbara post in a sacrifice and that there is also another vidhi about the fruit viz. securing vigour (i. e. cattle); this would give rise to väkyabheda. Therefore there are no two vidhis in the sentence but only a vidhi and an arthavāda (praise). 2129 Saṅkarācārya on V. S. III. 3. 57 remarks 'ekam hīdam väkyam Vaiśvānaravīdīvīsayam paurvāparyālocanat pratiyate...eka-vākyatāvagatau satyām väkyabheda-kalpanasyānyaśyatvāt.' This is said with reference to the first aspect of the idea of Vākyabheda.

The basic idea underlying the latter sense of väkyabheda is this. If an act or a substance or a secondary matter has already been the subject of a vidhi and if concerning the act (or substances &c.) a number of other matters (actions, substances &c.) are enjoined in one sentence, there would be väkyabheda (i. e. there would have to be a separate vidhi for each of the other matters relating to what has already been the subject of a vidhi). On the other hand, if an action, substance or a guṇa is enjoined for the first time along with several secondary matters in one sentence, there would be no fault of väkyabheda i. e. in a single vākya however long or containing many matters, if there is a single vidhi there is no fault. If, in the passage quoted on p. 1258 above 2130 'one desiring prosperity should offer in sacrifice a white animal to Vāyu', one were to hold that first there is to be a vidhi about prosperity as the fruit or reward, there would be two vidhis and so the fault of väkyabheda, but if one holds that the vidhi is only concerned with offering a white animal and what follows 'vāyurvai kṣepitāḥ...bhūtim gamayati' is merely an arthavāda (praise of the preceding vidhi), there is no väkyabheda. The fault of vākya-

2129. विधिः च वाक्यभ्रेस्कः स्तुतः। पु. मी. 3. 1. 25: उपृहरो धृतीति विधित्वसित्राश्चरीयमाणे उपृहरो इत्येतिसिद्ध स्तुतं विधित। इत्यथांद्रवस्तरो यूपः प्रक्षतः स विधित्वात् व ति। शबर।

2130. भृतिकाम इत्येतिन्निति विधुदेशः। तेनिकालकस्यस्यो बाहुव्रीण्यप्रविद्धेऽदेबतर्थवादाः...वाल्लं हि सम्बन्धस्य विषयायः द्वैतेऽक्तर्थावत्। भृतिकाम आलोकः आलोकः नैच छणों भविष्यतीति। भिधेयं ताहं एवं सति वाक्यभ्रेः। शबर on I. 2. 7 pp. 117 and 119.
Examples of vākyabheda

bheda arises when more vidhis than one are held to occur in the same vākyya.\textsuperscript{2131}

A few examples must be cited to illustrate the principle of vākyabheda. A simple example is 'graham sammārṣṭi'. If one were to interpret this as meaning 'he is to clean the cup' and also as meaning that only a single cup is to be cleaned there would be vākyabheda. Therefore, it was decided that the singular number in 'graham' is not to be insisted upon and cleaning of all cups was to be resorted to; otherwise there would be two vidhis viz. 'graham sammṛjyāt' and 'ekam-eva sammṛjyāt'. Śabara quotes (on PMS I. 3. 3) a śruti 'one who has a son and whose hair is dark should consecrate the vedic fires'. Agnyādāhana is laid down by śruti texts such as Tai. Br. I. 1. 2, 6, Sat. II. 1. 2. Therefore, the above text only lays down certain subsidiary matters about it. A man may have dark hair but no son or he may have a son when his hair is turning grey. Therefore, if that sentence is meant to prescribe both attributes (having a son and also having dark hair), there would be two distinct vidhis in the same vākyya, that is, there would be the fault of vākyabheda, which has to be avoided. Therefore, that sentence must be understood as indicating a certain age viz. he must not be a mere boy (at the time of agnyādāhana) but of an age to bear a son, nor very old (when hair turns grey), i.e. he must be neither too young nor too old at the time of agnyādāhana. A lakṣaṇā as regards the words 'jātaputraḥ' and 'kṛṣṇakesah' is resorted to and lakṣaṇā is only a fault as to a word, while vākyabheda is a fault of a sentence and therefore lakṣaṇā should be preferred to vākyabheda. The V. M. quotes (p. 115) the verse of Manu\textsuperscript{2132}

\textsuperscript{2131}. न च ताबला वाक्यं निघते। अनेक-विधिः हि वाक्यंभेद उत्तमः। तत्तत्रम्. प. 551 on II. 2 26.

\textsuperscript{2132}. This text of Manu has been a subject of several conflicting judicial decisions, which are now of no use since there is now a law governing Hindu Adoptions viz. the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 78 of 1956, by section 12 proviso b of which the decisions in 40 Bom. 429 and in some later cases have been set aside. Those interested may read the present author's notes in his translation of the V. M. pp. 121-123 and the footnotes and his paper (Brief sketch of the Purāvamānsā system' pp. 37-38 (ABORI, vol. VI. pp. 1-40) and also H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 690-697. In Dattatreya V. Govind I.L.R 40 Bom. 429 (where a person, in whom property had already become vested as the sole surviving male in the family, was given in adoption into another family) it was held, relying on Manu IX. 142, that on adoption that person lost all rights to the property of the

(Continued on next page)
IX. 142 'the son given shall not have (share) the family name (gotra) and the wealth (riktha) of his natural father; the pinda (cake offered to deceased ancestors) follows the family name and the wealth; of him who gives (his son in adoption) the svadhā (obsequies) cease (so far as that son is concerned)'. After citing the above smṛti passage 'one having a son' and another text for the position of the sacrificial post (vide PMS III. 7. 13-14) with reference to the altar, the V. M. holds that one should not merely emphasize the words gotra, riktha, pinda and svadhā used by Manu and take them literally but should hold that the verse contains a laksanā (indicated meaning); it indicates the cessation of all those consequences that are due to connection with the pinda in the case of the natural father and Manu says nothing about the property taken by a son before he is given in adoption into another family.

Another illustration of vākyabheda can be cited from the law of re-union. The Mit., Dāyabhāga and Sm. C. (on Vyavahāra p. 302) quote a text2133 of Brhaspati 'that man who being once separated from his father, brother, or paternal uncle again dwells

(Continued from last page)

natural family that had become vested in him before adoption. That decision holds that Manu laid down two propositions, viz. (1) a man forfeits by adoption into another family the property that once belonged to the family and that became vested in him before adoption, (2) A person given in adoption into another family does not, after the adoption, take any property of the family to which he belonged but whose connection with the family ceased after adoption. These are two distinct propositions and to hold that Manu's text is capable of these two propositions is liable to the fault of Vākyabheda. The V. M. (p. 115) further relies on the construction of another vedic text 'He fixes half of the yūpa inside the vedi and half outside it.' This is interpreted by P.M.S III. 7. 13-14, Śabara and the Tantravārtika as merely indicating a certain region for the fixing of the yūpa and that the words are not to be taken literally, because in that case there would be Vākyabheda. The ṛgvedā brings out the meaning clearly.

2133. विभ्रमं धनं दुनिमिश्रेৎमं संझूतं तद्रसालीति संख्य्य:। संझूतं च न चेन केनापि किंतु पिता प्रात्र विसेवितो वा। ग्रहादुहःसति। विभ्रमं त: पुनः पिता प्रात्र वेष्टक संख्य्य:। विसेवितो य: विसेवित त: स तत्रसंझूद्व उच्यते॥ भिमा. १० या. ॥ १३८; ब्रह्मण chap. 12 quotes दुहःसति and remarks 'परिषारणस्थितिरसिद्रु संञाश्यको विशेषो नादेशण्येः परिषारणस्थितिरस्वादः'.


through affection with them (or any of them) is said to be re-united with them (or him). According to the Mit., a reunion is possible only with father, brother and paternal uncle and with no one else, since no one else is mentioned in the text of Bṛhaspati. The V. M. does not approve of this limitation and says that a re-union is possible with all or any of those that participated in the partition and that the three persons, father, brother and uncle are mentioned only by way of illustration (i.e. there is laksanā). A man may separate not only from the three named persons but also from his paternal grand-father, the grandson of his brother and the son of his paternal uncle and several other persons and therefore the construction of the text of Bṛhaspati by the Mit. is liable to the fault of vākyabheda, since on that interpretation there would be two separate propositions viz. (1) that man is to be called re-united who having become separate again stays together with the one from whom he separated, (2) one can re-unite only with the father, brother, or paternal uncle. Thus there would be two distinct prescriptions in one sentence. Therefore, one should have recourse to laksanā viz. that the three named persons indicate a class of persons from whom one may have separated but with whom he then stayed together. The Viramitrodāya (on Vyavahāra), V. R. (pp. 605–67), V. C. p. 533 hold the same view as that of the V. M. 2134

The Smrticandrika provides that after the death of a man when the sons divide, the mother is entitled to a share equal to that of each son if the estate to be divided is not very large, but if the estate be very large she is to get as much only as would be necessary for her maintenance (although Yāj. II. 123 and others employ the words ‘samam aṁśam’). The Madanaratna on Vyavahāra criticizes this as a bad provision on the ground that it is vitiated by Vākyabheda, since there would be two different propositions (vidhis) about the meaning to be attached to the

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2134. अथ विद्वानांविद्वान्येव सह संस्कृतता नाय्येन बननेबुद्धानविवति मित्राकर्मियोऽविबोधते। विभागक्त्वसामान्यायपरस्तं संति दुःखम | पितादिपरावरि तु विभागक्त्वमात्रेवपल्लकाणि। अश्मतावति विनासाय पञ्चविनाशितवत्। अनन्तो वाक्यभेदाय। सं. म. p. 146. This text (अथमत्वेति etc.) is discussed in P. M. S. III. 7. 13–14 (तथा सुरार्येः पेति। इत्यावर्तव वाक्षिप्तवेदवन्त।) and the conclusion is that this text is not to be taken literally (since in that case there would be two propositions and the fault of Vākyabheda) but as merely indicating the region where the sacrificial post is to be planted. Vide the author’s notes in translation of V. M. p. 191.
words ‘samam aṁśam’ (equal share) according as the estate to be divided is large or small.\(^{2135}\)

There is another principle about sentences called ‘anuṣaṅga’ (elliptical extension) or the extension of a word, phrase or clause from a sentence to another or other sentences, provided all those sentences are of the same type or form. This is one type of anuṣaṅga. Another type is where each of two or more sentences appears to be complete by itself, but there are certain words of a subordinate character in the last sentence of a passage which have to be taken up or understood in the preceding sentences. This latter is also called anukarṣa. In the three upasads of Jyotiṣoma, the first\(^{2136}\) is in honour of Agni in which the mantra is ‘yā to Agne ayaśayā tanur-varīśṭhā gavhareśṭhogram vaco apāvadhim tveṣam vaco apāvadhim svāhā’; the other two Upasads have the two mantras ‘yā te Agne rajāśaya’ and ‘yā te Agne harāśaya’ which are incomplete and in need of complementary words to complete the sentences. The conclusion is that the words ‘Varīśṭhā ... svāhā’ are to be supplied from the first sentence and not other words from the popular language that one may choose. Another passage of the Tai,\(^{2137}\) S. is ‘cit-patistvā punātu, vākpatis-tvā punātu, devas-tvā savīta punatvavchidrēna pavitrena vasoh sūryasya raṃmibhiḥ’. Here the first two clauses appear to be prima facie complete, but when we look to the last clause where the word ‘punātu’ is particularised by certain other words, we at once feel that the first two clauses also should be connected with the words ‘achchidrena ... raṃmibhiḥ’ and that then they would be quite complete.

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\(^{2135}\) Vide Śrītīcāndrakārī mandāśra śaravakhāṇḍa vīptāy padabhyām vedāntalokavaisrāmyaṃ 2134. \(^{2136}\) Vide Śrītīcāndrakārī mandāśra śaravakhāṇḍa vīptāy padabhyām vedāntalokavaisrāmyaṃ 2135.

\(^{2137}\) Vide Śrītīcāndrakārī mandāśra śaravakhāṇḍa vīptāy padabhyām vedāntalokavaisrāmyaṃ 2136.
The V. M. has a long disquisition on the principle of anuṣṭaṅga applied by the Mit. and Madanaratna to the succession to the wealth of one who died re-united. Yāj. II. 135–136 lay down the order of succession to the wealth of a person dying sonless. Yāj. II. 137 deals with succession to the property of a forest hermit, an ascetic or a perpetual Vedic student. The Mit. then holds that Yāj. II. 138 ‘samāstīnaṃstu samāṣṭi’ is to be construed as an exception to Yāj. II. 135–136 and understands that the words ‘of one dying without having a son’ (grandson or great-grandson) are to be supplied before Yāj. II. 138 from II. 136 (i.e. there is to be anuṣṭaṅga of the words ‘svaryātasyāputrasya’. The V. M. does not approve of this and states that there is no rational ground for applying the principle of anuṣṭaṅga and therefore the order of succession to the property left by one re-united propounded by V. M. becomes different from that of the Mit. The whole discussion is rather abstruse and lengthy and the present writer feels that the space required for exposition should be saved. Those interested may consult the exhaustive notes (pp. 265–275) in the edition of the Vyavahāramāyūkha (Poona, 1926) on the passages of the V. M. beginning with the one in the note below. 2138

This principle of anuṣṭaṅga cannot apply where words of a different type intervene between the several sentences. For example, when the animal to be offered is killed a long passage occurs which contains the 2139 words ‘sam te prāṇo vāyunā gacchatām, sam yajatrair-aṅgāni, sam yajñapatir-āsīta’ &c. (may your limbs be joined to the worshipful deities and may the sacrificer be united to blessing &c). Here the first clause is

2138. संस्कृतिग्रन्थाधिकारिणमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—संस्कृतितत् संस्कृती संस्कृतस्तु सोंस्तु। पल्लव नृतिः (व. 2. 135–136) इत्यतःपवाहोऽर्थम्। यद्य-नवमार्गमल-नवमार्गवादोपमस्सख्यामिस्सत्तानितयमात्रेऽवर्तस्वर्णस्वर्णविविधादिकारणस्वरूपः। अततर्तहस्यस्कृतिपत्तस्यर्यमस्रीविहारितरमिश्रितस्यादिकारणस्वरूपः। संस्कृताय गृहीतायादिति। तात्त्विकमुः। तेन विनापवतो समवत्यास्युष्ट्रेऽसानावासादृश्यम्। य. भ. म. 147; vide द्वावहार (on स्वारस) p. 372 ‘न च संस्कृतितत् संस्कृतात्यायायायान्यायदिती पवाहकोणेमवेष्ठतमेव प्रयोजनमिति वाच्यं। स्वरतर्य ह्रुसुखशैति ब्राह्मणपतस्त्पुरूषेति पदवाय वर्तवेवितविवाद संस्कृतिवाच्येष्युष्ट्रेऽति।’

2139. याज्ञवालयज्येऽवेष्टि। पु. म. स. II. 1. 49; शशवर says सं ते त्रावद्वेति गुप्तात् सं ज्यात्रीक्षति सं यज्ञपतिसिद्धिप्राप्ताः। यावद्वेति। गच्छतात्—हे इत्येष सं यज्ञसिद्गा्तिनि प्रयत्नात् सं यज्ञपतिसिद्धिप्राप्ताः। यत्र यज्ञसिद्धिप्राप्ततः। तस्मादह्रुसुक्ष्यातर्य परस्य च तपस्वित्यादि कृतिकीं काध्यशेषः। कृत्तिप्राप्तिः। The सं. I. 3.8.1 reads ‘सं ते न यज्ञो बायुना।’ It is probable that Sabara quotes from memory or sets out the mantra from the Mai. Samhitā I. 2. 15 which reads सं ते त्रावद्वेति.
separated from the 3rd clause by a clause in which there are two words in the plural while the first and third clauses have two words in the singular; therefore there is no anuṣāṇa of the words of the first clause into the 2nd and one may employ for completing the sense of the 3rd clause some ordinary word from popular language (and not the words from the 1st clause).

Veda enjoins many acts such as performing a yāga, casting an oblation into fire, making a gift, milking a cow, melting clarified butter &c, but all are not on the same level. Some are pradhāna (primary or principal), while others are gunabhūta (subsidiary). The acts denoted by words such as Prayājas by which some substance is not embellished or not made fit or is not produced are primary, while those which produce a substance or make it fit (such as pounding in the case of grains of paddy) are subsidiary. Acts are further classified into various groups such as nitya, naimittika or kāmya or as kratvartha and purusārthā. These have already been explained. There are six means by which is ascertained the difference or non-difference among acts viz. (1) śabdāntara (different words, such as yajati, juhoti, dadāti, i.e. yāga, homa, dāna are different acts); abhyāsa (repetition) as in 'samidho yajati, tanūnapātām yajati' &c. (Tai. S. II. 6. 1. 1–2), where the word yajati is repeated five times and therefore there are five different acts prescribed; (3) saṃkhyā (number) as in 'he sacrifices seventeen animals to Prajāpati' (Tai. Br. I. 3. 4. 3), which are seventeen distinct acts; (4) guṇa (an accessory detail such as the deity

2140. तत्ति द्वेष युक्तमधुनः। सैवः न द्वीयस्थिते तत्ति प्राणानुषांति युक्तमधुनां।

2141. तत्तड़ गृहविनिः कर्ममद्व वत्सस्-शत्रुणांर, अयासाः। संहया, शुक्लः। परमः, नामकरणानिः। तद्वैराकारमनुसरितकारणाधिकारिनांति।

2142. For the distinction between yāga, homa and dāna, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 714 n. 1703.
or substance in such a passage as ‘when curds are put into heated milk it turns into curdled solid mass ämikṣā which is offered to Viśvedevas and the liquid called vājina is to be offered to Vājins, these two being two distinct offerings); (5) prakarana, (context). In the sentence ‘one should offer agnihotra’ (Tai. S. I. 5. 9. 1) there is a vidhi of the daily performance of Agnihotra. In the Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana it is said ‘he offers agnihotra for a month’. Since this last occurs in a different context altogether (while the former occurs in the context of Darśa-pūrṇamāsa), this sentence (from Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana) deals with a different act from that of the daily Agnihotra. (6) The name (Sañjñā) also differentiates acts, since they occur in utpattivākya (originative injunction) as in the passage quoted in the note below. This technique about determining what actions are different on account of the several grounds noted above, was employed by Hemādri, the Kālanirnaya and the Nirvayasindhu in deciding whether Jammasṭhamivrata and Jayantivrata are really one vrata or separate vratas. Vide pp. 132–133 above.

It has already been stated above (p. 1228) that there are four kinds of vidhi of which viniyogavidhi is one. This last conveys the relation between a religious act as principal (sesin or aṅgin) and its auxiliaries (āṅgas). This is the concern of the third chapter of the P. M. S., which first defines ‘sesa’, states why it is called ‘sesa’, how it is employed in religious acts, what are the means of determining the relation of sēsa to sesin and the comparative strength of each of the means.

2143. तस्मि प्रयत्न द्वादशनिति स वैश्वेदस्यामाला वाजिम्यो वाजिस्याः। शब्द on IV. 1. 23 cites this and states ‘आभिधार्या द्विपप्सी विचित्र न वाजिने... वाजिने तिथिकुणको रसः।’ वैश्वेदिक is a तस्मि meaning विशेष्यवृत्त: वैश्वेदिक: अथवा, formed acc. to पाणिनिः IV. 2. 24 ‘साध स्वेत:’, वाजिनामीकारस्यप्रायमेदाखाजनान्यत्यन्तरकम्’ आमिकारस्यं च कर्मान्तरमिति म्वितंद्रयं। वाजिने नामाभिधार्यातिशिरस्तुतकरम्। आमिकार नाम पपेक्षुवर्णीमण्डल्या विभाजित हताकारं दर्शयै। सर्ववैश्वेदिक p. 100 (T. S. S.). दक्षिणांचार्य mentions this text on श्र. III. 3. 1. In तद्. I. 6. 2. 5 we have ‘संप्रदेशामाला भूति। वैश्वेदिके वै प्रजा।... वाजिनाम्यान्यति।’ आमिकार is the प्रयोक्त (inducing force or motive) of putting curds into boiled milk and vājina is not the prayojaka, since in producing ämikṣā it appears of itself.

2144. शब्द on VII. 3. 1 says कुण्डपायनानमेने श्रुवते मासमिन्द्रोत् स्वाहाति। वैश्वेदस्यामाला वाजिम्यो वाजिस्याः। शब्द on VII. 3. 1 says कुण्डपायनानमेने श्रुवते मासमिस्त्रोत् श्रोत्वाति।

2145. संज्ञा चापस्यानासाधीता। पू. मी. श्र. II. 2. 22; शब्द ‘अयोध्यो योजितथाय विश्वांसीमितीय स्वेतयती।’ एतत् सहस्रस्यत्वा यजेत इति वृञ्जत। The conclusion is that all the three are names of three different acts.

2146. अवलोकनेवेदसियों के खेमलग्नान्य। तद्विषैत्यमायङ्काम्यान्तरमान्तितितिति। वैश्वेदिक p. 647 पू. मी. श्र. III. 1. 1.
Some examples of ānga and āṅgin may have to be given here. In ‘vṛhīn proksāta’ (he sprinkles rice grains with water) the sprinkling (proksāna) is an āṅga (stands in a subsidiary relation to) of rice grains as directly shown by the objective case (vṛhīn). The proksāna (is motivated by) has the purpose of contributing to the transcendental result (the apūrva), since what is meant is that if, without the sprinkling of water on the rice grains, a sacrifice (yāga) were performed, apūrva would not be brought about. To take another example, 2147 ‘he takes hold of the bridle of the horse with (the mantra beginning with) ‘they took hold of the bridle of ṛta (cosmic order)’. Here the direct assertion (śruti) shown by the objective case in ‘rāṣanām’ shows that that mantra stands in a subordinate relation to (is an āṅga of) the bridle of the horse, since the utterance of it when taking hold of the bridle of the horse effects a saṁskāra in the bridle and taking hold is also an āṅga of the horse bridle (which is in the objective case), just as proksāna is an āṅga of rice grains.

It has already been stated that ‘śeṣa’ means ‘what subserves the purpose of another’ and it is śeṣa of that other (P. M. S. III. 1. 2 ‘Śeṣaḥ parārthatvāḥ’) and that, according to Bādari (III. 1. 3) ‘to substances, properties (like reddish colour of a cow), saṁskāraś 2148 (what makes a person or thing fit for being employed in a yāga or for any other purpose) the word śeṣa is always applied, while, acc. to Jaimini (III. 1. 4–6) religious rites are śeṣa to the result or fruit (expressed or implied), the fruit is śeṣa to the agent of religious acts and an agent is śeṣa to certain acts. The word ‘śeṣa’ is often employed by Dharmāśṭra works. For example, the Mit. while commenting on Yāj. II. 118–119 states that the first half of verse 118 is śeṣa to all the rest 2149 (i. e. serves the purpose of the remaining verse and a half). The result is (if the Mit. be followed) that if a gift is


2148. संस्कारो नाम स भवति शस्वित्ताअे पदार्थाय भवति योगः कर्मविधायः।
तेनाय क्रि�यायाः कार्यायाः परोज्ञानमिति सोपि परायः।
शब्र on PMS III. 1. 3; तत् ।

2149. अत्र च पितृविविधायायाः परिविविधायाजनमिति सर्वेषष्ठ। ... तत् पितृ- 
विविधायायायाः परिविविधायाः पितृविविधायाः पतिविविधायाः सभन्त्रमीयसः। भिमा, on the same p. 660.

वर या. II. 118–119.
acquired (by a coparcener) from a grateful friend who was placed under an obligation by spending family wealth, if a property is acquired by a gift from a member's father-in-law who was paid from the family property for securing the bride for that member or if the property of the family lost to it was recovered by a member with the help of (other paternal estate), or if a member of the family learnt at the expense of the family and made gains from that learning, then those kinds of property were liable to be partitioned among all members. This view of the Mit. was not shared by several other writers and works such as the Dāyabhāga (VI. 1. 8), and Viśvarūpa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 579-580 for further remarks.

The P. M. S speaks of six means that are helpful in determining, as regards viniyoga-vidhis, what are principal and what are auxiliary when there is a doubt or when there is a conflict. They are śruti (direct vedic statement or assertion), linga (indirect indication), vākya (syntactical connection or relation), prakaraṇa (context), sthāna (place or sequence), samākhya (sañjīna, name). When several of these come together and refer to the same subject each succeeding one is weaker than each preceding one, since each succeeding one is more remote than each preceding one from the objective (viz. the viniyoga). P. M. S. III. 3. 14 is called 'balābalādhikaraṇa'.

An example where both śruti and linga come in conflict is 'with the Ainḍri verse (verse addressed to Indra) he should worship the Gaṅapatya fire'. The verse addressed to Indra

2150. śrutidvijātyakramāṇasamādhiyamanasaṁbadhyam saṁvāyē parādeśaḥ parādeśayamvijñaptīyaṁ. P. M. S. III. 3. 14; saṁvāya means ākāra-pālaṇipat. The Tattvārthik states 'समास-विनवल्यं दि सम्बायोऽभ्यं' and adds 'न हेक्क्रू सभमात्र सम्बायः कर्तव्यं तथ विनव-विनव' (p. 822) and तस्मातृदश्यते विनवल्यं सम्बायस्य (p. 823); त्व्रैषे भाव: विनवल्यं, परस्पर दोषेभिः विनवल्यं तदेश वाच्यक्षेत्रः. विनवल्यं means विनवल्यं; इत्यादि kṣīṇa on this सुख (p. 241) remarks 'न्द्वीतीय ईश्वाद्वीत्तनेंक्षेत्र्यस्य सति बलायते विनवल्यं'.

2151. नरवनः सर्वमेक्षेत्राय गार्घपत्यम्। प्रत्येको वदान्तमीद्वा गार्घपत्यम्। न्द्वीतीय ईश्वाद्वीत्तनेंक्षेत्र्यस्य सति बलायते विनवल्यं. जी. VIII. 51. 7 and वाच. सं. VIII. 2. It is used in अधिकार्य (वहाके विनवल्यं). The words श्रृंखल and श्रृंखल, have technical senses in PMS III. 3. 14. śrutis ordinarily means Veda or a vedic text. But here श्रृंखल and श्रृंखल mean respectively न्द्वीतीय ईश्वाद्वीत्तनेंक्षेत्र्यस्य सति बलायते, श्रृंखलायमः श्रृंखलायमः i.e. a vedic word or a passage that is independent (i.e. does not require any intermediate step to be taken) and liṅga means the suggestive power of words. Both the definitions are given by the अधिकार्य; 'श्रृंखला-

(Continued on next page)
is ‘niveśanah saṅgamano vasūnām...Indro na tathau samare pathinām’ (Tai. S. IV. 2. 5. 4). Here the doubt arises whether one should worship Indra as the word ‘Aindryā’ indicates or whether one should worship Gārhapatya (as the passage directly asserts) with a verse addressed to Indra, or whether one should worship both or whether one should worship either Indra or Gārhapatya as one likes. The conclusion is that sruti (direct Vedic assertion) is more powerful than linga. On hearing the words ‘Gārhapatyaṃ upaṭiṣṭhate’ we are directly told by the Veda about the worship of Gārhapatya. The word ‘Aindryā’ being in the instrumental (as in ‘dadhnā juhoti’—he performs homa with curds) merely supplies a detail (guna) viz. that the mantra to be repeated is one addressed to Indra and there is no word that directly asserts that Indra is to be worshipped.

2152 Šabara on PMS III. 2. 4 explains that even Gārhapatya has some of the qualities of Indra and so metaphorically he may be called Indra (as a brave man is called a lion), since Gārhapatya is a means of accomplishing yajña like Indra or Gārhapatya may be called Indra from the root ‘ind’, and may be taken to mean ‘a master or lord’.

The six means may each come in conflict with all the means that follow each of them. Therefore, there will be five cases of conflict of sruti with linga (which has already been described) or with vākyya, or prakarāṇa or sthāna or samākhya; there will be four cases of conflict between linga and vākyya or each of the three ones (of the means) that follow vākyya in the sūtra, in the same way vākyya may be in conflict with prakarana and the other two (in all three cases), prakarana may be in conflict with sthāna or samākhya (i.e. two cases) and sthāna may be in conflict with samākhya. So that there are in all fifteen cases of conflict of the six means among themselves. We need not

(Continued from last page)

2152. śrāṇagārāṇaṃ śvāsāsmātāṇaṃ śvāśāsmānstaṣṭaṃ vivekāntaḥ. पु. मी. स. III. 2. 4; शाबर, ‘भवति कि श्वासामास्मानम्...इति। एवम् नाभियन्निद्रां गाहित्यय इत्यद्व इति। अति नाभियन्निद्रां इति। नाभियन्निद्रां इति। अन्तर्यां व्यवहरणसाधनां अप्येक्षेत इति। व्यवहरणसाधनां अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। व्यवहरणसाधनां अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। अप्येक्षेत इति। vide भाषाली on द. स. III. 3. 25.
take into account the conflict of one of the six means with its predecessors, since to say that linga may be in conflict with śruti is the same thing as saying that śruti may be in conflict with linga. Very large space would have to be devoted if all these fifteen possible conflicts are to be exemplified from Vedic and Dharmaśāstra texts. Therefore, the author does not essay that task.

Dharmaśāstra works often utilize this adhikaraṇa called bañabala (PMS III. 3. 14). For example, the Par. M. quotes a śruti passage that one should perform the daily evening sandhyā adoration of Āditya (the sun) with mantras addressed to Varuna and remarks that “Vārūṇībhīḥ” (like Āndra) is only linga while, ‘Ādityam-upsthāya’ śruti (direct assertion) and therefore the sun is to be worshipped in the evening with mantras addressed to Varuna and refers to the example ‘āndra gārhapatyam upatisthathe’ for support.

The fourth adhyāya of the PMS deals mainly with the subject of prayojya and prayojaka and kratvartha and puruṣārtha. The latter two have been explained and illustrated above (pp. 1232-1235). A few illustrations of the first two may be given. The Prayājas have been declared above to be kratvartha (p. 1233). Therefore, kratu (sacrifice) is the prayojaka (militating force) of Prayājas. The reward (phala, svarga or the like) is the prayojaka of yāga or a puruṣārtharite. That is a prayojaka for the sake of which a man is led to perform something by a Vedic exhortatory passage. The sentence is ‘one should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsā sacrifice for securing svarga; therefore the reward (svarga and the like) is the prayojaka of Darśapūrṇamāsā-yāga.’

The injunction to mix curds with milk makes a person do so for producing āmikaśa and not vājina, since this latter arises of it-

self in preparing ānīkṣa. Therefore, it is ānīkṣa, being the hāvis in the Vaiśva-devāyaṇa that is the prayojaka of the Vaiśva-devāyaṇa and vājīna-yāga is not the prayojaka of putting curds into milk 2155 (P. M. S. I. V. 1. 22–24). The result is that, if by accident ānīkṣa is destroyed, in order to secure the hāvis (ānīkṣa) curds will have again to be put in boiled milk, but if vājīna, not being prayojaka, is destroyed, curds need not be put into boiled milk again.

Examples of puruṣārtha acts have been given above (p. 1234) such as the Prājāpativrata. This chapter (in 2nd pāda) deals with several cases of pratipattikarma and arthakarma already explained above (pp. 1231–32). There are certain substances, certain embellishments and subsidiary actions with which some phala is associated. For example, it is said (in Tāi. S. III, 7. 5. 2) ‘he who has jhūl ladle made of pārṇa (palāśa) wood never hears an evil word about himself’; ‘that he applies collyrium (to his eyes), he injures the eye of his enemy’ (Tāi. S. VI. I. 1. 5): ‘That he performs the Prayājas and Anuyājas, that is indeed the armour of the sacrifice’. PMS declares that these texts about rewards associated with substances, embellishments and subsidiary acts are really not vīdhis about rewards but are mere arthavādās, because all these serve the purpose of the principal kratu. 2156

This fourth chapter (in 3rd pāda) also decides that, although no reward is expressly declared by Śruti (the Veda) for the performance of the Viśvajit sacrifice, still in the Viśvajit sacrifice (and in other sacrifices where no reward is expressly mentioned) svarga is the reward. 2157

The Viśvajit is a striking sacrifice in which the performer donates all belongings of which he is the owner (‘Viśvajiti sarva–

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2155. तस्मादारिक्षा प्रेयोजकं वाजिनमयोजकामिति। शाश्व on III. 1. 23; पद्मय प्रेयोजकं वाजिन्ते लद्देः पुनस्ति द्वष्टं दप्तरनेतव्यं। अथ वाजिनमयोजकं नल्ले वाजिने लोको द्वपयनेत्यत्वम्। शाश्व on IV. 1. 24.

2156. अयस्यस्मातःस्वसारङ्गसारङ्ग परार्थवाक्त्रुतिविद्यादेव: स्पष्टं। पु. मी. चू. IV. 3. 10; शाश्व quotes among others the following three passages: यथ शृंगारयः उद्वेष्टिति न स पारं शृङ्गारिणिः कालिणिः। श्रद्धालकोः श्रद्धालेष्वर्य ब्रुत्रके (सरस्वते), प्रत्यक्षाज्ञानया ज्ञातुपर्यं इति वा एकाद्वारे दिनेयं (कर्म)।

2157. स स्मग । स्त्रास्त्रसमस्याविद्विषाक्षतात च। पु. मी. चू. IV. 3. 15. सूचन means सर्वत्रायोपकार: शाश्व explains ‘सर्व तल एवं श्रग्निमात्र: सर्वस्मार्क:। कुश एवम् नीतिििः स्मग । सर्वोपकारस्मि माध्यमे।’ स्मग on मनु II. 2. refers to it; vidya चारा, मा. I. 1. p. 148. The विग्रहदिशाय II. 6. 46 has: मन्नितिकर: स्मगं नरस्तवःग्रिशयं। नरस्तवस्यागे वृयस्मी विप्रे विशोक्षम।
svam dadāti'). Jaimini devotes about fourteen adhikaraṇas to it, viz. IV. 3. 10-16 (three adhikaraṇas), VI. 7. 1-20 (nine adhikaraṇas), VII. 3. 6-11 (one adhi.), X. 6.13-14 (one adhi.). Some of the interesting propositions are: the performer cannot donate his own relatives (such as father or mother) but can denote that of which he is real owner or master; that even the emperor cannot make a gift of the whole kingdom, as other people have rights over land and the king protects the people and has only the right to a certain share in the produce of the land; that the performer cannot donate horses as śruti expressly forbids the gift of horses in Viśvajīt; that the performer can donate only that which exists as his property at the time of giving dakṣiṇā in the sacrifice and not that which may become his at a future date; that a śūdra2159 who waits upon the performer because it is his duty to serve (acc. to Manu) cannot be donated; a person of a higher varṇa cannot be donated; only he who has 112 cows or more wealth is entitled to perform Viśvajīt.

The 5th adhīyāya of P. M. S. deals with krama (the order in which the several component parts or acts that go to make up a sacrifice are to come one after another). Vidhis speak of the performance of many acts in a sacrifice and do not always lay down the order in which those acts (principal and auxiliary) are to be performed. It would not do to perform them in any order that the performer likes. For determining the order of sequence of several acts in a sacrifice one has to depend upon six means2160 viz. śruti (direct assertion as to order), artha

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2158. स्वान्तः सर्वभविष्यति (पुरुषस्य) यथा वा प्रशुः स्पर्शितस्मात् गायत्रीवन्यस्य अर्थात् (सिद्धांतः)। IV. 7. 1-2; vide H. of Dē, vol. II pp. 849-50 which summarise PMS. VI. 7. 1-7, यथा म. p. 92. विख्यातिः ... इत्यादिः occurs in कौशिक. यथा 25. 14. मेधावी अर्थात् “द्वारकालक्षणेऽवजः चाविष्णु धर्मविश्वासिति मौर्याक्षकृतं न च मुखिः प्रथितो।”
सत्यात् प्रभावम् नति विक्रमणादिसौत्सृष्टिसा धृतिः स्तायिकंकृताणत् कथ घृतेत् हस्तः॥

2159. द्वारकालक्षणेऽवजः VI. 7. 6; vide यथा म. p. 93, and notes p. 132 thereon; एकमेव इ द्वारकालक्षणेऽवजः कथ समाहितस्तृपति। एतथाष्टित विश्वासानि द्वारकालक्षणेऽवजः। मनु I. 91 and X. 123; vide H. of Dē vol. II. p. 182 n. 424 for शक्ति’s words. विकारः: सर्वभविष्यति। अधिकें वा प्रतिपादितः। असुत्रवाहवादः पाववत्। पृ. मी. यथा VI. 7. 18-20: तत्र च हर्षसाज्ज्ञाम्बिकाः च सत्येत्तताम्। इतिविद तदादेः। तस्मात् गुरुभुद्ध-स्वराधिकारः। शक्ति; the प्रभावितम् (तान्त्रिक) मा. has तस्यः हृदयं संस्थित्क: (16. 1. 10-11).

2160. एवेतेकाणि कस्मनेकालक्षणेऽवजः। तत्रुत्तर्ध्वधुश्चापि कस्मं कुसुमविज्ञेयं। शक्तिः पुरुषस्य च बलभद्रं। शक्ति on पृ. मी. यथा V. 1.1. It may be noticed that both अग्रेंतहं and मी. यथा म. slightly differ from साबर in the order and names of the six means viz, as तत्र परेऽ प्रभावितम् शुरुन्त्रध्वधुश्चापि कस्मविज्ञेयं। तत्र कस्मं कस्मा निम्बितिविज्ञेयं: यथा परमायपो च। अर्थसंग्रह p. 12 and मी. यथा म. p. 173.

H. D. 165
In the Vedic passage about the dikṣā in a sattra, the adhvaryu, after performing the dikṣā (initiation rite) on the grhapati (the yajamāna, the performer of the sacrifice) performs dikṣā on the brahmā priest, then on udgātri etc. The Vedic text directly lays down the sequence (by means of the termination ‘tva’) that the dikṣā of brahmā priest comes after the dikṣā of the yajamāna. In the passage ‘samidho yajati tanūnapātam yajati &c.’ the very order in which the sentences occur in the text (i.e. pātha) determines the order of the performance of the several yāgas (PMS V. 1. 4). The Veda first speaks of the offering of Agnihotra and then of the cooking of gruel. Here the offering of Agnihotra comes first and preparation of gruel comes after that. But, unless the material to be offered is ready, no Agnihotra offering can be made. Therefore, here the pātha-krama has to be given up and arthakrama (order as dictated by the purpose and suitability) has to be followed i.e. first gruel must be prepared and then Agnihotra offered. This is an example showing that arthakrama is more powerful than pātha-krama (PMS V. 4. 1). The Parāśarasmṛti lays down that every day one should perform sandhya (morning adoration), bath, japa (muttering of sacred texts), homa, study of the Veda, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and feeding guests. The Par. M. says that setting aside the pātha-krama one must follow the suitability and therefore bath comes first and sandhya afterwards. The Sm. C. quotes Vṛddhamanu to the effect that a childless chaste widow should offer pīṇḍa to her deceased husband and take his wealth. Here it is proper to hold that she should first take his wealth and then perform his śrāddhas. In the Vājapeya the text says that the performer (yajamāna) has to tie to the sacrificial post seventeen pāṣus to be offered to Prajapati (Tāl. Br. I. 3. 4.

2161. अतिने जुधोलिपि पूर्वग्राह्यम्, ओद्दि न चतुर्विधिपि पश्चात्। असम्भववत् पूर्वावेदः पञ्चविधिः। श्वर वनो 1. 3। विदे वरो 4. 1।

2162. सर्वग्रह स्तनां जयो होमो देनाततालिच्युतनय। अतिद्वयं शैवद्विं च पद्धतिमाणि दिने दिने। परासरसुति I. 39। विदे वरो 1. 3। विदे पति 1. 1. 18। इतिहि विना वायुः वायुः होमसाधनानन्दनस्ति च द्रुये स्नातीवेणि-रांगुणायात्मकः पुरुषाभिवृतिः सिद्धान्तः। एवस्वाति स्तनायु भुद्योद्धितयात्राद्विमृच्छेत सर्वावधिक- नायुकार्यास्तास्तार्ता पुरुषाभिवृतिः द्रुयेष्ठेऽवयस्। वेजासु। अवर्जु। शर्मन भुते। वायुपायाः को द्वितिया। पर्यसैष् हृदातर्पितः द्रुयेष्ठेऽवयस्। तद्गते। इति। उसताय उष्णसत्वो वातावरणाय द्रुयेष्ठ।। नायुकार्याः। उक्तात्त्वाः पर्यसैष् भविष्यं द्रुयेष्ठ तथा पक्षान्तियः द्रुयेष्ठ।। न्युनतिः भविष्यं सर्थं भ्राताहिंचिति। स्वतिच। II. प. 291।
2–3). It is also provided that each of the 17 paśus should have several sāṃskāras performed on it such as proktāna (consecration by sprinkling sacred water on it), upākarana (bringing near). One may take any of the 17 animals first and begin to perform the first of the sāṃskāras on it; but having once begun with a particular animal he must perform the second and other sāṃskāras one after another on the same animal; i.e. the order of the sāṃskāras on an animal is determined by the commencement. Kāṇḍa or sthāna is exemplified as follows: The Jyotistoma is the model sacrifice (prakṛti) of which Śādyaskra is a vikṛti (modification). It is prescribed by the Veda in the case of Śādyaskra that all animals should be sacrificed together at the savaniya stage. In Jyotistoma, there are three animals offered viz. 'agniṣomiyā' in the morning, 'savanīya' in the noon and 'anubandhyā' in the evening. Śādyaskra, being a vikṛti, all these have to be performed in it; but the particular text about it provides that all three must be sacrificed together at the savaniya stage. This (offering all three simultaneously) is impossible and therefore all that can be done is to offer (them) one after another (and not at three different times in the day); it would appear at first sight that the Agniṣomiyā paśu comes first; but that is not so, since simultaneous offerings being laid down at the savaniya stage in śādyaskraya, the savaniya-paśu is to be first offered (and not Agniṣomiyā) and then the Agniṣomiyā immediately after and then Anubandhya or these two may be offered in any order one likes (but immediately).

An example of sequence being determined by the mukhya (first or principal) is: there is a śruti passage 'two Sārasvata offerings are to be made; this is indeed a divine couple'.

2163. अतः प्रात:पत्रवेष्टके पदार्थं स्वतेऽपिका व्रतमर्याद्य: पदार्थमं उपशुद्धं। तत्र प्रथमपदार्थं-पदार्थं कर्मातिचंतकोरसर्वं कार्यम्। द्वितीयस्तु पदार्थं पेन कर्मण: प्रथमपदार्थि स्तम्भनं कर्मणां-चून्द्रेण: प्रथमविधयवतः सिद्धपृथिविसिद्धपृथिविसयस्य। भी. न्या. प. pp. 189-190.

2164. सारस्तिः भवत् एवं प्राक्ते भवेऽवर्मिनिहम स्वप्ने मध्यते दुःखांति पुत्रवं प्रज-नलयं। ते. सं. II. 4. 6. 1–2. This occurs in relation to विक्रमेय in which seven subsidiary offerings are prescribed of which two are सारस्ति. सारस्तिः means 'सारस्तिःसरस्तिः सरस्तिःसरस्तिः सारस्तिः'. The पु. भी. भूत्य 'सुदृढःकर्मणाः-धारा तदार्थसाराम्' (V. 1. 14 बा.) याज्ञ. II. 135 mentions as heirs to a man dying sonless, his wife, daughter and parents (विशेषी). Suppose a man dies leaving his father and mother as nearest relatives, who should succeed, viz. whether mother should be preferred to father or vice versa or whether both should take the estate equally. The सिद्धपृथिविः prefers the mother to the father, the Sm. C. refers to this instance of सारस्तिः भवति: and there being

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Details are provided as regards the two offerings to Sarasvatī and Śāśvatā. The doubt arises: are the details about the offering to be made to the female deity to be performed first or are they to be first performed as the offerings to the male deity? The prima facie view being that as no śāstra exists regulating priority one may do as one likes, the established conclusion is that the order of sequence in the case of the details should be determined by the order of the Yājñānuvākyā verses. These are mentioned first about the female deity in the words ‘pra no devi Sarasvatī’ (Tai. S. I. 8. 22. 1, Rg. VI. 61. 4). Therefore, the conclusion is that in the details also the offering to the female deity should come first.

In PMS V. 1. 16 it is decided that the order expressed in mantras should be followed in preference to the order contained in Brāhmaṇa texts. The Darśāpurāṇamāsa sacrifice is made up of three component sacrifices, Āgneya, Upāṃsu and the Agnisomya. In Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 3, the Agnisomya sacrifice is first described and in Tai. II. 6. 3. 3 the Āgneya is described. But these are held to be Brāhmaṇa texts, though now appearing in the Śamhitā texts, since they lay down a vidhi; but in the Mantrapaṭha the Āgneya mantra ‘Āgnir-mūrdha’ (Tai. B. III. 5. 7. 1) is first set out and then follows the mantra ‘Agnisomā savedasā’ (Tai. Br. III. 5. 7. 2). Therefore, the Āgneya is to be first performed and the Agnisomya afterwards.

If there are several deities or brāhmaṇas to be honoured with several acts or things, or there are several yūpas (sacrificial posts) as in Aikādaśīna animal sacrifice on which several śaṃskāras are to be performed from aṇījana to purivyāṇa (sur-

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no special ground of choice between the two, holds that the father takes first following certain other smṛtis like Brhat-Viśṇu. The Dāyabhāga prefers the father to the mother and several works like the Vyavahāraprakāśa, (p. 524), the Madanaratna (p. 364) do the same. The words of the śruti (II. p. 297) are “सारस्वतं भक्तं इत्युपस्ताविक्यं कामसाधनपादेन यावदा” कफमत्यमन्यो: कम: पद्मे शरीरो न युनः सारस्वताधित्वकृतम् एव कष्टित कृतार्थवि- कपालप्रतितिनिश्चयते (I) मातु: याध्यससमयेः. अत्र एव श्रीकर्णदिनमधुक्रपः सदयुक्तुः।... इति सर्वाधिके विद्यार्थिनिवयते रिन्यमतपूर्वः। ‘पद्मे’ in the above passage refers to fifth adhīṇya of P. M. S.

2165. प्राणिकोषक्षाणानं प्र: कम: स पुरुषः। स पादुकः। तस्मात् पद्यानां कम आभीपते। ये वि स्थीत्रशक्यतानि पतितानि तेनेव क्रमेणात्मापतियथायथ जन्यते। यथायथायथायथ च पवयानाममहतानां। च स पुरुषो द्वितिबं: सम्पवती ब्रह्मणादत्तां। तत्सङ्गमाधीनस्यस्यस्योऽस्मात्तप्ताय भक्तुतवः: कम आभीपते स सम्पवतः। स पच्छिय सम्पवतो भाग्यपाठदाते पल्लवः। अद्वहाने आध्यात्मिक्यपेक्षया सम्पवतस्यस्मात्तप्ताः। मृ. र्या. म. pp. 176-177.
rounding with a girdle), then one should perform all the saṁskāras from añjana to parīvyāṇa on the yūpa first and then all these on the 2nd and so on up to the last yūpa or whether one should perform añjana on all yūpas one after another, the next saṁskāra on all yūpas one after another and so on till the last saṁskāra of parīvyāṇa is done on all yūpas one after another. The former way is called kāndānumamaya and the latter 'padārthānu-

samaṇa'.2166 Jai. V. 2. 7-9 refers to the first method and Jai. V. 2.
1-3 to the 2nd. Vide for the explanation and illustration of these two, H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 739-740, p. 1132 n 2528 and Vol. IV.
pp. 441-42 n 987. On Yāj. I. 232 ('apasavyyam tataḥ krtvā')
the Mit. remarks that the performer of Śrāddha follows the
kāndānumamaya method for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas i.e.
gives them water for washing the feet, then ācamana, seat,
sandalwood paste, flowers &c, then he should wear the sacred
thread on the right shoulder and offer the upacāras to the pitrya
brāhmaṇas.

The sixth adhyāya of PMS is a very interesting one. It
deals with the various aspects of the question of adhikāra, that is, qualifications of the performer of a sacrifice. It is a very exhaus-
tive chapter having eight pādas like chap. III and X. A few of
the numerous propositions contained therein that have influenced
the works on Dharmāśāstra have already been set out, such as
women’s right to participate in Vedic sacrifices, śādra’s ineligibil-
ity for them, the rathakāranyāya and niṣādathapatiṃyāya
and a few more will be dealt with here. As a preliminary
Jaimini establishes (in P. M. S. VI. 1. 1-3) that in such texts as
‘one desirous of heaven should offer the Dāśāpiṃmāṣā sacrifice or one should offer the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice’ the Veda prescribes
yāga for one who desires heaven i.e. heaven is the principal
(or predominant) factor while yāga is subsidiary or subordi-
nate; thereby it follows that the Vedic text lays down the
characteristics of the deities. The Ṭuptikā says that2167

2166. On Jv. V. 2. 1-3 पार्श शास्त्री states 'पधमे पदार्थ संबंधू कहता ततो द्रवित:।
कर्त्तव्य:। एवं वर्णपूर्णामाधिकरनेत्याप्याधिकारमणयाः पदार्थांतुसमय युः
श्वाधियो न काण्डसमय इत्यिः सिद्धान्तकारका। p. 421; ... गण्यनार्थभवन ०० अर्थः यु. सु. १. २४.
24. 7 explains तत्र पदार्थाश्च नाम संबंधो वर्णकारण बिन्दर इत्य ततः पार्थ तत्त्वगतिः।
काण्डसमयो नाम एकसिंहो वित्ताहृदादीविवेच्यते समायत मनोहृत्य तत्त्वगतिः।
The श्व. म. (p. 66) refers to पदार्थांतुसमय in the worship of deities in the
balance ordeal.

2167. तत्राक्षरकामयेत्र यागकोपदेशः धर्मात। अतः स्त्रिः प्रधानत: कर्मसः खण्डः इति
सर्वकामाधिकारस्य चेतौति वर्णमित्यविकल्पानां गतिः सिद्धान्तः। यथा ०० यु. मी. यु. VI. १. ३;

(Continued on next page)
‘adhistāri is the owner (or master) who stands above all actions (yāga).’ Another more elaborate definition is given as ‘adhistāri is one who desires some reward (such as heaven or happiness), who is possessed of the capacity to perform the act prescribed, who has learning and who is not excluded from performing a sacrifice (by Śrutī)’. Even lower animals desire happiness; hence to exclude them the words ‘possessed of the capacity’ &c. are added. A man may be totally ignorant and so the word ‘vidyān’ is added; a śūdra may desire happiness, may have capacity and be also learned but he is excluded by the vedic text, ‘Therefore the Śūdra is not fit (or ordained) for sacrifice’.

In VI. I. 39–40 it is established²¹⁶⁸ that every man belonging to one of the three higher classes has a right to perform Vedic sacrifices. A man though at one time devoid of wealth may acquire wealth by various means. Similarly, it is said in VI. 1. 41 that one who is defective in a limb is just like one who is devoid of wealth i. e. such a man has a right to offer Vedic sacrifices provided he takes steps to remove the weakness. In VI. 1. 42 it is further provided that if the defect is congenital and incurable, the person who suffers from such a defect is not entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices.

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²¹⁶⁸ The first case is intended to illustrate the definition of adhistāri. The second case is intended to show that the definition is not restricted to any particular class.

²¹⁶⁹ The case of the lame man is intended to illustrate the definition of adhistāri.

²¹⁷⁰ The case of the blind man is intended to illustrate the definition of adhistāri.

²¹⁷¹ The case of the deaf man is intended to illustrate the definition of adhistāri.

²¹⁷² The case of the dumb man is intended to illustrate the definition of adhistāri.

²¹⁷³ The case of the idiotic man is intended to illustrate the definition of adhistāri.

²¹⁷⁴ The case of the handicapped man is intended to illustrate the definition of adhistāri.

²¹⁷⁵ The case of the mentally handicapped man is intended to illustrate the definition of adhistāri.
Exclusion from inheritance 1319

The ancient and medieval Hindu law of inheritance and succession was modelled on this. Vide Yaj. II. 140, Manu IX, 201 and Nārada (dāyabhāga, verses 21–22). Yaj. II. 140 declares that the impotent, the outcast and his son, a lame man, a lunatic, an idiot, a blind man and a person afflicted with an incurable disease are not entitled to a share, but are entitled to receive maintenance. This subject has been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 610–612. The Mit. on Yaj. II. 140 provides that the grounds of disqualification apply to males and females alike. But the recent Hindu Succession Act (No. 32 of 1956) sweeps away all these grounds of disqualification by providing that no person shall be disqualified from succeeding to any property on the ground of any disease, defect or deformity or, save as provided in this act, on any other ground whatever (section 28).

A good many sūtras (in chap. VI. 3. 17–41) deal with what are called ‘pratinidhi’ (substitute, representative or proxy). These have been described in H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 6841 1110, 1203, Vol. III. pp. 471, 637, 653. 654 (where Satyāśadha Śr. S. III containing similar rules is mentioned). A few of them are briefly mentioned here. The first rule is that if the substance declared by the Veda for preparing an offering perishes or is lost as regards an obligatory rite or as regards kāmya rite that is already begun, one should substitute another substance (like nīvaras, wild rice grains) for urīhi (rice grains) or yava i.e. barley grains and finish the rite (VI. 3 13–17). In some cases Vedic texts prescribe a substitute for the substance required to be used, as in ‘if he (the performer) cannot obtain the Soma plant, he should substitute pūtikā stalks and extract juice therefrom.’ It is argued by the objector that, as the Veda expressly substitutes pūtikas for soma, one should conclude that where Veda does not expressly mention a substitute for a prescribed substance, it means that a substitute is not allowed by the Veda in other cases. The siddhānta is that the prescribing of pūtikas as substitute is a restrictive rule2169 viz. that although several plants may resemble soma, there is a restriction that only pūtikas should be substituted. It is provided (in III. 6. 37, 39) that when a substitute like nīvaras is employed, the subsidiary acts of sprinkling with water, pounding with mortar and pestle that are performed on rice or barley grains should also be per-

2169. निम्नमात्रः कवित्विन्धि:। VI. 3 16: संसाराचि चतुष्कुष्ठातु प्रतेषु नियमः
किंचि पूर्वका नियोभिर्नात्तु इति। शब्दः—The तात्विकांगृह (IX. 5. 3) provides
‘यदि सोमं न विशेषः,’ which is quoted in n. 2001 above.
formed on them. When rice grains are employed the mantra expressly speaks of the rice offering as the sap or essence of rice grains. There adaptation (uha) is to be made as ‘nivārānām medha’ (vide PMS IX. 3. 1–2). But in certain cases no substitute is allowed viz. the devatā with respect to which an āhavīs (offering) is prescribed cannot have another substituted in a rite e. g. ‘Āgneyosṭākapālāḥ’ cannot be changed into ‘aingroṣṭākapālāḥ’, since in that case the rite will cease to be what was intended. Similarly, when the text says ‘he offers into the Āhavaniya fire,’ one cannot substitute the Gārhapatyā fire; another mantra cannot be substituted for the one prescribed nor can other rites be substituted for the Prayājas ‘samidho yajati’ &c.).

The Veda forbids the use of varakas, kodravas and māsas as unfit for a sacrifice. If a person mistakenly takes māsa grains or particles believing them to be mudga grains or particles and uses them in a sacrifice in which an oblation of boiled mudga pulse is prescribed, he will not be performing the desired rite as what is forbidden as unfit cannot be a substitute.

This nyāya is relied upon by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 126 (which simply states that if joint family properties are suppressed or concealed by some members and kept for themselves, they should be distributed in equal shares even after partition (when this is found out), which holds that this verse cannot be interpreted so as to absolve the concealer of such joint property from guilt simply on the ground that he was himself a part owner and explains that just as a sacrificer mistakenly believing māsa particles as mudga ones loses the fruit of the sacrifice, so the concealer of joint property is guilty of wrong. The Vyavahāraprakāśa (p. 555) and Aparārka p. 732 take the same view, but the Dāyabhāga (XII. 11–13) and V. R. (p. 526) are opposed to this (vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 636). The Prāyaścittatattva p. 482 has an elaborate note on this nyāya.

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2170. अति हु पक्ताः भित्तिनिकृते मस्यः—संयोगे ते सचन यथा न्यायसः।
2171. न्यायसः सम्योगः साधनयेषु मथितम्।
2172. अति हु पक्ताः भित्तिनिकृते मस्यः।

2170. अति हु पक्ताः भित्तिनिकृते मस्यः—संयोगे ते सचन यथा न्यायसः। यथा तेषां ते सचन ।
2171. न्यायसः सम्योगः साधनयेषु मथितम्।
2172. अति हु पक्ताः भित्तिनिकृते मस्यः। यथा तेषां ते सचन ।
Another rule is that there can be no substitute for the performer of the sacrifice (VI. 3. 21), since (in Jai. III. 7, 18-20) it is laid down that the fruit of the rite belongs to the owner, though after beginning the rite he leaves everything to the priests engaged to perform the rite. The only exception is in the case of sattras (Jai. VI. 3. 22) performed by many persons together acting both as performers and as priests.

One important adhikaraṇa is VI. 7. 31-40. There is a Sattra called 'Viśvasrājām-aṇayanam' which is said to last for 1000 samvatsaras. After referring to Tai. Br. I. 3. 7. 7 and I. 7. 6. 2 (śatayuh puruṣāḥ) and to the views of Kṛṣṇājīnī and Lāvakāyanā, Jaimini boldly establishes the conclusion that samvatsara here means day. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 1246 n. 2683 for the Mahābhāṣya stating that the Yājñikas in speaking about such sattras only follow the tradition handed down by ancient sages. Medhatithi on Mānu I. 84 ('vedoktam-śyur-martyānām') has a long note wherein he refers to the view of Jaimini, quotes 'śatayur vai puruṣāḥ' and also 'śatam-innu sarado anti devā' (Ṛg. I. 89, 9) and cites the views of other interpreters. The Kātyāyana Śī. (I. 6. 17-27) discusses this very subject at great length, refers to the differing interpretations of Bharadvāja, Kṛṣṇājīnī and Laugākṣi but ultimately holds that samvatsara means 'day' here.

In the first six chapters of the P. M. S. the procedure of such rites as Darśapūrṇāmāsā the details of which are expressly laid down by the Veda has been considered. In the six chapters from the 7th consideration will be given to sacrifices like Aindrāgna, the procedure of which is not expressly laid down by the Veda. In the 7th chapter what is considered is whether in the vikṛtis (sacrifices that are modifications of the model sacrifices) details have to be added and, if so, which and how many of the details have to be carried out.

The 7th chapter deals with the general question of the extension or transference of details in general (i.e. atideśa in general) to Aindrāgna and other sacrifices. Atideśa is the

2173. The śrāvakāntamāla (in G. O. S.) 4th pārīṣṭam p. 257 says: अतिदेसात् श्रावकांतमालेन कर्तारम् कर्त्तव्यम् धम्मसमाप्तियानम् तथा सत्यमस्तियानम् तथा... यथा ब्रह्मचारिणों भोजितिह इत्यति. भूलकणक्यं भूलकणक्यं... चतुर्विद्येषो वेन स्वात् सौरातिह इति स्िष्ठिति... इति. स च नाम्भा विभेदित वा. वेन्यथा सुभाषितियानम् तथा... सार्वम् तृतीयैः तिथि इति...
process or method by which the details prescribed in connection
with one rite are taken that rite and transferred to
another. Śabara quotes from some ancient author a śloka defin-
ing atideśa. The sacrifice from which details are transferred is
called prakrti (model or Archetype) and the sacrifice to which
details are transferred or extended is called vikṛti (or Ectype).
Atideśa may be provided for by vacana (Vedic text) or by the
name. The first is of two kinds viz. by a direct statement or by
an inferential process. For example, as regards a magic
sacrifice called Isu the text says, after speaking of some details,
that the rest are the same as in Śyena. An instance of an
inferential vacana is the extension to the Saurya sacrifice of the
details of the Āgneya in Darśapūrṇamāsa, because both are very
closely connected and because no details are prescribed by the
text about ‘Sauryayāga’ (PMS VII. 4. 1). The name also is
two-fold, viz. name of a rite and name of a samśkāra. The
Māsāṅghikhotra prescribed (vide PMS II. 3. 24) in Kuṇḍapāyin-
nām-ayana is a different rite from the obligatory Agnihotra (as
in ‘yāvajjivam-agnihotram jhuyāt’) as proved above, but the
name ‘agnihotra’ being common to both, the details of the usual
Agnihotra (such as milking the cow, offering curds or milk,
using a Khadira fuel stick &c.) are to be extended to Māsāṅgh-
hotra (Jai. VII. 3. 1–4). Extension due to samśkāra name is
instanced in Jai. VII. 3. 12–15. In the Varunaprāghāsa (one of
the cāturmāsyas), Avabhṛtha (bath) is prescribed, but no details
are added and therefore the requisite details are to be taken from
the rules about the Avabhṛtha in Somayāga. 275

Atideśa is frequently resorted to by smṛtis and digests. For
example, Yaj. I. 236 and 242 extend the procedure of Pīṇḍa-
pitṛyajña as regards Agnaukarana and offering of pīṇḍas to the
Pārvanāśraddha. The Parāśarasmṛti (VII. 18–19) speaks

274. अतीतिच्छन्न सन्दर्भ: । अत्र: सन्दर्भः । तत्र द्वारकप्राप्तिसारी तत्त्वेऽक्ति काव्यिस्त्रां
न्यायपालिकाय समानोदितर्ष्युतेनाति। ज्ञात on VII. 1. 13. समा ... नेत्र is आप. आय.
22. 7. 18.

275. तर्कचर: समान: । जै. VII. 3. 12; वसुमप्राप्तस्य शुचिः। वासुक्य तिथिकाने नु
स्वभावार्थ्यं यत्सन्ति। वथा वासुक्यभवानामतिथिः एवं साधिकन्द्राम | धमालिष्टीयः । कृत: ।
अभिव्यक्तो न्यायः । उक्ते किपिन्यायानां तथासां तत्त्वज्ञानी विपिनः। राजां-श्रेष्ठः । उक्ते ... राजाः
is जै. VII. 3. 1.

276. प्रथमेऽधिनि चन्द्राष्टि द्वितीये श्रव्याचिनिः । तृतीये रजकीया शरदेभेद्यनि
श्रव्याः । पारस्ते VII. 18–19, on which परस. मा. (vol. II. 1. pp. 168–169)
remarks वासुक्यप्राप्तिसारिः शवादं। सर्वत्र वर्तमानानामावश्यन्त: इत्यवधिपर्यध� तैतत्त्वमभिमस्ववाहः।
वथा तुष्यपयात्तिसारिः मासामित्रोपयः श्रव्याः । इत्यवधिप्राप्तनामतिथिः इत्यवधिप्राप्तप्राप्तः
तिथिस्ताहनोऽति ।
of a woman in her monthly illness as a cāndālī on the first day of the illness, as the murderess of a brāhmaṇa on the 2nd day and as a washerwoman on the 3rd day. The Par. M. remarks that the intention of calling such a woman by these names is to convey that intercourse with her will result in the same sin as would be incurred by a person of higher classes if he had intercourse with a cāndālī &c. For an instance of express extension, vide V. M. pp. 56–57 when it quotes a verse of Pitāmaha on the balance ordeal (in which the word ‘yūpavat’ is used) and remarks that atidēsa is prescribed expressly by the word ‘yūpa-vat’.

The 8th chapter deals with specific cases of extension (atidēsa). The Dāsarāṇāmāsa is the prakṛti of all 2177 īṣṭīs and ‘Dāsarāṇāmāsābhyaṁ yajeta’ is called vidhyādi and vidhyanta is the whole procedure of Dāsarāṇamāsa (except the originative injunction ‘dāsarāṇāmāsābhyaṁ yajeta’) detailed in the Brāhmaṇas about the offering of puroḍāsa (cake) &c. In the Viṣṇiṇīyāga called Saurya 2178 the sentence ‘one who desires to secure the lustre of Vedic learning should offer boiled rice to the Sun’ is the vidhyādi, but no details are mentioned there. There is an expectation of some procedure and, though there are numerous vidhyantas in relation to sacrifices, the special word ‘nirvapati’ is indicative of the procedure of Dāsarāṇamāsa (in which also there is nirvāpa) and one comes to understand that the Saurya caru is offered as in Agneya (the first rites in

2177. Vedic sacrifices are usually divided for convenience into three varieties, viz. Iṣṭī (in which offerings are of milk, clarified butter, rice, barley and other grains), Pasu and Soma and the latter again into Ekāha (lasting for one day like Agniśṭoma), Abihna (lasting for more than one day up to 12 days) and Sattra (lasting from 12 days to a year or more). Sabara on PMS IV. 4. 20 states that there are four Mahāyajñas, viz. Agnihotra, Dāsarāṇamāsa, Jyoṭiśṭoma, Pīṇḍapitṛyajña. There are seven Soma sacrifices as stated by Gaut. Dh. S. VIII. 18. Besides these Srauta rites, there are other rites prescribed in the grhyasūtras, which are offered in grhya fire and seven important ones from which are called pākayajñās. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 193–194.

2178. विभाषनो या भक्तिविद्याविद्याय वर्तत तवाहि तिलकुर्दशनम्। पु. भव. च. VII. 4. 10; विभाषनो व प्रकाशस्य माध्यमस्य वर्तत तवाहि तिलकुर्दशनम्। विभाषनो व प्रकाशस्य माध्यमस्य वर्तत तवाहि तिलकुर्दशनम्। तथा। शब्र: on पु. भव. च. VIII. 1. 2 शब्र explains: विभाषनो या भक्तिविद्याविद्याय वर्तत तवाहि तिलकुर्दशनम्। शब्र: on पु. भव. च. VIII. 1. 2 शब्र explains: विभाषनो या भक्तिविद्याविद्याय वर्तत तवाहि तिलकुर्दशनम्। शब्र: on पु. भव. च. VIII. 1. 2 शब्र explains: विभाषनो या भक्तिविद्याविद्याय वर्तत तवाहि तिलकुर्दशनम्। शब्र: on पु. भव. च. VIII. 1. 2 शब्र explains: विभाषनो या भक्तिविद्याविद्याय वर्तत तवाहि तिलकुर्दशनम्।
Darśapūrṇamāsā). The details of the prakṛṭi are to be performed in all other iṣṭis along with the few details that may have been stated expressly as to some.

The Jyotiṣṭoma is the prakṛṭi of all soma sacrifices of one day and of Dvādaśāha and its details are performed in all modifications of soma sacrifices such as Atirātra. The Agnīsomya is the prakṛṭi of all sacrifices in which a paśu (animal) is to be sacrificed, the details of which are to be performed in all vikṛtis of paśuyāgas. Dvādaśāha is of two kinds, Ahīna and Sattra and is the prakṛti of all Ahīna sacrifices like Dvīrātra, Trīrātra up to Śatarātra; and Dvādaśāha of the sattra type is the model of all sattras. Gavām-ayana is the prakṛti of all sacrifices like Ādityānām-ayana. Darvihomas are sui juris and are not prakṛtis or vikṛtis of any other sacrifices. All these are considered in the 8th chapter.

The 9th chapter deals with uha (adaptation). When applying the principle of atdeta certain alterations and adaptations are necessary in the matter of mantras, sāmans and saṃskāras. The word uha ordinarily means only tarka or vicāraṇā (reasoning), yet in PMS it has a special meaning.2179

The Āgneya is the prakṛti in which the nirvāpa (offering) is to be made with the words 'I offer to Agni what is liked by him'; in the Sauryayāga, which is a vikṛti of Āgneya, the offering has to be made with the words 'I offer to Sūrya what is liked by him.' In the Vajapeya we read 'he offers to Brhaspati nirvāpa grains cooked on seventeen pans'. The Vajapeya is a modification of Darśapūrṇamāsā in which the grains of rice are sprinkled with water; therefore sprinkling has to be done on nivāra grains also (PMS IX. 2. 40). On the 2nd and following days of the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice there is recitation of the Subrahmaṇyā litany2180 addressed to Īndra by the Subrahmanya priest, beginning with the words 'Indra āgaccha, hariva āgaccha, Medhātitheri-mesā &c'. In the Agniṣṭut sacrifice also there is

2179. श्रवणि स्थोलसर्वसाधकारःस्वारचार्यस्मिन्नाग्निर्मकातामहत्सः स उदाहरणेऽन्तियते । व्याप. र. मा, २४वं परिश्लेष्टेः प. २६३ ; vide प्रयासूर्य इ. १. ४० ‘अविज्ञातस्वरुपाकारणोपतिसत्तज्ञानाप्रयुक्तसत्तता!’.

2180 नाम वेणाताध्यात्मिन इति नानारूढारुद्दार्शितपारिभावित कथिताः च विभद्देव सत्तताः परिक्षेत्रात प्रह्लादं तत्वं गतिः कृतिः प्रेमात वेषणां पातियाः। उहो कुर्वलितः । अन्य आचार्यशोहितान्य शुद्धित्यां योगं सहस्रोऽन्तियते इति। सत्त १०४, मी. कृ. IX. १. ४४।
Adaptation of Subrahmanyā-nigāda

Subrahmanyā-nigāda \(^{2181}\) addressed to Agni. In reciting it the word ‘Agni’ is substituted for ‘Indra’; but the following words ‘Hariva āgaccha’ is are not to be changed and are to be recited, as they are attributes which may be predicated of Agni also (PMS IX. I. 42–44). The principle deduced by the Mimāṃsakas seems to be that, only if the words in the original mantra cannot at all be extended to the modified yāga as they stand, then ūha may have to be resorted to but not otherwise. Śabara however, notes that the ‘yājñikas perform ūha (i.e. adapt them by suitable changes) i.e. they recite ‘agni āgaccha rohitāsva bhṛad-bhāno’ etc.). It is noteworthy that, according to PMS II. 1.34 and Śabara thereon, a mantra as adapted (ūhita) is not called a mantra, since only those are mantras \(^{2182}\) that are recognized as such by the learned. In the Darśapūrṇāmāsā when the priest takes out four handfuls of grains and puts them in a winnowing basket he repeats over three of the handfuls the mantra which literally means ‘at the command of God Savitṛ, with the arms of Āsvins and with the hands of Pūṣan I take out for Agni thee that art dear (to him)’. \(^{2183}\) The PMS holds (in IX. 1. 36–37) that the words Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Āsvin are not to be changed by ūha in the modifications of Darśapūrṇāmāsā where the deity to which the offering is to be made is not Agni. Śabara assigns rather far-fetched meanings to the words Savitṛ, Āsvins and Pūṣan (as in the note below) and says that they are meant to eulogize the laying aside of the handfuls of grains for offering. There is another interesting case where there is no


\(^{2182}\) अनाश्वयमयः सत्तानाः। कदं विभागः। पू. स. श. II. 1. 34; उपमवनाम-धेयेऽः संसर्गः। सम्प्रति उत्सः। अविद्याक्षरान्तः इति पाते द्रमः। अनाश्वयमतः सत्तानाः न स्पष्टिसबीकरणः। नालयधायरः सम्प्रति हेतुः। किं ताहोः। अविद्याक्षरान्तः। चेन्निमुक्तरः इति नापन्नं ना भी सत्ताः। न चेन्निमुक्तरः सत्तानाः सत्ताः। तत्रासामसाम।। प्रयोजन सभेः भो यथार्थसत्तानाः सत्ताः। शास्त्र।.

\(^{2183}\) को इतिपारः। तत् निर्यापमतः। देवस्य ला सति। प्रसतः प्रभुः प्रति उपयोगमयः। शास्त्र on IX. 1. 36; देवस्य ... निर्यापमत्य इति occurs in ते, सं. II. 6. 4. 1. देवस्य ततः। प्रसतः उपयोगमयः। शास्त्र on IX. 1. 37. The words ‘प्रकृतिप्रियोऽसि’ refer to the fact that the priest adhvaryu is engaged by the yajamāna as agent for a payment of fee and therefore adhvaryu’s arms are yajamāna’s arms.
In the Dāṣapūrṇamāsa there is a praṇa (direction) 'set down' 2184 the water for sprinkling, put down the fuel sticks and the bunch of kuśa grass, clean the sruc and śruva ladles, gird up the wife (of the sacrificer) and come out with clarified butter'. Suppose the sacrificer has two or more wives. Still the singular 'patnīm' was to be used and not the dual or plural either in the model itself (IX. 3. 20) or in any modification thereof (IX. 3. 21). Dharmaśāstra works make use of ūha. The Viṣṇu-dharmaśātra provides that one should perform Śrāddha of one's maternal grand-father and the latter's two male ancestors in a similar way by the ūha of the mantra. 2185 The mantra in the case of the śrāddha of male ancestors is 'Śundhātam pitarāḥ' (Āp. Śr. I. 7. 13), which should be changed into 'Śundhātam mātāmāḥah'; vide Mit. on Yāj. I. 254 and H. of Dh. Vol. IV p. 513 n. 1142a.

When in a sacrifice boiled rice is to be offered the mantra is 'syonam...vṛhiṇām medha sumanasayamāṇah' (vide pp. 1298–99 n. 2125 above). If boiled rice is destroyed or not available and nivāra grains are substituted, there is no ūha as 'nivārānām medha' but the words 'vṛhiṇām medha' are to be retained (PMS IX. 3. 23–26), because, as stated in PMS VI. 3. 27 (sāmānyam tac-cikirṣā hi ), nivāras are substituted on account of the similarity of parts of boiled nivāras with the parts of rice grains.

In the third and fourth pādas of the 9th chapter there are twelve adhikāranas about the adhīrīṣa-prāśa recited by the Hotṛ in Paṣubandha. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, p. 1121, note 2504 for that prāśa. There is ūha to be made about certain words therein and PMS explains some of the unfamiliar and difficult words in that text.

The tenth chapter is the longest chapter in the PMS, having eight pādas and 577 sūtras (i.e. more than one-fifth of

2184. अपूर्ण लन्निकारेर् इः साक्षी नीचें। पु. भ. सु. IX. 3. 20; इत्यपूर्णमत्स्योऽराममति। पौष्णिकालसाक्षीयात्माकाविद्यास्य वृष्टि व सुविच परं श्रमिके पत्नी संबंधमास्यन्वितीति। शाबर on IX. 3. 20. The words श्रेष्ठी...वेशिति occur in Aap. श्रृ. सु. II. 3. 11. This is ते. भ. III. 2. 9. 14. Then शाबर proceeds तत्र पत्नी संबंधमास्यन्विते विचित्रतेः। अशितिहि जयमान एकाक्षरीयोऽसूयोऽसूयालक्ष्य। …हृडे तु सच्चिदान। किं दृष्टेनार्थे अवधायकः पत्नीविधु उत्ते नेति। …एवं माते ब्रम। अपूर्णे तु अभवितुविशिष्टस्ति कर्मयो अवधायकाः परेर्षेऽति। The next sūtra is बिष्णुवीं चापैं तह्यनागराः। IX. 3. 21.

2185. महाकालासायं प्रायीः इत्यपूर्णं इत्यपूर्णतः। मन्त्रोद्धा पदाच्छायं कृपाद्विस्ताद् मन्त्रणां विश्वसुमित 75. 8.
the total number of sūtras) just as the third (with 363 sūtras) and the 6th (with 349 sūtras) have eight pādās each. This chapter is concerned with bādha (annulment or exclusion) and abhyuccaya or samuccaya which is the exact opposite or antithesis of bādha. The general rule is that the details of the prakṛtiyāga (model sacrifice) should be taken over in the vikṛti (modification). But in some cases the vikṛti-yāga has a different name, some of the staiskāras (purificatory and embellishing acts) and some of the substances (dravya) employed in the prakṛti cannot be extended to the vikṛti, because there are express texts negating their employment or because they serve no purpose or have become useless or senseless. Śabara states that bādha occurs when an idea or knowledge determined for certain as this type or that has to be understood as wrong owing to some (special) reason while abhyuccaya (addition or combination) occurs when even after we have the knowledge that certain matters are to be extended to the vikṛti there is the further idea that a few others also are to be additional in the vikṛti.

The Mai. S. prescribes that one desires long life should offer a lump of one hundred kṛṣṇalas (golden pieces shaped as grains of rice) heated in clarified butter. But no pounding (avaghāta, threshing) is to be done in this, as the grains being made of gold, there is no chaff which can be separated by pounding (X. I. 1–3). Similarly, no upastaraya (pouring of clarified butter) and abhighāraṇa (the subsequent pouring of clarified butter) are to be done, since in the model sacrifice these two are done for making the oblation to have a sweet flavour (X. 2. 3–11). A caru of rice has to be boiled (i.e., the heat of fire is to be applied to it). In the same way the golden pieces are to be heated in clarified butter by fire (X. 2. 1–2). The golden pieces have to be sucked like sugarcane pieces (X. 2. 13–16), because they cannot be eaten while in the

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2186. बधो नाम बधेवद्धामिति सत्तिन्त्रि विज्ञानं कारणात्मकं मिश्रत्यति कठयते। तथा, अन्यथा यद्ववर्गै मृत्तिरिति विज्ञानपीतये परं भवति तिष्ठति विज्ञानम्। शबर on X. 1. 1; अस्य पदश्रमस्तिद्यात्मकं किष्ठेऽतिभवत्। पू. मी. सृ. X. 1. 2; नेतृत्वस्तु सत्यादिकादिन्यों निम्बत्तिद्यातिभवत् पदार्थम्। कुत एतद्। अभिविवाचनं संक्षार्थं हि यथोत्तरं सति किष्ठेऽतिभवत् नामयोजनम्। हृषि.

2187. प्राज्ञापरं छुटे वर्ज्झिनिपद्वर्तमनुष्ठानम्। मै. सं. II. 2. 2. माया. वि. p. 37 refers to the absence of threshing in the matter of कुस्त्द. 2188. For उपस्तरण and अभिविवाचन, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 528 1233.
model sacrifice idā and prāśītra\textsuperscript{2189} are actually eaten. In a magic rite like śvēna reeds are spread on the ground and not kūsa grass (as in the model sacrifice). This bādha is due to a special text.\textsuperscript{2190} The general rule in vedic sacrifices is that priests have to be chosen and daksīna is to be paid to them at the end but satras are an exception, since in sattras all are priests as well as performers (yajamānas). Here the exclusion of varana (choosing) is due to the fact that in the other sacrifices the yajamāna and priests are different and the latter are engaged for fee. There is a visible purpose in selecting or engaging priests,\textsuperscript{2191} but in a sattra where ex hypothesi all are yajamānas and priests as well, there is no visible purpose in going through the ceremony of choosing priests (ṛtvig-varaṇa).

One example of samuccaya may be given. In the Vājapeya (which is said to be a form of Jyotiṣṭoma according to PMS III, 7. 50–51) seventeen animals are to be sacrificed. In the model sacrifice (i.e. Jyotiṣṭoma) also there are certain animals to be offered. The question is whether there is bādha of the paśus prescribed in the prakṛtiyaṇa or whether there is combination (samuccaya). The conclusion is that there is samuccaya (X. 4. 6), because in the Tai. Br. there occur passages like this—"The Brahmanavādins say 'why is it that all sacrificial rites are contained in Vājapeya'? He should reply 'by means of paśus, viz. he sacrifices an animal to Agni, thereby he contains Agni-stoma, he contains the Ukthya &c.' This shows that he has to sacrifice also other animals besides the seventeen.\textsuperscript{2192} The Mit.

\textsuperscript{2189} For idā, vide vol. II. p. 1063 n 2382 and for prāśītra, vol. II. p. 1039 n 2393. 

\textsuperscript{2190} For Śāstra, nitya-drṣṭānām. Pu. Mi. Ś. X. 2. 14; śāstra dhīnaṇya satraḥ. 

\textsuperscript{2191} Nitya-drṣṭānām. Pu. Mi. Ś. X. 2. 14; 

\textsuperscript{2192} Pu. Mi. Ś. X. 4. 6; Āśvamedha says, 'by means of paśus, and remarks 'satraḥ. Pu. Mi. Ś. X. 4. 6; Āśvamedha says, 'by means of paśus, and remarks 'satraḥ. Pu. Mi. Ś. X. 4. 6; Āśvamedha says, 'by means of paśus, and remarks 'satraḥ.'
on Yāj. III. 243 furnishes examples of *samuccaya* in the matter of expiations.

The *Tantravārtika* (on PMS III. 3. 14 pp. 859–860) collects together about three dozen cases of *bādha* in general not dependent on either the conflict between śruti, liṅga &c. or not falling under the *bādha* instanced above. They are ‘inference and such appearances as mirage are dispelled by or invalidated by direct perception, deceptive means of knowledge by the six means of knowledge, smṛti by śruti, a contradictory and untrustworthy smṛti by a trustworthy and uncontradicted smṛti, a smṛti with a visible purpose by another with an unseen purpose &c.’

There is in the 10th chapter an important topic about *dakṣinā* (sacrificial fees). In X. 2. 22–28 it is established that dakṣinā is to be given not for an unseen purpose (adrṣṭa) but for engaging the priests to perform rites required in sacrifices. In III. 8 1–2 it is established that the yajamāna (the svāmin) is to engage priests for sacrifices except where a veda text expressly directs otherwise (as in Tai. S. V. 2. 8. 2). In X. 3. 39 the items of *dakṣinā* are set out from Tāṇḍya XVI. 1. 10–11; it is held that the words ‘dvādaśaṣataṃ *dakṣinā*’ mean²¹⁹³ that the cows are to be 112 (X. 3. 39, 49) and in X. 3. 50 it is provided that the yajamāna should himself distribute the fees and X. 3. 55 sets out the method of distribution. All priests are not to receive equal shares. The four principal priests are hotṛ, adhvaryu,²¹⁹⁴ udgātr and brahmā and each of these four have three assistants arranged in a certain order set out in the note below. Suppose there are one hundred cows to be distributed

²¹⁹³. अस्ति उपर्योगीतैः, उपर्योगीतैः सर्वकामी यज्ञोदये। सावित्रावं वर्गेयस्तदां ज्ञातवाग्यस्तदां चैव। तथा भ्रास्तः विद्वान्।

²¹⁹⁴. होता बैलबौजङ्गको*शून्याचको ग्रामस्तुः, अश्वः* गृहस्थस्यादेश्यादेशः, ब्रह्मा

बाह्नार्चग्यतः आश्रयः। पोता, उज्जलम् प्रस्तूत प्रतिहार्य छुजास्तुः। होत। The four principal priests are underlined, three assistants come after each principal one. The assistants immediately after all four principals are called *ardhinah* (they get half of their principal, they being *maṇḍapika*, *pratisāma*, *bhājanacakṣaśi* and *pratikāla*); the thirds in each group of four constitute what are called *трийинह* (they get of what their principals get, they being *अयुक्तः*, *पेला*, *आयुक्तसः*, *प्रतिहार्यः*); the last in each of the four groups are called *padināḥ* (they get one-fourth of what their principals get, they being *ग्रामस्तुः*, *उज्जलः*, *पोता* and *छुजास्तुः*). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1188–1189 and vol. III. p. 469 for distribution of fees among sacrificial priests.
as fee. Each group of four is assigned 1/4 i.e. 25 for hotā and his assistants, the hotā getting 12 and the other three getting respectively 6, 4, and 3 i.e. they get respectively half, 1/3 and 1/4 of what their principal gets. The same method applies to the other three groups. The prima facie view is that there should be an equal distribution of the fee (cows) as śruti does not lay down any unequal distribution; this is not accepted and it is proposed that the fee should be distributed in proportion to the work done by each. The established conclusion is that both the views are unacceptable and that the distribution should be in accordance with the meaning of the words 'ardhinaḥ, tṛtiyānaḥ and pādiṇaḥ' employed by Śruti.

Manu (VIII. 210) mentions the method of the distribution of fees in Vedic sacrifices outlined above and extends its principles of division to men working jointly on such undertakings as the construction of houses &c. Though the sūtra (samaṃ syād-aśrutivaṭ) is only the pārvapakṣa view and not accepted as to the distribution of the cows as fees in Vedic sacrifices, it has been frequently followed as an equitable rule by medieval Dharmaśāstra writers. The Sm. C. relies on it about the liability of sureties (II. p. 152), about equal shares between father and sons in partition (II. p. 260) and II. 285 (distribution of yauktaka among unmarried daughters), II. 404. Kullūka on Manu III. 1 (where 35 years are laid down as the period of studentship for mastering the three Vedas) states, relying on the sūtra 'samaṃ' &c. that thirty-six years should be equally distributed over the three Vedasākhaḥ. The Madanaratna (on Vyavahāra) p. 202

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2195. समं स्वाधृतितितात्। अधिवा करमेन्द्रयात्। अनुस्वयम्: स्व: परिप्रेये विवाहविधि सत्तानि परिशिष्याय कर्मकमोपपदस्य दृतानिहिसेषस्य तथायथुदये। पु. भी: स्व: X. 3. 53-55.

2196. अधुरुः: युहरपितः दीशक्षिता ब्रह्माण्य दीशिष्यति तत्र उज्ज्वला ततो होमार्युः। तत्तसं परिशिष्याता दीशिष्यता आर्घ्यानि दीशमय्यिति... तत्र नेता दीशिष्यता तुम्मिनियो दीशमय्यिति... तत्तस्य सेतु दीशिष्यिना पादित्तो दीशिष्यते पोतान्त ब्रह्माण्य: युहराण्या युहराः: सामसंहूः होतुः। ज्ञात्र on V. 1. 1 and also on X. 3. 55. Vide आप. भू. स्व: XXI. 2. 16-20 for a similar passage.

2197. सर्वार्थार्थीं भुवलासन्मण्डलानितिनोपरे।... अनेन विविषयनेन कर्मकमोपपदस्यत। मनु: VIII. 210-211: एतत्तत公民िपत्यनिविविपनां तत्र द्रावकां दीशमय्यिति कर्ममुद्यः-
मात्रित्विविद्यनिहिसेषस्य न तु शास्त्रिविनिहिसेषस्य विविद्यनाः। अश्रु द्रावकां शक्रे इति दृष्यापदादिष्टिविविद्योपये। मनुरास (र्वथ) pp. 202-203, मनुरास adds (p. 204) पद्यविविप्नां विविद्यनां नोक हि तत्र सामसंहितामपि भाष्याः। यद तत्र 112 cows, 28 cows are to be assigned to each of four parties (viz. होतुर्भर, अधुरुः, युहरपितः और ब्रह्माण्य), then होतुर्भर share is to be divided into 25 and होतुः is to get 12 out of 25 parts and his assistants 6, 4, 3 respectively i.e. the shares would approximately be 13, 6, 5, 4 (in 28 cows).
Rule of equal distribution

quotes both verses of Manu (VIII. 210-11), then quotes Manu VIII. 210 (on p. 213) and explains and then sets out the distribution of the daksinā if it was 112 cows. The Vyāhāraprakāśa pp. 443 and 548 (on division of mother’s yautaka stridhana by unmarried daughters) refer to the rule of equal division. Most of these works (as printed) read the sūtra as ‘samam syādaśru- tadvat’ and not as Jaimini and Śabara read.

The eleventh chapter deals with tantra which embraces cases where one act serves the purpose of several other acts or rites.2198 For example, there are three yāgas viz. purodāsa (cake) baked on eight potsherds for Agni, curds for Indra and milk for Indra; one performance of the Prayājas serves these three (XI. 1. 5–19 and XI. 1. 29–37). Adhāna (establishment of the sacred fires) is to be done only once and is not to be repeated in each istsi, paṣuyāga or somayāga (XI. 3. 2); the utensils required for Śrauta rites are prepared only once and are to be kept till the death of the sacrificer (XI. 3. 34-42).2199 All these are cases of tantra. The general rule is that the place, time and the performer as regards all principal matters in one composite rite such as Agneya and others in Darśapūrṇamāsā are one (XI. 2. 1) and also that they are the same for aṅgas (details); but in the case of the aṅgas (details) the place, time and the performer may be different on account of express texts.

If the fruit or result (phala) follows from all the component sacrifices collectively, then the subsidiary details have to be

2198. यस्यकल्याणम् बहुनामहत्रारीति तत्र तत्वदस्तुदच्तवते यथा बहुतं ब्राह्मणानां मध्ये कुः प्राप्ते। वस्तुवेत् एकश्रुतारीति स आयामि। यथा तेवसम ब्राह्मणानामकत्रेपि। ॥ भोक्ताना-पुष्पावलित-साधारणं भवेत् सत्त्वं परामर्श लघुक्रियेकः। एवं सत्त्वं प्राप्तं प्राप्तं ग्रामसेवाश्रुतिं स विधिं। शास्त्र on XI. 1. 1; against repeating such acts as Pratyaj, Shā ster remarks 'वेन सत्त्वकल्याणां नाप्राप्ति स पुनः किंचिद् उपकारितयात् काराः.' on XI. 1. 30; even the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali mentions this rule; on वातिक 4 (तत्वावधे शास्त्राखं-सत्त्वकल्याणम् यथा लोके) on pa VI. 1. 84 it remarks 'यथा लोके वस्ते ब्राह्मणानाग्रामसेवाश्रुतितदा सत्त्वावधे कुः शास्त्रां इति कुः पुनः प्राप्तं मपतिं संबद्धति। यथा गर्भाष्मेऽब्राह्मण उपनेयं इति सत्त्वकल्याणीति वातिक ॥ ॥

2199. यज्ञवाहने पारिष्ठू विनाशगतिधारलानाजिवं। पु. मी. शु XI. 3. 34. The Vedic text is आहितप्रमिकिः भूपाेढ़ण्डे। Ten यज्ञाकुष्ठs are enumerated in त्रिसं क. I. 6. 8-2-3 (सप्तकं करारापरले च च etc.). For these and other utensils required in Vedic sacrifices, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 985, n. 2233; vide also पु. मी. शु XI. 3. 43-45 which establish that the Yajāāpātras are to be kept from the day of Agnyādheya and that placing them on the body of the sacrificer after his death is pratiapattikarma of the utensils and of the sacred fires. Vide शास्त्र on पु. XI. 3. 45.
performed only once and not separately in the case of each component; this is tantra. But if the result follows from each of the component sacrifices separately, then the subsidiary details should be performed with each one of those components. That would be a case of āvāpa (decentralisation or scattering).

In the Darṣapūrṇamāsā there are really two sets\textsuperscript{2200} of sacrifices, one called Darśa (on amāvāsyā) and the other Pūrṇamāgā. The subsidiaries prescribed for each are almost the same. Yet they have to be repeated with each of the two sets, the principal reason being that the two are performed on two different days separated by a fortnight, though the two sets together make one single sacrifice leading to a single fruit. Vide PMS XI, 2, 12–18 which is a case of āvāpa.

The Aveṣṭi is a sacrifice which is performed as part of the composite sacrifice called Rājasūya that could be performed only by Kṣatriyas. It is also an independent sacrifice that could be performed by any one of the three higher varṇas. This is no part of the Rājasūya and is different from it, though the passage about it occurs in the midst of the description of Rājasūya.\textsuperscript{2201} This is relied upon by the Nīrṇayasindhu in connection with the Navarātra from Āśvina 1st to 9th of the bright half. There were different views, viz. Devipūjā was to be performed for 9 days or on 8th or 9th tithi (vide above p. 154). The Kālikāpurāṇa quotes\textsuperscript{2202} a verse about Devipūjā on the 8th or 9th alone of Āśvina (\textit{sukla}) and the N. S. interprets It as a separate worship on 8th or 9th alone distinct from the whole Navarātra.

\textsuperscript{2200} On XI, 2.15 Ṣaḥā says 'अथ व न तन्त्रस्रृष्टी स्युः \। कुसः कर्मधुकसात् \। तेवान् व तन्त्रविवादूतः \। कर्मकान्तो तवद्वितात् निःशवाते अयम् \। पौर्णिमासः सत्यायत्वम् अस्यावासः \। एवं सच्चि \। तेवान् च देवालावेधः \। पौर्णिमासं पौर्णिमासाया यज्ञेत्येवमाहिः \। साक्षरानं च तेवान् तत्र तत्र देवालावेधः \। ... \। तमालोपकर्ममस्यक्षुजः \। निःशवाते साक्षातः \। अस्यावासः तानान्त्यासः \। नानासातः \। तत्र शुद्धे विशेषः \। विशेषश्रद्धाद्वज्ञः॥'।

\textsuperscript{2201} अत्यः यज्ञसंगाजयाजुमाहुर्षते। पृ. मी. सं. II. 3, 3; अस्ति राजसुयः; राजा राजसुयेन यज्ञेति। \। पौर्णिमासमलिः अवेष्टि नाममेविः। अचार्यप्रकाशकते हिर्ष्य बहिर्मणि इपेकहाय। तत्र निर्स्य विशेषः। \। यदि भाष्यों यज्ञेति बाह्यस्यायाम मन्ये विधायतृति महात्मिति हृदानिधारणे। \। यद्य राजस ऐतरेये यज्ञे निष्कृतवृद्धि-दृष्टि। शास्त्रः। वर्णसम्बन्धे \। एवं विद्या विद्या आय आयोज्य। \। 18, 21, 11. The śūtra 'अवेष्टि यज्ञसंगाजयाः' may be expanded as follows 'अवेष्टि यद्य भाष्यां इर्यादिक्रियां भाष्याविकतुत्तमोपनानस्मरणियां यस्ययथायाबिबत्ति अवेष्टियां राजसुयः प्रजासंगोऽगतात्; \। \। then come अवेष्टि एवेष्टि द्वितीयो राजसुयः हृदानिधारणुः। \। \। एववनल्लकामसंगोऽगतेऽ। कल्याणापूर्तिः चेष्टा वर्णसंगोऽगताः। पृ. मी. सं. XI. 4, 8–10.

\textsuperscript{2202} एकाकारस्रीगः कालिकाभाष्यां-पत्नेकाराध्यायां नम्नामां स्रवणस्थापते। \। \। पूजये- \। द्वारां वेशिः निःशवाते दुस्तिः। इति। तत्र सु राजसुयैः सम्पुर्णानाः सामतताः अचार्यप्रकाशकाः पारंपरिकचारामिह विधानाः \। \। पारंकर्मे नवरात्रेस्वार्थायां \। अद्वैताय नर्मदा वा फलाः तुष्यमोऽपि। \। निः स्वति. p. 164.
The same adhikarana where the Purvapakṣa proposes that Rājā means any one of any varpa who rules over a kingdom and offers protection to the country and its cities, the siddhānta (PMS and Śabara) holds that ‘rājā’ is a word expressive of a caste viz. Kṣatriya, and this is referred to by several late Dharmasastra works like the Rājadharмakaustubha (p. 5). The V. P. refers to this adhikarana and interprets the verse of Nārada viz. ‘one who is an apostate from the order of ascetics would become the slave of the king’ as providing that even a kṣatriya apostate would have to be the slave even of a vaisya ruler, though the word ‘rājā’ in the primary sense means a kṣatriya yet in a secondary sense (laksānā) any one who protects subjects could be called rājā. The Par. M. discusses this adhikarana at great length (I. 1. pp. 449–55). It may be noticed that the meaning of ‘rājā’ as kṣatriya in early texts changed to any ruler of any class who protects the country and people ruled over by him. This change is brought out briefly in Tantravārtika on III. 5, 26.

The 12th chapter deals with the topics of prasaṅga, vikalpa and the like. Prasaṅga occurs when something done in one place is helpful in another place also, just as when a lamp is lighted in a mansion it illumines the public road also. In connection with the Agnisomitya animal sacrifice an offering of paśupuroḍaśa (a cake of the meat of the animal sacrificed) in the words ‘having offered the omentum of the animal to Agni and Soma one offers a paśupuroḍaśa cooked on eleven potsherds to Agni and Soma’. The question is whether the details such as prayājas should be performed afresh for this or whether those details performed at the time of offering the omentum will suffice. The established conclusion is that the details already performed at offering paśu (omentum) will serve for the offering of the meat cake also. In such cases the place or time and performer are to be the same. This conclusion is relied upon in the Prāyaścittaviveka which says that when a man performs the expiation for twelve years in connection with grave sins of

2203. अर्थप्रशः कुतस्यायप्रज्ञाति प्रसन्नः। यथा मद्दीपस्य मासाः कुतस्य राजस्यमेव। पञ्चलोककालम्। श्रवण ०। पू। मी। XII, 1. 1.

2204. अर्थसोत्रायं पशो पुरोहितस्य। अर्थसोत्रायं वपया वशयानं दीपितस्यैव पशूपीडासस्य। कादकपार्तिः नित्यसति। किं तर्फः पुरोहितकर्माध्यक्षवान्ति कर्त्तव्यानि उत्पादिति पशो कुतस्य तस्यास्वपुरुषस्तीतिः। श्रवण ०। XII, 1. 1: अर्थसः तेऽतेऽ भेदेन पुरोहितकर्म तस्य कर्त्त्वयम्। किं तत्रः। सुप्रायस्यायं सिद्धः। स्पन्दः। पाष्ठुकेत्त तस्य पुरोहितकर्मवक्यातः। किं कारणः। तत्रतम्यं नित्यसतिः। पाष्ठुकेत्त तस्यक्रमः मध्ये पुरोहिताः बिहितः। अर्थसोत्रायं वपया ... कपालं नित्यसतिः। श्रवण ०। XII, 1. 3.
different kinds or of the same kind, there is no necessity of a separate expiation for venial sins on the analogy of paśupurodāsa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 88–91 for twelve years’ expiation for brahmāṇa-murder.

Vikalpa has already been dealt with above (pp. 1249–1253).

The preceding pages are enough to exhibit the main doctrines and some of the principal Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation and the great influence that the Mīmāṃsā exercised for over two thousand years on Dharmaśāstra works from the Apastambadharmasūtra to late medieval works like the Śrītattva, Nirṇayasindhu and Vyavahāramayyākha. An exhaustive treatment of the numerous technical terms, topics and principles of the mīmāṃsā would easily cover a thousand pages, would enormously add to the extent of this work and has to be given up here for reasons of space, if for no other reason.

The Mīmāṃsā rules have been of considerable help to Dharmaśāstra writers. But it should not be supposed that application of the Mīmāṃsā rules is easy or that the rules always enable scholars to arrive at agreed or certain and definite conclusions. Apart from the schism between the Prabhākara and Bhāṭṭa schools already referred to above (on p. 1189) there are many circumstances which militate against the certainty and usefulness of mīmāṃsā conclusions. There are variant readings in the sūtras themselves (e.g. on I. 2. 9 there are three readings according to Tantravārtika p. 123, on I. 2. 14 two readings acc. to Tantrav. pp. 128–129). Śabara omitted the sūtra II. 4. 17 (vākyāsamāyāt) and the Tantravārtika notes (pp. 895–897) that Śabara omits six sūtras after III. 4. 9. Śabara frequently mentions a predecessor called Vṛttikāra with great respect but differs from him in some cases (e.g. on I. 1. 3–5), does not like his way of dealing with sūtras like II. 1. 32, 33 and VIII. 1. 2. Śabara gives alternative explanations of the same sūtra (e.g. of I. 3. 4, VII. 4. 13, VIII. 1. 39). Sometimes he treats two or more sūtras as forming one adhikarana and alternatively treats one of them as forming a separate adhikarana (as in I. 3. 3–4, II. 2. 23–24). He proposes more than two explanations of the same sūtra viz. IV. 1. 2. He puts forward two or more explanations of the same adhikarana (as in IV. 3. 27–28, VIII. 3. 14–15

2205. एवमृत्तिकारेऽपि पापेऽवं समानजातीयोऽपि बिजजातियोऽपि शुद्धवृपावेशेऽवं श्रवणमार्थ साधनविनियोगायत न पुष्पकं शास्त्रिकालाक्रमान्तः। स्म. स. प. 85.
of two sūtras out of four), IX. 1. 1, IX. 1. 2–3, IX. 1. 34–35, IX. 2. 1–2, IX. 2. 21–24, IX. 2. 25–28 four explanations, X. 2. 30–31 three explanations, X. 1. 1–2 three explanations, X. 4. 1–2 three explanations. On ‘Viśaye prayadarśanat’ II. 3, 16 Śābara himself is at a loss as to what the doubt intended by the sūtrakāra is or what the sūtrakāra wants to establish and relies upon what the vṛttikāra says about the passage to be discussed and about the doubt that arises. Besides, Śābara and Kumārila differ about the subject matters of certain adhikaraṇas as in 1. 3. 3–4 (where Kumārila gives on pp. 194–195 a different interpretation altogether after first accepting Śābara’s view), I. 3. 5–7, I. 3. 8–9, I. 3. 11–14. Kumārila shows scant respect for Jaimini by naming him without the honorific title ‘bhagavān’ or ‘ācārya’ on pp. 495, 650, 655, 895, charges Jaimini with composing sūtras not containing much substance (p. 895) and remarks that Jaimini’s sūtra is improper or wrong (e.g. vide p. 1241 about IV. 2. 27).

Kumārila is often critical of Śābara’s bhāṣya and remarks dozens of times that the bhāṣya is improper (ajuktā) or deserves to be discarded, is meaningless or absurd (asambaddha) as on pp. 165, 302 (upekṣitavya), 313 (asambaddha), 314, 662, 710, 731, 863 (asambaddha), 950, 953, 1090–91, 1615 (bahavo dosāḥ), 1714, 1980, 2004, 2193, 2204.

Another circumstance that makes one entertain grave doubts about the universal validity and usefulness of the principles evolved by the PMS system must also be adverted to. The greatest students of Mīmāṃsā arrive at entirely different conclusions on many points. Some striking cases may be referred to here. One of the most glaring of such cases is the interpretation of the short sūtra of Vasiṣṭha2206 (15. 5, na stri putram dadyāt pratigṛhṇiyād va anyatranujñādbhartuh) ‘a woman should not give or take a son in adoption except with the assent of her husband.’ This has been interpreted in four different ways by works and authors about a Hindu widow’s power of adopting a son. The Dattakamāṁsā holds that no widow can adopt a son, because, the husband being already dead, no assent of his can be had at the time of adoption. Vācaspati,

2206. अत एव वसिष्ठः। न श्री पुत्रः...श्रीति:—इति। अनेन विधवाया भवेत्‌जानासम्भवः... वचस्पति:। इति। वाचस्पतिः।
a Maithila writer, was of the same opinion on the further ground that, as Vasiṣṭha lays down that one about to take a son in adoption should, after having performed a home in the middle of his house with the vyāhṛtis, take (in adoption) only him who is closely related and who is a kinsman and not remote (in habitation &c.) and, as women cannot perform a home with Vedic mantras, all women including widows have no power to adopt. But in Bengal, it was held that the husband’s assent need not be given at the time of adoption and that it may be given long before the actual adoption. In Madras it was held that the word husband in ‘except with the assent of the husband’ is only illustrative and that therefore the assent of the agnates of the father-in-law (husband’s father) or of the husband’s agnates would be enough to enable a widow to adopt. The Vyavahāramāyūkha,2207 the Nirnayasindhu and the Samskāra-kauṭūkha hold that the assent of the husband is required for a woman whose husband is living and that a widow can adopt provided she has not been forbidden to adopt by her husband. For a detailed presentation of these four views and the case law, vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 668–674. The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (No. 78 of 1956) has made far-reaching and radical changes in the Law of Hindu adoptions and section 4 of that Act overrules all texts, rules or interpretations of Hindu Law or customs and usages as part of that law, except in so far as they may have been expressly saved by that Act.

The Mitāksāra and the Dāyabhāga, both steeped in Mīmāṃsā lore, differ on numerous points, some of which are:—

(1) The Mit. holds that property or ownership arises by birth, the Dāyabhāga denies it and says it is on the death of the previous owner or by partition; (2) superior right to inherit depends on religious efficacy according to the Dāyabhāga, while nearness of blood relation is the determining factor according to the Mit.; (3) Members of a joint family hold family property in quasi-severalty and can dispose of their shares even before partition according to the Dāyabhāga; the Mit. does not say so; (4) acc. to Dāyabhāga even in a joint family a widow succeeds to her husband’s share on his death without male issue, while the Mit. does not accept this view.

2207. भर्त्रुज्ञ तु सधारणा एव हर्दार्थवादः। विधानायस्मु तां विनाशि विनितःसत्व्यं
ज्ञानीपमाणाय भवति ... अनो स्वामीवशत्यं भर्त्रुज्ञा पासा सत्यतात्त्वकेः न सप्तव विधिवते।
अनो विधाना भृद्वदगां विनाशप्रवक्षाः। व्य. म. p. 113; उत्तरविधानसत्वकार: यू.परिवर्त
सृजनित्तम सन्तप्तप्रविधानसभ्य कार्यः। सं. की. p. 160.
Several explanations of same word or words

One may note the great cleavage of opinion (above p. 1230) on such texts as Yāj. I. 81 (whether there is a vidhi or a niyama or parisāṅkhya); in note 2111 (p. 1291) between the V. M. and Raghunandana both great Mīmāṁsakas; in note 2113 p. 1292 on the interpretation of the word ‘mātr’ by Aparākṣa and the Dāyabhāga; on pp. 1302–3, notes 2133–34 above on Brhaspati’s verse on re-united coparceners.

In passing it may be stated that to call the Act ‘Hindu Adoptions Act’ is a travesty and misnomer. It should have simply been called the Law of Adoptions in India and should have retained the ancient Hindu rules for Hindus as developed by the courts and should have been of a permissive character for all Indians like the English Statute (of 1926) on the adoption of children. The general Hindu law of adoption as developed in the authoritative smṛtis and commentaries and the case law did not contemplate the adoption of a daughter (except when she was made in ancient times a putrikā) and to allow the adoption of a daughter when a son was living throws to the winds the basic principle of the Hindu Law that a sonless man should adopt a male as a son for the sake of the presentation of pindas and water (to the Manes) and for continuance of the family name (sections 7 and 11 of the Act). The Act allows a woman (even if not married) to adopt to herself a son or daughter or both and under it a woman, if married, can adopt a daughter even if she has a son but a married woman cannot adopt a daughter if she has already a daughter or a son’s daughter living at the time of adoption (sections 8 and 11). The Act does not recognize dvāyamusyāyana adoptions which were recognized by Sanskrit texts and also by judicial decisions. The ministers in the Government and their followers (most of the latter hardly know what Hindu Law was and has been) were carried away by enthusiasm for equality of rights for both men and women. As the Indian Union is now a welfare State and it is professed that laws are to be made keeping in view a socialistic pattern, Govt. should have disallowed adoptions altogether or at least put great curbs on indiscriminate adoptions. Instead, they extended the scope of adoption among Hindus by allowing a man to adopt a daughter even when he had a son or sons and by allowing even unmarried women to adopt a son or daughter or both. This is against a socialistic pattern. If adoptions had been disallowed entirely or allowed within narrow limits cases of escheat to Government for want of heirs would have been many and to that
extent a socialistic pattern would have been advanced. There is no evidence to show that women were keen on the right to adopt a son or daughter even when they were unmarried. The first principle of introducing reforms in the existing law is that only strictly necessary changes should be put forward. Reformers and legislators should take to heart the advice of Mr. Aldous Huxley (in 'Ends and Means,' p. 30) that change as such is more or less distressing to most human beings, that man's conservatism is a fact in any historical situation and that social reformers should abstain from making unnecessary changes or changes that are of startling magnitude. Legislators should not forget that when they introduce far-reaching changes to lessen hardships, real or supposed, deemed to be caused by existing social conditions, they very often create new problems for the immediate future. To take a simple example, under the old Hindu Law all girls were to be married before puberty, though Manu (IX, 90) provided that a girl should wait for three years thereafter during which, her parents or relatives might select a bridegroom for her, but that if they failed to do so she may herself choose her partner. This was not a bad provision. People however went in for child marriages for girls and the problem of spinster's never arose. Then over thirty years ago came the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) whereby the legally allowed marriageable age for girls was fixed at 14. By subsequent amendments and by the Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) the lowest marriageable age for girls is now fixed at 15. This Act of 1929 originally went a long way in raising the minimum age for the marriage of girls. Then, after the second world war, owing to economic stringency, and other factors, the tendency of marrying at a late age increased and now the problem of spinster's among Hindus has emerged and great difficulties about the marriages of grown-up women in middle class families are being experienced.
Appendix to Section VII Chap. XXX.

It would be helpful to the students of Pārvamāṁśa and of Dharmaśāstra, if some of the important and frequently cited maxims (nyāyās) of the former, are brought together in one place with references from the P. M. S., Śabara, Kumārila, Pārthasārathi, the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, Saṅkaraśārya’s bhāṣya on the Vedānta-sūtras, the Bhāmati on the Saṅkara-bhāṣya and a few others. Kumārila, particularly, is very fond of employing Nyāyas in the Tantravārtika e. g. on p. 415 (on Jai. II. 1. 8) he employs five different nyāyas. Many of these nyāyas have been explained in the several volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra to which references will be furnished at the appropriate places. Several of the nyāyas here mentioned occur in the Laukika-nyāyaśāstra (in three parts) published by the indefatigable scholar, Col. Jacob. In some cases his explanations are not accurate or satisfactory, but one must not forget that he wrote about half a century ago.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—जे. VI. 2. 23-26; vide ṣaḍ्युद्र on वे. सू. III. 4. 32.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—जे. XII. 2. 25; vide चाक्ष थेरे and मी. र्या. म. p. 166.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—जे. X. 6. 62 and XI. 1. 15.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—जे. II. 2. 3-8. Vide above p. 1308 n 2146.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—जे. XI. 1. 5-10.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—vide र्या. म. p. 525 and र्या. म. p. 143.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—जे. VI. 1. 1-3 and 4-5 (शाstrā is meant only for human beings), but vide वे. सू. I. 3. 26-33, where शाक्ष on I. 3. 26 holds that Sastra’s words have no application to brahmavidya.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—स्मृताज्ञान—मी. र्या. म. p. 92 ‘अश्रुत्रुपु’ स एव शास्त्रार्थावलययः एकारणार्थम न लग्नेत् अनन्ययः …इति न्यायात्; vide भाष्ट्री on वे. सू. I. 3. 17 (अस्मत्वाद्ये).

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—जे. II. 1. 4; vide pp. 1304-1306 above and सूमृतिच (on अश्रु on p. 381), र्या. म. p. 147.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—vide चार on जे. XII. 2. 27; महाभाष्य (on पा. I. 1. 4, I. 1. 5) says ‘असिद्धे वाहिकचन्द्रस्वरूपे’.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—तत्त्रता on जे. I. 3. 27 p. 282 and on III. 3. 14 p. 858, सेधा. on मन्त्र X. 5, शाक्ष on वे. सू. II. 2. 30.


अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—शास्त्र on जे. VI. 5. 49-50 defines अश्रुत्रुपु as ‘संस्कृतस्य हि वृथाम्भरीयायप्रथमकेवलीयः’ and र्या. म. p. 535. The word occurs in जे. VI. 5. 56.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—This is part of जे. VI. 2. 18 and means ‘विपिना तावलदेव विपिनेष्वर्तकतातिरिय्यायस्याः’ मी. र्या. म. p. 222.

अभिध्वस्त्रवार्य य—जे. III. 7. 8-10; र्या. म. p. 535.
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अभयसासाहित्यम— जै. II. 2. 2 (with reference to five Prayājas in ते. सं. II, 6. 1. 1-2). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1057 n 2368 and above p. 1306.

कस्मिन्दिश्वर्यम्— जै. VI. 5. 1-9; सिद्धों चारीं, र. III. 253 and र्स. सं. pp. 151-152 and notes thereon pp. 277-279 and भास्कर on ते. सं. III. 3. 7.

अर्थात्तत्त्वम् or आर्यात्त्तत्त्वम्— जै. III. 1. 12 on ते. सं. VI. 1. 6. 7 अर्थात्तत्त्वम् पिकुलायण की०गणः; vide अर्थात्तत्त्वम् p. 1030 on या. त्री. 205, मद्द. पा. pp. 88-89, H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1142 n 2547 and above pp. 1294-5.

अद्वैतम् विचार निःस्त्रूति प्रकटे—सङ्कर on जै. I. 2. 4 quotes the latter half also as इस्तालमापे संस्कृति को विश्वासमाप्तम्. He explains अद्वैत as a plant (Calatropis Gigantea); vide also भास्कर. on same p. 111, विद्युतम् on रा. III. 243 (first half); शादूर on ते. सं. III. 4. 3 quotes the first half as a श्‍वाप.

अर्थात्तत्त्वम्—means the same thing as अर्थदलित; vide भास्कर p. 720 on जै. III. 1. 13. It means 'it involves a total contradiction to say that one would cook half a hen for food and keep the other half for laying eggs.'

अवैधसाहित्यम्—Vide महामायम् on वातिक 5 on रा. IV. 1. 78 (अर्था जलयम् कामपिकर्मण नलित्), शास्त्रभाषा on ते. सं. I. 2. 8 (सङ्कराणां तत् अर्थात् प्रत्यापित अर्थात्तत्त्वम् तद् तद्वर्तारीणतयं न लघुसत्तत्त्वम्), परा. सं. II. 1. p. 702.

अध्येयासमाजम्—Reembles अवैधसाहित्यम्. Vide भास्कर pp. 170, 174, 180, 261; शास्त्रभाषाय on ते. सं. III. 3. 18. वैदिक means 'destruction, rending into pieces, conflict'. The कुमारसम्भव IV. 31 employs the word in the literal sense.

अध्येयानात्त्त्वम् मनोज्यानां वाचिंतं—Vide शादूर on जै. III. 7. 14 and भास्कर pp. 1083-84; quoted by र्स. सं. pp. 115, 146 and notes (by the present author) pp. 189-191 and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1114 and vol. III. pp. 694-95.

अववैधसमाजम्—सदाशयविसीक्षेत्रसि—vide शादूर on जै. VI. 7. 22, who gives अववैधसमाजम् (name of a tree) with leaves like horse's ears as an instance (which has neither अववैध nor कार्यक्रम), शास्त्रभाषाय on जै. I, 4. 11.


अध्यात्मानित्यम्—द्वाम्मय्यन्त्रभाषानुसाराभ्यासाभिभाषानीस्तद्योजावते—ते सं. V. 1. 2. 1 and the mantra occurs in ते. सं. IV. 1. 2. 1, explained in र्स. सं. p. 80, अर्थसंग्रह p. 5. Vide p. 1308 n 2147.

अवकाशानित्यम्—vide शृंदिका on जै. IV. 4. 1 p. 1270. This is put forward to assert that in राजस्वयम् the conventional meaning has to be taken and not the literal one.

अवाकाशानित्यम्—vide भास्कर on जै. I. 3. 12 p. 236 (यद्दन्तीयमध्यमाध्यम तुतिभ्रमणम्), कार्यक्रमम् on ते. सं. II. 1. 18.

अवाकाशानित्यम्—कृतान्तम् शालिनी—सकाकारिणी—शादूर on जै. I. 4. 25, अर्थसंग्रह (p. 16, calls it a श्‍वाप), कार्यक्रमम् (on शृंदिका शृंदिका verse 47 p. 59), शास्त्रभाषाय on जै. II. 1. 1 p. 378 (शादूर: शास्त्रभाषानां तद्वर्तारीण:); शास्त्रभाषाय; तैल नाना वदनपथीवं महद्दिप्रत्याशायवं). Vide p. 1291 note 2111 above.
आमूल नाम से विदेशः — Vide शर्म on जै. V. 3. 4 and X. 5. 1, शाश्वेतमाण्य on जै. IV. 3. 3, H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 731 notes 1413-14 and तिथिवर्ग p. 63, भ. m. p. 143.

आनायं साधविकेर्जणम् — Vide शर्म येव येवार्जणसमन्वयः below. Vide the sutra आनायं साधविकेर्जणम् ( जै. III. 1. 24) and जै. IV. 3. 11 a part of which is ‘अथवे दासस्याः नालोकदित्तस्मयः’.

आयप्रभृतिश्रवण यात् — जै. VI. 4. 22; तै. भ. III. 7. 1. 7-8 has यथार्थमये हस्तालितमये—वेदम् पञ्चारात्मके निश्चेत्. Here the word उभयं is अविभक्त और is not a part of the विभिन्न.

उदिर्मयमाणस्य (or उदिर्मयमाणस्य) विदेशणनिबिधिः — Vide above p. 1286 notes 2098-99 on ये संयमार्गे तु हंसिका on जै. VI. 4. 22 p. 1438, on VII. 1. 2 p. 1526, on IX. 1. 1 p. 1636, on X. 3. 39 p. 1882 (उदिर्मयमाणस्य च संहो न विदेशये यहस्य) and भ. m. pp. 45-46, 90, 132, 210 and विशेषभ on या. III. 250 (न च रक्षणार्जण विदेशण निबिधिलिनि न्यायः).

उद्धारणकारणः — जै. I. 4. 1-2. उद्धार, विचार, अविभक्त are names of yāgas (and not युगादिनिः) and are माणस्य. Vide pp. 1244-45 n 2021-22 above.

उपकेम्यसंहस्तरस्यायः — If the उपकेम्य is doubtful it is the उपसंहस्तर that settles the निष्क्रिय and न not vice versa. Vide भामसी on जै. सू. III. 3. 17.

उपसंहस्तरस्यायः — जै. III. 1. 26-27; उपसंहस्तरायो नाम साधवातः माणस्य विदेश सूचिक्षणोऽथपारततिश्रवणे विचारे. भी. स्था. प्र. p. 261; vide भिन्न on या. I. 256, भ. सि. pp. 37 and 71, भ. m. p. 111 and the present author’s notes to V. M, p. 179.

नवतिर्दशनाभ्याम् — This refers to the verse रथ्धराबिशच्चित्तनि नानासाधारणः पयथे. हर्षशोही तानि तास्य यथा भाय युगादिनि आदिपर्व 1. 39 (= cr. ed. 1. 37), आदिपर्व 210. 17 (= cr. ed. 233, 15). This verse is quoted by तत्त्वज्ञानसूत्र on जै. I. 3. 7 p. 202, in शाश्वेतमाण्य on जै. सू. I. 3. 30. It is also रामदर्शन 9. 65, विशुद्ध 9. 5. 61, मार्गदृष्टि 45. 43-44.

एकाकारतावणाभ्याम् — जै. II. 1. 46. Vide M. M. Jha’s ‘Pūrvaśāstra in its sources’ pp. 192-193 for explanation and examples and H, of Dh. vol. III. p. 443 note 744 and pp. 1297-98 n 2123 above. विशेषभ on या. III. 248 exemplifies this न्यायः. The word एकाकारत्ता occurs in जै. सू. III. 4. 24.

एकाकारायणाभ्याम् — m. by तत्त्वज्ञानसूत्र on II 1. 12 p. 415. It is the same as अरणायण above.

एकाधिशु स्वक्षरस्यः — This is part of जै. XII. 3. 10. मिता. on या. III. 257 states ‘एकाधिशु मितास्य श्रीस्य मौर्य न च उद्दाहरणस्याद्वित्त्यस्यः’.

पैदेशायणः — Vide pp. 1309-10 notes 1251-52 on जै. गायत्रिश्चर्पुत्रायणे.

औमभेदयणः — If a man’s name is औमभेदित्य one at once infers, without being expressly told, that he is the son of one called औमभेदित्रयपूर्वी भवति, जागौ उद्दाहर उद्दाहर पद्यः, तत्त्वज्ञान. p. 352, भी. स्था. प्र. p. 134 ff.

कालान्यायः or कालान्याया कालान्यायः — जै. X. 5. 1, explained in महासांततः p. 779.

कणिकात्यायः — जै. XI. 1. 38-46 and above pp. 1288-89, n 2105. Vide तत्त्वज्ञान. p. 415 (on जै. II. 1. 12), and p. 1004 (on जै. III. 5. 26) saying कणिकात्यायः विद्येश बहुतशुचिलिनिसाद्वित्त्यस्यः; प्रस. सि. I. 2. p. 281.
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कृष्णिकामनापथ्यम् — श्रव्य on श्री. II. 2. 25 p. 545 (सिद्धान्तम् २२७ अंकते कवळशुद्धि पारयोष्ण निर्मलतायः).

कामसूत्रस्वरूपस्वरूपपूर्वकत्वम् — Vide स्मृतिवाच. II. p. 264 and पर. मा. I. 1. p. 25 (कर्म- चिन्तामिनि विकालिकाधिकरणिम् स्मायमयस्माभयत्).

काण्यापथ्यम् — श्रव्य on श्री. VI. 2. 19-20 on 'न कल्यं भक्तिवत्य' says that this is downright prohibition (प्रतिरूप) and not a पारदर्श. Vide मी. व्या. प्र. pp. 248-249 and निर्विवेर्त p. 6.

कांस्यवृत्तिपाठ्यम् — This occurs in the पृ. मी. छ. XII. 2. 34 itself (अधिकाल गुणः साधारण-विवेधालकोपयोगिनवभेदपि); श्रव्य explains 'किंवदंपरिशय कार्यपाश्रित्योजिल- निद्वम्र, उपाधायतस्य न निगमः। यदि तपोरकसन्निबत्रं भोजनसमयाते, अनुयवसाय्य प्रियपरिपूर्व करण निर्माणेन मा भूमिन्द्र स्वरूपः ।' ।

काकस्यपरिशास्त्रां — Vide कुसूमकिश्ता p. 1388 on श्री. VI. 2. 1. Some actions such as counting the hair on the skin of an ass or the teeth of a crow are useless or profitless.

कालकाशिकोपकारणम् — Vide तत्त्वव. p. 198 on श्री I. 3. 7, मेघा. on मद्य VIII. 1, व्या. प. 534, व्या. म. p. 95 and notes thereon at p. 135.


कालानुसारव्रतसम्पादनम् — तत्त्वादिन्द्र. p. 245 on श्री I. 3. 16. The qualities of the cause are found in the effect.

कुण्डलीनामयतः — श्री VII. 3. 1-4. Vide आप. श्री. 23, 10. 6 ff and H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 136-137 न 312 for references and p. 1307 above.

कुष्ठकावश्यकेन्द्रम् — Vide तत्त्वव. p. 268 on श्री I. 3. 24. (कुष्ठ is द्रम्ध और द्रम्ध is a grassy plant with white flowers). These are so frail that no one can support himself by means of these; so metaphorically it means "supporting by frail or hopeless arguments." Vide व्या. प. 527.

कुलावचित्तान्तम् — Taking up a purely hypothetical point for discussion; occurs frequently in साक्ष्यभास्य, e.g. on श्री VI. 8. 43 p. 1522 (कुला चित्तान्त मर्यादान्त वक्तम्), on XI. 3. 16 p. 2175, XII. 211 p. 2242; Vide तत्त्वव. p. 287 on श्री I. 3. 27 and p 890 on श्री III. 4. 1 (वक्तु भाष्यकारेर- गणेशास्त्रस्य कुला सुखाविचारायणेः).

कैष्मिकप्रदेशम् — The word is derived from किशुम, used in such passages as in कान्तार्थी 'गर्भाष्ट्रवस्थ शाक्तिवें वेदिति महादीत्व प्रकाशवट्टरस्य, सर्वविज्ञानान्तेकम- प्रदेशातास्येन किशु प्रदेशः।' Vide व्या. म. p. 241 and present author's note on p. 419 of the notes to व्या. म.

काबेलिन्द्रम् — श्री. VI. 4. 17-20. If the Purodāsa to be offered in इश्वरवस्त्रम् is partially burnt, still one should perform the rite with the unburnt part of the cake and a prāyascítta would be necessary only if the whole purodāsa is burnt. Vide मीलावल्ल on वर. III. 243.

कालेकाशिकत्वम् — Meaning 'like all pigeons, young and old, simultaneously alighting on a threshing floor.' Vide श्रव्य on श्री XI. 1. 16 p 2111, मी. व्या. प. 65.

मार्गपरिश्रायम् — Same as एक्तिम् above. Vide श्रव्य on श्री III. 2. 3 and अंशंत्रे p. 6.
Appendix to chap. XXX

This page contains a continuation of the text from the previous pages, discussing various linguistic and philosophical points related to Sanskrit grammar and usage. The text references other sections of the text, such as chapters and pages, indicating a detailed and comprehensive discussion. The content includes citations from various sources, suggesting a scholarly approach to the subject matter.
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तत्त्वज्ञानाय — श्री. I. 4. 4 (तत्त्वज्ञ चार्याद्विद्धम्), which means तत्त्व गुणस्य परिश्रम विमुख्य अथवा अवसरोद्धारी यथा महति. In श्री सं. I. 5. 9. 1 we read अद्विद्धान्तिज्ञो अद्विद्धान्तिज्ञो (स्मर्याम्). Here अद्विद्धान्तिज्ञ is the name (नामप्रेक्ष) of a rite (अथवे होक्ते हमो परिक्ष) and not a सुवार्तिज्ञ. Vide महा. या. p. 64, परमहानिर्देश्य प. 3, अवदेशित प. 4 and 20, तत्त्वज्ञानाथाय — श्री. I. 4. 5. The example is ज्ञेनेनातिषेषु ज्ञेवते. Here the word ज्ञेन (meaning 'hawk') is applied to the rite called ज्ञेय, because it resembles the bird in its swift action. Vide महा. या. p. 238 (वेद ध्वेयेक्रम उपसामयम्) and p. 1245 above.

ब्रह्मापुराणम् or ब्रह्मापुराणकृतिनि — This is very often employed in ब्रम्हापुराण works. Vide विवेककोवि on या. I. 147 and III. 257, विभास. on या. II. 126, सुभाषित on ध्वेयेक्रम pp. 142, 146, 242, 249, 283, 296, 301, 315, 326, ध्वेयाद्वे. X. 30, ध्वेयाद्वे p. 170, त्र. म. p. 131 (and my notes on the same at pp. 221–222). For the derivation of ब्रह्मापुराणिक, vide अद्विद्धार्शेः on अद्विद्धार्शेः p. 196 and अद्विद्धार्शेः thereon.

ब्रह्मनिदेश्याय — श्री. VIII. 4. 1, तत्त्वज्ञ p. 115 on या. I. 2. 7, महा. या. p. 149. In this compound word गोम is the principal word and the word द्वाब is उपसामय (or अपभ्रस्त). Therefore द्वाबिक्रम is the name of a rite.

ब्रह्माद्वे — Vide पादपतितवम्रय p. 18, अद्विद्धार्शेः p. 81, ध्वेयाद्वे pp. 240–241. There is a ज्ञान on the 10th tithi of the bright half of Yeṣṭa called दह्वाद्वे, since it removes ten sins. The maxim means that in certain cases, by a single performance one may be able to secure several objects.

हर्ष प्रजीवमुक्तीय न वक्त्वय दाहवत्वय कल्याणितुष्।
हर्ष मले अद्विद्धान्तिज्ञान प्राप्ताय।
हर्ष साते अद्विद्धान्तिज्ञानाय।
हर्ष संवेदयास्त्रस्त: ध्वेयाद्वे।
Vide श्चव on श्री. IX. 3. 3 p. 1745, on श्री. X. 2. 23 p. 1835 and on X. 2. 34 p. 1838, महा. या. p. 201, प्राकृतविलिन्त p. 89, अद्विद्धान्तिज्ञान p. 313 and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 837 n 1628 and above p. 1260 note 2051.

ब्रह्मद्वेदीपद्वार: — द्वार: door-sill. A lamp thereon sheds light inside the room as well as outside. This is the same as माहादीपद्वार: below. द्वारकानाथ occurs in श्री. XI. 1. 61; vide द्वार: thereon. महा. म. p. 149 explaining या. II. 139 employs it.


हर्षकिस्मादेपद्वारः — श्री. VII. 4. 7 (in which the words यथा वेदः वेदः किस्मादेपद्वारः वेदः (किस्मादेपद्वारः वेदः) occur); द्वारः explains it clearly. द्वारः ordinarily means 'cow', but किस्मादेपद्वारः means 'foal'. Therefore in किस्मादेपद्वारः वेदः, वेदः means 'mare'.

न तौ प्रतापकोितिः न सोऽपैति — श्री. X. 8. 5 and XII. 1. 7. तौ refers to आद्विद्धान्तिज्ञानां; vide ध्वेयाद्वे p. 231 (part of तत्त्वाद्वे), महा. म. p. 182 and above p. 1249.

न विधिः परः शङ्कायः — means that it is not permissible to hold that in a विधिवाद्वेकाव्य word therein has a meaning other than the direct one. The द्वारः on माहात्मी (on या. श्री. I. 1. 1 p. 10) explains विधिकेत द्वारः; vide श्चव on IV. 4. 19 (which says अद्विद्धान्तिज्ञान तत्त्वाद्वे न विधिः) and also on IV. 1. 8, where the ten वश्याद्वेय (स्थवरीय wooden sword etc.) mentioned in श्री सं. I. 6. 8. 2–3 are held to be an अद्विद्धान्तिज्ञान and not a माहात्मी. Vide परम. या. I. 2. p. 298 and महा. या. p. 372, महा. म. p. 180.
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नायाःयविशिष्टमायाय — Vide शाखर on झे III. 1. 1 p. 376, तपस्वा on झे I. 2. 7 and on III. 3. 11 p. 818. This is an old स्थाय. वातिक 16 on पा. I. 1. 50 is संस्कृतम् ग्राहयुक्तम् and the महाभाष्य व्याख्याति ॥ तत्रावृत्तं न भोग्न नामार्थ स्त्रोतः, उद्योगं संयुक्तृत्य इति ॥. मेघा. on मनु V. 51 and मात्री on I. 4 p. 108 mention it. The idea is तत्तकारकालम्.

न हि निद्यद् मिन्य्य निद्यद्य मनुष्ये, अथ तु विशेषम् स्तोत्तरः — vide H. of Dh. II. p. 581 n 1359 and above p. 96 n 237 for passages from शबर and तारावतिका. The मेघा. on झे III. 221 paraphrases it.

न हि शाखर जादुरसमक्षविभूत जीवित नायाय्यम् — Vide शाखर on झे VIII. 3. 22 and IX. 4. 18 and the स्थाय ‘अर्यायायानेकाविशिष्टम्’ above p. 1339.

नायाःयविशिष्टमायाय — This is often expressed in the form नायाःयविशिष्टमायाय विषमाच्ये विषमाच्ये विषमाच्ये (as in शाखर on झे VII. 2, 13) or as न हि शाखर जादुरसमक्षविभूति (as in शाखर on झे I. 3, 33 p. 304). Vide तपस्वा. pp. 304, 326, 916, एकांत: तस्य p. 15, शुद्धित् p. 313, ध्व. म. p. 89 (and the present author's note thereon pp. 117-118).

नातिसंधिनयतत्थथम्: — This स्थाय occurs very frequently in शाखर and धर्मशास्त्र works in different forms, but the meaning is the same viz. ‘there is nothing too heavy (i.e. impossible to prescribe) for a sacred text.’ Vide शाखर on झे II. 2. 27 (किमष्टति हि वचनं न कुया जाति...भस्ति), on झे III. 2. 3. X. 5. 11; on झे VI. 1. 44, the wording is ‘न हि शाखर जादुरसमक्षविभूति नायायम्’. शादुरसमक्ष प्रक्रिया on झे ख. III. 3. 41 and III. 4. 32 employs it. Vide विश्वसन on झे I. 58 (referred to in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 525 n 1224), मेघा. on पाण्ड III. 298 (H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 66 n 161, पाण्ड. मात्रा II. 1 p. 202 and II. 2 p. 64).

निरमित्तम् नित्यविशिष्टमायायक्सम् — Similar to आर्यायिकरणमायाय. Vide विश्वसन on झे III. 212.

निक्षिप्तबुद्धिः नैर्मिकिविष्कर्तृक्ष — झे VI. 2. 27-28 and 29. Such passages as निक्षिप्तबुद्धिः नैर्मिकिविष्कर्तृक्ष जैविकता जैविकता really lay down that whenever such a nimmitta as breaking occurs a fresh homa has to be performed. Vide मेघा. on मनु XI. 220 (एकांतसयायः &c.) and मेघा. on झे I. 81.


स्फायसम्माय — नि. सि. p. 67 states that rules about śrāddha on a solar eclipse apply by analogy to śrāddha on a lunar eclipse.

पद्धातिनमायाय — This is expressed in the half verse ‘पद्धातिनमायाय पद्धातिनमायाय’ शरणं वर्ष मेघा. on झे I. 210 with the words तथा च लेखकाः. This half verse is शरणं 2. 49, which reads श्रंवेत न शरणं चरणाम् and the other half is भयामाय यथ विचाहिता कर्तय स्वयं निर्णिता। शादुरसमक्ष on झे ख. III. 2. 22 quotes it.

पद्धातिवाचार्यसमक्षमायाय — झे I. 3. 5-7 on the place of आचार्य म in view of the words वेदेऽ कस्ये ग्य ग्ययाय शादुरसमक्ष explained by शाखर on झे I. 3. 7.

पद्धातिसमक्षमायाय — झे V. 2. 1-2 and vide शादुरसमक्ष above p. 1342.

स्फायसमक्षसमक्षसमक्षमायाय — This is like ‘silence shows consent’ — Vide धर. श्री. p. 82 and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 669 n 1264 and शादुरसमक्ष on झे ख. II. 4. 12.
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पौराणिकप्राचार — जै. III. 6. 1-8; certain passages like यथय पौराणिक ज्ञानप्रति न स वाग्यं क्रोकं शुद्धिलतिः occur in जै. सं. III. 5. 7. 2 without express reference to any topic. They are to be applicable to the modifications. Vide म. राम. प. 117 and भामाती on जै. सं. I. 1. 4 pp. 123-124.

पधुन्याक्षाक्रमप्रयास — जै. IV. 1. 11 and दुहुत्रक्षर pp. 1203-5 on the Vedic text यो श्रुतिः ब्राह्मणप्रथाम दुहुत्रार्थभाषे. The emphasis is that both এক্ত and ঘূর্ণ are to be insisted on.

पधुपुरवलोकनप्रयास — जै. XII. 1. 1-6; vide श्राक्षेत्रप्रतिक्रिया of भवदेव प. 20, म. विज. प. 85 and मातिनिमेर्ये's तत्तत्त्वकार्यांद्रि on the latter and n 2205.

विशेषाधिकारप्रयास — Occurs in Sabara's Bhāṣya on Jai IX 2.3, XII. 2.16, तत्तत्त्वा. I. 2. 31 p. 147. विशेषाधिकार — Means grinding what is already well ground and therefore unnecessary repetition (of arguments).

पर्याकृतप्रयास — Literally means 'bending the back again and again to observe each of many objects lying on the ground.' Vide शाबर on जै. II. 1. 32 and तत्तत्त्वा. thereon p. 434. The मित्रा. on जै. III. 216 employs it.


मतिनिमेर्येप्रयास — जै. VI. 3. 13-17, सुचिचित्र (on आचर प. 460). It means श्राक्षेत्र-प्रचारे दृष्टांगतं मतिनिमेर्ये प्रयास: क्षत्तायाः:

मतिनिमेर्ये नैमिनिकस्ताक्षरमानवती — Vide the स्थाय 'नैमिनिकस्ताति' etc. above, मित्रा. on जै. III. 263-64 and 288 for this form of the स्थाया.

पतिप्रविधिकरण — म. र. प. 47. The first part of the interpretation of जै. II. 1. 1 by Sabara is so called and the 2nd part is called महाभाष्यप्रविधिकरण.


पथमालिक्रमे कारणभावात् — जै. X. 5. 1 and 6 (on which श्रवण says ये क्रममालक आचर्य-प्रत्ये मथमालिक्रमितप्रत्ये), तत्तत्त्वा. on जै. III. 2.20 p. 772 and on जै. III. 4. 51 p. 988, म. प. 134.

पथमालिक्रमितप्रतिक्रिया — Lit. 'Crushing the principal wrestler', the idea being that lesser champions would be regarded as vanquished if the principal wrestler is vanquished. Vide श्राक्षेत्र on जै. सं. I. 4. 28 and II. 1.12.

पथमालिक्रमितप्रतिक्रिया ज्ञातत्वाय विशेषाधिकारप्रतिक्रिया — Vide दुहुत्रक्षर on जै. VII. 1. 2, p. 1526 and the स्थाय on 'उदित'मणिमन्त्र etc. above.

पथमालिक्रमितप्रतिक्रिया न मनोदीर्घमन्त्रप्रतिक्रिया — Vide दुहुत्रक्षर (सम्बन्धाय: verse 55 p. 653 quoted above on p. 1179 n 1917.

मतसम्बन्धाक्रमे — जै. III. 2. 11-15 referring to the direction in दुहुत्रक्षर 'दृष्टांगक्षेत्र प्रस्तरं प्रहस्तति; (the priest casts the bunch of कुशास called प्रस्तर into the fire to the accompaniment of सूक्तवाक्य, which thus becomes an aagá). For प्रस्तर, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1013 and for दृष्टांगक्षेत्र H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1073 n 2398.
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प्रासादव्रय—same as बहदीव्रय. Vide शब्र on जे. XII. 1, 1 and 3.

मेघासाय—Vide तन्त्रा on जे. II. 1, 12, p. 415. It refers to the example cited by शब्र on जे. I. 3. 8 'तत्त्व केशीष्यकुण्डु नमस्ते के प्रियम् दुर्योढ़कुण्डु'.

फलवचननासूक्ति तद्वर्गु—In जे. IV. 4, 34 (which is a lengthy सूत्र) we have the words सोदुःसंह्यनायणो यज्ञस्वरूप समस्तनासूक्तिः तद्व दुर्योढ़कु. Vide शब्र on जे. IV. 4, 19; कुल्लक on मन्त्र II. 101-102 employs it and so does the साधकर-बाल्या on V.S. II. 1, 14. Vide नै. of Dh vol. IV. p. 481 n. 1082.

बाल्य्याय—जे. III 2, 1. शब्र cites the मान्त्रणा बालिफळन दाल्म (I cut off barhis as an abode for the deity) and remarks that the भक्त्यम् sense is to be taken and not gauñā (secondary sense, based on similarity).

बाल्य्याय—Vide तन्त्रनासूक्ति तद्वर्गु above p. 1343. The स्मिता. on या. III. 257 refers to it.

बाल्य्यामान्त्रणाय—शब्र on जे. II. 1. 43 has 'हि दो तन्त्रम् भोज्यन्तनामिति परिभाषेन द्वितीयम्'. The भाष्यम् on जे. घृ. III. 1. 11 states that this नयाया means the same thing as मोचनवासूक्तियार. The शास्त्रभाष्य mentions it on जे. घृ. I 4, 16, II. 3, 15, III. 1, 11. Vide सुभाषिणी on या. II. 96 (ed. by Mr. Gharptre).

बाल्य्यामसुभाषिणी—नेथा. on मन्त्र VII. 35 employs it. बस्त्र also was a ब्राह्मणा but he may be separately mentioned as he was most eminent in तापस.

भाषाविवेकण—जे. II. 1, 1, भृ. स्मिता. घृ. p. 128 and p. 1236 n 2010 above.

चूतभवयोह्यान्त्रणयाय or चूतभवपुत्राणयो चूत भवर्याय पद्यातयात्यात—शब्र frequently mentions it as on जे. II. 1, 4, III. 4, 40, IV. 1, 18, VI. 1, 1, IX. 1, 9. The दृष्टीकोष on जे. IV. 1, 18 explains 'चूत बुद्धि भवण्य चिन्तितं निन्तिपद्याति दियोत्तमम्'. वृ. म. p. 111 mentions it; vide the present author's notes thereon pp. 173 ff and H. of Dh vol. III. p. 695 n 1322.

चूरस्त्रन्याय or चूरस्त्रम्यार्थाद्याय—based on जे. XIII. 2, 22 (विविषित्वर्मणां सम्बन्धे चूरस्त्रं स्मृतत्वम् सम्परम्पम्). When there is a composite sacrifice comprising several rites the various details of which present conflicts the procedure to be adopted is such as to secure the performance of the details common to the largest number; this is relied upon in स्मृतत्वम् (on भग्न प. 498) and भृ. भृ. p. 202.

माणुश्यत्रुष्याय—जे. VI. 3 20. The rule is that if a substance prescribed for a sacrifice cannot be had, a similar substance may be used (as पूर्विक for सोम mentioned by जात्र on जात्र VI. 3, 14); but where a substance is expressly forbidden it cannot be employed as a substitute, even when it is similar to the one prescribed. If नुथा pulse cannot be had माणु pulse cannot be used, as जात्र. S. V. I, 8, 1 declares माणु grains to be unfit for sacrifice. Vide स्मिता. on या. II. 126, द्रुतम्यार्थाद्याय XIII. 16 (in both this नयाया is mentioned), भृ. तत्त्व p. 452, भृ. म. p. 555.

स्मितासामस्त्रन्याय—same as वार्त्रिष्णय (जे. III, 1, 23).

सिंहप्रसादव्रय—जे. III, 1, 22, and शब्र thereon and गाज्य. ग. p. 89. A गुनवाच्य (clause laying down a subsidiary matter) is not to be taken as subsidiary to another गुनवाच्य, as both are subsidiary to the main purpose and are of equal status. There are two rites viz. खल्लिष्णवा
and Pavamāna offerings and it is stated that one of these is subordinate to the other. Both subservie the same purpose, viz. being employed in Dārśāpūramāsa and other sacrifices. A Vedic text states that vessels made of Varana and Vaikaṅkata wood are fit for sacrifices, but a vessel of Varana wood is not to be used for homa while one of Vaikaṅkata may be used. Both classes of vessels are subsidiary to sacrifices, but the text about not using Varana vessel in homa is of a general character. Therefore, one of the two clauses is not subordinate to the other. Hence Vaikaṅkata vessels are to be used in yāgas in which homa is requisite, but Varana vessels are not to be used in such yāgas.


dhāraṇyāṇaṁ yādrāṁ śūkṣme sānyāṃ: Śaṅkara on Ā. III. 2, 1. Vide above gāṇapuruṣopāśya etc.

\[\text{शुक्लयागायोऽ} \text{ताशक्ष: जी. VI. 3, 13-17; vide तिथितत्त्व p. 13, तत्त्व में p. 206.}\]

\[\text{शुक्लपालयात्र: (or शुक्लयागायो) मातिनिधि: शाक्षः जी. VI. 3, 13-17; vide तिथितत्त्व p. 13, तत्त्व में p. 206.}\]


\[\text{वाचवर्षाधिकरण: JI. I. 3, 9 and above p. 1293 note 2116.}\]

\[\text{यथोभाष: पथापेयो न समस्यायो नवहोर यथोभाष नस्वायेक नस्व नवन्तरयत्र नस्व}... नस्वायेक वाचवर्षाधिकरण: 

\[\text{JII. VIII. 3, 7 and 14 (pp. 1616, 1619) and X. 1. 25 p. 1816.}\]

\[\text{वर्ष वेदान्तसमस्या इति व्याप्त: This is part of the verse वर्ष वेदान्तसमस्यायो द्राक्षेनापि तत्त्व में... अथवे ब्राह्मणवामानानतंत्रमकरण: q. by व्याप्ताम् (p. 1076) on तत्त्व में, III. 1, 27 as बुद्धशृङ्खल; तत्त्व में p. 744 has वर्ष ... समस्या इति व्याप्तत: Vide above p. 1298 n 2124. This वर्ष is employed also in works on Poetics, e.g. the शक्तिविवेकानुसारणयाय p. 39 (TSS) and by अभिनवभरती on नात्त्वाल (G.O.S. vol. I. p. 210 'तपस्वः वर्ष वेदान्तसमस्या द्राक्षेष्म अद्वैततयो न वर्ष इति').}\]

\[\text{पावशयान मात्रिकः जी. V. 4, 11 (याप... के मात्र व्याप्त: आत्मकः) and on V. 3, 12 (याप... के सदायानप्रायामात्रि). The idea is: in the case of an authoritative text that much only is to be accepted as covered by it which is expressed by the words used and that it should not be made applicable to other cases on the ground of similarity or analogy. Vide तत्त्व में, on JI. III. 5, 19, आद्याय on V. 4, IV. 1, 4 and on IV. 3, 4; मेघाय on महात्म X. 127 applies this maxim. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 469 n 1101.}\n
\[\text{युग्मप्रति वित्त पावशयानम् जी. III. 2, 1 and शाश्व thereon, व्य्याख्या p. 92 and notes there on by the present author (pp. 129-131), तत्त्वमात्र तत्त्व में III. 30 p. 67 and H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 725 note 1399 and above pp. 1292-93 notes 2112-14.}\n
\[\text{प्रोक्तिचित्राधिकरण: JII. IV. 3, 27-28. The उपायनिताय does not simultaneously bring out all the rewards but only one after another. The word occurs in सूत्र 28 itself and प्रोक्तिचित्र means प्रोक्ति according to शाश्व. Vide मेघा, on महात्म XI. 220, तत्त्व में p. 239 (for explanation), मात्र व्याख्या p. 78 and मात्र शाल्य प्रकरण of भक्तिवद्ध (p. 18).}\]
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रथकाराजीकरणाय - Vide जी. VI. 1. 44-50, मी. न्या. प. 113 and above p. 1290 n 2110 and परा. मा. I. 1 p. 48.


सन्धियानारहरिति - This means that the conventional meaning of a word is to be preferred to the etymological meaning as in the case of the word 'रथकारा' in Jai. VI. 1. 44 ff.; vide परा. मा. I. 1 p. 300. As against this one must note another nyāya sometimes relied upon viz. श्रमसभे परिभाषाय अनुवलान (used by the भिक्षा. on जी. II. 143 about the meaning of the word श्रीपण). Vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 780 n 1508 and the मी. न्या. प. pp. 112-113.

रेत्वस्वाधिकरणाय - जी. II. 2. 27 and मी. न्या. प. pp 40-42.

शक्ल शास्त्रकालमाधव उपासी - Vide ज्ञात्र on जी. I. 1. p. 7 and I. 4. 2 p. 324.

वर्त्मान - जी. III. 8. 25-27. In दुर्गपुरुषस म the adhvaryu priest recites 'समवेन वच' विशिष्यसति' (भ. स. I. 4. 5). The reward, however, goes to the sacrificer and not to the adhvaryu, as the latter works for a fee.

वाक्यभाषा - जी. I. 4. 6-8. In the sentence राजायेत्र वाराणाकाम यज्ञ, अज्ञाय is the name of a याग and does not lay down any detail about a sacrifice, mentioned in Mit. on यज्ञ I. 81.

वारृत्तमाण - जी. III. 1. 23. Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 5 lays down that the Vārtraghī verses are recited on Paurṇamāśi and the Vṛdhanvāt verses on Amāvāsyā. These two are prescribed in relation to sacrifices that require the recitation of two anuvākyās. There is only one anuvākyā at the Darśa or Paurṇamāśi rite; therefore these verses cannot be used in Darśapūrṇamāśa. But two anuvākyās are known to be used in the Ājyabhāgas, which are subsidiary offerings in Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa. Therefore, the two anuvākyās 'Vārtraghī' and 'Vṛdhanvāt' are to be connected with Ājyabhāgas alone and not with the principal rite.

विश्वस्वाधिकरण - Vide above pp. 1239-40 note 2015; दुर्गाभाषा II. 30 (प्रारं दिशेँ ... न विक्रय:) remarks 'कर्त्तव्यप्रचुरनवस्त्रवायमाहार्यम्'. This is a निष्प्रा, though there is no word expressing exhortation.

विश्वस्वाधिक्रम - जी. IV. 3. 15-16. Where no fruit or reward is expressly prescribed for a sacrifice svarga is the reward. This is so with the Viśvajit sacrifice in which the sacrificer had to donate all that he owned at the time of the sacrifice; mentioned by भेषा. on मनु II. 2, परा. मा. I. 1 p. 148, एका. तत्त्व p. 23.

विभागीय शक्ल अध्याद्य - Vide ज्ञात्र on जी. I. 2. 29, IV. 4. 19 and the न्या 'न विभागी पर: ज्ञात्राय' above, समानतात्व (p. 760) relies on this.

वैश्ववृष्ट - जी. I. 4. 13-16. वैश्ववृष्ट is the first parvan of the four parvans of Cāturmāyas. It is a name (नामधेया) and not a gunavidhi. It is employed in the ज्ञात्र. मी. p. 239.

शाखानिर्दिष्टिकरण - Vide जलेश्वराध्य.

शाखास्त्राध्य - जी. II. 4. 8-33. It is the same as सर्वशाखास्त्राध्याय below.
History of Dharmaśāstra

Vide śāstra on IV. 1. 23, IV. 1. 46, IV. 2-30.

Vide above p. 1249 n 2030 on अतिरिक्ते दोषविन गृहार्थि और नाभिशास्त्र... गृहार्थि, अर्थांस्यथा p. 24.

Vide above p. 2417 note 217; निधि on महा II. 107, गर्भ. मा. I. 1. 60, पाप. तत्त्व, p. 474, एकाद. तत्व pp. 29-30, लिखितत्व p. 44, भु. स. p. 84.

Vide दासभाषा on ग्र. XI. 1. 28 and XII. 3. 10; employed in एकाद. तत्व p. 32 and देशवास्तव p. 133; it is mentioned in the महाभाषा on बालिक 4 on ग्र. VI. 1. 84. This नृया has a limited application and often the maxim निन्दिताःप्राप्ति etc. (i.e. repetition) applies.

Vide दासभाषा III. 29-30 p. 67, महा. पा. p. 369, accepted in 6 Cal. 119. 126 (F. B.) and in l. R. 41 I. A. p. 290 at pp. 303-4.

This is the पृष्ठवालय in ग्र. X. 3. 53-55, but it is held generally applicable unless there is a special or express provision for unequal distribution. This is followed in निधि on गाज. II. 265, दासभाषा IV. 8 p. 80 (on भीषणभाषा), स्मृतिचर (II. pp. 152 and 283), कुतुक on महा III. 1.

(समेत स्मार्कवादकाविद्वारि द्वाराभिः प्रति...द्वाराभिः वस्तुचरणाः), पाप. मा. I. 2. p. 362, देशवास्तव (on व्यवहार) p. 204.

Passages like सत्तुत् सामिः विद्वाक्यवाद in Ait. Br. 1. 1 that occur without being attached to any particular sacrifice are applicable only to विकृति and not to the model (प्रकृति) sacrifice; vide निधि on ग्र. I. 256.


Vide आचार on ग्र. VII. 3. 16 (बायति च सामान्यत्व विद्येशण) and तत्त्व. p. 1030 on ग्र. III. 6. 9 (तत्त্঵ नाम विद्येशण सामान्यत्व निराकृतिका. प्रत्ययमत्र तत्त्व समाधियोऽद्विवेशण मतीये। तत्त्वयथामणको विषेषोऽथाय कायमति न दुर्भैल-प्रमानको, दिव्योऽथाय 1120) vide for examples स्मृतिचर (on व्यवहार pp. 142, 299, 381) and पाप. मा. I. p. 233.

Vide above p. 1291 note 2111.

Vide above pp. 1315-16 n 2164 and स्मृतिचर (on व्यवहार p. 297), सुबोधित्विन्ति (on निधि) on p. 72 (text) and p. 183 (tr. by Mr. J. R. Ghidepur).
Appendix to chap. XXX

3. III. 4. 20-24. In śrāvaṇīya II, 2. 4. 6 there is a passage not connected with any specific sacrifice viz. सुधरण्यो भाष्यम् (one should wear bright gold). This is a puruṣadharma and not a sarvapraṇarana-dharma. Vide स्मित. on śrāvaṇīya II, 135-136, where this is used as an argument against the view that all wealth is for yajña.

स्मितन यहाँ — Vide śrāvaṇīya III, 2. 16-19 and प्रस्तरप्रहरणयाय (p 1346) for the meaning of स्मितन and प्रस्तर. In these śūtras it is established that the whole स्मितन is not to be recited in both Paurṇāmāsā-ṛṣṭi and Darśa-ṛṣṭi, but only those portions of it that refer respectively to the deities of the two ṛṣṭis.

स्थानीयतय भास्याय — The word स्थानीयतय occurs in jai. VII. 4. 12 itself; vide धब्र on śrāvaṇīya VIII, 1. 11 and तन्त्र on śrāvaṇīya III. 5. 19 p. 998. The महाभाष्य knew it since it says on वार्तिक 15 to पा. I. 4. 23 ‘परवासोऽपि लोकः पुराकः स्थानिय निर्विशेषाय’

स्मुद्धराज्यायाय — Fixing a post firmly in the earth by frequently pushing it down and about; occurs in श्रावरभाष्य on śrāvaṇīya VII, 2. 1 and श्रावरभाष्य on श्री. II. 1. 34 and III. 3. 53.

स्य्यांचार्य भास्याय — śrāvaṇīya VI. 1. 1-3, referred to in H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 169.


SECTION VIII

Relation of Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Tarka to Dharmaśāstra

CHAPTER XXXI

Dharmaśāstra and Sāṅkhya.

Sāṅkhya is one of the well-known six ārānas (philosophical points of view).

Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on V. S. II. 2. 17 says that Manu and others who were deeply versed in the Veda took up to some extent in their works the doctrine of pradhāna being the cause of the world with the idea of relying on that part of its doctrine viz, the effect is (already) existent in the cause. Similarly, on V. S. I. 4. 23 he says that great effort was made by the Śutrakāra and himself for refuting the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya system (and not for the refutation of the theory of atoms being the cause of the world), since the Sāṅkhya system is near to the Vedānta as it accepts the view of the non-difference of cause and effect and as some Dharmaśtras like Devala have had resort to it in their works. On V. S. II. 1. 3 Śaṅkarācārya remarks that, though there are many smṛtis dealing with metaphysical topics, great effort was made for the refutation of Sāṅkhya and Yoga only, since the two systems are well-known in the world as means of securing the highest goal of man, as they have been accepted by śīstas (respectable and learned people) and are supported by Vedic indications in their favour (as in Śvetāsvatara Up. ‘tat-kāraṇam sāṅkhya-yogāḥ bhīpānno’ VI. 13). It would be shown later on that Manu and Devala rely on and propound (some) Sāṅkhya doctrines.

2208. प्रधानकारणवादः वेदबिद्विद्वाय कैलिकसन्धिलिंगः प्रधान: कैलिकसन्धिलिंगः। अर्थ है विभासकारणवादी न आधिपत्याय वेदशास्त्रम न अवस्थित: कैलिकसन्धिलिंग: परिश्रितवतपावतायेन सन्धिलिंगः। शास्त्र on वे. सू. II. 2. 17 (अवरिष्ठहाराकारणवाद: श्रीमयु: पुनः उपनिषदलक्र निरालक्रत: तत्त्व द्वि विशेषोपिन्दकालिकसन्धिलिंगानां कैलिकसन्धिलिंगानां वेदस्वाभावात्तुत्तम: मनस्त्रीलस्विनविनिवासीति॥ संस्कृतकारणवादः परार्मप्रविशाल्यवाद: कैलिकसन्धिलिंगः। कैलिकसन्धिलिंग: प्रधान: कैलिकसन्धिलिंगः। शास्त्र on वे. सू. I. 4. 28.
It would not be irrelevant to say a few words about the origin and development of the Sāṅkhya system. This (rise of Sāṅkhya) is one of the most difficult problems in Indian philosophy. A good many works and papers have been written on the Sāṅkhya system. As to what the original Sāṅkhya teaching revised in the Sāṅkhya-kārikā of Iśvarakṛṣṇa was, no generally accepted answer can be given. From the 5th century A.D. at least the Sāṅkhya-kārikā of Iśvarakṛṣṇa has been regarded as the foremost exponent of the Sāṅkhya. The Sāṅkhya-kārikā and a commentary on it were translated into Chinese about 516 A.D. by Paramārtha, originally a brāhmaṇa of Bhāradvāja gotra and a śramaṇa from Ujjayini (vide BEFO, 1904, p. 60). Šāṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 4. 11 quotes the whole of the 3rd verse of the Sāṅkhya-kārikā and the first quarter of it on V. S. I. 4. 8. But the Sāṅkhya system, it appears, went through several phases. Chinese sources say that there were eighteen Sāṅkhya schools (p. 2 of Johnston’s “Early Sāṅkhya,” quoting Takakusu in BEFO, 1904, p. 58).

There is the Sāṅkhya-sūtra or Sāṅkhya-pravacanasūtra attributed to Kapila (published with two commentaries viz. that of Aniruddha and parts of the Tikā of Vedāntin Mahādeva edited by Garbe in B. I. Series 1881). This is a late work composed about 1400 A. D. as shown by Garbe in his Introduction and by

Fitz-Edward Hall in his learned Introduction to the edition of the Sāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya (B. I. Series, 1856). There is an edition of 23 sūtras called Tatvāsamāsā with a commentary called Kramadipika in the Chowkamba Sanskrit series which has also published several other brief late works that are passed over here. Several commentaries on the Sāṅkhya-kārikā have been published. The earliest appears to be the one translated into Chinese by Paramārtha about 546 A.D., which has been reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese by the learned Pandit Aiyaswami Sastri and published (in 1944) in the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Series with a valuable Introduction; another commentary styled Mātharavṛtti was published (in 1922) in the Chowkamba Sanskrit Series. Dr. Belvalkar (in ABORI vol. V, pp. 133-161) contributed a long and scholarly paper on the Mātharavṛtti in which he holds that the Mātharavṛtti is the original of the commentary translated into Chinese by Paramārtha together with some accretions made from time to time, that Gaudapāda’s commentary is a simplified abridgment of the Mātharavṛtti (p. 148), that the Mātharavṛtti cannot be placed later than 450 A. D. (p. 155) and that Īśvarakṛṣṇa cannot be assigned to a date later than 250 A. D. (p. 168). Prof. A. B. Keith in ‘Sāṅkhya system’ (p. 51) places Īśvarakṛṣṇa at a date not later than 325 A. D. Another early commentary is the Yuktidipika of an unnamed author edited from a single ms. by Shri Pulinabehari Chakravarti in Calcutta Sanskrit Series (1938). This is a very valuable commentary and has been very competently edited even from a single ms, though there are a few gaps here and there. That commentary is replete with quotations and polemical discussions, mentions several Sāṅkhya teachers who differed among themselves and whose opinions are cited on many topics. For example, vide under Vindhyavāsin below. It mentions some ācāryas that are hardly ever mentioned in any Sāṅkhya work. It frequently cites an author called Pañcādhikarana (vide pp. 6, 108, 114, 132, 144, 147, 148 where two Āryās apparently of Pañcādhikarana are quoted). Another hitherto unknown Sāṅkhya-ācārya mentioned by this com. is Paurika on p. 169 and p. 175, who holds the surprising view that there is a separate praithāna for each Purusa. Patañjali is frequently mentioned on pp. 32 (who denied the existence of

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2210. प्रियपुस्थमयेन प्रायों नोतिस्वयं कस्यति। तेना च महात्म्यपरमस्त्ययां प्रवा पक्षस्य नैवैतरायणी, तत्स्मिन्तम च तेऽवामाविनिद्विनरिति पौरिकि: सांख्याचार्यः मन्यते। पुण्यिः p. 169.
Ahaṅkāra), 108, 132 (there are 12 karṇas and not 13 as S. Kārikā in verse 32 asserts), 145, 149, 175; Vārṣaganaḥ (in the plural) are mentioned on pp. 39, 67, 95, 102, 133, 145, 170; Vārṣagana (pp. 6, 108) and Vārṣaganaṇavīra (on pp. 72, 108, 175) styled bhagavān on p. 72 and Vṛṣaganaṇavīra (on p. 103 probably meaning 'the son of Vṛṣagana'); all these refer to the views of Vārṣaganas. Pañcaśikha (p. 31 in the plural, p. 61, p. 175) is mentioned and one passage which is quoted in the Vyāsa-bhāṣya (on Y. S. I. 4) and ascribed to Pañcaśikha by Vācaspati is quoted by the Yuktidipīkā on p. 41 as Śāstra. From pp. 113 and 129 it appears that the author of the com. was a Vedāntin. It is probable that he flourished between 500 and 700 A. D., since he quotes (on p. 39) Dīnāgā's definition of 'pratyakṣa' and is not cited by Vācaspati and other commentators on the Sāṅkhya.

Gaudapāda composed a commentary on the S. Kārikā but only on 69 verses published in the Ch. S. Series. The Commentary called Sāṅkhya-tatvavākyaumudī by the famous writer Vācaspatimiśra was published in the Chowkhamba S. S. in 1919. A commentary called Jayamangalā ascribed to Saṅkaracārya (in the colophon) on the S. Kārikā was published at Calcutta in 1933 by Sri H. Sarma with a brief but interesting Introduction by Principal Gopinatha Kaviraj (vide also I. H. Q. vol. V. pp. 417–451) where Sri H. Sarma tries to prove that the Jayamangalā is earlier than Vācaspatimiśra. Vijñānabhikṣu composed (about 1550 A. D.) a bhāṣya on the Sāṅkhya-pravacanasūtra. The Śaṅtrakāra and Vijñānabhikṣu make efforts to establish the impossible thesis that the teachings of the Sāṅkhya system are not in irreconcilable conflict with the doctrine of a personal God or with the Advaita Vedānta. The Mahāvatārti on S. Kārikā 71 furnishes the names of certain teachers that flourished between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa viz. Bhārgava, Ulūka (Kauśika?), Vālmiki, Hārita, Devala and others, while the Jayamangalā mentions Garga and Gautama as Sāṅkhya teachers after Pañcaśikha (vide note one in Pandit Aiyaswami's edition on p. 99). The Sanskrit commentary reconstructed from the Chinese version of Paramārtha (p. 98 of Pandit Aiyaswami's edition)

221. संहारमिथाविश्वासितमित्रमुग्धतः वि अवय कर्तिकश्रवणेत्तन्तरणस्य च
मुक्तिमिथाविश्वासितमित्रमुग्धतः वि अवय कर्तिकश्रवणेत्तन्तरणस्य च
विक्रियाऩमासितमित्रमुग्धतः वि अवय कर्तिकश्रवणेत्तन्तरणस्य
विक्रियाऩमासितमित्रमुग्धतः वि अवय कर्तिकश्रवणेत्तन्तरणस्य
states that the line of teachers and pupils from Pañcaśikha is: Pañcaśikha-Gārgya-Ulūka-Vāsagana-Īśvarakṛṣṇa. It is clear from the above that several teachers, in any case not less than five or six, intervened between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. From a somewhat mutilated passage of the Yuktidiṣṭā (p. 175) it appears that at least ten persons intervened between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. If this be accepted and if Īśvarakṛṣṇa be assigned to about 230 A.D., then Pañcaśikha cannot be placed later than the first century B.C. and may be much earlier still. On 'tena ca bahudhā kṛtam tantram' (S. Kārikā 70) the Yuktidiṣṭā speaks of bhagavat Pañcaśikha as 'daśama-kumāra' (tenth son of Prajāpati ?) and states that he expounded the śāstra to many persons such as Janaka and Vasishtha and thereby identifies Pañcaśikha with the teacher Pañcaśikha mentioned by the Śāntiparāya (vide note 2186 below).

Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāṣya (II. 23) sets out eight alternative views among Śāṅkhya writers on the question of 'daśana' and 'adāśana' and remarks that the fourth out of the eight alternatives is the real doctrine of the Śāṅkhyaśāstra. From about the 5th century A.D. the Śāṅkhya-kārikā has been regarded as the standard work on the Śāṅkhya system. The S. Kārikā itself states that the holy śāstra was expounded by Kapilamuni to Āsuri, who expounded it to Pañcaśikha and the latter expounded the (Śāṅkhya) system to several disciples and that it came down to Īśvarakṛṣṇa in a succession of teachers and disciples, who summarised it in Aryā.

2212. अयं तु शास्त्रयोगेऽविदितः पुरानेऽयम् भाष्यवाचस्पति । संस्कृतिः तु इति। (gap) यासिंसर्वादिन्द्रियानि परिक्कोलः ज्ञानेऽविदितः ॥ एवंनादित्य-सन्धि-नियत्य-समाधित्य-युक्तिदित्य-समप्राधानिक-शिवम्। ॥ युक्ति p. 175.

2213. On 'देवये जाक्षमन विकर्त्यान' of शास्माध्यम् on योगाचार्य II. 23 बाणास्ति remarks: 'तदेव विकर्त्यं चर्च कर्त्यं स्त्रिकात्तमित्तेऽशर्तानां सत्यज्ञानस्यानां सप्तसातारायणेऽनेन मांका.विकावश्याभवपवस्तुन दृष्टांते दृष्टान्तं शास्त्रम्।' ॥

2214. एतत्त्वविवरणम् युनिसारस्यात्मकम् खर्वे। आसुरिणि पञ्चक्षेत्र तेन च बहुध्य कलय तत्रत्र ॥ शिवमयमश्रियानां ममकित्वेतस्तसमयो चतुर्दशं।। सार्यात्मस्यमतित्वा समयाविवरण विवाहम्। सारं का 70-71. It should be noticed that Gaudapāda comments only on 69 verses and omits these two and a subsequent verse 'तस्य त्र्या किं देवे विशारभिः कुत्स्य भविष्यत्र्रय। आद्वरणाविवरणिः पञ्चाक्षिकाय यथा' which means that all the matters contained in the whole Saśītantra (of Pañcaśikha) are contained in the seventy verses (of the Śāṅkhya-kārikā), excluding the illustrative stories and the controversies with others. The Śāṅkhya-kārikā is known as Śāṅkhya-saptati and in Chinese as 'Suvarṇa-saptati.'
verses. Kapila-muni is here said to be the first promulgator of the Sāṅkhya.

Before proceeding further the most characteristic and fundamental conceptions of the standard Sāṅkhya must be set out. The most fundamental conception is that there are two entirely distinct essences existing from eternity, viz. prakṛti (i.e. nature or matter) also called prātiḥāta and avyakta, and puruṣa (soul or spirit, the knowing subject). The second fundamental conception is that puruṣas are many. Another most characteristic feature of the Sāṅkhya system is the doctrine of threegunaś (factors) called sattva (light, intelligent), rajas (energetic, active, domineering), and tamas (coarse, inert, enveloping, dark). Pradhāna or prakṛti or avyakta is said to be constituted by the three gunas (trigunātmaka) when they are in equilibrium (Sattvārjastamaśam sāmyāvasthā). The Sāṅkhya analysed all physical and mental phenomena. The lowest factor is the heavy impenetrable matter and coarse foolish impulses. They are called tamas (described as guru, heavy and varāṇaka, enveloping). Then there is the factor of constant change in the physical world as well as in the mental. This is called rajas (vīla, changing and udyāntavahaka, exciting, as the S. Kārika puts it). The third factor or element in the world is the varied operation of consciousness that leads to knowledge and experience, which is called Sattva (laugh, light as opposed to the coarse, merely material objects and prakāśaka, luminous, as contrasted with tamas). These three factors or elements combine in various proportions and make up the evolving universe. The three are called gunas from several points of view viz. they are qualities, they also bind as with a rope the Purusa to saṃsāra. The basis of the universe is to be found in the gunas. Pradhāna

2215. सत्त्व दृष्टिधारणमुदल प्रभावमक तत्त्वम: प्रभाव

2216. सत्त्व दृष्टिधारणमुदल प्रभावमक तत्त्वम: प्रभाव

2217. सत्त्व दृष्टिधारणमुदल प्रभावमक तत्त्वम: प्रभाव

2218. Sattva (laugh, light as opposed to the coarse, merely material objects and prakāśaka, luminous, as contrasted with tamas). These three factors or elements combine in various proportions and make up the evolving universe. The three are called gunas from several points of view viz. they are qualities, they also bind as with a rope the Purusa to saṃsāra. The basis of the universe is to be found in the gunas. Pradhāna

verse 6: रोहि रोहायं निश्च। तुण्यामदुरसुज्जुमम् । verse 7. On रूप, II. 2.10 रूपार्थ notes that the Sāṅkhya system presented contradictions in the days of the V. S. ‘प्रत्ययित्वं सच्चा साप्तवातंनमिः: कवित्तविनिविश्वात्मतत्वकालित कवित्तदुरसुज्जुमम्। तथा कवित्तविनिविश्वात्मतत्वकालित कवित्तदुरसुज्जुमम्। तथा कवित्तविनिविश्वात्मतत्वकालित कवित्तदुरसुज्जुमम्। तथा कवित्तविनिविश्वात्मतत्वकालित कवित्तदुरसुज्जुमम्। The seven indriyas would be the skin, five karmendriyas and mind; the three antākṣarānas would be buddhi, abhākāra and manas. The one antākṣara would be buddhi.
is not different from the guṇas, but it is only the name of the primordial matter before evolution starts. Prakṛti being anādi and eternal, the Sāṅkhya system did not postulate God as creator, and held God to be a superfluity. The Sāṅkhya propounds a theory of cosmic evolution which is practically as reasonable as any modern theory of evolution. It is probably the earliest attempt to furnish an answer from reason alone to the questions about the origin of the world, about the nature of man and his relation to the physical world and man’s future destiny. In the nineteenth century mind and matter were held to be entirely different and atoms were supposed to be indivisible. Modern physics has reduced matter to energy but the nature of this last also is a mystery. Under the Sāṅkhya system, puruṣa or prakṛti or both serve no religious purpose. There is no definite or convincing answer as to why puruṣa becomes entangled in the web of prakṛti. The Sāṅkhya simply says that as a result of non-discrimination puruṣa somehow becomes entangled. The Vedāntasūtra refers to pradhāna as smārtas in I. 2. 19 and as ‘ānumānika’ in I. 4. 1. From Prakṛti evolves mahān (i.e. buddhi, consciousness) from which arises ahaṅkara, from which evolve on the one hand the five tattvas (subtle elements, viz. sabda, sparśa, gandha, rasa, rūpa) and on the other hand manas (mind) and the ten indriyas (sense organs). From the five subtle elements are evolved the five great elements, earth, water, tejas, vāyu and ākāśa (ether). These are twenty-four tattvas (categories) and puruṣa is 25th.

Pradhāna is distinct from puruṣa and serves the purpose of puruṣa (who is passive and a sākṣi) who is distinct from the evolutes of prakṛti and is bhoktr (and not kartr). The Sāṅkhya does not admit God. Prakṛti and puruṣa come together in order that the latter may see its working; just as a blind man and a cripple (a lame man) may come together (and the blind man may carry the lame man on his shoulder, the latter showing the way and both may reach their destination by this joint effort).

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2216. In V. S. 1. 4. 11 the pūrvapakṣa is advanced as follows (after quoting Br. Up. IV. 4. 17: ‘yasmin paśca paścijana:’) tatha pārvavedaṃ sāvityaś ca tattvāṇi sāhand.: sāṃkhyopadeśā: mūrtamuktiḥvibhūtābhāvā, prakṛtiḥvibhūtā: sattā. Āsāsakṣiḥ viśāsāḥ na pārvavedoḥ viśāsāḥ. Pravacana: 11. This last verse is nâm. ka. 3.


2218. Pravacana dārmaṃ bhāvayāṃ tatha pārvavedoḥ dārmaṃ bhāvayāṃ sāvityaś ca tattvāṇi sāhand.: sattā. Sām. ka. 21. The sixty topics dealt with in the Saṣṭitāntara, according (Continued on next page)
purusa realizes the difference between himself and the gunas constituting Prakriti he is liberated. Both Sankhya and Yoga treat the external world as real. They both postulate plurality of souls (purusas), that are eternal and unchanging. This latter is one of the most crucial differences between Sankhya and advaita Vedanta. It is not necessary for our purpose in this chapter to go into greater details. One more doctrine of the Sankhya is called satkaryarada i.e. the theory that the effect already exists in the cause and does not arise from nothing (S. Karika, verse 9); compare Chan. Up. VI. 2. 2 (kathamastah sajjayeta) and GitA II. 16 (nasato vidyate bhavo).

It is difficult to assign a definite date to the Sankhya-karika. As Paramartha translated the Karika as well as commentary on it into Chinese in about 546 A. D. the Karika cannot in any case be placed later than about 250–300 A. D. It may be earlier by a few centuries. Umbeka in his commentary on the Slokavartika of Kumari mentions an author called Madhava as Sankhyanayaka and Yuan Chwang also refers to a Sankhya teacher called Madhava. Dr. Raghavan in Sarupabharati (pp. 162–164) shows that Madhava was really a destructive critic of Sankhya, that the proper reading is Sankhyanayaka-Madhava and that he was probably earlier than even Dinnaga and Dharmakirti (i.e. earlier than 500 A. D.).

Sankaracarya in the passage quoted in n. 2208 remarks that certain Upanishad passages may be relied upon as apparently supporting the Sankhya system. Some of the Upanishad passages that either foreshadow Sankhya doctrines or employ words that have technical meanings in the Sankhya system would be

(Continued from last page)

cited. But one passage from the Atharvaveda X. 8. 43 deserves notice, viz. ‘the knowers of Brahma know that \textit{yūkṣa} endowed with atman which abides in the lotus with nine gates (the physical body) covered by three gunas.’ With this may be compared Śv. Up. III. 18 and Gitā V. 13 (navadvāre pure dehi).

The Mundaka Up. states ‘From Him are born praṇa, mind, all indriyas, the five elements, and sky, wind, jyotis (tejas), waters and the earth.’ The Katha Up. refers to indriyas, the objects of senses, mind, buddhi, mahān, avyakta, puruṣa as a rising series, similar to that of the Sāṅkhya with one exception viz. the Up. does not mention \\textit{ahankāra} and holds that buddhi and mahān are different, while the official Sāṅkhya identifies them. It is, therefore, clear that the evolution in these two Upaniṣads is very similar to the theory of evolution stated by the classical Sāṅkhya, the only difference being that the Upaniṣads postulate a supreme Creator (that produces the cosmos) while Sāṅkhya drops the creator and accepts the evolutionary series only. On V. S. I. 2. 12 Śaṅkarācārya cites the verse ‘dvā suparṇā sayujā’ (which is Mundaka Up. III. 1. 1, Śv. Up. III. 1 and also Rg. I. 164. 20) and explains it, as referring to the individual self (jīva) and the Highest Spirit (paramātman). The ācārya then mentions the argument of a predecessor who relies upon Paṅgirahasya-brāhmaṇa where the latter half of the verse is explained as mentioning \textit{sattva} (buddhi) and \textit{kṣetrajña} (i.e. the individual self). This indicates that some took that verse as putting forward Sāṅkhya ideas. The Katha Up. III. 4 states that the description of the individual soul as the joyer (bhoktr) results

\textit{2220.} प्रभुरीक्र नवद्वार विशिष्यमिधित त्रिमूर्तिः। तत्समस्याश्चाश्च तदैव ब्रम्हविदव विन्दूः॥

\textit{अववे- X. 8. 43.} It is difficult to say what \textit{व्रत} here means. That word also occurs in Rg. IV. 3. 13, V. 10. 4, VII. 61. 5, where सात्त्विक gives different meanings. सत्त्वा \textit{जानके} प्राणी मनः सत्त्वाण्वण व। ते वातस्योत्सर्यय्। सुधियीविषय भारिणी। शुद्धिकोषः II 1. 3। द्रष्ट्रभे भव परा द्विधाय अद्भवः परे मनः। मनसरः परा द्विधा।

\textit{श्रीमतम भास्त्रम महात्मः। महतः समस्याश्चाश्च मुनुष्यः परः।} द्रष्ट्रभे प्रे किंचित्स कार्या सत परा महः। कः प्रेमः III. (vallii) 10-11. These occur with slight variations in ब्रह्मद्विन्य–ग्नियकुलमयूषिक. IX. 134-186. On V. S. I. 4. 1 the Sāṅkhya objector relies upon this Katha text as providing evidence of the Sāṅkhya doctrines being based on the Veda; compare भ्रामणवी. III. 42-43. Then भ्रामणवी. on वे. यू. 1. 2 cites \textit{ह्रा सृपा} सत्त्वा सत्या सभाय समां हृदय परिवर्तते. तवेशेः: विपर्यः स्वात्सर्यस्तत्त्वमभिन्नाकृतिः। सुन्दक III. 1. 1, आत्मनवी. IV. 6 and यू. I. 164. 20 and states ‘अपर अति। \textit{ह्रा सृपा}–ह्रा। नेयमुग्धाविशिष्यमन्त यत्र संस्कारे। अति अनुसारे। अनुसारे। अति प्रमाणे। ज्ञातवेते सत्येऽज्ञ।।} This verse (\textit{ह्रा सृपा}) is the subject of V. S. III. 3. 34 also.
from the union of the ātman with organs of sense and the mind. The Śvetāśvatara Upanisad expressly refers to Sāṅkhya and Yoga (in VI. 13) and says that ‘on realizing that cause which can be apprehended by means of the study of Sāṅkhya and Yoga he is released from all bonds’. That Upanisad is full of words that are frequently employed in the Sāṅkhya system such as ‘avvakta’ (I. 8), guna (V. 7 ‘sa viśvarūpas-trigunah’ and VI. 2, 4 and 16), jña (v. 2, VI. 17), prakṛti (‘māyām tu prakṛtim vidyāt’ IV. 10). purusa (I. 2, III. 12, 13, IV. 7), pradhāna (I. 10, VI. 10 and 16). linga (I. 13, VI. 9). The Ś. Up. (VI. 11) describes the one God as ‘sākṣi cetā kavalo nirgunaṃ-ca’. The Sāṅkhya denies God and transfers these epithets to the Purusa, who in his true essence is, according to the Sāṅkhya, merely a passive witness, pure intelligence, unaffected by gunas. The Praśna Up. (IV. 8) speaks of the five elements and their mātrās (prthivī ca prthivimatrā ca &c), the ten indirīgas and their objects, manas, buddhi, ahaṅkara &c. The Sāṅkhyaas rely on the verse ‘ajāmekām’ (Ś. Up. IV. 5) for Upanisadic support to their theory about prakṛti and its three gunas (vide bhaṣya of

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2221. तिथियो विषयां तेतर्वेश्वलानामसेवो बहुतां ये दिव्यपात कामां।
तत्त्वार्थं सांस्कृत्यां विद्यते वेयु च कृष्णमयेत रागायेत॥
तेतर्वेश्वलानामको VI. 13. The first half occurs in कठोण. V. 130. शक्तिपञ्चाशं तेतर्वेश्वलानामको VI. 2-3 remarks ‘यद्वृत्तमुखं तत्त्वार्थं
सांस्कृत्यां विद्यते वेयु च कृष्णमयेत रागायेत तत्त्वार्थं।’ Compare मीता 13, 19 and 21. प्रभुच्छिन्न युक्तं चेष्टा etc. for the relation of पुरुष, प्रभुच्छिन्न and गुण; साक्षी is explained ay Pāṇini as ‘साक्षात द्वृत्तमुखं
संज्ञाया’ V. 2. 9. The word कृष्णमयं, the sūrumum bonum of the Sāṅkhya, is derived from कृष्ण ‘which word occurs in Sv. Up. I. 11 and VI. 11) and
means कृष्णलय भवं.

2222. अज्ञासेव मोहितां धान्यां तिथियो विषयां गतां - प्रजाः युज्मानां सहवां।
अज्ञासेव बहुतां ये दिव्यपात कामां॥ अज्ञासेव बहुतां ये दिव्यपात कामां॥
तेतर्वेश्वलानामको VI. 4. 5. This verse metaphorically speaks of Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Guṇas acc. to the Sāṅkhya objector. अज्ञासेव बहुतां ये दिव्यपात कामां. The words also mean
'unborn'. Therefore, ajā stands for Prakṛti and aja for Puruṣa, both of which are eternal acc. to the Sāṅkhya system. Lohita (red) stands for the guna rajas, śūlka (white) for sattvāguna (which is prakāśaka) and krṣṇa (dark) for tamas. From Prakṛti are evolved numerous objects. The latter half refers to a soul that is enveloped in ignorance and therefore lives in bondage, but one who has realised the distinction between guṇas and Puruṣa abandons prakṛti i.e. is liberated. The relations of the numerous puruṣas (poetically represented as he-goats) to the one Prakṛti (represented as a she-goat) are mentioned in this verse. These three colours really stand for three elements viz. tejas, waters and food (i.e. earth). Vide Chāṇ, Up. VI. 3. 1 ‘यद्यथे शोधितं च राज्ञमं वेयु च कृष्णमयेत रागायेत॥

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Śaṅkara on V.S. I. 4. 8). That verse means: there is one unborn (female), constituted by red, white and black, but producing manifold progeny resembling each other; there is one unborn being (a male) who resorts to her (loves her) and lies by her; there is another, who leaves her after having experienced enjoyment. Similarly, Śaṅkyas argue that Kapila, the founder of the Śaṅkhyà system, is mentioned in the Śv. Up. (V. 2) 'it is he who, in the beginning, bears (nourishes) by thoughts Kapila sage when born and looks on while he is being born.' If one looks to various passages of the Śv. Up. such as III. 4, IV. 12, VI. 18 one must hold that rśi Kapila, the reddish sage, is Hiranyagarbha (the golden child), the first creation (Hiranyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgre,' Rg. X. 121. 1). Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. II. 1. 1) replies that from the mere occurrence of the word 'Kapila' one cannot at once jump to the conclusion that he must be the founder of the Śaṅkhyà, since another Kapila, called Vasudeva, who reduced to ashes the sons of Sagara by his angry look, is well-known. Śaṅkarācārya concedes on V. S. II. 1. 3 that both Śaṅkhyà and Yoga are within the pale of Vedic orthodoxy as regards those portions of them that are not in conflict with the Veda. The five elements (mahābhūtānī) are mentioned in the Ait. Up. (III. 3), Praśna VI. 4 and the five special qualities of these five in Kaṭha Up. (III. 15).

In view of the fact that the word 'Śaṅkhyà' occurs in the Śv. Up. and that the Kaṭha and Mundaka have some doctrines similar to the Śaṅkhyà system and the Śvetāsvatara employs many words that occur frequently in the works on Śaṅkhyà, the question arises—what is the relation of the Śaṅkhyà to the Upaniṣads. There are three possible views, (1) that Upaniṣad thought and Śaṅkhyà made parallel progress, (2) that Śaṅkhyà adopted and expanded some of the germinal ideas

2223. या हु श्रुति: कपिलस्य ज्ञानातिपायं मद्यांपरियो मद्याधित्या न तया श्रुतिविहस्वस्वमित्रि कोषेति मद्यावानुः श्रवियो कपिलस्य ज्ञानातिपायं मद्याभावमाज्यवाक्यम्। अधिस्थः च कपिलस्य समर्पण्य पुष्पाण्य प्रतादहसुदवनाम्। समर्पणः। भाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 1: येन च हेतु न विद्ययेते तेनेन्द्रयेता सांप्लायोस्मसुस्वरोऽसाप्यकालेभि। श्ून्यराचार्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 3.

2224. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 4. 12 Kapila is said to be a part of bhūgavān Puruṣottama, who reduced to ashes the 60 thousand sons of Sagara, that suspected that the Aśvamedha horse grazing near that sage must have been stolen by him (IV. 4, 16-23). For Vasudeva Kapila, vide Vanaparva 107. 31-33, where we read (in Chitraśāla ed.) 'ततः कृत्रिम महाराज कपिलो शुनिशतमः। वाचस्पदेति यं माहु: कपिलोरुविनिधनामस्। ... दयादु सुमाहारो निविनिधनां स सागरानं। The story is also mentioned in Vanaparva 47 (7-18).
of the Upanisads, (3) that some Upanisads borrowed from the Śāṅkhya. It is not possible to discuss these questions here for reasons of space and relevance. The present author holds that it is the Śāṅkhya that based itself on the thoughts of the Upanisads, particularly when the older Upanisads like the Br. Up. and Chāndogya hardly exhibit any traces of Śāṅkhya doctrines or technique, when Śāṅkhya reference are found only in Katha, Mūndaka, Śvetāsvatara, Praṣna (which are held to be later than Chān. Up. and Br. Up. by modern scholarship) and when there is hardly any work or writer of purely Śāṅkhya doctrines that can be assigned to a period even a few centuries earlier than the Christian era and when no one can place the principal Upanisads (about twelve, including the Śvetāsvatara) later than 300 B.C., since even the Śv. Up. is referred to as 'Śruti' in V. S. I. 4. 8, II. 3. 22. Garbe (in 'Die Śāṅkhya Philosophie' pp. 3 ff) denies that Śāṅkhya underwent any essential modifications in its long history. Jacobi does not agree, holding that Śāṅkhya originated out of a common cultural and philosophical heritage and Oldenberg sees the origin of Śāṅkhya in the Katha and Śv. Up. and holds that epic Śāṅkhya is an independent development ('Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfange des Buddhismus', 1915, pp. 203 ff). Śāṅkhya and Yoga were known to Kautilya (Śāṅkhyaṃ Yoga Lokāyatam cētyāntāksiki' Arthasastra I. 2. p. 6.). Therefore, we may say that Śāṅkhya as a philosophical school started at least before the 4th century B.C.

We should now turn to Sanskrit works other than the Upanisads for seeing the origins of the Śāṅkhya system. First comes the Mahābhārata.

In many passages of the Śāntiparva 1225 references to some of the doctrines, technical words and persons connected with the mature Śāṅkhya system occur. The references are so many that the present writer will have to select only a few passages by way of sample. In chap. 203 there is a dialogue between a clever pupil and his guru. It begins by stating (in verse 8) that Vāsudeva is all this (Vāsudevaḥ sarvam-idam), then it proceeds 'just as from one lamp thousands of lamps can proceed, so prakṛti

1225. For the Śāntiparva only the critical edition of the Mahābhārata issued by the BORI is cited in this section on Śāṅkhya from this paragraph onwards. The quotations from other parvas are taken from the Citrasālā Press edition.
creates endless things, but does not become reduced in size thereby; buddhi springs from the activity of avyakta (i.e. prakṛti) and ahaṅkāra is produced from buddhi) and from ahaṅkāra is evolved ākāśa from which vāyu arises and then tejas, water and the earth arise each from its predecessor; these eight are the mūlaprakṛtis and the whole world is centred in them (verses 24-26). Then the chap. mentions five organs of knowledge (ear, skin, eye, tongue, sense of smell) and five senses of activity (hands &c) and then there are the five objects of sense (viz. śabda, sparśa &c) and the mind is all-pervading and the 16th (verses 27-31). Then the chapter speaks of puruṣa (the soul) that resides in the city with nine gates and is undecaying and immortal, which shines in all beings just as a lamp, whether big or small, does. In chapter 204 the same dialogue is pursued and the first verse says all bhūtas spring from avyakta and are merged (die) in avyakta, it refers to kṣetra (the body) and kṣetrajña (in verse 14) and winds up by saying that, just as seeds burnt by fire do not grow, the soul is not again connected with kleśas when they are burnt by the fire of (correct) knowledge. In chap. 205, verses 22-23 speak of the characteristics of the three guṇas; chap. 206 says that when a person brings under control anger, avarice, fear, pride and becomes pure he merges into the highest self that is Viṣṇu in avyakta form and chap. 207 deals with the measures for reaching the highest goal and puts forward brahmacarya (sexual purity) as

2226. मूलप्रकृतिमें हायत्ता जानिनतात्वकिष्मातः माता निरुपयायेः पर्याप्तमें भावान्वयस्य प्रियः। विषयाः पर्याप्ते शीतोश्य विषयाः मतः।।। verses 26-27. Compare सांहिकौ कारिका 3 q. above in 2216 for प्रोक्तकाण्ड विकारः etc.

2227. नवद्वारं पुरुषप्रतिमाः सन्निधिमाः। विषयं हेतु महानात्मा तत्साध्यनुषं उपदेतः। ज्ञाति 203. 35. Compare also भगवद्गीता ' नवद्वारं पुरुष देही मेवर्कुड़व न कार्यनुः। The word पुरुष is generally derived as पुरि हेतु इति पुरुषः: Vide निरुक्त I. 13 यथा चापि प्रभाबधारित स्युतस्यंतराममकालस्य। पुरुष पुरुषविधाय ह्यत्चक्षचास्य हृदयाचक्षचास्य। but in II. 3 it gives three derivations of पुरुष: पुरितां: पुरिविधाय: पुरुषलात्तराय (the first being पुर्रिः +ष from सुत्र to sit). The derivation of the word from पुरि हेतु occurs ever in the ब्रह्म-उप. II. 4. 18 ' तत्र अथ्य पुरुषं सर्वसंसार तथा पुरुषविधायः। The words नवद्वारं पुरुष देही occur in अनेतादेशः III. 18.

2228. क्रेस्म is a technical term in the Yogāsūtra where it occurs frequently as in I. 24, II. 2 and 3, II. 12, IV. 28 and 30. Yogāsūtra II. 3 enumerates the five kleśas as अविष्कारः-असित्वः-द्वेषः-अभिविष्कारः-क्रेस्मः। They are so called because they harass man (क्रेस्माणि पुष्पम्)

2229. क्रोधानन्दोमेष्वर्यं दर्शनं साधनाच्छुचिः। परमेष्व परमात्मानं वेदार्थस्वरूपं स्वविवेकौ संस्थापनं विषयादने देवस्थापः। chap. 206. 1-2.
the first measure. In these chapters, though some doctrines peculiar to the standard Sāṅkhyā of the Kārikā appear, they are all brought in line with the Vedānta of one supreme Being, which is negatived in the official Sāṅkhyā.

That there were philosophers, who adopted some of the Sāṅkhyā and Yoga doctrines, postulated Parameśvara (Supreme Deity) and held that the three, viz. Pradhāna, Purusa and Īśvara were different from each other, is expressly stated by Śaṅkarācārya in his bhasya on V. S. II. 2. 37. Therefore, the Mahābhārata references to Sāṅkhyā probably relate to philosophical doctrines in which all three viz. Prakṛti, Purusas and Supreme Self were recognized, from which arose the later official Sāṅkhyā that discarded any supreme Ruler of the Universe. In the Nārāyaṇiya section of the Śāntiparva (quoted in note 1544 p. 954 above) ‘Sāṅkhyā, Yoga, Pāñcaratra, Vedas and Pāṇḍupata are said to be knowledges (jñānāni) and ‘nānāmatāni’ (different points of view) and Kapila, a paramārsha, is said to be propounder of Sāṅkhyā. Chapter 294 (in verses 26-49) deals with the twenty-five tattvas of the Sāṅkhyā from Prakṛti or Aavyakta, mahat, abhāṅkara, the five elements from abhāṅkara (these eight being called prakṛtis) and then 16 vikāras (verse 29). These are called kṣetra, the soul is the 25th (v. 35) and is called kṣetrajña and Puruṣa (v. 37 ‘avyaktake pure śete purusa-ś-ceti kathyate’, and Īśvara or brahma is not brought in anywhere in that chapter.

Chapters 211-212 (containing in all 100 verses) of Śāntiparva deal with what Janaka, called Janadeva, king of Mithilā, learnt from Pañcasikha, when the latter, after wandering over the whole earth, visited Mithilā and who is described as the first (or foremost) pupil of Āṣuri and who is said to have performed a sattrā for a thousand years on Pañcasrotas.

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2230, 2231, 2232.

2230. त्समात प्रकृतिप्रकृतात केवल निमीत्ताकारणविधम् इत्यय परो वेदात्मविदितः।
स्रोक्तकल्पतिप्रकाश्यानजात तत्त्त्वविलिते। सा भै वेदाध्याः प्रकृतिकल्पनाकिनकिनकिन। केवलस्वित्याः
परमात्माः कल्पनः प्रदानप्रस्थरीवहिता केवल निमीत्ताकारणविधम् इत्यत्त्वविलिताः।
प्रदानप्रस्थताः इति। शास्त्रमार्थम्। अर्थम् ।

2231. Janadeva may be a proper name of Janaka and may mean 'Lord of men' (i.e. same as 'Janādhīpa'). In the Brhan-Nārāyaṇa-purāṇa I. chap. 45 the same story about Janaka and Pañcasikha is narrated often in the words of the Śāntiparva.

2232. Pañcasrotas probably means 'Pañcanada' (the five rivers of the Punjab). Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 787. The cr. ed. of the Śāntiparva

(Continued on next page)
He was the son of a brāhmaṇa woman called Kapilā and was therefore known as Kāpiloya (verses 13–15). Janaka had a hundred acāryas in his palace who propounded the different views of different sects. Verse 9 says that Pañcaśikha made people wonder when he appeared like Kapila, the great sage (paramarśi) and Prajāpati, that he confounded the hundred acāryas by his arguments (v. 17). Later Janaka abandoned those acāryas and followed Pañcaśikha (verse 18). He, after creating disgust in Janaka about his caste or about rites and about everything, expounded to Janaka the highest mokṣa which is declared as Sānkhya. In chāp. 212 Pañcaśikha expounds five elements, five jñānendriyas, five karmendriyas, mind (verses 7–22) and the signs (līṅgas) of sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa bhāvas (verses 25–28) and describes how a person who seeks the Self is freed from the fetters of pleasure and pain and being beyond the fear of old age and death reaches immortality. In the first place, these two chapters are not sometimes very clear, offer no consistent clear-cut system and employ words that are difficult to construe and are not completely identical with the scheme of the 25 tattvas of the official Sānkhya of the Kārikā, since chāp. 211 verse 13 speaks of ‘ekāksara brahma assuming many forms’. For example, it is difficult to say what is meant by ‘purusāvasastham-avyaktam’. The meaning that can be drawn out of the words seems to be ‘he (Pañcaśikha) conveyed knowledge (to Janaka) about Aavyakta (i. e. Pradhāna) that depends upon Purusa (i.e. that becomes active through union of Purusa with it), which is the highest truth. It further says that Pañcaśikha became perfect (in knowledge) by the performance of iṣṭis and satras, again by abounding tapas, had a vision of the deity (God) and he realized the distinction between kṣetra and kṣetrajña and also realized brahma symbolized by om. There-

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omits one verse in chāp. 211 (corresponding to chāp. 218 of the Citraśaṅkha Press ed.), which isएकक्षरस्वरूपानां निष्प्राक्षः। एकक्षरस्वरूपानां
परमात्महात्।एकक्षरस्वरूपानां
स्वतः। which is 11–12 in that chāp. Here परमात्म is said to have been profoundly learned in एकलक्ष (ैैक्ष) doctrines. As he was called
cākṣīrya, it was probably imagined that his mother was Kapilā.

2233. तें समस्तेनागामयमण्डलकारिपत्तमहत्। पुरुषवाचस्मयस्यपरमात्महस्यभौतिनं
इहितवेचणसंस्कारंसुपानमथष्टमहितम्। क्षेत्रात्मज्ञात्वयति द्विवे वेचयति॥ यत्वे
वैकाचनं नात्मात्म सत्त्वमेवस्य। शास्त्री 211. 11–13, पुरुषवाचस्य must be dissolved (in
order that some sense can be made out of it) as पुरुषेण अस्त्य (अस्त्यां यथ) or ‘द्विवे अस्त्यात्म इति.’ The meaning of मण्डलकारिपत्त महत् is not at all clear,
(Continued on next page)
fore, the doctrine of Pañcaśikha in these chapters of Śāntiparva is really  
advaita (monism) on which are grafted some doctrines similar to the later official Sānkhya for explaining creation and so forth.\textsuperscript{2231} In Śāntiparva 306. 56–66 (= Chitra ed. 318. 58–62) Viśvāvasu tells Yājñavalkya that he has heard about the 25th 
tattva (i.e. Puruṣa) from Jaigisavaya, Asita–Devala, Vārsaganyā 
(of Parāśara gotra), Bhrigu Pañcaśikha, Kapila, Suka, Gotama 
Ārṣīsena, Garga, Nārada, Āṣuri, Pulastya, Sanatkumāra, 
Śukra and Kaśyapa (father of Viśvāvasu) and 336. 65 (Chitra. 
ed. 318. 67) states that Yājñavalkya had mastered completely 
both Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Śāntiparva 304. 4 (= 316. 4 of Citra. 
ed.) states that Sāṅkhya and Yoga are one.\textsuperscript{2235}

Pañcaśikha figures frequently in the Mahābhārata. In 
Śāntiparva, chap. 307 (containing only 14 verses) Yudhishthira 
asks Bhismah how one can rise superior to old age and death,

\textit{(Continued from last page)}

but from the passages in the Ahirbudhnya-samhitā, chap. XII. 18–29 it 
follows that the doctrines of Kapila’s Sāṅkhya—tantra were divided into 
two māṇḍalas called Pṛākṛta and Vaikṛta and the two had 32 and 28 topics 
respectively. \textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{1}

\textit{महात्मां श्रुतेऽपि कपिले कपिलाहिये यद्विं भाषे पूः तत्तवं श्रुतैः 
पुनः हृद्मेव नमं तत्त्वं सांख्य गेध महात्मा \प्राकृत ब्रह्मचारणी मद्वा समासति:।}

The com. Arjunamāira appears to take it as ‘the great doctrine of Kapila 
came to him (Pañcaśikha) in the form of an aura of light and expanded to 
him the highest truth’ etc. This is extremely far-fetched. There is a doubt 
about the agent of ‘nyabodhayat and as to whom ‘samāsīnam’ refers. To 
me it appears that the meaning is that ‘Pañcaśikha came to him (i.e. to 
Janaka) and imparted to him the great Kapila māṇḍala, the highest truth, 
the ayyakta etc.’ According to the usual sanskrit construction the agent of 
‘āgamyā’ and ‘nyabodhayat must be the same (i.e. Pañcaśikha). 
Samāśin refers to Janaka. Compare \textit{1} एकाश्वरं परं ब्रह्मम् मन्त्र II. 83 and \textit{1} अोगिस्तकार्षर ब्रह्म 
स्वालयः मानतुस्मरस्तः गीता VIII. 13. Verse 13 of chap. 211 is आयुर्भ्रितहेतु 
पतिवेदेन तदुपययम्। (अथवा refers to ।एकाश्वर-ब्रह्म) Therefore, मन्त्र should be 
taken to mean ‘the circle of the doctrines first propounded by Kapila.’

2234. The position reached by Janaka on Pañcaśikha’s teaching is 
stated in Śānti 212. 50–51. \textit{सन्ति मम तुम्पसिति दश्येऽश्च स्म सम 
भुविमत्त। दश्येऽर्जुनचरते स्नायुः पद्माश्रयो भाग्यमण्।।} Compare साति 171. 
56 अथवे च: ने विनः पति ने पालि किंचित्ति \textit{मिस्तम्याऽऽ पद्मायण्य न मे दश्येऽकिंचित्ति \t
ध्यम्यम् 200, दद्यायसस्यसूचु 9. 14 सुधैः सत्त्वानि जीवितो भोगं सो भावति किंचित्ति \textit{मिस्तम्याऽऽ \bhadramāṇi न मे दश्येऽकिंचित्ति। इत्यादि ते यो वेद विमोच्यु:मामात्माविमोच्यति चाचमन्ति। न 
दिवेणुः कर्ममन्तःपरयि: परम् विस्तरितेऽज्ञेऽदेव सिम्हम्। साति 212–44; vide note 1640, 
pp. 1005–6 above for the figure of a lotus leaf and water falling thereon.

2235. \textit{द्वेष्टे योगम्: पद्मसितसः पञ्चाहेतृपरं दश्येऽते। एक और्ज्ञय गं गं च: न: पश्चाति 
स पद्यविल।।}
whether by very great tapas or by rites or by Vedic learning or by the use of āśrayanās (elixirs of life or alchemist’s prescriptions). Bhīma speaks of an ancient dialogue between Janaka and Bhīṣma. The question put to Janaka and Pañcāśikha is that none can escape these two and that union with wife and relatives is like meeting persons when on a journey (i.e., the company of these is not durable or permanent), nobody has seen heaven or hell, that one’s duty is not to violate the ordinances of Vedas, and to make gifts and to offer sacrifices. In this chapter there is hardly anything which approaches the special doctrines of the Śāṇkhyas, though Pañcāśikha’s views are set forth. Chap. 308 (191 verses out of which less than 30 have anything to do with Pañcāśikha’s teachings directly) begins with the question of Yudhīṣṭhīra ‘who secured mokṣa without giving up the stage of householder.’ Then Bhīma narrates to him the dialogue between Janaka called Dharmanḥvaja and Sulabhā, a nun. Janaka was learned in the Veda, in mokṣaśāstra and in his own śāstra (raja-dharma), he had controlled his senses and ruled the earth. She heard from ascetics about Janaka’s righteous conduct and she desired to find out the truth. She gave up her form as a nun by her yogic powers and became a woman, a paragon of beauty, and met Janaka. The latter informed her that he was the pupil of old bhīṣma Pañcāśikha of the Pārāṣaryatya gotra who stayed with him during the four months of the rainy season and who expounded to him the threefold mokṣa (viz. Śāṇkhyas, Yoga and the science of government) and yet who did not ask him to give up rulership. Janaka said

2236. तपस्वा व शुमलता कर्मणा वा श्रुतेन वा। रसायनपरमेष्टाः किमपरितज़रानकौ॥ ... केन दुस्तिन भववत्सितकमेज़रानकौ॥ तपस्वा वाधृता हुदृढः वा कर्मणा वा श्रुतेन वा॥ जानिति 307. २ आदि ५।

2237. ‘Dharmanḥvaja’ may be a proper name here; if not, it means ‘one who has raised aloft the banner of dharma’ i.e., who proclaims to the world that he follows dharma in all matters.

2238. पराजयायमणवस्त्रयं हुदृढः समाहलनः। भिक्षोऽ: प्राक्षिकश्चापि शिष्यः प्रसद-संस्कारः। साध्यामुनिव तथा गोयपि महीरात्तिकामोऽथ। त्रितियोऽयुक्तवत्सितं गताध्य विज्ञासज्जेवाः॥ तेनाः साध्याययुक्त सुदृष्टा तत्ततः। अभितितिकश्चापि गोयपि च राज्याहुष्टितः॥ सोह सं निभिति कुलिः शिष्यर्षिः शिष्याधिकमध्यः। सुचडकामभाकामेवः पंडे। पर्यथे स्विचितः॥ वेदांते देहस्तयं कस्य वर्गीये च ज्ञानादेव च वेदांतं ज्ञातेः पंडे। शासित 308. २४-२९।

A conjecture may be hazarded that this Pañcāśikha is entirely different from the Pañcāśikha who was one of the founders of the Śāṇkhyas and that he is probably the same as the Pārāṣaryas who are credited by Panini as having composed "bhikṣusūtra", "parāṣaryasūtraḥ yām bhikṣusūtraḥ". Pa. IV. 3. 110; Vide note 1901 p. 1169 above.
Dialogue between Janaka and Sulabhā

"I, giving up all attachment, though occupying the highest position (as ruler), follow the three paths of mokṣa; the highest rule of this mokṣa is 'freedom from attachment, the absence of attachment is due to correct knowledge whereby one is freed from bondage (of sarīsāra)'. Janaka further avows that 2239 on account of the knowledge imparted to him by the bhikṣu who is called after his top-knot, he is free from all attachment, though looking after the kingdom and that he is different from other sannyāsins. Then Janaka gives in verses (308. 38-41) another meaning 2240 of the threefold Mokṣa propounded by Pañcaśikha to him viz. (1) highest knowledge and renunciation of actions, (2) strict adherence to the patha of karma (duties prescribed by Śastra) and (3) combination of knowledge and actions, and it is said that those who follow this third path resemble householders in several respects. Janaka asserts his view 'wearing ochre-coloured garments, shaving the head, carrying a water-vessel placed on three staves-these are merely outward signs and do not lead to mokṣa and that mokṣa does not consist in non-possession of wealth and bondage does not follow possession of some wealth, but it is jñāna by which a person secures deliverance, whether there is possession or non-possession of wealth'. It appears from verse 40 that Pañcaśikha emphasized the third kind of Mokṣanīṣṭha (Jñānakarmasamuccaya) and Janaka followed that teaching. The rest of the chapter (308) is concerned with Janaka's charges against Sulabhā and Sulabhā's scathing remarks against Janaka. 2242 She says at the end 'you

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2239. तद्धुक्तथा तेन दिशतोष्णेन भिन्नष्णा। सजनं हुतमयिष्ठं न दिवरणुः //

2240. तेनकृिहि त्रिविधा निद्रा श्रष्णा पूर्वंमहाविधिः। सजनं तौकोतवं यत्र सर्ववायमां कर्मणां॥

2241. काव्याधारां गोपि प्रियत्वं विरितवर्त्यः कर्मणुः। लिङ्गामयस्वयंतत्त्वा न मोक्षयति न मलिः॥

2242. Some of her telling retorts are set out here, 'सहात्मनि परस्मिन्नुष्टां

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have indeed heard from Pañcaśikha the whole (doctrine) about moksa together with the means (for attaining it), with the Upaniṣad passages expounding it or with the auxiliaries (of meditation) and with definite conclusions.’

This passage expressly refers to Upaniṣads in connection with moksa and the preceding verses emphasize the freedom from attachment on the part of Janaka (in 308. 37 ‘muktasaṅga’). The Br. Up. in III. I refers to the sacrifice performed by Janaka, king of Videha, who set apart a thousand cows to be given to him from among the brāhmaṇas assembled at it, that would be the most profound in learning and be brahmīśtha (most learned in or devoted to brahma). Yājñavalkya asked his disciple to take the cows away; thereupon followed a learned disquisition by questions (of angry brāhmaṇas including a woman) and answers by Yājñavalkya; \[2212\] the questioners were Aśvala (the holy priest of Janaka), Jāratkārava Artabhāga, Bhujju Lāhyāyani, Usasta Cākrāyana, Kahola Kāuṣitakeya, Gargi Vācaknāvi, Uddālaka, Āruni, Vīdagdha Śākalya (III, 1-9 ending with ‘vijñānam-ānandam brahma’). In Br. Up. IV. 2 it is said that Janaka Vaideha approached Yājñavalkya, did obeisance to him and said ‘instruct me’ and that then the sage spoke to him ‘you have studied the Veda and the Upaniṣads have been expounded to you by ācāryas, but, when you will be leaving this body, where will yo go’? Janaka replied that he did not know it and requested the sage to enlighten him on that point. Then a long disquisition follows (Br. Up. IV. 2 ff) in which occurs the famous passage (‘sa eṣa neti netyātmā, agrhyo na hi grhyate ...... asaṅgo na hi sajjate ...... abhayam vai Janaka prāptosi’(IV, 2, 4). It appears to the present writer that some one desirous of boosting Sāṅkhya teachings inserted the chapters about Sāṅkhya in which Pañcaśikha is substituted in place of Yājñavalkya as the teacher of Janaka.

It would be seen from the brief synopsis of the chapters 211-12, 307 and 308 that the views described in all of them are not the same as those of the official or standard Sāṅkhya, that Pañcaśikha’s views as presented in chapters 211-212 seem to be different from those in chap. 308, particularly when chap. 308 emphasizes that jñāna-karma-samuccaya was the view of

(Continued from last page)
Pañcaśikha, while the official Sāṅkhya holds that jñāna alone leads to liberation. It should be noted that these chapters nowhere refer to a work of Pañcaśikha but show him to be a wandering ascetic holding certain views. The present writer believes that the author of these passages in the Śāntiparva had no work before him and only knew by hearsay and tradition that Pañcaśikha was a great Sāṅkhya teacher. Prof. Keith holds that the Pañcaśikha of the Śāntiparva is not identical with Pañcaśikha, the author of Śaṣṭiśānta (p. 48 of *Sāṅkhya System*). 2213

There are other chapters in the Śāntiparva where the peculiar Sāṅkhya doctrines and terminology are employed but they are brought in line with Vāsudeva or Highest Self to which the Sāṅkhya doctrines are made subordinate. For example, in chap. 340 Nārada is said to have been 2214 told by God himself some of the tenets of Sāṅkhya such as the twenty-four tattvas and Puruṣa as the 25th tātvara, the three gunas, that Puruṣa is kṣetrajña and bhoktr, that śācāryas, who have arrived at definite conclusions about Sāṅkhya, call God who is in the orb of the Sun as Kapila, that Hiranyakāgarha, who is well praised in the Veda and is announced as (author) of Yogaśāstra, is ‘myself’.

Not only in the Śāntiparva, but also in other parvas of the Mahābhārata, Sāṅkhya doctrines are dwelt upon. For example, the Āśvamedhika (in chap. 35. 47-18) speaks of sattva, rajas, tamas as ātmagunās and mentions their equilibrium. In another place, the same parvan enumerates the 24 tattvas viz. avyakta, mahān, abhākāra &c and describes the three gunas. 2215

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2243. Vide p. 11 (note) of Hall’s Preface to the edition of Śāṅkhya- pravacanasūtra (1856), where passages ascribed to Pañcaśikha are grouped together and Richard Garbe in Festgruss an Rudolph von Roth (Stuttgart, 1893) pp. 75-80 for fragments of Pañcaśikha.


2245. Vide p. 11 (note) of Hall’s Preface to the edition of Śāṅkhya-pravacanasūtra (1856), where passages ascribed to Pañcaśikha are grouped together and Richard Garbe in Festgruss an Rudolph von Roth (Stuttgart, 1893) pp. 75-80 for fragments of Pañcaśikha.
Asuri is mentioned by the S. Karikā as the pupil of Kapila, also in a quotation in Yogasūtraṃbhaṣya on I. 25 (note 2251) and by the Śāntiparva (chap. 306). But no work is attributed to him and hardly any quotation from him is cited by writers on Sāṅkhya (except a verse quoted as his by Haribhadra a late Jain writer). Kapila is a legendary figure. In R̥gveda X. 27. 16 Kapila 2246 is mentioned as one among ten (Aṅgirases) whom, though similar to them, they (Aṅgirases) urge on for a sacrifice. Vide Hall’s Preface to Sāṅkhya-pravacanabhaṣya (ed. 1856) pp. 14 ff for the confused legends about Kapila. Some references to Kapila in the Mahābhārata have already been noted. In Vanapr̥ṣa (221. 26) Kapila is styled as the promulgator of Sāṅkhya-yoga, as Paramarṣi and as an incarnation of Agni. In the Matsya-prāṇa 2247 it is stated that water should be offered to the seven sons of Brahmā, viz. Sanaka, Sananda, Sanatana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu and Pañcaśikha. The Vāmanā-prāṇa (60. 70) mentions Kapila (as knower of Sāṅkhya), Vodhu, Āsuri, Pañcaśikha (as ‘yogayukta’) and states that Sanat-kumāra approached Brahmā for yoga lore.

In the Śnānasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍika 3) attached to the Pārasharagṛhyasūtra the above seven are the only persons to whom tarpāṇa is offered among rṣis (vide H. of Dh. vol. II.

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2246. इनामें कपिलेऽसमानेन हिन्नवति कलवे परिणाम। न यथा वेदं वेद्यं स्वतं काल्वनेन तुष्यन्ति विरलि। अत्योपमिनान्त: सर्वेऽस्तम्भराणीजीविनः॥ तद्यथा मिथुनेऽसर्वेऽस्तम्भराणीजीविनः॥ आद्यम्य. 36. 4 and 6. Vide chap. 36. 12-15 for tattvasamudrasya and chap. 37 for राजस- युग्रस्ततः and 38. 1-9 for tattvamāṇa.

2247. मुद्रायत्वादिनिन्दुस्तृतम् जन्मावतास्तवस्ति। सनन्तख्य सनन्तख्य हुन्मदयं स्वमात:।। कपिलवाक्यतिकृतम् गोटो: पञ्चसाक्तितः। सर्वेऽत्र त्रिविनायात् सत्तेनायुज्यन्ता सदा॥ मस्त्रो। 102. 17-18. The Brahmaṇa-prāṇa (IV. 2. 272-274) mentions these seven sons of Brahmā but in a different order. The Āgama-prāṇa (60. 69-70) mentions the seven sons as सनःकुमार, सनतान, सनक, सनन्तद्व, कपिल, गोटो and आतुर्विनाय. The Svetāmbara (see VII. 6) adds वाच्यक. In the श्रवणेय-सुन्दरमुखस्त्रृतिः (VII. 66) these same seven are said to be human sons of Brahmā. The Svetāmbara, I. p. 193 quotes मस्त्रो 102. 14-21 on the topic of tarpāṇa, but reads ‘कपिलवाक्यतिकृतम् सौद्व: पञ्चसाक्तितः’ in verse 18. गोटो or गोट is a strange name and no verse or prose passage of his has been cited in works and commentaries on Sāṅkhya. It looks more like a prakrit form of some Sanskrit word. Vide Garbe in 'Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie' p. 72 for Vodhu,
Kapila in Bhāgavata and Gītā

p. 693). In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (I. 3. 10) Kapila is said to be the 5th avatāra of Viṣṇu, is called siddheśa (the lord of siddhas) and the teacher of Āsuri in Sāṅkhya that had become decadent (by lapse of time). The Gītā also (X. 26 'siddhānām Kapilo muniḥ') mentions Kapila as a muni and the most eminent among siddhas. The S. Kārikā also refers to him as muni. The Kūmapurāṇa (II. 7. 7) echoes the very words of the Gītā ('siddhānām Kapilo muniḥ').

In the vaṃśas in Br. Up. II. 6. 3 and VI. 5. 2–3, in which succession lists of teachers and pupils differing from one another occur, Āsuri is said to be disciple of Bharadvāja in the first and the pupil of Yajñavalkya in the second. Each list contains at least 60 teachers from Brahmā downwards. In the first place, it is difficult to hold that these lists are authentic and there is no evidence to establish that the Āsuri mentioned in both is the same as the pupil of Kapila.

Pañcaśikha's is a great name in the Sāṅkhya system. His systematic work on that system was called Śaṣṭītantra. The S. Kārikā (70, 72) refers to him as the author of the Śaṣṭītantra containing great details, illustrative tales and discussions of others' views. It was called Śaṣṭītantra because it expounded sixty topics and it contained sixty thousand gāthās. The Yogasūtrasbbhāṣya (IV. 13) quotes a verse which is ascribed to Śaṣṭītantra by Vācaspaci on Yogasūtrabhāṣya IV. 13. The present writer cannot agree with Keith p. 69 that the reference to Śaṣṭītantra in S. Kārikā (verse 72) is not to a work but to a philosophy of sixty topics. The āryā 72 had a Sanskrit commentary which was translated into Chinese in 546 A. D. in which it was stated that the work contained six thousand gāthās, but the Bhāmati (by Vācaspaci) on V. S. II. 1. 3 ascribes it to Vārṣagāṇya. It may be a slip on the part of Vācaspaci or it is possible that he regarded Pañcaśikha and Vārṣagāṇya as the names of the same person, the first being a nickname and the latter a gotra name. On Yogasūtra I. 4, 25, 36, II. 5, 6, 13, 17.

2248. अर्थ पाठशिल्लेव: विभिन्वासांधाकं व्युः तत्तज्‌कवान। p. 97 of Pandit Aliyaswami's ed.; विभिन्वासांधाय वस्मिन्व शचिष्ठे तन्तर्यन्ते शुद्धाधाने तत्‌विष्णुस्य। मात्रमात्रि।

2249. 'Gāthā' here seems to mean 'a group of 32 syllables or a fixed number of mātrās as a unit.' The few quotations attributed to Pañcaśikha are almost all in prose, only one under Y. S. IV. 13 being in verse and later commentators like Bhāva-Gaṇesā on Sāṅkhya-sūtra quote verses of Pañcaśikha.
18, 20, III. 13 and 41, IV. 13 (tathā ca śaśrānusāsanam 'Gūnānām &c'), prose passages occur which Vācaspati ascribes to Pañcaśikha. On S. Kārikā 2 Vācaspati quotes in his comment the view of Pañcaśikhacārya. In Yogasūtrabhāsya on I, 25 a sūtra is quoted which Vācaspati ascribes to Pañcaśikha in which Kapila is styled 'ādividyā' (the first master of Sāṅkhya) and 'paramārṣī' and is said to have imparted to Āṣurī the Tantra, the Sāṅkhya Siddhānta.

In the dialogue between Viśvāvasu Gandharva and Yājñavalkya (in Śāntiparva, chap. 306) there is a long list of sages from whom Viśvāvasu says he learnt a great deal (in verses 56-60) but prays to Yājñavalkya 2250 that the latter should expound to him the knowledge of Sāṅkhya and Yoga (verses 65-66). Then Yājñavalkya states that prakṛti is also called pradhāna, that it does not know the 25th (viz. the purusa) and that there is a 26th (Highest Self) and so on. That list contains the following names: Jaigīṣṭhāna, 2251 Asita, Devala, Vārṣagāṇya of the Parāśaragotra, bhiṣṣu Pañcaśikha, Kapila, Śuka, Gautama, Arūṭiṣeṇa, Gārgya, Nārada, Āṣūrī, Pulastya, Śanatkumāra, Śukra, father of Kaśyapa. The sages are not mentioned in chronological order. Five of them (that are in Italicus) are important so far as Sāṅkhya and Yoga are concerned. We saw above that Pañcaśikha is said to be of Parāśara gotra and in the above list Vārṣagāṇya also is said to be of the same gotra. Vācaspati on S. Kārikā 47 ascribes to Vārṣagāṇya the view that avidyā has five facets or aspects. 2252 The Yogasūtrabhāsya on III, 53 quotes a sūtra of Vārṣagāṇya. It is shown above from

2250. तथा च शाश्वाससनम् शुचिनाति परं न दियोधभूतस्यन्ति। यदु हि हिरण्य गार्त्तम तमयेऽव शुचिकृतार्थतिः। योगभाष्यम् IV, 13; अवैय काशवास्यपायतातिः। माथेय न तु मात्र। शुचिकृत विनाविकता। तरुणेश्वरी 00 योगमुन्त्र। अत एव योगशास्त्रवाचक। द्विपिता ह स्म महानाथ याणमप्य। शुचिनाति ... शुचिकृतम्। भाषणी on वे. त्र. II, 1, 3।

2251. यथाह सः भवनाय पञ्चशिक्षाचारां—व्यवस्थुत: सः। सर्वत्रहस्त: प्रत्यवस्त्वयेश्वरीयः। भिन्न hi। 00 अबिश्वास्य 10 सः। काविक 2। तथा चक्तम। अद्वितियक्षणेऽविनिश्चितानि कारणम्। जगन्नाति परमात्मेऽविवर्धेऽविज्ञानमात्मत् तथा प्राप्तेऽविचित्र।। योगभाष्यम् I, 25। तथा चोकं पञ्चशिक्षाचार्यः। आदिविश्वास्य कवित्र इति। वाचस्याति। 30 त्रिका।

2252. पञ्च विद्याश्रेण: भवन्यप्राक्ष्यात्रूप: करण्यात्रुप्यात्रूप:। सत् काविका 47। 'अविद्या:-अल्पत-समस्येऽविवेचन:। ... पञ्च विद्याश्रेण:। ... पञ्च अविद्याश्रेण:। भवन्यात्रूप:। सत्तं सत्तौर्वै न वाचाचार्यः। बुज्जित: (त्रिधिकरणम्) XII, 33 is: इति। विद्याधर्म हि विनिश्चित:। भवन्यात:। सत्तं सत्तौर्वै। तथा मौहं मांसात्तेऽविनिश्चित:। त्रिधिकरणम्। उप. I, 5 has the words 'पञ्चवशेषाऽविविधीयः। In the Kūrmapurāṇa (II, 11, 129) Kapila is said to have given instruction to both Jaigīṣṭhāna and Pañcaśikha. It is difficult to say whether that Purāṇa had before it any ancient tradition to this effect.

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the reconstruction of the Sanskrit Com. from Chinese that Vārṣagana was one of the teachers after Pañcaśikha and before Īśvarakṛṣṇa. So it is extremely doubtful if Pañcaśikha and Vārṣagana are identical. Vide JRAS for 1905 pp. 33–53 (by Takakusu who shows on p. 47 that Vṛṣagana was a teacher of Vindhyāvāsa and that Vasubandhu wrote a work called Paramārthaśaptati in opposition to Vindhyāvāsa; and that Paramārtha was in China from 546 to 569 A. D.

In the Introduction to the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (a Jain work) Charpentier refers to two different lists one older and shorter which speaks of the four Vedas, Itihāsas (as 5th), Nighañṭu as the sixth and of the Vedic āṅgas and upāṅgas and then of Śaśītantra. This last may be a reference to Pañcaśikha's work or simply to the 60 topics dwelt upon in the Sākhya system.

In Śāntiparva (chap. 222) Yudhīṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma: by what character, conduct, lores and by being intent on what does a person reach the abode of Brahmā which is higher (or beyond) prakṛti and Bhīṣma mentions the dialogue of Jaigīśavya and Asita Devala in which it is stated that he who is unperturbed by being reviled or praised, who keeps silent over his good deeds, does not harm even him who harms him, is always calm and does good to all beings, reaches the abode of Brahmā. The Buddhacarita (XII. 67) speaks of Jaigīśavya, Janaka and Vṛddha-Parāśara as having secured mokṣa by the path described in that chapter. The Yogabhāṣya (on III. 18) gives a long story about Āvatya (called prince of Yogins) and Jaigīśavya. Jaigīśavya is quoted in Vyāsabhāṣya on Y. S. II. 55 for indriya-jaya (control over senses). He appears to be a Vedāntic writer on Yoga.

Not only does the Śāntiparva dilate upon some of the peculiar doctrines associated with the later official doctrines of the S. Kārika, but the Bhagavadgītā also does so. A few striking passages are cited here. Gītā XIII. 5 (Mahabhūtānyahahāṅkāro buddhiravyaktam eva ca: Indriyāṇi daśaikam ca pañca cendriyagocarāṁ) enumerates the twenty-four tatātvas omitting puruṣa and mentioning the five elements in place of the five tanmātras; XIII, 19–20 (prakṛtim puruṣam caiva viddhyānādi ubhāvapi vikārāṁśa guṇāṁśaiva viddhi prakṛti-sambhavān) Karyakāraṇa-kartrtv hetuh prakṛtr-ucyate; Puruṣah sukhduḥkhāṇāṁ bhoktrtv heturucyate; XIV, 5–9 (sattvam rajas tama iti guṇāḥ prakṛtisambhavāḥ &c); VII, 4
(bhūmirāpasnalo vāyuḥ kham mano buddhireva ca ahaṅkāra itiyam me bhinnā prakṛtir-āṣṭadāḥ), VII, I, 3, II, 28. The Gitā in VII, 6 and 8 emphatically states that God is the source of the whole world, which ultimately is merged in Him. Herein the Gitā differs materially from the standard Sāṅkhyā. The Gitā expressly mentions “Sāṅkhyakaṅṭānta” 2253 (i.e. siddhānta) in XVIII, 13; what that means is that by that time Sāṅkhyā tenets had assumed the form of a system but there is no express or definite reference to a work such as in the case of Veda or Vedānta (in XV, 15) or Brahmasūtra (in XIII, 4).

Vindhyavāsa or Vindhyavāsin (dweller on Vindhya mountain) is identified with Īśvarakṛṣṇa by Takakušu in B. E. F. E. O. for 1904 p. 48 and by Keith on pp. 73–79 in ‘Sāṅkhyā System.’ His view about the non-existence of the ātītāhika body after a man’s death is mentioned by Kumārila.2254 Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in J. I. H. vol. VI. pp. 36–49) goes into the question of the identity of Vindhyavāsa with Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The present writer agrees with him but he does not agree with his further conclusion (p. 49) that Vindhyavāsa lived earlier than Īśvarakṛṣṇa whom he assigns to the period 330–390 A.D. The evidence is too meagre to prove this. In JRAS for 1905 pp. 47 ff. Vindhyavāsa is said by Takakušu to be a pupil of Vṛṣagāna and that according to Paramārtha Vṛṣagāna and Vindhyavāsa lived in the 10th century after Buddha’s nirvāṇa. From Kamalāśila (p. 22 of Tattva-saṅgraha) it appears that Rudrila was also a name of Vindhyavāsa.

The Abhinavabhārati of Abhinavagupta distinguishes between the two; 2255 so it is possible that Vindhyavāsa only revised the

2253. Vide p. 954 note 1545 above where the five Siddhāntas (Krānta-paścaka) are Sāṅkhyā, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Saiva and Pāṣupata.

2254. अन्तरावधेहतु लिपिद्वर विश्ववासिना। तदात्मिते यमणं हि न दिक्षीयते। सम्मत अर्थात्, आयामादृ्य verse 62 p. 704 on which the com. Nyāyaratnakara explains: ‘यदि आतिनिन्दक नाम तत्थे पूर्वार्थेद्योर्जस्तादे ज्ञातस्वाभावगताभावे करत्यते तदापि विश्ववासिना निराकारात्मान्यविद्।’ While criticizing the Sāṅkhyā and its ‘Satkāravāda’ Kumārila makes fun of the epithet Vindhyavāsin (which may also suggest ‘a man who belongs to a wild tribe on the Vindhya mountain’) applied to Rudrila ‘वक्ष्य द्वै तत्त्व शरीरं सत्त्विन्ते तत्त्विदी च। वहना शरीरभेदेन रात्रीपनं विश्ववासिते॥’

2255. On नामवाङ् (22. 58–89, G. O. S. vol. III. p. 184 नामसंख्यापदेशो भाषा:) it is said by Abhinavagupta ‘कारकालिकता तु विश्ववासिनो नमस्त् या द्वैतसाध्यात्मिकतरं मन्यते मनोबन्धुवः बुद्धिः।’ नेत्रात्थौ में on मनो I. 55 remarks “कारकालिकता अस्तयः ध्विषैन्यार्थं शरीरं यथेष्ठे बुद्धिः। ... संभवं अथ विश्ववासिनो मण्डलयां विश्ववासिते मन्यतयः।” Vide सं. क्ष. 39–41 for the intermediate subtle body.
Śaṅkhya system after Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Bhojadeva in his Rājāmārtanda 2256 on Yogasūtra IV. 22 (23 of most editions) ḍṛṣṭi-drṣyoparaktam cittam sarvārtham quotes a prose passage from Vindhayavāsin. As there is no evidence to show that Īśvarakṛṣṇa composed some work other than the Śaṅkhyaṭaṅka, Vindhayavāsin must be treated as different from Īśvarakṛṣṇa according to Bhojadeva. The Yuktidipikā several times mentions the views of Vindhayavāsin and indicates that he is different from the author of the S. Kārikā. Vide pp. 4, 108, 144, 148. This work says that the ācārya (author of S. Kārikā) did not enumerate jijā-ā ā 2257 and other constituents of the Śastra but other ācāryas like Vindhayavāsa did mention them in other treatises. On pp. 144–145 this com. shows that Vindhayavāsin held that indriyas were vibhu (all-pervading), denied the existence of a subtle body (sūkṣma śarīra), while in S. Kārikā (40–41) Īśvarakṛṣṇa held that the indriyas were not vibhu and that there was a līha or sūkṣma body and Yuktidipikā p. 144 says that Patañjali postulated a subtle body.

How the name Śaṅkhya came to be applied to a system of philosophy has to be considered. ‘Śaṅkhya’ means ‘number’, hence enumeration. As the Śaṅkhya system enumerated twenty-five tattvas and as the Śaṅkṣijantra of Pañcaśikha dealt with sixty topics, it is likely that the philosophy came to be called Śaṅkhya. The Śv. Up. I. 4 is full of numbers. 2258 Verse I. 5 of Śv. Up. employs the word pañca (five) seven times and also has the word ‘pañcāsadbhedā’, similar to ‘satārdhāram’ in I. 4; vide VI. 3 also. In this sense Śaṅkhya means the

2256. स एव भोजदेवार्तिकां न तितिस्ततः चतुर्विध यात्रार्थिनि यक्षाय भोज इति, ध्वनि-मिति इति । अनेकै:भावितयोऽविशेषसिद्धिओ 'सतसत्वतत्वायुभिः'। भोजदेव वै त्। स०-स० IV. 22.

2257. एवं बोभदेवार्तिकां न तितिस्ततः चतुर्विध यात्रार्थिनि यक्षाय भोज इति, ध्वनि-मिति इति । अनेकै:भावितयोऽविशेषसिद्धिओ 'सतसत्वतत्वायुभिः'। भोजदेव वै त्। स०-स० IV. 22.

2258. एवं तत्कन्तकमित्रप्रसादो भोजदेवार्तिकां न तितिस्ततः चतुर्विध यात्रार्थिनि यक्षाय भोज इति, ध्वनि-मिति इति । अनेकै:भावितयोऽविशेषसिद्धिओ 'सतसत्वतत्वायुभिः'। भोजदेव वै त्। स०-स० IV. 22.
philosophic system which postulates twenty-five tattvas, Prakṛti, Puruṣa and others. This is the sense in which the word is used once even in the Gītā (18. 13, Sāṅkhya kṛtante proktāni &c.). The Matsyapurāṇa also emphasizes this aspect of the Sāṅkhya system.

The word 'Sāṅkhyā' has another sense as the Amarakośa states ('cācā sāṅkhyā vicāraṇā) viz., 'rational examination' or 'discernment'; and the word Sāṅkhyā may be derived from it in the sense of 'system of rational examination' and in the sense of 'philosopher' (masculine) according to 'tadadhite tadveda' (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 59) meaning 'Sāṅkhyam veda'. The Bhāmatī explains the word in the second sense. Sāṅkhyā in a general sense means tattvajñāna (knowledge of ultimate reality, including Vedānta) or a 'person who knows the ultimate reality.' The word Sāṅkhyā is frequently used in the Bhagavadgītā in the sense of tattvajñāna (as in II. 39, V. 5, XIII. 24) and in the sense of a person knowing ultimate reality (in III. 3, V. 5).

Some comparatively early Sanskrit works that disclose tenets similar to the standard Sāṅkhyā of the Kārikā may be briefly noticed here. The Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosa (in chap. XIII. 17ff) mentions a dialogue between Arāḍa and Gautama (the future Buddha) in which occur prakṛti, five elements, ahaṅkāra, buddhi, the indriyas, objects of sense, mind, kṣetrajñā as Ātman and states that Kapila with his pupil was enlightened as to these; that nescience, actions and desires are the causes of saṁsāra; that avidyā has five aspects (verses 33–37) which are defined, speaks of brahmacarya, and mukti. Though the tattvas are mentioned here the rest of the doctrines bear very little resemblance to the official Sāṅkhyā.

The Carakasamhitā 2.60 (Jannagar ed. 1949), Śārīrasthāna chap. I. (particularly verses 17, 36, 63–66) contains some doctrines similar to the Sāṅkhya-kārikā scheme and verse 151

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2259. 'सृष्ट्या सत्यमुद्रिधेविकी तथा वर्तनेत्र इति संस्कृतम्' भाष्यम् ०० वै. ०० भाष्य II. 1. 3.

2260. पुनः प्राणोदेते प्राणविभाविक्षणः प्रस्तुतः। न नैव द्वितीयायैव भाष्यितथाहतुस्ती। ॥...

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2260. ॥ समस्तायमेव शक्तिप्रयोगमात्र स्वभावविद्यान्तः। समस्तं निधात्वं तु सत्त्वद्यवन्त निवर्जितेऽ तत्।

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2260. ॥ समस्तसंसारं प्रकाशमेव विकारं इति संग्रहितम्। ज्ञातं विद्यमानं कार्यं प्रयोगितमेव यथाक्रमम्॥...

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2260. ॥ यथाच परं प्राणेऽपि शक्ति एवं विद्यान्तं यथाक्रमम्॥...

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2260. ॥ चर्क ( दार्शनिक भाष्यम् १. अव्ययं च श्रवयं नवयं च विद्येऽ ज्ञातं विद्यमानं च भावं नवयं च चर्कं)।
refers to Yogins and Sāṅkhya and ultimately the liberated soul is said to become brahma. Therefore, it is more like the philosophy of Katha and Sv. Upanisads.

The Suśrutasaṁhitā also (in Śārīraksthāna, chap. I paragraphs 3, 4–6, 8–9) sets out the Sāṅkhya, is much closer to the standard system of the Kārikā than either the Buddhacarita or the Carakasaṁhitā as the quotations in the notes will show.

From p. 1352 and note 2208 above it would be seen that the tenet of pradhāna being the cause of the world was mentioned in their works by Manu and others. This will be briefly illustrated. Manu I. 15 in speaking of creation mentions mahan, the three guṇas, objects of sense, five senses. Manu I. 27 refers to the five tannātrās of the five elements. In Manusmṛti XII. 24 sattva, rajas and tamas occur as the three guṇas, verses 26–29 define and illustrate these three and XII. 30–38 dilate upon the different effects of the three guṇas and the indications about these guṇas; XII. 40 provides that those who rest in sattva-guṇa become gods, those who are rūjasa become men and those that abide in tamas become lower animals. Manu XII. 50 speaks of mahan and avyakta. Yaj. smṛti (III, 91–92) speaks of the five objects of sense, five jñānendriyas, five karmendriyas and mind (16 in all); these sixteen together with ahaṅkara, buddhi and five elements, kṣetra and Īśvara are mentioned in Yaj. III. 177–178 and verses 179–180 set out the evolution of buddhi from avyakta, of ahaṅkara from buddhi, of tannātrās from ahaṅkara, the five guṇas (śābda, sparśa &c.) of the five elements and verse 182 speaks of the three guṇas.

2261. सर्वज्ञानार्थमार्थमकारणविशेषयमार्थमर्गरथ्यार्थयार्थमन्यथा जनति: सभविद्यु- रस्यान्यक्षे नाम। ले वेदं यथो श्रीवाज्यानामकृतियां सप्तम् युगोकानां भावानाम्। श्रुत्व: I. 3: तत्त्वान्तरस्यानांप्रमाणणं नात्तन्त्र एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव एव तत्त्वान्तरस्यानां भन्तरस्य एव

2262. बुजेश्वरकार्यसम्मथितिः क च च। तत्त्वान्तरस्यानांप्रमाणणं च ॥ पार्थ: III. 179; compare सर्व ज्ञानं तमोज्ञातिः रागश्च रोग: रुप पर: XII. 26 with सां. का. 13 सर्व लघु q. above p. 1357 and मीता 14. 6-8, शा. III. 137-140.
On p. 1352 and in note 2208 above occurs the statement of Śāṅkarācārya that Devala, a Śūrtrākāra on Dharma, accepted Śāṅkhya doctrines. This will be briefly indicated here. Aparārka on Yaj. III. 109 quotes a very long passage2263 from Devala, which after stating that there are two goals of human life (purusārtha) viz. abhyuta and niḥśreyasa and that the latter comprises Śāṅkhya and Yoga, defines Śāṅkhya as the knowledge of twenty-five tattvas, and yoga as the fixing of the mind on the desired goal after turning it away from objects of sense, and

2263. On the word वैमायां in यज्ञ. III. 109 Aparārka quotes a long passage (all in prose except one verse) from Devala, almost the whole of which is set out here. वेत्ताप्रवृत्तिः पुष्पाः, अवस्येः निर्णयोत्सवित्य स्थिोत्सवित्य। तथार्थस्वत्व: व्रतंक। द्वितियं निदिः अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति। मनसोऽउस्तानाम योगः। उष्मश्चिल्लामां: चतुर्दशमां: नारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: स्वात्मस्य विगतानाम वैशालोऽनारसिकस्मयोऽस्मानामां: विश्वयं स्वनायां। द्वितियं अन्त्ये अवत्त्वतिय महास्तेश्वरः। विदियो: निवित्तिमेति।
states that the fruit of both is aparārga which means the total disappearance of the sufferings of birth and death. The quotation then proceeds to say that there are extensive and profound tantras concerning both Sāṅkhya and Yoga composed by former (sages) relying on ratiocination and tradition and these will be summarized and their subjects set out. As to the Sāṅkhyas there are these: mūlaprakṛti, seven categories that are both prakṛtis and vikṛtis, five tanmātrās, sixteen vikāras (products); indriyas are five (jñānedriyas) and five (karmendriyas), five objects of sense, five elements; thirteen karāyas, three being antāṅkaraṇas; viparyaya of five kinds, aśakti of 28 kinds; tuṣṭi of nine kinds, siddhis of eight kinds; in this way there are 50 pratyayabhedas, there are ten basic matters, viz. astītva (existence of prakṛti &c). After this there is again an enumeration of prakṛti, avyaktā, mahān, abaṅkāra, five tanmātras &c.

It would be noticed that the quotation from Devala in Aparārka contains two parts, the first stopping at the words 'iti dasa mālikārthāḥ' and the 2nd containing the rest. It appears that the two parts cover mostly the same ground and it is probable that the two parts are summaries of two different works on Sāṅkhya.

Another important digest of the first quarter of the 12th century A.D. namely the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdihara in its Mokṣaṅkāṇḍa pp. 100–101 also quotes from Devala's Dharmasūtra a prose passage which agrees word for word with a portion of the passage quoted above from Aparārka viz. from the words 'tatra sāṅkhyaṃ ekā mūlaprakṛtīḥ' up to 'tṛinyantakaraṇāni'. Then the portion from 'catasraṣ-catasaro' to 'iti dasa mālikārthāḥ' is dropped by the Kalpataru and then it has the whole of the passage from 'atha mūlaprakṛtiravyaktam' up to 'abhimāna ityanarthāntaram',2264 after which it adds a short passage not found in Aparārka (which is quoted below). It has the passage 'prakṛter mahānuttapadyate' up to 'ityuppattikramaḥ'.

Both Aparārka and Kṛtyakalpataru (Mokṣaṅkāṇḍa) quote verses from Yama on the Sāṅkhya system, which are cited in

2264. After अभिमान इत्यनार्थांतरम occurring in note 2263 the क्रयक्लयत reads: सत्वात्रल्प्रक्षिप्तति तत्मत्राणि सत्तुपात्याहत्काल्पितामयक्षणामपिन्याहतायायत्यत्ततात्याय। समुपाते सत्वात्रतांतरम्। इत्याश्चालम्बनोद्विधंश्चित्तत्तवतीनासयः। समुपाते पुनरीति। In some cases the editor of the Mokṣaṅkāṇḍa has not correctly separated the clauses. On p. 100 he should have printed 'सत्तुपातात्रल्प्रक्षिप्तति तत्मत्राणि सत्तुपात्याहत्काल्पितामयक्षणामपिन्याहतायाय। इत्याश्चालम्बनोद्विधंश्चित्तत्तवतीनासयः। समुपाते पुनरीति'.
the note below. It will be noticed that after enumerating the twenty-five tattvas Yama adds Puruṣottama as the 26th tattva.2265

Puruṣas contain lengthy disquisitions on the Sāṅkhya doctrines. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 2. 19-23, 25-62, VI. 4. 13-15, 17, 32-40 (in all about 66 verses) are full of Sāṅkhya doctrines and are all quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru (Mokṣakāṇḍa pp. 102-108). But that Puruṣa emphasizes that Paramātman (called Viṣṇu) is the support of all tattvas. In Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 2. 22-23 it is asserted2266 that brahmavādins who are proficient in Vedic doctrines recite (a verse) that expounds pradhāna, (and state) ‘there was then (before creation) neither day nor night, no sky nor earth, neither darkness nor light, there was only one male brahma that was evolved as pradhāna and that could not be apprehended by the ear (and other indriyas) or by buddhi. Verses 39-40 (of Viṣṇupurāṇa VI. 4) assert that both2267 prakṛti and puruṣa become dissolved in the Highest Self who is called Viṣṇu in Vedas and Vedāntas (Upaniṣads).

Many other Puruṣas devote a great deal of space to the elucidation of Sāṅkhya doctrines and terminology. Considerations of space preclude any statement beyond references to

2265. मनो नुविज्ञानातः ब्रह्मात्मकीचौ मूले ॥ एतां पद्मालमे विज्ञाने। योहेन धार्मिकं रसतपेयं योहेन। योहेन दक्षिणतपेयं योहेन। योहेन धार्मिकं रसतपेयं योहेन ॥ ॥ नान्यायां प्रयोगम् ॥ नान्यायां प्रयोगम् ॥

2266. ब्रह्मात्मेन्द्रियो निरूपिन्ततः ब्रह्मात्मेन्द्रियो निरूपिन्ततः ब्रह्मात्मेन्द्रियो निरूपिन्ततः ब्रह्मात्मेन्द्रियो निरूपिन्ततः ब्रह्मात्मेन्द्रियो निरूपिन्ततः ब्रह्मात्मेन्द्रियो निरूपिन्ततः

2267. प्रकृतिनम् मनो नुविज्ञानातः प्रत्यावधिकारिकां प्रत्यावधिकारिकां प्रत्यावधिकारिकां प्रत्यावधिकारिकां प्रत्यावधिकारिकां प्रत्यावधिकारिकां प्रत्यावधिकारिकां
chapters and verses of some Purāṇas and the citation of a few striking or informative verses. Matsya (3. 14–29) begins with prakṛti, guṇas and all the twenty-five tattvas, remarks that the three gods, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara, though one, arose from the guṇas being put into activity and winds up by saying that Sāṅkhya is full of enumerations and was proclaimed by Kapila and others.2268 The Brahmapurāṇa (1. 33–35, 33. 3–4, 242, 67–70, 76–85) recounts the tattvas from prakṛti to kṣetrajña and remarks at the end that the soul becomes kērīda (free from all contacts and liberated) when he realizes the truth about himself. The Padmapurāṇa in several places dilates upon the tattvas of the Sāṅkhya such as in Pāṭalakhandā 85. 11–18, Sṛṣṭikhandā, chap. 2. 88–103, chap. 15. 177–187, which closely follow the S. Īrīka verses. The Kūmrapurāṇa (I. 4. 13–35) states that Mahēśvara enters prakṛti and puruṣa, activates them and sets out Sāṅkhya ideas and in II. 7. 21–26 it refers to the twenty-four tattvas and the state of equilibrium (sāmyāvastha).

The Mārkandeya-pūrāṇa in chap. 42. 32–62 treats of creation with Sāṅkhya terminology. Three verses of the Brahmāṇḍa IV. 3. 37–46 referring to the threefold bondage (bandha) are quoted by the Kṛtyakalpataru (mokṣa) p. 124. Similarly, Brahmāṇḍa (II. 32. 71–76) employ the Sāṅkhya terminology of mahat, abhankara &c. Prof. Das Gupta in ‘Indian Philosophy’ vol. IV. pp. 24–48 deals at some length with Kapila’s philosophy in the Bhāgavatarapurāṇa and Sri Siddhesvara Bhattacharya contributes a paper ‘a critique of the Bhāgavata’ in JBR’s for 1950 pp. 9–50 in which he severely criticizes Prof. Das Gupta.

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2268. [Sāṃkhya, Samādhi, etc., prakṛti: kṣetrajña. Vide Bārīkāśāstra.] The threefold bondage (bandha) reflects the threefold concept (trīkāra). The half verse Sāṃkha occurs in Matsya 42. 57 and Kūmrapurāṇa 38. 34; compare Sā. Kā. 24–25. The same is repeated in the Sāṃkhyā Sāstra. Vide Bārīkāśāstra 15. 177–179, also in HH. 15. 177–179, etc. 2268. [Sāṃkhya, Samādhi, etc., prakṛti: kṣetrajña. Vide Bārīkāśāstra.]
Vide Bhāgavatapurāṇa III. 26. The Varāhapurāṇa (B. I. ed. of 1893) narrates the story of king Āśvaśīras to whom Kapila and Jaigīṣavya (the prince of Yogins) came after he had performed the avabhṛthra bath and was surrounded by brāhmaṇas and who asked them how the highest Nārāyaṇa was to be worshipped, when the two told him that they were themselves Nārāyaṇa. On his doubting these words of theirs Kapila assumed the form of Viṣṇu and Jaigīṣavya of Garuḍa and after other similar wonders, the king requested that his doubt whether Mokṣa is attained by him who follows karmamārga or jīvamārga be resolved. The same Purāṇa in chap. 25 (verses 1-5) declares that avyaktam, the first tattva, first made up of three (guṇas) arose from the highest Puruṣa, from the union of the two ahaṅkāra was produced also called mahat, that Puruṣa is named Viṣṇu or Śiva while avyakta is called Umā, Devī or Śrī and Guha (Kārtikeya) is ahaṅkāra. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (I, 3, 10) mentions Kapila as the fifth avatar of Viṣṇu (vide above p. 1373) and (in X, 8, 37-38) states that when Yaśoda asked the child Kṛṣṇa to open his mouth she saw inside the mouth the whole world, the five elements, the indriyas, mind, mātrās and the three guṇas. Even great poets like Kālidāsa and Bāna are fond of utilising Sāṅkhya doctrines and terminology. For example, vide Kumārasambhava II, 4 (Guṇatrayāvibhāgya &c.), Raghuvaṃśa X, 38 (āṅginaṁ tamasevobhau gunau prathamamadhyamanau), Raghuvaṃśa VIII, 21 (Raghurapyayad-guṇa-trayam prakṛtiṣṭham &c.); Kādambari, very first verse (rajojūse jannmani...trigunātmane namaḥ).

Even the Tantras were influenced by the Sāṅkhya system as the Śrādadilakā shows (vide above p. 1061).

It is not a vain boast when the Śāntiparva2269 asserts that whatever knowledge is found in the Vedas, in Sāṅkhya and Yoga, in the various Purāṇas, in the extensive itihāsas, in the arthaśāstra and whatever knowledge exists in the world, all that is derived from the Sāṅkhya. For a dispassionate appraisal of the Sāṅkhya theory of evolution and its stages, vide Dr. Behanan’s work on ‘Yoga’ chap. IV. pp. 63-91.

2269. ज्ञानं महायथम् महतहथम् च राजस्थ च वाच्यवपुर मतेषु सांक्ष्यगार्थं तथा यथाच्यैः। यज्ञावत् दहम् विविधं यथा पुरोहितम् त्रस्तम् ( भौतिकम् केतिहूचं महतहथम् च वाच्यवपुर मेतेषु सांक्ष्यगार्थं)। ज्ञानं च लोकेषु विद्यमानं किंतु सांक्ष्यगार्थं तथा महायथम्॥ शास्त्र 290. 103-104 ( = 301. 108-109 of Chitrashala edition ).
CHAPTER XXXII

Yoga and Dharmaśāstra

Sāṅkhya and Yoga often go together in the Upanisads as well as in the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavadgītā and the Purāṇas, and their relationship to one another is the same in all these. In Śv. Up. VI. 13, Vanaprastha 2. 15, Śaṅtiparva 2270 223. 28, 289. 1, 306. 65, 308. 25, 326. 100, 336. 69, Anuśasana 14. 323, Bhagavadgītā V. 4-5, Padma purāṇa (Pāṭalakhandha, 85. 11 ff), the two are mentioned together.

Though Sāṅkhya greatly influenced all works dealing with the evolution of the world in its various aspects, it did not enjoy that great esteem among all sorts of people in India that the Yoga system enjoyed and still enjoys. The word yoga is derived from the root ‘yuj’ to join or to unite (of rūdhādi class). The germs of yoga can be traced back to the Rgveda. Rgveda V. 81. 1 (a verse in praise of Savitr) reads ‘wise men, priests and sacrificers concentrate their minds and join their prayers to the wise, the great (Savitri), who knows all (prayers)’. Another Vedic 2271 verse also speaks of concentrating the mind. The word ‘yoga’ occurs frequently in the Rgveda in several shades of meaning. Sayana in many passages takes ‘yoga’ to mean ‘acquiring what is not already possessed’ (as in Rg. I. 5. 3). In Rg. I. 18. 7 God Sadasaspati (Agni) is said to pervade the prayers (or thoughts) of sacrificers. In Rg. I. 34. 9 it means ‘yoking’ (kaḍa yogo vājino rāśabhasya yena yajñam nāṣatyo-paṭāthah’. The word ‘yoga’ is often used with the word kṣema (separately as in Rg. VII. 54. 3, VII. 86. 8) or as a compound

2270. पञ्चविश्वसतित्वो तुह्रायतुभवन: समचा। गोये संस्थयेषि च तथा विशेषसंस्तन में
स्पुष्य। शाल्यिति 228. 28 (=236. 29 Ch. ed.)

2271. पुंशेन सम मन उत्त मुखेद्विदो विषय क्रिया वेष्ट्ठो विपक्षित:। वि होत्रा देवे लवना-विवेक इति। वेष्ट्ठ तथा सविदु:। परिप्रेक्ष्यः। औऽ. V. 81. 1 = ने. सं. 1. 2. 13. 1, कालसविहिता II. 51 and XV. 36, वाज. सं. 11. 4, भे. उप. II. 4, Rg. I. 18. 7 is यस्मादने न सिद्धयति यज्ञो विपक्षितभवन। स द्वीयं शेष्यनुति।, यूत्तान: प्रयोगम सत्यत्ताय सतिता धिप:। अव्यवस्तितिन्तरिक्य दश्यविषय अद्याधध्यतु। ते. सं. IV. 1. 1, 1. वाज. सं. XI. 1 and भे. उप. II. 1

H. D. 174
(as in Rg. X. 166. 5 'Yogakṣemaṁ va ādayāham bhūyāsam-uttamaṁ'). There is a great distance or gap between the meaning of the word yoga in the Rgveda (even in the verses about concentrating the mind) and its meaning in some of the Upaniṣads and in classical Sanskrit. In Rg. X. 136. 2–3 there is mention of munis, sons of Vātaraśana, who wore dirty and tawny garments and who say in verse 3 'we being in ecstasy (or wild bliss) owing to our way of life as munis resort to winds; mortals! you look on our bodies only'. This shows that even in those ancient times, some people practised ṭapaśa, did not care what clothes they wore and thought they (i.e. their souls) would be merged in the wind (that is, the souls are formless and could not be seen). In Rg. VIII. 17. 14 Indra is said to be a friend of munis and muni is also a friend of every god in Rg. X. 136. 4. But as to yatis the position was rather different. The word yati occurs several times in the Rgveda but in most cases that word has no certain connection with the meaning of 'ascetic'. In Rg. VII. 3. 9 'by which (says brahmā priest) wealth was given to Bhṛgū from the yatis and by which you helped (or protected) Praskaṇva'; here Indra seems to be opposed to yatis. In Rg. VIII. 6. 18 the poet says 'O valiant Indra! listen to my prayer alone from among the yatis and Bhṛgus that praised thee'. Here Śāyaṇa explains 'yatayāḥ' as 'Āṅgirasah'. In any case 'yatis' are here shown to be devotees of Indra. But in other Samhitā it is said that Indra threw 'yatis' to the wolves or hyenas. Later on, however, the meaning of yati seems to have changed. In these Samhitā passages 'yatis' appear to be persons hostile or alien to the Vedic rites, but what they did to deserve

2272. तुनयो वातराशनं: विक्रुण्या बसते मला। गततराशनं प्राज्ञि गन्ति यट्टायिःणो अभिक्षितं
उत्कर्षिता मौनेयं वताः आ तस्धिमा वर्षम्। प्रकीर्षुमार्क दूष्यं सर्वांगो सम्भायो अभि पदयथ॥ अनु.
X, 136. 2–3. According to the सर्वंत्रक्षणी the sages of seven vers of the hymn are आत्मविद्वत्तविजयविजयवापः किक्रिता एवं तात्ता तद्यथः। मौन्यम् is derived from मूनि and means मूनेयम्. The word 'Keśin' (having hair, hairy, by metaphor 'possessing rays' applied to the Sun or Fire) occurs five times in the first verse of this hymn and two times more in the other verses. 'Muni' appears thrice in this hymn and once more in 'mauneya'. Dr. Haider in 'Der yoga als Hailweg' (1932) remarks (on p. 13) that the word 'muni' is probably related to Greek 'mantis' (prophet).

2273. इर० पार्थिन साराकुर्यें: पार्श्वानां तन्त्र विक्रिण्द्र उत्सर्गेऽया आहुः। ते सं.
VI. 2. 7. 5; vide also ते सं. II. 4. 9. 2 'मनविनामामानां श्रावणी परापत्रं ते श्रावणी
अभिनं'. Vide also कामसुहिता VIII.5 and XI.10 and अनु. 35. 2. In कौशलकुप्र.
III, 1 (Indra says) 'विश्वादेशी लाहममेनु। अर्हत्तुङ्कानां पार्थिन साराकुर्येः पार्श्वानां'।
slaughter by Indra is not clear. In Atharvaveda II. 5. 3 Indra is said to have killed Vṛtra as he did in the case of yatis. Some of the Upanisads, however, show that 'yati' was a person who had given up worldly affairs, practised yoga and endeavoured after the knowledge of Ātman and realized Brahma; vide Mundaka Up. III. 1. 5 (yam paśyanti yatayah ksīṇadosah) and III. 2. 6 (sannyāsayogād-yatayah śuddhasattvāh). Some like Häuser in 'Die Anfrange der Yoga-praxis', 1923 pp. 11 ff) hold that the Vṛtyas of Atharvaveda XV were ecstasies of the ksatriya class and forerunners of Yogins.

The word ‘yoga’ occurs in some of the Upanisads in the same sense in which it is employed in the Yogasūtra. In Katha Up. II. 12, it is said2274 'the wise man reflecting on God by means of yoga, by concentrating the mind on the inner spirit becomes free from joy and grief' (adhyātmayogādhigamena). The same Upanisad says that the state described in VI.11 is regarded as Yoga because therein the organs (and the mind and buddhi) are firmly held under control. In Katha Up. VI. 18 it is said that Naciketas having understood the viṣṭyā and the whole procedure of Yoga propounded by Yama attained (the realization of) brahma. The word ‘Yoga’ occurs in the Tai. Up. II. 4 (in speaking about vijñanamaya ātman, yoga is said to be its ātman, the exact sense being doubtful), and in the Śv. Up. II. 11 and VI. 13. Praśna (5. 5–6) speaks of the three mātrās (a, u, m) of Om. In Śv. Up. 1. 3 occurs the word ‘dhyānayoga’. The Śv. Up. (II. 8–13) refers to āsana and prāṇāyāma and sets out the first signs of the successful practice of Yoga. The Chān. Up. VIII. 15 appears to refer to pratyāhāra (though the technical word is not used) in ‘ātmani sarvendṛyāṇi pratiṣṭhāpya’ (having brought all organs of sense to rest in the ātman). The Br. Up. (I. 5. 23) appears to refer to prāṇāyāma in ‘he should observe the one vow, viz. inhalation and exhalation (tasmād-ekameva vrataṃ caret prāṇyāc-caiva apānyācca).

2274. तो पोषणिमि तर्यस्य स्थिराविनिर्धर्थप्राचायु काठम VI. 11; बुधुपोषाः निर्चिने
लोक्य लक्षच्य विवामास्ती योगिमि च व्यवहुयः। बुधपदासि विद्योघिनिहिःत्रस्यप्रेष्ये ये
विद्यार्थंमेव काठमVI. 18. The important words in this last are तौरस्य
योगिमि च: The idea appears to be that yoga had been fully developed at the
time of the Katha Up. but that Upanisad did not set it out in detail. It
may be further noted that the words तौरस्य विद्या refer to Brahmavidyā and
that yoga-vidūlī is separately mentioned (probably as a means to brahma-
realization)
The Vedāntasūtra (II. 1. 3 ‘etena yogaḥ pratyuktaḥ’) states that Yoga is refuted by the reasoning adopted for the refutation of the Sāṅkhya system. The position of Śaṅkarācārya as to both Sāṅkhya and Yoga has been stated above (pp. 1352 and 1361 n. 2208 and 2221). He points out in the pūrva-pakṣa that Veda prescribes Yoga as a means of achieving correct knowledge and refers to Br. Up. II. 4. 5. He further points out that in the Śv. Up. Yoga is expounded in great detail after first mentioning the proper posture (for the practice of Yoga) in the words ‘having held the body straight but raised high in three places viz. chest, neck and head’ (Śv. Up. II, 8). From the words of Śaṅkarācārya that in Yogaśāstra also Yoga is held to be a means of the realisation of right knowledge, it follows that he had a yogaśāstra before him in which occurred the words ‘atha...yogah,’ but as he does not employ the word Yogaśātra he probably does not refer to a sutra. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it is possible that the Yogaśāstra meant by Śaṅkara is a work like the Yogaśāstra ascribed to Yajñavalkya in Yaj. Śruti III. 110 (Yogaśāstram ca mat-proktam &c.). Śaṅkarācārya admits on V. S. II. 1. 3 that a part of the yoga is acceptable to him but other parts conflict with the Veda. Mundaka Up. (II 2. 6) enjoins samādhi in the words ‘om-iti dhīyāyatha atmānam’ as Śaṅkarācārya states on V. S. II. 3. 39 (samādhyābhaavāc-ca). In the Upanisads ‘Muni’ and ‘Yati’ have come to denote the same meaning, e.g. Br. Up. IV. 4. 22 states ‘one becomes muni by realizing this very self,’

2275. सम्प्रदयक्षानुयापयो हि पयो वै विविदत: अभाते यथे मन्त्रये निर्द्धपियतः:—
इति। उवाचवत्थयं संह शैवसर्वं द्वाध्यादिना चातनात्तुक्तत्त्वातुज्ञ संप्रदय: पुः सद्भान्यां योगविवाहं
अभात्वाचात्तुपापित्व द्वाध्यादिना अभात्वाचात्तुपापित्व द्वाध्यादिना अभात्वाचात्तुपापित्व द्वाध्यादिना अभात्वाचात्तुपापित्व द्वाध्यादिना अभात्वाचात्तुपापित्व द्वाध्यादिना अभात्वाचात्तुपापित्व द्वाध्यादिना
मेली श्रीश्चारवीरायं भवेन योगोद्वृत्तिके।।

2276. अत्तेव विविदता स्फीतमर्गं। अत्तेव मयानिनो नेतृतिमहं: प्रजातं।।
सुह. उप. IV. 4. 22; vide कठ. IV. 15 ’योधीकक्कयं...पुरुषेन्द्रियोऽर्जोऽऽवत्त्व भवति मानस’।।
The कठोंनारायण-उप. II. 15 has परि का ब्रजेत्।। The word परिवार्जक, however, does not occur in the other Upanisads. In प्रणिनी’s day परिवार्जक was
well-known as the sūtra ‘सक्त-सक्तरिणी वेषयाविकर्जकोऽऽवत्त्व भवति मानस।।’ VI. 1. 154 shows
which states that सक्त means bamboo (staff) and सक्तरिणी means परिवार्जक।। The
कठोंनारायण comments that सक्तरिणी is not so called because he carries a
bamboo staff but because he advises people not to do actions for
securing desired objects and that for people quiescence is better ‘मा कुश
कर्मची ना। कुश कर्मची शास्त्राय। सः प्रेमीप्रसादानि मकरी परिवार्जकः।।’
while the Mūndaka (III. 1. 5) states 'this self is to be attained by Truth, by tapas, by right knowledge and by sexual purity at all times: that self resides inside the body (like a light), is pure, whom spotless ascetics realize.' The Kathopanisad (III. 13) provides that the wise man should restrain speech in mind (speech and mind, as the text stands), he should keep it within the self which is knowledge, he should keep down knowledge within the self that is the great, and he, should keep that (the great) within the self which is quiet. The Upanisads thus not only employ the word 'Yoga' but provide some of the stages of yoga and its technique for realizing the Supreme Spirit. About twenty Yoga Upanisads are published at Adyar, edited by A. Mahadev Sastri (1920), but as their chronology is most uncertain and as most of them appear to the present writer to be later than the Mahābhārata, Manu and probably the Yogasūtra, they are passed over here and are referred to in this work sparingly.²²⁷⁸

Pāṇini provides for the formation of the words yama and niyama (two aṅgas) of Yoga and the word 'Yogin' appears to have been derived by him from the root 'yuj' with the affix 'ghimuṇ' (i.e. in) in the sense of tācchilya (being habituated to) according to Pāṇ. III. 2. 142 (which is a very long sūtra).²²⁷⁹

²²⁷⁷. कामकोष्ठववाचां वर्णां यतवेतसां। अभितो बहुविन्यां वर्तते विविधातमः। गीता 5. 26; रघुवरेणमसे महाभाष्यचतुष्ठानां आहाम।। ज्ञानामाताति सहिति निविवशेषणयोगेज्ञानान्तिन्ति। कंठप. III. 13. श्रवणचार्यां व. कृ. I. 4. 1 explains this at length 'चाचे नत्सि संस्कृत सप्तकोशामिलामित्रयेप्राक्तवारसूज्य ममोमकव्यालितित'. He takes सनसि as an अर्पणयोगा equal to सनसि.

²²⁷⁸. That the yoga Upanisads are late productions may be briefly indicated here. Verses 10-14 of the गोरस्ततक (dealing with the ādhāra and svadhiṣṭāna cakras) are found in the धातवकित्र (verses 43-47) and in the योगपूजयामणि (verses 4-9) with slight variations. Vide pp. 1060-1062 and notes 1715-1717 above for the six chakras and the nādīs. In the description of प्राययाम the साञ्जिलया Upanisad quotes certain verses with the words तदेकां स्कौकात्मतिं, some of which occur in the गोरस्ततक. One cannot say definitely that the साञ्जिलया borrows from G. S., but this is possible. All the ancient and medieval works on the several branches of yoga are not yet available, and therefore one cannot preclude the possibility that साञ्जिलया and other yoga upanisads and गोरस्ततक borrow from earlier sources not yet discovered.

²²⁷⁹. यम: समयमेतिति च । पा. III. 3. 63; रघु अनुपमसे परमेष्ठ्य शः च ... निर्धमः। यम: ब्रह्म। वि. कृ. यम means श्रद्धा (watch, 1/8 part of the whole day), while यम means 'restraint' 'वणे स्वर्णे अनेन'. On p. III. 2. 142 the कालिका remarks 'युज नमयाय प्रियायः। दुविजिस्योम्योमेंयः। द्रवयमणि व्रद्धायः'.
The Āpastambhadharmasūtra (I. 8. 23. 3-6) quotes a verse ‘The total destruction of doṣas (taints) is due to Yoga in this life: a wise man after having expelled all doṣas that cause harm to all beings reaches peace (mokṣa)’ and then it sets out fifteen doṣas such as anger, ecstatic joy, greed, hypocrisy, the destruction of which is due to Yoga and enumerates the qualities that are opposites of the doṣas. This shows that long before the 4th or 5th century B.C. Yoga as a discipline of the mind had been well developed.

The V. S. II. 1. 3 indicates that the Śūtrakāra had before him a body of Yoga doctrines, some of which were the same as those of the Śāṅkhyas and he also knew Samādhi (V. S. II. 3. 39). Again, the V. S. mentions (in IV. 2. 21) Yogins and distinguishes Śāṅkhyas and Yoga as smārtas (and not śrautas). Śāṅkaracārya on V. S. I. 3. 33 quotes the extant Yogasūtra II 44 (svādhyāyād-ista-devatā-samprayogā) and on V. S. II. 4. 12 he appears to be willing to admit that the Yoga-sūtra preceded V. S. and quotes Yogasūtra I. 6 in the 2nd interpretation of that sūtra.

The important question is whether the author of the V. S. refers to the extant Yogasūtra. The present author holds for various reasons that the V. S. does not refer to the present Yoga-sūtra, but to the Yoga doctrines that had been developed even before the Kaṭha Mūndaka, Śvetāsvatara and other Upaniṣads.

In the Śāntiparva it is stated that the propounder of Śāṅkhyas was paramārṣi (highest sage) Kapila, Hiranyakarha

2280. पञ्चचतुष्टिनवभुवनाध्येयोः। वेदु. यु. II. 4. 12। शाक्तराज्योऽदुभः स्मृति सुवर्ण्य प्राणन्वेश्य कार्यं यक्षार्कयं पञ्चचतुष्टिनव व्यपिण्यात् श्रुतिः प्राणोपायो न्याय उपमः-समानः-दृष्टि (सूह. उप. 1. 5. 3)।...एवं तात्पर्यमानविदुरुपसन्नवेदीति सत्त्वतिः श्वायात्सिद्धिः योगशास्त्रसिद्धिः सन्नातः पञ्चचतुष्टिनव परिशिष्टेऽपि प्राणोपायो विविधवैयमुक्तितत्र-स्वतर्यो नाम।

It would be noticed that Śāṅkaracārya first gave one explanation of the word 'manovat' in the V. S., and then he gave another by way of concession.

2281. सार्थकं योगं...नाना मतानि वे सार्थकं वज्ञ वाक्तं करितं। परमार्ष: स उच्यते।

Hiranyagarbha  :  पञ्चचतुष्टिनव-वेदित्वता (V. I. 31) ग्राम्यः-पुरुषान्तत्तस्मातेकः स उच्यते। मात्र्यययः वेदीत्वता प्रवृत्तिः केवलः। शास्त्र 337. 59-61 = सच्चालं ed. 349. 64-66. For the first verse, vide above p. 954 n. 1544 and also | सार्थकं योगं: पञ्चचतुष्टिनव-वेदित्वप्रवृत्तं च। ज्ञानस्येतेतत्तम्भ श्रीमन्वेशीति तदेकतृत्वं पञ्चवाष्टिणि शास्त्र 337. 1।।

Paramārṣi probably refers to upaniṣads like the Brhadāranyaka and Chāṇḍogya, which contain passages about 'nīdīdhyāśa' and the non-difference of jīva and brahma such as 'तत-त्वम-सति'. A paramārṣi is defined in the ज्ञानमंगल as 'तत् निद्धितो वेदार्थप्रवृत्तं सम्बन्धं। परमेषिनि वर्धितर्यमंश्चित। सवर्त।। 59. 80 (vide same verse in Brhāmāṇḍa III. 32. 86.)
was the ancient knower of Yoga, no one else (knew it); Apāntaratamas was Vedācārya whom some called the sage Prācinagarbha. In the previous chapter it is stated that Sāṇkhya, Yoga, Vedāranyaka and Pañcarātra are one and are aṅgas of each other. In Śānti, 326. 65 Hiranyagarbha is again connected with Yogaśāstra. Vide p 1371 above. In the Anuśāsanaparva Sanatkumāra appears to be connected with Yoga as the founder, just as Kapila was the founder of Sāṇkhya. In the Aḥirbudhnya Samhitā (XII. 32-33) it is stated that Hiranyagarbha first propounded two Yogasamihās, one was called ‘Nirodhayoga’ and the other was called ‘Karmayoga’, the first of which was again divided twelve-fold. The Bhāmati on V.S. II. 1. 3 states that that sūtra does not totally negative the authoritativeness of the Yogaśāstra of Hiranyagarbha and Patañjali. The Visnupurāṇa appears to quote two verses from Hiranyagarbha (vide note below). Vācaspati in his commentary on Yogaśūtra I. 1 states that Yogi-Yājñavalkya mentions that Hiranyagarbha was the propounder of Yoga. Vācaspati regards the Yogaśūtra of Patañjali as later than Yoga-Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Therefore, it is almost certain that the V. S. refutes the doctrines of that Yoga system that was known to the Śāntiparva.

In Śalyaparva (chap. 50) a story is told about bhikṣu Jaigīśavya who was a great Yogin and of ‘Asita Devala’, a householder staying on the holy Sārasvata-tirtha.

In the Śāntiparva (cr. ed. chap. 222 = Ch. ed. chap. 229) there is a long dialogue between Jaigīśavya and Asita about Yoga, one verse (14) from which may be cited

2282. सनातकामार्ग योगान्त संख्यान्त कवितार्ह स्वति। अनुसारसं 14. 323 (addressed by उपमृतु to महादेव).

2283. नामान्त योगशास्त्रं हैरियांगमयांतः जात्वा। सर्वा धर्मार्थ निशाचित्रिते किं तु जात्राधापेन तन्त्रधापेन तदन्त्रधापेन यथा ज्ञातार्थ नात्रितुरुपते॥...

2284. न्यू हिरिसारन्त योगार्य क्या नामः पुरातनः हतां तीरिसाराज्ञामयार्य क्या पण न ज्ञातार्थ योगशास्त्रमयार्य क्या ज्ञातार्थ योगशास्त्रमयार्य। ह्यक्षरसारसं 14. 1. 3.

2285. निविष्यात्रां सारायां न विविक्त एव। न च निविष्यात्रांसामां निविष्यात्रांहि कवितार्ह। श्लोक 229. 14 (Ch. ed.)
here ‘Yogins do not talk much by way of censure and praise of others and their minds are never affected by the praise and censure of them indulged in by others.’ In that chap. Jaigīṣavāya is described as one who was never angry nor joyful. In the Vārāhapurāṇa (4.14) it is stated that Kapila and Yogirāj Jaigīṣavāya came to king Aśvāsiras that had taken the avahṛṭha bath after Aśvamedha and assumed the forms of Viṣṇu and Garuḍa respectively. It may be noted that on Y. S. II. 55 the bhāṣya quotes several views, but prefers that of Jaigīṣavāya. On Y. S. III. 18, 2286 the bhāṣya mentions the dialogue between Aṣṭāva and Jaigīṣavāya, where the latter’s opinion is stated to be that from the point of view of kāivalya, the happiness of contentment is also misery, though as compared to pleasures of sense contentment is supposed to be and may be called happiness.

In the Buddhacarita (XII) when Gautama (the future Buddha) approached a philosopher Arāda, the latter described to Gautama his idea of the path to mokṣa and mentioned Jaigīṣavāya, Janaka and Viḍḍha-Parāśara as persons that had become liberated by following that path.2287

From these references it follows that Jaigīṣavāya was a great teacher of Yoga long before the Christian era and probably had composed a work on Yoga not now available.

There are numerous English translations of the Yogasūtra (wholly or partly) and of the Bhāṣya and Vācaspāti’s Commentary, such as that by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra with text of Y. S., bhāṣya and com. Rājamārtanda and an appendix (p. 218-227) noting 150 mss. on Yoga (B. I. ed. 1883); Swami Vivekananda’s ‘Rājyoga’ (Vol. I. of collected works, ed. of 1946) pp. 200–304, which translates and explains all the sūtras; Dr. Ganganath Jha’s translation (Bombay 1907); translation by Rama Prasad (pub. by Panini office, Allahabad 1910); translation by Prof. J. H. Woods (in the Harvard Oriental Series, 1914) who read with the present author in Bombay for some months in 1909; Geraldine Coster in ‘Yoga and Western Psychology’ (London, 1934) translates and explains many of

2286. भगवानभजित्व उपन. विषयसुताश्चावेदितत्त्वम् सन्तोषस्वाभावकाम्। केवलवेला-गुरुप्रेमका। भाष्य on यो. सु. III. 18. सत्यायाम is one of the five niyamas (यो. सु. II. 32) and यो. सु. U. 42 is सत्याभूत्तम् सुविद्यम्।

2287. अभिव्यक्ति जनको हुंक्रेत पराणाः। इसे पत्राध्यानमाहित्र मुक्ता हयं्त्ये व मोहिन्ये। हुंक्रोत्तिम् XII. 67.
Translations of and Papers on Yogasūtra

Patañjali's sūtras (pp. 100-131); 'Aphorisms of Yoga' done into English by Shree Purohita Swami and Intro. by W. B. Yeats (Faber & Faber, London, 1937) with figures of Śiddhasana, Baddhapadmāsana, Paschimottānāsana, Bhujangāsana, Viparitakārant and Matsyendrasana; 'Bhāratīya Mānasastrafta' or 'Patañjala-yoga-darśana' (Sanskrit text, with a table of contents, errata, Introduction of 232 pages, and meaning and explanation pp. 787 in Marathi) in all 1051 pages, edited by Krishnajai Keshav Kolhatkar and published by K. B. Dhavale, Bombay, 1951—a very exhaustive and useful work, though rather diffuse and marred by a few uncritical statements.

The number of works and papers on Yoga in general written by Indian and Western authors is very large. The present author has not read many of them. He may mention the following among those that he read or consulted; 'Rājyoga' (complete works of Vivekananda, ed. of 1946, Mayavati, vol. I, pp. 119-313); 'Yoga technique in the Great Epic' by W. Hopkins in JAOS vol. 22 for 1901 pp. 333-379; 'Yoga as a philosophy and religion' by Prof. S. N. Das Gupta (London, 1924), and 'Yoga philosophy (Uni. of Calcutta, 1930); Dr. J. W. Hauer's 'Die Anfrange der Yogapraxis im Alten Indien' (Stuttgart, 1922) and 'Der Yoga Als Heilweg nach den Indischen quellen Dargestellt, Stuttgart, 1932; this is a careful and systematic study of Yoga; this work (pp. 101-127) gives the transliterated text of the Yogasūra with translation in German not in serial order but by subjects (such as yogāngas, kriyāyoga, Īśvaraprāṇidhāna); Dr. Radhakrishnan’s 'Indian Philosophy' vol. II. pp. 336-373 (London, 1931); 'The mysterious Kundalini’ by Dr. J. G. Rele (Taraporevala and sons, Bombay, 1927); 'Yoga, the science of health' by Felix Guyot (in French), translated by J. Carling, London, 1937 (3rd ed.), expounding the practical principles of Hatha-yoga; 'Yoga, a scientific evaluation' by Dr. K. T. Behanan. pub. by Macmillan & Co., New York, 1937 (the author studied at Kaivalya-dhāma for a year); 'Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrine' by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Oxford Uni. Press, 1933) and 'Tibetan Book of the Dead' by the same author (Oxford, 1927); 'A search in secret India' by Paul Brunton (London, 1947); Paul Tuxen’s 'the religions of India' (Copenhagen, 1949);

2288. This is one of the best modern books on Yoga. The present author is much impressed by Dr. Behanan’s sincerity, detailed and scientific treatment of Yoga and the very frank appraisal of some Yoga practices (pp. 225-249) at the end.

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'Tibetan Yoga' by Bernard Bromage (2nd ed. of 1939) pp. 108-111; 'Yoga the method of re-integration' by Allain Danielou (London, 1949); the author states that the exposition is based on yoga works and also on the teachings of living exponents; it is a useful book with six illustrations and 352 Sanskrit texts; 'The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation' ed. by W. G. Evans-Wentz (Oxford Uni. Press, 1954); pp. XXIX-LXIV contain C. G. Jung's Psychological commentary and pp. 63-69 on astrology; 'Source-book of Indian Philosophy' by Dr. Radhakrishnan and C. A. Moore; gives translation of the whole yogasūtra with extracts from the bhāṣya; Mercea Eliade’s ‘Yoga, immortality and freedom’ translated from French into English by Willard R. Trask (London, 1958); ‘Hāṭhayoga, an advanced method of physical education and concentration’ by Prof. S. S. Goswami (L. N. Fowler, London, 1959); this is a very valuable book; it deals scientifically with yoga in all its aspects, but particularly with āsanas of which 108 photographs are given; ‘Concentration’ by Mouni Sadhu (London, 1959); 'The Lotus and the Robot' by A. Koestler (London, 1960).

Many editions of the Yogasūtra of Patañjali with the bhāṣya of Vyāsa and the commentary (called TatTVavaiśāradi) of Vācaspati have been printed in India. I shall mention only two or three editions of the text of the Sūtra and the two commentaries viz. the edition by the late Pandit Rajaram Shastri Bodas, printed in beautiful type at the Nīrnayasaṅgara Press in 1892 and the other, the Ānandāśrama edition of 1932 which contains the sūtra, bhāṣya, Vācaspati’s commentary and also the commentary called Rājamārtanda of king Bhoja. In the Kashi Sanskrit series the Yogasūtra was printed (in 1930) with six commentaries viz. the Rājamārtanda of Bhojarāja, the Pradipikā of Bhāvā Ganeśa, vṛtti by Nāgoji-bhaṭṭa, the Manirprabhā by Rāmānandayati, the Candrikā by Anantadeva and the Yoga-sudhākara by Sādāśivendra Sarasvatī. 2288a

The Yogasūtra, as compared with the sūtras of some other dārsanas, is a brief one. It is divided into four pādas, viz.

2288a. It should be noted that Bhojadeva omits Yogasūtra IV. 16 (न चैत्वपत्तत्वं चेत्तपत्तु सत्यमेवं तदा श्रादं स्मात्) which is commented upon in the Vyāsabhāṣya and by Vācaspati. On the other hand, Yogasūtra III. 20 (ना ca tat-sālambanam tasyāvīṣayihbūtatvāt) does not occur in the edition of Pandit Bodas Shastri and is not commented upon by Bhāvā Ganeśa and Nāgoji. The form of the sūtra in Y. S. IV. 16 makes one feel some doubt about its genuineness, but as it is explained by the bhāṣya and Vācaspati, one has to accept it as genuine.
Samādhi (concentration), Sādhana (means of attainment), Vibhūti (super-normal powers) and Kaivalya (aloofness, liberation). There are only 195 sūtras in all the pādās together (51 + 55 + 55 + 34).

Dr. Radhakrishnan in ‘Indian Philosophy’ (vol. II of the ed. of 1931 pp. 341–42) holds that the author of the Yogasūtra is not later than 300 A. D. Prof. S. N. Das Gupta in ‘History of Indian Philosophy’ (vol. I, pp. 226–238) is in favour of the identity of the two Patañjalis and therefore holds that the author of the Yogasūtra flourished in the 2nd century B.C. 2289 The Sanskrit paper of Pandit R. Ramamūrtīsarma in J. of Veṅkaṭeśvara Institute of Tirupati (vol. II, pp. 289–294) and Mr. Govind Das’s brief note in I. A. vol. 44 (for 1915 p. 24) may also be read in this connection. Jacobi and (following him) Keith hold that the Yogasūtra (I. 40), meaning at the most ‘the mastery of the Yogin extends from the minutest particle to the greatest magnitude imaginable’, 2290 refers to the atomic theory of the world. This is a good sample of the way in which even great Western writers read in simple words later theories and try to give late dates to early works. The Upaniṣads speak of the self as more minute than what is ānū and as greater than the great and the Mahābhārata also uses the same phraseology. There is no convincing reason to suppose that the Yogasūtra refers only to a theory of atoms propounded in the Vaiśeṣika system and is not paraphrasing the words of the Upaniṣad and the Mahābhārata.

We have also to consider the early tradition embodied in an introductory verse in Bhojadeva’s commentary (not later than 1055 A. D.) and mentioned by Cakrapāni (commentator

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2289. Most scholars accept 2nd century B. C. as the date of the Mahābāṣya, Dr. D. C. Sircar in I. H. Q., vol. 15 (pp. 633–638) tries to show that the Mahābhāṣya cannot be placed earlier than the 2nd century A. D. His arguments cannot be discussed here. The present author does not agree with Dr. Sircar and holds that the arguments for placing the Mahābhāṣya in the 2nd century B. C. are far more weighty than those put forward by Dr. Sircar.

2290. अगोचरितायां महतो महावानमाथरय जस्तौत्विहितो युहायाम्। कतोऽपि । II. 20, ‘पेता ु III. 20; ‘अगोचरितायां महतो महतर महावानमाथरय जस्तो त्विहितो युहायाम्।’ शालिकम् 232,33 (cr. ed.); the योगसूत्र I. 40 is "परमसूपसमस्तात्सृद्धां भविष्यति;’ शालिकम् 232,33 (cr. ed.); the योगसूत्र I. 40 is "परमसूपसमस्तात्सृद्धां भविष्यति;’ शालिकम् 232,33 (cr. ed.).
of the Carakasamhitā 2291 (about 1060 A. D.) that Patañjali (deemed to be an āvatāra of Śeṣa) composed works on Grammar, Yoga and Medicine.

The present author cannot deal at length in this volume with the two questions of identity and of the dates of the two works, as he is mainly concerned with the influence of Yoga on Dharmaśāstra works. He thinks that hardly any cogent arguments have been advanced to positively disprove the identity of the authors of the Mahābhāṣya and of the Yogasūtra. Whether the revision of Caraka's work was done by the same Patañjali is very doubtful. In the Śāntiparva the founder of Cikitsita (medicine) is said to have been Kuśāṇṭreya and not Caraka nor Patañjali. The Caraka-samhitā uses the expression 'īti ha śāhā bhagavān-Ātreyaḥ' in the beginning of its chapters. Caraka (in I. 1. 23 ff) states that the sage Bharadvāja learnt Āyurveda from Indra. His pupil was Puruṣavasu Ātreya, who had six disciples viz. Agniveśa, Bheṣa, Jatukarna, Parāśara, Harita and Kuśārapāṇi. First, Agniveśa composed a treatise on Āyurveda and read it to Ātreya and then Bheṣa and others did so. In the chapter called 'Ṭisraśaṇiṇya' in Caraka-samhitā (I. 11. 75) Kuśāṇṭreya's view is specially mentioned. Therefore, it appears that Kuśāṇṭreya 2292 is different from Ātreya who is reverently mentioned at the beginning of Caraka's chapters. Even the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosa mentions Ātreya as the first propounder of medical science.

It is possible to argue that the tradition that Patañjali dealt with Yoga and Grammar is older than the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari. That work states in its first section 2293 (called Brahmakanda) that the taints that affect the body, speech and

2291. पात-महाभाष्य-मकरस्तिप्रस्तरः। मनोवाक्याभासहायणां हर्षादिपते नमः।

Intro. verse to con. on चरकः. Another verse to the same effect is प्राइयन विवरण प्रेमन चाचा महा श्रीरस्य च वैवेकन। योगपारस्त्रे परम सुमान्यं पवजालिं प्रवर्जितारं पतिः। cited in योगवातिक of विज्ञानिनः।

2292. वेदविविध भगवद् बेदान्तानां वृहस्पति। भार्गवो नीतिप्रकाशं च जगद्द जगतो नित्येऽ

गायत्री नाचं च जयसमदेवं पयुर्यदण्डम्। वेदविविधवत हार्ष्यं कृष्णेश्वर्याधिकृतम। प्रायस्तावप्रणालीकः तेनिंप्रभुष्टा वाचिमिः। शास्त्रिः 203. 18-20 (cr. ed. = 210. 20-22 of Ch. ed.) ; चिन्द्रिणीस्य यं च काकार नातिः। पश्चात्तदात्रेय ऋषिजयदम्। इदुनादिति 1. 50. Aśvaghosa is held to have flourished in the first or 2nd century A. D.

2293. कायार्युविषय ये गता। समस्तिरक। चिन्द्रिणी-अन्याभासाः पराभासाः निविशिष्टुः। वाक्यपदीय 1. 148; अलबधापे गामग्योहुत्तान इतं सङ्कुचत। गात्रपदीय 11. 485; तथे महाकाश वाक्यार्युविषय ये गता।-हृदयादि भुज्यकृति भाक्यपदरस्सं उक्ता, इति च भायण्यमण्यती शाक्यरूप शाक्यकल्याणी तीकालकृता महत्त्वपत्तीत। हेष्टाराजः तीकाः।
intellect are purified (respectively) by the sciences of medicine, grammar and metaphysics. Then in the eulogy of the Mahābhāṣya it remarks ‘alabdhagāde gāmbhiryañ-uttāna iva sauṣṭhavāt’, on which the commentator explains that in the verse from the Brahmakāṇḍa the author of the Mahābhāṣya is praised and in the other verse there is praise of the bhāṣya itself. From this it appears to follow that according to the commentator the Vākyapadīya attributes the three śāstras on medicine, grammar and metaphysics (i.e. Yoga) to Patañjali himself.

Even if it be held that the authors of the Yogasūtra and of the Mahābhāṣya are different persons, there are hardly any reasons for definitely assigning the author of the Yogasūtra to a date later than the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. The date of the Yogabhāṣya of Vyāsa is of considerable importance in arriving at the probable date of the Yogasūtra. But the question of the date of the Yogabhāṣya is also debatable. The Vyāsa who composed the Yogabhāṣya would have to be held as different from Vedavyāsā, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata.

The author of the Yogasūtra is, according to the tradition embodied in such comparatively early commentaries as that of Vacaspatimiśra, said to be Patañjali. Important questions arise as to his age and his identity with Patañjali, the author of the famous Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini’s grammar and the Vārtikas thereon. The grammarian Patañjali is generally held to have flourished about 150 B.C. Therefore, the question of identity becomes important for the date of the Yogasūtra. Some scholars like Prof. B. Liebich, Dr. Haüer (p. 98 of the work of 1932) and Prof. Das Gupta favour the identity of the two, but several others such as Jacobi, Keith, Woods, Renou are against it. Prof. Renou (in I. H. Q. vol. XVI, pp. 586-591) examines the question from the grammatical point of view, points out that certain words like Pratyāhāra, Upasarga, Pratyaya are used in the Yogasūtra in senses entirely different from the senses of these words in the Mahābhāṣya. But as the subjects of the two works are entirely different, the same words may have acquired different senses. Similarly, Prof. Renou relies on breaches of grammatical rules (in the Yogasūtra I. 34), while he says that Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya is very strict in following Pāṇini’s rules though Pāṇini himself is rarely not strict in observing his own rules as in ‘tat-prayojako hetuśca’ (I. 4. 55) which is against his own sūtra ‘trjakābhhyām kartari’ (II. 2.15); but
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Patañjali also employs such expressions as 'aviravikanyāya'²²⁹⁴ (which should be avyāvikanyāyena) for which Patañjali is criticized in the long Pūrvapakṣa on Vyākaraṇa contained in the Tantravārtika and which is not explained away in the reply to the Pūrvapakṣa. It cannot be supposed that the Yogasūtra for the first time settled the technical terms of Yoga. Yoga terms had been evolving from Upaniṣad times and Patañjali only used them in the sense which they had acquired in the course of centuries. Prof. Renou arrives at the conclusion that the Yogasūtra is later by several centuries than the Mahābhāṣya. Jacobi in his paper on 'the dates of the philosophical sutras of the Brāhmaṇas' (in JAOS, vol. 31 pp. 1–29) holds (p. 29) that the Yogasūtra must be later that the 5th century A.D. and, following Garbe, thinks that it is not improbable that the Vyāsabhāṣya was composed in the 7th century A.D. The views of Jacobi are strongly criticized by Jwala Prasad in J. R. A. S. for 1930 pp. 365–375. The present author disagrees with Jacobi and Prof. Renou.

The date of the Yogabhāṣya will have considerable bearing on the date of the Yogasūtra. The Yogabhāṣya presupposes much literary activity on Yoga. It mentions by name on Y. S. II, 55 and on III. 18 Jaigīsavya who is a prominent figure in the Mahābhārata as shown above (pp. 1367 and 1374). Vide also the story of Asita Devala with whom Jaigīsavya stayed for many years as a bhikṣu and adept in Yoga (Śalyaparva, chap. 50). It has to be remembered that several interpretations of the same Yogasūtra are noted in the bhāṣya (as on II. 55). The Yogabhāṣya quotes several Kārikās and verses dealing with the matters treated of in the Y. S. as on Y. S. I, 28, 48, II, 5, 28 (on nine causes that lead to Vivekakhyāti), II, 32, III, 6, III, 15 (on seven Cittadharma of the aparidṛśta type). Besides these, several quotations in prose are cited in the bhāṣya, many of which are attributed to Pañcaśīkha by Vācaspati (vide pp. 1373–74 above), and some (as on II, 22, 30, 52) to āgamins (those who know the tradition or Veda). Therefore, it follows that some centuries intervene between the Yogasūtra and its bhāṣya.

The Bhāṣya on Y. S. II, 42 quotes a verse with the words 'tathā coktam' (it has also been said), which is identical with

²²⁹⁴. In the Mahābhāṣya on vārtika 2 on Ya. IV. 1. 88 and on Ya. V. 1. 7 the words अविनिक्यत्रोष्ण ज्ञते अविनिक्यत्रोष्ण ज्ञते occur. In the Pūrvapakṣa in the तत्तदनादित्राश्चापुष्पिन्य समासपूण्य-प्रवचनम् with तत्तदनादित्राश्चापुष्पिन्य समासपूण्य-प्रवचनम्: खुर—यक्षी काब्जन्ति विकृतियो (Ya. II. 4. 71) द्वितीय अपानिकत्रोष्ण ज्ञते अविनिक्यत्रोष्ण ज्ञते (p. 260. Anan, ed.)
a verse from the Śāntiparva.\(^{2295}\) It is most unlikely that an author will rely on his own work for supporting a proposition propounded in another work of his own. Besides, the Yogabhāṣya quotes on Y. S. I. 28 a verse, which is Viṣṇupurāṇa\(^{2296}\) VI. 6. 2. The Viṣṇupurāṇa is one of the earliest among extant Purāṇas (vide above pp. 907–909) and cannot be assigned to a date later than the 3rd century A. D. Therefore, the Yogabhāṣya which quotes the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇupurāṇa may be assigned to about 4th century A. D. As argued above, the Y. S. would therefore have to be assigned to a date not later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Though the present writer holds that the Yoga that is said to be refuted in V. S. II. 1. 3 is not that of the Yogasūtra but the Yoga found in the Śāntiparva, yet he is not prepared to place the present Yogasūtra earlier than the 2nd century B. C. Mr. K. K. Kolhatkar in his very exhaustive and learned Introduction (in Marathi) asserts (on p. 126) that the Yogasūtra is later by 3000 years than the Brahmasūtra and that the Bhagavadgītā was composed about 5000 years before the present day (p. 224). But he adduces no evidence for such an ancient date for that work. He probably relies on the traditions that Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata (including the Gītā), flourished towards the end of the Dvāpara age and that Kaliyuga started in 3179 B. C. Modern critical scholarship does not accept these traditional datings.

Not only do some of the Upaniṣads contain references to Yoga technique and practices, but the Mahābhārata also dilates upon matters that pertain to the domain of Yoga. A few examples may be referred to here (the cr. ed. of the Mahābhārata is relied upon). In the Śāntiparva, chap. 232 (241 of Ch. ed.)

\(^{2295}\) सत्योपाद्युतं सम्बन्धात्: सोमस्य न. II. 42. The only भाष्य on this is तथा चोक्षु:। यथा कामस्य तथा किचिद् महतःकर्मः। तुषाराशयंसर्वं नाहि:। वोपशोऽकलामु:। इति। This Verse is शास्त्रिण्यः 171. 51 (cr. ed. =177. 51 of Ch. ed.) and वात्स 93. 101; see p. 939 n. 1510 for this verse. On I. 47 'निरोप्चािरास्रापति-ह्यामात्मसः' the भाष्य is: 'तथा चोक्षु:। मज्जावासाद्वा कश्चात्: शौचतो जनाव:। चुनितानमात्र शौचतः: चम्क्ष्यानमोऽपवर्यति॥'. On this चक्षुस्तवति remarks 'अतः पारस्य गाधारिकार्यति॥'.

\(^{2296}\) तज्जपस्तत्तर्थभावसु:। य प्रणय: इत्यदि:। पर्यस्त: जापः पर्यवेक्षण: च भाष्योपाद्युतं सम्बन्धात्॥। तथा चोक्षु:। स्मायाययोपमासति योगात्मायात्मायामनेतु:। स्मायाययोपमायाय अपराधाय अपराधायामनेतु:। The printed विष्युतः reads 'आच्छादितः' for आमनेतु: which latter is probably the older reading.
it is stated\(^{2297}\) that kāma (desires), krodha (anger), lobha (covetousness), bhaya (fear) and svapna (sleep) are the five doṣas (disturbances), in the path of Yoga and then it prescribes means for mastering them. An important and striking assertion in that chapter is that even a person of the lowest varṇa (class) or a woman who is intent on dharma may reach the highest goal by following this path\(^{2298}\) (of Yoga). The same chapter lays down (in verse 25) the proper places for the residence of a yogin and for the practice of Yoga, viz. untenanted mountains and caves, temples, vacant houses, in order that ekāgratā (one-pointedness of mind) may be achieved and that the yogin should treat in the same way a person who commends him or who speaks ill of him and should not contemplate the befalling of good or evil on any one. Chapter 289 of the Śantiparva refers to Dhrāraṇā (verse 37) and states that a yogin that has attained\(^{2299}\) spiritual power may transfer himself to thousands of other bodies and move about in those bodies on the earth and that this path (of Yoga) is regarded as difficult of access even to wise brāhmaṇas and no one can tread it with ease and that one can stand easily on the sharp edges of razors, but to abide in Dhrāraṇā of Yoga is difficult for those whose souls are not purified. Śantiparva 304.1 states that there is no knowledge equal to Śākhya and no spiritual power equal to Yoga; it further says that Yoga is eightfold (verse 7) and in verse 9 mentions

\(^{2297}\) योगेदास्य सत्तत्विचाय पञ्च यात्रा क्यों विदुः। कामं क्रोधं च तीनं च भयं स्वप्नं
च प्राप्यम्। क्रोधं श्यामं जयति कामं स्वसूप्तवर्जनम्। सर्वसंतोदानोऽरो निद्वासस्मिरितवति।
अपमायाः ज्ञाति भृद्रेषु मादवेष्टनाम्। शालिते- 232. 4-7. In शालिते- 289 (= 301 Ch. ed.) there is a dialogue between Bhīṣma and Yudhīṣṭhīra in which the five doṣas are slightly different, viz. रामं मीहं तथा स्वयं कामं क्रोधं च केतुस्म।
योगाः सत्तत्वात दाहम् वैसाय वामनम्। (verse 11). In chap. 290 (verses 53-54, cr. ed.) the five doṣas are कामक्रोधं भयं स्वप्नं चाय उद्देश्यं। अते
दोषः दिनिष्ठसे दद्धने सर्वदश्यनिमं। The means of mastering them are the same as in chap. 232, but as to शास्त्र it is said ‘सिद्धितम उज्जाम घनस्ति तद्वातास्तताय ज्ञातम् (55)’. Compare doṣas as in Ṛṣ. Dh. S. quoted on p. 1390.

\(^{2298}\) अधि वर्षेदकुपस्तातः नारी वा धर्म्माक्षरिणि। तावद्येष्ठेत सांस्कृतिक गृहोत्सवं परमं
गतिः। शालिते- 232. 32.

\(^{2299}\) अधि वर्षेदकुपस्तातः नारी वा धर्म्माक्षरिणि। तावद्येष्ठेत सांस्कृतिक गृहोत्सवं परमं
गतिः। शालिते- 289. 26; this is quoted by Saṅkarācārya on V. S., I, 3, 27 as smṛti and he remarks ‘स्तुतिः प्रयो कतीयत्सि वैभव्यमयि
वस्तुतिबद्धमार्गोधियोगवाचारिणिः। जगद्धिश्रेष्ठ श्रावणलिङ्ग तिरगुत्तमः। न काहिं वाचारिणिः
श्रवणलिङ्ग तिरगुत्तमः। धार्मिकः तु योगी
कु-स्तुतिबद्धमार्गवाचारिणिः। शालिते- 289. 50 and 54; compare धर्मस्य धर्मा निश्चितं शुद्धयो
दुःख अधानाय कठए धर्मविश्वास । कठीप. III. 14.
Dhāranā and Prāṇāyāma. The Āśvamedhkāparva 19. 17 (Ch. ed.) appears to refer to pratyāhāra. 2300

There is also striking similarity between the Bhagavadgītā and the Yogasūtra. 2301 For example, the definition of Yoga in the Yogasūtra as the 'mastery over (or elimination of) the functions (or fluctuations) of the mind' has a close parallel in the Gītā. The Gītā insists on the yogin being 'aparigraha' (VI. 10); 'aparigraha' is one of the five yamas (Y. S. II. 30). Similarly, the seat and posture (āsana) in which a yogin is to practise must be stable (this refers to the seat) and comfortable (says Yogasūtra); the Gītā says the same thing in greater detail. In VIII. 13 the Gītā speaks of Yogadhāraṇā. The Gītā says (in VI. 35) that the mind is certainly restless and difficult to control, but it can be controlled by practice and passionlessness and the Y. S. (I. 12) speaks of the same two means. The Gītā (in V. 4-5) emphasizes that it is the ignorant that regard Sāṅkhya and Yoga as different, that he who applies himself or stands committed to one of these secures the fruit held out by both and that he who sees both ways as identical sees truly. Here Sāṅkhya means (sannyāsa) 'renunciation' and Yoga means 'Karma-yoga'.

The Yogasūtra of Patañjali nowhere expressly sets out its scheme of the evolution of the world. But it contains enough material to enable us to hold that it presupposes and accepts some of the Sāṅkhya doctrines such as the theory of Pradhāna, the three guṇas and their characteristics, the real nature of the individual self and kaivalyā (the state of the soul in final liberation). This may be established by a few references to Y. S. Y. S. III. 48 describes the results that ensue to the yogin from subjugation or mastery of the organs (indriyās), one of which is

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2300. Compare 'सत्त्वायासर्वायां चतर्थतयान्तरिक्त इवतिष्याणां प्रत्याहारः.' योग-वेद II. 54. Vide also शास्त्र 232. 13 मनसेष्ट्रायां च कुलेकायां समाहितः। मायात्मापरश्रेयो वार्षेतम अत्यन्तमा।

2301. योगासूत्रं वायुविभक्तिः। योगवेद I. 2; compare गीता VI. 20 यथासर्वस्मरी चिन्तनं निष्ठुरं योगसेवा। चिन्तनं सत्त्वम्यासनम्। योगवेद II. 46; compare गीता VI. 11-13 यथावृत्तं वेदोऽविभक्तिः वस्तुसंस्फोटं सत्त्वम्। वदन्तिः नात्त्वायां वदन्तिः वदन्तिः वदन्तिः वदन्तिः। यथासर्वस्मरी। सम्यकसत्त्वो गीता वायुविभक्तिः। यथावृत्तं वेदोऽविभक्तिः। यथासर्वस्मरी। अयोगवेद तु कृत्वा वेदरूपं च यथावृत्तं। गीता VI. 35; compare 'अन्यायपरावृत्तिः तस्मिन्।' योगवेद I. 12.
'pradhānajaya' \^{2302} (subjugation of Pradhāna, the primary cause of the world according to the Sāṅkhya). The Y. S. nowhere describes what Pradhāna is and what its evolutes are. Therefore, it follows that it takes over from the Sāṅkhya all that is said about Pradhāna. About the individual soul the Y. S. states 'the seer (Puruṣa) exists \^{2303} as merely pure capacity of awareness (or as the mere power of seeing) and although pure (changeless or undefiled or free from any taints) appears as if he sees all experiences (that really pertain to Buddhi).' The characteristics of the three guṇas (sattva, rajas and tamas) are clearly and succinctly \^{2304} stated in Y. S. as in S. Kārikā 13, when it says 'the seen (phenomenal universe) is characterized by light (sattva), activity (rajas) and inertia or dullness (tamas), it is the essence of the elements and organs and it exists for the purpose of giving experience and liberation (to the soul)' \^{1}. The guṇas are frequently referred to in Y. S. I. 16, IV. 13, 32, 34 and sattrāguna in Y. S. II. 41, III. 35, 49 and 55. The Y. S. postulates three pramāṇas (in I. 7), but does not define them; the S. Kārikā (4-6) mentions the same three pramāṇas and briefly defines them. They both agree about the plurality of souls It may further be noted that Vyāsabhāṣya on Y. S. is full of Sāṅkhya doctrines and quotes, according to Vācaspati, Pañcasikha twelve times and Śaṭṭitantra once (vide above p. 1374 and n. 2250).

In spite of the fact that the Yogasūtra accepts some of the fundamental doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, there are certain points of difference between the two. The standard Sāṅkhya finds no place for God (Īśvara) i.e. it is frankly atheistic (if theism means belief in God who is the creator of the universe and regulator of rewards and punishments), while Yoga finds a place for God in Y. S. I. 23-29, though not a basic one, but only secondary, probably as a concession to popular feelings and belief. The

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\^{2302} ततो मनोजिवं विकारणाभवः प्राधानजयः। यों। चौ। इII, 48। तेन तत्कालिको विकारणाभवः।

\^{2303} इति । घोषमात्रः द्वितीयपरः साधारणावेदः। यों। चौ। इII, 20\। यथाभाष्य इति।

\^{2304} यथाभाष्याय द्वितीयपरः । यों। चौ। इII, 18। प्राधानजयः एव। यथाभाष्याय अस्फोटः।
Y. S. nowhere expressly says that Īśvara is the creator of the world and all that it says about Him is that in him omniscience is at its highest, that He was the teacher of primal sages and that by repetition of the mystic syllable ‘om’ and reflection on it the yogin attains correct knowledge of the real nature of the self. In the next place, though the sumnum bonum in both systems is called kāvalya (S. Kārika 64, 68 and Y. S. III. 50, 55, IV. 34), yet the Sāṅkhya does not set out any elaborate discipline for attaining it except correct knowledge, that is, it is metaphysical and rational, while the Y. S. gives an elaborate treatment on mind discipline, insists on effort rather than mere jñāna, attaches great importance to prānāyāma and meditation (dhyāna) and is psychological.

The Sāṅkhya postulated that an intellectual understanding of the nature of puruṣa and of prakṛti (or guṇas) and of the difference between the two was sufficient for the emancipation of the individual self from the liability to rebirth, while yoga, on the other hand, was not content with this philosophic easy-going mental frame and emphasized systematic training of the will and emotions. In both Sāṅkhya and Yoga each individual soul is eternal and his destiny is to become free from the influence of Prakṛti and its evolutes and to remain for ever the same (viz. pure intelligence). Herein they differ from the Advaita Vedānta, according to which the final destiny of the self is to become absorbed in and one with brahma.

There is another matter for consideration. In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Yājñavalkya is put forward as saying that the soul shining like a lamp in the heart should be realized, that on such realization the soul is not born again and as adding that for the purpose of attaining to Yoga one should understand the Āraṇyaka2305 which ‘I received from the Sun and also the

2305. ज्ञेयं चारणकमाः यथाजिज्ञायासंस्थानं। योगाल्पनं च मन्विक क्षेत्रं योगमणि- 
वस्तः॥ या. III. 110॥ याज्ञवल्क्योऽपि महात्मोऽपि इत्यदृश्च तपसा हर्षम्॥ चबार तत्त्वद्योगम 
कार्यायकं बुधभस्मोऽपि॥ कुमे II. 25. 44 (=B. I. ed. p. 269). यदातन सारथायामानि ते 
व्याचरणं तु से निधिन्वित्साति। ... आतु तः यो इत्ययः ओत्तरेऽपि महात्मो निधि- 
ध्यामित्ययः। कृत्रीः उप. II. 4. 4-5. Compare कृत्रीः उप. IV. 5. 5-6 for the same 
words and ये, सू. IV. 1. 1 for this Br. Upr passage as the basis along with या. 
उप. VIII. 7. 1 'य आयामात्तमामा ... सोस्येकम्: स विज्ञानसत्तमः' of that topic 
in V. S. It is not unlikely that Yāj. III 110 is an early interpolation, but 
since all commentators from Visvarūpa downwards treat it as authentic, one 
has to accept it as a genuine part of Yāj smṛti until some explicit evidence 
to the contrary is forthcoming.
Yogaśāstra propounded by me.' In the Kūrmapurāṇa it is said that Yājñavalkya composed Yogaśāstra at the order of Hara and the Viṣṇupurāṇa (IV. 4 167) states that Hiranyanābhā attained the knowledge of Yoga from the great Yogīśvara Yājñavalkya who was a pupil of Jalini. In the Brhadāraṇyaka Up. (II. 4) Yājñavalkya tells his wife Maitreyi (whoankered after immortality and cared naught for worldly goods) that he would expound to her the path to immortality and the very first sentence calls upon her to cultivate 'nidadhyāsa' (i.e. dhyāna) and the first part of his discourse ends with the memorable words (ātmā vā are draṣṭavyah śrotavyo mantavyo nidadhyāsūtavyah, Br. Up. II. 4. 5). What work is meant by the Yogaśāstra composed by Yājñavalkya? is a debatable point. There are three works (other than the Yājñavalkya) connected with the name of Yājñavalkya viz. . Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Brhad-yogi-yājñavalkya (vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 188–190). The last has been published by Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla (1951), the Yoga-Yājñavalkya was published in T. S. S. (1938) based on a single ms., then in the JBBRAS (vol. 28 and 29) by Shri P. C. Diwanji and now available in book form (1954). This last is in the form of a dialogue between the great yogin Yājñavalkya and Gārgi (who is identified with Maitreyi by Shri Diwanji on pp. 27–28 of his ed. of 1954) and sages and learned brāhmaṇas. Yājñavalkya narrates what he learnt from Brahmag. On Yājñavalkya (III. 110) the Dipakalikā of Śudārapī remarks that the Yogaśāstra referred to is called 'Yogīyājñavalkya'. But this again leads to uncertainty as both the works viz. that published by Kaivalyadhama and the one by Mr. Diwanji are so referred to as Yogī (or Yoga) Yājñavalkya in several digests. Mr. Diwanji tries hard to establish that the work published by him ‘has a better claim to be adjudged the specific work on Yoga referred to in Yājñavalkya III. 113.’ I think that the claim is not at all justified. The work edited by Mr. Diwanji no doubt contains a good deal of Yoga knowledge; while the work published by Kaivalyadhama also contains a good deal of Yoga material, though not as much as the work edited by Mr. Diwanji contains. It would be irrelevant to discuss here all the points made by Mr. Diwanji. The present author is convinced that the work sponsored by Mr. Diwanji is not the work referred to by Yājñavalkya (in his smṛti III. 110). It is a compilation of a later period. Some striking

matters alone may be pointed out to show that the Yoga-
Yājñavalkya could not have been the work of the author of
the Brhadāranyaka and the Yogaśāstra (as stated in Yāj. III. 110 )
and of Yaj. smṛti. In the Br. Up. II. 4.1 and IV. 5.1 (Yājñā-
valkyasya dve bhārye babhūvatār—Maitreyī ca Kātyāyani ca ) it
is expressly stated that Yājñavalkya had two wives, (philosophy-
minded) Maitreyī and Kātyāyani (worldly-minded). Maitreyī
desired such knowledge as would lead to immortality and she
asks questions, in all of which she addresses Yājñavalkya as
‘bhagavān’ (in Br. Up. II. 4.3 and 13 and IV. 5.4, 14) and
never as mere Yājñavalkya. On the other hand, Gārgī in the
Br. Up. is called Vācaknāvī (in III. 6.1, III. 8.1 and 12 ), is not
Yājñavalkya’s wife but a pert and rationalistic woman inquirer
like Āśvala, Ārthabhağa, Bhujyu Lāhāyani, Usāsta Cākrāyana,
Kahola (all present in the court of Janaka), who including
Gārgī questioned the claim of Yājñavalkya to be regarded as
‘brahmīṣṭha’. In Br. Up. III. 6.1 when Gārgī pursues her
ritociation too far (in matters depending upon āgama and
being beyond reasoning) Yājñavalkya reprimands her and says
that she would die (lit. her head would fall away) if she pursued
the subject in a pure logistic way. All those inquirers address
Yājñavalkya as mere Yājñavalkya without any honorific epithet
like ‘bhagavān’ and Gārgī does the same (in Br. Up. III. 6.1,
III. 8.2–6). Acc. to Yaj. Smṛti III. 110 the Br. Up., a Yoga-
śāstra and the smṛti are the works of one man (whose two wives
were Maitreyī and Kātyāyani) and who had a philosophical
skirmish with Gārgī Vācaknāvī (according to the Br. Up.). The
present Yogayājñavalkya (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) makes Gārgī wife of
Yājñavalkya2307 (vadhuḥ). One would like to know whether Yaj-
had three wives, as Br. Up. says he had only two. Mr. Diwanji
(pp. 27–28 of the ed. of 1954) tries to make light of this discrepancy
and regards Maitreyī as another name of Gārgī. We are here con-
cerned not with pure Yoga doctrines but with the question

2307. The Yaj. I. 6–7 are tātvikāyamāṇASYA NARASMAH BRUH. MĀTREṇIYAM C
MADHYAMA GAMYAAM C BHAṬṬAVIDHARAM S SAMAṆA YYYYAMA TASTRAM YASU YĀU DHU TĀVYA YAYA TAŚASTAAM. YOGASAṚOṢI
GANTĀṬUḌA VAṬAKA YAJNASMARTAAS. The two ċs may be noted; that would ordinarily show
that MĀTREṇIYAM and GAMYAAM were different. It might be argued that having
already learnt from Yaj. (in Br. Up.) Maitreyī was present but took no part
in the discussion and Gārgī alone asked questions. Verse 6 of chap. I could
be considered as using the words UTTAMA BRUH; for MĀTREṇIYAM and the words MADHYAMA
and BHAṬṬAVIDHARAM as applicable to GAMYAAM; but this is made impossible by the text
which in I. 43 and IV. 5 refers to Gārgī as the wife (bhaṭṛyā) of Yaj. and
she is addressed as ‘priye’ (IV. 7), ‘varārohe’ etc.
whether a work attributed to Yāj. which makes Gārgi the wife of the ancient Yājñavalkya (when the Upanisad makes her only a more or less insolent woman) can be regarded as the work of the same Yāj. who propounded brähmadeśī in the Br. Up. and is supposed to have composed the Yāj. smṛti. This one circumstance alone is enough to brand the Yoga-Yājñavalkya (of Mr. Diwanji) as a fabrication sought to be passed off as an ancient work. If identity was really meant the verse could easily have been read as ‘Maitreyyākhyā mahābhāgā’ without any metrical fault. Therefore, it is not possible to hold that Yogayājñavalkya is the Yogasāstra composed by Yājñavalkya before the Smṛti going under his name was composed. A few other decisive grounds may also be urged. The work edited by Mr. Diwanji mentions Tartras (in V. 10) and Tāntrikas (in VIII. 4 and 25). The Yāj. smṛti nowhere mentions these two and is free from the peculiar Tāntrik words or technique. Therefore, the present Yogayājñavalkya edited by Mr. Diwanji was composed long after the Yāj. smṛti and probably in the 8th century or after when Tāntrik rites and works had become common. One more important matter may be adverted to. The Yāj. smṛti and the Yoga-Yājñavalkya (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) both enumerate ten yamas and ten niyamas. But the two diverge materially in the ten names as the note below will show,2308 The number of yamas and niyamas differs in different works, but if the Yāj. smṛti and Yoga-Yājñavalkya were the works of the same author, the differences in the ten names would not have occurred at all. Therefore, the author of the Yāj. smṛti is quite different from the author of the Y. Y. There is no evidence for holding that the latter flourished before the 8th or 9th century A. D.

A good deal has been said by Mr. Diwanji in his paper on ‘Brhad-yogi-yājñavalkya and Yoga-Yājñavalkya’ in ABORI, vol. XXXIV (1953) pp. 1–29, in his preface to Yoga-Yājñavalkya in JBBRAS, volumes XXXVIII and XXXIX pp. 103–106 and by Swami Kuvalayanand in his reply in ABORI, vol. XXXVII for

2308. ब्रह्मचर्यदेया भाषार्थिनी सत्यमकल्प। अहिंसासन्तात्त्विकबालेत्यं यमः सुघट। शनां मोनिऒत्सत्यं साध्यायोपपत्तिनावर्तित। नियम यस्तुः भौतिकोपायमकल्पं। या. त्री. 312–313; compare अहिंसा सन्तात्त्विकबालेत्यं ब्रह्मचर्यदेया देयार्थम्। क्षमा पूर्वतित्तमादहां ब्राह्मचर्यदेया देयार्थम्। शास्त्रेन श्रीमाणोऽयं ग्रंथम्। तत्। स्मरोऽयं अविनाश्ये दुनियायुक्तम्। सिद्धान्तब्राह्मणेन अविनाश्ये दुनियायुक्तम्। योगः कालः। इ. 50–51. The striking dissimilarities between the two are: श्रृङ्खला is a श्रृङ्खला acc. to या. यथूः but a यथूः acc. to योगः and there are other notable additions and omissions which any reader will find.
1957 pp. 279-289 and in the paper 'the real Yogayājñavalkya-smṛti' in the journal 'Yogamimāṃsa' vol. VII. No. 2 (and also published separately as a pamphlet in July 1958). It would not be relevant in this work to discuss the points in dispute between Mr. Diwanji and Swami Kuvalayanand. In the bāṣya on the Śvetāśvataraopanisad attributed to Śaṅkarācārya \(^{2309}\) (published by Anan. Press) on p. 28 four verses and a half are quoted from Yogi-Yājñavalkya, none of which is found either in Br. Y. Y. or Y. Y. Besides on Śv. Up. II. 9 (pp. 42-44) 29 verses on Yoga matters are quoted in the bāṣya, but the name of the author or work whence the quotations are taken is not mentioned. Not one of the 29 verses wholly occurs in Mr. Diwanji's Y. Y. He is able to point out only five or six half verses as occurring in Y. Y. out of the 29 verses, while a whole verse quoted in the bāṣya (viz. 'prāṇāyāmaṁ &c') occurs in Br. Y. Y. (8. 32). It may be further pointed out that Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā quote in all about 100 verses from Yogi (or Yoga-) Yājñavalkya which are found in Br. Y. Y., but not in Y. Y. The Kṛtyakalpataru (on Mokṣakāṇḍa alone) quotes (on pp. 146, 149, 166, 171, 196-197) about 70 verses from Yogi-yājñavalkya which are found in chapters 2, 8, 9 and 11 of the Br. Y. Y. Mr. Diwanji has not been able to show that verses of the Y. Y. (ed. by him) are cited anywhere in the above three digests. Mr. Bhattacharya in his paper on Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti and its utilization in the medieval digests of Bengal and Mithila (in J. G. J. R. I. vol. XV for 1958 pp. 135-140) points out that king Ballālasena of Bengal (1158-1179 A.D.) in his Dānasāgara contains a fairly large number of quotations from the Brhad-Yogi Yāj. (pub. by Kaivalya-dhama). It appears that Viśvarūpa\(^ {2309}\) (first half of 9th century A.D.) quotes a half verse from the Br. Y. Y. and remarks that the work is composed by the author of the Yaj.

2309. The authenticity of the bāṣya as the great Śaṅkarācārya's work is extremely doubtful. In the whole of the extensive bāṣya on the Brahmasūtra Śaṅkarācārya quotes no Purāṇa by name but cites only a very few verses with the words 'iti purāṇe'. But in the bāṣya on the Śv. Up. of only 76 printed pages over 30 verses from Brahmapurāṇa, about 30 verses from Viṣṇupurāṇa, about a dozen from the Liṅgapurāṇa and about half a dozen verses from the Sivadharmaottara (on pp. 7, 34, 35) are cited.

2310. On स्नातकव्यित्रोग्निःप्राणसंध्यायेत् (Prāṇaṁ pratyahāraḥ kuryaṁ) तर्ये न विष्णुविवाहविविष्णुविवाहिताय:; विष्णुविवाहादिते हि नास्ले स्नानं समविष्णुम् महसोऽन्तः महसोऽन्तः नाहि स समाप्तिः \(^{\text{हुति}}\). Compare बुद्ध. या. VII. 6 'प्राणं विवाहातवेन तु उक्ते हि समाप्ति'। अपभ्रं. p. 235 (वेदाकालसंहिता) प्राणं तु इति: ... हे इति। नालोऽदि के भिः: स्मायत्) and स्पृहित. I. p. 129 reads as अपभ्रं. does.
smṛti himself. Therefore, the Br. Y.Y. is an early work and cannot be assigned to a date later than the 7th century A.D.; while Y.Y. is a much later compilation composed in the 8th or 9th century or even later. The present author is not, however, prepared to hold that Br. Y. Y. is the Yogaśāstra of Yaj. smṛti III. 110, since the Yoga material contained in it is meagre as compared with the Smṛti material. The present author is glad to find that on pp. 7–8 of the Sanskrit Preface to the edition of the Brhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti the editors express grave doubts about the identity of the author of the Yaj. smṛti with the author of the work edited by them.

The Yogavāsiśṭha is an extensive work in 32000 Ślokas (one śloka meaning 32 syllables) printed in two volumes with a commentary by Anandabodha by the Nirm. Press. It is really an eclectic work embodying* the tenets of the Gitā on anāsakti, the tenets of the Trika system of Kashmir, of Advaita Vedānta &c. Its text appears to have been added to from time to time. Controversies have raged about its date and its contribution to Indian philosophy. The present writer holds on reading the contributions* that the extant Yogavāsiśtha is a late work and was composed some time between the 11th and 13th century A. D.

It is now necessary to furnish a brief outline of the main teachings of Y. S. Though the work is comparatively small, its rendering in English requires to be amplified in order that it may be understandable. Only the most important and instructive matters are set out here.

Yoga is defined (2nd sūtra) as the elimination of or mastery over the functions (activities) or fluctuations of the mind. This is provisionally explained by Vyāsa (on I. 1.) as

\[2311. \text{Though there is not much compact teaching on pure Yoga, the योगवासिष्ठ here and there has remarks on योग. For example, the उपदेशपरमणु chap. 78 verse 8 states: हू कर्मो विचिनताः प्रायो ज्ञान च राशिः। योगस्वप्निपाधिव दि ज्ञानं संभविकारणः.}

Samādhi. The different stages viz. (bhūmis) of the mind are five, being restless (kṣipta), infatuated (mugdha or mūdha), distracted (vikṣipta), one-pointed (ekāgra) and controlled (niruddha).

In this connection (i.e. on the topic of bhūmis) the present author has to bring to the notice of readers a paper by Shri Kuvvalayānanda contributed to the Yogamimāṁsā vol. VI. No. 4 on 'Traditional reading of Pātañjala-yogasūtra III. 11; is it accurate.' The traditional reading accepted by the bhāsyas of Vyāsa and all other commentators is 'Sārvārthataikāgratayoh ksayodayau cittasya samādhiparīnāmaḥ'. The Svami2314 argues that the correct reading should be 'sārvārthataikārthayoh &c.' He states that the bhūmis should be six, the sixth being 'ekārtha' and bases his arguments on the combined explanations of yogasūtra I. 2-4, 18 and III. 9-12. All that the present writer can say is that his arguments deserve serious consideration. The fact that even Vyāsa, the bhāsyakāra of Yogasūtra, would have to be held not to have seen the difficulties in the traditional reading of Y. S. III. 11 would have to be given due weight before any final conclusion can be arrived at. That sūtra states the goal of Yoga viz. the soul that is seer abides in its own form then (i.e. when the functions of the mind have been mastered), while in ordinary life the soul appears to assume the forms of the fluctuations of the mind. The Vṛttis2315 are five, some of which are

2314. योगभित्तिधृतिनिरोध:। तत्तद्युच:। सत्तेनक्षणाद:। इत्तिसामास्यमित्तम:। यो:।
भ: 1. 2. 4; it would be interesting to note some definitions of yoga from other works: विभेदयों, विनिवायित्यशयः नन्दोक्षणमां पथोः। श्रेयः (धम्मचतुष्ठूः) q. in note 2263, p. 1380: above: इत्तिसामास्यमित्तम:। यो:।
भ: 17. 1. 1. 9. 10. 12. All three are q. by अध्यात्मिक (on यो:। 109) p. 986 and by इत्तिसामास्यमित्तम:। यो:।
भ: 10. 165. अकार्ण दस्यमें अवियोगानी (वियोगानी) रामचारिदायम् यो:।

2315. इत्तिस:। ख्यातम:। विनिवायित्यशयः। प्रभृतिः।
भवनस्यमानमां:। प्रभृतिः।...अभावयोगचतुर्गुणवेदनाद्विक्षितः।स्थिति:।
भ: 1. 5-7 and 10-11. The क्रोधः (hindrances or obstacles) are five, viz. अभिव्यक्तिः। अनिश्चितिः। अशुभसन्दर्भसामान्योः। आशुभवतिः।
भ: 2. 3. The भावम् on 1. 8 is 'तत्र क्रोधः' p. 16. The five अशुभवतिः अशुभसन्दर्भसामान्योः। आशुभवतिः।
भ: 3. 33. There are these technical ideas: इत्तिसामास्यमित्तम:। प्रभृतिः। अशुभवतिः।
भ: 3. 33. They are so called because they afflict men plunged in Sāṅskāra with several kinds of suffering. 'अभिव्यक्तिः।' अविनिवायित्यशयः। अशुभवतिः। अशुभसन्दर्भसामान्योः।
भ: 3. 24).
afflicted by hindrances called *kleśas* and the others are not so hindered (those that are hindered to be mastered or eliminated and the others are to be accepted). The five *vṛttis* are *pramāṇa* (means of valid knowledge), *viparyaya* (wrong conception), *vikalpa* (fancy), *mudrā* (sleep), *smti* (memory). Pramāṇas are three, *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāṇa* (inference), *āgya* (verbal testimony). The means for the suppression of the *vṛttis* are *abhyāsa* (practice) and *varāgya* (passionlessness) (simultaneously carried on), the first being the effort to secure a calm flow of the mind free from *vṛttis*, continued for a long time uninterruptedly and earnestly and the latter (*vairāgya*) being the consciousness of mastery over (i.e. freedom from thirst for) seen objects (such as woman, food and drink, high position) and objects promised by Revelation (such as heaven, disembodied existence &c.).

2317 'Vairāgya is of two kinds *apara* (described in Y. S. I. 15 just above) and *para* (highest) described in Y. S. I. 16 and bhāsyā thereon. In the highest *vairāgya* the yogin (who has reached discrimination between the self and the *guṇas*, sattva &c.) is free from thirst not only for objects of sense, but also free from the *guṇas*, attains a stage of undisturbed consciousness only and leads the yogin to reflect 'I have attained what was to be attained, the *kleśas* (hindrances'...

2316. According to the Yogabhāṣya on Y. S. I. 10 sleep is a special positive idea or experience (*pratyāya*) and not a mere absence of any activities or fluctuations of the mind, since when a man rises from sleep he reflects 'I have slept well, my mind is happy and makes my intellect clear' and this reflection on waking would not be possible if there had been no experience (during sleep) of the cause of such a feeling. Just as in *samādhi* one has to master other ideas (viz. misconception, fancy &c.), so the Yogi must to master sleep also as a hindrance to the attainment of *samādhi*.}

2317. अभायसवर्धनम् भ्रमिष्ठः। तत्र रितिः यन्त्रोद्योगः। स तु वीपकाले-नेत्रत्यसत्कारसंस्कृतः हट्टयम्। हर्षावस्थितवेदित्तुलस्य वसीकरणस्य वैराग्यः। तथरं घुर्णयोऽवलंकृत्यज्ञयानाशब्दिकरितः। प्रेमादित्यविश्वाधिकोपेयम्योऽन्तः। परामदित्यविश्वाधिकोपेयम्। विभाष्यमी।

On śūtra I. 15 the bhāsyā says 'क्षेमक्षमायमायमन्ति हट्टयमे विभक्तस्य स्वेदिकुकृतवेदित्यविश्वाधिकरितः। हर्षावस्थितवेदित्तुलस्य एव। प्रेमादित्यविश्वाधिकोपेयम्योऽन्तः। परामदित्यविश्वाधिकोपेयम्। विभाष्यमी।

For the words हट्टयम् and आनुभविक्ष्मा, compare ka. 2. हट्टयमकुक्तिः स द्विवेदिकः। विभाष्यमी।

The bhāsyā on I. 16 remarks 'तज्ज्वलोऽवर्धितः। तत्तद्भवं तद्ज्वलोऽवर्धितः।...

In this 2nd kind of vairāgya there is nothing but an undisturbed and calm consciousness or knowledge (unconnected with any object whatever) and *Kāivalya* (the goal of yoga) is inseparably connected with it.
avidyā &c.) that have to be destroyed have been destroyed, the close-knit succession of births and deaths has been out off'. The Bhāṣya remarks ‘the highest limit of consciousness (knowledge) is Vairāgya and Kaivalya is inseparably connected with it.' Vācaspati states that this last is called ‘Dharmamegha-samādhi’ (mentioned in Y. S. IV. 29). Sūtras 17 and 18 of first pāda deal respectively with samprajñātasaṃādhi (conscious concentration) or sālambanasamādhi and asamprajñāta-samādhi (concentration in which there is no consciousness of objects, gross or subtle). The first is of four kinds (or of four stages) viz. saviturka (deliberation over or realization of a gross object like Śālagrāma or the image of a god with four arms and the like), savicāra (where there is reflection over a subtle object such as the tan-mātras), sāvanda where the reflection is on the mind which is full of sattva (that is a samādhi of joy) and sāsmitarūpa (i.e. where there is only a sense of personality in which the knower himself is the object of perception). These four kinds lead on to the asamprajñāta-samādhi, which results when all vṛttis have disappeared, when there is persistent exercise of this state and the mind consists of sub-liminal impressions only. Sūtras 19-51 (to the end of the first pāda) deal with the different kinds of samādhi, the different ways of attainment, the position of Ṣiva in the Yoga system, the nine obstacles (antarāyā) that cause distraction of the mind of the person who practises Yoga and the companions of these

2318. विषयिकिरित्वादितर्द्विशिष्टतायामात्रं संपंत्य: । तिरस्कर्याभासपूर्वः संस्कारः—यो:। सु:। I. 17–18. These two are called सविर्जर्षित निर्जर्षित or साधारण and निरालंकर्षित or सविर्जर्षित and निर्जर्षित समाधि. The Bhāṣya on I. 18 states तद्भवम्-पूर्वान्तः हि विवेच्निम जातं समाधिमयं निर्जर्षितां समाधिः. The Bhāṣya on यो:। सु:। I. 2 states 'स निर्दिष्टतः समाधि: । न तत्र निर्जर्षितसमंजयत्त इति समंजयतः। द्विविष: स योगाधिकारिनिदिर्श इति ।'. अर्पिता is one of five कृषेत्रस (vide n. 2315 above) and avidyā is said to be the root of four out of five klesṇas (II. 4), and II. 6 defines 'asmitā is the identification of the seer (the self) and the instrument of seeing i.e. buddhi'. It is somewhat surprising that one kind of samādhi is characterized by 'asmitā'. Probably asmitā here means no more than the consciousness 'I am' (i.e. of personality). It is remarkable that Buddhist texts exhibit a close parallel to the four kinds of संपंत्यसाधारण (vide महिमाननिकाय vol. I pp. 21–22 Trenckner's ed. of 1888). 'सो को आँ ज्ञातम विविष्ये विविष्ये आदित्याः अधिकिर्षितं साधारणं विविष्ये गतम् श्रमं उत्तमम् विविष्ये इति. etc. पीतिः (पीतिः) is the same as आदित्य in the योगाधिकाय. Dr. B. C. Law's paper on 'Prince Jeta's Grove in Ancient India' (J. I. H. vol. XXXVII, Part III, December 1959 p. 353 note 94) brought to my notice this close correspondence and he kindly furnished the reference to the Majjhimanikāyā.
obstacles, the means of preventing obstacles &c. such as practice of concentration on a single entity, the cultivation of friendliness, compassion, joy (towards holy men), indifference (towards unholy men) or by prāṇāyāma.

The Patañjalasūtra (in I. 19–23) divides yogins for asamprajñāta-samādhi into various categories (nine in all), which are passed over here. Patañjali says that asamprajñāta-samādhi in the case of yogins (who are not gods or not those whose bodies are resolved into primary matter) follows upon that practice which effects the cessation of all vṛttis and which comprises only subliminal consciousness and is preceded by faith, perfect repose or serenity, energy, mindfulness and discriminatory insight (into what is real) due to passionlessness. It would be noticed that so far Patañjali asks the aspirant for Yoga to rely on his own efforts, practice &c. He does not mention God or his grace anywhere so far. From this it follows that any man or woman and even one who is an agnostic may pursue yogic practices and attain to asamprajñāta-samādhi and liberation without devotion to God or without God's grace. But Patañjali as a keen psychologist knew the help that faith affords. Therefore, he provides that, if you believe in God, He will help you in the practice of Yoga and from that point of view he assigns to Īśvara a role of a limited scope.

In Y. S. I. 23–28 Patañjali provides that Samādhi and liberation (the result of Samādhi) may also be secured by 2319

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2319. इत्येवपरिणामादानं। क्षःक्रमीयिकायायामेवादानं। युक्तिरथिष्टं। तत् स निरितिलसं। स च ज्ञातानि कालानवस्य स्वरूपमणे। तत् व्यथक:। प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्वद्विभावम्। तत् प्रत्येकं प्रभुत्�v
devotion to Īśvara (īśvara-pranidhāna) who is a special puruṣa, who is untouched by hindrances, by karma (good or evil) or by the results of actions or by hankerings, in whom the omniscience, that is only a germ (in others), is infinite; He, being not limited by time, is the teacher of even the ancient teachers. The mystic syllable (Om) is expressive of (i.e. representative or symbol of) God and japa of that syllable and constant reflection upon the meaning of ‘om’ (i.e. on Īśvara) leads to one-pointedness (ekāgratā) of mind. Devotion to Īśvara secures for the practitioner attainment of right knowledge of the nature of the soul and the absence of hindrances (antarāya) that distract the mind (I. 29). These hindrances are nine such as illness, langour, doubt &c. and they are also called Yogamāla (taints or blemishes of Yoga), the enemies (pratiṣṭhākṣu) of Yoga. These hindrances are accompanied by pain, mental distress, tremor of the limbs, irregular inhalation and exhalation (I. 31). These distractions and their accompaniments that are the foes of samādhi may be prevented or mastered in various ways such as practice of concentration on one entity (Īśvara or the like), by the practice of such attitudes of mind as friendliness, compassion, cheerfulness and indifference respectively towards the happy or the distressed, the good and the evil (I. 33) or by the expulsion and retention of breath (bāṣya uses the word ‘prāṇāyāma’). When the mind is concentrated then arise the four kinds of samprajñātasmādi (called svātārtha &c. in I. 17). The knowledge that is gained in the last kind of samprajñātasmādi is of a higher order than what is obtained from scripture or inference and the subliminal impression made in this samādhi is hostile to all other impressions and when this last impression also is suppressed or removed, then results the seedless samādhi (i.e. asamprajñātasmādi). In this last the mind itself ceases (from its task) and the yogin’s soul abides in itself, shines forth in its

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भाष्यम as ‘पुनः पुनः लिखिन्ति निवेदनम् ’ For the eulogy of ‘Om’ vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 301-302 and for japa (inaudibly done or mental) Manu II. 85-87, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 19, Vasiṣṭha 26. 9 and p 668 of H. of Dh. II. The Māndūkyopaniṣad, which, Saṅkaracārya declares, contains the essence of the thought of Vedānta’ (Vedāntārthasārasaṅgrahabhūta), has a disquisition on ‘om’. Om was in the Upaniṣads (and before them) a symbol of the whole Universe, of the supra-sensible brahm and was of metaphysical use. Yoga took it over from the Upaniṣads and made it an instrument of psychology and of dhyāna.” Compare Mundaka Up. II. 2. 4 ‘पञ्चवी अध् शरीरे ब्राह्मा महात्मयं यथावत् ’ Aṣāmvasetvam eva pratyayam gata Adityaḥ māyāyam ॥
own light and is called pure, isolated and liberated.\textsuperscript{2320} Īśvara-
prāṇidhāna does not lead to union with Īśvara, but it enables the
soul that is still bound to become what Īśvara always is. In
the Yogasūtra there is very little about bhakti for God.

Pāda II. The first pāda ends on the note of samādhī and
liberation i.e., describes the Yoga for him who has succeeded in
concentration. The 2nd pāda deals with the procedure for a
person whose mind is not used to concentration but is restless,
infatuated or distracted (vyutthita)\textsuperscript{2321} and who is desirous of
learning the technique. This pāda is the most important of all
the four pādas for modern students, either Indian or Western,
and has exerted great influence on Dharmaśāstra works. The
fundamental idea of Yoga is that the individual self is real,
eternal and pure, but it is immersed in the objective world and,
though eternal, pursues transient objects. Patañjali is a master
psychologist. The goal being set (viz how to secure the isola-
tion of the soul from avidyā and the gunas and its attainment
of its own pure nature) Y. S. prescribes a rigorous discipline for
the attainment of the goal. Patañjali differs from many modern
Western psychologists (like Freud)\textsuperscript{2322} in two very fundamental
matters. The first is that Patañjali puts all emphasis at his
command on the freedom and liberation of the soul from bond-
age, prescribes restraint of the activities of the mind as the

\textsuperscript{2320} तस्तिस्त (विचित्र) निषेध सुरुषः स्वस्वामार्गितोऽविज्ञा: श्रुतः केवलो शुचः
इदुपलोऽसि। भाष्य on यो. सू. I. 51 (सर्वांगी निरोधं समन्तरासकृतिज्ञं समाधि:).

\textsuperscript{2321} स्वरूपाः विद्यां बोधावस्तुः समस्याद्विविद्यात्मकोऽविज्ञात्
कुमारसमाधिसाधनं भ्रमितेऽषयम् on यो. सू. III. 9 and on III. 37 (काळार्धेऽविज्ञानं कृतिः) अस्वेत्यादेशः।

\textsuperscript{2322} Freud gives the name 'libido' to the energy of the sexual
instinct, while Jung, who was once a disciple of Freud, diverged from Freud,
holds it as applicable to all forms of mental, psycho-physical or conative
energy. The theory of the Oedipus complex is the central core of the
Freudian system. It appears that Freud later in life modified his theory of
the Oedipus complex and, though he assumed that the Oedipus complex is
present in every infant, he came to hold that in the course of normal
development the complex becomes eradicated in early childhood. Vide 'An
outline of abnormal psychology' by W. Macdougall (London, ed. of 1952)
p. 418.

Prof. J. B. Watson propounded the theory of 'Behaviourism' (vide
the work so called, London, 1925), which denies the existence of mind or
mental traits, dispositions or tendencies. On this view the subject matter
of psychology is not mind but the behaviour or activities of the human
being and the concept of instincts on which most psychologists dwell at
length becomes meaningless.
means and several preliminary steps of the training of ordinary emotions and will, while several modern psychologists condemn repression of the mind. In the 2nd place Patanjali is a firm believer in the doctrine of karma and rebirth and (in II. 12-15) holds that even good actions that give rise to a future life of pleasure and happiness are a misery to the enlightened, while modern psychologists speak of several innate instincts and are not at all agreed on what these are, they do not tackle the problem of karma and rebirth and their relation to what they call instincts. If there is no pre-existence of the soul as Christians and many others believe, how do the human instincts arise? There is hardly any convincing or satisfactory explanation of this.

The first sūtra (of pāda II) says that the activities or practices that are preliminaries to the attainment of Yoga are tapas (austerity), śādhyāya and devotion to Īśvara; these,

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2322. तपस्वाच्याये बर्यविधानानि कियायोमान्: | समाधिभाग्याः: क्रृततहुः करणावांशम्।
अन्विधासिनितात्मणांशालविनिष्का: क्रृत्तः: | वो मु. II. 1-3. Various definitions of tapas occur in the Dharmashastra and other works. The word tapas occurs in the Rgveda over a dozen times. Vide Rg. VI. 5. 4, VIII. 59. 6, VIII. 60. 16, X. 16. 4, X. 87. 14 in all of which it is possible to take tapas in the sense of heat. But in Rg. X. 109. 4, X. 154. 2, 4 (piśṭatapasvataḥ), 5 (rūnī tapasvataḥ), X. 183. 1, X. 190. 1 tapas means 'austerities, asceticism or bodily mortification.' पञ्चाक्षरवृत्ति पानो द्राक्षर... ततो च चकिरे महतात्मी-कृतान्तात्। च च X. 154. 2 (this is addressed to the soul of the deceased person) 'join them that are unassailable owing to tapas, that went to heaven by tapas and that performed great tapas'. The emphasis on asceticism (or tapas) appeared among Indians earlier than among any other known people. In Rg. X. 190. 1 it is stated that right and truth and the sun and the moon and the universe are born of tapas. In Rg X. 109. 4 the seven sages are said to have sat down for tapas. In Rg. X. 136. 2 sages (munis) having long hair and wearing dirty yellowish clothes are said to roam over paths. In the Sat. Br. VI. 1. 13 and Ait. Br. XI. 6. 4 it is indicated that tapas like Yājña would give everything. The Upaniṣads (e.g. Tai. Up. III. 5 'tapas brahma vijñānasva'), Br. Up. IV. 4. 22 emphasize that tapas is one of the means of realizing brahma. Chāṇ. Up. II. 23 postulates tapas as the 2nd of three dharmaskandhas. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 2, 5, 1 holds that the strict observances laid down for a Vedic student are called tapas (निष्णतयं स्नावं); Gautama Dh. S. 19. 15 provides that sexual purity, truthfulness, bathing three times in the day, wearing a wet garment, sleeping on the sacrificial ground and fast are austerities. Manu X. 70 provides that even three ānāyāmas are the highest tapas for all brahmanas provided they are performed according to prescribed rules and are accompanied by the seven vyāḥritis and ṣaṇava. Manu (XI. 234-244) contains a grand eulogy of tapas; verse 238 states 'everything can be

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when resorted to, serve for the cultivation of samādhi and for
minimising the kleshas, which are avidyā (nescience which is
the field that produces the other four), asmitā (the feeling of
personality), rāga (attachment to pleasures), dveṣa (aversions,
that dwells angrily on pain and its causes) and abhinivesa (will
to live or clinging to life). Tapas is explained by Vyāsabhāṣya
(on Y. S. II. 32) as bearing or enduring the pairs (of opposites)
such as hunger and thirst, cold and heat, standing and sitting,
stillness of a stump (i.e. not indicating what is passing in
one’s mind even by gestures), stillness of the body (not speaking
at all), and also such observances as Kṛṣṇa, Cāndrāyana and
Śaṇṭapana (vide II. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 130 and 132, 134–137, 151
respectively for Kṛṣṇa &c.).

The Vyāsabhāṣya explains ‘svādhyāya’ as the japa
(inaudible repetition) of om and other holy texts or study of the
śāstras treating of liberation. The Śat. Br. XI. 5, 7 contains
a eulogy of svādhyāya and the words ‘svādhāya:dvayayah,
(one should study the Veda) occur frequently therein. Om is
the most prominent among the symbols (pratīkās) under
which the upāsana of the supra-sensible brahma was to be carried out.
Vide Chāṇ. Up. I. 1. 1 (om-ītyetad-akṣaram-udgitham-upāśta),
Tai. Up. I. 8 (om-iti brahma, om-itidam sarvam), Mundaka Up.
II. 2. 4 (pranava dhanuḥ śaro hyatmā brahma tālakṣyam-
ucyate, ‘om is the bow, the soul is, the arrow, brahma is the

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accomplished by tapas, since tapas has invincible power’. Yāj. also (I.
198–202) emphasizes the great importance of tapas. Jaimini (in PMS III.
8, 9) employs the word tapas for ‘fast’. Frequent eulogies of tapas are
found in the Mahābhārata as in Vanarapa 259. 13. 17, Śaṅkya, chap. 5 and
12 ‘Gods and sages secured their position by tapas’, Ānunāśana 122. 5–11).
Śaṅkhiparva 79. 18 explains अहिम्सा मस्तष्जनमाहुदांसं दत्तो पुणा। एतेऽव विदुपिनी
न श्रीस्य स्वाहवणम्। All passages of the Mahābhārata are taken from Chitra-
śāla Press edition in this note. Yogins are said to repeat the Ajāpā japa
i.e. while they breathe inwards there is नोहें and when they breathe out
there is हन्स: and the combined words मोहं हन्स: mean ‘I am that hamsa
(the eternal Spirit)’. Compare दृढ्योपििय. II. 115. ‘ हंस: सुङ्ग धी श्रवणा.

2324. नामान्य: प्राणाक्षेत्रं विधानान्य: तामका प्राणाशयं विधाना। ज्ञाताशया on यो. घु.
II. 1. मृ. घु. 19. 12 (= घो. घु. III. 10. 10, वासिक 22. 9) enumerates the
Upanishads, Vedānta and some vedic texts as holy texts by repeating which
a man expiates sins. प्राणाक्रमणं 28. 10–15 (=विशेषभद्रमणं 56 in prose = गुरु-
सुते chap. 10 12 and chap. 11) enumerate holy texts (pavitrinā) from all
Vedas. The word ‘pranava’ occurs in the Tai. S. II. 3 9. 5–6 ‘हर्षीप
एकाद्वादिप्राणमुच्छ: प्रणव उववकोसीणाम्, which is quoted by अब्जर on घू. मी घु. III. 7. 42.
target &c.), Praśna Up. V. 5 (Yāḥ punar-etam trimātrenomity-etenaivāksarena param purusam-abhidhyāyita). The Y. S. borrows this importance of Om from the Upaniṣads. The five kleśas are defined in Y. S. II. 5-9. Avidyā (ignorance)²³²⁵ consists in regarding the non-eternal as eternal, the impure as pure, pain as pleasure, the non-self as the self. Asmitā (sense of personality) consists in the seer (the self) being held as if identical with the instruments of seeing (such as mind and sense organs). Abhinivesa (clinging to life) means the craving ('May I not cease to live, may I live') which sweeps on by its own force and is established in this form even among the learned. Īśvarapradhāna has been explained above (p. 1412 note 2319). The Y. S. (II. 11 and 12) says that the kleśas have subtle conditions (viz. avidyā and asmitā) and coarse effects in the form of vṛttis (the fluctuations of the mind, rāga, dveṣa and abhinivesa); escape from the former is secured by resolving them by real knowledge while the coarse ones are controlled by contemplation (dhyāna). The accumulated deposits of Karma arise from the five kleśas, are fit to be experienced in the seen birth (that is in the present birth) and in an unseen (i.e. future) birth. So long as the root (viz. the kleśas) exists the accumulated karma leads to fruition in three forms viz. birth, life (long or short) and experience, which three result in giving joy or

²³²⁵ अनविद्या मनसुवचित्रत्वं निष्ठिनश्च मनस्य निष्ठिनेव भवन्ति न स शुचिः सुभयासिनिः। न च ज्ञातिर्मथापलोकनमि क्लेशान्वयनं। ... स वामसभिनिहः क्रोणं। ... क्रोणं ज्ञातिर्मथानुवाद्यां। स्मार्थताः उपरिवेद्यतां क्लेशान्वयनं। महाकथायिनिः। With the Y. S. II. 5 compare भाज्यपुराण ‘अनविद्या निष्ठिनश्च मनसुवचित्रत्वं निष्ठिनेव भवन्ति न स शुचिः सुभयासिनिः। श्रावणसिद्धिभवोऽटुः न च ज्ञातिर्मथापलोकनमि क्लेशान्वयनं। IV. 3. 39-40 q by क्लेशान्वयनं (on मेघ p. 124). In Venk. ed. the last half is different. Compare also विष्णुपुराण IV. 7. 11 अनविद्यामाणवर्जयिः &c. क्रोणः कर्माणायो ज्ञातिर्मथानुवाद्यां। सति मुँहे नक्षिपो ज्ञातिर्मथानुवाद्यां। ने हृदायारितपथसः ज्ञातिर्मथापलोकनम। विपाकां-ताप-संकास्तु-स्रोवेद्यं केस्तुप्रेक्षितं सवां विविज्ञवां। येन सु भाष्यपुराण। II. 12-15. व्याकरण explains आत्मा as ‘आत्मावसंसारिकाः उपमं: अतिरिक्तविभयाः। कर्मानवलोकनं कर्मप्रायाः।’ On पारम्परिक साधनप्रायाः। कर्मानवलोकनं कर्मप्रायाः। On II. 13 the Y. S. puts forward four possible alternatives about karma and punarjanma, rejects the first three and accepts the 4th. It may be quoted here ‘तद्विधा मिथ्याति किमित्त कर्मकार्यं ज्ञानम्। ज्ञानम्, अंजकं कर्मिनित्त्वं ज्ञानार्थित्वं। इति यथा विचार्यालक्ष्मिनित्त्वम्। कर्मकार्यं ज्ञानम्, अंजकं कर्मिनित्त्वं ज्ञानार्थित्वं।’ On II. 14 नेतृत्वादि कार्यम् योनिः न तद्विहारयामा नेतृत्वादि कार्यम् योनिः न तद्विहारयामा। The following Upaniṣad passages on which the śūtra is based, viz. Sūtra III. 2, 13, &c. &c. योग पु. V. 10. 7. The last two passages illustrate the meaning of ज्ञानित्व in योग II. 13. The above passages will have to be quoted later under Karma and punarjanma.

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anguish according as the accumulation is due to meritorious or evil acts. The Yogasūtra says that the Yoga system has, just like the system of medicine, 2325a four divisions or aspects, viz. sāṁśāra (the round of births or transmigration), the cause of sāṁśāra, the release from sāṁśāra, the means of release (viz. sāmyak-dārśana, insight into reality or discriminating discernment between the puruṣa and sattva, unassailed by false knowledge); sūtras 16–27 of the 2nd pāda set out these four and explain some of the terms used in defining them. Sūtra 28 provides that when impurities are washed away by practising the aṅgas of Yoga, the knowledge shines forth (more and more) till discriminatory discernment becomes perfect. Then sūtra 2326a enumerates the eight aṅgas (aids, or auxiliaries) of Yoga, viz. yama (abstinences), niyama (observances), āsana (bodily posture), prānāyāma (control or regulation of breath), pratyāhāra (withdrawal or suppression of the organs of sense), dhārāṇā (fixed attention), dhyāna (meditation or contemplation), samādhi (concentration or absorption into the object of meditation). The Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra enumerates the same eight  

2325a, Sūtra विषयसाधनां च चतुर्दशाः ... एवमादिनां शास्त्रं च चतुर्दशम् ... साधनः। योगभाष्य on II. 15; vide p. 939 note 1510a for the whole passage. हेतु भवनाम्। चतुर्दशोऽयः संयोगोऽयः हेतुहेतुः। ... तत्र हेतुमित्रः। तद्भवादसंयोगकालाया हानि तद्व इति: कैलहम्। विषयसाधनातिरितिं हारणापि:। यो. सू. II. 16, 17, 24–26. Compare these four aspects with the four Noble Truths of Buddhism cited in note 1510a above. कैलहम् means मिथ्याशास्त्र acc. to वाचस्पति।

2326. योगायुक्तानांतु च चतुर्दशाः ज्ञानमूहितोत्तरेऽस्य:। योग-विषयवान्य-प्रमाणार्थार्थाणांप्रमाण-समासन्योगविविधयाः। यो. सू. II. 28–29. The भाष्य on II. 29 is: 'तेनाद्विनां अवज्ञानातित पराक्रमं विषयवर्त्तकान्तिशुद्धिसम्बन्धे कार्ये नाति:। ... यथा यथा च साधनपान्यपि तथा तत्र तत्रतुस्तिरस्यपि यथा यथा च शृङ्खले तथा तथा तथा कामदानु-शोधनी ज्ञानमूहितोत्तरेऽस्य:॥ सा स्वतन्त्रा विषयविविध:। पूर्वकमुखवायुविविधकालेः। अयमथवस्यविविधानान्तरेऽस्य:।' The five कृśस mentioned in यो. सू. III. 3 are called विषयविविध. It is somewhat surprising that the eight aṅgas 'यम...साधनपान्य-प्रमाणि' (in prose) are quoted as from महाभारत in the कृशकाश्च (मोदकाध्याय p. 167) and by अयमथवस्यविविधकालेः (B. I, ed.) VIII. 10 divides yogins into three classes owing to the differences in their practices and abstentions, viz. सार्धः, एकार्थं एव तिर्थं; and each of these is again subdivided into further sub-classes. It further states that some of these called Aniruddhakāś do not practise prānāyāma, others called Mārgagāś practise only prānāyāma and the rest those called vimārgagāś practise all the eight aṅgas, but they regard even God that is proper for contemplation as not so. The original words are 'ये सिद्धां यथालेखं ...साधूं कल्याणी धेरमसन्ध्यः कृशितः।' It is difficult to say what the last clause exactly means. It is probable that in this sentence reference is made to some class of yogins that do not contemplate on God, but hold that without contemplation on God they can secure liberation (काव्यलय, मुक्ति).
angaś of Yoga. The remaining sutras of pāda two (from 30 to 55) deal with the enumeration and definitions of yamas and niyamas, their explanations and the treatment of āsana, pāṇāyāna and pratyāhāra. The Śāntiparvā (304.7 = 316.7 of Ch. ed.) speaks of Yoga as aṣṭāṅgaṇī or aṣṭāṅgini. Out of the eight angaś the first five are indirectly useful for samādhi, because they eradicare what are opposed to samādhi (such as hiṃsā, asatyā &c.), and are therefore called bhūriṅga (external, indirect) sādhanaś (means) of Yoga, while dhāraṇā, bhāyāna and samādhi are said to be antaraṅga to Yoga (Y. S. III. 7, ‘trayam-antaraṅgam pūrvebhyaḥ’. The last three are dealt with in the 3rd pāda. It is these sūtras in the 2nd pāda that are emphasized and elaborated in Dharmāśāstra works. Therefore some detailed treatment of these matters is needed here.

In some works, such as the Gorakṣasamhitā the angaś of yoga are said to be only six (omitting yama and niyama or omitting some others). The Maithreyani Up. (VI. 18), the Dhyānabindu Up. the Atri-smṛti XI. 6, Dakṣa VII. 34, Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikatapāda, 41. 59 and Buddhists say the same. Manu227 provides (IV. 204) ‘a wise man should always practise yamas but not the niyamas always; one who only practises niyamas and does not practise yamas incurs sin (or falls into hell)’. This does not mean that niyamas are forbidden but it means only this that yamas are far more important than niyamas. The words ‘yama’ and ‘niyama’ both occur in the Śāntiparvā (cr. ed. 326. 15 and 339. 16 of Ch. ed.). Some Smṛtis omit them from the angaś of yoga probably because they are prescribed for all persons in general by Manu, Yāj. and others. Manu does not enumerate yamas and niyamas, but Yāj. (quoted on p. 1406, n. 2303 above) enumerates ten yamas and ten niyamas. The five yamas2328 of the Y. S. are

227. तथा तत्वोपस्वतः वा भाष्यम्: तत्वावरोऽध्यानं धारणा तस्म: सचाचि: पदार्थं इत्युच्यते येवः। मेधाव: उप. II. 18; अतिरिक्तः इति IX. 6 और इत्युच्यति इति VII. 3 नेतृत्वम् उप. इनामीति यानसंस्कारम्। धारणा अन्यायसंस्कारः। धारणां समाधीसिद्धां योगाणां भविष्यति दया। धारणिकेः उप. 6 वर्ष 41 (Adyar ed. p. 196), मोक्षज्ञातक I. 4, और स्कन्दः (काशिकतपाद 41. 59); अध्यात्मक उप. III. 110 p. 990) वर्ष 10 स्फुटिकामुद्विकारिकाम्। धारणामुद्विकारिकाम्। धारणा और स्मृतिकार इति। The śūraśāstra: IX. 33 and शूर संस्कृतम् (I. 8, 8–9) mentions eight angaś. अध्यात्मक (p. 990) explains ‘ततौ मनोऽनुदेत्तीर्थायामनामविवर्णकः’, वायुसंस्कृत XI. 76 mentions only five, धारणा, ध्यान, अत्याहतं, धारणां और श्रवणम् in that order.

2328. अधिसा-सत्यासेत्य-वेदसिद्धशैल्पिकशाः। मांत्यमेता: महत्तमस्य। यो. श्र. II. 30–31; some words of the Bhāṣya may be quoted;

(Continued on next page)
ahiṃsā (non-injury to all creatures and at all times), satya (truthfulness), asteya (non-stealing i.e. not appropriating others’ things in a way not sanctioned by the Śāstra), brāhma-
carya (i.e. control of the organ of generation while guarding the other organs of sense also), aparigraha (non-acceptance of anything from another beyond what is necessary for preserving the body). These five constitute for a yogin a great vrata when practised without reference to species, place, time and occasions (or exigencies). As provided by Manu, yamas have to be observed by all but there are exceptions. The observance of yamas would be called vrata, but the rigorous observance of yamas without allowing exceptions is called by the Y.S. mahāvrata which has to be observed by yogins without exception at all stages. The observance of yamas and niyamas is a first step for the soul’s ultimate success in winning Liberation or Isolation (kaivalya), since, unless the soul is purged of all sexual and egoistic desires, it cannot live the divine or spiritual life that the higher stages of yoga require. What is meant may be briefly exemplified as follows: Smṛtis recognize some exceptions to all these in the case of ordinary people. For example, it is the ksatriya’s duty to fight and therefore it was provided by Manu (VII. 87, 89) that a ksatriya should not run away from battle and that ksatriyas fighting and dying in battle on both sides went to heaven. Vide Yāj. I. 324. So himsā was allowed to a ksatriya but if he wanted to follow the Yoga discipline he had to give up himsā. Similarly, Smṛtis excused untruth on five occasions (vide Gautama 23, 29, Vasishtha 16. 33, Ādiparva 82, 16, Śāntiparva 34. 25 and 165. 30, quoted in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 353 and notes 536, 537). Manu in IV. 138 makes an exception for ordinary men viz. one should not speak what though true is painful to another (na brūyāt satyamapriyam). But one who enters on the discipline of Yoga must always speak the truth except when speaking the truth would result in the ruin of

(Continued from last page)
creatures. 2329 The Mitâksâra on Yâj. III. 312 remarks that telling a falsehood in the case of arranging a marriage though excused (by smrtis) should be avoided and also the beating of a son or a pupil as punishment by one who observes a vrata. A householder who approaches his wife on certain specified days after her monthly illness and avoids the parvan days (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. n 1425) is to be regarded as one observing brahmacaryya, acc. to Yâj. I. 79 and Manu IV. 128, but if he takes to the path of Yoga, he would have to give up this latitude (vide note 2308, 2320 above) and avoid all contact whatever with all women including his own wife as the Lingapurâna emphasizes. The Yuktidipikâ, one of the earliest commentaries on the Sânkhyaakârikâ, mentions (on p. 113) five yamas but puts 'akalkata' (absence of crookedness) as the 5th instead of aparigraha. The Viśnupurâna (VI. 7. 36-37) enumerates five yamas and five niyamas as in Y. S. but substitutes 'mind bent on the highest brahma' (kurvita brahmâni tathâ parasmin pravañam manaḥ) for 'Iśvarapraṇidhâna'. The five niyamas according to Y. S. II. 32 2331 are saucâ (cleanliness), santosa (contentment), tapas (austerity), sâdhyâya (study of Veda), Iśvarapraṇidhâna (devotion to God, or surrendering all actions to him). Three of the five niyamas, viz. tapas, sâdhyâya and Iśvarapraṇidhâna constitute kriyâyoga as already stated in Y. S. II. 1. It is most difficult to give an objective definition of duty, but duties can be defined on the subjective side. The object of emphasizing duties is to make men rise above lower desires and to make the higher self shine forth. These are

2329. यदि चेतास्यभविष्यमाना (वाक्) सृजोपवापथरूपः स्वतः न सर्वायत्वपेन बहुसे रुप्यासारेरुप्यात्सारेरुप्यात्सारेरुपुरुषात्यात् कई तन: पायुतात्। तत्सतापरिशिष्ठ सत्यमूलित सत्यमूलित तन: पायुतात्। भाषण ॥ यो, सूत्र. II. 30; यद्य प्रमाणादित्वम्युपन्नात्सारात् तत्र निगुणां सर्वसंपत्तिमावधानम्। पूर्वख्यातकामणि न ताको:येवे वेदमोहिष्टत्सारिः च। सहायताः। मित्रा।। यद्य थ। III. 312-13. यथा (in केला नूठः सृजः) states 'अनुत्र डूबिन्न, असर्वं विसंस्तारः। पूर्वथ:प्रणालात:मस्यसिद्धिमन्ति विसंसात् दृष्टि।' p. 302.'

2330. कर्मणा मनसा वाचा सर्वोपारसु संस्का। सर्वेऽमुच्युस्यं ब्रह्मचर्यं प्रचलनं। कृम् II. 11. 18, यो, या. I. 55; अङ्गिरसद्वी नासी पृथक्कम्भस्क: प्रमाद।। तत्सतार्थससंसेष्या दृष्टान्तः परिवर्जितेऽस्य। दिखायत।। यो, सूत्र. II. 8. 25.

2331. श्रीकम्यान्तः तपः-सर्वायत्वार्यप्रकृति नियमस्य। च। यो. सूत्र. II. 11; भाषण 'तत्त्व श्रीकम्यान्तः अथवार्यप्रकृति' मेधाभविष्यमानं ग्रह्यं, अथवार्यप्रकृतिं बिन्तामलात्तमात्सारात्। च। भाषणः च। यो, या. vide n. 2323 above. Vide कृम् II. 11. 20-29 for these five and their definitions. The yuktiâdipikâ (p. 112) enumerates the niyamas as अकूले एव श्रीकम्यानं श्रीकम्यान्तः अथवार्यप्रकृतिं बिन्तामलात्तमात्सारात्। इत्यादि नियमाः। The same five are quoted as Vyâsa's in a verse by दूतकुमः (पृथक्कम्भस्का p. 302). वाचस्पति explain8 'विश्वमत्ता नद्यानायाद्वयस्मात्तमात्सारायनं नाम:श्रीकम्याः.'
based more or less on the Upaniṣads; vide e.g. Chān, Up. III.
17. 4 where 

\textit{tupas}, \textit{ahिमसी, truthfulness, dāna,} (charity) and 

\textit{ārjara} (straightforwardness) are put forward as virtues to be 
cultivated by a sacrificer, Br. Up. V. 2.3, where all men are asked 
to cultivate \textit{dama} (self-restraint), \textit{dāna} (charity), \textit{dayā} (kindness).

Therefore, the yamas prescribed by the Yogasūtra constitute 
what may be called extra-regarding duties and are mostly in the 
nature of prohibitions (such as 'don't injure anyone, don't tell 
a lie, don't rob a person, don't accept gifts'), while the niyamas 
are concerned with the individual himself (who has embarked 
on Yoga practice) and are of a positive character (viz. be 
clean, be contented, be austere, do study the Veda and be a 
devotee of Īśvara). The Amarakośa\textsuperscript{2332} defines 'yama' as 
actions that are obligatory (or to be always performed) and 
that depend upon the body as the means for being carried out, 
while niyamas are acts that are not obligatory (or not to be 
continuously engaged in) and that depend (for carrying them 
out) on means that are outside the body (such as water &c.). 
Śauca (cleanliness) is of two kinds, \textit{bāhya} (of the body effected 
with water, loose earth, pañcagavya, pure food &c.) and 
\textit{ābhyantara} (internal or mental). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 651-
52 and vol. IV. pp. 310–311 for details of the śauca of both kinds.

A verse of Manu (V. 106) deserves to be noted\textsuperscript{2333} in 
this connection viz. 'of all kinds of śauca the highest is the one 
that relates to wealth (one must desire wealth without depriving 
other of his wealth by improper means); that man is \textit{suci} 
(pure) who is pure as to wealth and not he who is purified by 
loose earth and water.' Śūtras 33–34 of pāda II provide that 
when the practitioner of Yoga is assailed by the outbreak of the 
fever of perverse thoughts (such as 'I shall kill him who has 
harmed me', 'I shall tell a lie, I shall appropriate another's 
wealth, I shall commit adultery with another's wife'), he should 
revolve in his mind and cultivate the opposites of such thoughts 
and dwell on the consequences of such thoughts, viz. they cause 
endless suffering and lack of right knowledge. Yama and

\textsuperscript{2332} शरीरसङ्गाराधनेषि निपत्य वद्यामी तथमः। नियमतुस्तसमन्तरिनियत्यमालापतसाधम्॥ अमरकोशः (2nd काल: लक्ष्मणवर्मी). शरीरसामायि नियमतुस्तसमन्तरिनियत्यमालापतसाधम् अत एव। शरीरसामायि नियमतुस्तसमन्तरिनियत्यमालापतसाधम्।

\textsuperscript{2333} सर्वाभावे शरीरायाहारविशेषं परं स्वस्तम्। यथात् शरीरविशेष हि शरीरविशेष सहसारविशेषः। शरीरिकः मांसपत्तिः V. 106; विभागवेदेः 22.89 has the same verse, but reads अर्थ for अर्थ in both places. The विभागवेदेः III. 275. 13 states: तस्मादि सल्लुक्तिः मनोविशेषं परं स्वस्तम्। Compare अहारायाहारायान्तरीक्षसिद्धिः in छा. इ. VII. 26. 2 and अहारं 

... शुद्धित्वपानां परं स्वस्तम्। as quoted from हरिविधायकम् 22.89 by अवस्त या. I. 154.
niyama constitute the preliminary ethical code which an aspirant for yoga must observe and some part of it must be followed by all men as Manu and Yāj. prescribe.

In sūtras 35 to 45 (of pāda II.) the results of the continuous practice of the several yamas and niyamas are set out viz. when the aspirant has become established in ahimsā, all beings (men and animals) give up enmity in his presence. When the aspirant for Yoga is well grounded in the practice of abstinence from falsehood his speech comes out to be effective unfailingly (that is, if he says to a person ‘be you a righteous man’ or ‘may you attain heaven’, the man becomes righteous or attains svarga). When he becomes rooted in abstinence from theft all jewels wait upon him from all quarters (that is, though he may not hunger after riches or means, the latter come to him of their own accord). When the Yogan is firmly fixed in brahmacya, he secures energy (whereby he treads the path to such super-normal powers as anima) and when he reaches perfection he is able to transfer knowledge about Yoga and its āngas to his disciples. In Y. S. I. 20 it is stated that asamprajñāta-samādhi follows when the yogin has faith, virya (energy) and other qualities. The greatest emphasis is laid on chastity in thought, word and deed for the yogin or the seeker for brahma (vide Muni’s III. 1.5, ‘satyena labhyas-tapasā hyea ātmā samyag-jñānena brahmacyena nityam’). The idea is that the yogin makes very rapid progress towards the final goal of samādhi and kivalya if he is thoroughly chaste and that without it the practice of rājrayoga is futile and dangerous. Those interested in the importance of ‘brahmacya’ should read Mahāmā Gandhi’s ‘self-restraint versus self-indulgence’ (3rd ed. 1928), particularly the Appendix I, pp. 137-158 which reproduce W. L. Hare’s article). When the yogin is firmly established in non-

2334. अहिंसामित्राणं तत्सत्त्वित्रौ पौरैयम्। यो। याः इ। 35; चाचासाति remarks ‘आभिन्तिकिरोधा आयौच-महिष्य-मुष्क-मार्जनिविरहिनुस्खुलाय देवविवं’ भण्नत: प्रतितिविप्रसरण संनिधानातिविषयतः वै र्नष्टनि। Sanskrit poets love to dwell on this aspect of the hermitages of sages e.g. vide Kādāmbari, Purāṇa p. 45 (of Peterson’s ed., description of Ījāli’s hermitage). ‘असो भण्नत: यस्य विप्रसरणमयमपावनमभासरः तपेनन्तु। अहो भयावहो महासमयेः। अयो यस्य विप्रसरणमयमविशेषेषुपंतासंपन्नविनन्तिर्चेतोष्कुर्गुधानुभादित्व। ताधृति एव ... विद्विति विस्मिति कन्तकसागाराय सशुमिष्टः। अत्युप्सुवयु सारं ... प्रम्मचिरार्थप्रभवति कुतुहलः। स्वीकारयम्।’

2335. Vide छ। उप। VIII. 2. 10 यं मस्तमातिकायो भण्नति यं कामं कामपते सोऽयु सहुुपंसम सहुपन्य तेन समयो महीयते। ब्रह्मचर्यातिडयं बीमण्लम्। यो। याः इ। 35; I. 20 is ‘अद्वेदोऽपराहस्मातिसमसातुष्णकृति प्रतिबद्धम्।’ अधर्षियतेऽयं अस्मकद्वचास्यामेऽपि। यो। याः इ। 39. कहला means कहीकड़ा।
acceptance of gifts he has a desire to know his past, present and future lives (and receives illumination thereon).

As a result of having to clean one’s body the Yogi becomes disgusted with his own body and avoids contact with the bodies of others. Other results of cleanliness (of the mind) that arise are the purity of satrājya (i.e. not being assailed by rajas and tamas), gentleness, one-pointedness (of the mind), mastery over the senses and fitness for the sight (realization) of the Self. From contentment results supreme happiness. Tapas gives rise to perfection in the body (i.e. acquisition of some occult powers like animā) and perfection as to the sense organs (such as being able to hear and to see what is distant) owing to the eradication of impurities (i.e. the kleśas and sin); (continuous) study of the Veda (and japa of om &c.) leads on to the union with (realization of) the deity he chooses. From devotion to Īśvara results perfection in Saṃādhi.

Asana (bodily posture) is defined in Y.S. as one that is stable and easy (or comfortable). Āsana means a seat which is covered with kuśa grass, deer-skin and a garment in that order (this would be bāhūka āsana) as laid down in Gītā (VI. 11).
while the word āsana (in Yoga) means bodily posture. It should be noticed that the Yogasūtra does not expressly prescribe any of the numerous āsanas mentioned and defined in the Ṣahtar-yogapradipikā and other works on Ṣahtar-yoga and indicates that those āsanas are not necessary in the practice of the Pāṭānalā Yoga and that any posture which is easy, stable and comfortable would be enough for the yogin. The Y. S. here follows the Śv. Up. (II. 8 and 10) and not the works on Ṣahtar-yoga, if any existed in its times. In order to secure the posture described above the yogin should relax the usual physical movements of the body (prayatnaśaithilya) and bring the mind to reflect on the Infinite (brahma). As a result of perfect mastery over posture, he is not overwhelmed (or overcome) by the pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, hunger and thirst).

A few words must be said about āsanas. The present author recommends to all those interested in āsanas a very useful and instructive handbook (in 188 pages) on 'āsanas' composed and published by Sri Kuvalayānanda of the Kaivalyadhāma at Lonavla near Poona (third impression in 1949) with 81 plates (78 on different āsanas and 3 on nauli). The Daksasmti (VII. 5) mentions Padmāsana and Yāj. in III. 198 appears to allude to it. Dr. K. T. Behanan on 'Yoga, a scientific evaluation' inserts 16 figures (between pp. 186-187) of several āsanas. Though the Y. S. does not mention any āsana by name yet the Vyāsabhāṣya names ten and indicates by the word 'ādi'

2340. तथा पत्तानें कीर्तानें भ्रातानें सत्तिकं वण्डासनं सोपाश्रयं परेण मीत्रिनिष्ठूदयुव्यावधानं समसंस्थानं स्थिरसुरं यथासूलं वेयेनास्मादीनि। भाष्य योगसूत्र इ. 46। अर्थ मीत्रिनिष्ठू दयुव्यावधानं सोपाश्रयं निष्ठूदयुव्यावधानं संस्थानं यथासूलं वेयेनास्मादीनि। सोपाश्रयं 'with the support of a cushion' 'योगसूत्रं दयुव्यावधानं सोपाश्रयं' ('बहसित'). In E. I. vol. XXI p. 260, the Kolagallu Ins. of the Rāṣhākūta king Khoṭṭiga of Śaka 889 (exact date, 17th February 967 A.D.) mentions 'Dānḍāsana,' (p. 263) and 'Lohāsana' p. 264. I. 35. This āsana is explained by बहसित as 'उपरिदिश्य विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको।' भाष्यार्थं वण्डासनमशेषं। Yoga had permeated society so much that in several Inscriptions Yogaśāstra and Yoga techniques are mentioned; e.g. in the Tewar Stone Inscription (C. I. I. vol. IV p. 306) of Gayākāra in the Cedi year 902 (=1151 A.D.), Yogaśāstra (verse 6) and Pāṭānalagama (verse 8) are referred to and in verse 11 the first quarter is bhāṣyāntarsabhāpāṇि सिद्धिन्द्रियमाज्ञानासांवेदयं। नच पत्तानेनाद्यो न नासास्थितिसनाशायम्। दशसूत्रं VII. 5, explained by बहसित on ya. III. 189 (T. S. S.). उपरिदिश्य विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको विद्वृद्धिको। उत्तरार्थं कितिविद्याय सुखं विद्याय कीर्तानं। ग. व. इ. 198. 

B. D. 179
that it knew more. Virāsana\textsuperscript{2341} is mentioned in Raghuvamśa 13. 52. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. IV. 1. 10 remarks that Padmakāsana and other special āsanas are propounded in Yogaśāstra. The V. S. (IV. 1. 7–10) has in view, acc. to Śaṅkarācārya, the description of āsana in the Gitā (VI. 11), the relaxation of bodily activities and stableness of posture indicated by such words as ‘dhyāyatīva pṛthivī’ (Chān. Up. VII. 6. 1). According to the H. P. (I. 17) āsana is the first ānga of Hathayoga, that Śiva speaks of 84 āsanas, of which four āsanas called Siddha, Padma, Simha and Bhadra are the most essential (sārabhūta) and it recommends Siddhāsana as the best (I. 34) and describes it (I. 35). The Hathayogapradīpikā names and describes 15 āsanas in I. 19-55. The Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad states that there are innumerable āsanas but mentions the same four as the most prominent. Vide figures 16 (p. 55), 18 (p. 57), 62 (p. 97) in Śrī. Kuvalayānanda’s work for Siddha, Padma and Simha āsanas respectively and figures 105 (p. 186), 106 (p. 187), and 108 (p. 188), for the āsanas called Siddha, Padma and Baddhapadma respectively in Prof. S. S. Goswami’s work on Hathayoga and p. 28–30 for Siddhāsana, Padmāsana and Baddha-padmāsana respectively in Alain Danielou’s work (London, 1949). The Śivasamhitā (III. 100) and Gherapadīsambhitā (II. 1) mention that there are 84 āsanas, while the Goraksasātaka\textsuperscript{2342} states that there are as many āsanas as there are living species, that all of them are known to Śiva, that out of 84 lakhs of āsanas Śiva chose 84 and that out of these Siddhāsana and Padmāsana are the best and defines these two (I. 5–9).

The word Yoga is applied to many matters in an extended sense (i.e. the method or methods by which union with the

\textsuperscript{2341} Āsana is explained by याच as ‘शिऱवशैवकत: पादी भुर्ययल एकत्र- खादुऽक्षितजनानेपपिं गुर्जरद्वीत्रासर्सम्’, while महोदय (on रेड) quotes वसु- देश’s description एकाधिकसे-सिन्यसेवेदिकिं सविन्यतम। इतविस्मित चार्य शिऱवशैवकत: आसनसम्। This is almost the same as ह. ये. म. ए. 21. वाचस्पाति explains all the āsanas named by the bhūṣya except the padmāsana (which he says is well known). पद्मासन is described in ह. ये. म. ए. 58 and मोर्चेन्द्रकते verse 9. The तिलकितकथामणितिबद्ध (verses 39–40) describes पद्मासन and भद्रपद्मासन and so does Kaśikāyana 41. 62–63. भद्रपद्म is defined by याच as ‘पल्लि-पल्लिमिनी मये सिद्धेद्वर्त तस्मात्पिर पाणिकितकिं कुन्धर्ष्यद्वासर्सम्’ (on ह. ये. म. ए. 46). The योग- पायक (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) defines it as ‘पाणिपायके पाणिकितं हि भद्रयर्युवधमग्न। भद्रपद्म महोदयस्यधिपिविभाष्यम्’ (III. 12).

\textsuperscript{2342} आसनानि च तत्विति यावत्यो जीवजातय:। एवममुनास्यभैरवायै विज्ञानावति महेश्वरं। सिद्धं भवं तथा शिष्यं जीवि भतुद्वारा। भद्रपद्मनिद्रा 42 p. 196 (Adyar).
The verse आसनानि ... महेश्वर occurs in शिरोनित 5.
Supreme Self may be promoted) in the Bhagavadgītā, which itself is described as Yogaśāstra and each chapter of which is also called Yoga. For example, we have in the Gītā ‘abhyaśayoga’ (8.8, 12.9), karmayoga (3.3 and 7), jñānayoga (3.3), bhaktiyoga (14.26). A few other works also do the same. Some Western writers speak of several kinds of Yoga such as Mantrayoga, Jñānayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Karmayoga, Rājyoga and Hathayoga (vide ‘Bengal Lancer’ by F. Yeats-Brown, London, 1930, p. 284), R. C. Oman’s ‘The Mystics, ascetics and saints of India’ p. 172 (ed. of 1905), Geraldine Coster’s ‘Yoga and Western psychology’ p. 10, Alain Danielou’s work pp. 83 ff. (for descriptions of Mantrayoga, Layayoga, Kundaliniyoga &c.). Some late Sanskrit works like the Yogatattvopanisad 2343 and Śivasambhūti (5.9) speak of four Yogas viz. Mantrayoga, Hathayoga, Layayoga and Rājyoga. All these have in view the system of Patañjali, but each emphasizes some particular aspect of yoga discipline. But there are really only two main systems of Yoga, viz. the one expounded in the Yogasūtra and its bhasya by Vyāsa and the other dealt with in such works as the Gorakṣaśāstataka, the Ṣaṭhāyogapradīpikā of Śvetāmbara-yogin2311 with the commentary called Jyotsnā by Brahmānanda. Briefly, the difference between the two is that the Yoga of Patañjali concentrates all effort on the discipline of the mind, while Ṣaṭhāyoga mainly concerns itself with the body, its health, its purity and freedom from diseases. This is illustrated by the facts that Patañjali defines āsana as any posture that is ‘sthirasukha’, while works on Ṣaṭhāyoga describe many āsanas like Mayūrāsana, Kukkuṭāsana, Siddhasana, which are deemed to remove

2343. पौण्डरिकः ब्रह्मा भवन्त भिन्नति श्चयक्तः। मन्त्रयोगेऽ तथेऽवेत साज्ञेषु राज-प्रेमकः॥ महात्माकिर्तु मन्त्र द्रव्याश्वब्ध तु योजयेतु॥ कष्टेषु दुम्भे ज्ञानारणवादित्यान्ततिम्॥ अन्तःशुद्धितेन योगसंसारे साधकाधिम्॥ तत्वयोगाधित्तुयः कौशिकः परस्यादितिः॥ महोदेश्वर ललितत्व भूतान्तरं श्वेताणीयकमिश्रत्र॥ स एत तपस्येः स्वात् एव। योगसौरेयः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः। वर्णयासुरेः।

2344. A translation of this work (which contains 388 verses) into English by Srinivasa Iyengar has been published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras (3rd ed. 1949). The proper name of the work appears to be Ṣaṭhāyogapradīpikā, as shown by I. 3 ‘हठपद्भदेविप्रिकाः धने साधनसम् कुपातः’, by the colophons at the end of each Upadesa and the first verse of the commentary of Brahmānanda. ‘Ḥaṭiapradīpikā Jyotsnā’. Acc. to the comm. ह and त mean सूयं and चन्द्र and represent respectively right and left nostril-breath. The Śivasambhitā is translated by Rai Bahadur Srischandra Vidyārāṇava, Pāṇini Office, 2nd ed. 1923 and Gherandasambhitā was translated by Srischandra Vasu, Bombay, 1896.
diseases (I. 31) and which are said to be 84 (for the names of the 84 āsanas vide pp. 146-149 of Danielou’s work) and Hathayoga deals with such processes as Dauti (washing the stomach), Basti (yogic enema) and Nauli (shaking the abdomen) about which Patañjali is silent. Hathayoga, if practised with proper guidance and perseverance, will not only endow a man with a strong, healthy, pure and active body but also may develop inner strength and happiness. The technique of Hathayoga claims three kinds of results viz (1) cure of diseases and disorders of the mind also; (2) attainment of supernatural powers called siddhis; (3) leading to Rājayoga and Kaivalya. The Hathayogapradipikā itself states that Hathayoga

2345. The six kriyās of दुक्षोक्तम are: धानिविषाणमन्त्रन्तिकर्नेत्र, नार्तिकर्नेत्र तथा कथानात्मात्तीतिन्तिकर्नेत्र पदत्तियोपचारणः # H. Ω. Π. II. 22. धानिविषाणमन्त्रन्तिकर्नेत्र is described in the Journal of the Bombay Gymnastics vol. II. pp. 170-177, एकृति (yogic enema) in vol. I. pp. 101-104, नार्तिकर्नेत्र in vol. I. pp 25-36 and vol. IV. pp. 320-24 and धानिविषाणमन्त्रन्तिकर्नेत्र in the Handbook on Prāṇyāma (by Shri Kuvalayananda), part I. pp. 79-100. There are various methods of Dauti. The present author, who has been suffering from hyperacidity for over 60 years and from duodenal ulcer for at least 35 years, practised on the advice of an Indian doctor holding an English degree in medicine washing of the stomach by swallowing a large quantity of tepid water and then vomiting it. This was done for several years, generally once a week (or oftener). He can say from personal experience that it washed the stomach and reduced acute pain. But he found or thought that it was no cure and gave up the practice after some years. नार्तिकर्नेत्र is cleansing the nose and धानिविषाणमन्त्रन्तिकर्नेत्र is fixing the eyes without winking on a minute object till the tears fill the eyes (नन्दिशुचिकारकस्य युद्धांस्य समाहितः असर्वनानातिविकारीमल्लिकर्नेत्र स्वतंद्रः H. Ω. Π. II. 31). धानिविषाणमन्त्रन्तिकर्नेत्र is of various types such as नक्षत्रास्त्र, सुर्यास्त्र, अत्सर्वास्त्र, भूमि, नाल्लाग्राहिकर्नेत्र. One with weak eyes must not attempt it except under the guidance of an expert. It is a preliminary to ekāgrata (one-pointedness of mind) and dhyāna. Those interested in the Hathayoga may read ‘Hathayoga, the report of a personal experience’, by Theos Barnard, Columbia University Press, New York, 2nd impression, 1945. This author travelled over the whole of India, settled down at a guru’s retreat in the hill near Ranchi, and went to Tibet also at his guru’s bidding. The book contains 36 photographs, 28 of which represent various āsanas, VII, XXVI-VII of Mahāmudrā, Vajroliāmudrā and Pāśimāmudrā, XXXII and XXXIII represent the first and second stages of Udjiyāna-bandha and Nos. XXXIV-VI represent Nauli-madhyanā, Nauli-vānā and Nauli-dakṣiṇā. The H. Y. P. (III. 6-7) names ten mudrās. Another recent work is ‘The Yoga of Health, Youth and Joy’ (a treatise on Hathayoga adapted to the West) by Sir Paul Dukes (Cassell, London 1960). This is a very useful book, contains about seventy excellent photographs and is written with great moderation after long personal practice. The author was engaged for years in lecturing to the army on the usefulness of yoga practices.
is expounded only for leading on to Rājayoga i.e. Rājayoga is the principal fruit of Hathayoga and not siddhis and Kārāvalyā is due to Rājayoga. The Hathayogaprādīpikā enumerates the names of the same eight āngas as Pātañjali does, but its yāmas are ten of which taking a light meal is the principal and ahīṃsā is the first among niyamas. Besides the eight āngas, it deals specially with Mahāmudrā, Khecari, Jalandhara, Udālynā and Mūlabandha, Vajroli, Amaroli and Sahajoli (I. 26–27). The Hathayogaprādīpikā (I. 5–8) mentions that Hathayoga started from Ādīnātha (i.e. Śiva) and then enumerates 35 great siddhas in all from Mātsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha onwards. The famous exposition of the Bhagavadgītā by Jñānadeva called Jñānēśvarī citēs at the end the Guruparamparā as Ādīnātha, Mātsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, Gahinīnātha, Nivruttinātha, Jñānadeva.

There are other differences between the works on Hathayoga and the Pātañjala Yoga. According to the Goraksasatākā and H. Y. P. the main aim of āsana and pṛānāyāma is to rouse the Kuṇḍalini (the vital force in a person slumbering at the base of the spine coiled like a snake) and take it through the several cakras and the Susūmnānādi to brahmāhūra, while the Y. S. hardly ever dilates upon chakras and nāḍīs. Several people after reading some modern works on Kuṇḍalini are tempted to make efforts to rouse the Kuṇḍalini. This is a dangerous experiment. Shri Purohit Swami in his ‘Aphorisms of Yoga’ states

2346. केवल राजयोगाते हठपीयोधिरिति। हठ- I. 2, on which the com. योगस्त्रा राजयोगाते एवं सुधाय फर्कर्न सिद्धां; राजयोगाते कृष्णे फलम्। after mentioning several siddhas such as महामुद्रातः, जावरातः, मेरा, गोश्र, the हठोपीयोधिविवरण (V. 8) concludes हठयाधिते महासिद्धा हठयोगमवतः।

2347. Y. S. mentions Nābbicakra, which means no more than the navel that is circular in shape, and Kūrmānādi in III. 29 and III. 31 respectively. Vide Goraksasatākā verses 10–23, 54–67 for the chakras, nāḍīs, brahmādhvāra &c. and H. Y. P. III for the awakening of Kuṇḍalini. The Goraksasatākā is set out (transliterated text and translation) in W. G. Briggs' work 'Gorakhnath and the Kanphātas' pp. 284–304 and was recently edited and published by Swami Kuvalayanand with translation and notes (1959). Dr. Hazariprasad Dwivedi has written a work called 'Nath Sampradaya' (1950) and Dr. Mohansingh also has a work on ‘Gorakhnath and medieval Hindu mysticism’. If we take the Guruparamparā set out in the Jñānēśvari, Gorakhnath should be taken to have flourished about 1100 A. D., or a little later. Vide ‘the life of Goraksānāth and the succession of disciples’ (in Marathi) by Mr. R. C. Dhene (1959), pp. 224.
that the awakening of the Kundalini is a terrifying experience, that on the first day on which the Kundalini was awakened, the whole body was as it were on fire and he thought that he was dying and that he drank in three months gallons of milk and clarified butter and ate all the leaves on two nimb trees (pp. 57–58 of the translation). The germ of the doctrine of nādis in Tantras is found in a verse occurring in Kathā Up. VI. 16 and Chān. Up. VIII. 6. 6 ‘there are hundred and one nādis (arteries) of the heart; one of them penetrates the (crown of) head; moving upwards by it, one attains immortality; the others (of the nādis) serve for departing in various directions.’ The Praśna Up. (III. 6–7) states that each of 101 nādis has 72 sub-nādis, each of which again has 1000 more. Vide Mūndaka Up. II. 2. 6. In Chān. Up. VIII. 6. 1 it is stated that the nādis of the heart consist of a subtle substance, brown, white, blue, yellow or red in colour. This is probably the germ of the statement of a nādi being called pīṅgalā. The Maitrīyāṇi Up. VI. 21 speaks of the nādi going upwards as Suśumnā.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions Bhadrāsana2348 which passage is quoted by Vācaspati. The Purāṇas, Vāyu (11. 13), Mārkaṇḍeya (36. 28), Kūrma (II. 11. 43), Linga (I. 8. 86), Garuda (I. 238.11) mention the same three āsanas, viz. Svastika, Padma and Ardhāsana. The Viṣṇudharma-mottara-purāṇa (III. 283. 6) prescribes for dhāyāna the āsanas called Svastika, Sarvatobhadra, Kamala (Padma) and Paryaṇka. The Bhāgavata III. 28. 8 employs the same words as the Gītā VI. 11 about āsana (viz. ‘śucau dēse pratiśāhyāya’).

Āsanas are of two kinds, one type being helpful for prānāyāma, meditation and concentration, such as Padma, Siddha and Svastika (figure 20 p. 59 in Śrī Kuvalayānanda’s handbook on ‘Āsanas’). The other kind of āsanas are helpful in eradicating diseases and for physical culture. But most of them require different physical movements and the final form assumed by these postures would make deep meditation difficult, if not impossible (vide Śrīśāsana figures 24–27 between pp. 62–63 of Śrī Kuvalayānanda’s handbook on Āsanas), Sarvāṅgāsana (figures 33–35) of the same work, Hālāsana (fig. 42–47 of the same), Viparītakaraṇī (figures 77–78 pp. 121–123), Mayūrāsana

2348. आसनमूलतः विष्णुपूरणे—एवं भद्रासनादीनां समस्थाय शरीरस्यम्। दृत्तं वाचेेः परि. स. II. 48. The half verse is विष्णु. VI. 7. 39.
What is proper āsana

(figure 72 p. 109). The Tejobindu Upanisad I. 23 (Adyar ed.) holds 'that alone is (proper) āsana which makes continuous meditation on brahma possible; other postures only lead to discomfort.' It should not be supposed that one who seeks higher yogic disciplines must devote some time to āsanas and then pass on to the next stage. The āsanas are primarily meant for physical culture and eradication of diseases. If the individual yogin possesses a tolerably sound body he may proceed with prāṇāyāma and other āṅgas. Besides the postures, the practitioner of Yoga is asked to gaze steadily at the tip of his nose (Gītā VI. 13).

Some regulations are prescribed about the food to be taken or avoided by a seeker after Yoga and about the places where he is to practise. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata provides that the yogin should subsist on cooked small particles of grains, or oilcakes and should avoid oily substances and even when subsisting on yāvaka (i.e. kulmāsa or cooked barley grains) for long, he would still be strong; he should drink water and milk mixed together and should resort to cayes. The Mārkandeya-purāṇa (q. by Kṛtyakalpataru on Mokṣa pp. 167-177) states 'The yogin should begin meditation in unoccupied spots, in forests, caves and should avoid practising Yoga in noisy places, near fire and water, in old cowsheds, where four roads meet, near a heap of dried leaves, on a river bank, in a cemetery or in a place where creeping creatures exist, in a dangerous place, near a well, near a caitya (funeral ground) or an anthill'. The same purāṇa says that he should not practise when his stomach is windy, or he is hungry or tired or when disturbed in mind, nor when it is very cold or hot or windy. The Devala Dharmasūtra

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2349. सुख्मेन्व भवेत्यसिद्धजेष्ठं व्रजाचिन्तनयम्। आसने तद्भदार्जनायसुखाविनाशनम्॥ केन्द्रितम्-उप. I. 25.

2350. कणानां भक्षणे युक्तं विषयकमय च भक्ष्यं। स्तहमां व्रजने युक्तो योगी वातमायायानं। शस्त्रामुद्रा। न्यायमयं विश्रुतमये योगी वातमायानं। पवामां मासाने युक्तं च स वारंभ यहस्तम्। अतः घोषता पर्योमितम्य योगी वातमायानं। शास्त्रम्। 289. 43–45 (cr. ed.) = 300. 43–45 (विवा. ed.) q. by कुट्यकल्प (on मोक्ष pp. 173–176). Vide Mārkandeya (36. 48–50), ज्ञानपुराण 231. 7–9, कुरं II. 11. 47–52, समर्थ, काश्यप 41. 65–65, लीलिपुराण I. 8. 79–84 for places to be avoided for yoga practice.

2351. केवलार्थात्मयायात्मिकिन्द्रकल्पं बौद्ध वातिकम्य भवे लिराच्ये विषमे करित समार्थ तक्ष्यम्। वेषत q. by कुट्यकल्प (मोक्ष p. 181). Compare बेन्द्रा-उप. II. 10.
prescribes that a yogin should practise meditation in a shrine, empty house, mountain cave, on the sands of a river, in caves, or in a forest, in a pure spot free from danger. H. Y. P. I. 61 and 64 prescribe what foods to avoid and what foods may be eaten. The Gorakṣaṇaṭaka\textsuperscript{2352} prescribes that the yogin should give up pungent, sour and salted food and should subsist on milk diet. The Gitā (VI. 16–17) says ‘one cannot succeed in Yoga who eats too much nor one who observes total fast and Yoga removes pain for him who takes proper food and exercise. The Chān. Up. (VII. 26. 2) where Sanatkumāra gives instruction to Nārada about the Reality remarks ‘Purity of the mind follows on purity of food &c. (āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhiḥ) &c.’ Aparākśa on Yāj. I. 154 quotes a long prose passage (on p. 221) from Hārita “one should be pure and should subsist on a limited quantity of food that would be enough or useful for his purpose as the ācāryas say ‘purity of mind ...food’.” It is clear that Hārita takes the words ‘āhāraśuddhau &c.’ literally, while Śaṅkaraśārya in his bhāṣya on Chān. takes āhāra to mean ‘experience of objects of sense such as Śabda’.

Prāṇāyāma—It is this aṅga of Yoga that figures most in the works on Dharmasāstra from the earliest times. Literally the word means ‘restraint or pause of prāṇa’. Other synonymous words are ‘prāṇasainyama’ (note 2310) and ‘prāṇasainrodha’. The important point is: What does ‘Prāṇa’ mean here. The word is derived from the root ‘an’ (to breathe) with the prefix ‘pra’. The verb and its forms occur in the Rgveda as in I. 101. 5, X. 121. 3, X. 123. 4. In various passages of the Rg. prāṇa means simply ‘breath’ (as in I. 66. 1, III. 53. 21, X. 69. 6). In Rg. X. 90. 13 (prāṇād-vāyur-ajāyata) it is stated that Vāyu (air, wind) arose from the prāṇa of the primeval puruṣa. The word ‘asu’ also is used in the Rgveda in the sense of ‘prāṇa’ in I. 113. 16 (udhīrdhavam jivo asur-na āgāt), I. 164. 4. We have both prāṇana (breath) and jīvīna (life) in Rg. I. 48. 10 (addressed to Uṣas). Perhaps apāna is suggested in Rg. X. 189. 2 (antaścarati rocanāṣya prāṇād-apānati). All the five
names of prānas appear in pairs as in the note\textsuperscript{2353} below from Tai. S. In the Tai. S. I. 7. 9. 2 occur the three words ‘prāna, apāna and vyāna’. The Atharvaveda (in VIII. 1. 1) mentions ‘prānâḥ’ and ‘apānāḥ’ in the plural and ‘asu’, ‘prāṇa’ and ‘āyuh’ in VIII. 1. 3, all probably meaning ‘life’. In the Upaniṣads, prāṇa becomes the vital force or principle of all beings, the representative or symbol of īnāhna; vide Br. Up. I. 6. 3 (Prāṇo va amṛtam, nāmarūpe satyam, tābhyaṁ-ayam prānaschannah), Br. Up. I. 5. 23, which, after quoting a verse that the sun rises from Prāṇa and sets in Prāṇa, goes on to say (tasmādekaṁ-evam vratam caret, prāṇāyāca-śrāṇyāyacca, nen-mā ṣāṃpa mṛtyur-āpanavad-iti) ‘therefore one must observe only one vow, he should inhale and exhale with the (fearful) thought that otherwise, the Evil one, Death, might seize me’. Here it appears that we have the germ of the theory of the importance of prāṇāyāma. In Chān. Up. V. 18-24 it is stated that the five āhūtis are offered to prāṇa, vyāna, apāṇa, samāna and udāna (in the words ‘Prāṇāya svāhā’ &c.) at the time of a meal and that one who knows the true meaning of Agni-ḥota and offerings offers it in all worlds, in all beings and in all selves. Even now these āhūtis are taken before meals by brahmanas, only the order of the five differs. Praśna II. 13 says: ‘All this that is established in the three worlds is under the dominance of Prāṇa.’ In Chān. Up. IV. 3. 3 Prāṇa is again given five names on account of its working in the different parts of the human body viz. prāṇa, apāṇa, vyāna, samāna and udāna (all five being named in the Tai. S.). It follows that some distinction among the operation of the five prānas must have been made at least a thousand years before the Christian era.

\textsuperscript{2353} प्राणायाम मे पाहिष समानहवाम | ने पायुढान्याम मे पाहिष | ते. सं. 1. 6. 3. 3.

On this सार्वत्र has in the con. the clear and interesting note ‘एक गुण पायु: सरीरात्माननवेदत कार्यभाव प्राणाद्विनामभिन्निषयते। स्थनमेव: कृत्यते। हवि मनो यहेय:पान समानो नामिनिषयते। उदान: कष्ट्देशस्वीक्ष्यन्मानं संवेदनीयः॥ इति। उदानपाप: सप्तन्तिः। मधुमेयविशेष: पालनावलय:॥। युक्तविधिक्षुक्ष्य: प्राणपायाय:॥। तदस्यात्मानविशेष: यथाविशेष: सेवन: समायन:॥। उद्दाक्षरात्माननवाच्याय:॥। कुलसातु सरीराननवाच्याय:॥। सप्तन्तिः कर्तव्यात्माननवाच्याय:॥। तदस्यात्मानविशेष: यथाविशेष: सेवन: समायन:॥। तदस्यात्मानविशेष: यथाविशेष: सेवन: समायन:॥।

Then सार्वत्र relies on शा. उप. I. 3. 3 यदैः मनोनितो शास्त्र: पापाचिन्तो सोपानन:। अथ व: प्राणायामनो: संवेद: स व्यास:। यो व्यास: सा व्यास:। In connection with the parts of the animal to be offered in a sacrifice as प्राणायाम, the ते. सं (III. 4. 1. 3-4) states: पुरसादो नापेष्य व्यास उपरिहार्यानो व्यासने पञ्चसेरावलयन्ति; \( परस्क इम्यमधुसुपहक्ताम विनिदुष्टं \) नापेत तथा। पालनायाम: पालनाविशेष: सप्तन्तिः। तदस्यात्मान令नव:॥॥ तदस्यात्मानविशेष: यथाविशेष: सेवन: समायन:॥॥

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In this work it is not necessary to enter upon an exhaustive discussion on prāṇa from the Upaniṣads. A controversy has gone on about the meaning of prāṇa and apāṇa. Caland, Keith, Dumont and a few others hold that ‘prāṇa’ means in the ancient Vedic literature ‘expiration’ and ‘apāṇa’ means ‘inspiration’, but that this meaning was revised in later days. On the other hand almost all Sanskrit commentators and writers and G. W. Brown, Edgerton and others hold the opposite view.\textsuperscript{2351} The present author agrees with the latter view viz. that ‘prāṇa’ meant and means ‘inhalation or thoracic breath’, while ‘apāṇa’ means ‘abdominal breath.’ All scholars are agreed that these are certainly the meanings of the words prāṇa and apāṇa in all classical Sanskrit literature, the opposite view being confined to the ancient period even by those who hold that prāṇa and apāṇa meant respectively ‘expiration’ and ‘inspiration’. We should as far as possible so construe all Upanisad passages as to yield the same sense consistently. The Praśna Up. (certainly an early Upanisad, though not among the earliest ones) contains the following interesting and rather decisive passage “just as the king appoints his officers saying ‘(each of) you should govern such and such villages’, in the same way this prāṇa assigns to the other prāṇas separate spheres viz. apāṇa in the organs of excrement and generation, the prāṇa going in from the mouth and nose establishes himself (as king) in the eyes and ears, Samāna in the middle (of the spheres of Prāṇa and Apāṇa) i.e. in the navel, since it is he (Samāna) that carries the food offered (in the fire i.e. in the stomach) equally (to all bodily parts).”

Caland, Dumont and others who hold that the word ‘prāṇa’ in ancient Sanskrit literature means ‘expiration’, chiefly rely on Śaṅkarācārya’s explanation of Chāṇ.\textsuperscript{2355} Up. I. 3. 3. (yaḍvai


\textsuperscript{2355} Śaṅkarācārya on Gṛ. I. 3. 3 explains ‘यद्य पुरुष: भाजिता शुच्यासिकानां वर्धनं वसित्वमार्थं स प्राणायः वायुं पुत्रिनिविस्ियत:। वव्यायायोपपलितसं तापमात्रश्च तथात्वर्षस्य वर्धिति नाः प्राणायः शुच्यासिकाः हि।’ vide also शतपुराणाय ३. ५ ि. ४. ४२ (प्राणिन्यन्तिष्टं) ‘प्राण: प्राणिन्यन्यन्तिष्टं साधारं अपनो शर्तेण निविस्ियतां। व्यायायो: साधारं वर्धितां वसित्वमार्थं संवर्धितां कर्तव्यं। उद्दाल अध्यायोऽथविन्यन्तिष्टं। तु समस्य तत्वमस्य वर्धितां।’ The सीता in IV. 29 ‘अथाने जुध्यति प्राण: प्राणायः तपासे। प्राणायः प्राणायः क्रतुः प्राणायः प्राणायः।’ appears to use the two words in a special sense.
prāniti sa prāṇo yad-apāṇiti sospānahi &c.). They hold that 'antarākārṣati vāyum' in Śaṅkarabhaśya (on Chān. Up I. 3. 3) only mean 'inhaling'; but that expression is capable of meaning 'it draws the air into the inside of the body (i.e. in the abdomen) and what is more important, one has to note that the interpretation put on Śaṅkara's words here by Caland, Dumont and others is directly opposed to Śaṅkarācārya's own explanations in several other passages of the Upaniṣads, such as Br. Up. I. 5. 3, III. 4. 1, Chān. Up. III. 13. 1-6, Katha 5. 3; Prāśna III. 4-5 (vide note 2353). The bhāṣya on Br. Up. I. 5. 3 remarks 'Prāṇa is an activity of the heart which moves about in the mouth and nose and is so called because it is led forth; Apāṇa is a downward movement starting from the navel and is so called because it casts out urine and excreta'. On Prāśna Up. III. 4 (quoted in n. 2353) the Śaṅkarabhaśya says the same thing about Prāṇa and Apāṇa. Not only Śaṅkarācārya but a much earlier authority viz. the Dharmasūtra of Devala (mentioned by Śaṅkara, vide p. 1352 n. 2208 above) defines the working of Prāṇa and Apāṇa as done by Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Br. Up. I. 5. 3.

In the Yoga system (which is based on the Upaniṣads) prāṇa implies more than mere breath. It means vital energy, powers such as speech, eye, ear, manas in the body as well as in different forms in the universe. Its most perceptible manifestation in the human body is the movement of the lungs. The Y. S. inculcates on the yogic student the doctrine that by scientific control (as laid down in it) of prāṇa in the body it is possible to obtain control over the deep-seated (and ordinarily imperceptible) forces in human consciousness as well as in the external world.

2356. On Brh. Up. I. 5. 3 'रीत्यामनेवकस्तीति सनो वाच्य प्राणम् ... यः कथा संवर्ते वाच्य सा। एव द्वारा विद्युत्सिद्धि न प्राणोपाति कथा धर्मद्वारा स्वामिनेत्रं द्वितीयं प्राण एव ... 11, the important bhāṣya passage is अथ प्राण उच्चते। प्राणों सूक्ष्मारोपनिषदारायंं
हृदयस्वरूपैः प्राणयात्वार्यं। अपाणयान् भुजाविद्यापरापप्सोपरूपैः। आत्मविद्याः।'; 00 भ्रहम 5. 3 the relevant bhāṣya on अपाण is: अपानतामयेन, सूक्ष्मारोपनिषदारायं कुञ्जितादि समथवे।; on कर्तार. 5. 3 'उद्धे प्राणसुशीतलयपाणि पूर्वस्वरूपिणि समथव तथा अपाण अवस्थाः अवस्थिति विभवः ये: इति
साधकेन्द्रि... 17. This clearly shows that prāṇa is taken by the bhāṣya as meaning 'inhalation or thoracic breath' and apāṇa as 'abdominal breath' or 'exhalation', तथ उद्धे नामभेदः रंगोपात्यावसायमोदा ज्ञानम् प्राणः। अथो नामभेदःगतगति
णांस्मयापानि। वेद्यपि by कुञ्जितादि (भोमवालन p. 170); वल्लभे 213. 7 (सिद्धकेच. ed.) says 'वस्तिमुद्रा गृहे चैव चानकं समापणितः। वहन वृत्ते द्विर्षेवास्तयपान वर्तिते॥'.
The word ‘prāṇāyāma’ does not occur in any of the principal Upaniṣads. But it occurs frequently in the Sutras. For example, the Āp. Dh. S. provides that if a householder is still asleep when the sun rises he should fast and keep silent that day (till night) and observes that, according to some ācāryas, he should continue to perform prāṇāyāma till he feels exhausted (by way of penance). The Gaut. Dh. S. states that if animals other than dogs, snakes, frogs and cats pass between the teacher and the pupil when the latter has sat down before the former for study, he (pupil) should practise three prāṇāyāmas and should partake of some clarified butter (by way of prāyaścitā). Similarly, it provides that if a person smells the odour from the mouth of one that has drunk liquor, he should perform (as penance) three prāṇāyāmas and should partake of clarified butter and that if a Vedic student chances to see an impure person like a Cāndāla, he should, after performing one Prāṇāyāma, look at the sun. Similarly, Baud. Dh. S. (IV. 1. 4–11, prose) provides prāṇāyāmas as expiation for several lapses.

The above examples show that in the times of the Sutras (i.e. several centuries before the Christian era) the conception of prāṇāyāma had been so developed as to hold that it was a sort of penance and religious rite for removing the taint attaching to acts and omissions that were condemned by the then society. At this stage prāṇāyāma appears merely to have been a religious act independent of any theory about its being one of the eight angas of yoga.

To the five prāṇas mentioned in Vedic literature, the Purāṇas and other medieval works added five more prāṇas with different names.

2357. In a श्रीक ten ancient and principal upaniṣads are enumerated 'िश्चेत्तर-धव-धस्त-सूप्त-माण्डूप-तिनतिरि. गंिवरं च द्वादेवयथ खुद्दार्यमकं तथा॥'

2358. सवस्यन्वरितोत्रमाणाक्षरणेष्टतिलकेषु. आ तस्मिनं: प्राणन्यायवध्विक्याते। आपण. भ. शि. II. 5. 12. 14–15; मनुस्कृतर्वाणिःक्षमाज्ञात्राणं भविष्यताऽसि स्निवातर्वभ्यं गाणकामां पुत्रानां चेतेष्यते। Gā. I. 61; कण्ठद्राणेशुराक्षम प्राणायामां पुत्राणां च। अन्यपि द्रुध्विधार्यमक्षिः पाणायामां छुत्वा। Gā. I. 23. 6 and 22. Compare with Gā. 23. 6 मधु XI 149 and with Gā. 23. 22 मधु V. 86.

2359. शारायामाः समानं व य वयने चाच। नाम: तुमेङ हुकले चेतेष्यते प्रत्ययः। उद्द्वोषे नाम आसान:। तु मुम उद्दवीत्ते च स।। हुकल: हुकलयु चेतेष्यते विन्नग्येऽ। प्रत्ययेऽव भोधांशः। सच्च: स सुति हि। तुति यो कुमासुः पाणायामेन सिंहधति। हिद्रूपु. I. 8. 61, 65–66; compare योगायामस्त्रय (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) IV, 64–71 for the ten vāyus and their functions; भाष्यम 213. 16 (संहस्ततस्याभाष्यान्तः नाथों द्रव्यायामक्षिः) mentions the function of ten prāṇas. Vide Dr. B. N. Scl’s ‘the positive sciences of the ancient Hindus’ (Longmans, Green, 1915) pp. 228–231 for explanation about these ten.
Prāṇāyāma explained in yoga-sūtra

It is now proper to see how the Y. S. defines and explains prāṇāyāma. ‘When the stability of posture has been assured (or secured) prāṇāyāma is the pause (lit. cutting off) in the movements of inhalation and exhalation’. The bhāṣya explains ‘śvāsa’ as ‘drawing in of the air which is outside one’s body’ and ‘praśvāsa’ as the expelling of the air in the trunk (or chest)’ and the absence of both these is prāṇāyāma. This shows that the chief element in prāṇāyāma is the absence of both inhalation and exhalation i.e. kumbhaka in the technical language of yoga works. The next sūtra states that prāṇāyāma (the pause in movement) is of three kinds, viz. external, internal and suppressed. The idea is that Kumbhaka (stopping or pause) may be done after one has taken in air from outside (first kind) or after one has expelled air from the trunk (2nd kind) or when one is in a normal condition (i.e. neither making an effort to fill his chest with air or emptying it of air) one may make a pause (3rd kind). Each of these may be regulated and considered from the point of the units of space, time (measurement by kalās or mātrās) and numbers. Prāṇāyāma is called mpu (mild) when pause is kept up for 36 mātrās, then moderate one when kept up for 72 mātrās and keen (tirn) when kept up for 108 mātrās. When practised for days, fortinights and months, it is called protracted and when performed with great skill it is called sūkṣma (subtle).

In connection with prāṇāyāma we must look to Y. S. I. 34 also. That sūtra lays down that for securing the undisturbed calm of the mind one remedy is the expulsion and retention of the breath.²⁶⁰ It appears from that sūtra and its bhāṣya that sādhārana (retention of breath i.e. Kumbhaka) is prāṇāyāma.

Some explanation must be offered about d. sī (space), kūs and saṅkhya in relation to prāṇāyāma. Ordinarily a healthy grown-up man breathes in and out in about four seconds i.e. about 15 times a minute (21600 times in one day and night). In order to measure the force of the respira a piece of cotton or a thin thread is held at some distance from the nostrils and the distance up to which the air driven from the nostrils makes the cotton or thread move or cease to move is measured by means of finger-breathths. As regards time several units of time are mentioned because in those ancient days there was no scientific

²⁶⁰ Pratītyānabhinayanānāṃ vā prāṇayā. Y. S. I. 34; Kāśyapa Vāgīśvara-sūtrasāntānāṃ pratītyānabhinayanānāṃ vā prāṇayānāṃ abhinayanānāṃ vā sannām śāntiḥ śāntaiva vṛttvānaśca.
apparatus. The time taken for winking (nimesa) is equal to the time required for pronouncing a short vowel and this was called matra. The time taken for touching one's knees thrice with one's hand and snapping the thumb and forefinger was also called matra. Other units are passed over. The general rules are that both recaka and pūraka must be uniform and quiet, that the time given for pūraka should be half of that given to recaka. Three views about the duration of pūraka, kumbhaka and recaka are that they should be in the proportion of 1:4:2 or 1:2:2 or the same for all. The Purāṇas give different matras for prañayāma, e.g., the Mārkaṇḍeya (36.13, 14) says that the laghu (mrtu of the bhāsyā) is of twelve matras, double of that is madhyama and the uttariya (tīrva in the bhāsyā) is for three times twelve matras, while the Garuḍapurāṇa (I.226.14-15) puts down the figures as 10, 20, 30 respectively and the Kūrma-purāṇa (II.11.32) agrees with the Mārkaṇḍeya. The Mitākṣara on Yaj. III.200-201 provides that prañayāma is of three varieties (adhama of 15 matras, madhyama of 30 matras and uttama of 45 matras). The Lingapurāṇa (I.8.47-48) also puts forth 12, 24, 36 matras as the time of nica udghāta, madhyama udghāta and mukhya and states that obvious results of these three are respectively perspiration, tremor and utthana (prasāda-kampano-thāna-jana-kaśca yathākramam). Compare Mārk. 36.16 which states that those three are to be mastered respectively by the different lengths of prañayāma (prathamena jayet svedam madhyamena ca vepathum i visādam hi tṛtiyena jayed-dosān anukramat).

It should be noticed that neither Patañjali nor the Vyāsa-bhāṣya employs the well-known words, pūraka, recaka and

2361. निमेषकालतुल्य हि वियाकामयर च यत्। व्यास. 57.6; निमेषो माखुरो शौयं मात्रामत्यमत्रण।। ब्रह्म 231.6; निमेषोमैत्रण मात्रा तत्तो लक्ष्यस्य तथा।। मार्की 36.13

(Venk. cd.). वियाकामयर I.73.1 लक्ष्यस्य मात्रा वियाकामयिनः परिशिष्टैत।। वायुसूत्र व्याकामयिनः स्मालितां पार्थिव ज्ञानसिद्धिस्व। कालो मात्रा तत्त्वम: निरूपायिन: परिषिष्टं प्रथम: उद्भासे चूः।। स एव विधिमुक्ताः द्वितीयम: मध्यम:।। स एव विधिमुक्तः तिलकतात्वस्वस्यः।।" on Yaj. II.50; अनुवादितोविशेष्यस्य जातेऽपि परिषिष्टमध्यमायि। तकालयमयी तत्त्व मात्रासंस्कृत परस्मी।। बुधवारिनः VIII.12.q. as योगियाज्ञवलय in तत्प्रकाशः (मोखांड 171). The निमेषादिक says "मात्रापल्लो अर्थात्ता मात्रा- द्वारावस्यः।। मात्राध्ययनंके मात्रा च भव्ये विविधातः।। उसमः भिषुमान मात्रा: मात्रापल्लो विविधातः।। वर्गः 47-48; vide व्यास. 11.80-81 मन्द्रो द्वारावस्य मन्द्रो द्वारावस्य द्वारावस्य द्वारावस्य।। मध्यमाः विषयोज्यकर्मी स्मर्यात्।।" इत्यादि। अवध विषयोज्यकर्माणि मात्र:।। वर्गः 41-42 lays down the proportion of the three (पूरक, कुम्भक and रेशक) as is 16, 64, 32 matras, while the व्यास. (I.226.14-15) speaks of 10, 20, 30 matras.
kumbhaka, but only śvāsa, prāśvāsa and gati viccheda. Besides, Patañjali and Vyāsa say nothing about the japa of Om, Gāyatrī or Vyāhrtis in prānāyāma, as the smṛtis and later medieval works do. A third matter to be considered is that in some later works recaka, pūraka and kumbhaka are said to be three prānāyāmas and this latter is said to be of four kinds, three set out in Y. S. II. 50 and the fourth in II. 51.

The words ‘recaka’, ‘pūraka’ and ‘kumbhaka’ also must be, however, regarded as ancient enough. They are mentioned and defined by the Dharmaśūtra of Devala referred to by

2362. तस्माति व्याक्यमपापोऽपतितविशेषं: माणायमः। व्याक्यमपापसनम- 

प्रक्तिःकालस्थित्यामि: परिवर्तीयमः। व्याक्यमपापसनमपक्षपी 

जयूः। यो। सु। II. 49–51। सत्याब्रजे व्यायाम वायोराचारमने वाचस: कोणवत् वयोऽपवोऽसारव: मयाय: 

तपोविशेषित्वम: उभ्याभाय: माणायम:। भाष्य on II. 49. The word दृष्टि is to be connected with each of the three words व्याय, आय्यार and सम्भव. Here the कुम्भ that follows रेख्क is called व्यायामि and the one that comes after पुरुक is called आय्यारसनम. The कुम्भ that is made when there is neither रेख्क nor पुरुक is called सम्भवसनम. For an exhaustive and lucid exposition of the व्यायामि sūtras on prānāyāma, the bhāṣya thereon and the views of other commentators, vide Yogācārāmśa (of Shri Kuvalayananda) vol. VI, pp. 44–54, 129-145, 225–237.

2363. ब्रेक्कः: त्रिभवः: माणायमः। कुम्भः रेखं पूर्णमिति:। निपावामिति:। कुम्भः। 

अजुविदधः: वायो रेखं सः। निपावामिति:। पूर्णमिति:। सु निपावामिति:। ब्रेक्कः। 

प्रक्तिःकालमाणायमः। निपावामिति:। मयाय:। तस्माति व्याक्यमपापोऽपतितविशेषं: माणायमः। व्याक्यमपापसनमपक्षपी 

जयूः। यो। सु। II. 50। The लक्ष्याचारणि explains उपयुक्तो नाम नामिन्यप्रेमप्रेमविशेषित्वम:। तस्माति व्यायाममपापोऽपतितविशेषं:। This word is differently explained by different writers; vide Yogācārāmśa vol. II, part 3 pp. 225–234. Sometimes पुरुक, रेखं and कुम्भः are said to be three माणायमः, sometimes all three together are deemed to be one माणायमः. Each of these again is either चूडः, सम्भव (or सम्भव) and तीव्र. Vide ब्रेक्कः. VIII. 7 त्रिभवः कृदिविचन्ति तथा च नान्या परेऽ। 

सु निपावामिति:। निपावामिति:। निपावामिति:। मयायः। तस्माति व्याक्यमपापोऽपतितविशेषं: माणायमः। व्याक्यमपापसनमपक्षपी 

जयूः। यो। सु। II. 50। The लक्ष्याचारणि explains उपयुक्तो नाम नामिन्यप्रेमप्रेमविशेषित्वम:। This word is differently explained by different writers; vide Yogācārāmśa vol. II, part 3 pp. 225–234. Sometimes पुरुक, रेखं and कुम्भः are said to be three माणायमः, sometimes all three together are deemed to be one माणायमः. Each of these again is either चूडः, सम्भव (or सम्भव) and तीव्र. Vide ब्रेक्कः. VIII. 7 त्रिभवः कृदिविचन्ति तथा च नान्या परेऽ। 

सु निपावामिति:। निपावामिति:। निपावामिति:। मयायः। तस्माति व्याक्यमपापोऽपतितविशेषं: माणायमः। व्याक्यमपापसनमपक्षपी 

जयूः। यो। सु। II. 50। The लक्ष्याचारणि explains उपयुक्तो नाम नामिन्यप्रेमप्रेमविशेषित्वम:। This word is differently explained by different writers; vide Yogācārāmśa vol. II, part 3 pp. 225–234. Sometimes पुरुक, रेखं and कुम्भः are said to be three माणायमः, sometimes all three together are deemed to be one माणायमः. Each of these again is either चूडः, सम्भव (or सम्भव) and तीव्र. Vide ब्रेक्कः. VIII. 7 त्रिभवः कृदिविचन्ति तथा च नान्या परेऽ। 

सु निपावामिति:। निपावामिति:। निपावामिति:। मयायः। तस्माति व्याक्यमपापोऽपतितविशेषं: माणायमः। व्याक्यमपापसनमपक्षपी 

जयूः। यो। सु। II. 50। The लक्ष्याचारणि explains उपयुक्तो नाम नामिन्यप्रेमप्रेमविशेषित्वम:। This word is differently explained by different writers; vide Yogācārāmśa vol. II, part 3 pp. 225–234. Sometimes पुरुक, रेखं and कुम्भः are said to be three माणायमः, sometimes all three together are deemed to be one माणायमः. Each of these again is either चूडः, सम्भव (or सम्भव) and तीव्र. Vide ब्रेक्कः. VIII. 7 त्रिभवः कृदिविचन्ति तथा च नान्या परेऽ। 

सु निपावामिति:। निपावामिति:। निपावामिति:। मयायः। तस्माति व्याक्यमपापोऽपतितविशेषं: माणायमः। व्याक्यमपापसनमपक्षपी 

जयूः। यो। सु। II. 50। The लक्ष्याचारणि explains उपयुक्तो नाम नामिन्यप्रेमप्रेमविशेषित्वम:। This word is differently explained by different writers; vide Yogācārāmśa vol. II, part 3 pp. 225–234. Sometimes पुरुक, रेखं and कुम्भः are said to be three माणायमः, sometimes all three together are deemed to be one माणायमः. Each of these again is either चूडः, सम्भव (or सम्भव) and तीव्र. Vide ब्रेक्कः. VIII. 7 त्रिभवः कृदिविचन्ति तथा च नान्या परेऽ।
Śaṅkarācārya (vide note 2208 above). The Brhad-Yogi-Yaj. and Vācaspāti also mention them. The Viṣṇupurāṇa in a poetic description of the Śarad season employs them by way of śleṣa 2164 (as below). Several modes of performing prāṇāyāma are prescribed. One of the simplest is to stop the right nostril with the thumb, to fill in air through the left nostril according to one’s ability; then to throw out the air through the right nostril; again inhale through the right nostril and eject air through the left. Do this at least thrice. Practise this at least twice every day, preferably in the morning after bath and in the evening or four times (before dawn, during midday, in the evening or at midnight). In the beginning kumbhaka need not be practised at all. After some practice with pūraka and recaka, kumbhaka may be begun after recaka. Kumbhaka after pūraka is to be practised with great caution and should be attempted under the direction of an expert.

The Manusmṛti contains 2165 a great eulogy of prāṇāyāma in the following words ‘even three prāṇāyāmas performed according to the rules prescribed and accompanied by the vyāhritis and prava (the syllable om) should be regarded as the highest tapas for a brāhmaṇa; just as in the case of metals (like gold and silver) impurities are burnt when they are melted in the blast of a furnace, so blemishes (like passion &c.) of the organs of sense (including the mind) are destroyed by the control of breath; one should extinguish the blemishes (passion, hatred &c.) by prāṇāyāmas, sin by dhārayā, contact with the objects of sense by pratyāhāra and such attributes as are ungodly (viz. anger, avarice, jealousy &c.) by meditation (on brahma). The Y. S. states that from the practice of prāṇāyāma results the dwindling of actions (or klesas) that envelop enlightenment (which is the characteristic of sattva) and the

2164. भारतयाम भारतोभिः सरसं चक्तुर्केः। अमरस्योदिवसं रचेणकाकुमक्कां धिभम्॥ निषयुपु. V. 10. 14.

2165. भारतयाम भारतोभिः चितवनित्रित्वं विस्मित्वं परसं नाः॥ दुधाने धर्मयां धारणं हि यथा मलः॥ लोकः धर्मयां दुधाने तोर्या मारयर निवालय॥ मारणामेकं दुधान्त धर्म्यां धारणं भविन्यभवे। प्रवाहारं संगमगं धारणेभानी-भारत सूत्रम्॥ महासुरम् VI. 70-72. All these are श्याहमिलय। VIII. 29, 30, 32. The last verse occurs also in श्याहमिलय VII. 13, निषयुपु. X. 93, भाग्यम III. 28, मार्क्खण्डे यु. 36. 10=39, 10 B. I. ed.; it is quoted from मार्क्खण्डे by हृदेशक (कारकाय्य प. 168), which explains ‘तोर्यां सक्तं स्वयं प्राणमात्रं, अन्नवर्त, मार्क्खण्डे’। अनाराम P. 990 explains ‘अन्नवर्त, स्वयं स्वयं प्राणमात्र।’
mind of the yogin becomes fit for fixed attention. The Gorakṣaśataka provides a yogin always eradicates diseases by āsana, sin by prāṇāyāma and mental disturbance by pratyāhāra. The Śmṛtis state that prāṇāyāmas have great efficacy in destroying sins. Manu XI. 248 (=Vasiṣṭha 26. 4, Baudh. Dh. S. IV. 1. 31 and Śāṅkhasmrītī XII. 18-19) states ‘sixteen prāṇāyāmas performed everyday for a month together with the vyāhūta and prāṇaka (om) purify even the murderer of a brāhmaṇa. Manu XI. 199 and 201 prescribe the performance of a single prāṇāyāma as a purification for light lapses or riding an ass or a camel and such incidents as being bitten by a dog, jackal, horse, camel, boar or man. Yaj. III. 305 prescribes the performance of a hundred prāṇāyāmas for the destruction of all sins, of upāpātakas (lesser sins described in Yaj. III. 234-242) and of sins for which no specific prāyaścitta is provided. Manu II. 83 (=Vasiṣṭha X. 5 and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 55.83) states ‘the one syllable (om) is (the representative of) the highest brahma and prāṇāyāmas are the highest tapas’.

It may interest readers to note that the great Jaina monk, ācārya Hemacandra, condemns prāṇāyāmas by saying that they allow no rest to the mind, that there is physical effort in pūraka, kumbhaka and recaka and that prāṇāyāma is an obstacle to mukti.

In kumbhaka performed after pūraka the nerves, heart and lungs are under strain and permanent damage to these may result from careless or hasty practice of kumbhaka after pūraka. Those suffering from lung or cardiac affections should not enter upon the practice of prāṇāyāma on their own initiative but must first consult an expert. Swami Vivekananda said long ago that all students of Yoga are expressly and earnestly reminded

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2366. तत: कृते मन्त्रार्थस्यात् धारणार्थावथ प्रत्याप: । धारणानु च योगपति मनस: । श्य. सू. II. 52-53: ‘प्राणायामवस्तुपयोगशिष्यो विद्विने विविक्षानावरो दशे। तथा चतुर्मृ: तपस्यः न परं प्राणात्मानस्ते विकुलां विचित्रेषु वीरिक्ष जनानम्। इति: मायय.

2367. आसनेन वज्जो इति प्राणायामिनि पालकस। विकारं मानसेऽयं प्रत्यायारोण सर्वेऽ॥ गोरगारीतक 54.

2368. ततास्सर्वेऽति मन। स्तर्यं माययं: कदाचिन्ति:। माययापमने पीढा तत्स्याविनिस्वयः। पूर्णे कुम्भे चेव रेवच व परिचयः। विसंसक्षितावेष्यात्मकः भुस्वः कारणाः। योगशास्त्रमे हेमचन्द्रे, 6व भागे वर्ष 4-5 (pub. in जनानस्माताला, Surat, Vikrama Samvat 1995).

2369. Vide p. 123 Vol. I of the complete works of Swami Vivekananda, Mayāvati ed. of 1946. Vide a similar warning given by Swami Kuvalayā- (Continued on next page)
that with few exceptions Yoga can safely be learnt by direct contact with a teacher’. The fact, that the Yogasūtra containing 195 sūtras in all devotes only five sūtras (II. 49–53) to prāṇāyāma and that even these five are of a very general nature, indicates that Patañjali intended that the yogin should not practise prāṇāyāma by merely listening to or reading these sūtras but should approach an expert yogin for instruction and guidance.

It should be noticed that Patañjali does not require in his definition of prāṇāyāma the mental or inaudible repetition of any syllable like ‘om’ or any mantra like the Gāyatrī. But the Śruti prescribe the practice of prāṇāyāma every day in the Sandhyāvandana. Yaj. (I. 22) prescribes 2370 that a man of the three higher varṇas must every day take a bath, perform mārjana (sprinkling water with kuśas) with the mantras (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3 ‘āpo hi śīhā &c.’), practise prāṇāyāma, worship of the sun and japa of Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) and that prāṇāyāma comprises the japa three times of Gāyatrī preceded by the Vyāhṛtis, each being preceded by Om and followed by the Śirasas. Prāṇāyāma as described by Yaj. is prescribed even in modern times for the morning and evening Sandhyā adorations. Prāṇāyāma with mental repetition of ‘Om’ or a ‘mantra’ is called ‘sagarbha’ 2371 or ‘sabija’, while prāṇāyāma not so accompanied

(Continued from last page)


2370. सनामकैत्सैद्वत्सारोऽर्थां मार्गसंस्करः। सूर्यं यात्रुपूजनं गायत्र्यं मध्ये जपः।

गायत्री जिरसा साधः जपेदं प्राहततुल्यकामः। प्रतियोगस्यां विरयं मार्गसंस्करः। याज्ञं I. 22–23. The second verse occurs in बस्ति 25. 13, प्रायोगिकः VIII. 3. अभिसंहिता verse 298. The whole japa for māraṇāyāma would be आँ भूँ आँ सूर्यः आँ सूर्यः आँ मः आँ जनः। आँ तयः। आँ सर्वा आँ ततनुत्रिपर्य भगवो देवस्य धीमहः। धियो यो यो: प्राचीनपर्य।

आँ आँ ज्ञेय: महामृत्युः महामृत्युः महामृत्युः महामृत्युः। ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये ये.

This has to be repeated thrice in the सनामकैत्सैद्वत्सारोऽर्थां मार्गसंस्करः। The words आँ भूँ आँ सूर्यः … रोमः are called जिरसा: of गायत्री. Vide बुद्धः

कोमः VIII. 4–6 q. by सनामकैत्सैद्वत्सारोऽर्थां मार्गसंस्करः VIII. 141 as योग्या।

2371. आं भूँ आँ सूर्यः विनायासा समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः समभूः सम�ां वा सहस्राश्रितप्रेमिक्षी कुर्लि:। एष च शेषायः सन्नितहः सन्नितहः सन्नितहः सन्नितहः।
Prāṇāyāma of two kinds

is called 'agarbha' or 'abija' and it is said that 'sagarbha' is the better of the two. Šāntiparva (304. 9. cr. ed. = Ch. ed. 316. 9-10) speaks of saguna and nirguna prāṇāyāma. The Yogabhāṣya (on Y. S. II. 52) quotes a passage 2372 'there is no higher tapas than prāṇāyāma, therefrom arises purification of the taints and knowledge flashes forth.'

The H. Y. P. speaks of eight kinds of Prāṇāyāma (in II. 44). The two most important ones, viz Ujjāyi and Bhastrikā are described by Śri Kuvalayānanda in chap. IV. pp. 67-68 and chap. VI. pp. 101-115 respectively in his handbook on Prāṇāyāma, part one and the other six viz. Sūryabhedana, Sīkāri, Sitali, Bhrāmari, Mūrechā, Plāvini in. pp. 6-25 of the handbook part 2. H. Y. P. (II. 48-70) describes all the eight at some length.

Dr. Rele in his work 'Mysterious Kundalini' provides at the very beginning a diagram of the autonomic nervous system according to the Western anatomical science, showing the six cakras and identifying the positions of these six and the sahasrārācakra (lit. thousand-petalled i.e. having numberless petals). He propounded an original view that the Kundalini is the right vagus nerve. His book is very interesting and he has explored a very large field of yogic practices. He has very thoroughly utilized his deep knowledge of Western anatomy and physiology, but he himself admits in his preface (p. 2) that the explanations of the various Yogic practices and phenomena given by him are possible suggestions only. But it may be noted that Sir John Woodroffe, who made a deep study of Yoga and of Tantra works and who wrote a foreword to Dr. Rele's work, was not prepared to accept Dr. Rele's identification of Kundalini with the right Vagus Nerve (p. ii) and holds that Kundalini is not a nerve or any other physical substance or mental faculty but rather the Ground Substance of both (Foreword p. iii). Similarly, Shri Kuvalayānanda (in his popular handbook on prāṇāyāma part 1, p. 57 n. 3), after referring to Dr. Rele's admission about his explanations being possible suggestions only, points out that Dr. Rele had not tried a single experiment in the laboratory nor had he taken much care to consult the practical experience of the students of Yoga and he states that to him the whole book of Dr. Rele seems to be of doubtful scientific value. He goes further and asserts that Swami

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2372. तथा चौब्रह्म। तथो न पव भ्रान्यामात्रांतिवृत्तिः संभोगानुष्ठानम् द्वितिः ज्ञानार्क। इति। वे मात्रेष्ठित on II. 52; compare विश्वामित्र III. 280. 4 भ्रान्यामात्रांतिव भारिते विकालोत्तमां तथा न यो: 1.
Vivekananda’s lectures on Rājyoga suffer from the same drawbacks as the work of Dr. Rele does. Śrī Kuvalayānand shows (on pp. 121–126) the value of prāṇāyāma for physical health and the proper functioning of the lungs, the organs of digestion, the liver, pancreas and kidneys and asserts that the spiritual value of Prāṇāyāma is very great.

Pratyāhāra (withdrawal of the sense organs from the objects of sense) is defined in Y. S. II. 54 as ‘when the senses have no contact with (are withdrawn from) their objects (because the mind is restrained) and thereby resemble the state of the mind itself, there is pratyāhāra.’ When the mind, being restrained by the yogin, does not come in contact with the objects of sense, viz. sound, touch, form, taste, smell, the organs of sense also become disconnected with them, the organs come to resemble the mind itself (hence the words ‘anukāra iva’ in the sūtra). From this (non-contact) results the complete mastery over the senses. The idea is that in restraining the mind from the objects of sense the organs also are withdrawn from contact with them. Since the mind is made ekāgra (one-pointed) the sense organs together with the mind do not cognise or apprehend the objects. Pratyāhāra is the checking of the outgoing activities of the mind and freeing it from being the slave of the senses. The Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 188. 5–7 = Ch. ed. 195. 6–7) speaks of it. The Viṣṇupurāṇa in V. 10. 14 (in describing Śarad, i.e. autumn, states ‘Śarad removed the turbidity of waters as pratyāhāra withdraws the organs from their objects’) refers to pratyāhāra.

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2373. सतिविष्यासंतोषे चित्रस्मानकार क्रुद्धविन्दयानां प्रत्याहारः। ततः परमा वस्त्येन निद्रायानः। ये सू. II. 54–55. The word प्रत्याहार is formed from the root हार with पति and आ. The राजमालें explains ‘इन्द्रियाणि विष्णुः प्रत्याहारः। ततः परमा वस्त्येन निद्रायानः।’ The word प्रत्याहार literally means ‘bringing back’. The Mahābhārata explains ‘सतिविष्यासंतोषे सतिविष्यासंतोषे ज्ञातीति विषणिष्ये विषणिष्ये मत्यानि नेवेद्ये मत्यानि नेवेद्ये मत्यानि नेवेद्ये मत्यानि नेवेद्ये प्रत्याहारः।’ The illustration of the queen bee and the honey-making bees occurs in Praśna Up. II. 4 ‘तथा तथा महाकुलका महासंत्रास्रातृत्वमात्रं सती एवौ विनेत्रान्तः निशिक्ष मलिन्तान्तः सती एव मलिन्तात्।’ and वामन अवधु: ऋषिः च। This sūtra is variously interpreted but the bhāṣya follows the view of Jaigisavaya.

2374. श्रव्यदिश्यात्सनासनां निषयवशिष्यानि योगवस्त्र। कुमारिकांपूलानि प्रत्याहारं परायणः। पदयानि परमा तेन जापते विष्णुवशिष्यानि। इन्द्रियाणामात्सनास्ते योगिन पुराणानि:॥ विष्णु VI. 7. 43–44. These are also quoted by कुमारिकां पूलानि प्रत्याहारं परायणं (महाभारत प. 173) and by पदयानिर्मला (प्रस्तावना प. 1025). The महाकुल (39, 41 of Cal. ed. =36, 41–42 of Venk. edition) says ‘सतिविष्या चित्रस्मानकार क्रुद्धविन्दयानां प्रत्याहारः। मलिन्तात्।’ and वामन (पुराण प. 173).
as 'Indriyāṇindriyārthebhyah pratyāhāra ivāharat'. Vācaspati quotes two verses from the Viśnupurāṇa which employ the very characteristic words of the Y. S. and probably borrow the idea and language from the Y. S. The Dharmasūtra of Devala\(^ {2375} \) explains pratyāhāra as 'establishing (or yoking) the mind to the soul by bringing it back (to the soul) when it has swerved from the path of Yoga, because of its subtlety, its restlessness, its thoughtlessness or its force'. The Kūrmapurāṇa\(^ {2376} \) defines it as 'the suppression or mastery over the organs of sense that are naturally attracted to objects of sense'. Vide Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 232. 13) also.

It appears that when the Chān. Up. (in VIII. 15) enumerates the circumstances which enable a person to reach the worlds of brahma it has an idea of pratyāhāra in the word 'ātmani sarvendriyāṇi sampratisthāpya' ('when he concentrates all his senses in the self').

The third pāda of the Y. S. is called 'Vibhūti-pāda' (pāda that deals with the super-normal powers of the yogin). The word 'vibhūti' occurs in Praśna 5. 4 where it is stated that he who contemplates on Om of the dvimātra type is taken to the world of the moon where he enjoys 'vibhūti' and again returns to the earth. There the word probably means nothing more than prosperous life. The third pāda first deals with the last three of the eight āngas of Yoga, the first five being called bahiraṅga (indirect helpers of samprajñāta-samādhi), while the last three are said to be antaraṅga of samprajñāta-samādhi (but even these three are bahiraṅga with reference to nirbija Yoga, as the latter may occur even in the absence of the three 'dhāraṇā' &c. These three are called dhāraṇā, dhīyāna and samādhi and these three when practised on the same object are called saṃyama, which is a technical term in the Yoga system. Vibhūtis are the results of saṃyama of various kinds. Instead of employing the three words dhāraṇā, dhīyāna and samādhi Patañjali employs expressly or impliedly the word 'saṃyama' in most of the sūtras from 16 to 52 of the 3rd pāda.

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2375. अनुवादाध्यायानांविद्याहलोकस्त्वां योगशब्दस मनसः सुनः सत्यानांयोजनं प्रवत्त्वतः। देवधिपुरुशः by कुमकिरति (मोक्ष p. 173); अपराधः p. 1025 ascribes this sūtra to हरित and reads 'अनुवादाध्यायांविद्याहलोकस्तवां योगशब्दस मनसः ... प्रवत्त्वतः' (we should read लोकोऽयोजनं). कुमकिरति (मोक्ष p. 173) explains 'अध्यात्मांसा'.

2376. इन्द्रियवाण्यांविचारानांविचित्र्युः सम्भवः। निन्द्राणां चित्रगते सयम्भवारस्तु लघुः। कुम्भेन II. 11. 38. सक्षमः कामोक्षण 41. 101 'इन्द्रियवाण्यां हि च चर्येव सयम्भवारस्तु लघुः। विद्वानस्यायं भूत्वा प्रवत्त्वतः स उच्यते। इन्द्रियवाण्यां उच्चाः प्रवत्त्वतः स उच्यते। इन्द्रियवाण्यां उच्चाः प्रवत्त्वतः स उच्यते। इन्द्रियवाण्यां उच्चाः प्रवत्त्वतः स उच्यते। इन्द्रियवाण्यां उच्चाः प्रवत्त्वतः स उच्यते। इन्द्रियवाण्यां उच्चाः प्रवत्त्वतः स उच्यते।
Dhāraṇā, dhvāna and samādhi are said to be the direct auxiliaries of Yoga and are three successive stages, the preceding one leading to the next. Dhāraṇā is the holding of the mind to a certain spot or point 2377 or object. The bhasya explains that the mind is to be held down to such spots (in one’s body) as the navel, the heart-lotus, the head, the light (in the eye), the tip of the nose, the tip of the tongue and the like or on external objects (such as images of gods in various forms). In this stage attention has to be firmly held upon the chosen object for a period of time determined by the will of the yoga aspirant. In this stage there are three elements, the subject, the object and the act of concentration. The next stage is dhvāna, which will be described immediately below. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa speaks of ten dhāraṇās on the different parts of the yogin’s own body 2378 and is in accordance with the plural ‘dhāraṇāsu ca yogyatā manasaḥ’ (in Y. S. II. 53) employed by Patañjali himself. The Āṣvamedhikaparva also employs the plural ‘dhāraṇāsu’. Vide the Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 188. 8–12 = Ch. ed. 195.8). The Yājñavalkyasūtrams 2379 in a succinct manner brings

2377. वेदशास्त्रस्तुतिः धारणा | तत्र पर्याप्त्तनात्तत्त्त्वाधार || 13. द्रा: III. 1, 2; the bāṣya on these is: नाभिकत्रयुष्णुबलकुलमुद्रितो न्यूनतिं नासत्कार्यदिग्धे इर्वेत्त् देशेन वाद्विष्ठ विद्याप्रवाहाय प्रणयसंप्रदेशाद्विष्ठ धारणम्। नालकेशसे ध्यायांमर्मसम्रां धारणसा प्रवाहः प्रयत्नसमाधानगुणस्य धारणं। The द्रा: It. 8. 42–43 appears to echo the words of द्रा: in ‘प्रग्न्वाय प्रभावं वेदांतं धारणम् समाप्तं।’ The Upaniṣads speak of the heart as lotus (vide above note 1717 and Sādhārya on द्रा: I. 3. 14–21 द्रा: तद्विद्याप्रवाहायः &c.). नासति probably refers to the Puruṣa in the eye (as in द्रा: VIII. 7. 4 or IV. 15. 1 (य एष्टप्रक्षेपनुष्ठानें द्रातं एष्ट आदर्शित होतथाः) or the Lord in one’s heart; bāṣya explains वाद्विष्ठ and विद्याप्रवाहाय by quoting several verses of the कष्टयुभुरण VI. 7. 77–85 where it speaks of contemplation on the form of Viṣṇu with a benign face, lotus-like eyes, wearing ear-rings and having the Śrīvatsa jewel on his chest, with four or eight long arms, wearing a yellow garment and holding conch, sārāga bowl, mace.

2378. आद्वानाा द्रायेद्वाच धारणात् तत्वां च त्तपाप्सि। कदाच द्रायेद्वानिकार्योंनेत्रप्रक्ष्य पूर्वकृत्तिकनितया धारणां प्रश्नमा सुता। इमात्तुवाया: प्राय वायायायारास्त्रायत्तमा। माकेश्वर्य (36. 44–45 = 39. 44–45, Cal. ed.), द्रा: (I. 226. 21–22) q. by अपराजन p. 1023 and कष्टयुभुरण (माकेश्वर्य p. 173). Compare कुमः ‘हुष्णुधित्रयुष्णुबलकुलमुद्रितो न्यूनतिं नासतिकार्यदिग्धे इर्वेत्त्। कष्टयुभुरण के द्राच्छेदो धारणां चित्रश्रवणम्॥’ II. 11. 39; तद्रेष्टुइष्ठे त्योर्त्व धारणां चास्महिं:। कष्टयुभुरण पर राधमां दशपर एक इवां:। कष्टयुभुरण 19. 37।

2379. उद्देश्योत्तस्तिनात्तमाः सर्वाः स्वायत्तयां कर्मुः। उद्देश्य चिन्तामुन्यम् सर्वं विद्याम् भोजया। सिद्धांतकार्याः जनाधानसंस्तिनम्मियोः। बालायायायायायायायायायायायायायः। संसाधितढिन्त्रीवास्तिकयान्ति नातिनेत्रसिद्धांतमः। ध्यायाय न्यूनयाय वायायायायायायायायायायः। तद्रेष्टु ध्याय:। द्विष्ठो भौसः द्रायेद्वाच चौप्रक्ष्यी। धारणाः स्वायत्त भालानां धारणाः धारणाः। (Continued on next page)
in the aṅgas from āsana to dhāraṇā and dhyāna as follows:
(The yogin) occupying a seat neither too high nor too low, 
having placed his upturned heels on his thighs and having 
placed on the left (palm placed on the upturned right heel) 
his other (right) palm (turned upwards), having slightly 
raised his face and having braced up his body with his (raised) 
chest, having closed the eyes, being free from rajas and tamas, 
ot allowing the upper and lower rows of teeth to touch, holding 
his tongue firmly in the palate, and allowing no shaking of the 
body, covering the mouth, holding back the organs of sense 
from their objects, should perform praṇāyāma of the twofold or 
threefold type (of 24 or 36 mātras), should contemplate on the 
Lord that occupies his heart like a lamp, and fix his mind on 
that Lord by way of Dhāraṇā. Devala states that dhāraṇā 
is the holding in check of the body, senses, mind, intellect and 
ātman (egoism).

M. Charles Baudouin in ‘Suggestion and auto-suggestion’ 
tr. by Elder and Cedar Paul (ed. of 1922, Allen and Unwin) says 
(on p. 150) ‘As one of the curiosities of history and further as 
a lesson in humility we must point out that the states just 
described under the names of collectedness, contention and auto- 
hypnosis are described with considerable psychological acumen 
(though not in modern psychological terminology) in the 
precepts by which for centuries past the Yogis of Hindustan 
have been accustomed to attain to self-mastery’ and the author 
refers to Pratyāhāra and Dhāraṇā in this connection and on 
p. 151 remarks that auto-hypnosis is encountered in Yoga but it 
is tinged with mysticism because the sacred word ‘om’ is 
repeated hundreds of times.

Dhyāna (contemplation) is the one-pointedness (continuous 
flow) of the apprehension of the object contemplated upon,

(Continued from last page)

2380. कठिनिक्षयमनुवशास्त्रार्थात् अपरार्थनात् अयासाद्वािरयानि, देववन्द q. by अपरांक p. 1025, 
कठिनकल्प (मीड p. 174). अपरांक says 'अयासाद्वािरयानि; the कठिनकल्प says nothing 
on अयासाद्वािरयानि.
unaffected by any other idea or apprehension. The Upaniṣads insist upon dhyāna, e.g. Munḍaka says 'contemplate upon the Self in the form of Om'; the Br. Up. has the famous passage 'the self should be seen, heard, understood and reflected upon.' The Chān. Up. (VII. 6. 2) employs the word 'dhyāna' in the sense of 'concentrating all thoughts on one object'. The Śv. Up. (I. 3) mentions dhyānayoga and also Gītā 18. 52 does so (dhyānayogaparopari). The Śantiparvā (cr. ed. 188. 13 ff = Ch. ed. 195. 13-18) speaks of dhyāna. The Kṛtyakalpataru (on Mokṣa p. 181) quotes a long prose passage from Devala-dharmasūtra about dhyāna. The Viṣṇupurāṇa closely agreeing with the Yogabhāṣya in phraseology describes dhyāna as the one-pointed succession of the apprehension of the Lord's form, unmixed with another idea, brought about by the practice of the first six angas of Yoga. Aparārka (pp. 1025-27) quotes a long prose passage from Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap. 97), which asks the yogin to contemplate upon the all-pervading and all-powerful Lord who is free from gunas (sattva, rajas, tamas), is beyond the twenty-four tattvas and who is imperceptible to the senses, and that, if he be unable to focus his mind on formless God all at once, to

2381. आत्मा वा अर्थ-व्यक्तिकी आत्मविद्वानि निद्रिष्टव्यस्यः। वृद्ध उप. II. 4, 5; आमितेवं ध्यायत आत्मनन्दस्। सुंदरक II. 2. 6 निद्रिष्टव्यस्यः: is the potential passive participle of the desiderative form of ध्यायते with लतः। The वृद्ध उप. VII. 6 is 'ध्यातने बल बिचारधृतः। ध्यानवेदः द्वारवेदः ... ध्यानवेदः द्वारा कः। तस्मात्। इति सूत्रप्रवर्तनान्तः ध्यानवेदः द्वारे ते भवति। ... ध्यानवेदः सतिर्मेव। The earth is motionless, just as a yogin when deep in contemplation is motionless and therefore it is said "the earth is as it were engaged in contemplation."

2382. तत्त्वपर्याकाशसतिर्मेवपाणि:सुहृत। तृतीय ध्याने मध्येवः: ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे चतुर्दश:। विष्णु VI. 7, 91 q. by वच्चातिस्त, हृदयकवलय (मोक्षाण्ड p. 175) and Aparārka p. 1026 who explains 'ब्रह्मप्रत्यक्षाति कर्मयादि:। श्रावः सा विष्णुप्रत्यक्षाति सततः। सती ध्यानमुक्त्याते।' सत्रुण व्यापदेवन्तिनं निर्गुणं वेगताः। सत्रुणं ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे: सत्रुणं ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे:। कालः 41, 120. One verse from विष्णुपुराणम् is repeated even now in worship viz. वधेयस। सत्रुणं सत्रुणं ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे। तत्त्वमस्ति:। केतुस्वरूपं सत्रुणं ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे। केतुस्वरूपं सत्रुणं ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे।' 26. 17 q. by कुटिकवलय (मोक्ष p. 192); हृदयकवलय वेदेबद्वेद ध्यानम्। ध्याने श्रेण्य मध्येवं प्रत्यक्षायम् ध्यानम्। हृदयकवलय VII. 16. This is followed by seven verses, two of which are अभ्यार्णायाम् वेदायाम् (VII. 20 and 23) that are the same as अर्थव्रत उप. III. 20 and 8 respectively, and all the eight verses are q. by कुटिकवलय (मोक्ष p. 193). The editor did not identify them from हृदयकवलय. The verse सत्रुणं: ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे: सत्रुणं: ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे:। मन्त्रवेदिष्ठायाम् मन्त्रवेदिष्ठायाम्। केतुस्वरूपं सत्रुणं: ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे। तत्त्वमस्ति:। ध्यानम्। ध्यानम् (वधेयस) VII. 20-21. These and the following five verses are q. by कुटिकवलय (मोक्ष pp. 207-208) which the editor did not identify. The verse सत्रुणं: ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे:। ब्रह्मनिर्विवादे:। हृदयकवलय p. 970 (reads एतर ध्यानं च योगयम्).
gradually rise up from Prthvi and the other elements, mind, intellect, the soul, avyakta (unmanifested Spirit); if he be unable to do even this he should contemplate on the person that is like a lamp in his own heart (lotus); if this is impossible, he should contemplate upon the form of Vasudeva having on his chest vanamāla, having four arms, holding the conch, the quoit, mace and lotus; and adds that he secures whatever he contemplates upon and that this is the secret of dhyāna. This shows that dhyāna is either saguna or nirguna as stated by the Padmapurāṇa IV. 84. 80-86 (nirguna) and IV. 84. 88-96 (saguna) or sākāra and nirākāra (Padmapurāṇa, II. 80. 70, 77-78). The Visnupurāṇa (VI. 7. 78-90) contains a passage similar to the Viṣṇu Dh. S. Skanda (Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 41. 19) speaks of dhyāna as saguna and nirguna and defines saguna as depending on different forms or as accompanied by repetition of mantras and nirguna as ‘not depending on any particular form or as not accompanied by mantras’. The Narasimhapurāṇa (17. 11-28 and 26. 17) describes at some length the form in which Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu is to be contemplated upon and these verses are quoted by the Kṛtyakalpataru (Mokṣa, pp. 191-192). The Śaṅkha-sūtrī states that one has realization (darśana) of the Lord of gods that abides in the heart (of every person) by means of dhyānayoga and describes the mode of dhyāna. Daksasāṃtī also emphasizes dhyāna and jñāna (correct knowledge) and states that description of others serves no purpose beyond adding to the bulk of the work. In this stage there is only the duality of subject and object, there is no awareness of effort to tie down the mind on an object (as in mere dhārāṇā).

**Samādhi** (concentration and absorption)—Dhyāna itself is Samādhi, when only the contemplated object shines forth and when dhyāna is as if emptied of its own form because there is no apprehension of dhyāna as distinct from dhyāya.2383 When

2383. तद्वेद्यामन्त्रोत्पर्वतः स्मृतचृत्यमेव समाधिः । चययक्तच संवमः । तदावि बदित्रुऽविज्ञायते । येष सू. II. 3, 4, 8. The Bhāṣya on these three is: ध्यायमेव ध्याया विद्यामन्त्रोत्पर्वतः स्मृतचृत्यमेव समाधिः । चययक्तच संवमः । एकविभागां चौणि सामान्यते संबंधमेव इत्यादि । नवयथ चययक्त तात्त्विक विधिशोभा संवमेव इति । नवयथ विद्यायां तीन्त्रिको विशिष्टो विधिशोभा इति । कृत्वां । तदमावि भाषाल।। The *Bhāṣya* explains the word *sama-dhi* as समाप्ततिः तत्साध्यायिति विधिततः विधिकरः प्रवचनमेव प्रयत्नस्य समाधिः।। The *Bhāṣya* brings out the distinction between सम्प्रदायमेव असंवमेव समाधिः as follows: बहुसाध्यायिति नित्यावरणः प्रवचनः समाधिः।। सम्प्रदायमेव समाधिः; (Continued on next page)
meditation is carried to a stage where the object contemplated upon alone appears and the meditator is not conscious of the idea of contemplation, because the object meditated upon entirely engulfs the meditator. The yogin becomes so much identified with the object meditated upon that he is not conscious that he is contemplating upon an object. This is what is meant by 'svarūpaśīnyam-iva' (in Y. S. III. 3). In Samādhi the subject and object, the individual and Paramātman are completely blended into one, so that the consciousness of the subject as separate from object disappears. The word 'Samādhi' does not occur in any of the ancient Upaṇiṣads, though it is known to the Maitrāyaṇī Up. (vide n. 2327 above). The word Samādhi occurs in the Bhagavadgītā (II. 53-54) and in Vanaprava (3. 11) and in Śāntiparva 195. 19-20, Ch. ed.). The Viṣṇupurāṇa provides that it is called Samādhi when the mind grasps as a result of dhāraya the real nature of that (the Paramātman) in which there is absence of the separate apprehension (of the object to be meditated upon, the act of meditation and the meditator). The three (dhāraya, dhāraya and samādhi) are direct aids in samprajñāta-samādhi but they are indirect aids in asamprajñātasamādhi, as this last may follow without these. The Hathayoga-pradipikā states 'that is called Samādhi where there is equality and oneness of the individual self and the Highest Self and where all desires cease to exist'. Subija and nirija samādhi would be equal to savikalpa and nirvikalpa samādhi defined by the Vedāntaśāstra. There are several grades or stages in samādhi. There are four grades of Samprajñāta

(Continued from last page)
Four kinds of samādhi

samādhi, viz. savitarka, nirvitarka, savicāra, nirvicāra. Vide p. 1411 note 2318 above. The word gauḥ, the object cow denoted by it and the concept or idea (jñāna) `this is a cow' are all really three separate matters, but they are apprehended as mixed up. When a yogin concentrates upon a gross object and his intellect is conscious of that object as permeated by all the above three, then that samādhi is savitarka (Y. S. I. 43). For the others vide note 2318 and below, in the asamprajñāta Samādhi, the ultimate reality dawns on the yogin, prakṛti does not affect him in any way, his soul which abides in itself and is not conscious of personality and even of joy is all cat or citśakti and nothing else. In this section about the influence of yoga on Dharmaśāstra it is not necessary to go deeply into the several stages of samādhi described in the yoga works. The Goraksaśataka has described the final stage of samādhi as follows: `A yogin in Samādhi does not apprehend smell, flavour, form, touch or sound nor does he apprehend himself or others (as distinct); knowers of brahma hold it to be pure, immovable, eternal, not engaged in activities, free from the guṇas, expansive like the sky, as intelligence and bliss; the knower of yoga reaches non-duality in the highest stage as milk poured in milk, ghee into ghee or fire into fire.'

It would have been noted that in dharāna, dhyāna and samādhi the principal emphasis is mental. External conditions do help in the training but they are subsidiary. As noted above (pp. 1421–22) cleanliness, contentment, austerities (tapas), sexual purity, certain easy postures and living in detachment, restrictions as to quantity and quality of food—these are the chief physical or external conditions. While the yogin practises the above three he may develop certain super-normal powers which he is advised to ignore, as they are hindrances in the attainment of his goal (Yogasūtra III. 36). Though this is the opinion of Patañjali, from the fact that with most yogins the siddhis are an important part of yoga doctrines and the fact that, out of 195 sūtras of the Yogasūtra, 35 (III. 16–59) are devoted

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2387. न गर्भे न रसे न रुपे न स्पर्शे न च निष्पमय। आत्मानं न परं वेत्ति योगी युक्त: समाधिनां निमित्तं निर्घातं निमित्तं निर्मित्यं महत्। यथेष्टम विज्ञानसङ्गत्वम ब्रम्ह जड्यविविधः प्रक्षु:। कुष्ठे श्वसे पूर्वे संपर्यं श्वसितालिगुः। अत्यतं ब्रजेश्वरं योगधनुषस्ते पदें। गोपाकुशं शतं कः वर्षं 79, 99–100. The first verse is also H. Ch. p. IV. 108. Compare अथात्। उप. VI. 19 निमित्तं निमित्यं, कथां। 3. 15 अयत्मकयानाममस्तथं। विज्ञानसङ्गत्वं ब्रम्ह ब्रह्म। उप. III. 9. 28 एवं भित्तः। उप. I. 15 निमित्तु तेन चास्य:। सनात्ने श्लोकं खगे एव।
to the description of siddhis, the present author is constrained to say that siddhis are an integral part of Yoga. The Vaikhānasasmartasūtra says that the yogin can vanish from people, can see distant objects and hear in spite of great distance.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the results of all saṃyāmas mentioned in Y.S. pāda three. A few are cited by way of sample. By saṃyama on the power of an elephant one secures the strength of an elephant (III. 24), by saṃyama on the sun there arises the knowledge of the seven worlds (III. 26) and by saṃyama on the moon, there arises knowledge of the arrangement of the stars (III. 27), by saṃyama on the navel cakra arises knowledge of the arrangement of the body (III. 29, viz. the three dosas, rūta, pitta, kapha and the seven dhatus viz. skin, blood, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow and semen). By saṃyama on the coarse 2388 forms, the essential attributes (svarūpa), the subtle form (tattvātās), the inherence (anvaya) and the purposiveness of the five elements results the conquest (or mastery over) elements and from this results the appearance of the perfections called aṇimā and others, perfection of body and non-obstruction (of the actions of the yogin by the qualities of the elements i.e. the earth cannot prevent the yogin by its hardness from penetrating inside the earth’s rocks nor can fire burn him &c.). In IV. 1 Patañjali states that supernormal powers (siddhis) arise in five ways viz. by birth in certain 2389 bodies.

2388. स्थूलस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यs

2388. अविगृहणेऽत्तरताः विधिः सम्प्रसारणयोगास्तिङ्गलस्तु विदितां तत्र तत्त्वविपरीतः ज्ञानसाधनस्य सम्बन्धमेव अविचिताः। तत्राः सुविदिताः।

2389. अम्लाश्चायां स्वरूपाचार्यम्। अम्लाभ्यां विलोक्यात्। अम्लाश्च निर्देशितः। अम्लाश्च निर्देशितः।

(Continued on next page)
(e.g. being born as a bird which can fly high in the sky), by the use of certain drugs, by the jīvan of certain mantras, by tapas (which is one of the niyamas) and by samādhi, each succeeding one being superior to each preceding one.

The siddhis have been enumerated and explained above on pp. 1112–13. The Devaladharmasūtra has a long note on siddhis, which is quoted in Kalpataru (Mokṣakānda pp. 216-217).\(^{2390}\) The Yājñavalkya smṛti (III. 202–203) enumerates some characteristic signs of Yogasiddhi, viz. becoming invisible to others, remembrance of incidents in past lives, charming appearance, ability to see past and future happenings or objects that are distant, knowing what is being said at a great distance, entering another body after leaving one's own body, creation of things at one's will (without possessing the appropriate materials).

A great deal has been said above on mantras under Tantra (pp. 1096-1107 and notes thereto). There are two theories about mantras; one is the vibration theory, viz. that the letters of the mantra are charged with certain powers by the original composer and user of it and when the mantra is repeated certain imperceptible vibrations are set up which help in securing the purpose for which the mantra is repeated. The other theory is that the mantra comes down from antiquity and from

(Continued from last page)

half an hour, while the visitors were permitted to pass sticks to and fro between '.... He further refers to levitation which a princess of Sikkim asserted she saw as a girl. A. Koestler in 'The Lotus and the Robot' (London, 1960, on p. 114) doubts the quality of the evidence of E. Wood on the ground that no exact date or place is mentioned and asserts that no experiment on levitation with definite date and place has been published. But Dr. Alexander Cannon in 'The invisible influence' (1935) pp. 39-41 narrated a personal experience of levitation (laghima). It is not clear whether A, Koestler was aware of this statement.

2390. A short extract from the long prose passage of Devala-dharma-sūtra may be set out here,  arep  

\(\text{Continued from last page}\)
a great sage and its power of suggestion is great. But the real effective power of a mantra seems to the present author to depend far more on the knowledge, the responsiveness and the high spiritual level which the person who repeats it brings to bear on its use. No scientific tests have been employed and different works emphasize with exaggeration one of the two theories about mantras. All is speculation. The present author believes that the 2nd theory has greater elements of trust-worthiness than the first, as it relies on human psychology, while the first degenerated so much that the famous mantra ‘om mañi padme hūm’ (dedicated to Avalokiteśvara) written on some material and pasted on a wheel which was turned round and round hundreds of times was supposed to yield great results. The 2nd theory led to the importance of guru and dikṣā (initiation) and here also extravagant claims were made. This latter theory, however, required that the disciple should possess certain qualifications such as implicit faith in the guru, respect for matters spiritual, some knowledge of the tenets and the basic scriptures and readiness to devote time and energy to the study and practice of the teachings of the guru. Vide Śiva-samhitā (III. 10-19) for the relation between guru and disciple.

The fourth pāda deals with Kaivalya. The yogin who has gone through the whole discipline up to samādhi and has become thoroughly aware of the distinction between Puruṣa and the guṇas (sattva and others), becomes free from the influence of the three guṇas, because they merge in Pradhāna after having served the purpose of the soul, that is Kaivalya (isolation) or it (Kaivalya) may be stated to be the principle of consciousness that abides by itself (and does not become connected with even sattva-guṇa).  

This has also been alluded to in Y. S. II. 25 that states that when aridajā (nescience) is removed by discrimination the self (who is the perceiver) does not come into contact with the guṇas, which state is Kaivalya.  

2391. पुविष्यंद्रव्याणां तथाप्रकरणां प्रकरणवाचि वा चित्रिलिपिविविधिः।
यो. सूत्र IV. 34; भाष्य ‘कुलभोगावलोकिताणां पुविष्यंद्रव्याणां य प्रकरणवाचि कायमयाणामाकाणां।
शरण्यं नासैवत्वे सभष्टिंचतुस्तदभिमायमणांप्रकरणार्थं विचित्रिलिपिविविधेन केलपि, तस्मां
स्वयमेवाधिकानां अण्वतिनिलयिते । वाक्यस्य प्रधानसवस्तुस्तु स्वरुपमेव प्रवाहो वषप। 2392. तत् तत्सूर्विताः।

2392. तत् तत्सूर्विताः।

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is put forward in IV. 31 from two points of view. When a purusa ceases to be affected in any way by the gunas (that constitute prakṛti) because he has become entirely passionless, prakṛti becomes aloof (kevala) so far as that purusa is concerned. When purusa has thorough knowledge and ceases to be affected by gunas he remains as bare consciousness (citiśakti) and remains aloof (kevala) and that is the 2nd point of view about kaivalya. In that state of kaivalya or mokṣa we cannot predicate any happiness or bliss about him but we can only say about him that he is in a state of bare consciousness (citiśakti). The Upanisads declare that in such a state the liberated soul has neither joy nor sorrow, that happiness or its opposite does not touch such an one, since he has risen above identifying the body with himself. The ideal of Yoga is to be jivan-mukta (i.e. to reject Life and Personality, to die to this world though the body may persist for some time).

The eight anāgas of Yoga are described in more or less detail in several Purāṇas. Vide Agni, chap. 214–215 and 372–76, Bhāgavata III. 28, Kūrma II. 11, Narasimha 61 (verses 3–13 of which are quoted by Kalpataru, mokṣakanda pp. 194–195), Matsya chap. 52, Mārkandeya (chap. 36–49 of Venk. edition, 39–43 of Cal. ed.) about 250 verses, many of which are quoted by Kṛtyakalpataru (on Mokṣa), Aparārka and others; Linga I. 8., Vāyu, chap. 10–15, Viṣṇu VI. 7 (which closely follows the Y. S. in thought and phraseology), Viṣṇudharmottara III. 280–284, Skanda (Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 41).

Geraldine Coster in ‘Yoga and Western Psychology’ (Oxford Uni. Press, 1934) observes ‘I am convinced that the ideas on which Yoga is based are universally true for mankind and that we have in the Yoga-sūtras a body of material which we could investigate and use with infinite advantage (p. 244)... My plea is then that Yoga as followed in the East is a practical method of mind development, quite as practical as analytical therapy and far more practical and closely related to real life than the average university course. I am convinced that the Yogasūtras of Patañjali do really contain the information that some of the most advanced psychotherapists of the present day are ardently seeking ’ (p. 245).

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2393. अयाःपरं वच समस्यन्त न मिष्यामियें सुयस्त। ग्र. उप. VIII. 12. 1। अयाःपरं योग-भिन्नमैत्र वें सत्य भीरों द्येऽहोतो ज्ञाति। क्र. इ. 12. २। व. IV. 4. २ (पुक्तः प्रविज्ञानादृ।)

is based on ग्र. उप. VIII. 12. 1.
The last chapter in Dr. Behanan’s book on ‘Yoga, a scientific evaluation’ is interesting and important. He makes an appraisal of several aspects of Yoga by means of experiments which he carried out on himself after spending one year under the guidance of Swami Kuvalayānand of Lonavla and after he had three years of experience in Yogic breathing. It is not possible for reasons of space to give here a summary of his appraisal of several aspects of Yoga but reference may be made to a few of his findings. He finds that by yogic practices the mind is turned inward and detached from the external world (p. 232), it seems to him very probable that the prāṇāyāmicas breathing induces a state of relaxation, thereby inducing the mind to take an inward course (p. 234), that taking normal breathing as a basis of comparison it was found that oxygen consumption increased 24.5 per cent in Ujjāyī, 18.5 per cent in bhastrikā and 12 per cent in Kapalabhātī; that the nasal gaze in a meditative posture is an aid to checking the wandering propensities of the mind (p. 242), that Yogic practices lead to an emotional stability and that watching at close range for a year the daily lives of more than half a dozen practitioners of yoga Dr. Behanan concluded that they were the happiest personalities that he had known and that their serenity was contagious (p. 245).

Dr. P. A. Sorokin of the Harvard University, one of the greatest living sociologists, contributes a very valuable paper on ‘Yoga and man’s transfiguration’ to the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan’s Journal for November 1958 (pp. 111-120), the very first sentence of which opens with the words ‘The methods and techniques of the yoga, particularly those of the Rājayoga, contain in themselves nearly all the sound techniques of modern psycho-analysis, psychotherapy, psycho-drama, moral education, and education of character.’

That a person engaged in Yoga practices is succeeding in reaching higher and higher spiritual levels is shown by the appearance of certain traits in himself. The Śv. Up. states that the first favourable signs of the working of Yoga are: lightness or agility of body, health, freedom from desires, brightness of complexion, fineness of voice, pleasant bodily odour, passing only a small quantity of urine or excreta. Almost the same verse occurs in the Vāyu 2394 and the Mārkandeya Purāṇas and

2394. तप्यातनशोगण्यांतर्थवत्तां वयांसाक्तोऽसतःशीतवच च। गय: श्वों। तृषुविनिर्वन्नं
धोतिःमुद्रितं प्रथमं वदनिः। वेषा। उप। 11। 11। वायु। 11। 63 reads सत्तैतम तप्यात... (Continued on next page)
Markandeya further says ‘people come’ to like the yogin and sing praises of his qualities behind his back and all animals are not afraid of him; he is not affected by severe cold or heat and is not afraid of others; these show that siddhi in Yoga is approaching.’ The Vayupuraṇa adds ‘if the practitioner of Yoga sees the earth or his body as if on fire and if he sees himself entering the elements (or all beings) he should understand that success in Yoga is near.’

The Markandeya-purāṇa (chap. 38 verse 26) and the Viṣṇupuraṇa II. 13 describe at some length yogicaryā (i.e. behaviour or conduct of a yogin). It is not possible to set out all that is said in these chapters but two striking verses are rendered here. The Markandeya 2396 says ‘honour and disrespect cause pleasure and distress to man (in general), but these two have the reverse effect and serve to produce perfection in the yogin; these two are called poison and nectar respectively; disrespect is nectar for the yogin and honour is terrible poison.’ The Viṣṇupuraṇa emphasizes that a yogin should so act that people will disrespect him and would not seek his company. The Manusmruti (in VI. 38–85) enlarges upon the duties of sannyāsins, many of which are applicable to yogins. In VI. 65 Manu calls upon the sannyāsin to ponder by means of Yoga over the subtleness of the Highest Self and in VI. 73 Manu advises the ascetic to practise dhyānayoga. The Yājñavalkyasuṃrti also (in III. 56–67) prescribes the duties of sannyāsins, one of which (in verse 64) is the same as Manu VI. 73.

The Śantiparva provides 2397 that a man is said to be a yogin by those who know the procedure and ordinances of Yoga,

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2395. आत्मानं पृथिवीः ज्ञेयं जडः परवति। भूतप्रविष्टिनां ज्ञेयं विभासिति। समतामयं यथास्वात्मनं का तु अभिज्ञातेऽन्नति।

2396. मानवामध्ये परस्यं शीतेष्योणं शुष्कम्। तत्वं विपरिताः पृथिविः सिद्धिविशेषां स्मरणं। अपमानितृंतं तत्र मानसृं शिष्यं विध्यम्।

2397. स्थायिक्यविवेचनम् समस्तं सिद्धिविशेषां। स्थायिक्यविवेचनं पृथिविः सिद्धिविशेषां स्थायिक्यविचारं निर्धारः। बुद्धिः विध्यविद्यान्यासं।

H. D. 183 (Continued on next page)
when he curbs the senses by his mind and makes the mind itself firm by his intellect and he becomes unmoved (by objects of sense) as if he were a stone, is unshakable like a tree-trunk, strong and motionless like a mountain. The wise call a man yukta (a yogin), when he neither hears, nor smells fragrance, nor tastes nor sees, nor touches and when his mind does not form (ever changing) ideas, when he does not regard anything as his own, when he does not cognize (external objects) as if he were a log of wood and when he can be said to have recovered the original real nature (of the Self). The Devaladharmasūtra provides that all beings come under bondage owing to ahaṅkāra (egoism that one will do this or that) and māmatra (regarding transient things as owned by oneself) but he who is free from these becomes liberated.²³⁹⁸

Through centuries Sannyāsins and Yogins have been paid the highest honours in India. Special emphasis is laid on inviting a Y Bog in at a śrāddha and it is said by some authorities that a single yogin is equal to hundreds and thousands of brahmānas. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 388, 398–399 for original authorities. In cases of doubt as to what the proper conduct or Dharma is in a set of circumstances, the matter was left to be decided by a parisad (an assembly) of ten learned brahmānas or at least three, but even one may constitute a parisad, provided he is learned in Veda and knows Dharma (vide Manu XII. 108–113). But Yāj. I. 9 and others say that four persons knowing the Veda and Dharmaśāstra or three of the same type or even one who is the best among knowers of spiritual matters (ascetics) may constitute a parisad and what he declares would be the right course of conduct. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. 969 for texts on this point. The Bhagavad-gītā says ‘the yogin (who is a real karmayogin surrendering the

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²³⁹⁸. इर्त मनोनी चार्यायायाचार्योऽपूर्व मनसे / अजानितानितियों ममेविनिति सत्त्रुः। अतिरिक्तिमयांत्र यं त्रित्युत्तर कृपये। काशकारणांकस्मव तदवज्जराज्यम्। अक्षुराम ममवामस चचन्ति सताहिनः। संसारात्मानमेवाति ममा भुक्ष्ये। (कृष्ण) कल्याणः।
fruits of his actions to God) is superior to persons practising tapas (such as fasts or following Haṭhayoga) and superior even to those who have mastered philosophical knowledge (like that of Sāṅkhya) and he is superior to those who are performers of Vedic rites (leading to svarga); therefore, O Arjuna! be a yogin, that does acts (because it is his duty to do so and who does not hanker after the fruits of those actions).

Manu (XII, 83) states 'study of the Veda, tapas, true knowledge (about brahma), restraint of the sense organs, ahiṁsā, attending on one's guru-these are the highest means of niḥśreyasa (i.e., mokṣa). Then verse 85 proceeds 'of all these six means true knowledge of the Self is the highest, it is at the head of all vidyās (lores), since immortality (mokṣa) is obtained by means of it.

The highest value is attached to Yoga as an integral part of Vedānta by the Yājñavalkyasūtra when it states that realization of the Self by means of Yoga is the highest Dharma. Then the same Smṛti provides study of the Veda, performance of sacrifices, brahmacarya (sexual purity), tapas and dama (restraint of senses), faith, fasting and freedom from attachment to worldly objects; these are the causes of securing knowledge of the Ātman.' It should be noticed that some of these fall under yama, niyama and pratyāhāra. The Daksāsimṛti avers 'even the country, where a yogin, who has profound knowledge of yoga and who is given to dhyāna, becomes holy; what need is there to say about his relatives (i.e. they will certainly be pure).

The Yogasūtras are difficult and do not give complete explanations of the several stages of Yogic practices. They are in the nature of brief notes or hints that are calculated to rouse the curiosity of the hearer or reader and induce him to go to a competent teacher and learn Yoga practices. A few examples may be cited. Y. S. II. 50 refers to three kinds of Prānāyāmas, and II. 51 mentions a fourth (bāhyābhyanarasvavākṣepa caturthah). There is no further explanation of this 4th variety. In IV. 1 Patañjali lumps together siddhis arising from janma, osadhi, mantra, tapas and samādhi. There is a vast difference

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2399. अर्थे तु परमो धमो यद् योगमन्त्रमद्वयोऽयज्ञ: पाण्ड. I. 8.
2400. वेदाद्विचारे ज्ञाते ब्रम्हचर्य तत्सि सम्: अधिश्रुताः स्वतन्त्रयामालमनि ज्ञानेनेतः: पाण्ड. III. 193; compare ब्रज. पु. IV. 4. 22 q. in note 1464, p. 918 above.
2401. पाण्डे न्यायो māryāद्विषो ध्यारी क्षणिन्तिर्च: सः ओषधि इत्यत: भवेषुः: किं एकस्य विश्वस्वः: पु. ब्रह्मसूत्रः VII. 45.
between a siddhi due to a drug and siddhis due to samādhi. Patañjali says that Om is the symbol of Īśvara and that repetition thereof and reflection on its meaning is a means of attaining ekāgrata, but there is no explanation why Om is expressive of Īśvara nor is any reference made to the Upaniṣads &c. about the importance of Om or how japa is to be performed. This is probably due to the agelong tradition that spiritual knowledge should be kept secret, should not be taught to all and sundry, but only to a disciple possessing certain qualifications. Already on pp. 1071–72 notes 1733, 1734 it has been shown from a few Upaniṣad quotations how esoteric knowledge was imparted only by a guru to a disciple. In the dialogue of Yājñavalkya and Artabhāga (Br. Up. III. 2. 13), when the latter asked, after saying ‘after a man’s death his speech enters fire, his breath enters into wind, his eye into the sun, his body into the earth’ ‘where does then the man remain?’ Yājñavalkya replied take my hand, on this matter we two alone must come to some understanding, but not here in the midst of company.’ Then the two went aside and conferred with one another. That shows that the knowledge about what happens after death was not held to be a matter proper for being discussed in an assembly of people. The Chāndogya Up. (III. 11. 5) states ‘therefore a father may tell that doctrine of Brahma to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil but not to anyone else even if the latter gave him this earth girt by waters (seas) and full of wealth, for this doctrine is worth more than that’. The Br. Up. VI. 3. 12 provides ‘one should not speak of it (brahma doctrine) to one who is not his son or pupil’; vide Śr. Up. VI. 22, Maitrāyanī Up. VI. 29 for similar words. The Śantisparva in a chapter dealing with spiritual knowledge provides that it should be imparted to one’s dear son and an obedient disciple, but not to one whose mind is not quiescent nor controlled, nor one who is jealous or crooked or a backbiter or a logic-chopper.

H. Y. P. states ‘a Yogin desirous of attaining siddhi should keep the knowledge of Hatha as highly secret; it becomes potent if kept secret, but becomes impotent if exposed to all; one should practise yoga alone in the way expounded by the guru’.

This applied in ancient

2402. तदिव्व नानाध्यात्मानं नानानाथायताः नानाध्यात्मानं न चायतिदिगदार्थान।

2403. हरिश्चandra परं गंगा येनिना सिद्धिददेत्तता। भेदश्चर्ये युगा निर्विर्ये तु

यशस्विद्विद्वारणं योगमेव समाधस्वे। ह. यो. प. I. 11 and 16.
times not only to esoteric knowledge but to other scholastic studies. The Nirukta (II. 3) says that it (Nirukta) should not be taught to one who does not know grammar, nor to one who does not approach (the guru) for knowledge or who is not aware of the importance of the sāstra, since an ignorant person always bears ill-will to knowledge; and the Nirukta quotes (II. 4) four verses (called Vidyāśūkta) on this matter. In the Bhagavad-gītā Kṛṣṇa frequently emphasizes that the knowledge of Bhakti-yoga is a sovereign secret (IX. 2), in XVII. 63 the knowledge conveyed to Arjuna is stated to be more secret than all secrets and in XVIII. 64–65 Kṛṣṇa asks Arjuna to listen to the most secret words of his viz. 'fix they mind on Me, be my devotee, offer sacrifice to me, prostrate thyself before me; thou shalt come to me; I promise to thee truly as thou art dear to me'. This last is repeated from IX. 34. At the end of chap. XV it is said 'O blameless one! this most secret doctrine has been expounded by me to you'.

Whether the path of Yoga is desirable or feasible in its entirety cannot be debated here. But there have been great men in India for thousands of years who have trodden the path of Yoga that led to the desired goal of freedom of the self from avidyā and the bondage of birth and death by means of Yoga. Even as early as the Śāntiparva (chap. 289, cr. ed. verses 50 and 54), the path of yoga is said to be very difficult and that it is easy to stay on the sharp edges of razors, but that those whose souls are not purified would find it difficult and painful to continually practise Dhāraṇās. Kālidāsa so finely describes in the 8th canto of the Raghuvamśa (verses 16–24) how Yoga was practised by king Rāghu. Kālidāsa refers (in VIII. 16) to aparārga as the goal of the ascetic Rāghu as contrasted with mahodaya (abhuyodaya or bhoga), both words occurring in Y. S. II. 18 (prakāsa ... ... bhogāparārgārtham dṛṣyam); mentions dhāraṇā (in VIII. 18), pranidhāna practice and consequent mastery over the five prāṇas (in Rāghu VIII. 19, Y. S. II. 45 'sāmādhīsiddhārśvara-pranidhānāt'); mastery over the three guṇas that constitute prakṛti (Rāghu VII. 21, Y. S. III. 48 mentions 'pradhānajaya'), Yogavidhi as a means of paramātmadarśana (Rāghu VIII. 22, Yāj. smṛti I. 8 quoted in note 2399).

2404. Vide the Gospel of Mark IV. 11 and 33–34 where Christ is said to have expounded all things to his twelve disciples, but only in parables to the multitude.
Rājayoga holds the supreme goal to be liberation from Nature (prakṛti) or Māyā of the Advaita) and its attitude towards the world of senses and our empirical life is that of shunning these. Mukti means absorption into brahma for the Vedantist or Kaivalya (isolation of the Individual self from the bonds of birth and death and from prakṛti according to pure Yoga). For the vast majority of men and women the path and final goal of Pātañjala Yoga or of the Advaita Vedānta are almost inaccessible and unattainable, as the Gītā itself states (XII. 5) “Those whose mind is set on the Unmanifested encounter greater difficulties (than those who worship a personal God), since the goal of the unmanifested is hard to reach by embodied beings”. The path of Karmayoga (performing good deeds and acts prescribed by Śāstra without hankering for rewards) and Bhaktiyoga (wherein there is deep devotion to God and self-surrender) appear to be more suitable and practical for ordinary human beings. The Gītā in chap. XIII. (verses 13-17) contains one of the best descriptions of God as transcendent and immanent and verse 18 adds that the devotee of God who understands this reaches God.

Many readers familiar with Shri Aurobindo’s āśrama at Pondicherry and his voluminous writings might express surprise at the present author’s non-mention (in what precedes) of Shri Aurobindo (who is called Mahāyogi by his disciples and admirers) in this section on Yoga and its influence on Dharmāśāstra. But the reasons are obvious. In the first place, Shri Aurobindo says hardly anything about Dharmāśāstra in relation to Yoga. In the 2nd place, Shri Aurobindo admits that he had “no touch from a guru”, that he got an inner touch and practised Yoga, that he got some help from Mr. Lele of Gwalior, that when he came to Pondicherry he got from within a programme for his sūdhanā, that he could not make much progress as to the help to be given to others and that when the Mother (Mira Richard) came to the āśrama in 1920 he found with her aid the method of helping others. In the next place, he departs from the teachings of a galaxy of Sanskrit writers on Yoga, viz. that a yogin must shun women (vide p. 1421 and note 2330), while his biographer Mr. Diwakar states that the Aurobindo Ashram was founded on 24th November 1926, that the Mother was entirely in charge of it from that day and that Shri·Aurobindo thenceforward cut off all contacts except through the Mother (p. 257). In this, he strikes an entirely new line and appears to ordinary
men like the present author to have diverged far from the well trodden path of ancient Yoga and become like one described in the well-known words ('Mūrārestṛtiyāḥ panthāḥ'). Shri Aurobindo is a mystic, the experiences of mystics are peculiar and their own, ordinary words and modes of speech fail to communicate them to those that cannot claim to have ever shared such experiences. Aurobindo became a recluse from November 1926 to his Mahāsamādhi on 5th December 1950 and gave darśana only on four days in the year viz. 15th August (his birth date), 24th November (day of victory for him), 21st February (the birth date of the Mother) and 24th April the day of the Mother's coming to the Ashrama (vide Mr. Diwakar's 'life of Mahāyogi' p. 265). For forty years Aurobindo lived in Pondicherry. His Ashram became a centre of the gospel of integrated Yoga and a home for those who sought real life and light, a place of pilgrimage for men and women attracted by his teachings.

On 15th August 1947 when India attained Independence (which happened to be the date of Aurobindo's birth) he issued a long statement referring to the dreams of his youth, which he thought were arriving at fruition or were on their way to achievement. He stated 'the first of these dreams was a revolutionary movement which would create a free and united India. Another dream was the resurgence and liberation of the peoples of Asia and her return to her great role in the progress of human civilization. The third dream was a world union forming the outer basis of a fairer, brighter and nobler life for all mankind. A catastrophe may intervene and interrupt or destroy what is being done; but even then the final result is sure. For unifica-

2405. It is difficult to give an accurate definition of 'mysticism'. W. R. Inge in his work 'Christian Mysticism' publishes 26 definitions of the word in an Appendix. James H. Leuba defines it as follows: 'Mysticism means for us any experience taken by the experiencer to be a contact (not through the senses, but immediate or intuitive) or union of the self with a larger than self, be it called the World Spirit, God, the Absolute or otherwise' ('Psychology of religious mysticism,' Kegan Paul, 1929). In a recent work 'Mysticism, sacred and profane' Prof. R. C. Zahnner (Oxford, 1957) says 'Mysticism is the realization of unity' (p. 144) and translates and examines Chān. Up. VI, 9.1–4, Br. Up II, 3–6, III. 7.1. ff. Bhagavadgītā II, 55–72 (pp. 136–145) for that purpose.

2406. Vincent Sheean in his work 'Lead, kindly light' (Random House, New York, 1949) pp. 269–277 has a very illuminating and sympathetic note on what 'obtaining darshan' of such Great Men as Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Aurobindo means to the crowds that throng for it.
tion is a necessity of Nature, an inevitable movement. Another dream, the spiritual gift of India to the world, has already begun; India’s spirituality is entering Europe and America in an ever-increasing measure. The final dream was a step in evolution which would raise man to a higher and larger consciousness and begin the solution of the problems which have perplexed and vexed him since he began to think and to dream of individual perfection and a perfect society. Here too, if the evolution is to take place, since it must proceed through a growth of the spirit and the inner consciousness, the initiative can come from India and, although the scope must be universal, the central movement may be hers’.

These emotional and eloquent words are flattering to the pride of all Indian people, but it is possible that, bearing in mind that the whole of India was mostly under the heel of ruthless or exploiting conquerors for over seven hundred years from the 13th century A.D. (except for some parts and for brief periods as under the Vijayanagar Empire or under the Marathas for about 150 years and for about 50 years under Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Panjab) these proud assertions of Aurobindo are likely to bring derisive smiles on the faces of many non-Indian readers. It is for discerning Indian readers to judge whether any of the dreams of Shri Aurobindo (except the first about Independence) are on the way to achievement or realization, whether during the last fourteen years after Independence India has progressed in the way of spirituality among men in general, whether there is any likelihood of there being a union of peoples and nations in the near future or whether the world is on the brink of a precipice.

Shri Aurobindo had set his heart on the unity of the human race by an inner oneness and purpose and not by an external association of interests; for 24 years he completely withdrew from the outer world and gave darśana only on four days in the year. What efforts he made for the inner oneness of the human race except by his writings is not clear and nor does it appear that in the community of men and women that gathered under his leadership and influence at Pondicherry any one occupied

2407. There has been no ‘United India’ after Independence. The country was partitioned and Pakistan came into being as a separate entity and has been a source of constant irritation to India, in spite of the policy of the appeasement of Pakistan followed by Indian leaders throughout. * There is today hardly a Hindu or a Sikh to be found in West Pakistan says Mr. V. P. Menon in ‘Transfer of Power in India’ on p. 43.
a pre-eminent position and energetically and fruitfully pursued the path marked by the Master and carries on the work that the master dreamt of and left unattempted and unfinished. Passages quoted from his letters by Shri Diwakar (on p. 258) clarify what visions he had 'there will be first a race representing the supermind as man represents the mind', 'in what I am trying to do the spiritual realization is the first necessity, but it cannot be complete without an outer realisation also in life, in men in this world, spiritual consciousness within but also spiritual life without'. About his Sadhanā he says 'I began my Yoga in 1904. My Sadhanā was not founded upon books but upon personal experiences that crowded on me from within.....It is a fact that I was hearing constantly the voice of Vivekananda speaking to me for a fortnight in the Jail' (p. 131 of Mr. Diwakar's book).

In a letter to his brother Barindra dated 7th April 1920 which is set out in full on pp. 309-314 in the work 'Shri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother' (1953), Aurobindo asserts 'the main defect in the old Yogas consisted in the fact that they knew mind and intelligence and the Atman; they used to be satisfied with spiritual experience on the mental level; but the mind is capable of only partial knowledge and it can comprehend only parts and not the whole. The mind can know the infinite and the total reality only through Samadhi, Moksha or Nirvana and by no other means. Of course, some people do attain this kind of Moksha which may be said to be a blind alley. But then what is the use of it? But what the Bhagwan intends to do with man is to enable him to realize God in life, in the individual as well as in the collective society (to manifest God in life). The old systems of Yoga could not bring about a synthesis or unity between spirituality and life; they disposed of the world calling it Maya or the transitory play of the Lord. The result is vitality and vigour in life have been sapped and India has decayed'. In this passage Aurobindo tries to bring out the distinction between his integral Yoga and the Yoga of ancient and medieval Indians. There is hardly anything very new in his theory of Yoga. The Gitā also says the same in 'ajñāsenāvrtam' (Gitā V. 15), in 'utsādeyur-ime loka' (Gitā III. 24-25, II. 47, III. 8, 19, IX. 27, XVIII. 45-46, all of which emphasize that disinterested work is worship of God). Aurobindo should have brought into being an organised body of workers after his own heart. The Pātañjala Yoga does not employ the
word Māyā at all nor did it say that the world was a play of God. It was the Vedānta-sūtra II, 1, 33 (lokavat-tu illākāvalyam) that said so by way of repelling an objection. In the Pātañjala yoga Īśvara has nothing to do with the creation of the world (vide above pp. 1402–3) but it speaks of avidyā by which the individual self is enmeshed (Y. S. II, 3–5 and 24) and not God or the Supreme Self. Besides one is tempted to echo the question of Aurobindo himself ‘What is the use of integral Yoga, mind, overmind and supermind?’ Can any body point out even half a dozen men and disciples of Aurobindo who have devoted all their energies to the regeneration of the country and of the human race on his lines? The position of the Ashram itself is rather vague, anomalous and undefined. But it is unnecessary to say in this work anything further about it. 2408

The writings of Shri Aurobindo are numerous and voluminous. For a list of his writings along with a few other works, vide the Bibliography (pp. 267–269) given by Shri Diwakar at the end of his work ‘Mahāyogi’. The present author has read only the following works of Shri Aurobindo ‘Yoga and its objects’ (1938, a brief work in which ‘adhyātma Yoga’ is said to be higher than Ṣaṭhāyoga and Rājāyoga); ‘The Mother’ (1937), ‘Essays on the Gītā (5th ed. of 1949), ‘The Synthesis of Yoga’ (1948) which attempts to show that all three paths, viz. of knowledge (Jñānayoga), of Devotion (Bhaktiyoga) and of Divine works (Karmayoga) can be integrated; ‘the problem of Rebirth’ (published by the Aurobindo Ashram in 1952 after his passing away); ‘Foundations of Indian culture’ (essays brought together in one volume, revised by Shri Aurobindo), New York, 1953; Aurobindo’s Magnum Opus is ‘Life Divine’ (originally in three volumes, now available in one of 1272 pages, published by the Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry 1955). The present author has read only the first volume of this last work. Men of ordinary intelligence like the present writer find this philosophical work not easy to read, and are often at a loss to find out, in the flood of high sounding phrases used by Shri Aurobindo concerning the mind, overmind,

2408. I have to acknowledge my obligations to two biographies of Sri Aurobindo, one by G. H. Langley (former Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University) published in 1949 and ‘Mahāyogi’ (on the life, Sādhanā and teachings of Aurobindo) written by Shri R. R. Diwakar and published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay, 1953. There is an interesting work published by the Aurobindo International University Centre at Pondicherry called ‘Sri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother’ (1953)
supermind, his precise meaning. Only one sentence is cited here for sample (from p. 345 of the big one volume edition); 'Overmind, intuition, even supermind not only must be principles inherent and involved in the Inconscience from which we arise in the evolution and inevitably destined to evolve, but are secretly present, occult actively with flashes of intuitive emergence in the cosmic activity of mind, life and matter.' The present author regards the book 'Foundations of Indian culture' as the best of the works of Shri Aurobindo which he has read. Prof. R. D. Ranade in his Lectures on 'Bhagavadgītā as a philosophy of God Realization' (Nagpur, 1959 pp 163-176) submits to examination Aurobindo's 'Essays on the Gītā' and disagrees with him on some points. While these pages were passing through the press the present writer received a copy of 'Integral Philosophy of Aurobindo', a symposium edited by Dr. Haridas Chaudhuri and Dr. Frederic Spiegelberg (and published by Allen and Unwin, 1960), which contains 30 papers written by Indian and Western scholars on the Philosophy of Aurobindo, p. 32 defining the essence of integral Yoga and p. 44 distinguishes between 'mind' and 'supermind' (of Aurobindo's philosophy).
CHAPTER XXXIII

Tarka and Dharmaśāstra

The Yājñavalkya smṛti (I, 3) mentions Nyāya (logic) as one of the fourteen vidyās and as one of the means of knowing what Dharma is. Nyāya is rendered as ‘tarkavidyā’ by the Mitāksāra on Yaj. and the Mit. states that the fourteen vidyās are the hetu (means) of (knowing) dharma.

Both the Nyāyasūtra and the Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kapāda postulate that ‘niḥsreyasa’ follows from the correct knowledge of the categories of the two darśanas.²⁴¹⁰

One of the earliest occurrences of the word tarka is in the Kathopanisad²⁴¹¹ where it is declared ‘This knowledge (about the Self) cannot be obtained by (mere) ratiocination’ and the previous verse states that the Self is subtler than the subtlest and not capable of being understood by mere inference or reasoning. The word ‘mantavyaḥ’ in the passage²⁴¹² ‘Ātmā vā are drastavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo’ (in Br. Up. II. 4. 5 and IV. 5. 6) is held by the objector (in bhāṣya on V. S. I. 2) and also by Saṅkarācārya as referring to tarka on V. S. II. 1. 4. Tarka is accepted as an aṅga of Yoga in the Maitrāyanī Up. (vide note 2327 above), which further quotes a passage stating that by the control of speech, mind and prāṇa one apprehends brahmaṇa

²⁴⁰⁹. Some works read the verse as ‘Purāṇa-tarka-mimāṁsā’; vide note 1337 for the verse.

²⁴¹⁰. अध्यात्मज्ञ स्वतांत्र्याय: पवोच्चुवर्यनिः: श्रेयसातिष्ठ:: स धर्मः। इस्लगुण- \( \text{कर्मसामाज्यविश्वसमावान्} \) पदार्थानां साधस्वेभ्यमाहं तत्वभास्ते नि:श्रेयसाति:। \( \text{वैशीष्यकृत्य} \) I. 1. 2 and 4; अन्यहस्यसंवस्तवर्येज्ञ: द्वारक:। श्रेयसातिष्ठ:। नान्यमविविधयोहः भाष्यमानेषु: न तत्त्वज्ञानाति:। \( \text{श्रेयसातिष्ठ:} \) I. 1. 1. The word श्रेयस occurs in ‘अध्यात्मा’ (a long sūtra) in पा. and in \( \text{वैशीष्यकृत्य} \) II. 14 and III. 2.

²⁴¹¹. नेष त्तें आदिन्ययुययेन योजनेयेन सुज्ञानाय येत। कोपाय: II. 9 q. by शुक्लर्याय in भक्त: on व. उ. II. 1. 6. The previous verse ends with the words ‘अध्यात्मान्यविक्ष्यमणानाति:’, आदिन्ययुययेन is an irregular form for आदिनय: (आदि + अनीय) or for आदिनय: (from नी with अत). \( \text{अध्यात्मान्यविक्ष्यमणानाति:} \) अन्य: पवोच्चुवर्य्याय: तात्त्वसाचार्यादिपर्वतादिर्याय:। 'अन्यमे' (नीतिवाद) 'अन्याय विद्या' (नीतिवाद) न 'पवोच्चुवर्य्याय:। नेष त्तें आदिन्ययुययेन। नेष त्तें आदिन्ययुययेन। 'अन्यमे' (नीतिवाद) न 'पवोच्चुवर्य्याय:। नेष त्तें आदिन्ययुययेन।
Ancient references to 'tarka'

with the help of tarka.\textsuperscript{2413} The Gautamadharmasutra\textsuperscript{2411} remarks 'tarka is the means for securing justice (among contending parties)'. One of the replies given by Yudhisthira to the Yaksas guarding a lake is 'ratiocination is unstable (leads to no certain conclusions), the Vedic texts differ (among themselves), there is no single sage whose opinion is held authoritative (by people or other sages); the essence of Dharma is placed in a cave (i.e. is enveloped in darkness and cannot be seen clearly), that is the path (to be followed) by which the majority of people\textsuperscript{2415} proceed'. This appears to make man in the mass the ultimate tribunal on all questions of value. In its poreration at the end, the Manusmṛti observes 'one who desires to secure the pure Dharma must know well the three viz. direct perception (or experience), inference, and sāstra based on various traditions; none but that man who considers the sayings of sages (i.e. the Veda), the instruction on Dharma (contained in the Smṛtis) with the help of reasoning that does not (directly) conflict with Veda and sāstras knows what Dharma is'.\textsuperscript{2416} This is the position of most orthodox Sanskrit writers about Tarka. Their reasoning appears to have been this. If one were to rely on mere reason, the result would be uncertainty and anarchy. Every theorist states that his system is based on reason; but the answers arrived at on the basis of reason as to questions of vital importance to ordinary men are bewilderingly different. Thinkers brought up in different environments and of different experiences have different logics and propound even different moral laws. Whom should an ordinary man follow? The Vedas and Smṛtis

\textsuperscript{2413} सूतिरपि 'श्रेष्ठेण सत्तव्यः' इति आवश्यकतिरस्केति मननं विद्युष्टीति तक्षमत्वे धारितयुपाति (this is purport in भाष्य on श्र. च. II. 1. 4); to this the भाष्य replies 'यदापि आवश्यकतिरस्केति मननं विद्युष्टीति तक्षमत्वे धारितयुपाति भास्यन निशेष मुदक्तकारणानलयात्म: सम्भवति। धार्मिकेणमहं एवं हात्र तक्षेत्रन्वाक्राणािनान्यायः। The following sentence in the भाष्य cites three examples of inferences not opposed to śruti.

\textsuperscript{2414} यापाधिश्वरर्य सर्वाभुवानपानः। नेत्राभुवान पदार्थायानं गणेत। गौ. च. श्र. II 23-24.

\textsuperscript{2415} तक्षेत्रैः पाद्यः। ... पाठः। वनपादः 313. 117 (Chitrashala ed. whole verse q. in n. 2072). Some mss read नैको मुहिष्ठपयः। The sūtra तक्षमतिरश्याना-द्वारस्याल्पमेष्ट्यितिवेद्धिमय्येतीनमेष्ट्यितिचेदामन्यस्यमेष्ट्यितिचेदामन्यस्यस्यः। (श्र. च. II. 1. 11) seems to echo the words of तक्षेत्र. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 860 n. 1667, where अथात्तिथिः on मनु. II. 1 refers to 'महा ... पाठः' as a याप्यः.

\textsuperscript{2416} मयंक्षमानर्य च शासनं च तिथिधामामि। वर्ष सुधिविंशति कार्यं भर्मसुधिनिपिन्त्वस्य। आयं धर्मश्लेष्यं च बेदाधारिवर्षिया। वल्लक्षणार्यस्य स ध्रुवेष वेदित्र नेतरः। मनु XII. 105, 106, relied upon by श्रीधराचार्यं in भाष्य on श्र. च. II. 1. 11.
embody the principles of conduct in all spheres of life arrived at by eminent and selfless sages during the course of thousands of years i.e. they embody the experiences and the reasonings of numerous wise men. Therefore, if a modern man says that reason leads him to hold opinions opposed to the Veda, most people are not prepared to accept a single man’s opinion pitted against the views of numerous ancient sages. This point need not be elaborated further. On many important questions viz. whether there is God or a Supreme Intelligence guiding the universe, or whether there is an individual self, or what the future of a man when he dies is, the wisest among men have given widely differing answers. On such questions final answers acceptable to all or most people cannot be given by reason alone. Though the orthodox position is as stated above, it has been shown above (e.g. on pp. 1267-1269) how Vedic practices have been discarded by the weight of popular opinion from time to time. It is laid down by Smrti writers themselves that blindly following the words of Sstra would lead to loss of Dharma and that in case of conflict between two Smritis reasoning should be resorted to and popular opinions and practices should be considered. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 866-868 for this. The Mahabharta enjoins ‘one should not try to solve incoherent matters by ratiocination.’ In the dialogue between the famished sage Visvamitra (who desired to eat the tail of a dog) and a candra the great Epic winds up by saying ‘therefore a learned man whose soul is pure should act after relying on his intelligence in the matter of deciding what Dharma and adharma are’. It should not be supposed that Saamkaracarya and other great Indian writers wanted to throw reasoning overboard altogether. What they emphasized was that mere reasoning of one or more men should not as a rule be followed if the

2417. Pascal quoted in ‘This I believe’ edited by E. P. Morgan (London, 1953) on p. 60 says ‘The heart has its reasons which reason does not understand.’

2418. अभिविलयः सदूषणे भाषा न भस्मक्षेण शोभतेत्। प्रत्येकम्: परस्तर तद्विनियत्तधर्मः तत्काणम्। भीमपूर 5. 12, q. by शास्त्रावर्त्यम् as स्वरूपित on शंक. II, 1. 6. First half only q. by शास्त्रावर्त्यम् on शंक. II, 1. 6. This also occurs in मस्तय 113. 6, पदम् (अधि 3. 12), the first half in मस्तय II, 13. 7-8. मस्तय reads अद्वित्तियत्व अच्छते and some read सार्थतेत for योजयह। प्रत्येकम् would mean material cause. The मस्तय (Anan. ed.) reads अभिविलयः ... तत्काणे सार्थतेत्, thus reversing the position adopted by others.

2419. तथा महान्वितेष्व विद्वृत्त धम्मपरमितिभवेऽ। अद्वित्तिय स्वरूपस्वरूपमितिवर्यं कृतामयं। शास्त्रावर्त्यम् 141. 102 = cr, ed. chap. 139. 94,
conclusions arrived at by reasoning are in direct conflict with Vedic and smṛti texts. Śaṅkarācārya clearly states his position on V.S. II. 1.1. and 11.\textsuperscript{2420} Beliefs (such as those of Jains and Buddhists) were held to be heterodox, because they did not acknowledge the authority of the Veda and the sacred tradition, though they often observed Hindu practices and married with Hindus; but within this limit there was room enough for an enormous and bewildering variety of convictions, rites and practices that claimed to be orthodox. This may be illustrated by the attitude of some Upanisads. For example, the Mundaṇa Up. (I.1.4–5) speaks of two vidyās, parā and aparā, includes under aparā the four Vedas and the six aṅgas and parā (highest) vidyā is that by which the imperishable brahman is attained. In the Chaṇ. Up. (VII.1.1–5) when Nārada approached Sanatkumāra for instruction, the former recounted what he had already learnt viz. the four Vedas, Itihāsapūrṇa and other lores; then Sanatkumāra tells him that all that he has studied is mere name and then explains what is better than all those. Mundaṇa (I.2.7) condemns yajñas as leaky vessels. It is extremely surprising that the Chaṇ. Up. in I.12.2–5 compares the procedure of the five priests and the sacrificer touching each other and creeping from the sadas towards the cātvāla where the Bhāispavamāna chant is to be sung with a procession of dogs, each dog holding the tail of the preceding dog in his mouth. Vide for the creeping of priests noiselessly and silently Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa VI.7.9–12 and Ap.Śrauta-sūtra XII.17.1–4 and H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1166 and 1169. Though this is so, the Upanisads are called Vedānta, are looked upon as orthodox and as the highest end of the Vedic religion and literature. Most ancient Upanisads, however, quote Vedic Samhitā texts as authorities. For example, Br. Up. I.4.10 and Ait. Up. II.5 quote Rg. IV.26.1 and IV.27.1 respectively; Br. Up. II.5.16–17 quote Rg. I.116.12 and I.117.22 and Br. Up. II.5.19 cites Rg. VI.47.18; Katha IV.9 is the same as Atharvaveda X.8.16, Praśna I.11 is quoted from Rg. I.164.12. The Mundaṇa III.2.10

\textsuperscript{2420} वेदेन हि निर्येशक स्थायिः मामायाः स्वपनिष्ठये। पुरुषवचाः स्तु मूलारथि।}

\textsuperscript{2420} Veda and Smṛti texts.
provides that brahmavidya is to be expounded to śrotriyas (those who have studied the Veda). Herein the Upaniṣads rely upon the principle of adhikārabheda.

One of the oldest philosophical problems is Authority and Reason or to put it in different words, Faith and Reason and there has been throughout the ages a constant struggle between these two. Most men want to rely on some authority, on some one deemed higher than themselves. For vast numbers of people this authority or the something greater than themselves is Revelation and God. They have neither the leisure nor the inclination nor the intellectual ability to think for themselves rationally on such abstruse questions as the existence of God or an individual self, free will and determinism, the general principles of conduct, the final destiny of men after physical death &c. In sociological matters human judgement is often warped by prevailing dogmas and prejudices; on questions which are deemed to be religious (and in India the field of matters deemed to be religious has always been very extensive) a frank discussion is almost impossible without creating anger and rancour. Several ethical questions such as divorce and birth control often assume the position of religious dogmas and when openly discussed create great heat. In several so-called democracies of the present day rational discussion comes last and vital questions are determined by party loyalties or by personality cults or by lust for power and self-aggrandisement. It should not be supposed that ancient and medieval India had no rationalists nor atheists. As a matter of fact there were several rationalists. Vide the present author’s note 875 pp. 353-359 in H. of Dh. Vol. II, Vol. III. pp. 46-47 note 57 on Lokāyatas and their views, 2421 and pp. 974-975 note 1596 above for rationalistic criticism of sacrifices, śrāddhas &c. Many rationalists hold that there is no proof of the existence of God, they deny an individual soul, they deny immortality and the existence of any intelligence in the universe higher than man’s, deny that there is any design or purpose in the Universe and they believe that in all religions there is some truth mixed with a great deal of error. The case of the rationalist is that

2421. For Lokāyata or Laukāyatika, vide the work Tattvopapalava-śūnya of Jayarāśībhaṭṭa (GOS). The word Lokāyata occurs in the gana Uktāhādi mentioned in Pāṇini ‘Kratukthādīstṛānta-ḥak’ IV. 2. 60. Vide Dr. Dakshināranjan Shastri’s ‘Short History of Indian Materialism’ (Calcutta, 2nd ed. of 1957) and pp. 1203-6 note 1936 above.
he should not be called upon to prove that there is no God (which is a negative proposition), that it is for theists to prove that God exists (which is a positive proposition) and that he is omnipotent and omniscient. They say that to attribute anger, love, pity to God is to implicitly negative God’s omnipotence. The problem of evil in the world is, according to rationalists, a great stumbling block in accepting God as good, kind, all-knowing and all-powerful. The rationalist might agree with the theist that man as an individual depends on something greater than himself that is able to give directions and to punish him for the disobedience of directions. For the rationalist it is some kind of community or society in which men live and have their being that is greater than themselves. This would be substituting the worship of the human community or of collective human power for the worship of God. What human community is to be in the place of God? Is it to be the whole human race (now having over two thousand million human beings) or some big or small groups out of these? There are now two well-defined blocks between whom there is a conflict of ideological ends, viz. the communist block represented by the U.S.S.R. and China and the capitalistic block represented by U.S.A., England and several other countries of Europe, and a third unorganized block of countries professing to have no alignment with anyone of the two blocks.

In these days Communism is really a form of worship i.e. worship of man or men in place of the worship of God. It may be conceded that probably the masses of the Russian people are far better off in the matter of physical needs than they were in the regime of the Tsars. The masses seem to have devotion to Communism. But that devotion is more apparent than real, based on the hope of quick gains or the fear of prompt punishment and is the product of rigid State control of education and the environment. The communists have an attractive slogan in the words ‘Workers of the world! unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains.’ There are also the catchwords ‘Dictatorship of the proletariat.’ But this ends in fact in a dictatorship of the Communist Party over the proletariat. In return for physical well-being the common people have had to bargain away several freedoms, freedom to think for themselves, freedom of expression, freedom of intercourse with foreigners, freedom to choose their occupation &c. The communists make no secret that they want to bring the whole world under Communism. Therefore, they pose that they are the
saviours of common men and women throughout the world and they cannot be charged with aggression since they mean to liberate people from the bonds of capitalism or colonialism &c. Their creed is one of fanaticism, of intolerance or hatred of others. The only experiment of a godless society on a large scale was made by the Soviet, but it does not appear to outsiders to have been a happy or successful one. The universal exhibition of portraits of great Soviet leaders (some of whom were declared by successor leaders to be no better than murderers) proclaims the necessity of worship even in a godless society. Dictators have nationalized not only all the means of the production of wealth but also all the labour in the country. They have established themselves in the place of God and desire to have total control over the bodies and the minds of all their subjects. The faith of the communists is that their country is a heaven on earth and one must accept their word for that without wanting to see for one self the real state of things. The Communists have their own special versions of history, economics and science. These one must not question.

The followers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam (all believing in one God and one Book) did not hesitate for centuries to inculcate their doctrines and practices by terrible persecutions and bloody wars. This spirit is very shocking to people brought up in Hinduism or Buddhism. If Rationalists substitute blocks of humanity or the leaders of such blocks for worship and authority, humanity itself would soon be wiped out. Conceding for argument that the existence of an omnipotent and omniscient Power cannot be proved to the satisfaction of the so-called rationalists, the present writer feels that it is for the good of most societies consisting of millions of common men and women that they believe in God and the individual soul. Most men are influenced to keep to the path of virtue and right by the fear of God, by the prickings of conscience (which is the inner light implanted in man by God), by the fear of public opinion, and by fear of punishment at the hands of the rulers of the State (vide

2422. Those interested in this phase of Communism should read 'Krushchev and Stalin's Ghost' by Bertram De Wolfe (1957); pp. 88-252 contain on even pages Krushchev's secret report to 20th Congress on the night of 1 February 24, 25 in 1956, translated into English and odd pages contain notes and commentaries by the author. On p. 91 note it is stated that Stalin placed the number of Kulaks disposed of at one crore. Vide 'Assignment in Utopia' by E. Lyon (1937) for the horrors in Russia before 1934, and 'Communist China to-day' by S. Chandrasekhara, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961 for the present state of morals in China.
Śāntiparva quoted in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 389 note 619). Those who reject the first of these would have to reject the 2nd also and would have to fall back upon hedonism (the greatest pleasure for themselves) or the idea of greatest good of the greatest number or progress towards some ideal state of society painted by imagination. The pursuit of purely secular or worldly happiness is incompatible with the precepts and ideals of Hinduism and all higher religions. Rationalism accepts the postulates which science finds convenient and useful. Though these postulates work well up to certain limits, it must be said that those limits are very narrow. Science aims at establishing general rules or laws. From those laws we know only the behaviour of nature and how man can utilize natural forces for realizing human aims; but science does not tell us what those aims should be, it is amoral and not concerned with morals or spirituality. Rationalism appears to smother many experiences of the human mind which are beyond the present machinery of science. When the scientific method is adopted in social studies, there is little to show that it leads to increased wisdom about the values that should be pursued. Rationalism insists that all our beliefs ought ultimately to be based on tangible and definite grounds and that modern scientific method is the only reliable method for acquiring knowledge of all kinds. But there are sub-conscious and non-rational impulses, beliefs and intuitions in men that are held by men to be truer or of a higher order than what is on the rationalistic level (vide W. James’ ‘Varieties of religious experience’ p. 74, ed. of 1920). It should be the endeavour of leaders of thought in each generation to find out what is essential and vital in tradition (without believing in the infallibility of all traditions) and to present reasoned dogmas which, while retaining the essential elements of tradition, will meet the demands of modern thought and conditions and environment. It is not necessary to say here more about modern rationalism. For over two thousand years our ancient writers and smṛtis like those of Manu (XII. 105-106 which are relied upon by Kumārila himself as shown on p. 1261 above) have allowed to ārıka a place in the matter of finding out what Dharma is and have been most tolerant of differing views even on fundamental matters as shown above and brought about great changes even in religious rituals, philosophical views, social customs and practices without perpetrating atrocities and indulging in wholesale persecutions. A man may be a monotheist, or a polytheist or
an image-worshipper, an agnostic, or atheist or an idealist philosopher holding 'nirguna brahma' as the only reality, yet he may nevertheless be held to be a full Hindu, if he conforms to the general attitude towards Veda and social usages. A more radical tolerance than what our people showed throughout the ages is almost unthinkable. Western writers while admitting great tolerance in religious views and practices harp often on the requirements about observing caste rules in matters of food, marriage etc. But caste is more a social institution than a religious one and therefore just as in Western countries there were rules of etiquette and observance (such as the number 13 and the regulations against working on Sabbath and against theatre going, card playing and physical exercise except walking) that had to be observed meticulously, in India caste rules had to be observed. Besides, even when caste rules were broken the offender had in a meeting of the caste people to admit his mistake, to pay a fine to the caste or village temple and then was restored to all privileges of the caste. As the Christian churches were extremely intolerant of the slightest departure from religious views held at particular times, there arose in Europe the emphasis on rationalism and freedom to hold opinions. Government could effectively mould the opinions of its subjects by controlling education, by censorship of books and by inflicting severe penalties on those who expressed opinions opposed to those espoused by them. The Roman Church prepared an Index of forbidden books and an Index expurgatorius (a list of passages to be expunged from books that were otherwise permitted). The first Index Librorum Prohibitorius in its latest edition (before 1949) contains 5000 titles. Lecky in his 'History of the rise and influence of rationalism in Europe' points out to the extirpation of Christianity from Japan, of Protestantism from Spain, of the Huguenots from France, of most Catholics from England. The Jesuits acted on the principle that the end justifies the means.

2423. Vide Lecky's work, vol. II p. 5 for these instances (ed. of 1890). The Toleration Act (1689) in England expressly excluded Catholics and Unitarians from the benefits of the Act. In 1601 the English Parliament passed the Statute for the burning of heretics which was not repealed until the Stuarts came back. Vide 'Conscience and Liberty' by Robert S. W. Pollard (1940) pages 46-48, for harsh laws in force in England a little over one hundred years ago against non-Conformists and Roman Catholics.


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Their end was the ‘greater glory of God’, which meant to them the conversion of peoples and kingdoms to Roman Catholicism. Their means included incitements to assassination and to war. It has been mentioned above (p. 483) how Galileo was persecuted for espousing the Copernican theory in astronomy. Not much difference is made to religion whether the Sun revolves round the earth or the earth round the sun. In this connection it may be pointed out that Āryabhata (born in 476 A. D.) appears to have held the view that the stars did not revolve round the earth, but the latter revolved round itself and gave the illustration of a man sitting in a moving boat feeling that it is the stationary objects on the banks that rush past in the opposite direction. The Pañcasiddhāntikā (13, 6) of Varāhamihira refers to this view and rejects it, not on the ground that it is opposed to the Veda, but on the ground that, if that view were correct, hawks and other birds flying high up in the sky would not be able to come back to their nests without fail. He did not know that the atmosphere also goes with the earth. This was more than eleven hundred years before Galileo and there is nothing to show that Āryabhata suffered in the least for his views. For Āryabhata’s view vide ‘Āryabhaṭṭiyam’ by W. E. Clark (Chicago, 1930) p. 64. As observed by Archibald Robertson the history of the Rationalist movement in Europe is to a very great extent the history of a fight for the right to hold and propagate opinions unpopular for the time being and the growth of religious toleration in Europe has in fact gone hand in hand with the decay of traditional religious beliefs. Reason arrives at different conclusions on the same matter in different ages and even in the same age what appears reasonable to one group or people is held to be unreasonable by another people. Vide Robert Bridges’ ‘Testament of Beauty’ Book I lines 465-470 on what is reasonable. Millions of people saw fruits falling from tree tops to the earth, but it was only the intuition and logic of Newton that enabled him to formulate the laws of gravitation.

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same book and also ‘The flame and the light’ by Hugh T. Anson Fausset (London, 1958) pp. 11-12, where the author says that Western man is very little sustained or guided by the doctrines of orthodox Christianity and that European civilization of the last five hundred years is dissolving.

2425 अनुवांशिकता: उपर्युक्त विलोमम् च: भदुः। अच्छादनी भास्ति वद्वत्समध्विकमकान्ति लक्ष्यारूप। आर्यभटीय, गोल्पायड़ वर्ष 9.
Doubt has been and is a frequent and legitimate attitude of the mind as recognised by the Br. Up. (I. 5. 3) 'Kāmaḥ sankalpo vicikitsā śraddhā, aśraddhā, dhrītr, adhritir hṛṇ-dhrībhir-etyetat sarvam mana eva' (desire, fancy, doubt, faith, want of faith, steadiness, restlessness, shame, understanding, fear, all these are aspects of mind). Even the Rgveda (II. 12. 5) refers to doubters about Indra (utem āhur-naisostityenam'). In the Katha Up. Naciketas says 'when a man dies there is the doubt, some saying 'he (the self) exists', others saying 'he ceases to exist' and prays to Yama to resolve that doubt for him as the third boon.

Descartes held that only one truth is beyond doubt viz. cogito ergo sum (I think, therefore I am). In Europe the whole of the 18th and 19th centuries were dominated as far as thoughtful men were concerned by boundless faith in reason and progress. But owing to the two world wars (particularly the second), their aftermath and the rise of two powerful Communist countries have greatly weakened the faith in progress guided by reason and ethics, faith in the dignity of man and in equality is on the decline and is assailed in many regions and the view that might creates or is right is gaining ground.

The Upaniṣads teach that a sound moral preparation must precede the acquisition of true vedāntic view. The Br. Up. states 'therefore one who knows this, after securing quiescence, restraining his senses, being free from all hangeries, bearing with fortitude all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold), having his mind concentrated, sees the Self in the self, looks upon everything as Ātman'; the Kaṭhopaniṣad II. 24 says 'one who has not ceased from doing evil actions, who is not quiescent, who has not concentrated his mind nor has made his mind quiescent would not realize this Self by correct knowledge'; Praśna I. 16 'those secure the pure world of brahman who are free from crookedness, falsehood and deceitful conduct'; Śv. Up. VI. 22 'this highly esoteric knowledge of Vedānta should not be imparted to one whose mind is not quiescent or who is not a son or disciple'. The great formula 'thou art That' teaches one to look upon all men as Ātman or as the Gītā (VI. 29–30) puts it 'he who is endowed with Yoga and knows Ātman to be in everything and everything as abiding in Ātman, is not lost to the Lord nor is the Lord lost to him'. Compare Īśā Up. 6 and Manu XII. 91. In the Chān. Up. (III. 16. 1) man is symbolically represented as sacrifice and in III. 17, 4 it is stated
Vedānta supports pure morality

that tapas, charity, straightforward conduct, ahimsā and truthfulness are the dakṣiṇā (sacrificial fees).

This shows that Vedānta in its highest form is the best support of pure morality for individuals. It is on account of this teaching that many sages cultivated these virtues in hermitages and were honoured by kings and common people in ancient times in India, but in medieval times the sages became rare and as regards common people they were tied down by customs and caste and very few people made strenuous efforts for solidarity of all their countrymen, for meeting their common needs and safeguarding all peoples' interests; and by the side of sublime philosophical tenets our country witnessed abject poverty among large masses of people and political domination by alien or brutal invaders. The tendency to rely on the Vedas, to believe and to argue that what has been is the best, and to appeal to the past has been very strong throughout our history for centuries. Our motto must not be 'back to the Vedas' but rather 'forward with the Vedas'. While giving due weight to the Veda and authority, we must not condemn all independence in thought.

Some Western rationalists such as Bentham, James Mill and John S. Mill put forward the theory of utilitarianism which briefly comes to this that actions are to be judged by their consequences and are right in proportion as they tend to make for the greatest good or happiness of the community or of the greatest number. This theory has great drawbacks, the most important being that it is not really a moral theory at all as it does not tell us exactly what a man or community ought to do. Religions tell their followers what they ought to do or not to do. Another difficulty is that what may appear to one man as being for the greatest good of the greatest number may not be so accepted by others and further it is difficult to define what the greatest number regards as good or happiness. Besides, many men care nothing at all about the happiness of others. Moral, political and economic actions are confused by this doctrine. In practice, as the emphasis was put on happiness, this theory

2426. Even in these days our country can produce men imbued with the true spirit of Advaita-vedānta like Raman Maharshi, the sage of Arunachal (1879-1950) about whom Arthur Osborne has published a very interesting and revealing work 'Raman Maharshi and the path of Self-knowledge' (Rider and Co, 1954).
was made the excuse for epicurianism and indulgence in things material.

The present author is not at all against freedom of thought, but what he objects to is making a fetish of rationalism and making millions of common men and women waver in their faith and principles of conduct by the constant talk of the non-existence of God or of the individual soul &c. The rationalists and utilitarians hardly agree upon any values and principles of conduct to be inculcated among ordinary young men and women. If God and soul be eliminated, they have not been able to put something more valuable in their place, for which the young generation that is growing up would be ready to live laborious days or to sacrifice themselves. Though we may not subscribe to the position that the last word of wisdom on all religious and social matters is to be found in the Veda or in the works of ancient sages and writers, even wise men may hesitate before they decide the question whether we should carry on a campaign for eradicating beliefs in God and an immortal self. The Gita strikes the right note for most people when it utters the warning (III. 26) 'let not the knowing or wise man (the jñāin or vidvān) unsettle the minds of the ignorant that are attached to (certain) actions (by habit); the enlightened man, himself doing all work in the true spirit of a yogin, should set others to do all actions.'

As a result of the two world wars in which unspeakable atrocities and barbarities were committed by highly educated and organized countries most of whose people professed Christianity, there is a revulsion of feeling and several eminent men are busy in attributing the present difficulties to the decay of religious belief and in inviting humanity to return to religion. But the crux of the problem is what religious beliefs and practices are to be inculcated and practised by men in the present age. It appears to the present writer that religions can hardly be a panacea for the ills of the world. Very large blocks of modern educated men are dissatisfied with the tenets and practices of several current religions and their authoritative books. The real difficulty to be grappled with is to

2427. Vide 'Scourge of the Svastika' by Lord Russell of Liverpool p. 171 where he cites the confession of Höss that not less than three million people were put to death at Auschwitz, 2500000 of them by gas chambers and on p. 250 he remarks 'the murder by the Germans of over five million European Jews constitutes the greatest crime in World History.'
define what must be the content of the faith that would appeal to and secure the allegiance of most or all good, intellectual and educated modern men. At different times different virtues (such as monachism, charity, humility, patriotism, social service or philanthrophism) were preached as of supreme importance. The growth of the virtue of patriotism and of the feeling of nationalism in Western countries was not due to Christianity's teachings but to various other causes in Europe's political and economic history. There are religious virtues, heroic virtues, amiable virtues &c. The Christian people of Europe and America during the last four centuries achieved great wealth and prosperity by throwing to the winds the virtues preached in the Sermon on the Mount, by extending their colonial empires for exploiting vast regions, by decimating millions of unoffending backward races, by hunting human beings as if they were beasts and forcing on them slavery and by preaching from the house tops the great need of competition in all spheres and worshipping it as if it were God. After the holocaust of the great wars, many eminent men, not only religious men, but even those that occupy positions in Government and political life, preach the necessity of the moral sense, of benevolence and kindness towards others, restraint, unselfishness and a desire to allow others to share in the good things of life, which virtues were emphasized for all men in the Br. Up. V. 2. 1–3 quoted above.2428

In India Emperor Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. inculcated in his Edicts tolerance for the Brahmanic and the Buddhist faith (vide pp. 1611–12 above). Aśoka does not enter into dogma of any kind, but regarding himself as the father of all his subjects enjoins on them a morality that is practical and would be acceptable to all, such as tolerance, humanity, charity to monks and also to the poor and compassion towards dumb animals. Later on, it was at the most necessary to show that the doctrines put forth by reasoning were not directly opposed to the dicta

2428. Archibald Robertson in "Rationalism in theory and Practice" (Watts and co, London 1954) asserts (on page 41) that Christian morals have never been practised and that a society would not last for a month if run on the lines of the Sermon on the Mount. W. R Mathews in 'Christ' (London, 1939) agrees (on page 76) with Professor Whitehead that the adoption of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount literally understood on any large scale would mean the sudden death of civilization. C. H. Tawney in 'Acquisitive Society' (1921) asserts that what was Christian in Christianity had largely disappeared from about 1700 A. D. (pages 12-13).
of the Veda. To take only one example: though the Upaniṣads express Advaita in such Mahāvākyas ‘aham brahmāsmi’ (Ch. Up. III. 14.1), ‘tat-tvam-asi’ (Ch. Up. VI. 8.7), Madhvacārya could expound his thorough-going dvaita doctrine, could explain away by reasoning the above passages and claim to be the only true expounder of Veda and denounce the advaita doctrine as Buddhism in disguise without any serious persecution on either side. Yājñavalkya (II. 192) calls upon the king to safeguard the special usages of guilds and heretics and their modes of livelihood. This tolerance for multiplicity of forms and practices in religion and for diametrically opposed philosophic views has had also its weakness viz. it permitted the growth of endless variations in the formulation of faith, ritual and philosophic doctrines and led in great measure to several abuses, to some unhealthy and even revolting practices.
SECTION IX
CHAPTER XXXIV
COSMOLOGY

All writers on Dharmaśāstra are agreed on the existence of God. They rarely enter upon the task of adducing arguments for the existence of God. Christian theologians for hundreds of years put forward various arguments pointing to the existence of God. They are briefly summarised in William James' 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 437 (ed. of 1920). The cosmological argument reasons from the ordered universe to a First Cause which must be conceived as God who must at least possess whatever perfection the universe itself contains. The argument from purpose or design (teleological argument) bases itself on the evidence of purpose or design in Nature and concludes that the First Cause (God) must be a creative intellect or mind. Then there are other arguments also such as the 'moral argument' (viz. the moral law presupposes a law-giver), the argument ex consensu gentium (viz. there is widespread belief in God all over the world and it should carry weight).

2429. Vide also F. W. Westway's 'Obsessions and convictions of the human intellect' (Blackie & Son, 1938), which adds a fifth to James' four viz., ontological argument (the very idea or concept of God makes the existence of God requisite) pp. 378-80. W. James in 'Pragmatism' (p. 109, ed. 1910) states that the evidence for the existence of God lies primarily in inner personal experience. Mr. Westway (on p. 374) gives a definite answer that there is no proof of the existence of God, but (on p. 387) he admits that the argument from design carries an extremely high degree of probability and that he believes that the Universe is not merely a chance-made affair as some philosophers believe. The argument from design (for God's existence) is held to have been shattered by the theory of evolution. If everything has a cause, it is also argued, why should God not have a cause? And it is said by some that there is no reason to suppose that the world had a beginning at all. This is the view of famous Mīmāṃsakas like Kumārila. Vide above pp. 1209-1210 and note 1963. H. G. Wells in his 'You can't be too careful' (London 1942, p. 282) holds that the idea of God's omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence must be

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The Upanisads speak of the Absolute *brahman* as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the *bhūtas* (beings or elements or both). For example, the Tai. Up. III. 1 (*Bṛgugu*²) is instructed by his father Varuna) 'desire to know that from which all *bhūtas* spring, by which, after being created, they live (are sustained) and to which they return and are absorbed therein; that is *brahma*'. This is the basic text on which V. S. I. 1. 2 (janmādyasya yataḥ) is based. This means 'from which the creation (sustenance and dissolution) of this (world) proceed' (that is brahma). Another passage of the Tai. Up. (II. 1) states that 'from this Ātman Ākāśa sprang, from ākāśa Vāyu, from Vāyu Agni, from Agni waters, from waters the earth, from earth plants, from plants food, from food man'. A passage of the Chān. Up. states²³¹ 'all this, indeed, is brahma; a man, cultivating restraint of the mind, should meditate on that (world) as springing from, ending in and breathing on account of that (brahma)'. This is the basis of V. S. I. 2. 1 (*sarvatra prasiddhopadeśāt*). Here the three attributes of brahma are creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe.

The Vedāntasūtra of Bādarāyana further says that śāstras (sacred canon or texts) are the source of the correct knowledge

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abandoned, since, according to him, these are preposterous absolutes. On the other hand Dr, F. W. Jones in his work 'Design and purpose' (London, 1942) puts forward the view that many people are in danger of losing sight of the truth that the Cosmos is an ordered entity and that many have lost belief in the purpose of human life (p. 13). The teleological argument may strengthen the faith of a person who already believes in God, but it appears that it cannot create faith in God in the case of one who does not subscribe to that view. Abel Jones in 'In search of truth' (1945) holds that the three main arguments for the existence of God are cosmological, teleological and ontological.

²³⁰ यतो वा एमानि पूर्वानि जापने वेद जालानि जीवाति यावतवचिविचित्ति तदृ विज्ञासरससि तत् ब्रह्मसति। सैं। उप. III. 1.

²³¹ सर्व खलिन्दे ब्रह्म तत्तत्सांख्यतिः-कान्तं उपसिस्त च। छ।। उप. III. 14. 1. The word तत्तत्सांख्यिति applied to brahma is peculiar; it is explained by श्रेयग्रामांश्च as follows: तत्तत्सांख्यिति। तस्मात् ब्रह्मणि जाते तेजोवाचिविचित्ति सर्वस्य। अवस्यस्य। तथा तत्सैव जनन महतोत्त्यतः तस्यज्ञोवाचिविचित्ति हीने कलासं भ्रमयेत् इति तत्॥ तथा तस्य रिमिरिम अनिन्ति मातिनि चेति इति। Vide also छ।। उप. I. 9. 1 सर्वत्रिभूतः ग एमानि पूर्वानाधिकारविव सहस्राण्व आकाशं प्रत्यत्तं भवासं भोमेयो व्यापार। आकाशं। परायणां।
of brahma.\textsuperscript{2432} To the objection that the Veda is concerned with rites, that some portions of it are meant for the praise of rites, that the Vedic mantras only remind the performer about the various ingredients of sacrifice, that, therefore, the Vedānta texts either serve no purpose at all or at the most give information about the soul of the sacrificer or the deity to be worshipped in sacrifices, the reply is given by the Vedāntasūtra I. 1. 4 (\textit{tat-tu samanvayāt}), which means that all Vedānta texts are agreed that their purport is to establish that brahma, which has been postulated (in V. S. I. 1. 2) as the creator, preserver and absorber of the world has that character and is omniscient and omnipotent.

That the argument from design also was present to the minds of the propounders of Vedānta follows from the fact that the Vedāntasūtra (II. 2. 1, racanānapapateṣa nānumānam) denies that the Pradhāna of the Sāṅkhyā (that is postulated as \textit{acetana}) can be inferred as the cause of the universe.\textsuperscript{2433}

It may be noted here that, according to Śaṅkaraçārya, the detailed\textsuperscript{2434} statements on the doctrine about creation contained in the Upaniṣads are not to be taken literally, that no special purpose dependent thereon can be found nor is such a purpose laid down by Sruti (Veda), but all those statements are intended to lead on to the knowledge of \textit{brahma} and to expound the non-difference of the world from brahma.\textsuperscript{2435} From early times most
philosophers oscillate between the doctrine of the First Principle as immanent in the universe and the doctrine that God is the creator and is transcendent. The Rigveda and Upanishads appear to postulate the first doctrine according to which the Absolute enters into it when it creates the Universe ('Tai. Up. II 6 ‘tatt sarṣṭvā tad-evānuprāvisat'), Chān. Up. VI. 2, 1, VI. 3, 2, Br. Up. I. 4, 10. They also speak of God as ruling the Universe (antaryāmin) as in Br. Up. III. 7. Kauśitaki Up. III. 8. At that time there was no atomic theory. Early Greek thought also wavered between the two doctrines. Later on came the rival theory of cosmology in which atoms played a great part, that was adumbrated by Democritus (died about 370 B.C. acc. to William James in 'Some Problems', and explained by Lucretius. In India also the Vaiśeṣikas put forward the theory that the world is paramānus (atoms). Kapāda or Kanaḥbhuks (lit. one who assumes or subsists on kāpas, very subtle particles) is the reputed founder of the Vaiśeṣika system. He does not expressly say anything about God. But later medieval writers on Nyāya—Vaiśeṣika combined the two doctrines of God and atoms. As the Tarkadipika puts the theory it is as follows: when God desires to create, activity is produced among the atoms, two atoms join, dyaṇukā (dyad) is produced, tryaṇukā is produced from three dyaṇukas and in the end the great earth is produced; of things created when God desires to bring about dissolution an activity is produced in the atoms. The atoms are eternal and infinite in number.

Though there was almost universal agreement about the existence of God among the Dharmāṣṭra writers, there was (as in the West) divergence about the names, nature and

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by A. A. Macdonell pp. 8–15, Deussen's 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' translated into English by A. S Geden (1906) pp. 180–253; 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishads' by A. B. Keith, pp. 570–584. A recent work 'Theories of the Universe' by Milton K. Munitz (pub. by Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957) deals with the cosmologies of several countries from Babylonian myth to modern science (but omits the Indian material).

2436. इन्द्ररथ चिकित्सकायोतिकराणु किया जायते। तत: परमाणुपरस्यथे सति इव बुध्दस्य प्रवाहस्य सिद्धिमयितं क्षयकर्मस्य अविभाज्यते। एवं चतुर्दशकादिक्रमेन महतः पृथिविः... वायुवत्स्यते।... एवंतुषा वर्गायं तं चतुर्दशस्य सिद्धिमयितं परमाणु किया। तत्कालीिष्का p. 9 (Athalye’s 2nd ed. of 1918).

2437. In the West, Jeans in 'Mysterious Universe' (Cambridge 1931 goes so far as to say (on p. 134) 'the great Architect of the Universe...

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attributes of God. Most were agreed that God is one without a second, is spiritual (and not physical, though several people worshipped Him in the form of Śiva or Viṣṇu or Devi), immutable, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, creator, holy, good and just &c. Difficult questions arise about belief in God. One or two may be mentioned: Is God omniscient in the completed and strictest sense viz. whether he could do anything whatever as he likes or whether there are certain things which he cannot do. Another question is whether all existing things other than himself have been created by him or whether there are some things whose existence is as ultimate as God's. All religions are faced with difficulties and therefore religion is a matter of faith.

Though the Rgveda is full of the deeds of and prayers to individual Gods (such as Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Soma), the Rgveda contains several hymns and verses to the effect that the original Principle is only one, that it creates the world out of itself, enters into it and inspires it. In Rg. I.164.46 the sage says 'the wise speak of the One existing (principle) under various names, they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan (wind god)'. This is not a solitary verse. There are similar verses in the Rgveda. For example, Rgveda VIII. 58. 2 (a verse from the Vālakhiliya hymns) says 'The one fire is kindled in many places, the one Sun appears in the whole world, the one Dawn shines over all this world and the One (Principle, Spirit) became all this'. In Rg. X.90.2, it is declared 'all this universe is (in reality) the Purusa alone, (both) what has been and what will come into existence in future'. In Rg. II. 1.3–7 Agni is identified with Indra, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Tvastr, Rudra, Draviṇodas, Savitṛ and Bhaga. All these verses establish that ultimately all plurality is only a play of words, a mere name ('Vācārambhāṇam vikāro nāmadheyam' as the Čāṇ. Up. VI. 1.4 states) and that unity is the only Reality and that the fundamental teaching of the Upaniṣads appears in germ in the Rgveda.

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begins to appear as a pure mathematician.' Einstein, the greatest scientist of modern times, is reported to have cabled back to Rabbi H. S. Goldstein of New York (who asked by wire 'Do you believe in God') that 'I believe in Spinoza's God who reveals himself in the harmony of all beings, not in a God who concerns himself with the fate and actions of men.' In 'Out of my later years' he holds that the main conflict between science and religion lies in the concept of a personal God. Vide Viscount Samuel's address in the symposium 'In search of faith' edited by E. W. Martin p. 78, where four views on the relation of God and the world are mentioned.
In the Rgveda there are several hymns about the creation of the world in the 10th Mandala (X. 72, X. 81 and 82, X. 90, X. 121, X. 129). For reasons of space all these cannot be set out at length, but some important texts will be mentioned. The main purpose of the hymn (X. 72) is to describe the birth of eight Adityas. Rg. X. 72. 2 states that Brahma-spatai brought about the (births of) gods like a smith (that works with bellows) and that in the primeval ages of the Gods' sat was produced from asat. In Rg. X. 72. 4-5 and 8 it is said that Dakṣa was born from Aditi and Aditi from Dakṣa, that the gods were born after her (Aditi) and that from Aditi eight sons were born. The two hymns X. 81 and 82 refer to Viṣvakarmā who fashioned the worlds. X. 81. 2 and 4 ask questions 'what was the base (from where he created the world), what was the

2438. ब्राह्मणस्पतिते सं कर्मर इवाधसत् | देवानां पूर्वेः गुप्तरूपूः सज्ञायते ॥ क्र. X. 72. 2. Here 'Asat' must be taken to mean 'undeveloped' (Avyakta) and not as meaning 'non-existent'. The Br. Up. (I. 4. 7) states 'all this was then (before creation began) undeveloped and it was developed by name and form'. Similarly, in the Tai. Up. II. 7 it is said असत हृदया आसीति तत्रै स कृष्णज्ञ. But the Chān. Up. (VI. 3. 1-3) emphatically asserts 'in the beginning there was that only which was 'sat', one only without a second; some say 'in the beginning there was that only which is asat, from which arose sat'; but how could it be thus, how would sat (that which is) spring from asat (that which is not)? It is sat only that which was at the beginning, one without a second. It reflected 'may I be many, may I produce'; it created fire &c. 'Saṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 4. 15 refers to Tai. Up. II. 7 'asad và idam-agra āsīt' and Chān. Up. III, 19. 1 'asad-evadam-agra āsīt' and explains what is meant by asat in such passages viz. 'नामसंवेदः सत्वमः प्रकृतिः इति नामसंवेदः सत्वमः प्रकृतिः सत्वं ब्रह्मस्वतिस्वतियत्वपर्यं' and points out that in such passages Sriuti itself adds words which give the go-by and refute the words 'asad-evadam' &c. In Rg. X. 72. 4 (aditer dakṣo ajāyata) Prof. Velankar (Pro. of All I. O. Conference, 17th Session in 1953) holds 'aditeh' to be in the genitive case (p. 62) and not in the ablative case, to avoid the riddle how Dakṣa and Aditi were born of each other; but that breaks the symmetry of the words, such as 'asataḥ', 'uttanapadāḥ', 'bhuvaḥ' that precede and are taken as ablative. The present author demurs to this explanation offered by Prof. Velankar.

2439. यज्ञवर्तिनी च विद्यार्थिनी कृत्यविद्यार्थिनी । वैदिकज्ञानवर्तिनी विद्यार्थिनी ॥ यज्ञवर्तिनी च विद्यार्थिनी । विद्यार्थिनी च । विद्यार्थिनी च विद्यार्थिनी ॥ विद्यार्थिनी च । विद्यार्थिनी । विद्यार्थिनी च विद्यार्थिनी ॥ विद्यार्थिनी । विद्यार्थिनी च विद्यार्थिनी ॥ ॥ ॥ विद्यार्थिनी च विद्यार्थिनी ॥ विद्यार्थिनी च । विद्यार्थिनी च विद्यार्थिनी ॥ विद्यार्थिनी । विद्यार्थिनी च विद्यार्थिनी ॥ ॥ ॥ The half verse kṣirasūna occurs in Rg. X. 31. 7 also. सारण explains kṣirasūna in the first verse as 'कथमपूर्वूः किं सर्वे सर्वद्वारे श्रव्यितयः' । उभयप्रथम नैपपधि । सर्वे (Continued on next page)
material (out of which he fashioned the earth), what was the forest and the tree from which heaven and earth were chiselled out' and the third verse describes the one God as follows 'The one God who sees all round, whose face is turned in all directions, who has hands and feet everywhere, who when creating heaven and earth sends them forth with his (two) hands as with bellows and with wings' (as a bird is propelled). Rgveda X. 90 (containing 16 verses) is the famous hymn called Puruṣasūkta and postulates a supreme creator as a Puruṣa (called Adipuruṣa by Sayana) with a thousand heads, eyes and feet, asserts that all this that has come into being and that is yet to come is Puruṣa, that from Puruṣa arose Viśv, from whom arose (what we may call the second) Puruṣa (Hiranyagarbha) whom the gods offered as havis (oblation or āṣū) in a symbolical sacrifice in which the three seasons, Vasanta, Grīṣma and Śarad were respectively the ghee, the fuel and the havis. This hymn was probably composed at a time when, it appears, there was a firm belief (as in Śat. Br. V. 2. 4. 7, VI. 1. 1. 3 and Tai. S. VII. 4. 2. 1) that nothing great can be accomplished without yajña or tapas. The hymn then proceeds to say that from that primeval yajña all animals (horses, cows &c.), the four varṇas, the Sun, the Moon, Agni, Indra, the Veda, heaven and earth were produced. In the Atharvaveda XIX. 6 also there are 16 verses of which the first fifteen correspond with the first 15 verses of the Puruṣasūkta, but the order of verses is different and some of the words also are slightly changed. The Vaiṣ. S. 31 has all the 16 verses of the Puruṣasūkta but it contains five more verses and a prose passage at the end. Rg. X. 121. 1 declares that in the beginning Hiranya-

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2440. Hiranyakṣīma: सम्बन्धितमेव शून्यतं जातं: पत्तिक आसीत। ऋ. X. 121. 1. The ऋ. स. V. 5. 1. 2 provides 'Hiranyakṣīma: सम्बन्धितमेव शून्यतं जातं: पत्तिक आसीत। प्रजापतिमेव शून्यतं जातं: पत्तिक आसीत।' व आत्माका वस्तुविशद विद्या उपासनं प्रकाशं यथस्य देव:। यथस्य देवस्य शुक्ल सुखस्य कर्मे देवयावि हृदयम् इतिम। ऋ. X. 121. 2. 'He gives life and strength, his commandments are honoured by all the Gods, whose shadow is immortality and also death; who is this God whom we worship with other offerings (or to what God we may offer worship with havis?).

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garbha (the Golden Egg) was born; and verse 10 identifies him with Prajāpati and verses 8 and 10 declare that waters were produced by him from which issues forth Hiranyagarbha (the Golden egg), which was Prajāpati Himself. The second verse is quoted in n. 1440. Rg. X. 125 is a hymn placed in the mouth of Vāk (speech), wherein speech is portrayed as a power even beyond the gods and as creative. Three (1, 6, 8) out of the eight verses may be rendered here 'I move along with the Rudras and Vasus, with the Ādityas and Viśvedevas; I support both Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni and the two Āśvins. I stretch the bow of Rudra in order to kill the enemy, the hater of brahma (sacred prayer); I cause war for men; I entered heaven and earth. I blow like the wind, producing all the worlds; I am beyond heaven and beyond this earth; by my greatness (power) I have become such a one'. Here one must hold that the sage is not referring to ordinary speech or language but to the conception that word has creative power and that it is one with God or was the thought uttered by brahman.

Rg. X. 129 (called Nāsadiya-sūktam from the opening words) is a unique hymn. Several passages of his hymn are yet very obscure in spite of the labour bestowed upon it by eminent scholars. In this hymn the First Principle or Creator is not given any name but is simply spoken of as 'tad-ekam', as done in the Upaniṣads in 'Tat-tyam-asi' or 'ekam-evādviyam' (Chān. Up. VI. 2.1-2.). The important and tolerably clear passages are translated here: "There was then neither 'asat' (what is not,
non-being) nor ‘sat’ (what is); there was no sky nor the heaven which is beyond; what was it that covered all? Where was it and under whose shelter? Was there deep unfathomable abyss of waters?; (2) There was no death, hence nothing immortal; there was no consciousness (distinction) of night and day; that one breathed by its own nature (power) without there being any air, really nothing other than that existed; (4) desire came into being, that was the first flow (seed, offspring) of the mind; (6) who knows directly, who can proclaim it here whence this creation came into being; (7) He from whom arose this creation, whether he made it or did not make it, the Highest seer in the highest heaven, he indeed knows or even he does not know?

It would be noticed that the sage, who was a poet and philosopher, proclaimed that there was that one Being, raised high above all gods, conditions and limitations; he, the sage, gives expression to what he conceived to be the state before the creation of the universe. Night and day, death and immortality are opposites. These exist only when there is manifestation or creation and therefore he says ‘there was no death, nor anything immortal’. The hymn does not say that there was non-being out of which being grew. What he means is that That One alone breathed, the opposites, being and non-being, did not exist. For translations and remarks on this hymn, vide Max-Müller’s ‘History of ancient Sanskrit Literature’ (1839) pp. 539–566, and ‘Six systems of Indian Philosophy’ (1919 ed.) pp. 49–52, Dr. Radhakrishnan’s ‘Indian Philosophy’ (1923), vol. I. pp. 100-104. Prof. Whitney (Proceedings of American Oriental Society Vol. XI p. CXI.), in his characteristic supercilious manner referred to above on p. 512, remarked that the praises bestowed on this hymn were nauseating. Deussen, long after Whitney’s diatribe, said ‘in its noble simplicity, in the loftiness of its philosophic vision, it is possibly the most admirable bit of the philosophy of olden times’ and that ‘no translation can ever do justice to the beauty of the original’ (vide Bloomfield’s ‘The religion of the Veda,’ p. 234, ed. of 1908). Vide Keith’s ‘Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads.’ Vol. II. pp. 435–436. In many other passages of the Rgveda, different gods are referred to as creators. God Prajāpati is said to have created heaven and earth, the wide, deep, well formed and to have pushed them by his power without support (IV. 56. 3). Indra is said to have created the Sun and Uśas (Rg. II. 12. 7) and to have established heaven without any beam to support, supported and spread the earth (Rg. II. 15. 2).
The creation hymns refer to a stage when there was no generally accepted theory about the origin of the world. But this much is clear that in the most ancient times, at least some of the Vedic sages had arrived at the theory that there was only one Principle or Spirit, though called by various names and that it willed to create the world and created it from itself.

Apart from the above-mentioned hymns that may be called creation hymns, the Rgveda contains many references to the creation or the support of heaven and earth by several gods and also creation of other things. In Rg. X. 89. 4 Indra is said to have made from heaven and earth on all sides as the axle does the wheels. Rg. I. 154. 4 refers to Viṣṇu who single-handed supports the three, viz. the earth, the heaven (and antarikṣa) and all the worlds. Mitra is said to support heaven and earth (Rg. III. 59. 1) and to bear all gods (Rg. III. 59. 8)\(^{2412}\). Brahmaṇaśpati (Lord of Prayer, Brhaspati) is said to have sent forth (blazed) the births of gods like a blacksmith and that in the primeval times of the gods sat was born from asat. Soma is said (Rg. VI. 47. 4) to have made the width of the earth and the loftiness of the heaven and supported the wide antarikṣa (mid regions) and in Rg. II. 40 (which is addressed jointly to Soma-Pūṣan) it is said that one of them (Soma) produced all worlds and the other (Pūṣan, the Sun) goes overseeing or marking, the doings of the whole world (verse 5).

In Rg. VII. 78. 3 dawns (plural) are said to have created the Sun, Yajña and Agni. This is metaphorical, since after each dawn the Sun rises, sacrificial fire is kindled into flames and sacrifice is offered. In Rg. I. 96. 2 Agni is said to be the progenitor of men. In Rg. II. 35. 2 (apāṃ napat, grandson of waters i.e. Agni) is said to have created all worlds.

Heaven and earth (as dual divinities) have six hymns addressed to them in the Rg. viz. I. 159–160, 185, IV. 56, VI. 70, VII. 53) and they are called ‘rodasi’ and sisters (Rg. I. 185. 5). They are also called parents of the gods (Rg. VIII. 97. 8, X. 2. 7).

\(^{2412}\) य \ विधातः पुष्पिभीतिवर्गे सामस्याम दधार भवनांति विधात। क्र. 1. 154. 4. The word विधातः occurs at least two dozen times in the Rgveda, but the meaning is not certain. In Rg. VIII 40 12 we have ‘tridhātuā śarmanā pātam-asman’ (protect us with a three-fold protection) and it is difficult to say what ‘tridhātu’ protection is.

\(^{2443}\) ब्रह्मणत्तरताः...स्त्रुताम । क्र. X. 72. 2. एता refers to जान्ना (उक्तव्यति) in the first verse (देवतानां तु वच जान्ना प्रवीचाम विष्णुमया)। For the meaning of सत्त and असत्त vide note 2438 above.
The word 'antarikṣa' (atmospheric region) occurs at least a hundred times in the Rgveda. Sometimes we have phrases like (tisraḥ prthvīḥ) meaning the three worlds including the earth (Rg. I. 34. 8), while in other passages reference is made to lower, middle and highest prīttīvi as in Rg. I. 108. 9 (yad indra-gni avamasyām prthivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta sthāḥ) meaning thereby the earth, antarikṣa and heaven. Antarikṣa is often called 'rajas' as the region of dust, mists and clouds in Rg. I. 35. 2 and 9).

In Rg. I. 35. 6 it is said 'there are three dyaus (i.e. heaven, antarikṣa and earth), two are on the lap of Savitṛ (i.e. heaven and earth) and one (antarikṣa) is in the world of Yama. The sage explains in Rg. X. 88. 15 'I have heard of two paths viz. of the pīṭhas and of the gods and also of men; the whole world that moves reaches that (region) which is between the father (heaven) and the mother (the earth').

Varuna is said to have spread antarikṣa on forests, spread the Sun in heaven and Soma on mountains (Rg. V. 85. 2). Even in the times of the Rgveda speculation had begun about the distance between heaven and earth. In Rg. I. 155. 5 the poet says that no one dare soar up to the third step of Viṣṇu (i.e. heaven), not even the birds flying on their wings. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the distance between the earth and heaven is put at one thousand days' journey for a horse.2444

In the Taittirīya Samhitā Prajāpati is frequently mentioned as creating the gods and asuras (III. 3. 7. 1), as creating yajñas (I. 6. 9. 1), as creating people (II. 1. 2. 1) and animals (I. 5. 9. 7) and desiring to create praṇa and performing tapas for that (III. 1. 1. 1). Tai. S. (V. 6. 4. 2) states that all this in the beginning was water, a sea and that Prajāpati becoming wind floated rapidly on a lotus leaf.

The Atharvaveda has some hymns on creation. But they are verbose, repetitive and do not possess the depth, philosophy and terse style of the hymns of the Rgveda cited above. In hymns 7 and 8 of the 10th kāṇḍa it puts forward Skambha as the base and as identified with Prajāpati, as the creator and supporter of all worlds and as having all the thirty-three gods in himself; it asks 'by how much did Skambha enter the manifold

2444. सहस्यनागरक यमकारीय सहस्यविशी के इति: समां लोकः । र. भा. (7वें अ, 7वें खण्ड व 2वें पंक्तिका 17)
forms of the highest, lowest and middling type that Prajāpati created; how much is that in which he (Skambha) did not enter'? In Rg. IX. 86. 46 Soma made for sacrifice is spoken of as Skambha. Hymn 8 of kānda X (of Atharvaveda) is styled 'description of Jyeṣṭha-brahma' (the highest or oldest brahma). Two verses from it may be cited 'Obeisance to that Jyeṣṭha Brahma that governs all, whether produced or to be produced, and to whom alone heaven pertains. These two, heaven and earth, stand supported by Skambha; all this that has Atman, that breathes and blinks is Skambha. Skambha literally means 'support' or 'pillar'. The verbal form 'Skabhnāti' occurs in Rg. X. 6. 3 and the word 'Skambha' occurs several times in the Rg. but not in the sense of 'creator'. In Atharva X. 8. 2 Skambha is mentioned twice, while in X. 72445 (of 44 verses) it occurs many times. Atharva X. 2 is called Brahmaprakāsana hymn (of 33 verses). Numerous questions are asked in verses one to 19. In verses 20, 22, 24 questions are asked and verses 21, 23, 25 give replies to them. One question and answer may be set out 'By whom was this earth made (or arranged), by whom was the high heaven placed, by whom was the sky placed above and crosswise and in various directions'? 'Brahma made the earth, brahma is the heaven placed high, it is brahma that is the sky placed above, cross-wise and in various directions.' Verse 27 of Atharva X. 8 is the same as Sv. Up. IV. 3 and identifies the creator with young and old, men and women and boy and girl. In Atharva X. 8 several other deities also are mentioned but they are deemed to be comprehended in the Supreme Entity. In Atharva IX. 2 (25 verses) there is apotheosis of Kāma, in the first eighteen verses of which there are prayers to Kāma for vanquishing and driving away enemies, the last quarter of each of the verses 19 to 24 ends 'tasmāi te Kāma nama it kṛṇomi' (I offer obeisance to you, O Kāma'). These six verses declare that Kāma appeared first, that neither the gods, nor pitṛs nor men reached Kāma who is greater than heaven and earth, waters, Agni, the directions, all beings that blink their eyes, the sea; Vāta, Agni, the Sun and the Moon do not reach Kāma.

2445. यस्यन्त्र सत्ववर्ता प्रजापतितिर्वकाशस्य \ अधाररथुः। शक्तमेव बहि करत: स्थिरेश सः।।
यज्ञसमागमे यह मध्यम प्रजापति: सयुने विश्वयुः। किंतु तस्य तय: प्रियेभु: तत्व प्रभ यथानिभिस्वमतः।
यथा भविष्यते अद्य सर्वं समाहिताः।।। शक्तमेव बहि करत: स्थिरेश सः।।
अथ येन X. 7, 7, 8, 13; केदारे बुद्धिनिश्चिता तेन श्रीकर्त्ता हिता। केदारमुर्गे निर्यश्शु चार्मिणिर्भो व्याक्य हिताः।
बङ्ग्युप्ने तिर्येक्चात्मतिर्शं व्यया हितेऽम।।। अथ येन X. 2. 24-25.
Atharva XIX. 52 is a hymn of five verses addressed to Kāma, who is said to have appeared in the beginning and was the first flow of the mind.

Atharvaveda XI. 4 (26 verses) is addressed to Prāṇa, the first verse being 'obeisance to Prāṇa under whose domination is all this (world); he is the Lord of all and in him everything is centred (or established)' and verse 12 is 'Prāṇa is Virāj, Prāṇa is the directing power, all offer worship to Prāṇa, Prāṇa is indeed the Sun, the Moon and they (the sages) call him Prajāpati'.

In hymns 53 (10 verses) and 54 (5 verses) of Kānda 19 the Atharvaveda appears to put forward Kāla (time) as the first principle. Three of these are here translated. 'Tapas is placed in Kāla, also the Jyeṣṭha Brahma, Kāla is the Lord of all, he was the father of Prajāpati; Kāla created people, in the beginning Kāla created Prajāpati, Svaṃbhū (Brahmā), Kaśyapa and tapas sprang from Kāla; from Kāla were born waters, brahma, tapas and directions, sun-rise is due to Kāla and it is merged in Kāla (at night).'

The Śat. Br. in many places speaks of creation. A few passages only can be referred to here. The Śat. Br. (in VI.1.1) starts by saying that 'in the beginning there was here the non-existent' and asserts that the non-existent was the sages, the vital airs and then it postulates Prajāpati (made from seven vital airs) who desired 'May I be more, may I have progeny'. 'He toiled and practised tapas, and being tired, he created first of all the Brahman, the triple lore (the three Vedas), that Prajāpati then created waters from Vāk that is the world; that he (Prajāpati) entered the waters with the triple lore and that thence an egg arose; he touched it, then earth was produced and so on.

In XI. 1. 6. 1 ff. the Śat. Br. states 'In the beginning this was water, only a sea. The waters desired 'How shall we have

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2446. कामसत्स्वै समस्मा मया सत्सेवन। स काम कामन चुक्ता दुसरोऽनि रागस्विः यज्ञवद्याय प्रेमे॥ अर्थः XIX. 52 । For मनसेर्व: कर्मसेर्व: compare Rg. X. 129. 4 quoted above in n. 2441; मनसा नमः प्रर्व सर्वसन्तता वतिः॥ ये घनः सर्वसेवयो यस्यन्तर्वै मदितिनम्॥ माणो विरला पाणि तेन्त्र पाणि सर्व उपासते॥ माणो ह सुप्रभुशुमा यामाहुः प्रजापतिम्॥ अर्थः XI. 4. 1 and 12; काले कर्मः काले ऋषि काले ऋषिम्॥ काले ह सर्वसेवयो ये: मीतमुखास्तते॥ कल्लु: मन्त्रा अमृतत काले अमृतापपतिम्॥ स्वयं: कल्लुः कालात्मकः कालात्मकायत॥ अर्थः XIX. 53, 8 and 10; कालात्मकः समवचवः कालात्मकः ब्रह्म सर्वो विदिः॥ कालेनेवर्ते भूरः: काले नि विशाले युनः॥ अर्थः XIX. 54. 1.
progeny?' They toiled and practised austerities; while they were doing this a golden egg was produced, which floated for about a year, in about a year's time a Purusa, Prajapati, was born; he broke open the egg; he created the Gods by (the breath of) his mouth; he created Agni, Indra, Soma" &c.

In XI. 2. 3. 1-2 the Sat. Br. says—In the beginning this (universe) was brahma, it created the gods, Agni, Vayu, Surya; then a reference is made to name and form (nāma-rūpe) by which he descends into the worlds and it is said 'these two (nāmarūpe) are the great manifestations of brahma.'

This myth about a golden egg of the universe is developed from Rg. X. 129. 3 and X. 121. 1 (Hiranyagarbhaḥ sama-vartatāgre) in the Ch. Up. III. 19. 1-2 'In the beginning this universe was asat (not unfolded), it became sat (began to unfold), it was born (i.e. it took form); then an egg was evolved; it lay (in waters) for the period of a year; then it broke up, the two halves were one of silver and the other of gold; the silver half is this earth and the golden half is heaven'. This is followed in Manusmṛti as will be shown later on.

It is stated in the Sat. Br. X. 4. 2. 22-23 that Prajapati arranged the Rgveda in such a way that the number of syllables in the Rgveda come to 12000 Brhati metres (each Brhati has 36 syllables).

The Tai. Br. states "Prajapati created Gods and asuras (II. 2. 3) but he did not create Indra; the Gods said to him 'create Indra for us'; just as I created you by means of tapas and they saw Indra (abiding) in themselves (i.e. in their hearts) they said to him 'be born'". In II. 2. 9. 1 the Tai. Br.2447 states "this universe was nothing at all in the beginning; there was no heaven nor earth nor mid region; that non-existent created Mind with the thought 'let me be'". In II. 6. 2. 3 the same Brāhmaṇa says "Prajapati created by the help of Veda the two forms 'sat' and 'asat'". The Tai. Br. in II. 8. 8. 9-10 cites as Puronuvākyā and Yajyā of purodāsa and puronuvākyā of 'havis' as follows: 'Brahma produced the Gods and all this world;

2447. इव वा अयो नैव किचनासीत्। न च दीर्घसीत्। न पुच्छिष्। नातिसिद्ध। तद सदेव सन्त मनोधक्षुनम स्पासिति। सै. तै. II. 2. 9. 1। भद्रव ईश्वरजन्यस्य। भद्रव निभाति। गृहा। गृहा वादनर्धा। अत्यतिस्मिवीभी तोहाः। तदेव ब्रह्माचिन्तेन कवेयत्। तेन कार्तिक साधितस्य। भद्रवा वाग्यमित्वास्यमित्वाः। भद्रव तस्मिनमञ्जरपाती। भद्रव विभा पुलानि। नागीलाना। समाहिता। सै. तै. II. 8. 8. 9-10.
the ksatriyas were produced from brahman and brahma transformed its form into brāhmaṇas; (Yājñā) ‘these worlds abide inside brahman, similarly all this world is inside it; brahma is the best among all bhūtas; who vie or compete with it, brahman is thirty-three Gods, and all bhūtas, all placed inside it as in a boat’.

In the Kausitaki Brāhmaṇa there are brief allusions to Prajāpati. In VI. 1 it is stated ‘Prajāpati, desirous of progeny, practised tapas; while he was thus practising tapas five were born, viz. Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, the Moon and Uṣas as fifth;’ in VI. 10 it is said ‘Prajāpati practised tapas; after having practised tapas, he produced this world (the earth) from prāṇa, the mid regions from apaṇa and the yonder world (heaven) from vyāna; he then created Agni, Vāyu and Āditya respectively from the earth, mid regions and heaven, and he produced ṛk verses from Agni, yajus texts from Vāyu and sāman texts from Āditya; in XIII. 1 it is asserted ‘Prajāpati is indeed yajña, in which all desires, all immortality are centered’; in XXVIII. 1 it is said ‘Prajāpati created yajña, the gods worshipped by means of yajña, when it was created and thereby obtained all desired objects.’

The chief aim and purpose of the Brāhmaṇas of the Veda are to prescribe the acts and parts of the ritual of various sacrifices, to set out some myths and legends for their origin and to postulate various rewards on the performance of numerous sacrifices.

Prajāpati, who is mentioned very rarely in the Rgveda (IV. 53. 2 where Savitṛ is called Prajāpati, IX. 5. 9 where Soma is called Prajāpati, X. 85. 4 where in the marriage hymn Prajāpati is prayed to bestow offspring, X. 169. 4 where Prajāpati is invoked to bestow good cows, X. 184. 1 where Prajāpati along with other gods and goddesses is invoked for the blessing of conception in a married woman, X. 121. 10 (already referred to above on p. 1490), becomes the most prominent god in the Brāhmaṇas.

The Ait. Br. narrates the story that after Indra killed Vṛtra he wanted to be great and honoured in place of Prajāpati, that then Prajāpati said (if you are to be great) ‘who am I going

2448.  भजनतिव यज्ञसामिस्वर्ग कामाः सर्वमुन्तिवम्। कृष्णोऽसि मा. XIII. 1 (Lindner’s ed. Jena, 1887); भजनान्ति यज्ञ सर्वजे तेन ह यज्ञेन तेन ह यज्ञास्त्य तेन ह यज्ञा सर्वकामानां। ibid XXVIII. 1.

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to be (kohani-iti) and thereby Prajāpati came to be called 'Ka'.

The Ait. Br. states that Prajāpati desiring to propagate and to be many and having practised tapas created the three worlds, earth, mid region and heaven from which arose three lights (jyotis), Agni, Vāyu and Āditya, from which arose the three Vedas &c.

The Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas show that the popular belief about the individual self was that by good deeds the soul reaches heaven, becomes immortal and enjoys various joys and pleasures. Vide Rg. IX. 113. 7-11, I. 125. 4-6, Atharva IV. 34. 2 and 5, VI. 120. 3. There was also the idea of retribution and recompense for evil or harmful acts done by one person to another. For example, the Śat Br. says (XII. 9. 1. 1) 'for whatever food a man eats in this world, by, the very same is he eaten again in the other world.' Vide also Sat. Br. XI. 6. 1. But when we come to the Upanisads, the whole intellectual atmosphere is changed. The Upanisads frequently assert that Ātman is the only reality, that there is nothing else and that the Ātman can only be described as 'not this—not this' i.e. the Ātman is unknowable. This is the first and foremost aspect of Vedānta. But this lofty metaphysical conception clashed with the ideas of common people who thought that a real universe existed apart from the Creator. The higher philosophic minds had to concede the reality of the universe for common people. They were prepared to say that the universe exists; in truth, however, it is nothing but the Ātman entered into the universe. They said that the world was phenomenal, not false or nothing, but the world had the Ātman behind it. This was the good aspect of the Vedānta viz. that the universe evolved from the first principle, brahma. They distinguished between sāguna (qualified) brahman that was for prayer and worship (upāsanā), and for practical purposes (vyavahārāvasthā) and nirguna (unqualified) brahma. But the higher thought also insisted that the highest truth (pāramārthikasatya) is that brahman is one, that everything in the world (men, animals, inorganic matter)

2449. In Rg. X. 121 the last quarter of the first 9 verses is "Kasmai devāya haviśa vidhema" (to what god shall we offer havis?). Then the 10th and last verse addresses Prajāpati with the words 'there is no God other than you who encompassed all these creations.' It is probably due to this that from 'kasmāi' (in the first nine verses) Prajāpati came to be called 'Ka'.
is brahman ('sarvam khalidam brahma' Chân. Up. III. 14. 1, 'aham brahmasmiti tasmât tatsarvam-abhavat' Br. Up. I. 4. 10). The Ait. Up. quoted below is most emphatic about the identity of the first principle with men, beasts, motionless beings and other passages do the same. As regards the elements the Br. Up. has a long passage (III. 7. 2-23) in which Yâjñavalkya propounds to Uddalaka Āruñi the sublime doctrine viz. that the Ātman residing in the earth and other elements is inside them, whom they (the elements) do not know, whose body is the earth and other elements, who rules from within the earth and others, that that Ātman is the soul of thee (and of mine and others), is the inner ruler and is immortal. The last part of this passage is 'the ruler within is unseen but seeing, unheard but hearing, unperceived but perceiving, unknown but knowing, there is no other seer but he, there is no other hearer but he, that is no other perceiver but he, there is no other knower but he. This is the Self, the ruler within, the immortal. Everything else is distress.' This whole section called...

2450. आत्मा वा इतदेव एतम आत्मानाय पूजनम्। स इत्सं लोकानु युः स इत्तः लोकानु युः । स इत्तः लोकानु युः 

2451. य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधाय अन्तरे य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधी अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अन्तरे य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां य: पूर्वयान्तिर्पृविधा अर्थां

After quoting this passage René Grousset in 'Sum of History' tr. into English by A. and H. Temple Patterson (1951) pays a handsome compliment to it (on p. 95) 'what better introduction to Christianity is there than the conception of the sanctity of the human individual and of the universe as temples of God.' In य: उप. III. 2 we are given 17 words that are said to be names of Prajñānā (i. e. brahman) and then य: उप. III. 3 runs 'एवं भ्राम, एवं इत्यः, एवं भ्राह्मणिः, एवं सर्वे चेत:। इत्यादी विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि इत्यादि विषयानि

This carries to its logical conclusion the idea in the Purusasuktā X. 90. 6, 8, 10.
antaryāmi-brāhmaṇa has a parallel in Br. Up. II. 5 (Madhuvidyā). The ordinary man’s conception of brahman as the creator was not, however, entirely given up by the thinkers in the Upaniṣads, though it was said that that concept was due to avidyā (ignorance about Reality). Brahmān conceived as creator was called Īśvara (a personal God), though the worshipper might know that brahman in essence is above all conditions and limitations of personality. This is theism, which acknowledges three entities viz. a real world, the Paramātman (creative Ātman) and the individual self dependent on Paramātman. But the real thought of the Upaniṣads is centred round the non-difference of brahman and ātman and the physical world. This thought that brahman entered into what are called individual souls and also the material universe is the third aspect of Vedānta. On V. S II. 3. 43 Śaṅkarācārya quotes passages from the Brahma- sūkta belonging to the Atharvaveda and from the Śv. Up. expressive of the identity with brahman of fishermen, slaves, gamblers, of men and women, of boys and girls and old men totering on a staff. The faith that the same Spirit animates the universe, from the stone, worms and beasts to man, is an elevating one, may make one feel that all creatures are brethren seeking the Creator and may, in a world dominated by egoism and urged to activities for individual prosperity and benefit, introduce some sweetness and consolation. Deussen in ‘The philosophy of the Upaniṣads’ (translated by A. S. Geden, Edinburgh, 1906) pays a glowing tribute to the sages of the Upaniṣads in the following eloquent passage ‘It was here that for the first time the original thinkers of the Upaniṣads, to their immortal honour, found it (key) when they recognized our ātman, our inmost individual being, as the Brahmān, the inmost being of universal nature and of all her phenomena’ (p. 40). Vide also J. Royce in ‘The world and the individual’, First series of Lectures, particularly pp. 156-175 for the exposition of Chān. Up. III. 14 and VI. 2-15 and the Br. Up. dialogue between Yāj. and Maitreyī.

The Upaniṣads are full of theories of creation and of the nature of the First Principle. A few passages may first be cited

2452. एक शास्त्रीय दांशिकविद्वान नवण आमनन्याधर्मिका भज्ज्युक्ते-भज्ज्य दशा ब्रज ब्रज ब्रजिये कित्वा-द्रागिता। ... इति ह्रीतज्ञानद्राहितेन सर्वाचारमेव नस्तक्षण- ज्ञानकार्यलक्षणहस्तप्रेमिन्नानां जीवानां ब्रजवामाद। तदार्थार्थविधिकरोऽगेरामवर्णमेवः परस्तम्पे। ल क्री ले हमासिस लं कुमार उत द्र कुमारी। लं जीवां द्विधेन ्वालिस लं जालो भवति बिश्वोत्तरः। इति। The last is अपारः X. 8 27 and भै॒ता. उप. 4. 3.
about creation. The Br. Up. I. 4 (in 3-4, 7) has an original and
significant passage on creation. Some part of it is set out here
'In the beginning this was Ātman alone in the form of Puruṣa;
He (being alone) found no pleasure; he desired to have a second
(a companion); he became of the extent of a male and a female in
close embrace; he made this very Ātman fall aside in two parts
that became husband and wife; from them were born men and
he produced lower animals up to ants; this (universe) was then
undeveloped (or not unfolded), it was then developed in names
and forms; that (Ātman) entered into this up to the finger tips,
just as a razor remains hidden in a sheath or just as the all
supporting (fire) is not seen in wood'. In this passage the
popular idea of the creation of the world is taken up and related
to the one reality, Ātman, and the emphasis appears to be placed
on the theory that the sole reality is Ātman, under the phantas-
nagoria of world phenomena. In Ch. Up. VII. 10. 1 it is said
'this earth, mid regions, heaven, gods and men, beasts and birds,
grass and herbs, animals including insects, butterflies, ants.
These are all nothing but waters in solid form.' The Chān. Up.
(VI. 2, 3-4 and VI. 3. 2-3) states "in the beginning Sat alone
was existent, one without a second; it thought 'I shall become
many, I shall have progeny"; it created heat (tejas); from tejas
waters were produced, from water food; that divinity proposed
'I shall enter into these three divinities (heat, water and food)
with this living self and unfold name and form'. Here reference
is made to three elements only viz. tejas, water, and earth
(anna is produced from plants which spring from the earth). It
is not, however, proper to hold that only three were then
recognized, these three were the most obvious and the other two
Vāyu and Ākāśa mentioned in Ait. and Tai. Up. are elusive.
The Ait. Up. (quoted in note 2451) begins "In the beginning
there was here this Atman alone, there was nothing else that
was active (lit. that opened and closed eyes); He reflected' I
shall create worlds'. He created these worlds, the ambhas (water
above heaven), marlici 'rays' (i.e.) atmospheric region, death,
waters". Then the Up. proceeds: He created guardians of
worlds and proposed to produce food for them. Then he reflected
'how can this frame subsist apart from me? Then he reflected
'by what way shall I enter into it?' Then it is stated that he
split open the crown of the head and entered by that door. The
Tai. Up. II. 6 says "He (the Ātman) desired 'May I become
many, I shall have progeny'; having practised tapas, he created
all this (universe) whatever it is; after having created it he
entered into it" and again in II. 7 'in the beginning this was asat (not unfolded), then it became sat (developed), it unfolded itself'. This is the basis of V. S. I. 4. 26 (ātmakrtēḥ parināmāt) which establishes that brahman is both kartṛ (agent) and karma (object) of creation. The same Up. in II. 1 speaks of the creation of ākāśa from the Ātman, of Vāyu from ākāśa, of Agni from Vāyu, of waters from Agni and of the earth from waters. Here we have five elements instead of three (as in the Chān. Up.). The Ait. Up. III. 3 names the five elements and calls them Mahābhūtāni (though the usual order is not followed); so do Praśna VI. 4, Sv. Up. II. 12, Katha III. 15 (where the five guṇas, śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa and gandha, each peculiar to the five elements from ākāśa to prthvī, are mentioned). 2453

2453. Prof. George Sarton in 'A History of Science' (Harvard University Press, 1952) states (p. 247) that Empedocles born about 490 B. C. (in Greece) postulated only four elements; fire, air, water and earth and that a fifth, ether, was added by Plato and Aristotle. Vide also Introduction (p. 11) to Plato's Timaeus (in Loeb's classical library, Vol. VII, ed. of 1952) translated by Rev. R. G. Bury. Plato's exuberant imagination constructed the physical world on the pattern of geometrical figures most familiar to him and assigned the cube to earth and different kinds of triangles to fire, air and water (vide Jowett's translation of Timaeus, Vol. III pp. 638–639). The Greek philosophers relied on reason and not on ancient texts (as Indian sages did) and Plato's philosophy and cosmology were looked upon as the acme of wisdom even up to the 19th century, but Sarton (on p. 420 of the above work) remarks that modern men of science can regard it only as a monument of unwisdom and recklessness (rather a harsh judgment). Dr. W. M. Smart in 'Origin of the Earth' remarks that in probing into the mystery of creation science has not been more successful than the poetic Hebrew expounders of cosmology (pp. 8–9). For comparison of ancient Indian ideas on cosmology with those of ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Hebrews, and Greeks one may read a small book in the 'Corridors of Time' Series' Vol. I on 'Apes and men' by H. Peak and H. J. H. Fleure pp. 6–8 (Oxford, 1927); on p. 7 there is a figure of a Babylonian tablet recording part of the creation story. On p. 56 it states that the probable place of the origin of man and the period at which human story began are matters of great speculation. The principal questions that arise in cosmology are: (1) when were the earth and planets produced, (2) what is the process that accounts for the present state of the earth and the solar and other systems, Sanskrit works from the Rgveda down to the Purāṇas tried to answer these questions in their own ways. During the last one hundred years or so the theories of Lemaitre and Darwin and the developments in the sciences of Geology, Biology, Physics and Astronomy have revolutionized the whole conception of cosmology. Even the work of Sir A. Eddington 'The expanding Universe' (Cambridge, 1933) has become (Continued on next page)
It has already been shown that in the Tai. Up. and the Chân. Up. (vide note 2430) it is stated that the bhūtas spring from and are absorbed in brahman. The order of dissolution is the reverse of that of creation. This is stated by the Vedāntasūtra II, 3, 14 ("viparyayet tu kramosā upapayate ca"). Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya quotes a verse of the Śaṅtiparva in support of this.2454

The theory of yugas, mahāyugas, manvantaras and kalpas has already been dealt with in vol. III. pp. 885-896 and above pp. 686-692. The dissolution of the world was called pralayā which was said to be of four kinds (vide above pp. 693-95), two of which are naimittika pralayā (which occurs at the end of a day of Brahmā, that is equal to 1000 mahāyugas) and Prākritika (when everything including Prakṛti is dissolved in Paramātman). The Gitā (VIII. 17-18) and Manu I. 73 state that the day of Brahmā is equal to one thousand yugas and the night is also of the same duration, that all manifested things spring from the unmanifested (First Principle) at the beginning of the day (of Brahmā) and at the coming of the night (of Brahmā) they merge in the same unmanifested (Principle). The present author does not like the disagreeable task of comparing Sanskrit cosmology with the theories in other religious scriptures such as the Bible, but will only refer to some Western writers on that subject. About these ideas of creation and dissolution of the universe René Grousset in the work mentioned above observes (p. 96) "the same power of synthesis appears in the ancient Indian cosmogonies which transcend in their breadth all that the Ionian philosophers or Lucretius have left us. In them the...

(Continued from last page)

somewhat outmoded by recent discoveries. The present author does not know much of science. But from what little he has read in a few scientific works he may say that the history of science makes it clear that the actual state of man’s scientific knowledge is provisional, that scientific theories are always subject to corrections and modifications. For instance, Newton's laws of motion were regarded for over two hundred years as absolutely correct enunciations of fundamental and universal laws of physics, but in recent times they have been found to be mere approximations.

2454. सूतास्वयंहः प्रकृतिरेष्यमानवयस्वरस्व तत्र प्रक्रिया। 17. 'तत्त्विकोणं वेश्यं योगिरपालितम् प्रक्रिया॥ योगिरपालितं प्रक्रिया॥ प्रक्रिया॥ हरिणी॥ तत्त्विकोणं वेश्यं योगिरपालितम् प्रक्रिया॥ हरिणी॥ This verse is śāntiparva 340. 29 ( =326, 28 of cr. ed.). The three following verses (which occur in both editions) may be cited here: सा याृष्टि प्रकृति, महाकालाभाष्मच समाधिः। विद्युम्तिः केषाम याज्ञवल्क्यसमाधिः। नासिक तत्सत्त्वमयाः प्रकृतिः सनातनात्॥ नित्यं हि नासिक ज्ञाति भूतं स्थायवल्क्यसमाधिः। नासिक तत्सत्त्वमयाः प्रकृतिः सनातनात्॥.
world alternates between periods of creation (which correspond to the activity of the Demiurge) and of dissolution (which correspond to the slumber of the God'). Similarly, Gerald Heard remarks (in 'Is God evident' Faber and Faber, London, 1950) 'Final and most helpful fact is that Sanskrit cosmology not only gets rid of intellectual difficulties such as the crude Hebrew Geology and Astronomy fossilized in the Christian dogmas, but it gets rid likewise of those more serious moral difficulties such as eternal damnation, pre-destination and that this life is man's only chance' (p. 51).

The high metaphysical conception that in reality there is no universe outside brahman (i.e. brahman is one and is unqualified, nirguna) and the popular empirical conception that there is a personal God who creates (saguna brahma) and real universe, often run together in the Upanisads. The Praśna Up. V. 2 asserts that Om is both para (highest) brahma and apara (other, lower) brahma. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 1. 12 (ānandamayoḥbhyaḥsāt) states that in the Upaniṣads brahman is described in two ways, (firstly) as qualified by various adjuncts such as name and form and created objects and meant to be worshipped and (secondly) as devoid of all adjuncts (as meant to be mystically realized). As instances of the 2nd way (nirupādhīka or nirguna brahman) he instances several passages viz. Br. Up. IV. 5. 15 ('where there is as it were duality, there one sees the other .... one touches the other or knows the other, but where one has come to realize that all is only Ätman, whom will one see, with what will one understand the knower himself'), Br. Up. III. 9. 26 = IV. 4. 22 and IV. 5. 15 (this self is to be spoken of as 'not this, 'not this'), Br. Up. III. 8. 8 (it is that imperishable one that the brāhmaṇas speak about as neither coarse nor small, neither short nor long, neither red nor fluid, neither wind nor ether...neither as having an inside nor outside &c.); Chān. Up. (VII. 24. 1 'where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else that is the Infinite; where one sees something else, hears something else, understands something else, that is small (finite); the Infinite is immortal, the finite is mortal; the Infinite rests in its own greatness, or does not rest in greatness); Śv. Up. VI. 19 (who is without parts, without activities, tranquil, faultless, without taint, the highest bridge to immortality, like a fire that has consumed its fuel). There are also other passages of the same import e.g. Br. Up. IV. 4. 19 (neha nānāsti kincana, there is no diversity in it), Kātha Up. IV. 10–11 (mṛtyoh sa mṛtyum-āpnoti ya iha nāneva
paśyati). The 4th aspect of Upanisadic thought is concerned with the destiny of the self after the death of the body and the matters that govern it (i.e. Ethics and Eschatology).

These passages emphasize that it is impossible to describe what brahman is and that we can only say what it is not. Śankarācārya on V. S. III. 2, 17 refers to the dialogue of Bāskali and Bādhva where Bādhva declared the characteristic of brahman by his silence. Bāskali said 'Sire, tell me about brahma'; then Bādhva remained silent; when Bāskali asked a second and a third time Bādhva replied 'we have been telling you indeed; but you don't understand; this self is still (without any activity)'. J. Royce in 'The world and the individual' vol. I. p. 148 is just like this episode of Bāskali and Bādhva 'Believe not those prattlers' says one often quoted mystical work 'who boast that they know God.' Who knows Him is silent'. Śankarācārya puts the distinction between para-brahma and apara-brahma (personal God) as follows: Where texts reject the connection of brahma with names and forms that are the product of avidyā (nescience) and speak of brahma in negative expressions such as 'asthūla' (not gross or big), there it is parabrahma (that is meant), but where in such passages as 'He is mind, has prāna or body, the form of light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like akāśa (present everywhere), who creates everything' &c. brahma is mentioned for worship and it is apara. 2456

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2455. बाणालिना च भाषा: पूर्व: सत्त्वचननेत्र ब्रह्म प्रक्ष्याति शुभे ते। सहोधावापीहि भि हि स दुःस्थतः बुद्धिः तत्र द्वितीये या द्वितीये या वचन उवच ब्रह्म समस्त्वे तृतीये न विजानिखि
उपप्राप्तोऽपाद्रामम्। इति। छूँक्तः घात्यायाः अन्य। १३१२. में नी. III. 2, 17. This is a Vedic Text acc. to Śaṅkara, but it has not yet been identified.

2456. किं पुनः परं ब्रह्म किंपरमाति। उपयते। यथाविवश्चाजनातान्यपारिविवेष्यति वेषार्थस्थुलादस्य ब्रह्मप्रियताते तत्त्वम्। तत्त्वम् यत् नामस्मापिदिशेषं केनविविश्यति सुपास्नायपरिविन्यसं तस्मात् माण्डतार्थे माहृत्। (ष. III. 14. 2) इत्यदिकविधितात्वर्गम्। भाषा उ. नी. IV. 3. 14; एवेकमयो ब्रह्मापिदिशेषं सत्वस्मापिदिशेषं निर्दोषपिदिशेषं चोपापिदिशेषं नेबस्मापिदिशेषं इति। छूँक्तः घात्यायाः अन्य। १३१२. में नी. I. 1. 12. It should be noted that the words 'neti neti' occur four times in the great exposition of Yājñavalkya on brahman in Br. Up. IV. 2. 4. IV. 4. 22, IV. 5. 15, III. 9. 26. The highest brahman is conceived as beyond space, time and independent of the law of causality. We may compare the conceptions of para-brahma and apara-brahma with what Plato postulates (in Timaeus, Introduction p. 6 to Bury's translation) as the distinction between Being and Becoming viz. Being is changeless, eternal, self-existent and apprehensible by thought only; Becoming is the opposite, ever changing, never truly existent and the object of sensations, and the perceptible universe belongs to the latter.
The description of the creation of the universe and its dissolution are valid only on the practical plane. In Advaita Vedanta, Sattā (reality) is said to be of three kinds, viz. Pāramārthikī (the highest, the absolute), vyāvahārikī (of practical life) and prātibhāsikī (apparent or illusory). The first is the province of parā-vidyā which teaches that only the Ātman exists, that the cosmos exists within the Ātman and nothing else has intrinsic reality apart from it. From this high metaphysical standpoint there is in reality no creation nor dissolution, the individual self is not really in bondage, therefore none is liberated. The 2nd kind of reality is empirical and practical and the dogmas of the creation and dissolution of the world, of the individual self, its bondage, transmigraration and final liberation are valid only for the aparā-vidyā. Most religions postulate three fundamental entities viz. God, individual self and the external world. These three are true but only up to a certain limit (only so long as a man holds his own ego as a separate reality) but these three are not the ultimate Truth. Even in this lower kind of reality, a man who is in deep sleep becomes (for a time) united with (or absorbed in) the True as stated by the Chan. Up. VI. 8.1 (yattra tatt paruṣaḥ svapīti nāma satā somya tadā sampanno bhavati). The third kind of reality pertains to dream state. One may have experience of pleasure and pain and misery from what one sees in a dream, which are real as long as the dream lasts, but all this that is seen in a dream vanishes the moment the man is awake. As stated above (p. 1485 and note 2434) the descriptions of the creation of the world have only this in view that there is non-difference between cause and effect and that they all lead to a correct understanding about brahman.

Śankaracārya on V.S. II. 3. 30 extends the same reasoning to individual selves (to be quoted later on under ‘Karma and transmigration’).

In the Upaniṣads there is apparent discrepancy as regards what was created and the order of the things257 created. The

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2457. It may be noted that the creation of the universe is put in the Upaniṣads in the distant and dim past, not at a definite date as fixed by Biblical chronology (4004 B.C.). Vide Pringle-Pattison in ‘Idea of God’ (ed. of 1917) p. 299: H. D. Anthony in ‘Science and its background’ (MacMillan, 1948, p. 2) states that James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, in the 17th century introduced into the Anglican Church the year 4004 B.C. as the date of creation. On the medieval Christian doctrine, creation is only an incident in God’s existence and man is made in the image of God and it is by the breath of God that man became a living soul (Genesis I 27 and II. 7). There is another point that distinguishes Christian doctrine about man from the Vedānta doctrine; according to the former man is conceived and born in sin, according to the latter the human soul is divine.
Br. Up. (V. 5. 1) states ‘in the beginning there were only waters; the waters created sarva, which is brahma, brahman created Prajapati, who created the gods’. In Chān. Up. VI. 2. 3 the thing expressly mentioned as the first creation is tejas (heat), akasa not being mentioned at all, while in the Tai. Up. II. 1 akasa is said to have been first created and then Vayu (was created from akasa), then Agni from Vayu. Similarly, in the Chān. Up. IV. 2 where the creation of tejas, waters and food (i.e. the earth) is expressly mentioned, nothing is said about the creation of Vayu, which is set out in Tai. Up. II. 1. This matter about the creation of the elements and their order is discussed in V. S. II. 3. 1-11. The reply of Śaṅkarācārya is that a Sruti passage like the one in Ch. Up. is concerned only with the creation of some elements like tejas and cannot be also interpreted as having a second purpose, viz. showing that the creation of akasa in Tai. Up. is wrong and should be discarded.2458

On the subject of creation, the question arises whether the individual Self is also a creation like that of the earth, trees and shrubs. The Upanisads have a good deal to say on this. Here also two kinds of texts have to be considered. In the first place, some texts seem to state that the individual selves spring from the Supreme Spirit. A few passages that are sometimes relied upon for this last matter may be cited here.2459 The Br. Up. states ‘just as tiny sparks spring forth from fire, in the same way from this Atman spring up all pranas, all worlds, all gods and all creatures’. The Muṇḍaka Up. expands this same idea as follows: As from a well-kindled fire sparks of the same nature spring forth in thousands, so from the Imperishable various living beings issue and return into it. The Smṛti of Yaj. cites the same illustration of fire and sparks. Another and perhaps after illustration is in the Katha Up. ‘just as pure water poured in (other) pure water becomes like it (i.e. not distingui-

2458. न हीनं श्रुतिलेखनविवाहनमः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसति ज्ञानसंयोग्यतिः शतकालातिः, एकर्रत्य वाक्यर्थ व्यासपर्यात्रा पालितः॥ भाष्य on वे. सू. II. 3. 6.

2459. यथार्थम्: हुष्ट्रिलेखनविवाहनविवाहनमः: सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः शतकालातिः, एकर्रत्य वाक्यर्थ व्यासपर्यात्रा पालितः॥ यथा शुद्धितार्थयावत्कहिलक्षण्: सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः शतकालातिः, एकर्रत्य वाक्यर्थ व्यासपर्यात्रा पालितः॥ यथा शुद्धितार्थयावत्कहिलक्षण्: सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः शतकालातिः, एकर्रत्य वाक्यर्थ व्यासपर्यात्रा पालितः॥ यथा शुद्धितार्थयावत्कहिलक्षण्: सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः शतकालातिः, एकर्रत्य वाक्यर्थ व्यासपर्यात्रा पालितः॥ यथा शुद्धितार्थयावत्कहिलक्षण्: सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः सत्यम्भवसतिः शतकालातिः, एकर्रत्य वाक्यर्थ व्यासपर्यात्रा पालितः॥
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shable), so the self of the wise sage becomes (indistinguishable from the Supreme Essence). On the other hand, there are numerous Upaniṣad passages which categorically state that the individual self is unborn, unifying, is not a product, that the Supreme Spirit enters as individual self, that there is no difference between the one Supreme Spirit and the individual self. Some of these passages are set out in the note below. All those passages are cited by Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. II. 3. 17, which states two propositions viz. the individual self is unproduced and that it is eternal according to Śruti passages (nātmāsruter-nityatvācca tāḥyāḥ). How the one Supreme Spirit expands into and pervades the manifold universe of plurality is a great mystery and can only be explained by illustrations. The few passages in which the texts seem to mention the creation or dissolution of individual selves are to be understood as referring to the Upādhis (such as body and mind) by which the self is affected. Yājñavalkya gives this answer in finally winding up his exposition to Maitreyī, this self is imperishable and indestructible; but (when one speaks of death what is meant is) that the self has no longer any contact with material elements. The Śāntiparva and the Gitā (II. 20, 21, 24, 25) say the same thing.

The highest metaphysical standpoint can be realized by only a few. For millions of men, the empirical standpoint alone remains and it is for them that texts speak of a personal God, ritual and sacrifices; they are only on the first rung of the ladder.

2460. जीवशीर्ष तत्त्व श्रवनुभो न जीवी विद्यते दत्ता। धृष्टा। उप. I. 11. 3; स वा एव महानज्ञ आत्माप्रवृत्त महासुरार्य। (भृ. IV. 4. 25); न जातते विनाश त्वादिविजय। अवन्निता विद्यत: शब्दाश्रयं युक्तं न हस्यते हस्यमात्र शरिरे। कथ 2. 18; तत्संकुलं सवेदयां पाविषयान्। तत्र। उप. II. 6; अनेन जीवेन्तामातुलयिन प्रसर्द्धेऽपि ज्ञानसमय। धृष्टा। उप. VI. 3. 2; स एव इह पृष्ट्व आ नालोभेः। वृह. I. 4. 7; तत्समसि (धृष्टा। उप. VI. 8. 7); अहि ब्रह्मसमसि (भृ. उप. I. 4. 10); अयमात्मा ब्रह्म सवेदयान्। भृष्ट। उप. II. 5-19.

2461. अवन्निता वा अर्थात्वात्मकासिदिधमा ममात्मान्यमपतिव भवनि। भृष्ट। उप. IV. 5. 14. This is quoted by शृणुशाचार्य on वे। भृ. II. 3. 17.

2462. न जीवात्मकाविश्व वै नि:र्वेदोऽन्तर्विद्यत्वा इत्यदत्ता। जीवशीर्ष देवशीर्ष पराशुरामने। निओत्सुरुद्धशुरुद्धस्वरूपादि। एवं सर्वहु सद्यमुद्ध शुद्धरूपमुद्धस्वरूपादि। इत्यदत्तयेता युक्ता। ब्रह्मसमसिदिधिमेऽति ते सर्वसार्वेष्यासु धुर्ध्रुवं हुस्तस्य सार्वेष्याः। भृष्ट। उप. VII. 11. 3 जीवशीर्ष तस्य श्रवनुभो न जीवी श्रवन्ते दत्ता एवं शुद्धस्य शुद्धस्य शुद्धरूपादि। वृह. 180. 26-28 (=187. 27-29 Ch. ed.). यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता। भृष्ट। 180. 26-28 (=187. 27-29 Ch. ed.). यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता। यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता। भृष्ट। 180. 26-28 (=187. 27-29 Ch. ed.). यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता। यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता। भृष्ट। 180. 26-28 (=187. 27-29 Ch. ed.). यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता। यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता यथेष्ठत्वात्माध्येता।
to enlightenment and are only dimly aware of God; there is a much smaller class of people other than the preceding, who pray, seek God and come to realize that God is both immanent and transcendent; there is a third class of a very few people, the great sages and masters, the spiritual elite such as Śaṅkarācārya, who reach the peak of pure monism, who lose the sense of the ego and who are ripe for entering into union with the One and they cannot and should not say that the individual soul and the physical world are all unreal (or Māyā). Both Bādarāyana (V. S. II. 2. 29 'Vaidharmyāc-ca na svapnādivat') and Śaṅkarācārya are agreed that the ordinary physical world is entirely different from dreams and that the impressions in the waking state are not independent of existing objects. Apart from the question whether the word 'Māyā' used in V. S. III. 2. 3 (Māyāmatram tu &c.) is used by Bādarāyana in the sense in which Śaṅkarācārya understands it, it cannot be denied that Upaniṣad passages like Katha Up. II. 4. 2, Praśna I, 16, Chān. Up. VIII. 3. 1-2, the prayer in Br. Up. I. 3. 28 (asato mś sadgamaya &c) could easily suggest the doctrine of Māyā and lead to it as an intelligible development. Hence the proper language for almost all men is not to speak about the world as Māyā (illusion). If the individual soul and the world are unreal, then it may be argued by one who does not subscribe to the doctrine of Māyā as against those who hold it that you are teaching that an unreal soul has to escape from an unreal Samsāra and secure what you call mokṣa by means which are themselves unreal (such as Upaniṣad study) and that therefore mokṣa itself is unreal. How the one Reality becomes many and expresses itself in the ever-changing physical world is really an inexplicable mystery, but that does not entitle all of us to say that the world is unreal or a dream. The few highly philosophical men may say that what is real is the one Absolute, that all else is only an appearance of that Absolute. Common men may, however, complain that explanations offered by these philosophers do not satisfy them or are beyond them.

When one has to emphasize what the Reality behind the world is in itself, one speaks of the Absolute brahman, but when one has to speak about the relation of the one Reality to the individual selves and the physical world one speaks of a personal God. When the Vedaṁ atsūtra (II. 1. 14) states that

2463. On vajñanamārthabhadraśudāvādavā: (ś. ś. II. 1. 14) शक्तवर्यां शुदा गहत: सत्यविद्यतयासैं तिष्ठिति कृत्ष्वतर्थविष्यं।; सर्वेऽर्थां
(Continued on next page)
world is non-different \( (ananya) \) from brahman, what is meant is not that the two are identical, but only this that the selves and the world are not entirely different from brahman. When it is said that Mokṣa results if one realizes brahman, there is no question of the destruction of the world but all that it comes to is that the false idea or outlook in that case is displaced or sublated by a true one. How the finite world arises from the Infinite is a mystery, for which Śaṅkarācārya employs the word ‘Māyā’. But he is positive that till a person realizes the one Atman all religious and worldly courses of life, real-unreal, go on unobstructed. The concept of Māyā as postulated by Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. II. 1.14 and other places) is one of the most misunderstood elements of Vedānta. Further, it should not be forgotten that a very large number of philosophically minded Hindus do not advocate the doctrine that the world is an illusion; all that is said by advaitins is that the world is not as real as the Absolute is. The passages quoted below from Śaṅkarācārya’s Bhāṣya clarify his position, which is this. There is the physical world with its manifold distinctions, but it must rest on something else; that something is called the absolute brahman. The relation between the two is inexplicable and therefore it is spoken of as Māyā. In that way Śaṅkarācārya is agnostic, while other religious philosophers are not willing to admit the futility of theories or their helplessness to put forward a generally acceptable and reasonable theory of the relation of the universe and the Eternal Spirit behind it.

It should not be forgotten that, according to our śāstras the goals of human life are four, Dharma (an ethical life of doing what is right), Artha (a life of acquisition of wealth i.e. economic life based on justice), Kāma (a life of the enjoyment of innocent pleasures and right desires) and Mokṣa (liberation), this last being the highest goal to be attained only by a few people (it is called Paramapuruṣārtha). Even in the Rgveda (I. 89. 8) the sage prays for physical health, 2464 happiness and

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2464. भृद्यमकः पदात्मां पदेष्यमक्षिणज्ञः। स्तिररूपस्यादृश्युः-त्तलबोधिष्ठो वेदविष्ठेऽपि।। भ. I. 89. 8 = वाज. सं. 25. 21.
a life of hundred years in the words “O Gods, may we be able to hear words of welfare (i.e. we may not suffer deafness till our death), may we see with our eyes pleasing sights, may we, engaged in praising you and possessing strong limbs and bodies, enjoy (long) life as fixed by God (i.e. 100, 116 or 120 years)’. Vide also Rg. VII. 66. 16. The Manusmṛti, after referring to several views about the number of the goals of human life, states its own final conclusion (in II. 224) that there are three goals (Dharma, Artha and Kāma) for all men and condemns premature resort to sannyāsa in the following words (VI. 36-37) “Having studied the Vedas as laid down in śāstras, having produced sons and having performed sacrifices according to one’s ability, one should fix his mind on Mokṣa (liberation); if a man desires Mokṣa without having performed these duties he falls into hell’. Manu emphasizes that a man must discharge his duties (i.e. pay off the three debts) as laid down in Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5 (quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 270 n. 621) before he can renounce the world. The experience of sexual life and other pleasures not opposed to righteousness was not condemned by Manu and other Śāstras and in the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Lord Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma that is not in opposition to righteousness. In the three goals of ordinary human life there is hardly anything that should cause surprise. The Gītā demands a life dedicated to active work and regards doing one’s duty as worship (III. 8, 19, 20, 25, IV. 18, XVIII. 65-66). The 4th goal (mokṣa) is in a way opposed to the first three. But the first three goals enable a man to attain liberation, after he has discharged his duties. It was not meant for everybody but only for a selected few.

The 4th goal can be attained only by a few men. The theory in the Upaniṣads is that in order to secure correct knowledge of the Self, Reality behind everything, the study of the Veda, sacrifices, charity, austerities and fasts are necessary.

2465. For the three views about the four āśramas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 424-425.

2466. तत्यथं वेदांशुद्धिचे ब्राह्मण विविधैर्मिति यायेन तपस्याकामेव। द्रुष्युप. IV. 4. 22; तत्समायेवविविधर्मं द्रुष्युप. IV. 4. 23. These two passages of Br. Up. are the basis of शु. III. 4. 26-27.
as preparation (Br. Up. IV. 4. 22). Because the Upanisads often employ the words “Brahma veda brahmaiva bhavati” (as in Mūndaka III 2.9) one should not run away with the idea that mere knowledge of brahma (from books or a teacher) is enough. Though the verb “vid” (to know) is employed, the Upanisads are emphatic that before one attains realization of brahma one must have lived a life of detachment, peace, self-restraint etc. For example, in Br. Up. IV. 4. 23 Yājñavalkya says to Janaka “Therefore, one who knows this (under tarka quoted above p. 1478) evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil and hence he becomes free from evil, free from rajas (desires), free from doubts, he becomes a (true) Brāhmaṇa. This is the Brahma-world. O king! you have been made to reach the world, So said Yājñavalkya.” This passage clearly emphasizes three stages, firstly, verbal knowledge about brahma (evam-vid), secondly he becomes śānta, dānta &c., thirdly, he realizes the non-difference of himself and the world from the Supreme Self. In this text the indeclinable past participle2467 (bhūtvā) in “tvā”, acc. to Pāṇini III. 4. 21, is used and so clearly conveys that (as Sanskrit grammar and usage require), in order that a person may realize the Self in his own self, he must have been already endowed with all that precedes the word “bhūtvā”.

Similarly, in the Mūndakopaniṣad it is provided2467a. ‘After carefully examining all the worlds that are collected (gained or brought about) by actions, a brāhmaṇa should reach a sense of disgust or disregard with the thought that by actions (which are all impermanent) nothing that is imperishable (lit. unmade) can be attained, he should, for the special understanding of that, approach with fuel in hand a teacher who is learned in the Veda and who solely dwells in brahman, that wise (guru) declared brahma-vidyā to the one who thus properly (respectfully) approaches and whose mind is quiescent (not perturbed by vanity &c.) and whose mind has ceased to hanker after objects of sense, whereby the disciple would realize the immutable Reality, the Purusa (Self).’ Here also the word “parikṣya” shows that

2467. Vide Śābara on Jaimini X. 3. 48 'ktvā tāvat pūrvakāla eva
smaryate.'

2467a. परिशयः हेतुकामयितवै बालग्रामो निवेदयमानायायस्युक्त: कतेवः। तत्रिष्ठानाय
स युक्ते सत्त्वमागच्छति समस्ताय: भविष्यं महालिपदं।
तस्मात् तद्विश्रवस्य निर्माणस्य सर्वस्य पश्चात्तिरߥि
विषयं समांतस्य तस्मात्। नेरएवं द्वेष सर्वम भोजयः
तात्त्वात् महालिपदं वुक्तकांगः 1. 2. 12-13; नवितो दुधरिताव्यासाः
नासमाहित:। नास्य...नसो यथि महानेनमायिन्यं
वचनं कथा 2. 24.
brahmavidya can be attained only by him who already has become tired of the world of senses. It is further provided that when a man becomes freed from all hankerings that cling to the heart of man, he becomes immortal and attains brahma in this very life. The Br. Up. (iv. 4. 6) states that of him who does not desire, who, not desiring, is freed from desires, who feels that he has obtained all desires in that he desires only the Self, the life breaths do not depart towards higher worlds (heaven etc.) as he, being (in reality) brahma only, becomes absorbed in brahma.

The Kaṭha Up. (2. 24) remarks ‘He, who had not ceased from evil conduct, whose mind is not serene, who does not practise concentration, would not be able by mere knowledge to find the Atman.’

The unalloyed Upanisad doctrine appears to be that, even when a man does good actions, they produce good results, to enjoy which the soul would have to undergo the bondage of fresh good births and thus liberation will be put off. Therefore, complete renunciation of all actions and their rewards was insculpted for the sannyāsin, who was to give up all desires for wealth, progeny and higher worlds and beg for alms as long as the body lasts. As no other course of conduct for the sannyāsin is specified here, it would have to be deemed that the Upanisad teaches only this mode of life for the sannyāsin. This view is further strengthened by other passages of the Upanisads, where it is said that the liberated are beyond sukrta (good deeds and their consequences) and duskṛta (evil deeds and their consequences). The Chāndogya says 2469 “the self is a bank (a dike or ridge) so that these worlds are kept asunder and are not confounded, day and night do not pass beyond (over) bank, nor old age, death and misery, neither good deeds nor evil deeds; all evil deeds turn away from him, for the world of brahma is free from all evil’. Similarly, the Kauṣitaki Up. says “being freed from good actions and from evil ones, this knower of brahma moves towards brahma (i.e. becomes one with or is absorbed in brahma)’.

2468. यदि सर्वं प्रभुस्ते कामादेश्यं हुद्दि भिषत्ता:। अथ मवैतिको भवत्व मल्लबध्यल। काठप. VI. 14 and बुद्ध. उप IV. 4. 7 (which latter quotes it as a śloka.).

2469. अथ ए आत्मा स सेतुविभूतिः खीं लोकानामसम्भवाथ्। नैन सेतुमोहरेण ततो न ज्ञातं न भव्यां श्रीत्वा न सुस्तं न कुशलतम्। स्वरेष पारसापो निब्धितानि। अयथपत्यां वेय भूतं भूतात्मल। छाँ. उप. VIII. 4. 1: स एव विद्वद्वृत्ती विदुहको ब्रह्म विद्वद्वृत्तीभूत्व भूत्व। कृष्ण. उप. 1. 4.
In this way the Upanisads appear to inculcate that the sannyāsin should completely give up all actions except living till the body lasts. The Jābālopanisād\textsuperscript{2470} (4) provides that the very day on which a person becomes disgusted (with worldly life) he should become a wandering ascetic (a sannyāsin). This emphasizes that not mere knowledge but disgust with worldly life is necessary before one becomes a sannyāsin. Vide Kāthopaniṣad (II. 24) quoted above in note 2467a. The Praśnopaniṣad emphasizes ‘to them alone comes the pure world of brahma, in whom there is no crookedness, no untruth and no duplicity’ (I. 16). The Upanisads sometimes do say that ‘one who knows brahma becomes brahma itself’ (Mundaka II. 3. 9), but the same Upanisads (e.g. Mundaka I. 2. 12-13 quoted in n. 2467a) require great moral and spiritual attainments besides mere knowldege of brahma.

It is not necessary to set out more Upaniṣad passages to exhibit the proper relation between mere knowledge of brahma and Realization of brahma.\textsuperscript{2471}

In classical Sanskrit several words are employed to describe the state of liberation. The Amarakośa regards mukti, kaivalya, nirvāṇa, śreyas, nīḥśreyasa, amṛta, mokṣa and apavarga as synonyms. Mukti, mokṣa, and amṛta (or amṛtatva) are frequently employed in the Upanisads and the Gītā. They refer to the state of Salvation or Liberation from different points of view. Man is liable to have hankeringds and to birth and death; therefore when the soul becomes free from that cycle and realizes brahma it is said that he becomes immortal or secures immortality. Vide Br. Up. VI. 4, 7 and 14, V. 15-17 (Vidyāyāmṛtamaṇaśnute), Chān. Up. II. 23. 2 (he who is firmly grounded in brahma attains immortality), Katha Up. VI. 2 and 9, Śvet. Up.


\textsuperscript{2471} So much had to be said because Prof. Edgerton in his paper ‘Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian culture’ in J. A. O. S. Vol. 62 (for 1942) pp. 151-156 appears to suggest that the Upanisads carry forward the idea of the Atharvaveda that knowledge of a matter was supposed to have magic power. It is not possible for limitations of space to examine his arguments at length. With great respect for such a veteran scholar, it has to be said that, so far as the Upanisads are concerned, mere knowledge of brahma is only a first step, and that one who desires liberation has to live life on a high moral and spiritual level. Vide Gītā XIII. 7-11 for definition of jñāna.
IV. 17 and 20, III. 1, 10, 13, Gitā 13. 12, 14. 20. Mukti and mokṣa are both derived from the root ‘muc’ (to be free) and the verbal forms of ‘muc’ are frequently used along with ‘immortality’ as in Katha Up. VI. 8 (yam jñātvā mucyate jantur-amṛtatvam ca gacchati) and 14, Br. Up. IV. 4. 7, Śv. Up. I. 8 and IV. 16 (jñātvā devam mucyate sarvapāsaiḥ). The word mokṣa occurs in Śv. Up. IV. 16 and Gitā 5. 28, 7. 29, 18. 30. Niḥśreyasa (mokṣa, than which there is nothing better) occurs in Kauś. Up. III. 2, Gitā V. 2. Vide p. 1037 n 671 for ‘niḥśreyasa’. The word ‘śreyas’ often means ‘better’ in the Upaniṣads (Tai. Up. I. 11 and Chān. Up. IV. 6. 5) and Gitā II. 7, 31, III. 35, XVIII. 47 &c., but in Katha Up. I. 1 and 2 śreyas (as opposed to preyas i.e. pleasure) really means ‘niḥśreyasa’ (salvation). 2472 Kaivalya does not occur in the principal Upaniṣads, but kevalah (not affected by gunas or isolated as pure consciousness) occurs in Śv. Up. IV. 18 and VI. 11 (sākṣi cetā kevalo nirgunaḥ) Niṛvāṇa occurs in Gitā VI. 15 (the yogin, that has subdued his mind and always practises yoga, secures peace, centred on me that is highest niṛvāṇa); in Gitā II. 72 and V. 24–25 we find ‘brahmānirvāṇam’ which means ‘bliss in brahma’. Apavarga occurs only in the Maitri Upaniṣad VI. 30 and was the goal laid down by the very first sūtra of the Nyāyadarśana.

It should be noted that cosmology whether in the Upaniṣads or later works is based on the geocentric theory and is concerned mostly with the earth, the elements, the Sun, Moon, planets and stars in general (without details).

The Manusmr̥ti has several theories on creation. In I. 5–19 we have the first theory: this (universe) existed in the form of darkness, was unperceived, destitute of distinctive signs, not subject to reasoning, unknowable, immersed in deep sleep as it were. Then the divine Self-existent appeared with irresistible power, dispelling darkness and making all this including the great elements discernible; he shone forth of his own (will); he, desirous of producing beings of various types from his body, first produced water only after reflecting (over the idea of creating) and planted therein his seed; the seed became a golden egg, equal in brilliance to the sun and in that egg he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of the whole

2472. निःश्रेयस is one of twenty-five words mentioned by Pāṇini in V. 4. 77 as irregular and the Mahābhāṣya explains it as निःश्रेयं श्रेयः.
world. He is called Nārāyaṇa, since waters, designated as nārās (offspring of Nāra), were his first place of residence. From that first cause, not yet unfolded, which can neither be called sat nor asat, was produced a purusa (a male) who is called by people Brahmā. In that egg the divine one resided for one year; he divided the egg into two parts after reflecting on that matter; out of those two halves (of the egg) he created heaven and earth, between these two middle region, the eight directions and the abode of waters (the sea). From himself he drew forth mind which is neither sat nor asat, from mind Ahaṅkāra (self-consciousness), and the mahat-ātman, all products produced by the combinations of three gunas, the five organs of sense which perceive the objects of sense; He created all beings by joining the subtle particles of the six (aṅkāra and tannātrās) with portions of himself, the five great elements enter the framer of all beings. This theory combines the ideas contained in Rg. X. 129 (particularly verses 1–3) with those in the Śat. Br. XI. 1. 6. 1 and Chāṇ. Up. III. 19. 1–2 (about the golden egg) and with the Sāṅkhya theory of tatvas and gunas, though Manu differs from the standard Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā as regards the order in which Mahat, Ahaṅkāra and the five subtle elements arise. In I. 21 Manu states that Hiraṇyagarbha in the

2473. आपो नारा इति पीक्षा आपो वै नरसुनः। ता यद्याचार्यवर्ण पूर्वो तेन नारायणः।

2474. सत्तां त स नामार्थ कर्माणि च पुष्कर्गुप्तकोऽविवेक्षये। वेदवशेष्या एवदेव पुष्करसंसाधः

निमित्ती।। मथु. I. 21. ते, सू. I. 3. 28 is 'शुद्धः इति इती चेतात्: प्रमाणार्यास्वाबासार्यायाया।

On this the bhāṣya is 'कथं पुनर्रमःस्ते शुद्धार्यावियत्तासिद्धािति। प्रवचनार्यायायायायायायायः'।

परस्परः इति: भावार्याद्वितिक्षिप्त। अनुवादः सुविभाषः भावार्याः सापेक्षार्याः। ते हि शुद्धः

पूर्णः सुदृढः दशःः। 'ते इति मात्रमात्रिशुद्धकार्याः, अनुयादिति मथुरायाः, इतरः इति

विवृत्तिः, इति: प्रवचनार्याः आत्मः इति स्यात्रिः विशेषित्तिः शुद्धः, अभिभावानार्याः।

म्बाः: 'इति इति: इति।। स्पुतिलिपिः। अनुविभ्रमया निर्माणाद्वितिक्षिप्त। अन्तः वेदशार्यिक

दिव्यश्रुति च साधवः! मूलः! तथा। नारसुक्तः च वृत्तकार्यां कर्माणि च वृत्तकार्याः। वेदवशेष्या

एवदेव निमित्ते शुद्धार्याः। इति।। The śruti text cited is Tāṇḍya-mahābārāmanā mantra VI. 9. 15, explains the words of Rg. IX. 62. 1, the mantra being 'ते अयुधमिन्द्रवसि: परिव्रमणमेव। विशेषित्तिः सौभाग्यः।।'. The verse अयुधमिन्द्रवसि: is शालिपिन्य 233. 24 (=cr. ed. 224. 55 which has only the first half) and the verse अयुधमिन्द्रवसि: occurs in विशेषित्तिः प्रवचनं I. 5. 62, श्रुतिः 9. 63 (reads प्रवचनं) and श्रुतिः 1. 7. 67-68 (reads नारसुक्तः प्रवचनं).
Manusmṛti on creation

beginning of creation assigned names, peculiar activities and conditions to all created beings by means of the words of Veda. In this it follows a śruti text (explaining Rg. IX. 62. 1) quoted by Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. I. 3. 28) who quotes a verse in support from the Mahābhārata and another verse also (the source of which is not mentioned but which is found in some purāṇas).

Another theory of creation is stated in Manusmṛti I. 32-41. Brahmā divided his own body into two halvas, one half a male and the other a female and from that female he created Virāj, who practised tapas and created a male who was no other than Manu (promulgator of Manusmṛti). Manu desirous of producing created beings, first created ten great sages as Prajāpatis, who created seven Manus, Gods, classes of gods, great sages, yakṣas rakṣasas, gandharvas, apsarasas, snakes, birds classes of pītras, lightning, clouds, large and small stars, monkeys, fishes, cattle, deer, men, lions, worms, insects, flies, immovable things (trees etc.). This account appears to be inspired by the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90), particularly verses 5, 8-10.

A third theory of creation by Brahmā after he awakes from his sleep is briefly noticed in Manusmṛti I. 74-78, viz. he creates (or appoints) his mind which impelled by Brahmā's desire to create, produces ākāśa (ether), of which sound is the (peculiar) quality; that ether modifying itself creates Vāyu possessing the quality of touch; from Vāyu arises refulgent light, from which arises water and from water arises the earth of which the special quality is smell. This theory is a modification of the Sānkhya doctrine, according to which (kārikā 25) all five elements proceed from ahaṅkāra and God Brahmā is thrown in (who has no place in standard Sānkhya). The Manusmṛti is in the habit of stating opposing views on the same topic one after another; e.g. note on the use of flesh in Manu V. 27-46 as compared with V. 48-56, Manu III. 13 as compared with III. 14-19 (on brāhmaṇa having a śūdra wife), Manu IX. 59-62 as opposed to IX. 64-68 on the practice of Niyoga.

Accounts of creation occur frequently in the Mahābhārata, mostly in the Śāntiparva. All cannot be set out here, but a few would be described. Chap. 175. 11-21 (=Ch. ed. 182. 11-21) states that from God known as Aryakta all beings were born, he first created mahān also called ākāśa, from ākāśa water was produced, from water were produced fire and vāyu, from the combination of these two the earth was produced. Then the
self-existent created a lotus, from which arose Brahmā, known as Ahaṅkāra and he produced the whole world. In chap. 176 (183 of Ch. ed.) it is stated that Brahmā first created water, from water arose Vāyu, from the combination of water and Vāyu arose Agni and earth was produced from the combination of Agni, Vāyu and ākāśa. Chap. 177 (=184, Ch. ed.) explains that the Mahābhūtas (great elements) are five viz. vāyu, ākāśa, agni, water and earth, that all bodies are made of these five, that there are five āndriyas, five objects of sense and five qualities, śabda, sparśa (touch), rūpa (colour), rasa (taste) and gandha (smell); subdivisions of each of these five are mentioned. Chap. 178 (=189 of Ch. ed.) speaks of the five prāṇas and the spheres of their activities. Chap. 179–180 (=186–187 of Ch. ed.) deal with jīva (individual self) and states at the end that the body is perishable, that the self passes from one body to another and that by yoga one can see the self in the Highest Self. Chap. 200 (=207 Ch. ed.) states that Puruṣottama created the five elements, that he reclined on waters, that from his navel sprang a lotus brilliant like the sun, from which arose Brahmā, who created from his mind seven sons, Dakṣa, Marici, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu. Dakṣa had many daughters (the eldest being Diti), from these daughters Daityas, Ādityas, the other gods, Kāla and its parts, the earth, the four varṇas, all kinds of men, Āndhras, Pulindas, Šabaras and others in Dakṣināpatha and in the Uttarāpatha, Yauna (Yavanas), Kāmbojas, Gândhāras, Kīrātas, Barbaras and others were produced. Chap. 224 (=231 Ch. ed.) starts by saying that in the beginning there was brahma, beginningless and endless, unknowable and proceeds to divisions of time from nimesa to the yugas and their characteristics. Herein occur verses that are the same as in Manuṣmṛti I. 65–67, 69–70, 75–77, 81–83, 85–86. It is difficult to say who borrow as even the Manuṣmṛti (in X. 44) mentions Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, Dravidas, Kāmbojas and Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cinas, Kīrātas, Daradas and Khaṇḍas, as having been originally sub-divisions or sub-castes of Kṣatriyas (Kṣatriya-jātayaḥ) but reduced to the position of śūdras, because of losing all contact with brahmaṇas (X. 43) and because of the cessation of religious rites (like Upanayana &c.). In Śānti 311 (=cr. ed. 299) creation is described in Śāṅkhya terms with Brahmā thrown in. Brahmā (identified with mahaṁ) was born in the golden egg, he remained inside the egg for a year, then he created within the two parts of the egg (heaven and earth), antarikṣa, from ahaṅkāra five elements were produced and their
five qualities are mentioned. Āśvamedhika (Chap. 40–42 is similar to Śānti 311) states the order of creation as avyakta-mahat-ahākāra-five elements, the only peculiarity being that in verse 2 mahān is identified with Viṣṇu, Śambhu, buddhi and several other words are given as synonyms thereof.

The Smṛti of Yājñavalkya (III. 67–70) states that from the one Self, many individual selves arise just as from a red-hot iron ball sparks go out, that the unborn and imperishable Ātman is said to be born when connected with body, that in the beginning of creation, Paramātman creates the five elements, ether, vāyu, tejas, water and earth, each succeeding one possessing a rising series of qualities and when appearing as individual self, it receives (for body) the same elements. Then after pointing out how a human being is conceived, how the foetus grows in the womb and describing the anatomy (with number of bones, veins, arteries, muscles &c.) of the human body, the Smṛti avers that the whole world proceeds from the Paramātman and the individual self appears from the elements (which form the body). The individual self is beginningless and is not born, but it comes in intimate contact with a body that is due to acts influenced by false ideas, hankerings and aversions (III. 125). From the several parts (mouth, arms, thighs, feet &c.) of the First Principle that assumes numerous forms arise the four varnas in order, the earth, heaven, prānas, directions, Vāyu, Agni, Moon (from mind), the Sun (from His eye), sky and the whole movable and immovable world (III. 126–128). Here the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1 and 12–14) is closely followed.

The Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to the theories of cosmology and cosmography. Only a very brief summary is all that can be attempted from the contents of a few among the extant Purāṇas that have been shown above to be the earliest, viz. Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya. It has been stated above (pp. 838–840) that the topics with which Purāṇas were deemed to be concerned were according to the Amarkośa five and that some of the Purāṇas themselves set out the five topics as creation (sarga), recreation after dissolution (pratisarga), dynasties (varṇa), the vast periods of time (called Manvantaras), and history and deeds of the descendants of the

2475. अनाविष्कासं कथितस्तस्वादिशु गरीरकम्। आत्मानस्तु जाणस्वं जगताः जगत्वात्म-सम्भव॥ या. III. 117.
solar, lunar and other dynasties (Vamśānuvarīta). Thus, many of the Purāṇas deal with creation at some length. A few striking theories and passages alone can be set out or cited.

The Matsyapurāṇa begins the topic of creation in the same way as the Manusmṛti does and some of the verses of the former are identical (or almost identical) with the verses of the Manusmṛti. The Matsya (2. 27) states; Nārāyaṇa alone appeared first and being desirous of creating the manifold world, produced from his body waters, cast the seed therein and a golden egg emerged; inside that egg the Sun appeared, he is called Aditya as well as Brahmā, he made the two halves of the egg into heaven and earth and produced all directions and the sky between the two (heaven and earth). Then the Meru and other mountains and the seven seas (of salt, sugarcane juice &c.) were produced. Nārāyaṇa became Prajāpati who created all this world including gods and asuras. The 3rd chap. of the Matsya speaks of the Vedas, Purāṇas and Vidyās as proceeding from his lips and states that he created from his mind ten sages, Marici, Aṭrī and others (3. 5–8). Then the Matsya launches on the Sānkhya scheme of creation (in 3. 14–29), stating that the three guṇas are sattva, rojas, tamas, and the state of their equilibrium is called Prakṛti, that some call it Pradhāna, others call it Avyakta, that this Pradhāna produces creation, that from the three guṇas rose Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; that from Pradhāna arose Mahān, from the latter abhākāra, then five Jñānendriyas and five Karmendriyas and the mind as the 11th sense and the five tanmātrās (subtle elements); that ākāśa was produced from the sabda-tanmātrā, vāyu from ākāśa, tejas from Vayu and water from tejas, that the Purusa is the 25th tattva.

Then the Matsya (3. 30–44) tells a fantastic story that Brahmā produced a woman (called Śatarūpā, Śāvitrī, Sarasvati, Gāyatrī or Brahmarūpā) from himself, felt passion for her and had after a long time a son named Manu (called Svāyambhuva) and also Virāj from her; then Brahmā called upon his sons to create people. The Matsya in chapter four states that Brahmā had from Śatarūpā seven sons, Marici and others (verses 25–26, contradicting chap. 3. 5–8), mentions two sons of Svāyambhuva Manu and also the descendants of those two sons. Some

2476. For example, Matsya 2. 25–27 and 32 echo the phraseology of Manu I. 5–6, 13, Matsya 2. 28 is the same as Manu I. 8, Matsya 3. 23 is same as Manu I. 75, Matsya 4. 55 (one half) is same as Manu IX. 129. The Brahma Purāṇa I. 37–39 are almost the same as Manu I. 6 and 8.
chapters from five onwards describe the descendants of Dakṣa, of Kasyapa, of Diti, the coronation of Prthu, the solar and lunar dynastic and various classes of pîtras.

The Vāyu purāṇa devotes five chapters (4–9) to creations of different kinds (in over 600 verses). In Chap. 4 verses 22–61 the Sāńkhya scheme of Pradhāna, Mahat, Ahankāra, Tanmātrās is set out and is combined with the egg theory (verses 66ff). Chap. 6 appears to refer (verses 2–3) to the Puruṣasûkta (Rg. X. 90. 1–2), explains that Narayana is so called because he reclines on waters, refers to the Boar incarnation, to nine kinds of creation, states a (different theory) that Brahma created in the beginning the mind-born sons and Sanandana and Sanaka (6.65). Chapter 7 refers to re-creation, Chap. 8 (containing 198 verses) refers to the Yugas, their durations, the creation of eight Devayonis, of animals, metres &c., and different sons of Brahma.

The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa I (chapters 3–5) deal with the appearance of Hirańyagarbha and various kinds of creations and chapter 4 refers to Pradhāna, the guṇas and states that creation is due to the uneven mixture of guṇas that constitute Pradhāna but these work under Viśnu. Chap. 5 speaks of various kinds of creations, and the māṇasa sons of Brahma. Chapters 8, 11 of the Anuśaṅgapāda (2nd section of the Purāṇa) deal with the creation of gods, pîtrs, men and of the great sages, Bhṛgu &c.

The first three chapters (containing about 240 verses) of the Brahmapurāṇa deal with creation. Chap. 1 (verses 34 ff) puts forward Brahma as the creator of all bhūtas (beings) and as devotee of Narayana and then states that ahankāra arose from mahat and from ahankāra the elements were produced. The Brahma like the Matsya closely follows (in I. 37-41) Manu I, 5-13. It refers to the creation of the seven sages Marici, Atri and others who were seven Brahmāṇah, the creation of Sadhyas, gods, the Rgveda and other Vedas, birds and all sorts of beings; it also states (I. 53) that Viśnu created Virāj, who created Puruṣa (this is based on the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 5) and that Puruṣa created people. Chapter 2 states that Puruṣa married Śatarūpa, that Puruṣa is called Svāyambhuva Manu, that a son Vira was born to Puruṣa and Śatarūpa and Vira's two sons were Priyavrata and Uttānapāda; then their descendants are described, that Dakṣa had 50 daughters 10 of whom were married to Dharma, 13 to Kasyapa and 27 (the naksatras) were

have been known and was at some distance from the place where the Upanisad was composed; the country Madra is mentioned in Br. Up. III. 3.1 and III 7.1. Janaka was a king of Videha at whose court brāhmaṇas from Kurus, Pañcālya, gather together for argument with Yājñavalkya (Br. Up. III 1.1), king Ajātaśatru of Kāśi (Banaras) humbled the vain Bālāki Gārgya (Br. Up. II. 1.1), and Kaśītiṅkī IV. 1.1, which latter mentions also the countries of Vaśa, Uśinara, Kuru, Pañcāla and Videha); Kuru country occurs in Chān. Up. I. 10.1. IV. 17.10. Pañcāla country by itself in Chān. Up. V. 3. 1, Br. Up. VI. 2.1; Aśvapati king of Kekaya (in the extreme North-west) imparted knowledge of Vaiśāvāraṇa-vidyā to brāhmaṇas.

The Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to cosmography i.e. description of the divisions of the earth called dvīpas, vāras, the mountains, the oceans, the rivers and the countries therein and their extent, the motions of the sun, moon, planets, the yugas, manvantaras, and kalpas and Dharmaśāstra works frequently rely on them. Jambudvīpa was known at least before 300 B.C. as Aśoka mentions it in his Rūpanātha Rock Inscription, quoted above on p. 1016 n 1649. The word ‘dvīpa’ occurs in the Rgveda I.169.3 and VII.20.4 (vi dvipāṇi pāpataḥ). Pāṇini derives the word from dvi and ṣapaḥ. (VI.3.97). A bare outline of these from some Purāṇas may be indicated here. The Matsya-purāṇa starts by saying (in chap. 113. 4-5) that there are thousands of dvīpas, but as it is not possible to describe the whole of the world in order it would expound only the seven dvīpas.

2478. The most systematic and complete work on the cosmography of ancient India as described in Purāṇas is W. Kirfel’s ‘Die Kosmographie der Inder’ (Bonn, 1920, pp. 401) with plates. He deals with Purāṇa material in pp. 1-177, with Buddhist material in pp. 178-207 and with Jaina material in pp. 208-339 and there is an index of proper names in pp. 340-401.

2479. Many of the Purāṇas contain the same questions put by the sages to the Sūta about the dvīpas. अष्ट: उ:। काले द्रुप: सम्राट तथा परम्प: शा काले भव:। विश्लेषण: वै वर्णाणि तेऽधु नश्च त:। सुन:। न्यायविवर्णानि व लोकालोकसाधेऽथ। एवानी नान:। सर्व: सस्त्रणां वर्णार्थविरुद्धे। वाक्यान्तः कल्पनां अनुभवमायाः यथा। न्यास: उच्चाण्य। द्रुपयोगसाधारण: सत्य चापूर्वविदर्थ:। च। जात्यमर्यादेऽविश्लेषण: सत्य:। शतु त:। परस्परसाधारण: कन्यादिविद्यय:। च। द्रुप: 113. 1-5, वायु 134. 1-3, 6-7, बहुद्रक्षर: 15. 2-3, 5-6, माइक्स्के: 51. 1-3.

2480. The dvīpas are generally said to be seven, but sometimes they are said to be 18 as in Vāyu 2.15 (aṣṭādaśa samudrasya dvīpaṇ aśāna Purīravāḥ) and by Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VI. 38 (aṣṭādaśa-dvīpa-nikhāta (Continued on next page)
Chapters 121-123 of the same Purāṇa mention by name seven dvāpas viz. Jambudvīpa, Śakadvīpa, Kuśa, Krauṇca, Śālmala, Gomedaka and Puṣkara, each succeeding one being double of each preceding one and each surrounded by a sea and each having seven varṣas, seven principal mountains, seven main rivers. The seven oceans surrounding the seven dvāpas are stated to be respectively of salt-water, milk, liquid ghee, curds, liquor, sugar-cane juice, fresh water. The names and order of the dvāpas differ to some extent in different Purāṇas e. g. the Viṣṇu II. 1.12-14, II. 2.5, the Brahma Purāṇa (18.11) mention them as Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauṇca, Śaka and Puṣkara. The Vāyu (33. 11-14), Kūrma I. 45. 3, Mārk, 50, 18-20 mention the same seven in the same order.

The descriptions of Kalpa, Manvantara, Yuga in the Purāṇas have already been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 890-91 and above pp. 686-693 and pralaya has been treated of in Vol. III pp. 893-895 and pp. 693-695 above. The Purāṇas contain thousands of verses on these topics.

The Viṣṇu (II. 2. 13-24) mentions the varṣas as Bhārata (the first among them), Kimpurusa, Hari, Ramyaka, Hīrānmayā, Uttara-Kuru, Īlavṛta, Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla. The Vāmana (13. 2-5) mentions the same except that it substitutes Campaka for Ramyaka. Viṣṇu II. (1.16-17) states, however, that Nabhī, Kimpurusa, Harivarṣa, Īlavṛta, Ramya, Hīrānvat, Kuru, Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla were the names of nine kings, sons of Agnīdhra, son of Priyavrata, a son of Śvāmabhūva Manu and that the varṣas given to the nine sons of Agnīdhra were respectively Himālava (i.e. Bhārata), Hemakuta, Naiṣadha, Īlavṛta, Nilacala, Śveta, Śrīngavat, a varṣa to east of Meru, Gandhamādana. Thus there is a confusion of names of kings and names of varṣas. Vāyu (30. 38-40) states the same names of

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yūpāḥ). It is possible to take the word dvāpa in the sense of islands and not in the sense of continents in these cases. From Pañ. IV. 3. 10 (dvāpā-anusamudram yañ) it appears that the word 'dvāpa' was also used about islands near the sea coast. Vide 'Nine dvāpas of Bharatavarṣa' by Sashi bhusan Chauduri fn I. A. Vol. 59 pp. 204-208 and 224-226.
sons and in 33. 41–45 mentions the same varṣas except Mālyavat, which was given to Bhadrāśva. 2482

The Vāyu (45, 75–81) states that Bhāratavarṣa is to the north of the ocean and to the south of Himavat (Himālaya) and Manu was called Bharata because he supported his subjects and therefore this varṣa is called Bhārata. The Brahmāṇḍa (II.16.7, says the same thing. The same (Vāyu) Purāṇa contradicts itself by stating (in 33. 50–52) that Nābhi’s son was Rṣabha, whose son was Bharata after whom Bharata-varṣa is so called. Brahmāṇḍa (II. 14.60–62) says the same thing; Vāyu also stated (in 99. 134) that from Dūṣyanta and Śakuntalā was born Bharata and Bhārata is so called 2483 after him. The seven

2482. उनसे यदुमुदस्य हिंसा देशस्य दुःखितता । वर्षों तदनात् नाम भारती यद ज्ञाति: ॥ नवयोजनसाहस्रो विसर्गसत्त्व हिंसात: । कम्पौद्धिरिष्य सर्ववचनवर्ण्य व मच्छन्ताय ॥ महेन्द्रस्व मदयः । सन्यः शुचिवनस्यपवभः । विन्याय पारितथा सतात् कुर्वलन् ॥ ॥ विन्यायः. II. 3. 1–3, जयंत: 19. 1–3; vide अभि 118. 1–3 (which reads हेमपर्वत: for नारायणः), मार्कण्डेय (54. 10–11), विन्याय: II. 16. 5 and 18–19. It is worthy of note that Pāṇini expressly names only Himavat (in IV. 4. 112) out of these mountains, though he knew other mountains like Kimsulukagiri and others (VI. 3. 117). अन्यथाशर्ता अन्तः जमल्लिरां महातन्त:। यती हि कम्पौद्धिरि यस्तोत्सि ओऽगस्युभः: ॥ जयंत: 19. 23, विन्यायः II. 3. 22. In both several verses after this are the same.

2483. The Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 1. 32 agrees with Vāyu 33. 50–52. In the Śakuntala (Act. VII.) Kālidāsa makes a character state that Śakuntalā’s son called Sarvardama in the hermitage of Kaṇva would become known as Bharata (उपर्य सन्तवान् प्रभुदमनास्वन्तः: इत्यादिस्याः भरता इति वैष्णव अर्थात्). It is likely that in Kālidāsa’s days Śakuntala’s son had not been probably connected with the name Bhāratavarṣa, otherwise there would have been nothing to prevent the poet from adding another prophecy about him that a varṣa would be named after him. Pāṇini speaks of pṛcyas and Bharatas (II. 4. 66, IV. 2. 113). The Bharatas were an ancient people mentioned several times even in the Rgveda; vide III. 33. 11–12. The Bharatas are spoken of as grāma i. e. a group or saṅgha, to have crossed the confluence of the rivers Vipāś and Sutudri (modern Beas and Sooč), III, 23. 2 (Bharatas are said to have produced Agni by attrition), III, 53. 12 (where the prayer of Viśvāmitra is said to have protected Bhārata-jana). Agni is styled Bhārata in several verses (as in Rg. II. 7. 1 and 5, IV. 25. 4, VI. 16. 19 and 45). It is stated in the Brāhmaṇa (39. 9) that Dīrghatamā Māmateya crowned Bharata Dauspantī (Dausyantī) by the Aindra Mahābhīṣeka, that Bharata thereon conquered the earth all round, performed many Aśvamedha sacrifices and then five śokas are quoted stating that Bharata made gifts of innumerable elephants in Māsāra country, that he performed sacrifices on the banks of the Yamunā river and on the

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principal mountains of Bhāratavarṣa are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Rksaparvata, Vindhya and Pārīyāṭa. The Purāṇas affirm that Bhārata is the best in the varṣas of Jámbudvipa (Brahma 19, 23-24, Viṣṇu III. 3. 22, Brahmāṇḍa II. 16. 17). Some of them contain fine eulogies of Bhārata (e.g. Brahma 27. 2.9 and 69-79, Viṣṇu III. 3. 23-26).

In several Purāṇas nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa are named viz. Indradvipa, Kaśeru, Tamraparnu, Gabhastimat, Nāgadvipa, Sahys, Gandharva, Vāruṇa and a ninth which is 1000 yojanas long from north to south, on the east of which are Kīrātas and on the west Yavanas and the four varṇas in the middle of it.²⁴⁸⁴ It may be noted that though Bhārabavarsa is only one the divisions of Jámbudvipa, some of the nine divisions are themselves called Indradvipa and Nāgadvipa. Another important matter is that Matsya 114. 10, Vāyu 45. 81, Vāmana 13. 11, and Brahmāṇḍa appear to call the 9th dvipa Kumāra or as extending from Kumārīki to the sources of the Gāṅga. There-

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Ganges; the last verse (the 5th) says ‘महाभारतम् भस्मश्च न भोवै नारेद जनाः।’ दिवं भर्तय ईव हस्तानां नोद्रायुः प्रकाशनारः॥” Vide Satapatha Br. XIII. 5. 4. 11-13 (for Bharata Dauspanti born of Sakuntalā, where four gāthas are quoted about him, three of which are almost the same as in Ait. Br. and it is added that he attained the same sway or eminence that belongs to the Bharatas in its times. The Atharvaveda frequently refers to Himavat (as in V. 2. 8, XIX. 39. 1) and it is said that Kuṣṇa plant is found in the north and is taken to the east from Himavat and that (Atharva VI. 24. 1 and 3) all rivers flow from Himavat and join the ocean (Sindhu). The Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 66 remarks that Bharatas are not found in any countries other than those in the east.

²⁴⁸⁴. भारतस्यादं च बर्षरं नवभेद्यां निषादवयम्। इत्यध्वी: कस्यन्त कार्यकारणोऽभिविषयत्। 

नामदीपनानं सर्वं तु हृद्येऽयं हस्तानां नोद्रायुः प्रकाशनारः॥

अर्थं तु नवस्य श्रीयं सामग्रिस्थ:। नारायणारः सहस्रं तु हृद्येऽयं हस्तानां नोद्रायुः प्रकाशनारः॥

(Reads भारतस्यादं च बर्षरं नवभेद्यां निषादवयम्। इत्यध्वी: कस्यन्त कार्यकारणोऽभिविषयत्।)

नारायणारः सहस्रं तु हृद्येऽयं हस्तानां नोद्रायुः प्रकाशनारः॥

(Reads भारतस्यादं च बर्षरं नवभेद्यां निषादवयम्। इत्यध्वी: कस्यन्त कार्यकारणोऽभिविषयत्।)
fore, it appears that the 9th division of Bhāratavarṣa was held to be a country like modern India and the other eight divisions seem to be countries and islands lying to the south-east of present India. It is probable that early works identified Bhāratavarṣa with what is now modern India, but when Indian culture spread to South-East Asia, Bhāratavarṣa was used to denote India as well as Greater India.

Śabara (bhāṣya on Jai. X. 1. 35) shows that the language of cultured people from the Himavat to cape Comorin was the same (prasiddhaśca sthālyām caruśabdaḥ ā Himavataḥ ā ca Ku-

maribhayah prajyayāmāno drṣṭāh). Vide also his bhāṣya on Jai. X. 1. 42 for the same words. The snow-capped mountains were known to the sages of the Rgveda (vide X. 121, 4 ‘yas-

yeme Himavanto mahītvā yasya samudram rasayā sāhāvah). ‘Yasya’ in the verse quoted refers to Hiranyagarbha. The Atharvaveda (V. 4. 2 and 8) mentions Himavat in the singular. Parvatas (plural) occur several times in Rg. III. 33. 1, IV. 54. 5 and also parvata in the singular (Rg. I. 37. 7, V. 56. 4). The Mahābhārata, Śabara, Purāṇas and the Bṛhat-samhitā show that ancient Indian people identified their culture with Bhāratavarṣa i.e. they identified country and culture, not race with culture.

The Brahmapurāṇa and the Mārkandeya appear to confine Bhāratavarṣa substantially to what has been known for centuries as India when they describe it as ‘to its south, west and east there is the great ocean, to its north is Himavat resembling the string of a bow.’2485 Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 11–16 for discussion as to the limits of Āryāvarta and pp. 17–18 for Bhārata-varṣa.

The Vāyu devotes about 1000 verses (chap. 36-49) to what is called Bhuvanavinyāsa (arrangement of the universe), the Brahma devotes chap. 18-21 to the same viz. Bhuvanakośa, the Matsya chap. 114 deals with Bhuvanakośa, Kūrma I. 40 is called Bhuvanavinyāsa and deals with dvīpas and varṣas.

The countries2486 of ancient and medieval India are enumerated in Viṣṇu II. 3. 15–18, Vāyu 45. 109–136, Brahmānda II. 16.

2485. द्विघ्नप्रती यथय दूरो चेक महोदयः। हिमवत्तत्रेणाः कार्यकर्म्य यथा चुण।।

2486. For the Janapadas and other geographical data in Pāṇini, vide J. of U. P. H. S. Vol. 16 pp. 10–51 by Dr. V. S. Agrawala and IHQ Vol. 21 pp. 297–314 for countries in the Purāṇas and Dr. D. C. Sirkar’s ‘Text of the Purāṇic list of peoples’ in IHQ vol. 19 pp. 297–314. It appears from

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40-68. Matsya 114. 34-56, Markandeya 54, Padma (Adi 6. 34-59), Vāmana 13. 36 ff. The Bhīṣmaparva (chap. 9) mentions countries and peoples. In the Nakṣatrakūrmaṇḍhyaṇa of Bhatsamhita of Varahamihira (chap. 14. 1-33) numerous names and countries in the centre of Bharatavarṣa and in the eight directions of it are set out. Many rivers are named in the Rgveda. In Rgveda X. 75. 5-6 eighteen or nineteen rivers are mentioned in order from the Ganges towards the west up to Kubhā (Kabul river), Gomati, Krumu (modern Kurram). Twenty-one rivers, seven in three groups, are referred to in Rgveda) X. 64. 8 and X. 75. 1 and 99, in Rgveda I. 32. 12 and X. 104. 8 seven Sindhus are mentioned and in (Rgveda II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, X. 43. 3). Rivers are enumerated as flowing from the principal mountains in Matsya 114. 30-33, Kūrma I. 47. 28-39, Brahmānda II. 16. 24-39, Vāmana 13. 20-35 and 34. 6-8, Brahma 19. 10-14 and 27. 25-40, Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 6. 10-32). The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 165. 19-29) mentions many rivers.

Pātālas (nether regions) are generally mentioned as seven, but the names slightly vary in the several Purāṇas. Vide Vāyu 50. 11-12, Brahma 21. 2-3 and 54. 28-11, Brahmānda II. 20. 10 ff, Kūrma I. 44. 15-25, Viṣṇu II. 5. 2-3.

The Bhāṣya of Vyāsa on Y. S. III. 25 (26 in some editions) ‘bhuvanaṁ jānam suryay saṁyamāt’ contains a concise but remarkably detailed summary of the description of the seven lokas (bhūr, bhuvah, svāh, mahaḥ, jana, tapas and satya, 2487

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Pāṇini that he was well acquainted with the whole of India from the extreme northwest to Kalinga (modern Orissa) and Asmaka (region about Ajanta and Paithan) and modern Kutch as he expressly names Gândhāra (IV. 1. 169), Suvāstu (in IV. 2. 77, modern Swat), Kamboja (IV. 1. 175) and Taksalā (IV. 3. 93), Sindh (IV. 3. 93), Sālātura (IV. 3. 94, the birth-place of Pāṇini who is hence called Salāturiya by later writers like Bhāmaha), Sauvira (IV. 1. 148), Kaccha (IV. 2. 133), Magadha, Kalinga, Sūrāmasa (Surma valley?) in IV. 1. 170, Asmaka (IV. 1. 173). Cunningham’s ‘Ancient Geography of India (1872), Kundalal Dey’s ‘The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India’ (1927), ‘Bibliography of Ancient Geography of India’ by Surendranath Majumdar in I. A. Vol. 48 (for 1919) pp. 15-23 and the list of Tirthas in the author’s H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 723-825 may be consulted for ancient Indian Geography.

2487. The words for the three or seven Vyāhṛtis were supposed to denote lokas. Vide Tai, Br. II. 2. 4. 3 ‘एता वै स्मात्यम् ्हमे लोकाः’ and Tāl. Up. I. 5 ्हरितिति व अघ्य तोरका। सुधा इत्यस्वतिक्षिते ्हम इत्यस्वतिक्षिते। आदित्ये गच समेइ तोरका महायते ।; the Kṛṣṇapurana (I. 44. 1-4) mentions the lokas from महाई: to सत्य.
the seven narakas from Āvīci upwards, the seven pātālas, the earth with seven dvīpas, the seven parvatas with Meru in the middle of the earth, varṣas, the seven dvīpas, jambu, śaka, kuśa, krauṇa, śālmala, gomedha (not gomedaka as in the printed Purāṇas) and Puṣkara, the seven seas, the parks of the gods, their assembly hall called Sudharmā and city called Sudarśana and palace called Vaijayanta, the groups of gods in Mahendra-loka, Prājāpatya-loka, in Jana, Tapas and Satya lokas. Many of these details closely agree with the enumerations and descriptions in the Purāṇas. This shows that the Paurāṇika cosmography had been established long before the 4th century A. D.
CHAPTER XXXV

The doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma (transmigration or metempsychosis)

This is one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Indian system of religion and philosophy, is an endeavour to answer the question that occurs to all thoughtful persons, viz. what happens to man after the death of the body and has influenced for thousands of years or at least from the times of the Upaniṣads all Indian thought and all Hindus, Jains and Buddhists. This is a vast subject and has during the last few decades attracted the minds of numerours writers in the West. There is now a voluminous literature in the West on reincarnation.\(^{2487a}\) Several countries in historical times believed in transmigration. Herodotus\(^{2487b}\) states that some of the Greeks (whose names he knew but did not disclose) had used that doctrine as their own, but that the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul was immortal and that at the time of the death of the body it entered into some other living thing then coming to birth. Pythagoras appears to have believed in it and there are controversies whether he derived it from India. Prof. A. B. Keith (in J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 569-606) after a lengthy discussion holds that Pythagoras did not borrow it from India. The present writer does not express any opinion on that subject as it is irrelevant for the purpose of this volume. Hopkins and Macdonnell accept the theory of Indian Influence on Pythagoras, but Oldenberg and Keith do not.

Not only Pythagoras, but Empedocles (who is reported to have said that he was a boy, a girl, a bush, a bird and a fish) and Plato believed in the pre-existence and post-existence of the soul, in the idea that the bodies which will accompany the soul in several births would bear similitude to the lives that

\(^{2487a}\) Even so early as 1913, E. D. Walker (Rider and Co., London) devotes to bibliography of books and articles on 'Reincarnation' 15 pages (pp. 329–343).

they had led, that the happiest would be those who had practised the social and civil virtues called temperance and justice and that supersensible thinking would be the only means of disengaging the soul from successive lives of sense. Vide Kenneth Walker's 'The circle of Life' p. 93 (where he says that the doctrine of metempsychoosis was probably well-known in India at the time of Christ) and Gough's 'Philosophy of the Upanisads' (London 1882), pp. 25-28, where he cites a long passage from Plato's Phaedon on this subject and pp. 29-31 for a long quotation from Hume's Dialogues concerning Natural Religion on the miseries and migration of the soul from body to body. Gough on p. 25 of the above work opines that since in the Vedic literature prior to the Upanisads there is no reference to the belief in the passage of the soul into plants and human bodies, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hindus borrowed this doctrine from the indigenes in the course of their absorption of indigenous blood. Vide also 'Studies in honour of Bloomfield' pp. 76-88 for G. W. Brown's views to the same effect. This is a most gratuitous assumption, it is a pure conjecture and without any evidence whatever. If belief in transmigration could exist among Egyptians and many primitive tribes, there is no reason to assume that Indians did not themselves arrive at the doctrine, particularly when there exists nowhere else in the whole world any theory of Karma and transmigration so detailed, so influential and so thorough as in Sanskrit Literature. One may dismiss the conjectures of Gough and G. W. Brown as verbiage (the latter conjectures on pp. 87-88 that even the words Yoga, Sāṅkhya and Upaniṣad are coined from similar words in some Dravidian tongue now lost). All Scholars (particularly Western ones when writing about the East) should lay to heart the words of Mallinātha 'nāmālam likhyate kiṃcit'. The present writer is not against conjectures at all but they must not be bold and must always be treated as such. But the danger is that the conjectures of former scholars or men are often treated as valid conclusions by later writers. All scholars must bear in mind Acton's warning 'Guard against the prestige of great names; no trusting without testing'. In the H. of Dh. Vol. IV, pp. 38-40 the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanna was briefly discussed in relation to the consequence of sins and their removal and details were reserved for treatment later.

In the present chapter the author proposes to examine the Vedic literature for tracing the origin and the growth of
this doctrine and the vicissitudes and modifications of it and the objections raised against it in modern times. It is a remarkable circumstance that, though the several darśanas (such as Saṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaśesika, Pūrva-mānasī and Vedānta) severely criticize some doctrines of each other, the doctrine of Karma and transmigration received almost unanimous support except among materialists (like Čārvāka). Prof. Wilson in ‘Religion of the Hindus’ (London, ed. of 1862) vol. II, p. 112 remarks ‘metempsychosis is not only the one point on which all are agreed, it is the one point which none have ever disputed’. The Buddhists and Jains, though they differed on many matters from Vedic and Smṛti literature, adopted this doctrine in their own way. There are some suppositions antecedent to all beliefs in Karma and transmigration viz. (1) man has a soul, eternal and separate from the physical body, (2) that other organisms, animals, plants and probably inanimate objects possess souls, (3) that the souls of men and lower animals can pass from one kind of physical organism to another, (4) that the soul is both doer and sufferer.

It has already been shown at some length (in Vol. IV. pp. 154-171) how ideas of Heaven and Hell were developed from ancient Vedic times and it has been stated (on p. 158 of that volume) that the doctrine of Karma and transmigration modified the doctrine of Heaven and Hell.

The word karma occurs in the Rgveda over forty times. In some passages it appears to mean ‘exploits’ or ‘valiant deeds’ as in the following: ‘Observe the exploits of Viṣṇu’ (Rg. I. 22. 19), ‘proclaim by your word (or verses) the 2483 ancient deeds of Him (Indra) who is worthy of praise’ (Rg. I. 61. 13); ‘that deed of his (of Indra), who is wonderful, is most worthy of worship, that deed is most beautiful, that he filled with sweet waters of four rivers’ (Rg. I. 62. 6); ‘who is firm in each exploit’ (Rg. I. 101. 4); ‘O Indra! four are your divine and unconquerable names,... under which you performed exploits’ (Rg. X. 54. 4); ‘O Āśvins! frequent drinkers of delicious Soma and Lords of splendour, you helped (or protected) Indra in his exploits

2483. अवेशु प्रकोणदीप्तार्थे प्रवर्तकं तुरस्य कर्मो न उच्चथे:। क्र. I. 61.13; तद् मयास्तरस्य कर्म दृष्टम वाचाकसामसिति द्वसः। उपहरे यज्ञसत्र अविनाग सहासिनि नवप्रतिष्ठानः।।
Rg. I. 62.6; युवं मूर्तमित्विना नन्दचातावरे सचा। विपिनाणा छुभस्वती हर्ष्मो कर्मविलक्षनः। क्र. X. 131. 4.
against Namuci, son of Asura (or of the Asura breed)' in Rg. X. 131. 4. In several other passages of the Rgveda 'karma' means 'religious works' (such as sacrifices or gifts); '(the gods) accept (or like) all works of this poet who brings to you a hymn of praise' 2489 (Rg. I. 148. 2); (O Indra), give your ear to (the prayer) of Śyāvāśva who offers Soma to you, as you listened to (the prayers of) Atri who performed religious works' (Rg. VIII. 36. 7); O pure Soma! with thy help our ancient and wise forefathers performed works' (Rg. IX. 96. 11). In very ancient times Heaven was believed to be the place for enjoying the rewards of most works. Rewards of this world such as wealth, heroic sons were no doubt prayed for, but it was immortality (āmrata) and the joys of heaven, that were highly valued. In Rg. X. 16. 4 Agni is prayed to take the deceased to the world of those who performed good works (tābhir-vahāinam suktām u lokam). The words 'sukṛtām lokam' occur in the Atharva-veda 2490 (III. 28. 6, XVIII. 3. 71) and in the Vāj. S. 18. 52. In Rg. IX. 113. 7–10 the sacrificer who offers Soma to Indra prays that he may be placed in that world (heaven) as an immortal, where there is never-ending light, where Yama, the son of Vivasvat, is the King, where there are joys and delights and where there are desires and their fulfilment. The prayers for immortality are made in the Rgveda to all gods, e. g. to Agni in I. 31. 7, IV 58. 1, V. 4. 10., VI. 7. 4, to the Maruts in V. 55. 4, to Mitra and Varuṇa in V. 63. 2, to Viśve-Devas in X. 52, 5 and X. 62, 1, to Soma in I. 91. 1, IX. 94. 4, IX. 108. 3. But about the fate of evil-doers not much is said in the Rgveda. In the Brāhmaṇa works greater details are offered as to rewards of good works and the retribution for evil deeds. Sat. Br. (XII. 9. 1. 1) puts forth the idea of retribution (cited above). 2491 The same idea is set forth as to flesh-eating in Manu and Viṣṇu-dharmaṣṭra, which state

2489. खुबत विद्वान्यथा क्षमापवतति भरमाणस्य कारी। अ. 1148. 2: ख्यावाभर खुबतस्तथा खुबत पथा खुबतोरे: क्षमापि क्रुद्धां। अ. VIII. 36. 7; the same verse is repeated in VIII. 37. 7 (with रेतते: for खुबतते:); त्या हि न: विद्वान: सोम क्षमापि च:। यथार्थ धीरा:। अ. IX. 96. 11.

2490. तागस्य रत्न सहनसमु लोके ग्रण अर्पयो जर्जर्न: परमात्मा: पुराणा:। वाज. सं. 18. 52: भृगुस्मसंवहनस्य देहि सहनसमु लोके॥ अर्थार्था: XVIII. 3. 71.

2491. एवगच्छाः प्रजापतिः जापते। स यदा ब्र आर्मिहितं पुत्रो ज्ञातमात्र तदंभितम्। उष्णोऽवितर्कम् पञ्चमी। ज्ञापन XII. 9. 1. 1; मां स भक्ष्यताम् पयय सम्रस्हाद्यमहम्। एवतत्सस्य मांसाय यत्रवत्मा निममिश्च। ग्रन्थ V. 55, विश्वोऽर्थवाच्यम् 51. 78; मां means 'me' and मां: 'that being' and the word मांस (that contains these two) is explained as above.
“that being whose flesh I eat here would eat me in the next world, the wise declare this to be the origin of the word ‘māṁsa’.” The Śat. Br. in another passage refers to a strange legend. Bṛghu, who had become vain on account of his learning and thought himself more learned than his father Varuna, was asked by his father to go to the four quarters from east to north and report what he would see there. Horrible sights met him in all directions e.g. in the east he saw men dismembering men, hewing off their limbs one by one and saying ‘this to you, this to me’. He said ‘this is horrible’. They replied ‘these indeed dealt with us in yonder world and so we now deal with them in return’. Then in the north he saw that men crying aloud were being eaten by men crying aloud. When he said ‘horrible &c’; they replied ‘these indeed dealt with us…in return’. This is a long story and it is not necessary to set out the whole. This story probably gives expression to the popular notion of ‘tit for tat’. But one thing is clear that the Śat. Br. indicates by this story that a belief had then arisen that one who does evil in one life has to suffer for it in a later life from that being whom he treated badly. The Śat. Br. and the Tai. Br. both several times speak of conquering or casting off ‘punarmṛtyu’ (renewed death, liability to be born and die again and again). Two passages from the Śat. Br. and Tai. Br. may be quoted. In X. 4. 4 the Śat. Br. tells the story that gods became immortal by means of the proper performance of Agnicayana as Prajāpāti advised them viz. by laying down 360 enclosing stones, 360 Yauṣṭiṣmati bricks and 36 more thereon, 10800 Lokamṛpa bricks. In X. 4. 4. 9 it is said ‘he who is to become immortal through knowledge (vidyā) and through sacred works (karman) shall become immortal after separating from the body’, and then X. 4. 4. 10 asserts that ‘those who know this or those who do this holy work come to life again after dying and coming to life they secure immortal life; but those who do not know

2492. स तत् एव अख्रा यो वर्तमानं। एदु पुष्यन्ति। पुष्पास्यं वर्षेयां ववसेः। संज्ञान्त सर्वशो विभावनानांविद्ये तेषां अश्वेणि। स होलाच भीमं चतः भो।। पुष्पास्यं एतस्यः। पवित्रवेयां ववसेः। संज्ञान्त पवित्रां व्यभिषेति ते होलाच ते इत्येव प्रस्थवुभित्कः कफस्य तन्त्रविद्वैध प्रभुष्यं। मधु हृदि। ... स ह तत् एदु योगः। सस्त्रृत्तमेव प्रक्षत मा कामक्षं जिस्वायमानां। स होलाच। भीमं चतः भो। पुष्पास्यं एतस्यः। आक्षयति। सम्भवति अक्षयतायोऽस्सैस्ते तै स होलाच ते होलाच ति। मधु हृदि। ... सचन्मम् इति। शतपथ XI, 6, 1-3-6.

2493. ते य एतमेवहृद्युः ते तत्स्थं वृष्टिं वृष्टि युथा। सम्भवति से सम्भवत्वं एवापूर्वसद्विमि सम्भवपति य एवं न विद्ये। तेन तत्स्थं न कुक्ते मुखा। सम्भवति ते एतस्येवां युथा। पुष्पालस्य। शतपथ X, 4, 3, 10.
this or do not perform this sacred work come to life again when they die and they become the food of him (Death) time after time.’

In the Taï Br. III, 11. 8 the story of Nāciketas is narrated just as in the Kathopanisad (some of the verses are the same in both). Death grants Nāciketas three boons in the Taï Br., the third being different in the Kathopanisad. The third boon asked by Nāciketas in Taï Br. is ‘Declare to me how to cast off punārmṛtyu.’

Death declared to him the Nāciketa fire, thereby he (Nāciketas) cast off or kept off punārmṛtyu.2494 The words ‘apa punārmṛtyum jayati’ occur in Kausitaki Br. 25.1 and several times in the Br. Up. I. 2. 7., I. 5. 2, III. 2., 10, III. 3. 2.

From the ancient popular idea of retribution for evil deeds probably arose the idea of the setting of good deeds against the evil deeds of a person and weighing them as if in a balance. The Śat. Br. states 2495 ‘Now this one is the balance, viz. the right side of the vedī. 2496 Let him sit down touching the right edge of the vedī, for indeed they place him on the balance in yonder world and whichever of two will rise he will follow, whether it be good or evil. And whosoever knows this mounts the balance even in this world and escapes being placed on the balance in yonder world, for it is good deed that rises and not his evil deed’.

The Śatapatha had arrived at the idea that man’s will (and corresponding deed) governs what world he will reach after death. It says ‘Let him meditate on truth as brahma. Now man here is mostly will and, according as his will is when he departs from this world, does he on departing become of similar will in the yonder world’. 2496

There is a curious passage in the Śatapatha (X. 1. 5. 4) about the powers conferred by sacrifices in the yonder world. It states that he who had regularly performed Agnihotra eats food


2495. ato brahma punāryaḥ kṛṣṇaṁ vṛṣeṣu punānāśrayayaḥ puṣṭaḥ. 2496. ato brahma punāryaḥ kṛṣṇaṁ vṛṣeṣu punānāśrayayaḥ puṣṭaḥ. svah. III. 11. 8. 6.
in the evening and morning in the yonder world, the performer of Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice eats food every half month; the performer of Cāturmāsya (seasonal sacrifices) eats food in the yonder worlds every four months, the performer of animal sacrifice every six months; the Soma sacrificer once a year; the builder of the fire after (agnicit) eats food every hundred years at his will or may not require it at all after once taking it, for a hundred years are as much as immortality, unending and everlasting.

The Śat. Br. had arrived at the conclusion that every man is born in a world fashioned by himself. It also asserted that he who sacrifices to the gods does not win such a place as the one who sacrifices to the Atman and the latter frees himself from the mortal body, from sin, as a snake frees itself from its slough 2497.

It must be conceded that a clear statement about the doctrine of karma and punarjanma is absent from the whole of the Rgveda. Rg. VII. 33 is an important hymn. The first nine verses are spoken by Vasiṣṭha about his sons. Verses 10–14 refer to Vasiṣṭha himself and are either attributed to his sons or according to another view are part of a dialogue with Indra. The verses are mythological, mystical and rather difficult to explain. Verse 10 refers to one birth of Vasiṣṭha when the gods Mitra and Varuṇa saw him reaching the refugence of lightning and it is said that Agastya brought him (Vasiṣṭha) to the people. Here the words ‘ekam janma’ indicate that another janma of Vasiṣṭha is intended in this hymn. Verse 11 refers to Vasiṣṭha as born of Mitra and Varuṇa from Urvasī and states that all the gods placed him in pūṣkara (either antarikṣa or lotus); verse 12 is important for the metaphorical and mystical statement that

2497. Ṛgveda XI. 2. 6. 13–14.

2498. The verse is explained in the Nirukta V. 14. It is explained as the measure of a yoke-pin. For śrava (ordinarily 32 aṅgulas), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1112 n 2487.
wishing to weave the cloth stretched by Yama, Vasiṣṭha was born from Urvaṣī. Verse 13 refers to the seed cast in a pitcher by the two (Mitra and Varuṇa) from the midst of which arose (Agastya) and from which also Vasiṣṭha was born. Verse 14 is addressed to Pratṛds (the Tritus to Śaṅkha) and calls upon them to wait upon (or honour) Vasiṣṭha who would be coming to them (for performing sacrifice). This, it seems, is the second birth of Vasiṣṭha.

Prof. R. D. Ranade in his 'Constructive survey of the Upanishadic philosophy' (pp. 145–166) relies upon certain mantras of the Rgveda for stating that there is evidence for holding that an approach to the idea of Transmigration was being made by the vedic sages (p. 147), though he concedes (on the same page) that in the major part of the Rgveda the idea of transmigration is conspicuous by its absence.

Among the texts on which he relies are Rg. I. 164. 3, 4, 16, 17, 20, 30, 31, 38. The whole hymn has several riddles, has highly imaginative descriptions of the year, the path of the Sun, questions and answers and is a late hymn, as he him self admits (p. 150). Verses 3 and 17 contain nothing suggestive of punarjanma. Verse 4 is really concerned with the first creation, as it literally means 'who saw that one that was first being born, when was the boneless (prakṛti) bears a body possessing bones; where was the life (prāṇa) of the earth, or its blood or its

2499. All verses on which Prof. Ranade relies are set out here in one place: को दुर्गति पधमं जायमानरथमवन्तं यदवश्यव निविवाहं। शूपमा असुरस्यास्तमा क लितु क हयास्युप गायककणुवतु ॥ स ० I. 164. 4; ख्सः सतींस उ मे पृष्ट् आरुः परम्यवधुपं वि वेषतुभः। कबिंयः पुषुः स देवा चक्षेत्यता विजानतस्य निविविवाहतु ॥ 16; अथ: एवम् पर एवम् पर शास्त्रवधुपं निविवाहतु। स कांतिकों हस्तिरंगकान्तं क दिप्ती नाहि शूपये अन्नः ॥ 17; हा सुप्रमा संहुजा सुहाय समानं हुज्ञि परि परशुर्ति। यशोःकर्म पिरस्त् शास्त्रवधुपमवतोभो अभि चाकक्षस्यति। 20; अनुष्ठाये तुमाणात् जीविनेषुत्य धर्मसंध्य आ एकवाण्याम्। जीवो शूपस्य चरति सम्यगविवाहो मयंहसं सम्यगति ॥ 30; अपावर्युपापामिवास्यामा च परा च पदिभिः श्रमवन्तः। स सतींस च हस्तियेश्वरम् आ वसीद्यको शुद्धेश्वरसः ॥ 31; अपावर्युपापामिवास्यामा चरति सम्यगविवाहस्य जीविनेषुत्य मयंहसं सम्यगति। ततः जात्विन्तमा हस्तियेश्वरान्ति श्वयं धर्मसंध्यं जीविनेषु श्वयं धर्मसंध्यं ॥ 38; the word जीव occurs only in I. 164. 30. In I. 164. 38 the word जीव does not occur. At the most there is a contrast between the immortal part (i.e. soul) and the mortal part (the body) in the verses 30 and 38. These two (soul and body) are always bound together, one of them (the body) is well known to people, the other (the soul) is not so known. The verse अपावर्युपापामिवास्यामा (क्रिया I. 164. 31) is repeated in X. 177. 3. The आशुमेतिकस्य स्वरूप | 47. 16 धारित्वं पश्चिमो निविवाहं निविवाहं is an echo of हा सुप्रमा संहुजा etc.

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self? Who (a pupil) approached a wise one (a guru) to ask this?'. Verse 16 means 'they declare to me the women that exist and the men; one possessing eyes (the light of true knowledge) may see (the Reality); the blind (the ignorant) will not know; the wise son may know this; he who knows these would be the father's father'. Sāyana gives several meanings of this verse. The present author fails to understand how the words 'father's father' indicate any reference to transmigration in this verse, as Prof. Ranade asserts. Why he presses this verse of I. 164 into service the present author cannot understand. After referring to I. 164. 32 (which doubts whether he who created all this knows its real nature) he states 'it sets such a high price on the mystical knowledge which it glorifies that any one who comes in possession of this knowledge may be said to be his father's father.' To whom does 'his' refer?

The verse 20 'dvā suparnā' also occurs in the Mundaka-panisad III. 1. and ŚV. Up. IV. 6 and refers to the individual soul and the Supreme Self and tells us that the former is bhoktṛ (taster of worldly pleasures), while the latter simply looks on. But so far as the present writer can see there is absolutely nothing about a former or future life in the verse. Verse 30 draws a sharp distinction between the self which is immortal and the body which is mortal and states that the two are bound together to the same place. Verse 31 is a description of the movements of the Sun who is called 'gopā' (protector, guardian) and speaks of his coming to the worlds again and again. Prof. Ranade sees too much in the words 'gopām', which is applied to Agni (Rg. I. 1. 8. I. 96. 7), to Soma (in Rg. VI. 52. 3), to Varuṇa (in Rg. VIII. 42. 2), to Viṣṇu in Rg. I. 22. 18. In Rg. III. 43. 5 the words 'gopām janasya' (protector of the people) occur. Prof. Ranade translates (p. 151) 'he saw the guardian returning frequently to mundane regions'. Why should we not translate (particularly when we have the words 'bhuvanesvantaḥ') 'I saw the guardian Sun again and again returning to the worlds and moving towards me and away from me by different paths'? Prof. Ranade also2500 relies on Rg. X. 16. 3 and particularly on the

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2500. चूर्णि च मूर्णविभिन्न, भास्मादायां यां च गत्वा पुनर्भिविन्न, च दशिन। अपि वै गंगा पदे तत्र ते सिवस्यविद्या प्रति विदा; इस्तिपी II श्र. X. 16. 3. धर्मनां मेवयं सुस्वतं (good deeds or sacrifices). In Rg. X. 85. 24 we have ज्ञातव योगी हस्तस्य लोकेष्विरिद्धा त्या (Continued on next page)
word ‘dharmanā’ in it which he renders as ‘his qualities’. Rg. X. 16 has 14 verses, is one of the funeral hymns and the cremation fire (as Agni or Jātavedas) is expressly mentioned in eleven verses. Verse 3 (addressed to the deceased) may literally be translated as ‘may thy eye go to the Sun, ātman (prāna) to wind, go to heaven or the earth by dharman or go to the waters if you find your benefit in them; be firmly established in the plants with the limbs of the body.’ The express mention of ‘heaven’ shows that this is only one of the numerous verses of the Rgveda in which heaven is referred to as the abode of those who perform good works and that there is nothing more in it than that. Vide above pp. 20–21 for the meaning of dharman (which is the only form of the word employed in the Rgveda) viz. ‘religious rites or sacrifices’ (in most Rgveda passages) or rarely ‘fixed principles of conduct’. The very next verse (X. 16, 4) contains a prayer to Agni to carry the deceased to the world of people of good deeds (tābhīrvahainam sukrtām-u lokam). There is no reason to suppose that in Rg. X. 16, 3 anything more is meant than what is prayed for in verse 4. Besides, the basic idea of punarjanma is that future existence is regulated by the good or evil deeds of a person and he has no option whatever. In Rg. X. 16, 3 the departed spirit is told that he may go to heaven or earth or waters or plants. This is not the doctrine of punarjanma at all. In X. 16, 5 the cremation fire is addressed ‘O Agni! send forth the departing man who is offered as an oblation into thee and who will move on with the food offered, again to (the world of) pītrs; the remainder (left after the body is burnt) putting on a new life may go near (pītrs) and be connected with (a new) body in that world.’ This verse contains the same idea as in X. 16, 4 in different words and refers

(Continued from last page)

The words underlined occur in all twelve verses of the hymn, which must be supposed to have been addressed to the man who is moribund. The first verse means ‘thy mind that has reached far away to Yama, the son of Vivasvat, we bring back for the purpose that it may reside and live here.’ The remaining eleven verses refer to the dying man’s mind having gone to (i.e. as having the dying thought of) heaven and earth, to the earth with four points, four intermediate quarters, the sea, rays and high hilly tracts, waters and plants, to the Sun and Dawn, the big mountains, this whole world, most distant regions, past and future,
only to the other world (pitrs) and not to transmigratio
Prof. Ranade refers (p. 148) to Rg. X. 58 and translates one of
the verses as meaning that the sage will recall the soul and
make it live again by his song. It is not clear what verse or
verses he has in view. He has probably only the first verse in
view. That hymn has twelve verses in each of which a quarter
is different but three quarters are the same. None of the verses
contains any express word for song. Besides, mind is different
from the soul even in the Rgveda (vide Rg. X. 57. 5 where both
words ‘manak’ and ‘jivam’ occur). Moreover, the man is not yet
dead. The composer uses the present tense (ā vartayāmasi) and
means to say that he will try to prevent his dying. In the present
author’s opinion there is not even a distant reference to trans-
migration in this hymn or in any of the four hymns (Rg. X.
57–60) which are assigned to brothers Bandhu, Śrutabandhu
and Vipra-bandhu, who are called Gaupayanas in the Anukra-
maṇi. In Rg. X. 60. 7 Subandhu who appears to have been a
brother of the three is addressed ‘O Subandhu! here comes your
mother, your father, your very life’ etc., and in X. 60. 10 it is said
‘I have brought the mind of Subandhu from Yama Vaivasvata
in order that he may live and not die.’

In Rg. X. 14. 8 there is no reference (as some suppose)
to return to this world after enjoying the fruits of good deeds in
the company of pitrs. The first half of the verse expresses that
the newly departed spirit will be united with pitrs, with Yama
and with his good deeds. The 2nd half asks the departed to
leave behind his sons and be united in heaven with a new and
brilliant body.

Rg. IV. 42 (in ten verses) is a hymn of a sage-like king
Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, who identifies himself with
Indra and Varuṇa in verse 32501 ‘I who have become enlightened
about the worlds am Indra and Varuṇa and by my greatness
am the two worlds (heaven and earth) that are wide, deep
(spacious) and well-fixed. I sent forth heaven and earth like
Tvāṣṭṛ (Prajāpati) and support them.’ Here by virtue of true
knowledge he identifies himself with Indra and Varuṇa but
there is no conception of transmigration. Similarly, Vāmadeva

2501. अहिंसन्नो वरणले महिमेष्याः सभीरे रजसि सुनेनः। वचवेव विभवा विवनानि
विभाव समेद्रयं रक्षसी पार्यं च॥ ऋ. IV. 42. 3. The तिक्रम IV. 19 gives several
meanings of the word ‘rajas’, one of which is तोक्ता रजास्युपन्यायः.
having attained knowledge of Reality asserts \(^{2502}\) ‘I have become Manu and the Sun, I am the wise sage Kakśīvat; I reached Kutsa, the son of Arjuni, I am the seer Uśanas; look upon me (as identifiable with all)’. This verse is quoted in Br. Up. I. 4. 10 (which would be set out later on and explained). In this also there is no express reference to a past birth as Manu or as the Sun. In Rg. IV. 27. 1 Vāmadeva declares ‘while still staying in the womb (of my mother) I learnt all the births of these gods; if a hundred fortresses of ayas (copper or iron) had guarded me, I would have still escaped like a hawk with swiftness’ (another meaning is also possible which may be set out later). This is quoted in the Ait. Up. II. 5 (to be quoted and explained later). Prof. R. D. Ranade understands (pp. 49, 153) Rg. IV. 26. 1 as saying that Vāmadeva makes an unconscious utterance that he was in a former life Manu or the Sun. In that verse Vāmadeva identifies himself with five persons, Manu, Sūrya, sage Kakśīvat, Kutsa and Uśanas. There is no word like ‘janma’. On Prof. Ranade’s view Vāmadeva would have to be held to state five previous births at least (and if so in a confused order). Besides, the following verses clearly show that Vāmadeva makes a claim to be identical with the Supreme Principle by giving the earth to the Āryas, sending rain to those who give offerings, making the gods follow his desire or will. The utmost that can be said is that he claims identity with the Godhead. Deussen in ‘Philosophy of the Upanishads’ (p. 318) holds that both the verses (Rg. IV. 26. 1 and IV. 27. 1.) have nothing to do with the doctrine of the soul’s transmigration. The present author respectfully agrees with Deussen and thinks that Prof. Ranade is wrong. Saṅkarācārya\(^{2503}\) on V. S. I. 1. 30 explains that Indra looking upon himself as brahma according to the Vedāntaśāstra gives the instruction ‘know me alone’, quotes Br. Up. I. 4. 10, and on V. S. III. 4. 51 reiterates that in Rg. IV. 27. 1 the Veda expressly asserts that Vāmadeva, while still in the mother’s womb, realized his identity with brahma and then remarks that this vivid

\(^{2502}\) अद्व मश्मश्व सुर्यश्वं जातीः अविशिष्रम विमः। अद्व कुसमामुतें श्र्याद्याय कविष्ठान परवत मा। अव र्ग र्ब 26. 1 भम द शन्बेशेः वावानाः जनितानि विष्य। शात पुर आशोपिकान्त इस्व मो जातो निःश्रीमधम। अव र्ग 27. 1.

\(^{2503}\) शास्त्रकालम् तुपदायो वादेययत। वेष सु. I. 1. 30; भाषाकृतां नाम बेषता- त्यानां समाजान शास्त्रकालम नदम्ने श्रीक्षण ध्यानाध्याय पर्ययप्रच्छिन्नि माने विज्ञानस्थि ह्यति। यथा ’तश्चेतानधर्माशुचिमेव: पतिपेधेऽः मश्मश्व सुर्यश्व। ह्यति तद्यथ। This is कुः. उप. I. 4. 10.
assertion indicates that correct knowledge of Reality may arise in a succeeding life owing to the means (or efforts) made in a previous life or lives. It may be noted that Śaṅkarācārya draws a distinction between what Śruti (Veda) expressly declares (vadanti) and what it indicates or what is to be inferred from it (darsayati). 2504

Mr. J. S. Karandikar of Poona (a staunch disciple and follower of Lokāmāya Tilak) in his learned work ‘Gītātattvamāñjari’ (in Marathi, Poona 1947) asserts (on pp. 775–776) that the doctrine of transmigration is as old as the Vedic age (i.e. the Samhitās) and relies for this proposition on only four verses of the Rgveda viz. X. 14. 8, X. 16. 3 and 5 and X. 135. 6. The first three of these four have been explained above in dealing with Prof. R. D. Ranade’s views. Mr. Karandikar summarises Rg. X. 16. 5 as a prayer to Agni that the latter should take the departed to the world of pīṭras and should send him back to his relatives after endowing him with a new brilliant body. There are no words for ‘back to his relatives’ nor for ‘brilliant’ in the verse at all. The word ‘punaḥ’ occurs in the first half and refers to the deceased’s coming to pīṭraloka after the body is burnt on the earth and the second half refers to the new body to be had in the world of pīṭras (and not to relatives). Rg. X. 14. 8, on which Mr. Karandikar relies has nothing to do with returning to the earth. After leaving his bad deeds (avādyā) behind the deceased is asked to go to the home of the pīṭras with a brilliant body. The brilliant body is not earthly but of the pīṭra world Rg. X. 135. 6. is quoted in the note below. 2505 That verse is an extremely vague one and is a riddle or is metaphorical. That hymn of seven verses is addressed to Yama and the Anukramanī says that the rṣi of it is Kumāra of Yama’s family.

2504. गर्भस्थ एव न वामदेव: पलियेदो ज्ञानभावमिति वदनी ज्ञानातपरस्विकारंतापादः
ज्ञानारस्य वियोगतति दुर्योगति। न हि गर्भस्थप्रेमिकों किंचिंतसङ्गमं समभाष्यते। शाखुभाष्य
on हे सं. III. 4. 51.

2505. यथाभवधुर्जयाचारी तसी अयममापत । पुरस्तापु बुधन्य आलत: यथासाधिर्यं कृतम् ॥
अर्थं X. 135. 6. The word अहुःद्वेष्यं occurs only thrice in the Rg. viz. in this hymn twice (in verses 5 and 6) and once in Rg. X. 85. 6 where it is in the feminine gender, means a friend of the newly married bride who goes along with her to the bridegroom’s house to keep her company’ (रैयासाधिर्यं).
अहुःद्वेष्यं literally means ‘what is given after the principal gift’. Even in these days when a substantial gift is made to a brāhmaṇa, another small gift is added to it. The word निरयं occurs only here in the whole of the Rgveda. अत्य औ बुधन्य are contrasted as top and bottom in Rg. X. 111. 8
‘क सिद्धम् क सिद्धु बुधन् आसाम्’. 

2504. The word अहुःद्वेष्यं occurs only thrice in the Rg. viz. in this hymn twice (in verses 5 and 6) and once in Rg. X. 85. 6. This word अहुःद्वेष्यं occurs twice in this hymn and once in Rg. X. 85. 6 where it is in the feminine gender, means a friend of the newly married bride who goes along with her to the bridegroom's house to keep her company’ (रैयासाधिर्रेवयं).
2505. अत्य औ बुधन्य are contrasted as top and bottom in Rg. X. 111. 8
The first verse of Rg. X. 135 refers to Yama who is said to drink (Soma) along with the gods under a tree (i.e. in a garden) with fine foliage, where our (my) father, lord of people, desires to send (me) to the ancient fathers. It is possible that this refers to Naciketas as Sāyana, following the story of Naciketas in the Tai. Br. III. 11. 8 and in the Kathopanisad, holds. This verse may be taken as containing the words of Naciketas, sent by his angry father Vājaśravasa to the world of Yama as donation in the Viśvajit sacrifice. The 2nd verse also contains what Naciketas said viz. that he (at first) looked upon his father in anger, since he (the father) desired to send him (the son) to the ancient pītra in that evil way, but that he (on further consideration) liked (what the father did). He liked the idea of facing Yama himself. Verses 3 and 4 are addressed by Yama to the boy Naciketas who approached Yama with prayer (or metaphorically in a chariot). Verse 3 says 'O boy! the new wheel-less chariot (viz. ṛk prayer) with only one beam that you created by your intellect soars up in all directions and that you mount it without seeing (without considering the result of your action).' In Rg. a prayer to (and a laud of) gods is often compared to a chariot (as in V. 73. 10, VIII. 3. 15). Therefore, verse 3 suggests two meanings viz. Naciketas went to Yama in a chariot or that he sent up a prayer to Yama. Verse 4 is spoken by Yama 'O boy! that chariot (i.e. prayer which you sent up from the learned priests on the earth) was followed by Śāman (a melody) from this place (the earth) as if it were placed in a boat.' Almost all the verses of the Sāmaveda except about 75 are taken from the Rgveda and therefore the Chān. Up. says 2506 ‘therefore Śāman is sung as resting on the ṛk’. As the melody (Śāman) is sung on a ṛk verse, the Śāman is said in this verse (4) as placed in a boat. Verse 4 may also convey another meaning. Śāman also means 'reconciliation' and the verse may be taken as referring to the legend that Yama gave the boy a boon that the boy's father would become well-disposed to him. Verse 5 contains a question (supposed to be asked by Yama). It means 'who is the father of this boy' (meaning probably that the father must be a bad man as he sent his own son to Yama)? Who sent up the chariot? Who would tell me to-day how (this boy) became muḥleṣī (a small gift accom

2506. Vide द्र. उप. I. 6. 4 'नक्षत्रस्येव च चर्मः साम। तदनेतरसमाथ्यध्यायः साम। तस्मादर्थध्यं साम मीयते। नक्षत्रस्येव सा। चर्मः अमः। तस्मात ।'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1181-1184 for Śāman, Stostra and Sastra, particularly notes 2606-9.
panying the large principal gift)? Then follows the verse on which Mr. Karandikar relies as expressing Karma and rebirth. That verse literally means 'as it or he became an anudeyi, it stood in front (or on top); the bottom (or base) was spread in front (or first or to the east), the coming out (or end) was behind (or afterwards or to the west).’ This conveys no clear sense. But it is possible to explain it in this way, viz. though the boy was sent by his father as an anudeyi (as a subsidiary gift) still he came on top of all (in that Yama was pleased with him and bestowed on him three boons); he was in front of all though he (boy) was at the bottom of all gifts (i.e. though he came last of all gifts). There is another possible way of explaining this verse. Each Sāman in a stotra has five parts called Prastāva, Udgitha, Prathīrā, Upadrava and Nidhana (finale); vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 1169 note 2589. Naciketas (who was a subsidiary donation following the donation of all his father's property and designated ‘anudeyi’) is deemed here to have chanted a Sāman; when he began that, the rk verse on which the Sāman rests went forth. The bottom of a Sāman is a rk verse. Therefore it is again said that the base or bottom went forward and the ‘Nirayana’ (i.e. the nidhana of the Sāman) came last. Mr. Karandikar explains verse 6 as ‘the cremation rite of the body of a deceased person shows the two-fold path; by the front path he should go to the highest world or by the hind path he should return to this world’ (p. 776). It passes the present author’s understanding how this translation follows from the words of the hymn. Verse 7 of the hymn presents no difficulty; it means ‘this is the house of Yama that is called the the palace of gods; here is played (or blown) the flute (or tube or trumpet) for him (Yama); he (Yama) is embellished with songs (of praise).’

An interesting passage of the Taittiriya-samhitā may be cited here. "Whoever threatens a brāhmaṇa, he shall atone for

2507. चंद्रपुरारी शतेन ग्रामायो निन्दनं सहस्रेण ग्रामायो लोहिते कल्याणदा वस्तुकं पांडुण्डे संग्रहान्ति तवाकं संभवस्यां गितूर्थोकं न भजानाविति। तस्मात् ब्राह्मणाय नानांदेन, न निन्दनाय लोहितं कुष्ठदेवताय हैनसा भवति। तेन्सं. II. 6. 10. 2; अभिमुखूर्वा वर्गोर्था ब्राह्मणार्य वर्षस्मे तत्त्वं मयेत। नियते सहस्रं। लोहितदृश्यो यथातत्त्वस्मां पांडुण्डे-संग्रहान्ति। भौ. च. छ. 21, 20–22; स्यंदे च सर्वपदोनानि। जे. III. 4. 17; शार 'कि प्राप्त श्रवणार्य दृष्यां ग्रामायो नालोगोरणादि स्त्री-समितिः। एस वार्ते ब्रह्म... शतवस्त्रययथ।

"ब्राह्मणार्य वितिवेध उद्भासः न दुर्ज्जुर्वादनेत्र नालोगोरणादि कर्त्तयति।" सन्तानिक (P. 950) 'शतेन ग्रामायो नालोगोरणादि संभावितः। एवं शतुं संस्कृतेभयं ब्राह्मणोर्येश्वरस्मिः संस्कारस्य ग्रामायो नालोगोरणार्येश्वरस्मिः।'
Explanation of Tait. S. II. 6. 10. 8

It with a hundred years; he who strikes him (shall atone) with a thousand years; he who sheds the blood of a brāhmaṇa would not know the world of the Fathers for as many years as the number of the particles of dust that would be moistened into a ball by the stream of blood. Therefore a person should not threaten a brāhmaṇa or strike him or draw blood from his body, since (in doing so) so much (sin) is involved.” This does not mean that only the world of Fathers had been conceived at the time of this passage (as Deussen supposes on p. 325 of his Ph. Up.). It will be shown below that even the Rgveda was well aware of both Devayāna and Pitṛyāna. Most men would go to pitṛloka presided over by Yama according to the Rg. and only the blessed would go by the Devayāna to the world of gods. This passage is important as conveying that for a very mortal sin the offender would have to suffer for a thousand years or even several thousand years and, therefore, would have to be born for several lives, since one human life was held to extend to one hundred years only (Rg. X. 161. 4 = Atharva III. 11. 4, Rg. 1. 89. 9 = Vāj. S. 25. 22). Following the above Tai. S. passage, the Gautama Dh. S. provided that threatening a brāhmaṇa in anger would bar going to heaven for a hundred years (or lead to hell for &c), striking him would bar for a thousand years and on drawing blood there would be bar for as many years as the number of the particles of dust that would be made into a ball by the stream of blood. Manu (XI. 206–7) understands that the several acts against a brāhmaṇa mentioned therein would lead to the offender being consigned to hell for 100, for 1000 or for thousands of years. Jaimini (III. 4. 17) discusses this passage and holds that the prohibition is not restricted only to Darśapūrnāmāsa, but it applies to all brāhmaṇas in all conditions. It is possible to understand by the words ‘śatena’ and ‘sahasreṇa’ as a hundred or a thousand cows (or money). The Tantravārttika refers to this meaning but seems to prefer the idea of connecting the two words with years. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 151–152 where the first meaning was put forward and also A. B. Keith’s tr. of the Tai. S. in the H. O. S. vol. I pp. 216–217 ‘him who reviles him (a brahmaṇa) he shall fine with a hundred’ &c.

The doctrine of how a man’s own works and conduct fashion his future life is taught as follows in the Br. Up. IV. 4. 5–7:

2508. स वा अयमात्मा वहुः विज्ञानमयो मनोभिष्टि... इति। चर्चकारी चर्च्याचारी तथा भवति साक्षराति साक्षरतिम पापकारी पापो भवति शुष्णः पुष्पेन परम्यम भवति पपः पपिण।

(Continued on next page)
"so truly according as he works and according as he behaves so will he be, a man of good deeds will become (be born) good, a man of evil deeds will become (be born) evil; he becomes holy by holy deeds, evil by evil deeds. Here they say 'a person only consists of desires (or is fashioned out of) desires and as his desire is so will be his (determination or) will and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will become (reap)." On this there is a verse 'To whatever a man's mind and subtle body are attached to that he goes together with (the fruits of) his deeds and after having obtained the end

(Continued from last page)

भस्मतः फाल्न्यः कामार्मनुष्ठि अवृत्ति। च वर्षाकारे भवति तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति। तद्वर्तयति यद्वर्तयति अवृत्ति।

4. 5-7; the verse यद्वा साधौ occurs in कहोवाति; the भायव्य of शजःसार्वाय on this begins: स दा अर्थे य एवं संसारसर्वाय ब्रह्म पर एवं। He distinguishes वधाकारी पशु चार्टी as 'कल्याणे नाम निम्पाया किया विधिपल्लिकायान च यो नामानयतमित्तमिति तिसको। 'On कहूँ he says कन्यार्माष्ट्रायाय निम्पाया यदगतार किया पवस्ते; 'अस्त्रसार्वाय is explained as पशु आलोच्यो नाम्यो कामित्तम्यो वस्त्रथर्वयोः पदार्थम् भवति। With कामार्मण्ण: and अस्त्रसार्वाय: compare सुधिकोषः III. 2.3 (कामस्य: कामचत्ये:) The affix मया as in कामार्मण्ण is employed in two senses viz. पालुः and विकार acc. to पालुः 'तबाखिकचे मया' (V. 4.21 and IV. 3.134 and 143). The word कन्यास्य by itself and in compounds like शक्ती and शक्तिः occurs hundreds of times in the र्ग्वेद. It is an Indo-European word, as in Greek we have 'Kratos' meaning power. Several meanings have been assigned to कन्यास्य. Indra called 'साक्रतु' is invoked to bestow ojas, courage, an heroic son and stated to be the father and mother of the devotee (in Rg. VIII. 98. 10-12). With the Br. Up. passage, we may compare चा. u. III. 14. 1 'सवस्विद्वष्ट्रव ब्राह्म तत्त्वान्तिन्न शास्त्र उपासिन्न। अव खुँ कठोम्यः पुष्करस्य खुँ कठोम्यिककाके पुष्करस्य भवति कथेः; प्रेय भवति। स कन्यास्य विश्वतिः।"

2509. Compare Epistle to Galatians by Apostle Paul 6. 7 ' whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap'. Even in the Old Testament we find in the Book of Job, chap. 4. 8 'they that plough iniquity and sow wickedness reap the same'. From the question of the disciples of Jesus as regards a man blind from birth 'Master! who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind' (St. John IX. 2), it appears that the idea of Karma was prevalent among the Jewish people in the time of Jesus. From Matthew XI. 14 and XVII. 12-13 it appears that John the Baptist was declared to be an incarnation of prophet Elias. Shaw Desmond in 'Re-incarnation for every man' points out (on p. 63) that the doctrine of re-incarnation was taught in the Christian Church in the early centuries and that the 2nd Council of Constantinople in 551 A. D. made the doctrine of re-incarnation an anathema.
Desire, will and deeds fashion future life

( the last results ) of whatever deeds he does in this world, he returns again from that world ( where he temporarily went by way of reward ) to this world of action; so much with regard to him who is consumed by desires; now concerning the man who has no desires ( akānayamāna ); he who is without desire, free from desire, in whose case desires are laid to rest, who is himself his own desire, his vital spirits do not withdraw elsewhere but he, being brahma itself ( here ), is absorbed into brahma ( or attains to brahma ). On this point there is a verse: ' When all hankering that found an abode in a man's heart vanish, then he who was liable to death becomes immortal, here ( in this body itself ) he attains to brahma. ' In the above passage the sequence is: desire, will and act.

About the grandeur of this passage it is enough to quote what Deussen ( in ' Philosophy of the Upanishads ' p. 348 ) says ' there follow words than which deeper, truer, more noble were never uttered by human lips.' Vide also remarks of Gerald Heard in ' Is god evident ' ( Faber and Faber, London ) p. 34 ' Here ( in Vedānta and Mahāyāna ) is spirituality showing its full fruits; freedom from physical craving, from economic possessiveness, from social desire for recognition and that triple freedom removing all fear ' and he hopes that the Vedānta picture, far from being contradicted, is being increasingly confirmed by modern science.

This sublime passage is preceded and followed by illustrations two of which may be cited for explaining the conception of the passage of the soul from one body to another: ' Just as the caterpillar, having reached the tip of one blade of grass, makes an approach to another blade, draws itself towards it and establishes itself thereon, so this ( individual ) self, casting down this body in death, dispelling avidyā ( ignorance ) and making approach to another body draws itself to another body and establishes ( or identifies itself ) therein. ' This is Br. Up. IV. 4. 3. Another illustration ( in Br. Up. IV. 4. 7 ) is ' just as the skin ( slough ) of a snake lies dead and cast-off in an ant-hill, in the same way the body lies ( dead and cast-off ) and then the self is bodiless, immortal spirit, is brahma only and is light only. ' This whole passage ( Br. Up. IV. 4. 5–7 ) is the leading, the oldest and the clearest passage on the doctrine of transmigration in the Upanishads. There are several others of similar import. At the end of the story about Yājñavalkya and Āratabhāga referred to above ( where Yājñavalkya discussed with Āratabhāga alone in private the question as to what happens
to a man when the body dies) the Upanisad states 'what they said was Karma alone, what they praised was Karma alone viz. that a man becomes good by good works and evil by evil works.' These two are the fundamental passages which express the reason and motive that lie at the basis of the doctrine of transmigration.

The gist of these two passages is that works and conduct done in this life fashion a man's future life and that the present birth of a man depends on his actions and conduct in a past life or lives. But works and conduct are the result of volition or will and this last is due to desires. A man may have several desires, he may curb some of them, but may make a resolve to consummate some of his desires. Therefore, desires (kāma) are the root of volition, of works and conduct and ultimately of the cycle of birth and deaths (that is called 'samsāra'). Hence Śaṅkarācārya, following the idea of the verse 'yadā sarve pramucyante kāma' (in Br. Up. IV. 5. 7) says 'Kāmo mūlam saṁsārasya' (Kāma is the root of saṁsāra).

Then there is another important passage in the Br. Up. VI. 2. There the story is told of Śvetaketu, son of Aruni, who being proud of his learning, came to the assembly hall of the Pañcālas and saw there Pravāhaṇa Jaivali (a kṣatriya or prince) being waited upon by servants. When the prince saw him he asked Śvetaketu 'have you been taught by your father'? When Śvetaketu replied 'yes', the prince put to him five questions viz. (1) do you know how men when they depart from this world go in separate (different) directions; (2) Do you know how they come back to this world; (3) Do you know how the yonder world does not become full with many men going there again and again; (4) Do you know at the offering of which oblation waters become endowed with human voice and rise and speak; (5) Do you know the access to the path called 'Devayāna'.

2510. ती होकाझाम सम्बांताकरीते। ती ह यदिंकुटमः कांहूः हैल तत्तथातः। अथ यथा लोकोः। कांहूः हैल तत्सांस्ताः। पुरुषोऽव पुरुषेन कामेनांभावति पाद:। पर्युपेचितः। दृढः। उप. III. 3. 13.

2511. The question about ब्रेवान and विनुपान is put in the Br. up. VI. 2.2 in the following form: वेवान ब्रवानास्य य व पत�:। मलिनां विनुपानाः। यक्षुनाम ब्रवानान्यं व पत्रां न भनिस्तति विनुपानं। अपि हि न अनेन:। क्ष्यतम्। हेतु:। तत्तथात्मिन्बिवण्ड: विष्णुसवत्सानिति यक्षुन्ता चितत्त्वात् मात्रः। हेतुः। The verse हेतु: etc. is दः। X. 88. 15 (which reads हेतु: etc.) and हेतु:। ज्ञा। I. 4. 2-3 (which reads हेतु: अन्तरापूर्वमित्रेऽव केते)। बीं: (heaven) and दृष्टिकोष: are respectively called father and mother in ज्ञा। I. 164. 33 and 191. 6.
and to the path called 'Pitryāṇa' (i.e., the deeds by which men gain access to the paths called Devayāṇa ans Pitryāṇa), for we have heard the saying of a sage 'I heard two paths for men, one leading to the Fathers and the other leading to the Devas; on those two paths all the world that is active moves on, whatever exists between father (sky) and mother (earth).’ To all these five questions Śvetaketu replied that he did not know any one of them. The prince offered hospitality but Śvetaketu ran to his father and demanded how the latter could say that he had been thoroughly taught by him and that he could not answer even one of the five questions that the fellow of a Rājanya asked. Then the father replied that he had taught all that he knew but he himself did not know the answers to those questions. He went to the prince (kṣatriya) who honoured him with offerings. Āruni did not want wealth but the replies to those questions. The prince said 'come as pupil.' Āruni (Gautama) stated he came as a pupil. The prince stated that the vidyā that he would teach was never before with any brāhmaṇa. Then he propounds to Śvetaketu the answers to the five questions (to be brief) viz. that the five fires are (figuratively) heaven, god of rain, the earth, man and woman, and the five āhūtis (oblations) are śraddhā (faith), Soma (Moon), rain, food and seed. This answers the 4th question. The first and fifth questions are answered by the statement 'Some go by the path of Devas, others by that of pitṛs and others (like flies and worms) know no path (they merely live and die); vide Br. Up. VI. 2. 15-16. The 2nd and 3rd questions are answered by the same viz. those that go by the path of pitṛs return to the earth and others that go to brahman do not return and therefore the world does not become full.

In the Ch. Up. V. 3. 2 the questions are put in a slightly different form: (1) do you know to what place men go from here, (2) how they return, (3) do you know where the path of devas and the path of the fathers diverge, (4) why the world never becomes full, (5) why in the 5th oblation water is called 'man.' The answers to these in Br. Up. and Chān. Up. are not identical, though very similar. A fire has five constituents, fuel, smoke, flame, live coals, sparks. In both Chān. Up. V.10.4-9 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 9-13 the fires are the same, but the constituents of

2512. This Vidyā is called Paṇcāgni vidyā. ‘Rājanya’ in this Upaniṣad passage should mean only Kṣatriya as in the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90.12), and not king.
each of these five differ slightly; compare, for example, Br. Up. VI. 2. 11 with Chân. Up. V. 3. 6. The first question in the Ch. Up. is answered by the mention of the two paths. The 2nd is answered in Chân. Up. V. 10. 3-5.\textsuperscript{2513} The paths diverge (3rd question) after reaching the moon (Chân. Up. V. 10. 2 and 4-5), the 4th is answered in Chân. V. 10. 8. The fifth is answered by means of the statement on pañcagnividyā.

Before proceeding further some remarks are called for about what might possibly happen when a man’s body dies. There are mainly three possibilities, viz. (1) annihilation, (2) endless retribution in heaven or hell and (3) punarjanma (transmigration). Those who do not believe in an individual immortal self, including some most eminent\textsuperscript{2514} men such as G. B. Shaw, hold the first view and even in ancient India (as the Kathopanisad I. 20 testifies) there were people who had doubts about survival after death. Those who hold that there is no survival after death are not troubled by other questions. Therefore, the most vital question is the one about survival after death. The very first verse of Śv. Up. puts forward four problems; is brahma the cause, whence do we come, what sustains us and whither we are going? Many of those who believe in God, heaven and hell do not admit pre-existence of the soul but only post-existence. They believe that if a man leads a virtuous career in this life (and virtue according to them consists in obedience to the will

\textsuperscript{2513} था. उप. V. 10. 4 ‘अभक्षाणाक्रमसमेच सोमनाथ श्री तल्लियामण्डल से देवा मिथापिलित‘ and बृह. उप. VI. 2. 16 ‘चतुर्भ मात्यां भवति प्रति ति धर्म देवाः... मिथापिलित’ are dealt with in अ. भा. III. 1. 7 (भृगु वायृस्वयमविद्यातापि दृष्ट्यापिति), which states that the words (gods eat them) are not to be taken literally but metaphorically and what is meant is that Gods like the company of those people (who perform sacrifices), since the Chân. Up. itself says elsewhere (in III. 8. 1) that the Gods do neither eat nor drink but they feel satisfied by seeing nectar.

\textsuperscript{2514} In ‘In search of faith‘, a ‘symposium‘ edited by E. W. Martin (London, 1943) G. B. Shaw states (pp. 9-10) that he may be described as a creative evolutionist, that he does not believe in personal immortality and abhors it, that he does not believe in the Resurrection of Jesus. It is difficult for a non-Christian to state definitely the doctrine as to what happens after death, there being many varying interpretations accepted by the Christian Church at various times and in different countries. But the general traditional scheme is a particular judgment immediately after death, the general judgment at the general Resurrection—the ultimate issue of judgment being consignment to Hell or admission to Heaven eternally.
of God as disclosed to their intellect in Revelation such as the Bible or the Koran) he would have an eternal life of bliss in heaven and that if one led a life of sin and evil, he would after death remain for ever in hell. Very few accept the first possibility (annihilation) because it is in conflict with man's cherished desires and with deep-rooted emotional certitude that efforts made in a long life, the mental and spiritual equipment acquired cannot have been meant to be dissolved altogether without leaving any trace behind. The 2nd possibility also leads to the prospect of eternal reward or eternal damnation for acts done during a life of a few years' span and becomes unacceptable to many by the unparalleled disproportion between deeds (as causes) and their endless rewards or retribution (as effects). Therefore, to many people the third possibility of transmigration appeals, since it allows continued existence of the soul after physical death in some other forms and environments.

The above Upaniṣad passages are enough to show how the doctrine of transmigration was being moulded in the Upaniṣad period. The Rgveda knows the two paths of Devayāna and Pitṛyāna and also that in heaven there were joys and delights but the Rgveda does not say how long the joys of Heaven were to last and makes no clear and definite statement on the doctrine of transmigration. In the Brāhmaṇa period the two paths were often referred to and the conception had dawned upon the minds of thinkers that man might have to pass through death several times (punarmṛtyu). But even then there is hardly any definite theory of punarjānma based on good or bad deeds. The clearest statements (and probably earliest) of the origin of the doctrine of transmigration are the two passages (Br. Up. III. 3. 13 and IV 4. 5-7) in which Yājñavalkya is concerned and is the instructor and emphasizes that it is man's own works and conduct that lead a man to new births. In both those passages the Devayāna and Pitṛyāna paths are not mentioned at all. But the Br. Up. VI. 2. 16 and Chān. Up. V. 10 relate the two paths to transmigration and speak of a third place for those born as worms and flies. This is an addition to the doctrine of the two paths, but they make a further departure. The Chān. Up. V. 10. 5 states that those that perform sacrifices, works of public utility and charity go to the moon and when the results of their actions are exhausted after staying in the moon they have to return to this world by the path they went (i.e. from the Moon to ether, then to Vāyu, smoke, mist, cloud and rain
and they may be born from a mother's womb.\textsuperscript{2515} This shows that a double retribution awaits those who perform sacrifices \&c., viz., stay in the moon for a time and their rebirth on this earth. Other Upanisads follow the Chân. Up. in the theory of double retribution e.g. the Praśna has the following passage in prosé: \textsuperscript{2516} "The year indeed is Prajâpati, there are two parts thereof, the southern and the northern. Now those who believe in sacrifice and gifts for public utility as work that must be done, secure the moon only as their (future) world and it is they who return to this world. Therefore, the rûsis who desire offspring resort to the southern (path). That path of the Fathers is indeed treasure (or wealth). But those who, after having sought the Atman by austerities, (sexual) abstinence, faith and knowledge go by the northern path to the Sun. This is the home of the vital spirits, it is immortal, free from fear, it is the highest (or final) end. Thence they do not return, that is a check to other things. On this there is a verse (Rg. I. 164. 12) 'some call him the father with five feet (the five seasons) and with twelve forms (twelve months), the giver of rain in the highest of heaven; others again say that the sage is placed in the lower half, in the chariot with seven wheels (horses or rays of sun) and six spokes'.\textsuperscript{2517}". This verse of the Rgveda is probably quoted here in support of the conception of the two paths symbolically represented as two parts of the year, as the Rg. verse (first half) appears to refer to the Sun, placed in highest half of heaven and as the second half seems to refer to a lower (upare) half of heaven with six spokes (i.e. the six months of Dakṣināyana). Deussen (Ph. Up. p. 338) is positive that Rg. I. 164. 12 has nothing to do with

\begin{verbatim}
2515. अभ्र शूला मेधों भवति मेधों शूला मय्याणि। तह भीष्माय ओषधद्विनवसा-का सुभित्ता हृदित्मेवत्रों। यो यो द्रष्टा मित्र वेतासित महाशुराय।

2516. संस्कृतं धर्मानिवहनं, द्वारं ब्रह्माण चौथे। तत्र हेव तन्त्रवारं हृदं निवसाकर्मे च। यो यो द्रष्टा मित्र वेतासित महाशुराय।
\end{verbatim}
with the subject (of the two paths). But what is there to prevent
an ancient sage of the Upanisadic times from holding that the
verse in its two halves refers (figuratively or symbolically) to two
paths, particularly when even in the Rgveda times paths called
Devayāna and Pitṛyāna were well-known as shown below? It
should be noted that in the preceding verse (I. 164. 11) the
wheel of rta (the year or the sun) is Dvādasāra (with twelve
spokes, viz. months) and therefore when sadare (with six spokes)
is mentioned in I. 164. 12 a period of six months could well have
been intended or could very well be got by interpretation.

The Kauśitaki Up. (I. 2–3), however, speaks only of Devayāna
and Pitṛyāna and has no third place for worms and birds &c.
and states (vide n 2520 below) that worms &c. also come to the same
world to which men return. Further, the stations of the Deva-
yāna path (Agni, bright half of the month etc.) had been given a
which made the moon the point of divergence for the two paths.
The Kauśitaki Up. omits all the preliminary stations up to the
moon and brings all transmigrating beings to the moon (in I. 2).
There are some other variations also that need not be dwelt upon
here.

Deussen (in Ph. Up. p. 318) argues that in the Rg. verse (X.88.
15) the two ways are really to be understood as day and night and
he translates that verse as ‘I have heard from my forefathers that
there are two ways alike for gods and men’, thus giving to the
world ‘pitṛnām’ the sense of the ablative and holding that ‘my’ is
to be understood before pitṛnām, though not to be understood before
the other two words in the genitive in the same verse. The mean-
ing which the Upanisad reads in the Rg. verse is proper and also
the original meaning of the verse. The path called Pitṛyāna2517 is
mentioned in Rg. X. 2.7 (Agni knows well the path called
pitṛyāna) and Rg. X. 18. 1 runs ‘O Death! Follow another path
which is your own and different from Devayāna.’ These two
verses clearly show that the Rgvedic sages had arrived at the
conception of paths called Devayāna and Pitṛyāna. Therefore,
the express mention of two paths in Rg. X. 88.15 in connection
with Pitṛs and Devas should be deemed to refer to Pitṛyāna and
Devayāna paths and it is far-fetched to take them as day and

2517. प्रधानम् प्रविद्धात् पितुःपरम् हुमदं संविधानि वि भावः। क्र. X. 2. 7: परं
पूर्वो अद्व परस्ति परम्पं वसे स्म इतरो देवयानात। क्र. X. 18. 1.

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night, which are hardly ever referred to in the Rgveda as paths. This verse is explained in the Śat. Br. XII. 8. 1. 21²⁵¹⁸ (quoted below) which says that the two ways are those of the gods and pitras and the commentary of Drivedagāṇa explains the first half in the same way. Vide also Śat. Br. I. 9. 3. 1–2. Devayāna is sometimes used in the plural in the Rgveda (as in III. 58. 5, VII. 38. 8, VII. 76. 2, X. 51. 5, X. 98. 11). In Rg. X. 15. 8 Yama is said to enjoy offerings along with the ancient forefathers of the sage and in X. 154. 4 Yama is requested to be united with ancient pitras, righteous and full of austerities. The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8. 1. 5) states that the door to the world of the Fathers is in the southwest, while Northeast is the direction of Gods and men (I. 2. 5. 17 and XII. 4. 2. 15). The Atharva-veda (XV. 12. 5.) mentions both Pitṛyāna and Devayāna paths. Soma, rain, food, retas (semen) may be described as watery, but the question is how the first āhuti ‘śraddhā’ (faith) can be described as an āhuti offered in Agni (viz. the yonder world) by the Gods from which king Soma arises (in Chāṇ. Up. V. 4. 2 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 9). This is answered by V. S.²⁵¹⁹ III. 1. 5 and (and at some length) in the Śāṅkarabhāṣya thereon.

The Kauṭūkai Up. (I)²⁵²⁰ sets out rather obscurely the doctrine of the two paths as part of the Paṇcāṅgividyā taught

²⁵¹⁸ वर दृष्टिे...नमितिैं वस वरिष्ठ परिणामेण नवविष्ठ व जाता। तत्तथा. XII. 8. 1. 21; मनोमयं मूलपत्यं हैं वरिष्ठ ही मार्गं दुर्वसानासित तमोमध्ये एका परितङ्गकामिका विधीता दू देवलाभकामिका। Com. of विहितर्ग (Weber’s ed. p. 1165); ती हजळे नीलोंमे हावण यहाँ देवलाभकामिका तनुद्वृणी दुर्वसानासित व दुर्वसानासित। दुर्वसानासित व दुर्वसानासित।

²⁵¹⁹ पाषाणायानिक वेष हि एव छप्पते। ते च. III. 1. 5; भाष्य ‘पविनम पद्मपाणिष्ठयेनु चतुर्भलीणिवाः हायाम्युष्ठयत परिवर्त्तेऽपि परिवर्त्तेऽपि नाम। भेदु हृत्तमत्योपपालिता सोमालीनामव्रक्षलोपपालिता। प्रथमे थाले शुरुा अद्वृता परिप्रसाधनात आपि परिवर्त्तेऽपि हृति साहसदेवत। ... नेव हृति: ... अद्वृतान्य सोमबुद्वायावै सधृंगन्वावै व्यवहाः हदयमेव स्वरुणान्य अद्वृतान्य। सा च अद्वृताप्राप्ते तत्त्वे दुर्गति। कारणानुसार हि कार्य भवति। अद्वृतान्य द्वारणामेव वैविक्षिकप्राप्तान्यस्मादुः अद्वृतान्य। अद्वृतात्वाद आपि वेषाधिकृतत्तुत अद्वृतान्य। स्व।। जयमय। It may be noted that V. S. III. 1. 1–7 are explanatory of Chāṇ. Up. V. 3. 9 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 9–13 and the whole of V. S. III. 1 explains on the basis of Paṇcāṅgividyā how the self passes through various stages of samsāra.

²⁵²⁰ स हीवाच थे केवलमाहाकारमाणित चन्द्रमासेव वे सर्वे गच्छन्ति। तेषां नामै: प्रवर्ध आपायचर। नामपायन परमपति। एवं स्मार्य तीर्थस्या ह्यांया व्यासवदनः। ते च: या: प्रवाह तत्सत्तीता। अथ च एवं न प्रवाह तममहं हितिन्दुर्भवा वर्णित। स हेतु किंचि या व्यक्तिः व श्रुतिनिर्धा शास्त्रोत्तरे वा सिद्धो वा मन्नेय या परम्य या परन्यों या वाचा स्मृतिः कैवु श्चास्त्रेऽर्थस्या नामपायने व्यासवदने। कौशः। उप. I. 2: स एव द्वेषा यानमिदात्माधिनितो माधिकारिणी। स बालोहत्स: ... बालोहत्स: ... ibid I. 3; स एव विदुःकालो विदुःकालो काला विप्रान्त बन्धुपरिवारमि। ibid I. 4.
by Citra Gārgyāyanī (v. l. Gāngyāyni) to Śvetaketu, son of Ārunī. It is passed over here for reasons of space and as not of material importance except one passage which runs 'He (Citra) said that all those that depart from this world go to the moon; in the bright half the moon is increased by their spirits, in the dark half the moon sends them on to be born again. The moon is verily the door of the heavenly world. Now if a man disowns the moon (i.e. is dissatisfied with life there) the moon sets him free. But if a man is not dissatisfied then the moon sends him down as rain here (on the earth). And according to his deeds and according to his knowledge he is born again here as a worm, a locust, a bird, a tiger or a lion or a fish, or a snake, as a man or as something else in different places.' Then I. 3 begins by referring to Devayāna and I. 4 ends by saying, 'being freed from good deeds and from evil deeds, he, the knower of brahman, (neuter) moves towards brahman alone.'

In the Kathopaniṣad 2521 Yama tells Nāciketas the secret about Brahmavidyā and what the self becomes on the death (of the body) viz. some men go to a mother's womb for an embodied existence while others are transferred into stumps (of trees) according to their deeds and knowledge.

The Br. Up. VI. 2. 15-16 and Chān. Up. V. 3. 10 ff deal with the question of those who go by Devayāna and by the Pitṛyāna paths. First 2522 the Br. Up. 'Those (even householders) who know this (Pāncāgni vidyā) and also those (hermits and ascetics) who, in the forest being full of faith, worship Truth (Brahman, Hiranyagarbha) go to arcis (light), from arcis to day (ahan) from day to the increasing fortnight (i.e. śukla-paksa), from the increasing half to the six months during which the Sun moves in the north, from those six months to the world of the Devas (Devaloka), from the Devaloka to the Sun, from the sun to lightning. When they have reached the place of lightning a

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2521. ḫaṁ tāहै यदयपायस इहा ब्रह्म सनातनम्। यथा च मरणं पार्थ आक्षम अवसि

2522. ते य एवेत्तीना चाँकिं अरप्ये ब्रह्म विधमद्यायसेते हैवित्तिष्यिष्यति इ।

VI. 2. 15. Compare pāṣā. स्थलि III. 193-94, which closely follow the above in verse,
person born of the mind (of Brahmā) comes to them and leads them to the worlds of Brahmā. In these worlds they being exalted, dwell for ages and there is no return (to sāmsāra) for them. But they who conquer (attain) worlds by sacrifice, charity and austerities go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to decreasing half (of the month), from decreasing half month to the six month during which the Sun moves in the south, from these months to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the Moon, having reached the Moon, they become food and then the Devas feed on them there as sacrificers feed on king Soma as it increases and decreases (in a sacrifice). But when this (the result of their works done on earth) is exhausted they return to either (ākāśa), from that to Vāyu, from Vāyu to rain, from rain to the earth; on reaching the earth they become food. They are then again offered into the fire called man, from that (i.e. man) they are born in the fire called woman. These, making efforts to secure worlds (by sacrifices &c.), again and again repeat coming to this world. Those, however, who do not know both these paths, they become (are born as) worms, locusts (or birds) and flies."

The Chān. Up. V. 10. 1–2 are almost in the same words as Br. Up. VI. 2. 15 with a few slight changes viz. Chān. Up. reads 'Sraddhā tapa ityupāsate' and 'from months in the north to the year, from year to the Sun, from the Sun to the Moon, from the Moon to lightning; there is a person who is not human (amānavaḥ for 'mānasah' of Br. Up.) who leads him to brahman &c.; then Chān. Up. V. 10. 3–4 are again the same as Br. Up. VI. 2. 16 except that Chān. Up. reads 'those who living in a village practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility (called pūrta) and almsgiving, go to smoke', but adds 'these do not reach the year,' and proceeds 'from the months to the world of fathers, from that world to ether, from ether to the moon, this is king Soma that is the food of Gods (i.e. the gods like or love them). Having dwelt there (in the moon) till their works are exhausted, they return by the same way by which they came i.e. to ether, from ether to Vāyu, smoke, mist, cloud. (The persons that had performed sacrifices &c.) having become clouds come down as rain, are then born as rice and barley, herbs and trees, sesame and māsa beans. Escape from that state (to that of human beings) is beset with extreme difficulties. Whoever the beings (cattle or other animals or man) may be that eat the food (into which one has been transformed) and beget offspring he (the transmigrating entity) becomes most like them.'
One of the most important passages in the Upaniṣads on conduct fashioning the life that would follow is the Chān. Up. V. 10. 7-8 which may be rendered as follows: Those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmaṇa, of a kṣatriya or of a vāśya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a caṇḍāla. Those that do not go by either of the two paths become those small creatures (worms, flies &c) that are continually returning and whose destiny may be said to be 'to live and die.' Theirs is a third place (apart from the two paths). Therefore the yonder world does not become full. Hence one should be disgusted (with this Samsāra).

It may be stated here that the Bhagavadgītā (VIII. 23-27) also refers to the two paths following one of which a yogin does not return to this world and following the other of which he returns to this world. These are called śūkla (bright) and kṛṣṇa (dark) gati (in VIII. 26) and śrī (in VIII. 27). The former is fire, light, day, the bright half of the month, the six months of the northern path of the sun; those men who have realized brahma when going from this world go to brahma (the absolute). The latter path is 'smoke, night, the dark half (of the month), the six months of the southern path of the Sun; the yogin reaching the moon-light by that path returns to this world. The Śāntiparva225 of the Mahābhārata refers to the northern and southern paths, the latter of which is attained by gifts, study of Veda and sacrifices (as in Br. Up. VI. 2. 16 and Chān. Up. V. 10. 8). The Yājñavalkya-smṛti225 also refers to those

2253. तत्त्व इति रामनीयमेव अष्टः इति रामनीयमेव योगिमन्योर्वर्त्त भावणयेति वा क्रिययोगी वा वैद्यदासिन वाण इति कृष्णयथः। अष्टः इति योगिमन्योर्वर्त्त भावणयेति वा कृष्णयोगी वा चाण्डालयोगी वा। अष्टः इति परोक्ष वृहत्तरानां तन्नमानिः सुमित्यः संकृदातासिनिः चूल्यात्तिः भावितताः ज्ञातयः चिन्तामण्येत्तन्तीः स्थायनेत्तासी लोको न समयपि तत्तमार्गस्यैं। छ। उप. V. 10 7-8. अष्टः इति है explained as विषमेव by शुद्धारावर्षः।

2254. It is better to read 'agni-jyotira' (in Gitā VIII. 24) as one word instead of 'agnir-jyotira' (as in most editions), because both the Br. Up. VI. 2. 15 and Chān. Up. V. 10. 1 start the Devayāna path with arcis and omit Agni.

2255. अवायवयानिः कर्मारिः वेदेविकानिः धन्यं। द्वारमाययं व्योयी मिल्यं धन्येऽविध हुः। दक्षिणं च उप्यसयानं वे द्वियाऽनं। गृहीत विचारमाय मोक्षायां मुर्तिमयाय। उपायव ते पदार्थानि निम्नाय मूर्तिमय। शास्त्रिग्रहः 26. 8-10 (Ch. ed. = Cr. ed. App. I, no. 4, Lines 15-19).

2256. गृहीत ये निम्नाय मूर्तिमयमार्तमय। द्रव्यशुक्लमेव पः कुष्ठीयाय अवेलकोष्ठपा कुष्ठम्। याज्ञ. III. 197; compare द्रव्य. उप. VI. 2. 16 'अथ व एतां पदार्थानि निम्नाय क्रियामेव। पत्रमेव द्रव्यशुक्लम्।' एवं छ। V. 10. 8 अपेक्षे: ... तृतीयं स्थानम् quoted in the note. 2253.
paths. In III. 195–196 it mentions the Pitṛyāna path, which is very like the one described in Br. Up. VI. 2. 16 (except that Yāj. omits ākāśa)  and Chān. Up. V. 10. 3–7 (which mentions more stages than in Br. Up.). Yāj. III. 197 also states that those who do not know any one of these two paths (i.e., do not perform the acts peculiar to those who go by these paths) become snakes, locusts, creeping insects or worms.

The Vedantasūtra frequently refers to the doctrine of transmigration, but owing to the limits imposed by available space only a few important sūtras and their explanations will be set out here. The three sūtras of V. S. II. 1. 34–36 \(^{2527}\) are of great importance for the theory of transmigration. An objector says to hold that God is the cause of the world does not stand to reason, for, if it be so, God would be liable to the charges of unequal treatment (or dispensation) and cruelty. He creates some that enjoy extreme happiness (like gods and others), some lead an extremely miserable life such as beasts (of burden &c.) and some like men, who enjoy an intermediate position, secure a modicum of enjoyment. So God may be charged with acting through hatred and love (like ordinary men). God also produces misery and finally destroys all persons. This aspect (of great cruelty) appears abhorrent even to evil men. To this the reply is: if God had created inequality in the world at his sweet will and without regard to any other matter, he might have been liable to the two charges of unequal treatment and cruelty. But God has regard to the righteousness (merit) or otherwise of beings when he produces inequalities among creatures. The position of God should be looked upon like that of rain, which is the common cause (or factor) in the production of crops of rice and barley, but the difference (in quality) between rice and barley is due to the varying potentialities of the seeds. God is the common cause in the creation of beasts, men and gods but the inequalities in these are due to the special potentialities of each. Śaṅkarācārya relies expressly on two Upaniṣad passages viz. Kaus. Up. III. 8 and Br. Up. III. 2. 13 ‘punyo vai punyena, karmanā bhavati pāpah pāpena). The Kaus. Up. passage means ‘He \(^{2528}\) (the Absolute Ātman) is not

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\(^{2527}\) वैष्णवनैपर्ये न सापक्षलतूः तपाहि वर्धपालः।
कर्मविभावाहिति चेष्टानां
विलात। उपयोगते चातुर्वल्लग्ये च। वै।
सु ॥ II 1. 34–36

\(^{2528}\) स एव गण्य एव प्रज्ञातिक्रमं ज्ञातः
स अधितः गणेण घुस्यातः। एवं
साधु गणिनां। एवं तथात्तथात तथा कारणीयते
गणेण विपर्यायं उपयोगिते। एवं उ गणेण
साधु कारणीयते तृतीयो निमित्ते। एवं त्रेतीयं
साधु कारणीयते। एवं सर्वं। स म

(Continued on next page)
exalted by good works nor degraded by evil works, but it is He indeed who inspires (a person) to do good works, whom he wishes to lead high over those worlds and it is he who inspires one to do evil deeds whom he wishes to lead down from these worlds’. It will be noticed that the Kauṣitaki bases the attainment of a higher life (or birth) or a lower life on the quality of men’s deeds (just as in Br. Up. III. 2, 13, IV. 4, 5, Chān. Up. V. 10. 7, Praśna 3.7). The Gītā states ‘I treat them the same way (with appropriate fruits) in which they come to (or approach) me.’

Another objection is raised to the above proposition contained in V. S. II. 1, 34. The Upaniṣads often state ‘In the beginning there was that only which is one without a second (Chān. Up. VI. 2, 1 sad-eva somyedam agra āśid-ekam eva-
dvitiyam). Therefore, before creation there was no difference between deeds and so there could have been no inequality among the first created beings dependent on difference in deeds. You may say that after difference in deeds arose God has regard to deeds of men, but all beings created in the beginning must have been alike. To this the reply is that sāṃsāra is without beginning (anādi) and that such a conception of the beginningless of sāṃsāra stands to reason and is supported by (Śruti) texts.

Another discussion on the working of Karma occurs in V. S. II. 3, 41-42.2529 According to the highest metaphysical doctrine the Ātman is one and all individual selves are really free but they are affected in the empirical state by the Upādhis of buddhi, mind &c. and in that state they are controlled by Iśvara (as Antaryāmin, as Br. Up. III. 7, 23 or Kauṣ. Up. III. 8 says) and they

(Continued from last page)

2529. परातुऽ तत्कथये:  कुस्मयस्वायामेव विशिष्टप्रतिविशिष्ट प्रथमवास्यः। नै. सू. II, 3.

41-42; तुतोः परातु जीवन धर्मसम्बन्धाश्च गृहवेश्च वेदान्ति: कर्मणे तत्कथेऽतोदिता

देवन मनस्य न नियंत्रिता। जीवसम्बन्धवेदवेश्च एव तत्कथानि विश्वं विभेदं जगविश्वाश्च निर्मित्तत्वाभ्यां... अति च पूर्वस्वयमवेश्वराः कर्मणि पूर्वते च व्ययतम्येऽय। निर्मित्तान्त्यां कार्यविश्व मुखायतः कर्मयोगाविश्वास्यायां निर्मित्तान्त्यापठत जाज्युर्ममयोऽयः।
receive the fruits of their good and bad actions through Isvara who does not act at his sweet will but has regard to good or bad conduct.

A few passages about \textit{karma} and transmigration and stories illustrating how people's minds were affected by them in ancient times may be cited here. The \textit{Ap. Dh.} provides 'Members of all varnas (classes) reap (in heaven) highest and measureless happiness by carrying out their prescribed duties; thereafter (i.e., after enjoying happiness in heaven) they return (to this world) on account of the (unenjoyed) residue of the results of their actions and secure birth in an (appropriate) caste (or family), beauty of form, charming complexion, power, mental ability, wisdom, wealth, the (blessing of the) performance of duties and this results in happiness only in both worlds like a wheel. A similar rule applies to the increase of the results of evil acts. The thief of gold, one guilty of brähmana murder, according as he belongs to the brähmana, ksatriya or vaisya class, after undergoing torments in hell for a limited time becomes respectively a \textit{cāndāla}, \textit{paukṣa} or \textit{vaiṇa'}. The Gautama Dharma-sūtra has a passage in very similar words: 'Members of the varnas (brähmana and others) and of āśramas (brahmacārin &c) who are devoted to performing the appropriate duties (of their class or stage in life) enjoy the fruit (heaven) of their actions after death and then by virtue of the residue (of their actions) they attain a (new) birth (in this world) endowed with a good country, caste, family, life, learning, character, wealth, mental ability and happiness. Those who act contrary to this are ruined by having to resort to many (evil) births.' On V. S. III. 1. 8 Śaṅkarācārya after quoting Gautama XI. 29 states 'there is no possibility of the destruction of the effect of an evil deed except by some of the methods prescribed by śāstra (such as expiations and realisation of the Absolute) and that it is possible that a good deed may begin to yield its reward

2530. \textit{Varṇavānī} svarṇaśāstraḥ pariśāstraṁ suvaśubāh. tathā pariśāstraṁ karmanāśāstraṁ jaśtvā rūpaṁ bhūtiṁ mārgaṁ ṛṣyaṁ śāstraṁ mārgaṁ śāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ karmanāśāstraṁ. suvaśubāh paramaṁ vaśubāh. \textit{Vaiśṇava} pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstraṁ pariśāstra metres.
after a long time because it is hampered by the results of an evil deed and quotes a smṛti (Mahābhārata) in support.2531

The principle of the doctrine of Karma is that every act, whether good or bad, produces a certain result or return which cannot be escaped. In the physical world there is the universal law of causation. The doctrine of Karma extends this inexorable law of causality to the mental and moral sphere. The doctrine of Karma is not a mechanical law; it is rather a moral or a spiritual necessity. It cannot, however, be said that this doctrine is an induction from observed facts nor can it be asserted that it is experimentally verifiable, but it is only a hypothesis or supposition; it is, however, far better than other naive and childlike theories. In the absence of the theory of karma and rebirth it would have to be assumed that the world is arbitrary, that the Creator is not bound to regard the nature of men's actions but may distribute rewards as he pleases or by caprice. This doctrine of Karma emphasizes three things, firstly it regards an existence as a sort of expiration for the doings of a previous existence or existences; secondly, an evil deed cannot be expiated by works of merit but its punishment must be borne; thirdly, the punishment for wrong is automatic and personal. Under the doctrine of Karma there is no such thing as chance or luck. When we use those words they correspond to no reality and are a tacit confession of our ignorance or inability to state the cause or causes of what has happened. This doctrine of Karma leads on to the doctrine of transmigration. The results of a man's actions may not happen at once or in the present life. The Ādiparva and Manu say2532 'an evil deed does not yield its retribution immediately like a cow (that yields plenty of milk immediately after she is well fed) but returning slowly it cuts off the very roots of the perpe-

2531. न हि प्रागशिततात्त्विकतिभविन्नता कर्माणासुस्यादः समस्थाते। स्मृतियमिव विकृत्यः पलेन कर्मणा प्रतिवेद्यमुय परिवहत स्वयं परमप्रय स्वमवत्तानां देशयते अवदानित महारीय लक्षणात् कर्म धर्मस्तम्भिक विद्युष्टते । सम्यायन वस्तुतः पावकः प्रक्षणसूच्यते ॥ इत्येत्स्मातान्त्रिका । (धार्मिकभाष्यम् वेदोद्धारम् ३ ३ १ ८)। The verse कदाचित्रसुखः in धार्मिक २९०. १८ (Ch. ed.=cr. ed. 279. 17).

2532. नार्दरसंग्रहसे तोऽकैः सत्यसंग्रहमिति नार्दरसंग्रहसे गौरिति नार्दरसंग्रहसे कडसूचकर्मणि गौरिति नार्दरसंग्रहसे अर्धवर्ष ८०. २, महात्म १७२. में; may also mean 'the earth.' But in that case the meaning would be 'when you sow seed in the earth it takes time before the crops are ready.' If में means 'an ox' (or cow) here, then it would mean an ox is immediately useful for carrying loads unlike adharma or 'a cow yields milk immediately after she is fed well'.

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trator.’ Man’s actions in past existences determine or fashion the nature of the present existence and the actions in the present existence taken along with the residue of past actions will determine the future existence. This, in short, is the basis of the doctrine of punarjanma. The modifications introduced by texts or popular notions will be briefly dealt with later. The theory of rebirth is as logical as any of the hypotheses that hold the field about what happens after physical death of the body. It is certainly as satisfactory as (or rather more satisfactory than) the theory of absolute annihilation after physical death (held by atheists) or the theory of eternal reward or retribution in heaven or hell (for confirmed criminals of one life). The leaders or exponents of almost all religions hold that God is with them and they generally have never seen (up to at least the 19th century A.D.) any good outside their respective Churches. Hinduism of the Upaniṣads and Gītā is the only religion and philosophy that proclaimed thousands of years ago that the man of good deeds is nearest to God on account of his goodness and the man of evil deeds cannot secure divine grace and fellowship, whomsoever he may regard as a prophet or messiah sent by God.

The Vedāntasūtra in III. 1 examines the passages of the Chān. Up. and of the Br. Up. dealing with Pañcagnividyā. It is not possible to set out in detail the discussions in the bhāsyā of Śankara on the sūtras in V. S. III. 1. Some of the important final conclusions are: The individual self, while passing from one body to another, is accompanied or surrounded by subtle elements (bhūtasūkṣma), that the āhūtis are spoken of as ‘āpah’ (in Chān. Up. V. 9. 1) because the human body is full of fluids in the form of chyle, blood &c., because sacred works like Agnihotra &c. are the causes of a new body after death and in those works the principal materials used (such as Soma juice, ghee, milk) are mainly fluid. In the statement that those who perform sacrifices &c. go to the moon by the Pitryāṇa path and that śraddhā is offered as oblation from which Soma that is the food of gods arises, the words ‘food of gods’ are used in a metaphorical sense (and not in the sense of eating). The souls of sacrificers and the like, after reaching the moon and enjoying the fruits of their good deeds that can be enjoyed in the moon, return to the earth by the way they went but in reverse order of stations for enjoying the fruits of their actions that can only be
enjoyed on the earth.2533 This combines the idea of a life beyond (often referred to in the Rgveda) with the notion of rebirth and offers two prizes for good deeds (viz., reward in heaven and then a rebirth with material well-being and cultural environment, as in Gautama Dh. S. XI. 29 and Gitā VI. 37-45 and there is a double penalty for evil deeds (viz., hell torture and then a despised or low life).

The V. S. (III. 1. 13-17) further explains that all men do not go to the moon, but only those that perform sacrifices &c. and those that do not perform sacrifices or works of public utility but are guilty of evil acts go to the abode of Yama for undergoing tortures of hell 2534 (which are seven, according to V. S. III. 1.15) and after that they come to the earth. Those who follow the path of faith and austerity go by the Devāyana path (Chāṇ. Up. V. 10. 1 and Muṇḍaka I. 2. 11) and those who perform sacrifices, charity and works of public utility go by the pitrāyana path (Chāṇ. Up. V. 10. 3 and Muṇḍaka I. 2. 10)2535 and those that do not follow any one of the two have to go to a third place and be born as worms &c. (Chāṇ. Up. V. 10. 8), that when a śruti text like Kauṣitaki Up. (I. 2) states that all those that depart from this world go to the moon, what is meant by 'all' is all those that have the adhikāra (capability or fitness) to go to the moon.

There is one word, namely 'samsāra', which occurs frequently in the comparatively later literature on Vedānta and Dharmāśāstra but rarely in the Upaniṣads. It means 'passing through a succession or a round or a cycle of births and deaths.'

2533. कुलार्थप्रेक्ष्यायान्त इदस्मात्मिण्य यथेष्टमनन्तो च। ये। अनुष्ठाव इ

2534. सम्पन्ने व बुद्धि विश्वतः तत्तत्त्वात्तत्त्वातं। वे। अनुष्ठाव इ

2535. विचारं कर्मायं निर्देशायं। वे। अनुष्ठाव इ
Kathopanisad says 2536 'that person who has no understanding, who has not controlled his mind, who is always impure, does not attain that (highest) state and undergoes saṁsāra (births and deaths)'. The Śv. Up. VI. 16 speaks of the Supreme Spirit as the 'creator and knower of the universe, as self-born, the knower, the destroyer of time, possessing (all) qualities, knowing everything, Lord of Pradhāna, individual souls and the guṇas (sattva, rajas, tamas) and as the cause of release from saṁsāra, of sustaining it and of bondage.' The Maitrāyaṇī Up. I. 4. says 'such being the nature of saṁsāra what is the use of the enjoyment (of pleasures)'. The Muktikā Up. (II. 37) states 'mind is established as the root of the tree of saṁsāra'. The word 'saṁsāra' occurs in the Vedāntasūtra 2537 IV. 2. 8. The Bhagavadgītā mentions the word several times e.g. 'men who have no faith in this way (of life) do not attain to me (Lord Kṛṣṇa) and return to the path of death and transmigration (IX. 3); those whose minds are fixed on me I deliver in no time from the ocean of death and transmigration' (XII. 7). The Manusmṛti employs the word saṁsāra frequently e.g. in the table of the subjects to be treated in the Smṛti 'the passing through saṁsāra' is mentioned (in I. 117) and the 13th chap. uses the word often. It is said (in XII. 51) 'the entire saṁsāra of three kinds due to three sorts of Karma affecting all beings has been expounded'. After describing the various characteristics of the three guṇas, sattva, rajas and tamas (in XII. 26–29), and the effects of these guṇas (XII. 30–33), Manu states that those in whom sattva, rajas or tamas preponderates respectively become gods, men or lower animals and again divides each of these three classes into lowest, middling and highest (XII. 40–50). Manu uses the word 'saṁsāra' in the plural (in XII. 52, 54, 70) in the sense of 'gati' or 'yoni'. In chap. VI. 40–60 Manu first dilates at length on the daily routine of one who has entered on the stage of saṁyāsa, what he should wear and carry, how he should maintain himself, how he should restrain

2536. यस्वाविवज्ञातानविभ्रमविज्ञातान: सबास्फलचि:। न स तत्तदमाति संसारं चार्थि- गच्च्यति॥ कथा III. 7; the words तत्तदा refer to कथा II. 15–16; स विभ्रमकिर्मयविज्ञातान: पौराणिकः कालकालो मुण्ड सबाविज्ञातानः। पुराणकेत्रज्ञातिनिजेऽ विभ्रमशास्त्रशिष्यादः । संसारोपसारस्विधस्विरहदः। भेदा। VI. 16.

2537. तदाविनियते संसारप्रथमदेवताः। वे. खृ. IV. 2.8; the शास्त्रभाष्य on this quotes कथा V. 7 as the basis of the use of the word संसार। योगिमयः ... यथा-कर्मेष्य शास्त्रभाष्य॥ q. above in n. 2521.
his senses and give up love and hate and practise āhīṃsā and then proceeds 'he should ponder over the destinies of men due to bad deeds, falling in hell and the tortures of hell, separation from loved ones and contact with undesirable persons, the ravages of old age and the pains of diseases, the departing from the body and again lying in the womb and the passage of the soul through thousands of crores of births of all sorts.' It is entirely wrong to suppose (as done by Mr. Sanjana on p. 10 of his 'Dogma of reincarnation') that Manu prescribes that 'each ego has to go through ten thousand millions of existences.' Manu nowhere says so. All that he means is that the Sannyāsin desirous of liberation should revolve in his mind the possibility of some souls having to migrate through millions of births. Yāj. (in III, 169) employs the verb 'samsarati' in the sense of 'undergoes births' and states 'The fruition of actions done by some men results after death (in other bodies) or in this very life (as in the case of Kārtīk sacrifice) and in some cases either in this world or the next (i.e. there is no hard and fast sāstra rule that fruits of actions result immediately after they are done); it also states in a fine simile just as an actor, when acting different parts, colours his body in different colours (fair, dark, brown), so the soul assumes various forms (as short, hunchback, &c.), assumes different bodies due to the various acts done by it. In Yāj. III, 140 the word samsāra itself occurs 'The soul affected by (or under the influence of) rajas and tamas, wandering in this world and coming in contact with undesirable objects (or mental attitudes) goes through transmigration (i.e. assumes various bodies). This is in reply to the question in Yāj. III, 129 (Īsvarah sa katham bhāvairaniṣṭaiḥ samprayuyjate). The Śāntiparva remarks 'there is no doubt that in life there is far more misery than happiness'. The Purāṇas often harp on the theme that samsāra is impermanent, abounds in sorrows and is fragile like a plantain leaf (e.g. vide the Brahma purāṇa 'samsāre..., anitye duḥkhabahule kadalidasannibhe' (178, 179). The present writer cannot help feeling that this view of the thorough miserableness of life has been so much and so persistently dinned into the ears of common people not only by

2538. विपक्षः कामान्याणि धेरा वेषांविदिद्ध जापये । तुह वासुव्व वेषकार्याज्ञवान्तङ्गैः ।
 यथा व हि भवति यज्ञस्वरूपसुपरतत्तुगुः । नानास्पाने कंड्रणागस्वरूपम कर्मज्ञसांस्कृतः ॥ याज्ञ. III. 133, 162; the words नानास्पायने कुसृपण्य: may be construed with भूतः also.

2539. सुवांतवर्तं तस्मा जीविते नानिः संस्कारः । सनस्तरविवेढः सोहास्तमणम-विवर्णः ॥ शास्तिपरं 205. 6 ( = Cr. ed. 198 lines 11-12 ).
much of Sanskrit literature but also by medieval saints like Tukaram (who says ‘happiness is as little as a grain of barley while misery is as big as a mountain’) that people have lost zest in life, are unable to put their heart and soul and serious efforts for improving their own lot and the lot of others. It cannot be denied that in India the doctrine of Karma, instead of being a powerful means of urging all men to put great efforts in doing good deeds and a gospel of hope, became in the minds of many confused with fatalism, which led men to become feeble, submissive and disinclined to work hard.

All the above discussion in the Upaniṣads about transmigration of the individual self are valid and concerned with the empirical or phenomenal world (samsāravasthā or vyavahāravasthā) but considered from the highest metaphysical standpoint of thorough-going advaita (the parā vidyā of Muṇḍaka I. 1. 5–6 or amūrta brahma of Br. Up. II. 3. 5–6) it falls to the ground, since the individual self is non-different from the Absolute Brahman. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. II. 3. 30 emphasizes this point. He states: As long as the individual self is in samsāra state and has not attained perfect knowledge and brought the empirical or phenomenal state to an end, so long the connection of the self with buddhi does not cease. As long as this connection with buddhi (a limiting adjunct) lasts, so long lasts the state of being an individual self merged in samsāra. But the real truth is that there is no entity called jiva by itself except in so far as it is fictitiously hypostatized by buddhi, the limiting adjunct. For, when we determine the real meaning of Vedānta texts, we find no intelligent substance other than the one omniscient Lord whose nature is eternal freedom. Then Śaṅkarācārya cites certain texts (viz. Br. Up. I. 4. 7, III. 7–13, Chān. Up. VI. 1. 6, VI. 8. 7) and remarks that there are

2540. यात्रावत्तवार्तितत्त्वानु न वैश्वर्तानुपानसार। के ब्रह्मायणम् संसारी भावे यादयस सर्वायुः संसारिष्ठु न स्वितते सुविदयसु संसारिष्ठु न शाखित। सुविदयसु संसारिष्ठु च परमायुः न जीवते नाम कृष्णप्रभासम्यर्मणमेति तस्यत्स्वितमेति। न तहत विद्यासुथरपवर्तवायुः। न च विश्वानाभवतु संसारिष्ठु न शाखित। न च मधुभासम्यर्मणमेति। न च विद्यानाभवतु संसारिष्ठु न शाखित। न च मधुभासम्यर्मणमेति। न च मधुभासम्यर्मणमेति। न च मधुभासम्यर्मणमेति। न च मधुभासम्यर्मणमेति। न च मधुभासम्यर्मणमेति।

Similarly on br. 3. 1. 5. ज्ञातान्य संसारी, तथापि वेषाविष्ठसंसारसम्भवं भवस्य एव, परकर्मिकांग्रहणागतसंसारसम्भवं न्यो नाणी:
hundreds of such texts. Śaṅkarācārya states that even Bādarāyana, the author of the Vedāntasūtras, composed some sūtras from the highest advaita standpoint and some from the empirical standpoint. In the following sūtras of V. S. Bādarāyana is obliged to differentiate Jīva and Paramātman I. 1. 16–17; I. 1. 21, I. 2. 20, I. 3. 5, II. 1. 21–23, II. 3. 21, II. 3. 41, II. 3. 43 &c. But the sūtras I. 1. 33, II. 1. 14, IV. 13 indicate that there is non-difference between the two. 2541

The theory of transmigration postulates that each life is the result or fruit of the actions of the preceding existence or existences. It follows from this that if we go backwards far enough, no existence or birth can be the first. Therefore, the Vedāntasūtra had to declare (in II. 1.35 quoted in n. 2527 above) that samsāra is anādi (beginningless). But this is in conflict with many passages of the Upaniṣads, which, in speaking of creation, employ the words ‘in the beginning’ (as in Chān. Up. VI. 2.1, Br. Up. I. 4., 1, 10 and 17, V. 5.1, Tai. Up. II. 7.1). In order to get over this conflict the conception of the recurring creation of the universe periodically from all eternity was postulated by means of the machinery of kalpas, 2542 which provides that the universe created by brahman persists through a vast period called Kalpa, after the lapse of which it is absorbed into brahman. Vide Śānti-parva 231. 29–32 (Ch. ed. = cr. ed. 224. 28–31). It is stated in the Gitā VIII. 17–19 that the day of Brahmā is equal to one thousand yugas (four yugas make one unit or Mahāyuga) and the night of Brahmā is also of the same duration. All objects spring up from Prakṛti at the advent of the day of Brahmā and at the advent of night are absorbed (or merged) in the Prakṛti. Vide Bhagavadgītā IX. 7 also ‘at the end of a Kalpa all elements (or beings) pass into prakṛti over which I preside; but when the next Kalpa starts I send them forth’.

The reasoning is; just as we cannot decide which comes first, the seed or sprouting plant, so it is impossible to say which

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2541. तदन्तर्जन्यस्वस्वस्वम्मभव्यवस्थानावेदिष्य; वे. सू. II. I. 14; खुशकारवीष्य परमाणुवयोऽस्मात्।
यथे तदन्तर्जन्यस्वस्वस्वम्मभव्यवस्थानावेदिष्य तु स्याते तदस्मात्।
कार्यस्ति। अर्थात् प्राथमेते कार्यस्ति अद्वितीयता तदस्मात्।
यथे तदन्तर्जन्यस्वस्वम्मभव्यवस्थानावेदिष्य तु स्याते तदस्मात्।
लोकस्याभासानेषुयोगारोग्यात्।—this is वे. सू. II. I. 13.

2542. The one thousand Mahāyugas constituting a day of Brahmā are called a Kalpa. For detailed treatment of Kalpa, Manvantara, Mahāyuga and Yuga, vide pp. 666–697 above. The ancient Upaniṣads have not elaborated this theory of Kalpas &c.
comes first (body or Karma), since no body is possible without Karma (deeds) and no deeds are possible without a body. The Chân. Up. (V.13-2) states "that Being (deity) that had produced fire, water, and earth thought 'let me enter those three beings (fire, water and earth) with this living self and then develop names and forms." That shows that Jiva (the self) was there at the time of creation and thereby indicates that samsâra is beginningless. The Rgveda in X. 190.3, expressly says 'the creator arranged (or created) as before.'²⁵⁴²a Similarly, the Gîtâ (15.3) states 'the real form of it (of the tree of samsâra) is not thus perceived, nor its end nor beginning nor its support; having cut off this deeply rooted Aśvattha (pippala) tree with the powerful sword of non-attachment, that place must be sought for from which those who have reached it do not again return'. The Smṛti verses relied upon by Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. 1.3.30 are noted below.²⁵⁴³

²⁵⁴²a. It is possible that the words 'dhātā yathāpūrvavakalpayat' (in Rg. X. 190.3) simply mean that the Creator arranged the Sun, the Moon, Heaven, Earth and regions according to the priorities (or their proper order). But it cannot be gainsaid that these words are at least the germs of the later doctrine of Kalpa, Manvantara & c. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3.30 explains the Rgveda verse as 'the creator created in the present Kalpa the universe including the Sun and the Moon in the same way as in the preceding Kalpa.'

²⁵⁴³. The verses quoted by Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3.30 as Smṛtis are:

(1) तेषां ये यानि कामाणि प्राकृतुष्टत्र विषयेकरुते। तत् गृहयेत ते पदवन्ते सुविमानता सुनि:
इति ॥ शास्त्रपद २३२.१६। (Ch. ed. = cr. ed. 224.47), वाच ८.३२ and ९.५७,
विलयु I. ५. ६०, कुम्र I. ७. ६४-६५, मार्क्खन्येय ४५.३९।

(2) विलयुदीशे युद्धे दशमार्थप्राहसुः। तद्वानिति यथा दशमार्थरूपे सरस्वती ॥
शास्त्र २३२. १७ (Ch. ed. = cr. ed. 224.48), वाच ८. ३३, १०३.३३, मार्क्खन्येय ४५. ४०।

(3) अत्रियं नाममेवती पाचवेत्रु दशमार्थः। दशमार्थं पुरानिति हरिवेद्वेदग्यो ब्रह्मार्च जोः
वाच ९. ६४, मार्क्खन्येय ४५. ४३। शास्त्र इतिति अर्थ हेतु निष्ठा ते दशमार्थे पर्यवेक्षणे निरस्तिः।

(4) विलयुक् तुष्टिं नामायायेत्त्र यथा केषां भवते सुप्रसादेऽविशुद्ध ॥ शास्त्र २१०.१७ (=cr. ed. 203.15), मार्क्खन्येय ४५. ४४, वाच ९. ६५, विलयु I. ५.
विलयु I. ५. ६५। This verse is quoted without name in the तत्त्वाचारिक p. २०२ on Jai. I. ३. ७; compare मार्क्खन्येय I. ३०।

(5) विलयुक्ते यानिकाभिमानितवन्तः दशमार्थे। देश देशं भेदतांविषं श्रीमान्याभिः च
The Bhagavadgītā (VI. 37-45) is very emphatic that no exertions made by a man on the path of Yoga with faith are lost even if he does not quickly attain perfection. Lord Kṛṣṇa replies (VI. 40 ff) that such a man failing to secure perfection does not come to an evil end, but he attains to the worlds of the righteous, dwells there for many years, is born in the houses of prosperous and pure men or is born in the family of wise yogins, where he regains the mental impressions of his past lives. He makes fresh efforts to gain perfection and is carried forward irresistibly by his practice in former lives and being free from all sins and perfecting himself through many lives attains the highest goal. In the Gītā, Kṛṣṇa says (in IV. 5) ‘many are my lives that are past and thine also. All of them I know but thou knowest them not.’ In many places the Gītā touches upon the doctrine of transmigration (such as in II. 12-13 and 22-27, IV. 8-9, VII. 19, VIII. 6, 15-16, IX. 21).

In chapters 60-32 (of ch. ed.) of Vanaparva there is a dialogue between Draupadi and Yudhīṣṭhira, who, having lost his kingdom in gambling with the Kauravas, was in exile and hard pressed. Draupadi wonders how such a straightforward, mild, benevolent and truthful prince allowed his mind to be involved in gambling (30. 19), that God does not act towards beings like a father or mother, but He appears to be irascible like a common man, when she sees that honourable men of high character have difficulties in maintaining themselves and dishonourable men live in pleasures (30. 38-39); she proceeds ‘human beings, ignorant and having no control over happiness and misery, go to heaven or hell at the caprice of God.’ Yudhīṣṭhira warns her that she talks like an atheist, that he performed no deed with the thought of seeking the reward thereof, that he made gifts and performed sacrifices because he held that it was his duty to do so. He asked her to give up atheistic talk and not to disrespect Highest God. Then Draupadi came round and replied that she did not mean to disrespect or censure Dharma, that it is far from her thoughts to show disrespect to God, but that, being distressed, she talked like an atheist. She then enters upon a discussion about...
what people mean by *diśā* (fate) or *hatha* (chance) or nature (*svabhāva*) and winds up by saying that whatever a person gains is all the result of deeds in past lives.

It is not necessary to say here anything about human effort (*purusaśākāra*) and *daiva*. That topic has been dealt with and the different views of ancient and medieval writers about the respective spheres of these two have been pointed out in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 168-170 and notes 214-216.

When the son of Gautami, who was an old woman that had attained control of mind, died by snake-bite, a hunter caught the snake, brought it bound to Gautami and said that he would kill the snake for having bitten an innocent and unoffending boy. Gautami dissuades him from killing the snake by stating 'by killing the snake my son would not be brought back to life, I see no good in killing the snake.' Then Kāla came forward and explained 'Just as a potter moulds from a lump of clay whatever he desires, so man secures fruits of deeds done by himself; the boy's death was due to his deeds in a former life' and Gautami agreed that her son died by his own deeds in a previous life and that her bereavement by the death of her son was due to her own former deeds.\(^{2546}\) This story occurs in the very first chapter of the Anuśāsanaparva.

Draupadi who had to work as Sairandhri (a maid servant) in the harem of Virāta bewails before Bhima 'in my girlhood I must have done something which displeased the Creator by virtue of which I have been reduced to this distressing condition.'\(^{2547}\) The Anuśāsanaparva states 'just as the calf finds

\(^{2546}\) This verse is quoted in an English translation by A. G. Hogg in 'Karma and redemption' (ed. of 1910 p. 19) and by M. Macnicol in 'Indian Theism' (Oxford Uni. Press, 1915) p. 224
its own mother from among thousands of cows, so karma done in a previous life pursues the doer of it.' The Aṣvamedhika. 2548 parva asserts that there is no destruction of good and evil actions; they ripen and produce results when the self passes from one body to another. The Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 316. 25 and 35 = ch. ed. 329. 25, 35) avers 'a man by performing good deeds secures the state of a god, he is reborn as a human being by actions of a mixed character (good and evil both) and he is born as lower (than man) by evil deeds; when you (yourself) start after death no one will follow you; only your good or evil deeds will follow you when you leave this world.'

All strata of Hindu society were permeated by the theory of Karma and transmigration. Great Sanskrit poets often allude to it. In the Raghuvamśa XI. 22 describing the visit of Rāma to the hermitage of Vāmana pointed out by Viśvāmitra, Kālidāsa remarks 'Rāma became restless (or disturbed) in mind, though not remembering his actions in the former existence as Vāmana' (both Vāmana and Rāma being avatāras of Viṣṇu). Similarly, in Śākuntala (Act V) the poet remarks 'when on seeing charming sights and hearing pleasing words, a person, though surrounded by pleasures, becomes restless (or sorrowful), that is indeed due to this that his mind unconsciously has the impressions of loves and friendships of past lives presented to it'. In the seventh Act of the same play when Dusyanta and Śākuntalā were re-united, she, referring to her previous rejection by the king, remarks 2549 'indeed at that time some (bad) actions of mine (in some former life) hampered my good deeds and became ripe for fruition'. In the Raghuvamśa the 14th canto contains at first a message of spirited protest by Śita whom Rāma ordered Laksmana to abandon near Valmiki's hermitage on account of the scandal about her among common people, but afterwards qualifies the message by saying that the terrible misfortune that she was going to suffer was the fruition of her misdeeds in former existences and that she desired to be his wife in a future existence but without separation from him. Vide also the Meghadūta verse quoted above in note 2533 p. 1563.

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2548. श्रुण्मवमवमवान च नेह नाशिदि कर्मणां। प्रायं प्रायवाक्षणि लेखं क्षेत्रं तथा तथा। आभासोपि 18. 1.

2549. दूस्रे मे सुधवत्वविवन्ध्य पुराणकं सन्धु विकृतेऽद्वि परियामवक्वयसौ। शाशुक्तान्

VII: समेत जननात्समानां तियाकरस्तकुलवर्षसदाः। सादृश: ततः सर्वान्तिक्षालिष्ठब्धे

पञ्चमेदिन्द्रं पतलम्। पूर्वी वधा मे जननान्तसारि लक्षेण मर्यादा न च तियदम्। रघुवर 14. 62

and 66.
Many questions naturally arise on the doctrine of Karma and transmigration. One of them is discussed by the bhāṣya of Vyāsa on Yogāṣṭhāna II. 13. In Yogāṣṭhāna II. 3 five kleśas (hindrances) such as avidyā (nescience) are enumerated and it is stated (II. 13) that these kleśas lead on to fruition of actions by way of birth, life (long or short), kind of experience. Actions (Karma) are of four sorts according to Yogāṣṭhāna (IV. 7) viz. kṛṣṇa (dark found in wicked people), śukla (white), dark) that are accomplished by external means in which there is some injury to or benefit of others; (3) śukla (white) belonging to those who engage in āśūpas, svādhyāya (study of the sacred texts) and contemplation; because this kind of deed depends on the mind alone and does not depend on external means and does not involve injury to others; (4) Aśukla (neither white nor dark), which is found in sannyāsinīs (ascetic saints) whose hindrances (avidyā &c) have dwindled and whose bodies are the last (they will have). Of these four kinds, the yogin alone has non-white karma since he has renounced the fruit of all actions (even of good ones) and he has akrṣṇa since he will never resort to dark actions. The bhāṣya on Yogāṣṭhāna II. 13 states four questions, (1) whether one Karma is the cause of one birth, or (2) whether one Karma is the cause of more births than one; (3) whether more than one Karma brings about more births than one; (4) whether more than one Karma brings about one birth. The bhāṣya raises objections to the first three and states that the fourth alternative alone is acceptable. Vide p. 1417 note 2325 for the text of the Yogabhāṣya on these four alternatives. The Sāntiparva (chap. 273, 33–34 of cr. ed. =chap 280. 33–34 of ch. ed.) mentions individual souls as of six colours viz. kṛṣṇa (dark), dhūma (grey), nīlā (blue), nikta (red), hāridra (yellow) and śukla (white) in an ascending order, the dark being the lowest and śukla being the highest and verses 36–46 describe these six in detail.

There are several features of our present life that can be more satisfactorily explained on the theory of transmigration than on any other. Why do two people who have seen but little of one another feel friendship or hatred? The surmise that in past existences they were friends or had obliged each other or harmed each other offers an explanation. The doctrine of karma and transmigration accounts for the apparently unmerited misery and suffering of many people, while some enjoy undeserved happiness or a good life. Our sense of fairness and justice would
be shocked by the inequalities in the world, if such a doctrine were not there. The hypothesis and belief that all human volition and conduct will suitably be rewarded and punished in subsequent existences has an important bearing on present conduct, would act as an urge to continual effort for goodness in this life and is likely to deter men from vice and cruelty. This doctrine of karma not only offers an explanation about the varying degrees of happiness and unhappiness among human beings, but also accounts for differences in material well-being and unhealthy bodily conditions. It offers a solution of the problem of evil in the world and explains precocious abilities in mathematics, music and arts among children and grown up men as in the case of Ramanujan about whom Prof. Hardy of Cambridge (in ‘Ramanujan,’ Cambridge, 1940) says that he was the most romantic figure in the recent mathematics. If rightly understood, it is not pessimistic or fatalist, but rather emphasizes all out human effort in this life. It will be seen how many of the works on Dharmaśāstra or connected with it as sources emphasize effort (purusakāra) as against views of various people that it is Daiva or Svabhāva or time or the combination of all these that yield rewards or retribution in this life. It also explains sudden accession of prosperity or high position such as, for example, a poor man’s son being adopted by a prince or queen and then becoming an enlightened and famous ruler as was the case with the late Sayajirao Maharaj Gaikwad of Baroda.

Even from Upanisadic times various views were held about the origin of the world and similar questions. The Śv. Up. (I.1) asks the question ‘Is brahma the cause? Whence are we born? Whereby do we live and whither are we going? Tell us, Oh knowers of brahman, under whose control do we abide in pain or pleasure?’ The next verse states ‘Should Time or nature or necessity or chance or the elements be considered as the cause or He who is (called) Purusa? It cannot be their combination either, since even the self has no power over happiness and misery.’ Then verse 3 (latter half) states ‘He being one superintends (or controls) all causes viz. Time, self and the rest.’ Yāj. I. 350 refers to five views on the question as to what causes desirable or undesirable results viz. some hold that it is Daiva alone, some put forward Svabhāva (nature), some rely on Time, some on human effort and some on a combination of all these; but, Yājñavalkya’s own view (I. 349, 351) is that
good or bad results are due to daiva and puruṣakāra and that the former is nothing but effort of former existences that has begun to manifest results. The Śāntiparva (chap. 238. 4–5 = cr. ed. 230. 4–5) refers to the fact that there are three views viz. either human effort or daiva or svabhāva being the cause, but its own view appears to be that Purusākāra and Daiva combine to produce fruits. The Matsyapurāṇa (221. 8) asserts that daiva, effort and kāla working together produce the fruits of actions. The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (II. 8. 61–62) refers to three views viz. Daiva, effort and Svabhāva are put forward as causes separately but its own view is that daiva and effort together yield fruits.

It may be stated here that Karma is put in three groups viz. saṅcita, prārabdha and kriyamāna (or saṅcīyamāna). The first is the total accumulated deeds of all past existences, the fruits of which have not been experienced. The prārabdha Karma is that which was the strongest among the group of saṅcita deeds just before the present existence of a person begins and which is supposed to determine one’s present existence. What a person accumulates during the present existence is called kriyamāna (or saṅcīyamāna, being collected) and the next existence is determined by the strongest (or the earliest according to some) among the saṅcita and kriyamāna deeds put together. As the karmans2550 are of different characters and yield different consequences (heaven in case of sāttvika deeds, or the earth or mid-regions when they are mainly rājasa), and places of tortures when deeds are mainly tāmasa the existences (or births or bodies) differ and the self being affected by the body, the individual souls appear as different. The objection is raised that freedom of will is the basis of all ethical values and that if a man’s Karma in past lives determines the present life, then a man in the present life is merely a toy in the power of Karma and has no power to do as he sees best. The question about a man’s freedom of will is a most thorny one, on which the greatest thinkers from ancient times to the present day have differed2551 and no

2550. Vide विज्ञानदीपिका of पुराणां verses 5 and 8. ‘कर्माणि फलीचिन्यवाचे’ चिह्नं जग्नानामहि। दूरविद्यमयो जीवि सैनकियः मास्तेतः तथा। सज्जनं चौरमनं च परश्रमे कर्मं तत्तत्त्यं। कर्मेनामुक्तिनि पूर्वं वज्रसमाधिसि वा। The com. explains सज्जितांगम सुभाषिणं कर्माणि सदथे च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च...
satisfactory reply can be given. There are numerous works on discussions on Free will and Determinism such as Rashdall's 'Theory of good and evil' vol. II. pp. 302-355 (1907) on 'Free Will,' Bergson's 'Time and Free will,' Viscount Samuel in 'Belief and action' pp. 303-320; but the present author does not propose to recommend any of these books to the reader of this volume. But if the reader wants a small book on the Free Will controversy he may read the book by M. Davidson (London, 1942). So far as the Indian doctrine of Karma is concerned, it appears that freedom of will is postulated for a man during the present existence to lead a good moral life and perform meritorious acts subject to the limitations caused by the environment in which the present existence is cast.* The important working belief is that one has free will and that one is free in the present existence to mould the future (so far as he is concerned) by means of meritorious works. This is the message of the Śāntiparva.2552 Lord Kṛṣṇa, after a long discourse in the Bhagavadgītā gives Arjuna permission to do as the latter likes (18.63 'yathecchasi tathā kuru'). In Gītā 9.30 also Lord Kṛṣṇa says 'if even a person of the vilest conduct worships me with undivided devotion, he must be held to be righteous, for he has made a right resolve.' Similarly, in VI. 5 the Gītā provides 'let a man lift himself higher by himself, let him not degrade himself; for the self alone is the friend of the self and the self alone is the enemy of the self'. Vide notes below for Upaniṣad passages, V. S. and Śāṅkarabhāṣya. It is possible to accept, on the ancient Indian doctrine, both predetermination and free will, the first so far as one's being born in a certain environment is concerned and the 2nd so far as one's actions in the present life are concerned. The Bhagavadgītā (VI. 5-6) holds out the hope even to a sinner that it is never too late to mend and (II. 40) avers that even a little of righteousness saves a man from great fear and no effort is lost.

Though the general drift of the Gītā is in favour of Free Will, there are a few passages that seem to savour of determinism, e.g. 'everyone is made to do acts helplessly by the ānus born of Prakṛti (III. 5); 'all beings follow prakṛti (Nature); what can control (or repression) do'? (III. 33); 'due to your conceit you think 'I shall not fight,' this thy resolve is vain; (your) Nature will compel you to do it; you being constrained

2552. अष्ठो तुम प्रभु मा नाभक्षै बिसियाँ । उत्कर्षां ये तथेते नर: पुण्येन कर्माणु ॥
शास्त्रपर्व 280. 3 (= 291. 3. of cb. ed.).
by your own acts born of your nature will helplessly do that which you do not wish to do” (XVIII. 59-60). It may have to be conceded that there is no freedom of will in the matter of environment during childhood.

The Rāmāyāna gives expression to the belief that sorrow in the present life is the result of similar actions done in past life or lives. When Rāma left Ayodhyā as an exile for the sake of fulfilling the promise given to queen Kaikeyī by king Daśaratha, Kausalyā, mother of Rāma, laments ‘I believe indeed that in a past life I must have made many persons lose their sons or I must have harmed (or killed) living beings; it is therefore that this (sorrow) has befallen me’; ‘I think beyond doubt that in a former life, I, a wretched woman, must have cut off the breasts of cows (or mothers) when their calves (or children) desired (to drink milk at the breasts) of their mothers’. 2553

The Purāṇas also emphasize the importance of good or evil deeds and say that one has to reap the fruits of one’s actions, whether good or evil, and Karma does not come to an end even after hundreds of lives unless the results thereof are undergone. 2554 The Padmapurāṇa states ‘there is no destruction of Karma except by reaping the fruits thereof; no one can set aside the bondage due to the Karma of past lives’ and further ‘man by his own actions may become a God, or a human being, cattle, a bird or a lower animal or even a tree (or rock); no man in this world is able to annul the effects of actions done in previous existences by his power or by the birth of progeny’ 2555 (son &c.).

2553. मयैं खपु मया पूृव विकसा बध: हता: । प्राप्तिनो हितसा वापि तस्मादिदंस्प- \textemdash \\n
\begin{align*} 
\text{रितम्} \text{ अष्टयश्वान्य } 39.4 ; \text{ निमोत्सप्तत्र मया मयं युरा विरे काव्येया.} \text{ पाठवाशु मथुरु मातृण्य शालिता: सन:} \text{ अशया: } 43.17 \text{ (Madras Law Journal Press edition).} \\
\end{align*}

2554. अमर्यमस्त्र भम्मक्ष्य कृते कर्म भुमासभम्भृ। नापुक्ते शरीयाय कर्म हाकय जनमशान्णं \text{ मिप} \text{ नर्तीय पु} \text{ (उत्तरभाग) } 29.18 ; \text{ the quarter नापुक्ते शरीयाय कर्म is quoted by the भास्फी on जात्रशब्द on } \text{ व. च} \text{ IV. 1. 13. (without name). Vide II. of Dh. Vol. IV. p. 39 note 95 for the same verse quoted by others. भास्फी notes ‘नापुक्तेष्कर्मो दृष्टि व सर्गणातियुक्तासामार्याक्तमयवाह्यक्तसत्त्व।’}

2555. उपभोगार्थे तस्य नापु पूं न विषये । प्राप्तरङ्कये (कर्मक्षे) कर्म कोष्यथा \text{ कर्तुमःहति } \text{ प्र. II. 81. 48, and 94. 118; इत्यथा मातृयाय वधुतान्य पाण्यान्य} \text{ तथा। निःस्कर्यं स्वतःरुण यथा पानी जातु: स्वर्गनिमी: पूर्णेऽव्यं कर्म न कृष्णवारण: कृष्ण। चलन प्रजाया वापि} \text{ समभी: कहत्तमया } \text{ प्र. II. 94. 13, 15. The first occurs in प्र. II 81. 43 also, Vide Rgveda याताहर्ष्ये अमृतनम्यन्यम् } \text{ V. 4. 10. and मनु IX. 137 पुज्येन दोक्त्यअवलित श्रीणायाः्रम्यस्तु These are merely laudatory acc. to the प्र. : न तु भोगाहे पूर्णे} \text{ पाणी वा कर्म सामय: पत्रिष्यनां मातृया पुराणायण विषयो म: मार्कण्डे 14.17; यहाँ वर्तने} \text{ श्रीर्भ सत्ये कु त्तिष्ठितारक; कृतः काव्यों कर्म कत्सैं च भोग: प्र. II 94. 7-8.} \text{ विनाशादिवेदं कसों कृम्यश्व नायक: II प्र. II. 94. 7-8.}
idea of transmigration as described in the Upaniṣads had become universal in India at the time of Buddha. Buddha rejected the reality of a permanent ego or self as an entity. He was not a metaphysical philosopher, but wanted to lay down a way or method by which mankind could be freed from ignorance and suffering and liberation could be achieved. Therefore, while rejecting a permanent ego he accepted the doctrine of rebirth.

A side issue has been very much debated by some eminent scholars, viz. whether the cherishers of the Vedānta thoughts were originally the Kṣatriyas and not the Brāhmaṇas. The present author dealt with that question in a brief compass in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 105–107 and note 222. Deussen in ‘Das System des Vedānta’ (1883 pp. 18–19) and Ph. Up. (tr. by Geden pp. 18–19) and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in ‘Vaisnavism and Saivism’ p. 9 hold the view that the kṣatriyas were the original possessors of Vedānta doctrines. Deussen relies mainly on six passages and Dr. Bhandarkar on two only (Chān. V. 3 and 11) and besides Deussen (in Ph. Up. p. 19) admits that his conclusion is not absolute certainty but has a high degree of probability. Barth in ‘Religions of India’ p. 65, Hopkins in ‘Ethics of India’ (1924) p. 63, ‘Vedic India’ by Macdonell and Keith (vol. II. p. 206), and Tuxen on ‘The religions of India’ (Copenhagen, 1949, p. 88) do not subscribe to this view. Deussen went so far as to aver (p. 19) ‘this teaching with regard to the ātman was studiously withheld from them (the brāhmaṇas), that it was transmitted in a narrow circle among the ksatriyas to the exclusion of the brāhmaṇas’. The present author had not set out the passages on which reliance was placed by Deussen and those who followed him. They will be set out here and will be examined as to the context in which they appear and the subject with which they deal. But it must first be emphasized that the most important doctrines of the main and ancient Upaniṣads are two, viz. ‘non-difference of the individual self from the Supreme Self, and (2) transmigration of the self depending on his deeds and conduct. Both these doctrines are expounded by Yājñavalkya to king Janaka in various places in the Upaniṣads e. g. in Br. Up. IV. 4. 4–7 and following passages. Deussen regards this part of the instruction as deepest, truest and noblest (Ph. Up. p. 348: quoted above on p. 1547) and this passage is (acc. to him) the leading passage on the doctrine of transmigration and on what accompanies the self in its transmigration (Ph. Up. p. 281). Besides, the words of Yājñavalkya
in Br. Up. III. 2. 13 'He who does good is born good' and in IV. 4. 5 'He who does good is born good, he who does evil is born evil, he becomes righteous by righteous works &c.' are declared by Deussen himself (Ph. Up. p. 410) as 'the oldest in which a doctrine of transmigration is found'. Therefore, according to Deussen himself, the original possessor of these two fundamental doctrines of the Upaniṣads is the brāhmaṇa Yājñavalkya who in the same Upaniṣad (Br. Up. II. 4. 1–14) propounds to his wife Maitreyī the identity of the self and elements and everything else with brahma (idam sarvam yadayamāṁ). Not only so, there are other brāhmaṇa teachers of these. For example, Uddālaka Āruṇī expounds at great length to his son Śvetaketu the doctrine of identity in the famous words 'tat-tvamasi' (Chān. Up. VI. 8–16).

Now the examples on which Deussen (Ph. Up. pp. 17–19) bases his conclusions must be cited and examined. Chān. Up. (V. 11. 1) tells the story of five (named) wealthy householders and great students of Veda who came together and discussed the question 'what is our atman, what is brahma'. They proposed to go to Uddālaka Āruṇī who knew the self called Vaiśvānara. Uddālaka thought that he would not be able to explain all and therefore told them that Aśvapati Kaikeya (king of Kekaya country) at that time knew the self called Vaiśvānara and all five together with Uddālaka went to that king, who said he would give an answer the next day. The next day those six went to him with fuel in hand (i.e. as pupils) and the king without performing further preparatory rites asked each of them what they meditated upon. When each replied as to what he meditated upon, such as heaven, Aditya, air, ether, water and earth (this last by Uddālaka Āruṇī), he told them that all these are parts of Vaiśvānara and he explained to them how the proper Agni hotra is to be performed.

Two things should be noticed viz. Uddālaka Āruṇī is here shown as ignorant of true Vaiśvānaravidyā, though in the very next section (Chān. Up. VI. 8–7. ff.) Uddālaka Āruṇī teaches the sublime doctrine of 'Tat-tvamasi'. Probably these two Uddālakas are different or the present story is more or less a myth. In the second place, all that Aśvapati Kaikeya teaches is about Vaiśvānara and not brahmavidyā (about the identity of individual soul with the Supreme Self. From before the times of Čāṇ. Up. there have been various opinions about Vaiśvānara, frequently mentioned in the Rgveda (e.g. in I. 52. 6. I. 98. 1.). The Nirukta (VII. 21–23) has a long discussion and quotes
three different views viz. that Vaisvānara is lightning or Āditya or terrestrial fire. The Chāṇ. Up. (V. 18.2) winds up the description of Vaisvānara and brings it (V. 19–24) in line with the oblations to five breaths (as ‘Prāṇāyā’ svāhā &c.) and sets forth the results of the observance of Agnihotra with full knowledge of its true purport. The Vedaṇtastūtra (I. 2.24–32) deals with what is meant by Vaisvānara in Chāṇ. V. 11 ff. and the conclusion is that it means paramātmā (the highest Self) and not individual self or fire as an element or the digestive (stomach) heat.

Deussen then refers to the story of Gārgya Bālakī (in Br. Up. II. 1) who offered to expound brahma to Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśi, who offered to give a thousand cows if he did so and remarked that people ran exclaiming ‘Janaka, Janaka’ (meaning Janaka is donor and also listener to brahma exposition). Bālakī offered twelve objects of meditation on brahma such as the person in the sun, the person in the moon &c. Ajātaśatru replied as to the twelve objects that he knew them already and brahma is different from them and cannot be understood by what he said. Then Bālakī remained silent. Bālakī offered to be his pupil. Then Ajātaśatru said2557 ‘this is topsy-turvy that a brahmāna should approach a kṣatriya as a pupil with the idea ‘the kṣatriya would expound brahma to him’. I shall make known to you (brahma)’.” So saying he took hold of Bālakī’s hand and got up (from his seat). Certain matters in this story must be carefully noted here. This does not at all say that the class of brahmānas did not know brahmavidyā and that kṣatriyas alone were then the only possessors of it. On the contrary, Janaka is specially mentioned as a donor of cows and is eager to listen to brahmavidyā and people ran to him desiring to accept large gifts of cows for imparting brahmavidyā. We

2556 दत्तात्रेयभि०न्०मि गार्ये आस स होवाचारवात्सबू हि ब्रह्म ते वस्त्रेपि च होवाचारवात्सबू सहस्रेशास्तः पार्च द्वृश जनको जनक दुति ते जना धामवतीति। ब्रह्म उप. II. 1.1, the words ‘ते धामवतीति’ occur in कृष्णवतीति। उप. IV. which has the same story with some variations. Max-Muller’s tr. in. S. B. E. vol. I, p. 300 ‘for verily all people ran away saying ‘Janaka (king of Mithilā) is our father (patron)’ is not accurate and does not bring out the sense properly.

2557 सहस्रेशास्तः। प्रतिभोब वेदयाद्व भा० श्वरहि० भर्गोद्वैयाद्व ब्रह्म ष्टे कियातिति। शेख त्या ज्ञानविद्यातीति। ते पाण्डुलिपियाः पाणियाः। ब्रह्म उप. अस्तीत्र मद्ये वै अर्थमा आलग। प्रतिभोब त्या ज्ञानविद्यातीति ते ह पाणियांपरिप्रेय प्रवन्धः।
know about Janaka from Br. Up. III. 1 ff. wherein Janaka king of Videha, offered a thousand cows and, when Yājñavalkya took away those cows, numerous persons present in Janaka’s court such as his hotṛ priest Aśvala, Ārtabhāga, Gargi, Uddālaka Arūpi, Viddaghda Sākalya ply him with questions. In Br. Up. IV. 4, 7 (Janaka offers a thousand cows to Yājñavalkya, in IV. 4.23 (Janaka offers to give his Videha kingdom to Yājñavalkya along with himself as a slave). The story of Bālāki only comes to this at the most that when Janaka had learnt brāhmavidyā, a brāhmaṇa Bālāki did not know it though he professed to know it, and had to be instructed in it by king Ajātaśatru of Kāśi, who knew it and who only stated that a brāhmaṇa did not become a pupil of a kṣatriya. All brāhmaṇas could never have been proficient in brahmavidyā much less kṣatriyas. One regrets to say that Deussen is guilty of making a sweeping generalisation without adequate data. It may be noted that in this story Ajātaśatru of Kāśi does not say that the Vidyā was not known to any brāhmaṇas before (as Pravāhana Jaivali claimed), but, on the contrary, expressed surprise that a brāhmaṇa should come to him for learning the Vidyā.

The same story occurs in Kauśitaki Upaniṣad 2538 IV. 1-19 often in the same words. Bālāki offers 16 explanations about the objects of his meditation. The V. S. devotes three śūtras (I. 4. 16-18) to the passage in which Ajātaśatru stated ‘He who is the maker of those persones (you mentioned), he of whom all this is the work, he alone is to be known’. There is in Br. Up. II. 1 and Kauśitaki Up. IV hardly anything about transmigration. Both passages simply affirm that from the Ātman all prānas, all worlds, all gods, all elements spring forth (Br. II. 2. 20). This is nothing more than what is stated in the leading text (Br. Up. IV. 4. 7) of Yājñavalkya or in Chān. Up. VI. 1-16 in the oft-repeated words of Arūpi to his son Śvetaketu (aitadātmayam idam sarvam...tattvamasi).

It is most surprising that Deussen should press into service the story of Sanatkumāra and Nārāda in order to fortify his proposition that kṣatriyas were the original possessors of the great doctrines of Vedānta. He relies on Chān. Up. VII, where

2538. यो वे शालाक एतेऽवं भक्तिहृदयो वर्तय वेस्तकरम्म सर्वेवं वेदित्यत्य इति। कौशी। उप. IV. 18. The conclusion in ने, सू. I. 4. 16-18 is that the person to be known is Paramātman and the words वर्तय वेस्तकर्म refer to the world (जगत्), and that this has no reference to ’jīva’ or principal prāṇa.
it is said that Nārada approached Sanatkumāra and prayed ‘ Teach me, Sir.’ Sanatkumāra said to him ‘tell me what you know; then I shall tell you what is beyond that.’ Nārada stated (in Chān. Up. VII. 1-2) that he had studied the four Vedas,2559 Itihāsa-purāṇa and gave a long list of lores including Devavidya, Brahmavidya (whatever that may mean), ksatravidya, Naksatravidya, admitted he knew mantras only and did not know Ātman (the Self) and added ‘I have heard from men like you that he who knows the Ātman overcomes sorrow. I am in sorrow; bhagavan! do help me to cross (to get over) my sorrow.’ Sanatkumāra replied ‘whatever you have studied is mere name, there is something better than a name’. Then Sanatkumāra teaches him to meditate on speech as better than name, then on manas as better than speech and several others as better than the preceding (in VII. 25-26) till he reaches bhūman (the Infinite, the Paramātman) and describes bhūman in VII. 25-26 ending with the words ‘all this springs from the Self’ and it is stated at the end (in VII. 26. 2) ‘Bhagavān (venerable) Sanatkumāra showed to Nārada, all whose blemishes had been crushed (uprooted), what is beyond darkness (avidya); they call him (Sanatkumāra) Skanda.’2560

In all this long passage there is not a word whether Sanatkumāra and Nārada belonged to a brāhmaṇa or ksatriya class. Skanda is known in classical Sanskrit as the God of War (as in Gitā X. 24 ‘Senānīmam-aham Skandaḥ’) and in the Vana-parva 229. 22-23 he is mentioned as the commander of the armies of gods and the Śāntiparva mentions that Nārada approached Devala for knowledge about the creation and dissolution of the world (chap. 275 = 267 of Cr. ed.). From this Deussen at once draws the conclusion that Sanatkumāra must have been a ksatriya and Nārada a brāhmaṇa. In the Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti and the Purāṇas both of them are semi-divine sages and beyond varṇa or caste. Gitā X. 13 speaks of Nārada as Devarṣi, the Vāyu-purāṇa speaks of Parvata and Nārada as sons of Kaśyapa and as included among Devarṣīs (Vāyu 61. 85). The Manusmṛti includes Nārada among the first ten Prajāpatis

2559. Compare Br. Up. II. 4. 10 for a similar but smaller list of lores that are said to be the breath of the great Being and another list of the four Vedas and six Vedāṅgas (called aparavidya) in Muṇḍaka Up. I. 1. 5.

2560. तस्मै भूदितकथापनम् तस्मात् द्वैपदिवृष्टि भवायते सत्यकमः। तैं स्रवय इवाचकले।
व. उप. VII. 26. 2. कथयां means रामदेवाविद्वृष्टिः; the root रक्षय is given two senses in भारुपायत विद्य, वा ति च शोषेः.
The Brahmmapurāṇa (I. 46-47) describes both Skanda and Sanatkumāra as sons of Brahmā. The Nāradiyapurāṇa (Pūrvabhāga, 2. 3) speaks of Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanatana as the mind-born sons of Brahmā and Sanatkumāra as brahmavādin and as expounding all Dharmas to Nārada. The Vāmanapurāṇa (60. 68-69) describes the same four as sons of Dharma and Ahiṃsā, and as exponents of Yogasūtra. To crown all, Kūrmapurāṇa I. 7. 20-21 speaks of these four along with Kratu as Vīprā (brāhmaṇas), yogins, and as mind-born sons of Brahmā. Sanatkumāra might have been literally or metaphorically called ‘Skanda’, because he attacked and routed Avidyā just as God Skanda routed armies of asuras, if at all the myth about Skanda was known in times before the Upaniṣads.

Chān. Up. I. 8 narrates that there were (in some part of India not mentioned) three persons well versed in (the esoteric meaning of Udgitha i. e. Om), viz. Śilaka Śālavatya, Caikitāyana Dālbyya and Pravāhāna Jaivali. They sat down for a discussion on Udgitha. The first two (who were brāhmaṇas) first put questions to each other and answered. Then Pravāhāna Jaivali told them that they were giving replies about matters that were not permanent. Then Pravāhāna Jaivali told them that Ākāśa was the origin of this world, that beings owe their origin to Ākāśa and will return into it, that Ākāśa is Udgitha, greater than the great and without end &c. Deussen relies on this passage also for supporting his theory. Udgithavidyā is only one of several Upāsanās in the Upaniṣads. Therefore, what would follow is that Pravāhāna Jaiivali knew it and two brāhmaṇas of some place not mentioned did not know it. It is not possible to see how this story lends any support to Deussen’s sweeping thesis of all brāhmaṇas being originally excluded from the central doctrine of identity. In the same context (Chān. Up. I. 9. 3) Pravāhāna mentions that one Atidhanvan Saunaka taught Udgitha-vidyā to Udaraśāndilya.

2561. अथो सस्त्रे वै भ्रमर सामसानावतः समावः। सनातन सनातनं चेत तदेव च सननदनात्। कर्त्तु सनन्दनार्ज प्रसिद्ध प्रजायनति। परब्रह्म योगिनी विबध यैतराय सास्त्रितः।
कुलां I. 7. 19-21.

2562. धन्मवर्त्न अर्थात् ‘धांवन’ वष्णु विश्वास्त्रु ‘धांवन’ क्रोध च निर्भया। तत्काल विद्या तथा च निर्भया। तत्काल विद्या तथा च निर्भया।

Dhanus becomes 'dhavan' when it is at the end of a bahuvrīhi compound, according to Pāṇini V. 4. 132. (पञ्चव्रतं). What is the meaning of अविद्याय as a bahuvrīhi? It may mean 'who has gone beyond the bow (i.e. who is far above those who wield the bow). धन्मवर्त्न itself means a bow (as in नी. VI. 75. 2 and 3) and 'arid desert' in the Rgveda (x. 4. 1. धन्मवर्त्न प्रमोग अम्प्र) and धन्मवर्त्न may mean one who had crossed an arid desert and would have nothing to do with one wielding a bow.
Deussen without giving any reason asserts "the names allow of the conjecture that in this case also a brāhmaṇa received instruction from a ksatriya" (p. 18). He probably connected the first name with 'dhanus' (bow) which was the forte of ksatriyas. But he forgets that Śaunaka and Śāndilya are both brāhmaṇa names. This will illustrate how even the most profound scholar goes astray when he becomes over-enthusiastic about a theory of his. In this story Pravāhana does not claim that the Udgīthavidyā was unknown among brāhmaṇas. On the contrary he himself states that Śaunaka, a brāhmaṇa (called Atidhanvan) expounded that Vidyā to Udaraśāndilya, another brāhmaṇa. Besides, Udgīthavidyā is only one among numerous upāsanās and what Pravāhana teaches is that all bhūtas spring from Akāśa and are absorbed in Akāśa, the purport being that Akāśa here denotes brahmān as the V. S. (I. 1. 22) establishes. This doctrine is the same as the one taught in Tai. Up. III. 6 (basis of V. S. I. 1.2) and other texts. Moreover, there is nothing about transmigration in this passage of Chān. Up.

The sheet anchor of the views of Deussen and Dr. Bhandarkar are the dialogue between Pravāhana Jaivali and Śvetaketu (Br. Up. VI. 2, Chān. Up. V. 3–10) about Pañcagīni-vidyā and that between Aśvapati Kaikeya and Uddālaka Āruni about Vaiśvānara (Chān. V. 11. 24). The latter has been already dealt with. In the former occurs an important passage which has been made much of and misunderstood. Before proceeding to expound the Pañcagīnividyā to Śvetaketu and his father Āruni Gautama, Pravāhana Jaivali remarks (Chān. Up. V. 3. 7) "this vidyā did not go to brāhmaṇas before you; therefore in all worlds domination (or government) has remained with the ksatriya class alone". In the corresponding Br. Up. passage the words are "this vidyā did not reside in any brāhmaṇa before this day, but I shall expound it to you, for, who would like to refuse when you address me thus"\(^{2563}\) (viz. I approach you as pupil). In the

\(^{2563}\) यथेष्ठे न प्राकृत्ति: पुरा विद्या ब्राह्मणान् समस्ति:। तस्माद संवेद्योत्ती कश्चत:। प्रामाण्यतत्त्वभीतं तद्यत्त्वतं। तत्वं तुष्यं न कस्ततां ब्राह्मणां उवास।। स्त्रस्माति: को हि तैंत्रैं ब्राह्मणस्माति: प्रामाण्यतत्त्वभीतं।। कुस्तः। VI. 2. 8. प्रामाण्यत translation by Max Muller as 'teaching' in S. B. E. Vol. I. p. 78. But it is better to take प्रामाण्य in the sense of 'domination or government,' as is clearly the meaning of the word in Br. Up. III. 8. 9 वानस्त तान्त्रिक योक्स्तत: गामि दुर्यो-स्वत्तंसमवेद्धे लिखति:।। Besides, there is nothing to show that ksatriya rulers everywhere were teaching that doctrine (if we take prāśasane to mean (Continued on next page)
Kauśitaki Up. I. the doctrine of the two paths of Devayāna and Pitṛyāna is expounded to Ārunī (and his son Śvetaketu) by Citra Gārgyāyani (v. 1. Gārgyāyani), but the remarks about kṣatriyas alone being the first possessors of the doctrine do not occur there at all and Gārgyāyani appears to be a brāhmaṇa teacher. The question is: what is meant by ‘this vidyā’ in the above passages of Chāṇ. and Br. Upaniṣads? In the Upaniṣads (particularly in Chāndogya and Br.) numerous vidyās for the upāsanā of brahmān by men that are not yet far advanced on the path of brahma vidyā are dilated upon, such as Udgīthavidyā (Chāṇ. Up. I. 8–9, Br. Up. I. 3), Dharavidyā (Chāṇ. VIII. 1. 1–2, Br. Up. I. 3, Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 14–21), Madhuvidyā (Chāṇ. III. 1. 1 ff., Br. Up. II. 5. 1–15), Samvargavidyā (Chāṇ. IV. 3). In the same way Pañcagñividyā is an Upāsanā. Deussen and others admit (as shown above) that the great and original texts about the identity of the individual self with the Supreme Self and about transmigration of the soul based on works and conduct are those of Yājñavalkya in the Br. Up. The Pañcagñividyā expatiates upon and is concerned mainly with only one aspect of transmigration viz., the path of those who living in a village practise a life of sacrifices, works of public utility and alms. The five fires and five offerings relate only to the pitṛyāna path. It contains an esoteric and semi-physical explanation of the process by which persons come to be born again on the earth. At the most it may be argued that some kṣatriya rulers or noblemen claimed to have given an esoteric or metaphorical explanation of the mode of the return of pious men from the moon to the earth again. Nothing positive is said as to whether Pravāhana Jāvali was the ruler of a country or only a kṣatriya (rājanya in Br. Up. VI. 2,3, Chāṇ. Up. V. 3,5) but we are told that Aśvapati was king of the Kekaya country in the extreme northwest of India, while the original proclaimer of the immortality of the self and its identity with the supreme self was Yājñavalkya who was in Videha (Mithilā, modern Bihar), which was at least a thousand miles away from Kekaya. Yājñavalkya’s philosophy must have taken a long time before it became well known in the distant Kekaya. Conceding for argument that a few rulers like Aśvapati were the first to propound an explanation of the

(Continued from last page)

( teaching ). Further, this sentence (in Chāṇ. V. 3. 7 is a boastful assertion like the one of Aśvapati in Chāṇ. V. 11. 5. that there was in his country of Kekaya no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man who had not consecrated sacred fire in his house, no ignorant person and no adulterer.
way of the transmigration of pious sacrificers and the like, it is a far cry from that to assume as Deussen does (Ph. Up. p. 20) that the doctrine of the Atman as the first Principle of the universe was fostered and progressively developed by the ksatriyas in opposition to the principles of the brahmanical ritual and this assumption is contrary to what he himself states elsewhere in his own work (pp. 410, 281, 348).

Before proceeding further a passage from the Br. Up. I. 4. 10 and another from the Ait. Up. (II. 4–5) would have to be considered. In Br. Up. occurs the following passage: 2564 "In the beginning brahma was there, it cognised itself as 'I am brahma'; therefore it became all; whoever from among the Gods perceived this (viz. 'I am brahma'), he became that (brahman); the same occurred to sages and men. The sage Vāmadeva realizing this reached the conclusion 'I was (or became) Manu and the Sun also.' Therefore, this (will occur) even now. Whoever (even a man) who realizes 'I am brahman he becomes (identical with) all this (universe); even the gods are not able to prevent that man's being one with brahman and with all, for he is the soul of all these." Deussen translates 'aham Manurabhavam Sūryasā' as 'I was once Manu, I was once the Sun'. There is no word for 'once' and it is supplied by Deussen who remarks 'as a proof of his knowledge of brahman, (Vāmadeva) alleged his acquaintance with his former births as Manu and Sūrya' (p. 317). The words can very well be construed as meaning that Vāmadeva, having realized

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2564. ब्रह्म वा इत्यादि आसीत। तदात्मानमेवैवति। अंह ब्रह्मास्ति। तस्मात्सम्भवसे। ततो यो देवानयं प्राणवृहत्त स्ये तदाभवसे। तथाकिसाम। तथा महात्माणाम। तःदेवस्य पदार्थमविद्यमाने। पापेपेक्षा महारभ्य सूर्येःस्येऽति। ततद्विद्येशेऽये एवं वेदोऽये ब्रह्मास्ति स इदं सवं भवति। तत्स हे देवात्मानापप्रजने हृति। आस्ति द्वारा यो तस्य वृहत स्ये भवति। यहू. उप. I. 4. 10; compare सुककोपप. III. 2. 9। यो इह तस्यं ब्रह्म ब्रह्म भयति। ... ततस्य शोकं ततस्य पाँचानं युधयमयं विमुक्ति शुद्धस्ति भवति। कोटप. 4. 15 यथेवकं शुद्धं शुद्धमर्शस्यं ततदेव भवति। एवं सुनेशिताना आस्ति भवति सौंभवति। कोटप. 6. 14। 'अथ मर्शस्य नुसूति महर्भे ब्रह्म ब्रह्म समस्ते।' सुकक III. 2. 8 यथा हि... परम्यं पुरुषपूर्वति विद्यम्यात्म तमस्य VI. 5 स वाश्चेत नात्म: &c.। ढा. उप. VIII. 12. 3 and न. खु. I. 4. 22 शाकुराध्येष द्विन्द्र परम्यं. These passages emphasize that the moment a man realizes the identity of the self and the Supreme Self and moulds his life accordingly, he becomes brahman and that his works after this realization do not cling to him, Vide for this latter proposition, Chāṇ. Up. IV. 14. 3 (यथा युधयमयं आत्मा न निर्विकुम्मिः एवंवेष्यस्य विद्यमानेऽपि कर्म न निर्विकुम्मिः हृतम्), Mundaka Up. III. I. 3 (यथा विद्यमानपापायं विद्यमानं निर्जनः परमं सामवृहत्ति), सुकक III. 2. 9, यहू. उप. IV. 4. 22–23 and न. खु. IV. 1. 13–15.

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brāhmaṇa when he sang the hymn Rg. IV. 26, expressed his identity with Manu and Śūrya (and the whole universe). There is no express reference to former births and Śaṅkarācārya in 25:5 his bhasya on Br. Up. understands the passage in this sense and does not refer to former births. It cannot be said that the Br. Up. quotes Rg. IV. 26. 1 for supporting the conception of transmigration but it relies on it merely for the conception of identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Self.

Then there is a passage in the Ait. Up. which Dousset refers to (pp. 317-318 of Ph. Up.). In the 2nd adhyāya that Upanisad refers to the conception of a person as the first birth; when the child is actually born that is described as the 2nd birth. Then it proceeds ‘He (the son) being the self of the father is placed in his (the father’s) stead for the performance of all sacred works; then his other self (the father) having performed all he has to do and having reached the span of his life (having become very old) departs (from this world) and departing from this world is born again, that is his third birth. And this has been declared by a sage ‘while dwelling in (mother’s) womb I came to know all the births of the gods; a hundred strongholds of ayas (copper or iron) held me, but I escaped down with speed like a hawk.’ Vāmadeva lying in his mother’s womb declared this”. In this passage the father and son are treated as identical, as elsewhere it is so said (vide note below). This Rgveda verse (the 2nd half) is liable to several interpretations. In the Rgveda (I. 80. 2, VIII. 95. 3, IX. 68. 6, X. 11. 4 &c.) it is frequently stated that (syena) hawk brings Soma for Indra. Śyena may also be interpreted as standing for the soul and the iron fortresses as the bodies through which the transmigrating soul wanders. The Rgveda sage might have only meant the mythical hawk of Indra. But as the word ‘janimāṇi’ occurs in the first half the Upanisadic sage (in Ait. Up.) might have used the verse to support his ideas about the three births. But even in the Ait. Up. passage the three births are not clearly of one person, unless we resort to a myth, viz. the conception of a son and the son’s birth are

2565. स परिशिष्ठ द्वारात्मात्रेऽन्यथेत: एवमुत्तमः द्वैतेऽत्त्वः अह शष्यस्वं द्वरंशेषरायगी।
वनेतरं ब्राह्म प्रवेशिति ब्राह्मण्यायं पारषस्यते। अह गौरवस्य द्वरंशेषरायगिनः सर्वभावस्यानि ब्राह्म- 
विधानानि परमूल्यानि। परम्य सर्वभावानि कष्टे प्रतियेक हृदयस्यात्मनायागी ब्राह्मविधावासाहायसापन- 
स्वार्थो गौरवं द्विषयाति... तथस्य ब्राह्मविधातायात्मानं विभजनं देवा महात्मौषधया नाथि अर्धस्य 
भवन्त्य ब्राह्मस्वभावस्य नानाति न परान्त। किषुतानि। इशानशर्मणो भवे। उप. I. 4. 10. 
अह गौरवस्य is Rg. IV. 26. 1.
taken as the two births of the father himself on the ground that the son is the father himself born again.\(^{2566}\)

The Upaniṣads laid down an inexorable law that fruits of all actions, good or evil, must be experienced and that a person’s deeds and conduct determined the character of his succeeding existences. But from some passages in the Upaniṣads themselves it appears that they recognised some exceptions. One exception was that when a person realized that he was one with brahman the actions both good and evil, if any, done by him after that Realization and before the physical death of the body produced no results. In Chān. Up. VI. 14. 3 Satyakāma\(^{2567}\) Jābaḷa tells his pupil Upakosala that ‘Just as water does not cling to a lotus leaf, so no evil deed clings to one who knows (realizes) brahman’; Chan. Up. V. 24. 3 ‘just as the (soft) cotton-like fibres of the \(\text{iṣṭā} \) reed when cast into fire are burnt out, so all evil deeds of him who knowing (the purport of) Vaiśvānara (brahma) offers Agnihotra are burnt’. The Br. Up. states ‘Him who knows these two do not overwhelm, whether he says that he did evil for some reason or that he did a good deed for some reason; he overcomes both these; neither what he has done nor what he has omitted to do afflict (lit. heat or burn) him’. The Mundaka Up. provides ‘when a person has seen (realized) the Highest (cause) and lowest (effect) his actions perish.’ But this is only true as regards all acts before he attained Realization and all acts that his body may do after his attainment of Realization but he cannot rescind the prārdbhika karma which brought about that existence wherein he reached Realization of brahman. The idea is that the actions which led to a person’s present embodiment must all be consumed by the body persisting till the appointed period for its death, and then only he becomes free from the

\(^{2566}\) सोरस्यायमात्रम् पुरुषेष्य: कर्मण: प्रतिष्ठीते। अधारयायितर आ या कृत्स्यायथ: ्वयोगक: ्म:ति॥ स ज्ञ: यथ:वेत्स पुरुषायन:। तदस्य तृतीये ज्ञ:॥ तदाद्वृत्ततमित।।

\(^{2567}\) यथा पुकळपद्धारा आपो न ब्रद्धयत्व इति। छ। उप. IV. 14. 3; तयाभिस्कृतानि कार्यानि पुरुषोत्पादन हार्य संव गौरानानि:। मुद्यते य पयवेद विद्वानांनि अयोत्सित।।

\(^{2567}\) यथा पुकळपद्धारा आपो न ब्रद्धयत्व इति। छ। उप. IV. 14. 3; ५ तस्य हेतुस्य न तत्तु इति। ५: पापस्य निप्त्वत्व इति। ५: अत: कर्मस्य निप्त्वत्व। ५: उभे रहेते हेतुस्य निप्त्वत्व। ५: न तनं ब्रह्मायणं न परम:। इति। उप. IV. 4. 22. सूक्तिः चारस्य कर्मणि तत्त्वं नारद:। परवेदः॥ सूक्ति।।
physical body. The Chân, Up. states 2568 as to a man who has attained true knowledge of the Supreme Self from a teacher that 'for him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body), then he will become perfect'. All these Upaniṣad passages are relied upon in V. S. IV. 1. 13-15 and Śaṅkarācārya explains their purpose concisely but very clearly. The Gītā also says (IV. 37) that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all deeds. Here all means only Sañcita and Sañciyamāna and excludes prārabdha-karma. About the acts during the period between the attainment of Vidyā and the fall of the body Śaṅkarācārya gives the instance of an arrow shot from a bow, which stops only after the initial impetus is exhausted in the flight of the arrow. Some works say that when the meritorious deed or the sinful deed done in the present life is of the extremest kind it may yield results in this very life. 2569

The Upaniṣad theory is that one must bear the consequences of all actions, good or evil. But sometimes an evil action is done without any previous thought, as, for example, when a man's gun goes off by accident and somebody is killed or seriously injured. This led to a discussion in Dharmasūtras and Smṛtis and the doctrine of prāyaścittas (expiations) for sins was developed. From Vedic times some rites had been performed to counteract mishaps and irregularities in the course of religious ceremonies and for portentous phenomena or personal misfortunes such as a dog-bite. In these the idea was

2568. तद्विधम उत्तरपूर्वोपप्रवर्तकः विनाशायः तत्वंपदेशात्। इत्तत्त्वप्रवर्तकसंबंधः। पाते ह। अनार्थकारं एव त पूर्व तदवचेत। वेदांतसूत्र व 1. 13-15। शार्कराचार्य 'बहुविधमें सत्यपुरुषेऽप्यवर्तकः विनाशायः भवतः उत्तराशेषः। पूर्वक्य विनाशः। इत्तत्त्वापि दुष्पर्यापि। करमेन् बुद्धमुद्दते विनाशायः सवर्णविनाशायः। कर्मकान्तः उद्देशमात्र ह। पूर्वक्य पुरुषेऽप्यवर्तकः विनाशायः। कर्मकान्तः उद्देशमात्र ह।

2569. पूर्वः फलातिव देवेस्वसमन्तु कुत्तमत परम्पर यत्। अह्वत्वाद इत्यपेशोत्तमं वै जनानि॥ विशी। 10। 3. युक्ते त्व कर्मा दुष्परुज्जुमांभिः पदर्जनमवेदितस्मिने अन्तमि भार्तमक्रमस्ततिः। प्रकाशते पारशुपूर्वेतिदेवः फलवत्ते।
of ceremonial purity and the averting of evil results from such phenomena in which no question of sin as ordinarily understood entered. In the Gautama Dharmasūtra there is a discussion on this, which is probably the earliest clear exposition on expiations for sins. Gautama states that there were two views on the efficacy of expiations against sins. One view was that expiations should not be performed as regards sins, because a sin is not destroyed unless its consequences are experienced; the other view was that one should perform expiations since there are Vedic passages indicative of this, such as ‘after performing the sacrifice called Punaḥstoma one can come back (i.e. become fit for) Soma sacrifice (i.e. for all Vedic rites in general)’; ‘after performing the Vṛatya-stoma’ (one becomes fit for vedic sacrifices), ‘he who offers the Aśvamedha sacrifice crosses beyond all sin, beyond (even) brāhmaṇa murder.’ Some held the view that only sins committed inadvertently were removed by expiations; while others held the view that expiations were efficacious even against sins committed willingly as there are Vedic indications to that effect (Manu XI, 45). Manu, however, appears to have held that a man is relieved of the lapses inadvertently committed by means of the study of the Veda, but sins wilfully committed can be removed only by various prescribed expiations (XI, 46) and that a man must always resort to expiations for sins, since those who have not done so have to undergo a double retribution viz. the tortures of horrible hells for long terms of years and also being born in other human existences with bodily deformities and diseases (Manu XI, 48 and XII, 54). The subject of expiations and of Karmavipāka (fruition of evil actions by being born as a worm or lower animal, or having a short life and premature death and undergoing torments of Hell) has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. Vol. IV, pp. 1-178).

2570. तत्र पायथितं कुष्ठशः कुष्ठिति सीमासनते। न कुष्ठितिसाहुः। न हि कर्म भीतहः इति। कुष्ठितिसाहुः। पुनः स्वात्मायायाः सम्भव्यः यिष्कायते। वायुस्तोमेकेन। तर्कस तत्त्वात्माने तस्तिवा ब्रह्मायणं योः प्रमेयेण यज्ञे। आक्रमदाम्भिष्यमाने याज्ञेविषिद च।

2571. अनमिसाधितुं पायथितं पराधे। अभिसाधितुं पराधे। सिद्द 20, 1-2.
So far as rebirth for sins is concerned attention may be drawn here to the following authorities: Manusmṛti XII. 54–69, Yāj. III. 131, 135–136, 207–215, Viṣṇudharmasūtra, chap. 44, Ātrismṛti 4.5–14, 17–44, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 15. 1–41 (B. I. ed.), Brahmapurāṇa 217. 37–110, Garuḍapurāṇa, Pretakānda, chap 2. 60–88 (which incorporate almost word for word Yāj. III. 206–215) and also quotations from Śaṅkha Dharmasūtra collected by the present author in ABORI. vol. VIII, pp. 116–117 items 375–378 culled from the Mitākṣara on Yāj. III. 216, the Madanapārijāta pp. 701–702, the Parāśara-Mādhaviya, vol. II. part 2 pp. 246, 259, 263, 269. For reasons of space it is not possible to set out this whole mass but a few illustrative passages will be cited.

Manu states (XII. 54–69, with which Yāj. III. 207–208 and 212–215 agree in many places) 'those guilty of mortal sins (Mahāpātakas), having gone through terrible hells during a large numbers of years, come after the expiration (of hell punishment) to the following births. The slayer of a Brāhmaṇa passes through the births of dog, pig, ass, camel, cow (or ox), goat, sheep, deer, a bird, a cāndāla and a pukkasa; a brāhmaṇa who drinks the liquor called Sūrā enters the bodies of worms and (large) insects, of moths (or locusts), of birds feeding on ordure and of carnivorous animals; a brāhmaṇa (who steals gold of a brāhmaṇa) shall pass a thousand times through the births of spiders, snakes, lizards, aquatic animals and of destructive goblins; the violator of his guru's bed passes a hundred times through (the form of) grasses, shrubs, creepers, carnivorous animals and of beasts with fangs and of those (animals) like tigers doing cruel acts. Those men who are given to injuring others become animals that eat raw flesh, those who eat forbidden food become worms, those that thieve become creatures consuming their own kind (such as fishes) and those who have intercourse with women of the lowest classes become pretas (ghostly spirits); one who has associated with outcasts (for certain specified periods), he who approaches the wives of other men and he who has deprived a brāhmaṇa of his property (other than gold) becomes Brahmarākṣasa (an evil demon); a man who has on account of greed stolen gems, pearls or coral or any of the other kinds of precious stones is born among goldsmiths; for stealing grain a brāhmaṇa becomes a rat, for stealing bell-metal a man becomes a hamsa bird, for depriving another of water he becomes the bird called Plava, for stealing honey a stinging
insect, for stealing milk a cow, for stealing sweet juice (sugar-cane &c) a dog, for stealing clarified butter an ichneumon; for stealing meat a vulture, for stealing fat a cormorant, for stealing oil a bird called Tailapaka, for stealing salt a cricket, for stealing curds a bird called Balākā (crane); for stealing silk a partridge, for stealing linen a frog; for stealing cloth of cotton threads Krauṇa bird, for stealing a cow an iguana, for stealing molasses a bird called vāgguda (a bat?), for stealing fine perfume a musk-rat, for stealing vegetables consisting of leaves a peacock, for stealing cooked food of various kinds a porcupine and for stealing uncooked food a hedgehog; for stealing fire a person becomes a heron, for stealing household utensils a mason-wasp, for stealing dyed garments a cakora bird; for stealing a deer or an elephant a wolf, for stealing a horse a tiger, for stealing fruits and roots a monkey, for stealing a woman a bear, for stealing drinking water a cūta, for stealing vehicles a camel, for stealing cattle a he-goat; that man who has forcibly taken away any kind of property belonging to another or who eats sacrificial food of which no part has been offered in sacrifice certainly becomes a lower animal; women also who in like manner committed theft shall incur guilt; they become the females of those same creatures (enumerated above).

It may be noted that some of the births assigned to those guilty of thefts of various articles have some logic or reason behind those regulations e.g. when Manu XII. 62 and Yaj. III. 214 prescribe that a thief of grains becomes a rat in the next birth or when Manu XII. 61 prescribes that a thief of jewels, pearls and coral is born among the class of goldsmiths, one can easily appreciate this retribution as appropriate or reasonable, but the same cannot be said of all others. It is noteworthy that, in spite of what the bhāṣya on Y. S. quoted in note 2325 and pp. 1417-18 above says, a single mortal sin like brāhmaṇa-murder might make the perpetrator pass through several vile births, as stated by Manu in XII. 55-58, Yaj. III. 207-208 and by Śaṅkarācārya.2572

Once the strict rule of the original doctrine of Karma in the Upanisads was loosened by the theory of prāyaścitās, a

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2572. ब्राह्मणपाठिनं चेत-कर्म कर्मानि अनेकमुलसामाणिः स्वयं प्रायस्विते। न च परमपराभिः समवसाह्यान्यिं समस्याविद्यूः।
शास्त्रभाष्यम् 68 वं शृतु 111. 1. 8.
quick pace was set even in early times for the removal or reduction of the effects of sins in other ways than by means of expiations. Gautama\textsuperscript{2573} prescribes five means for redeeming (or expiating) blamable acts viz. inaudible recitation of the Veda, austerities, sacrifice in fire, fasting, giving gifts. The history of Dharmasastra vol. IV deals at some length with japa (pp. 44-51), tapas (pp. 42-43), homa (pp. 43-44), dāna (pp 51-52) and fasting (pp. 52-54). Therefore, it is not necessary to say here anything about them. But attention must be drawn to some special and far-reaching modifications of these and other means. Śūdras and members of pratiłoma castes were not authorized to study the Veda. Hence the authors of medieval works, particularly of Purāṇas, went so far as to say that remembrance\textsuperscript{2574} of the name of Kṛṣṇa is superior to all expiations and all forms of austerities and that if a man only remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, noon, evening, at night and other times, he at once secures the destruction of (the consequences of) sins. Other means were also provided for the removal of sins, one being pilgrimage to holy places. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 55–56 and 552–580. Another was the practice of prāṇāyāma which has been dealt with on p. 42 of H. Dh. vol. IV.

Even in the earliest times open confession of sin was in certain cases regarded as freeing the person from sin. In the Cāturmāśya called Varuṇa-praghāsa, the wife who took part with her husband had to confess expressly or by some indirect ways whether she had at some time a paramour and if she did so she was purified and could take part in the sacred rites thereafter. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 575–576 and 1098 for this. Similarly, according to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24, 15, I. 10. 28, 19 and 1, 10. 29. 1 it was necessary when undergoing expiations for forsaking one's wife or for brāhmaṇa murder to confess one's sin. So also the brahmācārin, if guilty of sexual intercourse.

\textsuperscript{2573} In 19.12 Gautama gives a long list of Vedic texts the recitation of which purified a person of sins. Manu (XI. 249–250) specifies Vedic hymns and verses that remove the consequence of brāhmaṇa-murder, drinking Sūrā, theft of gold, violation of guru's bed and other grave and light sins and highly praises (XI. 259–260) the japa of Ahamaraśaṇa hymn (Rg. X. 190.1-3) as removing all sins.

\textsuperscript{2574} These are q. by Āp. śāṅkarah. p. 1, According to p. 1.32 and Śāṅka, tām p. 524.
had to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven houses (vide Gautama and Manu quoted below).\textsuperscript{2375}

\textit{Repentance (anutāpa).} Manu (XII. 227 and 230) provides that a sinner is relieved of the consequences of sin by proclaiming his sin to people, by repentance, by austerities, by recitation of Vedic texts, by gifts in case of distress (i.e., if he is unable to undergo \textit{tuṣas}); a man after committing a sin becomes free from it by feeling remorse and if he makes a resolve ‘I shall never again do so’ he is purified. The \textit{Visnupurāṇa} provides that, when after committing a sin the man feels remorse, the one high expiration that he has then to undergo is the remembrance of Hari.\textsuperscript{2376} MacNicol, a Scottish Missionary, wrote a work (in 1915) on ‘Indian theism’ in which he boldly asserts, after referring to the Upanisadic doctrine of Karma that ‘there is no place for repentance in the Hindu doctrine of Karma’ (p. 223). It has been shown above that confession was known in Vedic times and that repentance was valued in Dharmaśāstra works either as removing sins or as making the repentant man fit for receiving expiatory rites (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 41–42). The worthy missionary author probably thinks his Christian brand of remission of sins by confession and repentance better than the Upanisadic teaching. Ancient Indian authors were not prepared to accept mere confession and repentance as enough to absolve a man of all sins. The Biblical position that if one believes in Christ and his gospel, confesses his sins and says he repents (as required in Matthew 4. 17, Mark I. 15 and Luke 24. 47) is very likely to engender among common men a complacent attitude about sins. This complacent frame of mind, the ancient Dharmaśāstra writers wanted to prevent and therefore, they insisted upon a good deal more than repentance and confession of sins. They blended the old doctrine of confession and repentance with retribution viz., hell tortures and vile births. Later Paurāṇik writers approached very close to the probable attitude of common Christians that one has simply to believe in Christ as a redeemer, to confess and to take the name of God for being absolved from all sins. Macnicol either did not

\textsuperscript{2375} तर्पातिजनमुच्छित्वात परिप्रेय तोहित्वात: सम दृष्टास्मात्व चतर्कर्माच्यास्य। गी. २३. १८; महू XI. १२२ एतस्मिन्ते नस्ते यस्य वसित्वा गद्यभाजिनम्। सतार्जनायथार्थर्ष्टपे स्तपम परिकैत्यै।

\textsuperscript{2376} हुने परेक्षुद्रायो वे सत्प दुस्स्य प्रजायने। पायविहृते ह तर्येक हरिसंस्कारण परम्॥ विण्यू। II ६. ४०.
read the relevant texts from Purāṇas or he forgot them when he made the assertion noted above.

Long before MacNicol wrote and since his days numerous Western scholars brought up in Christian surroundings have expressed their view that the ancient Indian doctrine as regards man’s destiny after death is far more preferable to Biblical ideas on the same subject. It is enough to refer to only two or three authors. Arberry in his ‘Asiatic Jones’ quotes (p. 37) from Sir William Jones’ letter to Earl Spencer the following passage ‘I am no Hindu, but I hold the doctrine of the Hindus concerning a future state to be incomparably more rational, more pious and more likely to deter men from vice, than the horrid opinions inculcated by Christians on punishments without end’. Lowes Dickinson in ‘Religion and Immortality’ (Dent and Sons, 1911) observes (on p. 74) ‘it is really a consoling idea that our present capacities are determined by our previous actions and that our present actions again will determine our future character’. Owen Rutter, author of ‘the scales of Karma’ (London, 1925) says that Christianity has failed to solve the intellectual and moral problems which beset those who live in the complexities of the modern world, that he began to study the doctrine of Karma and reincarnation seven years before he wrote the book, which is a personal statement rather than an essay on Karma (pp. 12–13). Many who have written against this doctrine, while conceding that the Upanisadic doctrine is an ancient and serious attempt to solve the problem of injustice and evil in the world, call it a weak one and beset with difficulties. One should like to ask, what systems of religion and philosophy are not beset with difficulties? One may take the Christian doctrines for example. To all non-Christians (and to several Christians also in modern times) its doctrine of original sin, its damnation of unbaptized infants, of predestination deduced from the belief that God is an Omniscient and Omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth appear strange and unjustified. L. T. Hobhouse in ‘Morals in Evolution’ part II (1906) pp. 130 ff points out how all systems with a personal God, particularly Christianity, are beset with difficulties, such as making the problem of evil urgent, eternal punishment for a great sinner in one life suggestive of a moral impossibility, the inescapable conclusion that all men, however good, that did not or could not or do not believe in Christ and are not members of the Christian Church by baptism are irrevocably doomed. That
Christianity is unique and that Christians are God’s chosen people are beliefs which would make God appear quite unjust and therefore some Christian writers like Prof. Toynbee in ‘Christianity among the religions of the world’ (Oxford Un. Press, 1958) have begun to urge that Christianity must be purged of such beliefs (pp. 13 and 95).

The strict doctrine of Karma would require that there can be no transfer of good or bad *karma* from one man to another and a man cannot suffer for the sins of others. But in the Rgveda there are allusions to the belief that God might inflict punishment on the sons for the sins of their fathers. For example, in Rg. VII. 86. 5 Vasistha\(^ {2577} \) prays to Varuna ‘cast away from us the transgressions of our fathers, and those that we committed in our own person’; ‘May we not have to suffer for the sin committed by another, may we not do that for which you punish (this is addressed to Viśve-devāḥ). The Śāntiparva, however, asserts ‘whatever deed a man does in four ways viz. with eye, with thought, speech or action, he receives (in return) that same kind of action; a man does not enjoy (i.e. experience the results of) the good deeds or evil deeds of another; man attains (a result) in consonance with the actions done by himself’.\(^ {2578} \)

Similarly, in the Gṛdhra-gomāyu-saṁvāda, it is asserted ‘the son does not have to go by the path due to the actions of the father, nor *vice versa*, they being bound by their own respective good or evil deeds proceed each by a different path’. Whatever deed a man does, whether holy or very unholy (terrible), the consequences of that are experienced by the doer alone, what have the relatives to do with that’ (Śāntiparva 153. 38 and 41 = cr. ed. 149. 34 and 37).

Modifications of this doctrine were early introduced. The Gaut.\(^ {2579} \) Dh. S. provides that the king should guard all the

\(^{2577}\) अद्यतना पिताय सुता नोरव य वर्त्य चृद्धमि सत्तूमि। ऋ. VII. 86 5; मा ब एहो अनश्चुतं मृतम य तत्काम वसवी यथाचे। ऋ. VI. 51. 7; ऋ. VII. 52. 2 practically repeats this ‘मा वो मृतजातयाजायें मा तत्काम वसवी यथाचे॥’

\(^{2578}\) चुक्ता मनसा वाचा कर्मं न च चुक्तिधरू। कुलने याहां कर्म ताहां पालिकायें॥ नायं परस्पर सुकुल्तं चुक्तिचं चापि सेठते। करोति याहां कर्म साहि पालिकायें॥ शालिकर्म 279. 15 and 21 ( = 290. 16, 22 of Ch. ed.)

\(^{2579}\) Vide also शालिकर्म 287. 28 (= ch. ed. 298. 30); वर्णनाथमान्य स्यासतीभविषयेत्। चतुर्दशितानि सध्यमेव रथपन्तः। प्रमस्य हस्यभावभक्तिः। मा। XI 9-11.
varnas and ástramas according to Śāstra and if they swerve from their duties he should make them follow their duties, since he gets a share of the dharma (merit) observed by them. Manu provides (VIII. 304-305, 308) that the king who protects his subjects secures the sixth part of the (spiritual) merit of all (his subjects), but if he does not guard them he also shares in the sixth part of their adharma (sin); the king who protects well is entitled to the sixth part of the merit of the Veda study, the sacrifices, the gifts, and of the worship of gods done by all subjects; that king who takes as his one-sixth part of the crops and other products, but fails to guard the subjects is declared (by sages) as receiving all the sins of all his subjects'. Manu says elsewhere (in IX. 301) that the king is the Yuga, that his actions may bring in Kṛta or any of the other Yugas. Kālidāsa in Śakuntala echoes this idea.\textsuperscript{280} Manu (in VIII. 316) provides that when a thief comes to a king, confesses his guilt and asks the king to punish him with a heavy staff or a sharp weapon and the king either punishes him or lets him off, the thief is freed from (the effects of) the sin, but the king incurs the guilt of the thief if he does not punish him. To the same effect is Vasiṣṭha 19. 46 and 20. 41. It was stated by Manu (III. 100) that all the merit of even a man who lives a plain life by subsisting on grains left in the field after the crops are garnered and who performs homa in the five fires (to be kept by an householder) is taken away by a brāhmaṇa guest who stays unhonoured by him. Śāntiparva, Viṣṇu Dh. S. and several Purānas provide that\textsuperscript{281} when a guest, being disappointed (in getting food), turns away from the house of a person, the guest goes away taking all the merit of the person and transfers to him all his own misdeeds. This was probably not meant to be taken literally. It is only an arthavāda (in the language of the Mīmāṃsā) and merely exhorts a householder to honour a guest properly. The exhortation addressed by the judge to a witness before the latter began to depose contains in Yāj. the following

\textsuperscript{280} \textsuperscript{281}
verse 2582: 'whatever good deeds you performed in hundreds of existences, all that will go to that party whose defeat you will bring about by your false evidence.' The Mit. and Aparārka both say that this is meant only to frighten and quote a verse of Nārada (ṛṇādāna 200) in support 'he (the judge) should frighten them (from telling lies) by citing ancient dharmaśāstra texts, by recounting the greatness of truth and by censuring falsehood.' Manu (VIII, 90), however, makes the exhortation run as follows 'Whatever good deeds you performed from your birth, the merit of all of them would go to dogs if you will depose falsely'. Manu XII. 81 says 2583 'with whatever disposition of mind (either sāttvika or rājasa or tāmasa) a man does an act he reaps the fruits thereof (in a future life) in a body endowed with the same character.'

The Bhagavadgītā, apart from the fact that knowledge of reality destroyed the effects of all deeds, emphasized at the end the path of singleminded devotion (bhakti) to God and surrendering all one's acts and their fruits to Him 'giving up all the various paths, come to me alone as your refuge; don't grieve, I shall release you from the consequences of all evil deeds, if any, of yours'. 2584

As regards husband and wife, the Dharmaśāstra works say a good deal but all that is said should not be taken literally. For example, Manu (V. 164–166) states 2585 'by playing false to her husband (i.e. by adultery) the wife is censured in this world, she becomes (after death) a female jackal and is tormented by evil diseases (such as leprosy). That woman controlling herself in thought, word and deed, who does not play false to her

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2582 शुचि पश्चया किचिद्जन्मान्तरनात्: दृश्यां | तस्मव तर्य जानाहि यं पराजयस्ये सुभा || य ॥ ७ ।।

2583 याहोऽूऽ भागेन योगस्तम्भ निष्टवे । याहोऽूऽ यशोरिव लपलवस्य पाश्चात्यतं ॥ मनु XII. 81.

2584 सर्वधर्मांग्रेश्य सामवेक हरणेषु । अर्थ त्वा सर्वधर्मां गोविन्दवासयमि सा शुचि ॥ भगवद्गीता 18.63। Here dharma does not mean 'religion' but paths which are deemed to lead to man's goal and many of which are set out in Sāntiparva 342.10–16 ( = Ch. ed. 354.10–16 ), such as mokṣhdharma, yajñadharma, rājadharma, ahimsādharma. The last verse in that chapter is 'एवं ब्रह्मविदेश्यः समाधैति ॥ समाय महात्मागताः ममपि नामतुरातु ॥'

2585 मनु V. 164–165 are repeated in मनु IX. 30, 29.
husband, resides in the same world (heaven) as her husband, and is called a virtuous wife. A woman restrained in thought, word and deed, secures by such conduct (as is laid down for her) in this life highest renown and residence with her husband in the next world. For hyperbolical descriptions of the power of a chaste wife (pativrata) in the great epic and Purânas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 567–568. A verse cited there may be repeated here ‘just as a snake-charmer forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a chaste wife snatches away her husband’s life from the messengers of death and reaches heaven with her husband’. This is also an arthavāda but it probably reflected the popular ideas of those times.

The Mahābhārata has certain interesting verses on the transference of the effects of karma to one’s descendants. The Adiparva states ‘if the consequences of sin are not seen affecting the perpetrator, they will surely be seen in the sons or grandsons’. This again is an arthavāda.2586

It was believed that punishment by the king for a sinful deed (like a theft &c.) liquidated the consequences of the sin, made the offender pure and enabled him to reach heaven as men of good deeds do.2587

It is difficult to reconcile the doctrine of Karma and punarjanma with the system of Śrāddhas in which balls of rice are offered to the three paternal ancestors of the performer of śrāddha. This subject has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 335–339. The offering of balls of rice to the spirits of the departed male ancestors was in vogue in the times of the Veda probably and even before the Vedas and the theory of Karma and Punar-janma arose later and as people were not prepared to give up the theory of śrāddhas, they kept both.

The popular idea of the last thought at one’s death leading to a future birth appropriate to that thought in spite of a life of sin and iniquity is an interference with the working of the law of Karma and transmigration. This notion has been dealt with

2586. नाथमेधयिनी ... कुन्तली || पुरुषव वा नूषुव वा न चौद्रामविन पर्याति || फलशयं प्रव यं पर्याति || आदि 80: 2–3; the first has been quoted above on p. 1561 note 2532; to the same effect is ज्ञान 139.22 (= cr. ed. 137.19) पर्याति क्लेत कियिन तस्मिन न हृष्यते || सुपृष्ठ दुष्टुप वैतेष्यविन च नूषुव्

2587. राजामि: कृष्णवधास्यु कृष्ण पापायनी माधवा: स नित्यत: सर्वरामायनिन सत: जूस्तिनो पथा || महा VIII. 318 = वसिष्ठ 19.45 (reads भूतदण्डास्तु).
above (pp. 972-973) where it has been pointed out that that
notion is not supported by the Bhagavadgītā (VIII. 5-7).

Apart from the Upaniṣads (and commentaries thereon), the
Vedāntaśūtras (and the bhāṣyas thereon) and the Bhagavad-
gītā, there are very few regular treatises on the doctrine of
Karma and re-incarnation. One work comparatively early in
date is the Vijnānādipikā of Padmapāda (said to be the same as
the favourite pupil of the first Sankarācārya) in 71 verses
(edited with a commentary and Introduction by M. M. Dr.
Umesha Mishra, Allahabad, 1940) which deal with the means of
achieving mokṣa by realizing the identity of the individual self
and the Supreme Self (they being like the reflection and its
original) and by annihilating karma. Some of the important
verses in it have been adduced above in the notes. That work
(verse 9) compares sañcītyamāna-karma to grain standing
in the field, sañcita to grain stored in one’s house and prārabdha-
karma to food put in one’s stomach. The food put in one’s
stomach is exhausted by its being digested which takes some
time. Therefore, Karma of the sañcita and sañcītyamāna types
is annihilated by correct knowledge, while prārabdha karma
by undergoing its results for some time. It emphasizes that it
is Vairāgya (extreme non-attachment to objects of sense) that
leads to the rise of correct knowledge of Reality, to the elimina-
tion of vāsanās (unconsciously working impressions), to the
annihilation of Karma and to cessation of rebirth.

Another work is the Janma-marana-vicāra of Bhatta
Vāmadeva (published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
vol. 19, 1918 A. D.). It is a small work in 25 pages. It
appears to belong to the Kashmir Śaiva cult. It states that Śiva
has three Śaktis, Cit-śakti (which is of the nature of light or
consciousness), Svātantrya (free will, independence) and

2588. उभयोऽधोऽति, नाहोऽधोऽति भगात्मावस्थयकर्मणि। केशातांश्वरश्वाशनामशनाधिव
तन्त्रित। परार्थायाज्ञानसमस्कर्तारायाज्ञानांकर्मण। वाराक्षयमीमांसाधककर्मनाधिकन्यायः।
विद् इति, verses 9 and 16. The com. remarks: केशवशिवमां संबायमान यूवाशिवमां
संबायम। उद्वर्णस्यमां गार्भवम। तत्र केशातांश्वरलोकविवर्णालिङ्गवत्ता कालाधिकारोपि
समभवति। उद्वर्णस्यमां हु भगात्मा कालाधिकाष्टीयम्।

2589. The ms. of this work was copied in Laukika year 4603 i. e. 1527
A. D. The author was a disciple of योगराजशाखाय, probably the same as
Yogarāja, who wrote a commentary on the Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta.
So he flourished probably about 1050-1100 A D. and at any rate
before 1500 A. D.
There are six kaṅcukas (sheaths, covers) viz. Māyā, Kāla, Śuddha-vidyā, Rāga, Kāla and Nīyantrā. On p. 15 it says that when the bodily machine is broken, consciousness, taking hold of prāṇana (breathing), is carried to another body by the Ātivāhika (subtle body). This latter body becomes like a vehicle between the body that lies dead and the next physical body. The work then quotes from a Kāśabhaśya three verses which support the theory of the antarābhavadeha (the intermediate body between the dead physical body and the future physical body) and also relies on Rg. X. 85. 16. It also quotes Bhagavadgītā 14. 14–15 (yadā sattve pravṛddhe tu &c) and says that those bodily states are referred to in such Vedic passages as ‘Paṅcāre cakre &c’ (Rg. X. 164. 13), in Kāṭhopaniṣad I. 6 (sasyam-iva martyrha pacyate), in ‘Vāsiṁsi jirṇāni’ (Gītā I. 22). He further says that by God’s grace a man becomes pure and by dikṣā and other means he understands his real character and reaches Śiva. It states that all men do not attain liberation, while those who hate (discard) dikṣā, temples and correct knowledge go to hell. There is very little discussion about the kinds of Karma and the removal of the effects of these.

There is another rather modern work called Prārabdha-dhūnta-samhitā (destruction of the darkness i. e. ignorance about prārabdha) composed in śaka 1741 (1819 A. D.) at Paṅcavati near Nasik by Acyutarāya Modaka, a learned and prolific writer. The only known ms. is in the Mysore Government

2590. V.S. IV. 3.4, is ‘ātivāhikās-tallīṅgāt’ and for ‘antarābhavadeha’,
vide Ślokavārtika (ātmavāda, verse 62 p. 704 q. above in n. 2254 p. 1376) and Ṣṭha. १. पद्माणिवाहिकम् नाम सहिरो वृत्तंतवद्विकृतस्वाते ज्ञानसत्तानसत्तायां
कल्याणेते सत्तायि विश्ववसिनः निराकृतानिर्निराकृतात्। अन्तरित।

2591. दृढेऽनो च कोणं वाक्यं सदा विषुं। अधिको चक्रं विधुर। तद्विदम् किश्विकुः।' क्र. X. 85.16. This literally means ‘O Sūryā (daughter of the Sun) two are thy wheels which the brahmanas (or priests) know as coming at proper seasons; one of the wheels is inside a cave and is known only to addhātis (wise men?).’ Acc. to Sāyaṇa here Sūryā addresses herself. The two wheels are the Sun and the Moon and the wheel in the 2nd half is a third one viz. the year. The Nighaṇṭu includes’ addhātaye among the twenty-four words meaning ‘medhāvin’ (III. 15). That word occurs only here in the whole of the Rgveda. The work explains ‘Sūryā’ as ‘ātivāhikī’ and takes ‘cakra’ as meaning ‘body’; two bodies would be ‘the present and the future body’ and it holds that addhātaye means ‘yogins’ and ‘gūhā’ (in the cave) suggests that one body cannot be seen but is only known to yogins. That one body is the ātivāhika body according to this writer.
Oriental Library and is in Kannada script. The present author got a Devanagari transcript of the Ms. through the kindness of the authorities of the Library.


The author Acyutarāya states that the work really means 'Prārabdha-vāda-dhvāntasamhṛti' (destruction of the darkness caused by the doctrine of prārabdha) and that all that he wants is to combat the false idea that all human acts from the moment of conception to death are governed by past deeds alone to the exclusion of everything else. He postulates that all human activity is due to prārabdha, to saṁskāras (sub-conscious or latent impressions or tendencies) and prayatna (human effort). He explains: the moment after the body dies, all the accumulated good and bad deeds set in motion by God become ready to yield their retribution (results) and that a good or evil deed (or both) that is strongest begins a suitable body. The birth is that of a brāhmaṇa or the rest when there is mixed good and evil as the strongest karma, as a lower animal when sin is strongest, as a godly birth when a good deed is strongest. The duration of life may be 100 years, less or more, and bhoga means experiencing pleasure or pain that is regarded as favourable or unfavourable. Then he launches on the discussion of pleasure (sukha) as threefold, viz. illusory (pratibhāsika), actual (vyāvahārika) or actual due to illusory pleasure. Pleasure is again ramya (beautiful) and priya (dear or liked). These two are not synonymous, since gold would appear beautiful to an ascetic but it is not dear to him. Then he divides what is priya into three kinds (or degrees). He divides each of the three kinds of pleasure into three varieties, which are passed over here. The preceding are classifications of pleasure that is 'Laukikakārya' (ordinary or common); but there are also other sukhas, viz. vaidika [fourfold such as pratikopaśana, āhāra (assumed) and vāsanātmaka

2592. भारतकारक: संस्कारकारक: प्रतिकारकक्रमकारणकारण कालिक प्रतिरूपकालिक: वैदिक-प्रतिक कृतमिव तत्त्व: परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरितानि सर्वपरिश्रमिताः प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययः परमेश्वरप्रेरि...
(as in sleep)]. This last he subdivides into three kinds (sāttvika, rājas and tāmasa) that are passed over. Pain (duḥkha) is
divisible in the same way as sukhā and the author illustrates the
different kinds of pain, that are left out here. Then the author
dilates upon the cause or causes of pleasure and pain (sukha
and duḥkha) that constitute man's experience on earth, which
causes are prārabdha (past karma that has begun to operate
and determines the body the soul secures), saṁskāra and
prayatna. 2593 He states that the bliss that a man feels
in meditation (samādhi) is due to prārabdha, the pleasure he
feels in deep sleep is due to saṁskāras 2594 and the pleasure
on the fall of rain after the performance of the Kārtti
(sacrifice) is due to human effort. From the Upaniṣad passages
it follows (says Acyutarāya) that in deep sleep there is no
desire, no karma and no fear and so the pleasure (expressed on
waking in the words 'sukham-ahamasvāpsam' (I had a happy
sleep) is not due to prārabdha but to saṁskāras. He relies on
the Br. Up. 2595 (IV. 4. 2) for holding this view (i.e. he takes
'pūrvaprājā' in that passage as equal to vīṣanā ('latent impres-
sions or reminiscences of past experiences'). The activities of
a person in past lives may be madhya 2596 (middling or moderate),

2593. एवमेवहारामचारः कथोंमें सप्तसापिन्यान्य: भोग: परामर्श: संस्कारत्: मच्छरत्न: भावति।
p. 14 of transcript.

2594. The चाण्डोग्योपनिषद् avers that in deep sleep man's soul loses personal
consciousness and becomes merged in the Sat (the True, brahma.). उधात्रात्
हाव: वेष्टकेतुः दुर्गलावः। स्वात: में सोयः विद्वानाः। प्राणेनसुध: स्वर्ग: प्राणा सवा सबोऽधि
तत्र सङ्केतकेन संविदायत्तेति। भाषा, VI, 8.1. In स्वर्ग:। स्व का means 'his own i.e. Self', विद्वानत represents अतीत (absorbed).
अयोगी or अपराष्य means तत्र. The ए. श्र. I. 1.9 (स्वात्यात्भ) और IV. 4.16 are
based on this Chāṇḍogya text; compare हुसू. उप. IV. 3.19 यथा 'सूती न कन्चन कामे
कामयते न कन्चन द्वम परयति।' 2595. तत्त्वाकामलं गण्योसुकामलं। . . . तं विद्वानार्थमेति समस्तवर्भेते पूर्व ज्ञात च। हुसू.
उप. IV. 4.2, quoted by अस्सुदराम on p. 16 of the transcript. एद्भाराचार्य explains:
तं परलोकाय गत्यं नासमानवं ... विद्या च कर्म च ... विद्या सवार्या विद्या निःसर्गि: च अविभिः अतिभिः
च तस्मात् कर्म स्वतंत्रते परे परे पञ्चाशिच: च अविभिः अतिभिः च समस्तवर्भेते ... । पूर्वमेवं।
पूर्वायुनात्पिता प्रथा पूर्वमेते आत्मविज्ञानालाभानांनाशास्त्रादि।।
ए. श्र. III. 4.5 and 11 refer to this passage and explain it. अस्सुदराम quotes a
verse: कर्मात् तपस्यायां संसारां च पुरुषोऽपि । पूर्वमेवं। (which is हुसू. उपाधाराचार्यार्थि:
आत्मवादित p. 1743, verse 118) p. 17 transcript. पूर्वमेव (knowledge or acquaintance with former things) is postulated
for explaining the peculiar genius or deficiency observed in children.

2596. एवं मदभवन्तीस्वतेन्द्रियमाध्यमिकञ्जनानां जन्मातरीयकन्यायेश तत्सत्पत्ति
तत्र विद्वानालाभिकर्मोपदेशसंग्रहः पूर्वे मथम्। एवं विद्वान-सत्त्विक हिप्पासानसमवि
(Continued on next page)
manda (inferior), tivra (formidable). A good deed which is three parts sattvika and one part rajas is called madhya; a deed which is half sattvika and half rajas is tivra. Then Acyutarāya refers to a conflict of views. Following the words 'pūryo vai pūnyena karmāṇa bhavati pāpah pāpena' (Br. Up. III. 3. 13 quoted in note 2510 above), some writers held that it is only Karma that is the cause of a new birth and that vidyā (knowledge of all kinds) and pūrvaprajnā have nothing to do with it, while others relying on Br. Up. IV. 4. 2 (to which reference is made in the Saṃkṣepaśāra Rāka III. 18) held that Vidyā, Karma and Pūrvaprajnā have all to do with the assumption of a new body by the soul. Acyutarāya agrees with this latter view. He divides and subdivides Karma, vidyā and pūrvaprajnā, so that ultimately the threefold apparatus for giving a new body comes to 96 varieties and remarks that these divisions are not of much use. To the objection that all this refutation of prārabdhavāda is idle and serves no purpose he replies: men are of three sorts, mukta (liberated), mumukśu (desirous of liberation) and viṣayin (immersed in enjoying the objects of sense). As regards the first the Chāṇ. Up. VI. 14. 2 says 'for him there is delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body), then he will be perfect.' The same is relied upon in V. S. IV. 1. 19. The idea being that until prārabdhakarma that brought about the body in which Realisation was attained is done away with by the death of the body, the self is jīvanmukta, but his other karma that has not begun to yield fruit is done away with by Realisation. To the same effect is Bhagavadgītā.

Acyutarāya quotes thirteen verses from Vārtikasāra about Vāsanā (pūrvaprajnā), Karma and Vidyā (pp. 31–33). He

(Continued from last page)

किसिमीप्रयुक्त तीव्रार्थिति p. 18 transcript. There is some mistake in making this transcript. Probably a line is omitted. What is half Sattvika and half Rājasa and slightly affected by viscoseness should be called manda and tivra should be described as one part sattvika and three parts rajas and predominantly sinful.

2597. एवदिहतिमानिं दु पुरुषायां तददिहितर्भस्य समय्येवादिनिः सिद्दर्थवादिनिश्चर्योजनलाव्य नेम विविषयनेत्र. p. 29 (transcript).

2598. तथ तत्तदेव सचिव पुरुष विमोक्षयथं समपत्रये इति। चा. उप. VI. 14.2. विमोक्षयथं and समपत्रये are in the first person singular. The father Aruni instructs the son Śvetaketu. When he reaches the stage of describing the step of Mokṣa due to realisation he passes on to the first person from the third and states about himself 'I shall become mukta and perfect at that stage.'
quotes the *Jivanmuktiviveka* on the three means of jivanmukti viz. *tatvajñāna* (knowledge of the Reality as enunciated in 'Tat-tvamasi' Chān. Up. VI. 8. 7, 'Aham brahmāsmi' Br. Up. I. 4. 10), *manonāśa* (disappearance of the activities of the mind) and *Vāsanākṣaya* (destruction of the instincts of anger &c.). Then he gives a lengthy disquisition on the condemnation of prārabdhavāda and the superiority of effort from the Vaiśītha-Rāmāyāna. About *mumukṣu* Acyutarāya advises going to a guru as laid down in *Mundakopaniṣad* I. 2. 12 (tadvijñānārtham sa gurumevābhīgacchet &c.).

The present author has read either wholly or partially the following modern works, mostly written by Western scholars on Karma and rebirth, that either offer remarks for or against that doctrine. The space at the author’s disposal precludes any detailed statement about the objections raised against this doctrine in some of them. But a few important objections will be stated and will be briefly dealt with. The works read or consulted are: "Philosophy of the Upanishads" by Paul Deussen, translated by A. S. Geden (1906) pp. 313-338; J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp. 586-593 and for 1907 pp. 665-72 on modifications of the doctrine of Karma by E. W. Hopkins; ‘Transmigration of souls’ by Alfred Berthelot, translated by H. J. Chaytor (Harper, London, 1909); ‘Karma and redemption’ by A. G. Hogg (ed. of 1910); ‘Religion and immortality’ by G. Lowe Dickinson (Dent, 1911); ‘Re-incarnation’ by E. D. Walker (Rider and Co., London, 1913); this book contains extracts from Western authors (22 in number) on re-incarnation (pp. 63-124); there is also a long chapter (pp. 127-191) of extracts from Western Poetry on the same subject; he also deals with evidences of the doctrine in the Bible and early Christendom and a Bibliography on pp. 329-343; ‘Fate and free will’ by Ardesar Sorabji N. Wadia (Dent and Sons, London 1915). He states the problem to be ‘whether fate by itself influences and directs the course of human evolution or freewill by itself or both fate and freewill working conjointly lay down the lines along which human progress must lie’. He states that it must be the one or the other and that it can never be both (p. 180). He himself believes in a fixed and determinist future; ‘Immortality’ essays on, by B. H. Streeter and others (Macmillan & Co. 1917); pp. 293-317 deal with re-incarnation and Karma by Miss Lily Dougall and pp. 317-341 deal with modern Theosophy which adopts the doctrines of re-incarnation and Karma; ‘Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads’ by A. B. Keith, vol. II. pp. 570-584; ‘Karma and re-
incarnation’ by Paul Yevtic (Luzac & Co., London, 1927); L’Ame et le Dogme de la Transmigration dans les Livres Sacrés de L’Inde ancienne’ by Eric de Henseler, Paris, 1928; ‘Some dogmas of Religion’ by McTaggart with Introduction by C. D. Broad (London, 1930 pp. 77–111 on ‘Human Immortality’), pp. 112–139 on human pre-existence, pp. 140–155 on Free Will; ‘Vicissitudes of karma doctrine’ by Prof. H. D. Bhattacharya in Malaviya Commemoration Volume (1932) pp. 491–526; ‘Reincarnation for every man’ by Shaw Desmond (Rider & Co., London). This work mentions in chap. VIII European great men that believed in this doctrine; ‘The scales of karma’ by Owen Rutter (London). This book contains numerous references to Greek and Roman writers and to modern English and German poets and philosophers from whose works extracts are cited for showing that they believed in Karma and reincarnation such as Shakespeare, Hume, Goethe, Wordsworth; ‘Indian Philosophy’, by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (1941) pp. 244–249; ‘The circle of life’ by Kenneth Walker (Jonathan Cape, London, 1942) chap. VIII and IX pp. 81–104; ‘Karma and re-birth’ by Christmas Humphreys (London, 1944); in chap. VII pp. 62–66 he tries to show that Schopenhauer, Tennyson, Browning, Rossetti and John Masefield, the English Poet Laureate, believe in this doctrine; ‘The problem of re-birth’ by Sri Aurobindo (Pondicherry, 1952); ‘The Brahmasūtras’ by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (1959), pp. 194–207 of the Introduction; ‘The dogma of re-incarnation’ by J. E. Sanjana (New Book Co., Bombay, 1954) pp. 1–134 with an Appendix on the rationale of the dogma of rebirth, pp. 137–157. This is one of the largest and latest works on ‘re-incarnation’ that the present author read. Mr. Sanjana writes bitterly and sometimes in offensive language about those from whom he differs. He asserts that he is a true Zoroastrian and that ‘it can be said without any exaggeration and with the most perfect reason and justice that a man who believes in re-incarnation is not a true Zoroastrian’ (p. 125). None need quarrel with his first belief, but the latter part of the sentence invites serious consideration. He appears to aver that he has a monopoly of the true doctrines of Zoroastrianism and like the Roman Church and the Popes, that held that the true religion was only in their keeping and that all others (even those who believed in the Bible and Christ) were damned, holds that Zoroastrians believing in re-incarnation are apostates. I shall cite only one or two Parsi scholars who hold just the opposite view. Mr. R. F. Gorvala contributed a paper on the “Immortal Soul, its pre-existence,
persistence after death and transmigration" to the Spiegel Commemoration Volume edited by no less a Parsi scholar than Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1908) pp. 99–124, in which he states (p. 124) 'that the Hindu doctrine of the transmigration of the soul influenced the faith of the ancient Zoroastrians in all times. Indeed the struggle between Good and Evil could not end in the triumph of the former if but one brief life was the only time given for the fight.' Vide also 'Philosophy of Zoroastrianism' by Faredun K. Dadachanji (Bombay, Times of India Press, 1941) pp. 108–133, particularly pp. 116 ff. Mr. Sanjana seems to have been much upset by the fact that some Parsis, who were scholars of Avesta and Sanskrit, became Theosophists and admirers of Mrs. Besant and other famous personages in the Theosophist movement. Nearly half the main book of 129 pages is concerned with the criticisms (sometimes extremely offensive) of the doings and writings of Madame Blavatsky (pp. 28–42), Mrs. Besant (pp. 43–51), C. W. Leadbeater (pp. 57–59), A. P. Sinnett and others (like Col. Olcott and Mr. K. A. K. Iyer, author of 'Vedanta'), W. Q. Judge and a Gujarati book of an unnamed scholar (pp. 59–73). On pp. 82–88 he deals with McTaggart, G. L. Dickinson and W. Lutosowski (Polish writer who claims that he remembers his many past lives). Mr. Sanjana returns (pp. 89–103) to the charge against the Theosophists and the storms and eruptions in the Theosophical society and considers some works on Sufism also (pp. 106–115). He emphasises the good points of Zoroastrianism as certified by W. B. Henning, J. W. Waterhouse and Hopkins. He does not devote much thought to the objections, more or less insuperable, against all monotheistic religions with a personal God in such works as Hobhouse's 'Morals in Evolution' part 2, though in the appendix (on p. 140) he has to admit that no satisfactory answer can be given to the question why an omnipotent and omniscient God should allow Evil to exist. He contrasts Zoroaster's religion and philosophy with Hinduism and Buddhism and winds up with an article by Winternitz (pp. 119–121) and then ends on an illuminating personal note in which he confesses (p. 126) that he in his youth was particularly attracted by the doctrine of re-incarnation eloquently propounded by Mrs. Besant, but later he became sceptical about what was said by Mrs. Besant. Neophytes generally indulge in opprobrious language for the cult once ardently professed by them and later abjured and Mr. Sanjana seems to be no exception to this. I may mention here only one or two instances of his language against Theosophists;
on p. 64 he speaks of Blavatsky, Mrs. Besant, Sinnett and Leadbeater as “proved charlatans” and on p. 95 he writes about Mrs. Besant’s entry into Politics as “these later metamorphoses of the megalomaniac Mrs. Besant”. It appears to the present writer that his study of original Sanskrit works is not deep and that he commits serious mistakes in the small portion of his work that he devotes to the ancient Indian view of the doctrine of re-incarnation. His wrong interpretation of Manu VI. 63 (p. 10 of his book) has been pointed out (on p. 1565). Some more cases of mistakes may be cited here. On p. 11 of his book he relies on Thibaut for the statement that there is nothing in the sūtras (the Vedānta-sūtras) to warrant the main doctrine of Śaṅkara about two Vidyās, the higher (parā) and the lower (aparā), which respectively lead to the higher (para) brahma and the lower (apara) brahma. If he had carefully read only a few of the eleven principal Upanisads (the Īsāvāsa, Kena, Katha, Muṇḍaka, Praśna) he would have found for himself that Thibaut is not a trustworthy guide in all cases. The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (I. 1. 4–5) speaks of two vidyās, parā and aparā ‘dve vidyā veditavye parā ca, aparā ca, atha parā yaya tadaksaram adhigamyate’ and this Muṇḍaka text is treated as the basis of Vedāntasūtra I. 2. 21–23 by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. The Praśna Upaniṣad 2 states both para and aparā brahma ‘etadvai Satyakāma param cāparam ca brahma yad-omkārah’. On pp. 21, 121, 146 he alleges that the words “yadhahareva virajet tadahareva pravrajet” (a man should become a sannyāsin the very day on which he feels disgust for this worldly life) are a dictum or saying of Śaṅkara. But this text is taken from the Jābalopaniṣad 4. The whole passage of the Jābalopaniṣad 4 on the āśramas is quoted by Śaṅkara on Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 20 and Śaṅkara calls it Jābalāsruti. On p. 22 Mr. Sanjana quotes Bhagavadgītā (IX. 32, ‘mām hi pārtha vyapāśritya yepi syuḥ pāpayonayāḥ, striyo vaisyās-tathā śudrās-tepi yānti param gatim) and holds that women, vaiṣyas and śudras are declared to be included under ‘pāpayonayāḥ’ (of evil or sinful birth). This is quite wrong. A Vaiśya from very ancient times belonged to the three higher classes and in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad V. 10. 7, it is expressly stated that Vaiśyayoni is of good birth (those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brahmaṇa or of a kṣatriya or of a vaiśya, but those whose conduct has been evil will attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a cāndāla’. So vaiśya’s was good
birth in Chān. Upaniṣad. Women of the higher classes could not study the Veda in medieval times but women of the three higher classes co-operated with their husbands in all religious rites (including Vedic sacrifices). Therefore, the Gitā first mentions the worst case viz. that of Cāndālas and affirms that even Cāndālas (who belonged to the lowest class) would attain the highest goal if they surrendered themselves as devotees to God and then adds three more classes of people viz. women, vaiśyas and śūdras. A Śūdra was never among untouchables; on the contrary, early Smṛtis like Manu VI. 253, Yājñavalkya I. 166, Parāśara XI. 19 provide that a brāhmaṇa could take food at the house of a śūdra provided the latter was born of his slave woman or cultivated the brāhmaṇa's fields on the rent of half share of crops or was the friend of his family or tended his cattle or was his barber. In medieval times (after the 5th or 6th century A.D.), however, the caste system became more rigid but even up to the 12th century A.D. a brāhmaṇa could take food at a śūdra's house in extreme calamity (vide History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. III, pp. 952–53). Thereafter this was forbidden and was included among Kalivarjya acts. The vaiśyas are probably equated with women and śūdras because in their pursuit of wealth they never cared to study the Veda and Upaniṣads. Other passages of Mr. Sanjana's work are not cited for criticism for reasons of space.

Some of the objections raised by Western thinkers and writers against the doctrine of Karma and re-incarnation will now be mentioned and briefly dealt with. One or two preliminary matters have to be emphasized. Many in the West regard our life after the death of the bodies as certain, but hardly anyone of them regards our life before our present bodies as a possibility. The explanation of this attitude of many Western thinkers lies in the fact that in modern Western thought the great support of the belief in immortality of the soul has been the Christian religion, which is supposed not to recognize the pre-existence of the soul. Besides, Christian writers from Augustine onwards firmly believed that religious truths outside the revelation in the Bible as interpreted by them were a work of the devil. McTaggart in 'Some Dogmas of religion' (London, 1930) attacks this attitude. He holds (p. 113) that any evidence which will prove immortality will also prove pre-existence and that there is nothing in pre-existence that is incompatible with any of the dogmas that are generally accepted as fundamental
to Christianity.' L. P. Jacks in 'Near the brink' (Allen and Unwin, London, 1932, pp. 10-11) holds the same opinion (at the age of 92) as McTaggart's. Wordsworth in his famous Ode appears to agree that the present life is preceded by another existence when he says 'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting, the soul that rises with us, our life's star, had elsewhere its setting and cometh from afar.' L. P. Jacks in the work mentioned above remarks (on p. 9) that an endless punishment is not, strictly speaking, a punishment at all but an exercise of cruelty or vengeance and that the same is true of an endless reward.

The first objection raised against the doctrine of Karma by Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of immortality' (Oxford, 1922) is that absence of memory of the pre-existence is fatal to it (p. 112) and that immortality without recollection is quite useless. Miss Lily Dougall in 'Immortality' by Canon Streeter and others raises a similar objection (p. 29). This objection can be answered in various ways. Does any one remember anything of what one did during the first two years of his life? It is also well-known that men do not correctly remember in old age even the names of their grand-children nor does a man remember what he did exactly ten years ago during his present life. It is rather merciful that there is no memory of past lives. If all the multifarious memories of many lives were to crowd on us in the present life, our minds would be confused and matters in the present life would be very much complicated. Karma is a cosmic law like the law of gravitation. The latter was not recognized by humanity for thousands of years but all the same it existed and worked. Several people claim to remember their past lives. The story of Sántidevi was published as a case of re-incarnation by Lala Deshbhandhu Gupta, Pandit Nekiram Sharma, and Tarachand Mathur. The 'Theosophist Monthly' for January 1925 mentions concrete instances of the memory of past lives. 'The lives of Alcyone' (Adyar, 1924) is a work in two volumes by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Leadbeater in which 48 lives are traced from 70000 B. C. to 624 A. D. with photographs of some of them as they must have appeared in the respective incarnations. The present author does not go into that question here. In the Essays on Immortality edited by B. H. Streeter it is said (on p. 297) that lack of conscious continuity between two incarnations of a soul negatives the doctrine. One may ask: what grounds are there to hold or to prove that the reprobate criminal who will be awarded a judgment of eternal punish-
ment will remember while undergoing hell fires his past life on earth? If one can believe in future eternal punishment for a confirmed sinner without any tangible evidence of memory of the sinful life he lived, why refuse to believe in pre-existence merely on the ground of absence of memory? Vide 'Some Dogmas &c.' p. 130. Further, science holds that matter and energy are indestructible, they are only transformed into other forms. Why should one regard it as absurd if one were to hold that the soul (to which post-existence is granted by Christianity and some other religions) should be held to come into existence in the present life all at once and not be held to have had previous existence but only in a different form? The continuity of the soul in past and future existences is merely a metaphysical question and cannot be affected by the loss of memory. The latter occurs in one life of many years as to numerous happenings and at least in that one life the soul is admittedly one throughout.

Another objection is on the ground of heredity. We often find a strong likeness between parents and children in body and sometimes in mental faculties also. How are we to explain this? One answer may be that by some law not yet discovered the soul that has to undergo rebirth is born to parents suited to his condition. Besides, children are not exactly like their parents, some resemble in several physical features the mother or the father, but not in all and children of the same parents differ among themselves even as regards physical features. As regards mental qualities, children do not very often resemble their parents. What sort of mental equipment was possessed by the parents of such men of genius as Shakespeare, Newton, Ramanujan, Einstein? Karma does not express what a man inherits from his ancestors, but it expresses that which he inherits from himself in some previous state or states of existence.

Another objection is often raised that belief in the doctrine of Karma would make men callous to human misery and suffering and unwilling to help. This also is a perverse idea. From the ancient Vedic times charity and compassion have been inculcated as the duties of all men without distinction. The Rgveda (X. 117. 6) sage declares 'that man who cooks food for himself and eats it himself alone simply incurs sin' (kevalâgho bhavati kevalâdā). The Br. Up. V. 2. 3 prescribes for all men the three duties viz. self-restraint, charity and compassion. If
a man having the means to help another does not offer help he would be failing in his duty. It is possible that the result of the sufferer’s Karma might have been meant to be mitigated by the kindness of helpers.

Another objection is sometimes raised as follows. The population of the earth is growing rapidly. The question is: where do the additional egos come from (vide Berthelot’s work, English tr. p. 127 and J. E. Sanjana’s book on the ‘Dogma of re-incarnation’ p. 81). Several answers are possible. Several species of lower animals have become extinct and the number of wild animals such as the lion is rapidly being reduced. It is possible for one who believes in Karma doctrine to argue that the selves that were masquerading as beasts now appear as human beings, because their Karma that reduced them to the state of beasts has been exhausted.

Some of the Purāṇas declare that a man who is very sinful may reach lower and lower states e.g. the Vāyupurāṇa2599 (chap. 14 verses 34–37) provides that a very sinful man may become paśu (cattle or a beast), then deer, then a bird, then a creeping insect and then a tree or other immobile object. Theosophists and some modern scholars hold that once the human state is reached there is no regression at all. It may be noted that the Kathopaniṣad expressly states (in V. 6–7) that after the death of the body the souls take up birth in other bodies, while some become tree-trunks according to their actions and knowledge. The Ch. Up. V. 10. 7 says ‘those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or hog or cāndāla.’ Manu (XII. 9) avers that a man is reduced by bodily sins to the stage of a tree-trunk, by sins due to speech to being a bird or a beast and by mental sins to lowest births (of a cāndāla etc.). In verses 62–68 of chapter XII, Manu describes the different births of various animals by the commission of thefts of various articles and in verses 52–59 the births due to the grave sins of brāhmaṇa-murder, drinking liquor, incest. The Yājñavalkya Smṛti (III. 213–215) also contains provisions similar to Manu XII. 53–59. The Yogasūtra II. 13 also suggests that the retribution for various sins results in being

2599. कर्मण दत्तार्य वाच्य पयुधवेष्यं निषिद्धस्य। तत्वादिन हृदार्यं तस्माच्छत्रायस्यरूपं॥ पालकक्षमं यो दलवर्णयं पूर्वं कर्मणं देश्यते। संसारं तत्तत्त्वं तावद्व पद्धेतिः प्रतिवादः॥ मातृपुषु शयुभां च चर्याशुभार्यात्मां भवते। दुमाश्चावतिः प्रभु॥ तत्स्यायनर्गुणोविर्ययोः स्थायां न संज्ञयः॥ बायोः १४. ३४–३७.
born in low births or dying prematurely or experiencing misery and suffering.

It is rather difficult to regard all this body of authority as mere arthavādas (not meant to be taken seriously but intended only to frighten intending sinners). Dr. Radhakrishnan (in 'An idealist view of life' ed. of 1932) suggests that it is possible that rebirth in animal form is a figure of speech for rebirth as human beings with animal or beastly qualities (page 292).
SECTION X

The fundamental conceptions and characteristics of Hindu (Bharatiya) culture and civilization from the Vedic times to about 1800 A.D. and future trends.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Fundamental and leading characteristics of Hindu culture and civilization

It is necessary to gather together the threads scattered over six thousand pages of the History of Dharmashastra and to emphasize the fundamental and leading characteristics and conceptions of Hindu culture and civilization.

The word Hindu (in the form 'Hidu') appears to have been applied by the Persian Emperor Darius (522-486 B.C.) and Xerxes (485-465 B.C.) to the territory and people to the west and to the east of the great river Sindhu, while the Greeks referred to the people in the same region as 'Indoi', from which comes the word 'Indian'. Herodotus in his History (Loeb series) states that the Thracians were the biggest nation in the world next to the Indians (Book 5 para 3, vol. III p. 5) and that the Indians constituted the 20th province of the Persian Empire and paid 360 talents of gold dust as tribute. The word 'Sindhu' occurs more than two hundred times in the Rgveda alone in the singular as well as in the plural. The words 'Sindhavaḥ' and 'Sapta Sindhūn' occur more frequently than Sindhu in the singular. Indra is often described as having let loose the seven Sindhus for flowing (Rg. I. 32.12, II. 12.12, IV. 28.1, VII. 93.1, X. 43.3). In such passages what is meant is the great river Sindhu and its tributaries (or possibly its seven mouths).

2600. Vide the Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription of Dāraya-usb (Darius) and the Persepolis Inscription of Kshayārsha (Xerxes) in 'Select Inscriptions' edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, No. 4 p. 10 and No. 5 p. 12. Sanskrit 'sa' is changed to 'ha' even now in some parts of our country. The ancient Parsee scripture Vendidad (S.B.E. Vol IV p. 2) mentions sixteen lands out of which nine can be identified, the 15th being Hapta Hindu (Sapta Sindhu).
Many passages of the Rigveda where the singular is employed refer to the river Sindhu alone (as in Rg. II.15.6, IV. 30.12, V. 4.9 &c.). In Rg. II.15.6 it is said that Indra made Sindhu flow northwards. This would obviously refer to the first part of the river flowing northward from the Himalayas. Panini uses the word 'Sindhu' as the name of a country in IV. 3.93 ('Saindhava' means one who or whose ancestors lived in the Sindhu country). For the fluctuating limits of Aryavarta, vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 11–16 and p. 1525, note 2483 above, where Rg. passages about Bharatas are set out and it is shown that the Puranas speak of Bharata-varsa as of the same extent as that of modern India and the name is said to have been due to Bharata, son of Dusyanta and Sakuntala. Bharata-varsa occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khavavela (line 10 on p. 79) which cannot be assigned to a date later than the 1st century B. C. It has been shown above (p. 1016 n. 1649) that Asoka in one of his edicts refers to his kingdom as Jambudvipa. Even in these days in the rather long saṅkalpa (declaration) at the beginning of a religious act in Mahārāṣṭra, occur the words 'Jambudvipa Bharata-varṣa Baudhāvatāre Godāvarya dāksiṇe tīre' &c. Therefore, the proper word to be used by us for our country should be Bharata-varṣa. It may be said that our culture and civilization had throughout the past ages a geographical background. The Constitution of India has recognized this in its very first Article which runs 'India, that is Bharat, shall be a union of States'. In view of the fact, however, that the words 'Hindu' and 'Indian' have been employed for centuries by foreign as well as our own writers, this work will employ those words instead of 'Bharata-varṣa'.

The words 'culture' and 'civilization' are used as synonyms by some writers, while some others regard them as quite distinguishable. These two are defined in various ways by scholars. A few definitions are set out here by way of sample.

Dr. Tyler states (in 'Primitive Culture' vol. I p. 1, Murray, London, 1871) 'Culture or civilization is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and

2601. Vide E. I. vol. XX pp. 71–89. Scholars differ about the date of this Inscription, Jayaswal holding (ibid. p. 77) that it belongs to the first half of the 2nd century B. C., while N. N. Ghosh in J. G. J. R. I. vol. VI pp. 97–106 opines that it belongs to the last quarter of the first century B. C.
any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'. Matthew Arnold's definition of culture in his lengthy essay on 'Culture and Anarchy' (1869, Preface p. VIII) is rather restricted in scope. He regards culture as a 'pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world, and through this knowledge turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits which we know follow staunchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is a virtue in following them staunchly which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically'. Prof. P. A. Sorokin in 'Social and Cultural Dynamics' (1957, p. 2) defines human culture as 'the sum total of everything which is created or modified by the conscious or unconscious activity of two or more individuals interacting with one another or conditioning one another's behaviour. Prof. Edgerton in Journal of American Oriental Society in a paper on the 'Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian Culture' (vol. 62 for 1942 pp. 151-156) understands culture as a total way of life viewed as a norm and as such approved or at least tolerated by a people as a whole and by its articulate representatives generally.

Prof. Toynbee in 'Civilizations on trial' (1948) states (p. 223) 'I mean by a civilization the smallest unit of historical study at which one arrives when one tries to understand the history of his own country, U. S. A., say, or U. K.' Prof. Toynbee in his latest work 'Reconsiderations' (vol. XII pp. 76-77, of his Study of History) adopts Bagbey's definition of culture as meaning 'regularities in the behaviour, internal and external,

2602. Prof. Sorokin (ibid. pp. 24-25) distinguishes two types of integrated cultures, one called ideational and the other sensate. None of the two has, according to him, existed in the purest form. In some cultures the first type prevails, in others the 2nd; while in still others both might mingle in equal proportions and on equal basis. This last he terms 'idealistic type' (which is not to be confused with the ideational type). Dr. G. S. Ghurye's 'Culture and Society' (University of Bombay Publications, 1947) is a very useful book on culture and civilization and considers at length the views of eminent writers like Emerson, Arnold, Morley, Whitehead, Russell, Laski, Wells and others, Prof. Northrop in 'Meeting of East and West' (1946) and Prof. Sorokin in 'Social Philosophies in an age of crisis' (London, 1952) p. 145 hold that the total culture of a nation in the East or West is not a mere heap of numerous phenomena unrelated to each other but rather as grounded in differing philosophical conceptions of the nature of man and of the universe.
of the members of a Society, excluding those regularities which are clearly hereditary in origin and adds that 'religious practices and institutions and, by implication, also religious beliefs and experiences are certainly a part of culture as thus defined' and mentions religion together with art, technology, social structure as examples of the elements of which culture consists (pp. 84, 95). Prof. Toynbee further says that in his volumes he employed the word 'culture' in two different senses, viz. (1) the comprehensive one in which it is used by Bagby and (2) in an exclusive sense in which the word has been current in contemporary English since the time of Matthew Arnold (ibid. p. 272). As regards the word 'civilization' he remarks (p. 273) that civilization is a hybrid word of modern French coinage and Johnson refused to include it in his dictionary.

Archibald Robertson (in 'Rationalism in theory and practice', London, 1954 p. 62) says "when we use the word 'civilization', we mean a society with enough command over nature to raise it above savagery or barbarism. Civilization primarily means 'civitas,' city life, division of labour and consequent surplus production over and above mere animal needs." Vide Prof. J. Levi's book 'L' Inde et le Monde' p. 63 translated in H. Kraemer's 'World cultures and world religions' (London 1960) p. 315 where it is really a definition of Hindu civilization alone.

It is unnecessary to cite further definitions. We may accept any one of these for a working hypothesis. If a distinction is to be made between the two words, one may say that the word 'culture', being neutral in meaning, is the better one to use than the word 'civilization'. The latter word is often employed for an advanced stage of social development and is contrasted with the stage of primitive or barbarian societies. People often speak of primitive culture, but rarely, if at all, of primitive civilization.

During the last 6000 years of human history, several cultures and civilizations rose and fell. Spengler, a militarist and anti-rationalistic author, who does not rely on religion, morality or politics but is a votary of force, examines about thirty civilizations and cultures and propounds the thesis that all of them (except seven or eight) follow a certain common pattern, viz. they are born, grow, decline and die and that once defunct they are not revived. Prof. Toynbee, a Christian (and
Toynbee on Indian culture criticized

not a militarist) in his 'Study of History' appears to arrive at conclusions not unlike those of Spengler, viz. culture and societies have stages of childhood, maturity, senility and disintegration. On p. 758 of Volume IX of his 'Study of History' he gives a table for nineteen civilizations with the dates of their Epiphany (manifestation), of their breakdown and the span of growth phase in number of years. He puts down Indic civilization as starting in 1375 B. C. and as breaking down in 725 B. C. and Hindu civilization as beginning in 775 A. D. and its breakdown in 1175 A. D. This is, to say the least, most objectionable. The distinction between Indic and Hindu civilization is arbitrary and the dates also are so. Why the Hindu civilization is held by him as breaking down in 1175 A. D. is quite unconvincing and what was the nature or name of India's civilization between 725 B. C. and 775 A. D. is not stated by him. On the other hand, the whole metaphor of being born, growing, maturing and disintegrating is held inapplicable to civilizations by other distinguished writers, such as J. G. De Beus in the 'Future of the West' (London, 1953), who remarks that civilizations are not born and they do not die (p. 60), but are transformed or absorbed. Prof. Sorokin asserts (in 'Social and Cultural Dynamics') that his theory has little in common with the age-old theories of the life cycle of culture and societies with stages of childhood, maturity, senility and decay (p. 627). Leonard Woolf in 'Quack, quack' mercilessly criticizes Spengler's theories (pp. 139–160). A. L. Kroeber in 'Style and Civilizations' (New York, 1957) agrees with Prof. Sorokin and disagrees with Spengler and Toynbee and remarks that 'the study of civilizations can hardly become truly scientific or scholarly until it divests itself of emotional concern about crisis, decay, collapse, extinction and doom' (p. 160).

Among the numerous civilizations and cultures that flourished in the world there are only two (namely, the Indian and the Chinese) that have survived and kept up a continuity of tradition for four thousand years (if not more) in spite of recurrent invasions by foreign hordes like those by Persians.

2603. While these pages were passing through the press, I received Prof. Toynbee's 'Reconsiderations' (Vol. XII of his Study of History) on p. 184 of which he revises his opinion by saying 'the maintenance of the bramans' monopoly of the religious ministry gives Indian History a continuity throughout the period running from the Aryan invasion to the impact of the West'.

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Greeks, Scythians, Huns, Turks and notwithstanding internal conflicts and convulsions, India absorbed such people and made many Greeks, Sakas and other foreigners adopt the spiritual ideologies of India and found for them a place in the Indian social fabric (as has been and will be shown later). Not only so, India could spread its literature, religion, art and culture, not by invasions or annexations but mostly by peaceful means, viz teaching, translations of Sanskrit works and persuasion, to Ceylon, Burma, Sumatra, Malaya, Java, Bali, Borneo, China, Tibet, Japan, Mongolia and Corea. The charming island of Bali is still Hindu with four varnas, priests being called Pedanda (Pandita), consecrated water for worship being called Toya (vide S. Levi’s ‘Sanskrit texts from Bali’ Preface p. XIII G. O. S.), priests still repeating one quarter of Gāyatrī, viz. ‘bhargo devasya dhimahi’ (ibid. p. XV) and repeating the yajnopavitam mantra (yajnopavitam paramam etc.) in a corrupt form.

This persistence of Indian culture and civilization for several millennia requires an explanation and a consideration of the fundamental conceptions, values and characteristics of that civilization would enable us to offer a satisfactory one. Indian culture and civilization have a distinct personality and should not and could not be judged by purely European standards.


2605. The number of works and papers on the spread of Indian culture in South East Asia, China and what is called ‘Greater India’ or ‘Greater India’ is very large. A few only out of those that the author has read or consulted are mentioned here: Dr. R.C. Majumdar’s ‘Ancient Indian Colonies’ Vol. I and II; ‘Towards Angkor’ with 42 illustrations, 1937 and ‘Making of Greater India’ (London, 1951), both by H. G. Quaritch Wales, the latter containing a good Bibliography; ‘Śrī Vijaya’ by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1949, with an appendix of Inscriptions from 683 A. D. to about the 14th century A. D.; ‘Civilizations of the East’ by René Grousset, translated from French by Catherine A. Phillips with 249 illustrations, Vol. II on ‘India, Farther India and Malaya’ pp. 1–343. For China’s debt to India, vide Viśvabhārati Quarterly, Vol. II pp. 251–261 by Prof. Liang Chi Chao, who states that Hindu scholars that came to China from 8th century A.D. were 24 and Chinese scholars that went to India for study from 265 A. D. to 790 A.D. numbered 187 (the names of 105 out of these being ascertained); vide also ‘India and China’ by Prof. P. C. Bagchi (Hind Kitabs, 1950), particularly chapters II and III.
Conceit of nations about their Mission

Various peoples during past centuries had the conceit that they were far superior to others and had a mission to propagate. When the British empire became so extensive that the ‘Sun never set on it’, many British imperialists claimed (most hypocritically) that they were carrying on the ‘white man’s burden’ for the benefit and betterment of undeveloped and backward people (when British Imperialism was impoverishing to the utmost the people whom they governed by their colonial policies as will be briefly indicated later on so far as India is concerned). Russia claims that it has the mission to liberate the proletariat from capitalism and to bring about a Paradise on Earth. The Germans under Hitler believed that they belonged to the superior Nordic race and that they would save the world from communism. Such a conceit is not confined to the West. The Chinese believed that they alone were civilized. The Japanese hold that their Emperor is the son of Heaven. In these days some Indians also claim that spirituality existed nowhere except in India. It is quite correct to say that ancient Indian culture and civilization were based on great spiritual values. It would be entirely in the wrong to say that other people had no spirituality. All that we can at most say is that spirituality is more basic to Hinduism and was more diffused among Hindu people than anywhere else. The Manusmṛti provides that only those usages of varnas and mixed castes that are traditionally prevalent in the country of Brahmāvarta, in Kuruksetra, in the countries of Matsya, Pañcāla (the country called Doab) and Śūrasena (round about Mathurā) are spoken of as sadōcāra (II. 17–19) and that all men on the earth should learn their respective duties from brāhmaṇas born in those countries. The Manusmṛti excludes the countries of Madhyadeśa (as defined by it) and Āryāvarta from this provision (II 21–22). Recently, some people appear to rely on the words ‘kr̥ṇvantō visvam-āryam’ occurring in Rg. IX. 63. 5–6 and hold that the Veda has put forward the mission of our country as making the whole world ārya. But there is hardly any foundation for this conceit. These words occur about the offering of Soma juice (indavaḥ) to Indra. They only mean this—these Soma libations, brown in colour,2606 (pressed from Soma plant) increase (the

2605 A. Vide Leonard Woolf in ‘Barbarians at the Gate’ (London, 1939) p. 54 for saying that ‘white man’s burden’ was another name for economic imperialism and also p. 162.

2606. इयुः वर्धतो अतुरः कुवन्तो विभ्यमार्यम्। अपकस्तो अरामाः।। सुता अतु वर्मा

(Continued on next page)
might of) Indra, making the waters to fall (from the sky),
destroy hostile men coming to Indra, making all (the whole
environment) noble they reach their proper sphere.' There is
here no reference whatever to Vedic people making the whole
world Ārya. At the most these verses may be interpreted as
suggesting that Soma sacrifices to Indra would make the world
Ārya. Then there is no message in it which modern Indians
can give and spread. Soma plant itself became unavailable in
Vedic times and substitutes had to be utilized. And hardly any
solemn Vedic sacrifices have been performed for centuries in
India and very rarely, if at all, Soma sacrifices.

During the last four or five hundred years the Western
nations professing Christianity started on a career of conquest,
extploitation of undeveloped countries and peoples, colonial
empires, use of the discoveries of science for competitive pur-
poses, the amassing of wealth with such ideologies as those
expressed in the words 'everybody should be for himself and the
devil take the hind-most.' But the devastation and atrocities of
the last two world wars and the possibility of the annihilation
of the human race or a very large part of it by atomic warfare
have now opened the eyes of many thoughtful leaders and people
in the West that, if modern civilization is to be saved, they
must cultivate regard for spiritual values, love of righteousness
and justice, sympathy with the oppressed, and active belief in
the brotherhood of man. Though our ancient sages and lawgi-
vers laid great emphasis on spiritual values, a very large
majority of our people and so-called leaders have been wanting
in the practice of those values for centuries. Instead of merely
praising our past glories, the present author would humbly
request all educated Indians to be introspective and to ponder
over certain questions that are often asked and seek to find the
reasons for the loss of our freedom from the 13th century
onwards. (1) Why Hindus were generally found inferior to
the invaders, Persian, Greek, Scythian, Turk, English, even
though Indians far outnumbered and even though most invaders
were impressed by the courage and perfect indifference to death
on the part of India’s soldiers; (2) Why Hindus could not form

(Continued from last page)
a permanent organized State comprising the whole of India for many centuries; (3) why did they fail to take advantage of the splendid natural resources of India to excel in manufactures, commerce and industry. We must enter upon a thoroughgoing and honest inquiry into our past to find our own defects (political and others) that led to our fall for centuries and try to remove those defects as quickly as possible, now that Bhārata has won independence after centuries. There was no political unity of the whole of India till the British began to rule over the whole of India. There were constant wars among Hindu kingdoms and princes. For example, because the Marathas invaded Bengal, the Bengalis hated Marathas and were jubilant over the defeat of the Marathas by the British. We Indians hardly had any deep-seated feeling of all Indians being one people or of nationalism till the 2nd half of the 19th century A. D. This chapter cannot discuss at length the subject of the causes of the downfall of India, politically and in other respects. But a few remarks would not be altogether out of place here.

Hinduism is a combination of many systems and religious ideologies including Vedic ritualism, Vedaṇṭic thought, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śaktism and primeval cults, adapted to the requirements of different types of men and communities with great disparities of intellectual and spiritual attainments. There were only a few matters that would be said to have bound most of the Hindus to each other, viz. the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma, the unifying influence of the vast and venerated Sanskrit literature that gradually enriched the regional languages, the veneration in which the Vedas were held by all Hindus as the final authority in religious matters, though only a small minority could learn and understand them, the geographical unity of the country from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin emphasized by the Purāṇas and by the pilgrimages to holy places from Mānasa lake and Badrinath to Rāmeśvara. These few elements, however, were not enough to neutralize the causes that militated against effective unity amongst all Hindus. Most of the ācāryas and saints laid too much emphasis on other-worldliness and Vedānta and did not lay equal or greater emphasis on or recognize the importance of active and thorough performance of people's duties to themselves, to their families, and to society, the result being that many people, whether fit or unfit, tried to become otherworldly and did not actively pursue worldly values with righteousness. Another cause of disunity
and downfall was the great disparity between the high metaphysical teaching of the whole world being one and the treatment meted out to lower classes and untouchables, owing to ideas of exclusiveness, of purity and pollution by touch &c. The education of the masses was greatly neglected and the higher classes did not seriously mind who ruled the country as long as their life was not much disturbed. The great patriot and revolutionary Savarkar, hammered on seven fetters by which Hindu society was bound for centuries, viz. untouchability, prohibitions of several kinds viz. sea travel, of mutual dining among the hundreds of castes and subcastes, of intercaste marriages, of Veda study against several castes, prohibition against following certain occupations and prohibition against re-admission to Hinduism of people that were converted to other religious faiths by force, fraud or ignorance.

Our cultural history shows some central features which may be mentioned in one place here. The first is that there has been an unbroken religious tradition from the Vedic times almost to the present day. Vedic mantras are still employed throughout the whole of India in religious rites and ceremonies by all brāhmaṇas and by a large number of the members of castes claiming to be Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The Vedic gods are not entirely forgotten. Kindling of Agni is still required at the beginning of all rites; Viṣṇu (though not so frequently praised as Indra, Agni or Varuṇa, yet often enough, is praised in Rg. I. 22 16-21, I. 154. 1-6, I. 155. 1-6, VI. 69. 1-8, both Indra and Viṣṇu are praised in Rg. VII. 99. 1-7, Atharvaveda VII. 27. 4-9) and Siva (Rudra of the Rgveda, transformed a great deal yet highly praised in Rg. II. 16, II. 33,9, X. 92.9 where he is spoken of as Siva) are even now the principal deities worshipped. In the morning and evening Sandhyā worship, brāhmaṇas in many parts of India still repeat respectively verses addressed to Mitra (Rg. III. 59) and Varuṇa (Rg. I. 25). The second feature is that, India being a vast country (as large as the whole of Europe minus Russia), central authority in political power never existed (except perhaps for a short time under Aśoka). The ideal was that of supreme ruler (saṃrāṭ or cakravartin). But, if a king submitted, acknowledged the prowess of the successful conqueror

and paid some tribute, no samrāt troubled himself to look into the affairs of the kingdoms ruled by petty kings. There could, therefore, be no common front against a foreign invader, no uniformity in laws, customs and practices and there were frequent wars among kings and petty princes. A third feature was that there did not develop a serious clash of cultures, there was tolerance about varying ideologies and beliefs and constant adaptation to create harmony in diversity.

It makes one sad to find that not a single Hindu scholar resembling Alberuni came forward to enquire into the causes of the successful invasions of India by Mahmud of Ghazni and later hordes. Intellectuals were mostly engaged at least from the 11th century onwards in composing works of thousands of pages on such topics as Vrata, Dāna, Srāddha (as the very learned minister Hemādri did) or in mental gymnastics about logic, Vedānta, Poetics and similar subjects and appear to have bestowed little thought on finding means of meeting the onslaught of foreigners or the remedies for removing their own weaknesses and defects. There were also other causes of the downfall of Hindus. Our intellectuals did not or could not pursue and make their own discoveries of science and technology made in the world from the 15th century A. D. Shahaji purchased firearms from foreigners. Neither he, nor his great son Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire, started factories for the manufacture of up-to-date firearms and cannon. Similarly, our people did not properly appreciate the role of a powerful navy. If the Hindus or their rulers had possessed a powerful navy they would have been able to nip in the bud the ambitions of the Portuguese, the French and the English.

We must now set out the important characteristics of Hindu culture and civilization.

1. The most striking conception even as early as the Rgveda is that there is only one Reality or Essence, in spite of the fact that people speak of it or worship it as Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni &c. (Rg. I. 164. 46, VIII. 58. 1, X. 129. 2, q. above on p. 1487). In the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, in classical Sanskrit Poetry and even in medieval times, when there were various cults and schisms, such as the worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva or Sakti, almost all Hindus had an inner consciousness that God is one though called by various names; vide p. 118 note 306, p. 973 and note 1593 above, and Harivaimśa (Viṣṇuparva 25, 31), Kumārasambhava VII. 44.
2. From this conception arose the great tolerance that Hinduism at all times showed to freedom of thought and worship, which has been dwelt upon by the present author in H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 388 note 928, Vol. V. pp. 970-71, 1011-1018 (references to Asoka’s edicts and Yaj. I. 343 and numerous instances of Indian kings and donors of one persuasion making gifts to temples and institutions of other cults and persuasions); vide also Gitā 7. 21-22 and 9.23. To hunt down heretics, real or supposed, has been a favourite business of some religions²⁶⁰⁸ for centuries. This has been absent from Hinduism. Hinduism is not bound by any fixed creed nor does it rely on a single book²⁶⁰⁹ or a prophet as its founder. All that it requires is that man should be God-fearing and what matters is not correct beliefs but moral conduct and social behaviour. Hindus do not deny the truth of any religion or reject the validity of another man’s religious experience. A verse²⁶⁰⁹ quoted below breathes a broad-minded approach to religious beliefs and worship ‘May Hari, the Lord of the three worlds, bestow on you the desired reward, whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, Vedāntins as brahman, the Baudhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas proficient in the means of knowledge as the Creator, those devoted to Jain teachings as Arhat and Mīmāṁsakas as Yajña’. The great logician Udayāna who composed his Lākṣapāvili in taka 906 (984 A. D.) breathes in his Nyāyakusumāñjali the same spirit as is contained in the verse translated above. Tolerance is thus of the essence of Hinduism and even an atheist is often met with amusement and not with persecution.

III. Working on the doctrine that there is only one Essence or Godhead, the sages of the Upaniṣads arrived at the

²⁶⁰⁸ For Biblical intolerance one may read Jeremiah 29.8–9, Colossians II. 8, Galatians I. 7–9.
²⁶⁰⁹ यं श्रावस्य सिष्णु हि दुज्जनो वेदान्तिनों ब्रह्माः ब्रह्म हि प्रमाणपदः कर्मिः नैयायिकः। अहिश्वयथ जैनप्राप्तवतः कर्मिः मीमांसकः। सोपं सो तिस्वादाय वापितक्रतः भैलोकस्यायनं हि:।

हृश्चतितरतन्मात्तिर (Nir. ed. of 1935 p. 15 verse 27):

न्यायवुद्धमाज्जन् १.२ is: स्त्राक्षरोऽद्योऽम्भोगमन्नति मनोनिहित:। युधिष्ठिरसमाब्द एवमाज्जन निषुल्लाधी इति दयाये। ये कपिरिपुरुषमध्यममातता:। शुद्धदुर्लभ्य इति कपिलेन्द्रः। अहिश्वयथ इति सिष्णु हि कार्यात्।। कृष्णकेशपाकलेश्वरसुखो नियोजनकायाधिश्वद्य सम्मत्यायस्थिको निश्चारकमेति पताळात्।। लोकनावलिकृतैपरि नितोऽपि निन्द्येऽपि सत्त्वमेवत| महायुधसुधान:। श्रवण हि श्रावस्य हि वैविधाय:। विनाशकम इति पौराणिकः।। यज्ञसुधान हि याज्ञवल्क्य:। निराचारण हि निगम्यात।। उपायलेख्ये हि ममित्सकः।। यज्ञवल्क्यपुजतात् हि नैयायिकः।। लोकनावलिकृतोऽपि विश्वमेत्यायस्यात्॥
conclusion that the individual self is non-different from the one Essence, that all manifoldness is only apparent, that even fishermen, slaves, gamblers and the inanimate world are non-different from it. This Vedānta doctrine is one of the most characteristic features of Hinduism and is India's great contribution to the spiritual development of man, though there are sporadic instances of this doctrine having been held by some ancient philosophers in other lands. This idea of one in the many and many in one is the very core or centre of Vedānta. This has been dealt with above (vide pp. 1493-1500 notes 2451-52 and pp. 1509-10). In Europe the study of philosophy is an end in itself. In ancient India this idea of the unity in diversity was made the basis of education and sociology and it was held that the realization of this unity in one's life was the highest freedom (mokṣa).

The Upanisadic teaching is a universal doctrine in which all men of good will can meet and combine, in whatever religion they might have been brought up from their childhood. Many illustrations are adduced in the Upaniṣads to bring home non-difference to the inquirer about the Essence. But two are very apt. The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (III. 2. 8) declares "just as rivers flowing (towards the ocean) become merged in the ocean after giving up their names and forms, so the man who realizes (knows), being free from name and form, attains the divine Person that is higher than the highest". The Praśnapiṇḍa has (VI.5) the same illustration in prose. The Kathopaniṣad IV. 15 states 'just as pure water poured into pure water assumes the same form (appearance), similarly the soul of the sage who has realized (the Essence) becomes the Ātman (Self)'. Deussen in his address on 20th February 1893 before the Asiatic Society of Bombay (in J. B. B. R. A. S. No. 18 for 1893 Art 20 pp. 330-340) after quoting the verse of Muṇḍaka III. 2. 8 remarks "It is not the falling of the drops in the infinite ocean, it is the whole ocean returning to that which he really is and has never ceased to be, to his own all-pervading eternal almighty nature" and concludes (p. 340) "Vedānta in its unfalsified form is the strongest support for morality, is the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death; Indians, keep to it." Vide V. S. II. 3.43, where reference is made to Atharvaveda 'Brahma daśa brahma daśā brahmame kitavā uta' (occurring in the Paippalāda version as shown by Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya in his paper on a

IV. From very ancient Vedic times one of the fundamental conceptions of our Indian culture has been the idea of three spiritual and religious debts owed by a person to the sages, gods and paurāṇas, which he paid off by the study of the ancient lore, by sacrifices, and by having a son or sons respectively. This subject has been dealt with at length in the H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 270, 425, 530–61, 676, Vol. III p. 416 and above, p. 1318 note 2165. To these three debts the Mahābhārata added a fourth viz. the debt owed to all men paid off by goodness (vide H. of Dh. Vol. III p. 416 n. 675). Śābara on Jaimini VI, 2.31 explains that this doctrine is not confined to brāhmaṇas but to all members of the three classes, the word ‘brāhmaṇa’ used in the Tai. S. and other Vedic texts being only illustrative.

V. Another set of values is contained in the conception of purusārthas (ends or goals of human endeavour) viz. Dharma (right conduct), Artha (economics, politics and civics), Kāma (life of sex, of pleasures and aesthetics), Moksa (salvation, release or recovery by the self of its real nature and freedom from the bondage of low desires and aims). Moksa is said to be the highest goal (paramapurusārtha) and the first three are spoken of as ‘trivarga’. The concept of Dharma is a far-reaching one and has been emphasized from very ancient times and refers to the principles which men have to observe in their lives and in social relations. This subject of purusārthas and of dharma has been dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 2–11 and Vol. III pp. 8–10 and 239–241. Therefore, only a few matters would be briefly emphasized here. It has been shown above on pp. 1–21 how the Rgveda had three words viz. r̥ṣa (cosmic order), vrata (laws or ordinances deemed to be laid down by a god or gods) and dharma (religious rites or sacrifices or fixed principles), how gradually r̥ṣa receded into the background and ‘satya’ took its place and Dharma became an all-embracing conception and vrata came to be restricted to sacred vows and rules of conduct. When a teacher was about to take leave of the pupil at the end of the latter’s studenthood he placed in his final exhortation (Tai. Up. I. 11) Truth as the first and Dharma as next to it (satyaṁ vada dharmam cara).

unto life eternal’. The same Upanishad in V. 2. 3 inculcates on all men the three cardinal virtues of self-restraint (dama), charity (dāṇa) and compassion (dayā). The Chân. Up. V. 10 quotes a verse ‘the thief stealing gold, the drinker of liquor, one who dishonours his guru’s bed and the murderer of a brâhmaṇa—these four fall (into hell) and the fifth is one who associates with them.’ It would be noticed that this ancient verse contains some of the ten commandments of the Bible. In spite of these (noble) Upaniṣadic teachings of Dharma and morality, Prof. Keith (in ‘Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads’, Vol. II. p. 584, ed. of 1925) makes the pontifical but perverse pronouncement that ‘the ethical content of the Upaniṣads is negligible and valueless’. It is not necessary to combat here his views. Most scholars would rather follow Schopenhauer (quoted in S. B. E. Vol. I. p. LXI) and Deussen (quoted above in Vol. II. p. 424) rather than Keith. The concept of Dharma began to occupy the highest position in the times of the Upaniṣads. The Br. Up. I. 4.14 states ‘there is nothing higher than Dharma.’ The Tai. Aranyaka avers ‘Dharma is the support (or prop) of the whole world’. The Mahābhārata and Manu repeatedly refer to the high value of Dharma. The Mahābhārata claims that everything concerning the four purusārthas is contained in it and that what is not contained in them would be found in no other work. In Udyogaparva it is stated ‘Dharma is so called because of its character as the sustainer of all beings’. Vanaprava and Manu both declare ‘Dharma when violated kills the violator, when preserved it preserves man; therefore, Dharma should not be violated lest Dharma might destroy us.’ Vyāsa winds up the Mahābhārata with the solemn appeal ‘with arms up-raised I here raise a loud cry, but no one listens to me: from Dharma spring wealth and (satisfaction of) all desires, why is Dharma not resorted to? One should not give up Dharma for some desired object, nor through fear nor from greed nor even for the

2610. धार्मिक विश्व जगताः प्रतिवेशः तोत्रं धार्मिक द्वारा उपसर्गस्तिः। धर्मण पुरुषयुक्तविः प्रययं सर्वं प्रतिलिपिः तथसार्यां न वृत्तिः। वै आ X. 63, सहानारायणेऽः प्रययं च चार्यं च कामं च। एवं च रत्नं सर्वं प्रतिलिपिः। दशशतिः तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। दशशतिः तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रतिलिपिः। तद्वियः प्रति
sake of life itself. Dharma is eternal, pleasure and pain are impermanent, the individual self is eternal, but the conditions (under which self works) are impermanent.' The Mahābhārata passages quoted in n. 18 p. 8 of H. of Dh. Vol. II say 'the three (Dharma, Artha, Kāma) are meant for all men, that Dharma is the best of the three, that Artha is middling and Kāma is the lowest and that if there be conflict then Dharma must be followed and the other two abandoned.' This shows that Artha and Kāma were made subservient to Dharma (the ethical code) and all three were subservient to the spiritual goal. Our Śāstras do not at all prescribe asceticism for all, but they recognized a scale of values. The Manusmṛti (IV. 3 and 15) provides 'one should accumulate wealth for securing only his needs by actions proper for his station (varṇa &c) and without harm to his body. One should not desire to acquire wealth by excessive attachment nor by actions condemned by Śāstra nor when he has already enough wealth nor from any kind of person (a sinner or like), even when he is in straightened circumstances.' Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 20 22-23) declares that man should enjoy all such pleasures as are not against Dharma; by doing so he secures both worlds (this life and life in the next world). Gautama Dharmasūtra261 IX. 46-47 and Yāj. I. 115 practically say the same thing. In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma that is not in conflict with Dharma. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya no doubt says (I. 7) that 'Artha is the chief among the three puruṣārthas', but he also provides that one should enjoy a life of pleasures in such a way as not to conflict with Dharma and Artha, that one should not lead a life devoid of pleasures altogether. The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. III. 18-19) states that Dharma, Artha and Kāma are the three prizes (fruits) of human life, these three should be striven for but in such a way as not to conflict with Dharma'. The Manusmṛti (V. 56) declares that eating flesh, drinking intoxicants and sexual intercourse are not sinful in themselves; all beings are naturally inclined to these; but abstention (from these) leads to great rewards (and therefore Śāstra emphasizes abstention'). The Rāmāyaṇa (Aranyakānda 9.30) contains a statement similar to Śvāgṛhoranapurva 5. 62.

261 N. pūrva-vedāyukavijnapatarañca kruḍaṛṣṭaṁ śraddhaṁ dharmāntakaṁ: t. ebh. tva dharmāntakaṁ: sātvat. 9. IX. 46-47; dharmāntakamantvā kṛṣṇe vaiṣṇavāṁ dharmikāṁ n hāpyateva ya. I.115; mālakāra comments 'dharmāntakamantvā svarūpāntakāṁ yādṛṣṭāṁ n pratipāde. dharmō samyo bhūvane śāstraṁ viśeṣitaṁ. ' yādāryaṁ kāsam kāmaṁ cintyāṁ jñānate vikarante. eva tāma samyo dharmāntakaṁ—pariśāntaṁ. 5. 211. 18-19, ṛṣipūrana 217. 11.
When reforms are suggested in these days, conservative people put forward the plea that ours is ‘sanātana-dharma’ and so no changes should be introduced. But the words ‘sanātana dharma’ do not mean that Dharma always stands still or is immutable; all that those words mean is that our culture is very ancient and has a long tradition behind it but they do not mean that Dharma permits no change. As a matter of fact fundamental changes in conceptions, beliefs and practices have been made from ancient times to the medieval times by means of various devices. Attention may be drawn to a few. Veda was all in all in very ancient times but in the Upaniṣads this was changed, the Mundaka I. 1. 5 designating the four Vedas as inferior knowledge (aparā vidyā) and the knowledge of the immutable brahman as the higher vidyā; in the Chān. Up. VII. 1. 4, the four Vedas and several other branches of knowledge are called by Sanatkumāra (whom Nārada approached for instruction) mere name (nāma). Yajñās were the most important religious practice in the early Vedic period, but the Mundaka Up. I. 2. 7 designates them as leaky boats and regards those who hold them as the best thing to be fools. Vide above pp. 1265-72 about changes in the views on anuloma marriages, on the topic of whose food may be partaken even by a brāhmaṇa, the abrogation of many Vedic practices by the doctrine of Kalivarja (matters forbidden in Kali age) &c. Manu, Yājñavalkya, Visnu Dharma, and other purāṇas expressly provide that one should not observe but give up what was once Dharma, if it has come to be hateful to the people and if it would end in unhappiness (vide p. 1270 n. 2071 above). The Śāntiparva expressly states that what was adharma (in one age) may become dharma in another.

2612. One of the earliest occurrences of the word sanātana-dharmam is found in the Kharapur plates of Mādhavavarman (in E. I. Vol. 27, p. 312) edited by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, who assigns it to about the 6th century A. D., in the description of the donee as ‘वजनानानाधिवायत्वावत्तंतरतियहास्यम्’ (य?) \textit{śrīvīśvātividyāsanātana-dharmam-kamivatāy eta}. The land granted was in Returaka (modern Retām in the Satara District of the Mahārāstrā State). Another early reference to the phrase sanātana-dharmam is in \\textit{देवसारोत्रियनिर्देशनम्} II. 33. 37-38 ओद्रोहश्रावयवशिक्ष पत्र भूति दत दत. बाह्यचर्य तथा सर्वास्मातः क्षमा भूति। सनातनस्य धर्मं भूलेष्वरूपज्ञानम् II. The words ‘sanātana-dharmam’ are used in the sense of ancient practice no longer prevalent in \\textit{Aśvapati} 122. 18 (Ch. ed.), and in the sense of ‘duty recognised long ago’ in \\textit{Rāmāyaṇa}, \textit{Aṣṭādhyāya} 19. 26, 21. 49 etc.

2613. \\textit{सनातनपूर्वे} धर्मेऽः \textit{धर्मं द्वितीयम्} भारतम्। \textit{काराणाइश्वराय देवदर्शाः स तादवः।} शास्त्रम 78, 32.
and that dharma and adharma are both subject to the limitations of country and time. Kāma also was not neglected, as the Kāma-
sūtra (particularly its chapter on 'nāgaraka-vṛtta' I. 4) will show. The extensive Nātyaśāstra of Bharata (containing about 5000 verses) is a witness to the aesthetic enjoyment of dance, music and drama in ancient India by thousands of ordinary men and women.

Hindu thought on the three goals of human life came to this 'do your duty, do not fall into temptations, perform duties for their own sake (Gitā II. 47, III. 19), do unto others as you would be done by (Gitā VI. 32, Anuśāsanaparva 113. 8–9, Śānti 259. 20. = Cr. ed. 251. 19), earn wealth but without conflict with dharma and without injury to others and lead a chaste sexual life and enjoy aesthetic pleasures. These summarise the teachings underlying the conceptions of the three puruṣārthas. There was hardly any real pessimism in the principal Dharmaśāstra works except perhaps here and there in the Mahābharata. They consider life to be worth living, provided all actions are informed by the dictates of Dharma. Manu (XII. 88–89) provides that Karma (conduct or actions) prescribed by the Veda is of two kinds, viz. pravṛtta and nivṛtta, the former leading to happiness in this world and to svarga, and the latter to niḥśreyasā (mokṣa) and requiring complete absence of all hankerings preceded by realization of brahma. The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 146. 76–80) divides Dharma into pravṛtitilakṣaṇa (characterized by persistent activity) and nivṛtitilakṣaṇa (characterized by abstention from worldly activities and desires), which latter is to be followed for mokṣa and lays down certain practical and salutary rules viz. one should constantly make gifts according to one's ability, constantly offer sacrifices and perform rites to secure one's prosperity. One should collect wealth following what is right and such wealth obtained righteously should be divided into three parts; one should secure both dharma and artha with one-third of the wealth acquired, one-third should be spent on Kāma (i.e. chaste sexual life and enjoyment of other pleasures not in conflict with dharma) and one-third he should increase. Manu (VII. 99 and 101) prescribes similar rules for the king. The same parvan (Anuśāsana chap. 144. 10–25

2614. The Bible was very pessimistic, both Christ and Saint Paul regard the world as evil or at least spoiled. Christ calls upon people not to resist evil (vide Hobhouse 'Morals in evolution' Vol. II. p. 152).
and 31-39) dwells at length upon those actions that lead men to heaven (the phrase ‘te narâḥ svarga-gâminâḥ’ is repeated in each verse). These provisions are meant for all ordinary people. The Râma-yâna\(^{2615}\) quotes a popular verse that man is not condemned to never-ending misery but joy comes to a man even after a hundred years if he be alive.

The 4th Purusârtha Mokṣa can be obtained only by a few. It is not a bow which every man or any man can make strung. It was a very difficult path like a razor’s edge (Kâtha Up. III. 14), far more difficult than the path of devotion to a Personal God (Bhagavadgîtâ XII. 5). The Upanisadic doctrine of liberation comes to this that man’s nature is really divine, that it is possible for a human being to know and become actually identified with the Godhead, that this should be the ultimate goal of man’s life, that this can be achieved by one’s own efforts, but the way to achieve this goal is most difficult and requires the aspirant to give up egotism, selfishness and worldly attachments. Besides, there is another difficulty. The conceptions about mokṣa differ in the different schools of thought like Nyâya Sâṅkhya, Vedânta. Even in the Vedânta the conception about Mokṣa on the part of the different âcâryas differs. Some declared that there were four stages in Mukti viz. Sâlokya (place in Lord’s world), Sâmîpya (proximity), Sârûpya (attaining same form as God) and Sâmyujya (absorption).\(^{2616}\) These matters cannot be gone into here.

\(^{2615}\) कृत्याणि व तामेवान् तीक्ष्णः प्रविधाये मेव। 
पति जीवनमात्रानां नरः वर्षणानांपि।

रामचरितमाणसं सूत्रमन्भ 34.6, (M. L. J. ed.)


\(^{2616}\) The सैं V. 7.5.7 has: एतासामेव देवतानां सारुण: सारुण: समुद्रः। बुधहः ताको सारुण: सारुण: सारुण:। आलोक्यः सारुण: सारुण: सारुण:। सारुण: सारुण: सारुण:। 

The words सारुण: सारुण: सारुण: सारुण: and सारुण: occur in ए. बा. II. 24; सारुण: सारुण: सारुण: सारुण: occur in बुध. द. I. 3. 22; सारुण: सारुण: सारुण: (same happiness) and सारुण: सारुण: सारुण: occur in ए. म. II. 20. 2.

The सारुण: (सारुण: सारुण:) of सारुण: (chap. 3. 28) speaks of the same four stages of मोक्ष: सारुण: is derived from सारुण: (yoked or joined together). The words सारुण: सारुण: सारुण: सारुण: occur in Rg. III. 30. 11 and सारुण: (meaning सारुण: ) occurs in Rg. I. 164. 20. The बुधहःसारुण: वार्तिक of रूप (Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Series, ed. by T. Chandra sekaran, 1955) in its मोक्षस्थान states: मुख्यारुण: मारुण: सारुण: सारुण:। तत्र सारुण: सारुण: सारुण:। सारुण: सारुण:। सारुण: सारुण:। सारुण: सारुण:। सारुण: सारुण:। सारुण: सारुण:। कर्मणेन हि सिद्धसिद्धि पुजार्थम् सारुण:। (chap. 11 Verses 2-3).
Dharma is divided into different classes from different standpoints. One classification is into śrauta (based on the Vedas) and Smārta (based on Smṛtis). There was another and a more comprehensive classification of Dharma into six classes viz. varṇadharma (duties and rights of varṇas), āśramadharma (rules about the āśramas), varṇāśramadharma (rules enjoined because the person belongs to a certain class and was also in a certain āśrama (e.g. the rule that a brāhmaṇa brahmacārī should carry a staff of palāśa tree), gunadharma (rules for one who holds or occupies a certain position, as in the case of a king), naimittikadharma (rules that have to be observed only on certain occasions such as bath on an eclipse, expiation for a lapse and lastly sāmānyadharma (duties common to all (such as those described in pp. 10-11 of the H. of Dh. Vol. II.). This leads on to the next important characteristic of Hindu culture and society, viz. varṇas and castes.

VI. Varṇa and caste. The subject of the origin of varna classification, the caste system and the duties, privileges and disabilities of the four varṇas have been dealt with at length in the History of Dharmasāstra Vol. II, pp. 19-164. It has been shown that the word 'varṇa' (colour) has been applied to Āryas and dāsas in the Rgveda, that these two (āryas and dāsas) were opposite camps, that brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas are mentioned in the Rgveda, but the word varna has not been expressly connected with them. The words Vaiśya and Śūdra do not occur in the Rgveda except in the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 12) but even in that hymn the word 'varṇa' is not employed with reference to them. That hymn is held to be comparatively a late one by most modern scholars. It may be conceded that at the time when the Puruṣasūkta was composed the community was divided into four groups viz. brāhmaṇas (thinkers, learned men, priests) ksatriyas (rulers and warriors), vaiśyas (common people following agriculture and crafts) and śūdras (those that did menial work). Such a division of people into four groups is not unnatural and is found in many countries even now. In England there are aristocratic families, there is the middle class and the workers in factories &c. They are not necessarily based on birth alone, though largely so based. It has been shown above (p. 1265) that intermarriages between brāhmaṇas and the other varṇas were allowed up to the time of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti which expresses its dissent from its predecessors.
and prohibits a person of the three upper classes from marrying a śūdra woman. There is no evidence to show that intermarriage or interdining among the four varṇas was prohibited in the Vedic age. In the Vāj. S. 30. 6–13, Kāṭhaka S. XVII. 13, Tai. Br. III. 4. 2–3 numerous artisans and craftsmen such as taksan, rathakāra, kulāla, karmāra, niśāda, sūta and others are mentioned but it is extremely doubtful whether they had become petrified castes at the period of these works. Rathakāra and karmāra and sūta are mentioned in Atharvaveda III. 5. 6–7. It is probable that by the time of the Chān. Up. V. 10. 7 Cāndālas had become untouchables (like dogs and hogs) and Paulkaṣa seems to be equated with Cāndāla in Br. Up. IV. 3. 22. Even in the times of Yājñavalkya and Parāśara (2nd to 6th century A. D.) a brāhmaṇa was permitted to take food at the house of such śūdras as his dāsa, cowherd, barber, a tenant of his land on the rent of half share of crops (vide above p. 1266). The varṇas were only four, there was no fifth varṇa (Manu X. 4 and Anuśāsanaparva, chap. 48. 30), though in modern times untouchables are often spoken of as paṇcamas (against Smṛti usage). The word jāti in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in Vedic literature but it occurs in the Nirukta (XII. 13) and in Panini (V. 4. 9), who explains ‘brāhmaṇajātiya’ as meaning one who is a brāhmaṇa by caste. Sometimes, Jāti and Varṇa are differentiated in Smṛtis (Yāj. II. 69, 260), but from ancient times the word Jāti is confounded with the word Varṇa. Manu (X. 31) uses the word Varṇa in the sense of mixed castes; conversely, the word Jāti is employed in the sense of ‘Varṇa’ in Manu (VIII. 177, IX. 85–86, X. 41).

A sort of caste system existed in several countries such as Persia, Rome and Japan, but it disappeared and had never attained the complexity of the Indian caste system.

There are now several thousand castes and sub-castes in India. How they arose is, according to the present author, an insoluble problem. Sherring in ‘Hindu Tribes and Castes’ (1881, vol. III. p. 231) held that caste was an invention (of the brāhmaṇas). How such a huge system could be invented and imposed upon millions of people by a small minority without physical or political power never occurred to the prejudiced Christian missionary of the third quarter of the 19th century.

It is well-known that at least from the 6th century B. C.
onwards India was being invaded by Persians, Kâmbojas, Greeks, Scythians (generally held to be the same as Sakas), and people like Páradas, Pahlavas, Cinas, Kirátsas, Daradas (Dards) and Khašas emigrated into India. Manu (X. 43-44), after mentioning these and Paúndrákas, Odras (Orissa), Dravídas, asserts that these were originally Ksatriyas but had become Śúdras because the sacraments like Upanayana had ceased among them and because they lost contact with bráhmaṇas. Manu X. 45 shows that in his day there were mixed castes that spoke meldecha tongues and Arya languages but were treated as dasyus (śúdras). Gautama-dharmaśūtra (IV. 14-17), Manu X. 5-40, Yāj. I. 91-95 and many other works dilate upon the rise of mixed castes from the marriages or unions of men and women of different varnas and declare how further castes and sub-castes arise from the marriages and unions of men and women belonging to different classes and castes. This was called Varnaśaṅkara or simply saṅkara, about which Arjuna expressed concern (Gítā I. 41-42) and against which the Bhagavad-gítā (III. 24-25) inveighs bitterly. It was stated by Gautama (Dh. S. VIII. 3) that the prosperity (of the castes and sub-castes), protection and the non-mixture (of varnas) depend on the king and learned bráhmaṇas. The Nasik Inscription of king Sirî Pulumāyi (E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 60 about 130 A. D.) extols the king as having prevented the intermingling of varnas (Varnaśaṅkara).

The mixture of castes (varnaśaṅkara) had gone so far even in the early ages that in the Vanaparva (180. 31-33) Yudhīśṭhīra is made to say that 'It is difficult to ascertain the

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2617. Atri-smrti VII. 2 (in prose, Kānac, collection) mentions some of these foreign tribes and peoples. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 33. 21-23 (Sakā yavana-kámbojāḥ...ksatriyajātyayaḥ vṛṣalatvam parigataḥ brāhmaṇānām adarśanāt &c.) and Anuśāsana 35. 17-18 also. Saka and Yavana are included among Śúdras by the Mahābhāṣya on Pañcini II. 4. 10 (q. in H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 92. n. 200). Aśoka in his Rock Edicts V. and XIII refers to Yonas, Yonarāja and Kâmbojas as people on the borders of his empire.

A. M. T. Jackson says in 'Indian Antiquary' for 1910 p. 77 'the attractive power of Hindu civilization which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslem and European...India civilized the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous Rajput royal races.'

caste of a person on account of the confusing mixture of *Varnas*; all men raise progeny from all sorts of women; therefore, those who are wise regard character as the principal and desirable matter' (q. in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 61 n. 149). The original scheme of varnas was natural and based on the work that men put in for the community as a whole. It was not based on birth. The ideas underlying the original varna system made the nearest approach towards a society in which there was no attempt to secure a competitive equality but in which the interest of all groups were regarded as identical. In Vedic times there were only classes and not castes in the modern sense. Even in the *smṛtis* when many castes had arisen the greatest emphasis was laid on duties rather than on privileges and on high moral character and the value of the effort made by a man. It is therefore stated in the *Gītā* (IV. 13) that the system of four varṇas was created on the basis of quality (or on the basis of *sattva, rajas* and *tanās*) and actions and (in XVIII. 42-44) it specifies the qualities and actions required in the four varṇas as an ideal, viz. serenity of mind, self-control, austerity, purity, forbearance, straightforwardness, wisdom (spiritual knowledge), knowledge (of all kinds), faith (in God)—these are the natural actions (duties) for a brāhmaṇa; bravery, fury, energy, steadiness, capability, not running away in battle, charity and rulership—these are duties of a kṣatriya; agriculture, keeping herds of cows (and cattle), trade and commerce—these are the natural duties of the Vaiśya; work of the nature of service is the natural duty of the Śūdra. These words of Gītā cannot be used for supporting the present scheme of thousands of castes and sub-castes of water-tight character. If birth had been regarded as the sole or principal basis, the words in the Gītā

2619. It is remarkable that the late Lokamānya Tilak advocated about four months before his death (in the issue of the 'Kesari' of 16th March 1920) that anyone who spent his life in Indian freedom struggle must be treated as a brāhmaṇa to whatever caste or sub-caste he might have belonged by birth, that caste should not be treated as a matter of birth but that we must begin to treat it as dependent on qualities and actions and he relies on our śāstras and quotes in support a Pali verse from the Suttanipāta: 'न जन्त्रा वस्त्रलो होति न जन्त्रा होति ब्राम्मणो । कम्मणा वस्त्रलो होति कम्मणा होति ब्राम्मणो॥' "A man does not become a Vṛṣala, that is, Śūdra by caste (or birth) nor does he become a brāhmaṇa by birth; a man becomes a vṛṣala or a brāhmaṇa by his actions" (compare Mahāvagga, vāseṭṭhasutta, verse 57 in SBE Vol. X part 2 p. 115).

(Continued on next page)
(IV.13) should have been, ‘Jāti-karmavibhāgaśaḥ’ (‘or janma-karma’) and not ‘Guṇakarma’. It would be noticed that out of the nine Karmāṇi specified as natural to brāhmaṇas most are moral and spiritual and no emphasis is laid on the element of birth. At the time of the Mahābhārata there must have been a great deal of ferment, some revolt and criticism about the petrified caste system. The epic frequently refers to the theme of varṇas and jātis. Vide for example, Vanaparva (chapter 180), Virātaparva 50. 4–7, Udyoga 23. 26, 40. 25–29, Śanti 188. 10–14, Anuśāsana 143. A few passages may be set out here. Śanti 188. 10 says ‘there is no (real) distinction between the varṇas, (since) the whole world is of Brahmā, since it was formerly created by Brahmā, and has had the system of varṇas on account of the various actions (of men)’; Śanti (189. 4 and 8) avers ‘that man is known as brāhmaṇa in whom are seen truthfulness, generosity, absence of hate, absence of wickedness, shame (restraint for avoiding wrong-doing), compassion and a life of austerity; if these signs are observed in a sūdra and are not found in a brāhmaṇa, then the sūdra is not a sūdra (should

(Continued from last page)

There is great misunderstanding about his opposition to those reformers who did not care for or engage in political agitation but spent their energies and time in inveighing against some social evils. He wanted to remove the evil of grinding poverty and political bondage of India due to the colonial policy of Britain for over 150 years and therefore he stressed the point that everyone must join in the fight for freedom and did not like the idea of some very intellectual men spending time and energy in crying themselves hoarse for only social reform. He thought that when India became free from the incubus of foreign rule, many social reforms would be introduced in no time. Events have shown that he was right, and the social reformers who maligned him were wrong. Our Constitution abolished untouchability at one stroke (Article 17), legislation has made a provision that to treat a man as untouchable in public is punishable (vide Act XXII of 1955 sections 3 and 4), legislation has removed all ban against intercaste marriages and several other reforms have been brought about. Vide ‘Social Legislation and its role in Social Welfare’ published in 1956 on behalf of the Planning Commission. For Tilak’s article, vide ‘लोकमञ्च मित्राचे कृतसंग्रह तेस्व साह भाग ३, पृष्ठ ४६५–४६७’. British people were cautious and were generally opposed to progressive social reforms in Hindu Society. The High Courts administered Hindu Law as contained in the medieval digest (nibandhas) like the Dāyabhāga, the Mitākṣara and the Vyavahāramāyūkha and not the law found in ancient śrīta, which allowed anuloma marriages; vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 448–452 and ‘A Century of Social reform’ by S. Natarajan, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, particularly pp. 126–173.
not be treated as a śūdra) and the brāhmaṇa is not a brāhmaṇa. A similar passage occurs in Vanaparva 216. 14-15 (quoted above in note 1640 pp. 1005-6 and compared to Dhammapada 393, translated on p. 1005). When the wrangles between Vaiṣṇavas and others were at their highest the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (VII. 9. 10) avers that a cāndāla who is a devotee of Viṣṇu is superior to a brāhmaṇa who is not a devotee of Viṣṇu. Apart from the specific qualities required to be possessed by the members of each of the four varṇas, all Dharmaśāstra works attach the highest importance to certain moral qualities and enjoin them on all men. Manu X. 63, Yāj. I. 2, Gaut. Dh. S. VIII. 23-25, Matsya 52. 10-10 (quoted above on p. 1023 n. 1652) prescribe for all Varnas a brief code of morals, such as ahimsā, truthfulness, non-stealing (i.e. no wrongful taking of another's property), purity and restraint of the senses. The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 22 explains that the word sarvesām therein states that these moral qualities if practised are the means of Dharma for all men from brāhmaṇas to cāndālas. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 10-11 for different enumerations of dharmanas common to all men. The Manusmṛti (I. 1) begins by saying that the great sages requested Manu to expound the dharmanas of all varnas and of the intermediate castes. This (viz. the Dharmanas of varnas, intermediate castes and āśramas) is the principal topic in most of the smṛtis.

A very high ideal was placed before brāhmaṇas (vide above pp 936-938). They were to study the Veda and its subsidiary lores as a duty (to be discharged), were to perform sacrifices and make gifts also and their proper means of livelihood were only three viz. teaching the Veda and Śāstras, officiating as priests in sacrifices and receiving religious and other gifts. How arduous learning the Veda was will be clear when it is remembered that a brāhmaṇa who was to be regarded as a very learned one had to memorize one Veda at least. Supposing he was a student of the Rgveda he had to commit to memory the ten thousand and odd verses of the Rgveda, also its pada-pātha, its kramapātha, the Brāhmaṇa text (generally the Aitareya), the six Vedāṅgas (auxiliary works) viz. the Kalpasūtra (of Āsvalāyana generally), Vyākaraṇa (the Grammar of Pāṇini in about four thousand sūtras), the Nirukta (in at least 12 chapters), metrics, Śikṣā (Phonetics) and Jyotisa. The first three of these six Vedāṅgas are rather longish treatises and abstruse. These extensive texts were generally committed to memory without understanding the meaning and so entailed very great strain on
the mind and memory. There were thousands of such brāhmaṇas in India up to the beginning of this century, and even now there are still hundreds of such men. They were to teach the Veda without demanding any fee (demanding a fee to teach Veda was and is regarded as sinful even to this day). They were allowed to receive a fee if the pupil or somebody on his behalf paid something at the end of studenthhood. Not only did they transmit the Veda free, but there were in the present author’s youth in Konkan and Maharashtra many Vaidik brāhmaṇas who gave free board and lodging to several pupils (or arranged to feed them by turns at the houses of brāhmaṇa families in the village or town). All this has now almost stopped owing to rationing during the world wars and present high prices. So teaching hardly brought any regular and substantial amount of money (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 108–110). As regards officiating as priests, that was a precarious and fitful source of income. Besides, in Rg. times at least, the scion of a royal family could be a purohita i.e. a priest (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, p. 109). It should be remembered that all brāhmaṇas were not priests; they could be so if they chose and if they were learned. Further, many learned brāhmaṇas refuse even now to act as priests in śrāddhas for pitrs (at least for three years after the man’s death). Pāṇini (V. 2. 71) provides for the formation of the word ‘brāhmaṇaka’ meaning a province or country where ‘brāhmaṇas followed the profession of arms’ and Kauṭilya (IX. 2) also refers to armies of brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas &c. The third source specially permitted to brāhmaṇas was the privilege of receiving religious gifts from a worthy or unblemished person (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 110, 11). Brāhmaṇas could follow other occupations in distress, but even then there were great restrictions imposed on them by śāstras even when they took to other means of livelihood (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 118–132).2622 The ideal set before brāhmaṇas was one of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of forsaking a very active pursuit of wealth, of insisting on the necessity and high value to themselves and the Aryan society of studying, preserving, propagating and augmenting the ancient literature and culture. Kings, rich persons and even

2620. It was, for example, provided by Vasiṣṭha (II. 27) and Manu X. 92 that a brāhmaṇa becomes a śūdra by selling milk for three days. In the present author’s boyhood some poor brāhmaṇas had begun to sell milk and the result was that they were very much looked down upon by the villagers. There would be the temptation to add water to the milk to gain money.
ordinary men made gifts of lands and houses to learned brāhmaṇas (which were deemed the most meritorious gifts).\textsuperscript{2621} The present author saw in his boyhood very learned Vaidika brāhmaṇas themselves ploughing their own lands, while repeating inaudibly the Veda (i.e. revising it, as otherwise it might slip from their memory) and knew a middle class Vaidika brāhmaṇa family that for seven generations had taught Veda to a number of pupils and provided them with free board and lodging; (out of these seven the present author personally knew three generations, the last of whom stopped a few years ago the Vaidika school owing to present high prices of food, decrease in gifts due to the increasing poverty of the people round about and their unconcern for Vedic studies). Even in the times of the early Upanisads, the brāhmaṇa’s first duty was to learn and teach the Veda and to take all knowledge for his province. Ajātaśātra, king of Kāśi, exclaimed, when the brāhmaṇa Bālāki Gārgya approached him for knowledge of brahman, ‘this is against the natural usual course that a brāhmaṇa should approach a ksatriya to learn about brahman’ (Br. Up. II. 1. 15). That indicates that many brāhmaṇas must have endeavoured to act up to the old ideal of learning in olden times. They became the custodians of the vast literature that had accumulated and was growing every day and were expected to preserve that literature and propagate it. Though every brāhmaṇa could not have lived up to the high ideals set up for brāhmaṇas, a very large number must have made as near an approach to the ideal as possible. It was the greatness of these latter that led to the glorification of the whole class. In most communities there is a group of the élite, which represents the ideals of the whole community, its essential tendencies and acts up to the ideals. Learning, great moral and spiritual attainments among individuals are rather elusive and impalpable, while birth in a certain family is a very obvious thing. Most people in ancient and medieval times followed the occupation of their forefathers. The kingly office was highly eulogised by Manu (VIII. 4–8), who propounded the theory that the king represented in his person eight deities (Indra, Agni, Varuna, the Sun, the Moon, Kubera, Yama and Vāyu) and that the king was a great deity in human form. The office of the king also was hereditary.

\textsuperscript{2621} Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p 113 n 241 for large gifts to brāhmaṇas, in the early centuries of the Christian era, of villages, cows and marriage expenses.
Except in a few cases the brāhmaṇas were never rulers. It was the ksatriyas and śūdras that were rulers. Therefore, a generalisation was made that birth in a particular group or family was a more or less sure indication of the possession of certain qualities generally associated with the members of that group or family. The brāhmaṇas were teachers with no salary, officiated as priests when called and were given fees, but there was no assurance of a continuous and certain payment. They had no church organization (such as Archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons in the Anglican church) and monasteries for monks among Buddhists and in the Christian Church. The brāhmaṇas were not monks but householders who had to maintain a family and bring up children and to make their sons learned and of high moral and spiritual worth. There is no example in the whole world of a small minority of the population of a country, that had no military strength behind it, being revered for at least thirty centuries without any serious challenge not only by the common people but by nobles and kings. What was the basis of the reverence shown to brāhmaṇas as a class for at least three thousand years? They were believed to be religious, moral and spiritual leaders and the possessors and representatives of an idealistic culture ('ideational' in the language of Prof. Sorokin). The secret of the power of and regard for brāhmaṇas had been the fact that as a class they performed well three of their appointed tasks of study, teaching and comparative renunciation (in spite of the failings of some individual brāhmaṇas). The brāhmaṇas had no army to support them and they could not, by devoting themselves to physical sciences, find new sources of income or well-being for themselves or for the whole community.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his Autobiography (p. 432) pays in passing a tribute to the Brāhmaṇa ideal as follows: 'But the West also brings an antidote to the evils of this cut-throat civilization - the principles of socialism, co-operation and service to the community for the common good. This is not so unlike the old Brahmin ideal of service etc.' The ancient Indian culture exalted the mind and soul over the body and hence arose an extra-ordinary development of asceticism.

If in modern times the caste system has broken down and has become harmful and unpopular among all people, it may be scrapped and discarded (vide above p. 1270 note 2071 for provisions about this). But such a huge and all-pervading system cannot be destroyed in a short time nor by legislation. What those who desire to destroy altogether the caste system want is not clear. Do they want complete westernization of the whole of India? To the present author this appears to be not only very difficult but almost impossible. Legislation may help a little, but it cannot eradicate within the foreseeable future the mental attitudes and outlook of millions of people. Cases have been reported where village kunbis and craftsmen threatened to beat untouchables that wanted to draw water from a village well in the presence of a magistrate. If this campaign against the whole caste system is carried on with force, there are sure to be widespread riots and disorders and the Independence of the country attained after two centuries of colonial rule may be jeopardized. Two matters must be carefully considered and strenuously worked for. Government must see to it that nationalism, the emotion of being one people, in spite of differences in some respects, must be instilled from childhood and among the masses. For that purpose free and compulsory education for all children on national lines must be achieved as quickly as possible. Merely inveighing against casteism by leaders would not do, when people often suspect them as guilty of other 'isms' (such as nepotism). Universal primary and secondary education, growing number of inter-caste marriages, a growing sense of solidarity as to essentials of culture (though petty differences may exist) would be the first requisites in any scheme of the removal of castes. Besides, very large numbers of self-sacrificing men, of high moral character and devotion to duty would be required for eradicating the evils of the decayed caste system. Another matter also must be very carefully considered. What is going to be substituted in place of the old caste system? People are afraid that a new caste system of ministers, bureaucrats, captains of industry, men in power and workers is going to be substituted without the saving grace of the ancient caste system.

It should not be forgotten that high spiritual life and moksa were not denied to the śūdra. It is true that the Purvamimāṃsā denied to the śūdra the right to study the Veda and to perform Vedic sacrifices (VI, I, 26). But even in those ancient times
one sage, Bādari, advocated that the śūdra could study the Veda and perform Vedic sacrifices (P. M. S. VI. 1. 27). Besides, it should be noted that the śūdra was not at all debarred from a spiritual life and could secure mokṣa by studying the Mahābhārata (which contains thousands of verses on Mokṣa), which Vyāsa compassionately composed for the benefit of women and śūdras and which calls itself (in Ādi parva chap. 62. 23) Dharmasāstra, Arthaśāstra and Mokṣaśāstra, as declared by the Bhāgavata-purāṇa I. 4. 25. All that was decided was that a śūdra could not secure Mokṣa by the study of Veda. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3. 38 points out that śūdras like Vidura (Ādi parva 63. 96-97 and 114, 106. 24-28, Udyogaparva 41. 5) and Dharmav-yādha (Vanaparva 207) possessed knowledge of brahmaṇidyā and that it is impossible to say that they were not able to secure Mokṣa. Vide above pp. 921-22 and note 1468a for the discussion of the relevant passages. It is noteworthy that even in early Vedic times the Rathakāra (a caste not belonging to any of the three higher classes) was allowed to set up Vedic fires and could repeat certain Vedic mantras for that purpose and the Niṣāda (also not belonging to any of the three varṇas, but being a śūdra) was allowed to perform an īśī to Rudra with Vedic mantras. Vide pp. 1290-91 (for Rathakāra) and pp. 1295-96 (for Niṣāda) above. These facts show that Vedic sacrifices had penetrated into certain śūdra castes long before the sūtras and smṛtis. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (VII. 9. 10) was prepared to hold that a cāndāla (by birth) if he becomes a devotee of Viṣṇu was superior to a brahmana who was not such a devotee.

The disappearance of the caste system, when it comes about, will not at all imply the disappearance or destruction of all that for which Hinduism has stood up during several millennia.

We should not be constantly harping on the caste system as the only or most basic cause of our downfall. The Moslems have no caste system and yet most of the Moslem countries in the world have been backward and under the thumb of Western powers. China, Japan and the countries in S. E. Asia had hardly anything like the caste system of our country, but the first two about a hundred years ago were very backward and many of the countries in S. E. Asia were within the Colonial Empire of Holland, a small country the population of which is even now only about eleven millions. Since 1818 when the British acquired the Deccan, for about 130 years what little
royal power remained in India was distributed among about 600 princely States ruled by ksatriyas and others and hardly a dozen brāhmaṇa States existed among those 600. What little trade and commerce existed or was allowed by the British to Indians was in the hands of Parsis, Bhatias, Banias, Marvadis, Jains and Lingayats and the brāhmaṇas had very little share in trade and commerce. It was the brāhmaṇa politicians like Tilak that insisted on Swadeshi. Agriculture, money lending and Zamindari were mostly in the hands of non-brāhmaṇas except in Bengal and contiguous territories where the Zamindari system supported by Lord Cornwallis prevailed. Our downfall for centuries was due to lack of certain virtues and ideologies among all our people, high or low. Let us, therefore, all Indians, stop blaming the caste system for our downfall and try to eradicate it or lessen its evils and cultivate virtues like duty for duty’s sake, high endeavour, high moral character, nationalism, freedom and justice.

VI. Āśramas: Another important characteristic of our culture is the system of Āśramas, which have been in existence for certainly several centuries before the Christian era. The word Āśrama does not occur in the Vedic Samhitās or Brāhmaṇas. In Sv. Up. VI. 21 occurs the word ‘atyāśramibhyah’ (to the best of ascetics) which indicates that the word ‘āśrama’ had then been known. A generic word comprehending several matters is coined long after the several words for the component parts have been current for centuries. The word śrāddha does not occur in any ancient Vedic passages, though the Pindiapitryajña (performed by an agnihotrin on each Amāvāsā), the Mahāpitrījñana (performed in the cāturmāṣya rite Śākamedha) and the Aṣṭakā rites (all of which are rites in honour of pītra) were known in early Vedic literature (vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 349–50). Similarly, some of the āśramas were certainly known from the times of the Rgveda. The Āśramas2623 long before the time of the sūtra literature at least have been four viz. brahmacarya (stage of studenthood), gārhasṭhya (householder stage), vānaprasthya (stage of forest hermit) or vaikhānasā (Gaut. III. 2), Sannyāsa (stage of ascetic life) or Mauna or Pārivrājya or Pravrajya or Bhiksu (Gaut. III. 2). Āśramas have been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 416–426, brahmacarya in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 349–382, forest hermit (in pp. 919–929) and sannyāsa in pp.

2623. वल्लार आश्रमा माहिष्यमात्यायकुर्त सोमव वाणप्रस्थमिति। आप. य. मू. II. 9. 21. I quoted by जानपदवार्य in भाष्य on V. S. III. 1. 47.
930–975 (of the same volume). The span of human life is said to be one hundred years or winters or autumns from the times of the Rgveda (Rg. VI. 4. 8; 10. 7, 12. 6, 17. 15, 24. 10 in all these hundred winters), VII. 101. 6, X. 161. 3 and 4 (autumns). As no one could say how long one might live it is not to be supposed that each stage was of 25 years; all that is meant is that a man may, if he lives long, pass through the four stages. The word brahmacāri occurs in Rg. X. 109. 9 and Tai, S. VI. 3. 10. 5 and brahmacarya in Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5 and Tai. Br. III. 10. 11. In Rg. VI. 53. 2 occurs the word 'grhapati' (lord of the house) meaning the same thing as grastha. Indra is said to be the friend of munis (in Rg. VIII. 17. 14) and yatis are said to have praised Indra (Rg. VIII. 6. 18). The Katha Up. IV. 15 saying that the self of the Muni (knowing the reality) becomes one with the Supreme Self indicates that the reference is to a Sannyāsin who had realized the Supreme Spirit. The Br. Up. IV. 4. 23 saying that the Great Self is the Lord of the universe, that brahmans seek to know him by study of the Veda, by sacrifices and gifts, by austerities (tapas) and by fasting and that, after realizing that Supreme Self the man becomes a muni, that desiring this stage only the wandering ascetics leave home (take to that stage). Here those engaged in tapas are placed at an earlier stage than pravrajyā. Therefore, the Ch. Up. II. 23. 1, speaking about three branches of Dharma, should be taken as mentioning the three āśramas and the words 'one who is firmly established in brahman obtains immortality' should be taken as referring to the 4th Āśrama. As pointed out in H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 928–929 most of the rules laid down for forest hermits are the same as those for the sannyāsin and there was difference between the two in a few matters only. From Br. Up. II. 4. 1 ff. and IV. 5. 2 ff. (where the word pravrajyā is used) for udyāgya (in II. 4. 1) it follows that Yajñavalkya became a sannyāsin (or parivrajaka) immediately after leaving the householder's life. Later on in the Kalvarjya acts the stage of being a forest hermit is included. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 420 n. 999 on Chān. Up. II. 23. 1. The stage of householder (grastha) was highly praised. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 424–425, 640–41, Vol. V. pp. 1026–27.

The stage of sannyāsa or yati was highly honoured, because it was deemed to lead to mokṣa. The result was that many persons quite unfit to lead the life prescribed for a real sannyāsin only entered the order and possessed all the outward
High position of sannyāsins due to virtues

signs of that stage such as wearing ochre-coloured garments, shaving the head, carrying three staffs and a water jar. They are condemned in the Mahabharata, Santīparva 308. 47 (or ed. = 320. 47 Ch. ed.) quoted in H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 936 n 2151b and above p. 1369 n. 2241). Yaj. III. 58 provides that the sannyāsin should be good to all beings, quiescent, have three dandaśas and a water jar and should enter a village for begging alms. Some interpreted the word tridandi as meaning 'carrying three staffs', while others like Manu XII. 10 and Dakṣa VII. 30 provide that a person is called tridandi who observes threefold restraint, viz. of speech, mind and body. The sannyāsin was so highly esteemed that for deciding doubtful points of dharma a single ascetic was allowed to do the work of a parīsad and declare the proper decision (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 969). Similarly, great emphasis was laid on inviting a Yati at a śrāddha dinner (vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV pp. 388, 399). The Brhaj-jataka (chapter 15) deals with the question about the horoscopic indications for different kinds of ascetics being born on the conjunction of four or more powerful planets in the same sign of the zodiac in the horoscope and adds that according as Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, the Moon, Venus, Saturn, or the Sun is the most powerful of the four or more planets in one sign in a horoscope, the person whose nativity it becomes respectively an ascetic of the types of Baudhāya, Ājivika,2624 a bhikṣa (i.e. vedic ascetic), Vṛddha (a Kāpālika), a caraka, a nirgranthha (a Jain ascetic) or one subsisting on forest produce, fruits, roots &c.2625 This shows that long before Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.) so many kinds of ascetics flourished or were common in India.

The varṇa system classified the whole community and was addressed to people in the mass; the Āśrama theory addresses itself to the individuals in a community and maps out for them

2624. The Ājivikas were an ancient class of monks. They are mentioned in Aśoka’s 7th Pillar Edict (E. I. Vol. II. pp. 270, 272) Daśaratha, grandson of Emperor Aśoka, made grants of caves to Ājivika monks. Vide C. I. I. Vol. I. p. 181. The founder of the order was Gašíla, once a disciple of Mahāvīra, who later left him. The Vāyu purāṇa (62. 255) refers to them as ‘adharmika’. Vide ‘History and the doctrines of the Ājivikas’ by Prof. A. L. Basham (Luzac and Co. 1951). This is an exhaustive work on the Ājivikas.

2625. एकस्म्येकसनातिसमानं तत्र: प्रथममीतं: नालंकाराणबुद्धाष्ट्रमांविहरावरी: निर्मचिन्मयांवरी:। महायज्ञस्वयम्भुवनित्यतन्मयांवरी:। क्रियात्र पञ्चम्य: पदिविन्मय:। निरोधितेन स्वतन्त्रामितिम: पर्वतम:। बुढ्नालालक 15.1. उसन्य--quotes Prakrit verses on the same subject from Vaikākalakārya and several Ṭrīyās in Sanskrit from Satyācārya, a predecessor of Varāha.
how they should order their lives and what preparations are required for the several goals of human life. Deussen in the 'Philosophy of the Upaniṣads' (English translation of 1906, p. 397) says about the Āśrama theory that 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought.'

VII. The doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma (transmigration or metempsychosis).

This is one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Hindu system of religion and philosophy and is unique in its own way, particularly in its long continuity and immense early literature. It has been dealt with above in a separate and extensive chapter (XXXV pp. 1530 ff.). It is not, therefore, necessary to say anything more here.

VIII. Another important doctrine is that of ahiṃsā. So far as the Upaniṣads, Mahābhārata, Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas are concerned the subject of ahiṃsā has been dealt with above in pp. 944-947 and in Vol. II. p. 10. A few matters are briefly mentioned here. The words kratu and yajña occur hundreds of times in the Rgveda. The difference sometimes made is this that the word yajña is very general (including the five daily religious duties laid down in Manu III. 70), while kratu is confined to solemn Vedic sacrifices like Somayāga. Pānini mentions the two separately (IV. 3. 68) and the Gitā IX. 16 (aham kraturaham yajñaḥ) also does the same. Animals were offered in some of these, though not in all. Gradually it came to be thought even in the Rgveda times that worshipping Agni with fuel sticks or with an oblation of cooked food or ghee or with Veda study or obeisances or with a solemn sacrifice is on the same level and the worshipper is rewarded with swift horses (dashing against enemies) and with highest glory and no trouble whether divine or due to men, reaches him (Rg. VIII. 19. 5-6). Some Brāhmaṇa texts are couched in the same strain.

The Ait. 25 Br. (VI. 9) remarks 'he who offers a cake performs a sacrifice equal to the offering of all sacrificial animals'. The Tai. Br. provides that the forest sacrificial animals, after a firebrand is carried around them, are let off for the sake of ahiṃsā. Dr. A. Schweitzer in his 'Indian thought and its development' (tr. into English by Mrs. Russell, 1936) tries hard to establish a contrast between the attitude of what he calls 'world and life negation' in Hindu thought and 'world and life affir-

2626. सच्चा हो एवं पाञ्चास्म प्रेयः यः पर्यंत्तेऽपि प्रेयते। ए. ब्र. VI. 9: पर्यंत्तेऽपि प्रेयः यः पर्यंत्तेऽपि प्रेयः। ए. ब्र. III. 9. 3. 3 (सर्वपण्य explains स च परिशास्त्रेऽहिंसाकार्यो हिंसासिद्धानि सम्पाठे)
mation' characteristic of Christianity and as a side issue remarks (on p. 80) that 'the ahimsā commandment does not arise from a feeling of compassion but from a feeling of keeping a person undefiled'. The learned author ignores several things; firstly, not a word is said about purity (śauca) in the

2627. This is not the place to give a lengthy reply to Dr. Schweitzer's remarks. Dr. Schweitzer's compliment to Christ, Christianity and the West was criticized by Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Eastern Religion and Western thought' (1939 pp. 76-110) and by Shri D. S. Sharma in 'Renaissance of Hinduism' pp. 618-634. On p. 2 Dr. Schweitzer boldly asserts that world and life affirmation unceasingly urges men to serve their fellows, society, the nation, mankind and indeed all that lives with their utmost will &c. One should like to know the Biblical passages where all this grand thought is explicitly stated. On p. 4 he contradicts himself when he says 'Christianity also brought European thought into relation with world and life negation.' The two great commandments of Jesus are first 'to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul' and the second is 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (vide Matthew 22:37 and 39 and Mark 12. 30-31). This is hardly anything like what Schweitzer says about Christianity's world and life affirmation. Not a word is said here about even loving all human beings, much less loving 'all that lives'.

The world has had enough of the world and life affirmation of Christianity (or rather of Christian nations or people). Attention is invited to H. of Dh. Vol. II, p. 180, where Westermarck's remarks in his 'Origin and development of the moral ideas' (1912) Vol. I, p. 711 are cited on slavery. The world knows what during the last four or five hundred years the colonial empires of Christian countries like England, France, Holland, Belgium, Portugal and Spain did in India, Africa, S. E. Asia, the Congo and America. On p. VII of his Preface he appears to contradict himself when he disagrees with the view of Schopenhauer and Deussen about Indian thought being completely governed by the ideal of world and life negation and admits the fact that 'world and life affirmation is present at the back of this thought (Indian thought) from the very dawn of its history, and life negation and world and life affirmation constitute its chief characteristic and determine its development'. Both books (Dr. Schweitzer's and Dr. Radhakrishnan's) are reviewed in 'Hibbert Journal' for 1953 pp. 234-241 and 355-365 by C. W. M. Cell who finds both works disappointing, holds that Schweitzer has misunderstood the Hindu ideal of supra-ethical man, that negation and affirmation have not been properly defined by him, that it was only very late in Christian history that the West began to work actively for improvement of social and economic conditions. Social service was not unknown in Ancient India. The very idea of 'piṛta' dharma is social service. Vide above pp. 947-949. The Purāṇas emphasize the importance of work for relieving distressed beings. For example, the Mārkandeya has the following very noble sentiment (15, 57) 'men would not obtain that happiness in heaven or in the world of Brāhma which arises from giving happiness to distressed men' (वन्ते वर्ग ब्रह्म के वा तत्सुने पायते नरे। यद्यौ मनु-निर्वस्यदानीयमिति ने माति: ॥). Vide also note 6 on pp. 3-4 of H. of Dh. vol. II.
Chāndogya and other passages about ahimsā. Secondly, the injunction about not giving pain to any being (in Chān. Up.) is immediately preceded by the words 'having concentrated all his senses on the Self'. That shows that one who knows and has come to realize that all is brahma should give no pain to others as all those also are brahma and not on the ground of purity or defilement. Further, in the Mahābhārata and Smṛtis some of which at least are not far removed in time from the Upaniṣads both ahimsā and śauca (purity) are separately mentioned along with other duties (dharma) common to all varṇas. Gaut. (8. 23–24) lays down eight qualities of the soul for every dvija viz. compassion towards all beings, forbearance, freedom from jealousy, freedom from excessive harm (to himself), doing auspicious acts, absence of abjectness (or miserliness), absence of discontent'. The same eight are specified in the Matsya- purāṇa 52. 8–10, Atrismṛti 34–41. Manu V. 46 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 69) provides 'he who does not desire to cage or kill or cause pain to living beings, thus desirous of doing good to all, secures highest (or never ending) happiness'. Śauca is external (of the body) and internal (of the mind). Manu V. 106 expressly says that he who is pure as to money matters is really pure and not one who washes himself with sand or water. Vide above pp. 1431–22 notes 2331 and 2333. It is worthy of note that the Śāntiparvam (chapter 162. 4–5 = Cr. ed. 156. 4–5) contains an apotheosis of Satya as the ancient Dharma and brahman itself and then in verses 7–9 Satya is stated to appear in thirteen aspects such as tyāga (renunciation of attachment and pleasures), samatā (being the same to all), dama (restraint of senses), kṣamā (forbearance), hri (being ashamed to boast of one's good deeds), anasūyā (absence of jealousy), dayā (compassion) and so on, ahimsā being the 13th aspect of Satya.

It was only in Jainism that thoroughgoing ahimsā was preached and practised. Buddha had no objection to eating flesh, provided the animal was not killed specially for doing him honour or treating him.

IX. The three paths, viz. Karmamārga, Bhaktimārga and Jñānamārga. These have already been dealt with above in pp. 964–967, 1462. The Bhagavadgītā expounds the further doctrine of what is called niśkāma-karmayoga, which has been explained above on pp. 966–67. Doing one's duty without hankering for the fruit thereof is worship of God.
X. Adhikāra-bheda

It was recognised in India from very early times that in the matter of religious worship and philosophical doctrines, there are different grades among human beings. All are not competent to grasp and act upon abstruse metaphysical doctrines or to follow higher forms of worship. This has been brought out in several places before. Vide above p. 973 note 1593 and p. 1462. Abstruse metaphysical doctrines are likely to be misunderstood and therefore we find that there is an effort to keep such doctrines secret and frequent warnings are given in the Upanisads not to impart the knowledge of brahman to all and sundry and to keep it secret. Vide p. 1071-72 and Chān. Up. III. 11. 5 set out above on p. 1460, Śv. Up. VI. 22, Kaṭha Up. III. 17, Br. Up. III. 2. 13 (Yājñavalkya and Ārtabhāga did not discuss brahman among people). The word Upaniṣad came to mean ‘secret doctrine’ (vide Tai. Up. II. 9 and III. 10). This tendency to keep abstruse doctrines secret obtained in other nations in antiquity (vide St. Mark 4. 11, 34-35). The Ṣaṭkṣayogapradipikā²⁶²⁸ has similar provisions (vide p. 1460 above). Many modern writers condemn people that engage in image worship. The reasons advanced for image worship by Indian works are given in note 1593 p. 973 above. The worshipper of an image of Ganeśa or Kāli casts the image in water (a river, sea &c.) after a day or more (when the period of the festival is over). So it is not as if he worshipped the wooden or earthen object but he has an emotional idea for the time being that God is enthroned in that object. These common people, if questioned, will say ‘God is everywhere, in you, in me and in the wooden image’. The Nṛṣimhapurāṇa 62. 5 (quoted by Aparārka p. 140 on Yāj. I. 101) says that sages declare that the worship of Hari (God Viṣṇu) may be performed in six ways, viz. in water, in fire, in one’s own heart, in the sun’s orb, on an altar or in an image.²⁶²⁹ The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa appears to have been conscious that image worship came later in Kali age and was not prevalent

²⁶²⁸. एवलिहिष ् परं गोपया योगिना सिद्धिमिच्छति ।
भद्रं येनी सुधा निर्मितीय तु कालोरिता ॥ एवतोमच । I. 11

²⁶²⁹. अश्वसो छवधे सुवर्णे स्वप्नले मन्त्राभु ।
यद्वेदधेतु हरसे समग्रवर्भं सुमितमेष्य
स्मृतमेष्य अथ िक्यवति देवेऽं योमिना छवधे हरसे॥ एवतोमच । 62. 5-6 (the 2nd quoted in note 1593 above). Vide स्मृतिचालितम् (आधि p. 198 ed. by Mr. Gharpure) which quotes verses from the Smritis of Harita and Marici to the same effect. Vide विश्वदामोस्तरपुराण III. 93. 5-7 and 20.

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in former ages (III. chap. 93, 5–7 and 20). The present author saw in several European Churches the images of the Madonna or the images or pictures of certain saints worshipped by Christian people that addressed prayers to the image of the Madonna or the pictures of saints for fulfilment of their desires. Therefore, he thinks that it would not be wrong for him to say that the religion of many Christians in Europe is image worship. The several darśanas (except that of Cārvāka) were looked upon generally as approximations to truth. There was no question of all of them being false and one alone as containing the truth.

(XI) Vast Sanskrit literature.

India produced a vast amount of Sanskrit literature of a most varied character for at least three thousand years. There is no country in the world that can exhibit continuous creation of several departments of literature for such a long period. Sanskrit literature penetrated to countries like Tibet, China, Java and others. Its literature influenced the Moslem world and European world by means of the decimal place value system, its fable literature and system of Vedānta. Vide Winternitz's 'Some problems of Indian Literature' (the Readership Lectures in Calcutta University) pp. 59–81 for a brief but instructive treatment of the influence of Sanskrit Literature in the West. Its study by Europeans at the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century laid the foundation of several sciences, such as the science of language, of comparative religion, of thought and of mythology. There exist several Histories of Sanskrit Literature by several scholars such as Weber, Max Müller, Winternitz, Keith, M. Krishnamachariar, which will give an idea to any reader of the variety and vastness of Sanskrit literature.

2630. Vide 'Hinduism and Buddhism' by Sir Charles Elliot, Vol. I. Intro. p. LXX, where a similar view is expressed by the learned writer who relies also on William James' 'Varieties of religious experience,' pp. 525–527. Sir Oliver Lodge in 'Man and the Universe' (London, 1908) pp. 246–247) says 'There are plenty of good reasons against idolatry among intellectual and 'chosen' people but this (God was jealous of idol worship) is not one of them; nor is it to be supposed that the stock of a tree is ever really worshipped even when prostrated to. An idol, to ignorant and undeveloped people, is a symbol of something which they are really worshiping under a material form and embodiment, the sensuous presentation assists their infantile efforts towards abstract thought as material sacraments help people in a higher stage of religious development; but some of these helps should be outgrown.'
India has preserved for itself and for the world a vast literature in the best part of which the principal theme is to ask men never to cease in their efforts to control the senses and to reach higher and higher heights of morality and spirituality. H. H. Gowen in 'A History of Indian Literature' (1931) observes (on p. 8) 'Indian literature has an intrinsic value which no remoteness avails to destroy. For sacredness, variety and continuity, scarcely any other may compare with it, certainly none surpasses it. As for sacredness no other scripture, not even our Bible, may compete with the Veda in its continuity or in the matter of general acceptance'. He dilates also on the variety and remarkable continuity of Indian literature. Classical Sanskrit first blossomed at least before 500 B. C. Pāṇini names at least ten predecessors and his sūtras IV. 3. 87 and 88 clearly indicate that before his time there was considerable non-vedic secular literature.

XII. Yoga: Yoga has been treated of above (pp. 1385-1462). In the whole world there exists hardly any well thought out and comprehensive system of psychical and moral discipline like Yoga. Mercea Eliade observes (on p. 359) in 'Yoga, Immortality and Freedom' (tr. by Willard R. Trask, 1958) 'Yoga constitutes a characteristic dimension of the Indian mind, is marked by reaction against metaphysical speculations and the excesses of a fossilized ritualism'. Western minds having experienced a surfeit of economic prosperity, but worried by the tensions and crises of these times are turning more and more to Yoga and to Indian philosophy such as the Vedānta. In recent years numerous books are being published that deal with 'perennial philosophy', Yoga (including Tibetan Yoga), meditation, concentration, mystical experience &c. Many of these books are written by honest people after reading a good deal of literature on these subjects but they are wanting in any personal yogic or mystic experience. There are some books that are written by persons who want to take advantage of the popular craze for Yoga and similar mystical practices for the sake of wealth and fame. In 'Vedanta for the Western World' edited by Christopher Isherwood (Allen and Unwin, London, 1948) the famous writer Mr. Aldous Huxley sounds a note of warning against the plethora of books on mysticism and Yoga in the market (p. 376).

XIII. Philosophy:

The central point of much of our philosophy is contained in Chāndogyopanaśad VI.1, where Uddālaka inquires of his conceited
son Śvetaketu "Have you asked for that instruction by which one hears what cannot be heard, by which one perceives what cannot be perceived, by which one knows what cannot be known;" and when Śvetaketu asked for that instruction, Uddālaka expounds to him (in VI. 1-16) the subject at length and winds up with the words 'tat-tvam-asi' (thou art that Self). An inquirer into philosophy will find in the various branches of Indian philosophy a vast mass of material, hardly surpassed by any other ancient country in the world. The word for philosophy is darśana and there is a famous work called 'Sarvadarśansangraha' in which fifteen different points of view apart from advaita Vedānta are summarised. The principal orthodox darśanas are six—Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika. Pārvamimāṃsā and Uttaramimāṃsā (or Vedānta), which have been treated above and their relation to and influence on Dharmasāstra has been dwelt upon. The chief marks of Indian philosophy are that it concentrates on the spiritual, that philosophy has to be lived and not merely discussed, that it seeks the Reality, that for real philosophy great moral preparation is necessary, that reason has to be extensively used in arriving at the truth, that tradition and authority have to be accepted and not neglected. Almost all darśanas (except that of Cārvāka) are concerned with Liberation (variously called Mokṣa, Kaivalya, Nirvāṇa, Amṛtatva, Nihśreyasa, Apavarga) and all (except Cārvāka) are agreed on the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma. It is not necessary to say more on Indian Philosophy in this Chapter.

XIV. Arts. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting:

Though the present author has travelled throughout India for over fifty years and seen most of the famous places rich in ancient architecture, sculpture and painting, he lays no claim to being a connoisseur in these matters and cannot give his own valuation of these relics of ancient Indian Art. The number of works on these is legion. A mere bibliography would not be of much use to the reader. Therefore, he will content himself with mentioning a few works on each of the above branches which he has read wholly or partly or which he consulted.

Among the most remarkable ancient monuments of India are the stūpa at Sānchi, the paintings in the Ajantā caves, the
Kailasa temple at Ellora, and the Konaarka temple in Orissa.

Some of the Puranas contain information on the above topics. The Matsyapurana (chap. 252, 2-4) names 18 expounders of Vastushastra (architecture) such as Bharu, Atri, Vasistha, Vishvakarman, Maya, Narada, Nagnajit, Visalaksha, Purandara, Brahma, Kumara, Nandi, Saunaka, Garga, Vasudeva, Aniruddha, Sukra and Bhaspati. Chapters 253-257 deal with the construction of mansions and houses, chap. 258-263 with images of several deities. The Vayupurana (8.108 ff.) describes the founding of a capital. Agnipurana, chapters 42, 104-106 deal with the building of mansions, houses and laying out cities. The Visnudharmottara (third section) is called citrasutra because dancing is held to be the primary art and painting rests on it. It is further said that painting is the best of arts (III. 33, 38) and the foremost of auspicious things in a house, that the rules that apply to painting are applicable to the making of images of metals, stone and wood (III. 43, 31-32). Chapters 36-43 deal with painting, chapters 44-85 with the making of images of gods and goddesses and housebuilding is dilated upon in chap. 86 ff. The Brhat-samhita (ed. by M. M. Sudhakar Divedi, 1895) of Varahamihira (500-550 A.D.) deals with palaces, mansions and houses of king, crown prince and others; in chap. 52 (123 verses) with temples of several gods, in chap. 53 (31 verses) with images of gods, in chap. 57 (Rama, Vishnu, Brahma, Indra, Siva, Buddha, Jina, the Sun,

2631. For Konaarka, vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV of 769, Modern Review (Calcutta) for 1945 pp. 67-72 with seven illustrations by Mr. Pranakrushna Samal and 'A time in India' by Ross Smith pp. 198-201 on 'Konaarka, its mithunas and several explanations about them.' The tower of the temple of the Sun 24 miles to the N. W. of Puri is 180 feet in height; the Mandapa in front is 140 feet high. In 'Orissan Sculpture and Architecture' by O. C. Ganguly and A. Goswami (1956, Calcutta) out of 41 plates, plates 21-41 relate to the Sun temple of Konaarka. For Sanchi, three big volumes with numerous plates have been published by the Govt. of India, the editors being Sir John Marshall, A. Foucher and N. Majumdar.

2632. Vide the present author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1961) pp. 66-72 for an account of the Visnudharmottara and its date (575-650 A.D.). Dr, Miss Stella Kramrisch has translated into English the chapters of the Visnudharmottara bearing on painting and sculpture (Cal. Un. 1928). Varaha-mihira mentions several authors such as Garga and Manu on palaces (55, 31), Nagnajit (57, 4) and Vasistha (57, 8) on images,
Līṅga, Mother Goddesses, Yama), with images or statues of five kinds of men (chap. 68 verse 30) called Hamsa, Śaśa, Rucaka, Bhadra and Mālavya and their bodily features.

There are several other works like the Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja (Calcutta ed. of 1917), the Abhilaṣītārthacintāmaṇi (also called Mānasollāsa)\(^\text{2633}\) of King Somēśvara, Śilparatna (T. S. S.), Mayamata (T. S. S.) on these subjects.

**Paintings** — The only famous ancient paintings are those in the caves of Ajanta, in the Bagh caves in the former Gwalior State and those in the caves at Sigiriya in Ceylon. For reasons of space it is not possible to quote the enthusiastic appreciations of Western writers on ancient Indian Art, particularly paintings and sculpture. The author would quote a few passages from Rene Grousset's\(^\text{2634}\) works: ‘India has given a mighty art or a complete Aesthetic equal in originality and power to the Greek and Chinese. It is marked by its naturalism in depicting animals'. The same writer says about Ajanta's immortal paintings ‘they count among the most moving that have ever come within human vision’. ‘In civilizations of the East' (tr. by Mrs C. A. Phillips, London, 1932 with 249 illustrations) the same author (after citing paintings of the Jātakas of self-sacrifice) remarks ‘these are but a few examples, the most poetic, tender and moving that could be imagined. No better example could be found of that purely Indian sentiment of universal brotherhood, that fervour of humanitarianism which extends even to animals and plants’ (p. 79). For Ajanta, there is a fine edition by Dr. G. Yazdani, the text in two parts (1930 and 1933) and there are besides many coloured and monochrome plates with an Introduction by Lawrence Binyon. There is also another small work prepared for the use of Lord Reading on his visit to Ajanta in 1924 in which Dr. Yazdani gives ten colour plates and one monochrome plate (of a bull fight) with notes on some of the scenes in several caves and appreciations by Binyon, Rothenstein, Solomon and others. Another good book is 'my pilgrimage to Ajanta and Bagh' by Sri Mukul Chandra Dey, with Introduction by Lawrence Binyon (London, 1925)

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2633. The third Viniṣṭati of Mānasollāsa deals with Vāstuṣāstra, painting, images of gods and goddesses, planets &c. (vide part II of the work in G. O. S.).

A third book on Ajanta is in Marathi written and published in 1929 by Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh State, with half-tone and coloured illustrations. Percy Brown on 'Indian Painting' deals with Buddhist, Hindu and Mahomedan Painting and covers a long period from 6th century A.D. to 19th Century A. D. He gives two illustrations of Sigiriya paintings opposite pp. 33, 69, which are remarkably similar to some paintings in caves 16 and 17 at Ajanta. In Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' illustrations No. 183 and No. 184 are respectively from Bagh and Sigiriya.

Many modern works deal with all three viz. architecture, sculpture and painting or with two of them or with one only. Some important works are mentioned here:

1. E.B. Havell's 'Indian Sculpture and Painting' (London, 1908) with 45 plates for sculpture and 8 for painting.
2. V. A. Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' with 38 illustrations (including some of Moslem Art), Oxford, 1911.
3. A. Foucher's 'Beginnings of Buddhist Art' (1917), with plates.
4. Ananda K. Coomarswamy's 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' (1927), with 400 illustrations on 128 plates.
5. 'Ellora' by Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh with 89 half-tone illustrations, published by D. B. Taraporevala and Sons, Bombay.
8. Dr. Stella Kramrisch on 'The Art of India' (sculpture, painting, architecture), London, Phaidon Press, 1954, with 156 plates and 7 coloured plates.
9. Dr. Stella Kramrisch's 'Indian Sculpture' (1933) with 116 illustrations.
10. Rene Grouset's 'The civilizations of the East' Vol. II (on India) with 249 illustrations.
11. A. V. T. Iyer's 'Indian Architecture' in three volumes (Madras).

13. ‘Indian Architecture’ (Buddhist and Hindu), published by D. B. Taraporewala and Sons, Bombay, with 118 illustrations.

14. Benjamin Rowland’s ‘The Art and Architecture of India’ (Buddhist, Hindu, Jain), Penguin Books, 1956; remarks that some sculptures are worthy of being placed in world culture and the Art presents synthesis of beautiful forms and deep spiritual expression.

15. Heinrich Zimmer’s ‘Myths and Symbols of Indian Art and Civilization’ posthumously published by J. Campbell, 70 plates from 2nd century B. C. to 19th century A. D.


17. H. Goetz’s ‘Five thousand years of Indian Art’ Bombay, 1959; 72 plates (many coloured ones) and two maps; D. B. Taraporewala and Sons, Bombay.


South Indian Architecture and Sculpture has some peculiarities of its own. Some works thereon may be mentioned here viz. ‘Dravīdian Architecture by G. J. Dubreuil (1917), ‘Mahabalipuram’ by C. Śivarāmamurty (Dept. of Archaeology) 7 full page plates; ‘Art of Pallava’ text and notes by B. C. Ganguly and ed. by A. Goswami, 46 plates (1957).

Besides, on music also several works have been written: ‘Music of Hindustan’ (Oxford 1914) by A. H. Fox Strangway, Alain Danielou’s ‘Northern Indian music’ vol. I and II (London, 1949, 1954), H. A. Popley’s ‘the Music of India’, (Calcutta, 1950), O. Goswami’s ‘The story of Indian Music (Bombay, 1957), G. H. Ranade’s ‘Hindustani Music and Outline of its Physics
and Aesthetics' (Poona, 1951). But the present author unfortunately knows little about music.

Indian architectonic and iconographic symbolism spread to Java, Bali and other parts of Indonesia and many works have been written on this subject such as 'Barabudor' (Java) by Paul Mus, G. Gorer's 'Bali and Angkor', 'Towards Angkor' by Quaritch Wales (with a full Bibliography at end), W. F. Stutterheim's 'Indian influences in Balinese Art' (London, 1935).

A few more characteristics could have been mentioned; the present writer desists from adding them since the list is already a long one. It is not claimed that no other culture had or has these characteristics. What is claimed is that there is no other single culture in the world where all these can be found now or existed in the past and that some of these characteristics such as the noble Vedânta concept of man, lower animals and even inanimate things being one in Essence, the great tolerance throughout the ages for differing religious and philosophical views, the emphasis on satya and ahimsâ are unique and not found elsewhere.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

Future Trends

After the battle of Plassey in 1757 the civil government of the three large provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa came under British rule from 1765. From 1818 when the last Peshwa Bajirao II was defeated and became a pensioner, the British were in control over the whole of India except Punjab, which was subdued in 1845. The British left India in 1947. Therefore, they were rulers over a large part of India for 180 years, over the whole of it except Punjab for about 130 years and over Punjab just about 100 years. The impact of British occupation during these periods on Hindu society was tremendous in all spheres, physical, mental and moral. The changes effected during these years of British rule were of such magnitude that they far exceeded the changes that occurred in hundreds of years before the coming of the British. With the advent of British rule came a new system of Government on an all India basis, establishment of courts of justice on Western patterns, laws that applied to all Indians without distinction, modern individualistic liberty, Western pattern of living at least in towns and cities, an educational system placing all Indians on the same level, newspapers, better means of transport, study of modern science, English literature and arts &c.

The present author has no intention of writing anything on the all round changes that have taken place in India under British rule. All that he proposes to do in this chapter is to indicate briefly the effects that are likely to be produced on Hindu society, its ancient ideals and values in the near future, on account of science and modern ideas, the Constitution framed for Indian democracy, the idea of a secular State, socialistic pattern of society, economical planning, legislation, growth of population and means to check it.

But before he deals with the above subjects, it is necessary to give a rapid review of the state of things before Independence was achieved. Lord Ripon as Viceroy of India in 1882 started a scheme of local self-government by means of municipal corporations in the cities and district and local Boards in the rural areas. Thus after about 120 years from 1765 when British rule was first established in a large part of India, the British
thought fit to associate the conquered people in managing some of their own (unimportant and petty) affairs. Colonialism on the part of the British had reached its peak by that time. The British imported raw materials like cotton from India, processed them in Manchester and exported the manufactured products back to India's immense market. At the instance of British manufacturers laws were passed in Britain forbidding the import of Indian silk and cotton goods. India was drained of wealth by that policy for over a hundred years and India became one of the poorest countries in the world. Dadabhai Naoroji in his 'Poverty and un-British rule in India' (London, 1901, 675 pages) demonstrated this very ably. The main elements of the colonial rule of Britain were these; complete political subjection existed; the main economic activity was in the hands of foreigners, it was foreign capital that was employed in India and substantial dividends or interest on the capital were guaranteed in some cases like the Railways by the British rulers of India payable from the taxes imposed on Indian people, the control of large enterprises was in foreign hands and directed towards securing foreign interests, the land and people were used as instruments of the purposes of Britain. India got peace and political unity at the cost of enormous poverty and distress and many of the economic problems that beset present day India have to be traced back to the disastrous colonial policies of Britain.

The army of the Government of India was for over a century entirely officered by the British. There were in the 20th century about 7000 officers (lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels) among whom not one Indian held the King's commission till after the first world war. Then a few were sent every year for training to England. The examination for entry in the Indian civil2635 Service (the 'Steel frame' of the Indian

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2635. A well known jibe in the author's youth was that an I. C. S. was neither Indian (almost all were British in those days) nor civil nor a servant (but he was the master of the destinies of poor India). Munro wrote in 1817 a memorandum to Lord Hastings from which two sentences may be quoted: 'there is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the Government of their country as in British India...Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we' pp. 273-74 of 'the Making of Indian Princes' (London, 1943) by Edward Thompson. Vide G. W. Forrest's 'Selections from the Minutes and other official writings of Elphinstone' (London, 1884) p. 102 for reproach against British rule in India.
administration, as one great British Prime Minister was pleased to call it) was held in England (in spite of a Resolution of the House of Commons that the examination for appointment to the Indian Civil Service in 1893 should be held simultaneously in India and England). Only a few Indians in the last quarter of the 19th century could go to England and qualify for entry in that heaven-born service. District officers such as Collectors, District Judges, Police Superintendents, Medical officers (of the Indian Medical Service) were almost all British. Almost all Professors in colleges and the head masters of even some secondary schools were Englishmen. All the books to be used in schools were prescribed by the Head of the Department of Public Instruction in the several provinces, all of whom were Westerners. Even primary education was being given only to a small fraction of the children of school-going age, even in 1947 when the British left. The elements of colonial rule by Britain and the policies pursued by the British rulers are emphasized here solely as warnings to present warring elements in our country that if they pursue their quarrels to bitter ends the nation may again be plunged into a miserable state by invasions from powerful and hostile neighbours.

Morley (who was Secretary of State for India and who was believed by many Indians to be a man of liberal or even radical views) introduced separate communal electorates for Moslems in the reforms of 1909 and he was firmly of opinion that a Parliamentary system in India should not be established in the foreseeable future. It is unnecessary to refer in detail to Montagu's famous speech in 1917, characterizing the Indian Government as too wooden, too antediluvian for modern times, to his statement (the reverse of Morley's views) that 'the policy of the British Government is the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realiza-

2636. Vide the volume of "Indian Speeches" by Viscount Morley (p. 92) where he says "If my existence, either officially or corporeally, were prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be, a Parliamentary system in India is not at all the goal to which I would for one moment aspire." Even so late as 1941 Sir G. Schuster in "India and Democracy" (MacMillan, 1941) strongly expressed the view that Parliamentary democracy of the Westminster pattern would not suit India and that Indians would have to work out a system of their own. He does not even indicate how, while the British ruled India, a democratic system could be evolved by Indians and in how many years.
tion of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire,' the failure of Dyarchy introduced by Montagu, the Rowlatt Acts, unrest in Punjab, General Dyer's proclamation declaring any assembly of four or more persons as unlawful, his shooting of men, women and children assembled in Jallianwallah Bagh for a meeting in defiance of the proclamation, when, even according to Government statistics, 300 people were killed and 1200 injured, Dyer's compulsory retirement and the presentation of a purse of thirty thousand pounds to him by his British admirers for saving the British Empire (as they then thought).

The introduction of education through English was espoused by Lord Macaulay in his 'Minute on Indian Education'. Why he insisted on the education of Indians through English is stated in the Minute as follows: 'We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect.' 2637 English education caused great wastage of effort in learning all subjects (including even Sanskrit) through English and led to a disproportionate pursuit of literary studies and neglect of scientific and technological subjects and created a wide gulf between the educated and the uneducated masses; it glorified Western culture and did not help Indians to study and appreciate their own culture. Educated Indians, particularly in the earlier period of English education in India, came to entertain an exaggerated respect for Western institutions and unduly disparaged their own social and religious systems.

The British Government's interest in Indian education (particularly higher education) was lukewarm. Three Universities (of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras) were first established in 1857 for the whole of India, but they were merely examining bodies. In the whole of the Bombay Presidency there was no Science Institute entirely maintained by Government till about

2637. Vide 'Speeches by Lord Macaulay' with Minute on Indian Education, edited by G. M. Young (Oxford Un. Press 1952). The minute is on pp. 344-361. On p. 349 he makes the following statement 'I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European Library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.' Vide p. 359 of the above work for the above oft-quoted passage.
1920. An Indian could pass the M. A. examination in Philosophy without knowing anything about ancient Indian philosophy till only a few years ago. However, English education by Government and missionaries produced a result exactly opposite of what was expected by them. The missionaries miserably failed in securing the Indians (except a few among the lower castes and ādivāsis) for Christ and Government found that reading the classics of English literature and works of men like Burke, Spencer, Mill and others created among the educated emotions of nationalism and discontent with their own abject political status. Political agitation daily increased. Lokamanya Tilak was called 'the father of Indian unrest' by an English writer. He passed away in 1920. But his mantle fell on Mahatma Gandhi, who while agitating for political power and eventual freedom, adopted the technique of satyagraha.

It is not necessary to go into the freedom struggle from 1919 to 1947 which culminated in the British leaving India but after dividing it into Pakistan and the present India. The partition of India into two parts based on merely communal considerations let loose the most hideous conflicts, massacres and flights of millions of refugees which India had ever witnessed during its long history. The giving up of a large empire with mutual consent and without war or bloodshed is a unique and unparalleled event in the whole history of the world. The message of the King of Great Britain read by Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy to the members of the Constituent Assembly was nobly and graciously worded "With this transfer of power by consent comes the fulfilment of a great democratic ideal to which the British and Indian people alike are firmly dedicated." Dr. Rajendra Prasad's reply to the message of the King was couched in equally noble and just language 'While our achievement is in no small measure due to our sufferings and sacrifices, it is also the result of world forces and events, and last, though not least, it is the consummation and fulfilment of the historic traditions and democratic ideals of the British race" (vide 'Transfer of power in India" by Shri V. P. Menon, published by Orient Longmans, 1957, p. 415).

The Indian Independence Act was passed by the British
Parliament and Royal assent was given on 18th July 1947. A Constituent Assembly had been set up by the cabinet mission (of three cabinet ministers, Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander) and it held its first meeting in December 1946. It re-assembled in August 1947 as a sovereign body to frame a constitution for free India. Its work went on for over two years and the constitution consisting of 395 Articles and nine Schedules came into force on 26th January 1950 (except 15 Articles that came into force at once); vide Art. 394.

The Preamble to the Constitution of India declares that India is a sovereign democratic Republic. The extent of the Indian Republic even at present is vast. It was hardly ever under one Government, except possibly under Asoka. In ancient times India had some gaṇarājyas or saṅgharājyas (oligarchic states, or republics as Jayaswal and some others prefer to call them). This question of the existence of oligarchies (or republics) in ancient India has been discussed at some length by the present author in Vol. III pp. 87–96 of the H. of Dh. He still adheres to the views there expressed. The Buddhist monks had a procedure for regulating the meetings of their saṅgha (as set out in the Mahāvagga IX. 3 in SBE Vol. XVII p. 264 ff and in Cullavagga IV. 9, SBE Vol. XX pp. 24–27 and pp. 53 ff) and Jayaswal conjectures that the same procedure was followed in oligarchies (or republics).

There are substantial achievements to the credit of present India and its leaders during the last 14 years after Independence. Some of them may be very succinctly stated here: (1) The production of a comprehensive democratic constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and worship, freedom of the Press, protection of the rights of minorities, equality of all before the law, equality of status to women, independent judiciary; (2) Abolition of untouchability (Art. 17); (3) political integration of India without any violence, as the five hundred and odd States (except only three), that comprised nearly 1/3rd of the total land area of India and 1/4th of the population, patriotically accepted a merger of the States in the Indian Republic (Shri. V. P. Menon's 'Story of the Integration of States'); (4) Reorganization of India into 15 States and six Union Territories based mostly on linguistic unity and administrative convenience; (5) holding two elections on the basis of
adult suffrage, viz. every person (male or female) who is a citizen of India, is twenty-one years of age and not disqualified under the constitution or any other law, has a right to be registered as a voter at elections to the House of the people and to the Legislative Assemblies of States (Art. 326); (6) Socialistic pattern of society as the goal (Art. 38, 39); (7) Two five-year plans have been carried out and a third Five Year Plan has been set on foot (under Schedule VII, list III, item 20). The creation of a democratic republic was something that India had not been acquainted with for at least twelve centuries (even if ganarājyas were held to be republics and not merely obligarchies). From Rigvedic times there was a hereditary monarchical form of rule. Vide Rg. VII, 33.3 and 5, VII, 83.7–8, where the battle of ten kings (daśa rājanāh) with king Sudās is mentioned; vide also the story of Devāpi and Śantānu in Rg. X, 98 expanded in Nirukta II, 10–12.

Some criticism may be offered against the Constitution. In the first place, it is extremely bulky and goes into too many details and is a hotchpotch of provisions from several sources. Some provisions are derived from England, the directive principles of State policy are derived from the constitutions of Ireland and other countries of Europe, some are borrowed from the Government of India Act of 1935. Several of these need not have been put in a Constitution but should have been left to ordinary legislation. In spite of such a lengthy constitution there are many omissions. Nothing is expressly said about political parties, about industrial corporations, about relation of religions and the State. The Constitution makes a complete break with our traditional ideas. Dharmasūtras and Smṛtis begin with the dharmas (duties) of the people (varṇas and aśramas). Prime Minister Pandit Nehru himself says in his Azad Memorial Lectures on 'India to-day and to-morrow' (1959) p. 45 'All of us now talk of and demand rights and privileges, but the teaching of the old dharma was about duties and obligations. Rights follow duties discharged.' Unfortunately this thought finds no place in the Constitution.

One fact of the greatest importance in the life of India is the accession of the masses to power, not only political, but also

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2637b. Women had no votes in Great Britain till the first war and even now in Switzerland women have no votes (vide p. 31 of 'Switzerland in perspective' by George Soloveychik (1954)).
social, economical, intellectual and moral. The Constitution engenders a feeling among common people that they have rights and no obligations whatever and that the masses have the right to impose their will and to give the force of law and justice to their own ideas and norms formed in their own cottages and tea shops.

The Constitution of India has no chapter on the duties of the people to the country or to the people as a whole. Art. 19 confers the right to seven freedoms, one of which (c) is to form associations or unions and sub-article (4) enables the State to make laws imposing, in the interest of public order or morality, reasonable restrictions. The framers of the Constitution forgot to include what Britain had provided long before in 17 and 18 Geo. 5, Chapter 22, Article 1, part of which runs 'any strike is illegal if it is designed or calculated to coerce the Government directly or by inflicting hardship on the community'. The eyes of some of the framers of this constitution were opened by the strike of Government servants in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs by which, if it had continued for even a fortnight, crores of people would have had to submit to incalculable hardships and the action of the strikers in essential services would have been like a rebellion by some lakhs of people against over forty crores of people. The right to strike by workers tacitly given in the constitution is in imitation of similar rights enjoyed in industrial countries like Britain only for the last few decades and the framers should have restricted the right to strikes between private employers and employees as an experiment in the first instance.

Another criticism is that there are too many amendments. From 1950 there have been ten amendments, while in the U. S. A. there have been only 22 amendments during a period of about 170 years. The very first amendment was made within less than a year and a half from the day the Constitution came into force. It affected about a dozen Articles, among which there were three Articles dealing with fundamental rights viz. 15, 19, 31. One fails to understand the meaning of the words 'fundamental rights' in a constitution which took over two years of deliberations, if they could be changed within a year and a half. The amendment made in Article 31 prohibits a person from challenging in a court of justice a law about the compensation to be paid to a person for compulsory acquisition of his property. This is a serious inroad on rights to private property.
and smells of spoliation and arbitrariness. In the House of the People the quorum is only 50 and if 50 persons are present and a majority of them (say 26) decide that a certain amount of compensation should be paid for compulsory acquisition of several properties of a person and the compensation is felt to be ridiculously low he has no remedy in a court of law at all. Besides, the Welfare State is, if at all, foreshadowed in the Directive Principles of State Policy (Art. 38, 39 etc.), but these principles are not enforceable in a court of law and, therefore, they are inferior to fundamental rights, the breach of which can be examined by the High Court or Supreme Court, which is invested with the power of issuing writs. Parliament (Lokasabha) has over 500 members and the quorum is 50 and yet this small number is not often present and the Speaker has several times to reprimand the House of the People on this score.

Another criticism may be offered as to the inclusion of Universities in list II (of schedule 7, State List, No. 11) and not in the concurrent list. Vocational and technical training of labour is in the concurrent list (Item 25). Is not University education throughout India of as much importance as the training of labour? Only items 63-66 (of list I, Union list) are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Central Government. \[2638\] There is hardly any weighty reason (except chance) why the Benares Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University, the Delhi University and Santiniketan should be treated as the exclusive concern of the Central Government and the other Universities be not placed even in the concurrent list.

The Constitution in its 8th Schedule recognizes fourteen languages as the national languages of India, while Article 343 (1) makes Hindi the official language of the Union, but sub-article 2 (of Article 343) provides that English will continue to be used for all official purposes for fifteen years and sub-article 3 provides that Parliament may continue even after 1965 the use of English for purposes specified by Parliament. Even such a small country as Switzerland has three official languages. The Constitution should have provided at least two Official languages for north India and two for South India, when even

\[2638\] Vide 'Our fundamental rights' by D. N. Banerjee for an exhaustive and trenchant criticism of the change made in Art. 31 (2), the speeches of the Prime Minister and of Hon'ble Mr. G. B. Pant (pp. 316-336) Calcutta. 1960
in 1950 the population of India was about 36 crores. This sweeping decision to make Hindi the only official language instead of helping emotional integration of Indians produced great strife. An official language is not the only means of emotional integration, nor even the chief one. The Govt. should begin with the children in the schools, should instil into their minds the fundamental cultural Unity of India, and that India has been looked upon as one by all foreign invaders, steps should be taken to make every Indian feel that he is the inheritor of the vast ancient wisdom and spiritual culture of India, that he must contribute to the conservation of that culture, and must add to its greatness in the future, and free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 should have been achieved in ten years as foreshadowed in Art. 45.

A plan and programme to instil among all grown-up citizens the ideal of national integration must be prepared, insisting on our common past, common interests, common future and on elements like the wisdom and thought embodied in Sanskrit and the regional languages, the tolerance shown by our people through the ages.

The Constitution has also committed several mistakes in the allotment of subjects in the 7th Schedule as Union list, State List and Concurrent list. For example, the production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of intoxicating liquors are put in the State List (item 8 in List II, State List) This has led to prohibition in some States, but also its absence in other States.

The above discussion is enough to show that the Constitution framed after more than two years' cogitation is unsatisfactory in several ways.

Ours is a democratic Republic. The most famous definition of democracy is Lincoln's viz. 'Government of the people by the people for the people'. All three must exist in a proper democracy. In the Greek city States such as Athens all adult citizens (except slaves that outnumbered citizens) could assemble and could directly participate in discussion and the framing of laws and regulations. But this is impossible when crores of people spread over a vast country are voters. Therefore, one part of Lincoln's definition becomes watered down. Crores of people cannot govern themselves, which is a physical impossibility. All they can do is to choose some men as their rulers. In former ages when monarchy
was the prevailing form the ruler came to be so by succession or by conquest i. e. by breaking heads. Now, under democracy, the ruler or rulers are chosen by the mere counting of heads. As observed by Dr. Radhakrishnan in ‘Kalkin or the future of civilization’ (4th ed. of 1956) ‘Democracy in actual working rarely permits a country to be governed by its ablest. The opinions of the mass prevail over those of the thinking few. We must strive for some better way for conducting human affairs than the lottery of the ballot-box’ (pp. 20–22). René Guenon in ‘Crisis of the modern world’ (translated by Arthur Osborne, London, 1932) remarks ‘the law is supposed to be made by the opinion of the majority, but what is overlooked is that this opinion is something that can very easily be guided or modified i. e. opinion can be manufactured. The majority on whatever question it may be called on to give its opinion is always composed of the incompetent, whose number is vastly greater than that of the men who can give an opinion based on a full knowledge of the subject’ (p. 108).

These words of René Guenon refer to conditions in European countries in most of which there has been almost cent per cent literacy for some decades. Parliamentary democracy assumes that voters understand the policies and programmes of different parties and cast their votes accordingly. It presupposes some education, intelligence, respect for the rule of law, tolerance, a sense of brotherhood for at least one’s countrymen, and a more or less homogeneous society. But when, as in India at present, the vast majority of voters are illiterate, the state of things becomes far worse. We can and must tolerate democracy in India as a first step towards better days, though at present it is a mere shell and is ridiculed by some unsympathetic foreigners.2639 The census of 1961 discloses that literacy which was only 16.6 percent in 1951 is 23.7 percent in 1961. Dean Inge in ‘Christian Ethics’ (1930) remarks about politics in England where almost all voters are literate ‘our politics are so corrupt that many would welcome a dictatorship.’ (p. 385). About the U. S. A., a recent work ‘Corruption in Washington’ by Blair Bolles (Gollancz, London, 1960), which makes rather dismal reading, indicates the terrible moral predicament of the honest man in power caught between public responsibility and loyalty

2639. A. Koestler in ‘Lotus and Robot’ (London, 1960) remarks ‘India is a democracy in name only, it would be more correct to call it Bapucracy’ (p. 156).
to his friends and associates. In our country also ministers and officials must be in a similar predicament, particularly when there exist numerous rules and regulations about permits and licenses galore.

The Directive Principles of state policy are contained in Articles 37 to 51 and it is provided in Article 37 that they shall not be enforceable by any court, but that they are fundamental in the governance of the country. Article 45 enacts that the State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years. It is more than twelve years since the commencement of the Constitution. In spite of the fact that about 7000 crores of rupees were to be spent on grandiose schemes in the two Five Year Plans, this fundamental provision was not implemented. Even free and compulsory primary education of all children up to the age of eleven years (instead of 14 as envisaged in Article 45) is not accomplished and it is promised that in the Third Five Year Plan (which envisages an expenditure of over ten thousand crores of rupees) this may be accomplished. But, if the huge sums for the third plan be not forthcoming, the first casualty will be education. The education of the masses who are to be voters and indirectly rulers of the nation continues to be sadly neglected even after Independence.

It is remarkable that the directive principles of state policy mostly contain provisions on the economic system for raising people’s standard of living (Art. 43, 47 &c.), i.e., it lays emphasis only on the material things for the people. It seems to be assumed that if material prosperity or benefits are assured for all, then there is nothing more to be done by the State. The present author feels that the Directive Principles should also have put equal or greater emphasis on moral and spiritual values and should have called upon the State to promote among the people high moral standards, self-discipline, co-operation, sense of responsibility, kindliness, high endeavour. Man is a many-sided being. The satisfaction of mere physical needs is not enough. Man has intellectual, spiritual, cultural and social aspirations also. The socio-economic pattern for the future must be based on the foundation of the best part of our traditions, the rule of dharma, the duties common to all as declared by Manu X. 63 and Yaj. I. 122. A secular state should not and does not mean a godless state or a state that has nothing to do with moral and
spiritual values. Prime Minister Nehru himself emphasizes this, when he says 'whether religion is necessary or not, a certain faith in a worth-while ideal is essential to give substance to our lives and to hold us together. We have to have a sense of purpose beyond the material and physical demands of our daily lives' (in 'Today and tomorrow', p. 8). It may be stated that for most common men and women it is religion that sets worth-while ideals.

The third item in Lincoln's definition is 'for the people'. That is, the Government must look to the good of the people as a whole and not to that of any class or a community in the country. Modern democracy has come to mean parties and it has to work on decisions of the majority. It often happens that, there being several parties, no one party has an absolute majority over all other parties put together. It may often happen that one party secures 40% of the votes actually cast and the other parties (that differ in ideologies) secure, say 25, 20, 15, percent of the votes, then the first party with only 40 percent of the total votes cast rules, though it does not represent the majority of the whole country. The party system generally leads to a struggle for power and lowers the moral standards of the whole people, particularly when hardly one-fifth of the voters (both male and female) can read and write their own regional language. The present author does not hold that illiteracy necessarily means absence of intelligence. But, unless a man can read for himself and ponder over what he reads, he can hardly be a good judge of the pros and cons in relation to a measure or policy placed before the voters. Besides, the emphasis laid on standards of living without any direct reference to moral and spiritual values has already led to this result that in India the desire for material comforts and positions of power dominates almost every one and there is no corresponding urge or even idea to do one's best for producing goods. The laws are drafted in the English language. Most of the speakers in Parliament use English (a few only speak in Hindi) and complicated laws are said to have been passed by a majority or unanimously as the case may be. That country may be said to be the best governed which is least governed. There is a spate of legislation in the House of the People. In the seven years from 1950 to 56 nearly 450 laws were passed by the central legislature alone. Some of these laws vitally affect Hindus in their family relations and in other respects. A few examples only can be cited here. The Hindu Adoption Act went far beyond the ancient Hindu principles, which were two viz. that
only a male could be adopted for purposes of spiritual benefit to the adopter and the person to be adopted should be in age and other matters like a son. Women could not adopt to themselves but a widow could adopt a son for the spiritual benefit of her husband. These principles have been thrown to the winds as will be seen from the criticisms of the present author above on pp. 1337-1338. But one thing must be mentioned. In some enactments affecting Hindu Law, customs have been abrogated: vide Hindu Marriage Act 25 of 1955, Section 4, Hindu Succession Act 30 of 1956, Section 4 (1). The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (78 of 1956) prescribes that the person to be adopted must not be more than 15 years of age (section 10 item IV) and that there should be a difference of 21 years between a male adopter and a female adoptee and between a female adopter and a male adoptee (sec. 11 items iii and iv). But the provision in Sec. 10 is made subject to a custom to the contrary. It passes one's understanding why custom was allowed to prevail over the law in this case. The Hindu Marriage Act, 25 of 1955, has made sweeping changes of which the vast majority of Hindus are blissfully ignorant. Before the Act a Hindu could in theory (and rarely in practice) have two or more wives living at the same time and even an anuloma marriage (i.e., the marriage of a male of a higher varna with a woman born in a lower varna) was held to be invalid by some High Courts in India such as those of Allahabad and Madras. Now under the present Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 the marriage is a monogamous marriage (section 5) and a person belonging to any caste may marry a woman of any caste how highsoever or lowsoever she may be by caste; and further marriages between spouses belonging to the Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or Jaina religions are now declared valid. It was suggested, while the marriage Bill was in the Committee stage, that the provision as to monogamous marriages should become compulsory when a similar provision would be made applicable to Muslims (who under the Koranic law can have four wives at the same time). But this was brushed aside through fear of antagonizing Muslims. Other provisions about Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs being Hindus for the purposes of the Marriage Act, being a sweeping one at one stroke, is likely to be resented by almost all illiterate Hindus and likely to lead to tension and bitterness in many rural families and to break-up of the family as a central and compact unit in Hindu society. The orthodox people do not like such mixed marriages. It is not
unlikely that the orthodox sections in the country may join hands with the ignorant masses and set back the hands of the clock, when some years hence the ranks of the towering personalities of the Gandhi era whom people want to humour have become thin.2640

One of the outstanding characteristics of Hindu society for several millennia has been the joint family system of the Mitakṣarā type which prevails in the whole of India (except in Bengal which is under the Dāyabhāga system). Its peculiarity is that all male members in the family form a coparcenary, that if any male of the family dies his interest devolves by survivorship on the remaining male members including his own male issue, if any, that females have no rights in the family property except marriage expenses and maintenance and no member of the joint family could transfer any part of the family property by will (not even the father) or by sale or mortgage except for certain recognised family necessities. This joint family system and the caste system were the bulwarks that kept together Hindu Society for centuries, inspite of foreign invasions and misrule. The Hindu Succession Act (30 of 1956) makes two sweeping changes in the Mitakṣarā joint family system. The explanation to Section 30 of the Act provides that any male Hindu may dispose of by will his interest in the coparcenary property. This is one drastic change. A similar drastic change was made by section 6, its proviso and explanation read together. Briefly it comes to this. If a Hindu coparcener of the Mitakṣarā system dies after the Succession Act comes into force, leaving him surviving no son, but a daughter or the daughter of a predeceased son or the son of a predeceased daughter or daughter of a predeceased daughter, his interest in the coparcenary property will not pass by survivorship to the other surviving male members of the coparcenary but to the above mentioned descendants of his and the interest that would pass to these descendants would be the share in the coparcenary property that would have been allotted to him if partition of the coparcenary property had taken place immediately before his death. Before this Act, the daughter or the other heirs mentioned above would have got nothing in the coparcenary property when any male member of the family died sonless. These two changes make of the joint family of the Mitakṣarā

2640. Vide what Mr. Frank Moraes says (on p. 85) in his biography of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1956) about people being anxious to humour him.
type a mere shell. It was suggested when the Bill was before Parliament that Parliament should provide that the joint family system of the Mitāksarā type has been abrogated and that all members of the joint family after the passing of the Act would be only tenants-in-common. But this was not done. Why the Minister in charge or the members of Parliament felt squeamish about ending the coparcenary system of the Mitāksarā is not clear to the present author. It looks like straining at a gnat while swallowing a camel. These and other changes in the old Hindu Law are possibly motivated by the desire to do justice to the rights of women. But in some cases this is done with a vengeance. For reasons of space only one example of this type is cited. Under Section 8 of the Hindu Succession Act and the Schedule of heirs in class I and class II, if a man dies possessed of property leaving only his mother and father (and no sons or wife or other persons) the mother will take the whole estate of her son absolutely to the entire exclusion of the father, since the mother is placed among heirs of class I., while the father is placed in class II and the rule in Sec. 8 (a and b) is that heirs put in class II succeed only if there is no heir in class I. Under Yāj. II, 135 the order of heirs to a man dying without male issue is first the widow, then daughter, then daughter's son or sons, then parents (pitrāu, the dual is used). Some commentators held that the mother is to be preferred as heir to the father, others held that the father is to be preferred to the mother, while still others held that both parents should succeed together. In the Council of States (Rājyasabhā) the father was put in class I along with the mother, but in the House of the People the mother was put in class I and the father was put as heir in class II. Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex, religion, race &c. What difference can be made between the mother and the father of a man as heirs except on the ground of sex? Probably, the legislators wanted, in however small a way, to compensate women for past injustices to them. The Hindu Law of Succession of 1956 goes even beyond Muslim Law in that it recognizes twelve categories of persons (in class I of Schedule) as entitled to succeed simultaneously and take the property of the deceased. In a few cases it is possible that the heirs of class I taking the estate of a deceased person may be twenty or even more, if the latter leaves five sons and five daughters, besides some children of predeceased sons and daughters. There is probably no country in the world where so many persons are entitled to succeed simultaneously to
a deceased person's estate. The result would be that there would be great fragmentation of property and constant wrangles and litigation. This amounts to distribution of poverty. Under the Hindu Law before 1956 women as heirs to males took as a general rule a limited estate (i.e., a life estate). For example, if a man died leaving his wife and a brother or a brother's son (but no children) his widow would take a limited estate i.e. on the widow's death, the estate would go to the brother (if alive) or to the latter's sons &c. Now (after 1956) the widow would take an absolute estate and she would be able to dispose of it as she pleased (by sale, gift or will). Vide Section 14 of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. Not only this, that section has retrospectively conferred an absolute estate on the widows who succeeded as limited owners before 1956. Suppose a person died in 1950, leaving a widow and a brother. The widow would take only a limited estate and she could not sell it or will it away; if she died before 1956 the husband's brother would have succeeded to the estate. But suppose she is alive and in possession of her husband's estate when the Act of 1956 was passed. Her estate is at once enlarged. She can donate it to any one or leave it by her will to her own brother and entirely destroy the expectancy of the husband's brother to succeed to her husband's estate. This is equality of women with a vengeance. The mass of people know nothing about this at present. But when many cases come before the courts and the common people come to know the present law whereby the expectancies of male members of her husband's family are set at naught by the widow transferring the property to persons that are strangers there is bound to be great trouble. Of all the revolutionary changes in India none will have more pervading influence and meaning than the drastic changes in the legal status of women made by the laws affecting Hindus passed from 1954 to 1956, which enforce monogamy, make polygamy punishable, which provide the minimum ages for the marriage of women and men at 15 and 18 respectively, which allow divorce to both sexes on the same basic rules, which confer rights of inheritance and absolute ownership on a daughter and her children, that allow the husband or the widow of a person, if the deceased had not already adopted a son and a daughter before his death, to adopt a son and a daughter.

Several States (e.g., Bombay by Act LXVII of 1948, sec. 5) have passed laws putting ceilings on the extent of the holding
of lands up to 48 acres or 24 acres according as the land is ordinary or bagait (irrigated). This is felt by common people as a great injustice, when there is no ceiling on the wealth of big merchants and the like. It may be argued that these very rich people pay income-tax and other taxes. The agriculturists also say that they pay taxes and that inflation has made the price of bare necessities go up.

Before leaving the subject of legislation vitally affecting Hindu society, some remarks will have to be made about the mentality of several Congressmen who appear to have great faith in making men moral by legislation. Article 47 provides that it is among the primary duties of the State to raise the level of nutrition, the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and that, in particular, the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health. The Bombay State and a few other States in India embarked on a policy of total prohibition of intoxicating drinks. If there was to be a total prohibition of intoxicating drinks, it should have been an all India measure. Several States refused to have the prohibition law because there is loss of revenue in two ways, viz. the income from excise duties on liquors is lost and large sums of money have to be spent on establishments for preventing people from manufacturing illicit liquor. Art. 45 about free and compulsory education of children of school-going age (up to 14 years) was not strenuously observed by the Bombay State but it wanted to enforce Art. 47 at all costs. Besides, there being no prohibition on an all India basis, what is an offence under law in the Bombay State is not an offence in Delhi and some other States at all. That takes away the moral basis from the measure. Besides, prohibitionists forget human psychology. When something is prohibited or becomes rare, many feel a fascination in breaking the law or trying to possess what is rare. Illicit liquor produced and kept under the most unhygienic conditions is being sold on a large scale and persons knowing this dare not inform the police for fear of being stabbed or killed by distillers of illicit liquor.2640a A

2640a. L. P. Jacks in "Near the brink" remarks 'Social Reform might be defined as the process of creating the social problems of tomorrow by Acts of Parliament designed to solve the social problems of today' (p. 116) and on p. 118 he says that he never saw so many drunken people as during the years when prohibition was in force.
Minister's cook was found engaged in manufacturing illicit liquor. In the present author's opinion prohibition has turned out to be a dismal failure, it tends to corrupt the police, it reduces revenue much needed for development purposes, illicit distillation has become a cottage industry and boot-leggers have acquired a vested interest in prohibition. Why horse-racing and betting are not prohibited by law is inexplicable, except on the supposition that many people entertain that Government is afraid of displeasing rich people who indulge in it. Wine and gambling have been besetting sins from the times of the Rgveda. Vasiṣṭha pleads for forgiveness of sins from Varuṇa in Rgveda VII. 86.6 saying that 'it is not one's own power that leads one to commit sin, it is fate, wine, anger, dice (gambling) and thoughtlessness'. In Rg. X. 34 a gambler laments over his own frailty. Therefore, all that can be reasonably attempted is temperance and reducing the spread of the drinking habit; otherwise new and greater evils not contemplated in the ardour for suppression emerge. Vide p.1338 above for the warning given against startling changes based on Mr. Aldous Huxley's words. Another faddist attempt at improving morals by legislation is the recent Act prohibiting dowries, which came into force on first July 1961. The giving or taking or abetting the giving or taking of dowry or demanding a dowry directly or indirectly from the parents or guardians of a bride or bridegroom is punishable with imprisonment extending to six months or with fine extending to five thousand rupees or with both. The definition of dowry punishable under the Act is rendered practically nugatory by the explanation that presents made at the time of a marriage to either party to the marriage in the form of cash, ornaments, clothes or other articles, shall not be deemed to be dowry within the meaning of the section, unless they are made as consideration for the marriage of the said parties. This, instead of relieving the parents of marriageable girls from the payment of a dowry, would give rise to blackmail on the part of busy bodies in the town or the village of the parties. If this latter does not happen the Act will ordinarily remain a dead letter.

2641. The Act defines 'dowry' as 'any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly (a) by one party to the marriage to the other party to the marriage or (b) by the parents of either party to a marriage or by any other person, to either party to the marriage or to any other person at or before or after the marriage as consideration for the marriage of the said parties, but does not include dower or Mahr in the case of persons to whom the Muslim Personal Law applies'.

Article 40 of the Constitution calls upon the State to organize village Panchayats and to endow them with the powers and authority necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. In ancient and medieval times, village Panchayats played an important part. Under the British this system (which trained people in democratic functions on a small scale) was practically done away with. Now after about two hundred years the present Government wants to revive Panchayats. In the different States of India village Panchayat Acts have been passed. Until a large percentage of villagers become educated, self-reliant and men of character, the village Panchayats cannot function as the foundations of real democracy. It is very likely that either the dominant castes or the leading families or the bullies (gunjas) in the village will capture the village Panchayats and use them for their own benefit. A recent book 'Panchayat-i-raj' by Shri S. A. Dey (published by Asia Publishing House, 1961) paints a very roseate picture of Panchayats functioning in the 550 thousand villages of India. It all depends on disinterested workers of high character; otherwise this project will meet the same fate that overtook Brayne's work in Gurgaon after Brayne left.

Some people took it into their heads to decide that agricultural land should belong to him who tilled it. Therefore, in Bombay and some other States legislation was enacted, first holding that he who tilled another's land for six years was to be regarded as a 'protected tenant' (i.e. practically a permanent tenant); later on the owner was prohibited from selling the land to a non-agriculturist and ultimately (by Bombay Act. LXXVII of 1948, sec. 32) the tenant was made the owner, being liable to pay to the original owner the price fixed by the Revenue authorities spread over twelve yearly instalments. Whatever may be the case in Zamindaris, in the Deccan and some South Indian States the Ryotwari system prevails and persons belonging to the lower middle class purchased lands at high prices (not getting more than three or four percent as rent on the money invested) as land was deemed a stable investment. The present author, having been a practising lawyer for forty-five years, knows personally thousands of village people. In many cases although four or five years have passed away, the Revenue authorities have not yet decided the prices of the lands over which ownership of erstwhile tenants has been declared. Most of the erstwhile tenants (now become owners) have not paid a pie for four years
and the real owners have been robbed of the benefit to be derived from the price, if paid. Supposing Government was solicitous of increasing production by making tenants owners there is no reason why Government should not have recovered the price or instalments as a revenue demand. There is no judicial probe in the ordinary courts of law, the appeal lies only to the Govt. (that means to the Collector), no owner is entitled to engage a pleader (sec. 80 A) and very complicated provisions are made if the former tenant fails to pay each instalment. But the present state of things is sheer spoliation and looks like robbing Peter to pay Paul and is a sample of what democracy might mean to people of the lower middle class. There is no evidence that by these measures production of food grains has greatly increased. But Congressmen are complacent because they know that in the elections the vast majority of illiterate agriculturists who are to benefit by such legislation will cast their votes in favour of 'oxen' adopted as symbol by the Congress party. Many States have introduced by legislation ceilings in land holdings, viz. no man or family is to hold more then 48 acres of dry land and no more than 24 acres of irrigated land. Even agriculturists have now begun to grumble and to ask why no ceilings are placed on the accumulation of wealth, when they see rich people flaunting their wealth in cars eighteen or twenty feet in length, obstructing narrow roads and causing serious casualties. Most people complain that the poor are getting poorer and the rich richer under the policies of the present Government. Government is not able to hold the price line and agriculturists, workers in industries and the lower middle class are dissatisfied and there is great danger of communistic ideas spreading among the majority of the inhabitants of this ancient land, that once honoured sages. Prime Minister Nehru said on the Congress manifesto for the elections of 1962, 'If the great majority of people in India for some reason or other become communists in the sense of thinking that way, it may be good or bad, I do not know, but I

2642. A survey carried on by the Police authorities for some months in Greater Bombay (population 41 lakhs) this year disclosed that motor accidents on an average caused one death every day, 13 people were injured and several dozens of accidents occurred every day in which motor cars were involved but no man was killed or injured.

am quite convinced it would not be India, then it would be something else. I do not want that to happen, even though I want India to take up modern scientific techniques, scientific theories, economic theories, economic organizations. I accept all that to the extent it is good for India. It is for us to choose. I do not rule out any-thing but I rule out being uprooted from India'.

What is ordinarily meant by 'Socialism' is collective farming, the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and State Industrialization. Merely saying that the land should go to the tiller and carrying out that by legislation is simply robbing one person to benefit another. It is a long way off from that to socialist farming which would make the tiller a landless worker on the collective farm.

It is often said that ours is a 'Welfare State' and that what is aimed at is 'a socialistic pattern of society'. The Constitution does not employ these very words. But Art. 38 appears in substance to mean that India would be a Welfare State, as it provides 'The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic, political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.' In the report of the Planning Commission on the 2nd Five Year Plan (which was accepted by the Government) the meaning of 'socialistic pattern of society' is set out as follows: 2644

The task before an underdeveloped country is not merely to get better results within the existing framework of economic and social institutions, but to mould and refashion these so that they contribute effectively to the realisation of wider and deeper social values. These values or basic objectives have recently been summed up in the phrase 'socialist pattern of society'. Essentially this means 'that the basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit, but social gain and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relation should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increase of national income and employment but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth.' Major decisions regarding production, distribution, consumption and investment

2644. Vide p. 9 of a draft outline of the 2nd Five Year Plan pub. by the Planning Commission in February 1956.
must be made by agencies informed by social purpose. The benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society and there should be progressive reduction of the concentration of incomes, wealth and economic power. The problem is to create a milieu in which the small man who has so far had little opportunity of perceiving and participating in the immense possibilities of growth through organized effort is enabled to put in his best in the interest of a higher standard of life for himself and increased prosperity for the country. It appears from this and from what follows that 'socialist pattern of society' is not to be regarded as some rigid or fixed pattern. It is not rooted in any doctrine or dogma.

A booklet published by Sriman Narayan for the All India Congress Committee (2nd ed. of 1956, New Delhi) embodies the notable speeches of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He starts by saying that private enterprise is useful so far as our country is concerned, that we wish to encourage it, but the dominance which private enterprise had throughout the world during a certain period is no more and that for a planner it has now a secondary place. Later on (p. 2) he states that he uses the word 'socialistic picture of society' as meaning largely that the means of production should be socially owned or controlled for the benefit of society as a whole. On p. 12 he says (at Avadi Session) 'we have laid down that certain basic industries must necessarily be state-owned and there are other industries we should try to encourage the State to start. The plan is an integrated whole and in that integrated whole the public and private sector must also be integrated. They are not rival shows.' On p. 19 he says 'The national aim is a welfare state and a socialistic economy.' 'Finance is important, but not so much as people think.' 'What is important is trained personnel. The only thing we have to guard against is inflation. Inflation is avoided if there is production corresponding to the money thrown in'. (p. 20). 'Everyone in the country should have the primary things of life like food, clothing, housing, education, sanitation, medical help, employment, work' (p. 27). 'The objectives of India's Planning should be socialistic pattern of society. It cannot be achieved by mere legislation; but it is all a question of planning' (pp. 30–31). 'Both Congress and Parliament have said that we want a socialistic pattern of society. Why have we used this vague language? We have done
so deliberately because we do not want to commit ourselves to any rigid formula' (p. 55). 'India wants a social revolution by peaceful means, peaceful methods, by mutual agreement, by working together. Hard work is the only way to progress.' Russia had to use force to do in 20 or 25 years what England did in 100 years (pp. 60-66).

These quotations taken from the speeches of the Prime Minister clearly establish that he does not want a totalitarian communism in India. He appears to favour a democratic socialistic pattern. But he himself admits that vague language about socialistic pattern has been deliberately used and that his idea is to build up in India by trial and error a sort of democratic socialism. But there is great danger in this. The present author is not aware of any large country in the world where a democratic socialistic pattern purposely clothed in vague language has been tried and succeeded. The language being vague and no definite procedure being chalked out, a socialistic pattern would mean all things to all men and the socialistic pattern of society is vague enough to allow diverse interpretations.

Russia and China have been and are under totalitarian socialism. In Soviet Russia under Lenin and Stalin peasants, working men and intellectuals became statesmen and military commanders, the old economic principle of supply and demand was replaced by central control of all commercial relations, of all production and distribution among the large populations of Russia spread over vast areas, individualistic agriculture gave place to huge co-operative farms managed under the directives of the State, aristocracy and democracy were abolished and dictatorship of a party that monopolized all power emerged. Our leaders appear to have borrowed the ideas of co-operative farming and the State control of production and distribution of several commodities from the Russian example, but the present writer is afraid that without the coercive methods employed by dictators like Stalin, our experiments will not in a measurable period of time lead to the results desired and expected by our leaders.

Those interested in democratic socialism may profitably read Shri Ashok Mehta's work on it (published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959).
What appears to the present author is that our country is to have a mixed economy, in which private and public enterprise are supposed to work together to narrow the disparity or gulf between a small minority of have-nots and a vast multitude of have-nots. For example, Atomic energy, Railways, iron and steel, aircraft, ship-building are among Government industries, while the private sector is to be concerned with the manufacture of textiles, cement, aluminium, machine tools, chemicals and pharmaceuticals &c.

The present writer does not think that he is competent enough to criticize the means and methods that are being adopted by the leaders of the country and to say whether they are enough to meet the high promises made and the hopes raised by certain Articles in the Constitution such as 39 (part a of which declares that the citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood), 41 (providing for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of un-employment, old age, sickness and disablement), 43 (the State shall endeavour to secure to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities); vide Articles 45 and 47 already quoted above (on pp. 1669, 1675)

But he will say a few words. The mass of people cannot be kept at a high level of self-sacrifice, great ideals and hard work for long. A dynamic and revered leader like Buddha may succeed for a time in securing this. But, when he passes away, there is gradually a relapse into conditions worse than what they were before. For the vast majority of people anywhere private gain is the chief motive for hard work and not mere requests or sermons. If that motive is abolished, then the majority will not work hard at all, though a few individuals of high ideals and moral character may work as hard as before. Or there will have to be a dictatorship, coercion and fear of being liquidated. In the absence of these, production will be enormously reduced and there will be no improvement in standards of living. Russia and China are not under a Parliamentary democracy and they can therefore make people work without trammels, but in countries like U. K., U. S. A., even Japan the appeal of the motive of private gain is the chief factor. Even in Russia incentives have to be held out for extra work and it is admitted that even after forty years of totalitarian rule, there are great inequalities of income, since the wages of
an Academician and an average worker are in the ratio of 62:1, and (apart from academics) the wages of high-placed executives and common men are in the ratio of 20:1 and there are no ceilings on income. Shri Vinoba Bhave placed his target about Bhūmidāna at fifty million acres but he got only about five million acres, half of which are not arable. Now the emphasis has shifted to 'Sarvodaya'. Shri Jayaprabhash Narayan, who was first a Marxist out and out, then joined the P.S. Party, is now advocating the principles of 'Sarvodaya' in 'Towards a new society' published by Mr. Prabhakar Padhye for the Congress for cultural freedom (New Delhi, 1958).

Sarvodaya planning seems to be based on the assumption that a radical change in human behaviour and attitude to work and property will take place on a large scale without coercion. There is hardly any basis for any such assumption at present. The Prime Minister himself admits (vide p. 240 of Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao's paper in 'Changing India') that adequate motives and inducements have to be provided. The Indian Government more than any other purely democratic country in the world has extended the scope of public administration to embark on the production and distribution of economic goods while keeping at the same time full Parliamentary democracy. Gandhiji also called upon the millionaires to hold their vast fortunes in trusteeship. One should like to know the names of even a dozen millionaires in India that dealt with their wealth like trustees even in Gandhiji's lifetime.

Let us now turn to the third Five Year Plan.

2646. Vide 'The Democratic alternative' (p. 16) by Miss M. A. Devaki, published in 1959 by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, Bombay.

2647. Sarvodaya ideal is not different from the well-known verse 'सर्वेऽवृथस्त्र सम्बन्धम्: सम्बन्धं सत्यं विशालय:। सर्वोऽभिमारणि पतिवर्धुम सा काँतिस्वरूपम् ॥', which means 'May all here (in this world) be happy, may all be free from diseases. May all see prosperity and may no one experience sorrow'.

2648. 'Third Five Year Plan', published by the Government of India, Planning Commission, 1961 (774 pages). While these pages were passing through the press the author came across a book called 'Planning in India' by Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari (Orient Longmans, 1961) who was a member of the Planning Commission from March 1950 and Deputy Chairman from February 1953 to June 1960, It is a valuable book based on official information and containing numerous tables and details. It requires to be carefully studied and invites criticism, but that cannot be done in this place now.
objectives of the planners are stated on p. J. 'Rapid economic growth and expansion of employment, reduction of disparities in income and wealth, prevention of the concentration of economic power, and creation of the values and attitudes of a free and equal society. Where the bulk of the people live so close to the margin of poverty, the claims of social justice, the right to work, of equal opportunity and of a minimum level of living have great urgency'. On p. 48 the principal aims are further elaborated and it is stated on p. 49 that the first priority belongs to agriculture and therefore the total outlay provided is 1718 crores of rupees as against 950 crores in the Second Plan and fertilizers to the extent of 800,000 tons are provided for as against 110,000 tons in the 2nd Plan.

Our country's great handicap is population and food production. Statistics for the growth of population are (in millions): 1901 (235.5), 1911 (249), 1921 (248.1), 1931 (275.5), 1941 (314.8), 1951 (356.9), 1961 (438). This indicates that by about 1966-1967 the population of our country may be about 480 millions. Article 39a (referred to on p. 1666) requires the State to direct its policy towards securing that every citizen has the right to an adequate means of livelihood. Our country has been an agricultural country from time immemorial, yet we have to import millions of tons of wheat and other grain for feeding our large population. The finance minister in his speech on the Budget for 1961-62 states (p. 79 para 36) that in May 1961 an agreement under P. L. 480 was signed by India's minister with the U. S. A. for the import in four years of 18 million tons of wheat, one million tons of rice and also certain quantities of maize, cotton, tobacco and soya bean oil. This is the biggest agricultural commodities agreement ever signed between two countries. There were four previous agreements commencing from August 1956 but they were all on a lesser scale. The fifth agreement of May 1960 was for agricultural commodities worth 1369.8 million dollars (= 655.8 crores of rupees). The average intake of food in India is below the nutritional standards laid down by scientists. Ours is one of the poorest countries in the world as the following table for national income per capita for 1957 will show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Capita Income (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>269.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2649. Vide Tata Industries 'Statistical Outline of India for 1959', Table 8 for population.

2650. Vide Tata Industries 'Statistical outline of India' 1959, Table No. 2. Vide 'Communist China today' by S. Chandrasekhar (p. 136), who shows that the present figures about China are not reliable owing to a change of policy in modern China.
Very low per capita income in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rupees</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>5114</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>U. K.</td>
<td>4561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>4946</td>
<td>U. S. A.</td>
<td>10124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>W. Germany</td>
<td>3530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures show that in Ceylon the per capita income is double that of India, in Japan it is four times as much and in Germany over twelve times that of India. Both Germany and Japan were devastated by the 2nd World War and yet the people of both countries have in less than 15 years improved so much in production that both are giving substantial assistance to India. Our people and leaders should deeply ponder over this state of things and should strain every nerve in an all out effort to improve the country's lot instead of talking and mutual bickerings.

While these pages were passing through the Press, the author got a copy of 'India's Food Crisis and steps to meet it' which is a report (of 254 pages) made in 1959 by a Ford Foundation Team of thirteen American Technicians and agriculturist specialists at the invitation of two Indian Ministers of Food and Agriculture and Community Development and co-operation. It is a very important document, discusses seventy aspects of the problem and deserves close study by all Indians interested in India's welfare. It is issued by the Govt. of India. One or two striking matters can alone be referred to here. The report points out that the total population of India will be about 480 millions at the end of the Third Five Plan in 1966, that the target of 110 million tons of food grains by 1965–66 is reasonable and is necessary to provide food enough for the added millions and to provide for some dietary improvement and a safety margin for poor crops and other emergencies. The report recognises that India is making steady progress in food production, but the rate of production must be tripled to meet the Third Plan target. It gives the warning that if India's food production increases no faster than at present rates, the gap
between supplies and target will be 28 million tons by 1955-66; this would be 25 per cent shortfall in terms of need and that no conceivable programme of imports or rationing would meet a crisis of this magnitude (pp 3-4). The report suggests several emergency measures and measures to be carried on over a long period, which cannot be set out here. It stresses the need for research in agricultural economics. It recommends (p. 11) that the entire nation must be made aware of the impending food crisis and steps must be taken to meet it and warns that adequate supplies of food are essential to the survival of democracy. Two short-comings of the report may be pointed out. It does not tell us what funds would be required for research and for implementing the numerous other suggestions it makes. Besides, it says nothing about the birth rate in India and measures to curb the phenomenal rise in population.

According to U. N. Demographic Year book (August 1960) there are about 2900 million people in the world. More than half of the world's inhabitants live in four countries viz. China (669 millions), India (438 millions), Soviet Union (209 millions), U. S. A. (178 millions). Population growth depends upon the birth rate and the death rate. Owing to scientific discoveries, epidemics or such diseases as malaria, typhoid, cholera, influenza are either eliminated or brought under control and therefore the death rate tends to be lower and lower. It is the birth rate that has to be controlled. The following table for comparative birth rate and death rate in 1957 for eight countries is interesting:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Birth Rate per thousand.</th>
<th>Death rate per thousand.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. K.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. A.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that the birth rate in our country is not very high or abnormal and the death rate is also similar to that of such progressive countries as France and U. K. Many Western countries have no definite population policy at Govt. level. But the case of our country is entirely different. Our country has already a huge population, most of which is on the margin of subsistence level. Supposing that by means of our two Five Year Plans the national income in the ten years (1951–1961) increased 30 percent, the growth of population in the same period would come to about 22 percent, so that most of the additional wealth produced would be eaten up by the new mouths that have to be fed and the standard of living of the average Indian would practically remain the same. Therefore, the main problem that faces the Government, the planners and the people is how to control the large growth of population. Population control will not solve all the problems of our country, but our other problems will not be solved without solving that problem. The Government of India and the Planners had no well thought policy about the control of population. Government appears to lay far more emphasis on industrialization and agricultural production than on population control. In the first Five Year Plan only 65 lakhs of rupees were allocated to the schemes of population control, in the 2nd Five Year Plan the allocation was raised to five crores. The Planning Commission has now realized the gravity of the problem of the enormous growth of Indian population, has provided 50 crores of rupees in the Third Plan for the various schemes of population control (vide pp. 676 ff. of Third Five Year Plan). In the whole world about 100 people are born every minute, about 6000 persons every hour, about 140,000 every day and about five crores every year. This problem of the phenomenal growth of population overshadows in urgency and importance almost every problem of the contemporary world, much more so of India. Very little is being done to control systematically the terrific growth of numbers. Sweden in the early 19th century was a poverty-stricken country, but now it is one of the progressive and prosperous countries of the world owing to hard work, co-operation, honesty, social and personal discipline. Birth control is a very difficult and delicate problem. Religious beliefs and prejudices have to be taken into consideration. In Rigvedic times the prayer to God Indra for a newly married bride had been ‘O bountiful Indra! may ten sons be born of her and make her husband the eleventh (member of the family).’ Later on
some kindly soul took compassion on women and made the blessing to be ‘of eight sons’. The Mahābhārata said that a sonless man does not reach blessed worlds (heaven &c). By the birth of a son the father was deemed to have discharged his debt to his ancestors and the water and pindas (balls of cooked rice) offered by the son to his deceased father and other deceased ancestors were supposed to be of great efficacy for the peace of the departed souls. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 560–61, 799 and above p. 1625 This importance of a son or sons is believed to this day by almost all illiterate or educated people in India except a few men and women of advanced views. Educated brides sometimes request that the old mode of blessing for eight sons should not be followed. Therefore, in such cases the formula has to be changed to ‘may you have as many sons as you desire’. The Smṛtis lay down that the husband has to cohabit with the wife after the first few days of her monthly illness and that he inquired the sin of embryo murder if he refused to do so without good cause. Vide H, of Dh. Vol. II pp. 570–71 and note 1327. The Mārkandeya Purāṇa (Chap. 14. 5-6) goes a little further and gives a story in which the husband who neglected this owing to his partiality for another charming wife had to undergo torments of hell. The present high prices of the necessaries of life induce many people to limit families by various devices. The Planning Commission is going to try various measures such as intensive education, provision of facilities and advice on the largest scale possible, providing family planning services at 1864 rural and 330 urban medical and health centres, numbers of sterilization centres, opening 6100 clinics in rural areas and 2100 in urban areas (in 2nd Plan only 549 urban and 1100 rural clinics), distribution of simple contraceptives, research programme for more effective contraceptives etc. The 3rd Plan reports that in the 2nd Plan period 125000 sterilization operations were carried out (p. 678 of Third Plan). The present author is not an expert in these matters and so will content himself by pointing out that sterilization and, particularly contraceptives, are double-edged weapons. Sterilization for males is easy and may become popular among well-to-do men for selfish reasons (such as not wanting children and not undertaking the task of bringing them up). Therefore, a rule would have to be made and rigorously enforced that no sterilization will be done unless the man has three children or more. Vide a very thoughtful work ‘Fertility and Survival’ by Alfred Sauvy tr. from French by Christine Brooke-Rose (1961). Birth control is practised in
West Europe, North America, Japan exclusively by the well-to-do type of people. The same might happen in India. The most serious objection against contraceptives is that they will lead to immorality and encourage promiscuity in both sexes. Gandhiji in his 'Self-restraint versus self-indulgence' (3rd. ed., 1928) stated that so far as India is concerned there is no case for contraceptives (p. 3) and advised self-restraint. But he might have changed his opinion if he had been alive today. To advise poor people to practise self-restraint, when most of them live in hovels of one room or two rooms, who are uneducated and have no ambitions and pass life in abject poverty, sounds to them as a huge joke. The well-to-do have many interests in life and several outlets for their energy but for the poor there are very few. It is interesting to note that the Prime Minister in his 'Autobiography' (1936) strongly criticizes Gandhiji's praise of poverty, suffering and ascetic life as utterly wrong, harmful and impossible of achievement (p. 510) and regards Gandhiji's attitude to sex as extraordinary (p. 512).

Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Religion and Society' (published in 1947) concedes (p. 189) that the use of contraceptives cannot be altogether forbidden, quotes Dawson to the effect that birth control by abstention is either ineffective or, if effective, pernicious (p. 90), that objections to birth control by contraceptives are due to their abuse and that in the present conditions facilities for birth control must be available, especially to poorer classes (p. 191). Contraceptives would have to be harmless to use, cheap, easy to use and absolutely reliable. The author is not sure if there are contraceptives of this type. Japan, a small country of islands, was compelled by the rapid growth of population to legalise abortions. Vide 'Aggression and Population' by P. James Dawson (London, 1946) for a thoughtful book on how to check worldwide growth of population. A thoughtful and exhaustive work is 'Population and planned parenthood in India' by S. Chandrasekhar, Director of Indian Institute for population studies, Madras (revised Edition of 1961).

The total investment programme for the Third Plan comes to Rs. 10400 crores (p. 109), Rs. 6100 crores in the public sector and Rs. 4300 crores in the private sector. The public sector has to find Rs. 7500 crores in all (that is Rs. 6300 for investment plus 1200 crores for current outlays in personnel &c (p. 91)).
## Resources for the Third Plan (p. 100)

### Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>States</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Balance from current revenue</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Contribution of Railways</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Surpluses of other public enterprises</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Loans from the public</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Small Savings</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Provident funds</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Steel Equalisation Fund</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Balance of miscellaneous capital receipts</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Total of 1 to 8</td>
<td>2214</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>3040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Additional Taxation</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>1710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. External Assistance</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Deficit financing</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total ... | 6038 | 1462 | 7500 |

Besides the States have resources for 3rd Plan amounting to 1416 crores.

The two five year plans have given our leaders a certain mastery over the situation and some confidence about the future. But Mr. Nanda has to admit that the productivity and level of efficiency are very low. Foreign aid raises difficult questions as to how to match it with an adequate mobilization of domestic resources. The mass of people are poverty-stricken, have a low standard of living and therefore can save little. High prices, which is a concomitant of development plans in all countries, are making common people discontented.

Foreign assistance runs into thousands of crores of rupees, nearly half of which comes from U.S.A. The United States Information Service has prepared a detailed statement of assistance to India for ten years from June 1951 to 4th August 1961 and circulated it to many Indians from which some striking figures are quoted here. A statement brought up only to June 30 of 1961 gives slightly smaller numbers as compared with the statement given below which brings up the figures up to 4th August 1961.
U. S. Government aid consists of grants and loans. Grants are gifts and do not involve any repayment. The grants in ten years total 1128.5 million dollars (537.4 crores of rupees). Loans involve repayment, some in dollars and some in rupees or dollars at the option of the Indian Government. Repayment in rupees does not involve the utilization of India's foreign exchange earnings or the export of goods from India. Eighty percent of U. S. loans to India up to Aug. 4, 1961 (2192.1 million dollars) are repayable in rupees i.e. that portion of the loans is not so inconvenient as the loans repayable in dollars are.

On p. 110 of Third Five Year Plan the foreign exchange requirements are put down at 2030 crores of Rs. for plan projects. But there are other general needs of the economy by way of raw materials, components, replacement machinery to be provided for. It is estimated that Rs. 3800 crores over the five years would be not too high. On p. 114 it is stated that the total assistance for the Third Plan assured by foreign countries is 2286 million dollars (Rs. 1089 crores) out of which the USA has agreed to provide 1045 million dollars (just under half of the total foreign assistance), West Germany 425 million dollars, U. K. 250 million dollars, Japan 80 million dollars, and small sums by Canada, France &c.

U. S. Aid from the Inception of the Aid Programme to India in June 1951, through August 4, 1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOLLARS (Millions)</th>
<th>RUPEES (Crores)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aid under Indo-American technical co-operative programme</td>
<td>496.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Law 480, Title I</td>
<td>2337.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famine Relief grants to Indian Government</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural commodities distributed through voluntary agencies (Public Law 480, Title III)</td>
<td>116.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Loan Fund</td>
<td>513.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Export-Import Bank</td>
<td>246.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat Loan of 1951</td>
<td>189.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong> ...</td>
<td><strong>3910.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grants to Indian Government for economic development (not repayable) 1128.5 537.4
Famine relief grants to Indian Government (not repayable) 10.4 5.3
Agricultural commodities distributed through voluntary agencies (PL 480, title III) (not repayable) 116.8 55.6
Loans repayable in dollars 436.6 307.9
Loans repayable in rupees or dollars 1755.6 836.0
Cooley fund for loans to private enterprises 162.3 77.3
Amounts under PL-480 Title I reserved for US Govt. use 300.8 143.1
Total ... 3910.9 1862.6

The preceding table shows that in the last ten years, India has become indebted to the USA in the huge sum of 2655 million dollars (some payable in dollars alone and the rest in rupees if India chose that way). In the Third Plan USA has agreed to provide India up to 1045 million dollars i.e. at the end of the 15 years from 1951 India may owe to U.S.A. 3700 million dollars, that is roughly about 1756 crores of rupees (at Rs. 4½ per dollar). India will probably owe a larger amount to all the other lending countries taken together. The most serious question is how and in how many years India will repay the debts that run into astronomical figures. The explanatory memorandum accompanying the Central Budget for 1961-62 shows that India's public debt stood at Rs. 949 crores on 31st March 1939. On the 31st March 1962 it will reach the huge figure of 5554 crores. Adding the liability of Govt. to repay various deposits placed with Govt. under the Post Office Savings Bank, National Plan Savings, Provident Funds, Saving Deposit Certificates etc. which account for Rs. 1868 crores, India's obligations would really come to 7422 crores of Rs. (5554+1868), at the end of March 1962. Our interest yielding assets are only Rs. 5725 crores. If we add to this huge sum the debts our Govt. will owe to U.S.A. and other countries as shown in the
above table, at the end of the third plan India would be indebted in the colossal figure of about Rs. 11000 crores.

While these pages were passing through the Press, the author received a statement from the USA Information Service in Bombay, which brings the figures up to 12th March 1962. It states that the American Economic assistance to India from June 1951 to 12th March 1962 totals 4118 million dollars (= 1960.9 crores of Rupees) as shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dollars (Million)</th>
<th>Rupees (Crores)</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Grant (not repayable)</td>
<td>1,291.2</td>
<td>614.8</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Loans repayable in dollars.</td>
<td>608.2</td>
<td>289.6</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Local Currency repayments.</td>
<td>2,218</td>
<td>1,056.5</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,118.0</td>
<td>1,960.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not necessary to go into other details. The loans are repayable at different dates, some being repayable in forty years and some carrying a very low rate of interest. It may, however, be noted that out of about 4000 million dollars aid to India since Independence over half has been in the form of P. L. 480 Food for commodities. The Food Minister of India, Mr. S. K. Patil, assures us, however, that India would become completely self-sufficient in food by the end of the Third Five Year Plan and points out that during the last decade, foodgrain production in India rose from 50 to 80 million tons a year, an increase of 60 per cent. But it should not be forgotten that the population of India in the same ten years increased by about 22 per cent over the population in 1951.

The Welfare State theoretically aims at (Sarvodaya) prosperity for all (at least for the vast majority). Up to recent times, the main obligations of the State towards its people were the administration of the country, the defence of the country and its coast against aggression or invasion, maintenance of law and order, primary and higher education. The ambition of the framers of the Indian Constitution and our leaders is to create a welfare state, and to reconstruct the present social and economic order on a socialistic pattern by subjecting the country to a planned economy. Several vital industries are now reserved
for the State and Government has assumed power to regulate production, to control distribution and to fix even the prices of some commodities absolutely necessary to all men in daily life. It has also established the State Trading Corporation. Taxation has become an ever-increasing instrument of economic policy for carrying out the plan projects. Apart from the income-Tax Act (XI of 1922 recently consolidated by Act 43 of 1961) our democratic Government passed one after another four Acts, viz. the Estate Duty Act (XXXIV of 1953), the Wealth Tax (XXVI of 1957), the Expenditure Tax (XXIX of 1957) and the Gift Tax (XVIII of 1958). There is no other country in the world that has all the above five taxes. Is India the only welfare country in the world? There is a sense of uncertainty and fright in the middle classes and tax dodging in the rich or influential sections of the community. Reasons of space prevent the citing of illustrations of the arbitrary character of the recent four Acts. In all these Acts the opinions of the Govt. officers (viz. Gift Tax officer, expenditure tax officer, and wealth tax officer and higher officers) in an executive ladder under the same Acts on questions of fact (such as the value of a property) are final and cannot be questioned in any court of justice (i.e. in a subordinate judge's court or district judge's court or High Court). If a creditor releases a debtor from his debts (wholly or partly) the creditor will have to pay gift tax on the debt released if the gift tax officer is of opinion that he could have recovered the debt by means of legal steps. No man can make a gift of more than 100 rupees at one time to a private person or even a near relative (except to his wife) and if he makes several gifts to the same person in one year exceeding five hundred rupees he will have to pay gift tax. In all cases of questions of fact one appeal should have been allowed to a district court or where the amount concerned was more than ten thousand rupees to the High Court. It should be recognized by policy-makers that our people have great faith in the integrity of the High Courts and the district judges who are selected by the High Courts and whose promotion does not depend on the Executive. They have not much faith in the fairness and integrity of Appellate Commissioners and Tribunals that are appointed by the Ministers, when the dispute is between private persons and taxing authorities on behalf of Government. Writers on the constitutions of countries have for many years emphasized two leading features viz. the sovereignty of Parliament and the rule of law. Parliaments are cajoled into
passing legislation whereby courts of justice are evaded or passed by and the will or caprice of executive officers becomes unfettered and supreme. This is what is called the 'New Despotism' by Lord Chief Justice Hewart of Great Britain.\[2559\] In the name of the Welfare State it seems that all power is being centralized in bureaucracy by our leaders.

Most common people in India have a very vague notion of what socialism means. They believe that socialism is based on Marxism.\[2652\] Marx holds that revolution is the weapon or means by which the workers are to seize power, that his theory is scientific and based on a study of facts. He himself declared that he was no 'Marxist' (vide 'Naked God' p. 3 by Howard Fast, New York, 1957 and 'New Class' by Milovan Djilas p. 4 London, 5th Impression, 1958). These words of his are explained by Dr. Radhakrishnan as meaning that he was not pledged to the acceptance of a doctrine, final, complete and oppressive (vide 'Religion and Society,' 1947, p. 25). This is not the place to discuss the premises and predictions of Marx. But a few words may be said here. Marx had predicted that communism would prevail first in the most developed and industrialized nations. What happened is quite the opposite of this. Communism occurred in countries like Russia and China that were relatively very much less developed and industrialized. Another of his predictions was that the system of private ownership would make the rich richer and the poor poorer, would

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2652. Vide 'New Despotism' by Lord Chief Justice Hewart (Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1929) p. 17 (a long passage from which is quoted by R. S. W. Pollard in 'Conscience and liberty' (Allen and Unwin, London, 1940). Vide also 'Bureaucracy triumphant' by C. K. Allen (London, 1931). All these taxing enactments have created a high ladder of officers appointed by the executive. For example, under the Wealth Tax Act there is first the Wealth Tax Officer who decides what tax is payable, then there is an appeal to the Appellate Assistant Commissioner (Sec. 23), then there is a further appeal to the Appellate Tribunal (Sec. 24), then there can be a reference to the High Court on a point of law (Sec. 27-28) and finally an appeal to the Supreme Court (Sec. 29). This is sheer harassment and practical denial of justice. After a private person has run to three different officers or official bodies then only the High Court comes in, if at all, and that too on a point of law. It should be remembered that the wealth tax officer has often to determine the value of properties worth lakhs of rupees and on points of fact there are appeals only to the first officer's superiors and there is no provision for a probe of facts by a court or judicial officer independent of the executive. A similar procedure is provided in the Gift Tax, the Expenditure Tax and Estate Duty Tax.
bread ruinous depressions and in the end the angry proletariat would revolt, would overthrow the exploiting classes and establish a communist society. This second prophecy has not materialized in almost all highly industrialized nations. On the contrary, several democratic States have provided security against unemployment, sickness and old age and in some countries employers have admitted representatives of workers into the management of industries. The 'Communist Manifesto' is the official Bible in the U.S.S.R. A recent work 'The Anatomy of the Soviet man' by Claus Mehnert, translated from German by Maurice Rosenbaum (1961), appears to the present author to contain a balanced and fair estimate of the working of Communism in U.S.S.R. He points out that the desire to rise socially and amass wealth and power is as common to the Soviet Union as to the rest of the world (p. 84), that the New Class does not constitute a bourgeoisie in the West European sense, that it is a State bourgeoisie, all members work for the State and are dependent on it (p. 73), that social distinctions are greater in U.S.S.R. than in U.S.A. (p. 109), that the greatest disproportion prevails between the incomes of Academicians, artists and writers on the one hand and ordinary men and workers on the other. It appears to the present author that Communism has so far been the best means for the exploitation of the proletariat.

No great Indian leader of the present day has offered a lucid and considered statement of what the philosophical foundations of Indian socialism are or should be, nor has any leader placed before the people a clear and full picture of the Indian socialistic pattern of the future in all its aspects. In the Plan structures welfare seems to be identified with bread, physical and material comforts. Marx denied God and advocated the forcible liquidation of the exploiting classes. Our Constitution does not mention God (except in schedule III about oaths and affirmations of Ministers and M. P.'s) nor does it emphasize moral and spiritual values, though the founding fathers of the U.S.A. prescribe (in the Declaration of American Independence) "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Of course it is wrong and unscientific to say that all men are created equal if literally construed (as even children of the same parents are not equal in height, strength and mental equipment). All that is meant is that all men are equal in the eye of the law or have the same rights before the law. Truth
and non-violence are not mentioned in our Constitution, though these were the basic principles from Upaniṣad and Śānti times (as in Chāndogya III. 17.4, Manu X. 63, Yaj. I. 122) and for Gandhiji by whom all Congressmen and their leaders swear. Lands of thousands of men of the middle class of small means were taken away from them by changing the fundamental right to property bestowed by Art. 31 (as originally enacted), by preventing recourse to law courts and by giving illusory hopes of some compensation not yet even determined after several years. This may not be liquidation of opponents, yet it is a cruel thing all the same in the name of democracy and Welfare State.2653

Borrowing in the country itself and from foreign countries has been resorted to on an increasing scale.

Table 3 above (p.1689-90) will convey some idea of the vast amounts of debts our country owes and will owe to U.S.A. and other countries. How and in how many years the nation will be able to pay back these debts with interest is to ordinary men a source of grave anxiety and an insoluble problem. Among the sources for the plan are included Provident Funds, Post Office savings bank accounts, National Plan Certificates &c. These are really debts, though not demandable on any one date or year. Deficit financing which did not form part of the central budget in past years has now become a regular item. The budget of the central Govt. for 1961-62 exceeds 1023 crores. For 1962-63 the revenues are estimated at 1329.87 crores of

2653. Vide a book called 'Social Welfare in India' issued on behalf of the Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, 1960. People are likely to make a confusion between 'Welfare State' and 'Social Welfare'. The latter phrase refers to more specialized work for the weak or more vulnerable sections of the population (such as women, children, physically handicapped persons like the deaf, dumb and blind, mentally retarded, scheduled castes and tribes and backward classes). A Welfare State wants to change the pattern of life of the whole community or country. Our Constitution in Article 15 (paragraphs 3 and 4) authorizes the State to make special provisions for women and children and for the advancement of backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and Article 16 para 4 authorizes the State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens. Articles 338-342 deal with the appointment of a special officer for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and with the appointment by the President of India of a Commission to report on the administration of scheduled areas and scheduled tribes and for specification from time to time of the castes, races or tribes in a list of the scheduled castes and tribes.
rupees and the expenditure at 1381.65 crores of rupees and it is announced that a total deficit of about 150 crores would have to be met partly by additional taxation of 60 crores and 80 lakhs of rupees. It must be remembered that most of these taxes are indirect and the major part of the income from such taxes is due to levies on articles of everyday necessity to common people who are already groaning under high prices of absolutely necessary commodities. The Bombay Government's Budget for 1962–63 intended to tax the poor man's bidis and gur (jaggery). About 7000 crores were put in the State sector in the 1st and 2nd Plan projects and 7500 crores are proposed to be spent in the Public sector in the 3rd plan period. Thus at the end of the 3rd Plan (in 1965–66) Government will have spent about 15000 crores of rupees. Tremendous power will be concentrated in the hands of ministers and the official bureaucracy. It is not generally known how Government has dealt with or will deal with this vast amount, what projects have been undertaken, which of them are completed, the cost of the completed projects, yearly yield from the projects that are completed, steps that are being taken to repay debts and to what extent. There are fervent appeals made by leaders to common people to co-operate with Govt. but the Govt. does not seem to be anxious to take people into confidence by widely circulating through newspapers, press-notes or otherwise information on the above mentioned matters. The vast sums spent on projects have caused inflation. Besides, during the two five year Plans population increased by 77 millions. This accentuated the problem of unemployment and on p. 47 of the book above referred to it is admitted that at the end of 10 years the backlog of unemployment is estimated at nine millions.

Sir W. Beveridge in 'Pillars of Security' (1944) names five giants with which humanity has to struggle viz. want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. (p. 43) The last, that is, unemployment, should be the first point of attack. Art. 41 of our Constitution confers the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and in certain other cases. It is not easy to give full employment for all. The State must try to limit numbers and provide not merely for literary education but also for vocational and technical training on a very extensive scale. Industrialization is necessary but it is not an unmixed blessing. Discussion of these matters would require far more space than can be afforded in this chapter.
One last word before taking leave of the subjects of Democracy, Welfare State, Socialistic pattern, legislation, planning for social and economic reconstruction. In the new set-up public administrators have become the brains behind the production of economic goods. They have, however, to do in the new sphere work which is entirely different from their traditional work in the Government of former times. Production activity in modern days demands bringing together and co-ordinating various skills and complex tasks to which administrators in Govt. offices are often strangers. How far they will be able to accomplish the new tasks undertaken by them is a matter which admits of no certain answer. But the most perplexing and baffling question is: Can all-comprehensive national plans under which the State either owns or controls most aspects of economic activities in Agriculture, Industry and Trade be implemented democratically by Parliamentary control? The present author is very much afraid that the combination of economic and political power in the hands of a few ministers, high ranking officials and politicians would be so overpowering as to reduce the present Parliament (based on universal adult suffrage, only 23 percent of the population being literate) to a mere shadow and may in some respects at least narrow the liberties of men almost as much as the totalitarian State does.

Let us now turn to the reform and reorganization of Hindu Society and religion. The Portuguese came to India towards the end of the 15th century and acquired some territory on the Western coast of India. But owing to religious intolerance and persecution by them not much impression was made by them on Hindu society. But the case was different with the British, who did not imitate the Portuguese in the matter of religion, but wanted trade, wealth and power. On account of the British rule established over a large part of India from 1765 A. D. Indians came in contact with modern English literature and modern science. The earliest Indian reformer in modern times was a Bengali, Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833). He founded the Brâhmo Samâja in 1828. Some of the great names in the effort to reorganize and reform Hindu society and religion are those of Devendranath Tagore (1817-1905), Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-1884), Ishvarachandra Vidyasagar, Dayânand (1824-1883) who founded the Aryasamâja in 1877 and who regarded only the Vedas as authoritative, Râmâkrishna Paramahamsa (1834-1886) and his great disciple Swami Vivekânanda (1863-1902), who founded the Ramkrishna Mission.
for propagating Vedānta and doing charity work among the poor and the needy, M. G. Ranade (1842–1901) who was closely connected with the Prārthanāsamāja of Bombay, Agarkar, Phule, Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), Gandhiji (1869–1948), Dr. Karve (who founded the Women's University in 1916). Those interested may usefully read 'A Century of Social Reform' by S. Natarajan (Asia Publishing House, Bombay), G. N. Farquhar's 'Modern religious movements in India' (Macmillan, 1917), W. T. de Bary's 'Sources of Indian Tradition', New York, 1958 (pp. 604–659).

There is a great ferment of ideas in India at present. Many of our countrymen, whether young or old, do not derive any inspiration from their religion. It is not the fault of religion, but the fault lies with us and our predecessors who did not and do not exhibit to us the core of our culture and religion, do not sift the essentials and separate them from the unessential accretions due to superstitions and wrong emphasis. Ordinary men of to-day feel bewildered by the disagreements between scientific knowledge and the traditional beliefs. The result is that traditional values and codes of conduct are disintegrating and various views are being bandied about. There are now several distinct thought-forms on matters religious or spiritual. One class calls itself sanātanis whose view is that the traditional codes of conduct and beliefs were established by the all-wise sages of old and therefore modern half-baked reformers have no right at all to introduce changes in them. There is another class (allied to these) of those who have studied such modern sciences as eugenics and biology, who oppose change on the ground that our traditions embodied in the caste system and the restrictive rules about marriage are most scientific and no change should be made in them and if made disaster will follow. There is another class of people who say 'why do you quarrel with us? Time will bring about all necessary changes'. There are other people who go to the other extreme and deny the existence of any divine or spiritual realities and values in the world. Some believe in the efficacy of laws to introduce desired changes. There are people who say 'take the essential values of Indian culture as foundation and build thereon a structure in keeping with the needs of the times'. Hinduism has always been growing and changing traditions (vide for examples above pp. 1267–72 and 1471). The changes, however, were not brought about by legislation but were the work of commentators and digest-writers, the result being a bewildering variety of
Several attitudes towards changes

laws, customs and usages, religious and spiritual views in different parts of India. India, being always divided into many kingdoms before the advent of the British, there did not exist any legislative authority that could pass laws for the whole of India. Ancient and medieval Dharmaśāstra writers held the view that the king had no authority to interfere with Sāstric rules governing varṇas and castes. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 98–101 for the proposition that there was almost total absence of legislative power in the king according to Dharmaśāstra writers. Changes in practices and beliefs, however, did take place, but it was learned commentators that by various devices tried to support changes that had already taken place (vide pp. 1267–1272 above). There are really three well-marked classes of people, viz. Sanātānis or no-changers, the iconoclasts and those who want a synthesis of the old and the new.

The question is what should be conserved or discarded from the old practices and what new ideals or values should be added and assimilated. Reasons of space forbid saying much about values here. Values are largely moulded by environment. Only a century or two ago, slavery or racial inequality and pride, sweating children of tender age in factories were accepted in Christian countries as morally neutral or at least not disreputable. But at present some of these, if not all, are generally condemned as immoral. In India also values have changed from time to time. At one time animal sacrifices were quite reputable and of high other-worldly value. Later in the Upaniṣad times Ahimsā came to the fore. But there are certain values of our culture that have endured for three thousand years, viz. the consciousness that the whole world is the manifestation of the Eternal Essence, restraint of senses, charity and kindness. Now we are in an age of democracy and the important values of democracy are justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. But unfortunately many of those who sing paens of democracy in India hanker after power and are in the grip of selfishness and hatred. Lord Acton wrote "All power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Kauṭilya said more than two thousand years ago that power warps (intoxicates) the mind. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 114 and n. 151 for quotations.

Many young men have in these days hardly anything which they believe as worth striving for whatever the cost may be, and hence they have nothing to practise as an ideal. We have to preserve a religious spirit among common men and
women, while getting rid of superstitions and beliefs opposed to all science and common sense. It is not the age-old principles of Hindu religion that are at fault, it is modern Hindu society that has to be reorganized, particularly when ours is now a democratic republic; and our leaders must make supreme efforts for many years to preserve equality in the midst of very great economic inequality, liberty which is likely to be overwhelmed by mighty parties and social groups and democracy against demagogues on the one hand and plutocrats on the other.

We must not shut our eyes to the peculiar and formidable difficulties of our country. Even the present India (i.e. Bhārat) is a vast country. There are in present India adherents of eight great religious systems (Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh, Moslem, Parsi, Christianity and Judaism), besides some tribes following none of these, but their own primitive systems; there are different States based on 14 different languages (mentioned in the 8th schedule to the Constitution of India), besides six Union territories and about 200 recognized dialects. These are likely to produce movements towards complete provincial autonomy and cultural separation. There are great contrasts among the inhabitants, at one end the primitive tribes and the people who were untouchables and at the other end highly educated men and, in between the two, groups of illiterate people numbering at present about 77 per cent of the whole population. After centuries of conquests by alien people our country has gained independence. This opens

2654 For a somewhat captious and depressing portrayal of our difficulties by an apparently unsympathetic and unhelpful critic, vide 'India, the most dangerous decades' by Selig S. Harrison (Oxford University Press, 1950). The trend of the whole book is mainly to drive home one point viz. that democracy will not live or be successful in India. The book, it is believed, is mainly intended for non-Indian readers. The author insists too much on the obscurantist tendencies of some Indian people in the matter of caste. If he felt real sympathy and real friendship for the new democracy in India, he should have emphasized the points that make for unity in India, viz. the absence of an organized Church (like Protestant or the Roman Catholic Church), that Hinduism is a personal religion, that Hindus can easily adapt themselves to the requirements of modern democracy as shown by the three elections held so far without any serious disturbances when there were millions upon millions of voters, men and women. If he really wanted to help the Indian people, he should have stressed matters that favour democracy and not constantly harped on North India and South India, on Hindi and anti-Hindi, many States and language difficulties.
for us a new vista of creative thinking and work. We need not give up the basic principles of Hinduism, but should reorientate them to meet new and more complex conditions and work out a changed social order. Everybody says that what is wanted is an emotional integration of Indians and some have suggested that the caste system should be destroyed. If the caste system were a tangible thing it could have been easily and quickly destroyed. But it is not tangible. Legislation cannot destroy it. Only a change of heart with appropriate remedies and vast efforts persistently made over a long period may accomplish this Herculean task and not glib talk by people that hardly ever practise in their lives what they preach. In the present author's opinion States purely on linguistic basis should not have been created at all, but once it was resolved to create them, that should have been strictly adhered to and clear definite principles should have been laid down by the Central Government about assigning border villages to one State or another. The Central Government leadership has been most vacillating in this respect. For example, there were at least five different proposals put forward on Bombay City alone viz. a bilingual state (in which Bombay City was merged), a city State for Bombay alone with separate states of Gujarat and Maharashtra, central administration for five years, a return to the bilingual formula, and lastly separate Maharashtra (including Bombay City, Berar and Marathwada) and a separate State of Gujarat, with about 200 villages taken over from the Khandesh and Thana districts that had been part of Maharashtra for over one hundred years.

The caste system, the joint family system and the laws of succession and inheritance that are peculiar to Hindus are really social matters and not religious matters at all. Our Constitution and recent legislation deal with all the three, holding that these are social matters. As shown above, the Constitution abolished untouchability, the Hindu Marriage Act has done away with all prohibitions against marriages between persons of different castes and a Hindu can have marriage relations with any Hindu (including Buddhist, Jain and Sikh) and can take any Hindu woman as spouse subject only to the rules of sapinda relationship and prohibited degrees for marriage. The Hindu Succession Act has practically done away with the joint family system as shown above, though it has not been expressly abrogated.
What is wanted is not mere declamations against the caste system and fervent appeals for emotional integration of all Indians but a comprehensive code or scheme of beliefs and day to day conduct. The present writer cannot enter here into a detailed code or scheme which might require a volume by itself but some concrete proposals if set out here may induce more competent writers to give better and more exhaustive patterns. Let there be churning of thoughts. It is possible that in the beginning one may meet with formidable and fearful difficulties as in the mythological churning of the ocean, but let us hope that, even after the emergence of frightful things, the final result would be blissful, as in the churning of the ocean poison emerged but the whole effort was crowned with the appearance of amṛta at the end.

We must not despair of solving our difficult problems. Despair means destruction and death. We must not lose courage by the condition of our country for the last few centuries. We should rather look to our achievements during about three thousand years and take to heart the following advice of ancient sages of the Dharmasāstras such as that of Manu. Manu says (IV.137)

\[265\] 'one should not despise oneself on account of previous failures; one should seek (make efforts for securing) prosperity till one’s death and should not regard prosperity as unattainable.' To the same effect is Yāj. when he says ‘One should never despise a learned brāhmaṇa, a serpent, a ksatriya (a king) or oneself; one should desire to secure prosperity till one’s death and should not touch (i.e. make public another’s weak points (misdeeds &c.).’ We are over 43 crores of people, we are proud of the achievements of our forefathers. If we work hard in a concerted and intelligent effort for years with the sole object of bringing about the highest development of the country and without ambitions of securing individual profit or fame there is no reason why our country should not outstrip or at least equal other countries in the world. The Ṛgveda 2 (Vāj. S. 40.2) ordains for all common men ‘one should wish to live for a hundred years, always doing here (in this world) actions (prescribed by the sāstra).’ The Ait. Br. (chap. 33.3), in the story of Śrṇavaśēpa insists on men being always active and emphasizes that prosperity does not come to him who does

\[265\] नास्तान्तन्तन्तन्तं पुरानितसुरस्तिं:। आ सुरवीः श्वयाचित्तच्योराना मर्येत
वूतामारसः। मनु. IV. 137, विमाहितवियामानः नाद्धेयाः कदाचान्। आ सुरवीः
श्वयाचित्तच्योराना मर्येत। या या. I. 153.
not work hard (nānāśrāntāya śṛfrastiti). So early as the Rgveda (IV. 33.11) it is emphasized that Gods do not befriend anyone who has not become tired by hard work (na rṣe śrāntasya sakhyāya devāḥ).

In 1934 some persons under the guidance of Śwāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvati of Wai (Satara District) started a society which later came to be named ‘Dharmanirnaya- manḍala’2656 (society for arriving at definite conclusions on matters of Dharma). The Swamī was a very learned man and a Sannyāsin, did not know English, but he held very modern views. There were fourteen original founder members of whom the present author is one. From 1934 to 1959 eleven sessions attended by hundreds of people were held at Thana, Poona (twice), Lonavla (thrice), Ahmednagar, Badalapur (Dist. Thana), Vardhā (in Berar), Akolā (in Berar), Wai and Bombay. At the different sessions resolutions were passed (in all 82) on several social and religious matters and a committee was appointed to prepare model prayogas (procedures) for Sandhya, congregational (Sāmudāyika) prayer, upanayana, marriage, ʿuntī (funeral rites), śrāddha, remarriage (of widows), re-conversion to Hinduism &c. That Committee prepared under the guidance of Śwāmī Kevalānanda such prayogas shorn of unnecessary details and with translations in Marathi, which can be had from Mr. Kokaje of Lonavla. Among the resolutions the following deserve special mention: usages have been changed from time to time by former learned men (siṣṭas) and the learned men of the present day have the authority to introduce changes in usages as the present circumstances may require; that the untouchability of the people of certain castes be abolished (Art. 17 of the Constitution of India subsequently did this); that those sub-castes that have similar usages,

2656. The original name was ‘तत्वनिष-परिसङ्गनांनातिपिपिः’ (Assembly of people who favoured the making of changes based on some fundamental principles). Seven of the original fourteen members died subsequently viz. Śvāmī Kevalānanda, Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīdharāśtri Pāṭhak (who became a Sannyāsin under the name Saṅkarānanda-bhārati), Saṅgīvāśtri Bhide, Dr. K. L. Daftari, Mr. J. S. Karandikar (editor of the Poona ‘Kesari’ newspaper), Mr. C. M. Saptarshi (Advocate, Ahmednagar) and Prajñānēśvarayati, Tarkatīrtha Rağbhunāthaśtri Kokaje of Lonavla (Dist. Poona) was the Secretary. Among the other original members are Mr. N. G. Chapecar (a nonagenarian, retired First Class Subjudge), a scholar of wide reading including Vedic literature, Dharmaśastras, sociological studies and Tarkatīrtha Laṅkmaṇāśtri Joshi of Wai, who knows English well, studied all Darśanas and Śastras under Śwāmī Kevalānanda and is a critical scholar.
sāṃskāras and rules about food should merge and such merger is not against Dharmasāstra; there is no objection to any Hindu sitting in the same row with other persons of different varpas provided vegetarians are served vegetarian eatables; that Hindus including untouchables are entitled to study the Veda and have upanayana performed with Vedic mantras and priests conversant with the upanayana procedure should be ready to do so, if invited; if any one takes to another religion owing to force or fraud or of his free will and wants to revert to the Hindu fold he should be allowed to come in after proper expiation and after undergoing a simple vidhi; marriages of spouses of the same gotra and pravara should be allowed provided there is no bar on the ground of sapinda relationship (vide Hindu Marriage Act, 25 of 1955, sec. 5 items 4 and 5); that divorce be allowed among the castes in which it is not allowed at present on the ground of conversion to another religion of one of the spouses &c. (almost the same grounds as in sec. 13 of the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955); a Hindu widow succeeding as heir to her husband takes an absolute estate except when any of the following relatives of the husband are alive, viz. daughter, daughter's son, mother, father, brother, brother's son, paternal grand-parents, paternal first cousin (vide Hindu Succession Act, 30 of 1956 sec. 14 which goes further by omitting the near relatives specified above). Most of the decisions mentioned above were proclaimed from ten to twenty years before our Constitution came into operation.

Among the standing complaints against brāhmanas one has been that they debarred millions of people called ‘Śūdras’ from Vedic studies. Therefore, the Maṇḍala announced that all Hindus (including the so called untouchables) should observe the worship of the sun, repetition of the Gāyatrī-mantra (Rg. III, 62.10, Tai. S. I, 5, 6, 4, Vāj. S. III, 35) and reading or recital of the Bhagavadgītā (whole or part) every day, since these common observances would help in creating the sentiment of

2657. Vide H. of Dh. Vol IV pp. 828-830 where the ‘Hindūkaraṇavidhi’, prepared by the Dharmānirṇaya-maṇḍala for re-admission to Hinduism is set out in Sanskrit. This re-admission vidhi (in Sanskrit) has been translated into Marathi and Hindī.
cultural equality among all Hindus. The procedure of morning and evening (sandhyā) worship is brief and is quoted below.\(^{2558}\)

In order to cultivate a sense of unity among all Hindus (including the so-called untouchables), the Mandala prepared a congregational prayer (to be recited by all Hindus in a congregation once in a month) consisting of the following eleven passages culled from the Vedic literature, viz. Atharvaveda X. 8.1, Rg. X. 82.3, I. 164.16, Vaj. S. 25.21, Rg. X. 121.10, Tai. Ār. 4.42.5, the Gāyatrimantra, Br. Up. I 3.28 (asato mā sad-gamaya, tamaso mā jyotir-gamaya, mṛtyor māmṛtām gamaya), Rg. X. 191.2–4. In many villages some people tried to introduce this congregational prayer, but after some time most people complained that they found it difficult to commit to memory and recite the Vedic passages and requested that similar congregational prayers be prepared in Hindi and therefore the Mandala prepared a brief prayer of five verses in Hindi.

The above lines would only briefly illustrate how we would have to proceed if we want an emotional integration of all our countrymen, particularly on the social and religious plane. But we must not forget what the foundation of our country and civilization has been through the past ages. Ancient sages laid the foundation by insisting upon this that there is and must be harmony between man's spirit and the spirit of the world and man's endeavour should be to realize in his actions and in his life this harmony and unity.\(^{2659}\) The Upaniṣads teach that man gains by giving up (by renunciation) and exhorts man not to covet another's wealth (Īsopanīsad I 'tena tyaktena bhuñjitha mā gṛdhah kasya svīd dhanam').

\(^{2558}\) भाष: स्मालक दुर्गैश्वरुक: । सारे हसी पत्रवा च व्यस्वाह्य पथिमित्वमुखः आसने उपनिषद्यान्नकाश्य अधिवेशनाबाध्य अधिवेशनाबाध्य पाप: सत्यमेवापि करिष्ये हुडं भाष: सूतीपुरूङ:। अधिवेशनाबाध्य आपेक्षिष्य सत्यमेवापि करिष्ये हुडं साप्तः। तत्: अधिवेशनाबाध्य अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य । अधिवेशनाबाध्य ।

\(^{2659}\) Many thoughtful men in the West have been influenced immensely by the advaita Vedānta and its emphasis on sound moral (Continued on next page)
The Bhagavadgītā emphasized doing one's duty without hankering for the rewards thereof. Science cannot answer such fundamental questions as occur to every thoughtful person viz. what is the ultimate cause, is it brahman, what is our origin, by what are we sustained, what is our destiny (goal), being influenced by what do we persist in paths leading to pain and misery (Śv. Up. I. 1.). They are answered by the ancient Upaniṣads, but not by science so far.

The chief aim of Indian culture and civilization was not to attain military and political power over other countries and peoples; it neglected to organize Indians for offensive and defensive purposes, nor encouraged the starting of immense corporations for the acquisition of wealth. But in these days of keen competition between nations and peoples we must not only keep a vigilant eye on the eternal principles of our culture but also on the worldly happiness of our countrymen in the midst of the warring elements in the world. Our people often took and take to premature vairāgya (renunciation), while Western nations and men have been laying for the last few centuries great store by extreme activity. Now that our leaders are thinking of remodelling our society and spiritual life they must cultivate qualities whereby they at least will be sāhitaprajña i.e. fully developed or ideal souls (Bhagavadgītā II. 55–68) or men of God (Gītā XIII. 13–18). Social reforms and politics have to be preached through our age-old religion and philosophy. If a large majority of our people and the leaders throw away or neglect

(Continued from last page)

preparation before one can realize the One Essence underlying the universe; vide 'What Vedānta means to me a Symposium edited by John Yale (Rider & Co., London, 1961), in which the views of 16 writers are set out. That of Aldous Huxley summarizes (pp. 19–20) the Upaniṣadic doctrine in the same words as on p. 1631 above. The same summary he gave in his novel 'Time must have a stop' (1945, p. 289.

2660. ब्रह्मादिविदेन वसन्ति। किं कारणं ब्रह्म कुलं। स्म जाता जीवाम केन केन च संभविषत्। अपरिणि। केन सुहेलं तु वर्षामुहे ब्रह्मविद्दे अययस्य खेर। जेतस्य उप. I. 1.; को न अधिका, किं ब्रह्मति। ज्ञ. उप. V, 11, 1.

2661. Our politicians seem at present to be treading the path humorously quoted from an American writer long before Independence by Prime Minister Nehru in his Autobiography 'Politics is the gentle art of getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich by promising to protect each from the other' (p. 131). In the same work Pāṇḍitji says that Gandhiji's reference to Rāmārājya as a golden age jarred on his ears and that his close associates half humorously said that when svarājya (Independence) came these fads must not be encouraged (pp. 72–73).
religion and spirituality altogether, the probability is that we shall lose both spiritual life and social betterment. This is not the place to say more on this point. Vide pp. 1478–79 above for the sound moral preparation required before one realizes the pervasion of everything by *brahman* and pp. 1623 ff. for the proposition that the One Principle is variously named by sages, which taken together lead to universal brotherhood, kindliness and tolerance. From time immemorial all religious cults in India (except Buddhism and Jainism) recognized that there was One Principle ('or Deity of some kind') and in the immortality of the soul. The tremendous march of science and mastery over some of the forces of nature has gone to the heads of many modern men and made them conceited. Science can disclose to us at the most secondary causes; but it has to be silent as to the ultimate cause and the ultimate destiny of man. It cannot tell us what the purpose of life is, it cannot tell us anything about moral values. The present and the following generations have to be trained in an environment where spiritual life, love of truth, sense of and belief in the brotherhood of man or at least of our own countrymen, love of peace and sympathy for the oppressed would be held to be supreme virtues to be attempted by all people.

It is most difficult to suggest in a brief space a code of conduct for all the millions of India. But for men of limited education and busy life a few suggestions by way of illustrations may be set out. The idea of pollution by the touch of men belonging to certain castes must be given up and much more therefore the idea of pollution by the mere shadow of certain people.2662 Swámi Vivekánanda (Works Vol. V. p. 152) was so angered as to say "The religion of India is at present dont touchism". Reason and science must be resorted to for checking or abandoning dogmas based on ancient authority. The myths and legends of the Purāṇas on the origin of the universe, about eclipses and so forth that are not credible in the light of

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Vide above p. 242 where it is established that long before the first half of the 6th century, Indian astronomers had arrived at the correct causes of solar and lunar eclipses but even up to this day educated men often act in such a way that it seems that they believe in the demon Rāhu being the cause of eclipses.
science should not be included in the religious creeds of these
days and should be treated as mere myths and legends. Many
Christians even in these days (and most Hindus and Moslems)
believe in a heaven above and a hell or hells below. But Śabara\(^{2663}\)
(in the first centuries of the Christian era) holds that heaven is
not a place (vide pp. 1211–1215 above). Therefore, heaven and
hell as described in ancient Sanskrit works cannot be made an
article of faith for modern men. It is often said that myths
may be represented as facts to simple people for the sake of
beneficial results (e.g. for inducing them to perform sacrifices
or to observe rules of morality &c.). But this is not proper as
there are dangers in this. In these days of growing popular
education, when the myth becomes exposed, the men who once
believed it not only give up that myth but also might give up
everything contained in ancient works as unbelievable. Space
does not permit any elaborate cataloguing of what should be
given up and what striven for in these days. Values, aims and
institutions that were accepted by almost all people only a few
decades ago are now challenged and new patterns are in process
of being moulded. The chief catalytic agencies are modern
science and Western thought and literature. The old structure
of beliefs is tottering and laxity in morals has made great
headway. But whatever happens, we must so regulate society
that the family as a social unit\(^{2664}\) is preserved and safeguarded,
every child of whatever class or race must have equal opportuni-
ties of education, man's daily work must be held to be divine
work and worship, great inequalities of wealth and possessions
must be eliminated.

Śwāmī Vivekānanda uttered the following exhortation long
ago "The ignorant Indian, the poor and destitute Indian, the
Brahman Indian, the Pariah Indian is my brother." "Repeat and
pray day and night 'O Lord of Gauri! make me a man!'" quoted
in "Sources of Indian Tradition" by W. T. de Bary and others
(New York, 1958) p. 659. Vide Atharvaveda XII, 1.45 for
universal brotherhood of all men whose mother is the Earth.

\(^{2663}\) Vide above pp. 1224–25 for criticism of Śabara's view that Veda
invented stories that never happened.

\(^{2664}\) In 'This I believe' (philosophies of 100 thoughtful men and
women in all walks of life) edited by E. P. Morgan (London, 1953), Sir
Charles Darwin (author of 'New conception of matter and the next
million years' and grandson of the author of 'the Origin of species')
emphasizes 'the importance of family as the continuing unit of human life'
(p. 30).
This volume (the last in the History of Dharmaśāstra) may be brought to a close with a quotation from the Kathopaniṣad and another from Rabindranath Tagore's Gitānjali:

‘Get up, awake and having secured highly gifted (teachers) understand (the Truth); the sharp edge of a razor is difficult to pass over; thus the wise say that the path (to Realization) of Self is hard’ (Kathopaniṣad);

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depths of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

2665. उलिंगत जाग्रत पार्थ वसकिंगेत । शुरुस्य धारा निर्भिना दुर्घरया दुम्प पवसत-रक्षयोबद्धिः ॥ कठोप. III. 14.
EPILOGUE

Many friends and well-wishers of the author and some readers of the volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra have often (personally and by correspondence) pressed him to furnish some biographical details about himself, about the circumstances in which he launched on this undertaking, about the preparations he made, about the time and labour that this undertaking cost him and also what money it brought to him (a few asked even this).

To write an autobiography is a most difficult and delicate matter. In an autobiography one has often to use the words ‘I’, ‘Me’, ‘My’ etc. and the writer is liable to be charged with egotism. If he is very frank about his own failings and faults, he may be accused of exhibitionism. I do not propose to say much about my parents or my ancestors or about my marriage and family life or my likes and dislikes. I had my own share of anxieties, troubles and sorrows, but I shall not say much about them, since the blessings that were showered on me far outweighed the anxieties and sorrows. A brief account of some aspects of my long life may, I hope, be of some interest and help to those who have to face problems similar to those that I had to face.

I was born on 7th May 1880 in a village called Peñhem or Parāśurāma [because it has a large and famous temple of Parāśu- rāma, an avatāra of Viṣṇu and the patron saint of several brahmāna sub-castes (such as the Cītpāvana)] near Chipulun in the Ratnagiri District at my maternal uncle's house. My father belonged to a priestly family in a village called Murden near Khed in the Ratnagiri District. My father had learnt by heart a great deal of the Rgveda and was being trained for priesthood till the age of 18. He did not like the profession of a priest and left for Poona to learn English along with a friend of his boyhood, the late Shankar Balkrishna Dixit, who later on became famous for his Marathi work on Indian Astronomy which was admired by Dr. Thibaut. Mr. Dixit and my father passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University in 1873. My father studied for the Pleader's examination held in those days by the Bombay High Court, passed it and began to practise as a Tāluka lawyer at Dapoli in the Ratnagiri District from 1878. Besides Vedic lore, my father studied the principal Upaniṣads
and the Gita and had many of the former by heart. He practised as a lawyer for about forty years, then retired and passed away in 1925. We were nine children, six brothers and three sisters. I was the eldest of the sons and one sister was older than myself. In my early boyhood my father taught me some elements of astrology and advised me to commit to memory the verses of Amarakosa (of which I had 400 by heart before I was 12 years of age). In 1891 I joined the S. P. G. Mission's English High School at Dapoli and passed the Bombay University's Matriculation Examination in 1897 and stood high among the successful candidates. While at school, I began to suffer from hyper-acidity, consequent acute stomach pains and vomiting at the age of 16 and had to leave school for nearly a year. At the time when I passed the Matriculation there was an epidemic of Bubonic Plague in Bombay and Poona, where there was high mortality. My father was not willing to send me (whose health was already delicate) to those places where alone College education could then be had. So he asked me to study law under him. I studied it for two weeks, but being repelled soon by the dry study of law, I wrote a letter to Dr. Machichan, who was then Principal of the Wilson College in Bombay (and reputed to be very kind), conducted by the Scottish Mission, asking him whether I could be enrolled as a student in absentia. He asked me to send Rs. 36/-, a term's fee, get myself registered as a student and stated that as the epidemic was at its height the University might condone absence. The Bombay University later on did so. I did not attend College in the first term. The epidemic abated, I joined College in June and appeared for the first year's examination of the Bombay University in November 1898 (which was then called the Previous Exam.) and was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 175 and a prize of Rs. 100 for being the first among the students whose second language was Sanskrit. This was the first lucky accident in my life. Life is a mysterious business. It is full of lucky incidents or chances and one must be able to take advantage of them by one's own efforts. There have been many such incidents and disinterested friendships in my life and I have hardly ever had an enemy to my knowledge in the whole of my rather long life. The ailment of my boyhood pursued me at college, pursues me even now and has become worse, but I did not allow myself to be much disturbed by it, controlled my diet and led a regular and strict life. At the second year's examination in Arts (called Intermediate) I was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 180
Epilogue

(lump sum) for standing first among students taking Sanskrit as a second language. Two years afterwards I appeared for the B. A. examination in 1901 and was awarded the Bhau Daji Prize for proficiency in Sanskrit and stood first among the students of the Wilson College. An idea about how delicate I was in 1901 when I was 21 years old may be had from the fact that, though I was 5 feet 4 inches in height, I weighed only 98 pounds. After the B. A. examination I was a Dakṣiṇā Fellow at the Wilson College for two years and lectured to the first two years' classes at the Wilson College on Sanskrit about three hours a week. In 1902, I passed the First LL. B. examination in the First class and in 1903 the M. A. examination and was awarded the Zala Vedānta Prize of Rs. 400. The peculiarity of this prize is that the paper set is in Sanskrit, the answers are to be written in Sanskrit in three hours, the chief examiner was to be a Śāstri who was proficient in Śāṅkara Vedānta and had studied it under the old traditional methods. As my father had yet to spend for the education of several sons he asked me either to enter the Education Department as a High School teacher or to become a lawyer in a subordinate court. I did not like the latter idea and applied to the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, for appointment as a teacher in a Govt. High School. Here again Dr. Machichan helped me by recommending me highly to the D. P. I. I was appointed a teacher in the Govt. High School at Ratnagiri in August 1904 on a salary of Rs. 60 per month raised to Rs. 65 per month after a few months (having been an M. A. with five scholarships and prizes in Sanskrit). I was at the Ratnagiri Govt. High School for three years. I appeared for the S. T. C. (Secondary Teacher's Certificate) Examination held by the Department in 1905 and stood first in the whole of the Bombay Presidency (including Sind in those days). In the same year I submitted an essay on 'Aryan Manners and Morals as depicted in the Epics' for the V. N. Mandlik Gold Medal of the Bombay University and was awarded a prize of books worth Rs. 150. For this essay I read both the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Till now I have read the Mahābhārata thrice and I have yet got the notebooks of extensive extracts, particularly from the Mahābhārata. In the next year I appeared for a Departmental Examination for Honours in Teaching and secured first class in 'Logic in relation to teaching'. The same year (1906) I submitted a paper on 'the History of Alaṅkāra Literature' for the V. N. Mandlik Gold Medal again and was awarded the medal. At the end
of this year I lost my younger brother by T. B. I was transferred at my own request to the Elphinstone High School in Bombay as 5th assistant on Rs. 75 in April 1907. There were over 40 teachers in that High School and about 750 students from the 4th to the 7th standard. I was made Head Sanskrit teacher (there were three teachers of Sanskrit and 12 classes in Sanskrit). Towards the end of 1907 the post of Assistant to the Professor of Sanskrit at the Poona Deccan College (on Rs. 125 p.m.) fell vacant and I applied for the post. But I was not appointed and another person who was an M.A. in Sanskrit, but had won no prize, scholarship or medal in Sanskrit at any examination from the Matriculation to the M.A. and who was 9th Assistant in the Elphinstone High School (where I was 5th assistant) was appointed to the post, because he was a favourite student of the D.P.I. when the latter was Principal of the Deccan College. I sent a protest through the Principal of the High School. I was informed that a competent authority in Sanskrit had recommended that the person chosen was superior to me in Sanskrit and when I requested the D.P.I. to let me know the name of the competent authority I was informed that my letter was an impertinent one and deserved no reply. This added insult to injury. This happened in December 1907. I decided to appear for the 2nd LL.B. examination in November 1908 and then to leave Govt. service. My supersession created a great deal of criticism in the Department and almost all persons sympathised with me and helped me in various ways. I appeared for the 2nd LL.B. examination in November 1908 and passed it. This created an impression in the Education Department that I meant serious business. Therefore, as a sop to my injured feelings, I was appointed to act as Professor of Sanskrit at the Elphinstone College from February to April 1909 in place of Prof. S.R. Bhandarkar who had been deputed on some Govt. work. I reverted to the High School at the end of April 1909 and began to cast about where to practise as a lawyer. I was not inclined to practise as a lawyer in subordinate courts and decided that, if I left service, I would practise on the Appellate side of the High court, where it is a battle of wits and of hard work and one had not to do what a lawyer practising in the subordinate courts had to do. At that time, the late Mr. Daji Abaji Khare was almost at the top of the Appellate side Bar (called Vakils of the High Court). He had some large estates at Dapoli (my native place) and knew my father and myself. I approached him for advice. He told me that I must
have with me at least two thousand rupees in cash, if I wanted to practise in the High Court and to stick to it. I had then not a pie with me and my father who was already sixty years old and had to educate other sons, declined to help. In less than two years from June 1909 I brought out two school books and one annotated book in Sanskrit (the Sāhityadarpana) for College students and was also appointed an examiner in Sanskrit at the Previous and Intermediate Arts Examinations. I thus collected two thousand rupees, resigned from Govt. service at the end of June 1911 and applied for a Sanad (after paying Rs. 500 as fee for enrolment as a Vakil of the High Court of Bombay) with a certificate of good moral character from Mr. Khare and was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court on 5th July 1911 when I was in my 32nd year.

Work was slow in coming and the first two years were rather bleak. Having not much to do, I appeared for the LL. M. examination in Hindu and Mahomedan law in 1912 and passed it. From 1911 to about 1918 I brought out every year some book or books such as the Kādambari of Bāna in three parts with ample notes, the Harṣacarita in two parts, and the Uttarārāmacarita. I also conducted a private law class for coaching students for the High Court Vakil's examination (in which 60 percent marks were required for passing). This brought in a steady income of about Rs. 100 per month for four years from 1913 to 1917 and, what was more important, this task of teaching single-handed the vast field of law made me proficient in all complicated legal topics. In the meantime, in 1913 I was appointed Wilson Philological Lecturer to deliver six lectures on Sanskrit, Prakrit and allied languages for a lump sum of Rs. 750. In 1913 I became an ordinary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and a life member (by paying a lump sum of Rs. 500) in January 1915. At the beginning of 1915 I was appointed by the Bombay University a Springer Research Scholar for two years on a salary of Rs. 100 per month, the subject of research being 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra' (part published in JBBRAS, Vol. XXIV for 1917, pp. 613–657). In 1916 I worked as Honorary Professor of Sanskrit at the Wilson College, when Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, who was permanent Professor, fell ill, and I lectured for three hours a week to B. A. classes on the most difficult part of Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya on Vedantāsūtra.

In 1917 June I was appointed as a Professor of Law in the Govt.
Law College at Bombay. This was again a case of an unexpected event. The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court had recommended for a vacancy in the law college two names from among the Vakils on the Appellate side Bar of the High Court, one a very senior gentleman and myself who had less than six years' practice. The senior gentleman for some reason (not given out) refused at the last moment and on 26th June, the day on which the Law College was to open, I received a wire in the Vakil's room from Government stating that Govt. proposed to appoint me as a Professor of Law from that day and that if I agreed I should see the Principal. This was a comfortable job, the salary being Rs. 350 a month and the duties light viz. three or four hours per week in the evening from 5-45 p.m. to 6-45 p.m. I was Professor of Law for six years (1917-1923). Hardly any Vakil with less than six years' practice on the Appellate Side of the High Court had been appointed before me as Professor of Law.

I had undertaken about 1911 an edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha with explanatory notes on the advice of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar who was one of the General Editors of the Bombay Govt.'s Sanskrit Series. But, owing to fluctuations in my own fortunes, I had neglected the work and had almost decided to give up the undertaking altogether. The Bombay Govt.'s Sanskrit Series came to be transferred by Govt. to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute that had been started in Poona in 1917. The authorities of the Institute pressed me to carry out my undertaking. I agreed and began to read the vast Dharmāṣṭra Literature for that purpose. The edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha of Nilakaṃṭha (text based on three printed editions and eight mss., an Introduction of 47 pages and exhaustive notes) was published in 1926 by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. In the brief Preface to that edition of 1926, I announced that I had undertaken to write the History of Dharmāṣṭra Literature.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar had expressed a desire to donate his large library of thousands of books to some Institute that would properly house them, take care of them and make it a centre of Sanskrit studies. Dr. Belvarkar, Dr. Gune and several others supported the idea and about thirty people including myself contributed Rs. 500 each for the purchase of a big vacant plot of 30 acres in Poona and, after setting aside nearly half of the purchased plot for
the Institute to be named after Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, distributed the rest among the original contributors as plot-holders. The public and Govt. supported the Institute and the famous Tatas donated money to construct a suitable building. The first project undertaken was the publication of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. Govt. made grants, transferred the Bombay Sanskrit Series to the Institute, the Chief of Anndh promised a lakh of rupees for the Mahābhārata edition with pictures and later the Nizam of Hyderabad contributed a large sum for building a guest-house for scholars from India and abroad.

The first volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra, which was published in 1930, deals with the chronology and relative importance of famous and less known writers and works and covers 760 pages. As I regarded myself as one of the original founders of the B. O. R. I. and as I was a successful lawyer on the Appellate side of the High Court, I offered the volume to that Institute for publication without any agreement about payment. The Preface to the first volume makes it clear that I intended to finish the whole history in two volumes and that even at that time I suffered from a painful complaint (duodenal ulcer) which has dogged my footsteps throughout up to this day. The second volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra covering 1368 pages (including about 300 pages on Śrauta ritual, not included in the original plan) was published in June 1941 (i.e. eleven years after the publication of the first volume), when I was already 61 years old and pursued by an implacable ailment. The third volume containing 1088 pages was published in October 1946 and deals with only three topics ‘Rajadharma, Vyavahāra, and Sadācāra’ (customs and customary law). On account of the 2nd world war there was paper shortage and the finances of B. O. R. I. were at a low ebb. I had therefore to advance three thousand rupees to the B. O. R. I. and had to purchase paper worth several hundred rupees for expediting the printing, in view of the fact that I was in my 67th year and that my physical condition was causing anxiety. The 4th volume is spread over 926 pages, was published in October 1953 (when I was in my 74th year) and deals with Pātaka (sins), Prāyaścitta (expiation), Karmavipāka (fruition of evil deeds), Antyesti (rites on death), Åśauca (impurity on death and birth), Śuddhi (purification), Śrāddha, Tirthayātṛa (pilgrimages to sacred places).
The (fifth and) last volume deals with numerous topics, as the Table of Contents will show. The first part of 718 pages dealing with Vrata (sacred vows, observances and festivals) and Kāla was separately published in 1958 (as I had then an attack of heart trouble, and it was thought that I might not survive, being more than 78 years old at that time). The second part now printed deals with Śāntis, Purāṇas in relation to Dharmāṣṭra, causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India, Tantras and Dharmāṣṭra, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Tarka and Dharmāṣṭra, Purvamāṁśā and Dharmāṣṭra, Cosmology, doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma, dominant characteristics of our Indian culture and civilization and future trends. This volume has been in the press for over five years and has involved an enormous amount of varied reading and writing for over eight years from 1953.

In describing how and in how many years the H. of Dh. developed, I have not said anything about the environment in which I had to work. From about 1918 I began to have good work as a lawyer. I not only conducted cases in the Bombay High Court, but I appeared before the District Courts of the mofussil in several districts such as Khandesh, Nagar, Poona, Sholapur, Satara, and Ratnagiri. I owe a great deal to my college friends, to my students that passed the High Court Vakil's examination after attending my private law class and to Mr. M. K. Athavle of Sangli and Mr. C. M. Saptarishi of Ahmednager for sending me much legal work.

I took part in many of the intellectual activities in Bombay and Poona. I was a member of the Senate of the Bombay University from 1919 to 1928. I have been throughout a member of the Regulating Council of the Bhandarkar Institute and of its other bodies. I was closely connected for over 40 years with the Marathi Granthasaṅgrahālaya of Bombay in various capacities and with the Brahmāṇḍaśābhā of Bombay in many capacities as Chairman of the Managing Committee, a Trustee for 21 years and Adviser from 1918 to this day.

I had argued gratis several cases for some societies and individuals. Mr. Javdekar, lawyer of Dhulia, espoused the cause of people who had grievances against the Indian Railways. I conducted many such railway cases and cases of poor and helpless people. One of these latter was that of a poor untensured brāhmaṇa widow who had been prevented by the priests in the temple of Vithoba at Pandharpur
from offering worship to the image by placing her head at the feet of the image (because she was unfamiliar) as all Hindus, male or female, of all castes were allowed to do. I had to go to Pandharpur thrice at my own expense and spent in all seven days in court. The court decided in favour of the widow. The case is referred to in the History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II p. 593 and the arguments are set out on pp. 587–593 of the volume.

Another case that I conducted gratis is that of the Deccan College, Poona. This College was started by Govt. but a Parsi Baronet, Sir Jamsetji, made in the early sixties of the 19th century a munificent donation of about two lakhs with the stipulation that it was to be maintained as an educational Institution for ever on the lines already laid down. The British Govt. on the suggestion of an Indian Minister wanted to close the College and made a contract for sale of the site and buildings for a Parsi Public School. Some of the Old Boys of the College such as Prof. S. G. Sathe and Dr. Belvalkar consulted me what to do, though I was not an old boy of the Deccan College. I first suggested that a member of the Bombay Legislative Council should ask a question whether the Deccan College was not an Institution held in trust by Govt. The Govt. replied that it was a trust property, but that Govt. would approach the District Court of Poona for permission to sell it for the purpose of a public school. Govt. applied to the District Court at Poona for permission to sell it for the purpose of a public school. I appeared for the old Boys' Association and requested that the Association should be made a party to Govt.'s application. The Court allowed the application. I had agreed not to charge any fees. I suggested that Mr. M. R. Jayakar, who had a great regard for me and was a very successful advocate in Bombay (who later became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England), should be briefed in the matter. The Association said that they had not money enough to pay Mr. Jayakar's heavy fees. I requested Mr. Jayakar not to charge any fees. He complied with my request and the whole case took about 15 working days in court, besides many days of preparation. Mr. Jayakar, having once agreed to work without fees, put his heart and soul in the matter and the District Court in a long judgement of about ninety typed pages held that the Deccan College was a trust and could not be sold. Govt. went in appeal to the High Court of Bombay, but by that time a popular Ministry with the
late Mr. B. G. Kher as Chief Minister had come to power and compromised the matter by agreeing to conduct the Deccan College as a Research Institute for Vedic studies and classical Sanskrit, Ancient Indian History etc. The Association made Mr. Jayakar and myself Honorary members of the Old Boys' Association. I have been on the Managing Council of the Deccan College Research Institute since 1938 to this day.

In 1944 I was appointed by the Bombay University Sir Lallubhai Shah Lecturer and delivered four lectures on Hindu customs and modern laws. The lectures have been published in book form by the University.

In 1927 at the time of the Gaṇapati festival in Bombay, a mela (party of worshippers) of the Mahar caste (held untouchable) approached the authorities of the Brāhmaṇasabhā for permission to come for darśan of the image installed by the Sabha and stated that they would be content if they were allowed to come as near the image as Parsis, Christians and Moslems would be allowed to do. I was then Chairman of the Managing Committee and called a meeting of the Committee to decide whether the request should be granted. In the Committee the voting was exactly half for and half against. I had to give a casting vote for granting permission, since I was of the opinion that the request was a very modest one and in view of the changing times should be acceded to. A suit was filed in the Bombay High Court by certain orthodox people against the Brāhmaṇasabhā, against myself as Chairman of the Managing Committee and the Secretary for a temporary injunction restraining us from bringing the Mahar Mela inside the building where the image was and for a declaration that the Sabha through its office-bearers had no right to do what had not been previously done. It must be said to the credit of the members of the Sabha that in a meeting of the general body of members my action was supported by a very large majority. There was great excitement and it was feared that violence might result. The High Court refused to grant a temporary injunction and later the suit was withdrawn by the members seeking legal relief. Our Constitution has abolished untouchability but that was in 1950 and this excitement arose in 1927.

I have been a member of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Asiatic Society for about 45 years, a Vice-President and one
of the editors of the Journal of the Society for many years. I contributed many long articles to the Journal of the Society and to the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute. In 1946 at my request Dr. B. C. Law, a great scholar, whom I had never seen but who had become an admirer of my books, donated Rs. three thousand (for purchase of books for the Society) and donated five thousand rupees for founding a medal called P. V. Kane Gold Medal to be awarded once every three years to a scholar who had done substantial research in subjects in which I was interested.

On 7th May 1941, in honour of my 61st birthday 'A volume of studies in Indology' was presented to me edited by Dr. S. M. Katre and Prof. P. K. Gode and published by Dr. N. G. Sardesai of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona. My friends and admirers had formed a Committee with Dr. V. S. Sukthankar as Chairman and invited papers. Many contributions came in, of which 74 are contained in that work, mostly written by Indian scholars (a few by scholars from abroad also).

In 1942 the British Govt. conferred on me the title of Mahâmahopâdhyâya and the Allahabad University conferred on me the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. In 1946 I was asked to preside over the All India Oriental Conference held at Nagpur. In 1947 Mr. B. G. Kher, then Chief Minister of the Bombay State, pressed me to become Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University for two years and I agreed after some hesitation owing to my age (about 68). There was no salary attached to the post nor was there any sumptuary allowance nor any other allowance. In the years 1947 to 1949 I had three matters on my hands, my legal practice, the History of Dharmaśāstra and the work as Vice-Chancellor (which was heavy in those days, sometimes three hours a day). Mr. Kher pressed me to remain Vice-Chancellor for three years more, offered to make it a salaried post of 2000 Rs. per month and requested me to give up practice as Advocate. The then Governor of Bombay, Sir Maharaj Singh, as Chancellor, also pressed me, but for various reasons (the foremost being that the work on the History of Dharmaśāstra would make slow progress if I spent five or more hours a day in the University) I declined. The Session of the All India Oriental Conference was held in Bombay in 1949. I was Chairman of the Reception Committee. On my request the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa was performed in Sanskrit with songs, the director being Mr. K.C.M.
Bhatavdekar who is a fine-looking and tall man, an excellent actor, a good Sanskritist and a singer. It was a great success. Emboldened by this success I suggested that other Sanskrit dramas should be put up on the stage. Mr. Bhatavdekar and Mr. P. P. Joshi, two enthusiastic workers of the Sanskritic Samiti (Cultural Committee) of the Brahmānasabha at Bombay, worked hard and at different times and in different places (Delhi, Bombay, Ujjain, Poona) put up on the stage ten Sanskrit dramas, Śākuntala, Mrchakaṭika, Ratnavali, Venīsaṁbāra, Uttararāmacarita, Mudrārākṣasa, Vikramorvaśya, Mālavikāgnimitra, Svapnavāsavadattā and Saṅgīta Saubhadra (translated into Sanskrit by Mr. S. B. Velankar, Indian Postal Service, from the original Marathi by Anna Kirloskar). These performances became very popular. The sale of tickets yielded 150,000 Rs. out of which about thirty thousand were saved after meeting all expenses as a fund to fall back upon when they performed one of these plays at different places.

The International Congress of Orientalists was held in Paris in 1948. The Indian Govt. sent a delegation of three, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as leader and Dr. S. K. Chatterji and myself as two members. In 1951 the International Congress met in Istanbul and the Indian Govt. sent a delegation consisting of myself (as leader), Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. Siddiqui. At this conference I sponsored a resolution that the Unesco should make a substantial grant to the project of a Sanskrit Dictionary on Historical Principles undertaken by the Deccan College and it was unanimously passed by the Conference and subsequently Unesco made a grant of 5000 dollars to the Deccan College. In 1954 the Session of the International Congress of Orientalists was held at Cambridge to which the Govt. of India sent a delegation consisting of myself (as leader), Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. From Cambridge I went at my own expense to U. S. A. and visited the Library of the Congress in Washington for two days, the University of Princeton, Harvard University and the University of Rochester, where my younger son was studying for the Ph. D. degree in Atomic and Nuclear Physics. The Governing Body of the London School of Oriental and African studies of the London University was pleased to nominate me as an Honorary Fellow, I being the only Indian among the present 25 Honorary Fellows of the School. In December 1953 I presided over the session of the Indian History Congress at Waltair.
In November 1953 the President of India was pleased to nominate me as a member of Parliament i.e. of the Rājyasabha (Council of States) and when my term expired on 1-4-58 I was again nominated for six years. While in Parliament I worked on several committees such as the Committees for considering the Hindu Adoption Act, the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act. I pressed on the Govt. that they should start a Central Institute of Indian Studies. This has been now accepted in principle and a committee has been appointed to suggest a constitution and other matters. I have also been a member of the Central Sanskrit Board. On 15th August 1958 the President of India was pleased to grant me a certificate of merit and an annuity of Rs. 1500 a year. In August 1959 the President was pleased to nominate me as National Professor of Indology for five years on a substantial salary, the only condition being that I should carry on research as I have been doing. I resigned from Parliament in September 1959, because as I held an office of profit under Govt, I had to do so according to law. In 1960 the University of Poona conferred on me the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters.

From the beginning of 1955 I did not take any fresh legal work and by March 1956 I got all my cases disposed off. Since April 1956 I have systematically refused all pressure to accept briefs. Since April 1956 I have devoted my time to Parliamentary work (till September 1959 only) and to the last volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra.

I had substantial legal work from 1919 to about 1949. For the benefit of those who made inquiries and of those who desire to pursue literary studies while working as lawyers, I shall briefly state how I saved time for literary work. The High Court worked for five days in the week. I always utilized all holidays for literary work, Saturday and Sunday have always been my busiest days. There were always two Benches (sometimes three Benches also) on the Appellate side of the High Court. Often ten appeals were placed on the board for each Bench every day; since the practice of the Court has been that if an Advocate had two matters, one in each of the different courts and he was engaged in one court, his case in the other court was kept back till he became free. So when an advocate had even one appeal in one court and that too very low down in the list, even then he had to be present in court from the beginning, since appeals
lower down on the Board might be taken up by the Court if the lawyers therein were available. Most lawyers when free spent their time in chitchat in the Advocates' room. I spent such time in the Library for preparing my briefs that were likely to be taken up in the next few weeks. I hardly ever read my briefs at home. Therefore, I could devote every day some hours in the morning and evening to my work on Sanskrit studies. I always worked for eight or nine hours a day and sometimes ten to twelve hours from 1911 to 1948, except when I was not in Bombay. I have never slept or even taken a nap by day from 1904 to 1958; even when I went to see a drama at night and came home at 2 A.M. I awoke at 6 A.M. and slept a little earlier on the following night. After the mild heart trouble in 1958, I tried sleeping a little by day, but not being used to such a thing I gave it up in a few months. For fifty years I have been taking morning walk for about one hour on the Chowpati sea face in Bombay and at the Hanging Gardens since 1912, but stopped going to the Hanging Gardens from about 1956.

That I had duodenal ulcer was discovered by x-ray therapy about 1925. Some doctors advised an operation. Others opposed it. I consulted the then most eminent surgeon in Bombay, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, and he advised me not to go in for it. Again in 1937 when I undertook a trip in European countries for three months, I consulted in Vienna an eminent German doctor who advised me to continue my dietetic methods and not to undergo an operation, when I was nearly 58 and the disease was of very long standing.

A few words about my method of collecting materials for my History of Dharmasāstra. I have about a hundred note-books, some of them subjectwise and some with pages marked from A to Z, in which I noted important pages and passages extracted from the works read. For example, I have a big oblong notebook (leather bound) of about 500 pages devoted to Purāṇas only.

As regards the writing of the History of Dharmasāstra my method was as follows: I wrote in my own hand a first draft, collected a hundred pages or so and then carefully read those pages. Sometimes I tore off several pages and prepared a new draft. I cannot type well, having had no time to cultivate the habit of using a typewriter. Then I got the matter typewritten by an excellent typist, Mr. G. R. Barve, who was my neighbour and who could decipher my bad writing tolerably well and paid him his usual
charges. I sent to the Press only the handwritten original of the first volume. It was from the 2nd volume onwards that I got one or two copies typewritten (two when there was danger of bombing Bombay in 1942) and sometime afterwards I read the typed copy myself and put in the diacritical marks. This was sent to the Press in Poona I examined three (rarely four) proofs of all forms myself, but the press had directions to send a copy of the third page proof to a good Sanskrit scholar in Poona who was to read it and make corrections (not in the matter but only as to diacritical marks, spelling, stops etc.) and to send the corrected proof to me and I incorporated his corrections (if accepted by me) in my own copy of the third proof, which was sent to the Press as the final proof. The Indexes to all the five volumes were prepared by me. The Indexes to volumes I-IV alone come to 289 pages. The total printed pages of all works written and printed by me and of the numerous papers that I contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and to other Journals would come to at least twenty thousand pages. To the typewriters of vol. II to V, I paid about 2500 rupees out of my own pocket and about 600 rupees to the correctors of the page proofs (of volume II to V). I went to places that had collections of Sanskrit Mss. such as Poona (very often), Baroda, Benares (several times), Madras (several times), Tanjore and Ujjain at my own expense for reading several mss. and getting copies made of a few of them.

In our country, there are no large libraries like those in Europe and U.S.A. So I had to spend money on securing micro-films of certain articles in foreign journals and copies of certain Mss. I have no accounts of the travelling charges but about making copies of some mss., and microfilms I can say that they came to about 200 rupees. The Press was in Poona and I was in Bombay and the proofs (along with the original copy at the time of the despatch of the first proof) had to be sent by post for about 35 years (sometimes one form, sometimes two and rarely three at a time). Besides, the original ms. had always to be sent in small packets (of from 50 to 100 handwritten or typed pages) by registered bookpost. No accounts are kept of this but probably Rs. 400 would be a very modest estimate. The honorarium paid (and to be paid) to me for all the five volumes is given in the table below:

For the information of those who have already inquired or
might inquire hereafter about the cost of this undertaking viz.,

**History of Dharmaśāstra**, a table is appended:—

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3900 copies of volumes II-V are unbound as follows:—

Copies unbound

| Vol. II parts 1 and 2 | 1000 |
| Volume III            | 800  |
| Volume IV             | 1000 |
| Volume V pt. 1        | 1100 |

3900 copies

The charges for binding these 3900 copies at Rs. 2/- (per copy) would be Rs. 7,800 (3900 x 2).

Thus the cost of the whole series would be Rs. 84,943-13-0 (77,143-13 + 7,800). It must be mentioned that the Executive Board of the B. O. R. I. paid me Rs. three per page as to Volumes I, II and IV and only Rs. two per page for Vol. III and propose to pay me Rs. four per page for Vol. V, leaving me to bear all expenses for typewritten copy, for correction of one proof by a third person, all postage, travelling expenses and for copies of mss. and microfilms.
Epilogue

The usual method in India as regards Histories or Encyclopaedias in several volumes (running into thousands of pages) is to appoint a Director or Chief Editor (on a salary of Rs. 1500 per month), an Assistant Editor (on a salary of Rs. 600 or Rs. 750 per month) and to pay contributors at Rs. five or so per page, beside an office and a staff of clerks and typists. The Director's salary on the usual scale for one year alone would come to Rs. 18,000. The payments made and to be made to me for writing a work of over six thousand pages spread over 37 years come practically to one year's salary for a Chief Editor (or rather less by Rs. 3700 which were spent for typewriting, correction, and copies etc. as stated above). I do not like this distasteful task. I had, however, to write about this matter because I wanted to dispel the queer notions about my profits that some people appear to entertain and made inquiries. It is owing to one individual's sacrifice that all the volumes (containing over 6000 pages) can be sold by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute for only Rs. 180. If the usual method had been followed, these 6000 pages would have had to be priced at Rs. 400 or more.

I could not arrange or plan my life. I had to oscillate between education, literature and law, between Government service and an independent profession like that of law. I have, however, lived a very active, full and varied life for over sixty years. Thinking over the vast Sanskrit literature and the labour and time that I had to spend on one branch of it, I am inclined to close this Epilogue with two lines from Browning's poem "The last ride together".

'Look at the end of the work, contrast
The petty done, the undone vast.'

Acknowledgments and Thanks

During the last thirty-seven years from 1925 to this day I have received from hundreds of friends and others, institutions and books, assistance of various kinds. Now that this undertaking is drawing to a close, I should like to mention with gratitude all of them that I can remember. In the Prefaces to the several volumes of this History I have acknowledged the help received from individuals in writing the separate volumes. Here at the end of the whole work,
I shall try to mention in one place the Institutions, the series of books and individuals to whom I have been indebted.

INSTITUTIONS

Among Institutions the first place must be assigned to the Library of the Bombay Asiatic Society (formerly called Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society). It was in this Library that I passed several hours almost every day (except on holidays), when I was in Bombay. It has also a large collection of Sanskrit Mss. The materials for the first four volumes were collected mainly in the rooms of this Library. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to this Library and to all persons in the service of the Library from the highest to the lowest. I must next mention the Library of the Bombay University, which was also of great use to me. The Library of the Bombay Asiatic Society is a circulating Library with a large membership, but the Bombay University Library permits only the members of the Senate to have books issued to them for reading at home. I could secure books urgently needed by me from this Library, when I could not get them from the Asiatic Society’s Library (because some members had taken them). Besides, it possesses a large number of Sanskrit Mss. I tender my thanks to the Bombay University and its Library, to the staff of the Library and particularly to Mr. D. N. Marshall, the present Librarian. Since November 1953 when I was nominated a member of Parliament (Rājyasabhā) by the President of India, two more Libraries became available to me. One was the Library of Parliament which contains a large number of books on many subjects including Sanskrit Literature, Ancient Indian History, and the Library of the Archaeological Department in New Delhi. I thank the staff of the Parliament Library. Dr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, made special arrangements for seating me in the Archaeological Library and made me a corresponding member. Dr. Chabbra, Joint Director of that Department, also was very kind and helpful. I am under great obligations to these high Officers. When at the end of 1953, I went to the Library of the Archaeological Department, the Librarian was a young man, Shri L. G. Parab, a double M. A. of the Bombay University, a B. T. and holder of a diploma in Librarianship. He is a very industrious and enthusiastic young Librarian, who made great efforts to keep the Library
full of Sanskrit books, full of books both on ancient and medieval history of India and of other countries, and of books on all archaeological studies, such as architecture, iconography and painting, kept the Library up to date and took a keen interest in my work and a great deal of trouble to accommodate me in various ways (too many to mention) from 1954 to the present day. Much of the material for this lengthy fifth volume was collected in the Archaeological Library and a good deal of the text also was written there. I am under a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Parab and also thank all his assistants, particularly Messrs. Kapur and Mr. A. S. Dhavle and his Jamadar, Bhagavat Sahai.

Then I must mention certain series of books and certain presses that have printed and published a large number of books, such as the Ānandāśrama series (Poona), the Bibliotheca Indica Series the Bombay Sanskrit Series, the Kāvyamālā and the Nirnayasagar Press, Calcutta Oriental Series, Chowkhamba S. Series, Cultural Heritage of India, volumes I–IV (Calcutta), the Gujarati Press and its Sanskrit Series, the Gaikwad Oriental Series (Baroda), Haridas Sanskrit Series (Benaras), Harvard Oriental Series, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Jivanand Vidyasagar’s numerous publications, Prājñāpāthāsāla Maṇḍala’s volumes of Dharmakośa and Mīmāṃsā-kōsa (Wai), Kashmir Sanskrit Series, the Manikyachandra Digambar Jain Series, Jain Grantha-mala Series, Pali Texts Society’s Series, Prince of Wales Sarasvatibhavana Series of texts and studies, Pandit S. D. Satavalekar’s Series of Vedic Samhitās, Sacred Books of the East Series (50 volumes including the valuable Index Volume), St. Petersburg Dictionary by Bohthlingk and Roth, the Vaidika Sāṁśodhana-maṇḍal’s volume of 18 Upaniṣads with valuable footnotes and Index (Poona), Trivandrum S. Series, Vedic Index (in two volumes) of Macdonell and Keith, Vijayanagram S. Series.

Among periodicals I must mention, the Epigraphia Indica, the Indian Antiquary and those indexed under the word ‘Journal’.

I am highly obliged to many scholars who contributed appreciative and encouraging reviews in several journals and newspapers. The first and third volumes received the largest number of reviews. I shall mention only a few for each volume. The first was reviewed in the Bombay Law Reporter, volume 32 (Journal pp. 94–95), in J. A. O. S. for 1931 volume 61 pp. 80–84 by Prof. Hopkins, in JRAS. for 1932 pp. 158–161 by Prof. S. V. Fitzgerald, I. H. Q-
for 1932, pp. 305-307 by Amareshwar Thakur, J. of Oriental Research, Madras, for 1931 pp. 231-235 by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, by the 'Kesari' of Poona in three issues dated 7th, 10th, 11th March 1931 (in Marathi); Volume II was reviewed by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in very eulogistic terms in Adyar Library Bulletin for 1944 pp. 75-86, in J. R. A. S. for 1942 pp. 106-107 by Prof. Brough; Vol. III was reviewed in "Indian Culture" by Dr. B. C. Law, Volume XIII for 1947 pp. 119-23, in Journal Asiaticque for 1948, vol. 236 pp. 149-150 by Prof. L. Renou and also in his book "Sanskrit et Culture" (Paris, 1950) pp. 126-136, in J. A. O. S. Vol. 67 pp. 232-234 by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, in M. L. J. Vol. 93 for 1947 (Journal pp. 33-38), in newspaper "Hindu" of 25. 5. 1947 (Madras) by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, in Bombay Law Reporter for January 1947 (Journal pp. 13-15), in the "Bombay Chronicle" of 9-2-1947 by Mr. Prabhu and in the 'Times of India' of 13. 6. 1947, by Mr. N. C. Kelkar in "Kesari" of 2nd and 5th December 1947, in 'Prabhāt' (a Marathi newspaper) in seven issues in March and May 1947 by Shri N. G. Chapekar; Volume IV was reviewed at some length by Prof. Hans Losch of Bonn in Z. D. M. G. Volume 107 pp. 217-221, and in 56 Bom. L. R. (1954 pp. 34-35 Journal), in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, volume X pp. 168-172, in J. A. O. S. Vol. 74, pp. 271-273 by Dr. Sternbach, in the Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, Volume 17, part 3 for October 1955 pp. 620-21 and in the "Kesari" of 26th September 1954 by Mr. J. S. Karandikar; Volume V part I was reviewed in J. A. O. S. for 1959 by Dr. Sternbach, in J. R. A. S. 1960 pp. 193-194 by Dr. Derrett. Volumes I to IV were reviewed by Prof. V. I. Kalyanov in the Quarterly Journal of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, volume VII No. 4 pp. 7-10 (1960). The number of Individual authors whose works I read or whom I consulted in 37 years may run into thousands. Authors and works referred to only once or twice are not collected here, but they have been mentioned in the several separate Indices to the five volumes. Only very eminent writers or authors who wrote several valuable works and papers or were personally consulted are named below.

Abhyankar, Vasudevasastri (M. M. Pandit); Prof. K. V. Abhyankar (son of the preceding); Aiyangar (Krishna), (Prof.) K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Dr.
Epilogue

A. S. Altekar, Arthur Avalon (Sir. John Woodroffe), Mr. M. B. Arte, Sri Aurobindo, Prof. P. V. Bapat, Shri N. C. Bapat, Prof. A. L. Basham, Mr. Y. A. Bhat, Dr. S. K. Belvarkar, Pandit Bhagavad-datta, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof G. H. Bhatt, Mr. (and now Dr.) Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M. Bloomfield, G. Buhler, A. Burnell, Dr. Caland, Prof. Chintaranjan Chakravarti, M. M. Cakravarty, Mr. N. G. Chapecar, Mr. M. A. Chinnaswami Sastry, H. T. Colebrooke, A. Coomaraswamy, E. B. Cowell, Dr. K. L. Daftari, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. Matilal Das, Prof. Das Gupta, Datar Chintaman Sastry, T. W. Rhys Davids, Prof. S. K. De, Paul Deussen, Dr. (Miss) Indu Dike, Mr. D. E. Diskalkar, Mr. P. C. Divanji, Shri R. R. Diwakar, Pandit K. S. Dravid (Sāmaveda expert), Prof. P. E. Dumont, Will Durant, M. N. Dutta, Prof. Edgerton, Julius Eggeling, V. Fausboll, Prof. Filliozat, J. F. Fleet, A. A. Fuhrer, Dr. D. Gstra, Dr. G. S. Gai, Pandit T. Ganapati Sastry, R. Garbe, G. T. Garrat, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Prof. P. K. Gode, Prof. N. A. Gore, M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj, G. Gorer, H. H. Gown, R. T. Griffith, F. Hall, Martin Haug, Dr. R. C. Haara, A. Hillebrandt, Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Dr. R. Hoerle, Prof. Hopkins, R. E. Hume, Col. G. A. Jacob, H. Jacobi, W. James, K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Julius Jolly, Dr. B. S. Joshi, Tarkatirtha Lakṣmīnārāṇa Sāstri Joshi, Mr. S. N. Joshi (Poona), Pandit Kamalkrishna Smrititirtha, Mr. S. L. Katre Dr. S. M. Katre, A. B. Keith, H. Kern, Mr. Kesavan (National Library, Calcutta), Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Swami Kevalananda, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, F. Kielhorn, W. Kirfel, Tarkatirtha Raghunath Shastri Kokje, Sten Konow, Prof Kunhan Raja, Prof. Kuppuswami Sastry, Shri Kuvalayānanda, Dr. B. C. Law, Sylvain Levi, H. Luders, A. A. Macdonell, MacTaggart, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, V. N. Mandlik, Prof. Mangal Deva Shastri, Sir R. P. Masani, F. Max-Müller, Dr. V. V. Mitashi, Rajendralal Mitra, Dr. M. M. Umesh Mishra, Dr. R. K. Mukerji, Mr. Y. M. Mulay, Prof. Neugebauer, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, K. L. Ogale, Hermann Oldenberg, Pandit J. S. Pade, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Prof. A. M. Parameswarananda, Prof. V. G. Paranjipe, Peter Peterson, A. S. Pringle-Pattison, Mr. P. M. Purandare, Dr. A. D. Puralker, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Rangacharya Raddi Shastri, Dr. V. Raghavan, V. K. Rajwade, Prof. R. D. Ranade, Prof. P. T. Raju, Prof. L. Renou, R. Roth, Mr. R. S. Sarma, Prof. G. Sarton, Miss Kunda Sathe (now Mrs.

I beg to be pardoned if, through loss of memory, I have omitted the names of persons to whom I have been indebted for advice, guidance or information.
INDEX (to vol. V)

a. = author; Acc. = According; M = mentioned by or in;
Q. = quoted by or in

(Important and rare words are put in Italics)

Abbreviations, su di and va di or ba di explained, 670.
Abhayagaha, mantras so called 796n.
Abhaya, mantras in Atharvaveda, 769n.
Abhayamudra, defined and illustrated, 1131n.
Abhaya-santi, described, 761.
Abhhitavayavadina, followers of Kumari were so called, 1297.
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Arthavādas (vide Anuvāda, Gunavāda) 1238-1244; all A. are not commenatory, some remove doubts also as about śarKarā 1240; are the second great division of Vedic texts and are dealt with in P.M. Śūtra I. 2, 1238; are scattered over the several chapters of P.M. Śūtra 1283; are the śeṣa (auxiliary) of vidhis in the Brāhmaṇa texts 1263; constitute the largest part of the Veda, particularly of Brāhmaṇa texts 1243; examples of, cited 1238-39; four kinds of viz. nidā, prasaṃśa, parakṛti purākalpa, according to Mīmāṃśa paribhāṣa, Vāyupurāṇa, Nyāyasūtra and examples, 1241-43; Smṛtis abound in A. illustrated, 1242-43; some Vedic passages contain words like ‘hi’ (meaning ‘because’), the conclusion being that such passages (called hetuva ni-gadas) are also commenatory 1239-1240; three kinds of A. viz. gunavāda, anuvāda, bhūta-rthavāda, exemplified 1240-41.

Arjuketutakacayana, 24.

Arūpāṇyāya, 1294-95 (explained), 1310.

Arunodaya, (last half quarter of night), 260.

Āryabhata, 484, 676, 679; born in 476 A. D. 649, 1477; view of, that earth revolved round itself and that stars did not revolve round earth 1477.

Āryabhatiya, work of Āryabhata, 649n, 676n, 679, 80 (mentions Thursday), 684, 696n, 1477; edited by W. E. Clark, 1477.

Āryamaṇiṣu śrimulakalpa, names and defines 108 Mudrās 1129; says combinations of mantras and mudrās bring success in all actions and that no tithi, nakṣatra, nor fast required 1129.

Āryāsaptaśati of Utpala, 602 (deals with predictions based on time of question asked).

Āśādha, most important tithi in, is Ekādaśi, 95.

Āsana or Āsanas (vide under Gherandāsambhitā, Hathayoga, Inscriptions, Śivasambhitā) 1424-1431; an aṅga of Yoga and defined as what is stable and comfortable in Y. S. (i.e. bodily posture) and in Gīta means seat covered with Kuśa
grass, deer-skin and garment, 1424; handbook on, published by Śri Kuvalayānanda, with 78 figures 1425; is first añga in Hathayoga, of which there are 84, most important being Siddhāsana 1426–28; names of 84 āsanas 1428; Padmāsana mentioned by Dakṣasmati and by Śaṅkara 1425, 1426; photographs (108) of Ā. in Dr. Goswami’s work, 1394: sixteen figures of Ā. in Dr. Behanan’s work and more figures in other works 1425–26; ten Ā. named by Yogābhaśya 1425–26; Yāj. Smṛti (III. 198) seems to have Padmāsana in view 1425 and n.

Asaṅga, a. of Mahāyānasūtraśāntikāra, ed. by Levi 1050n; great teacher of Yogācāra 1050n; Tibetan tradition that Ā. introduced Tantricism in India examined 1033n; view of Dr. Bhattacharya that Ā. is the a. of Guhyasamājatantra criticized 1050n.

Āśānta, meaning of, in Tai. S. 723n.


Āśauca (days of impurity on birth or death), does not affect king in doing regal duties nor any one who is engaged in vrata or sacrifice, marriage etc. occurring after any one of these is begun 48.

Asceticism, not prescribed for all by śāstras 1628.

Ascetics, forbidden by Manu to secure alms by fore-telling results of portents or bodily movements 527; had to give up all property and beg for livelihood 944; many kinds of m. in Brähjātaka 1645.

Āsiatic Researches, volumes of 253, 498.

Āśleṣā, vide Gomukhaprasavasānti; Śānti for birth of a son or daughter on certain parts of Ā. 771–72; serpent, presiding deity of Ā. 771n.

Āśmaratya, quoted by both P. M. S and V. S. and is quoted at least 16 times by Ap Śr. sūtra, his views being often in conflict with Ālekhana’s 1174..

Āsmitā (in Yoga) defined, 1409n, 1417.

Āśoka, 493; Akiṃsā of A. was qualified 1015; appointed officers called Mahāmātras to look after Buddhist Saṅgha, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and all other sects 1012; 12th Rock edict of, requires honour to be shown to all beliefs and sects 1012, 1481; edict 13 of, shows that he sent missionaries to five kings of the Near East about 258 B. C.; edicts 2 and 5 refer to Yavanas (Yona) 1634n; emphasized moral endeavour, disliked sacrifices, believed in gods and desired that people should strive for heaven 1016n; employs regnal years in his edicts 647; forbids festival meetings (samāja) 1017; his regulations about not killing birds and animals and about the sale of fish must have caused
Astrologer, an established officer in Italy and later in French court, 543n; came to be looked upon in India as all important for the king 543; professional A. (for money) was looked upon as an unworthy Brāhmaṇa till about 500 B.C., 543. Astrology (vide under Atharvāna Jyotiṣa, auspicious days, Babylonians, bhuvas i.e. houses in horoscopes, Greeks, Mahābhārata, planets, predictions, Ptolemy, Rāmāyaṇa, Utpala, Varāhamihira); among Assyrians A. was concerned with the interpretation of celestial phenomena 521, 548; Atharvāna Jyotiṣa divided nakṣatras into nine classes (each of three nakṣatras) and sets out what should be undertaken on each of nine classes 532-34, 579; based on Nakṣatras had been well developed in India before Ptolemy 558-61, 579, 597n; belief in A. was common throughout Europe and among Greeks after Alexander 548; believers in A. should now rest content with the simple rules of Gṛhyasūtras and Manu as regards Upānayana and marriage 639; birth of a boy on Jyeṣṭhā or Vicṛt (Mūla) held in Atharvaveda to be evil for the boy or parents 524; criticism of the main doctrines of Indian A. including diṣṭi, 635-638; dilemma for those who believe in A. 639; firm hold of A. on Indian mind for two thousand years or more and

Aṣṭakā (8th tithi after full Moon in any month, particularly in Māgha) 65.
Aṣṭakavarga, astrological theory about seven planets and Lagna 591.
Astobha, meaning of, 1182 and n.
even in modern times 626-27; general A. (not horoscopic) like that in Reports of Babylonian priests prevalent in India, centuries before Christ 570; generally ignored by modern Western philosophers and scientists 630; high claims about importance and utility of A. made by Varahamihira and others 546-48; horoscopic A. is later than natural A. 521; in Varahamihira is not borrowed from Greeks 585; in ancient times words 'astronomy' and 'astrology' were synonyms 483, 521; Indians who knew Nakṣatra a. centuries before Christ probably adopted it to rāsis on seeing zodiacal signs in Babylonian monuments about the time that the Greeks derived it 598-600; influence of, in Engiand shown by several English words, 552-53; Kautilya knew general A. but not horoscopic 569-70; knowledge of A. found in Vedic works 521-525; long list of Varahamihira's predecessors in A. 591-94; most important matters in Indian A. are rāsis, the planets, and the twelve bhāvas 635: prejudice in ancient India against astrologers and star-gazers 527; Ptolemy's arguments in support of, 553-54; serious consequences of belief that planets caused persons to do certain things, 634; some predictions came true 631-32; spread from Greece to Rome about 2nd century B.C. 549; two circumstances that tended to weaken the influence of A. in Europe 551; was comparatively more scientific than hepatoscopy 522n; was cultivated by the side of astronomy in European Universities 551; works on Indian A. gradually disappeared owing to the excellent works of Varahamihira 601; works on A. recommended that a child born on Āśeṣa or Mūla nakṣatra or on gaṅdānta should be abandoned 632-33; world wars provided a powerful fillip in modern times for spread of A. 531.

Astronomers, Indian, of medieval times believed that all planets including the Sun and Moon were together at sunrise on Sunday of Caitra Śukla prati-pada at beginning of Kaliyuga and of Kalpa 649; three schools of, (1) of Sūryasiddhānta, (2) of Brahma-siddhānta, (3) of Āryasiddhānta 649; two main points on which the schools of A. in India differ viz. (1) length of yeer, (2) the number of revolutions of the Sun, Moon and the planets in a Mahāyuga 711.

Astronomy (see 'Astrology', Greeks, 'Siddhāntas'), both a. and astrology are equally ancient and acted and reacted on each other 483; Cambridge Ancient History holds that whole science of a. is due to astrology, while Prof. Neugebauer and Mr. Doig hold that
there is no evidence for this 483; discussion of Greek influence on Indian a. is of little interest, since most of
the Greek material was well-known in Mesopotamia in the middle of the 2nd Millenium B. C., 518n; extensive Sanskrit Literature
on Hindu A. perished 521, 531; in China, assumptions of antiquity of astronomy, should not be accepted at face
value 509; Indian A. held by Dixin to be independent and based on Indian observations 484; Indian A. cannot be said
to have been directly based on Ptolemy owing to serious discrepancies in essential matters
and no direct evidence of being based on Hipparchus or other Greek writers 520-21; knowledge of, in Homer's and
Hesiod's works not better than that of Vedie Indians 513; Sanskrit literature on a. and astrology falls into three slightly
overlapping periods 484; study of constellations by monks was allowed by Buddha, though
foretelling the future was condemned by him 527; works on Hindu A recommended for reading 484-85.

Āsuri, acc. to Saṅkhya-kārikā, Yogasūtrabhāṣya and Śānti-
parva received Saṅkhya system from Kapilamuni and expounded it to Pañcaśikha, 1356,
1372-73; an Ā. occurs in Vaiṣṇas in Br. Up., as pupil of Bhāradvāja 1373; no quotation
from him cited by any Saṅkhya writer 1374.

Asutosh Mukerji (Sir), Silver Jubilee Volume 843.

Āśvaghoṣa, a. of Saundarananda 941; a. of Buddhacarita 1378.
Āśvalāyana-grhya-pariṣiṣṭa 734.
Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra 26, 35n, 36, 126, 224n, 526n, 534, 536, 605, 609, 729n, 780n, 787n,
790, 802, 1161, 1228n, 1317n; com. of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa on, 1317n.
Āśvalāyana-ṛauta-sūtra, 18n, 26n, 123n, 724n, 731n, 816.

Āsvamedha (vide under Rāja
sūya) sacrifices lasted for a year in which there were 36 cycles of ten days, on each
day of which the sacrificer was to listen to different branches of literature and legends 866;
sacrifices performed by Puṣyamitra, Bhāvanāga, Pravarasena I, Samudragupta and other
kings 1028-29; supposed to remove the consequences of all sins, 1589n.

Āśvamezhikaparva, 127, 467, 683, 744, 945 (on āhīnasā),
994, 1371, 1401, 1416, 1519, 1537n, 1571.

Āśvapati Kaikēya, boast of, in
Chān. Up. 943, 1584n; expounds Vaiśvanara-vidyā to Uddalaka Āruṇī, 1578-79.

Āsvattha, name of Śravaṇa nak-
śatra in Kāṭhaka and Pāṇini, 500.

Āsvattha tree, is called Bodhi-
sattva in Padmapurāṇa 893.

Āśvayuji, one of the seven Pāka-
yajnas m. by Gaut. performed
on full Moon of Āśvina, 206.
Aśvins, different views as to what they stand for in Ṛgveda, 7; spoken of as wearing blue lotuses in Ṛgveda 35.

Ātātāyin, killing an Ā. brāhmaṇa is not brahma-hatya 817n.

Ātharvāṇa-jiotisa 80, 532-34, 539, 541, 604; date of, difficult to decide 534; furnishes a scheme of nakṣatra astrology somewhat different from Vai-khāṇasa-smṛti and Yogayātra 532-34; mentions week-days but not rāgis 534.

Ātharvāṇa-nakṣatra-kalpa, first part of Ātharvapariśiṣṭas 499.

Ātharvā-pariśīṣṭa, 589n (on graha-yuddha), 734, 735n, 741 (67th pariśīṣṭa), 742 (on Utpātakašaṇa), 743, 745, 754, 759n, 761, 767, 770, 774, 779n, 780, 792-93, 795n, 796n, 798, 802n.

Ātharvaśiras, Upaniṣad 786n, 918n.

Ātharvaveda, 12n, 20, 22, 23n, 25n, 35, 62n, 63-65, 126, 194, 196n, 463, 486n, 487, 489, 494n, 495n, 496-98, 500, 524, 526n, 528, 538n, 563, 596n, 671, 702, 719n, 720-21, 726n, 727n, 729n, 730n, 732 (verses of, used in Śāntis on dreams), 734, 739-40, 745 (on Utpātasa), 763 (abhaya-mantras), 771n, 796, 802n, 816, 985 (two interpretations of X. 8. 9), 1032, 1035 (magic spells in), 1036-37 (spells for softening the heart and for destroying worms), 1116 (on dikṣā), 1153, 1181, 1213 (on joys of heaven), 1217n, 1259n (āstakāmantra, 'Yām janāḥ' etc.), 1291, 1360, 1387, 1433, 1471, 1489 (repeats 15 verses of Puruṣasūkta), 1493-95 (hymns on Creator and creation), 1498, 1500, 1526n, 1533, 1554 (Devayāna and Pitryāga), 1622, 1625-26 (relied upon in V. S.), 1633, five Kalpas of Ā. are Nakṣatra, Vātāna, Saṁhitā, Āṅgirasa and Śanti 735n.

Atheists, Bhagavadgītā describes their destiny 979-80.

Atiđesa (process or method by which the details prescribed in connection with one sacrifice are transferred to another rite) 1321-24; vide under Vidhyādi and Vidhyanta; may be provided by vacana (Vedic text) or by name, 1322-23; prakṛti (model or Archetype) is the name given to the sacrifice from which details are transferred and vikṛti is the name given to the sacrifice to which details are transferred 1322; 7th Chap. of P. M. sūtras deals with general question of the extension of details to Aindrāgna and other sacrifices, while the 8th Chap. deals with specific cases of Ā. 1321, 1323-24; Smṛtis and digests frequently resort to principle of Ā. 1322-23.

Atirudra, eleven times of Mahā-rudra 814.

Atithi (guest), flesh of an ox or goat, offered to king or brāhmaṇa coming as an Ā., according to Śat. Br., Vasiṣṭha, Yāj. 1267.
Ativāhika (intermediate body between dead body and the future body for soul), 1600 and n.

Ātman (vide Brahman), resides in the earth and elements, is inside them; rules them and is the soul of all human beings, 1499; description of, in Br. Up. 1499.

Atomic theory; Democritus (who died in 370 B.C. in Greece) started it, 1486; in Kapāda, who does not expressly say anything about who started it, 1486; later Nyāya-vaiśeṣika writers combined two theories by saying that, when God desires to create, activity is produced in the atoms and creation starts, as stated in Tarka-dipikā, 1486.

Ātreya, on astrology, q. by Madanaratna, 736n, 789.

Ātreya, Dr., thesis, on ‘Philosophy of Yogavaśīsthā’ 1408n.

Ātreya, views of, quoted in P. M. S. and V. S. and called Muni by Šabara 1173-74.

Atri, writer of a work on Utpātas and pupil of Garga, 591, 766.

Atri, author of a Smṛti, 29n, 250, 810n, 948n, 949, 979, 1023n, 1419, 1442n, 1634n (mentions foreign tribes).

Atris, performed Saptadasastoma three days before Viṣuvat and smote svarbhānu, 242; found out the sun afflicted with darkness by Svarbhānu (i.e. totally eclipsed) 982n.

Augustine, saint, called astrology a delusion 558; believed that religions outside the Bible as interpreted by him and others was the work of the devil 1608.

Aurangzeb, issued firmans for the destruction of famous temples at Somnath, Mathurā, Benaras, 1019.

Aurobindo, vide (Vedic Interpretation), a. of ‘Hymns to the Mystic fire’ 985; a. of ‘On the Veda’ (published in 1956) dealing with over 60 hymns and 283 pages are devoted to the elaboration of his theory that behind the ritual explanations there is always the true and still hidden secret of the Veda, 986; a. of ‘The problem of rebirth’, 1605; does not compare the several hundred passages in which the word rta occurs and translates rta as truth and ‘truth consciousness’ and ‘rta-sit’ also in the same way 986; his theory that many while hymns of the Veda bear on their face a mystic meaning and that the rāj for the sake of secrecy re-sorted to double meanings, criticized 986–89, 991; he concedes that there are some keywords in the Rgveda such as rta, kratu, śravas, ketu (most of which occur hundreds of times) and that elaborate work would have to be done to fix their meanings, but he does not himself undertake that task and fixes the meaning of rta from three passages only 988; A. and his disciple
Kapali Sastry differ about the poetic character of the mantras 987n; makes a very wide generalization with very little basis 991; A.'s translation of 'rtacit' is shown to be wrong 988–89; explanation why Shri Aurobindo (who is called Mahāyogi by his disciples and admirers) was not mentioned in dealing with Yoga and Dharmāśāstra, 1462–63; faults that he finds with the old systems of Yoga stated and criticized 1455–66; his sādhanā was not founded on books, but upon personal experiences that crowded upon him and he constantly heard the voice of Vivekananda for a fortnight in the jail 1465; life of A. written by Shri R. R. Diwakar (wherein he speaks of him as 'Mahāyogi') published in 1953, 1466n; life of A. by G. H. Langley (1949), 1466n; lived as a recluse from 1926 to his passing away on 5th December 1950 and gave darśana to people only on four days in the year, 1463 and n; long statement on 15th August 1947 (Independence day) in which he referred to the several dreams of his youth which he thought were on their way to fruition 1463–64; recent work 'Integral Philosophy of Aurobindo' containing 30 papers by Indian and Western scholars (1960), 1467; A. sets his heart on the unity of the human race to be achieved by inner oneness and purpose and not by an external association of interests, but his own efforts (in that direction, except by writings) are not discernible 1464–65; writings of, are many and voluminous, his magnum opus being 'Life divine', which is not easy to understand for men of ordinary intelligence 1466–67.

Auṣānasa-smṛti 819.

Auspicious days, reference to, occurs even in the Rgveda 522; Soma sacrifice did not require auspicious day or nakṣatra 523.

Auspicious muhūrta, for constructing a house 540.

Auspicious nakṣatras, for caula, puṇāsavāṇa, marriage, 535; for wearing new garments or ornaments for the first time 626.

Auspicious objects, see Vasantarājasākuna, 778; to be touched when leaving house after bath and homa on business 905.

Auspicious times, for all rites for gods 536; times for caula, upanayana, godāna, and marriage according to grhyasūtras 224, 535; A. times prescribed by Brhad-āranyaka Upanisad for rites to be performed by individuals 524, 534; A. nakṣatras and seasons prescribed for solemn Vedic sacrifices by Brāhmaṇa texts and Kalpa-sūtras, grhya and dharma-sūtras 534; year for caula, 535.

Avalon, Arthur (Sir John Woodroffe, which see), 178n, 1033n, 1048n, (a. of 'Principles of
Tantra), 1060 (a. of 'Serpent Power'), 1048n, 1129n, 1131n; published many of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, 1050, 1105.

Avama-dina, explained 263.

Avantivarman, king of Kashmir 1075.

Āvāpa (decentralisation or scattering); example is Darsā-pūrṇamāsa, which are really two sets of sacrifices, 1332.

Avatāras (vide 'Bhāgavata', 'Buddha', 'Reincarnation'), 992-998; Agnipurāṇa describes the characteristics of the images of ten a. 996; all ten avatāras of Viṣṇu had become recognized throughout India at least before 10th century A. D. 996; are dwelt upon at great length in Purāṇas 992; Buddhists in the Mahāyāna teachings made Buddha go through many a. as Bodhisattva 993; conception of, may be traced to the Śat. Br. 992; conception of a. increased Dharmaśāstra material and gave rise to numerous vrataś and festivals called Jayantis 992, 998; derivation and meaning of the word 992; in modern times some persons pose or are made to pose as avatāras by their admirers 993; Indian theory of a. is connected with the theory of yugas 993; Kumārila (7th century A. D.) did not regard Buddha as avatāra of Viṣṇu 997; Lākṣmi follows Viṣṇu in all avatāras 996; Locus classicus on a. is Bhaga-
vadgītā IV. 7-8, 993; none of the ten avatāras except Kṛṣṇa and possibly Rāma is expressly named in Bhagavadgītā 994; of Viṣṇu due to a curse of Bhrigu 995n; one Pak Subuh who hails from Indonesia is suggested by Mr. J. G. Bennett as an avatāra for whom mankind is waiting 993; reference to Buddha as avatāra in Bhāgavata 995n; references from Purāṇas to each of ten a. 998; ten a. of Viṣṇu in medieval and modern times named in Mātya and Varāha Purāṇas 993; thirty-nine a. of Vāsudeva in Aihbuddhnya-samhitā 996; thirty-three a. discussed by Dr. Katre 997; tithis of the appearance of, 262, 998n; Tōdārā-nanda probably contains longest account of ten a. 998; twelve a. noted in Mātya and Padma 994; twenty-two a. of Viṣṇu in Bhāgavata 903n; Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa a. known centuries before Mahābhāṣya 997; Varāha avatāra m. in Gupta Inscription in the first year of Toramāna (about 500 to 510 A. D.) 997n; Vāyu-
purāṇa mentions 28 a. of Maheśvara, last being Nakuli 996; verses on a. similar to those in Cītā from Harivamśa, Vāyu, etc. 993n; worship of avatāras from Narasimha to Kalkin yields different rewards, acc. to Varāhāpurāṇa 263, 996.

Aveṣṭi, is a sacrifice performed as part of the Rājasūya-yajña that could be performed only
by a ksatriya, 1332; it is also
an independent yaja that may
be performed by any one
belonging to the three varnas
1332; Nirnayasindhu relies
upon this difference in Avesti
for its conclusions about Devi-
pujâ on different tithis 1332;
word 'rajan' in 'Rajasuya'
is held by PMS and Sabara
to mean a ksatriya only,
while some late Dharmastra
works hold that the word
'rajan' may secondarily mean
even a Vaishya who becomes a
ruler 1333, 1340.

Avidya (nescience), consists (Y.
S. II. 5) in regarding non-
eternal as eternal, impure as
pure, painful as pleasurable,
non-self as self 1417.
Aviyoga-vrata, in which food was
to be distributed to helpless
people, to the blind and deaf
38-40.

Ayacita, is a substitute method
for an absolute fast on
ekadasa 100-103.

Ayana, meaning of, in Rigveda,
491.

Ayanamsa (vide under 'calendar'),
meaning of 711.

Ayodhya, capital of Kosala 531.
Ayodhyakanda (of Ramayana),
775 (dreams in).

Ayusyagana (from Atharvaveda)
802n.

Ayusyanmantras, 759 and n, 796n.
Ayusyasukta, 758n, 802n (dif-
f erent views as to what is A.).

Ayutahoma (in which ten thou-
sand oblations are offered); a
kind of Navagrahastanti 749-
752; to be performed at
marriages, establishment of
images etc. 949.

Babylon: (see 'Chaldeans', 'signs
of Zodiac'); apostrophized as
the daughter of Chaldeans
548; intercourse between India
(Punjab) and B. from 3rd
Millennium B. C., 598-600;
latitude of 542; peacocks, rice
and Indian sandalwood under
their Tamil names were known
to Hebrew chronicles of Gene-
sis and Kings 598; ratio of
longest day to shortest, varied
in ancient Babylon, 542-43;
reports made by astrologers of
B. to the king about the por-
tents due to position of Sun,
Moon and planets, 521, 548,
741n; upright stones placed
in fields with inscriptions bear-
ing curses and figures of zodiac-
cal signs, 595.

Babylonians: B. and Assyrians
based astrology on three as-
sumptions 546; B. and Greeks
had no generally believed
docctrine of Karma and Purar-
janma, 546; difference between
B. astrology and Greek astro-
logy 550-51; nakshatras not
integrated with religious sys-
tems in, 509; called Capricorn
goat-fish 565n; imagined
there were three ages of the
world, gold, silver and copper
689n; no cuneiform tablet yet
discovered where all the 27 or
28 nakshatras are arranged in
an orderly series 509; obser-
vations by B. of planets from
2nd millenium B. C., 570.
Bachhofer, Ludwig, 655 (criticizes Dr. Tarn).
Bacon, view of, that stars rather incline than compel, 551.
Bādarāyāna, predecessor of Varāhā-mihira, quoted by Upa-pala, 561, 591; mentions Yavanendra 591.
Bādarāyāna: between Jaimini and B., Sāmavidhāna Br inserts two names and so B. is thus two generations later than J. 1161n; B. came to be confounded with Vyāsa, Pārāśarya but it is difficult to say when and why this confusion arose, 1169, 1171–73; held by Rāmacandra to be author of V.S. and also of Mahābhārata 1165; illustrations how V.S. deals with references to B. 1168; is A. of V.S., acc. to Śaṅkarācārya, 1162n, 1164–65; is different from Veda-vyāsa, acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 1166; no satisfactory reason offered why B. is mentioned only nine times in V.S. if all the five hundred fifty-five sūtras were composed by him, 1165; that several individuals separated by a century or more could have borne the name Bādarāyāna or Jaimini follows from Ṭ. Śr. S. and Pravara-maṇjari, 1174; would be a grandson or a remoter male descendant of Badara 1169.
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bhārata 1169n.

Bhima, fight of, with Duryod-
hana 767.

Bhimaparākrama, a work of king
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Bhoja, 62n, 710, 762.
Bhūṣma, though unmarried, performed Áśvamedha 1280.
Bhūṣmaparva 129, 532n, 743-44, 769 (images of gods trembling), 774 (portentous births), 900n, 1470n, 1528.

Bhoja, king of Dhārā (1st half of 11th century A.D.); composed (or got composed) numerous works, such as Bhūparāṇa, Bhujabala, Rājamārtanda (on astrology), 58, 884 (four works of, on Dharmāśāstra and astrology); a. of com. Rājamārtanda on Yoga-sūtra 1377, 1394.

Bhojaka: 779n (to whom one’s dream was to be declared);
Bhojakata: m. in Brahmapurāṇa as capital of Rukmin of Vidarbha and in Fleet’s ‘Gupta Inscriptions’ 588 and n.

Bhṛty-dvitiyā, same as Yama-dvitiyā, 207-210; an independent festival tucked on to Dvali 209; hardly any religious ceremony observed in these days 208; on 2nd of bright half of Kārtika 207; procedure on, 207, 208; worship of Yama, Yamunā and Citragupta and some other details found in medieval digests are now dropped 208.

Bhṛgu (writer on astrology and astronomy) 591, 664n.

Bhṛgu-sahhita (on astrology), criticism against claims of possessing it, 634-635.

Bhujabala or Bhujabalanibandha; 42n, 61n, 62, 71n, 110n, 240n, 243n, 249n, 547, 555n, 560, 572, 890 (quotes Devipurāṇa); Bhūparāṇa means Bhūparasamuccaya of Bhoja, 70.

Bhūtaśuddhi, in Mahānirvāṇa-tantra, 1095n.

Bhūtarthavāda or Bhūtarthānuvāda; examples of, 1241 and n; explained by Śabarā and Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. I. 3.33) who calls it Vidyamānāvāda 1241n.

Bhuvanakośa or Bhuvana-vyāsa, described in Brahmapurāṇa, Kūrma, Matsya, Vāyu (has 1000 verses), 1527.

Bible, says that Jesus did not expound all things to all people but only to his disciples, 1461n; is intolerant and pessimistic 1624n, 1630n.

Bijanighāṇtu, 1058n (a list of Tantrik Mantras), 1097.

Bilva, tree, twig of, to be brought in the house on a certain day and tithi in Durgāpūjā, 181.

Biot, 510.

Birds, cries of Kapiṇjala, Kapota, owl and others indicative of coming good or evil in the Rgveda 729-30, 804-5.

Birds and animals, when on the right side of one going on a journey indicate auspicious results, 526.

Birth, on certain nakṣatras like Āśleṣa and Mūla insuspicious, 605.

Bland, N., on Mahomedan interpretations of dreams 781.

Bloch, Jules, edited and translated in French Aśoka Inscriptions, 1016n.
Bloomfield, 740n; a. of ‘Religion of the Veda’ 1491; edited Kaushika-sutra, 770n.

Bodhayana: acc. to Prapañcha-hrdaya, B. composed a commentary on both PMS and VS, while Ramanuja says he composed a bhasya on Brahma-sutra, 1186n, 1197.

Bodh Gaya 1018.

Body (human), has nine openings (mouth, nostrils, eyes etc.) 702n, 1364n.

Bogozkeui: vide under ‘Mitanni’; Inscription of, about 1400 B.C. regarding treaties between the king of Hittites and king of Mitanni that had gods Indra, Mitra, Varuna and Nasatya in their pantheon 598–99; archives of, contained a treatise on horse training by one Kikkuli of Mitanni, which discusses technical terms akin to Sanskrit 599.

Bollinger and Negelein, editors of Atharvana-nakṣatra Kalpa, 499.

Bombay Gazetteer 653.

Bose, D. N., a. of ‘Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets,’ 1081 (explains five makaras esoterically), 1149n.


Brahman (vide under Creation); defined in Tai. Up. II. 1, 1242n; described as ‘neti neti’ (not this, not this) in Br. Up. II. 3. 6, IV. 2. 4–22, IV. 5. 15, III. 7. 26, 1504; distinction made in Upanisad texts between sarga br. that was for prayer and worship and nirguna brahma 1498; it is impossible to define what br. is, we can only say what it is not 1505; is said to be endowed with all powers in VS. and by Saikaracarya, 1045; passages of Upanisads referring to nirguna br. cited, are Br. Up. III. 9. 26, IV. 4. 19 and 22, IV. 5. 15, Chân. Up. VII. 24. 1, Śv. Up. VI. 19, Katha IV. 10–11; para br. is conceived as beyond space, time and causality 1505n; real truth (pāramārthaikā satya) about br. is that it is one, that everything in the world (men, animals, matter) is br. 1498–99; śāstras (Vedānta texts) are sources of the correct knowledge of br. and that they are agreed that their purport is to establish that br. 1484–85; seeker after br. reaches it by the practice of truthfulness, tapas, saṁyag-juana and brahmacarya, acc. to Munḍaka, 1423; story of Bādhva conveying idea of br. to Bāṣkali by remaining silent 1505; Tai. Br. describes br. as the tree from which heaven and earth were chiselled out 1489n; when it is said that the world is non-different from brahman, it is not meant that they are identical, but the meaning is that the individual selves and the world are not entirely different from brahman 1510.

Brahma (see ‘Viṣṇu’); day of Br. equal to Kalpa 688, 690; figure to which the life of br.
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in human years extends is colossal 690; fifty years of life of Br. are gone and the present is Vārāhakalpa and Vaivasvata Manvantara 690; is supposed to have created world on first tithi of Caitra bright half 82; seven sons of, 1372; some held that life of Brahmā was 108 years, 690, 697.

Bṛahmacārī, word occurs in Rgveda, 7.

Brahmacarya, (vide under ‘Mahatma Gandhi’); is very strict for Yōgīn (viz. he is not even to look at, talk to or touch women 1420n; when a householder may be called an observer of B. 1421.

Brahmacarya, also means periods of study from 48 to 3 years for a Vedic student prescribed by Gautama, Āp., Manu etc. 1252.

Brahmagupta (astronomer born in 598 A. D.) 484, 515n, 680n, 696-7; criticized the Jaina view about there being two suns and two moons, 511n; condemned ‘Romakasiddhānta,’ as outside the pale of smṛtis, 515n.

Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇas (vide under gifts, pātra, priests); all brāhmaṇas were not priests, are not priests in modern times and all temple priests are not always brāhmaṇas 936; every b. was not a proper recipient for gifts in ancient Indian times 937; difference of view on killing an ātatayin b. 817n; gifts (religious) to be made acc. to sāstras, Manu and other Smṛtis only to pātra (deserving) b. who has learning, character and tapas, 937; gifts made to brāhmaṇa not learned in Veda or who is avaricious or deceitful were deemed fruitless by Manu and to lead donor to hell 938; had no power to raise taxes like tithes nor was there a regularly paid hierarchy of priests and bishops as in England, 937; high ideal placed before br. of plain living, of giving up active pursuit of riches, of devotion to study, pp. 936-38, 1637; how importance of birth as a brāhmaṇa arose 1639-40; lores to be studied by a learned brāhmaṇa, acc. to Gautama Dh. S. 818; maintaining themselves by practising astrology were unfit for being invited to perform rites for gods or for śrāddha dinner acc. to Manu 527; Manu and others provided that in rites for pītris the learning and character of b. should be carefully scrutinized, but Purāṇas did away with this, particularly at Gayā 930-32; of Mathurā are like gods, says Varāhapurāṇa 932; Mahābhārata emphasizes that good character makes a brāhmaṇa 100n; milk is vṛata of, 18; most Br. studied only one Veda or a part of it, 1182; only br. were entitled to drink Soma beverage in Vedic sacrifices 853; performed solemn Vedic sacrifices like Vajapeya 1029; reasons or basis of the veneration paid to brāhmaṇas for
over three thousand years, 1640; result of threatening or striking or injuring (with blood from wound) a brāhmaṇa declared in Tai.S., which is interpreted in two ways by different writers, 1544–45; substantial sources of income were only three, viz. teaching, officiating as priests at sacrifices of others and receiving gifts made voluntarily which were fitful, variable and precarious, 937, 1638–39; to learn vidyā from a kṣatriya was unnatural or unusual in Upaniṣad times, 864; to be fed in all vrataś, 39; tribute paid in passing to the ancient brāhmaṇa ideal by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru 1640; vast Vedic and classical literature was cultivated, preserved and propagated mostly by brāhmaṇas with arduous labour and the Rgveda was preserved by them with unparalleled care, 936, 1637–38; were asked to study Veda and subsidiary lores without any eye to motives of profit as a duty and to understand it, to teach the Veda without demanding a fee beforehand, to perform sacrifices and to make gifts, 937; who is not a Vaiśṇava is declared as a heretic by Padmapurāṇa and Vṛddha-Harita 976; Yāj. provides that even a learned br. should refuse gifts and that the king should donate to learned brāhmaṇas, land, houses and marriage expenses or br. should approach a king or rich person for their ‘Yogakṣema’ 936.

Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇas (texts, acc. to context), all those parts of the Veda which are not or cannot be called mantras constitute B. 1222–23; are primary sources of information about sacrifices, ritual, priests etc. 1223; contain oldest prose found in any Indo-European language 1223; contain numerous myths and legends, 1223; contents can be divided into two classes viz. vidhis (hortatory) and arthavādas (explanatory or laudatory) 1223; often mention contests between Gods and Asuras and abound in etymologies 1223; order (krama) of rites as expressed in mantras is to be preferred to the order contained in Br. texts 1316; principal purpose and aim of Br. of the Veda is to prescribe the rituals of sacrifices, to narrate myths and legends about sacrifices and to state rewards of sacrifices, 1497; ten characteristics of B. acc. to Vṛttikāra 1223n.

Brāhmaṇaṇa, a country where brāhmaṇas followed profession of arms, acc. to Pāṇini 1638.

Brahmaṇaṇapati, as the creator of Gods in Rg. X. 72. 2, 1485.

Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (vide note on pp. 895–96); 90n, 117, 119, 133, 147, 149, 184n, 541, 649n, 652n, 687, 690n, 693, 734, 735n (on Kalpas of Āthravaveda), 748, 817, 822, 824n, 840n, 841
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(many verses identical with those of Vāyu), 845n (on period between Pariksit and Nanda), 850n, 851-2, 853n, 854-56, 861-3, 903n, 920 (Saptārcis mantra), 930n, 946-7, 960 (three kinds of bhakti), 976-77, 994 (list of Avatāras—different from usual one), 1042 (Lalitāmāhātmya of), 1102, 1187n (has verses that are also found quoted by Sabara), 1223n, 1372n, 1383, 1390n, 1470n, 1521, 1526, 1528, 1574, 1629n (for word sanātana-dharma), compiled or revised about 320-335 A.D. 854; probably composed near the source of the Godāvari, 893; divided into four pādas besides Lalitopākhyaṇa 815; is fond of etymologies, 890; one of the oldest of Purāṇas, has hundreds of verses in common with Vāyu 896; Skanda says there was first only one Purāṇa, viz. Brahmapuraṇa, 895.

Brahmapuraṇa 43, 45, 82, 90, 106n, 118-9, 169n, 201n, 202-3n, 221, 243, 588n, 660, 682, 686n, 687, 691, 693, 695, 754, 763n, 824n, 833, 851, 857, 862n, 903n, 915-16, 919, 929, 931, 935, 947n, 950, 962n, 964, 968, 971, 994n, 1046n, 1096n, 1120, 1121 (on nyāsa), 1127n, 1132, 1213, 1383 (on Saṅkhya), 1431n, 1438n, 1521 (on creation), 1526n, 1527-8, 1582, 1590, 1628n; chapters 10-175 containing 4640 verses deal with tirthas, 894; composed between 10th and 12th A. D. acc to Prof. Hazra, 894; has 10000 verses acc to Nāradīya and 25000 acc to Agni, but the printed one has about 14000 verses, 833; one recension of B. discarded by Ballālasena, 869, 894; Note on, 893-94; present B. probably compiled in some part through which the Godāvari flows 894; that printed in Ānan. Press appears to be a late compilation and numerous quotations in Jīmūtavāhana, Apantaraka, Ballālasena are not found in it, 893.

Brahmārpaṇa, meaning of, 1412n.

Brahmasāvitrivrata, 92, 94n.

Brahmasiddhānta 66n.

Brahmasphuta-siddhānta, 511n, 515n, 649n, 658, 676, 680n, 696n.

Brahmasūtra-vidē Vedāntasūtra; Gītā had before it several works, called Brahmasūtra, 1173-4.

Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa (note on, 894-95); 34, 95n, 97n, 104n, 106, 114, 119n, 125, 129, 132n, 134n, 135n, 138, 148, 213n, 774; printed in Ānan. Press, Poona, in four kāṇḍas, viz. Brāhma, Prakṛti, Gaṇapati and Kṛṣṇajanma; several verses q. in Sm. C., Hemādri as from it are not found in the printed one 895.

Brandon, S. G. F., a. of ‘Time and mankind’ 475.

Breasted, a. of ‘Ancient Times’ 521n.

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, 24, 62, 103, 126, 464, 475, 491, 525,
are same as those in the Babylonian system, acc. to Prof. Neugebauer 597.

Bṛhaj-jābālopaniṣad, 1076n.

Bṛhad-yoga (or -gi) yājñavalkya 31n, 42, 860n, 1152n (reads ‘Pūrāṇa-tarka-mimāṃsā’ in Yāj. I.), 1217 (on samuccaya of jīna and karma), 1391, 1404, 1416n, 1419n, 1438n, 1439n, 1440 (same three verses as in Manu), 1442n; cited as Yoga (or Yogi) Yājñavalkya in medieval digests, 1404; not later than 7th Cent. A.D. but is not the Yogaśāstra as in Yāj. Śruti (III. 110), 1408; reproduces in verse Yogasūtra I.24 and 28–29 as Śruti 1421n; verses cited by Aparākṣa and Śrīmadandika as from Yoga-Yāj. are found in this but not in Yoga-Yāj. ed. by Mr. Diwanji, 1407; Viśvarūpa appears to quote a half verse from it 1407.

Bṛhad-yogayātṛā of VARĀHAMIHIRA, 70n, 529n, 533, 540, 545n, 558n, 591–94, 617, 622, 627n, 749, 753 (follows Yāj. about Grahāyātā), 755, 774, 776, 778, 799, 800n, 801, 804–5, 808, 878.

Bṛhan-nandikesvara-purāṇa, 156.

Bṛhan nārādīya purāṇa, 892; is a sectarian Vaiṣṇava work, different from the Nārada-purāṇa, 892.

Bṛhaspati, Śrīṁti writer; fragments of, collected by Prof. Ayyangar, 42n, 117n, 145n, 876n, 1032, 1265–66, 1302–03. (conflict of interpretation about
réunion among medieval digests); asisgned to Manusūrti a pre-eminent position, 1265.
Bṛhaspati, a. of a work on Rāja-
nīti 1001, 1033.
Bṛhaspati, planet Jupiter, 494n
(presiding deity of Puṣya),
572 (indicative of life, happiness
and knowledge).
Bṛhaspati, verses of, quoted under
Cārvākadarśana by Sarvadar-
śanaśāṅgagraha, closely resemble
verses from Viṣṇu and Padma
Puraṇas, 974n.
Bṛhati, com. of Prabhākara on
Śabara's bhāṣya 1179n, 1189;
com. on B. is Rju-vimalā of
Śālikanātha, 1179n, 1189.
Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira,
69–70, 150n, 187, 191n, 193,
216n, 242n, 465n, 476 (on
units of time from kṣaṇa to
kalā), 477, 516 (praise of
Yavana astrology), 517n, 519,
520, 526 (birds' flights indicate
good or bad acts of person go-
ing on journey in his former
lives), 530, 531n, 540–41,
543n, 547n, 559–60, 561n,
564, 574n, 584, 589n, 591–94
(names of predecessors), 607n,
608–09, 611, 613n, 616, 622,
624, 637n, 650–55, 658, 660,
662, 680, 683n, 704, 708,
711n, 734 (45th chap of, on
Śāntis), 745–47, 763 (causes
of earthquakes), 764 (premo-
notory signs of earthquakes),
765 (criticizes vrddha-Garga
and Parāśara), 767n, 768n
(quotes 12 verses of Rṣiputra),
769, 773–74, 783n, 793 (Puṣya-
śūna), 794n, 795n, 797, 801,
804–05, 826, 877 (verses that
are also found in Matsya and
Viṣṇudharmottara), 878, 906
(Buddha image described),
1024 (mentions mantra 'Yantu
Devagaṇāḥ' used even now),
1046n (rules about images of
Durgā), 1132 (on Maṇḍala),
1528 (names of countries in
Bharatavarṣa).
Bṛhaṭ-ṭīkā of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, re-
ferred to by Nyāyaratnakara
and verses from it q. by Nyāyasūdha and Jaiminiyasūrthasaṅgagraha, 1188.
Bridges, Robert, a. of 'Testa-
ment of beauty' (on what is
reasonable), 1477.
Briggs, W. G. a. of 'Gorakhnath
and the Kanphatas', 1429.
British Imperialists and hypo-
critical talk of 'White man's
burden' 1619.
British rulers of India were gene-
 rally opposed to progressive
social reform in India 1636n.
Bromage, Bernard, a. of 'Tibetan
yoga', 1394.
Brown G. W., a. of paper in
'Studies in honour of Bloom-
field', 1431, 1531; conjectures
that even words 'Yoga, Śān-
khya and Upaniṣad' are coined
from some Dravidian words
now lost, 1531.
Brunton, Paul, a. of 'A search in
Secret India', 1393.
Buddha (vide under Bhāradvāja,
dhamma, Edwin Arnold, Hin-
vāṇa, nirvāṇa, śudras, taṇhā,
Upaniṣads), came to be regard-
ed by Hindus as avatāra before
1000 A.D., but some Purāṇas and Kumārila in 7th century A.D. did not regard him so, 924, 914, 993, 1025; Ceylon tradition about Parinirvāṇa of, 356; characteristics of Buddha image, acc. to Br. S. 996; claims that he only follows an ancient path, 1005; did not clearly define what he meant by nirvāṇa 941, 1008; did not think much of worship or prayer, 1007-08; expounded the four Noble Truths (or axioms, viz. Dukkha, the cause of it viz. taṇhā, suppression of dukkha and Noble Eightfold Path to suppression, 930-40; Kumārila quoting Purāṇas condemns B. as one that caused confusion as to Dharma, 824; life of B. has a noble grandeur and human appeal 1021; main matters of controversy between B. and Hindus of his day, 1007; Nārada-purāṇa holds that one entering B. temple cannot be purified by any expiation 892; Nirvāṇa era 656; Noble Eightfold path described, 930n, 1005; original teaching of B. was swamped by Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, 1070; Parinirvāṇa of B. in 483 B.C. or 477 B.C., 1070; philosophical schools 63 in times of B. mentioned by Mahāvagga 913n; preached in his first sermon the avoidance of two extremes, 939; B. rejected permanent ego and yet accepted doctrine of re-birth 941, 1004, 1577; spent forty-five years for suffering humanity 941; taught that Salvation may be attained even in this very life, 942n, 1008; taught that it was unnecessary to be definite about God's existence and similar matters, 1007; teaching of B. held out the same promise of liberation to all men and was most attractive to śūdras and women, 925, 929-30; three early and central conceptions were Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha 941; was a great reformer of the Hinduism of his times and laid sole stress on moral effort, satya, and ahimsā, 939-40, 1004; was against admission of women in the Saṅgha (Order), but yielded to persistent requests of Ananda and prophesied that his pure dharma would flourish owing to this only for five hundred years instead of for a thousand years, 1025-26, 1069-70.

Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosha; mentions Kapila and 25 tattvas, 1378; speaks of Jaigūṣṭya and Janaka, 1375, 1392, 1409n.

Buddhism (vide under Buddha, Hindus, India, Mahāyāna, Śūdras, Vajrayāna); became a medley of dogmas and was rent by dissensions 1021; causes of the disappearance of, discussed, final blow being given by Bakhtiyar Khilji, 1003, 1030; changes in doctrines and ideals of B. were
great before the Christian era and for some centuries afterwards 940-41; daśaśīlas prescribed for all priests and pañcaśīlas for all Buddhists and both these were derived from Upaniṣads and Dharma-sūtras 943-44; decline of Buddhism had set in about first half of 7th Century A.D., 1003, 1021, 1023-24; found no place for God 940; Mādhyamaka and Yogācāra schools of, 1066; Mahāyāna and Hinayāna, differences in doctrines of, 942-43; observance of high moral ideals of Buddha’s preaching were found irksome even in Buddha’s own life and gradually monasteries of monks and nuns became centres of idleness, pleasures and immorality, 1022-23; three ratnas (jewels) of B. are Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, which were compared to glass beads by Nila-pañjaraṇa, a later depraved cult of B. 1073; Vivekānanda’s severe criticism against later phases of B. 1030; Tāntrik B. repudiates Buddha and introduced into the religion mahāras and exciting food 1066, 1069n; was a revolt against the sacrificial system, against the Veda and its authority and not against caste, 939; weaning away Hindus from B. was due to bhakti cult propagated by Purāṇas, 970; when B. flourished large bodies of monks were fed by people and when it disappeared large companies of brāhmaṇas came to be fed 932; works and papers on both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna B. and on causes of disappearance of Buddhism 942n, 1003.

Buddhist (or Buddhists, acc. to context): (see under abhīṣa, Buddhism, Siddha): goal of nirvāṇa (particularly under Mahāyāna) could be reached after many births 1065; hardly any B. are strict vegetarians in these days in any country, while millions of Hindus are strict vegetarians, 947; monks of B. were tired of the strict mode of life and long waiting for the goal 1065; persecution (alleged) of B. by Puṣyamitra, by kings Śaśāṅka and Sudhanvan, by Kumārila and Śaṅka-raćārya examined by Rhys Davids who disbelieves most of it and others also do the same, 1008-1011; Tāntras have the same ideas about potency of mantras as Hindu T. have, 1103-1104, 1115; Tāntras like Guhyasamāja (that was Vajrayāna) provided an easy method by which liberation and Buddhahood could be secured in a short time and in one life and averred that Bodhisattvas and Buddhas enjoyed all pleasures as they pleased, 1065-66n; several councils of Buddhists were held to settle the Saṅgīti (standardized scripture) 1021.

Buddhist-saṅgha (Order): pur-
poses for which people joined Saṅgha are set out in ‘Questions of Milinda’ 1023–24.

Buddhist texts: claimed to be smṛtis, which follows from Manusmṛti IX. 95n; no paṭṭī texts can be placed earlier than the council held under Aśoka (about 250 B. C.); have ideas similar to Savitaraka and Savicāra Samādhī, 1411n; such as Dhammapada and Suttani-pāta speak of the truly virtuous man as brāhmaṇa 1005.

Bühler, a. of ‘Indian Paleography’, 701, 817n, 873, 900.

Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute 2, 844, 883.

Bulletin of London School of Oriental and African studies, 654n, 740n.


Burgess, 498, 521, 531, 997n, 1129–30 (mentions nine Buddhist mudrās slightly differing from Waddell’s); differs from Whitney 512.

Caitanya: founded a school of Bhakti 971.

Caitra: (vide under ‘Month’, ‘Pratipadvrata’, ‘Year’); bright half, 9th tithi of C, has Rāmanavamīvratas, 84.

Cañor: a. of ‘History of elementary Mathematics’ 482n, 483n, 518, 699n.

Cakra, vide under ‘Yantra’.

Cakrabhedā, a work enumerating different cakras in worship of Durgā 1137n.

Cakrapūjā (worship in a circle of men and women), a revolt-
rent communities in India 641-2, 658; absolutely necessary for every Hindu, as he has to repeat many details, such as month, tithi, weekday in every religious rite, 650n; different eras used in India 641-642; European C. also is defective and unsatisfactory 643-644; in Ancient Egypt 490 and n; in Rg. times, there were probably two calendars, one purely sacrificial (of 360 days), the other where a month was added to bring year in line with visible astronomical data, 490; many C. in South India, 642; meaning of word ‘calendar’ 641; C. Reform Committee, appointed by Govt. of India, with Dr. Meghnad Saha as President, to examine existing pañcāṅgas and for submitting proposals for an accurate and uniform calendar for the whole of India, 711, 713-174; requirements and contents of modern C. used for religious and civil purpose 645; several year beginnings in different parts of India 641; some C. based on Nautical Almanac and so called drk or dyk-pratyaya 642; starting point of Hindu calendar-makers based on Sūryasiddhānta is at present more than 23 degrees to the east of the correct vernal equinox point, the difference being called Ayanāṃśa 711; works for readers interested in Calendar Reform 714n.

Calendar Reform Committee Report of 1953; 648-49, 657n, 665, 711, 713-14; contains a long list of Hindu festivals but hardly any original authorities are cited 253; main recommendations of, for civil and religious calendar 714-17.


Cambridge Medieval History 933n.

Campāṣaṭhī 299.

Cāmunḍā, human victims were offered to, 186.

Cāṇḍa and Muniḍa, demons killed by Devi 156.

Cāṇḍālas had become untouchables long before Chān. Up. 1633.

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Chandrasekhara S. a. of ‘Communist China today’ (1961) 1474n, 1684n.

Change (or Changes): (vide Kalivarjya, dharma, mimāṃsā, smṛtis); in religious rites and usages could be made and were made if common people came to condemn or hate them, even if a few orthodox people may be opposed to change, 1267-71, 1469; change is the one absolute in the long history of our religious or social ideas 1271; examples of fundamental changes in conceptions, beliefs and practices made from ancient times to medieval times by various devices, 1355-7, 1629; people should be free to introduce or recognize such changes in practices as are required or have already taken place in changed circumstances and this course sanctioned even by Manu and Yāj. and by eminent medieval works like the Mitākṣarā 1272; should not be merely for the sake of change or for the whims of some leader 1272.

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Chatterji, Dr. S. K. on ‘Sinivālī’, criticized 64.

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Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929): fixed 14 years (later raised to 15 by the Hindu Marriage Act 25 of 1955) as minimum age for girls’ marriages and is partly responsible for giving rise to the modern problem of spinsterhood in Hindu Society, 1338.

China: (vide under Bagchi): Tantra doctrines gained curre-
ncy in C. under the influence of Amoghavarṣa, who translated many works into Chinese between 746–771 AD, 1040; debt of China to India, papers on, 1618n.

Chinnaswami M. M.: edited Appayya-dīkṣita's work in 60 verses with Appayya's comm. called Madhvamata-vidhvamsana, 1219.

Chintamani, Prof. T. R., 152n, 1161 (agrees with Prof. Nilakanta Sastri that there were three Jaiminis).

Choudhuri, Prof. N. N. 1033n (view of, that Indian Tantricism has its origin in Bon religion, criticized).

Christianity, doctrines of original sin, of damnation of unbaptized infants, of predestination appear strange to non-christians 1594; A. Robertson asserts that Christian morals have never been practised and that a society would not last for a month if run on the lines of the Sermon on the Mount and Prof. Whitehead and W. R. Mathews appear to agree with him 1481n; Christian people of Europe and America during the last four centuries achieved great wealth and prosperity by throwing to the winds the Sermon on the Mount, by imposing slavery on millions, but after the two world wars they have begun to preach the necessity of benevolence, kindness, restraint, which virtues were emphasized for all men by Br. Up. V. 2 1–3; idea of Karma and Reincarnation prevailed among Jews and Christians till 551 AD, 1546n; on what happens after death 1550n; writers like Robertson and H. T. A. Fausset hold that Western man is very little sustained or guided by the doctrines of orthodox Christianity and that European civilization is dissolving 1477n; what was Christian in Ch. largely disappeared from 1700 A. D. acc. to C. H. Tawney 1481n.

Christians, vide under 'Syrian'. Cicero, did not believe in astrology, 550.

Cirājīvin persons, eight named 208n.

Civilization, various definitions of 1614–16; (vide under culture, Spengler, Toynbee, De Beus); two types of integrated cultures, acc. to Sorokin, 1615n.

Civilizations, only two, viz. Indian and Chinese, have continued for about 4000 years 1617–18.

Clark, W. E. on 'Hindu Arabic Numerals' 699n.

Clestratus, acc. to Pliny, formed the Zodiac 566.

Cognitions: according to PMS, all cognitions are intrinsically valid in themselves (svaṇṭak-pramāṇa), but their invalidity may be established extraneously (paratāk) 1212; according to Prabhākara every experience as such is valid, 1202.

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Colebrooke, essays of, 498, 518 (on Hindu algebra), 582n, 699n, 1220.

Colonial policy, British, elements and results of 1659-60.

Colson, F. H., a. of 'the Week', 550, 677-78.

Communism (vide under 'Chandrasekhar', 'Lyon' and 'Wolfe'); 1473-74; is really a form of worship i.e. worship of man or such men as Lenin and Stalin in place of the worship of God, 1473; catchwords and slogans of, 1473; in return for physical well-being, common people under C. bargain away several freedoms, such as thinking for themselves, freedom of expression etc. 1473; no secret is made by communists that they want to bring the whole world under C. 1473; universal exhibition of portraits of great Soviet leaders (some of whom were recently declared by successor leaders to be no better than murderers) proclaims the necessity of worship even in a godless society 1474.

Conjectures, bold, should not be made; but if made, should be announced and treated as such 1531; danger that C. of past famous scholars are regarded as established conclusions by later writers 1531; warning of Acton 'guard against the prestige of great names, no trusting without testing' should always be remembered, 1531.

Constellation, same, is given different names 566.

Constitution of India, referred to 1614; criticized 1664-1667.

Coomaraswamy A.; a. of 'Hinduism and Buddhism' 1007; a. of 'Buddha and Gospel of Buddha' 1131n (for Bhūmisparsa mudrā); 1656 (other works)

Copernicus; denounced by Luther 512.

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: Vol. I Aśoka Inscriptions, ed. by Hultsch, 600n 668n, 686n, 1015, 1017, 1645n, ; Vol II Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions ed. by Sten Konow, 668n; Vol III (Gupta Inscriptions) ed. by J. F. Fleet, 669-70, 680n, 683n; Vol. IV Kālacūrī Ins. (by Prof. Mirashi), 220, 246 (grants on solar and lunar eclipses), 248, 670, 1425n.

Cosmography (see under Upaniṣads, Purāṇas): Kirfel's systematic work on C. of ancient India is based on Purāṇa material and also on Buddhist and Jaina material, 1523n; Paurāṇika C. had been established long before 4th century A. D. 1529.

Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to the description of the divisions of the earth called dvipas and varṣas, mountains, oceans, rivers, countries etc; and Dharmaśāstra works quote them 1523.

Cosmology: 1483-1529 (vide under 'Atomic theory'; 'Creation', 'God', 'Heaven and
Earth', 'pralaya'); all Dharmasāstra writers are agreed on the existence of God and rarely adduce arguments for that purpose, 1483; argument from design was present to the mind of the propounders of Vedānta 1485; Christian theologians have put forward various arguments for the existence of God, summarised by William James, which are mainly four 1483 and n; comparison of ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Hebrew, Greek and Indian ideas on C. in 'Apes and Men' by H. Peak, 1502n; Grousset's observation on Indian scheme of creation and dissolution of the universe compared to Ionian ideas 1503–4; Gerald Heard's remarks about the helpfulness of Sanskrit cosmology as compared with Hebrew and Christian dogmas 1504; originally there was no atomic theory in C., but from 4th B.C. in Greece and from Kaṇāda, the founder of the Vaiśeṣika system in India, it began to prevail 1486; principal questions in C. are two and the whole conception of C. has been revolutionized by developments in Geology, Biology, Physics and Astronomy during about one hundred years, 1502n. whether in the Upaniṣads or later works C. is based on geocentric theory 1515; works on Vedic C. 1485–86n.

Coster, Geraldine, a. of 'Yoga and Western Psychology' 1394, 1427, 1455.

Countries, m. in the Upaniṣads 1522–23; m. in Purāṇas 1527–28; m. by Pāṇini 1528n; m. in Bhāmaparva and nakṣatra-kūrmādhyāya of Bṛhat-samhitā 1527–28; Ptolemy's treatment of, 555.

Cows, honoured on certain tithis called Yugādi, Yugāntya etc. 293–94; praise of 204n; worship of, on Balipratipadā, 204.

Cow or Bull, offered in several rites in the Vedic age, as shown in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 939–40, 1268–69; flesh-eating came gradually to be looked down upon and so cow sacrifices became most abhorrent and were prohibited 1269.


Cowper, English Poet, believed that earthquakes were caused by God as punishment for men's sins, 764.

Craig, Catherine Taylor, a. of 'Fabric of Dreams' 782.

Cramer, F. C., a. of 'Astrology in Roman Law and Politics' 597.

Creation (and dissolution) of world or universe: (vide under 'God', 'asat', 'man', 'sattā' (reality), 'Nāsadiyasūktā', Upaniṣads): 1491; Atharvaveda has several hymns on C., but they are verbose and wanting in depth, 1493–95; Atharvaveda puts forward Skambha (identified with rajāpati) as
Creator, also Kāma and Kāla 1493–95; C. is put in Upāniṣads in the distant and dim past, while in Biblical chronology it is put at 4004 B.C. following James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, in 17th century 1506n; description of state before C. in Rg. X. 129; none in reality, acc. to PMS and Śloka-vārtika, 1209–10, 1483n; Mahābhārata, particularly Śāntiparvan, frequently states theories of C. 1517–18; purpose of the description of creation and dissolution in the Śmrīṣis, epics, Purāṇas, etc. is, acc. to Kumārila, to show the distinction between the powers of daiva and human effort, 1261–62; Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to C. 1519–22; statements in the Upāniṣads about creation are not to be taken, acc. to Śaṅkara, literally, they are meant to lead on to the knowledge of brahman and non-difference from brahman 1485, 1506; Śaṅkhya scheme of guṇas, tanmātrās etc. brought in describing creation by Nārāyaṇa or Hiranyagarbha, as in Matsya, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya 1519–22; several theories on C. in Manusmṛti, two of which have some Śaṅkhya doctrines, 1515–17; several hymns on C. in Rg. (X. 72, X. 81–82, X. 90, X. 121, X. 129) examined and it is shown that the Creator is called by various names, 1488–91; several references in Rg. to the creation or support of heaven and earth by different gods, 1492; statements about Cr. and dissolution of the universe in the Upāniṣads are valid only on the practical or empirical plane but from the highest metaphysical point of the Vedānta, there is no Cr. nor dissolution, the individual soul is not really in bondage 1506; Tai. Br. passages on creation and Prajāpati as creator 1496–97; Upāniṣads like Tai. ( III. 1) and Chāṇ. ( III. 14) state that the creation, preservation and absorption of all bhūtas is due to brahman 1484, 1500; various statements about C. in Śat. Br. 1495–96; Vedāntasūtra relies on Upāniṣads that brahman is the creator, sustainer and destroyer, 1484; Yāj. Smṛti 1519. Creator: (vide under ‘brahman’, God, ‘Nāsadiyasūkta’) : in Rgveda different Gods (such as Indra, Mitra, Prajāpati, Varuṇa) are referred to as creators of heaven and earth, 1491–93; Kauṣītaki Br. mentions Prajāpati as the creator and identifies him with Yajña, 1497; no name given to Cr. in Nāsadiya Sūkta, but Cr. is only mentioned as ‘Tadekam’ (that one) as in Upāniṣads 1490–91; Tai. S. names Prajāpati several times as creator of gods, asuras, people and as performing tapas for that purpose, 1493. Cudāmani, a work on astrology
mentioned by Sārāvali and Vasantarāja 805n.
Cūḍāmanī, a Yoga, 249.
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Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, papers on Tantra, 1150,
Culture, definitions of, 1614-1616;
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Cunningham: a of ‘ancient geography of India’ 1528n; a.
of Archaeological Survey Reports, 1046n; on ‘Bhilas Topes’ 1026;
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Dakṣināmūrti-sanhitā 1060n (on
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Darśan, of great men (like
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plained by Sheean, 1463n.
Darwin 1502n.
Das, S. R., paper of, on 'Study
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Das, Sudhendu Kumar on 'Śakti
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Das Gupta, Prof.: a. of 'Indian
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Dattātreyā (or Datta): de-
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Davidson, M. on 'Freewill and Determinism' 1575.

'Dawn of Astronomy', a work of Sir Norman Lockyer 512.

Day: (vide 'Babylon', Babylonia, 'tithi': begins at sunrise with Indian writers 675, 682; civil d. is interval between two consecutive sunrises, 675; civil d. begins at midnight in modern times 676; differences about the beginning of d. 675-676; difference between tithi and d. 675; divided into eight parts by Kauṭīlya, Dakṣa and Kātyāyanasmṛti 675; five parts of, in Śatapatha and by others, 101, 675; fifteen mūhūrtas of d. and night each, 675; Kauṭīlya knew only a day divided into thirty mūhūrtas or 60 nādis and mentions no horas or hours 684; longest and shortest day of 36 and 24 ghaṭikās respectively, acc. to Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa 538n; three parts of, mentioned in Ṛgveda 675; two meanings of, (1) from sunrise to sunrise and (2) from sunrise to sunset 675; two systems of dividing d. into 60 ghaṭikās and 24 hours, 682-683; various views about divisions of d. into 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 or 15 parts, 267.

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De Beus, a. of 'Future of the West', disagrees with Spengler and Toynbee, 1617.

De Felicitation volume, paper in, by present writer on Purva-mimamsā 1160.

Death: (vide atheism, heaven, punarjanna): ancient Indian doctrine about what happens after death preferred by some western writers to Biblical ideas 1594-95; last thought at death supposed to lead to an appropriate future life 972-3; signs of approaching d. 731n; three possibilities as to what happens after d. of body, discussed 1550-51; Upaṇiṣads like Chān, and Br. contain germs of that idea (of last thought) but Gītā clarifies the position 972-3.

Debts: a brāhmaṇa (this includes the three varṇas) is born with three debts to sages, gods and ancestors and discharges them respectively by brahma-carya (i.e. Veda study), sacrifices and birth of son, 1318n, 1626; Mahābhārata added a 4th debt, viz. to be good to all men 1626.

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Demetrius, Greek king, 827n.

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Democritus (died about 370 B.C.) adumbrated the atomic theory in Greece 1486.

Descartes, 1478.

Desmond, Shaw, a. of 'Re-incarnation for every man', states that re-incarnation doctrine was taught in the Christian Church till 551 A. D.; 1546n.

Deussen, Paul (vide under Upaniṣads, Vedānta); a. of 'Philosophy of Upaniṣads'; 1026n (high praise for āśrama system), 1486n, 1491 (on Nāsadīya hymn), 1500 (tribute to Upaniṣad sages), 1541, 1548 (high eulogy of Br. Up. IV. 4. 5-7), 1552-53 (holds that Rg I 164. 12 has nothing to do with Devayana and Pitṛyāna, criticized), 1553-54 (criticized as to meaning of Rg. X. 88. 15), 1577 (theory that Kṣatriyas were the original cherishers of Vedānta thoughts, criticized as contradicting himself and as wrong), 1580-82 (criticized for holding Sanatkumāra as kṣatriya and Nārada as brāhmaṇa; 1585 criticized for wrong translation of Rg. (IV. 26. 1, 'aham Manu-ḥavam' etc.); 1604, 1625 (explains the implication of the illustration of rivers merging into sea), 1627, 1646 (on āśramas), 1647n.

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Devasthali, Prof. G. V., a. of ‘Mimāṁsā, the Vākyāśāstra of ancient India’ 1201.

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Devatā, of a nakṣatra or tithi, is often employed in the texts to indicate the nakṣatra or tithi itself 558.

Devatā : Discussion of question what is meant by D. with reference to which an offering is cast into fire leads to startling results in P. M. S 1207–09; D. is a subordinate element in a sacrifice and havis is principal matter and in a conflict between the two decision rests on havis (in PMS) 1207; D. is a matter of words (says Śabara) and when an offering is directed by Veda to be made to Agni, one cannot use a synonym like Pāvaka, 1207–8; Jaimini and Nirukta agree as to the nature and function of D. in a sacrifice, 1276; phala(reward) is conferred by the sacrifice and not by D. (like Agni etc.) 1208; several opinions on who the Devatās are, to whom a hymn is addressed or an havis is offered 1208; though some Vedic passages speak of the body of D. and that it drinks and is lord of heaven and earth, they are (merely) laudatory 1208.

Devatā : Vehkatanātha or Vehkaṭadesīka (1269–1369 A. D.)

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Devayāna and Pitryāna Paths—(vide under Paths) : described in Br. Up. VI. 2 and Chān. Up. V. 10 and brought in relation to the doctrine of transmigration described in Br. Up. IV. 4. 5–7 and III. 3. 13, 1551–58; men that have to go by D. and P. paths 1551–58, 1563; mentioned in Rg. X. 27 and X. 18. 1, 1553.

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Deviḥāgavata, 176n, 178, 829n (states that Matsya is first out of 18 Purāṇas), 830 (mnemonic verse containing first letters of 18 Purāṇas), 890 (note on), 916, 918n, 921, 924, 974n, 994n, 1033n (verse ‘gururbrahma’ etc.), 1039n, 1062n (on sakras and sahasrāra), 1064, 1072, 1076n, 1121 (states nyāsa should be part of Sandhyā worship), 1127 (Khecari-mudrā), 1130 (on mudrās).

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Dvivedi, Dr. Hazariprasad, a. of 'Nath Sampradāya' (1950), 1429n; Earth: legend that e. was donated to Kāśyapa by Paraśurāma 89n; three motions of, 645n.

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Einstein, believed in Spinoza's idea of God and held that the main conflict between science and religion lies in the concept of a personal God, 1487n.

Eisler, Robert, a. of 'The Royal art of Astrology', 552, 581n.

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Elephants (vide under 'prognostications'): king's victory depends on 801; names of e. of eight quarters 803n.

Eliade, Mercea, a. of 'Yoga, immortality and freedom', 1394 1651.

Elliot, Sir Charles, a. of 'Hinduism and Buddhism' 1650n.

Elliott H. M., a. of 'History of India' in several volumes, 1018, 1025.

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Empedocles (born about 490 B.C. in Greece): vide under 'Elements'; held the doctrine of Punarjanma 1530.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I. m. on 246 (grant on Full Moon for endowing a maṭha to teach Bhāskarācārya's works), 348, 644, 650n, 656, 1006n, 1029; Vol. II. on 644; Vol. III. on 245, 407; Vol. IV. on 1006n, 1029; Vol. V. on 1012n; Vol. VI. on 630n, 649 (Aiḥol inscription), 662, 1029; Vol. VII. on 89, 212n, 213n, 245, 348, 655, 964, 1006n; Vol. VIII. on 404, 599n, 650n, 669n, 670, 968n, 1013, 1029;

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Farnell L. R., a. of 'Greece and Babylon' 599n.

Farquhar J. N., a. of 'Outlines of the religious Literature of India' 1080n.

Farrington, Prof., on 'Science and Politics in the Ancient World', 550n.

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Ghatitaganavīcāra, explained 614.

Gherandasaṃhitā, on Hathayoga 1427n; mentions 25 mudrās and Khecarimudrā 1127; states there are 84 āsanas, 1426.

Ghosh, Dr. Manmohan, a. of ‘contributions to the History of the Indian Drama’ 1130; shows that in bas-reliefs of Bayon (Angkor Thom) certain gestures in Cambodian dance and drama are similar to those in Bharata-nātya-sāstra 1130.

Ghosh, N. N. 1614n.

Ghosh, Pratāpcandra, a. of an English work on Durgāpūjā 156, 160n, 173, 184, 186; theory of, on origin of Durgāpūjā 186.

Ghosundi, Inscription, 131, 963-64.

Ghṛtasākta, 758n, 802n.

Ghurye, Dr. G. S., 845, 1152n (on Vidyās), 1615n (on Culture and Society).

Gifts (vide under Brāhmanaśas), 934-36; of food praised in Rg. Ait and Tai, Br., Manu, and Purāṇas like Agni, Brahma, 934; of food to cripples, the blind, children, old men, the poor, highly praised in Padmapurāṇa 934-35; of food to brahmacārins and yatīs enjoined by Kūrma and Padma 935; of food in Vaistvadeva and Balikarma on the ground by householders to persons that had lost caste or had loathsome diseases, to cāndalas, dogs, crows and even insects 935; of land to deserving brāhmaṇas recommended by Mahābhārata and in inscriptions on eclipses, ayana and viśvua days 245-6; in Inscriptions 245-46; made to unworthy persons declared as tāmasa by the Gītā 938; results of g. made on nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bhrasānti 500; rule that gifts to brāhmaṇas were to be made by day and
not by night, the exceptions being the same as in the case of bath etc. 218; special gifts required to be made on Makaraśaṅkrānti, such as sesame, garments 219; sūtras and early śrītis before the spread of Buddhism, emphasized that religious gifts were to be made only to learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇas 937; universal kindness and charity in giving food to poor, disabled men and to students has prevailed to the present day in India, though recent high prices and rationing have undermined this spirit 935–36; why brāhmaṇas make incessant appeals for gifts to brāhmaṇas 938.

Gitā, vide Bhagavadgītā.

Gitagovinda, of Jayadeva, court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, regards Buddha as āvatāra 824, 996.

Glanville S. R. K., on 'the legacy of Egypt', 490n, 565n, 581n, 700n.

Gnā, in Rg. means 'wife' and is an Indo-European word, 1044.

Goals of human life are four, 1510 (vide Puruṣārtha).

Gobhila, Karmapradipa of, 758n

Gobhilaghyasūtra, 27, 67, 69, 78, 480, 494n, 535.

Gobhilasmṛti, 53n, 218, 640n, 758n, 1266n.

Gocara, meaning of, 589–90.

God (vide under creation, Einstein, Rgveda, Vāk, cosmology; arguments for the existence of G. (vide under cosmology); Bhagavadvītā (XIII. 13–17) contains one of the best descriptions of God as transcendant and immanent 1462; divergence about the names, nature and attributes of 1486–87; evidence for existence of G. lies in inner personal experience, acc. to W. James, 1483n; idea of the grace of G. occurs in Kaṭha and Śvetāśvatara Up 961; idea of God's omniscience, omnipresence must be abandoned, acc. to H. G. Wells 1483–84n; is one acc. to Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas and higher Indian thought 118; is immanent in the Universe, acc. to Tai. Up., Chān Up., Br. Up. 1486; is a pure mathematician, acc. to Jeans 1486n; is supposed to take different forms for the benefit of worshippers, 118; is transcendant and rules the universe 1486; most striking characteristic of Hindu religion, from Vedic times is that G. is one, though called by various names 1623; nature and attributes of G. on which most are agreed 1487; no place for G. in Śāṅkhya system, while in Yogasūtra G. has a secondary one 1402–3; Ontological argument for proving existence of G. 1483n; some sages at least in Rgveda times had arrived at the conclusion that there was only one Principle or Spirit, though called by various names, 1492; spirit of bargaining with God in some Vedic texts illustrated.
1217n; supreme G. is called Vásudeva in Cítá, 961; three main arguments for existence of G, 1484n; two difficult questions about belief in G, set out 1487; views (four) on the relation of God and world, acc. to Viscount Samuel 1487n.

God and creation of the universe (vide under Creation); Prakarāñapañcikā denies a creator of the whole universe, 1207; Ślokavārtika of Kumārila says that it is difficult to prove that God created the world or dharma and adharma and the means of attaining these, words and senses and yet performs obeisance to Śiva at the beginning of it 1207.

God, Gods (vide under 'Images', 'Īśvara'), : Ādityas, Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, are called kings (rājan) and universal sovereign in the Veda 8; all g. and goddesses supposed to go to sleep on different tithis, 110-11; asked by worshippers to partake of apūpa, honey, milk, purodāsa etc. in the Veda 35; poor men reach G. by vratas, 44-45; Pūrvavimāṁsāsūtra, Śabara, Kumārila discard the idea that Veda is the word of God or that rewards of religious acts are due to the favour of God, 1209; Vedic G. have the epithet 'Vṛṣa' (bull, powerful) or 'Vṛṣabhā' applied to them, to their chariots, weapons etc. 19; wives of gods Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and Maruts mentioned in Rg. are Indrāni, Varuṇāni, Agnayi and Rodasi, but they play a very subordinate part in Rg., 1044; worship of gods and of Viṣṇu is of three kinds, Vaidīki, Tāntrikī and Miśrā (mixed), acc. to Bhāgavata and Agni Purāṇas 1093; worship of God may be performed in an image, in water, fire, one's own heart, in sun's orb or on an altar 1649.

Godāna, same as Keśānta, 536n. Gode, Prof. P. K. 195.

Godhūli or Gorajas, mūhūrta, defined, 613-14.

Goethe (1749-1832 A. D.); begins his memoirs with the positions of planets at his birth 551.

Goetz H., a. of 'Five thousand Years of Indian Art' (Bom.), 1656.

Gokarna, 90n.

Golden age in dim past, belief in, 686.

Gomatavidyā, 204n.

Gomukhaprasavaānti, 771n-72n.

Gopāth-brāhmaṇa, 816n.

Gopinatha Kaviraja, M. M. 1062n (on cakras), 1063 (in J. G. J. R. I.), 1187 (paper on Govt. Mss. in Govt. Sanskrit Library at Benaras), 1355.

Gopinath Rao, T. A., a. of 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' 1655.

Gorakbnath, pupil of Matśyendranātha, 1429n; works on, 1429n.

Gorakṣṣātaka (on Yoga) 1389n, 1419, 1426n-27, 1432; verses of, are found in some Yoga Upaniṣads 1389n; ed. by Shri
Kuvalayānanda, 1429, 1438n, 1441, 1451 (on final stage of Samādhī), 1458n.
Gorer G., a. of 'Bali and Angkor', 1657.
Gosava, Vedic sacrifice, 219.
Goswami, Prof. S.S., a. of 'Haṭhayoga' 1394 (with 108 photographs of Āsanas), 1426.
Gough, a. of 'Philosophy of the Upaniṣads' 1531; holds the view that Hindus borrowed doctrine of punarjarjana from the indigenes 1531.
Govadha (offering of the flesh of a bull); Kalpataru remarks that this is not permitted in Kali age, though allowed in former ages and Mit. says it should not be practised as it has become hateful to people 1270n.
Govardhana, a city founded by Rāma on the northern part of Sahya, acc. to Brahmaṇḍa, 895.
Govardhanapūjā on Balipratipadā, 204-205; also called Annakūṭa, 205.
Govindacandra, king of Kanoj, granted a village after a bath in the Ganges on Akṣayaa-ṛṭīyā 89.
Govinda Desa, 1395.
Govindānanda, commentator of Prāyaścitātiveka of Śułapaṇi, explains Holākānyāya 1282.
Gowen, H. H., a. of 'History of Indian Literature': high eulogy of Sanskrit Literature by, 1651.
Grahaganita 665.
Grahalāghava of Gaṇeśa, composed in 1520 A.D., 642.

Grahana, vide under 'eclipse'.
Grahayajña (vide Navagraha-śānti), 750, 753.
Grahayuddha, explained, 587n, 589, 637; Parāśara and Garga refer to it, 637.

Grammar (Vyākaraṇa), dealt with in P. M. S. (I. 3. 24-29), 1275; Kumārila in prima facie case against G. criticizes Pāṇini, Vārtiṣakāra and Mahābhāṣya, 1275; eight, m. in Bhatṛiya-purāṇa 897; purposes of the study of, acc. to Patañjali, among which Ṛtha, a technical Mimāṁsā term, is one 1158.

Grants: on Jupiter's entrance into Viṣabha-rāśi 212n; on Sun's entrance into Rāśis, 212-213n.

Grassmann 498n.

Greek and Latin equivalents of Sanskrit words for 'rāśis', planets etc. 585.

Greeks, (see under Herodotus, astronomical knowledge, Ionia); all Greeks gradually came to be called Ionians 516; G. astronomers got from Babylonians the names of the constellations on the ecliptic 522n, 549; ambassadors of Greece such as Megasthenes to Candragupta and Deimachus to Bindusāрас (Candragupta's son) 599; borrowed sexagesimal system of sun dials and twelve parts of day from Babylonians 482n; Berossus (about 280-261 B.C.) first introduced astrology among Greeks 549; debt of, to Babylonians much greater than
had been imagined, 482; debt owed by Greeks to Egypt 482; developed geometry because they could not employ ordinary arithmetical methods owing to dependence on the abacus, 482; even eminent G. were surrounded by superstitions 513; Homer's poems and the works of Hesiod are oldest surviving writings of the Greeks 513; inferior to Babylonians in several respects, 482; inspiration for horoscopic astrology was received by G. from Babylon 594; mind of, was little in advance of the predecessors of the Vedic priests in science 512-13; no trace of astrology in writings of early Greeks 549; no extant literature of G. is earlier than 900 B.C. 513; scholars are far from insight into astronomy of Greeks before Ptolemy 518n; settled in India after Alexander's invasion, learnt Sanskrit, some wrote works in Sanskrit and became worshippers of Viṣṇu, 516, 585; tried to peep into future before the advent of astrology by oracles, dreams and inspection of entrails and liver of sacrificed animals 549; vaunted superiority of, in Arts, Philosophy and Mathematics has now been reduced owing to discoveries in Mesopotamia and other countries, 482, 700 and n; were completely captivated by astrology derived from Mesopotamia 549.

Greek words (on astrology), list of, supposed to be used in Sanskrit works like the Brhat-sanhitā and Bṛhajjātaka by Weber and others are 37 but some like Kulira, Trikoṇa are not so held by Kern (vide under Jīva) 584; some 22 Greek words have indigenous Sanskrit synonyms 584; were used by Varāhamihira and others because they were employed in ancient Sanskrit works on astrology written by Greeks in India 585.

Gregorian calendar, changes made by, 613; is unbalanced and inconvenient even now 718n; not followed in England till 1750 A.D., 643.


Grhaṣṭharaṇākara of Caṇḍeśvara 876n

Grhyaparīśiṣṭa 75n-76n.

Grhya and Dharma sūtras took their knowledge of astronomy from astronomical works 480.

Grhyasūtras 223, 1323n; many G. have passages on Śāntis similar to those in Kauśikasūtra 738n.

Grierson G. A. 633n.

Grousset, Rene, a. of 'The sum of History' tr. by A. and H. Temple Patterson 1003, 1499n, 1503-4, 1654 (his appreciation of Indian Art and paintings); a. of 'In the footsteps of Buddha' 1009, 1039-40; a. of 'Civilization of the East', Vol. II on 'India, Further India
and Malaya' 1618n, 1654-55.
Growse, 141.
Guenon Rene a. of 'Crisis of modern world' 1668 (defects of democracy).
Grunwedel, Prof., a. of 'Buddhist Art in India' 1131n.
Guenther, Dr. H. V. 1150, a. of 'Yuganaddha' (the Tantrik view of life); 1066n (explains away what is meant by intercourse with cāndāla women etc.); relies on Buddhist Tantras only and tries to prove that Buddhist Tantrikas endeavour to restore life in its entirety which is neither an indulgence in passions nor a rejection of nor escape from them 1067; views of, briefly stated and criticized 1067-68.

Guest, practice of offering a cow or bull to some worthy guests prevailed in ancient times, but forbidden later, 1270n.
Guggulu (incense), burnt in Cāndikā temple 39: favourite dhūpa of Devi 164n.
Gukya, meaning of, in Tantras, 1052 and n.
Guhyasamājatantra (probably of 6th century A. D.): (vide under Asaṅga, siddhis); 1040 (contains late elements), 1050, 1053, 1055-66, 1133, 1141 etc.; makes provision for endowing Sādhaka with miraculous powers such as killing enemy with magical rites, causing rainfall in a drought 1070; mentions the six magical cruel rites 1070; puts forward a quick and short method for realizing Buddhahood and for attainment of Siddhis through Yoga 1068-70; Siddhis are sāmānya (ordinary, such as becoming invisible) and Uttama (best viz. attaining Buddhahood) 1068; sets forth six aṅgas of Yoga (omitting the first three of Patañjali and adding Anusmṛti), 1068; teaching of G. is that if psychical powers and siddhis are to be developed females must be associated with those who undertake Yoga practices 1069.
Guṇa (means subordinate matter or detail) 1207.
Guṇakarma (or Guṇabhūta), explained (such as pounding rice grains or wiping ladle) and contrasted with pradhāna 1237, 1306.
Guṇas, in Sāṅkhya are three, sattva, rajas, tamas and their characteristics and are both substances and qualities 1357, 1372n; in Gītā 1357n; why so called 1357n.
Guṇavāda, a kind of arthavāda, defined and illustrated 1240-41.
Gupta, dynasty, referred to in a general way in only four Mahāpurāṇas in rather corrupt passages without specifying names of kings 843; rule of G. dynasty began about 320 A. D. 843
Gupta Inscriptions, edited by Fleet, 110 (Gangadhar stone Ins of Kṛta year 480 i.e. 423-24 A. D.), 263, 651n, 652n, 661, 667n, 669-70, 680, 687, 843, 856n, 964, 997, 1013,
1028, 1046 (mentions Mātrṣ and awakening of Viṣṇu in KārtiKA); era of, 656.

Gupte, B. A., work of, on ‘Hindu holidays and ceremonial’ 60, 200n; on Sāvitrivrata origin, in I.A. vol. 35, 94; on Diwali, 207; on Śivarātri origin 235; on Holikā, criticized 241.

Guru, vide under Prabhākara.

Guru, vide under ‘disciple’; Buddhist tantras like Jñāna-siddhi contain grand eulogies of g., identify him with Buddha and call him omniscient 1071; is higher than all men and is to be served with devotion by disciples for attaining siddhis 1055; Jñānasiddhi and Kulārṇava warn against false gurus 1071; necessity of g. for the acquisition of esoteric philosophy stressed by Upaniṣad passages 1072; position of, in Tantra, is not very different from that in Vedic literature or Purāṇas 1033n; pupil after undergoing dīkṣā in Tantra worship and receiving the mantra has to follow orders of g. 1054–55; qualifications of Tantrik g. acc. to Śāradātīlaka, 1071; respect for g. sometimes reached extreme and disgusting lengths among tantrik writers as stated by Tārābhaktisudhārṇava, 1072n; saves a man if Śiva is angry, but none can save the pupil if g. is angered 1101; theory of efficacy of mantras led to importance of gurus about whom extravagant claims were made, 1154.

Gurney, O. R., a. of a work on ‘Hittites’ 683

Gurvāditya, astrological position, condemned for all rites 612.

Guyot Felix, a. of ‘Yoga, the science of health’, 1393.

Haarb, Erik, a. of paper on ‘Contributions to the study of Māṇḍala and Mudrā’ 1133.

Hall, Fitz-Edward, editor of Saṅkhya-pravaccana-bhāṣya, 1354, 1371n, 1372 (on legends about Kapila); editor of Subandhu’s ‘Vasavadatta’ 1048.

Hamsanyāsa, described by Rāghavabhaṭṭa 1120n.

Hamsavilāsa 1077n.

Haradatta, com. of, on Āp. Dh. S. 1230, 1246n (explains Kaḷaṇja), 1251 (illustrates Vyavasthitavikalpa), 1256; com. of Āp. Gṛhya 135n, 611; com. on Gautama 668n, 1230.

Haraprasad Sastri, a. of Cat. (in several volumes) of Ms. in Bengal Asiatic Society, 437; a. of Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf Ms. 909–10, 1033n, 1338n, 1019n; a. of paper on causes of the disappearance of Buddhism 1003.

Hard work, the incentive of private gain, is motive for 1682.

Hardy, Prof. a. of ‘Ramanujan’ 1573.

Hare W. L., article of, on ‘Generation and Regeneration’ in ‘Open Court’ (1926) included by Gandhi as Appendix in his work 1423.

Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa 113, 120.

Hārīta, Dharmaśāstra of, q. by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 154, 1422n, 1432.

Hārīta, Smṛti of, 33, 42 (in prose), 116n (prose), 151, 257, 864-65n.

Haritālikāvrata, 144-45; brief procedure of, 144; for women alone, 144; not found in Hemādri on vrata or in Kṛtya-kalpa-taru '144; not prevalent in Bengal or Gujjarat 145; observed on 3rd of Bhadrāpada bright half 144; Rājamārtanda has four verses on it, 144; saśkalpa in 144n; to be performed on 3rd mixed with 4th tithi (and not with 2nd) provided 3rd exists at least for two ghaṭikās from sunrise 145; various mantras repeated in 145n; very much in vogue among Mahārāṣṭra women 144; why it is so-called is difficult to explain 145.

Harivaṃśa 129, 133, 135n, 147n, 693, 695, 993n (on avatāras), 1028 (on Puṣyamitra), 1623.

Harsa, king of Kashmir, horoscope of 630.

Harṣacarita of Bāna, 655, 705, 821-22, 997n, 1047, 1132 (on Maṇḍala in colours), 1384.

Harṣavarman, emperor, 1047, distributed his wealth at Prayāga once in five years 262; birth of 705; horoscope of, examined 629; era of (started in 606 A.D.) 656; prohibited use of animal food, says Yuan Chwang, 1017.

Harsha, Dr. R. G., paper of, on mss. on dreams 782n.

Hastings, editor of E. R. E. 676n.

Hāsyāyurveda, 803-04.

Hathavāda, explained, 1570n.

Hāthigumpha, inscription of Khāravela 1614.

Hauer Dr., on Munis, 1386n, 1387 (on Vṛtāyas), 1393 (two works of, on Yoga), 1397.

Haviṣya (sacrificial substances that may be eaten in vratas) 462, 1110n.

Hathayoga (vide under Khecarimudrā’ and ‘Vajrolimudrā’); deals with processes called Īhantoi, basti, nauli, neti, trāṭaka, kapālabhāti, on which Patañjali is silent, 1428 and n; photographs of the processes called Īhantoi 1438n; technique of H. claims three results 1428; to be kept secret and not to be exposed to all 1460. works (modern) on H. 1428n.

Hathayogaprādipikā of Svātmārāma, 1127 (on Mudrās and Vajroli), 1426-27, 1432 (proper food for Yogi), 1443, 1450, 1451n, 1460, 1649 (on secrecy); com. Jyotnā by Brahmānanda 1427; English translation of, 1427n; main aim of ānana and prāṇāyāma is to awaken the kūṇālāni, while Patañjala Yoga does not dilate upon this 1429; names about 35 Mahāsidhhas from Ādinātha (Śiva), Mātsyendranātha, Gaura-kṛṣṇānātha and others 1115n, 1429n; proper name is Hatha-prādipikā 1427; ten mudrās
named by 1428n, 1429; Yamas of, are ten, of which taking a light meal is the principal 1420.

Hazra, Prof. R.C. 1149; a of 'Studies in Purānic Records on Hindu rites and customs', 816n, 834, 844, 886 (paper on Upapuruṣas) and of 'Studies in Upapurānas' Vol. I) 867, 870; admits that among the Upapurānas are works of late date and yet asserts that the age of Upapurānas began from the Gupta period, 836; bestowed much labour and thought on Purāṇas in general and individual Purāṇas 864; dates of the formation of U. given by Prof. H. entirely wrong for reasons pointed out 836-37; dates assigned by Prof. H to Śāmba, Narasimha, Viṣṇudharma and Viṣṇudharmottara not acceptable 871-72; has developed a tendency to assign more ancient dates to Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas than the evidence warrants 864; does not explain what he means by non-tantrik character 876n; paper on 'Aśvamedha as common source of origin of Purāṇa and Mahābhārata' criticized 865-67; papers published in several journals on Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, 844; puts a wrong interpretation on Śāṅkarācārya's bhasya on Chān. Up. III. 4.1-2 about Pārīplavavṛatris 866; remark of Prof. H. that Upapurāṇas were known to Yāj, criticized 835n; sees reference to Purāṇas when in fact none exists and where Purāṇa (in Harita quoted by Mitākṣara) means Śrāddha of a particular kind 864-65; sees too much meaning in simple words and phrases and does not observe caution in his conclusions 815; theory of, that if a work is free from Tāntrik elements it should be regarded as belonging to 3rd or 4th cen. A.D. is a slippery one and wrong 874; view of, that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not refer to the works of Varāhamihira shown to be wrong 778. Heard, Gerald, a. of 'Is God evident' 1547 (on Vedānta). Heart, 1073 (note 1717) spoken of as lotus in the Upamīṣads, 1446n.

Heath, T.L., a of 'Greek Astronomy' and of 'Aristarchus of Samos' 482, 513-14, 520n, 566n, 676, 689n.

Heaven (svarga), 1212-1215 (vide under Gods): and earth, six hymns addressed to as divinities in Rg., 1452-93; and earth are called father and mother in Rg. 1518n; distance between h. and earth as put in the Ait Br., 1193; ideas about h. held by Jaimini, Šābara and Kumārila differ from those in the Veda and Purāṇas 1212; in Rg. h. was deemed to be a place where souls of valiant men and great donors and wise men went 1213; in Atharva-veda heaven was deemed to possess damsels, edible plants
and flowers, streams of ghee, honey and wine, milk, curds, lotus ponds, 1213; is defined as ‘mental happiness’ (priti) by Śabarā, 1214, 1312n; joys of h. were 100 times greater than those on earth 1213; old verse defines svarga as ‘a state of happiness unmixed with pain’ 1214; poets like Kali-dasa describe how the soul of one killed in battle arrives instantly in H. 1213; Purāṇas like Brahma, Mārkaṇdeya, Padma, graphically describe H. as having all pleasures and no sorrow 1213; rewards of acts must be held to differ in their duration 1211; Śabarā and Kumārila state that popular ideas about h. are invalid, that Mahābhārata and Purāṇas being the works of human authors need not be considered and Vedic descriptions are merely arthavādas 1214; Śabarā states that the words of Veda provide that reward of rites will follow, either in this life or in later existences, 1215; Upaniṣads like Chān. (VIII. 5. 3) and Kaṇṭātaki dilate upon the joys of heaven such as hundreds of Apsaras with garlands 1213; Viṣṇupurāṇa says h. is what produces mental happiness, Naraka is the opposite, that merit and sin are named Svarga and Naraka 1214; was declared to be reward for all sacrifices for which no express reward is provided by Veda 1214.

Heliodora, a Bhāgavata and Greek ambassador from king Antalikita to an Indian king 131.

Hemacandra, Jaina ācārya, condemns prāṇāyāma 1411.

Hemādri, 1623; on Vṛata 31n, 37–40, 42n, 44–47, 49n, 51n, 54, 55n, 61n, 82, 84–86, 88–90, 92, 94n, 100n, 101, 105n–107, 114–7, 119, 124, 127–8, 132n, 142n, 147n, 148–9, 150n, 151, 153n–4n, 156n–7n, 160n, 165n, 168, 170–1, 178, 183n–5, 188–9, 191, 195 6n, 199, 207, 221, 239n, 572n, 597n, 745n–46, 769, 788n, 792–3, 795n, 801, 803–4, 810n, 834n, 835, 860n, 868n, 923n, 936n, 930n, 954n, 1096n, 1106n, 1130 (speaks of some mudās), 1289, 1307; on Kāla 69n, 73n, 75n, 78n–9n, 89, 95–97, 99n, 100, 102, 104n, 106, 110n, 111, 113, 115–20n, 125, 13n, 133, 137n–8n, 147n, 201n–3n, 211–16, 216, 218, 219–20n, 222–23, 227, 229–30 234n, 238, 241, 243n–50n, 473n, 477, 480n, 608, 609n, 623, 657, 663n–5n, 671n, 672–74; on śrāddha 640n, 693, 706, 920, 931n, 978n; on Dāna 830.

Hensler, Eric de, a. of a French work on ‘Transmigration’ 1605

Hepatoscopy, meaning and illustrations of, 521n; not developed in India 522n; theory underlying it 522n.

Heraclitus, view of, that a new sun was born and died every day, 511, 690.
Heretical sects in Purānas, 978; one should not even talk with Pañcaśātras and Pāṣupatas and should not feed at Śrāddhas. Baudḍha mendicants, Nirgranthas etc. 978.

Heretics: in 1401 English Parliament passed the Statute for the burning of H., which was not repealed till the Stuarts came back 476.

Heritage of India, paper on 'Tantras as a way of realization' in Vol. IV, 1085.

Herodotus, 482 (Greeks borrowed from Babylonians two kinds of sun-dials and division of day into 12 parts); refers to peculiar practice of Egyptians to regard each month and day as sacred to some god 549; states some Greeks had made the doctrine of punarjanna their own and that Egyptians were the first to teach it 1530; states that India constituted the 20th province of Persian empire and paid tribute 1613.

Hesiod, furnishes the earliest evidence for lucky and unlucky days in Greece 523.

Hevajratantra, edited and translated by Dr. D. L. Snellgrove, 1147.

Hickey J. C., a. of 'Introducing the Universe' 499, 565n–66.

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Jainas, doctrine of 'Saptabhaṅgi-naya' m. in Viṣṇupurāṇa 97n; had madras 1130; view of there being two suns and moons criticized by Pañca-siddhāntikā and Brahmagupta 511 and n.
Jainism, practised thorough-going ahimsā 1648.
Jalāsāyotsargatattva 1273n
Jāmādagni, a. of a Śrīti 118n.
Jambudvīpa, m. in Aśoka’s Rupṇath Rock Inscription 1523, 1614.
James, E. O., a. of ‘the cult of the Mother Goddess’ 1046n.
James, William, a. of ‘Varieties of religious experience’ and of ‘Pragmatism’ 1212, 1475, 1483, 1486, 1650n.
Jānaka, king of Mithilā, a pupil of Pañcasikha acc. to Śāntiparva, 1365–70; had reached a position of unconcern about worldly goods and power 1367n, 1369; dialogue between J. and Sulabhā and her scathing remarks against J. 1368–70; learned from Pañcasikha the whole doctrine of mokṣa as based on Upaniṣad passages acc. to Śāntiparva, 1369–70; learnt from Yājñavalkya the doctrine of brahman acc. to Br. Up. 1370, 1377–79; offered to become slave of Yājñavalkya 1580.
Janamejaya, son of Parīkṣit, 64Sū; quarrel of, with brahmāṇas, 827 and n.
Janasthāna, on Godāvari, said to be sacrificial ground of Jānaka dynasty, 894.
Jannma-maraṇavīcāra, of Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva, on doctrine of Karma 1599–1600.
Jannāstami, vide Kṛṣṇajanmāstami.
Japa of Om in Śrītis and Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad 1413 and n.
Japan, compelled by growth of population to legalize abortion 1689.
Jastrow, Morris, a. of ‘Religion of Babylon and Assyria’ 522n.
Jātaka, a branch of horā (judicial astrology), based on horoscope 479, 545; often identified with horāṣṭra 546.
Jātakālaṅkāra of Ganeśa, composed in 1613 A. D., 558.
Jātakarma (rites on a child’s birth); auspicious times for, 605.
Jātakas, Buddhist birth stories 599n.
Jati (caste): word does not occur in Vedic literature, but occurs in Nirukta, Pāṇini, Mahābhārata 1153; vide under ‘varṇa’.
Jawaharlal Nehru, a. of ‘Autobiography’ 1649n, 1689; about a man having a worth-while ideal, 1670.
Jaya, applied to Mahabharata at first but later to several other works also 301, 870-1.
Jayakhya-sanhitā, 1105n-6, 1111, 1120 (on nyāsa), 1123, 1125, 1131n.
Jayamanagala, commentary on Vatsyayana’s Kāmasūtra 195n, 238, 1131n.
Jayamanagala, com. on Sānkhya-kārikā, names many teachers between Pāñcasikha and Śāvara-Kṛṣṇa, 1355.
Jayanta-bhatta, a. of Nyāya-manjari 469.
Jayanti, 8th of dark half of Śravaṇa with Rohini nakṣatra is different from Janmāṭamāvrata, acc. to Hemādri and some others 133.
Jayantinirnaya, of Hārita Veṅkaṭānātha (part of Daśanirṇayi), 132n, 133, 138, 139n.
Jayaparakāśa Narayan and Sarvodaya ideal 1683.
Jayaswal, K. P. (a. of ‘History of India’ 1013): 651n, 679n (on origin of week-days), 826 (published the historical portion of Yagapurāṇa), 827-28, 883 (papers on Purāṇa), 1008n (on explanation of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa), 1013, 1140 (a. of ‘Imperial History of India’, which deals with parts of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa); 1614n (on Hathiugmpha Ins.); 1663 (holds that ancient India had republics).
Jayātithis are 3rd, 8th and 13th, 230, 302.
Jeans, a. of ‘Mysterious Universe’ 1486n, 1574n.
Jehangir, killed Guru Arjun of the Sikhs for his religious activities 1019; memoirs of, tr. by A. Rogers and ed. by H. Beveridge 1019.
Jesuits: acted on the principle of ‘the end justifies the means,’ which latter included incitements to assassination and war 1476-77.
Jews, persecution of, 1019; murder of five million J. by Germans in the 2nd World War constitutes the greatest crime in world history 1480n.
Jha, Mahāmahopādhyāya-Gangānath, a. of ‘Pūrvamāṁśa in its sources’ 1157n, 1191n (wrong in saying that Maṇḍana wrote a. com. on Tantravārtika); translation of word ‘kesarin’ criticized 1257; translated into English Tantravārtika and notices eight commentaries on it in Introduction 1188, 1261; translated the b Hamas of Śabarā and Ślokavārtika into English, 1200; wrote introduction to Bhāvanaviveka of Maṇḍana 1194; a. of ‘Prabhakara school of Pūrvamāṁśa’ 1200, 1254 (obscure as to meaning of ‘āradupakāraka’ and ‘Sannipatyopakāraka’); translated Yogasūtra 1394.
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John St. (for idea of Karma) 1546.
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Jones F. W., a. of 'Design and purpose' 1484n.
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Kabir (Moslem weaver and disciple of Rāmānanda 1400-1470 A. D.) 969n; his teachings 969.

Kādambari of Bāna and his son 39, 821-22, 1040, 1047, 1124n, 1205, 1384, 1423 (in hermitages of sages natural anti-paties between animals disappear).

Kādividyā (a form of Tantra) 1045n.

Kāivalya: does not occur in the principal or older Upāniṣads but the word Kevala occurs in Śv. Up. IV. 18 and VI. 11 1415.

Kalā, as a unit of time variously defined 117.

Kāla, as the first principle in Atharvaveda 1195.

Kāla (vide under Kalpa, Mantarā, pralaya, Rudra, measures of Time, yuga); Āśvamedhikaparva has an elaborate metaphorical description of wheel of K. 467; Bhagavad-gitā identifies K. with Kiṣṇa 467; derived from root 'Kal' in Bhagavad-gitā, 467n; included among nine dravyas by Vaiśeṣikasūtra 468; in the case of religious rites K. is not a mere detail, but is the nimirna (occasion) on the happening of which an act has to be performed and what is done at a time other than the prescribed one is as good as not done 73; Mahābhārata frequently refers to theme of Kāla 466-67; mukhya and gauṇa 100, 102; not included in the 25 tattvas of Śāṅkhya, but m. in relation to Karanās 468; Omkāra is said to be beyond the three divisions of K. by Māndukya Up. 465; Pāṇini uses the word K. for 'time' in general or proper time or divisions of time 467; Patañjali's important theory about K. that it does not exist except as a convenient name or word for the manner of measuring changes and comparing them 468; produced by Him who is intelligent and omniscient, acc-
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niṣāds use the word K. in the sense of ‘end’ or ‘proper time’ or ‘appointed time’ 464–465; Vanapravams identifies Kṛṣṇa with K., Brahmā, Rudra etc., 467; views on time being non-existent as a separate entity or as being directly apprehended or as merely inferred 469–70; word occurs in Rg. only once 463; word used in two senses even by early Vedic times viz. time in general and as identified with Supreme Being 464; Yogasūtrabhāṣya has a brief but interesting and abstract disquisition on K. 471–72.

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Kalanjādhikaraṇa Nyāya 77.
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Kalaśa, king of Kashmir (1063–1069 A. D.) was led into lax sexual morals by his guru Pramadakaṇṭha, guilty of incest with his own daughter 1075n.

Kalaśa, jar used on auspicious occasions like marriage, coronation 280.

Kālasiddhántadarśinī of Sri Haranchandra Bhattacharya, exhaustive work on Kāla 475.

Kalhaṇa, author of Rājataraṅgiṇī 630, 649 1075; vide under Rājataraṅgiṇī.

Kāli, mentioned in Mahābhārata 185; one of the dhyānas of,
described, 1041n; (vide under Devi, Śaktas, Śakti).

Kalidāsa 1046n; generally held to have flourished about 350-450 A. D., 186; refers to Viṣṇu’s sleep for four months 110; refers to Vratas 46; refers to Nirājana Śānti 193; traditions about K., Vikrama and nine jewels 901, 1461 (uses Yoga technical words), 1571 (on Karma doctrine); throbbing of hero’s right arm and of the right eye of the heroine foreshadow future 905, 1027, 1152; uses Śāṅkhya terms 1384;

Kalikāpurāṇa 34, 39-40, 154, 156, 158n-60n, 162, 164 (on 16 Upacāras of Devi, on animals to be offered), 165-167, 169n, 171n, 173; 174 (Yoginis named and numerous balis to Devi), 175n, 176n, 177 Śāharotśava in Durgāpūjā), 178n, 180 (pūjā of Devi three times in the day), 185, 187 (nirājana), 219, 793, 830, 1032-33, 1093 (many chapters on mantras, mudrās, nyāsa etc.), 1120 (mātyākānyāsa), 1121, 1124n, 1287 (three verses q. by Kalpataru) 1332; devotes considerable space to Durgā and her worship, 156; describes mudrās like Dhenu, Yoni, and states there are 108 mudrās, 55 for general worship and 53 for special occasions 1127-28; Note on 888; three separate recensions of, acc. to Dr. V. Raghavan 888; to be placed before 1000 A. D., 888.

Kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the Kali i.e. present age) 1267-1272; (vide under niyoga, uddhāravibhaga, veda, sattrās, sautrāmaṇi, killing animals); is a fiction invented to accommodate the changes in people’s ideas and practices 1269-70; K. actions (55 in number) were set out and discussed in Vol. III of H. of Dh. pp. 926-967, 1267; long before 9th century Dharmāśāstra writers had condemned Govadha (in Madhuparka), the practice of niyoga and the assignment of a larger share to the eldest son at a partition among brothers 1267-68; some striking actions forbidden for Kali but enjoined or practised in Vedic times (apart from Niyoga and Uddhāravibhaga) set out, 1268-69; what authority could sages at the beginning of Kali have to prohibit what Veda enjoined or allowed is not made clear anywhere 1269, 1664.

Kāli: (vide under Devi, Śakti, Śaktas); one of the Dhyānas of, described 1041n.

Kalivalāśatantra 178n, 181n, 1089n, 1093 (allows adultery to Śaktas if semen is not allowed to fall), 1107 (prescribes as mantra the reversed three letters of ‘om Durge’ as ‘rgedu om’); 1117 (best time for dikṣā).

Kaliyuga, 1107: also, called Tiṣya, 687; dismal description
of what will happen in 693; contrasted with other Yugas and its special merit stated 928; era, one of the earliest reference to, is in Āryabhaṭaṭya 649; huge figures of years suggested by figures in Sat. Br. 690; Inscriptions dated in K. era 649, 650n; in Yugapurāṇa 827-28; Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas exist in K, though some learned writers hold the opposite view as to Kali age, 32; started acc. to tradition in 3102 B.C. 638n; started acc. to Brhadānāhita 2426 years prior to Śaka era, 649; views about beginning of, differ 648-649.

Kalkipurāṇa, note on 888.

Kālāṭa, a siddha of the time of Avanti-varman of Kashmir 1075.

Kālottara 1117.

Kalpa or Kalpas—(vide Yuga and Manvantara): ancient Upaniṣads have no elaborate theory of K. 1567; are immense periods of time 686, 688, 1567; are numberless 824; m. in Asoka's edicts 686; thirty-three named in Vāyupurāṇa and by Hemādri 693.

Kalpādī are tithis on which the Kalpas are deemed to have begun 280.

Kalpaśūtras: Jaimini (I, 3 11-14) has a separate adhikaraṇa on them 1274; Kumārila distinguishes between Kalpa (ritual of Vedic sacrifices) and Kalpaśūtras and names eight of the last, 1274 and n; Śabara mentions three K. by name 1274; various interpretations by Kumārila of P. M. Sutras I. 3. 11-14, 1274-75.

Kalpataru: vide Kṛtyakalpataru.

Kalyāṇavaran, a. of Sārāvali 546.

Kāma, as the First Principal or Essence in Atharvaveda 1494-95; was not neglected, as Gīta identifies Kṛṣṇa with K. not in conflict with dharma, 1630.

Kāmadhenu of Gopāla, friend of Laksminidhara, but older 249, 884.

Kāmakalāvilāsa of Puṇyānanda 1126, 1136-38n.

Kamalakara: a. of Nirmayasindhu and Śādankamalakara 925-26; a. of Śāntaratna 813n.

Kamarūpya-nibandha, q. by Tithitattva 174n.

Kamalāśila, a. of Com. on Tattvasaṅgraha, pupil of Śāntarakṣita, a. of Tattvasaṅgraha, 1194, 1212n (quotes a verse of Ślokavārtikā), 1376.

Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana 195, 238, 1630.

Kānha, killing of, known long before the Mahābhāṣya 997.

Kāpāṇasamaya method, explained 1316-17, 1319; followed acc. to Mit. as to Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas in the matter of Upacāras, 1317; referred to in P. M. S. V. 2. 7-9, 1317.

Kane Festchrift 838n, 893.

Kaniṣka 186, 654 (deemed by some to be founder of Śaka era ), 669.

Kant. a. of 'Critique of pure reason' 475.

Kāpālikas on Śrīparvata 1048.
Kapali Sastry: a. of 'Ṛg bhāṣya-bhūmikā' in English 981, 985; bitterly attacks Śāyaṇa but admits that Śāyaṇa is not only useful but indispensable to Vedic students 989; inaccuracies of renderings of Ṛgveda verses and words by K. pointed out 981, 988-89; on 'Veda and Tantra' 1150; rendering of 'Kavyaḥ satyaśrutaḥ' occurring only thrice in Ṛg. shown to be entirely wrong, 990.

Kapila, a muni (see under Brāhma, Tarpana): as avatāra of Viṣṇu and chief of Siddhas in Bhāgavata, 1373; K., Āsuri, Vośhu and Pāṇčaśikha as four of the seven sons of Brāhma 1372; first promulgator of Śaṅkhya, acc. to Śaṅkhya-kārikā and Vanaparva, expounded it to Āsuri 1356-7, 1372; mentioned in Śv. Up. V. 2 is claimed by Śaṅkhyaś to be their founder, while Śaṅkara-rācārya says that there is another K. called Vāsudeva 1382; mentioned in Nārāyaṇiya section as propounder of Śaṅkhya 1365; one of ten Āngirasas in Ṛgveda, 1372; styled Ādividvān and Pāramarṣi in a quotation from Pāṇčaśikha 1374 and n.

Kapila, called Vāsudeva, reduced to ashes the sons of Sāgara, acc. to Vanaparva and Viṣṇupurāṇa, 1382.

Kapilāśaṣṭhi Yoga 279, 706.

Kapota bird, messenger of ill-luck in Ṛgveda, 729.

Kāraka, astrological meaning of, 590.

Karamalkar S. M., a. of a Marathi work on Calendar, 714n.

Karmarkar Prof. R. D., 1172n.

Karambelkar Dr., a. of paper on Matsyendranātha, 1046n.

Karaṇa (see Viṣṭi); Brhatasthātipi states what should or should not be done on the several K. 708; carakaraṇas occur eight times in a month 708; derivation of word K. 708; fifth astrological item (or anga) in a pañcāṅga 707; four sthira karaṇas with presiding deities 707; K. means half of a tithi and there are 60 karaṇas in a lunar month 707; names are strange and inexplicable 708; Nārada-purāṇa mentions both kinds of K. 708; scheme of, is fanciful 710; seven Karaṇas of cera kind with presiding deities 707; sthira K. occur only once in a month 707-708.

Karaṇa, works so called for preparing pañcāṅgas 643.

Karaṇakalpalatā, a work of Dr. K. L. Daftari 644, 664n, 713 (basis of what is popularly called Tilak Pañcāṅga), 714n.

Karandikar, Mr. J. S.: a. of Gitātattvāmaṇjari (in Marathi); relies on Ṛg. X. 14. 8, X. 16. 3 and 5, X. 135. 6 for his view that the doctrine of Transmigration is as old as Ṛgveda 1542; view of, examined and held to be wrong 1542-44.

Karanyāśa: Padmapurāṇa provides for it with mantra (Om namo Bhagavate Vāsudevaḥ).
1121.
Karka and Karkin—occur in Atharvaveda 563.
Karma and Punarjanma 1530–1612: (vide under Christianity, Empedocles, Heaven, Herodotus, Plato, Pythagoras, Prof. Ranade, ‘reincarnation,’ Vedānta, Upaniṣads): antecedent supposition to belief in K. and P. are four 1532; Āp Dh. S. and Gautama on 1560; belief had arisen in times of Śat. Br. that one who does evil deeds in one life has to suffer for them in a later life from that being which he harmed 1534; belief that punishment by the king for a bad deed relieved the doer of the sin 1598; Brāhmaṇa works (such as Śat. XII, 9. 1. 1) give details about the rewards of good works and the retribution for evil deeds 1533–4; Br. Up. IV. 4. 5–7 is the leading and the oldest Upaniṣad passage on K. and P. and so is Br. Up. III. 3. 13, 1547–48; confession of sins was in certain cases held to purify a person as in Varuṇapraghāsa Cāturmśaya and necessary in prāyaścittas for some sins 1592–3; clear statement of the doctrine of K. and P. is absent from the Rgveda though it refers to two births of Vasiṣṭha, 1536–7; difficulty of reconciling the doctrine of K. with the system of Śrādhaś for ancestors 1598; doctrine of Karma leads to doctrine of punarjanma 1561; doctrine of, extends the inexorable physical law of causality to the mental and moral sphere 1561; doctrine of, has attracted many minds from the West and there is now a voluminous literature on it in the West, 1530; doctrine of, modified doctrine of Heaven and Hell 1532; doctrine of Karma, instead of being a gospel of hope and an urge to effort, became in the minds of many Indians confused with fatalism 1566; doctrine of K. permeated the whole of society, poets and others 1571; doctrine of K., not pessimistic or fatalist if rightly understood but emphasizes all-out effort in this life 1573; doctrine of, received almost unanimous support from all darśanas (except Ācārīya) that severely criticize each other’s doctrines 1532; doctrine of, touched upon by the Bhagavadgītā in many passages 1569; doctrine of, a unique characteristic of Hindu culture, 1530, 1616; effects of evil deeds done by a man can be got rid of only by expiations, or by suffering them in another life or by realization of Absolute brahman 1560–61; efforts made by a man on the path of Yoga are not altogether lost, but become steps on the path of perfection 1569; four kinds of, viz. krṣṇa, śukla etc. 1572; idea of K. was prevalent among Jewish people in the
time of Jesus (vide St. John IX. 2) 1546; idea of punar- 
martyu in Śat. Br. and Tai. Br., 
Br. Up. and Kauṣ. Br. 1534-
35; influenced Indian thought 
from at least Upaniṣad times 
and all Hindus, Buddhists and 
Jains 1530; is an endeavour to 
answer the question, what 
happens to men after death of 
body 1530; law of Karma, 
laid down by Upaniṣads, was 
inexorable that fruits of all 
actions, good or bad, must be 
experienced, but some except-
tions were made, the first being 
that actions done after a 
person has realized brahman 
but before the body falls do 
not produce results 1587; 
little is said in the Rgveda 
about the fate of evil-doers 
1533; McTaggart, L. P. 
Jacks, Wordsworth and some 
other Western writers favour 
the doctrine of K. 1609; 
Mahābhārata in some passages 
avers that the consequences of 
the evil deeds of a man are 
suffered by the man's son or 
grandsons (and not by him-
self), 1598; Manu prescribes 
Japa of certain Vedic hymns 
for removal of even mortal sins 
and highly praises Aghamarga-
ṣaṇa hymn, 1592; men guilty 
of grave sins may, acc. to 
Chān. Up. Kaṭha Up., Manu-
smṛti become beasts, or even 
tree trunks but theosophists and 
some modern men say that 
one the state of a human body 
is reached there is no rege-
ssion to a lower stage 
1611-12; objections against 
doctrine of K. stated and re-
plied 1609-1611; objection that 
doctrine of K. leaves no scope 
for Free will, dealt with 
1574-75; once prāyaścittas 
were admitted as removing 
effects of sins, other ways were 
prescribed in early times for 
the same purpose such as Japa 
(recitation of holy texts), 
homa, tapas, fast, gifts, pil-
grimages 1592; passages in 
Manu, Yāj. and other Smṛtis 
that a guest when not properly 
honoured gives his demerit to 
the householder and takes 
away latter's all puṇya or 
stating that if a witness deposes 
false all his merit in many 
lives will go to the party who 
lost that suit are mere artha-
vādās 1596-98; popular idea 
of last thought at death lea-
ding to a new birth ap-
propriate to it is an interference 
with the law of K. 1598-99; 
Prāṇāyāma, practice of, for 
removal of effects of sins, 
1593; Purāṇas emphasize the 
importance of good or evil 
deeds, that one has to reap 
the fruits of one's actions, 
that Karma does not come to 
end even after many lives 
unless the results thereof are 
undergone 1576-77; Purāṇas 
went so far as to prescribe mere 
remembrance of the name of 
Krṣṇa or Nārāyaṇa, particularly for sūdras and prati-
loma castes, for removal of
effects of sins 1592; Rāmāyaṇa, on doctrine of K. 1576; Rgveda contains some prayers for wealth and heroic sons, but it was immortality and joys of heaven that were most valued 1533; Śatapatha Br. had arrived at the idea that man's will governs what he will reach after death 1535; Śatapatha Br. has a passage on the powers conferred in yonder world by sacrifices performed in this life such as Dārṣapūrṇamāsa, Cāturmāya, 1535-36; some features of our present life can be more satisfactorily explained on the theory of Karma than on any other 1572–73; strict doctrine of K. would require than one man's good or bad Karma cannot be transferred to another, but in Rg. fear is expressed that one may have to suffer for others' deeds and modifications were introduced such as the king getting 1/6 in the merit or demerit of his subjects 1595–96; three classes of Karma, sañcita, pṛarabdha and kriyamāna (or 'sañcīyamāna') explained 1574; three regular treatises in Sanskrit on K. mentioned and described 1599–1604; Vedāntasūtra on K. and P. 1558–60; very few regular treatises in Sanskrit on the law of K. 1599; word Karma in some passages of Rg. means 'exploits', 'valiant deeds' and in some 'religious works' such as sacrifices and gifts, 1532–33; works and conduct done in this life fashion a man's future life and that the present existence of a man depends on his actions and conduct in a past life or lives — this is the gist of the grand passages of Br. Up. IV. 4. 5–7 and III. 3. 13, which are illumined by the illustrations of the caterpillar and the snake's slough, 1546–48; works in English on K. 1604–05.

Karmapradipa of Gobhila 50.

Karmaśaba, means 'dātus' (verbal forms such as 'yajati', juhoti), 1236.

Karmāśaya (in Y. S.) means 'Dharmādharmau' 1917n.

Karnaparva, 90n, 129, 569, 744, 821, 829 (on Yavanas).

Karpuramañjarī of Rājaśekhara (about 900 A. D.), a prākrit play in which the caricature of a character called Bhairavānanda occurs 1073–74.

Karṣa, a weight equal to 16 māsas of eighty raktikās 219n.

Kārtavirya, vide under 'Dattātreya'.

Kārtika, giving up meat-eating in, very meritorious 283.

Kāsākrītsna, a teacher in V. S. 1157.

Kāsākrītsni means a woman that studies the Mimāṃsā expounded by Kāsākrītsnī, 1157 and n.

Kāśikā, com. on Pāṇini's 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' by Vāmana and Jayāditya; 27, 499n, 525, 670, 708, 1153n, 1198n, 1205n (mentions Laukāyatika), 1389n; from I-ts'ing's remarks
it appears that Jayāditya died about 661 A. D., 1198n.

Kāśīka, com. on Ślokavārtika 1184n.

Kāśyapa, a rṣi in Rgveda 463n.

Kāśyapa, a writer on astrology, from whom Utpala quotes about 300 verses, some of which show knowledge of rāsis, 592, 746.

Kāśyapasāṁhitā, 710n.

Kāthakagrhya 238, 663.

Kāthaka-sāṁhitā, 63n, 126, 498-9, 507n, 523, 671, 684n, 691n, 698, 730n, 1079 (brāhmaṇa did not drink wine), 1153, 1297, 1385n, 1386n, 1633.

Kathāvatthu, shows Andhaka school of Buddhism was disposed to permit copulation for a specific purpose to monks 1023.

Kāthopaniṣad, 915 (Nāci ketas story), 917 (on vidyā and avidyā), 939n (giving up trāṇā), 952, 961, 1063n (on 101 nādis of the heart, one of which penetrates the crown of the head), 1072, 1360, 1362, 1387, 1388n, 1389, 1400n, 1430, 1435, 1451n, 1455n, 1471, 1478, 1502 (five guṇas, sabda etc. of five elements mentioned), 1504, 1507n, 1508n, 1592-3, 1516n (verse quoted in), 1535 (fate of some people after death), 1563n, 1564, 1585n, 1600, 1611, 1625 (illustration of pure water poured into pure water), 1631 (path of mokṣa more difficult than that of bhakti), 1649.

Katre, Dr. S. M. paper of, on 33

avalāras 997.

Kātyāyana, a. of Vārtikas on Pañjini, 516n.

Kātyāyana, Smṛti of, 54, 96, 99, 105n, 675, 1032.

Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra. 18n, 724, 732, 738n, 1155 (closely corresponds with Jaimini’s sūtras in several cases), 1224n, 1297n, 1321.

Kaula, is not one who drinks wine etc. but who has undergone abhiṣeka, 1118.

Kauladharma (practices) : (vide Kuladharma) 1052, 1076 (in Aparārka’s day it was practised secretly).

Kaulajānapaniṁnaya 1083 (on the rousing of Kulaśākini).

Kularahasya (ms. copied in 1734 A. D.) shows how common people literally understood the cult of the makāras, 1087 and n.

Kaulas (some) offered worship to a young woman’s private parts, 1138n.

Kaulaśāstras, taught that bhoga need not be given up, but should be sublimated and substitute a Yoga of enjoyment for one of abstinence 1077.

Kaulāvalinिन्यaya of Jñānānanda-giri, 1050n, 1052n; enumerates numerous tantras including Yāmalas, 1050n, 1056n (extravagant praise of women), 1059 (about wine cups), 1076, 1081n (substitutes for makāras), 1082-3, 1085n, 1093, 1106, 1109-10, 1126n, 1135n.

Kaunudi festival (vide Divāli) : 195.
Kaumudijāgara and Yakṣarātri included under kṛṣṇa 195n.

Kauśikasūtra (of the Atharvaveda), 524, 535, 610, 724n, 729n–30n, 732n, 734–35 (Kesava's padhāna), 738n; 739–40n, 769–70n, 773, 785n, 802n (on Āyuṣya mantras);

Kaṇḍikās 93–136 of chapter 13 deal with 42 adbhutas and the Śantis therefor 735; mantras m. in K. on Śantis appear to have formed an independent collection and Atharvaveda mantras play a secondary role 735–36; Śantis in K. are spoken of as prāyaścittas 736.

Kauśitaka 66.

Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa 223n, 489, 491, 659, 1248, 1313n, 1497 (Prajāpati as creator), 1535.

Kauśitaki-ṛghyasūtra 730.

Kauśitaki Upaniṣad, 464n–65, 525n, 538, 864n, 866, 1213 (joys of heaven), 1386n, 1388n, 1468n, 1486, 1507n, 1513, 1553–55, 1558–9, 1563, 1579n, 1580 (Ajātāśatru and Bālāki Gārgya), 1587n.

Kauṭiliya, a. of Arthaśāstra: 476, 505n, 527–8, 538, 569–70, 658–9, 675, 819, 862, 1001n, 1205 (includes Lokāyata under Anvikṣiki), 1628, 1638, (speaks of armies of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas).

Kautsa, views of, that Vedic mantras are anarthaka (have no sense or serve no purpose) and was attacked by Nīruktā 1275–76.

Kautuka (nine things as consti-
tuents) to be tied on kāīkaṇa in marriage 291.

Kāvyādarā (of Dāṇḍin), contains a verse in the Śarvabhadra form, 1134.

Kāvyamāṇas of Rājaśekhara 1183.

Kāyāṇīya–Ṛgveda IV. 31. 1 and Śāmaveda No. 169.

Kaye G. R. - claims that he has proved that India is not the originator of the decimal place value notation 699n; doubts whether Kṛttikās are Pleiades, but does not suggest any other identification 493, 585.

Keay, F. E., a, of 'Kabir and his followers' 969n.

Keith, Prof. A. B., 1397 (on Patañjali); 719, 1200 (a. of 'Kārmamāṇāsā'), 1254 (inverts meaning of Āradupa-kāraka and Sannipatypakāraka), 1325, 1434; a of 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads' 1213, 1486n, 1491, 1604, 1627 (remark of, about ethical content of Upaniṣads being valueless, criticized); a, of 'Śāṅkhya system' 1354, 1371, 1373, 1376; a, of translation of Tai. S. in H. O. S. 1545.

Kemadruma, Yoga, meaning of, 584

Kendra and Greek 'Kenton' differ in meaning 585.

Khecarīmudrā (in Hathayoga), descriptions of, different in different works 1127.

Khilaśūkta 729n.

Kenpaniṣad, 1044.

Kern H., assigned Garga to 50
based on Dharmasindhu 253.

Kikat, a country in which non-Aryans resided, acc. to Yāska and acc. to Kumārila, K. means 'closefisted' 1256n.

Kings (vide under Maṅgala, Andhra, Puṣyasnāna, Sātavāhana, officials); nakṣatras on which the king should not get himself shaved 533n; not affected by āśauca while performing royal duties 48; not to donate the whole kingdom in Viśvajit sacrifice, 1313; office of, hereditary 1664; procedure of coronation of K. with Paurāṇika mantras prescribed in Agni and Viṣṇudharmottara and in medieval digests like Niṭimayūkha 923; Puṣyasnāna for, had Paurāṇik mantras 1024; rise and fall of, depended on planets acc. to Yaŷ. 544; set free prisoners when the king's nakṣatra was affected by evil aspects 531n; should perform all religious acts as directed by the purohitā 543, 742; sign of success is the ease or satisfaction of the king's mind 778; starting on expedition should see, hear and touch maṅgala objects and listen to recitations of Veda, Dharmāśāstra, epics 621, 778; time table for king's daily routine acc. to Kaṭṭiyāla 819; when the nakṣatra of the king's coronation or of his caste or the nakṣatra of his country is affected by evil planets or aspects what is to be the forecast 530; when eclipse inaus-
pious to king, 765; 1639 (office of king hereditary and king deemed to be a divinity).

Kirātas, assigned to caves in Vāj. S. 969n; worship of Dūrāga by 158.

Kirātārjuniya 892n, 911, 1134 (example of Sarvatobhadra citrabandha), 1195 (quoted by Prabhākara).

Kirfel W., a. of 'Pūrāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa' 841, 843, 852; a. of 'Die cosmographie der Inder' 843, 1523; gives chapter concordance of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Pūrāṇas 841n; gives a table of chapters that are common to both Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, 841n; Introduction to 'Pūrāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa' translated into English, published in Vol. VII and VIII of Journal of Venkatesvara Institute of Tirupati 841n; most of his conclusions except one are tentatively acceptable 852; view of, that the five matters 'sarga' etc., were the only elements of ancient Pūrāṇas not acceptable 852.

Kleen, Miss Tyra de, work of, is of fundamental importance 1523n; on Mudrās practised by Baudhā and Śaiva priests, called pedandas, in Bali 1125.

Klesa, technical word in Yoga 1364n; five in Yogasūtra II. 3, 1364n.

Knowledge, spiritual and scholastic, to be kept secret 1460–61 (vide under Upaṇiṣad).

Kolhatkar K. K., a. of 'Pātañjala-Yogadarśana' (in Marathi), 1393, 1399 (criticized).

Koestler, A., a. of 'The Lotus and the Robot' 1394, 1453n (disbelieves levitation); labels Indian Democracy as Bapucracy 1668n.

Kollam (or Paraśurāma) era in Malabar, 656 (deemed to have started in 1176 B. C.).

Koṇāka temple, vide 1653n, for description and works on Kosala, country, situated on Śarayū, with Ayodhyā as capital 531n.

Kothoma 290, 752, 754, (king's duty to perform); one kind of navagrahaśānti in which the oblations, fees and rewards are one hundred times of Lakṣa bhoma, the other procedure being the same 752; continues for a year, acc. to Matsya 753; procedure of, 754; to be begun in Caitra or Kārtika, if no urgency 761.

Krama (order in which the several component parts or acts of a sacrifice are to come one after another) 1313–1317; fifth chap. of P. M. S. deals with this, 1313; for determining the sequence of component parts in a sacrifice six means are specified 1313 14; illustrations (from Veda) about sequence being determined by the six means 1314–1316; illustrations of arthakrama being held stronger than pātha krama in Dharmaśāstra works 1314.

Kramadipikā of Keśava, a Vaiṣṇava Tantra 1051.
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Kramrisch, Dr. Stella, 1653n (translated passages of Viṣṇudharmottara on painting and sculpture); a. of 'Indian sculpture' 1655.

Kratu, meaning of, in Rgveda and Upaniṣads 1546n.

Kratvartha 1232 34; distinction between K. and Puruṣārtha taken over into Dharmaśāstra, examples cited 1234-5; general rule that all añgas (auxiliary rites) are K. and there is a great difference between the results of not doing the two matters properly or omitting them and test for deciding whether some matter is K. or puruṣārtha pointed out, 1234-35.

Kroeber, A. L., a. of 'Style and civilization', disagrees with Spengler and Toyohbe 1617.

Kṛṣṇa (vide under Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamivrata): K. and Arjuna are described as drunk with wine and married their maternal uncle's daughters 1281; identifies himself with Vāsuki and Ananta (a nāga) 127; killed Narakaśura and married 16000 women imprisoned by the latter 197-198; story of suspicion about K. killing Prasenajit for syamantaka jewel 147.

Kṛṣṇa-Dvāpāyana, a perpetual student, raised sons on the widows of his uterine brother Viśitravirya by nītya, 1280.

Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamivrata 128-143; (see under Vāsudeva and Megasthenes); acc. to Jayanti-
nīrṇaya, tithi is principal matter in Janmāṣṭamivrata, while in Jayantivrata nakṣatra Rohini is the principal matter 133; antiquity of Kṛṣṇa or Vāsudeva worship 129-131, 953; Beṣnagar Ins. of Greek Heliodorus refers to Vāsudeva as Devadeva 131; celebrated on the 8th of dark half of Śrāvaṇa and on 8th of Bhādra-pada dark half acc. to some 128-129; conclusions of Tithi-tattva about the exact times of, 134; current in Northern and Central India from about 500 B.C., if not earlier, 131; description of Kṛṣṇa's birth in Bhāgavata is commonplace and vague 131; eighth tithi may be with Rohini or without it and several possible combinations of tithi, nakṣatra, time and week day are set out, 134; exact time and tithi of Janmāṣṭāmi celebration is much discussed in medieval works 134; Ghosundi Inscription of 2nd or 1st century B.C. mentions the worship of Saṅkarṣanā and Vāsudeva 131; is Nītya as well as Kāmya 133; Jain tradition about Kṛṣṇa 129; Jayanti and Janmāṣṭami distinguished, 132; Jayanti fast occurring on Wednesday or Monday yields far greater results than in other cases 135; Kṛṣṇa, a Vedic poet, in Rg. invokes Aśvins 129; Kṛṣṇa Aṅgirasa, author of Rg. VIII. 86-87, 129; Kṛṣṇa is depicted in Mahābhārata as a
composite personality viz. as a prince, friend of the Pândavas, a great warrior, statesman and philosopher and also as Avatâra of Viśnû 129-130; life of, among cowherds in Bhagavata, and Viśnû and other Purâṇas 129; Kṛṣṇa was one of the Viśnîs, stories and dramatic representations about his killing Kaṁsa and imprisoning Bali existed before the Mahâbhâṣya 130; Kṛṣṇa cult, various phases of, acc. to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, 131; Kṛṣṇa's birth on Rohini nakṣatra, of which Prajâpati is the Lord, 131n; account of birth of K. from Bhavisyottara together with astrological aspects 131-132; K. belonged to the Candravâmaṇa and Budha in legend and astrology is son of the Moon and so Monday and Wednesday on 8th of Śrâvaṇa were deemed to yield great results 135n; Mahâbhârata on Kṛṣṇa 129, 953; main items in K. vrata are fast, worship of Kṛṣṇa, jāgara, listening to and repeating hymns and stories of exploits of Kṛṣṇa and pâraṇâ 135; principal items in K. vrata, views differ on, 137-38; most important vrata and utsava celebrated throughout India 128; most sublime praises of Kṛṣṇa in Mahâbhârata by Yudhishtîra, Draupadi and Bhîṣma, 129; nakṣatra of Kṛṣṇa's birth was Abhijit acc. to Harivaṇsa 133; numerous verses on the mabhâtmya of, in Agni, Matâya and Padma Purâṇas 129; names one hundred and eight of Kṛṣṇa set out in Brahmânda 977n; pâraṇâ in K. in some cases may be at night, particularly for Vaiśnavas 139; passed away thirty-six years after Bhârata war, 687n; people called Vâsudevaka and Ârjunaka before Pâñini's times 130; principal time for celebration of K. is midnight of 8th of Śrâvaṇa dark half (of Bhâdra-pada if month is pûrṇimânta), 134; procedure of K. vrata 135-137; procedure in Dharmasindhu employs Puruṣasûkta in K. vrata, while some other works mention no vedic mantra 137; question whether Janmâśṭamîvrata and Jayantîvrata are identical or different vratas is decided differently by different authors 132-133; reference to Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra in Chân. Up. receiving instruction from Ghora-Âṅgirasa 129; special rules about pâraṇâ of Janmâśṭami and Jayanti fast 138-139; the K. festival is not found in Krtyakalpataru on Vrata, but a brief reference is made to it in Naiyatakâlîka section of that work 139-40; usage in some territories like Mahârâṣṭra of 'Gopâla-kâlā', 139; Weber's theory that the ritual of K. festival was transferred to India from outside based on three points, examined and shown to be baseless 140-143.
Krishnamachari, V. T., a. of 'Planning in India' 1683n.

Kṛta, implies the number 'four' in Tai. Br. 701.

Kṛta era, 651–53; generally identified with Mālava-gaṇa era and Vikrama era 651–52; Inscriptions in Kṛta years found so far are nine, 651 and n; interpretation of, 651.

Kṛta-yuga, described in Gupta Inscriptions as a cycle of great virtue 687; Dharma perfect and four-footed in K. and declined by one foot in successive yugas 688n; Manusmṛti (IX. 301) puts for ward the view that the four ages are not watertight specific periods of time, but the king or ruling power can produce the conditions of Kṛta 696.

Kṛttikās: are many, acc. to Śatapatha Br. 507; do not swerve from the east, while other nakṣatras do so 507; referred to as Bahulā by Pāṇini 499, 740n, and a man born on Bahulā may be called Bāhula; said to be seven in Mai. Sam. 507n; seven names of, from Tai. Br. 499; spoken of as wives of the rākṣas 498n; substances, persons and craftsmen governed by K. 560.

Kṛtyakalpataru (1110–30 A.D.), 30, 39–40, 41n, 47n, 55, 70, 101–2, 115n–6n, 119n, 124, 139, 149, 929n, 1381 (quoting Devaladharmasūtra), 1407, 1403n, 1417n–18n, 1431n, 1438n, 1440n, 1444n, 1446n–48n, 1449, 1450n, 1455, 1457n; the editor of Kṛtyaḥ. did not identify many verses quoted in it, e.g. on p. 1448 (eight verses from Śāṅkhasūṭi and six from Daksāṣaṃti ), 1458 (four verses from Śānt’parva ); on Brahmacārikāya 820n, 870–71, 897, 926n, 1262 (on five categories of sūrta contents); on Gṛhasthakāya 925n, 947n; on Mokṣa 1112n, 1217 (quotes Devala on Siddhis); on Niyatakāla or Naiyatakālika 82, 117n, 157n, 184n, 214n–216n, 219, 244, 247–49n, 897, 1246n, 1270n; on Rājadharmā 737n, 754, 793n, 897; on Śāntis 734–35, 752 3 (quotes Matsya ); 754, 788n, 798n; on Śrāddha 527, 897; on Vrata 185, 211 (whole of Chap. 98 of Matsya q. on pp. 432–435), 868n, 890n, 897, 1096n, 1105 (mālaman'ra of the Sun), 1106 (Mahāśvetā mantra); on Vyavahāra 1287.

Kṛtyaratnakāra 30, 32n, 37–40, 42n, 57, 59, 71n, 79n, 81n, 82, 89n, 92, 93n, 101–2, 110n, 111–2, 114, 116n, 125, 140, 152n, 154n, 156–7n, 174n, 177n, 180n, 184n, 193, 203n, 207n, 213n–216n, 221n, 222n, 241, 246n–249n, 481, 660, 662, 871n, 923n, 926n, 961, 1243; begins with Vāra-vratas 57.

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Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga, mentions five points of difference between M. and Hinayāna 942n; took over the doctrine of bhakti 970.

Mahēśvara Tantra 1051 (names of Vaiṣṇava tantras), 1144.

Mahidhara, commentator of Vāj. S. 1037.

Mahiṣāsura, killed by Durgā, 155n, 184-85, 1047.

Mahmud of Gazni; plundered Kathiwar and Gujarat several times and desecrated temples 1018.

Mahodayaparva 262.

Maitīhuna, a makāra, in Tāntrik worship referred to as pañca-matāstva (fifth substance) 1081; esoteric meaning of 1082.

Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā 727n, 750, 1220n (barhir-devasadanam
Māksa, meaning of, 738n.

Makarasanaṅkṛanti (vide Saṅkṛanti): 211-225; bath with ordinary water (not heated) obligatory on, 212; falls at present on 14th January in the Hindu almanacs based on Sanskrit works while the correct date is 21st December preceding 222, 712; fast for three days or one day in honour of M. 220; gifts are made even now on M. mostly by women 222; great merit results from bath in Ganges on, 212; Hemādri states that the proper day of M. was in his day 12 days before the popular day of M. and gifts (religious) should be made 12 days before the latter, 712n; it now falls in Pauṣa but the day changes in terms of the Gregorian calendar 211, 712; it was an important religious festival, but now more a social observance than religious 211, 221; meaning of the word 211; origin of the festival on M. 223; procedure observed on, 211-212; prognostications drawn from the supposed directions of the deified M. coming, going etc., 225; puṇyakāla (holy time) on day of M. 212; sesame to be employed on M in water for bath, and should be eaten and are very much in evidence even now 219, 221; twelve rāṣis and their western names 211 and n (and all twelve saṅkṛants are holy); was supposed (as a divinity) to

Maitreyi, wife of Yājñavalkya in Br. Up. 1405.

Maitreyī Upaniṣad: has a long disquisition on time 465-66, 1063n (on Suṣumnā Nāli), 1507n.

Majjhimaniṇī (ed. by Trenkner) 1007n, 1022, 1411n.

Majumdar, Prof. B. C. 843, 883 (origin and character of Puṇa Literature), 1046n (two hymns to Durgā in Mahābhārata are interpolations).

Majumdar, R. C. 978n, 1014n (of ‘History of Bengal’), 1048n (on ‘Inscriptions from Kampṭa’), a. of ‘Ancient Indian Colonies’, 1618n.

Majumdar, Surendranath a. of a paper on ‘Bibliography of Ancient Geography of India’ 1528n.

Makāras, five, of Tāntrik cult explained in esoteric senses and also unobjectionable substitutes allowed for the Paśu (lowest kind of Śakta worshipper) 1081 and n; substitutes for makāras 1081n; many tantra works like Kulārṇava, Pāramāndavātra employ the words madya, matsya and māma in the ordinary sense 1086.
ride some vehicle and an Upāvāhana (ancillary vehicle), to wear a garment of some colour, to carry a weapon, to apply a tilaka of some substance 224–225; was supposed to be either young, middle-aged or old, to have certain postures (sitting, standing etc.), to come from one direction, to go to another and cast a glance at a third 225.

Malamāsa, (intercalary month) 671; acts and rites not to be performed in 673; acts to be done only in M. 674; kāmya rite not to be performed in, unless it is begun before M. starts 673; obligatory acts and acts prescribed on definite occasions are to be performed even in M. such as daily sandhyā 673; rites that could be done in M. as well as in Śuddha month 674; Śāśāda in M. 674–75.

Malamāsatattva 58, 490n, 492, 498–9, 500, 507n, 592n, 664, 671n, 672–73n, 674, 761n, 835n, 1240, 1266n.

Mālatimādhava, 1047n; mentions human sacrifices in temple of Cāndikā or Cāmuniḍā 186, 1048.

Malavagāna years, inscriptions dated in, 652 and n.

Mālavikāgnimitra, 531n, 1028 (Puṣyamitra)

Malignant spirit, known to Rgveda 60n

Malimula—same as Malamāsa 671–672; explained and derived 671–72.

Mālinivijayavārtika (a work of Kashmir Tantrism) of Abhinavagupta 1050.

Mallinātha, 1426n, 1531 (his motto 'nāmūlam likhyate kūncit').

Mānasa (flesh), esoteric meaning of, in Tantra 1082; etymology of, in Manu and Viṣṇu Dh. S, 1533.

Man, psychical powers of, are vast and unknown 1091–92; man acc. to Christian doctrine is conceived and born in sin, while acc. to Vedānta, human soul is divine 1506n; length of life of, 100 years, acc. to Rz., Vāj. S., Atharvaveda, 1545.

Manasāpūja, in Bengal and South India 125; procedure of 125; Saṅkalpa in 125n.

Manasāvṛtta on Jyeṣṭha bright half, 10th tithi, 126.

Mānasollāsa of Cālukya king Somesvara (1126–1138 A. D.) 805 (has verses on 'sakunās'); 809 (on upāśruti), 810n. 1654 (on Vāstuśāstra and paintings) and n.

Mānavagṛhya-sūtra, 729n–30n, 738n, 748.

Maṇḍalas: an item in Tantrik worship which is also a feature of orthodox Hindu practices in medieval and modern times 1131–34; M. and Cakra said to be synonymous by Jānānānavatana 1133; Buddhist tantras like Maṇjuśrīmālakalpa describe M. 1133; drawn with powders of five colours, acc. to Matsyapurāṇa and also figures
of a lotus with 8 or 12 petals drawn with saffron, or red sandalwood paste or in various colours 1132; eight maṇḍalas, Sarvatobhadra and others, referred to in Agnipurāṇa 1132; four characteristic items in Maṇḍala rites specified, 1133; in Puṣyasnāna a Maṇḍala with different coloured powders was to be drawn 1132; meaning of the word in Tai. S., Śat. Br. and Br. Up. is ‘circular form’ and ‘orb of the Sun,’ and later any figure or diagram (generally circular) drawn on an altar 1131–32; means ‘circle’ in Śulba sūtras and reference to the squaring of a circle (Maṇḍala) 1132; references in several purāṇas to invocation of the Sun on the figure of a lotus and also of Nārāyaṇa, and to images or paintings of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa and to Maṇḍalas called Sarvatobhadra etc. 1132; several Maṇḍalas—de-cr. bed in Jñānānanda, Śāradātilaka and other tantras 1132; several M. drawn in Rgveda—brahma-karma—samuccaya (Nirm. ed.) 1134; Smṛtikaustubha mentions several names of M. 1134; twenty-six M. described in 26 chapters of Niśpanna yogāvali 1133.

Maṇḍanamiśra (between about 680–720 A.D.); explains a verse of Tantravārtika. acc. to Śāstradipikā but there is no evidence that he wrote a com. on Tantravārtika 1191 and n;
is later than Kumārila and flourished about 680–710 A. D. 1191, 1193–94; his Bhāvanāviveka quotes Tantravārtika 1191 n; works of, on P. M. are Vidhi viveka, Bhāvanāviveka (commented upon by Uṃbeka), Vibhramaviveka and Mīmāṃsānukramaṇī 1191; no evidence that he was a disciple of Kumārila but in Bhāvanāviveka and Vidhi viveka he quotes verses from Tantravārtika and Ślokavārtika and also a passage from Praṇhākara’s Bihati 1193, 1198.

Mandlik, a. of ‘Hindu Law’: wrong statement by, about Vedic passages that have a word like ‘hi’ showing reason 1239 n.

Māṇḍhātā, king was ordered by Indra to see that Yavanas, Cinas, Śabaras, Śakas obeyed parents, performed rites laid down by Veda, made gifts to brāhmaṇas 54.

Māṇḍavya, writer on Astrology, predecessor of Varahamihira 592.

Māṇḍūkyopanisad 465, 14 3n.

Māṅgala: auspicious sounds to be heard and objects to be seen when starting on an expedition 621; what are M. things 366, 621.

Māṅgala, tradition about beginning of any work with M. laid down by Manu 1207.

Māṅgalāśataka, eight substances to be distributed to women when invited in a ceremony or vrata like Saubhāgyasundari 367.
Manilius, not followed by Bīhajjātaka as to Dṛṣkaṇas 582n.

Maniṣtha; two Greeks of that name, one a contemporary of Berossus and the other an author of an astrological poem, 592n.

Maniṣtha, probably an Indian, a. of work on Āyurvedāya 592; refers to Horāśatra of Parasara 592n.

Manjūśī-mūlakalpa 1040 (has late elements), 1140.

Mankad, Prof. D. K., 686-7 (on ten meanings of the word ‘Yuga’); on Manvantara and 40 years being the unit for a king's reign 696, 844n, 845; on ‘Yugapurāṇa’ 826-27; theories of about Śūgas and Sāmaveda singing being of Chinese origin, criticized 844n.

Mansur, king (754-775 A. D.) in whose reign an Indian astronomer visited his court 699n.

Mantra (or Mantras, acc. to context); (vide under 'Aurobindo, Brāhmaṇa texts, Kapaly Sastri, Nigada, Śara-dātilaka Tantra, Veda, Vedic Interpretation'): are employed in sacrifices for bringing to mind the act that is being done 1097, 1220, 1244; are the 3rd out of the five classes of Vedic texts 1244; biṣa m. like hrim, śrīm, are said to make visible the form of the devatā in Tāntrik worship 1099; Buddhist Tantras (some) state that certain m. can confer even Buddhahood 1104; called 'Abhaya' 769n; difficult to define what a Vedic Mantra is and hence it is held that those Vedic verses or passages are m. that are recognized as such by the learned, 1096, 1098, 1220, 1223; difference between M. and prayer, 1100; difference between Vedic M. and Tāntrik M. 1107; differing interpretations of Rg. IV. 58. 3 (catvāri śrīgā etc.) by Nirukta and others, 985; examples of short mantras of 5, 6, 8, 12, 13 syllables from Śuṅgis and Purāṇas as efficacious for securing all objects, 1096 and n.; for killing an enemy in Agni-purāṇa, 1102; four classes of Vedic M. viz ṛk, yajus, śāman and nīgada 1097, 1221; great controversies about meaning and purpose of Vedic M. illustrated, 984-3; great importance attached to recitation of M. and many educated men even of these days believe in their great efficacy 172; has three senses, acc to Aḥirbudhyāsamhitā, sthāla, sīkṣma and highest, 1115; have no efficacy if learnt from books but are efficacious when learnt from a qualified guru 1100, 1112; have to be repeated thousands of times to secure full results, 1103-4; M. in all tantras are m. of the great Devi 1102; Kutsa's view that M. have no sense or serve no purpose refuted in the Nirukta, 1097; list of hymns and verses of Rgveda that are co-logical, philosophical, or speculative
most famous Buddhist M. ‘Om Mani’padme hum’ discussed and results supposed to be derived from it, 1104n, 1454; most sacred Vedic M. is Gāyatrī (Rg. III. 62. 10) called Vedamātā in Atharvaveda 1097; no difference of meaning in the words used in Veda and the same words in ordinary life acc. to Jaimini and Śabara, 1097; numberless mantras in Tantra 1102; M. of Rāma worship 87n; Paurānik Mantras like ‘dātā-o no’ and ‘yāntu devaganāḥ’ came to be used even in Śrāddha by Yāj. and others, probably to meet Buddha’s appeal to masses 1024; peculiar pattern of M. prescribed for worship of a deity 788n; Rgveda I. 164. 39 is explained in four ways and Rg. I 164. 54 in six ways by Sāyaṇa 984–5; repetition of Vedic and Tāntrik M. is called ‘puraścarana’ 1107; ‘sac-cidekam brahma’ is the best of mantras acc. to Mahānirvāṇatantra and perfection in it leads to mokṣa 1112; several Vedic mantras with two meanings are cited in the Nirukta 984; some Vedic M. are hortatory 1214; some Buddhist M. embody Mahāyāna doctrines with the addition of syllables like om, phat, svāhā 1105; synonyms of the word Mantra are stoma, brahma, gir, dhiti, mati, maniṣa, vacus, vacasya and are used hundreds of times in the Veda and in several places a Vedic prayer is said to be new 983; Tāntrik M. are treated like Vedic M. with sage, metre, deity and śīnīyoga, 1103; Tāra or Tāraka M. is om 1115; theory about sounds of M. being Śakti, 1100; three classes of Tāntrik M., masculine, feminine, neuter, 1101n, 1103; two theories about M. 1155; varieties of M called astra, hṛdaya, kavaca, netra, rakṣā are mentioned in Tāntrik texts 1102; verses of Rgveda show that a host of mantras already existed and were inspired by the Lord of Prayers 981–983; Vedic M. were relegated to a secondary role by the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā system 1244; Vedic M. were supposed even in Rg. to have great potency, that they induced God to come to the sacrifice and to bestow on sacrificer and worshipper valiant sons, wealth and protection 1098; word ‘Mantra’ derived and explained 1102; word Mantra occurs about 25 times in the Rgveda and ‘Mantrakr̥t’ only once 980; word Mantra is not described as new in the Rg while the words ‘Sukirti’ and ‘Śūkta’ that occur only four or five times are spoken of as new or fresh 983.

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Mantramahodadhi 1062n, 1110, 1113, 1136. 
Mantranyāsa: illustrated by Bha-gavata, Brahma and Nārādiya-purāṇas as to mantras like ‘om namo Nārāyaṇāya’ 1120.
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Manvādi-tithis: on which each Manvantara was supposed to start 371
Manvantara (vide 'Yuga'): each M. had a separate set of sages, gods, kings, smṛtis 691; extent of 688, 690n, 697; fourteen M. constitute Kalpa 689; Prof. Mankad's novel theory about M. 696; said to be numberless by Manusmṛti 688; sense of, 690n; some purāṇas say that in each M. Manu and seven sages are devoted to Dharma and promulgate Vedas by orders of Brahmā 692; some writers like Dr. Daftari hold that in ancient India existed a public Institution called Manu and Saptarṣis 693.
Marduk, Babylonian God 546.
Mārgapāli, on Balipuratipāda, described 205–6.
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varjya 1255–67; auspicious ages for the marriage of maidens and of bridegrooms 611; auspicious times, months and nakṣatras for, 535–36, 609–10; auspicious nakṣatras for M., different views on, 610–11; calculation on tallying the horoscopes of both bride and bridegroom in regard to eight matters, called 'gṛha-tā-guṇa-viśeṣā' or 'vadhū-vāra-melaka-viśeṣā' 614; Caṇṭrabala and Tārābala in M 615; comparative astrological strength of titbi, week-day, nakṣatra, Sun, Moon in m. 616; great importance of Jupiter in M. 615; importance of gana and nāḍī among brāhmaṇas even now, 614; intricate astrological rules for, 609–616; Jupiter, auspicious and inauspicious positions of, in m 612; Moon, importance of the auspicious position of, in m. 615; not disapproved in Śiṅghastha Guru when performed north of the Ganges and South of the Godāvari 613; proper lagna rāśis at time of m. 612; Rāja-ṃartanda devotes 150 verses to astrological requirements of m. 610; Rgveda X. 85 is marriage hymn, 497n; rule of 'gudhāḷi' or gorajas mūhāṛta in m. 613; rules about Śiṅghastha Guru observed even now 613; rules about the same-ness of rāśi or nakṣatra of bride and bridegroom in m. 614–615; Saiva marriage acc. to Māhānirvāṇatantra in which no question of caste arises 1060; Śanti for inauspiciousness of Jupiter 612; tithis proper and inauspicious for m. 611; usages of countries to be followed about month proper for m. 610; Venus, position of, in m. 612; week days proper for m. 611; when a maiden is very grown-up, no waiting for an auspicious time but one should consider only the lagna and the moon's position at m. 611; Yama and Yami dialogue (Rg. X. 10) wrongly considered by some Western scholars as referring to marriage of brother and sister 209; ban against inter-caste marriages removed by legislation 1636n.; futile legislation as to dowry in m. 1676. Mars, statements about position of, in Mahābhārata are irreconcilable 532.

Marshall, Sir John, editor of three volumes on Sanchi 1553 n; a of 'Taxila' (three vol.), and Guide to Taxila 1656

Martin E. W. editor of 'In Search of Faith', a symposium by several writers 1487n, 1550n.

Marx: meaning of 'I am not a marxist' 1695.

Maskarina, means (a wandering ascetic), acc. to Pāpini and Mahābhāṣya 1388n.

Māṭharavṛtti, as. on Śāṅkhya-kārikā not later than 450 A. D., 1354; furnishes names of Śāṅkhya teachers between Pañcaśikha and Īvārakrṣṇa.
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1355; on the name Saṃśita-tantra 1373n.
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Mātrās ( Mother Goddesses ) 1046 (in Gupta Inscriptions); generally said to be eight, but 16, 32, 64 are also mentioned, 169 and n; referred to in Kumārasambhava and Brhat-samhītā 186, 1046.
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Mauryas, being greedy of gold, manufactured images of gods for sale 36.

Mausalaparva 147, 743, 775 (dreams), 969n (on Ābhīrās).

Maxims (some Nyāyas), generally of Mīmāṃsā—vide pp 1339–1351) ; about uninda (condemnation) being meant to prescribe the opposite of what is condemned 96, 1243; Anyāyaśānekāthatvam, explained 1292, 1339; Aruṇādhi- karaṇa or Arūpānyāya 1294–5, 1340; ‘deśe satyaadēṣṭakalpana anyāya— if a seen result or purpose can be found for an act, it is improper to assign an unseen reward for it, 1190n, 1260 and n, 1344; grahamkavanyāya, explained 1285–86, 1313; hetuvaṇ-nigadādhikaraṇa, 1239n, 1351; Holakādhihikaraṇa 237–238, 1281–82, 1351; Kapiṇjalanyāya, explained 1288–1289, 1311; ‘Nāsti vacanasyāti- bhāraḥ,’ there is nothing too heavy (impossible to prescribe) for a sacred text’ 512, 1245; Nisādasthapati-nyāya 1295–96, 1345; prādhānyena vyapa- deśa bhavanti 491; rātri-satra- nyāya 1257, 1349; Rathakārādhikaraṇa 1290–91, 1349; Sāmarthyādhihikaraṇa 1291, 1350; Sańyoga-prthakvā, explained and applied 86, 96, 228, 1350; Sarvaśākhāpratya-nyāya 640, 1273 (explained) or sākhāntarādhikaraṇanyāya 1349–50; Sthālipulākanyāya 1255n, 1351; Udbhid-nyāya 1245, 1341; yāvad-vacanam vacanikam 1177, 1348.

Max–Müller, his date (hypothetical) for the Vedic period, 497, 513, 882; his date for Amara- kośa 840n; remarks against his dating for Veda 508; a. of ‘Six Systems of Indian Philosophy’ 1200, 1491; wrong translation by, 1579n, 1583n.

Maxwell on Interpretation of Statutes, 1284–86.

Maya, astrological writer m. by Varāhamihira 512.

Maya, king of Yavanas, to whom Jyotiṣa was imparted by the Sun–god 592.

Māya 1509; Bādarāyaṇa (V. S. II. 29) and Saṅkara are agreed that the ordinary physical world is different from dreams; Saṅkara employs the word Māya to express the idea of mystery as to how the finite arises from the Infinite 1510; proper language for most men is not to speak about the world as Māya (illusion) 1509; Upaniṣad passages like Katha II. 4. 2, Praśna I. 16, Chan. VIII. 3.1–2 and Br Up. I. 3. 28 may suggest the doctrine of M., 1509; word M.
used in V. S. III. 2. 3 has been differently interpreted by ācāryas 1509; word occurs in Rg. in connection with Indra about his Śakti or Śaktis 1013.

Mayamata 1654.

Māyāmohā or Mahāmohā, produced from Viṣṇu’s body, who deluded the Asuras and raised atheistic objections against offering animals in sacrifices, about feeding brāhmaṇas in śrāddha, acc. to Viṣṇu and Padma Purāṇas 974–75.

Mayūkhamālikā, com. on Śāstra- dipikā 1236n, 1294n.

Mayūracitraka, astrological work attributed to Garga by Utpala 591.

McTaggart, a. of ‘Some Dogmas of Religion’ 1605.

McCrindle, a. of ‘Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian’ 849.

Measures: of corn, pala, praṣṭi, kuṭāva, prastha, drona, khāri 810n, 1294 (meaning in Śāstra of these words is to be taken, not the one among mlecchas);

Panini mentions āḍhaka and khāri 810n; Śabara mentions kuṭāva, āḍhaka, drona and khāri 810n; of time, different views on 476–477; of weight like pala (320 raktikās), karṣa etc. 789n.

Medhājanana, a mantra 35

Medhājithi, a of bhāṣya on Manusmṛti, 28, 696, 868n, 946n, 1214, 1226n, 1227 (Manu V. 40 is merely an arthavāda), 1229n, 1230 (on Manu III. 45, long note on niyama and pāri- sankhyā), 1241n, 1252, 1258n (quotes his own work Smṛti- viveka), 1273n, 1286, 1312n–3n, 1321, 1376n, 1469n.

Medicine, founder of, is Kṛṣṇat- reya acc. to Saṁtiparvan and not Caraka nor Patañjali 1396; muhūrta for beginning to take m. 626; views differ as to first propounder of medical science 1396.

Megasthenes, account of number of kings and the total of their reigns given by, 849; reference by, to Heracles, Source- noii, Methora 953.

Meghadūta 668, 1563n, 1571.

Mehta, Ashoka, a. of ‘Democratic Socialism’ 1681.

Meissner, a. of ‘Babylonien and Assyrien’, 570n, 595 (Zodiacal signs), 596.

Men. Br. Up. (V. 2. 3) inculcates on all m. the virtues of self- restraint, charity and compassion 1627.

Menander, Greek king of 2nd century B. C., 669.

Menon, V. P., a of ‘Transfer of power in India’ 1464n, 1662; a. of ‘Story of the Integration of States’ 1663.

Meru, mountain on which the gods reside 824n.

Meru Tantra 1135n–36.

Mesopotamia (vide under ‘Horos- scope’, ‘Zodiac’), influence of, supposed by Prof. Neugebauer on Indian writers about longest and shortest day 542; place value notation in, took 60 as the basic number 518n; put by Prof. Neugebauer and a
few others in place of the Greeks as originators of science etc. 700n.

Meteors, beliefs about e.g. falling on grave occasions and śāntis for such falls, 766–67.

Meteon, Greek engineer; took length of year from Nabu 514n.

Meteonic cycle 616, 662.

Mihrakula, ruthless Hūṇa invader of India 656, 1109.

Miletus, richest city in Greek world in 6th century B.C. 516n.

Mimāṃsā (vide under Pūrvamimāṃsasūtra, change, dharma, maxims, smṛtis, Veda, vākyas, Kumārila, itikartavyata, Šabarā): differences between M. rules of interpretation and interpretation of Statutes pointed out 1283–4; does not lead in many cases to certain conclusions, as M. writers like Šabara, Kumārila and Prabhakara differ among themselves 1371; first rule of M. is that no part of the Veda (not even a word) can be treated as anarthaka 1284; fundamental difference between Veda and Smṛtis pointed out 1272–3; in Yāj. I. 3 M. means probably the work of Jaimini in 12 chapters, 1160; many writers like Mādhavacārīya speak of two mimāṃsās, Pūrva (12 chap of Jaimini) and Uttara (four chapters forming the Vedāntasūtra) 1160; meaning of the word M., long before the Upaniṣads 1154; not concerned with legislation by the king or a sovereign popular assembly, 1283; ‘M. Jurisprudence’ by Shri Nataraja Ayyar 1201; main purpose is to regulate the procedure, the various auxiliary and principal matters in Vedic sacrifices 1283; of Kāśakṛtinesi mentioned by Mahābhāṣya 1157; promises to convey correct knowledge of Dharma and the Veda itself is the means of arriving at that knowledge 1283; purpose of, explained by Tantravārtika 1261; restricted sense of word M. before Yāj. viz ‘investigation into Dharma and arriving at conclusions on doubtful matters’ 1154; result of the importance of vidhis and assignment of a very subordinate role to artha-vādās and mantras 1285; rules and principles of M. in relation to Dharmaśāstra 1283–1338; rules of, apply only to rites and names of tithis like Jayantī, acc. to S. M. and Puruṣārthah-Cintāmani, and hardly had anything to do with people’s practices 133, 1272; rules of interpretation fall into different classes from different stand-points such as general and special, about words and sentences, rules of procedure to be followed when several texts are in conflict, 1285, 1289; rules distinguishing between vidhi, niyama and pariṣanā-khyā are general 1285; rule that Iakṣaṇā (secondary sense) of a word in a sentence is preferable to the fault of vākyas-
bheda 1301, 1303; rule that the singular includes the plural is a general one and so is the rule that a word importing a male includes a female 1285; rule that a doubt about the exact meaning of a part of a passage may be removed by relying on the remaining part of the passage 1240, 1285; rule about understanding words in the Veda and in Jai, in the same sense as in popular usage as far as possible 1289; rule that words are to be taken in the primary and not in a secondary sense 1289-90; rule that the same word must not be used in two senses in the same sentence, 1292-93; rule that where words like yava, varaha, and vetasa have two meanings the meaning that the Veda, Sästra or usage of siṣṭas attributes to them must be followed 1293-94; rule that words of foreign origin like pika, nema, tāmaraśa and sata that are in vogue in Sanskrit are to be understood in the sense they bear in the foreign language 1294; rules about interpretation of sentences 1297-1306; though M. rules have been of considerable help to Dharmāstra writers, it should not be supposed that the application of M. rules is easy or always enables scholars to arrive at certain and definite conclusions 1334-36; was very critical about smṛtis and usages 1272; word M. has great antiquity 1152-53.

Mimāṃsābālapraķāsa of Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa (between 1550-1620 A. D.) 1195, 1221, 1225n, 1240n-11, 1252.

Mimāṃsakas: (vide under Colebrooke): are strongly opposed to holding that any part of the Veda is useless or meaningless or non-eternal 1255; Colebrooke said that disquisitions on Mimāṃsā bear a certain resemblance to judicial questions, that the logic of the Mimāṃsā is the logic of the law 1220; made a sweeping generalization that the whole Veda is meant for sacrifices but, though they went too far, they had some grounds for their theory, 991; the word 'Mimāṃsaka' occurs in Mahābhāṣya 1156.

Mimāṃsākastubha of Khaṇḍadeva, denies that Subhadra was the daughter of Vasudeva (though the Ādiparva expressly states that she was so) 1281n.

Mimāṃsā-Koṣa of svāmi Kevalānanda-sarasvatī in eight volumes (five already published), an encyclopedic work, 1290.

Mimāṃsānīyaprakāśa of Āpadeva (between 1610-1680 A. D.) 1199, 1226n, 1228n, 1235n (on bhāvanā), 1237n, 1245n-47n, 1250 (enumerates eight faults of Vīkalpa), 1254n (on Sannipatypakāraka and āṟādupakāraka), 1295n, 1315n-16n.

Mimāṃsā-paribhāṣa of Kṛṣṇa-
yajvan 1237n, 1241, 1254n.

Mimāṃsāsāstra—sangraha of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa (summarises in 250 verses 1000 adhikaraṇas of P. M. S.), 1189n.

Mimāṃsāsāstra: declared to have had 20 chapters by Ramānuja and Prapaṃcārya and in Inscription of Rājarāja 1159–60; Kṛtakotibhāṣya of, by Baudhāyana 1159; com. of Upavarṣa 1159; com. of Devasvāmin and Bhavadvāsa 1159–60; twenty chapters of, are constituted acc. to some as the twelve chapters ascribed to Jaimini, plus four of Śaṅkarākāra and four of Vedāntaśāstra 1160.

Minakshi, Dr., a. of ‘Administration and social life under Pallavas’ 1012n.

Minarāja, a. of Vṛddhayavana-jātaka, which see ) 564.

Mind: pure m. superior to all auspicious or inauspicious times, 627.

Miraṣhi, Prof. V. V. 945n, 1629n.

Mishra, Dr. Umesha, a. of ‘Critical Bibliography of Mimāṃsā’ and editor of the Vijnānādiṣṭhikā of Padmapāda 1157n, 1599.

Miśra-dhānya, explained 732n.

Mitākṣarā of Vijnāneśvara: 29, 102n, 246, 538n, 749n, 750n, 753, 757, 864–5, 896–7, 1063n (on Nāḍis ), 1181n, 1184n, 1192 (refers to views of Guru on Lipsāśūtra ), 1233, 1234 (on Yāj. I. 53 about marriages that are void ), 1248 (Yāj. I. 129–166 contains many paryudāsas ), 1251 (allows option following Jābālopaniṣad about time of becoming a Sannyasin ), 1252 and n, 1264, 1269, 1270 (discards Vedic usages if hateful to people ), 1273n–74, 1288, 1292, 1302–3 (on Brhaspati about re-union ), 1305, 1308–9, 1315–16n (prefers mother to the father as heir ), 1317, 1336 (ūḍa ), 1328–29, 1336 (differences on vital doctrines of Hindu Law between Mit. and Dāyabhāga ), 1421, 1438, 1468, 1597, 1637, Mitannī (vide under Bogożewi, Babylon, Hittite): names of kings and nobles from M., Nuzi and Syrian documents betray Indo-European origin, 599.

Mitra, Dr. R. C., a. of ‘Decline of Buddhism in India’ 1003, 1010n, 1011.

Mitra, Dr. Rajendralal, translated into English Yogasūtra 1394.

Mitramiśra, a. of Viramitrodaya (beginning of 17th century A. D.) 835n.

Mlecchas, had authority to perform vratas according to some 51.

Modern Review, journal 1033, 1653n (on Koṇārka temple ).

Modi, Prof. P. M., on ‘problem of tāduktam sūtras’ 1176n.

Mohaparājaya, a drama by Yaśahpāla, composed between 1072–1075 A. D., introduces Kaula practices 1076.

Mokṣa (vide under Mukti, puruṣārtha, Sannyāsin, Upaniṣad ) 1215–17, 1511–14; acc,
to Kumārila and Prakaraṇapaṇḍikā. M. consists in not having to assume a body again, the idea being that the aspirant should not do forbidden acts or those that are Kānya, he should perform obligatory and naimittaka rites for avoiding the taint or sin that would accrue by non-performance 1216; Devala-dharmasūtra provides that bondage is due to ahaṅkāra and mamata and liberation consists in being free from these 1158; doctrine of Bhagavad-gitā and some purāṇas that actions done after surrendering the fruits to God do not bind a man but lead to M. 967; is in a way opposed to first three goals, which become the preparation for it 1511; is secured by real knowledge and not by merely giving up wealth 1369; Kumārila asserts that the Upaniṣad exhortations to know the Ātman are merely arthavādas 1216; Manusmṛti on niḥśreyyasa (i.e. Mokṣa) being due to ātmavidyā 1459; Manu condemns thinking about Mokṣa before discharging one's debts (duties) 1511; merely possessing signs of asceticism, viz. ochre-coloured clothes, shaving head etc. do not lead to M. 1369; P. M. S., Śabara and Prabhākara do not deal with topic of M. 1215; some Smṛtis like the Brhad-Yogiyājñavalkya provide that the mere knowledge of the Self is a sign of indolence and that both knowledge and actions are necessary for Mokṣa 1216–17; four stages of, in Viṣṇupurāṇa 959n; Upaniṣads emphasize that mere knowledge of brahman does not at once lead to Mokṣa, but there are three stages, knowledge, cultivation of restraint of senses, quiescence of mind, meditation and then only realization of non-difference of himself from brahma follows 1511–1513; was not possible for all and sundry, but only for a select few 1511; 1631 (it is like a razor's edge), words u., mukti, kaivalya, niḥśreyyasa, apavarga, amṛta, nirvāṇa held to be synonyms by Amarakośa and discussion about the occurrence of these in Upaniṣads, Gitā and other works 1414–15, 1652; conceptions about mokṣa differ in different āstānas and even in vedānta, 1631.

Monks: Buddhist M. were not to possess property, yet they had a craving for wealth and supposed that by means of certain mantras Kubera (lord of wealth) would confer on them everlasting riches 1115; Buddhist M. believed that by mantras they would make some of the Hindu Gods their servants, they would be surrounded by heavenly damsels and they would acquire proficiency in śāstras without study etc. 1116.

Montagu's characterization of Indian Govt. and about British
policy 1660–61.

Month (or months acc. to context): (vide Intercalary M., kṣaya M., Malāmaśa); Caitra, Vaiśākha and other M. came to be identified with ancient Madhu, Madhava etc. 668; Cāndra M., 657; ended with Full Moon in ancient times 659, 668, 669, four kinds of, 657, 666; Greek names of months used in a few inscriptions in India 663; intercalary month 646; M. in which the year began in ancient and medieval times was different at different times and in different parts 82, 658; naksatras m. not required in Dharmaśāstra but in Jyotisā 666; names of twelve M. are very ancient 667–668; names of M. derived from Nakṣatras occur in Brāhmaṇa literature 667; names of, in South India 671; M. of different lengths for different purposes in Arthaśāstra 490, 658; of two kinds pūrṇimānta or amānta 68; one human M. held to be equal to ahorātra of pîtrs 666n; Pāṇini and Vārtika-kāra appear to speak about a month ending on Full Moon 68, 667; subject of, most complicated 662; śudha, nīja or prākṛta M. as opposed to adhikamāsa 664; word for M. is mās or māsa 495.

Monuments, of India; the most remarkable ancient monuments are the stūpas of Sanchi, the paintings in Ajanta and Bagh caves, the Kailas temple at Ellora and Koṇārka in Orissa 1652–53.

Moon, though it presents the same face to the earth has other side also, acc. to Nyāyamaṇjūri 470; called mās in Rg., 495; legend of his marrying 27 daughters (naksatras) of Prajāpati, his fondness for Rohini and therefore suffering from Rājāyaksman 507; reference to M. as becoming free from the mouth of Rāhu in Chān. Up. 569; waxing M. held auspicious by Greeks and Indians 532n; when powerful astrologically 587–588.

Mores, Mr. Frank, a. of biograpgy of Pandit Nehru, 1172n.

Moral code, highest importance attached to a brief moral code (of abhīṣṭa, satya etc.) by all Dharmaśāstra works that enjoined men of all varṇas and castes to observe them 1637.

Moret, Alexander, on ‘Nile and Egyptian civilization’ 566n.

Morgan, E. P. edited ‘This I believe’ (1953), 1470n, 1710n.

Morgan, Prof. K. W., a. of ‘The path of the Buddha’ 942n, 1003.

Morley, Lord, views of, on introducing democracy in India 1660.

Morning, the first fifth part of a day, equal to about three ghāṭikās 81.

Moslem kings, examples of the intolerance of, (like Emperors Jehangir and Aurangzeb) 1019.
Motor accidents, incidence of, in Bombay city 1678n.
Mouni Sadhu, a. of ‘Concentration’ 1394.
Mountains (vide Himavat); Rgveda mentions mountains in the plural (of ‘parvata’) 1527; seven M. of Bharatavarśa called Kulaparvatas acc. to Viṣṇu, Brahma, Brahmanda 430, 1525 and n; myth of wings of M. cut off by Indra 763-764.
Mrchakatika, 46, 186.
Mrgāra Anuvāka 786.
Mṛtyuñjaya, mantra is ‘Tryambaka Mantra’ (Rg VII. 59.12), 792, 814; also called Mṛtyuṣajivani, prescribed for purifying the mind 1100.
Mṛtyusukta 758n.
Mṛtyuyogā (Inauspicious conjunction) defined 707.
Mudrā, 1123-1131; a characteristic item in Tantrik worship 1123; derivation of the word M. differs in different works 1123-24; has several meanings in Tantrasāstra, 1057, 1081, 1123; means the Śakti (woman) associated with a sādhaka in Śakti worship 1084, 1123; means also a posture in Yogic practices in which the whole body plays a part and the symbolic or mystic intertwining of fingers and hands as part of worship 1124.
Mudrās: (vide under Jains, purāṇas, Viṣṇudharmottara, Yoga); great divergence among Tantras, Purāṇas and Yoga works on the number, names and definitions of M. 1125-1131; appropriate mudrās (finger and hand poses) are to be employed in worship, in japa, in meditation and in all rites performed for securing some desired object 1124; fine eulogy of, in Viṣṇudharmottara 1129; eight M. in the worship of Viṣṇu mentioned by Brahma and Nārādiya purāṇas, 1127n; M. in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras were probably based on those in Nātya 1129; largest number of M. in dancing are contained in in Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, 1128-29; Mudrās and Nyāsa held to be non-vedic by later works like Dharmasindhu in Mahārāṣṭra at least 1131; Mudranighaṇṭu: names and defines nine Mudrās (āvāhant and others) that may be employed in the worship of any god, then enumerates 19 M. appropriate to Viṣṇu worship, ten appropriate to Śiva worship, seven to Gaṇeśa worship, one to the Sun (called Padma) and Mudrās of Śakti, Agni, Tripūrā and other deities, 1125 and n; Śāradātilaka names and defines only nine Mudrās, while Viṣṇu Sāṁhitā states that Mudrās are numberless but names and defines about thirty and Jayākhyasāṁhitā has about 58 Mudrās 1125-27; some Dharmasāstra works from 13th century onwards dilate at some length on Mudrās, such as Hemādri, Śūnicandrīkā 1130-31; Some Purāṇas like Brahma, Nārādiya,
Kālikā, Viṣṇu-dharmottara, describe many mudrās 1127-28; Tāntrika works provide that Mudrās should be practised secretly under cover of a garment and not in presence of many people 1125-26; Yoga works describe various Mudrās, e.g. Hathayogaprādipikā describes ten, Gherāṇāsahāhitā 25, Śivasahāhitā ten as the best 1127.

Mudrālakṣaṇa, a work on Mudrās appropriate to Viṣṇu and other gods 1125n, 1128.

Mudrānīghañtu (glossary of Mudrā names) 1124-25, 1129n, (vide under Lalītopākhyāna) 1129n.

Mudrāvidhi, a Jain work, lists 114 Mudrās.

Mudrāvicāra, a Jain work, lists 73 Mudrās.

Muhūrtā: (vide under Upanayana, marriage, week day): 537 ff; called Brāhma 538, 539; called Jaya 539; called Kutapa 540; called Maitra 539; called Yeṣṭīha in Kauśitaki Up. 538; concurrence of four elements, viz. tithi, nakṣatra, Karanā and M. required for success in a rite or act 604, 616; Coronation of the king, m. for 616; derivation of the word 537n; difference in the length of a M. of day and of night according to the seasons 538, 541; equal to two naḍīs or ghaṭis 684; fifteen M. in the day and also in the night in the Sat. Br. and other ancient works 537-8, 684; for religious rites 604ff; for secular matters such as purchase of merchandise, animals, for oil bath 626; known by the names of the deities presiding over M. 540; Literature on, is extensive 556-558; loud declaration by brāhmaṇas enough in case of urgency 604; meanings of 537, 543; meaning ‘time fit for performance of auspicious acts’ 543; names of, set out in Bṛhad yogāyātrā (not in Bṛhat-sahāhitā) 540; names of fifteen m. by day and of night acc. to Vāyupurāṇa 540; names of m. differed in the Brāhmaṇas and Smṛtis 538; names of m. acc. to Ātharvaṇa jyotiṣa and Muhūrtadarśaṇa 539; names of the deities, presiding over the 30 m. of day and night 541; new garments, M. for wearing for first time 626; no need to consider auspiciousness of days, of Jupiter and Venus in times of distress 604; M. (word) occurs twice in Rgveda 537; the Muhūrtamuktaivali provides for an auspicious time for thefting 558; performance of auspicious rite in the month of Yeṣṭīha for the eldest boy or girl not allowed 607; position of Jupiter to be considered for, 608; Purity of mind superior to all m. acc. to Matsya, Varāhamihira, Ratnamālā 627; rules (general) about auspicious conditions for all undertakings 605; seven auspicious M. out of 15 M. of the day 539;
simple rule in Āśv. gr. for M. in Upanayana, caula, marriage 536, 609–10; stages in the naming of muhūrtas, three, 540; understanding of M. in the sense of auspicious time requires some knowledge of planets, nakṣatras, rāśis, bhāvas (places in horoscope), 543ff; what should be done on the 15 m. of the day acc. to Atharvāṇajyotiṣa 541.


Muhūrtadāsana, also called Vidyāmādhaviya, 539, 556, 623, 666n. 705.

Muhūrtadipaka of Nāgadera, 557.

Muhūrta-gaṇapati of Gaṇapati Raval 556.

Muhūrtakalpadruma of Viṭṭhala (times and places for dikṣā) 556, 1117.

Muhūrtamālā by Raghubhātha 557, 701n (list of words that stand for numerals from one to 47).

Muhūrtamārtanda of Nārāyaṇa 557, 614, 616, 622, 666n; subjects dealt with in 557–8. 626.

Muhūrtamuktāvali 557.

Muhūrtatattvā of Gaṇeṣa, 556.

Mukerji, D. N. 651n (on kṛta years in Inscriptions).

Mukerji R. C. a. of ‘Ancient Indian fasts and feasts’ 60, 128, 149, 173, 205, 235.

Mukti (vide under Mokṣa); Kulārṇava-tantra states that M. does not result from study of Śāstras or Veda, but only from correct knowledge imparted by a guru and that two words viz. ‘this is mine’ and ‘nothing is mine’ respectively lead to bondage or liberation and then imports Kaula doctrines 1083; four kinds of, named and explained 1631n.

Muktā Upaniṣad 1564.

Mūlā, Nakṣatra called Viśravau, in Tai. S. 500.

Mūlakarma, meaning of 1079–80.

Mūṇḍaka Upaniṣad: 475 (names six āṅgas of Veda), 917 (on parā and aparā vidyā), 921 (passages of, borrowed in Purāṇas), 948, 952, 1055n, 1056 (q. by Tantra works), 1360, 1387–89, 1416, 1430, 1448 (on dhyāna), 1471 1507, 1512, 1538 (verse ‘dvā suparṇā’ which occurs also in Rg. I. 164.20 and Śv. Up. IV. 6 ) 1546n, 1552n, 1563, 1566, 1585n, 1604, 1607; 1625 (illustration of rivers flowing into the ocean).

Muni: (in the Rgveda) Munis called Ṛṣitarasana were said to have been befriended by Indra 1386.

Munitz, Milton K., a of ‘Theories of the Universe’ (omits Indian material) 1486n.

Munshi, K. M., Jubilee volume presented to, 782n.

Murārimśra, founder of a third school of Māmānśa (between 1150–1220 A. D.), 1199.
Murzban M. M., a. of 'Parsis in India' 264.

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O Leary, De Lacy, author of 'Arabic thought and its place in world History' 483n.
Olmstead 646.
Om, a sacred syllable, the symbol of brahma and may be called a bīja in Tantra language, 1097; importance of Om borrowed from Upaniṣads by Yogasūtra 1417; is called Praṇava 1097n; is called Tāra in Tantra works, 1099n; eulogy of om in Yogasūtra, 1413 and n; identified with brahmān in Tai. Up. 1416.
Oman B. C., a. of 'The Mystics, ascetics and saints of India' 1427.
Oppenheim A. Leo, a. of 'Inter-pretation of dreams in ancient Near East' 810n.
Oppert, G. editor of 'Śukranitī-sāra' 1036.
Orion, work of Lokamāṇya Tilak, 498-9n, 510.
Option—see Vīkalpa.
Orissa Historical Research Journal 174n.
Osborne, Arthur, work of, on 'Raman Maharshi' 1479n.
Owl, hooting of, 729.
Padapāṭha of the Rgveda 22n, 861 (ascribed to Śākalya).
Padārthanirūpaṇa, a work of Raghunātha 470.
Padārthānusamsāya method 1317, 1345; is reverse of Kāṇḍānausamsāya and is set out in P. M. S. V. 2, 1-3.
Padmapāda, a. of Vijñāna-dīpikā 1574n.
Padmapurāṇa 32, 37, 40, 42-45, 56-7, 97-8, 103, 108n, 112n, 125, 135, 147, 195, 196n-97, 201n, 202, 204n-67n, 210, 225, 227, 561n, 672, 751, 770n, 779n, 805, 811 (on Upaśrutī-like divination), 817n, 824n, 841 (chapters identical with those of Matsya), 856-57n, 862-63n, 876n, 915-16, 922-25, 930-32, 934-5, 945-6, 948, 960, 964, 966n, 968, 971-72, 974n, 976 (condemns Advaita and Mīmāṃsā), 1024, 1121 (on nyāsa), 1136, 1207 and 1209 (avers that Mīmāṃsā), is nirīśvara, 1213 (description of heaven), 1333, 1385,
1470n, 1528, 1570n, 1576 (on doctrine of Karma); note on, 893; thousands of verses common to Matsya and Padma, the latter being the borrower 893; two recensions of 893.
Paińga-rahasya Brahmāna 1360 (q. by Śaṅkarācārya).
Paińga, 66
Paintings: famous ancient paintings in India are those at Ajanta and in Bagh caves 1654–55; works on Ajanta p. by Dr. Yazdani, Mukula-chandra Dey and Balasaheb Pant, chief of Aundh State 1654–55
Paitāmaha-siddhānta (astro-nomical work); (vide Paitāmaha-siddhānta below); probably composed about 80 A. D. 488, 517; states that Yuga was constituted of five years and employed Śaka 2 for its epoch, 488 and n.
Paińhinasi, a smṛti 54, 72n, 785n.
Pākayajñas (vide under ‘Yajña’): 1233n.
Pakistan, came into existence in 1947 and there is now hardly any Hindu or Sikh to be found in West P. 1464n.
Pakṣa (fortnight); rites for gods and for prosperity to be performed in bright p. and for pītras and magic in dark p. 385; word p. occurs in Tai. Br. and Upaniṣads 670.
Pakṣati, meaning of 671.
Pala, a measure of corn equal to 16th of prastha, 810n
Palāś (lit. eater of pala i. e. flesh) esoteric meaning of, 1084n.
Pallavaś (twigs with leaves) also called Pańcabhaṅga: five auspicious p. are those of mango, aśvattha, vaṭa, plakṣa, and udumbara 336, 339, 759.
Palli (house lizard); (vide under ‘Vasantarāja–śakuna’): fall of p. on right side of a male and left side of a woman is auspicious 792; Śānti on fall or contact of p. on a limb, or on p. creeping up a person’s limb 792.
Palmistry: certain lines on the hand of a woman were deemed to indicate death of the husband even in the times of Pāṇini and the Kāśikā 525.
Pānconjanāh, meaning of 126.
Pańcamakāraśodhanavidhi (a Śākta work) 1053n, 1087n (describes the sanctification of maṇḍras with Vedic mantras).
Pańcāṅga (calendar); (see week day, Yoga): five important parts in P. are tithi, weekday, nakṣatra, Yoga and Karana 666; fourth aṅga of p. is Yoga 704; generally prepared for each year 666; must be prepared for every town or place more than 15 or 20 miles away from Bombay or Madras or Calcutta where p. are at present prepared, if accuracy as to tithi, nakṣatra is required 713; numerous p. in use now in India 641; necessity of p. for all Hindus, 650; samples
of pages from a Pañcāṅga of śaka 1878 (1956 A. D.) and from another 223 years earlier facing pp. 666-667; varieties of, in South India, such as Vākyā and Siddhāntacakrā 642.

Pañcāgnividāya: (described in Br. Up. VI. 2. 2ff and Čāṇ. V. 3. 2ff): is an upāsanā 1548-58, 1562-3; is concerned with only one aspect of transmigration viz. the path of those who practise a life of sacrifices, works of public utility and alms-giving and follow Pitṛ-yāna path 1584.

Pañcālapādikā (of Padmapāda): (severely criticizes the view that the Viṣayavākyā of P. M. Śūtra I. 1. 1 is ‘aṣṭavarsam... tam-adhyāpayita): 1182n, 1190.

Pañcaraṭnas (five jewels) are gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl acc. to one view or are gold, silver, pearl, coral and rājāvarta acc. to another view 219, 337.

Pañcaratras (five jewels); Bāṇa mentions Bhāgavatas and Pañcaratras separately in Harṣacarita 955n; doctrine is only one of several bhakti schools 962; Dronāparva puts forward four forms (mūrtis) of Supreme Person different from those in Śantiparva 956; general view of most medieval writers on Dharmāstra was that Pañcaratras and Paṇḍupata śāstras are authoritative only so far as they are not opposed to the Veda 962; identified with Sāttvata in Śantiparva 953, 955n; is called ‘Ekāntadharma’ 953, 1390n; is called Śāttvata-tantra 1032n; is said to be one of five lores, its promulgator being Bhagavat Vāsudeva himself 954; Nārada’s name is concerned with Pañcaratras in Śantiparva 956; peculiar doctrine of P. is that of nyūkhas (forms) of the Supreme Person called Vāsudeva, Saṅkaraṇa, Praṇyumna and Aniruddha, each of the latter springing from the preceding, 953; P. doctrine refuted in Vedāntasūtra II. 2. 42-45 acc. to Śaṅkara-cārya 953, 955, what is refuted being the doctrine of Saṅkaraṇa springing from Vāsudeva and so on 955; P. Saṁhitās m. by Rāmānuja in bhāṣya on V. S. are Paṇḍkara, Sāttvata and Parama 957n; Śantiparva speaks of one, two, three or four nyūkas 962; Saṅdilya was supposed in Saṅkara-cārya's times to have promulgated the Bhāgavata or Pañcaratras Śāstra 955; several guesses about why the system is so called 954n; several Pañcaratras-saṁhitās published so far are later than the Cītā 956; twenty five works on P. mentioned by Agnīpurāṇa and Maheśvaratantra 956-57; Vyūhas, doctrine of, 953, 962; worship of Vāsudeva is older than Paṇini 962.

Pañcaśikha, 1373-74; composed
Saṣṭitāntara 1356n; date of, not later than first century B.C. 1356; and Janaka, king of Mithila, his pupil, acc. to Mahābhārata 1365–1371; described as the foremost pupil of Āsuri and known as Kāpileya in the Mahābhārata, 1365–71; described in some chapters of Śāntiparva as an advaitin granting some doctrines of later Sāńkhyā for explaining creation etc. 1367; dialogue between P. and Janaka about rising superior to old age and death 1338; expounded to Janaka, Sāńkhyā, Yoga and Rajaniti, called threefold mokṣa 1358–1369; gotra of, was Pārāśārya and he was a bhikṣu 1368; identity of P. and Vārṣagāpya extremely doubtful, 1374–75; literal meaning of the name 1369n; passages ascribed to P. are brought together by Hall and Garbe 1371n; P. of the Mahābhārata is not identical with the Pañcasāhika of Saṣṭitāntara and his views are different from the Sāńkhyā, 1370–71; differs from official Sāńkhyā 1370–71; quotations attributed to P. are mostly in prose 1373n; views described as Sāńkhyā in some chapters of Śāntiparva bring the peculiar Sāńkhyā doctrines in line with the idea of Vāsu-deva or highest Self 1371.

Pañcasrotas, a holy place 1365.

Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varaha-mihira 213n, 479 (was a karaṇa), 511n, 514n–5, 519n, 644 (tr. by Thibaut and Dwi-vedi), 653n–4, 663n, 676, 680, 702n, 703n.

Panchayats, village, starting of; dangers in the present stage 1677.

Pāṇḍavas, though five, had the same wife Draupadi 1286.

Pandit M. P., a. of ‘Lights on Tantra’ 1150; criticized 1150.

Panikkar, Sardar K. M. a. of ‘India and China’ 1040.

Pañini, 5, 10, 27, 36, 67, 68n, 130, 150n, 185n, 203, 467, 487n, 492n, 499, 500, 510, 516n, 525, 541–42, 561n, 592n, 667, 670–1, 684, 703n, 708, 720n, 738n, 740n, 742n, 820, 850, 926n, 962–3n, 1032, 1128 (knew Natasūtras of Śīlālin and Kṛśāva), 1153 (explains ‘Mimāṁsate’), 1157–58, 1167 (mentions Kāśyapa to show respect), 1168–1169, 1198n (charge that Pāṇini violates his own rules), 1203 (distinguishes between the author of a work and expositor or transmitter of it), 1307n, 1310n, 1361n, 1368n, 1378, 1388n, 1389, 1397 (does not observe his own rules), 1439n, 1488n, 1524n, 1546n, 1582n; called Śālāturiya by Bhāmaha and other medieval writers 542; date of, 1169; hailed from Northwest India 542; in P.’s times there were mendicant ascetics (bhikṣus) who studied the Bhikṣusūtra of Pārāśārya and that of Karmandma and were called ‘Pārāśarino bhikṣavaḥ’ 1168–69,
1368n; names of countries and places expressly mentioned by P. 1528n; papers on geographical details in, 1527n; teaches formation of words like Takṣaśīla 542; was acquainted with the whole of India from the extreme northwest of India to Kāliṅga (Orissa), Aśmaka (country near Ajantā and Paithān) and modern Kutch 1528n, 1614 (Sindhu as the name of a country), 1633 (word jāti occurs), 1638 (on Brāhmaṇaka), 1646, 1651 (names at least ten predecessors and shows that before him there was considerable secular literature).

Pāṇiniya śikṣā 1096n.

Parakṛtī or Parakriyā, meaning of, 1223n.

Paramārtha, translated Sānikhyakārikā into Chinese, 1353, 1382n.

Paramarṣi, defined in Vāyu and Brāhmaṇa Purāṇas) 1390.

Paramasūhītā, 954n.

Pāraṇa (vide Udyāpana); in some cases performed by merely sipping water 121n; derivation of, 120n; last rite in a vrata is P. 120; should be done on 12th tithi in Ekādaśi vrata, but not on 13th, 120; word P. occurs in Śakuntala and Raghuvamśa 120.

Pārānandāsūtra (a Tantrik work): 1051n (states that it contains the cream of Veda viz. Kauladharma), 1053-56 (philosophy and brief contents of), 1073n (mentions names of teachers ending in 'Ānanda', speaks of three māryaṣ (paths) viz. Dākṣīṇa, Vāma, Uttara, 1054-56; speaks of jivanmukti and quotes Upaniṣads 1055; 1084n (well known verse 'pitrā pitvā' etc. esoterically explained), 1086.

Parāśara, astronomer and astrologer 531, 537n, 593, 613, 637n (m. by Br. S. on Grahyayuddha), 745, 765.

Parāśara-Mādhaviya, com. on Parāśarasūtra; 42n, 868n, 1166 (in some passages Bādarāyaṇa and in some others Vyāsa is said to be the a. of V. S.), 1182n, 1227-28, 1288n (on Kapiṇjālanīyāya), 1306n, 1311, 1312n, 1314, 1323, 1333 (on avestyadhikaraṇa).

Parāśara-sūtri, 52, 147n, 218, 897 (m. by Bhaviṣyapuruṣa), 1266 and n, 1306n (bath, sandhya etc. are different acts), 1314, 1322; was to prevail in Kaliyuga, but it allows a brahmaṇa to eat food at the house of certain śudras, permits remarriage of widows in certain circumstances, 1266, 1608.

Pārāśarya, a. of Bhikṣusūtra, acc. to Pāṇini, 1368n.

Pāraśānas, in Vāyupuruṣa stand for Parsus i. e. ancient Persians that appear to be m. by Pāṇini 550n, 851.

Paraskara-gṛhya-sūtra 27, 126, 524, 535, 622, 710n.

Parāśurāma, exploits of, described in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 80n, 90n; horoscope of, furnished by Nīrṇayasinghā exa-
mined 628–629; loss of power of, when he met Rāma 89n; made Western sea recede 89n; resided on Mahendra mountain 89n.

Parāśurāma Jayanti 89–90; on 3rd of Vaisākha bright half 89; temples of Parāśurāma 90; time of celebration 89–90.

Parāśurāma—Kalpaśūtra 1043, 1054 (on tantra and about secrecy), 1063 (on 36 tattvas), 1074n (provides that after dikṣā guru to give a name to disciple ending in ānanda-nātha), 1077, 1081n, 1101; commentary of Rāmeśvara on 1077, 1084.

Parāśurāmaprataśa 106n; mentions 36 items in Jāgara 106n.

Pargiter, F. E. (vide under Parīkhṣit): 688, 851, 862n (translation of a passage of Kāutilya criticized); a. of 'Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age', 842n, 843, 914; attaches no importance to what Brahmānda, Matsya and Vāyu state that they mention the principal kings of three lines, 846; constructs history from earliest times to Bāhratā war, which he holds to have taken place about 950 B. C.; brushes aside the duration between Parīkhṣit and Nandās, 845; criticism of the methods and views of Pargiter 845–852; holds that there were two traditions, one Brahmanic and the other Kṣatriya represented in the Purāṇas, 845; holds dozens of times that brāhmaṇas had no historic sense, 845, 856; holds that extant Purāṇas are Sanskritizations of Prākrit works 845; is wrong in identifying the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa m. by Āpastamba with extant Bhaviṣya-purāṇa 851; Kirfel disagrees with Pargiter about two separate traditions (brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya) and about Purāṇas being Sanskritizations of Prākrit works 849; P. and Kirfel take no proper notice of what Megasthenes says about a list of 153 kings covering a period of 6451 years, 849; theory of P., about brāhmaṇas having deliberately suppressed all information about him who compiled and arranged the Veda, criticized 858–861; thinks that Hinduism secured its revival and the downfall of Buddhism largely through the Purāṇika literature 914n; view of P. blaming brāhmaṇas for absence of reference in P. to Guptas and their successors, criticized 856–57.

Paribhāṣāprakāśa (part of Viramitrodaya of Mitramitra) 835n, 921n, 923n, 954n. 955, 1262.

Pārijāta, an early medieval work 962.

Pariplava (narration of, in Rājaśāya) derivation of the word in Śāṅ. Śrauta-sūtra 816n; Hotr priest recited Itihāsa and Purāṇa separately on two days 816, 866–67.

Pariṣad: how to constitute a p.
Index

for deciding difficult matters of dharma 1158.
Parissākhya, defined and illustrated 1229; it is liable to three faults, acc. to Śabara 1230; the word does not occur in Mahābhāṣya, though employed by Jaimini 1156–57, 1230.

Parsis; vide ‘Parsis in India’ by M. M. Marzban 264.

Pārthasārathimśra, a. of four works on P. M. Śāstra, Nyāyaratnakara, Tantraratna, Śāstradipikā, Nyāya-ratna-mālā, 1188–89, 1199, 1317n; flourished between 900–1100 A. D., 1199.

Parvan Days: Homas for worship of the sun and for Śantis to be performed on, 757; what are P. 221.

Paryudāsa (proviso or exception), explained and exemplified from Vedic and Dharmasāstra works (as on pp. 1248–1250 and Yaj. I. 129–165).

Pāḍā, 12th tithi is so called 341.

Pāṇḍava Śastras, doctrines of, written in books of palm leaves in Bāṇa’s days, 1047; various kinds of, m. in Padma, Kūrma and Devibhāgavata and condemned, 974n, 977–8.

Pāṇḍavā-sūtra of Nakuliśa (i.e. Lakuḷiśa), 978n.

Pāṭalas (nether regions), generally understood as seven, but the names somewhat differ in Purāṇas 1528.

Pāṭaliputra, also called Puṣpadura, founded by Udāyi, son of Śiṣunāga 827.

Patañjali: (vide under Mahā-bhāṣya): 67, 68n, 130, 467 (quotes verse that occurs in Mahābhārata), 541 2, 720n; a. of Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 963; deemed by medieval writers to be an avatāra of Śeṣa and to have composed works on Grammar, medicine and Yoga 1396; points of difference between P. and modern psychologists like Freud 1414–15; question of identity of the author of Yogasūtra and of Mahābhāṣya discussed by several authors 1397–99.

Paths (Mārgas); (vide under ‘bhakti’, jñāna, Karma); bhakti and Jñāna described and distinguished 964–65, 1369, 1648.

Paths, called Devayāna and Pitr yāna, 1548 and n; 1551, 1557 (vide Br. Up. VI. 2 and under Devayāna).

Patil, Dr. D. R.; paper on “Gupta Inscriptions and Purānic tradition” 884, 883; a. of ‘Cultural History from Vāyu puraṇa’ 907.

Pātimokkha: containing 227 articles was to be read twice a month in an assembly of at least four Buddhist monks and confession of breaches had to be made to them 1026.

Pātra brāhmaṇa, defined 937–38.

Paulus Alexandrinus 515n.

Pauliṣasiddhānta (see under Lātadeva); not later than 400 A. D. according to Thibaut 514n; one of the five ancient astronomical siddhāntas 514n;
quoted by Utpala 477; said to be accurate by Varāha 514n; P. restricted itself mostly to astronomical matters 517n, 593; Thibaut admits that it cannot be proved that P. is related to the work of Greek astrologer Paulus 517; Weber held that it was borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus (4th A. D.)

Paulkasa, equated with Cāṇḍāla in Br. Up. 1633.

Pauruṣaṇaśi, 348; derivation of 667; two kinds of, Anumati and Rākā, both m. in Tai. S. and Śat. Br. 62–3; word P. occurs frequently in Atharva-veda 65.

Paṇḍitika rites, what are 349; distinguished from Śāntika rites 349.

Pāvamāna hymn 759.

Pavitrāṇi (holy texts), by repeating which a man expiates sins, cited by Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu 1416n.

Pavitrāropana (offering the sacred Upavita to Gods); 111, 339–40.

Payne E. A., a. of ‘the Śaktas’, 1038–9, 1048n, 1092.

People: millions on millions of common p. are influenced to keep to the path of virtue and right by the fear of God, of public opinion, fear of punishment by the State and by the prickings of their conscience 1474; Vanaparva holds that what the majority of people practise is the dharma in the midst of conflicting āstras, smṛtis and learned men 1469; three classes of people viz. those who believe and worship a personal god with ritual and sacrifices, those who pray, seek God and come to realize that God is both immanent and transcendant, those few people, the great Masters and sages who lose the sense of ego and are ripe for entering into union with the One 1508–9; p. in several lands had conceit that they were far superior to others and had a mission to propagate like the British imperialists 1619.

Perry W. J., a. of ‘Children of the Sun’, holds that archaic civilization of India and China did not first develop there but in Egypt, 482n.

Persecution in India (vide under Buddhism, Galileo, Inquisition, Tolerance, Toleration Act, heretics); sporadic cases of religious P. exemplified 1011n; followers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam did not hesitate for centuries to inculcate their doctrines by terrible persecutions and bloody wars and this spirit shocks people brought up in Hinduism or Buddhism 1474; harsh laws were in force in England a little over a hundred years ago against Roman Catholics and non-conformists 1476n.

Persians, practice of marrying mother among ancient, 554.

Person, characteristics of, born when the Moon is in the rāsis
from Aries onwards 569.
Persons, eight mythological long-lived persons, images of, to be worshipped on Yamadvityā 203.
Pessimism: no real pessimism in principal Dharmaśāstra works 1630.
Philologists: some p. deriving word 'sinivālī' by the combination of 'sin' (moon), a Babylonian word, and Dravidian 'vel' (white light), criticized 64.
Philosophy, most men want to rely on something deemed higher than themselves such as Revelation and God, 1472; one of the oldest problems of P. is, Faith and Reason and there has been a constant struggle between these two, 1472; Time is first among the great problems of P. 463; central point of much of Indian P. is contained in Chān. Up. VI. 1, 1651-52.
Philostratus (1st quarter of 3rd century A. D.), a. of 'Life of Apollonius of Tyana,' 600, 681.
Pillai, Swamikannu, a. of 'Indian Ephemeris' 505n, 628 (discusses Rama's horoscope), 646n, 648 (on eras), 708.
Piplasodhana: meaning is Bhūtasuddhi in Tantra works 1095n.
Piṅgala, a. of Vedāṅga on V. verses; mentions Śūnya for zero and is m. by Śākara 700-701; probably his work is the same as Chandoviciī in m. by Āp. Dh. S. 701.

Pitāmaha 69n, 78n, 1323 (on balance ordeal).
Pitāmaha-siddhānta (on astronomy) 654, 663; q. by Utpala 477, 488; one of the five siddhāntas and said to be far from accurate, 514n; 592 (regarded Tuesday as inauspicious).
Ptṛs, path to the world of, described in Yāj., Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Matsya and other Purāṇas 826.
Ptīryāṇa path (vide under Devayāna and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 2), 1548n.

Plan, Third five year, and its objectives 1683-84; total investment programme of, comes to 10400 crores of rupees, nearly half of which is to be raised by additional taxation, external assistance and deficit financing 1689-90.

Planets (vide 'Astrology', 'Astronomy', Babylonian, graha-yuddha, Moon, Nava-graha-sāuti, Śānti, Saturn, Sun): ancient Vedic literature says hardly anything about astrological significance of P. 569; are concerned with or govern specially certain matters 590; are either friends or enemies of each other, but not indifferent, acc. to Yavanas 586; arrangement or order of P. in Yāj., and Purāṇas 678-79; arrangement of P. different in different countries and times 571n; as rulers of eight directions 574; bala (strength) of P. four kinds of 587; classification of P. as beneficent or malefic 635-36; classification

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of P. as masculine, feminine and neuter 575, 633–36; cult of P. not current in Vedic times 294; dasas and antardasas of, 590–591; differentiated as satvika, rajas and tamasa 574; different kinds of gifts for unfavourable P., 755; doctrine of dṛṣṭi of, 589, 637; evil influences of, removed by śāntis 608; identified with Babylonian gods 522: importance of Venus and Jupiter in settling marriage 610, 612; Jupiter, known to Rgveda 294, 569; Kautilya on astrological significance of, 569–570; Mahābhārata knew influence of, on nakṣatras, but not on rāsis 569; methods of nullifying evil influence of 608; natural powerfulness of, 577; nine P., names of, with synonyms 570; nine conditions of P. 588; no convincing explanation as to why certain rāsis are svagṛha or ucca of P. 636; purpose of the classification of P. as to colour or as lords of directions 574; Sanskrit synonyms of, contain some Greek words 571n, 572; stories of ancient kings and heroes that suffered from unfavourable aspects of P. 755; supposed gotras and country of origin of, 753; tables showing rāsis as svagṛha (house) and ucca (exaltation) of, showing parts of human body, jewels and metals governed by several P., showing some characteristics of P. such as colour, whether beneficent or malefic etc. 573–576; three kinds of conjunctions of, 583n; three P. added in modern times, 571; Venus probably referred to as Vena in Rg. 569; view that Hindu arrangement of P. is of Greek origin criticized, 571n; wearing certain precious stones and metals deemed to reduce evil influence of, 608; word P. derived from a Greek word 570.

Plans, five year 1679n.

Plato, beliefs of, that the earth was a cube, in punarjanma, that arts and sciences declined from perfection 512, 688n, 1530; held in his Timaeus that dreams are prophetic 781; in his exubernet imagination constructed the physical world on the pattern of geometrical figures familiar to him 1502n; on Being and Becoming 1505; philosophy and cosmology of, were looked upon as acme of wisdom up to 19th century, but modern scientists (says sarton) regard Plato's theories as monuments of unwisdom 1502n.

Pliny 566.

Politics (Kājaniti), four upāyas in, 617; six aṅgas of, 117.

Pollard, Robert S. W.; a. of ‘Conscience and Liberty’ 1476n.

Pollution by touch or by shadow, idea of, must be given up 1709.

Poona Orientalist, a journal, 520n, 647n, 686, 842n, 1145.

Pongal (Tamil word), festival
corresponding to Makara-sākṛānti of Northern and Western India 222,

Population, huge in India, most of which is on the margin of subsistence level, 1687;

Government of India and the planners have no well thought out plan for control of p. and very little is being done to control systematically the terri-
fic growth of p. 1687.

Portent: (vide under Utpāta); of images of gods, described as dancing, laughing, trembling and weeping in the Mahā-
hārata, Purāṇas, Br. S., 769–770; on birth of two or more children at the same delivery to a woman or monstrosities or strange births to cows, mares etc. 773–774.

Poussin, Prof. Valleè, 1039.

Prabhākara: (vide under Kumā-
rilā); called ‘Our Guru’ by Śālikanātha, 1189–90; a. of com. called Brhati on P. M. Śūtra 1189; flourished between 675–725 A. D., 1198; inscrip-
tions and other evidence estab-
lish that P. held an eminent position in Karnātaka and Maratha countries in 11th century A. D. 1192; held the view that no word was signi-
ficant in isolation but became significant when joined with a word or words in a sentence 1296; Jaiminiya–nyāya–māṇ-
vistāra cites 15 points of difference between P. and Kumārila 1189; later than Kumārila, though no substa-
ntial evidence (except tradi-
tion) for holding that P. was a pupil of Kumārila 1192;
quotes Kīrtarjūnīya 1195.

Prabhākara School, 1179n;
works of 1189.

Prabodhacandrodaya, a drama, mentions several writers and works on PMS including Mahodadhi and Māhāvrati, 1189–90.

Pracetas 77n.

Practiices (vide under ‘chand-
ges’); even Vedic p. have been discarded from time to time by the weight of the opinion of the masses 1267–9, 1470; when popular p. and opinions should be followed 1470.

Pradhan, Prof. S. N., a. of ‘Chronology of Ancient India’, regards Paurānik accounts as practically worthless 847.

Pradhāna actions, as contrasted with guṇa–bhūta, explained, 1237.

Pradāsa, period of three or six ghatikās after sunset 102, 188n, 230.

Prahlāda, attained highest bliss through the grace of God 961: great devotee of Viṣṇu and grandfather of Bali, 202.

Prajāpati and his incest 235, 498n, 507, 1280; desiring to propagate, practised tapas and created the three worlds 1498; identified with Saṁvatsara 65; jumped into the sky as a deer pursued by Rudra 498n; myth in Ait. Br. as to how P. came to be called Ka 1497–98;
Myth about creation of Agni by P. and appeasing Agni with Śāmi plant in Tai. Br. 725; Nakṣatras as daughters of P. married to king Soma 507; rarely mentioned in the Rg. becomes the most prominent god in the Brāhmaṇa texts 1497; some nakṣatras described as parts of the body of P. 561.

Prajāpativrata, 24, 95–96, 1234; observances by a sacrificer while the sacrifice lasts such as 'he should not see the rising or setting sun' are declared to be puruṣārtha 1234.

Prajñopāyaviniśayásiddhi of Anāgavajra (about 705 A.D.) 1050, 1064; says that a yogin who desires union with mother, sister, daughter would obtain siddhi quickly, 1065n–67 meaning of Prajñā and Upāya, 1071, 1123.

Prakaraṇa-pañcikā of Śālikanātha; 1202n, 1205 (on word and sense), 1214n (on svarga), 1216n (on mokṣa); it is a work of the Prabhakara school 1189; admits that adhyāpana-vidhi put forward by Prabhakara is only inferred from Manu 1190n; quotes several verses from Slokavārtikā 1191; states that there is no proof that a yāga (sacrifice) is the means of pleasing the deity 1209.

Pralaya (dissolution of the world); (vide 'Cosmogony' and 'Cosmology'); of four kinds, according to Purāṇas, 693–94, 1503; prākṛti pr.

based on Śāṅkhyā, 604–695; recurrent absorptions of all beings and elements at the advent of Brahmā's night and reappearing at day 695, 1503; terrible and harrowing descriptions of naimittika pralaya from Kūrmapurāṇa and Vana-purāṇa, 694; works like Harivamśa and Purāṇas say that at the end of Kalpa the sage Mārkandeya alone remains, lies in the side of Viṣṇu and comes out of Viṣṇu's mouth 695.

Pramāṇas (means of knowledge) (vide cognition): are six acc. to Kumārila, while Prabhakara rejects the 6th i.e. abhāva 1185, 1212.

Pramāṇavārtikā, bhāṣya on, by Prajañākaragupta (700 A.D.) 472.

Prāṇa: Atharva-veda on Prāṇa as Prajāpati 1495; controversy about meaning (in ancient times) of prāṇa and apāna 1434; five āhūtis in agnihotra to prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna and udāna in Upaniṣads, 1433; P. in Upaniṣads becomes the vital force of all beings, the representative of brahman 1433; P. means thoracic breath and apāna means abdominal breath 1434; some difference in the operation of the five prāṇas made at least a thousand years before Christ 1433.

Prāṇatoṣṇi, a Tāntrik compilation, 1075n (on qualifications of a female guru and requiring that disciples were to worship
guru and his predecessors).
Praṇava, means om 1416.
Praṇavanyāsa, illustrated, 1120.
Prāṇāyāma (vide under Kumbhaka, mātrā, pūraka, recaka); 1432-44; called sagarbha or sabija and agarbha or abija 1442-43; condemned by Hemacandra 1441; definition of P. in Yogasūtra and bhāṣya shows that main element in P. is Kumbhaka 1137; derivation of the word ‘prāṇa’ 1432; desa, kāla and saṁkhya in relation to P. explained 1437-38; eight kinds of P. named in Hathayogaprāṇī 1443; five prāṇas named in Tai. S. 1433; for ekāgratā P. is the means 1437; germ of the theory of the importance of P. in Br. Up. 433; great eulogy of P. in Manu (as highest tapas) and Smṛtis 1440-41, 1443; japa of om, Gāyatri and Vāyūrtis in P. prescribed by Smṛtis and medieval works, though Y. S. and bhāṣya silent on this 1439; Japa for P. in Sandhyāvandana set out 1442n; Kumbhaka, why so called 1439n; Kumbhaka performed after pūraka, if not learnt under an expert, may cause harm to heart etc., 1441; literally P. means ‘restraint or pause of prāṇa’ 1432; practice of P. leads to dwindling of Kleśas, makes Yogi’s mind fit for dhāraṇā and free from sins, acc. to Manu and others 1220n, 1440-4; Praṇa and Asu in Rgveda mean ‘breath’ 1432; Purāṇas and others added five more prāṇas 1436; recaka, pūraka, kumbhaka (terms) used by Devala Dharmasūtra, but not by Y. S. and its bhāṣya which employ ‘śvāsa’, ‘prāśvāsa’ and ‘gati-viccheda’ 1438-39; Recaka and others illustrated in Kula-vayānanda’s handbook on P. 1442n; simplest mode of practising P described 1440; sūtras on Dharma shows that P. had been regarded as a sort of penance for removing taint attached to sins or misadventures 1136; synonyms of, 1432; three kinds of viz. mild, moderate and keen when pause is kept for 36, 72 and 108 mātrās respectively 1437; three views on duration of pūraka, kumbhaka, recaka 1438; value of P. for physical health and for spiritual purposes 1444; word P. not found in principal Up. but occurs frequently in Dharmasūtras 1436.
Praṇītā water, explained 802.
Prapaṇcahrādaya, 1159n, 1197 (attributes to Bodhāyana a com. called Kṛtkoti on both Mīmāṁsās).
Prapaṇcasāra tantra, 34n, 1070, 1072, 1099-1102, 1105-6, 1112 (enumerates eight siddhis), 1117, 1120, 1133, 1139; ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya and mentions all avatāras except Buddha, 993-96, 1105; doubts about its being Śaṅkarācārya’s work 1105; sets out a mantra for six cruel rites 1105; com. on, ascribed to Padmapāda.
1105.
Prārabdha-Dhvānta-Saṁhṛti, of Ayutārāya Moḍaka (composed in 1819 A. D.), on Prārabdha-karma (past actions that produce the present body); described 1600–1604; main object of the work is to combat the idea that all human acts from conception to death are governed by past deeds alone, 1601.

Prasāṅga, occurs when something done in one place is helpful in another place also, just like a lamp 1333; twelfth chap. of P. M. S. deals with prasāṅga, vikalpa and the like 1333; Prāyasāttaviveka relies on this doctrine 1333–34

Prāśāsana, means ‘Government or domination’ 1583n.

Prāstapatāda, bhāṣyakaṇa of Vaiṣeṣikāṣṭātra, 468n, 469, 472, 476 (units of time from kṣaṇa to pralaya).

Prāśā–upaniṣad, 126, 731, 733n, 918, 948, 1361–2, 1387, 1417 (on om) 1430, 1433–35; 1444–45, 1478, 1502, 1514, 1533 (on Devayāna and Pitṛyāna paths), 1559, 1585n, 1607, 1625.

Prastara, first handful of Darbha grass cut for religious purposes 1241n.

Prasthāna, technical meaning is starting on an auspicious conjunction for journey or invasion but returning to one’s place after going a short distance and actually proceeding after a few days thereafter 620–21.

Pratikūla, meaning of 748n.

Pratinidhi (substitute or representative); first rule that, if a substance prescribed for preparing an offering perishes or is lost in an obligatory rite or a kāmya rite after it is begun, another substance (such as nīvāras for rice grain may be substituted 1319; no p. allowed for a mantra, deity, vedic fire, for kriyās like Prāyājas or for the Yajamāna (except in Sattras) 53, 1320–21; substitute for wife of sacrificer (if she be dead) was image of her made of gold or or kuśas 53; what is expressly forbidden for use in Vedic sacrifices such as māṣas cannot be substitutes for mudga 1320, 1347 (māsamudganyāya); when a vedic text expressly prescribes a substitute for a substance (as Pātikas for Soma plant) only that substance can be substituted and not another more similar, 1319; when a substitute has to be employed, the subsidiary acts of sprinkling with water, pounding etc. are to be performed on the substitute and the appropriate change in wording by adaptation should be made, 1319–20.

Pratipadvrata 82–84; in intercalary month of Caitra beginning of year is on first tithi of that month 83; pratipad of Caitra observed in Deccan with some pomp and religious rites as the beginning of the year 82; pratipad of Caitra is in
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popular belief one of the 3½ auspicious days of the year, 84; rites of the beginning of year in Caitra described in Brahma-purāṇa and other works 82–83; rule is that the tithi to be observed as beginning is the one mixed with amāvāsyā, when it is viddhā 83; views differ as to the pratipad on which religious rites are to be performed when there is an intercalary month 83–84; why called pratipad 83.

Pratipatti or Pratipattikarma (vide Arthakarma): examples are casting into water all utensils and things smeared with soma at the time of the final purification bath, cremating a sacrificer when dead with his yajñapātras, which is P. of the implements 1231–32; means final disposal of some materials employed in a sacrifice 1231; occurs in several sūtras of Jaimini 1231; works on Dharmaśāstras rely on pratipatti, as in case of pinjās to be given to a brāhmaṇa or to be eaten by a cow or goat 1231.

Pratiṣedha (or niṣedha, prohibition); (vide under 'na'; fifth (and last) class of Veda texts 1246; a sentence in which 'na' is employed is either a pratiṣedha or paryudāsa or an arthavāda and these three have to be clearly distinguished 1249; a true prohibition would occur when something is first prescribed and then prohibited, the stock example being that of ṣoḍāśin cup, 1249; distinguished from Paryudāsa, 1247–48; Pāṇini devotes several sūtras to 'na' and expressly states that pratiṣedha is one of the meanings 1246; particle 'na' sometimes changed to 'a' or to 'an' indicates pratiṣedha and other senses also 1245; result or reward of following pratiṣedha is cessation of harm (ānārtha-nivṛtti) 1247; Vidhi and P. are different in their import in five points 1247; where two texts are quite irreconcilable there is option 1249.

Pratiṣṭhā (establishment of an image) 1024; Paurāṇika procedure to be followed in 1024.

Pratyāhāra, 5th āṅga of Yoga 1444–5; derivation of the word 1444n; in Yogasūtra and in Āśvamedhikaparva 1401; means withdrawal of senses from sense objects on account of restraint of mind 1444; several definitions of 1444–5.

Pravāhaṇa Jāvali, a rājanyagya, put five questions to Śvetaketu and then answered them 1548–49.

Pravaramañjari 1174.

Pravarasena, Vākāṭaka emperor, performed four Āśvamedhas, 1028.

Pravṛgya, Śānti in, from Vāj S. and Tai. A. 724, 727.

Prayājas; are five oblations of clarified butter ancillary to Darśa-pūrṇamāsa and are kratvartha while Darśapūrṇamāsa is puruṣārtha 1233n.
Prāyaścittas (vide under explications); different views whether results of wrong acts intentionally done could be removed by, 1588-89; for killing a man who is only a brāhmaṇa by caste 897; were called vratas by Manu and others 27.

Prāyaścitta—mayūkha 52.

Prāyaścittapakarana of Bhavadeva 1212, 1296.

Prāyaścittatattva 158, 1320 (on māsa—mudga—nyāya), 1592n.

Prāyaścitta—viveka, 1233-34, 1542n.

Prāyaścitti (averting evil effects of a mishap to sacrificial milk or materials 727.

Prayogapārījāta 633.

Prayojaka (motivating force) and prayojya: are topics of 4th chap. of P. M. S. along with kratvartha and puruṣārtha 1311; Kratu is the prayojaka of Prayājas that are declared as kratvartha 1311; p. is that for the sake of which a man is led to perform something by a Vedic exhortatory text 1311.

Precession of Equinoxes, suspected by Hemāndri and Aparārka, but they did not know its cause nor the rate of precession 223; practically discovered by Kidinnu, 514n; present rate of, held to be 50.2 vikalās every year 712.

Predictions, were based also on dreams, flight and cries of birds, signs on livers of the sheep killed in sacrifices to gods in Babylon and Rome, 521.


Prijolkar Prof. A. K., a. of ‘The printing Press in India’ 1020n.

Prisoners (see under King) 531.

Proceedings of All India O. Conference 1186n.


Prognostications (see ‘birds,’ ‘cāsa,’ throbbing, horses); were drawn in Vedic times and up to Pāṇini mainly from nakṣatras, days and bodily marks 525; drawn even in Rgveda from cries of certain birds 526; drawn from tusks and movements of elephants 801.

Prohibition of intoxicating drinks in only a few states of India, criticized 1675-76.

Prthvividrodaya 31n, 42n, 47n, 121n, 1289.

Ptolemy (vide under horoscope); author of Syntaxis (or Almagest) and of Tetrabiblos, 471, 551, 568, 573n; difference between P. and Bīhajjātaka on classification, colours and other matters about Rāṣis 568; divided the day into sixty parts in the Almagest and also in hours in his manual tables 682; has no word which corresponds exactly with Kulīra 563; his Almagest was astronomical Bible in Europe for about 1400 years 482, 512; his arguments in favour of Astrology 553-4;
his Tetrabiblos remained supreme for 1400 years and has even now great authority for believers in Astrology 551; held geocentric theory and so had to adopt theory of eccentric orbits and epicycles and yet could predict eclipses correctly, 633-34; is concerned in Tetrabiblos with rāśis (signs of the Zodiac) and rarely, if at all, with nakṣatras 561; in his 'Geography of India' (about 150 A. D.) refers to Ptolemaios, king of Baithan (Paithan) as ruler in his day 842-43; much of Greek literature on astronomy and astrology disappeared owing to works of P. 481, 514: speaks of male and female signs and of sthīra and drīdeha as Bhaja-jatika does 568; several discrepancies in essential matters between Ptolemy's work and Hindu astronomical works 520, 530; two points in which Varāhamihira differs from P. viz. he does not mention the countries governed by rāśis but by nakṣatras and Varāha confines himself to parts of Bhāratavarṣa, while P. deals with all countries then known, 530; wrote about 150 A.D. and based his Almagest on the observations of Hipparchus 514.
Pūjā: derivation of the word 35-37; distinction between homa and p not much 37; upacāras in, had vedic origin 35-36; word P. not borrowed from

Dravidians 37.
Pūjāprakāśa (part of Viramitrodaya) 37, 157, 170, 1095, 1122 (dwells upon several nyāsas); 1124n, 1128n (prescribes that āvāhana in Viṣṇu worship should be made with 'Sahasraśīrṣā', (Rg. X. 90. 1, and 14 mudrās should be shown); 1120-31 (defines in all 32 mudrās).
Pūlāha, quoted as a śṛṃti writer 517n.
Pulastya, quoted as a śṛṃti writer many times by Aparrāka and Śṛṃticandrikā 517n: should be followed, acc. to Mit. as to what should be offered in śrāddha, and not Yāj. 1269.
Pulindas, associated with Āndhras in Asoka's 13th Rock Edict, 850n.
Puliśa: Alberuni says that P. held that the day of Viṣṇu is equal to whole life of Brahmā 691; Thibaut wrong in holding that the name Pulīsa has decidedly a non-Indian appearance 517.
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Punarvasu, nakṣatra, 499, 535 (literally means 'fresh wealth' or 'new growth').

Purākalpa, meaning of 1223.

Purāṇas (vide under Alberuni, Bhāgavata, bhakti, brähmaṇas, Buddha and Buddhism, images, itiḥāsa-purāṇa, mahā-purāṇa, Matsyapurāṇa, Parisitter, Pariplava, pūrta, Saurapurāṇa, Śūdra, Upapurāṇa,
Vāyupurāṇa, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vyāsa): 815-1002; are far more reliable than most of the Upapurāṇas 836-37; are used for divining the future 811; caution required before recognizing P.as reliable representatives for ascertaining the general state of Indian society and beliefs 538; classification of P. as encyclopaedic, historical, sectarian etc. 842; connect different gods with the conferring of health, wealth, knowledge, mukti 119; contain at least 25 thousand verses on Vratas 57; contain verses, gāthās and anvayavāsālokas sung by Paurāṇikas 854; contents of all P. noted by Agni, Matsya, Nārādiya and Skanda 834; contents and characteristic features of P. mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya 824-25; contents of P. in the days of Āp. Dh. S. 818; dates of P. and Upapurāṇas are at most tentative until critical editions are prepared 872; deemed to be composed by Vyāsa, son of Parāśara and Satyavatī at end of Dvāpara age 849; derivation of the word Purāṇa in Nirukta, Vāyu, Padma and Brahmāṇḍa and change in meaning 855-56; devote much space to legends about Paraśu- rāma 90n; Devibhāgavata and Bhāgavata P. say that Mahābhārata and P. were composed by Vyāsa for women and Śūdras 921-22; Dharmasūtra of Āp. twice quotes two verses from a Purāṇa and names a Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa 817; differences as to names of 18 P. and great differences as to their extent and contents 830; divided into three groups, sāttvika, rājas and tāmasa and their main objects 815, 839; do contain ancient legends and traditions, but very much tampered with 838; early Sanskrit writers like Śabara, Bāṇa, Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya and others show that in their times P. existed, the contents of which were just like those of the extant P. 821-26; emphasize that for the proper understanding of the Veda knowledge of Itiḥāsa and P. essential 914; even early Purāṇas like Matsya were influenced by black magic rites 1114; examples of identical chapters and verses in several purāṇas 803, 841, 929, 1522n, 1523n 2479; existence of some P. containing accounts of creation, dissolution and Śmṛti material before 500 B.C. indicated by Āp. Dh. S. 818; explain at great length creation and dissolution of the elements about which Upaniṣads drop brief hints 914; extant P. contain far more topics than the five topics of creation etc. and some P. barely touch the five and exhaustively deal with entirely different topics 841; extent of all P. together said to be originally four lakhs of Ślokas acc. to Matsya and
Padma 829n; extent of P. was acc. to Bhavisya 12000 verses but later Skanda was inflated to one lakh verses and Bhavisya to 50,000 verses, 833; extol vratas, pilgrimages and bhakti as superior to Vedic sacrifices 43–45, 916; extravagant praise of themselves by P. 915–916, 929; extravagant praise in P. of the remembrance of Viṣṇu’s or Hari’s name 971; first Purāṇa is said to be Brāhma in Viṣṇu and Brahma purāṇas, while Devī-bhāgavata says it is Matsya 829n; five characteristics of, acc. to several purāṇas, are sarga (creation), pratisarga (creation after dissolution), Vāmāśa (dynasties of Gods, patriarchs and kings), manvantaras (vast cycles of time), Vāmāśanucharita (deeds and history of descendants of dynasties) 839; from about the 6th or 7th century A. D. the Purāṇas began to incorporate the special ceremonial of Śāktas and a few Purāṇas like Devipurāṇa, Kalīkā, Mārkandeya (Devi-māhātmya) provide for the employment of Makāras in Devi worship 1095; guru’s position in P. 1033n; gradually P. procedure either came to supersede Vedic procedure or got mixed up with the latter in some matters such as Deva-pūjā, consecration of temples and images etc. 922–924; Hazra’s view that the text of the extant P. which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made at different times and by different sects is scarcely reliable and can be used only with great caution is quite correct, 872; Gantama Dh. S. refers to study of P. by learned brahmanas 818; Hindu rites in medieval and modern times were deemed to give rewards promised in Veda, Smṛti and Purāṇas 913; history of Adhīsimakīṣṇa, his contemporaries and their descendants described in a prophetic vein in P. 850; importance of Introductory remarks of Dānasāgara on P., 867–871; influence of P. on Dharmaśāstra digests on succession and inheritance etc. 840; influence of P. on Dharmaśāstra 913–1002; institute comparison between yajñas and pilgrimages 933; introduced striking changes in ideals, religious rites and practices 928–929; Itihāsa-Purāṇa lumped together in Upaniṣads as the 5th Veda 840; Itihāsa distinguished from Purāṇa 840; Kīrfel wrong in holding that the five topics (sarga etc.) alone were the constituent parts of very ancient Purāṇas 841; Kīrfel and Pargiter have not clearly noticed the fact that P. divide future kings into two groups, one of Aula, Aikṣvāka and Māgadha lines up to the last scions of these and the other of later Kings in the Pradyota,
Śūṅga, Āndhra and others 850; Kumārila-bhaṭṭa on the contents of P. 823–24; lay emphasis on bhakti, on ahiṃsā, on pūrṇadharma 947–50; list of 18 Purāṇas completed long before 1000 A. D. 831; list of 18 principal Purāṇas together with the number of ślokas in each acc. to different works 831–832; M. as a compound word (iṭhāśapūrāṇa) or as two words (iṭhāśaḥ pūrāṇa) in Tai. Āv, Chan. Up. and Br. Up. 815; list of works, papers and translations of p 883; m. by the extant Mahābhārata in numerous places 821; m. by Kauṭiliya and Manusmyti 819–20; m. by Kauṭiliya and Yāj. Śmṛti as one of the fourteen branches of knowledge and for japa 820; Mahābhārata quotes hundreds of verses called Ānuvāmaḥ and gāthās, many of which deal with Paurāṇika matters and have a Paurāṇika ring 853–54; Mahāpurāṇa (word) applied to the 18 P. in Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata 830n; mantra ‘om namo Nārāyaṇāya’ confers all objects, frees from sins and leads to mokṣa, acc. to Narasimha and Vāmana 922, 971; Matsyapurāṇa sets out other characteristics of P. 839; Mit. prescribes a smārta mantra in śrāddha which occurs in Garuda and Skanda P. and some digests prescribe Vedic and Paurāṇika mantras even for brāhmaṇas in religious rites 920; modern works and papers dealing with several questions relating to Purāṇas set out 843–845; Nārādiya Purāṇa describes the relation between Veda, Śmṛti and Purāṇas and provides that he who calls P. as arthavādas goes to hell 927; myths and legends of Purāṇas on creation of universe, about eclipses etc. must in modern times held as mere myths 1709-10; no Mahāpurāṇa composed after the 9th century A. D. but additional matter was unscrupulously added in several Purāṇas, the worst example being that of Bhaviṣya (part III) which contains stories of Adam and Eve, Taimur, Akbar, Caitanya, Nadirshah 855; not restricted to religious matters or to five characteristics but some of them deal exhaustively with rājanīti, 1000–1001; number of P. is traditionally eighteen called Mahāpurāṇas and enumerated in many Purāṇas, though some Purāṇas say originally there was only one, 829–830; on doctrine of Karma 1576–77; on rebirth for sins 1590; one important topic is ‘avatāras’ 922ff; only pursue an attitude to Veda and sacrifices that is found in such Upaniṣads as Muniṣaka and Kaṭha 817; order in which P. are enumerated is not uniform, most putting Brahma as first, while Vāyu and Devībhāgavata put Mātrya as first and Skanda puts Brahmāṇḍa as first 833;
Padmapurāṇa says that some vratas are superior to a hundred Vedic sacrifices 934; placed before all people (including śūdras) easy ways whereby they could secure spiritual life and bliss in the Hereafter 930; played a substantial role in bringing about the decline and disappearance of Buddhism from India in various ways 913–914; points of distinction between Upapurāṇas and the 18 Mahāpurāṇas 836–37; printed P. and mss. thereof, give four different periods of time viz. 1015, 1050, 1115 and 1500 from the birth of Parikṣit to the crowning of Nanda, which Pargiter discards 845–46; proclaim often that saṁsāra is full of misery and is impermanent 1555; put emphasis on profuse expense in śrāddhas and inveigh against stinginess 931; quote anuvānta ślokas or gāthās about such ancient kings as Kārtavirya, Sumitra and Kṣemaka, last scions of Aila and Aikṣvāka dynasties, but none about later dynasties of Śuṅgas or Āndhras 851; reading of or listening to recitation of P. believed to remove sins 915–16; reasons why many conclusions drawn from the current printed editions and mss. of Purāṇas must be held to be merely tentative 837–38; reasons why extant Purāṇas do not narrate traditions about Gupta dynasty and those that succeeded it 856; references to pages of the four vol. of H. of Dh. on dāna, śrāddha, tīrtha and vṛata 998–999; said to be the heart of dharma, while Veda and Smṛti are eyes 924; sectarian bigotry of some Purāṇas exemplified 976–977; seven P. contain historical material viz. ancient dynasties up to Bhārata war and from Bhārata war to the downfall of Āndhras and the rise of Gupta, such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata 842; several among the extant P. were composed or completed in the period from the 5th to the 9th century A. D., 854–55; several P. contain a much smaller number of ślokas than are assigned to them by authorities as in the case of Viṣṇupurāṇa and Kūrma 832–33; several P. such as Matsya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Bhāvīṣya contain much Dharmāśāstra material 815; several P. describe the eight aṅgas of Yoga 1455; several P. like Agni, Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara are encyclopedias and illustrate India’s life, character, achievements and shortcomings 925; several P. such as Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa give a different version of the transmission of P. 861–62; some like Bhāgavata, Kūrma, Markandeya, Viṣṇu espouse the Gītā doctrine of nīskāma-karmayoga 967; some Purāṇas like Gauruḍa describe
nyāsas 1120; some P. like Devibhāgavata, Kālikā, Viṣṇu-dharmottara describe at length mudrās, 1127–28; some P. deal at length with śāntis 734–35; some P. deal with units of time 476; some P. emphasize that God is one, that no difference should be made between Śiva and Viṣṇu 1189–90; some P. like Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata are full of eulogies of the theory and practice of Bhakti and illustrative stories 971–73; some P. make Rudra declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu, denounce Śaiva siddhāntas and that Śiva promulgated non-vedic views at the request of Viṣṇu, while Agni, Bhāgavata, Matsya and Vāyu, appear to say that Viṣṇu himself deluded people 974–75; some P. held that Saptarṣi constellation was in Maghā nakṣatra when Yudhishṭhira was king and that they stay in one nakṣatra for a century 520n; some P. transfer with slight variations Upāniṣad passages in their texts 921; some P. name minor works called Upa-purāṇas, but Matsya and Kūrma expressly state that they arose from the 18 Purāṇas and were composed as summaries after studying the Purāṇas 815, 835; sometimes P. describe themselves as Itihāsa and the Mahābhārata is called Purāṇa rarely 840; sometimes Purāṇas put forward very modern ideas such as saying that social service and removal of distress is highest dharma 949; P. are sources of Dharma and Vidyās acc. to Yāj. but there is no evidence as to the number Yāj. knew 835n; stages in the evolution of P. are four or five 853–855; stories that occur in the Veda and Upāniṣads such as of Hariścandra, Purūravas and Urvāṣī are elaborated in Purāṇas 914–15; strike the keynote that great rewards can be had by little effort as by dānas, vratas, pilgrimages 45, 928, 930; Tai. Ār. speaks of itihāsas and purāṇas in the plural and so knew at least three Purāṇas 817, 853; task before P. was twofold, viz. to undermine the power and prestige of Buddhism, and other non-Vedic systems and to wean away large sections of the masses from the attractive features of Buddhism and therefore promise the same rewards as Buddhism held forth by a restatement of Hindu religion, philosophy and practices 913, 929–30; ten topics of, according to Bhāgavata 839; topics of tīrtha, dāna, śrāddha and vrata cover about one lakh of verses in the extant P. 841; total number of ślokas in 18 Purāṇas according to most Purāṇas is 400600, 832; transformation in ideas, ideals and practices of Indian people due to P. in the first centuries of
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Christian era 815; treat Vedd as author-tative and prescribe the use of Vedic mantras in many rites, 918-919; two separate Purāṇa versions called Āgneya, Brāhma, Liṅga and Viṣṇu known to Ballālasena in latter half of 12th cen. A.D. 870; Vāyupurāṇa named as first among 18 P. by Matsya, Agni, Nārada, while several of the other P. substitute Śiva for Vāyū but Vāyū is one of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas and not Śivapurāṇa 830; Vāyupurāṇa and Śiva P. both included among 18 P. by Ballālasena 870; Vedārthaśāṅgāraha of Rāmānujaśaṅkara states that all Purāṇas should be so interpreted as not to be in conflict with Viṣṇupurāṇa 937n; Vedic mantras occurring in Purāṇas were not to be read or listened to by śūdras 925; Viṣṇupurāṇa alone of all extant P. closely agrees with the definition given by Amarakośa but it also contains several other topics 841; wax eloquent as to great efficacy of vrataś, śrāddha, pilgrimages, fasts, gifts, repetition of the name of God, bhakti 52, 930, 933-34; P. were affected by the theory of the power of mantras 1105; word Purāṇa occurs over a dozen times in Rg and means ‘ancient, old’ 855; Yāj. Smṛti holds Purāṇa as one of the sources of Vidyā and Dharma 851; Purāṇas give informa-

tion on Architecture, sculpture and painting, 1653-54. Purāṇasamuccaya, q. by Hemādri 188n; by Nirṇayasindhu 998n. Purāṇaśāstra (of a mantra); 1107-1112; (vide under ‘Mantra’); five are minimum constituents of P. viz. pūjā, japa, tarpāṇa, homa, dinner to brāhmaṇas, 1107n-9; mantra to be repeated 1008, 108 or 10 or 108, 28 or 8 times; if any one of five constituents cannot be carried out, japa of mantra twice as many times as prescribed or dinner to brāhmaṇas may be substituted, 1109; in P. mantra is to be repeated 8000 times, if no express direction about number, 1110; meaning of, 1107-8; places where P. is to be practised 1110; signs that indicate perfection in mantra, 1111; terrible way to secure perfection in mantra in a single night by going to cemetery, securing the corpse of a cāḍāla, or one killed with a sword, or of a young warrior, wash it, worship it and Durgā—this being called Śivasadāhanavidhi, 1109; various modes of P. 1107-9; way of, suggested by Rāghava-bhaṭṭa 1109.

Pure: everything is pure to the p. and it is the hankering that is blamable, acc. to some Śākta works 1093. Purāṇahuti, explained 347, 1224n. Purāṇapātra 183. Pūrṇā-tithi 189n. Purohita: (vide under ‘king’):
of king, to perform Śānti rites for prosperity, and magic rites 742; qualifications of p. of king 528, 543, 741-2.

Purohitawami, a. of ‘Aphorisms of Yoga’ 1303, 1429-30 (on raising Kūpalini), 1442n.

Pūrtadharma: (vide under Īṣṭa- pūrta and Purāṇas): means works of public utility, such as wells, tanks, parks, temples etc. 947-949; Amarakoṣa defines it 948; pūrta dharma secures mokṣa 949.

Puruṣa: derivation of the word in three ways, 1364n; in Sāṅkhya 1357-58; in the eye as Ātman, in the Chān. Up. 1446.

Purūravas and Urvaśī, story of, in Ṛgveda and Viṣṇupūrāṇa 915.

Puruṣaparīkṣā, a work of Vidyāpati, 1076.

Puruṣakāra and Daiva, discussed 545.

Puruṣārthas (goals of human life); (vide mokṣa, sannyāsa): are four, Dharma (actions prescribed by Śastra, doing one’s duties), Artha (economics, politics, civics), Kāma (enjoyment of pleasures and aesthetics) and Mokṣa (liberation), the last being the highest to be attained only by a few, 921n, 1510-11, 1626-32; Bhagavad-gītā demands a life dedicated to active work and regards doing one’s duty as worship 1511; enjoyment of sexual life and pleasures not in conflict with Dharma is not condemned by Manu and other śāstras and in the Gītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma not in conflict with Dharma 1511; Mahābhārata is the śāstra of all p. acc. to Mārkaṇḍeya 819n; Manu s’āt’s conclusion that there are three p. for all men and condemns premature Sannyāsa resorted to before fulfilling one’s duties (one’s three debts) 1511; Ṛgveda contains prayers for health, happiness and a life of hundred years 1510-11.

Puruṣārtha-vidhi: (see Kratvārtha): defined in P. M. S. IV. 1, 2, 1232; rules about the acquisition of wealth are P. 192, 1233; is what a man undertakes for securing the reward of happiness 1233; principal sacrifices like Dārsa-pūrṇamāsa are included under P. 1232.

Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi 17n, 68n, 71n, 78n, 83n, 90-1, 100n-102, 127, 135, 146, 154n, 179, 182-3, 188-190n, 191n, 192, 197n, 199n, 204n, 207n, 227, 230 232, 229n, 240, 481n, 672, 740n.

Puruṣārthasudhānidhi, of Sāyana 1631n.

Puruṣāsūkta—held to be a late hymn by modern scholars, 1632.

Puruṣottamamāsa: Intercalary month 671; why so called 672.

Puruṣottamatattva 1132.

Pūrvamānasūtras and Dharmasāstra 1152-1351; (vide under anuvāda, bādha, Bādarāyaṇa, Bhagavad-gītā, bhāvanā,
dharma, dīkṣā, God, Jaimini, Krama, Kumārila, mantra, maxims, mimāṃsā, niyama, parisaṅkhya, Šabara, Śāstra, sūtra, svarga, ūha, Veda, Vedāntasūtra, vidhi, Vyātikāra, words); 33, 67n, 237, 536 (suspicious times for all rites in honour of gods), 989–90; adhikārin of P. M. S. is one who has studied the Veda from guru 1180; approximate date of, between 400–200 B. C. 1157n, 1197; authors mentioned by both P. M. S. and V. S. 1173; authors mentioned by P. M. S. alone and not mentioned by V. S. 1173; Brahmāsūtra expressly mentioned in Gitā (13. 4) is not the present V. S. but probably another work or other works of Bādari, Aulolombi and Kāśikṛtsna, 1171–74; called 'Prathamatantra' by Śaṅkarācārya, 1032; chronological order of Kumārila, Prabhākara, Maṇḍana, Umbeka, Śālikanātha, all writers on Mimāṃsā, between 650–750 A. D. 1190–95; close correspondence between Āp. Dh. S. and P. M. S., 1155; close correspondence between Jaimini's Sūtra and Kātyāyanaśārautasūtra exemplified 1155–56; Codanā (word) in the Mimāṃsā sense employed by Vyātikakāra and Mahābhāṣya 1158; conclusions about Vyāsa, Jaimini, Bādarāyana, Pūrvamimāṃsāsūtra and Vedāntasūtra tentatively presented 1177–78; controversies about Vyātikāra, Upavarsā and Bodhāyana, 1186n–1187n; declared by Padmapurāṇa as un-meaning on account of its atheistic teaching, 976; date of P. M. S., acc. to Jacobi and Keith, about 200 A. D. 1157; dates (approximate) of several writers on P. M. S. in Sanskrit 1197–1200; descriptions of creation and dissolution of the world are not to be literally understood, the universe as a whole has no beginning and no end, descriptions are meant to illustrate power of daīca and human effort and to urge men to perform their duties enjoined by Veda 1209–10; dharma is the proper subject of P. M. S. acc. to Śāstradīpikā and not 'Vedārtha' 1180; Dharmasūtras like those of Gautama and Āp. disclose familiarity with technical terms and principles of P. 1154–55; doctrines of early and principal writers on P. are rather startling, they have hardly any place for God or the deities, and their theory about Yajñā snacks of a businesslike system 1217; P. M. S does not state how much of the Veda has to be studied before one enters upon the understanding of the meaning 1180; earliest extant com. is that of Šabara 1187; emphasizes the distinction between an author of a book and its expositor or transmitter 1203n; employs the word Smṛti in the sense of Dharmaśāstra,
1237; examination of views of Bādarāyana cited five times and conclusions therefrom, 1170; first six chapters consider the procedure of rites like Darśāpūrṇamāsa, the details of which are expressly laid down in the Veda while the following six consider the modifications (vikṛtis) and details that have to be added or omitted 1321; four anubandhas of, 1179n; fundamental and characteristic doctrines (nine in all) of P. M. S. 1202-1207; guruparamparā in Sāmas-cvidhāna Br., Nyāyaratnākara and Yuktiśeñhaprapūrant slightly differ 1161n; ideas of P. about creation and dissolution of the world are opposed to those of Mahābhārata and Gitā, 1210; if there be only one Jaimini (and not two) no satisfactory explanation why the author of P. M. S. should name himself only five times in about 2700 sūtras, 1166-67; insists on certain moral rules (such as not speaking falsely) and other rules of conduct such as giving up flesh, sexual intercourse for one engaged in Darśāpūrṇamāsa and other sacrifices 1217n; Kumārila shows scant respect for Jaimini, charges him with composing some sūtras without much substance and remarks that Jaimini’s sūtra is improper 1335; list of works and papers in English on Pūrvavāmāsā 1200-1201; looked upon by medieval writers as the most important of vidyāsthānas 1159; many verses quoted by Śabara on P. M. and other matters 1187; most extensive of all Darśānas, containing about 2700 sūtras and over 900 adhikaraṇas, 1182; names nine authors on Mīmāṃsā, besides Jaimini himself 1157n; names other writers only 27 times while V. S. having only about 1/5th of the sūtras in P. M. S. quotes other writers 32 times, 1160-61; number of adhikaraṇas put at 915 or 1000 by different authors, 1160, 1189n; numerous commentaries on P. M. S. 1186-87; one of the characteristic doctrines of P. M. S. is svatāḥprāmāṇya, 1212; Padmapurāṇa asserts that Jaimini composed a vast but useless Śāstra by expounding the view that there was no god 1207, 1209; PMS is not as much concerned about mokṣa or man’s destiny after death as other Darśānas are 1217; PMS, Śabara, Kumārila make substantial contributions to the exegesis of Vedic texts 1217-18; postulates that apūrva yields the rewards of sacrifices and not God, 1211; question whether Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were contemporaries and if not, what their relation was, discussed, 1161 ff; questions of identity and relationship among Kumārila, Prabhākara, Manḍana, Umbeka, Śālikanātha, Sureśvara, set out
with some discussion 1193–95; relation of dharma to the Veda and the P. M. S. is clearly and briefly brought out by Kumārila 1185; relies upon popular usages, apart from Veda and Smṛtis in many sūtras 1255; requires that men of the three varṇas should not only study the Veda but they must also understand its meaning 1180; Śabara and Kumārila differ about the subject matters of certain adhikaraṇas 1335; Śabara gives a summary of the first chapter of P. M. S. and at the beginning of each of the other chapters gives a summary of the preceding chapter 1186; Śabara proposes two (even three or four) explanations of several sūtras and adhikaraṇas 1334–35; Śabara holds two or more sūtras as forming one adhikaraṇa and alternatively treats one of them as a separate adhikaraṇa 1334; Śabara omits II. 4. 17 and six sūtras after III. 4. 9, 1162n, 1334; Śabara says that the Yaṭñikas do not declare that rewards result from the mere memorization of the Veda, 1180; Sastri, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta, holds that Jaimini mentioned in P. M. S. VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini mentioned four times more in other sūtras and this view criticized 1162–64; some sūtras are repeated 30 and 24 times 1182; subjects of the twelve chapters of P. M. S., acc. to Jaiminiya-

nyāyamālā-vistāra, 1185–86; subjects of the four pādās of the first chapter are vidhi, aṭṭhavāda (including mantras), Smṛtis (including customs and usages) and names of rites such as ‘udbhid’ 1186; table of outstanding works and writers on P. M. S. with tentative dates 1197–1200; various readings in, 1334; tenth chapter is longest, the 3rd comes next and 10th deals with bādha and samuccaya, 1326 27; Vārtikas of Kātyāyana and the Mahābāṣya establish that Mimāṃsā terms had been elaborated long before them 1156–1158; very rarely refers to other acāryas by the word ‘eka’ and V. S. also does so rarely, its references in the words ‘eka’, ‘ekaśām’ and ‘anye’, being made to Vedic recensions or Upaniṣads 1173; word ‘Nyāyavid’ is applied to writers on P. M. 1155n; words ‘codana’, ‘upadesa’ and ‘vidhi’ are synonyms acc. to Śabara and ‘codana’ means a sentence that urges men to do some act 1183–85; works and writers from Jaimini onwards rely on śrīmān and Dharm Śāstra 1178; writers on P. M. are called by Bālakrīḍā of Viśvarūpa simply ‘nyāyavidah’ or ‘nyāyavido yājñikah’ 1155n.

Purva-prajñā (in Br. Up. IV. 4. 2) meaning of, 1022n.

Pu-wallker, Dr. A. D., of ‘Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India’ and of ‘Progress of
believed in punarjanma and there are controversies as to whether he borrowed from India, 1530.

'Questions of Milinda' 910n; has passages closely agreeing with Gitā 970, 972, 1023n.

Rabindranath Tagore, poet and reformer, a. of Gitanjali 1700, 1711.

RadhaKrishnan, Dr S.: a. of Indian 'Philosophy' 1200, 1209, 1393, 1491, 1605; a. af 'Source book of Indian Philosophy' 1394, (jointly with C. A. Moore); a. of 'India and China' 1123; a. of 'Religion and Society' 1618n, 1689, 1695; a of 'The Brahmasūtras', pp. 194-207 of Introduction on 'Karma and Punarjanma', 1605; a. of 'Idealist view of life' 1612; a. of 'Eastern Religions. and Western thought' 1647 (Schweitzer Criticized); a. of 'Kalkin or future of civilization' 1668 (defects of modern Democracy).

Rāghavabhātta, commentator of Śāradātilaka, 1101n, 1112n, 1123 (on mudrā), 1124; has an elaborate note on puraścarana, 1108-1110; holds that Praṇaṇaśāra is Śaṅkara-cārya's own work 1105; quotes Śulbasūtra 1132; quotes numerous passages on nyāsa, 1120, 1122; states that Tantra cult is based on Upaniṣads like Rāmapūrvatāpanīya 1045. Raghavan, Dr. V. 1163n, 1369, 1408n.
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Raghunandana, a. of several Tattvas 30, 46, 90n, 158, 175, 178, 186-7, 198, 545, 753, 835n, 919, 1042n, 1118, 1132-33, 1238 (illustrates 'rāstrisatranāyāya'), 1210, 1291.

Raghunātha, a. of 'Pārthartha-nirūpāna' 470.

Raghuvarṇa 193, 500, 531n, 537, 539, 628, 744n, 797n, 905n, 997, 1027, 1152n, 1213, 1384, 1426 (mentions Vīrāsana).

Rāgveda 1461 (references to Yoga technique), 1571.

Rāhu (ascending node or the point where the orbit of the moon intersects the eclipse in passing northwards 574; and Ketum in Mahābhārata 569; demon R. represented as serpent in Śantis on eclipses 766; mantra repeated in Śant for R. 766n; story of the part of R. at churning of ocean 766n.

Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 472n, 942n, 1022-23 (paper on Vajrayāna and the 84 siddhas), 1073 (paper of, about Vajrayāna and Manrayāna, in Journal Asiaticque), 1075n (gives list of 84 siddhas from Luipā to Bhalipā with details.

Rainfall, in the four months from Pauṣa, inauspicious for seven days for vṛata and yāтра after it stops 620.

Rājadharma-kaustubha 923, 1333.

Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja, comm. on Yogasūtra 1439n, 1444n, 1449n.

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Ranade, M. G. and Prārthana-samāj 1700.

Ranade, Prof. R. D. a. of ‘Constructive survey of the Upaniṣadic philosophy’ 1537–41; holds view that from certain mantras of Rg. it can be said that an approach to the idea of Transmigration was being made by Vedic sages 1537ff; views and interpretations of the Rg. passages by Prof. Ranade held to be wrong 1537–42.

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Sacrifice (see under Yajña, wife, Dakṣinā); disposal of implements of S. 1232; even the Rgveda discloses that a complicated sacrificial ritual existed in its times 991; provides that husband and wife should perform a S. in co-operation, but where the Veda expressly provides that certain matters are to be performed by the male sacrificer it is the male alone that can perform them 1287; results of paucity or absence of food, or mantras, proper fees, are disastrous in different ways 753; svarga is the reward of all sacrifices (such as Viśva-jit) for which the Veda does not expressly declare a reward 1312; ten implements required in S. enumerated in Tāi. S., each of which is to be employed for the purpose prescribed by Veda 1292, 1331n, wrangling about food or fees causes misfortune to sacrificer 753.

Sadācāra (usages or practices of śūtas); (vide 'śīta', Smritis, Kalivarjya); intricate questions about the relative force of Śruti, Smṛti and Sadācāra
arise 1264; Kumārila’s position is that those usages alone are authoritative that are not opposed to express Vedic texts, that are practised by śīṣṭas under the belief that they are part of Dharma (right conduct) and for which no visible motive such as pleasure, acquisition of wealth or satisfaction of desires can be predicated and that it does not follow that all actions of śīṣṭas are to be accepted as dharma, that Manu’s advice to follow one’s ancestors’ path means a path of good people 1264, 1280; some great men, acc. to Gaṅgātama, Āp. Dh. S., Bhāgavata-purāṇa (X. 33. 30), were guilty of violations of dharma and excesses, and twelve examples are cited by Kumārila who explains them away or says that they were not thought to be dharma by those persons themselves 1280.

Śādāṅganyāsa, exemplified by Dharmaśinēdu and declared to be avaidika 1121n.

Śādāṣṭimukha, 213n; m. in inscriptions 213n; pūnyakāla is 60 ghaṭikās 215.

Śādāvṛata (or annadānanāmātmya) 437.

Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra (a standard work of Mahāyāna), agrees closely with Gītā 970; contains many dhāraṇīs (spells) 1104n.

Śādhanamālā (a composite Vajra-yāna work of 3rd century A.D. to 12th): 1038–39, 1050, 1070 (six cruel magic acts), 1104, 1116n, 1146; asserts that there is nothing that cannot be attained by mantras if proper procedure be followed 1104.

Śādviṃśa–Brāhmaṇa 734 (śāntis), 1114n (Śyenayāga details), 1245.

Śagara, sons of, were reduced to ashes by Kapila 1362.

Śaha, Dr. Meghnad; 713–4, President of Calendar Reform Committee and author of the C. R. C. Report 714n; Report of, has exhaustive alphabetical list of Hindu festivals, but no details except month, fortnight and tithi are given 253, 614, 648–49.

Śahasrābhōjanavidhi (procedure of giving dinner to one thousand brāhmaṇas at one time) 445.

Śāhityadarpana, 1297n–98; present author’s notes on, referred to 1297.

Saints: (vide Kabir): in medieval times in India there were women S. like Mirabai and Āndal, untouchables as saints, viz. Chokhāmelā and Raidas, Mahomedan saints like Kabir 969; names of saints and mystics in all parts of India from 13th to 17th century A. D. that agreed on certain fundamentals viz. unity of God, need of self-purification, condemnation of pride of caste and of ritual, and surrender to God for salvation, 969–970.

Śaiva– (see under ‘Śāstras’);
Siddhántas were composed at Viśnú's bidding by Śiva for deluding people and asuras 974–975.

Śākā (vegetable) has ten forms 423.

Śāka era: 649 (began when 3179 years of Kāli had expired), 679n; in medieval times came to be called Śālivāhana 655; Inscriptions of Kṣatrapa kings bearing the number of the year are held to be in Śāka era, 654; Śakas in Yuga-purāṇa 828; most astronomical works in Sanskrit employ Śāka era from about 500 A.D., 653; origin of the name Śāka era is a most difficult and unsolved problem 653ff; origin of the name Śālivāhana 655; some modern writers like Burgess and Dr. Saha hold that this era was started by calculation and taken backwards, 649.

Śāka and Yavana and other foreign tribes held to be originally Kṣatriyas by Manu and others 1634n.

Śakadhūma, meaning of, 740n; Charpentier on 740n.

Śāka-Kuṣāna, paper by Prof. Basham 554n.

Śākalya, a. of the padapātha of the Ṛgveda 861.

Śāketa, m. in Yugapurāṇa 837–28.

Śakra-dhvajothāpāna: (vide ‘Indradhvajothāpāna’); m. by Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja 42.

Śākta or Śāktas (vide Lalitā-
māhātmya): all women are fit for intercourse to S. worshipper except the wives of his guru or the wives of Vīra kind of worshippers 1093; are mentioned among six darśanas by Vāyupurāṇa 1042; belief of, that female jackal is a messenger of Kāli and is auspicious 808; Bengal and Assam, chief strongholds of Śākta cult 1076; chief characteristics of the cult of 1041–2; cult of S. promises men both bhoga and yga 1092n; cult of, prevalent long before 8th century A.D. in India, especially in Bengal and Assam 1041; eight kṣetras of 1039; great aim of Śākta is to realise his identity with yantra, mantra, guru and devi 1138; have no higher means of happiness and liberation than the fifth tattva 1093; list of works on Ś. doctrines in English 1048n; principal work of Ś. is Devimāhātmya 1041; Purāṇas that eulogise Devi 1042; several Upaniṣads relied upon as the basis of Ś. cult by Rāghavabhaṭṭa and Bhāskar erāṇa, but those upaniṣada are later writings 1045; Rg. V. 47. 4 is fancifully interpreted by Ś. as referring to their views 1218; Śāktavidyas are said to be Kādi, Hādi or Śādi 1045n; sect mark of Ś. and Śāivas was tripurā 1076n; special form of worship which sometimes assumed debased or revolting forms 1042; wine was not prohibited only when
it was taken for pleasure 1094; word Śākta means 'one who is a devotee of Śakti' (cosmic power or energy) 1041.
Śāktapramoda, 1041n.
Śakti (vide under Devī, Durgā, Kāli, Kundalini, cakras, five Makāras); conceived to be the primordial source governing all activity in the universe, 1141; different names of Ś. or Kāli in Purāṇas like Matsya, Kūrma, Brahma, 1041-42; doctrine of Vedānta that brahma is endowed with all powers might have suggested an engrossing power of Ś. 1045n; ideas associated with Ś. and Śaci in Rg. are those of creation, protection, valour and bounty 1043; is all-pervading, most subtle, is the Kundalini coiled like a snake and manifests herself in the form of the fifty letters of the alphabet from a to kṣa 1061; name Bhadrakāli occurs in Śāh, gr. and Manu 1042; Kaulāvalinirnaya asserts that if a man, after partaking of bhāng, engages in meditation, he directly sees the deity, 1082; praise of Devī spoken of as primordial Śakti, that all gods including Śiva himself derive their powers from her 1058; Rgveda speaks of the Ś. of the great gods, but they are Śaktis of the gods and not separate creative principles 1043; śāstras opposed to Veda like Kāpāla, Bhaivara, Yāmala, Vāma, Ārhatā were propagated by Devī for deluding the world 1042; sometimes the word 'Māyā' is used with Indra, instead of Śakti 1043; when worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh and edibles becomes pleased 1042, 1058; word Ś occurs about a dozen times in Rgveda, five times with Indra, twice with pīts, once with Aśvins 1043; worshipped generally under the name Devī 1041; worship of, necessarily requires wine and other makāras acc. to several Tantra works 1082.
Śakti (vide under 'women'): means the woman associated with a sādhaka in Yogic practices and in the worship of Śakti 1052n, 1085; young courtesan is Ś. incarnate and brahma 1056.
Śaktisaṅgama-tantra, 263, 1052n, 1053 ('kula' means upāsaka of Kāli), 1054, 1056, 1064-65, 1080 (offers symbolic explanations of five Makāras), 1105n, (on Traibhikyamohana mantra), 1109n, 1117 (proper times for dīkṣā).
Śakunās (vide birds, divination, nimitta, Vasanāraja-sakuna): are declared by Varāhamihira to be indicative of the actions of persons in their former lives and by Vasanāraja 538, 806; authors and works on 622; Bhāguri, Bharadvāja and Dravyavardhana on, 591; extensive literature on, 805-6; hooting of owl on top of a house at night portends sorrow
and death of owner’s son 808; words Šakuna and Šakuni mean ‘bird’ in Rgveda, gradually came to mean premonitions conveyed by cries and movements of birds and then any prognosticatory sign 804–805; some animals and birds are useless for prognostications at certain seasons 808–809; Upaśrti as method 809–810.

Sākuntala of Kālidāsa: 46, 120, 517, 687, 800, 1027, 1046n (Śīva as ‘parigataśakti’), 1071, 1596.

Sālākarma (construction of a house); vide under ‘house’.

Śālihotra, q. by Hemādri on Āsvānti 804.

Śālikanātha, a. of com. Rjuvimalā on Brhati and of Prakaraṇapaścikā 1189; flourished between 710–770 A.D., 1198; reason for the view that Ś. was a direct pupil of Prabhākara 1190, 1193.

Śālivāhana, era (vide Śaka era): these words occur in Inscriptions of 13th and 14th century A.D., 655.

Salokatśa a kind of mukti 1631n.

Śalyaparva 90n, 520n, 687n, 742n, 743–44, 764, 767, 787n, 1219, 1391.

Śam: adhriku-praiṣa, bearing of on root śam, 724; undecidable ‘śam’ occurs about 160 times in the Rgveda 719–720; joined to ‘yoḥ’ in a compound or with ‘ca’ between the two, meaning ‘happiness and welfare or ‘health’ and wealth’ 719; sometimes used as a noun 720.

Samādhi 1449n–1451; derivation of, 1449n; two kinds of S. viz. Samprajñāta or Sabija and Asamprajñāta or nirbija 1450–51; there is a blending of subject and object, the individual soul and paramātman 1450; sabija a. of four stages, 1450–51; the word Samādhi, was known to V. S., Maitrayanī Up. and Gitā, 1390, 1450.

Samāja (festive meeting), m. by Ṛp. Dh. S. and Asoka 1017.

Sāman: meaning of, 1221; means a sāmaveda chant 1543; means also ‘reconciliation’ 1543; parts (five) of each S. 1544.

Samāsasahità, of Varāhamihira, quoted by Utpala 742n.

Sāmaveda 721n, 733n, 734, 1221 (has not one thousand Śakhās, but gūtis), 1543 (all verses of, except about 75, are taken from the Rgveda).


Samayapradipa 29, 40n, 41, 50, 52, 75n, 81n, 125.

Samayapraṅkāśa, 91n, 97n, 99n, 248, 663, 664n–5n, 672–674n, 675n.

Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa 733–4, 790, 1161.

Sāmba, an Uapurāṇa m by Matsya, Alberuni and Dānasāgara 873, 910; date of, discussed 872–3; Prof. Hazra
himself finds that more than half of it belongs to period 950–1500 A. D., 873; no evidence that the half of S. which Prof. Hazra puts down between 500–800 A. D. is earlier than 800 A. D. or even 950 A. D., 873.

Samba, son of Kṛṣṇa, revised Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa and established images of the Sun in four places, acc. to Varāhapurāṇa, 818n, 898.

Sāhūṭā or Śākhā (natural astrology), a branch of Jyotīṣa, subjects of, 479.

Śāmi and Śāmi: occur in some Řgveda verses 723; Sāyana explains as ‘Karma’ (religious rite, action) 723–4

Śāmi: (vide under Śānti): cult of, is ancient 194; plant or branch, connected with appeasing terrible aspects 724; war supposed to destroy sins and appease the wrath of gods when worshipped 192, 725; worshipped on Vijayādaśi 190.

Sāmidhent verses generally 15, 726; spoken of, as thunderbolt 726–7.

Sāmrājyalakṣṭi-pithikā, observances in 18n.

Sāṁśāra (cycle of births and deaths), 1563–65; Kama as the root of s. as it gives rise to volition (kratu) which leads to deeds; 1548; Manu frequently employs it 1564–65; word occurs in Kathopaniṣad and Śv. Up. 1564.

Sāṁśarpa: (vide intercalary month): 671–2; distinguished from Aṁhaspati 672.

Sāṁskāra (in P. M. S.) is what when performed makes a substance fit for some purpose 1308n.

Sāṁskārakaustubha 1290.

Sāṁskāraprakāśa 614, 1241n–5n. Sāṁskāraratnamālā, 614, 1121n, (holds nyāsa is avaidika).

Sāmuccaya (or abhyuccaya, addition or combination) 1328–29; Mit. on Yāj. III. 243 furnishes examples of S. in the matter of expiations from Dharmasāstra 1328–29.

Samudragupta, greatest of the Gupta emperors 843; performed Aśvamedha that had long been in abeyance, 1028.

Samuel, Viscount 148n, 1575n. Samuel, 194 (Bible).

Sāṁvartaka (terrible) fires or clouds at time of Pralaya, 686n.

Sāṁvatsara: identified with Prajāpati in Śat. Br. 65; years of Bārbhaspatya type were so called 660–61; names of, were supposed to indicate different consequences for each 662.

Sāṁvatsarikasattra, observances in, 18n.

Sāmyuttanikāya 1005n.

Sanātanadharma: the word occurs in Matsya-purāṇa and in Khanapur plates of Madhava-varman (6th century A. D.) 945n, 1629n; meaning of, 1629 and n.

Sanatkumāra and Nārada, story of, in Chān. Up. VII. 26. 2, where the former is called Skanda, both being semi-
divine, the former being a mind-born son of Brahmā.
Sānchī: sculptures on eastern gateway of 127, 1653n (works on the stūpa at).
Sandhyā, is period of three ghati-kās before and after sunrise 438.
Sandhyā (morning and evening worship): nyāsa included in S. by some works 1121–22; worship of the Sun daily in the evening is to be done with some mantras addressed to Varuṇa (in Rg. I. 25) acc. to Farāyāramādhaviya and modern Mahārāstra practice, 1311n.
Śaṅḍilya, vide under Pāñcarātra 955n.
Śaṅḍilya-bhakti-sūtra 952n, 966–7, 958n, 959, 965n, 966, 968 (path of bhakti open to all including cândalas); com. on by Svapneśvara 956–59, 965–6n.
Saṅgha, elective procedure in 1663.
Śaṅipradoṣa-vrata 421.
Sanjana J. E.: a. of ‘Dogma of re-incarnation’; criticized 1605–1608, 1611; asserts that a man who believes in re-incarnation is not a true Zoroastrian, which is criticized 1605–6; employs offensive language about those who differ from him, particularly about Theosophists, 1606–7; his interpretation of Manu VI. 63 is wrong 1565; is guilty of serious mistakes 1607–8.
Saṅkalpa, necessary in every religious rite; contents of, 650; formula of, in vrata, 81; in a fast or vrata to be made in the morning 202.
Śaṅkarācārya (vide Abhinavagupta, Devala, Śrīharṣa Tārānāth): 731n–2n, 779n, 821, 824–26, 860n, 866 (Prof. Hazra misunderstands what Ś. says), 900n, 906n, 944n, 955 (on Pāñcarātra), 983n, 1032–1045, 1153 (on V. S. I. 1. 1.), 1155n, 1158, 1160 (Pūrva-mimāṁsā and Vedānta-sūtras as one śāstra), 1154–65, 1172 (on Gitā 13. 4), 1202, 1205, 1211 and n. (on Apūrea), 1218, 1241n, 1250 (quotes sūtra in which the words paryudāsa, pratīṣedha and vikalpa occurs), 1251n, 1254–5 (Agnihotra as āradupakāraka in acquiring knowledge of brahma), 1289–90, 1292n, 1297n, 1300, 1307n, 1359n, 1360–62, 1365, 1388 (position as to Yoga), 1389n, 1390, 1400n, 1426, 1432, 1434–35 (on Chān. Up. I. 3. 3, misunderstood by Caland, Dumont and others), 1435 (Ś. on Br. Up. I. 5. 3 and on Praśna), 1446, 1468, 1469–70, 1484n, 1485, 1488n, (explains ‘asat’), 1499n, 1500, 1504–5, 1507–8, 1516n, 1517, 1541–42, 1546n, 1548, 1552n, 1554, 1561n, 1563n–64n, 1566–68, 1576n, 1579n, 1588, 1591, 1607; doctrine of Mayā declared by Padmapurāṇa as Baudhā in disguise, 976; holds that Bādarāyaṇa a. of V. S. is different from Vedavyāsa, a. of Mahābhārata, 1166; horoscope
of, in com. on Saundaryalahari examined 629; Prapaścāra-
tantra, ascribed to Ś. dilates upon a mantra called Trailokyamohana for accompli-
shing six cruel acts 1070; Saundaryalahari, ascribed to S. 1049n; says that Manu-
smṛti and Devala-dharmasūtra accept some doctrines of Śāṅkhya system 1352; verses quoted by Ś on V. S. I. 3. 30 as Smṛtis, set out, identified in Śāntiparva and Purāṇas 1568n; view that Śūdras like Vidura and Dharmavyādha had brahmaṁāna and a śūdra may secure mokṣa by reading the Itihāsa and Purāṇas, and Vācaknavi Gārgī, though a woman, possessed brahmaṁāna 921n, 1642.

Śāṅkaradīvijīya of Mādhava-
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cārya, 1010n; contains an absurd story about king Sudhanva’s order for persecut-
ing Buddhists 1010n; throws all history and chronology to winds to glorify Śāṅkarācārya 1010n.

Śāṅkaragītā 79n.
Śāṅkaragītā 79n.
Śāṅkaragītā 79n.
Śāṅkaragītā 79n.

Śāṅkaravijyā of Anandagiri, 1136n.
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Śāṅkarṣaṇa-kānda, exercised hardly any influence on Dharmasāstra 1159; for discussion about devatās 1159; held to be a pariśīṣṭa (supplement) of Purvamināṁśa-ūttra by Appa-

yadikṣīta 1159; much neglected in later times 1159; views differ about its authorship 1158–59.
parva 1363-65; is called Sāṅkhya- tantra by Śaṅkarācārya 1032; is near to Vedānta because of the theory of non-difference between cause and effect that it propounds 1352; is within Vedic orthodoxy as to those views not in conflict with Veda 1362; kaivalya is the goal of S. 1361n; Kapila Muni, originator of S. acc. to Sāṅkhya-kārikā 1356; S. Kṛtānta expressly m. in Gītā (18.13) 1378; Mahābhārata (Śaṅtiparva) and Āśvamedhika and S. 1363-371; means ‘tattvajñāna’ or ‘a person knowing ultimate reality’ in the Gītā 1378; most fundamental conceptions of S. are two distinct essences viz. Prafṛti or Pradhāna and Puruṣas (that are many), three guṇas, twenty-five tattvas 1357-359; numerous teachers about puruṣa, mentioned in Śaṅtiparva 1367, 1374; one of the six well-known darsānas 1352; poets like Kālidāsa and Bāna utilize S. doctrines 1384; propounds a theory of cosmic evolution based on reason alone without postulating God as creator 1358; S. propounded in the Śaṅtiparva is a good deal different from the standard S. 1370-3; Puṇānas dwell at some length on S. doctrines 1382-84; puruṣa is bhoktṛ (and not kārtṛ) 1358; origin and development of S. is a difficult problem, 1353; Paṇcaśikha (vide under that word) 1371; relation of S. to Upaniṣads, discussed 1362–3; relied on Upaniṣad passages (such as ‘ājām-ekām’ in Śv. Up. IV.5) in support of their views about Prafṛti and guṇas; some philosophers combined S., Yoga and Parameśvara and some Mahābhārata references to S. are made with reference to them 1365, 1371; striking passages where S. doctrines and terms appear in Bhagavad-gītā 1375-6; teachers of, mentioned by Yuktidīpikā 1354–55; teachers such as Paṇcādhikāraṇa and Paurika not known before 1394; views of Garbe, Jacobi and Oldenberg on S. and Upaniṣads 1363; went through several phases 1353; why so called 1377-78; works like Buddhacarita, Carakasamhitā, Sūruta, Manusmṛti, Yāj. smṛti, Devaladharmasūtra mention S. tenets 1378-1381; works and papers on S. system mentioned in one place 1353n.

Śaṅkhyā-kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa:
468, 694n, 900n, 1033n, (calls S. system ‘Tantra’), 1353, 1359n, 1364n, 1374n, 1376n-77n, 1379n, 1383n, 1402-3, 1410; commentaries on viz. Māṭharavṛtti, Yuktidīpikā, that of Gaudapāda, Śaṅkhya-tattvakaumudi of Vācaspati 1254–55; commentary called Jayamaṇgalā ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya, 1355; date of, between 250-325 A.D., 1345–5, 1350; foremost ex-
ponent of Sāṅkhya from at least 5th Century A. D. 1333, 1356; known as Sāṅkhya-saptati and in Chinese as Suvarnasapta 1356n; quoted by Śaṅkaračārya 1333, 1358n; translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in 546 A. D. 1353.

Sāṅkhya-pravacanasūtra 1353, 1358n; ed. by Garbe, a late work of about 1400 A. D., 1353; bhāṣya on, of Vijñana-bhikṣu (about 1550 A. D.) 1355; states that no śāstra that admits a soul is unauthoritative, that there is no contradiction among śāstras, each being of full force and true in its own sphere, that Sāṅkhya is not in irreconcilable conflict with the doctrine of a personal God or with advaita Vedānta 976, 1355; comm. of Bhāva Gaṅeśa on 1373.

Sāṅkhya-tattvakaumudi of Vācspati 468n, 1214 (quotes verse defining what svarga means), 1359n, quotes Rāja-vārtika on topics of Saṣṭita-tantra).

Sāṅkrānti (vide under 'seame') 211–221; acts forbidden on 221; bath in Ganges on, highly commended 220; baths to be taken and gifts to be made during puṇyakāla (holy time) 217–218; bhoga, meaning of, 216n; came to be deified and identified with Durgā 213; each of twelve S. in a year has seven names depending on the week days or certain classes of Nakṣetrās on which it occurs 215; each of seven S. is beneficial to different varṇas and classes of people 216; gifts of special kinds recommended on twelve S. 218; grant (ancient) made on Jupiter's entrance into Fṛṣṭabha (bull) rāśi 212n; japa and gifts on, yield inexhaustible results 214; means only Ravisāṅkrānti acc. to late works 213; merit of gifts on several S. 220; Puṇyakāla, differing views on, 216–7; puṇyakālas for the passage of the Sun and planets entering into a rāśi 212–13; śrāddha on S. prescribed by some works 221; thirty ghatikās before and after the moment of Sun's entrance into a rāśi are said to be time of S. but the holiest times differ 215–216; Vratas, fifteen, on S. 221.

Sāṅkṣepa-śārīraka 1603.

Sannipatya-paṭāraka (actions or rites); are also called Sāma-vāyika or ärāyai-karmāṇi 1254; are acts such as the pounding of grains, prokṣaṇa (sprinkling water over substances etc.) i. e. they are Sanskāraka (make something fit or embellish) 1150.

Sannyāsī: being a S. before discharging the three debts severely condemned by Manu and Yāj. 1511; duties of, in Manusmṛti and Yāj., many of which are applicable to Yogins 1457; Jābālopaniṣad makes becoming
disgusted (with worldly life) the condition precedent for becoming a parivṛjaka or S. 1514; Upaniṣads inculcate that S. was to give up all actions, even good ones, except living by begging till the body lasted 1514; 1644 (rules for S. and for forest hermit identical to some extent; 1645 (most honoured at śrāddha dinner and competent to decide doubtful points of dharma).

Sanskrit Literature: about 4500 works from S. were translated into Tibetan 1041; hardly any evidence exists of the translation of Chinese or Tibetan works into Sanskrit, 1039–1040; much of it has perished beyond recovery 481; much that survives is religious and not intended to be a full treatment of any topic 481; is vast and varied, continued for at least three thousand years, penetrated countries in S. E Asia and gave rise to several sciences such as comparative philology: 1650; Histories of S. L. by various scholars 1650; for variety and vastness of; vide under H. Gowen.

Śantama 722; S occurs about two dozen times in Rg. and means ‘beneficent’ 722.

Śantarākṣita (705–762 A. D.); a. of Tattvasaṅgrahā 1037, 1212n; frequently criticizes Kumārila without naming him but does not name or quote Prabhākara 1191; pupil Kamalaśīla wrote com. on Tattvasaṅgrahā 1037n, 1191 (names Kumārila many times). Śantāliya hymn (Rg. VII. 35, 1–15) 790n–91.

Śanti 719–814: (vide under abdhuta, Āśleṣā, birds, bees, Hoens, Kaṇḍikasūtra, Gomukhaprasavasānti, nimitta, Rāhu, nakṣatras, navagrabhas, prasavasānti, Udakasānti, utpāta, Vināyakaśānti, Vāstu-śānti, Vasantarāja): Aśva-śānti, for removal of dangers to and diseases of horses 804; auspicious tithis for abdhuta-śānti 790; by owner of a cow that had delivery in Bhādrapada or a she-buffalo that had it in Paṇḍa or Māgha or on a Wednesday or a mare by day, which are sometimes performed even now 789–90; connected with Śakunas 804; cult of Śantis extensive in medieval times as in Madanaratna 736–733; definitions of, 756–757; derivation of, from root ‘Śam’ 719; efficacy of śantis against āntarikṣa and divya utpāta 746; elaborate treatment of S. in post-vedic literature, 734–35; extensive literature on Śantis indicated 734–735; for bad dreams by reciting Rg. X. 164, 1–5, 728–729; for birth of twins to a woman or mare or cow 738; for eclipses described 765–766; for ten dreams m. in Ait. Ār. 731; for dreams in Atharvaveda verses and in Grhya works 732–34; for earthquakes, eclipses (solar and lunar) 739n; for fall of
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Sastri Prof. K. A. Nilakanta, paper of, on Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, propounds that there were three Jaiminis and two Bādarāyaṇas and criticism of these views 1161–64, 1167; a of ‘Śrī Vījaya’ 1618n.
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Siddhis (miraculous powers); vide under Guhyasamājatantra, levitation; Āp. Dh. S. refers to some of them 1112; arise in five ways (Y. S. IV. 1), 1113, 1452-53; Buddha rebuked his disciple Pundola Bhāradvāja for his exhibition of S. 1037, 1070; eight mentioned in Yogasūtrabhāṣya, Devaladharasūtra and Prapañcasāra and different from those in Buddhist Tantras of Vajrayāna school like Śādhanamāla 1112n, 1115, 1453n; explained in Yogasūtrabhāṣya 1113; S. are an integral part of Yoga, 1451-52; some of the S. are obstacles in the way of Samādhi, acc. to Yogasūtra 1113; some S. are called ‘Madnapratika’ by Vyasa-bhāṣya 1402n; Yāj. on signs of Yogasiddhi 1453.
Śīkṣā (a Vedāṅga on Phonetics) 478, 1274.
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Simhastha Guru (Jupiter in Lion sign) 447, 613; inauspicious
in what undertakings and countries 613.
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Sindhu, river, frequently mentioned in Ṛgveda 1613-14.
Sīnivālī (amāvasyā mixed with 14th tithi) 62; divinity in Ṛgveda, sister of gods and bestower of progeny 62; S. and Rākā defy attempts at a rational etymology 63.
Sinha, Dr. Jadunath, a. of ‘History of Indian Philosophy’ 845.
Sins: (vide under Prāyaścittas, rebirth, repentance, japa, remembrance of name of Kṛṣṇa or Nārāyaṇa): ancient Indian belief that diseases and bodily defects in this life were caused by S. of past lives 756n; Biblical position for removal of consequences of, 1593; Manus on 91, 1593; methods for removal of consequences of sins, such as confessions, repentance, japa 1592-93; ten 90-91, 448.
Śīras: of Gāyatrī verse, 1099n.
Sircar, Dr D. C., 1395n (on date of Mahābhāṣya), 1408n, 1527n (on text of the Purānic list of peoples); edited, ‘Select Inscriptions’ Vol. I, 850n, 1613n.
Sirius, star, referred to in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda 498.
Śirovṛata, explained 918n.
Sister, house of, to be visited by brother on Bhrāṭṛdvitiyā, 209-210.
Śītapāla, Lord of Cedi: story of, in Sahāparva, Viṣṇu and Brahma Purāṇas 971n; though always enemical to Kṛṣṇa, reached the Lord 971n.
Śītapālavadha of Māgha (725-775 A. D.), 997.
Śiva, Ardhanaśīvara form of, 18, 1046 (known to Kālidāsa); created sesame on Makara-saṅkrānti 219; thousand names of, in Anuāśana (31.153) and Śaṇti (285, 74ff) and in Śivapurāṇa 234n, 911; twelve names of, when offering flowers 234; twelve Jyotirlingas of, 911.
Śivadharmā, 104n, 911.
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Śivarāhasya, held to be a mere compilation by Ballālasena 869.
Śivaramamurti, C., a. of ‘Royal conquests and cultural migrations’ 997n, 1130.
Śivarātri, (vide under Mahā śivarātri, Śiva and Udyāpana): 225-236; description of the procedure of Ś. vrata 230-31; details added by Tithitattva 231; eight names of Śiva 233; Mantras to be repeated 233; Mūlamantra is ‘om, namah Śivāya’ or ‘Śivāya namah’ 233; one observing fast on, Jāgara for whole night on Ś. and performing, worship is not born again 227; one observing this vrata has to
observe certain rules of conduct such as ahimsā, truthfulness, sexual purity 229; pāraṇā of a single Ś. 234-235; proper time for Ś. vrata is night, 229; vrata of, is both nitya and kāmya 228; vrata of, may be performed by all human beings 228-229; vrata of, very elaborately described in Tithitattva, Dharmasindhu and other late digests 232; word Ś. is Yogarādha like ‘pañkaja’ 228; worshipper to make a saṅkalpa, apply Tripundra mark on forehead with ashes and to hold a rosary of rudrākṣa, should go to Śiva temple at night 232; worship includes Nyāsa, Pūja and Japa 233; Śivalīnga to be bathed with milk, curds, ghee and honey respectively in the four watches of the night and the mantras also differ in the watches 231; Śiva form to be contemplated upon described 233n; Worship requires offering of 1008 or 108 bilva leaves with the thousand names of Śiva or with mūla-mantra 234; worship in modern times is brief 235; worshippers in some parts drink a beverage called bhāṅg prepared from crushed hemp leaves, which is supposed to be dear to Śaṅkarā 235.

Śivasamhitā on Hathayoga 1127, 1426, 1427n; describes Khecarimundra 1454; mentions ten mudrās as best 1127; states that āsanās are 84, 1426.

Skambha (Lit. ‘Support or pillar’): (vide under ‘creation’): as creator in Atharva-veda 1493-4; in Rg. the word occurs but not in the sense of creator.

Skanda, as God of war and commander of Deva armies in classical Sanskrit and in Gitā 1581-82.

Skandapurāṇa 911; found in two forms 911; has 81,000 verses acc. to most authorities but the extant one has several thousands more 833, 911; Kāśikabhāṣā of Ś is full of Śloka and parisaṅkhyā 911-12; most extensive among purānas and poses perplexing problems, 911; not earlier than 7th cen. A. D. nor later than 9th, 912; quoted in early Dharmasāstra digests like Mit, Kalpataru, Apararāka, though sparingly 912; Skanda (God) has no prominent part in the Purāṇa 911; Tāntrik influence on 912n; 45, 49n, 69, 72n, 90-92, 100n, 102, 107, 112-3, 117, 132, 146n, 158, 170, 188, 195-6, 203n, 207n, 219, 225, 227, 228n, 232n, 234, 755, 830, 833, 835n, 862 (about sūta), 869 (Ballālasena discards parts of it), 916 (runs down animal sacrifices or sacrifices even with kuṭas and flowers), 927n, 932, 948-9 (no dharma higher than doing good to others), 1419 (six anīgas of Yoga), 1431n, 1445n, 1447n-8n, 1450n, 1455.

Sleep: man in deep s. becomes united for a time with the
Real, acc. to Chân. Up. VI. 8. 1., 1506.
Ślokavārtika of Kumārila, 1159n (on Bhavādāsa), 1182n–84n, 1188 (states that very first sentence of Śabara’s bhāṣya interpreted in six different ways by commentators) and contains an exposition in about 4000 verses on PMS I. 1), 1202, 1205 (elaborate treatment of word and sense), 1207, 1210 (creation of world by God not proved), 1211–12, 1216n, 1225, 1246 (on meanings of ‘na’), 1286n (defines ‘uddeśya’), 1376n, 1600n; com. Tatparya-āvitika of Umbeka on, criticizes Vārtikakāra who appears to be his guru 1194n–95n.
Smart, Dr. W. M., a. of ‘Origin of earth’ 1502n.
Śmārtas, observe fast on Ekādaśi and also on Śivarātri 118.
Smith and Carspinko on ‘Hindu Arabic numerals’ 699n.
Smith D. E., a. of ‘History of Mathematics’ 516.
Smith R. Martin, a of papers ‘on the ancient chronology of India’ 845.
Smith, Vincent, a. of ‘Early History of India’ 1018; a. of ‘History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon’ 1331n (Buddha seated in Abhayamudrā from Java), 1655.
Śmṛti (or Smṛtis, acc. to context); attitude of PMS and Śabara towards S. is that, in case of direct conflict with Veda, S. is to be discarded, but if there be no conflict it may be inferred that S. is based on some Vedic text 1277; is stronger than usages of śiśṭas 1058; lay down many vidhis by employing optative verbal forms or partici-ples in ‘ya’, ‘tavya’ etc. as in Manu IV. 25 and XI. 53, 1228; S. like Gaut, and Manu (II. 7) do claim that they are based on Veda 1277; Maxim of ‘sarvaśākhāpratyayanyāya’ was extended to S. by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and others 1173; often referred to as authorita-tive by Śabara for several reasons and as equal to Veda, 1257–58; out of about 1000 adhikaraṇas of P. M. sūtra barely a dozen are in any way concerned with S. 1277; principal subject of most S. is dharmas of varṇas and aśramas 1637; since vikalpa was liable to eight faults the tendency developed that all S passages on a topic were to be so interpreted as to give rise to no conflict nor option by various devices 1273–74; six Vedāṅgas and the Dharmaśastras are comprehended under Śmṛti, acc. to Kumārila 1277; some S. provide that a brāhmaṇa could take food at the house of certain sūdras, 1608; the objection that śmṛtis being composed by men are not authorita-tive is met in Tantravārtika by several answers 1259–60; those parts of śmṛti (including Mahābhārata and Purāṇas) that are concerned with Dharma and Mokṣa have the Veda
as their source, while Smṛti parts concerned with artha and kāma are based on worldly practices, acc. to Tantravārttika, while episodes and tales in the epic and Purāṇas are arthavādās 1261-62; Yaś. (II. 21) and Nārada propose that when two smṛtis are in conflict, reasoning based on the practices of elders was of greater force, 1266; what those who advocate the historical method or approach towards S. mean 1271-72; when Smṛtis were in conflict with each other, various devices were employed instead of allowing an option, viz. different smṛtis prevailed in the different yugas or that Manu should be followed, or the opinion of the majority be followed 1265-67.

Smṛticandrīka 33, 37, 42n, 52n-53n, 66n, 71n, 75n, 218n, 525n, 659, 661n, 663n, 706n, 898, 905, 1096n, 1121n (quotes Yojyājñavalkya on nyāsa), 1122, 1130 (names and defines 24 mudrās that are same as in Devbhhāgavata), 1192, 1227n (holds that a Śatapatha text, though in the present tense, is to be construed as a vidhi), 1233, 1262, 1270n, 1273n, 1302-3, 1314, 1315-6n, 1372n, 1407, 1439n, 1442n, 1649n

Smṛtikaustubba 81n, 89-90, 101, 119, 150n, 157n, 205, 213, 210-1, 245n, 247n, 248-250n, 606-608n, 663n, 672, 674, 758n, 785n, 811, 1109n, 1134.

Smṛtimañjari (of Govindarāja), a digest on dharmaśāstra, of which a ms. on prāyaścitta is available 884.

Smṛtimuktāphala 33, 85n, 113, 247n, 1120 (on nyāsa of letters of Gāyatrī on parts of the body), 1121n.

Smṛtisamuccaya 249n.

Smṛtitattva of Raghunandana (1520-1570 A. D.), 836, 1042n.

Smṛtiviveka, a work of Medhātithi q. by him on Manu II. 6, 1258n.

Smṛtyarthasāra 30n.

Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana 1372.

Snātaka: observances of 27.

Snellgrove, Dr. D. L., editor of 'Hevajra-tantra' 1147.


Social Service, what it often comes to, acc. to L. P. Jacks 1675n; vide under 'Pūrta' 947-949, 1647n.

Socialistic pattern of Society 1679-80! vague meaning of, as admitted by P. M. Nehru, 1680-81 (who wants a democratic socialism). Socialism, democratic type of, 1681, 1695, Social welfare and welfare State distinguished 1697n.

Solar eclipse at unusual times m. in Mahābhārata 744.

Soloveychik, G., a. of 'Switzerland in perspective' 1664n.

Soma: in a Soma sacrifice, if
soma plant be not available use Pūtikas as substitute and nothing else, though it be more similar to Soma 1231; is called 'Viṣṇuvrata' in Rgveda, 19; is called Lord of plants and king of brāhmaṇas in Śat. Br. 740n.; S. sacrifice, person resolving to perform, need not consider the season or nakṣatra 507, 523.

Sorokin, Prof. P. A. on 'Yoga' 1456; a. of 'Social and cultural dynamics' 1615, 1617; a. of 'Social philosophies in an age of crisis' 1615n.

Sortes Sanctorum or Sortes Vergiliana, 811.

South: is direction of pīrs 731n.

Soul: (vide under brahman, māyā): Christians believe in post existence of S. after physical death and not pre-existence 1608; two kinds of Upaniṣad texts, one class saying that souls spring from the Highest Atman, as sparks from a fire, while many Upaniṣad passages say that individual soul is unborn, immortal, that it is non-different from Supreme Self 1507–8; Vedāntasūtra (II. 3 17) affirms two propositions viz. soul is unproduced and is eternal 1508; when some passages seem to mention creation or dissolution of Jiva, the reference is to the Upādhis (body and mind) 1508.

Soul or Souls: (vide under 'Nāstika', 'Upaniṣads'): 1205–7; are many, eternal, all-pervading, different from the body, are agents (kārī) and also bhoktr (enjoyers), are of the nature of pure consciousness 1206; it appears (from Chāṇḍ. Up.) that Asura Virocana believed that the body alone was the soul, 1205n; S. in Sāṅkhya and Yoga 1403; Kumārila complains that the Mimāṃsā, though not atheistic, was put forward by some as Lokāyata 1205; popular belief in Vedic Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas about individual S. was that by good deeds S. reaches heaven, becomes immortal and enjoys various pleasures 1498; P. M. S. does not expressly affirm the existence of the soul in any sūtra but Śābara propounds it in an elaborate argument 1205–6; question whether individual S. is also a creation like trees and shrubs, discussed in Up. 1507; reward of many rites being Svarga, it is implied that P. M. S. accepts continuous existence of the soul 1206; Ślokavārtika devotes 148 verses to this subject and the Tantravārtika also briefly deals with it 1206.

Spells or Charms: against poison in Rg. I. 191, 1036; found in plenty in Atharvaveda 1035; Kṛtyādhyāya and Śatrunāśana hymns of Atharvaveda, 1036; Sp. similar to those in Hindu or Buddhist works exist in Old English, Old High German, Keltic 1107; sleep-inducing S.
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Śrutasarasārī, a. of com. on ‘Tattvārthasūtra’ of Umāsvāti 472n.
Śruti, technical meaning of, in PMS III, 3, 14, 1309.
Stars (vide under ‘Aristotle’).
Star-gazer, condemned in ancient times 527, 543.
Stecherbsky Th., a. of ‘central conception of Buddhism’, ‘The conception of Nirvāṇa’ and ‘Buddhist Logic’ 942n.
Stein, M. A. editor and translator of Rājatarājaṅi 655.
Stein, Otto, paper of, on ‘Number 18’, 842n.
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Sthāpaka, qualifications of, 890, 1013.
Stobha, meaning of, 1222n.
Stocks, J. L., a. of ‘Time, cause and eternity’ 546n.
Strabo, asserts that Chaldeans were skilled in horoscopes 550; mentions embassy from a king Pandon to the West and to Augustus 599n.
Streeter, B. H. and others, writers of essays on ‘Immortality’ 1604.
Strīparva, 466n, 467, 821.
Stutterheim, W. F., a. of ‘Indian influences in Balinese Art’ 1657.
Subhadra, though a maternal uncle’s daughter, was married by Arjuna and mimāṃsakas like Kumārila deny that she was the daughter of Vasudeva, even when Adiparva expressly says so 1280.
Subrahmanyā-nigāda 1325.
Succession Act, for Hindus 1706.
Sudarśana, city of gods 1529.
Sudarśana Yantra, worship of, by a king or person desiring wealth and prosperity 1136.
Sudās, king in Ṛgveda who battled with ten kings 1664.
Sudhanvan, a king, is said to have issued order that he would sentence to death his servants that would not kill Buddhists 1009, 1010n.
Sudharmā, assembly hall of gods, 1529.
Su di meaning of 670.
Śūdra: Buddha’s teaching very attractive to Ś. whose position was low in times of Vedas and smṛtis 940; distinction made between āvijās and Ś. in the matter of Vedic mantras and sacrifices 922, 1642; duty of Ś. to serve the three higher varṇas acc. to Mann, 1257; Gautama prescribed for him ‘nāmaḥ’ in place of Vedic mantras 925; Mahābhārata and Purāṇas were composed by Vyāsa through compassion for Ś. and women 921–22; high spiritual life and mokṣa were not denied to Ś. 164; Mahābhārata, Ramāyaṇa and Purāṇas were meant for the education of Ś. and for securing mokṣa to Ś. 925, 1642; Ś. not
to perform Prāṇāyāma, but only dhyāna and repeat word Śiva for om, 922 and to repeat in five daily sacrifices the mantra called saptārcis, acc. to Mit. while some others said that he is to repeat ‘namah’ only 159n; 920n, 925; three views about śūdra and purāṇas among medieval writers, 32, 172, 925; special facilities to and advantages of Ś. over other varṇas 928–29; Vedānta-sūtra denies to the Ś. the right to study the Veda and does not discuss how Ś. and women are to secure higher spiritual life and final beatitude but the Purāṇas do this 929–30; Vidura and Dharmaśāla, though śūdras, possessed brāhmavidyā and must have secured mokṣa, even acc. to Śaṅkaraśānyāya 1642; Yaj., Deva and Parāśara permitted even brāhmaṇas to take food in the house of certain śūdras such as the brāhmaṇa’s slave, barber etc. 1608.

Śūka, son and disciple of Vyāsa 1161, 1169; styled Bādarāyani in Bhāgavatapurāṇa 1169.

Sukthankar, Dr. V. S. 838 (on Rāma episode).

Sukumar Ranjan Das 714n.

Sulabhā, a nun, encounter of, with Janaka 1368–70.


Śulbasūtras of Āpastamba and Kātyāyana (reference to the squaring of a circle) 1132, 1132n (‘science of the Śulba’ by Vībhūtibhushan Datta).

Samantu, a. of a smṛti 527.

Śumbha and Niśumbha, demons, killed by Devī 156.

Sumerians: speak of a golden age of man and of huge numbers of years 789n.

Sun–(vide Bhāskarapūjā) 363; as a malefic graha 573; called ‘Shamash’ in Babylon and ‘Helin’ in some Sanskrit works probably from Greek ‘Helios’ 572n; is one and never sets, acc. to Ait. Br. 510–11; múlamantra of, 1105; temples of, in ancient and medieval India 684, 898n; three important places of the worship of the Sun viz. Muṇḍira (modern Modhera), Kālapriya and Mitravana 898n; northward passage for six months had been noticed in the Brāhmaṇa period 223, 491.


Sunāphā, astrological Yoga; meaning of 584.

Sundarakānda (of Rāmāyaṇa) 77°.

Surā (see under ‘wine’).

Sureśvara (most famous of Śaṅkaraśānyāya’s disciples); a. of Naiṣkarmyasiddhi 1174, 1197; a. of Vārtikas on Śaṅkaraśānyāya’s brāhṇyas on Br. Up. and Tai. Up. 1195, 1216n; and Mandana are not identical 1195; S. is the same as Viśvarūpa 1194; flourished between 800–490 A. D., 1198.

Śūrparāka and Pampaśūrāma 90n.
Sūryaprajñapti, a Jain work, propounded the theory of two suns and two moons 511.
Sūryapūjā-praśāmsa 452.
Sūryasiddhānta 68, 592 (mentions Maya, king of Yavanas, to whom the Sun imparted Jyotiṣa), 644 (tr. into English by Whitney) 656n, 657n, 676n, 679n, 711; most accurate acc. to Varāhamihira 514n; on Kāla and units of time 474, 477; Prof. Neugebauer’s view that S. did not copy Ptolemy, but received impetus from him 601-2.
Sūryā, daughter of Savitr, married Soma 497n; is said to be wife of Aśvins 1044n
Suśruta-samhitā 474 (on Kāla), 1032 (on ‘tantrayukti’), 1379 (mentions Sākhya doctrines).
Suśumnā, nādi; Kudalalini, when awakened, enters the road to liberation which is Suśumnā 1085.
Sūta (vide Māgadhā) 862-864; business of, was to record and preserve historic traditions and genealogies 856; Gautama Dh. S. on the origin of S. 862n; is a somewhat enigmatic personality 862-3; Kautilya says that the S. and Māgadhā mentioned in Purāṇas are different from pratiḥoma castes 863; one meaning of the word S. is charioteer and another is person of a mixed (pratiḥoma) caste born of the union of a brāhmaṇa woman with kṣatralīya male 862; some Purāṇas like Brahmandā, Padma, Skanda, Vāyu make the Sūta of semi-divine origin in the Yadā of Pitāmaha to get over any awkward situation 862-4; story of king Pṛthu Vainya having bestowed the country of Anūpa on Sūta and Magadhā on Māgadhā 863; two explanations why he was called Roma- (or Loma-) harṣaṇa 862.
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Sūtra (aphorism): characteristics of, 1182n.
Suttanipāta 1005, 1636n (verse from, quoted by Tilak).
Śutudrī (modern Sutālj river) 537.
Śvachchanda-tantra, a Tantra work of high authority in Kashmir Śaivism 1086.
Śvādhya, means memorization of Veda, acc. to Śat. Br. 1416, acc. to Yogabhāṣya means japa of om and holy texts or study of śāstras on mokṣa 1416.
Śvapa-, a cāndāla 554n, 969n.
Śvapāka, lowest among untouchables, followed the same avocation as Cāndāla and was governed by same rules 1043.
Śvapnādhya, 774.
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nādis, puraścaraṇa, śakti, śa-
tas, Śāradātīlaka, siddhis, Śri-
vidyāmantra, spells, tāntrika,
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sublime philosophic views derived from the Upaniṣads, the Gitā, from Śākhyā and Yoga and the final goal is Mukti to be secured by the path of T. 1050–51; so much of T. that is not opposed to Veda is authoritative acc. to Devibhāgavata 1064; Tateterminate worship described 1059, 1087; T. says śuddhi means the offering of flesh, wine and mudrā to the devatā with the recital of three bijas 1058n, 1088; T. teach the repetition of mantras that have no meaning or that contain the letters of a mantra in a reversed form 1107; T. teachers' names often end in the word Ānanda 1073n; T. topics like mantras, nyāsa, maṇḍala taken over into some Purāṇas, and dharmasastra works 1095–96; teaching of tāntrik texts about worship with five makāras created a debased state in society, which is reflected in some parts of Sanskrit literature 1073–76; T. texts fall into five classes, Śaiva, Śākta, Vaishnava, Saura and Gānapatya 1092; theory of such T. works as Śāradātilaka about mantras set out 1098–99; theory of sublimation put forward for explaining the insistence on five makāras 1085; theory of T. works that wine, meat and sexual unions are the only and the best means of Devi worship invite strong condemnation 1092–3; thought is recognised in some T. works as having creative power and may do good if kind and may cause suffering if evil 1100; three aspects of the deity worshipped by Tāntrikas are sthūla (an image), sūkṣma (worship by mantras) and parā (highest, to be apprehended by the mind of the sāthaka) 1091; three groups of T. viz. Viṣṇukrānta, Rathakrānta and Āśvakrānta and 64 are assigned to each group 1049; time when the word Tantra assumed its peculiar meaning, the people who first introduced tantra practices or the country where they first arose cannot be determined with certainty 1033; to drink wine without performing Śuddhi was condemned even by T. writers 1089; translations of Sanskrit works on Tantra in Tibetan are available, but the originals are not yet found 1048; Vajrayāna T. arose in Uḍḍiyāna, acc. to one view 1039; Vaiṣṇavatantras, twentyfive, named by Agni purāṇa 1051; vast literature on Tantras 1031; Vedas, Śāstras and Purāṇas are of hardly any use, when Mahānirvāṇatantra is understood 1057; Vedic mantras for sanctifying flesh, fish, and mudrā are respectively Rg. I. 22. 20, VIII. 59. 12, I. 22. 20–1; T. Vidyā divided into three groups viz. Kādi, Hādi and Śādi 1045; view of Dr. Bagehi about foreign elements
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laid down in Tantras referred to by Bhāgavata 1093; writers on T. clothe their practices in bombastic words 1081; writers, medieval and modern, were largely justified in their condemnation of Tāntrik practices 11.94; yantra (sometimes called cakra) also is a characteristic item in Tāntrik worship 1135–1139.

Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta 1049n.

Tantrarāhasya of Rāmānujaçārya, last noted work of Prabhakara school composed about 1750 A.D., 1185n, 1189, 1283n.

Tantrarāja tantra 1088, 1106n, 1119 (on abhiseka ), 1136 (on Yantra ), 1138n–39.

Tantra ratna, of Pārthasārathi-miira 1189.

Tantravārtika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa (a voluminous com. on Śabara’s bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 2 to end of Chap. III); 96n, 926n, 985n, 1009n, 1162n, 1174, 1179 (papers on ‘Gleanings from Śabara and Tantravārtika’ and ‘Tantravārtika and Dharmaśastra’), 1181 (on adhikāra for Agnihotra and Darśa-pūramāsā), 1186n, 1188, 1191n, 1206n (positions about soul specified), 1211 (on Apūrva ), 1212n, 1216n, 1220n–24n, 1228n, 1229 (defines vidhi, niyama and parisaṅkhya ), 1236n (bhāvanā is the pratyaśārtha), 1237n, 1241n, 1244, 1247n, 1249n (on ‘Vikalpa ’), 1253n, 1254, 1258–59 (is most exhaus-
tive on Smṛtis), 1261–62n, 1264 (on sadācāra), 1273n–74n (on Kalpa and Kalpa-sūtras), 1277n, 1290n, 1293n, 1295n, 1297n, 1302, 1307n, 1309n, 1329 (collects about three dozen cases of bādha in general), 1333 (on change in meaning of ‘rājan’), 1544n, 1545; examines all the well-known classes of Sanskrit works with regard to their usefulness and relation to Veda and other-worldly experience 1260–1262.

Tantrayuktī: means ‘main canons or principles of exposition of a śāstra,’ acc. to Kaṇṭīlyā, Caraka and Suśruta 1032.


Tāntrik—cult in Epigraphs,’ paper by Mr. B. P. Desai 1046n; T. practices prevailed in N. India long before 11th century A. D., 869n; T. literature is classified into Srotas (that are three), Pūthā and Āmnāya 1049.

Tāntrik: gurus (some) in Kashmir in 11th century A. D. practised incest 1075–6; T. Sculpture at Puri and other temples in Orissa 1088; works emphasize that mantra must be received from a qualified guru and the sādhanā must be done under his guidance 1110.

Tapas 304–305, 1415n, 1416; grand eulogy of T. in Manu, Yāj, 1415n; in Ṛgveda means ‘heat’ in some cases and ‘austerities’ in some (as in X. 109. 4, X. 154. 2 and 5, X. 150. 1) 1415n; in Śat. Br. and Ait. Br. it is indicated that tapas like yajña would bestow everything 1415, 1489; in Upaniṣads T. is one of the means leading to realization of brahman 1415n; Mahābhārata has frequent eulogies of T. 1416n; Manu provides that only three pṛṇāyāmas performed acc. to prescribed rules are highest T. 1415n; means acc. to Āp. Dh. S. the strict observances laid down for a Vedic student, 1415n; Śāntiparva says that T. consists in ahimsā, truthfulness, kindliness and restraint of senses and not in mortification of the body 1416n; Vyāsa-bhāṣya explains Tapas as bearing the pairs of opposites (cold and heat, hunger and thirst) and observances like Kračha, Cāndrāyaṇa 1416.

Tapta-mudrā—dhāraṇa—making marks of conch, discus etc., (weapons of God Viṣṇu) on limbs or parts of the body with heated copper or the like by Mādvas 305.

Tārābhaktitaraṅgini, 977n, 1072n, 1109 (on Śāyasādāhana), 1142

Taranath (born 1573 or 1575 A. D.), a. of a ‘History of Buddhism’ (written in 1608
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A. D.), 1010n, 1033n, 1148; gives a confused account about persecution of Buddhists by Kumārila and Sañkarācārya 1010n.
Tarātantra 1142.

Tarka (ratiocination) and Dharmāstrā 1468–1482: (vide 'Nyāya', 'people', 'tolerance', 'Upaniṣads'); as an āṅga of Yoga 1419, 1469; Buddhists and Jains were declared to be heterodox, not because they resorted to T. but because they did not at all acknowledge the authority of the Veda and the sacred tradition 1471; Manu provides that none but he who considers the dicta of (vedic) sages, the rules of dharma (in smṛtis) and takes the help of tarka not in direct conflict with Veda and śāstras knows what Dharma is and this is the position of most orthodox Sanskrit writers about Tarka, 1469; Sañkarācārya's position about T. 1470–71; Smṛtis lay down that blindly following the words of śāstra would lead to loss of Dharma and that in case of conflict between two Smṛtis reasoning should be resorted to, 1470; smṛtis and ancient Sanskrit writers have been very tolerant of differing views even on fundamental matters and brought about great changes in rituals, philosophical views, social customs, without persecution 1475; T. a'one cannot give final answers or answers acceptable to most people on such questions as the existence of God or of the individual soul, or on what happens after death 1470; T. favoured by or not opposed to Śruti is acceptable to Br. Up. acc. to Sañkarācārya 1469n; within the limits laid down by Sañkarācārya and other orthodox Sanskrit writers there was room enough for an enormous and bewildering variety of convictions, rites and practices to claim orthodoxy and examples of these 1471; wise man who is pure should, in deciding upon dharma and adharma, act after relying on his own intelligence (reason) 1470; word 'tarka' occurs in Kathopaniṣad 1468; Yāj. Smṛti mentions Nyāya (v. 1. tarka) as one of the fourteen vidyās and one of the means of knowing dharma 1468.

Tarkadipikā 1486n.

Tarn, W. W., author of 'Greeks in Bactria and India' 516, 655 (criticized).

Tarpana (offering water), of seven sons of Brahmā, acc. to Kātyāyana's Snānasūtra, Māsya and other Purāṇas 1372.

Ṭāṭparyadarśana, com. on Āp. Gr. 802n.

Tattva: meaning of, differs in Tantrik works acc. as the worshipper concerned is Tāmasika (Paśu), Rājasika (vīra) and Śāttvika (divya), 1082.

Tattvabindu of Vācaspati, Introduction to, 1158n–1159n.
Tattvaniṣṭha - parivartanavādi - pariṣad, later termed Dharmanirṇayaśāstra, its members and work for reform and reorganization of Hindu Society 1705–1707.

Tattvas, twenty-five, in Sāṅkhya and in Sāntiparva 1358, 1365. Tattvārthasūtra of Umāsvāti 472n.

Tattvasamāsa, a late work on Sāṅkhya in 23 sūtras 1354; com. on, called Kramadīpikā 1354.

Tattvasaṅgraha of Śantaraksita (705-762 A.D.), connects Buddha with magic practices 1037.

Tattvavaiśārādi of Vācaspati, com. on Yogasūtra, 907.

Tattvopaplava-sīṁha of Jayarāśihṛṣṭa 1472n.

Tawney C. H. a. of 'Acquisitive society' 1481n.

Taxes, recent Indian taxes, defects of 1695n.

Tejobindu-Upaniṣad (on proper āsana) 1431.

Temple: of Rāhu 684; of Sun m. in 'Gupta Inscriptions' 683n; of Sun in ancient and medieval India 683-84; of 64 Yoginis, 174; three temples of the sun established in three different places acc. to Varāhapūrāṇa 898n.

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Thibant, a. of a work on Indian Astronomy, mathematics and astrology in the German Grundriss, 484, 487, 490-92, 508-10, 512, 579 (criticized); observes that what Indians knew before Greek influence is not much and is primitive 512; observes that Greek astrology entered India between Firmicus (middle of 4th century A.D.) and Varāhamihira, 579-80; observes that Mr. Dixit's work on 'Hindu Astronomy' is the richest source of material on it, 484; on Romaka Siddhānta 515.

Third Five Year Plan: total investment programme of, 1084ff; total American aid from 1951 to end of Third F. P. 1691ff.

Thomas E J., a. of 'History of Buddhist Thought' 1107.

Thomas, Prof. F. W. 1104n; presentation volume 757n.

Thompson C., 'Reports of the Magicians' etc. 565n, 572n.

Thorndike, a. of 'History of magic and experimental science' 550n.

Throbbing (spandana or spu-raṣa); of arms and eyes regarded in India from ancient times as harbinger of coming events 800-801; of right or left side of body is auspicious respectively for men and women 800; prognostications from 799-801; removal of the effects of inauspicious T. brought about by gifts of gold to brāhmaṇas 800; results of the T. of limbs from head to soles set out 800.
Tibet (vide Sanskrit literature); Padmasambhava, a Tāntrik Buddhist was called from Uddiyāna by a Tibetan king (749–786 A.D.) and settled in T., 1040–41; script based on an Indian alphabet was introduced in T. about 640 A.D., 1040. Tikkani kā: a small work of Varāhamihira on Yātrā 617. Tiladhenu, gift of, on Karkasān-krānti 218. Tilak, Lokamānya, a. of Gitārahasya (in Marathi) 1171–72n; his edition of Bhagavadgītā (XIII. 4) not accepted 1171–72; a of 'Orion' and 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' 3, 485, 498, 499n, 510, 513; on 'Vedic, Chronology' 644, 645n; held several conferences of Indian astronomers for improving pañcāṅgas 712; views of, on caste and urgency of independence and not mere social reform 1635n–1636n. Timæus, a dialogue of Plato, 781, 1502, 1505n. Time (see under Kāla); amānta reckoning 659; Buddhist Sanskrit writers like Prajñākarasagupta hold that T. is not a separate entity 472; conception of, 463–475; divisions of T. from nimeṣa to Kalpa given by Manu 688; first among great problems of philosophy 463; fundamental periods of time are day, month, year, 644–45; human reckoning of T. is fourfold viz. Saura, Cāndra, Sāvana, Nakṣatra (or Ārka) 656n–59; identified with Nārāyaṇa in Mahānārāyaṇa Up. 466; indications of the existence of T. acc. to Vaiṣeṣikasūtra and Praṣasta-pāda's bhasya 469; is a dravya, acc. to Vaiṣeṣikasūtra and Caraka 474; Jaina writers hold that T. is one of six padārthas 472; lengthy disquisition on T. in Maitri Up. 465–66; long disquisition on T. in Nyāya-maṇjarī 469; Manusmṛti on, 468; measures of T. such as Yuga, Mahāyuga, Manvantara, Kalpa, 686ff; minute divisions of T. such as nimeṣa mentioned from even Vedic times, 475; nine reckonings of, out of which only five are ordinarily employed 656–57; Nyāyasūtra holds that time is past, present or future 469; pūrṇimānta reckoning 659; questions as to, 463; some western philosophic works on T. 475; some philosophers hold that time is either past or future, but that there is no present T. 469; space, T. and God are one and the same acc. to Raghunātha, follower of Navyānyāya 470; spoken of, in the same terms as brahman in Maitri and Tai, Up. 466; sublime conception of, in Atharvaveda as ageless, as the creator of everything, including Prajāpati, 463–4; truṭa (or truṭi) as the smallest unit of T. in Kauṭilya and Sūryasiddhānta 214, 476–77; units of T. from nimeṣa to year mentioned in Br. Up. 475–76;
units of time, same verse on, in Śāntiparva and Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu and Brahmaṇḍa purāṇas 476n; units of T. such as Prāṇa, Pala, Ghati or Naḍī or Daṇḍa 684; Vākyapadiya of Bhartṛhari on T. 475; views differ as to the number of units of T. and their relation to each other among Manu, Kauṭilya, Purāṇas, Amarakośa, Sūrya- siddhānta 476–477.

Tithi (or tithis, acc. to context): (vide under Amāvāsyā, Asākā, day, God, nakṣatra, Kāla, Purṇāmāsī, Vedha, week days); all religious acts to be begun in the morning, even if t. is viddhā 72; all rites, Vedic and smārtī, vrata, dāna do not yield proper reward as long as the proper t. for it is not determined 73; āṅga (subsidiary matter) to Vedic and smārtī prescriptions and prohibitions, 71; a tithi touching three days was held to be inauspicious for marriage, invasion and auspicious religious acts 68–69; certain t. dear to certain gods, 70; decision of a proper t. for religious rite is by recourse to Yugmavākyā, when a tithi extends over two days, 74; derivation of word t. from root ‘tan’ to spread 67n; different views before Ait. Br. on which a tithi rite was to be performed 66; divided by Dharmasindhu into Pūrṇā and Sakhaṇḍa 71–72; divided by Nirṇayāsindhu into Śuddhā and Viddhā 71n; division of, into five groups, 70; division of tithis into kharva, darpa, hiṃsra or hiṃsā 78; even if t. begins in the afternoon, a saṅkalpa had to be made in the morning, provided the vrata has to be performed on that t. though viddhā 82; T. is time or period required by the moon to gain twelve degrees on the sun to the east 68; long lists of acts and things forbidden on certain tithis 79–80; lords of tithis acc. to Brhat-samhitā and others 69, 111; loss caused by eating certain things on certain tithis, 70; most important topic in relation to vrata is t. 56; motion of moon being irregular the number of ghāṭi- kās of a t. may be any figure from about 54 to 65, 68; Pāṇini mentions affix ‘tithae (probably due to word ‘tithi’) and Patañjali mentions Purṇāmāsī tithi 67; Pūrṇā, Sakhaṇḍa, Śuddhā and Viddhā defined 72, 113; purvaviddhā and paraviddhā, explained 74; theory that shortening and lengthening of tithis is due to piety and sinfulness of men, 78; t., though khaṇḍa, is to be regarded as sakalā for dharmasāstra purposes in some cases 73; unit day (from sunrise to sunrise) may have two tithis or even three tithis touching it or one tithi may spread to or touch three civil days 68; unit day touching three tithis was regarded as
holy, 68; *vedha* defined 72-73; week days, nakṣatras and tithis are means of securing merit or sin, 71; what articles should specially be eaten or not eaten on certain tithis 70-71, 79-80; what combinations of viddhā tithis are generally excluded as improper 74-75; what should be undertaken on each of the five groups of T., 70; word tithi does not occur in the Vedic sanhitās, though the idea must have been there in the Ṛgveda but occurs in Ait. Br. and the gṛhya and dharma sūtras and hence was in use at least from about 800 B.C., 62, 67-68; word ‘mahā’ is prefixed to certain tithis when the Full Moon is in the nakṣatra which gives the name to the month and is in conjunction with Jupiter 79.

Tithicintāmani, contains tables based on the Grahalāghava 643.

Tithitattva 53, 68n, 70-72n, 75n, 77n, 79n, 81, 84-86, 88, 91n, 93, 110n, 117n, 124n, 125, 129n, 134-5, 136n-8, 142n, 148, 152n, 154, 156-58n, 161n, 162, 165n-167n, 169n, 170-2, 173n, 175n, 177n, 179n, 182n, 191n, 193, 198n, 201n, 203n, 207n, 217, 227, 228n, 230, 241, 246n, 247n, 249n, 1182n.

Tithiviveka, 73n, 76n.

Tithyarka 71n.

Tolerance (vide Aśoka, Madhvācārya); a more radical tolerance than what Indian people showed throughout the ages is unthinkable 1076; Bhagavadgītā, Bhāgavata, Śāntiparva exhibit wonderful spirit of T. when they say that worship of other deities also reaches ultimately the Highest 970; germs of doctrine of T. in Ṛg.I, 164. 46, 970-71; great tolerance in Emperor Harṣa’s family 1006; in India it was at the most necessary to show that doctrines put forth were not opposed directly to the dicta of the *Veda* 1481-82; Inscriptions and coins evidence exceptionally generous T. on the part of the civil powers, says Barth 1011; Madhvācārya could explain away the Upaṇiṣad pas-sages about advaita by reasoning and openly denounce the advaita doctrine as Buddhism in disguise without persecution 1482; of Hindu kings towards Moslems, even though moslem invaders desecrated temples 1018; T. is one of the striking characteristics of Hindu culture 1623; persisted in India for different cults and tenets with very rare exceptions from before Aśoka to 1200 A.D. when Moslem invaders began to overrun India 1012; striking instances (early and late) of T. of kings and people donating gifts to persons, shrines and institutions of different faiths 1012-14; undesirable consequences of great T. 1482; Yāj. Smṛti prescribes that when an Indian king
conquered a country, the conqueror's duty was to honour the usages, transactions and family traditions of the conquered country 1011, 1482.

Toleration Act (of England in 1669) excluded Catholics and Unitarians from its benefits 1476n.

Toynbee, Prof. Arnold, in 'East and West' definition of civilization and culture 1615–16 points out that Christianity and Islam have been responsible for some of the cruellest atrocities that have disgraced history 1012n; revises and corrects his own statement about Indian culture 1617n; urges that Christianity must be purged of the beliefs that Christianity is unique and that Christians are God's chosen people 1595.

Traditions, though they often arise without much evidence, should not be summarily rejected, but should be tested by other available evidence 1192; the endeavour of leaders of thought in each generation should be to find out what is essential in tradition without believing in the infallibility of all T. and to present dogmas that will meet the demands of modern thought and conditions 1475.

Trailokyamohana mantra, dilated upon in Prapañcasāra-tantra for accomplishing six cruel acts, 1070, 1105.

Trailokyavijayavidyā, in Agni-

purāṇa 1102.

Trees, barks of five, viz. Aśvattha, udumbara, plakṣa, āmra and vaṣa, to be boiled in water for bath on Amāvāsyā of Divālī 199; festival called Vṛkṣot-sava 415–16.

Trīdanḍin, as applied to Sannyāsins, meaning of, 1645.

Tridhātu, meaning of, doubtful in Rg. 1492n.

Trījaṭā, dreams of, in the Rāmāyaṇa 775.

Trīkāṇḍamaṇḍana 53.

Trīkaprasavasānti, on birth of a son after three successive births of daughters or vice versa 773.

Trīkopa, meaning of, 567n.

Tṛimadhura (honey, ghee and sugar are so-called) 309.

Trisūkhika-brāhmaṇapaniṣad 1426n.

Trīpunḍra, sect mark of Śāktas and Śaivas, explained 1076n.

Trīṣṭī (one of 8 kinds of dvā-dāsī) 309.

Trīsama 310.

Trīsthaliṣetu 91n.

Trīsugandha (tvak i.e. cinnamon, cardamom and ṗatrkā) 309.

Trīta āptya, all bad dreams delivered to, in Ṛgveda 729.

Trīvṛt (milk, curds and ghee are so called) 309.

Trīyāha śṛṣṭi (tithi) 310.

Tucci, Prof. G., paper of, on Mandalas in 'Indo-Tibetica' 1133.

Tukaram, saint 969; asserts that life is very miserable 969.

Tulāpuruṣa, one of the Mahādānas 87.

Tulasi leaves and plants, now sacred to Vaiṣṇavas, but they do not figure in early Purāṇika
literature, 881; story of, occurs in Padma IV and VI, 882.

Tulsidas (born in 1532-33 A.D.): Hindi poet and saint, was abandoned by parents because of astrological considerations 633n; works of, used for divination 812.

Tulasīvivāha 307.

Ṭūp-tīkā of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, 1163n, 1188 (not a regular com. but notes on chapters IV- XII of P. M. sūtras), 1209n, 1214n-16n, 1226n-27n, 1250n, 1286n, 1302n, 1318n; explanations of Ṭūp, 1189n; has some commentaries but none is published 1189.

Ṭurāyaṇa 306-7.

Turberville, Prof. A. S. on 'Spanish Inquisition’ 933n.

Tuxen, Paul, a. of 'Religions of India’ 1393-94; 1577 (does not accept Deussen's theory about Kṣatriyas being the original cherishers of Vedānta thoughts).

Tycho Brahe, prepared every year an astrological forecast for the king 551.

Tyler, a. of 'Primitive culture 1614.

Udakāṃṭi, 783-787; is an elaborate affair in these days and takes up about three hours 784; many mantras employed in 784; oldest available description is in Baudhāyaṇa grhyasūgasūtra 784; performed even now for securing good health, removal of diseases, mitigating unfavourable aspects for removal of impurity on birth or death in one's house or family etc. 784; procedure of 784-787; Saṅkalpa in 784n.

Udayana, a. of Lākṣaṇāvali and Nyāyakusumāṇjali 1624.

Uddālaka, Āruṇi, shown to be ignorant of Vaiśeṣikāravādīya in Chān. V. 11, but in Chān. VI. 8.7 ff, is shown as teaching the sublime doctrine of 'tat tvamasi' 1578.

Udeśya of Uddāyaṭa-māna—means 'subject of which something is to be predicated (viśheya) 1286; defined by Ślokavārtika 1286n, 1341.

Uddhāraṇībhūga (assignment of a larger share to the eldest son on partition between brothers) 1268; Tai. S. has two contradictory passages on this, but Āp. Dh. S. after quoting both Tai. S. passages holds that unequal division is prohibited by śāstras and provides that equal division among sons is the proper rule 1268.

Uddiyana (a pitha of Tāntrik cult): situation of, discussed 1039.

Udhāta (a term in Yoga) differently explained by different writers 1433n.

Udgītha, means ‘om’ 1582.

Udgīthavādīya, only one of many Upāsanās 1583; Pravāhana Jāivali taught it to two brāhmaṇas in Chān. Up. I. 8, 1583.

Udvāhatattva 545, 610n, 611n, 919.

Udyāpana: last rite in a vrata 120-21; if no rite of udyāpana
for a vrata is expressly prescribed what should be done 121; Ud. is concluding rite in a vrata undertaken only once, while the concluding rite is called pārāṇa when a vrata is to be continued for life (such as Ekādaśī or Janmāṣṭami) 139; of Śivarātrivrata when undertaking was to observe it for 24, 14, or 12 years 234.

Udyogaparva 27, 49, 90n, 126, 129n, 532n, 539, 743-4 803n, 821, 840, 854 (quotes the famous verse 'gurorapayavaliptaśya etc.' from a Purāṇa), 1080, 1281 (Krṣṇa and Arjuna described as drunk), 1627n, 1636, 1642.

Ugrarathasānti, vide Śaṣṭyabdad)pūrtī) 757; Procedure in Sanskrit of, 760n.

Ūha 1158, 1324 26; certain alterations and adaptations are necessary in the matter of mantras, sāmans and samskāras; this is called ūha in PMS, though the word ordinarily means tarka (reasoning) 1324; mantra when adapted is not to be called a mantra acc. to PMS. 1325; Viṣṇudharmaśūtra prescribes that in the śrāddha for the maternal grandfather and his two male ancestors the mantra should be changed into 'Sundhantam Mātāmabhāṁ' 1326.

Ujjvala-nila-manī, of Rūpagośvāmin 980.

Uṭi, story narrated by, about Siddharāja, king of Gujarāt, punishing Hindus for pulling down a mosque and rebuilding it at his own expense, 1018.

Umbeka (about 700–750 A.D.); a. of com. on Ślokavārtika 1359; a. of com. on Bhāvanāviveka 1194; is probably identical with Bhavabhūtī 1194; is later than Maṇḍanāmiśra 1194; name written in various ways 1194n; Uveyaka, q. by Kamalaśila, is probably Umbeka, 1194n; was a pupil of Kumārilabhaṭṭa 1194n, 1198.

Underhill, a. of a work 'Hindu religious year' 60.

Unemployment, increasing 1698, should be first point of attack in all plans 1698; United States of America, total aid to India, 1691–92.

Untouchables, 51 millions in Bhārata, acc. to census of 1951, 1622n.

Untouchability, abolished by Indian Constitution (Art. 17) and an Act passed to make treating a man as untouchable in public an offence 1636n.

Untruth, speaking of, forbidden in Tai. S. for a sacrificer 1246.

Upacāras: folding the hands (namaskāra) was one of the U. before the Nirukta, 36; U. in pūjā were either 36, 16, 10 or 5, 94; nine out of 16 U. are mentioned in Āśv. Gr. sūtra 36; not absent in Vedic age 33; quoted from Prapacārasattra in Dharmashastra works 1096; several of 16 Up. were well known long before
the ṛg-vedas 35; sixteen Up. enumerated, 35; to be offered with the 16 verses of Puruṣāsūkta 35.

_Upadeśa_, meaning of, in P. M. S. 1163n, 1184n.

_Upadeśa_: Dharma-sindhu says that in Kaliyuga there is no dīkṣā but only U. 1117n; difference between dīkṣā and U. 1118.

_Upanayana_: (see under muhūrta); great importance attached to astrological positions of Bṛha-
spati (Jupiter) in U. 609; is only an aṅga of the vidhī about teaching Veda inferred from Manu, 1109n: Muhūrta for Upanayana are few and far between acc. to late medieval writers, 607; not to be performed when Venus is set or on certain tithis and on gala-
graḥa 608; no rules in sūtras, Manu and Yaj. about position of planets, rāśis or week days for, U. 607; principal time for U. is 8th year from conception or from birth 609; proper ages for depended on the Varna of the boy 608; proper months and nakṣatras for U. 607, 609; rule laid down by Āsv. Gr. S. for U. and three other saṃskāras 605; seasons for the U. of boys of the three higher varnas 607; Tuesday and Saturday inaus-
picious for 604.

_Upaniṣads_: (vide under ‘brahma’, mokṣa, Royce, Vedānta): accept as preparation for brahma
vidyā study of Veda, sacrifices, tapas, fasting

918; are full of theories of creation 1500-01; atmosphere of Up. entirely different from Vedas and Brāhmaṇa texts 1498n; attitude of, to Veda as aparā-vidyā and to sacrifices 917, 1004, 1471; central Up. doctrine of immanence of brahma not attacked by Buddha or early propagators of Bud-
dhism 1004; describe brahman in two ways, firstly as qualified by various adjuncts (such as name and form, created objects) and secondly as devoid of all adjuncts, there being no universe outside brahma, 1504-5; do sometimes say that he who knows brahman becomes brahman, but the same Up. require great moral and spiritual attainments (as in Muṇḍaka) 1514; empha-
size the giving up of trṣṇā or Kāma 939n; fundamental doctrine of Up. is that there is only one Principle or Essen-
ce, that it creates the world out of itself and enters into it and that all plurality is only apparent and a name, that even inanimate world is non-diffe-
rent from Supreme Spirit 1487, 1625; geographical details in Up. are few 1522-23; germ of fundamental doctrine of Up. is found in the Rgveda 1487; give no name to the First Principle but speak of it as ‘tad-ekam’ (that one) 1490; glowing tribute of Deu-
ssen to philosophers of the Up. 1500; hold that esoterio
knowledge has to be imparted by a guru to a disciple or by father to son, but not to all and sundry nor in an assembly 1071–72; illustrations (two) to bring home to the inquiring spirit non-difference are rivers flowing into the sea and losing their names and forms and pure water poured in other pure water, 1625; most important doctrines of Up. are two (1) non-difference of individual self from supreme Self and (2) transmigration of self depends as taught by brähmana Yāj, to Janaka or by Uddālaka Āruṇī to son Śvetaketu, 1577–78; offer very little to the common man and did not solve his problems while the Bhagavādgitā took that matter in hand, 968; old Up. like Br. and Chān. are admitted to be earlier than Buddha 1004; passages of Up. foreshadowing Sāṅkhya doctrines or employing technical Sāṅkhya words 1360–61; put the knowledge of the Highest Self as superior to the Vedas (called aparā vidyā) yet quote Vedic verses in support of their statements 918, 1471; real thought of Up. centres round the non-difference between brahman and the individual soul and the physical world, 1500–1502; renunciation of all actions and their rewards was inculcated by Up. for a Śannyāsin who was to beg for alms till the body lasted, as even good deeds would lead to good births and put off mokṣa, 1513; several vidyās or upāsanās are described in Up. particularly in Chān. and Br. for men that are not yet far advanced on the path of brahmavidyā 1584; some apparent discrepancies in Up. as to what was first created and as to the order of the creation of elements, as explained by Śaṅkarācārya 1506–7; some late Up. mentioned as the basis of Śākta doctrines by late medieval works, 1045n; speak of brahman, as creator, sustainer and as ultimate absorber of bhūtas (elements or beings) 1484; teach that sound moral preparation necessary before a true Vedāntic view is attained 1478n; verse enumerating ten ancient and principal Up. 1436n; Yoga in Up. 1387.

Upapurāṇas (vide under Hazra, Narasimhapurāṇa, Samba, Viśuddharmā and Viśuddharmottara); all chapters and even single verses of U. are suspect 872; Alberuni’s work shows that some U. such as Ādi, Āditya, Nanda (Nandi?), Narasimha and Samba had been composed at least some time before 1000 A. D. 831; are summaries made by sages after listening to 18 P., 835; began to be compiled from the 7th century and their numbers went on increasing till 13th century A. D. or even later
855; dates assigned by Prof. Hazra to Upapuraṇas not at all acceptable 882; early commentaries and digests on Dharmaśāstra like the Mit. and Kalpataru very rarely mention U. and even the latter refers to six Up. 837; Hazra (Prof.) says there are over 100 Upapuraṇas 834; Hazra admits that adherents of various sects such as Śāktas, Pāńcarātras, Sauras, interpolated chapters in Purāṇas and sometimes wrote new and independent works styled Purāṇas 837; Kūrma Purāṇa mentions Brähmāṇḍa, Nārādiya Skanda, Vāmana as Up. 870; Matsya names Narasimha, Nandi, Aditya and Śamba as Up. and there is nothing to show that more than four were regarded by the Matsya as of any authority 834–5; names of 18 U. are set out by Deviḥāgavata, Garuda, Kūrma, Padma, Hemādri 834 and n; none of the U except Devi, Narasimha, the Viṣṇu dharmottara, and one or two more can be held to be as old as 7th or 8th century A. D. 835–36, 838; only a few Upapuraṇas are published and those published bear the same names as those of principal Purāṇas, such as Skanda, Vāmana, Brähmāṇḍa and Nārādiya 834; total of 4 lakhs of verses of Purāṇas excludes the verses of U. 834.

Uparava, meaning of 18.
Upāricara Vasu, a king and devotee of Nārāyaṇa, dedicated his kingdom and wealth to God and worshipped acc. to Sattvata rules 95n.
Upasad, days of 25.
Upasarga (preposition) changes the meaning of the root, 2.
Upāṣṛuti (listening to words of children, or eaves-dropping near houses of washermen or cândalas and using words heard by chance as prognostications for coming events 809–810; methods similar to U. in the ancient near East 810n; method of casting dūrvā grass in a book at random 811.
Upavāka, a kind of seed 732n.
Upavarga, commentator of Jaimini 735n, 1186n, 1187n, 1197; expressly mentioned by Śabara 1186n; flourished between 100 B. C. to 100 A. D. 1197; held to be identical with Bodhāyana by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri 1187n; m. by Śaṅkarācārya twice on V. S. with great respect 1187n, 1205.
Upavāsa: (vide under ‘fast’); another meaning, in Brahmaṇa texts 26.
Upavedas, four 820n, 1263n.
Upāyas, four, in politics 617.
Usages (vide under ‘Sādācāra’): Baud. gr. enumerates five peculiar u. of the North and five others peculiar to the South and provides that if one belonging to South follows any

Index
Usages peculiar to north or vice versa he would be guilty of sin, 1258; Manu, Yāj. Viṣṇudharmasūtra, Viṣṇupurāṇa say that one should not observe but discard what was once deemed to be dharma if it has become hateful to the people and would lead to unhappiness 1270; illustrations where later Dharmaśāstra works like Mit. and Smṛti-candrikā rely upon the above rule of discarding ancient practices, if common people had come to hate them 1270–71; Kumārila holds that in case of conflict between smṛtis and usages the former is more authoritative but usages opposed to Smṛtis have been in vogue from ancient times 1278–79; U. of countries, castes, families declared by Gautama and Manu to be authoritative if not directly opposed to the Veda 1278; modern legislation sometimes allows customs and usages overriding authority as under Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) sec. 5 about marriages of sapindas, 1278–9, but also abrogates them in some cases, 1671; Privy Council held that clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law 1278; requisites of a valid custom, according to P. M. S. 1279–80.

Uśanas, a. on astrology m. by Varāhamihira 593.

Uśanas, Dharmaśāstra of, 1152n.

Uśanas (on Rājaniti) m. by Kālikāpurāṇa 1001, 1032–33.

Uśanas (on tithi) 78n, 79.

Uṣas: is called Apasaras and Vena is described as her lover in Rg., 495n.

Uṣah-kāla, defined 278.


Utilitarianism (vide under 'Rationalism'): criticism of this doctrine 1479–80: holds that actions are right where they tend to make for the greatest good or happiness of the greatest number etc. 1479; is not a moral theory at all 1479.

Utpala, commentator of Br. S. of Varāhamihira 477, 479n, 520n, 521, 530n, 533n (on Yogayātrā), 545n, 547n, 554n, 561n, 564, 568, 658, 680 (quotes 18 verses from Garga on week days), 712n, 742n, 745n; commentator of Brhajjātaka 573n–75n, 577, 580n, 581, 584n, 587n, 591, 594, 657n, 765n, 796n, 1645n.

Utpāta: (vide under Atri), Nimitta, portent, Puṣyasānas: 591, 743; description of 18 Śantis bearing names of different gods prescribed by Matsya 746–747; descriptions of, abound in Mahābhārata 743; king's duty to arrange Śantis for counteracting portents 745; list of chief U. and nimittas 743–44; list of three kinds of U. 745–46; means 'reverse of usual natural order' 741–42; no gradation or order in setting out utpātas which are given
pell mell in both epics 744; of di vya kind produce evil effects in eight ways 746; one adept in knowledge of U. becomes famous and king's favourite without mathematics 769; seasonal appearances in certain seasons are not inauspicious and require no sántis 747, 767: three classes of u in Athar vaveda, Garga, Pa ra śa, Sábbáparva, Br. S. and Matsu ya viz. d i vya (from heaven), āntari kṣa (from atmosphere) and bhaumā (terrestrial), and their illustrations 745–46; varying opinions about the effect of Sántis 746.

Utsava, often difficult to distinguish from vrata 57.

Uttarādhyayanasūtra, a Jain work: 1367, 1375 (mentions ga śṭītantra).

Uttarāyāna, vasanta and grī أra are important parts of, 491–92.

Utt hānadvādaśi, 12th tithi of Kārtika bright half 112.

Vācakañavi, a woman that had secured Brahmājānā 921 n.

Vācaspāti 52.

Vācaspāti, a of Sāñkhyatattvakaumudi 468 n, 1355, 1394 n; a of Nyāyakañikā on Mañḍa na's 'Vidhiviveka'; a. of com. on Yogabhāṣya, called Tattvavaiśāradī 909, 1373, 1399 n, 1409 n–11, 1420 n–22 n, 1424 n, 1438 n, 1445 (quot es two verses of Viṣṇupurāṇa), 1446 n, 1448, 1450 n; a. of 'Bhāmati', com. on Sāñkara bhāṣya on V. S. 1166, 1510 n; date of (820–900 A. D.) 1199,

1356.

Vadhūvar amelakavieāra, explained 614.

Vā di, meaning of 670.

Vahnipurāṇa 138.

Vaidhyṭi, 27th Yoga, is just like Vyātīpāta in all respects 707.

Vaidya, Mr. M. V. 893.

Vaidya, P. L. 998, 1005.

Vai jayanta, palace of Gods, 1529.

Vai khaṇasa-smārtasūtra 472, 579, 678 (mentions Wednesday), 749 (on Śaṅti of nine planets), 750–752, 946 n (ten yamas), 1096 n, 1418 n, 1452; date of, between 200 B.C. to 200 A. D. 528 n; refers to nakṣatras called ja ma, k arma, sāṅghā- tikā, sāmudāyika and vainā- sikā and these terms are explained in the Yogāyātra and Viṣṇudharmottara 528–29 n.

Vaiśākha: Aṣṭāyatṛtiyā, on 3rd of bright half of, 88–90; Paraśurāmaja yanti on 3rd of bright half of, 89–90.

Vaiṣeṣikasūtra 468, 472, 476, 1037 n (defines dharma), 1468 and n; goal of, is niḥśreyasa (q. v.) 1468.

Vaiṣṇava or Vaiṣṇavas (acc. to context); defined in several Purāṇas 112–13; difficulties of, in choosing tithi for fast when it is vi dah 114; is really one who has taken dikṣā acc. to Vaikhānasa or Pāncaratrā Āgama, but now people are called V, because they are so traditionally, 113; not to bow to or worship another God or to enter the temple of another God acc. to Vṛddha.
Harita 976n; rank and file of V. generally exclusive and bigoted and treat with disdain everything pertaining to Siva and take sumptuous food on Sivaratri 118; inconvenient results of insistence by V. on observing fast on Ekadashi mixed with dvādaśi and pāraṇā on dvādaśi 117; wrangles of V. with Saivas and vice-versa 118, 973n.

Vaiṣṇavākṣṭa-candrikā of Ratnagarbha on Viṣṇupurāṇa 832.

Vaiṣṇavism: Erotic mysticism of the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā established by Caitanya and Vallabhācārya 980; in V. established by Vallabhācārya greatest honour is paid to guru who is a descendant of the founder 980.

Vaiṣṇāvara: discussion on this word that occurs in Rg. I 59.6 and I. 98.1 in the Nirukta mentioning the opposite views of Vyākhas, of ācāryas and of Śakapāṇi 1156n.

Vaiṣṇāvā, meaning of, in Rg. and Chān. Up. V. 15.2, 1578–79.

Vaiṣṇavānavidyā, in Chān. Up. IV. 11, 23, 227n; is only an upāsana and not thoroughgoing brahmavidyā, 1578–79.

Vaiśya, was good birth, acc. to Chān. Up., 1578–79, 1607.

Vaitaranī, 11th titli of dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa 418.

Vājapeya 1029.

Vajapayyana, an a. m. by Kātyāyana Vārtikakāra 1157.

Vājasaneya Sūhīṭa, 12n, 17–18, 22–3, 62n, 63, 126, 166, 168, 183n, 196n, 475, 485n, 527, 596n, 667, 672, 698, 721 (on Śanti), 722n, 724, 726n–7n, 750, 759, 762, 773, 776n, 777, 787, 796n, 814, 919–20, 969n, 1024, 1037, 1055n, 1079, 1181, 1217n, 1221, 1241, 1244, 1265n, 1288n, 1291, 1385n. 1489 (has all Puruṣasūkta verses), 1533, 1633.

Vajina, an offering different from ‘āmikā’ 1307.

Vajra, a. on astrology 593.

Vajrayāna (or Vajramārga); is the ulterior development of Mahāyāna 942n; other innovations of, were the introduction of the Upāsanā of Śakti and theory of Dhyānibuddhas, 1069; permitted killing of all animals speaking untruth, sexual intercourse (including what common people call incest), 1066; several meanings of Vajra, 1065–66; texts aim at the attainment of Bodhi 1092n.

Vajrolimudrā, in Hathayoga-pradipikā, cannot be set out, for its obscenity 1127; supposed to confer long life on yogin even after indulgence in sexual orgies 1127.

Vak (speech); sublime hymn about power of, in Rg. X. 125, 1043–44.

Vākya (sentence): (vide ‘Anuṣaṅga’); definition of V. 1297; example is the mantra ‘devasya tva…nirvāpāmi’ (Tait. S. I. 1. 4. 2) 1297; in Rgveda and Sāmaveda, both being metrical,
there is generally no difficulty in finding what constitutes a V. and Śabara confines himself to Yajus texts 1297; it is not absolutely necessary that in order to form a v. the words must be in close proximity (sannidhi), though generally proximity is required 1298; mantra text may constitute two sentences if it has two parts that serve different purposes as in ‘Syonam te...manasyamānāḥ’ (Tai. Br. III. 7.5), ‘iṣa tvrje tvā’ (first words of Tai. S.) 1298-99; three elements are required for constituting words into a sentence, viz. expectancy (akāṅkṣā), compatibility (yogyaṭā) and proximity, particularly the first 1297.

Vākyabheda (Lit. split of sentence); examples of 1295, 1300-1304; illustrations how to avoid V. in Manu IX. 142 about the result of adoption and in Bṛhaspati on the question of reunion after partition 1301-1303; not applicable to a sūtra, acc. to some 1182n; one aspect of the import of the word V. is the case where there are two (or more) sentences and one sentence does not require a word or words from another sentence, then the sentences should be treated as separate 1299; one and the same text cannot be construed as laying down two separate vidhis or when a certain matter has already been prescribed by vidhi and several auxiliary matters are to be prescribed in relation to the same, all auxiliaries cannot be prescribed in one sentence 1299-1300; one text of Tāi. Br prescribes as to agnyādhāna that one having a son and having his hair yet dark should perform it; this has to be construed as indicating by lakṣanā that the man must not be very young nor very old, otherwise there would be two vidhis and the fault of V. 1301.

Vākyapadiya of Bhartṛhari 475 (on Kāla), 1396; com. of Helārāja on, 1396n.

Vālakhilya hymns 692.

Vallabhācārya (1479-1531 A. D.); a. of Tattvadipanibandha 957n; holds Bhāgavata of supreme authority 957, 1176; holds that Jaimini, a. of P. M. S., is the pupil of Vyāsa a. of V. S. 1177; propounds an erotic-mystical brand of bhakti 971; thinks V. S. refers to Bhāgavata-purāṇa 1176n.

Vallabhotsava: festival in honour of Vallabhācārya (held as born in 1497 A. D.) 403.

Values; are often moulded by environment 1701; certain values of Indian culture that have endured for three thousand years 1707.

Vāmācāra (vide under Tantra): of two kinds, acc. to Pārānandasūtra (a Tantrik work), Madhyama (wherein all five Makāras are employed) and Uttama (in which wine, coitus and mudrā alone are emplo-
yed ) 1054.
Vāmadevya Sāman, 726; is a means of śānti and is sung on Rg. IV. 31. 1 (kayā naśitra) 726.
Vāmakeśvara Tantra 1045.
Vamśas (lists of teachers and pupils) in Br. Up. II. 6, 3 and VI. 5. 2–3 do not completely agree, 1373.
Vanaparva, 27, 90n, 92n, 110, 118, 127, 129, 185, 202, 267, 497n, 539, 651n (time of starting of Kṛtayuga), 659, 686, 691–93, 743, 812n (on Kalisvarūpa), 821 (names Matsyaapurāṇa and a purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu), 827 (close agreement with Yugapurāṇa), 853n, 939n (giving up of trṣnā), 994, 1006n, 1048, 1219, 1271n, 1357n, 1362n, 1372, 1385, 1416n, 1435n, 1436n (on functions of ten prānas), 1450, 1469, 1582, 1627n, 1634, 1636–7, 1642.
Vāṅkālakācārya, a. of work in Prakrit on astrology, 1645n.
Varadachari K. C., paper of, on Alwar's contributions to bhakti 954n.
Varadamudrā, defined and illus-
trated, 1131n.
Varahamibhra: (a. of Bṛhat-
samhita, Bṛhaj-jātaka, Yogā-
ṝatra, Bṛhad Yogayātrā, Pañca-
siddhāntikā, Laghujātaka, Tīk-
kankā, and a few other works not yet published); 61n, 70, 150n, 465n, 479, 484, 519–20 (follows Gārgya on motion of Saptarasī), 521, 530, 540, 545–7, 552, 558, 562, 591 (names many predecessors on astrology), 627, 634 (theory that a horoscope was like a plan), 638, 701, 711, 746–7, 765–773, 794, 1024, 1132, 1270n (importance of usages of common people), 1477 (on Āryabhāta's view about earth revolving round itself); date of (about 500–550 A. D.) 484, 1645; 1653n (mentions authors of Vāstuśāstra and image making; did not follow Firmicus or Manilius on Dreakā-
ṇas 580, 582n; differences of, with Ptolemy, 575 and n, 589 (with Yavaneśvara), 574, 580 (on lords of the horās of the day), 586; frequently refers to the views of Yavanaś and in some matters differs from them 563; probably identical with Buzurmihr, a minister of Nowshirwan of Persia 782.
Varahapurāṇa : 31n, 44, 48, 54n, 56n, 77, 81, 98, 105n, 109n, 112, 118n, 119, 133, 145, 149, 155n, 178, 205, 238, 818n, 824n, 898 (mentions Bhavi-
sya), 915–18, 920, 932, 949 (on pūrta), 973–974, 993, 1096n, 1132, 1384, 1596n;
date of, earlier than 10th century A. D. 904; has some chapters in prose and some in prose and verse 903; note on 903-904; refers to a Śaka king called Nandavardhana 901; supposed to have been narrated to the Earth by Viṣṇu in Boar incarnation, 903-904; Vyāsa does not appear in this P., though Sūta figures in the beginning of several chapters 904.

Vārahītantra 172.

Vāraruci, as expert in Nāṭya-veda 990n.

Vardhamāna 50n.

Vardhamāna–Nirvāna Era 656.

Vardhāpanavidhi (procedure of anniversary of birth of a child or king) 403.

vargottama, meaning of 584.

Varivāsyārhasya, 1063 (on 36 tattvas).

Varna system and caste system:

(vide under brāhmaṇas, Cāndālas, caste, jātis, moral qualities, social legislation, śūdra): origin and development of 1632-1643; Bhagavadgītā (IV. 13 and XVIII. 42-44) asserts that the Varna system was based on qualities and actions and specifies the qualities and actions of the four varṇas, most of which for brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas are moral and spiritual 1635; how and why several thousands of castes and sub-castes arose only in India is an insoluble problem 1633; if Varna and caste system has broken down and become harmful and unpopular among people it may be discarded, but that cannot be done by force or mere legislation, but by strenuous work and education of all from childhood 1641; intermarriages between the first three varṇas were allowed even in the times of Yāj. and a few other Smṛtis 1265, 1632; is distinguished from jāti, but the two are confounded in Manu, 1633; it may be conceded that some centuries before the Puruṣaśūkta, Aryan community was divided into four groups, a similar division not being unnatural and being found in other countries 1632; no evidence to show that intermarriages and interdining among the four varṇas was prohibited in the Vedic age 1633; numerous artisans and craftsmen are mentioned in Vāj. S., Kāthaka S. and Tai. Br., but there is nothing to show that they had become petrified castes, 1633; Varṇas were only four and there was no fifth v. 1633; word varṇa was applied to āryas and dāsas in Ṛgveda, they being hostile camps, 1632; words brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya frequently occur in Ṛg, but the word varṇa is not expressly connected with them in it 1632.

Vārnapāṇikāra (mixture or confusion of castes): 1634ff (had gone far in Mahābhārata
times); criticism of caste system had arisen and people had begun to contend that it was not merely birth 1633. Vārṣagana, a Sāṅkhya teacher m. by Yuktidipikā, 1355. Vārṣaganyā of Parāśaragotra, m. as teacher of Sāṅkhya in Śaṅtiparva and Yogasūtrabhāṣya and Bhāmati 1374 and n. Vārṣakātyadipikā 241n. Vārṣakriyākaumudī; 31n, 34, 37, 42n, 52n, 54n–55n, 57n, 66n, 68n, 72n–81n. 83n–5n, 90n, 93n, 97n, 99n, 103n, 100n, 110n, 111n, 115–6n, 118n, 120, 123n, 136n, 137n, 142n, 152–3, 161, 163n, 195n, 167n, 169n, 170n, 174n, 176n–178n, 180n–182n, 193, 126n, 199, 200–1n, 207n–8n, 212n–215n, 216 218n, 220n–22n, 226, 230n, 232, 241, 243n, 249n, 660, 1096, 1109n, 1123, 1124, 1125n. Vārṣas, nine named by Viṣṇu, Vāmana and Vāyu (with variations) and they state that the Vārṣas were given to the nine sons of Āgniṇdra, grandson of Svāyambhuva Manu, there being confusion about names of kings and vārṣas, 1524–25. Vārtika, defined, 1182–83. Vārtikas (on Pāṇini) 63n, 130, 203n, 467, 667n, 720n, 735n, 820, 1032, 1156–57, 1169. Vārtikālaṅkāra, of Prajñākara-gupta 472. Varuna, praised in 12 hymns of Rgveda is called Samrāj often than even Indra praised in about 200 hymns, 8. Varuṇaprabhāsa, a Cāturmāsya rite, in which the sacrificer's wife had to confess or indicate if she ever had a lover 1592n. Vāruṇi, 13th tithi of Caitra dark half with Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra and is very holy 405. Vasantarāja Śakuna (vide Upāṣruti): 792, 799, 801, 805, 869; account of the author 805n; authors mentioned by, 805n; based mainly on the Br. S. and Brhadyogayātṛā 809; brief account of its contents 806–7; claims that it requires no expounder, no mathematics and if well studied the reader acquires great rewards 801; date of, between 700–1100 A.D. 805n; extends the meaning of Śakuna to include actions of men and beasts 808; five excellent animals for Śakunas are the podaki bird, dog, crow, pīṅgalā bird and female jackal, that are presided over by certain deities 809; mentions fifty objects as auspicious signs when starting on a journey or entering a home and thirty objects that are inauspicious, 778; more than half of it (viz. 781 verses) are devoted to sounds made by three birds and 372 are devoted to barking and movements of dogs and female jackals 808; most comprehensive work on Śakunas and contains 1525 verses, 806; prognostications based on the sound produced by house lizard (palli or pallikā) or its move-
ments and its fall on the several limbs of a person 792; prognostications from throbbing of limbs, 800-801; silent about fall of palli 792n; states that 'Upaśruti' (unpromoted oracular voices of a child etc.) is most reliable and easily understood Śakuna 809-810.

Vasantotsava 403-404.

Vāsavadatta of Subandhu 1009n, 1048.

Vasiṣṭha, sage, thought of committing suicide 1280; two births of, referred to in Rg. VII, 33, 1536-37.

Vasiṣṭha, a writer on Astrology, 61n, 134, 213n, 216, 593, 607, 621.

Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra 24n, 527n, 733n, 782n, 876n, 914n, 930. 937, 944-45, 1027, 1239n (on giving an only son in adoption), 1248n, 1335 (one sūtra on adoption interpreted in four ways), 1413n, 1416n, 1441-1442n, 1589n, 1596, 1638n (sale of milk by brāhmaṇa condemned).

Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta, one of the five Siddhāntas and far from accurate, 514n, 663n.

Vasordhārā: a Śānti m. by Tai S. and early and late Dharmāṣṭra works 737n.

Vāstospati, is either Indra or Rudra 790n.

Vāstu (house): see under 'house'.

Vāstu-sānti, also called Grha-sānti or Vāstu-samana, 790-91; saṅkalpa in, 790n; very elaborate in late digests 791.

Vāstuvāstra, eighteen teachers of, m. by Matsyapurāṇa 623, 1653.

Vāstuyāgatattva, 1133.

Vāsudeva: antiquity of the worship of 962; in some Purāṇas like Brahma and Viṣṇu the word is not derived from Vāsudeva, but from root 'Vas' to dwell 962.

Vāsudevakā, means one whose object of worship is Vāsudeva, acc. to Pāṇini 962.

Vasundhara, (vide under Vikrama): 56.

Vaṭakaṇṭika, a work of Varāhamihira, quoted in Adbhutasāgara. 742n, 743.

Vaṭaśāyitrivrata, 91-94; on Jyeṣṭha Full Moon, 91; fast for three days or some alternatives of nakta etc 94; called Mahāśāyitrivrata by V. K. V. 92; must have been in vogue long before 10th century A. D. 92; decision in case Full Moon tithi is viddhā 93: possible reason why worship of Vata tree comes in, 93; procedure of 93.

Vāyaviyasaśādhita 1108.

Vāyupurāṇa, 29n, 90n. 99, 129, 133n, 147, 200-10, 473n, (on Kāla), 476 (units of time), 520n (about motion of Saptarṣis), 540 (names of Muhūrtas), 649n (on beginning of Kaliyuga), 651n (beginning of Kṛtyuga), 657n, 667n, 678, 692-3, 696n, 698, 735, 774, 817n, 821n-2, 824n-5, 830n, (chap. 104 of doubtful authenticity), 843, 845n, 846-48, 850-52, 853n, 854-5, 857-58n, 861-3, 915-16, 931 (adopts
Upaniṣad passages, 931n, 932, 939n, 947, 974, 993n, 995-6, 1052n (q. by Kulārṇava), 1061n (on defects due to ignorant men practising yoga), 1152, 1182n, 1320n, 1399n, 1419n (only five āgās of yoga), 1438n, 1440n, 1456-7, 1526n, 1528, 1581, 1611, 1645n 1653n; divided like Brahmāṇa into four pādas, 905; first verse (Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya etc.) and 2nd eulogising Vyāsa not found in some mss. 905; Gayāmahātmya chapters deemed to be later 905; has 112 chapters and 10991 verses in Ānan. ed. 905; makes a passing reference to Gupta Dynasty and mentions rāsis 905-7; note on 906-7; one of the oldest and authoritative Purāṇas and contains much Dharmaśāstra material 905; Śaiva bias in several chapters but chap. 98 and Gayāmahātmya are full of praise of Viṣṇu 905; some verses quoted by Śaṅkarācārya as from a Purāṇa or Śrīmṛti are found in V. 906 and n.

Veda: (vide Mantras, Mahābhāṣya, nāmadhyeya, Rgveda, Pūrva-māṁsā); all Veda texts do not contain vidhis, numerous V. passages are recommendatory, or condemn an act that is prohibited or refer to instances of persons performing the vidhi in the past or put forward to be a reason for the vidhi; these are not to be treated as unnecessary, but are to be taken along with vidhi passages to complete their full import 1243; arrangement into Maṇḍalas or Aṣṭakas or Kāṇḍas is not claimed to be eternal, though the V. is eternal 839, 861; different interpretations of some mantras by Śabara, Kumārila, Nīruktā, Mahābhaṣya, Śāyaṇa exemplified in the case of Rg. IV.58,3, 1255-56; divided into five categories viz. vidhi (hortatory), mantras, nāmadhyeya (names like Udbhid), pratīṣedha or niśedha (prohibition) and artha-vāda (laudatory or explanatory passages) and examples of these 1098, 1225; divided into three parts, vidhi, artha-vāda, mantra, (nāmadhyeya being placed under vidhi) 1225; the epic and Purāṇas say that the one eternal Veda was arranged into four parts by Vyāsa, but do not say that they were distributed into maṇḍalas or kāṇḍas by Vyāsa 859; eternal, self-existent, not composed by any human or divine author and infallible, acc. to P. M. S. 1202-1204; is constituted by Mantras and Brāhmaṇa 1232; Mantras of the three Vedas are said by Manu to have been drawn from Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya 1181; Manu lays down Japa (muttering) of Vedic mantras of adhiyājñā, adhīdaiva and adhyātma types 1181; many Vedic texts are apparently in conflict with
each other and with ordinary experience 1124; many verses of Veda had threefold applications viz. with reference to sacrifices (adhiyajña), adhidaiva or adhidaivata (with reference to deities) and adhyātma (with reference to metaphysical meaning) and illustrations 1181; Naïya-yikas hold that God is the author of the Veda and the Vedāntasūtra holds same view 1202; necessity of knowing four matters about every mantra viz. the rśi, the metre, the deity and application, emphasized by Ait. Br., Chān. Up. and Smṛtis and evil consequences of not knowing these 859–860; passages in Smṛtis and Purāṇas stating that Brahmā or Prajāpati created the Veda are laudatory and not to be taken literally 1202; promulgated for Yajña 1184; proposition of some smṛtis that wealth is for Yajña, which is strenuously opposed by the Mitākṣara 1184; Śabarā lays down that one that wants to perform a vedic sacrifice must have memorized the portion of Veda relating to the sacrifice and must also understand its meaning 1181; Schools of Veda interpretation, such as Aitihāsikas refer to Devāpi and his brother Śantanu (Ṛg. X. 985 and 7), Yama and Yami (in Ṛg.X.10) and Viśvāmitra and the rivers, Ṛg. X.33) as historical personages, but the Nairuktas explained them differently 1203; six aṅgas (auxiliary lores) of, enumerated in Mūndakopaniṣad and Āp. Dh. S., 478; Smṛtis sometimes say that there is no author of Veda, that Brahmā remembers it 1203; some Mantras like ‘catvāri śrīgā’ are laudatory of Yāga 1255–56; smṛtis like those of Gautama, Manu, Yājñ, lay down the periods for which one should study (i.e. memorize) V.1180; study of V. has five aspects viz. memorizing it, reflection over it, constant repetition of it, japa of it and imparting to pupils 1181–82; substantial contribution to exegesis of Veda by P. M. S., Śabara and Kūmarila, 1218; Svādhyāya and pravacana of V. constitute Tapas, 1180; teaching Veda, demanding fee for, was and is condemned even now but teacher could accept fees paid at end of studenthood by pupil or somebody else for him, 1638; that many Veda texts are lost or are unavailable is stated so early as Āp. Dh. S. 1259; theory that Veda is eternal and of absolute authority has led to some undesirable tendencies, viz. propounders of new-fangled doctrines claim they have Vedic authority, examples cited 1218–19; that words of the Veda have the same meanings that words in popular Sanskrit have is the view of
P. M. S., Śabara and other mīmāṃsā writers 1276; words like Babara Prāvāhani, Pramaganda which the opponents of eternality of the Veda put forward as showing that they refer to ancient human beings are explained away as having other meanings 1203, 1224n, 1226; words like ‘jarbharī turpharita’ (Ṛg. X. 106. 6), Kāyukā (Ṛg. VIII. 77. 4), that are argued by some as having no sense are explicable with the help of Nirukta and gramm 1256.

Vedāṅgas (six) are declared by Kumārila to be useful as Kravtartha and Puruṣārtha 1261, 1274-76.

Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa - 498, 499n, 505n, 519, 538, 559 (Yājuṣa), 591, 646, 657, 659, 662 (Yājuṣa), 663, 681 (Ātharvaṇa), 1181, 1184; date of 505n.

Vedānta: (vide under ‘Brahman, Deussen, Mokṣa, soul, Upaniṣads’; Deussen’s theory that kṣatriyas were the original cherishers of V. thought, not brāhmaṇas, stated and criticized 577-86; doctrine of the non-difference of the individual soul and even of the inanimate world from the First Principle or Essence is one of the most characteristic features of Hinduism and India’s greatest contribution to the spiritual development of man 1625, 1631; expresses advaita in such sentences as ‘aham brahmāsmi’; ‘tat-tvam-asi’ 1482; first and foremost aspect of V. was that Ātman is the only reality and that Ātman can be only described in the words ‘neti, neti’, but it clashed with the popular idea that a real world existed apart from the creator 1498; in its highest form V. is the best support for pure morality for all individuals, the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death 1479, 1625; in medieval and later times by the side of sublime metaphysical tenets, there was lack of solidarity of all common people, lack of efforts to reduce poverty and dominance of brutal and alien invaders 1479; persons imbued with the true spirit of advaita Vedānta like Ramaṇamaharshi are found in India even in these days 1479; tendency to appeal to the past, to believe that what has been is the best has been very strong in India throughout several centuries, 1479, 1707n (Advaita V. has influenced great modern minds in the West).

Vedāntasāra 1450.

Vedāntasātra, 24n, 731n, 732n, 775, 779n, 780, 824-5, 860n, 866, 906, 921n, 914n, 953-56, 959, 1032-33n, 1045, 1063n, 1155n, 1158-9, 1167-8, 1202, 1211, 1218, 1255, 1273n, 1352, 1257n, 1359n, 1362-63, 1365, 1388, 1399, 1400n, 1403n, 1434n, 1446(n), 1466, 1468,
1469n, 1471, 1484-5, 1488n, 1499n, 1500, 1503, 1505, 1507-10, 1516n, 1541, 1542n, 1550, 1554, 1558-60, 1562-4, 1566-67, 1579 (on Vaiśānara), 1580n, 1583, 1588, 1600n, 1602n, 1625 (refers to Atharvaveda Brahmaśūkṭa), 1642; authors mentioned by V. S. alone and not by P.M.S are Audulomi, and Kāśakṛtsna 1173; author of, knew Yoga doctrines, same as some sāṅkhya doctrine, Samādhi but did not know the present Yoga-sūtra 1390-91; Bhāskara, Pañcāpadikā, SaṅkaraŚarma and YāmunāŚarma held that Bādarāyana is the a. of V. S., while Rāmānuja appears to mention both Vīṣṇava Pāraśārya and Bādarāyana as authors 1165-66; declares that saṁśāra is anādi 1567; mentions Jaimini's views eleven times, in six of which there is no corresponding sūtra or view in P. M. S. and Jaimini probably wrote a work on Vedānta also, 1167; mentions Bādarāyana nine times, most of the views of B. being opposed to Jaimini's or at least slightly different 1167-68; problem of the authorship of V. S. is complicated but there were two Bādarāyanaś, 1165-1169; problem of the eight sūtras in which the words 'tadukta' occur, discussed, 1176; Śaṅtiparva verses quoted as Smṛti by SaṅkaraŚarma for supporting the views of V. S 1166n; Smṛti mentioned in many sūtras of V. S. is the Gitā acc. to SaṅkaraŚarma and almost all ācāryas 1172; some sūtras of, differentiate between Jīva and Paramātman, while some others speak of non-difference between the two 1567; V. S. very much presupposes the P. M. S., which does not appear to have been influenced by V. S. 1176.

Vedārtha-saṅgraha of Rāmānuja, 880.

Vedha: of tithis, explained 72-73; V. in eclipses 250.

Vedic Age, chronology of, uncertain 513.

Vedic Interpretation: (vide under 'Aurobindo', 'Kapali sastry'); by Sri Aurobindo of 230 verses in all from Maṇḍalas I, II and VI and of 60 hymns in another work briefly examined, criticized and mistaken notions pointed out, 985-991; Nirukta mentions seventeen individual predecessors on V. I., who differ from it and also among themselves 984; several schools of, such as Aitihāsikas, Nāḍānas, Nairuktas, Pativrājakas existed even before the Nirukta 984, 1203-4; some examples on which Aitihāsika school would rely are Nāyātayau, Vṛtra, Purūrückas and Urvasi, Saramā and Paṇjis, which would show that the Aitihāsikas did not believe in the self-existence and eternity of the Veda 1204; the most sublime
and fundamental thought of
the Rgveda (I. 164. 46 and
X. 129.2, VIII. 58. 2) that
there is only one Spirit behind
the various gods, that originally
there was only that one which
became all this, is embodied in
words, about which there is no
secrecy and which can be
understood by any one who
knows a little Sanskrit 987;
about word ‘Saṃvatsara’ in
regard to the Sattra called
‘Viśvavṛjāmayama’ said to last
for a thousand years Jaimini
(P. M. S. VI. 7. 31-40) boldly
asserts that here it means a
day, relying on Rg. I. 89. 9
and Tai. Br. I.7.6.2 ( satāyuh
puraṣaḥ), 1321.

Vedic Texts, the repetition of
which or homa offered with
which was deemed to purify a
person are set out in Vasīṣṭha
Dh. S. (28. 10-15), 733n.

Velankar Prof. H. D.: explanation
of Rg. X. 72 ( aditer
dakṣo ajāyat) by, demurred to
1488n.

Vena, called Gandharva in Ṛg-
veda and may be Venus 494n.

Vendidado: Parsi scripture
mentions ‘Hapta Hindu’ (Sa-
paśa-Sindhu) 1613n.
Venisamhāra 775n, 779n.

Veṅkaṭanātha or Veṅkaṭadeśika
(1269-1369 A. D.) a. of
Seśvaramūrthi 1209; vide
under Devata.

Venkatassubbiah, Shri, avers that
thirty works cited by Madhva
occur nowhere else 1219n.

Verbal forms: two kinds of, the
first of which only conveys that
the agent only exists (as in
‘asti’), the second of which
conveys not only the existence
of the agent but also some
activity of the agent (as in
yajati), that is, in these latter
the sense of ‘karoti’ (he does)
is also understood, 1237.

Vernal Equinox: deemed to have
occurred on Āśvini-nakṣatra
about Śaka 444 but now it has
receded to Uttarābāhḍrapāda
712; was in Kṛttikās about
2300 B. C., 497n, 508; was in
divisional sign Aries about 200
B. C., 601.

Verses: identical in several Pū-
rāṇas 853, 945n; identical in
Brahma and Viṣṇu Purāṇas,
929, 1046n; identical in Ma-
sya and Brahmapāda 945n;
identical in Viṣṇu and Padma
966n, identical in Viṣṇu and
Varāha Purāṇas 931n.

Veśi: rāsi, when so called 584.

Vidhi (or Vidhis) ; (vide under
Bhāvanī, Niyaṃma and Parī-
saṅkhya): V. apply to all Āryas
1281; (Vidhi) is an exhorta-
tion that is meaningful on
account of enjoining a matter
that has a useful purpose and
that prescribes something which
does not follow (is not es-
ablished by) from any other
authority 1225-26; is laid
down by a verbal form or po-
tential passive participle in
‘ya’ or ‘tavya’ 1225n; is or-
dinarily couched in the opta-
tive form (vidhīti) and a
verb in the present tense can-
not ordinarily be taken as laying down a V. 1226; only vidhis so called have absolute authority, while Arthavādas have authority in so far as they praise Vidhis 1283; one classification of vidhis is into four, 1228; sometimes a vidhi may be inferred even from a verb in the present tense (illustrated) 1226-7; the central element in v. is the verb or verbal form expressed as 'one shall do', 'it shall be done', 'it ought to be done' 1226; the employment of words like 'hi' or 'vai' is not generally allowed in a V. 1227n; the text about rātrisattra, though in the present tense is, construed as a v. 1227; three-fold classification of v. into apūrvavidhi (as in svarga-kāmo yajeta), niyamavidhi (as in 'he pounds rice') and Parisaṅkhya 1229; two-fold classification of vidhis into Puruṣārtha and Kratvartha 1232-1234; where a rite has already been laid down all that can be said as laid down about it later is to enjoin an accessory (guṇa, a detail), 1226; where a vidhi is already established a separate vidhī is required for each of the auxiliary matters relating to it 1295n.

Vidyādhi, such texts as 'Darsā-pūrṇamāṣābhīyām yajeta' are called V. 1323.

Vidyāyanta, is the whole procedure of Darsāpūrṇamāsa except the originative injunction (Darsā-
yajeta) detailed in the Brāhmaṇa texts about the offering of purodāsa (cake) 1323n.

Vidura, though a śūdra, possessed brahmajñāna 921; and secured mokṣa 1642.

Vidyāmadhaviya, (also called Muhūrtadarṣaṇa) 539.

Vidyāpati, a great writer of Mithila; composed devotional songs of Viṣṇu, Śaivasarvasvāsa, Durgābhaktitaraṅgini and also a tāntrik work 1076; the first verse of the Puruṣaparikṣā of V. invokes Ādi-Śakti 1076.

Vidyāś: fourteen V. set out in Yāj. and others 820, 926, 1152, 1263; fourteen known to Kālidāsa 1152n; eighteen acc. to some (including Upavedas), 820, 926n; Ghurye, Dr. G.S. work of, on 1152n; sources of, are 14 but Buddha works are not included as sources of dharma or vidyās 1152, 1263.

Vidyāsthāna, (branch of knowledge): the word occurs in Nirukta 1276n; vide under 'Vidyās'.

Vidyāsākta 1033n, 1461.

Vihāvya-anuvāka, 786.

Vijaya, time and Muhūrtta so called, 189, 406.

Vijayādaśmi (vide under 'Dasarā'): chief observances of 190; in place of Śami, another tree called 'Āptā' is worshipped in Mahārāṣtra 192; on 10th of Āśvina bright half, 188; one of the three most auspicious days in the year, 189; Rāma is said to have marched
against Laṅkā on this day, 192; time for, when 10th tithi is mixed with 9th or 11th tithi 188; time for celebrating it is afternoon or pradosa 188; time for new undertakings even though the moon or some other planets be not favourable 189.

Vijñānabhiṣkṛtu (about 1550 A. D.): a. of Sāṅkhya-pravacanabhāṣya 976, 1355.

Vijñānadrīpīka, of Padmapāda, (in 71 verses): 1574n (on three kinds of Karma), 1588, 1599.

Vikalpa (option) or Vikalpas: 1249-1252: (vide under śāstra, smṛtis); defined by Gautama, Jai., Śābara and Manu 1154; eight faults of V. apply only to V. based on reasoning, 1252: is liable to eight faults and should be avoided and resort should be had to paryudāsa or arthavāda 1250, 1252; may be a vyavasthita (i.e., restricted to a certain state of circumstances) or ‘avyavasthita (not so restricted) and examples 1251-52; V. are grouped under three heads with examples, 1250-51; where two texts are irreconcilable there is V. as in the two sentences about Atirātra 1249-50.

Vikrama: became lord of the world in Kaliyuga by vrata 55; whose daughter Vasundharā of Daśārṇa country attained mokṣa by vrata 56.

Vikramādiya VI, of Cālukya dynasty; Inscription in 1098 A. D. about school for teaching Prabhākara’s Mimāṃsā doctrines 1192.

Vikramādiya: doubts about the existence of a king called V. about 57 B. C. 650-51; Emperor Chandragupta II was styled V. on his coins 901; era of 650-53; papers on 650n, 651.

Vikramādiya: commemoration volume 650n.

Vikramorvaśiya, a drama by Kālidāsa 46, 900-901 (close agreement between Matsyapurāṇa and V. on the incidents in the story).

Vinayā Texts 1070.

Vinayakaśanti, also called Gana-patipūjā 748; performed at the beginning of all Saṃskāras, such as Upanayana and marriage and for averting or mitigating effects of portents or on a Śapiṇḍa’s death 748-749; performed also on Thursday or on certain auspicious nakṣatras 748; Saṅkalpa for, 748n; to be performed in ordinary fire 757.

Vindhyaśā or-vāsin; identified with Īvaśraṣṭa by Taka-kasu and Keith but Abhinava-gupta distinguished between the two 1376-77; also called Rudrila 1376.

Vinīyogavidhi: conveys the relation between the principal act (āṅgīra or ṛṣṇa) and its subsidiary (āṅgī or āṇa) 1307; is the concern of 3rd chap. of P. M. S. 1307, 1309; six means
of determining what is principal and what are subsidiaries and the relative strength of the latter when there is a doubt or a conflict, each succeeding one being weaker than each preceding one, and there being 15 probable cases of conflict among these six and a few illustrations 1309–1311.

Vinoba Bhave and Bhūmidāna targets 1683.

Vipāś (river in Punjab, modern Beas), 537n.

Viramitrodaya of Mitramiśra, 835n, 1192 (on Vyavahāra); on āhnikā 42n.

Virāsana, a posture in Kṛchra and Aghamarsaṇa vrata 415; a yogic āsana 1425–26n.

Virāṭaparva 179, 185n, 192n, 506n, 663, 743, 821, 1570n, 1636.

Viṣṇa–ghaṭi or Viṣanādi, 736n; birth of a child on V. is pertinent of death of father or mother or loss of wealth or of the child 736n; a particular ghaṭi of each nakṣatra is so called acc. to Madanaratna 736n.

Viṣṇu: (vide under Avatāras, Śāstras): appears to be a name of the Sun in the Rgveda and came to be regarded as Highest God in Brāhmaṇa times 957; Bhaviṣyapurāṇa says that V. begins to sleep in the first quarter of Anurādhā nakṣatra, turns on another side in the middle of Śravaṇa and wakes up in the last quarter of Revati 110n; day of, is equal to whole life of Brahmā 691; different tithis (11th, 12th, 15th) for Viṣṇu’s going to sleep in different authorities 110–1; deluded people and asuras by producing Māyāmohā from his body that led them away from the Vedic path 974–975; how śayana (sleeping) and prabhodha (awakening) of V. are to be celebrated, 112; identified with sacrifice (yajña) 957; Meghadūta and Vanaparva mention the sleeping of Viṣṇu on the snake Śesā and waking up 110, 137; one thousand eight names of V. set out in Anuśasana-parva, chap. 149 and Garudapurāṇa I. 15. 1–160, 977n, 780n; possible explanations of sleep of Viṣṇu for four months 109; steps called V. in sacrifices 191; was supposed to go to sleep on night of 11th of Aśadhā bright half and to awake in the day on 11th of Kārtika bright half 109–10, 414; was supposed to turn from one side to the other in his sleep on Bhadrapada bright half 11th tithi (which was therefore called Parivartini 109; worship of V. in three different ways, Vaidika, Tāntrika or Mśra 924; worship of, in six mediums 1121n, 1649; worship of, may be performed on Śalāgrāma stone, on a jewel, yantra, mandala, image, or in a temple, acc. to Padmapurāṇa I136.

Viṣṇucandra, writer on Astrology q. by Utpala 587n.

Viṣṇu-itti, com. on Viṣṇupurāṇa,
Aparārka quotes only 7 times and about 25 verses only, 881; borrows from works of Varāhamihira 878; date of, acc. to Hazra, is 400-500 A.D. 876; date of, after 600 A.D. and before 1000 A.D. 910; has Tāntrik elements 876n, Kālikāpurāṇa refers to it 910, 1033; note on 876-78, 910; questions whether the Mudrās in religious worship were derived from the postures (karaṇas), recakas (gestures) and 32 aṅgahāras (movements of limbs) in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (chap. 4, 8, 9) cannot at present be finally decided 1128-29.

Visṇugupta, a. on astrology 593-4.

Visṇupadi-Saṅkrāntis 213, 413; punyakāla is 32 ghatis 215.

Visṇupāśaka, last five days of Kārtika are so called, 412-13.

Visṇupurāṇa: 79n, 112, 118n, 129, 147, 150n, 197, 205n, 221, 473n, 474n, 511n, 520n, 571n, 649, 651n, 678, 687, 689-92, 694, 698, 735n, 743n, (mentions Garga), 817n, 820, 824n, 825 (a verse of V. quoted as Smrī by Śaṅkarbhāṣya), 845n (period of time between Parīkṣit and coronation of Nanda), 852, 853n, 857, 861, 907-909, 915 (story of Purūrvas and Urvaśī), 916, 921 (adopts Upaniṣad passages), 926n (18 vidyāsthānas), 928-29, 949, 957n-59, 961 (on Prabhāda), 962-63, 969n, 974, 996, 1016-47, 1152n, 1222n,
(confused account of the sākhās of Sāmaveda), 1270n
(on discarding even Vedic practices), 1312n (defines 'svarga' as manāhprāti), 1362n, 1382, 1391 (quotes two verses of Hiranyakagarbha), 1399, 1404 (on propounders of Yogaśāstra), 1417n, 1421, 1440, 1444 on pratyāhāra), 1446, 1448 (agrees with Y. Bhāṣya closely), 1450, 1455, 1457 (on Yogi-caryā), 1522, 1526n, 1528, 1596n; closely agrees with definition as Pañcalakṣaṇa, 907; com. called Vaiṣṇavākūṭacandrika of Ratnagarbha and another called Vaiṣṇueṇṭi deal with a V. of 6000 verses only 832-33, 868n; Dānasāgara knew a V. of 23000 verses which it discards 868n-69, 909; extant Vīśnu P. composed between 300 to 500 A.D. 909; is full of characteristic qualities of Vaiṣṇavas 874n; narrates how and why Vyāsa declared how Kaliyuga, Śūdra and women were blessed 928-929; on Saṅkhya 1382; present text divided into six aṁśas, 126 chapters and has about 6000 verses 907; Rāmānuja in his Vedārthasaṅgraha quotes more than 100 verses from V., regards V. as of supreme authority over other Purāṇas 880, 957n; Śākya, Sudhodana (as 23rd in descent from Brhadabala and Rāhula mentioned by V.) 909; several works state the number of slokas in V. to be different from 6000 to 24000, 832-33; some verses identical with Brahmāṇḍa and Brahma and other Purāṇas 908, 963n, 1516n; teaches doctrine of complete advaita and of niṣkāma-karma 908; translated by H. H. Wilson 883, 909; Vācaspāti names it in com. on Yoga-bhāṣya 909; Vyāsa does not play a prominent part in V. and Sūta does not appear as narrator at all 909.

Vaiśṇurāhasya 49n, 115n, 869 (a mere compilation, acc. to Dānasāgara).

Vaiśṇusahhitā, elaborate treatment of dīkṣā in, 1117, 1123, 1125 and n (on Mudrās appropriate to several gods and names about 30).

Vaiśṇūśṅkhalā-yoga 414-15.

Viṣṭi, 7th mobile Karana, 411-12, 709-710; appears to have inspired great terror among medieval Dharmaśāstra writers 709-10; astrologers raised it to the status of an ill-omened Demoness. 411; euphemistically called Bhadrā or Kalyāni 412, 700; diagram showing how Viṣṭi occurs eight times in a month 709; fast on it, 411; inauspicious, except in its tail, last three ghaṭikās 710; supposed to have the form of a snake divided into mouth, neck, chest, navel, waist and tail, all being inauspicious except tail and each being assigned differing ghaṭikās 710.

Viṣuva Saṅkrāntis 213.
Viṣuvat day (when day and night were of equal length, known in the Brāhmaṇa period and was in the middle of the sacrificial year, 511; Divā-kirtya-sāma, to be sung on 511n.

Viśvabhārati, quarterly, Vol. II paper on ‘China's debt to India’ 1618n.

Viśvādāraśa 102.

Viśvāmitra: and the rivers 537, 1203; and Śunāṣeṣpa 968n; famished V. wanted to eat dog’s tail 1470; priest of Triśaṅkū who had become a cāndāla 1280.

Viśvāmitrāsūrti 218.

Viśvajit (sacrifice) 1312–13; in V. the sacrificer had to donate everything he owned at the time of giving dakṣinā in, 1312–1313; Jaimini devotes fourteen adhikaraṇas to, 1313; some of the important propositions are that the sacrificer cannot donate his relatives, that even the emperor cannot donate the whole kingdom, 1313; sūdra who serves a man of the three higher castes because it is his duty to do so acc. to Dharmaśāstra, cannot be donated 1257; Svarga is the reward of V. though the Veda does not expressly mention any reward 1312.

Viśvakarman: fashioned the two worlds (Ṛg. X. 81 and 82) 1488.

Viśvarūpā: com. Bālakrīdā on Yāj. by 224, 835–26, 1155n, 1181 (explains Yāj. I. 51), 1259n (quotes Tantravārtika verse without name), 1270n, 1273n, 1281n, 1294 (śrāddha primarily means ‘pindadāna’ and not feeding brāhmaṇas, 1309, 1425n; not identical with Maṇḍana 1194; quotes a half verse from Yogi-Yajñavalkya 1407; same as Sureśvara, the latter being his name on resorting to Sannyāsa 1194.

Viṭhobā of Pandharpur; Dāmāji, his devotee 951.

Vivāda-cintāmaṇi 1303.

Vivādaratnākara 1303, 1320.

Vivāhapatiśa of Varāhamihira 479n.

Vivekananda, Swami; criticized by Shri Kuvalayānanda about his lectures on rājyoga, 1444; criticism of later Buddhism by 1030; on Rājyoga 1393–94; warns that Yoga can be practised with safety by direct contact with teacher 1441–12; 1709 (angrily says modern Hinduism is ‘don’t touchism’; works of, 1622n.

Vodhu, a Sāṅkhya philosopher 1372 and n.

Vogel J. Ph, author of ‘Indian serpent lore’ 127, 275.

Vogt, V. O. a. of ‘cult and culture’; condemns the unbending arrogance of Moslems and Christian missionaries 1012n.

Vows: five great, among Jainas 28; found in all religions 28.

Vrata: (see under Dīkṣita, homa, fast, morning, snātaka, tithi, pāraṇā, udyāpana); actions to be given up during
vrata such as chewing tămbūla, anointing with oil 49; adhi-
kārīn for V. 51–55; another vrata should not be begun till the first is finished 121; V. called Kṣurapavi 25; circum-
stances that do not break a vrata 48–49; classification of, into three (bodily, mental, vocal) or based on the period taken 56; comprehends many items such as bath, sandhyā, sāṅkalpa, homa, pūjā, fast, feeding of brāhmaṇas, maidens and the poor, gifts and observ-
ences of rules of conduct 31; death in the midst of perform-
ing V. does not deprive performer of merit 48; derivation and meaning of, according to St. Petersburg dictionary from root Vṛ. 'to choose' 1; derivation of and meaning of acc. to Max–Muller from Vṛ. to protect, I acc. to Whitney from ‘vṛt’ to proceed, 1; v. acc. to Prof. Apte from ‘vṛt’ 2, 4; v. acc. to author from vṛ (to choose) 2, 4; described in Purāṇas but did not occupy a high place in ancient smṛtis 43; difference between Vedic sacri-
fices and V. 45; difficult to demarcate v. and utsava 57; different definitions of, in Sanskrit works, such as Śābara-
bhāṣya, Medhātithi, Mitākṣara, Kālūnandana 28–31; employed with verbs of motion like ‘i’ to and ‘car’ 6–7; exact determination as to the day on which a tithivrata is to be per-
formed when tithi extends over two days occupies much space in Dharmaśāstra works 62; extravagant praise of the effi-
cacy of v. for weaning away common people from Buddhism 46; flesh to be excluded in 41; flowers, fragrant substances, incense, the food to be offered to deities in, 37–38; food to be given not only to brāhmaṇas but also to the blind, the poor and helpless 39–40; food pro-
per or improper for subsistence in 41–42; for completion of vrata, performer should donate gold and cows, but if one has nothing, the words of a brāhmaṇa that vrata is completed are enough 121; general rule that Sāṅkalpa of a vrata to be made in the morning 32; giving up vrata through careless ness or other cause except death, entails dire consequen-
ces 47–48; gods, sages, siddhas attained highest perfec-
tion by V. 56; how to set about a vrata 81; if no sāṅ-
kalpa made about v. performer loses half the merit 82; im-
mense literature on 57–58; in all vratas the pāraṇā is in the morning 121; in the medieval sense existed from before Āp. Dh. S. and the dramas of Kāli-
dāsa 46; V. In the Rgveda pp. 1–21; in Vedic literature, sūtras and Smṛtis 22–29; is the one supreme observance for man and other observances do not come up even to one-sixteenth part of what vrata yields, 56; largest number of,
are tithivratas 56; lavish expenditure recommended by Purāṇas in, 40; matters that do not affect a vrata, particularly where performer is a woman, child or one in extreme pain, 49; mlecchas authorised to perform 54; meaning in which it is used in this section of H. of Dh, 28; meaning of, in Yājñavalkya Śruti 123; meanings of, in all passages of Rgveda are command or ordinance, religious or moral practices or worship or vows 8, 11; meaning of 'command' or 'law' quite appropriate in more than half the Rgveda passages where the word occurs, 11; meaning of 'mode of worship or ethical practices' in words like 'avrata, apavrata', 'anyavrata', 11-12, 22; meaning of 'sacred vow or observance' 18; meaning of, came to be restricted to 'sacred vows' and 'rules of conduct,' 116; meaning of, as compared with rta and dharma 20-2; meanings of, two, generally in Samhitās other than Rgveda, in Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣads 23; meanings of, two, secondary in Brāhmaṇa times viz. 'a proper pattern of conduct' and 'Upavāsa' 25; meaning of in Mahābhārata 27; meaning of, from first centuries of Christian era is 'a religious undertaking or vow observed on a certain tithi or day for securing some object by the worship of a deity accompanied by restrictions as to food and behaviour' 28; not to be undertaken in the midst of āśauca 48; number of vratas was small in the first centuries A. D. 46; V. word occurs about 220 times in Rgveda, 4; objects to be secured by vrata are numerous such as puṇya, progeny, wealth, health, pleasures, heaven and even mokṣa 55; observances for one undergoing a vrata acc. to Tai. S. 23 and acc. to Tai. Ā. 25n; observances for a king who has performed 'Brahmaṇaḥ Parimaraḥ' 25; observances for newly married pair 27; of brahmacarīn 45; offering in, to be clarified butter in the absence of specific provision, 49-50; persons of all castes (including śūdras) entitled to perform V. 51; preliminaries before undertaking vrata acc. to some, such as Vṛddhi-srāddha 31-32; Pratinidhi (representative) such as son or wife may perform V. for one unable personally to perform owing to disease, accident etc. 53, 54; Rājamaṁta, the earliest extant nibandha so far known, is work on V. 58; rite that concludes a vrata is called Udyāpana, pāraṇa or pāraṇa 120; rule of Hārīta, that in every v. in which worship enters midday is the proper time 151; Saṅkalpa in V. to be made in the morning 81; Saṅkalpa of v., formula of 81; some rules
about times when to begin v 61-62; some vratas not to be begun when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or during some days before and after their setting 61; this volume speaks only of such Vratas as are mentioned in works on Dharmaśāstra and does not attempt to include all vratas performed by usage 59-60; to be performed in the evening or night have to be performed on the tithi existing in the evening or night even though it may be mixed with another tithi 72; Udyāpana, absence of, renders vrata fruitless 121; verbal forms of root ‘mi’ or ‘mi’ often used in Rgveda in relation to, 10; virtues to be cultivated by one undergoing V. 41; what acts to be avoided by one observing V. 42-43; women are entitled to perform V. but women performing vrata without consent of husband, father or son, reap no benefits 51; woman or maiden who is impure (in monthly illness or the like) should get her vrata performed or finished through another, but may perform bodily acts (like fast) herself 49, 53; words ‘dhṛtavrata’ (18 times), mahivrata (5 times), sucivrata (five times), vivrata (7 times) occur in Rg. and help in settling meaning of ‘vrata’ 12-17; word ‘vṛṣavrata’ explained 18-19; word ‘vratāni’ explained 17-18; word ‘vratapā’, meaning of 18, 22; works on, relied on in this volume arranged chronologically as far as possible 59.

Vratas: exhaustive list of 255-462; kinds of, viz. expiatory or voluntary 28; most of, are Kāmya (for securing some object in this life or next life or both 55; most v. are for both men and women 51; V. of gods, violated by human beings that are punished by gods for this 9; passages where the words ‘tava vrata’ occur 12-15; regarded as tapas or niyama also 28; several V. prescribed for women alone 51; spoken of, not only in relation to Agni, Indra, Mitra, Soma, Savitr, Uṣas and Ādityas, but also in relation to Varuṇa, Brahmānāspati, Aditi, Aśvins, Parjanya, 7-8; some V. performed at fixed times or tithis 60; some seasonal v. and some festivals like Rāmanavami and some like Sāvitrivrata and Yama-dvitiyā should be kept up even in these days 54-55; spoken of as dhrūva (immutably fixed) and adādha (unassailable) in Rgveda, 8; spoken of as not violated by other gods 8-9; supposed to have been declared by divinities like Śiva, Kṛṣṇa or by great sages 254; topic of, inextricably mixed up with Kāla and tithi; two meanings of, in Brahmāṇas, Upaniṣads, Nirukta, viz. religious observances or vows and special food prescribed for one engaged in a religious rite, 23; vratas of
the type described in Purānas had attained no prominence in times of Yājñavalkya-smṛti 123; V. which Vedic students had to undergo 27.

Vratakalaviveka 30n–33n, 47n–49n, 51n, 66n, 75–77n, 85n, 92, 126, 214n.

Vratakośa, edited by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja, lists 622 entries but lists unduly swollen as pointed out 47.

Vrataprakāśa 30, 55n, 92, 106n, 111, 112n, 122.

Vrataśāla 31, 38n; 53n, 61n, 62, 82, 86, 89, 91, 95, 131, 144–6, 150, 179, 183n, 188, 195n, 208, 234–5.

Vratakattva 31n, 32n, 47n–49n.

Vratārka 30n, 34, 43, 51, 54, 61n, 86, 88, 93, 122, 127, 144, 150, 153.

Vrātyas in Atharvaveda 1387.

Vṛddha–Atri 914.

Vṛddha–Gārgya 77n, 607n.

Vṛddha–Gautama 250n.

Vṛddha–Garga, 520; different from Garga 592 (25 verses quoted by Utpala), 741n, 742n, 765 (on comets and eclipses), 793 (on Puṣyamaṇa).

Vṛddha–Hārīta 817n, 855n, 924n, 963n, 965n, 976n, 1046, 1096n.

Vṛddha–Manu 196n, 706n.

Vṛddha–Śatātapa 79n, 116n.

Vṛddha–Vasiṣṭha 213n, 215n, 220n.

Vṛddha–Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta 478–79n.

Vṛddha–Yājñavalkya 73n.

Vṛddha–Yavanajātaka of Mina-rajā 563, 576 (why two svagṛhas for each of five planets), 584, 589n (countries of birth of planets).

Vṛies, paper of, on ‘Purāṇa studies’ in Pavry Commemoration Vol. 843.

Vṛgotsarga (letting loose a bull); on 11th day after a person’s death or on Full Moon of Kārtika or Caitra once in three years on Revati 416.

Vṛt, root, meaning of, without Upasarga or with 2–3.

Vṛtta, meaning of, 19.

Vṛttikāra, commentator of PMS, often mentioned by Śabarā and styled ‘bhagavān’, from whom S. sometimes differs 1186–87, 1221; enumeration of characteristics of Mantras by V. 1222; enumeration of the characteristics of Brāhmaṇa texts 1334; held to be identical with Upavarsa by Prof. Kuppuswami and Pandit V. A. Ramswami and not so by Dr. S. K. Iyengar and the present author 1186n, 1187n, 1197.

Vyādi, m. by Kātyāyana Vārtikakāra 1157.

Vyāghra, Smṛti of 78n.

Vyāhṛtis (three or seven mystic syllables such as bhūḥ, bhuvah; etc.) 787, 1099n; denote Lokas acc. to Tai. Br. and Tai. Up. 1528n.

Vyāhṛti–homa, described 33n.

Vyās, K. B. 651.


Vyāsa, son of Parāśara and
called Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana also 857, as he was born on an island and was dark in complexion 1161; compiled and arranged the one Veda into four parts and imparted them to four disciples acc. to Adiparva and Purāṇas 857; 1161; composed Purāṇasamhitā from tales, episodes, gāthās etc. 858; composed Mahābhārata for education of women and śūdras 1642; deemed to be incarnation of Viṣṇu by Manu, Purāṇas, but of Brahmā in Vāyu and of Śiva in Kūrma 857 and n; fifth disciple of V. was Śūta Romaharṣaṇa to whom V. imparted Itihāsa–Purāṇa, whose son Sautī narrated Mahābhārata to Śaunaka and others in Naimiṣa forest 857; legends about 857; names of 27 Vyāsas in Kūrma and Vāyu, while Viṣṇu and Brahmāṇḍa cite 28 names of 28 Vyāsas of Dwāpara in Vaivasvata Manvantara 857–58; not a gotra name, while Jaimini, Bādari and Bādarāyana are gotra names 1174; Pārāśārya is only one of the three prārvaras of the group of Pārāśaras 1174; son of V. was called Vaiyāsaki, acc. to Vārtika and means Śuka, acc. to Mahābhāṣya 1169; Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Pājāla are mentioned in Āśv. Gr. along with ‘Bhāratamahābhāratadharmacārya’, 1161n; Vedic literature is silent about Vyāsa Pārāśārya except in Śāmavidhāna Br. and Tai. Ār. 859; Vyāsa or Vyāsa Pārāśārya is not mentioned by name either in P. M. S. or V. S. 1173; Vyāsas were born whenever Dharma and Veda declined 857.

Vyātipāta, a Yoga, variously defined 419, 708; name occurs in Yāj. and Hārśacarita 705; thirteen V. in a year on which Śrāddha may be performed 705.

Vyavahāramayūkha 51n, 52, 162n, 1002, 1192, 1224 (on ‘nāntarikṣe na divi’), 1242 (Devala explained), 1286–87, 1293 (brother in Yāj. III. 135 should mean only full brother), 1301–3, 1313n (on Viśvajit sacrifice), 1317n, 1323 (example of atiṣṭhā in Pitāmaha-smṛti); on killing an atisūyin brāhmaṇa, another practice prevailed in a former yuga 1272n; on Prāṇapratīṣṭhāmantra 1106; on Nārada saying that father can give less or more to sons at partition declares that that was the case in a former yuga 1272n; says that in Purāṇas one often finds usages opposed to smṛti 1278; text with notes ed. by the present author 1305; translation of V. by the present author 1301n–3n.

Vyavahāraparakāśa (part of Viramitrodaya), 1303, 1316n, 1320 (Maṣamudganyāya), 1331 (rule of equal division), 1333 (holds rājan, a king, may be even a vaiṣya).

Vyūṣṭa meaning of, in Ārthaśās-
tra 647n.
Vyuttthāṇa, meaning of 1414n.
Waddell L. H., a. of ‘Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism’ 1129 (describes nine mudrās practised by Lamas).
Wadia, Ardesar Sorabji N., a. of ‘Fate and Free will’ 1604.
W. Waerden Prof. B. L. Van Der 543, 582n (on Babylonian Astronomy), 595n.
Wales H. G. Quaritch, a. of ‘Towards Angkor’ and ‘Making of Greater India’ 1618n, 1657.
Walker, E. D., a. of ‘re-incarnation’ 1530n, 1604.
Walker Kenneth, a. of ‘the Circle of Life’ (on metempsychosis) 1531, 1605.
Wallis, H. W. a. of ‘Cosmology of the Ṛgveda’ 1485n.
Warren, a. of ‘Kālasaṅkalita’ 642n, 644, 661.
Water Clocks used in India as early as the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa 542.
Watkins, Harold, a. of ‘Time counts: the story of the calendar’ 718n.
Watson, Prof. J. B. a. of ‘Behaviourism’ 1414n.
Watters, on ‘Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India’ 1006n, 1040.
Wealth: Gautama and Manu lay down that the three higher varṇas should respectively acquire w. by gifts, conquest and agriculture, which became niyamas and must be held to be puruṣārtha and not kratvārtha, 1192, 1233.
Webb E. J., a. of ‘The names of the stars’ 550, 565n, 566, 582n, 595n.
Weber. A. a. of ‘Der Vedischen Nachrichten von Der Nakṣatrastras’; regarded Pauliṣa-siddhānta as borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus, but was rebuked by Kern for this 515n; thought the religion of bhakti for Kṛṣṇa was due to Christian influence but Barth disagrees 952n.
Week: (vide under ‘day’): number of days in w. differed among different ancient people 676; w. of seven days practised among Jews, Babylonians and Incas 676.
Week Days: (vide under ‘hora, sabbath, calendar’): actions proper to be done on different w. according to Brhaṣṭaṃbhīa, Garga and Āthāṛvaṇa Jyoṭiṣa 680–81; arrangement of Hindu W. not based on Greek division of day into horās, but on ghaṭikās 571n; auspicious for all undertakings are Monday, Wednesday; Thursday and Friday 62, 604, 682; combinations of certain tithis and W. yield all rewards 70; combinations of certain W. tithis and nakṣatras bad for certain matters, 71; derived by Indians from Chaldeans acc to S. B. Dixit 679n; derived in Europe ultimately from Babylonian gods, 683; Dio (200–220 A. D.) says W. originated in Egypt and were of recent introduction in his day 677; for Upanayana Tuesday and Saturday in-
auspicious 604; have no force at night in marriages 611; known in Italy before 79 A.D.; literary evidence in Sanskrit on W. 680–82; no evidence that the Indian names of W. and the method of arriving at the order of the days is not indigenous 685; not named in Bible 677; not mentioned in Mahābhārata 682; not borrowed en bloc by India from outside 685; oldest reference to W. in Indian Inscriptions is of the Gupta year 165 (484 A.D.) 680; one of the five aṅgas of a pāṇcāṅga 675; order of W. takes no account of the distances of planets 678; origin and development of, 677–685; probable that W. were known to Indians between 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. 681; probably suggested to Indians from worship in Babylonian temples of planets on different week days 683; Ptolemy makes no astrological use of W. 678; Sanskrit literature concerning W. 681–2; Sarton's view that Greeks had nothing to do with W. but Egyptians and Babylonians developed W. 678; section on, in Ātharvāṇa Jyotiṣa 681.

Welfare State implied by Art. 38 in Constitution 1679: (vide under socialistic pattern of society); theoretical aims of 1695.

Wells, H. G., a. of 'You can't be too careful' 1483n.

Westcott G. H., a. of 'Kabir and Kabir panth' 969n.

Westermarck, a. of 'Origin and development of moral ideas' 1647n (on slavery).

Western Writers: (vide under 'conjecture'): on Sanskrit Literature and Indology draw positive conclusions from mere silence 858; prejudices about matters Indian 542; request to, to follow Mallinātha's rule 1531; severe strictures of W. against privileges and feeding of brāhmaṇas laid down more than a thousand years ago should not rely on 19th and 20th century notions but should compare the position of brāhmaṇas with what was done by Popes, Inquisitions, monastic orders in centuries from 10th to 15th century A.D. 932; similarities in institutions, usages and other matters are often attributed to Indians borrowing by W. W. without hardly any cogent or positive evidence, but merely by conjecture and prejudice, 481–82.

Westaway F. W.: a. of 'Obsessions and convictions of the human intellect' (1938), 1483n; holds that argument from design for God's existence carries a high degree of probability 1483n.

Whitney: 1, 5, 6, 12, 510, 512, 1491; W's derivation of vrata, from 'vr̥t' to proceed 1–5; had doubts about his theory of the derivation and meaning of 'vrata' owing to the verb
‘mi’ used with it 10; holds that the praises bestowed on Nasadiya hymn were nauseating 1491; makes very disparaging remarks about Indian achievements in astronomy and generally 512; suggested without any positive evidence that it was pre-Ptolemaic astronomy that was transmitted to India 517.

Widow: (see Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act,): could adopt in Bengal provided husband’s permission was proved 1336; could not adopt a son at all acc. to Dattakamimānsā and Vācaspāti 1335–36; in Madras she could adopt with husband’s permission given before his death or with the consent of the husband’s agnates 1336; remarriage of, allowed by Parāśarasmiti but Parāśaramādhavya adds that that practice belonged to another yuga 1266n; widow requires no consent of husband nor of anyone else, provided the husband has not prohibited adoption by her, acc. to Nīnapayasindhu, Vyavahāramayukha 1336.

Wife: (vide under ‘sacrifices’): exaggerated praise of chaste wife’s power is a mere artha-vāda 1598; Jaimini provides that W. not being equal to the husband in the knowledge of mantras and ignorant, is restricted to the performance of those acts only that are expressly enjoined on her such as looking at the clarified butter, observing brahma-paraśu and repeat a few mantras which she should learn from her father or her husband 1287–88; W. gradually lost all importance in Vedic sacrifices and came to be a mere silent spectator of weary details 1288; many Smṛti rules apply to W. also although the texts may employ a word in the masculine gender e.g. Manu XI. 93 prohibiting men of three varnas from drinking surā was held to apply to wives also 1288.

Wilson, Prof., translator of Viṣṇupurāṇa 830n, 834n (gives differing lists of Upapurāṇas), 895n; a. of ‘Religion of the Hindus’ 1532.


Wine: drinker of, was regarded as one of five grave sinners in Chāṇ. Up. 1079; high praise of W. as Tāra, as Saviour of souls in Tantras 1682; not offered to gods in Vedic age, was differentiated from Soma and was deemed to lead to sin 1078.

Winlock, H. E. 490n.

Winter Solstice: occurred on Māgha amāvāsyā in the time of the Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa, 49’n.

Winternitz, author of ‘History of Indian Literature’ (English tr. 1927), 155n, 513, 1039 (Hindu Tantras not borrowed), 1606; Vol. I. 599n, 838 (on authenticity of sec-
tions and verses of Mahābhārata), 844; a. of ‘Some problems of Indian Literature’ 1650.

Wolfe, Bertram De. a. of ‘Krushchev and Stalin’s Ghost’ (1957), 1474n.

Women: advantages enjoyed by w. in contrast to men 929; could secure brahmajñāna and mokṣa by listening to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 921n: different views as to whether home could be performed by W. 52; extravagant praise of women in several Tantrik works, 1056; in Gujarat and other places tie silken amulets round the wrists of their brothers 128; no capacity to recite Vedic mantras 52; women had no votes in England till the first World War and in Switzerland even now they have none, 1664 and n.; 1674 (drastic changes in the legal status of Hindu women by Acts of 1954 to 1956).

Wood, Ernest, a. of ‘Yoga’; states that he once saw ‘levitation’ (laghīmā) of an old Yogin 1452-3n.

Woodroffe (Sir John): (vide under ‘Arthur Avalon’): a. of ‘Śakti and Śākta’: 1048n, 1080n, 1089, 1136n; a. of ‘Principles of Tantra’ 1137; criticized 1078-1080, 1084-85; explains in an esoteric way the meaning of verse ‘pīṭā etc.’ by referring it to the awakening of Kujpalini) 1088n, 1092 and n, 1123;

wrote a foreword to Dr. Rele’s work in which he dissented from Dr. Rele about Kujpalini being the Vagus Nerve 1443.

Woods, Prof. James H.: translator of Yogasūtra, bhāṣya etc. 1334.

Woolf, Leonard. a. of ‘Barbarians at the gate’ 1619; a. of ‘Quack, quack’ 1617.

Woolley, Sir Leonard, a. of ‘Sumerians’ 482.

World, various views about origin of, from Upaniṣad times 1573-74.

World Calendar Association 714n; in New York founded by Miss Elisabeth Achelis 714n; recommendations of 714n.

Word, has creative power and is one with God (acc. to Rg. X. 121. 8), 1490.

Words: are divided by P. M. S. into Nāmaṇi and Karmaśabdas, also called ākhyāta 1237; connection between words and senses is eternal 1203-4; import of, whether Jāti (class) or Vyakti (individual) discussed in Vārtikas on Pāṇini 1157; import of, is ākṛti, acc. to Jaimini 1158; mīmāṃsakas hold that the word, denotation and the relation of these two are eternal 1205; Pāṇini made use of both Jāti and Vyakti as import of words in different sūtras acc. to Mahābhāṣya 1157-8; three senses of W. viz. primary (abhidhā), secondary, and suggested, owing to the three vṛttis of abhidhā,
lakṣaṇā and vyañjana, 1293; Upavarsa held that it is the letters that constitute the word, 1205n.

Writers medieval; weakest points of, were lack of exact knowledge of history and chronology and obsession to glorify to the skies their favourite author or work 1177.

Xerxes (486 B.C.-465 B.C.), 1613.

Yajata: analysis of the notions underlying the word y. occurring in sentences like 'Svargakāmo yajata' (one desiring svarga should offer a sacrifice) 1235-38.

Yajña: (vide under Devatā): sacrifice is called leaky vessel by Munḍaka Up. 1471); grhya-sūtras prescribe rites to be offered in grhya fire, seven of which are called pākayajñas 1323n; Jaimini's position is that in a y. the havis (offering) is the principal matter and devatā is a subordinate detail (gūṇa) 1207; Kratu and Yajña, difference between 1616; both words occur hundreds of times in Rg. 1646; Y. means (acc. to Śabara) 'giving up of a substance (dravya) intending it for a deity in words' 1208n; notion grew that nothing great can be accomplished except by tapas or Y. 1489 (texts cited); Rgveda in a few places asserts that offerings of ghee and fuel sticks in Y. would yield great rewards 916; Śabara speaks of four Mahāyajñas viz. Agnihoṭra, Dārsāpuṇamāsa, Jyoti-ṣṭoma Piṇḍapitryajña 1323n; Skandapurāṇa runs down not only animal sacrifices but even offerings of fuel sticks and flowers 916; Soma sacrifices are seven, acc. to Gaut. Dh. S. 1323n; Vedic Y. usually divided into three varieties viz. Iṣṭi, Paśu and Soma, this last being divided into Ekāha, Ahina, Sattra 1323n.

Yājñavalkya: three works (apart from the Śruti and Br. Up.) connected with the name of Yaj. viz. Vṛddha-Yaj., Yogo-Yājñavalkya and Brhad-yoga (or-gī-)Yājñavalkya and it is shown that none of these can be the Yogaśāstra mentioned in Yaj. Śruti (III. 110), 1404-1408.

Yājñavalkyasmrti 27, 29-30, 33, 36, 48, 50, 52, 102n, 103, 123, 159n, 193, 210, 224, 246-7, 528, 536n, 538, 544, 678, 705, 748-49, 756n, 757, 789n, 817n, 825, 862, 865, 936-38, 945, 946n, 1023-24, 1032, 1063n, 1113, 1152, 1156n, 1181 (I. 51 explained by Viśvarūpa), 1230 (various views on Yaj. 1. 79 and 81), 1234, 1248 (several examples of paryudāsa in I. 129-166), 1251, 1256n, 1268n (conditions of niyoga), 1270, 1274, 1284, 1286, 1292, 1303 (conflict among medieval digestes), 1305, 1308, 1315n, 1317, 1388, 1403, 1416n, 1420, 1438, 1441, 1446-47 (āngas of Yoga),
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1457–9, 1482, 1507, 1555n
(follows Br. Up.), 1557–58, 1585 (uses word Saṁsāra), 1573 (five views m. as to what causes desirable or undesirable results), 1590–91, 1608, 1611, 1628, 1632 (allows intermarriages between three varṇas), 1645 (on sannyāsin), 1669, 1672, 1697 (truth and non-violence basic), 1704; declares that rise and fall of kings depends on planets 544: employs word ‘vrata’ in three senses 123; hardly ever refers to vratas in the sense in which Purāṇas use the word 123; mentions some Śaṅkhya tenets such as guṇas 1379; Viśvarūpa’s com. on, is called Bālakriḍā 825n, 826n, 1155n.

Yakṣa, word occurs in Rg. and Atharvaveda 1360n.

Yakṣakardama (unguent with five fragrant substances) 384.

Yale, John, edited ‘What Vedānta means to me’—a symposium 1707–8n.

Yama: smṛti of, 112n, 8 0n, 949n, 1257 (gāthās from Yama’s Dharmaśāstra quoted by Anuśasana-paṇḍava), 1381–82 (verses on Śaṅkhya quoted from ), y., while mentioning 25 tattvas adds Puruṣottama as 26th tattva, 1382n.

Yama and Yami 209, 915, 1203 (dialogue)

Yama and Pītās 1554.

Yama, god of death, called Vaivasvata 692; seven or 14 names of, in tarpaṇa on 14th

in Divāli 196 and n; ten names of, in Bhṛatrīdviṭṭiya 208n; wrong conclusions of western scholars from Yama and Yami hymn 209.

Yamadvitiya, see Bhṛatrīdviṭṭiya.

Yamas: (vide ‘niyama’): are obligatory or paramount duties for all, acc. to Manu 29; are in the nature of prohibitions 1422; five m. by Yogasūtra, Kūrma, Liṅga 29n, 946n, 1419, 1420n; ten mentioned by Yāj. and Vaikhānasa 29, 946n; the observance of Yamas by all men may be called ‘Vrata but there are exceptions for them, but in the case of Yogins rigorous observance without exceptions is called Mahāvrata 1420–21.

Yamas are based upon passages like Chāṅ. Up. III. 17. 4 and Br. Up. V. 2. 3, which asks all men to cultivate dama, dāna and dayā 1422.

Yāmalas, works of Tantra class, 736 and n; number of, varied but often given as eight 736n.

Yāmnacārya: preceptor of Rāmānuja’s teacher 1165; ascribes Brahmaśūtra to Bādarpāyana 1166.

Yantra (geometrical diagram) or yantras (vide under cakra) 1135–1139; a characteristic in Tantra worship, sometimes called cakra 1135; bindu in the diagram of Śrīcakra represents Śakti or mūlaprakṛti solidified 1137; derivation of the word ‘Yantra ’1135; described in many tantra works and
some Purāṇas 1135n; difference between Maṇḍala and Y. 1136; differently enumerated in different works 1137; distinction between Y. and devatā is like that between body and soul, 1136; is engraved, drawn or painted on metal, stone, cloth, paper, birch leaf or other material with paste of sandalwood, camphor, musk, saffron and should be worn on head 1135, 1139; Kulārṇavatāntra and others say that the devatā is not pleased if it be worshipped without Y. 1135; most noted Y. is Śrīacakra 1136; Prapañcasāra tantra states that by the worship of a certain Y., a sādhaka can make a woman smitten with passion for him and draw her to him 1105, 1139; prescribed by even Śara-dātiśaka for destruction of one’s enemies 1138–39; Śrīacakra, described 1137; special ‘Yantragāyatri’ evolved by some works 1135; used for making holy the bed of a woman in labour 1047; was supposed to restrain restlessness of mind due to anger, love etc. and to induce concentration 1136; worship of Yantra is bāhiraṅga-pūjā (external worship of Śakti), while antaryāga consists in taking awakened Kuṇḍalinī from Mūlādhāra through all Īōkas 1137–38; Zimmer on Y. in ‘Myths and symbols in Indian Art’ 1135.

Yaśasākara, king of Kashmir (939–948 A.D.) in whose reign Tantricism declined 1075.

Yaśastilaka Camī (composed in 959 A.D.) 897n (on several ancient Sanskrit grammars), 1074 (refers to Dakṣīna and Vāma mārgas of Tantra).

Yāśaka: (see under Nirukta) 23, 720, 855, 1102, 1203 (Aiti-hāsika school of Vedic interpretation), 1256n; derives nakṣatra from root ‘naks’ 510; flourished several centuries before Christ 984; holds that Rgveda mantras have a meaning as they employ the same words as in ordinary Sanskrit 961–992.

Yati: (vide Sannyāsa and Sannyāsin) in the Rgveda and relation to Indra 1386; y. in the Upaniṣads 1387; was highly honoured and hence many persons quite unit to lead life as Y. entered the order 1644–45.

Yattindramata-dipikā 960n, 961n.

Yatudhāna (one who employs black magic) 1035–36.

Yavanajātaka of Śpīlujīdhvaja 563, 573n, 576, 577n, 580n, 581, 588n; (vide vṛddha-yavanajātaka and Varāhamihira): had traditions about dveṣkaṇas different from Brhaj-jātaka and Sārāvali 583n; styled as Yavanesvara by Utpala 577n, 584n, 586n.

Yātrā: (vide under ‘Prasthāna’, ‘Yoga’); auspicious lagna (at question time) and auspicious
position of planets 619; commended on nine nakṣatras 619; if lagna at birth not known, lagna at question time to be taken as basis 618-619; inauspicious objects and persons on starting 622; starting on Yātrā facing Venus inauspicious 620; subjects included under 616-7; this commended for Y. 619; three works of Varāhamihira on Y. 617; two meanings of word ‘Yātrā,’ viz. (1) starting on a pilgrimage or for earning wealth, (2) march of king for victory, 616; week days not astrologically important in Y. 619; works on Yātrā 616-617; Yātrās of Gods 385-86.

Yavanāndra or Yavanendra, work of, mentioned by Bādaraṇa, predecessor of Varāha, Varāha and Sarāvali) 563n, 591.

Yavanas, composed in Sanskrit works on astrology 563, 600; described in Karṇaparva as all-knowing, valiant and different from mlechhas 829n; generously praised by Varāhamihira for proficiency in astrology but he says hardly anything about their astronomy 516-517, 600; generally quoted in the plural by Varāhamihira who calls them mlecchas 594, 600; y. in the Yugaśāstra 828; provided auspicious times for caula of a child in their astrological work 606; two large works in Sanskrit composed by Sphujīdhvaja and Mīnarāja, who describe themselves as lords of Yavanas 516, 563; views of, on astrology, differed from Varāhamihira’s on substantial matters, 516, 563, 601n; word Yavana is the Sanskrit reproduction of the word Ionia, 516n.

Yavanāni, meaning of word Y. changed 516n.

Yavaneśvara q. by Utpala, 574, 588 (on moon’s bala), 591 (on daśās); differences of, with Varāhamihira (vide under Varāhamihira).

Year: (vide Bāharpataya cycle, Samvatsara): beginning of Indian Y. now in either Caitra or Kārtika but in different months in ancient times 659-60; Bāharpataya year 658; Bāharpataya year names adopted at the beginning of a year in N. India and Deccan 661; Candra year (pure) of 354 days 657; Egyptian year, 646; extent of, in Vedic times 488-491; four beginnings of Indian year, m. by Alberuni 659; is said in the Brāhmaṇa texts to have 360 days and 720 days and nights together 489; length of Bāharpataya year 661; length of y. acc. to Sūryaśiddhānta and modern sidereal year 711; lunar y. is less than solar year by a little over 11 days 646; most ancient peoples including Indians followed Luni-solar Y. 646; one human year supposed to be equal to a day
of gods in Tai. Br. 656 n.; origin and information of cycle of Bārhaspatya year 661; śaṁ- vatsara and vaśa used in same sense by Aśoka 493; Saura year defined 657; Sāvana y. of 360 days 491, 658; several synonyms for, in the Veda 656; sidereal year, length of 645; thirteenth month recognized in the Rgveda, other Vedas and Brāhmaṇa texts 489; tropical year, length of 645.

Yeats W: B. 1393.
Yeats Brown F., a. of 'Bengal Lancer' 1088, 1111 n, 1427.
Yeṣṭihās, names of certain muhūrtas 536.
Yevtic, Paul, a. of ‘Karma and Re-incarnation’ 1605.
Yoga (astrological conjunction) 619; for successful march against an enemy 919.
Yoga: (vide Amṛtasiddhi, Vṛtyu-yoga, Dagdha-yoga); 4th aṅga in a paścāṅgas 704-7; yoga are 27 in number and make together 360 degree S, i.e. each yoga corresponds to 13 degrees and 20 minutes—being the sum of the longitudes of the Sun and Moon, 704 and n; in all auspicious rites the first few ghaṭikās as specified should be avoided in the case of Viṣṇambha, Vajra, Vyāghāta and Ati-ganḍa 105; names of 27 Yogas beginning with Viṣṇambha that are ever recurring 704; no direct astronomical phenomena correspond to it, 704; names of nine of the 27 yogas that are condemned astrologically 705; other yogas than 27 are m. in paścāṅgas 707; rules as to observance of fasts, vratas and religious gifts and śrāddhas when a yoga extends over two days 705; special yogas when there is conjunction of certain tithis, nakṣatras and week days and of planets with rāṣis and nakṣatras 706; system of Y. ancient 705; Vyātīpāta 705; Y. called Vyātīpata and Vaidhṛti and the first half of Pari-gha and the first quarter of those the names of which are odious are inauspicious 705.

Yoga and Dharmaśāstra 1385-1467: (vide under āsanas, avidyā, Buddhist, Īśvara, Jai- giṣṭya, Levitation, prāṇāyāma, Yoga-sūtras, Yogin): Y. and Sāṅkhya often mentioned together in Śv. Up., Mahābhārata, Gīta, Padmapurāṇa 1385; aṅgas of Y. are eight, first five called bahiraṅga and last three antar- aṅga to Yoga 1418n, 1419n, 1445; āsanas of two types one helpful in prāṇāyāma and meditation, the other helpful for physical culture and eradication of diseases 1430; āsanas, references to figures of, 1393; concentration of mind effected by Trātaka 1428n; definition of 'Yoga' in 'Yogasūtra, Deva, Dakṣa and Viṣṇupurāṇa 1409n; derivation of the word Y. and of Yogin, 1385, 1389n; difference of views about the number of the aṅgas of yoga, 1419 and n; discipline of the
mind known to Ap. Dh. S. 1390; doctrine of Y. dilated upon in Śānti and Āșāvamedhika parvans 1399-1405; eightfold Y. acc. to Śāntiparva 1400; first signs of the effectiveness of Y. practice acc. to Śv. Up. 1111; five bhūmis (conditions or stages) of citta (mind) 1409; five vṛttis of citta and the means for their suppression, viz. Abhyāsa and Vairāgya 1409-10; fourfold axioms of, described as resembling Buddha’s four Noble Truths 939n; fully developed at time of Kathopanīṣad 1387n; fundamental and peculiar characteristic of India and no other country has had a similar system of psychic and moral discipline 1651; fundamental idea of Y. is that individual soul is real, eternal and pure, but is immersed in the objective world and pursues transient ends and prescribes a rigorous discipline to secure the soul’s isolation from avidyā 1414; germs of Y. can be traced back to Rgveda 1385; goal of, is Kaivalya, that is, in that state the individual soul abides isolated in its own form and is free from prakṛti and birth and death, the functions of the mind being mastered 1462; Hiranṣayagadbha said to be the ancient propounder of Yoga in Śāntiparva 1390-91; ideal of Y. is to be Jivan-mukta 1455 (to reject life and Personality and to die to this world); Kleśas (hindrances) are five, avidyā, asmitā, rāga, dveṣa and abhiniveśa; they are minimised by tapas and the other two, 1415n, 1416; Kleśas are also called tamas, moha, mahāmoha, tāmisra and andha-tāmisra 1409, 1415-17, 1572; meanings of the word Y. in Rgveda 1385-86; mentioned in some Upaniṣads 1387-88; Muni and Yati mean the same thing in Upaniṣads 1388; niyamas in Y. S. are five 1431; no spiritual power equal to Y. acc. to Śāntiparva 1400; obstacles (antarāyā) that cause distraction of the mind when a person is practising yoga, their companions and the means of preventing them, 1411-12; path of, difficult for even wise brahmaṇas but a person of low varṇa or a woman can practise it 1400, 1461-62; proper places for practice of yoga acc. to Śāntiparva 1400; practices that are preliminaries to attainment of Yoga are tapas, svādhyāya and devotion to Īśvara 1415; Purāṇas like Kūrma and Viṣṇu give varying accounts about the propounding of Yogaśāstra by Yaj. 1404; refuted in V. S. only as to its Sākhya tenets acc. to Śaṅkarācārya, but part of it is acceptable, 1352, 1361, 1388; results of continuous practice of yamas and niyamas are set out in Y. S. II. 35-45 as e. g. when the aspirant is established in ahimsā, all men and animals give up enmity in
his presence 1423-24; Samādhi, samprajñāta (or sālambana or sabijā) and asamprajñāta (or nirālambana and nirbijā) and their subdivisions) 1411 and n; Sanatkumāra connected with Yoga by Anuśāsanaparva 1391; several Purāṇas deal with the eight aśinas of, 1455; signs that a person engaged in Yoga is succeeding in reaching higher and higher spiritual levels mentioned in Śv. Up., Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya 1456-57; system enjoyed and enjoys greater esteem in India than Sākhyā 1385; system inculcates the doctrine that by control of prāṇa in the body it is possible to obtain control over deep-seated forces in human consciousness as well as in the world 1435; Y. system, like medicine, has four aspects, viz. samsāra, cause of it, release from it and means of release (samyag-dārśana, insight into Reality) 1418; systems of yoga are only two, viz. Pātañjala-yoga and the other dealt with in Hāthayogapradīpikā, the former concentrating on mind discipline and the latter on health of body and freedom from diseases 1427-28; Vāyu-purāṇa provides remedies for curing such results as deafness, blindness, numbness, due to ignorant men indulging in prāṇāyāma and yogic practices without proper guidance 1061n; warning by Aldous Huxley against plethora of books on Yoga 1651; word Yoga is used in an extended sense in the Gītā, in Yogatattvopaniṣad and by some modern writers 1426-27; works and papers on Yoga in general 1393-94; Yāj. Smṛti states that realization of the self by means of Y. is the highest dharma 1459; Yāj. Smṛti says that for attaining Yoga one must learn the Āranyakā (that is Br. Up.) and the Yogaśāstra, both proclaimed by him, but, it is a very debatable point which was the yogashastra composed by him, 1403-8; Yamas and Niyamas constitute a preliminary ethical code to be observed by an aspirant for yoga 1423.

Yogabhāṣya of Vyāsa who is different from Vyāsa, a. of Mahābhārata 1397-399; date of discussed, not later than 4th century A.D., 1398-99; mentioned on pp. 471 (on Kaṭā), 939n, 1068n, 1111n, 1113, 1356, 1373, 1374n, 1392 (prefers Jaigīśavāya’s view), 1398, 1402n, 1408-9, 1416-1418n, 1421, 1424n, 1437, 1439, 1443, 1449n, 1450n, 1452n, 1528-9, 1572 (four questions raised about Karma).

Yogacūḍāmaṇi, a Yoga Upaniṣad 1389n

Yogakṣema, meaning of, 543; used in Rgveda as one word or as separate words 1385-86.

Yogaminīśā, Journal, ed. by Shri Kuvalayānanda 1407, 1409, 1428n, 1439n.

Yogashastra, m. by Śaṅkarācārya
on V. S. II. 1, 3, 1388.
Yogaśāstra of Jaina ācārya
Hemaścandra, 1411 n.
Yogasūtra (vide āsanas, food, God, Patañjali, place, siddhis, Yoga, Yogabhāṣya, Yogin, 471, 907, 939n, 946n, 1068n, 1111n, 1113n, 1364n, (klesas), 1392, 1395 and n, 1401-3, 1409 (and on most pages up to 1455), 1572, 1601n, 1611; abhyāsa and Vairāgya defined and explained 1410-11; accepts and presupposes some of the sāṅkhya doctrines, such as Pradhāna, guṇas, individual souls, Kaivalya 1401-2; are difficult and do not give complete explanations but are in the nature of brief notes or hints that rouse curiosity, examples 1450-60; (Dr.) Behanan's appraisal of Y. practices based on experiments 1456; commentary Rājamañjula of Bhoja on 1377, 1394, 1395n, 1420n, 1424n; commentary Tattvavaiśārādi of Vācaspati on Sūtra and bhāṣya (vide Vācaspati also), 1304; commentary Yogasudhākara 1420n, 1440n; commits breach of grammar 1397; date of, discussed by various scholars with varying conclusions, but it is not later than 3rd century A. D. 1305-1309; definition of Y. does not require the japa of om or any mantra like Gāyatri, though Yāj. smṛti, Atri, Vasiṣṭha prescribe it, 1408-9n, 1442; Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi are direct auxiliaries of Y. and are three successive stages (vide those words) 1446; Dharmameghasamādhi in Y. S. 1V. 29, 1411; Dhīyaṇa (vide under that word) 1447-1449; editions of Yogasūtra, Bhāṣya etc. 1394; emphasis in Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi is mental, external conditions like cleanliness, tapas, sexual purity, āsanas, restrictions as to quantity and quality of food do help but are subsidiary in Y. 1451; fourth Pada deals with Kaivalya which means isolation of the soul from the guṇas or as mere consciousness abiding by itself 1454-55; mentions by name no āsana, thereby indicating that no particular āsana is necessary for practice of Patañjala-Yoga, though Yogabhāṣya mention ten āsanas by name 1425; outline of the teachings of the Y. S. 408-455; Prāṇāyāma—vide under that word pp. 1432-1444; Pratyāhāra—the fifth āṅga of Yoga (vide that word) pp. 1444-5; Samādhi (vide under that word) 1449-1451; Sānyāma is a technical term and stands for the three āṅgas dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi 1445; second pada of Y. S. most important for Dharmaśāstra and modern students 1414, some results of the Sānyāmas such as knowledge of seven worlds from Sānyāma on the sun specified 1452; statement of
Geraldine Coster about Y. S. that it contains information that some present day psychotherapists are seeking 1455; striking similarities between Y. S. and Gīṭā 1401; third pāda is called vibhūtipāda and deals with supernormal powers (vibhūti) and with Dḥāranā, Dhyāna and Samādhi 1445; three means of proof (pramāṇa) 1409–10; view of Prof. P. A. Sorokin that the methods and techniques of Rājāyoga contain nearly all the sound techniques of modern psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, education of character etc. 1456; tradition that the Patañjali of the Mahābhāṣya and author of Y. S. are the same, discussed 1395ff; translations of Y. S., Yogabhāṣya and of com. of Vācaspāti etc. 1392–93; two sūtras of Y. S. quoted by Śaṅkarācārya 1390; with six commentaries, published in Kashi S. series 1394.

Yogāstavopanisād 1427n, 1438n.

Yoga Upaniṣads: are late works 1389n; twenty of them are published at Adyar 1389.

Yogavārtika of Vījñānabhaṅkṣa 1396n.

Yogavāṣiṣṭha: a late eclectic work composed between 11th and 13 centuries A. D., though there are several views on its age, 1408 and n.

Yogavīḍhi, as leading to correct knowledge of Reality occurs in Kathopaniṣad VI. 18 and in Rāghuvamśa VIII. 22, 1461.

Yoga–Yājñāvalkya: vide under Yamas; edited in T. S. S. and by Mr. P. C. Divanji 1404; is not the Yogaśāstra m. in Yāj. Smṛti III. 110, 1404–1408; no evidence to hold that it was composed before 8th or 9th century A. D. 1406.

Yogātārā, meaning of 712n.

Yogayātṛā of Varāhamihira: 526 (deals with Śakunas in Chap. 14), 529 (explains nakṣatrās called ādyā, karma, sāṅgāhātika, samudaya, vāināśikā and mānasā) 530n, 531 (Śaṅkūrite when nakṣatras affected), 533n; 545, 574 (on the gods and planets that are lords of the eight directions), 588, 593, 617–9, 631, 622 (inauspicious objects), 627n, 753 (on grahamajña), 769n, 778, 792, 797n, 801, 804n; why so called 618n.

Yoga–Yājñāvalkya 18n, 954n, 1122 (q. by Śrāvītandrikā on Nyāsa), 1421n, 1426n, 1436n.

Yogin: (vide under aparigraha, brahmacarya): belief in Śānti-parva and of Śaṅkarācārya that Y. could transfer himself to other bodies 1400; belief that Y. can vanish from people, see distant objects and hear in spite of great distance 1452; duties of Sannyāsin in Manu are applicable to Y. 1457; greatest emphasis laid on chastity in thought, word and deed for the Y. or the seeker after brahman 1423; has to master sleep (nidrā) also, 1410 and n.; has to stick to aparigraha
1420; honour and disrespect should be treated by Y. as poison or nectar respectively 1457; if individual Yogin possesses a tolerably sound body he need not devote time to āsanas but may proceed with prāṇāyāma 1431; is said to repeat the Ajapā-japa by breathing in and out 1416n; places to be resorted to for practice of Yoga by Y. and to be avoided 1431–32; proper behaviour for Y. (yogi-caryā) acc. to Mārkaṇḍeya and Viṣṇupurāṇas 1457; practitioner of Yoga is asked by Gitā (VI. 13) to gaze steadily at the tip of his nose 1431; purity of mind follows on purity of food acc. to Chán. Up. (VII. 26. 2) and Harita 1432; rules about food to be taken or avoided by one aspiring to be yogin in Gitā, Devala etc. 1431 and n, 1432; Śāntiparva on who is a real yogin 1457–58; state of Y. in Śamādhī described 1451; three classes of, acc. to Vaikāhānasamārta-sūtra and their subdivisions 1418n; while practising dhāraṇā, dhyāna, samādhī, Y. may develop certain supernormal powers, but Y. is advised to ignore them as they are hindrances in the way of his goal (Y. S. III. 36), 1451; Y. and Śannyāsin have been paid highest honours in India through centuries 1458; Yogin, acc. to Gitā (VI. 46), is superior to Tapasvin, Jñānin and Karmin 1458–59; Y. residing in a country makes it holy if he has profound knowledge of Yoga, acc. to Dakṣa 1459.

Yoginīhṛdaya (last three chapters of Nityāśodāśikārṇava are so called) 1144.

Yoginis, temple of, 1046n.

Yogīnītantra 1080n, 1117 (condemns lunar eclipse for dikṣā), 1124n.

Yoḥ: (vide under Śam); occurs by itself three times in Bṛghuveda and is often joined to Śam, 719–20.

Yuan Chwang (often written as Hionen Thsang or Hsuan Thsang): Chinese traveller, 262, 1006n is silent about Rājyavardhana, 1009 (about Puṣyamitra and Śāstaka), 1017 (about Harṣa having prohibited taking of life by threat of heavy penalties), 1018, 1040 (story how the pilgrim was to be sacrificed to Durgā but was saved by a storm).

Yudhīṣṭhira, prevaricated and caused the death of his bhaṭamaṇa guru Droṇā 1281.

Yuga: (see Kalpa, Manvantara); different goals and motives in different Yugas, 696; duration of four yugas acc. to Manu 688–89; extent of each of four Y. was same acc. to Āryabhaṭa, 696; four y. named 687; four y. are not watertight specific periods of time but the ruler can create conditions of Kṛta age in what
is popularly held to be Kali 696; four years named in Brähmaṇas are brought in close relation to the four Cātuṁśyas 487; Kautilya mention yuga of five years 487; length of human life and duties differed in each of four yugas 788n; length of Y. acc. to Śrīyaśiddhānta, the correct sidereal year (nākṣatra Y.) and equinoctial year 711; Mahābhārata knows y. of five years 488; yuga, means 'a period of five years' in Vedāṅgajyotisa 486; names of five years in a cycle of five years 487; y. often denotes 12000 years, 692 and n; Pitāmahasiddhānta stated that yuga means five years and an intercalary month was added after thirty months 488; some divergences in the theory of yugas, manvantaras etc. 696-697; superiority of Kaliyuga over others in certain respects 928; theory of yugas, manvantaras, kalpas elaborated In Mahābhārata, Manusūrti and Pu严密 and concerns only Bhāratavarṣa 687-688; two senses of 'yuga' prominent in the Rgveda, a short period and a very long one 486, 686; underlying idea of theory of Yugas and Kalpas 693-696.

Yugāditirthis 386; Aksāyya-tīttya is one of them 89; śrāddha performed on Y. yields inexhaustible gratification to pīṭhas 89.

Yugāntyatirthis 386. Yugmavakya 480; ascribed to different sources by different writers 75n; cited and explained 74-75; express texts will govern where Y. not applicable or other considerations may apply 75; 77; many exceptions recognised to, 75–77; rites for pīṭhas are not governed by Y., 76; various views about its application, 75; rules forbidding the partaking of oil, meat or the like on the fixed tithi govern whole tithi, whether spread over two days or more, 77.

Yugapurāṇa (part of Gārgī-samhitā); characteristics of Kaliyuga in Y. closely resemble Vanaparva description, one half verse being same 827; description of the contents of, 826-8; date of, acc. to Jayaswal 828; Kern brought Y. to notice of scholars 826; K. H. Dhruvag on Y. 826; monograph of Prof. D. K. Mankad on Y. 826-7; purely historical portion of, in 115 lines published by K P. Jayaswal 826.

Yuktīdipīkā, Com. on Saṅkhya-kārikā; 1182n, 1354, 1355 (between 500 A. D. and 700 A. D.), 1359n, 1377, 1421 (puts ākalkata) 'absence of crookedness' in place of aparigraha among yamas).

Yuktikālpataru of Bhoja, 1654.

Yuktisnehaprapūraṇi 1283n; com. on Śastradipīkā 1194n; severely criticizes Vārtikakāra (i.e. Kumārila) 1194n.

Z. D. M. G. 647, 1132n, 1434n.
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Zero: (vide under Piṅgala); escaped even the greatest Greeks, Pythagoras, Euclid and Archimedes 700; Egyptians had no sign for Zero and therefore no positional notation 700; it is difficult to say when a symbol for zero was first discovered in India but the word Śūnya for Z. occurs in Piṅgala’s work 700; Prof. Neugebauer asserts that a peculiar sign was used for Z. in Mesopotamian cuneiform texts but answers are required to certain questions 700n; several Sanskrit words suggestive of zero, such as śūnya, pūrṇa, kha, gagana etc. 702.

Zimmer, Heinrich: 1150 (on ‘Philosophies of India’); a. of ‘Art of Indian Asia’; allegation of, that the epithet ‘vāmācāra’ was applied by the orthodox partisans of Yoga is shown to be wrong, 1054, 1088; criticized as making a wrong generalization on very slender evidence when he avers that throughout the first millennium A. D. Tantric rites were a basic element of normal Indian experience 1088; on Yantra (diagram for worship) in ‘Myths and symbols in Indian art’ etc. 1135n, 1656.

Zinner: Prof. E., a. of ‘Stars above us’ 551, 565n; 579, 636, 690.

Zodiac: (see under ‘rāsīs’, horoscope): Babylonian origin of, taken for granted by most scholars 566; Egyptians knew nothing about Z. before Alexandrian age 549, 581–82; is belt in the sky about 16 degrees broad divided into two by the ecliptic in which the Sun, Moon, Planets move 594; signs of, all twelve, known in Babylonia at least from about 6th century B. C. 596; signs of, origin unknown 566–6, 595; signs of, appear in Hittite texts of 13th century B. C. and are found on boundary stones 595; signs of have names in China and Japan different from those in Greece and India 565; signs of, Greek, Latin, French names of, and bhāvas (houses in horoscope) 585; signs of, two meanings of 594–95; some signs of Z. are found drawn on railing pillars of Buddha-Gayā dated about 1st century B. C. closely resembling Babylonian signs, on monuments etc 598; Webb holds that Zodiac as known to us is a Greek invention 565; the wheel of rta spoken of in Rg. is construed as referring to Z. but it is most difficult to keep in view twelve divisions of it correctly 488–489, 596; word derived from a Greek word ‘Zodion’ meaning little animals 594.
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