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[Feb., 1960

पुराणम्
PURĀṆA

VASANTA - PAÑCHAMĪ NUMBER

वैदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।

(स्कन्द० प्रभासखंड, २।६०)



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I have received the first number of our Bulletin, "Purāṇa", and I am indeed very happy to find that it promises to be quite a learned and useful Journal, provided we can keep up the standard. The quality of the articles, coming as they do from eminent scholars, whom it has been our good fortune to make interested in it, is very high indeed, and it may be hoped that our Journal will make its mark in the domain of Indology. The get-up is very fine, and the importance of Purāṇa studies, as it is now becoming realised, is sure to make this Journal quite a useful and important one.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

I am thankful to you for sending me a copy of the first issue of Vol. I of "Purāṇa". I earnestly hope that succeeding issues would maintain the same standard of excellence.

P. V. KANE.

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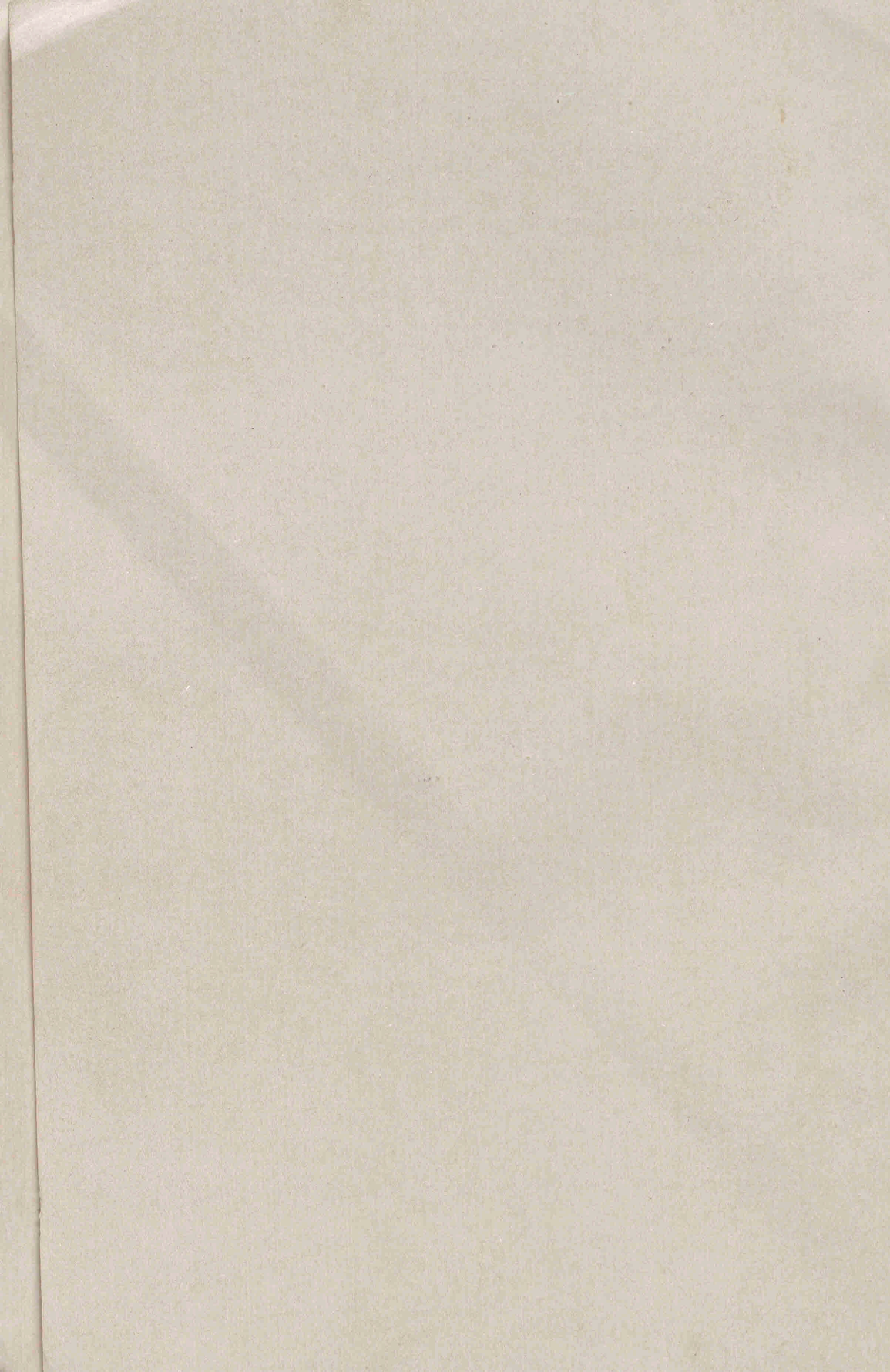
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EDITORIAL

The first number of *Purāṇa* due on the Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā day (20th July, 1959) was printed at Madras, and published by the end of December, 1959 due to unavoidable delaying factors. To implement faithfully the decision of the Purāṇa Committee of the Kashiraj Trust, His Highness, Maharaja Saheb of Banaras, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, decided on Jan. 3, 1960 that each number of this Journal should be published on the appointed date, viz., on Vyāsa Pūrṇimā and the Vasanta-Pañchamī. Accordingly he took the decision that the work of editing and printing should be done at Varanasi and entrusted the academic part of the job to me. In view of the superiority of the standard attained in the first number by my esteemed colleague, Dr. Raghavan, I have reluctantly agreed to carry out the wish of His Highness. Although the Journal has now shifted its venue from Madras to Varanasi, the constitution of the Editorial Board remains unchanged.

The horizon of the Journal is gradually unfolding before our eyes. The extent of the existing eighteen Mahāpurāṇas is about four lacs of ślokas. To this may be added the extant Upapurāṇas, and the Itihāsa literature of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata which Indian tradition has always regarded as an integral part of the Purāṇa tradition, and the approximate bulk of which adds another couple of lacs of ślokas. Thus this single branch of Sanskrit literature is of very vast dimension, exceeding anything of its kind known in the literature of the world.

The range of themes dealt with in the Purāṇas is kaleidoscopic, the documentation is far-reaching, bold and comprehensive, and hardly any aspect of Indian culture has remained outside its purview. It seems surprising that this branch of literature did not receive the attention which it merited, not only by the extent but also by the importance of its contents. Fortunately Indologists in many a country are now veering

to the due claims of the Purāṇas and some important contributions on this subject have been recently forthcoming; e. g., the writings of Dr. Kirfel, Dr. R. C. Hazra, Prof. D. R. Mankad and others. But the field is large and requires to be cultivated intensively.

In the first instance it is necessary to build up adequately the requisite tools of Purāṇic research, as follows :—

1. A classified Concordance of the contents, subjects, themes and legends of the entire Purāṇic literature. This is a task which has already occupied the attention of His Highness and he has appointed a whole-time scholar, Shri Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, to work on this plan. It is realised that this work alone is quite vast and the resources required for its completion will have to be adequately amplified.
2. A Dictionary of Purāṇic Proper Names, much on the lines of the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* by G. Malalasekera, which is now universally recognised as the best guide and mirror of the factual information in Pāli literature.
3. Critical editions of the important Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas based on the available select manuscripts and accomplished in accordance with the approved methods of collation and text-reconstruction. The Purāṇa Committee of the All-India Kashiraj Trust took it as the first item of its programme, and the critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa has fairly advanced under the editorship of Dr. V. Raghavan. The collation work of the Vāmana and the Brahma Purāṇas is under way by the Pandits of the Ramnagar Purāṇa Office.

In the second place it is desirable that canons of higher research be applied to the interpretation of the Purāṇas, and a series of dissertations undertaken with a view to interpret the

specialised contents of this literature. As illustrative of this field the following subjects may be noted for the preparation of theses of varying lengths :—

1. Purāṇic geography
2. Purāṇic chronology
3. Dynastic lists
4. Sarga and Pratisarga or Purāṇic Sṛishti-Vidyā
5. Manvantara-Vidyā in the Purāṇas
6. The conception of Trideva
7. Gods in the Purāṇas
8. Goddesses in the Purāṇas
9. Śiva-Charita and the iconography of Śiva
10. Viṣṇu-Charita and the iconography of Viṣṇu
11. Śaivism in the Purāṇas (A study of the Māheśvara, Pāśupata, Mahāvratin, Kāpālīka, and other forms)
12. Vaiṣṇavism (Pāñcharātra, Bhāgavata, Sātvata, Nārāyaṇīya and other forms).
13. Sūrya, its iconography and religious worship
14. Tīrthas and Sthala-Māhātmyas
15. Sāṅkhya Philosophy in the Purāṇas
16. Yoga, its philosophy and practice
17. Vedic and Upanishadic tradition in the Purāṇas
18. Vratas
19. Dāna
20. Pitṛis and Śrāddha
21. Daivāsura (Different motifs of the conflict between the Devas and Asuras)
22. Pratimā-Śāstra and Vāstu-Vidyā (images, temples etc.)
23. Purāṇic legends
24. Yajña
25. Rāja-dharma and Nīti
26. Avatāras

27. Stotras
28. Varṇāśrama-dharma
29. Special subjects like Āyurveda, Jyotisha, etc.
30. Pūjā and Sadāchāra
31. Bhakti-dharma

The above list is only illustrative and topics may be added according to choice.

A serious study of the language, grammar and vocabulary of the Purāṇas is also solicited.

These lines of study are good so far as they go. Their main emphasis is on an exoteric approach to the Purāṇa literature. This kind of intellectual approach forms part of the modern canons of historical research and is designed to extract material for the social, religious, philosophical, political and cultural history of the regions and periods in which these texts were codified or written. But the traditional Indian approach to the study of the Purāṇic lore lays greater emphasis on the esoteric interpretation of the bulk of Purāṇic contents. The basic position is summed up in the following statement :—

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपवृंहयेत् ।

That is, the metaphysical truth of the Veda is intended to be demonstrated in the Itihāsa-Purāṇa manner. Veda and the Itihāsa-Purāṇa maintain their distinctive styles of stating the cosmic or metaphysical truth. The method of the Veda employs the technique of direct and explicit expression in a cogent and concise form. The method of the Purāṇa, on the other hand, consists in casting the metaphysical truths in the mould of suitable legends, aiming not at brevity but amplification, caring not so much for succinctness as for clarity and popular comprehension. The Purāṇa was the subject of recitation before popular assemblies and the redactors wisely introduced a substantial element of attraction and flavour for the common mind, at the same time incorporating a mass of material appertaining to the cult aspects of religious beliefs and practices. The Purāṇas thus evolved an ideal and healthy synthesis between

Loka and Veda. Loka constitutes religion in practice and Veda its metaphysical statement. The kernel of Purāṇic lore had its source in the Veda, and this truth can be demonstrated in many ways from direct evidence of the respective traditions. Research into the Purāṇas at its higher level should apply the probe deeper to unravelling the Vedic contents underlying the Purāṇic themes, legends and descriptions. It is our belief that the Purāṇic stories are like exoteric envelopes concealing the mystical meanings of the Vedas which deal with cosmic truths.

V. S. A.

VISHṆU AS KALPA-VRIKSHA

धर्मदृढवद्धमूलो वेदस्कन्धः पुराणशाखाब्जः ।

ऋतुकुसुमो मोक्षफलो जयति कल्पद्रुमो विष्णुः ॥

(Quoted from a Ms. of the Ādi Parva in the footnote of the
Ādi-Parva, Cri. ed., Poona, p. 3).

Vishṇu is the wish-fulfilling Tree.

Dharma is its root.

The Veda is its trunk.

The Purāṇas are its branches.

The Yajñas are its flowers.

Moksha is its fruit.

सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम्

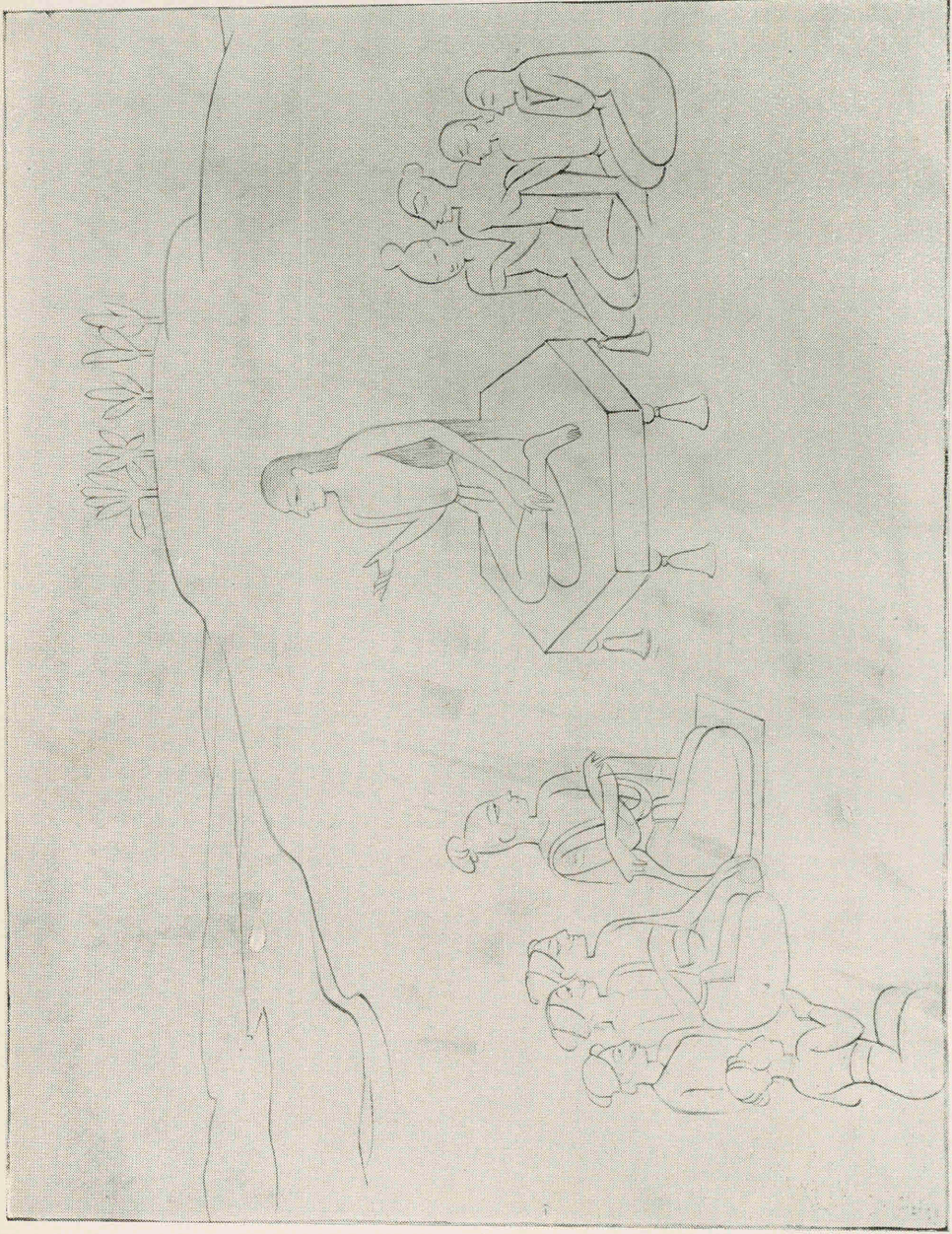
(मार्कण्डेय पुराण, अ० २३)

जगद्धात्रीमहं देवीमारिराधयिषुः शुभाम् ।
स्तोष्ये प्रणम्य शिरसा ब्रह्मयोनिं सरस्वतीम् ॥ ३० ॥
सदसद्देवि यत्किञ्चिन्मोक्षवच्चार्थवत्पदम् ।
तत्सर्वं त्वय्यसंयोगं योगवद्देवि संस्थितम् ॥ ३१ ॥
त्वमक्षरं परं देवि यत्र सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
अक्षरं परमं देवि संस्थितं परमाणुवत् ॥ ३२ ॥
अक्षरं परमं ब्रह्म विश्वञ्चैतत् क्षरात्मकम् ।
दारुण्यवस्थितो वह्निर्भौमाश्च परमाणवः ॥ ३३ ॥
तथा त्वयि स्थितं ब्रह्म जगच्चेदमशेषतः ।
ओंकाराक्षरसंस्थानं यत्तु देवि स्थिरास्थिरम् ॥ ३४ ॥
तत्र मात्रात्रयं सर्वमस्ति यद्देवि नास्ति च ।
त्रयो लोकास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रैविद्यं पावकत्रयम् ॥ ३५ ॥
त्रीणि ज्योतीषि वर्णाश्च त्रयो धर्मागमस्तथा ।
त्रयो गुणास्त्रयः शब्दास्त्रयो वेदास्तथाश्रमाः ॥ ३६ ॥
त्रयः कालास्तथावस्थाः पितरोऽहर्निशादयः ।
एतन्मात्रात्रयं देवि तव रूपं सरस्वति ॥ ३७ ॥
विभिन्नदर्शिनामाद्या ब्रह्माणो हि सनातनाः ।
सोमसंस्था हविःसंस्थाः पाकसंस्थाश्च सप्त याः ॥ ३८ ॥
तात्वदुच्चारणाद्देवि क्रियन्ते ब्रह्मावादिभिः ।
अनिर्देश्यं तथा चान्यदूर्द्धमात्रान्वितं परम् ॥ ३९ ॥
अविकार्यक्षयं दिव्यं परिणामविवर्जितम् ।
तवैतत्परमं रूपं यन्न शक्यं मयोदितुम् ॥ ४० ॥

न चास्येन च तज्जिह्वाताम्रोष्ठादिभिरुच्यते ।
 इन्द्रोऽपि वसवो ब्रह्मा चन्द्रार्कौ ज्योतिरेव च ॥ ४१ ॥
 विश्वावासं विश्वरूपं विश्वेशं परमेश्वरम् ।
 सांख्यवेदान्तवादोक्तं बहुशाखास्थिरीकृतम् ॥ ४२ ॥
 अनादिमध्यनिधनं सदसन्न सदेव यत् ।
 एकन्वनेकं नाप्येकं भवभेदसमाश्रितम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 अनाख्यं षड्गुणाख्यञ्च वर्गाख्यं त्रिगुणाश्रयम् ।
 नानाशक्तिमतामेकं शक्तिवैभक्तिकं परम् ॥ ४४ ॥
 सुखासुखं महासौख्यरूपं त्वयि विभाव्यते ।
 एवं देवि त्वया व्याप्तं सकलं निष्कलञ्च यत् ॥
 अद्वैतावस्थितं ब्रह्म यच्च द्वैते व्यवस्थितम् ॥ ४५ ॥

येऽर्था नित्या ये विनश्यन्ति चान्ये
 ये वा स्थूला ये च सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्माः ।
 ये वा भूमौ येऽन्तरीक्षेऽन्यतो वा
 तेषां तेषां त्वत्त एवोपलब्धिः ॥ ४६ ॥
 यच्चामूर्त्तं यच्च मूर्त्तं समस्तं
 यद्वा भूतेष्वेकमेकञ्च किञ्चित् ।
 यद्विद्यस्ति क्षमातले खेऽन्यतो वा
 त्वत्सम्बन्धं त्वत्स्वरैर्व्यञ्जनैश्च ॥ ४७ ॥

(See *infra*, 'A cultural commentary on the Śarasvatī Stotra').



Śuka Deva Ji discoursing on Bhāgavata to King Parīkshit.
From an old Rājasthānī painting of the Kishangarh School, 18th century.
[Copy by Jagannath Ahivāsī]

व्यासमहिमा

तपोविशिष्टादपि वै वसिष्ठान्मुनिपुंगवात् ।
मन्ये श्रेष्ठतमं त्वाऽद्य रहस्यज्ञानवेदनात् ।
जन्मप्रभृति सत्यां ते विद्म गां ब्रह्मवादिनीम् ॥
जडान्धबधिरोन्मत्तं तमोभूतं जगद् भवेत् ।
यदि ज्ञानहुताशेन त्वया नोज्ज्वलितं भवेत् ॥
तमसान्धस्य लोकस्य वेष्टितस्य स्वकर्मभिः ।
ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकाभिर्बुद्धिनेत्रोत्सवः कृतः ॥
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षार्थैः समासव्यासकीर्तनैः ।
त्वया भारतसूर्येण नृणां विनिहतं तमः ॥
पुराणपूर्णचन्द्रेण श्रुतिज्योत्स्नाप्रकाशिना ।
नृणां कुमुदसौम्यानां कृतं बुद्धिप्रबोधनम् ॥
इतिहासप्रदीपेन मोहावरणघातिना ।
लोकगर्भगृहं कृत्स्नं यथावत् संप्रकाशितम् ॥

(*Ādīparva*, Poona edn., Appendix I, p. 885).

BRAHMĀ PRAISES VYĀSA

Since now you have realised the mystical knowledge, I consider you to be superior to Vasishṭha, the great sage of yore, celebrated for his austerities.

Since birth your words, full of truth, have been directed to the exposition of Brahman.

The world would have been enveloped in mental darkness if you had not illumined it with the light of your knowledge.

By its deeds enveloped in gloom this world has been treated to a festival of mental insight with the application of the collyrium of knowledge.

The darkness of men's minds has been dispelled by the solar light of the Bhārata, which contains an exposition of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha, both in a concise and expanded form.

The Purāṇas are the Full Moon shining with the light of the Vedas, awakening the intellects of men resembling tender lilies.

The flaring lamp of Itihāsa destroys the veil of Moha and illuminates the (heart-like) inner cell of the shrine of the world.

V. S. A.

पुराणेषु पुराणमहत्त्वम्

I

शृणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि पुराणानां समुच्चयम् ।
यस्मिञ्ज्ञाते भवेज्ज्ञातं वाङ्मयं सचराचरम् ॥
यस्मिञ्श्रुते श्रुतं सर्वं ज्ञाते ज्ञातं कृते कृतम् ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारधर्मं ससंस्कारमुपैष्यति ॥

—बृहन्नार०, पूर्व खं०, अ० ९२।२१९

II

आत्मनो वेदविद्या च ईश्वरेण विनिर्मिता ।
शौनकीया च पौराणी धर्मशास्त्राश्रिता च या ॥
तिस्रो विद्या इमा मुख्या सर्वशास्त्रविनिर्णये ॥
पुराणं पञ्चमो वेद इति ब्रह्मानुशासनम् ।
यो न वेद पुराणं हि न स वेदात्र किञ्चन ॥
कतमो सहि धर्मोऽस्ति किं वा ज्ञानं तथाविधम् ।
अन्यद्वा यत्किमत्राह पुराणे यत्र दृश्यते ॥
वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः पूर्वं पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।
विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥
इतिहासपुराणैश्च कृतोऽयं निश्चयः पुरा ।
आत्मा पुराणं वेदानां पृथगङ्गानि तानि षट् ॥
यच्च दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तद्दृष्टं स्मृतिभिः किल ।
उभाभ्यां यत्तु दृष्टं हि तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥

—स्कन्दपुरा० रेवा०

III

अन्यो न दृष्टः सुखदो हि मार्गः पुराणमार्गो हि सदा वरिष्ठः ।
शास्त्रं विना सर्वमिदं न भाति सूर्येण हीना इव जीवलोकाः ॥

—शिव०, उमा सं०, १३।४२

IV

धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च मोक्षश्चैवात्र कीर्त्यते ।
सर्वेष्वपि पुराणेषु तद्विरुद्धं च यत्फलम् ॥
इदं पवित्रं यशसो निदानमिदं पितृणामतिवल्लभं च ।
इदं च देवेष्वमृतायितं च नित्यं त्विदं पापहरं च पुंसाम् ॥

—मत्स्य०, अ० ५३

V

धन्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं पुण्यं वेदैश्च संमितम् ।
कृष्णद्वैपायनेनोक्तं पुराणं ब्रह्मवादिना ॥

—ब्रह्माण्ड०, उ० भा०, ४।१०

VI

इदं गृहस्थैः श्रोतव्यं यतिभिर्ब्रह्मचारिभिः ।
धनसौख्यप्रदं नृणां पवित्रं पापनाशनम् ॥
तथा ब्रह्मपरैर्विप्रैर्ब्राह्मणाद्यैः सुसंयतैः ।
श्रोतव्यं सुप्रयत्नेन सम्यक् श्रेयोभिकाङ्क्षिभिः ॥
यं यं काममभिध्यायन् शृणोति पुरुषः शुचिः ।
तं तं काममवाप्नोति नरो नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥

—ब्रह्म०, अ० २४५

(महामहोपाध्याय पं० गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी,)

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF MYTHS

'If then the mythology of the Aryan nations is to be studied to good purpose, the process applied to their legends must be strictly scientific. In every Aryan land we have a vast mass of stories, some preserved in great epic poems, some in the pages of mythographers or historians, some in tragic, lyric, or comic poetry, and some again only in the oral tradition or folklore of the people. All these, it is clear, must be submitted to that method of comparison and differences by which inductive science has achieved its greatest triumphs. Not a step must be taken on mere conjecture ; not a single result must be anticipated by ingenious hypothesis. For the reason of their existence we must search, not in our own moral convictions, or in those of ancient Greeks or Romans, but in the substance and materials of the myths themselves. We must deal with their incidents and their names. We must group the former according to their points of likeness and difference ; and we must seek to interpret the latter by the principles which have been established and accepted as the laws of philological analysis.'

GEORGE W. COX, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*,

1870, p. 13

पुराणसूक्तयः

सत्य-महिमा

(शिवपुराण, उमासंहिता, अ० १३)-

सत्यमेव परं ब्रह्म सत्यमेव परं तपः ।
सत्यमेव परो यज्ञः सत्यमेव परं श्रुतम् ॥ २३ ॥
सत्यं सुप्तेषु जागर्ति सत्यं च परमं पदम् ।
सत्येनैव धृता पृथ्वी सत्ये सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ २४ ॥
तपो यज्ञश्च पुण्यं च देवर्षिपितृपूजने ।
आपो विद्या च ते सर्वे सर्वं सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ २५ ॥
सत्यं यज्ञस्तपो दानं मन्त्रो देवी सरस्वती ।
ब्रह्मचर्यं तथा सत्यमोकारः सत्यमेव च ॥ २६ ॥
सत्येन वायुरभ्येति सत्येन तपते रविः ।
सत्येनाग्निर्निर्दहति स्वर्गः सत्येन तिष्ठति ॥ २७ ॥
पालनं सर्ववेदानां सर्वतीर्थविगाहनम् ।
सत्येन वहते लोके सर्वमाप्नोत्यसंशयम् ॥ २८ ॥
अश्वमेधसहस्रं च सत्यं च तुलया धृतम् ।
लक्षाणि क्रतवश्चैव सत्यमेव विशिष्यते ॥ २९ ॥
सत्येन देवाः पितरो मानवोरगराक्षसाः ।
प्रीयन्ते सत्यतः सर्वे लोकाश्च सचराचराः ॥ ३० ॥
सत्यमाहुः परं धर्मं सत्यमाहुः परं पदम् ।
सत्यमाहुः परं ब्रह्म तस्मात्सत्यं सदा वदेत् ॥ ३१ ॥
मुनयः सत्यनिरतास्तपस्तप्त्वा सुदुश्चरम् ।
सत्यधर्मरताः सिद्धास्ततः स्वर्गं च ते गताः ॥३२॥

अप्सरोगणसंविष्टैर्विमानैः परिमातृभिः ।
 वक्तव्यं च सदा सत्यं न सत्याद्विद्यते परं ॥ ३३ ॥
 अगाधे विपुले सिद्धे सत्यतीर्थे शुचिहृदे ।
 स्नातव्यं मनसा युक्तं स्थानं तत्परमं स्मृतम् ॥ ३४ ॥
 आत्मार्थे वा परार्थे वा पुत्रार्थे वापि मानवाः ।
 अनृतं ये न भाषन्ते ते नराः स्वर्गगामिनः ॥ ३५ ॥
 वेदा यज्ञास्तथा मन्त्राः सन्ति विप्रेषु नित्यशः ।
 नो भान्त्यपि ह्यसत्येषु तस्मात्सत्यं समाचरेत् ॥ ३६ ॥

पुराण-लक्षणानि

महामहोपाध्याय पं० गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी

[This article discusses and explains the five well-known chief topics of the Purāṇas (viz. Sarga, Pratisarga, Manvantaras, Varṇśa, and Varṇśyānu-charita). Some Purāṇas, such as Bhāgavata and Brahmavaivarta, give ten topics of the Mahāpurāṇas. It is shown in this article that these ten topics are only an expansion of the five main topics.]

अथास्यां पुराणविद्यायां प्राधान्येन के के विषया अन्तर्भवन्ति, के वा तत्राप्राधान्येन संगृह्यन्त इत्यादि पुराणाधारेणैव निरूपणीयम् । तत्र प्रायेण सर्वेषु पुराणेषु पञ्चलक्षणानि पुराणस्य व्याख्यातानि, पञ्चविषयाः प्राधान्येन पुराण-विद्यायामन्तर्भवन्तीति तत्तत्पर्यम् । तैरेव विधेयं लक्ष्यते-विज्ञायते-इति तानि लक्षणानि । तानि च विद्यास्वरूपान्तर्गतानीति स्वरूपलक्षणानि बोद्धव्यानि ।

“सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंश्यानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

लक्षणमिदं किञ्चित्पाठभेदेन ऐक्यरूप्येण वा विष्णुपुराणे (३ अंशे, ६ अ०, श्लो० २४), मार्कण्डेयपुराणे (अ० १३४, श्लो० १३), अग्निपुराणे (अ० १, श्लो० १४), भविष्यपुराणे (अ० २, श्लो० ५), ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे (अ० १३३, श्लो० ६), वराहपुराणे (अ० २, श्लो० ४), स्कन्दपुराणे (प्रभासखण्डे अ० २, श्लो० ८४), कूर्मपुराणे (पूर्व०, अ० १, श्लो० १२), मत्स्यपुराणे (अ० ५३, श्लो० ६४), गरुडपुराणे (आचारकाण्डे अ० २, श्लो० २८), ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे (पूर्वभागे अ० १, श्लो० ३८), शिवपुराणे (वायवीय सं०, अ० १, श्लो० ४१), देवीभागवते तथा अन्यत्रान्यत्रापि च लभ्यते । सर्गो नाम सृष्टिः, जगत उत्पत्तिः ; प्रतिसर्गो नाम दृश्यमानस्यास्य सर्वस्य समये समये प्रलयः ; वंशः—उपादानभूतानां तत्त्वानाम्, देवादीनाम्, मनुष्याणां च उत्पत्तिपरम्परा ; वंश्यानुचरितम्-तत्तद्वंशभवानां तत्तेषां विषये

यद्विशिष्य वक्तव्यं तद्विवरणम् (अत्रैव तत्तन्मनुष्यवंशप्रसृतानां महर्षीणां राज्ञां च चरितान्यपि समाविष्टानि) ; मन्वन्तरम्—सृष्ट्यादीनां कालव्यवस्थापनम्— इति सामान्येन शब्दानामेषां विवरणमपि तत्र तत्र प्राप्यते । क्वचित् प्रतिसर्गपदेन आदिसृष्टेरनन्तरं जायमाना अवान्तरसृष्टिरपि व्याख्यायते, प्रलयस्तु सृष्टिप्रातिलोभ्येन व्यवस्थापनीय इति तदाशयः । अत्रार्थे प्रतिसर्गपदस्थाने विसर्गपदं केचिन्निवेशयन्ति । वंश्यानुचरितस्थाने वंशानुचरितमिति बहुत्रपाठः । तत्र वंशभवानामनुचरितमिति मध्यमपदलोपी समास आश्रयणीयः, वंशो भवानां चरितं वंश एव समारोप्य वा व्याख्येयम् ।

अत्र लक्षणे कुत्र कुत्र कस्य कस्य विषयस्य समावेश इत्यपि तत्र तत्र विवृतम्, यथा विष्णुपुराणे आरम्भ एव प्रश्नमुखेन विवरणम् (विष्णुपुराणं १ अ०, १ अ०, ४-१० श्लो०)—

सोऽहमिच्छामि धर्मज्ञ श्रोतुं त्वत्तो यथा जगत् ।
 बभूव भूयश्च यथा महाभाग भविष्यति ॥
 यन्मयं च जगद् ब्रह्मन् यतश्चैतच्चराचरम् ।
 लीनमासीद्यथा यत्र लयमेष्यति यत्र च ॥
 यत्प्रमाणानि भूतानि देवादीनां च सम्भवम् ।
 समुद्रपर्वतानां च संस्थानं च यथा भुवः ॥
 सूर्यादीनां च संस्थानं प्रमाणं मुनिसत्तम ।
 देवादीनां तथा वंशान्मनून् मन्वन्तराणि च ॥
 कल्पान् कल्पविभागांश्च चातुर्युगविकल्पितान् ।
 कल्पान्तस्य स्वरूपं च युगधर्माश्च कृत्स्नशः ॥
 देवर्षिपार्थिवानां च चरितं यन्महामुने ।
 वेदशाखाप्रणयनं यथावद् व्यासकर्तृकम् ॥
 धर्माश्च ब्राह्मणादीनां तथा चाश्रमवासिनाम् ।
 श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं सर्वं त्वत्तो वासिष्ठनन्दन ॥

अत्र “यत्प्रमाणानि भूतानि, देवादीनां सम्भवः, समुद्रपर्वतानां भुवश्च संस्थानम्, सूर्यादीनां संस्थानमिति सर्वं सर्गेऽन्तर्भवति ; देवादीनां वंशाः वंशे;

कल्पान्, कल्पविभागानित्यादि सर्वं, युगधर्माश्च मन्वन्तरप्रकरणे ; देवर्षि-
पार्थिवादीनां चरितं वंश्यानुचरिते ; वेदशाखाविभागकरणाद्यपि च तत्रैवान्तर्भाव्यम् ।
वायुपुराणे (अ० १।१८, १९) चापि—

पुराणवेदो ह्यखिलस्तस्मिन् सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठितः ।
भारती चैव विपुला महाभारतवर्धिनी ॥
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षार्थाः कथा यस्मिन् प्रतिष्ठिताः ।
सूक्ताः सुपरिभाषाश्च भूमावोषधयो यथा ॥

एवमादि विस्ताररूपेणैवोक्तम् । श्रीमद्भागवते ब्रह्मवैवर्ते च पुराणानां
दशलक्षणानि वर्ण्यन्ते । तत्र श्रीमद्भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धे १० अ०, १-७
श्लोकेषु यथा—

अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः ।
मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥
दशमस्य विशुद्धार्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् ।
वर्णयन्ति महात्मानः श्रुतेनार्थेन चाञ्जसा ॥
भूतमात्रेन्द्रियधियां जन्म सर्ग उदाहृतः ।
ब्रह्मणो गुणवैषम्याद्विसर्गः पौरुषः स्मृतः ॥
स्थितिवैकुण्ठविजयः पोषणं तदनुग्रहः ।
मन्वन्तराणि सद्धर्म ऊतयः कर्मवासनाः ॥
अवतारानुचरितं हरेश्चास्यानुवर्तिनाम् ।
पुंसामीशकथाः प्रोक्ता नानाख्यानोपबृंहिताः ॥
निरोधोऽस्यानुशयनमात्मनः सह शक्तिभिः ।
मुक्तिर्हित्वान्यथा रूपं स्वरूपेण व्यवस्थितिः ॥
आभासश्च निरोधश्च यतश्चाध्यवसीयते ।
स आश्रयः परं ब्रह्म परमात्मेति शब्दयते ॥

श्रीमद्भागवत एव द्वादशे स्कन्धे सप्तमेऽध्याये अष्टमं श्लोकमारभ्य
किञ्चिद्भेदेन दशलक्षणानि परिगण्यन्ते—

पुराणलक्षणं ब्रह्मन् ब्रह्मर्षिभिर्निरूपितम् ।
 शृणुष्व बुद्धिमाश्रित्य वेदशास्त्रानुसारतः ॥
 सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षाऽन्तराणि च ।
 वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥
 दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।
 केचित्पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥
 अव्याकृतगुणक्षोभान्महतस्त्रिवृतोऽहमः ।
 भूतमात्रेन्द्रियार्थानां संभवः सर्ग उच्यते ॥
 पुरुषानुगृहीतानामेतेषां वासनामयः ।
 विसर्गोऽयं समाहारो बीजाद्वीजं चराचरम् ।
 वृत्तिर्भूतानि भूतानां चरणामचराणि च ।
 कृता स्वेन नृणां तत्र कामाच्चोदनयापि वा ।
 रक्षाऽच्युतावतारेहा विश्वस्यानु युगे युगे ।
 तिर्यङ्मर्त्यर्षिदेवेषु हन्यन्ते यैस्त्रयीद्विषः ।
 मन्वन्तरं मनुर्देवा मनुपुत्रा सुरेश्वराः ।
 ऋषयोःशावताराश्च हरेः षड्विधमुच्यते ।
 राज्ञां ब्रह्मप्रसूतानां वंशस्त्रैकालिकोऽव्ययः ।
 वंशानुचरितं तेषां वृत्तं वंशधराश्च ये ।
 नैमित्तिकः प्राकृतिको नित्य आत्यन्तिको लयः ।
 संस्थेति कविभिः प्रोक्ता चतुर्धास्य स्वभावतः ।
 हेतुर्जीवोऽस्य सर्गादिरविद्याकर्मकारकः ।
 यं चानुशयिनं प्राहुरव्याकृतमुत्तापरे ।
 व्यतिरेकान्वयो यस्य जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिषु ।
 मायामयेषु तद्ब्रह्म जीववृत्तिष्वपाश्रयः ।
 एवंलक्षणलक्ष्याणि पुराणानि पुराविदः ।
 मुनयोऽष्टादश प्राहुः क्षुलकानि महान्ति च ।

ब्रह्मवैवर्तेऽप्येतानि दशलक्षणानि शब्दान्तरैरुच्यन्ते (कृष्णखण्डे १२ अ०,

६-११ श्लोक) —

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
 वंशानुचरितं विप्र पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
 एतदुपपुराणानां लक्षणं च विदुर्बुधाः ।
 महतां च पुराणानां लक्षणं कथयामि ते ॥
 सृष्टिश्चापि विसृष्टिश्च स्थितिस्तेषां च पालनम् ।
 कर्मणां वासना वार्ता मनूनां चाक्रमेण च ॥
 वर्णनं प्रलयानां च मोक्षस्य च निरूपणम् ।
 तत्कीर्तनं हरेरेव वेदानां च पृथक् पृथक् ॥
 दशाधिकं लक्षणं च महतां परिकीर्तितम् ।

तत्रैतस्मिन् विचार्यमाणे त्रिषु स्थानेषु दशानां लक्षणानामुक्तौ शब्दभेद एव, नाभिप्रायभेदः । श्रीमद्भागवते द्वादशे स्कन्धे, सर्गः १, विसर्गः २, वृत्तिः ३, रक्षा ४, अन्तराणि ५, वंशः ६, वंशानुचरितम् ७, संस्था ८, हेतुः ९, अपाश्रयः १०, इति लक्षणान्युक्तानि । द्वितीये स्कन्धे तु सर्गः, विसर्गः, इति द्वौ समानौ शब्दौ, अन्तराणीत्यस्य स्थाने स्पष्टीकृत्य 'मन्वन्तर' इति पदं निवेशितम्, अपाश्रयस्थाने च आश्रय एवोक्तः । हेतुः—जीवस्य संसारप्राप्तिहेतुः अविद्याकर्मादिकं यत्, यत् स्थाने तत्र ऊतिपदं निवेशितम्; 'ऊतयः कर्मवासनाः' इति स्पष्टीकृतमेव । एवं पञ्चानां साम्यम् । अनन्तरं वंश-वंशानुचरिते ईशानुकथापदेन गृहीते, 'हरेः, अस्यानुवर्तिनां च कथा ।—इति ऋषिराजादिकचरितानामपि संग्रहस्य तत्र स्पष्टमुक्तत्वात्, दशमन्तरेण वंशानुचरितकथनस्यासामञ्जस्येन वंशस्य वंशानुचरित एवान्तर्भावः । संस्थापदेन चतुर्विधः प्रलयो द्वादशे स्कन्धे संगृहीतः, तत्र वैलक्षण्यं बोधयितुमात्यन्तिकलयरूपा मुक्तिर्द्वितीये पृथुगुपात्ता, निरोधश्च नैमित्तिकप्राकृतिकप्रलयरूपः पृथग् बोधितः । द्वादशे रक्षापदेन अवतारकथाबोधकेन अनुग्रहरूपं पोषणमपि संगृहीतमासीत् द्वितीये तु ईशानुकथा, पोषणं चेति पृथक्-कृत्योक्तम् । एवं द्वयस्यान्तर्भावः, द्वयस्य पृथक्करणमिति नव लक्षणानि सम्पन्नानि । द्वादशे च वृत्तिशब्देन भूतानां परस्परोपमर्देन जीवनरूपा या स्थितिरुक्ता, सा द्वितीये स्थानपदेन समुपात्ता । स्थानं स्थितिः—“वैकुण्ठ-विजयः” इति यदुक्तम्-तस्यायमेवाशयो यत्पालकस्य विष्णोर्वैकुण्ठपदाभिधेयस्यायमेव विजयः-स्वकार्यसाधकता, यद्भूतानि परस्परमन्नाच्चादभावेन जीवन्तीति । एवं

भागवतोक्तानां दशानां लक्षणानां सामञ्जस्यम् । ब्रह्मावैवर्तेऽपि सृष्टिः १, विसृष्टिः २, स्थितिः ३, कर्मणां वासना ४, मन्तूनां वार्ताः ५, प्रलयानां वर्णनम् ६, मोक्षस्य निरूपणम् ७, इति सप्त लक्षणानि समान्येव । हरेः कीर्तनम्-इति आश्रयः, पोषणं च तत्रैव संगृहीतम् । वेदानां च पृथक्पृथगिति ईशानुकथा बोधिता क्रमेण-अक्रमेण वा वार्तेति वंशानुचरितं पृथक्कृत्योक्तमिति शब्दान्तरेण तान्येव दशलक्षणान्युपात्तानि ।

वस्तुतस्तु इमानि दश पञ्चानामेव विस्तारमात्रम् । सर्गः, प्रतिसर्गः, (प्रलयः-संस्था), वंशः, वंशानुचरितम्, मन्वन्तराणीति पञ्च लक्षणानि श्रीमद्भागवतस्य द्वादशे स्कन्धे स्वशब्देनैवोपात्तानि । अन्यत्र यथा संगृह्यन्ते तथोक्तान्येव । अवशिष्टेषु पञ्चसु विसर्गः खलु सर्गस्यैवावान्तरो भेदः, आश्रयशब्देनोपात्त ईश्वरश्च सर्गकर्तृत्वेन हेतुरित्युक्तिरिति वा समाख्याता कर्मवासना च सर्गहेतुत्वेन सर्ग एवान्तर्भावमर्हतः । वृत्तिरिति स्थानमिति वाभिसंहितः परस्परमुपमर्द्योपमर्दकभावः वंशानुचरिते स्फुटमन्तर्भवत्येव । ईशानुकथा पोषणं च रक्षा वापि वंशानुचरित एवान्तर्भवन्ति, अवताराणां क्वचिद्द्वंश एव प्रादुर्भावात्, वंशानुचरितपदेन अवतारचरितानामपि संगृहीतत्वात् । तस्मात् पञ्चानां प्रपञ्च एव दशलक्षणानीति नात्र परस्परं कोऽपि विरोधः । केवलमोश्वरसततप्राधान्यबोधनाय पृथक्कृत्य भागवतादौ तानि प्रोक्तानि ।

प्रत्येकं हि शास्त्राणां मुख्यप्रतिपाद्याः प्रातिस्विका विषयाः पृथक् पृथक् भवन्ति, बहवस्तु प्रासङ्गिका अन्यदीया विषया अपि तत्रापतन्ति यथा धर्मशास्त्रे मनुस्मृत्यादावपि सृष्टिप्रक्रिया, आध्यात्मिका दार्शनिकाश्चापि विषयाः प्रसङ्गेन सन्ति निरूपिताः, दर्शनेष्वपि चास्ति धर्मविषयः प्रासङ्गिकः । तत्तच्छास्त्रलक्षणे क्रियमाणे तु यस्तस्य प्रातिस्विको विषयः स एव लक्षणत्वेन निरूपणीयो भवति । सर्गादयः पञ्चैव च पुराणानां प्रातिस्विका विषयाः— एषामन्यत्र स्पष्टमनुपलम्भाद् कर्म, वासना, ईश्वरः इत्याद्यास्तु विषया न पुराणानां प्रातिस्विकाः तेषां वेदेषु दर्शनेषु उपासनाग्रन्थेषु धर्मशास्त्रेष्वपि च विस्तरेण प्रतिपादनात् । एवन्तु नास्ति विद्यासु स कोपि विषयः, यः पुराणेषु न संगृहीतो भवेत्, परं सर्वेऽपि ते विषयाः पुराणानां लक्षणानि न भवन्ति ।

प्रातिस्विका एव तु सृष्ट्या ये विषया लक्षणत्वेन निरूपयितुमुचिता इति त एव सर्वत्र पुराणलक्षणत्वेन निरूप्यन्ते । श्रीमद्भागवतस्य तु प्रादुर्भाव एव भागवतान् धर्मान् व्याख्यातुमिति तदुपक्रम एव स्पष्टम् । तस्माज्जगदीश्वरो भगवानेव तत्र मुख्य प्रतिपाद्यः, अन्येषां निरूपणं तु केवलमीश्वरस्वरूपपरिज्ञानायेति—

दशमस्य विशुद्धार्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् ।

इति तत्र स्पष्टमुक्तम् । मुक्तिरेव तत्र मुख्यतया साध्या, सा च जगदीश्वरानुग्रहमन्तरेण नावाप्येति मुक्तिपोषणादीनामपि मुख्यतया कथनं तत्र युज्यत एव । न तु सर्वेषु पुराणेष्वेषां मुख्यता, तथा सति—

“त्वया भागवता धर्मा प्रायेण न निरूपिताः”

इति नारदस्य व्यासं प्रति कथनमसमञ्जसं स्यात् । यद्यपि ईश्वरस्य ईश्वर-भक्त्यादेश्च निरूपणमन्यत्रापि पुराणेषु सुविशदं प्राप्यत एव, विशिष्टं च महाभारते, तथापि पुराणान्तरेषु मुख्यप्रतिपाद्यं सृष्ट्यादिकमेव, महाभारते च भरतवंश्यानामितिहास एव मुख्यः प्रतिपाद्य इतीश्वरस्य तद्भक्तेस्तद्धर्माणां च निरूपणं तत्र तत्रा-प्राधान्येन, भागवते तु प्राधान्येनेति भागवतं स्फुटमभिमन्यते । तत एव तत्रेश्वर-प्रधानानां दशानां लक्षणानां विवरणं कृतम् ।

(दशलक्षणरहस्यम्)

तत्रापि दशलक्षणकथने रहस्यमिदं प्रतीयते—

जन्माद्यस्य यतः

इत्यादिना जगतो जन्मस्थितिसंहारकर्तृत्वमीश्वरलक्षणमभिहितम्-आम्नातं च तदेव श्रुतिषु—

यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, यत्र जातानि जीवन्ति, यत् प्रयन्यमि-संविशन्ति इति ।

आगमिके प्रत्यभिज्ञादर्शने तु परमशिवपदाभिधेयस्य परमेश्वरस्य पञ्च-कृत्यकारित्वं प्रतिपादितम्, तानि च पञ्चकृत्यानि, सृष्टिः, स्थितिः, संहारः, विलयनम्-(निग्रहः), अनुग्रह इति । अत्र त्रीणि कृत्यानि पूर्वोक्तानि श्रौतान्येव जीवस्य बन्धप्रापणम्, अनुग्रहेण मोचनं चेति द्वयमधिकमुक्तम् । तान्येतानि पञ्च

भगवतः कृत्यानि लक्षणरूपेण श्रीमद्भागवते द्वितीये स्कन्धे सर्गः, स्थानम्, निरोधः, विसर्गः, पोषणम्, इति शब्दैरभिहितानि । विसर्गपदेन पौरुषसर्गस्योक्ततया निग्रहेण जीवभावप्रापणस्यैवाभिसंहितत्वात् । पोषणपदेनानुग्रहस्तु स्पष्टं तत्रोक्त एव । अथास्य पञ्चकृत्यकारिणः परमेश्वरस्य द्वे रूपे—तत्र उपास्यमनुग्राहकं रूपम् आश्रयपदेन, जगत्परिचालकं तु कालरूपम् मन्वन्तरपदेन संगृहीतम् । तदिदंश्रीमद्विष्णुसम्बन्धे सप्त लक्षणानि व्याख्यातानि । निगृहीतस्य जीवभावं गमितस्य तु सम्बन्धेन संसारगर्तपातिका ऊतिः (कर्मवासना) विमोचनसाधिका ईशानुकथा, पोषणफलभूता भुक्तिश्चेति त्रीणि लक्षणान्युक्तानीति दशैतानि जीवेश्वर-सम्बन्धेनैव पर्यवस्यन्ति । तान्येतानि प्राधान्येन भगवन्तमीश्वरम्, तदाराधना-धिकारिणं जीवं च प्रकृत्य तन्निरूपणप्रवृत्तस्य श्रीभागवतस्यैव लक्षणानि भवितुर्महन्ति, न तु पुराणसामान्यलक्षणानि । तत एव भागवत एवैतानि निरूपितानि, न पुराणान्तरेषु । यत्तु द्वादशे स्कन्धे अष्टादशानां महतां पुराणा-नामिमानि लक्षणानीत्युक्तम्, तत्प्रसङ्गेन कथंचित् सर्वत्रैव तन्निरूपणमभिप्रेत्य, पञ्चानामेव विवृत्तिरूपाणि दशैत्यभिप्रेत्य वेति सम्यगवधार्यम् । ब्रह्मवैवर्तेऽप्येकत्र पञ्चलक्षणान्युक्त्वा परत्र स्वस्य भागवतानुसारित्वमभिव्यङ्क्तुं दशलक्षणान्यपि तदनुसारीण्युपात्तानि इति कृतं विस्तरेण । एवं देवीभागवतेऽपि (१ स्कन्ध १।१८) पुराणान्तरवत् पुराणानां पञ्चलक्षणान्युक्त्वा सर्गप्रतिसर्गयोः किञ्चिद्-वैलक्षण्येन विवरणं कृतम्—

तस्यास्तु सात्त्विकी शक्ती राजसी तामसी तथा

महालक्ष्मीः सरस्वती महाकालीति ताः स्त्रियः ॥ २० ॥

तासां तिसृणां शक्तीनां देहाङ्गीकारलक्षणः ।

सृष्ट्यर्थं च समाख्यातः सर्गः शास्त्रविशारदैः ॥ २१ ॥

हरिद्रुहिणरुद्राणां समुत्पत्तिस्ततः स्मृता ।

पालनोत्पत्तिनाशार्थं प्रतिसर्गः स्मृतो हि सः ॥ २२ ॥

सोमसूर्योद्भवानां च राज्ञां वंशप्रकोर्तनम् ।

हिरण्यकशिप्वादीनां वंशास्ते परिकीर्तिताः ॥ २३ ॥

स्वायम्भुवमुखानां च मनूनां परिवर्णनम् ।

कालसंख्या तथा तेषां तत्तन्मन्वन्तराणि च ॥ २४ ॥

तेषां वंशानुकथनं वंशानुचरितं स्मृतम् ।

पञ्चलक्षणयुक्तानि भवन्ति मुनिसत्तमाः ॥ २५ ॥

अत्र प्रधानरूपा शिवरूपैव या चिच्छक्तिः, तस्या वंशानां महालक्ष्म्या-
दीनामाविर्भावः सर्गपदेन, ताभिः शक्तिभिः शक्तिमतां ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्राणामाविर्भावनं
च प्रतिसर्गपदेनोक्तम् । तदपि तस्य प्रातिस्विकमेव लक्षणं विज्ञेयम् । सर्वेषु
पुराणेषु तस्याः प्रक्रियाया अनुपलम्भादिति । तथैव

ब्रह्मविष्ण्वर्करुद्राणां माहात्म्यं भुवनस्य च ।

संहारश्च प्रदृश्येत पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

(इति स्कन्दपुराणे प्रभासखण्डे २।९।१५) । मात्स्ये च ५३।६४, ६५
यदन्यथाविवरणं दृश्यते तदप्येकदेशिभूतम् । एषामपि पञ्चानां पूर्वोक्तेषु
पञ्चसु समावेश इति बोधनपरं वा । पूर्वं सर्गादीनि पञ्चलक्षणान्युक्तानन्तरमेव
कथनादिति ।

तद्विधं पुराणसामान्यलक्षणानि सर्गादीनि पञ्चेति स्पष्टीकृतम् । तत्रापि
च सर्ग एव मुख्यः, अन्यानि तु तत्स्वरूपप्रतिपादकानि तच्छेषभूतानि मन्त-
व्यानि । तत एव बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्ये पुराणपदं व्याचक्षाणैः श्रीशङ्कर-
भगवत्पादैः 'पुराणमसद्वा इदमग्र आसीदित्यादि' (२ अ०, ४ ब्रा०,
१० क०), इति सर्ग एव पुराणानां मुख्यं लक्षणमुक्तम्, वेदभाष्यकृद्भिः
श्रीमाधवाचार्यप्रभृतिभिश्चोपोद्घाते तदेवानुसृतम् ।

A CULTURAL COMMENTARY ON THE
SARASVATĪ STOTRA

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[इयं सारस्वती स्तुतिर्वेदार्थानवभासयति । देवी सरस्वती वाग्रवा परा चापरा च । सा चतुष्पाद् परा सती गुणातीता, अपरा च त्रिगुणमयी । इत्थं सा रूपद्वयं विभर्ति—मूर्त्तं चामूर्त्तं च, सच्चिासच्च, एकं चानेकं च, द्वैतं चाद्वैतं च, स्थूलं च सूक्ष्मं च, भूतात्मकं च प्राणात्मकं च, व्यक्तं चाव्यक्तं च । सैव प्रणवात्मिका, तस्या अपररूपं प्रणवस्य मात्रात्रयं, पररूपं चार्धमात्रात्मकम् । सैव क्षराक्षरात्मिका यज्ञात्मिका च, तथा ऽक्षरात्मिका सती भौमान् क्षरपरमाणून् सृजति । एवं वैदिकप्रतीकानादायेदं सारस्वतं स्तोत्रं निर्मितम् ।]

This sublime Stotra to Sarasvatī (*supra*, pp. 121-122; Mārkaṇḍeya, 23, 30-47) is a work of fine literary art and composed of diverse references to philosophical doctrines. It is also incorporated in the Vāmana Purāṇa, ch. 32. The goddess is said to have sprung from Brahmā (*Brahma-yoni*, 30). Brahmā is the deity or genius of *Brahma-saras*, which, as Kālidāsa explains, is the equivalent of *avyakta sarovara* of *Buddhi* (ब्राह्मं सरः कारणमाप्तवाचो बुद्धेरिवाव्यक्तमुदाहरन्ति । रघुवंश 13-60), or the Universal Mind or Collective Unconscious. Sarasvatī is Brahmā's power substance, represented as his 'daughter.' The etymology of the name—*Saras-vatī*, 'she that wells out from the invisible fountain of knowledge'—is a pointer to her origin. She is the supreme cause of the world combining in her person the two opposite principles of *sat* and *asat*, *moksha* and *trivarga* (= *arthavat padam*, vs. 31); she is one with them (*yogavad*, vs. 31) and also beyond or transcends them (*asamīyoga*, vs. 31). This statement is based on the *Sadasad-vāda* doctrine of the Nāsadīya Sūkta (Rv. X. 129. 1).

Verses 32, 33 are based on the doctrine of *Kshara* and *Akshara*, originally referred to in the Asyavāmīya Sūkta (Rv. I. 164. 42) and elaborated in many subsequent texts, specially

the Upanishads and the Gītā. The latter explains the Five Bhūtas as *kshara* and the Prāṇic power or energy as *akshara* (= *kūṭastha*, so called from its being stationed on *kūṭa* or matter) (क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते, 15-15). The Purāṇa literally renders it as—अक्षरं परमं ब्रह्म विश्वञ्चैतत् क्षरात्मकम् (vs. 33), i. e. Brahman is *akshara*, and the universe is *kshara*. The Goddess is both *bhūta* and *prāṇa*, i. e. both the manifest world and its unmanifest cause.

The unmanifest power is like Fire concealed in the fuel and the manifest is constituted of the material elements which are atomic (*bhaumāścha paramāṇavaḥ*, vs. 33). It is the cosmic energy of *akshara* which assumes atomic formation *paramāṇuvat*, i. e. indivisible particles endowed with gravity and motion. Motion or *gati* is the chief characteristic of *akshara*, which thereby is transformed into *kshara* or matter :—

ततः क्षरत्यक्षरम् (Rv. I. 164, 42).

Fire (Agni) is identical with *Akshara*, also called the Prāṇa and the Yonder Sun : ओमित्येतेनाक्षरेण प्राणेनामुनादित्येन (*Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 10. 11). *Akshara* is energy or Agni, also identified with Vāk, of which the typical and concise symbol is OM, differentiated both as A-U-M and also the unmanifest principle behind it.

This leads the author to refer to the ancient *Trika* doctrine elaborated at different levels as मात्रात्रय, लोकत्रय, वेदत्रय (त्रयी विद्या), अग्नित्रय (अग्नित्रेता), त्रीणि ज्योतीषि, त्रयो गुणाः, त्रयः कालाः, त्रयः शब्दाः (भूर्भुवः स्वः, viz. the three *vyāhritis*). All these formed part of the symbolism of the ancient Vedic metaphysical doctrines or Vidyās and are frequently referred to in the Purāṇas. They need to be explained. For example, the three *mātrās* refer to the three metres (गायत्री, त्रिष्टुप्, जगती); that which is *mātrā* or measure is *chhandas* or rhythm. The conjoint doctrine of *mātrā* and *chhandas* is inculcated in the R̥gveda, *Asyavāmīya Sūkta*, I. 164, 23-25, in a rich terminology, as गायत्र, त्रैष्टुभ, जागत, अर्क, साम, वाक्, द्विपदा, चतुष्पदा, अक्षर, सप्तवाणी and मिमीते, each of which needs to be explained. Suffice it to say that by grasping the under-

lying spirit of the Triad the basic metaphysical position becomes integrated and transparent. Three Fires of the ritual correspond to the Three Guṇas of philosophy and the Three Devas of the Purāṇas :

मात्रात्रय = अग्नित्रय = गुणत्रय = देवत्रय = पुरुषत्रय

A clearer statement is found in the Maitrāyaṇī Upanishad :

१. अ-उ-म् = स्वनवती तन् of त्रिपाद् ब्रह्म
२. अग्नि-वायु-आदित्य = भास्वती तन्
३. ब्रह्म-रुद्र-विष्णु = अधिपतिवती तन्
४. भू-भुवः-स्वः = लोकवती तन्
५. भूत-भव्य-भविष्यत् = कालवती तन्
६. गार्हपत्य-इक्षिणाग्नि-आहवनीय = मुखवती तन्
७. प्राण-अपान-व्यान = प्राणवती तन्
८. बुद्धि-मन-अहंकार = चेतनवती तन्

These are the Triple Forms of Prajāpati, called his अपररूप immanent in creation. That which transcends these is referred to as पररूप.

As stated here at the end, Goddess Sarasvatī represents this triple concrete form : एतन्मात्रात्रयं देवि तत्र रूपं सरस्वति (vs 37) The poet then turns to the doctrine of Vāk as correlated with Yajña. Different seers (दर्शिन् here is equal to ऋषि, from ऋषिर्दर्शनात्) have elaborated the timeless and primeval principle of Yajña in diverse forms—here classified as 7 Havir-yajñas, 7 Pākayajñas and 7 Somayajñas. The classification of Yajñas was a topic involving difference of opinion among several Schools, but the Purāṇa writers cite an accepted generalisation. The main point is the invoking of Sarasvatī in the yajñas in the triple forms of Hotṛi recitations, Yajus formulas and Sāman chants. Sarasvatī is Vāk, and Vāk is a form of Agni (दागेवाग्निः, शतपथ ३।२।२।१३). Agni is a terrestrial deity, primarily of material nature as the Vaiśvānara fire kindling within the body, in the form of various secretions. There can be no yajña without Agni and Vāk (वाग्वै यज्ञः, ऐतरेय ५।२४।), hence it is stated that the

Brahmavādins perform the sacrificial ritual with the aid of Sarasvatī.

Having enunciated the triple aspect of the Goddess immanent in the universe, the poet turns his attention to that aspect of the deity which transcends all categories and is beyond the range of human experience (अनिर्देय), for which the silent half mora of Omkāra was accepted as a symbol in all the schools of ancient Indian thought, called here अर्धमात्रान्वित पर, the Supreme Half (cf. अर्धेन विश्वं भुवनं जजान यो अस्यार्थः कतमः स केतुः) unchanging (अविकारि), imperishable (अक्षय), celestial (दिव्य, as opposed to भौम) and devoid of alteration (परिणामविवर्जित). This absolute form of the Divinity is beyond the grasp of thought and expression (तवैतपरमं रूपं यन्न शक्यं मयोदितम्). This is the incomprehensible aspect and secret nature of the one God and also the many gods, and Sarasvatī is identical with both the One and the many.

This was the position of the metaphysical doctrine as developed in the theistic Sāṅkhya school and in the Vedānta tradition as represented by the pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta of the Upanishads (Cf. वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं in Kālidāsa for the meaning of the term Vedānta). In the Gupta age, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata, Pañcharātra and Veda made a common cause in the revival and reorganisation of Dharma against the Baudhas and the Ārhatas. The Mahābhārata refers to them as concordant parts of one whole¹ (*parasparān-*

1. एवमेकं सांख्ययोगं वेदारण्यकमेव च ।

परस्पराज्ञान्येतानि पञ्चरात्रं च कथ्यते ॥

Also,

सांख्यं योगं पञ्चरात्रं वेदारण्यकमेव च ।

ज्ञानान्येतानि ब्रह्मर्षे लोकेषु प्रचरन्ति ह ॥

किमेतान्येकनिष्ठानि पृथङ्निष्ठानि वा मुने ।

प्रब्रूहि वै मया पृष्टः प्रवृत्तिं च यथाक्रमम् ॥

(शान्तिपर्व, पूना, 336. 76)

(शान्तिपर्व, 337. 1-2)

Also,

सांख्यं योगः पाशुपतं वेदा वै पञ्चरात्रकम् ।

कृतान्तपञ्चकं ह्येतद् गायत्री च शिवा तथा ॥

(अग्नि० २१९।६९; विष्णु-धर्मोत्तर २।२२।१३३-३४ with slight variation.)

gāni). The Vedic tradition was also known as Vedānyaka and Vedānta. Principally there were two philosophical traditions, the one of Veda based on the concept of Purusha or Brahman and the other of Sāṅkhya based on that of Prakṛiti as the cause of the universe (भुवनारम्भक तत्त्व). The reference to these two traditions in this stotra becomes clear in a historical perspective. The Pañcharātra Bhāgavatas had no philosophy of their own and the Sāṅkhyas no separate religion ; so the two, as it were, entered into an alliance, as amply shown by the available Pañcharatra literature and the Purāṇas. But all these new faiths, viz. the Pañcharātra Bhāgavatas and the Pāśupatas assimilated as much of religion and philosophy as they could from the ancient Vedic tradition which was exceptionally rich both in metaphysical thought and theistic religious observances. Verses 43-47 of the stotra bear ample proof of the use of Vedic terminology for expressing the dual aspects of the Deity who is both सत् and असत्, एक and अनेक, सकल and निष्कल, अमूर्त and मूर्त, स्थूल and सूक्ष्म, नित्य and अनित्य. We have the famous passage in the Upanishad :

द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे, मूर्तं चैवामूर्तं च,

मर्त्यं चामूर्तं च, स्थितं च यच्च, सच्च त्र्यं च । (वृ० उ० २।३।१)

That which is externalised as the concrete form in the material world, is perishable, moving and existent ; that which is unmanifest is eternal and stable.

The Purāṇa writer naturally borrowed also a few ideas from his own times; e. g. the dual aspect of the Goddess is referred to as द्वैत and अद्वैत, सुखासुख and महासौख्य (the conception of महासुख savouring of the सहजयान Buddhist development), and she is identified with the many forms of energy (नाना शक्ति) and the one source of Supreme Power (शक्ति वैभक्तिं परम्). She in her unmanifest form is without visual trace (*anākhyā*), but she becomes manifest in the Shaḍ-guṇas (षड्गुणाख्य). The Six Guṇas of Sarasvatī as the Goddess of speech appertain to the triple nature of both sound and meaning. Sound (*śabda*) is threefold, gross, subtle and

transcendent ; and similarly meaning (*artha*) is threefold, which in the Āgamic lore was known as *Bhuvana*, *Tattva* and *Kalā*.¹

1. A detailed discription is found in the Śiva Purāṇa, Vāyavīya Samhitā, ch. 28 :—

वायुस्वाच—

निवेदयामि जगतो वागर्थात्म्यं कृतं यथा ।
 षडध्ववेदनं सम्यक् समासाद्यतु विस्तरात् ॥ १ ॥
 नास्ति कश्चिदशब्दार्थो नापि शब्दो निरर्थकः ।
 ततो हि समये शब्दः सर्वः सर्वार्थबोधकः ॥ २ ॥
 प्रकृतेः परिणामोऽयं द्विधा शब्दार्थभावना ।
 तामाहुः प्रकृतिं मूर्तिं शिवयोः परमात्मनोः ॥ ३ ॥
 शब्दात्मिका विभूतिर्या सा त्रिधा कथ्यते बुधैः ।
 स्थूला सूक्ष्मा परा चेति स्थूला या श्रुतिगोचरा ॥ ४ ॥
 सूक्ष्मा चिन्तामयी प्रोक्ता चिन्तया रहिता परा ।
 या शक्तिः सा परा शक्तिः शिवतत्त्वसमाश्रया ॥ ५ ॥
 ज्ञानशक्तिसमायोगादिच्छोपोद्बलिका तथा ।
 सर्वशक्तिसमष्ट्यात्मा शक्तितत्त्वसमाख्यया ॥ ६ ॥
 समस्तकार्यजातस्य मूलप्रकृतितां गता ।
 सैव कुण्डलिनी माया शुद्धाध्वपरमा सती ॥ ७ ॥
 सा विभागस्वरूपैव षडध्वात्मा विजम्भते ।
 तत्र शब्दास्त्रयोऽध्वानस्त्रयश्चार्थाः समीरिताः ॥ ८ ॥
 सर्वेषामपि वै पुंसां नैजशुद्धयनुरूपतः ।
 लययोगाधिकाराः स्युः सर्वतत्त्वविभागतः ॥ ९ ॥
 कलाभिस्तानि तत्त्वानि व्याप्तान्येव यथातथम् ।
 परस्याः प्रकृतेरादौ पञ्चधा परिणामतः ॥ १० ॥
 कलाश्च ता निवृत्त्याद्याः पर्याप्ता इति निश्चयः ।
 मन्त्राध्वा च पदाध्वा च वर्णाध्वा चेति शब्दतः ॥ ११ ॥
 भुवनाध्वा च तत्त्वाध्वा कलाध्वा चार्थतः क्रमात् ।
 अत्रान्योन्यं च सर्वेषां व्याप्यव्यापकतोच्यते ॥ १२ ॥
 मन्त्राः सर्वैः पदैर्व्याप्ता वाक्यभावात्पदानि च ।
 वर्णैर्वर्णसमूहं च पदमाहुर्विपश्चितः ॥ १३ ॥
 वर्णास्तु भुवनैर्व्याप्तास्तेषां तेषूपलम्भनात् ।
 भुवनान्यपि तत्त्वोघैस्तपत्यान्तर्वहिष्क्रमात् ॥ १४ ॥
 व्याप्तानि कारणैस्तत्त्वैरारब्धत्वाद्नेकशः ।
 अन्तरादुत्थितानीह भुवनानि तु कानिचिद् ॥ १५ ॥

पौराणिकानि चान्यानि विज्ञेयानि शिवागमे ।
 सांख्ययोगप्रसिद्धानि तत्त्वान्यपि च कानिचित् ॥ १६ ॥
 शिवशास्त्रप्रसिद्धानि ततोऽन्यान्यपि कृत्स्नशः ।
 कलाभिस्तानि तत्त्वानि व्याप्तान्येव यथातथम् ॥ १७ ॥
 परस्याः प्रकृतेरादौ पञ्चधा परिणामतः ।
 कलाश्च ता निवृत्त्याद्या व्याप्ताः पञ्च यथोत्तरम् ॥ १८ ॥
 व्यापिकातः परा शक्तिरविभक्ता षडध्वनाम् ।
 परप्रकृतिभावस्य तत्सत्त्वच्छिवतत्त्वतः ॥ १९ ॥
 शक्त्यादि च पृथिव्यन्तं शिवतत्त्वसमुद्भवम् ।
 व्याप्तमेकेन तेनैव मृदा कुम्भादिकं यथा ॥ २० ॥
 शैवं तत्परमं धाम यत्प्राप्यं षड्भिरध्वभिः ।
 व्यापिकाव्यापिकाशक्तिः पञ्चतत्त्वविशोधनात् ॥ २१ ॥
 निवृत्त्या रुद्रपर्यन्तं स्थितिरण्डस्य शोध्यते ।
 प्रतिष्ठया तदूर्ध्वं तु यावदव्यक्तगोचरम् ॥ २२ ॥
 तदूर्ध्वं विद्यया मध्ये यावद्विश्वेश्वरावधि ।
 शान्त्या तदूर्ध्वमध्वान्ते विशुद्धिः शान्त्यतीतया ॥ २३ ॥
 यामाहुः परमं व्योम परप्रकृतियोगतः ।
 एतानि पञ्चतत्त्वानि यैर्व्याप्तमखिलं जगत् ॥ २४ ॥

पुराण-विषयसूची (Purāṇa Concordance)

प्रथमः खण्डः (सर्ग-प्रतिसर्गौ)

रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य

[As is well known the original contents of the Purāṇa literature were marked by a five-fold classification called *Pañchalakshana*. These included—1. Sarga, 2. Pratisarga, 3. Manvantaras, 4. Vamśa, and 5. Vamśānucharita. Sarga and Pratisarga constitute the two sides of the same medal, viz. an account of the creation and dissolution of the universe. These two formed the early Śrīṣṭi-Vidyā of the Purāṇa literature which largely borrowed the accounts of Vedic cosmogony. Later on, this was supplemented by a free borrowing from the philosophy of the Sāṅkhya school. The Sarga and Pratisarga material occurs in most of the Purāṇas, and possesses special significance for investigating into the chronological stratification of this literature. Hence a detailed concordance of this material is contemplated, of which this first instalment here lays down references to the Pratisarga evidence.]

टिप्पणी

(१) पुराणलक्षणभूते 'सर्गश्चप्रतिसर्गश्चेत्यादिश्लोके प्रतिसर्गोऽपि पुराणप्रतिपाद्यभूतो मुख्यो विषय इति प्रतिपादितम् । प्रतिसर्गपदेन दृश्यजातस्य प्रलयो गृह्यते इति पुराणात् एव गम्यते । स्कान्दे उक्तम् 'सृष्टिसंहारवंशानां वंशानुचरितस्य च'.....' (२।१।१।४) ; अत्र प्रतिसर्गस्थाने संहारपदं प्रयुक्तमिति स्पष्टमेव । वेदान्तकल्पतरुकारोऽपि पुराणलक्षणव्याख्याप्रसंगे प्रतिसर्गः = प्रलय इत्यभाषिष्ट । दक्षादिप्रजापतिभिः या सृष्टिः कृता, सापि प्रतिसर्गपदेनाभिधीयते इति कालिकापुराणे कथितम् । तथाहि— 'प्रतिसर्गः स्मृतः सो वै दक्षाद्यैः यः कृतः पृथक् । रुद्रो विराट् मनुर्दक्षो मरीचाद्यास्तु मानसाः । यं यं सर्गं पृथक् चक्रुः प्रतिसर्गः स स स्मृतः॥' इति । मत्स्यपुराणे (८।१-१३) यत् प्रतिसर्गवर्षणं दृश्यते, तत्तु न प्रलयसंबद्धं प्रत्युत सृष्टिविषयकमिति निर्विवादम् । अत्र प्रतिसर्गपदेन कालिकापुराणदर्शितोऽर्थ एव ग्राह्य इति सुव्यक्तम् । श्रीधरोऽपि 'प्रतिसर्गोऽनुसर्ग एव' इति स्वीचकार (भाग. ४।८।५) ।

अथ प्रतिसर्गविभागः

(२) पुराणेषु प्रतिसर्गपर्यायवाचिनः प्रलयावस्थाविशेषवाचकाश्च बहवः शब्दा दृश्यन्ते, यथा—

अन्तरप्रलयः (ब्रह्म २३२।११)

आन्तराला (विष्णु ६।२।४०)

(उपसंहृतिः)

आभूतसंप्लवः (बहुत्र)

उदाहृतम् (भाग ३।८।१०)

उपसंहारः (विष्णु ६।१।७)

उपसंहृतिः (बहुत्र)

एकार्णवावस्था (बहुत्र)

तत्त्वप्रसंयमः (वायु १०२।४७

ब्रह्माण्ड ३।३।२५)

प्रतिसंक्रमः (भाग ३।१०।१४)

प्रतिसंचरः (बहुत्र)

प्रतिसंसर्गः (बहुत्र)

प्रत्याहारः (बहुत्र)

प्रलयः (बहुत्र)

महाप्रलयः (भाग. १२।९)

लयः (बहुत्र)

संहरणम् („)

संहारः („)

सम्प्लवः (भाग. १२।४।३४)

(एते शब्दाः प्रलयप्रकरणे सृष्टिप्रकरणे च प्रायेण प्रयुज्यमानाः सन्ति ; क्वचित् तेषामाकरस्थलनिर्देशः सुखबोधाय कृत इति)

(३) प्रायेण प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणं त्रिधा [नैमित्तिक-प्राकृतिक-आत्यान्तिक-भेदेन] चतुर्धा (नित्यप्रलयेन सह) वा विभक्तं दृश्यते । तेषां लक्षणादिकं प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणारम्भे अन्यत्र वा विशृतं वर्तते । प्रलयकालिकानां शेषादीनाम् एकार्णवावस्थायाश्च वर्णन-प्रकरणेऽस्मिन् दृश्यते । सृष्टिविवरणेष्वपि प्रायेण प्रलयप्रसङ्गो वर्तते सामान्यतः, क्वचिद् विशिष्टं वर्णनमपि दृश्यते, तदिदं अधोलिखितसूचीतोऽवगन्तव्यम् ।

(४) आख्यायिकास्वपि क्वचित् प्रलयप्रसङ्गो दृश्यते यथा मार्कण्डेयचरितवर्णने मार्कण्डेयकर्तृकं भगवन्मायानिर्मितप्रलयलीलादर्शनम् (भाग. १२।९-४९) । यतो हि पुराणविषयसूच्या निर्माणमद्यापि असमाप्तमेव, अतः एतादृशानि विवरणानि नात्र संगृहीतानि ।

पुराण-नाम	प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणम् (त्रिविधस्य चतुर्विधस्य वा प्रतिज्ञापूर्वकं विवरणम्)	नित्यप्रतिसर्गः सर्गः (ब्रह्मः)	प्राकृत प्रतिसर्गः (प्राकृतिकः)	आत्यन्तिक प्रतिसर्गः (मोक्षाल्यः)	अप्राकराणिकं प्रलयविवरणम्	प्रलयसम्बद्धं सामान्य विवर- णम् (गौणहृदय्या)
ब्राह्म० (मोर- संस्करणं)	२३११- २३३१७५	×	२३११३- २३२१११ (कालावयववि- चारोऽपि)	२३२११-७५ (दुःखदुःखनाशो- पायौ च)	×	×
विष्णु० (जीवा- नन्द०)	६१३११- ७११०४	×	६१३११-४ ६१३१११ (परार्धकालाव- यवविचारोऽपि)	६१४११-४५ (दुःखदुःखना- शोपायौ)	१।७।३७-४२ (चतुःप्रकाराणां प्रलयानां संक्षिप्तं विवरणम्)	×
ऋर्म० (वेकटेऽधर०)	२।४५।४- ४६।२५	२।४५।६	२।४५।१०-६१	२।४५।२५	×	×
मार्कण्डेय० (जीवा०)	४६।१-४४ (सृष्टि-कालावयवाभ्यां सह)	×	दृ० प्रकरणम् (अत्र प्राकृत- प्रलयोऽपि) ...	दृ० प्रकरणम् ...	×	×
लिङ्ग० (जीवा०)	(प्रलयविवरणं नास्ति सृष्टिप्रकरणं क्वचित् सामान्यतो विद्युतम्)	...	...	...	...	...
वायु० (आनन्दा- श्रम०)	१००।१३२- १०२।१३५ (कालावयव-ब्रह्मायुर्विचार- परार्धादि संख्या-परमाण्वा- दिविचार-भूलाकादि-व्यव- स्थापन-शिवपुरवर्णनैःसह)	×	१००।१३२- १००।२४६	१०२।४८-१३३ (ज्ञानविचारमोक्ष- विवरणाभ्यां सह। यद्यपि, नात्र नामो- ल्लेखः तथापि एत- द्विषयमिदं प्रकरणं)	×	५।१-११ (सृष्ट्यन्तर्गत- प्रलयप्रसङ्गः)

अग्नि०(आनन्दा०)	३६८११- ३८२३७	३६८११-१५	३६८११५-२७	३६६१११- ३८२३७	X	X
वामन० (वेंकटे०)	(प्रलयविवरणं नास्ति)	....	....	....	....	....
वराह० (वेंकटे०)	(प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणं नास्ति)	....	....	....	....	....
गरुड० (जीवा०)	११२१५१४- २१७११७ (युगवेदपुराणादि- विचारैः सहः)	११२१६११-६	११२१६१६-२२	११२१७११-१७	X	X
नासदीय० (वेंकटे०)	(अत्र प्रलयविवरणं नास्ति)	....	....	....	....	११५२७-३१ (ब्रह्मदिनरात्रि- प्रसङ्गः)
मत्स्य० (जीवा०)	८११-१३ (अत्र प्रतिसर्गवर्णनं सर्गसम्बन्धि आधिपत्य- प्रदानात्मकं न प्रलय- सम्बन्धि)	....	....	....	....	१६५११-२४ (जगत्संहार- पुकार्णवावस्था विवरणम्) १६४१२०-२४ अपि द्रष्टव्यम्
भागवत० (गीता- प्रेस०)	१२१४११-३८	१२१४११-४	१२१४१५-२२	१२१४१२-३-३४	१११३३-१६ (आधृतसंज्ञादि प्रसङ्गः, व्यक्र- लय विवरणं च)	X

पुराण-नाम	प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणम् (त्रिविधस्य बहुविधस्य वा प्रतिज्ञापूर्वक-विवरणम्)	नित्यप्रतिसर्गः सर्गः (ब्राह्मः)	नौमित्तिक प्रति- सर्गः (प्राकृतिकः)	प्राकृत प्रतिसर्गः प्रतिसर्गः (मोक्षाख्यः)	आप्राकरणिकं प्रलयविवरणम्	प्रलयसम्बद्धं सामान्य विवर- णम् (गौणदृष्ट्या)
ब्रह्माण्ड० (वेंकटेश०)	३।१।१२८- ३।१।१३ (वायुपुराणवत्)	X	३।१।१३०- १।२४३	३।३।१-२५	X	X
हरिवंश० (चिन्न- शाला प्रेस०)	....	....	....	....	....	३।८।२१-२६ (मत्स्यपुराणवत्) ३।९।१-२३ (मत्स्यपुराणवत्)

स्तोत्रसूचो

पद्मपुराण (आनन्दाश्रम संस्करण)

रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य

[A Khaṇḍa-wise index of the stotras from all the six Khaṇḍas of the Padmapurāṇa is given here. The six Khaṇḍas of the Padmapurāṇa are :— 1. Ādikhaṇḍa, 2. Bhūmi Khaṇḍa, 3. Brahma Khaṇḍa, 4. Pātāla-Khaṇḍa, 5. Śrīṣṭī Khaṇḍa, and 6. Uttara Khaṇḍa. The reference is to the Khaṇḍa, Adhyāya and Śloka]

पुराणस्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
१।१।५।२-६०	शिव	बाण
१।३।५।४-४३	शिव	शङ्कुकर्ण
२।१।८।१६-३५	हरि	सोमशर्मा
२।१।८।४४-६७	हरि	सोमशर्मा
२।२०।१६-२२	कृष्ण	सुव्रत
२।२।१।२०-२८	कृष्ण	सुव्रत
२।३।१।३१-५८	हरि	अङ्ग
२।९।८।३९-७७	वासुदेवामिधस्तोत्र	

The third Khaṇḍa contains no stotra

४।१।१	नारायण	(नमस्कार)
४।३।२७	राम	सूत, मागध, वन्दीगण
४।५।२-१०	राम	देवगण
४।७।११	शिव	ब्रह्मादि देवगण
४।७।१८	हरि	ऋषिगण
४।२।१।२०-२८	हरि	राजा सुमति

पुराणस्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
४।२२।२८-३५	हरि	सुमति (नृप)
४।८।७२-८८	हरि	(पापप्रशमन स्तोत्र)
४।९।१५-२२	यम	एक ब्राह्मण
४।१०।१९१-१९७	शिव	विष्णु
४।१०।३।८०	वीरभद्र	देवयोषिद्गण
४।११।०।२७५-२८१	शिव	हनूमान्
४।११।०।३६६-३६८	शिव	द्विजगण
४।११।२।८५	शिव	विदेह नृप
४।११।२।१८१	शिव	राम
५।२।१-६	(नमस्कार)	सूत
५।३।२६	वराह	पृथिवी
५।३।३८-४५	वराह	मुनिगण
५।४।१०७-११२	विष्णु	ब्रह्मा
५।४।११६-१३१	विष्णु	नारद
५।५।७९-१००	शिव	दक्ष
५।१४।१०२-१०३	शिव	देवगण
५।१४।११६-११९	शिव	देवगण
५।१४।१२४-१२९	रुद्र	ब्रह्मा
५।१४।१४०-१५४	हरि	रुद्र
५।१६।६८-७०	विष्णु	ब्रह्मा (नमस्कारात्मकम्)
५।१७।३०९-३३७	गायत्री	रुद्र
५।२६।१३३-१३९	शिवदूती	रुद्र
५।२७।११६-११९	गङ्गा	देवगण
५।२७।१५७-१७५	शिव	राम
५।२९।३७-४६	सावित्री	विष्णु
५।२९।९७-११५	ब्रह्मा	विष्णु

पुराण स्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
५।२९।११८-१२८	ब्रह्मा	रुद्र
५।३०।१५८-१६७	क्षेमंकरी देवी	देवगण
५।३५।१३९-१४७	शिव	राम
५।३६।१६३-१७९	ब्रह्मा	राम
५।४०।९-१८	ब्रह्मा	देवगण
५।४०।५७-८३	भगवती रात्रि	ब्रह्मा
५।४०।२५५-२६३	शिव	रति
५।४१।१०९-११७	गौरी	वीरक
५।४१।१५४-१५७	कार्तिकेय	देवगण
५।४१।१८१-१८४	स्कन्द	बन्दिगण
५।४२।३०-३१	हरि	देवगण
५।४३।१९०-१९३	हरि (नृसिंह)	ब्रह्मा
५।४३।५१-७४	सूर्य	शिव
५।४३।८९-९५	शिव	अन्धक
५।५९।५-४२	तुलसी (वृक्ष)	(शतानन्दप्रोक्त)
५।६२।२-११	गणाधिप	(व्यासप्रोक्त)
५।६३।३४-३६	गणेश	देवगण (नमस्कारात्मकम्)
५।७३।९०-९९	हरि	देवगण
५।७५।२४-३२	सूर्य	ब्रह्मा
५।८१।६६-७०	दुर्गा	(पूजाविधौ)
५।८२ अ० में	बुध-शनि	(अर्चने)
६।१०।७	शिव	देवगण
६।२३।१५-६०	गंगा, यमुना	महादेव
६।३४।२७-३५	शनि	दशरथ
६।३६।४२-४८	हरि	इन्द्र
६।४०।५७-६३	विष्णु	इन्द्र

पुराण स्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
६।४।१।१	विष्णु	युधिष्ठिर
६।४।२।७-२८	हरि	ऋषिगण
६।७२ अ०	(विष्णुसहस्रनाम)	
६।७।१-१२	(रामरक्षास्तोत्र)	
६।७।१-२९	(अभ्युदयस्तोत्र)	(महादेवप्रोक्त)
६।७९ अ०	(अपामार्जन स्तोत्र)	
६।८।१।४१-१४९	हरि	पुण्डरीक
६।९९।१-१३	शिव	बृहस्पति
६।१००।२-४	विष्णु	देवगण
६।१०६।१८-२०	मूलप्रकृति	देवगण
६।१३६।२६-२९	गुरु	मङ्कि
६।१४६।१३-१४	शिव	वृत्र
६।१५२।९-१०	(कोटराक्षी स्तोत्र)	(अनिरुद्ध कृत)
६।१७३।४९-५५	हरि	यम
६।१८०।२९।३७	शिव	पक्षी
६।१८२।१५-३१	महालक्ष्मी	राजपुत्र
६।२०८।३५-४३	हरि	ब्राह्मणगण
६।२१२।८४-९२	कपिल	कलिङ्गक
६।२१७।३४-४१	हरि, ब्रह्मा	वीरवर्मा
६।२२२।४१-५४	हरि	मृगशृङ्गमुनि
६।२२५।१-२८	यम	मृगशृङ्गमुनि
६।२३६।७५-९०	शिव	मार्कण्डेय
६।२४९।७२-११९	विष्णु	लोमश
६।२५६।७५-९३	ईश्वर	महामाया
६।२५७।८-१५	विष्णु	ब्रह्मा
६।२५८।१५-२५	शिव	ब्रह्मा

पुराण स्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
६।२६४।२०-२५	वराह	देवगण
६।२६६।१४-२४	हरि	कश्यप
६।२७०।२४-४१	राम	शिव
६।२७२।४१-४३	कृष्ण	वसुदेव
६।२७२।११०-१२४	कृष्ण	ब्रह्मा
६।२७२।१८९-२१३	कृष्ण	इन्द्र
६।२७२।३०६-३१६	हरि	अक्रूर
६।२७२।३२६-३२७	कृष्ण	अक्रूर
६।२७३।६१-६६	कृष्ण	मुचकुन्द
६।२७७।२७-५४	हरि	शिव
६।२८२।५३-८४	हरि	भृगु
६।२८२।१०९-११०	भृगु	ऋषिगण

THE STOTRAS IN THE MATSYA PURĀṆA: AN ANALYSIS

AND

A NOTE ON THEIR TEXTUAL ASPECT

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA.

[मत्स्यपुराण स्तोत्राणि बाहुल्येन शिवस्तुतिपराणि विष्णुस्तुतिपराणि च, तानि च सर्वाणि भक्तिभावोद्बोधकानि । तेषामत्र पाठसम्बन्धी विचारोऽपि कृतः, काव्यदृष्ट्या धार्मिकदृष्ट्या च तेषां महत्त्वं च प्रदर्शितम्]

The Matsya Purāṇa stotras contain about 253 ślokas. The Deities praised are Brahmā, Śiva, Pārvatī, Skanda, Viṣṇu, together with the various manifestations or Avatāras of Viṣṇu, such as Narasiṃha, Vāmana and Varāha. The chief Deities, however, are Śiva and Viṣṇu. Śiva is praised on seven occasions in seven separate Adhyāyas, and Viṣṇu together with his above mentioned Avatāras is praised on eight occasions in different Adhyāyas. Viṣṇu is praised even by Brahmā and Śiva, by the former on two occasions in the form of Nṛsiṃha (Adh. 163) and Vāmana (Adh. 245), and by the latter in the form of Nṛsiṃha (Adh. 179); but Viṣṇu nowhere praises Brahmā or Śiva. The ślokas devoted to the stutis of Śiva are 99, while those devoted to the stutis of Viṣṇu (and his Avatāras) number 126. The Śaiva stotras are interspersed with the stotras of Viṣṇu.

All these stotras are written in an elevated and inspiring language and in an elegant style. Though some of the stotras are written in the usual Purāṇic Anuṣṭup metre, they are generally written in epic or classical style and in musical tones resonant of inspired devotion. They form so many lyrical pieces of beautiful and sublime poetry, incorporating in them, abundant matter, both spiritual and philosophical. They also provide a useful basis for the study of the religious tendency of the Purāṇa, and contain doctrinal principles of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism, the two most important and extensive religions of ancient times.

A list of stotras in the Matsya Purāna (Ānandāśrama edition) is given below :—

<i>Stotra</i>	<i>Adhyāya</i>	<i>Ślokas</i>	
1. शुक्रकृता शिवस्तुतिः	47	128-168	
2. देवैः कृता शिवस्तुतिः	132	21-28	
3. देवैः कृता ब्रह्मस्तुतिः	154	7-15	
4. रतिकृता शिवस्तुतिः	154	260-270	
5. सप्तर्षिकृता शिवस्तुतिः	154	397-404	
6. वीरकृता पार्वतीस्तुतिः	158	11-19	
7. देवैः कृता कुमारस्तुतिः	159	13-18	
8. सिद्धवन्दिजनकृता स्कन्दस्तुतिः	159	40-43	(Gāthās)
9. ब्रह्मकृता नृसिंहस्तुतिः	163	96cd-103	
10. मत्स्यकृता नारायणस्तुतिः	164	19-28	
11. शंकरकृता नृसिंहस्तुतिः	179	55-60	
12. बाणासुरकृता शिवस्तुतिः	188	67-72	(Totakas)
13. भृगुकृता रुद्रस्तुतिः	193	34-45	
14. देवासुरकृतं शिवस्तोत्रम्	250	28-40	
15. अदितिकृता हरिस्तुतिः	244	12-34	
16. प्रह्लादकृतं विष्णुस्तोत्रम्	245	17-28	
17. ब्रह्मकृता वामनस्तुतिः	245	67-80	
18. पृथिवीकृता महावराहस्तुतिः	248	12-56	
19. देवदानवैः कृता जनार्दनस्तुतिः	249	37-44	

These Matsya Purāna stotras have a large number of variant readings found in the various manuscripts which have so far been collated in the Purāna Department of the Kashiraj Trust for preparing the critical edition of the Matsya Purāna. Almost every pāda of a stuti-śloka has some textual variant or variants, many of which are quite important and effect the sense of the text also; e. g. for the Ān. reading ह्रस्वाय मुक्तकेशाय (47. 131a), the Oriya Ms. gives द्रुमाय मुक्तकेशाय, and seven Mss. read ह्रस्वाय व्युप्तकेशाय.

Some Mss. (specially the Ujjain Śāradā Ms.) add some additional stuti-ślokas after some of the Ānandāśrama

śloka; e.g., the Śāradā Ms. adds the following śloka after the Ānandāśrama śl. 19 of Adh. 150 (Pārvatī-stuti) :—

नमो नमो दानवदारणायै नमो जगद्भूतिसुखदायै ।
नमोस्तु लोकस्य भयापदायै नमोस्तु ते देवि जगत्त्रयाश्रयै ॥

and also after the śloka 17 of Adh. 159 (Kumāra-stuti) :—

त्वं लोकपालः परमं हविस्त्वं प्रभा विभुश्चाप्यथ शत्रुजेता ।
सहस्रपात्त्वं गुरुशक्तिधारी अनन्तरूपोऽसि सहस्रशक्तिः ॥

A number of the stuti-ślokas of the Ānandāśrama edition are found missing or omitted in some Mss. Out of the 253 stuti-Ślokas a total of 40 ślokas and the equal number of half-ślokas are omitted in different Mss.

The order of some of the stuti-ślokas, as given in the Ānandāśrama edition and also in some other printed editions, is found altered in some Mss., sometimes in all the Mss. The most striking case of this alteration is the second half (c-d) of the Ān. śl. 26 of Adh. 248, which is given after the śl. 20 of this Adh. of the Ān. ed. in all the Mss. Similarly the first-half (a-b) of the śl. 35 of Adh. 250 comes between the two halves of śl. 40 in most of the Mss. The Ānandāśrama order of ślokas 25, 26, 27 of Adh. 245 is also found changed in most of the Mss. as ślokas 25, 27, 26 (which seems to be the correct and more probable order). There are other cases also of such alterations.

Some Mss. have given obscure or rather unintelligible (?) readings. But when such readings are uniformly found in all the allied manuscripts, they can not be ignored. As an illustration the following may be given :—

The Ānandāśrama reading of śl. 13 (a-b) of Adh. 150 (Pārvatī-stuti) is as follows :

जगति कः प्रणताभिमतं ददौ झटिति सिद्धनुते भवती यथा

(All the Mss. give 'क' in place of Ānandāśrama-reading 'कः')

In place of the above reading the four Northern Mss. and the one Southern Ms. give the following somewhat obscure reading :—

जगत्यश्वासि गता यदा मटति सिद्धिमुना भवती यथा

The readings of some stuti-ślokas as given in Ān. ed. of the Matsya Purāna also are peculiar and obscure, while the corresponding readings of most of the Mss. are quite clear. The readings of some of the stuti-ślokas in the Ān. ed. are peculiar to it only, and are not supported by manuscript evidence. Such readings of these stotras may be taken as spurious or emended.

सुभाषितानि पुण्यफलम्

सुवर्णमणिरत्नादिवाहनं गृहमासनम् ।

स्त्रियोऽन्नपानं पुत्राश्च चारुमाल्यानुलेपनम् ॥

एते च विविधाः कामा गीतवाद्यादिकं च यत् ।

सर्वमेतन्मम मतं फलं पुण्यवनस्पतेः ॥ (मार्क० २४।२०-२१)

BHUKTI-MUKTI IDEAL IN THE PURĀṆAS

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[पुराणेषु 'भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदमि'ति वचनं बहुत्रोपलभ्यते । एतस्य कारण-
मस्मिन्ल्लेखे स्पष्टीक्रियते । वैदिकपरम्परायां 'प्रवृत्तं च निवृत्तं च द्विविधं कर्म
वैदिकमि'ति पुरातनमभिमतमासीत् । तदेवाश्रित्य प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिपर उभयात्मको
मार्गः सांख्यैर्योगाचार्यैः पाशुपतैरथ विशेषतः पञ्चरात्रभागवतैः प्रचारितः ।
तथा कुर्वद्भिस्तैः श्रमणमार्गिणां निर्वाणैकपरः पन्था न्यक्कृतः ।]

Bhukti denoted the householder's way of life leading to the enjoyment of worldly pleasures. It implied the acceptance of the Dharma-Artha-Kāma ideal of Trivarga as one whole. *Mukti*, on the other hand, signified the ideal of renunciation proper to the life of a recluse. The two were thought of as mutually exclusive or contradictory in the Buddhist tradition which held aloft the conception of Nirvāṇa, or attainment of blissful extinction by entering the Śramanic order. There the householders were invited to enter the order of monks and join the monasteries in search of the final goal of extinction. But the ideal inspiring the Bhāgavatas was different from this. They believed in the path of *Pravṛitti* and also reconciled it with that of *Nivṛitti*, leading to a complete scheme of life. Each individual should serve both ends, viz. of realising the perfection of the householder's life, and then moving on to the goal of liberation or *Moksha* by giving up the pleasures of sense and worldly attachments in favour of Yoga and Brahma realisation. As significant of this happy synthesis a new formula was perfected by the Bhāgavatas in the form of

भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदम् (Brahma, 27. 1).

Also, स्याद् भुक्तिमुक्तिभाक् (Agni, 202. 16).

This ideal lays stress on the attainment of happiness in this world and of bliss in the life hereafter. It was the ancient

Vedic inspiration inculcated in the Pṛithvī Sukta of the Atharvaveda :

संविदाना दिवा कवे श्रियां मा धेहि भूय्याम् ।

(Atharva, 12. 1. 63)

O Earth, my mother, set thou me happily in a place secure. Of one accord with Heaven, O Sage, set me in glory and wealth.

The भुक्ति-मुक्ति formula is repeated hundreds of times in the Purāṇas. The Agni Purāṇa starts with it as a preamble :

अग्निनोक्तं पुराणं यदाग्नेयं ब्रह्मसम्मितम् ।

भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं दिव्यं पठतां शृण्वतां नृणाम् ॥ (११०)

Being an encyclopaedic compilation (विद्यासारपुराण, ११३), at the root of each good act or pious deed it enjoins the conception of भुक्ति-मुक्ति, or which is the same as the synthesis of ज्ञान and कर्म :—

मनुर्वैवस्वतस्तेपे तपो वै भुक्तिमुक्तये । (अग्नि० २१४)

According to it, even the recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa by Nārada to Vālmiki is a similar act :—

रामायणमहं वक्ष्ये नारदेनोदितं पुरा ।

वाल्मीकये यथा तद्वत् पठितं भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥ (अग्नि० ५१९)

The Brahma Purāṇa styles itself as a भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रद text :

शृणुध्वं मुनयः सर्वे यद्वो वक्ष्यामि साम्प्रतम् ।

पुराणं वेदसम्बद्धं भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं शुभम् ॥ (ब्रह्म० २७१)

Both भुक्ति and मुक्ति live together in the *kamaṇḍalu* of Brahmā which is the source of the Gaṅgā (Brahma, 72. 29). It was an over-riding ideal dominating each act of piety, be it a visit to a sacred spot, or a dip in a holy stream. The Koṅārka-kshetra of Sūrya on the sea-shore (Brahma, 28. 64), the Brahma-tīrtha (ib. 113.1), the Maudgalya-tīrtha (ib. 136.41), the Sārasvata-tīrtha (ib. 163.1), etc., are brought within the orbit of the

भुक्ति-मुक्ति ideal. Its climax is reached in the Gṛihastha āśrama being declared as the summum bonum of भुक्ति and मुक्ति :

चतुर्णामाश्रमाणां च गार्हस्थ्यं पुण्यदं स्मृतम् ।
तस्माद् भुक्तिश्च मुक्तिश्च भवतीति मतिर्मम ॥ (ब्रह्म० ८८।१५)

Kālidāsa echoes this Bhāgavata sentiment in the following :

अपि प्रसन्नेन महर्षिणा त्वं सम्यग्विनोयानुमतो गृहाय ।
कालो ह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमं ते ॥

(Raghu. 5. 10)

The householder's way renders service to all (सर्वोपकारक्षम ; cf. also Śanti-parvan 321.25). The Purāṇa writers return again and again to the theme of exalting the Gṛihastha āśrama by means of edifying legends, with the burden of directing a misguided recluse back to the haven of home and the service of parents ; e. g. Ruchi possessing the status of a Prajāpati turns back from mendicancy and restarts the purposive life of a householder (Mārka. ch. 95). The Gārhasthya life was declared in the Bhāgavata scheme to be the focus of both this life and the life beyond, i. e. in all manner 'True to the kindred points of heaven and home'.

As against this, the Buddhists preached the miseries (आदीनव) of Gṛihastha life and tried to wean people away from that path :

तेन राज्ञा तस्य जनस्य तावदेवंविधा धर्मदेशना कृता कामेष्वदीनवकथा
गृहाश्रमपदस्यादीनवो भाषितस्तथा कामो जुगुप्सितो यथानेकानि प्राणिशतसहस्राणि
ऋषीणामन्तिके प्रव्रज्य गृहाश्रमपदान्यपहाय वनं संश्रिताः ।

(दिव्यावदान, Cowell's edn., p. 224)

The Purāṇas restated the ancient Vedic faith as the Bhukti-Mukti ideal of the new age of Hindu renaissance in order to combat the pseudo-monasticism of the Buddhists.

DEVANĀGARĪ SOURCE OF
THE UJJAIN ŚĀRADĀ MANUSCRIPT OF
THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[मत्स्यपुराणस्यैकः शारदालिपिकोश उज्जयिनीस्थायां 'सिंधिया-ओरियन्टल इंस्टीट्यूट' संस्थायां संरक्षितोऽस्ति । स कोशस्तत्र काश्मीरदेशात्प्राप्तः, मत्स्य-पुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठपरम्परां चासुरति । शुद्धायां कोशः, तथापि लेखकप्रमाद-जन्याः काश्चिदशुद्धयस्तत्रोपलभ्यन्ते, तास्वनेका अशुद्धयः केषांचित् शारदाक्षराणां नागराक्षराणां च परस्परं समानाकृतित्वाद्देतोर्भ्रान्तेन लिपिकरेण जनिताः । देवनागराक्षराणामेव शारदालिप्यां प्रतिलिपिकरणे एता अशुद्धयः संभवितुमर्हन्ति नान्यथेत्यत्र प्रदर्श्य काश्मीरपाठानुसारी कश्चित्प्राचीनो देवनागरीकोश एवास्य शारदाकोशस्याधार आसीदित्यस्मिन्नवन्धे प्राचीनलिपिविज्ञानमाश्रित्य प्रतिपादितम्]

The Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa deposited in the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, and bearing No. 4481 contains important textual peculiarities, some of which have already been discussed.¹ It also contains certain peculiar scribal errors and textual corruptions which can be explained palaeographically only if we suppose that some Devanāgarī original was the direct or indirect source of this Śāradā Ms. And as this Ms. comes from Kashmir and represents a Kashmirian version of the Matsya Purāṇa, its supposed Devanāgarī original also must have belonged to the same version, and also must have been written in Kashmir or the North-western parts of India. From this it may also be inferred that the Devanāgarī script was in use in Kashmir prior to or side by side with the use of the Śāradā script.

The Devanāgarī script has been used in India since about the 8th century A. D. For a long time it has generally been recognised as an all-India script for writing Sanskrit works and

1. *Vide* my article 'A study of the Textual Peculiarities of a Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa' published in 'Purāṇa' Vol. I, pp. 58-71.

inscriptions. Devanāgarī and Śāradā are two sister scripts, both being evolved from the *Kuṭila lipi* which was in use in Northern India from Nepal to Kashmir between the 6th and the 9th centuries A. D. But Devanāgarī seems to be the older of the two. The Śāradā script is found used in an inscription of the Chamba state of the 10th century A. D.¹, when Devanāgarī was already in use both in Northern and Southern India. The Devanāgarī script has been used in some of the inscriptions and grants of South India about the 10th century A. D.² About this time Devanāgarī had its full sway in Gujarat, Malwa, Rajasthan, Madhyadeśa (including the modern U.P.) and Berar. Even in Bengal and Nepal Devanāgarī was the script which was used for writing Sanskrit upto the 10th or 11th century A. D.³, when the Bengālī and Nevārī scripts were evolved. As regards the use of the Devanāgarī script in Kashmir about this time, no documentary evidence is perhaps available; but in order to explain the above-mentioned textual corruptions of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. we have to start with the hypothesis that there was a time when in Kashmir the Devanāgarī script was in use prior to or side by side with the Śāradā script, and that the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. is either a direct or an indirect transcript from some non-extant Devanāgarī original. In the present article an effort is made to show that some of the corrupt readings of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. are really the corrupt forms of the corresponding correct readings of the supposed Devanāgarī original.

There are certain Devanāgarī letters or symbols which, through a little carelessness of the scribe, may be written as resembling each other; e. g. न and त, च and व, प and य, etc. frequently interchange in Devanāgarī manuscripts. Confusion between such letters may easily arise in the case of a scribe who, though being less familiar with the Devanāgarī script, is transcribing from a Devanāgarī original in his own script or in some other more familiar script.

1. Cf. G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā* (2nd ed.), p. 73.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 68 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 77; also cf. Plate XXIV for a Nepal Ms. of the 10th century A. D.

Below are given some of the cases of such confusion which have been found in the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa (hereafter referred to as Ś)—

1. *The Letter त confused as न*

(a) Ān.,¹ 152. 36—

अथ संज्ञामवाप्याशु गरुडोऽपि सकेशवः ।

पराङ्मुखो रणात्तस्मात् पलायत महाजवः ॥

Ś— ” ” ” पलायन ”

[Here, the reading 'पलायत' (*palāyata*) is the past imperfect tense (लङ्) in the *atmanepada*, of the root अच् to go with परा as an *upasarga*, and agrees with its subject *Garuḍaḥ*. Obviously it is the correct reading and is found in all other Mss., both Northern and Southern. The Ś-reading पलायन (*palāyana*) is clearly the result of the confusion between the Devanāgarī letters त and न]

(b) Ān., 154. 526 cd —

कामरूपा महोत्साहा महारूपगुणान्विताः (गणेशः) ।

Ś— ” महान्साहा ”

[Here, it may be noticed that the scribe first confused the letter त् of the original reading महोत्साहाः (*mahotsāhāḥ*) as न्, by which the correct original reading became corrupt as महोन्साहाः (*mahonsāhāḥ*); he then might have emended the portion महोन् (*mahon*) as महान् (*mahān*), and thus the corrupt reading महान्साहाः (*mahānsāhāḥ*) was the result. Thus महोत्साहाः > महोन्साहाः > महान्साहाः might have been the process.]

(c) Ān., 220. 6 cd —

अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विशीर्यते ॥

Ś—अविनीन० ” ” ”

1. Ānandāśrama edition of the Matsya Purāṇa, Poona, 1907.

2. *The letter न confused as त*

(a) Ān., 127. 19 ab—

एवं ध्रुवनियुक्तोऽसौ भ्रमते ज्योतिषां गणः ।

The Devanāgarī Ms. (No. 4646) of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain,¹ which is closely allied to Ś, reads as follows :—

एवं ध्रुवनिबद्धोऽपि भ्रमति ज्योतिषां गणः ।

Ś—एवं ध्रुवतिबद्धोऽपि ” ” ”

(b) Ān., 191. 118 ab—

अङ्गोलस्य समीपे तु नातिदूरे तु तस्य वै ।

Ś— ” ” ” तातिदूरे ” ”

In all these instances the confusion occurs between the two letters ‘t’ (त) and ‘n’ (न). This confusion is possible only in the case of the Devanāgarī letters—त and न—and never in the case of the Śāradā letters; for in the Śāradā script these two letters do not resemble at all, and so they can never be confused with each other. Hence, it may be inferred that Ś is a copy of some Devanāgarī original, or of some intermediate Śāradā exemplar which was itself a direct or an indirect descendant of the supposed Devanāgarī original. This inference may further be strengthened by the following instances—

3. *The conjunct त्प (tpa) confused as त्य (tya)*

Ān., 153.24 ab—

तस्यारक्षत्पदं सव्यं मारुतोऽमितविक्रमः ।

D reads—

तस्यारक्षत्पदं सौम्यं०

But Ś reads—

तस्यारक्षत्यदं सौम्यं०

1. This Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. will be referred to as D.

[Here, it may be seen that the readings of both the Ujjain Mss.—D and Ś—represent the same version, but while the reading of D is correct, that of Ś is quite defective and corrupt and carries no sense at all. The reading तस्यारक्षत्पदं (*tasyāraکشatpadam*) is given by all other Mss. The defect in the Ś-reading (*tasyāraکشhatyadam*) is clearly the result of confusion arising between the Devanāgarī conjuncts त्प (*tpa*) and त्य (*tya*) owing to their deceptive similarity. The Śāradā conjuncts *tpa* and *tya* are so distinct from each other that they can never be confused. Hence the creeping of this textual error in Ś can be explained only if we assume some Devanāgarī original as its source.]

4. The letter त (*t*) confused as व (*v*)

Ān., 191, 29 a b—

ततो गच्छेत्तु राजेन्द्र तुरासङ्गममुत्तमम् ।

Ś— ” ” ” वुरीकच्छमनुत्तमम् ॥

[Here, some of the Mss. read नदीसंगम for तुरासंगम, and the three Devanāgarī Mss.—No. E. 3550 of the India Office Library, London, No. 2288 of the Deccan College Manuscripts Library, Poona, No. 10443 of the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore—read तुरीकच्छ (*turīkacchha*), but the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. reads वुरीकच्छ (*varīkacchha*),¹ and the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (mentioned above) also gives this reading in an emended form as वरीकच्छ (*varīkacchha*). The Ś-reading वुरीकच्छ is clearly the corrupt form of the Devanāgarī reading तुरीकच्छ which must have been the reading of its hypothetical Devanāgarī original also, and which

1. In the Colophon of its Adhyaya 198 (corresponding to the Ān, Adh. 191) which deals with the *māhātmya* of the various *tīrthas* in connection with the नर्मदामाहात्म्य the Ujjain Śāradā Ms (Ś) again gives the same reading वुरीकच्छ and the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (D) which closely follows Ś in giving the same detailed Colophon of this Adh. gives the reading उरीकच्छ (*urīkacchha*) instead of its previous reading वरीकच्छ—See my article referred to in footnote I

has fortunately been preserved in the above-mentioned three Devanāgarī Mss. There is no possibility of confusion between the Śāradā symbols for the letters त and व ; but the Devanāgarī letter त (*t*) if written hurriedly and carelessly may look like न (*n*) or व (*v*) and may easily be confused with these letters.]

There is also some similarity between certain letters of the Devanāgarī and Śāradā scripts. Thus the Śāradā symbol for the letter *s* (स) resembles the Devanāgarī letter भ (*bh*), and similarly the Śāradā symbol for the letter *ś* (श) resembles the Devanāgarī letter म (*m*). Now a scribe who is more familiar with the Śāradā script, and is more accustomed to use it, may easily confuse the Devanāgarī letters भ (*bh*) and म (*m*) with the Śāradā symbols for *s* and *ś* respectively, for these Śāradā symbols with which he is more familiar may intrude into his memory owing to their deceptive resemblance with the Devanāgarī symbols भ and म which he actually wants to copy, and then he may copy these Śāradā symbols of his memory instead of the Devanāgarī letters भ and म of the original. The opposite may also be true ; that is, a scribe who is transcribing in Devanāgarī from a Śāradā original may also be subject to similar psychological or visual confusion. But then we have to decide whether a particular reading in a manuscript is a correct or probable one. If it is not, then we shall have to assume that it is a corrupt form of some original correct reading of the scribe's exemplar which might have been in a script different from the one in which he has transcribed, and then we shall have to show that the corruption was also palaeographically possible.

Below are given a few instances of such psychological confusion, which will further corroborate the

inference that Ś is a descendant of some Devanāgarī original :—

5. *The Devanāgarī भ (bh) confused with the Śāradā symbol for स (s).*

Ān., 153·22cd, 23—

ऐरावते चतुर्दन्ते मातङ्गेऽचलसंस्थिते ॥
महामदजलस्रावे कामरूपे शतक्रतुः ।
तस्थौ हिमगिरेः शृङ्गे भानुमानिव दीप्तिमान् ॥

Ś—सानुमानिव for भानुमानिव

[Here, only Ś reads सानुमानिव for भानुमानिव, while all other Northern and Southern Mss. give the same reading as the Ān. But in this context 'भानुमानिव' seems to be the original and correct reading, and the reading of Ś may be taken as a corrupt one resulting from the confusion between the Devanāgarī letter भ (bh) and the resembling Śāradā symbol for the letter स.]

6. *Devanāgarī म (m) confused with the Śāradā symbol for श (ś)*

Ān., 206. 41—

कृष्णेप्सितं कृष्णमृगस्य चर्म दत्त्वा द्विजेन्द्राय समाहितात्मा ।
यथोक्तमेतन्मरणं न शोचेत्प्राप्त्यभीष्टं मनसः फलं तत् ॥

[Here, Ś and some other Mss. read 'कृष्णाक्षतं' for 'कृष्णेप्सितं', but 'मरणं' is the reading of all the Mss. except Ś which reads śaraṇam in place of maraṇam. Here also the reading of Ś does not seem to be a correct one, and may be the result of the confusion between the two letters—Devanāgarī म (m) and Śāradā श (ś), which resemble each other, for the Śāradā letters 'm' and 'ś' have little chance of being confused with each other.]

These are some of the instances which are sufficient to prove that Ś is a descendant of some Kash-

mirian Devanāgarī manuscript of the Matsya Purāṇa. Now it remains to be ascertained whether Ś is a direct transcript from the hypothetical Devanāgarī original, or is a copy of some intermediate Śāradā exemplar which might itself be a direct or an indirect descendant of the Devanāgarī original. There are certain corrupt readings in Ś which may throw some light on this problem also. The following instances may be studied :—

1. Ān., 154. 188 cd, 189 ab—

यथाहमुक्तवानस्या ह्युत्तानकरतां सदा ॥

उत्तानो वरदः पाणिरेष देव्याः सदैव तु ।

D —

यत्तावदुक्तवानस्या उत्तानकरता मया ॥

उत्तानो वरदः पाणिरेष देव्याः सदैव हि ।

Ś —

यत्तावदुक्तवानस्या उत्तानकरजा मया

उत्तानो वरदः पाणिरेष देव्याः सदैव हि

[Here, the reading 'उत्तानकरता' must be the original correct reading, for it is supported by the next line 'उत्तानो वरदः पाणि०'; it is also corroborated by the following previous reading :—

उत्तानहस्तता प्रोवता याचतामेव नित्यदा । Ān., 154. 170 c-d.

Here also, both D and Ś give this same reading 'उत्तानहस्तता' which is the same in sense as 'उत्तानकरता'. So it is clear that the Śāradā scribe might have confused the Devanāgarī letter त with the Śāradā symbol for the letter ज (j), and the corrupt reading 'उत्तानकरजा' was the result.]

2. Ān., 271. 16—

इक्ष्वाकूणामयं वंशः सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।

सुमित्रं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

The reading of all the Mss. except D and Ś is the same as the above Ān. reading. The reading of the first line is uniform in all the Mss. including D and Ś; but the reading of the second line in D and Ś differs from each other as follows:—

D —

यतस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

Ś —

यज्ञस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

[Here the Ś-reading यज्ञस् (*yajñas*) in place of the D-reading यतस् (*yatas*) seems to be corrupt in this context. It may be a transcriptional error of the Śāradā scribe who seems to have confused the Devanāgarī letter त (t) of the original with the Śāradā symbol for the letter ज (j), and then to have given play to his intelligence in emending the reading 'yajas' (thus formed) as 'yajñas'. Thus the process might have been—

यतस्(*yatas*)>यजस् (*yajas*)>यज्ञस् (*yajñas*).]

Now in both these instances the corrupt reading of Ś must be the outcome of the confusion between the Devanāgarī letter त and the Śāradā symbol for ज. The symbols of these two letters of the two scripts, Devanāgarī and Śāradā, though having divergent values, must have had some similarity, so that the confusion between them might have been possible. In this Śāradā Ms. the letter ज is written somewhat like the Devanāgarī ण and has no resemblance with the Devanāgarī letter त. So the confusion between this Śāradā symbol of ज letter and the Devanāgarī symbol त is not possible. Therefore it may be inferred that Ś is not the direct descendant of the Devanāgarī original. Moreover, we find this same form of the Śāradā symbol for ज in a manuscript of the *Atharva-Veda* and also in another manuscript of the *Śākuntala*, both Mss. belonging to the 16th century A. D. So Ś might have been written near

about that date or possibly much later as it appears from its general appearance.

But, in some inscriptions of the Chambā State belonging to the 10th century A.D. we find the Śāradā symbol for ज inscribed as resembling the Devanāgarī letter त of that time,² which was not much different from the modern Devanāgarī त, as is clear from a Nepal Ms. of about the 10th century A.D.,³ and also from an Ujjain inscription of the 11th century A.D.⁴ Anyhow, it is probable that the त letter of the Devanāgarī original might have been mistaken as the Śāradā symbol for ज, by the first Śāradā transcriber, and the corrupt readings such as 'उत्तानकरजा' and 'यज्ञस्' might have resulted. Then these corrupt readings might have been continued in the subsequent Śāradā Mss. until they appeared in Ś.

Thus all such corrupt readings of Ś can be palaeographically explained only if we assume that Ś is the descendant of some remote Devanāgarī original, between which and Ś several successive intermediate Śāradā manuscripts might have passed.

The Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (referred to as D) is closely allied to the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. (referred to as Ś). It seems to be the Devanāgarī transcript of some Śāradā Ms., for in one place it confuses the letter ञ (ङ) as च (*ch*), which in the Śāradā script closely resemble each other, and so gives the corrupt reading प्रपच्यति (*prapachyati*) for the correct reading प्रपश्यति (*prapaśyati*). Moreover, both these manuscripts (D and Ś) come from a big collection purchased by the Scindia Oriental Institute in 1936 from Srinagar (Kashmir)⁵. So both these Mss. represent the same version of the Matsya Purāṇa, and as already mentioned they are closely allied too. But this Devanāgarī Ms. generally contains correct readings in place of

1. Cf. G.H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā* (2nd ed.) Plate XXXI.

2. *Ibid.*, Plate XXVIII.

3. *Ibid.*, Plate XXIV.

4. *Ibid.*, Plate XXV.

5. This information was kindly supplied to me by Sri S. L. Katre, Curator, Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, in his letter dated 18-7-58.

the above-quoted corrupt readings of the Ś Ms. So one of the two things is possible – either the scribe of this Devanāgarī Ms. emended all the above-mentioned corrupt readings of its Śāradā exemplar, or there might have been two streams of the Śāradā Mss. of the Matsya Purāṇa issued from the same Devanāgarī original, the one confusing the letters of the two scripts and the other not making such confusion; and D might be the Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā exemplar belonging to the non-confusing stream.

The points discussed in this article may briefly be recapitulated as follows :-

1. There are certain corrupt readings in the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa, which can be explained only if we suppose that it had some Devanāgarī original as its direct or indirect source.
2. The general appearance and the forms of some of the letters of this Śāradā Ms. show that it was written after the 16th century A.D., when Śāradā symbol for the letter ज resembled the Devanāgarī letter ञ.
3. Certain corrupt readings of the Śāradā Ms. show that the hypothetical Devanāgarī original might have belonged to the 10th or the 11th century A.D., when the Śāradā symbol for the letter ज somewhat resembled the Devanāgarī letter ञ:
4. The Ujjain Śāradā Ms. is not the direct or immediate transcript of the Devanāgarī original, but one or more intermediate Śāradā Mss. might have passed between the Devanāgarī original and this Ujjain Śāradā Ms.
5. There might have been two streams of the Śāradā Mss. of the Matsya Purāṇa issuing from the same Devanāgarī source, the one confusing certain letters of the two sister scripts—Devanāgarī and Śāradā—and the other not subject to such confusion and hence preserving the correct readings of the Devanāgarī original.

6. The Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (No. 4646) is the Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā Ms. belonging to the non-confusing group, hence this Devanāgarī Ms. of the Ujjain Oriental Institute generally gives the correct readings in place of certain corrupt readings of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms.

These points require further study based on sufficient manuscript evidence and epigraphic data. Until some more Śāradā Mss. of the Matsya Purāṇa are available and studied thoroughly, these points may be taken as tentative only.

अक्रोधनः क्रोधनेभ्यो विशिष्ट-

स्तथा तितिक्षुरतितिक्षोर्विशिष्टः ।

अमानुषेभ्यो मानुषश्च प्रधानो

विद्वांस्तथैवाविदुषः प्रधानः ॥

(मत्स्य०, 37. 6)

THE POSITION AND ANTIQUITY OF PĀTĀLA-KHAṆḌA
OF THE PADMA-PURĀṆA

By

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

[अस्मिन्निवन्धे पद्मपुराणान्तर्गस्य पातालखण्डस्य स्थानक्रमविषये मौलिकतायाः प्राचीनतायाश्चविषये विमर्शःकृतः । पातालखण्डस्य स्थानं स्वर्ग-खण्डात्परतः सिध्यति । मूलपद्मपुराणस्य प्रधानदेवता ब्रह्माऽऽसीदित्यन्यत्र प्रतिपादितम् । तस्य मूलपद्मपुराणस्य कतिचिद्ध्याया एवावशिष्टाः सृष्टिखण्डान्तर्गता वर्तन्ते । पातालखण्डं तु मूलपद्मपुराणे नान्तरभवत्, रामोपासकैस्तस्य रचना कृतेति प्रतीयते । तदपि पातालखण्डं काले काले उपवृंहणमगमत् । तस्मिन् पातालखण्डे रामस्य पूर्वचरित्तमेव वर्णितमासीत्, पद्मपुराणस्य प्राचीनेषु वंगदेशीयहस्तलेखेषु पातालखण्डस्य तावानेवांश उपलभ्यते; नाधिकः । परन्तु मुद्रितपद्मपुराणपुस्तकेषु पातालखण्डस्योपवृहितं रूपमुपलभ्यते; तच्चोपवृंहणं प्रथमं लिंगोपासकैः पाशुपतशैवैः, तदुत्तरं भागवत-वैष्णवैश्च कृतम् । इत्थं पातालखण्डस्य कालक्रमेण विकासदृष्ट्या त्रयः स्तराः सम्भवन्ति—१. रामोपासकानां रामोपाख्यानसंबलितः प्राचीनोऽशः, २. पाशुपतशैवानां शिवप्रशंसाप्रधान उत्तरोऽशः, ३. भागवतवैष्णवैः संयोजितः कृष्णोपासनाप्रधानोऽन्तिमोऽशश्च]

The Pātāla-khaṇḍa has unanimously been regarded as a part of the *Padma-p.* both in its Devanāgarī and Bengal recensions. The importance of this khaṇḍa lies considerably in its mention of the subject matters of those khaṇḍas which precede it in the present text of the *Padma-p.* According to it, Vātsyāyana once said to Śeṣha, the Serpent, “O Śeṣha ! I have heard from you in their entirety the stories of creation, destruction, etc. of the universe. You have also spoken to me, O sinless one, on celestial geography, terrestrial geography, determination of circles of luminaries, separate determination of the true nature of the creation of “Mahat-tattva” etc., the lives of various kings, and the splendid careers of the kings of the Solar race ; and among these, the story of Rāma which removes multitude of great sins, has been narrated. I have also heard in brief the story of the

Aśvamedha sacrifice of that hero (named) Rāma."¹ It is evident from our knowledge of the *Padma-p.* in its present form that the above-mentioned topics formed the nucleus of those parts of the *Padma-p.* which preceded the Pātāla-khaṇḍa; but it will be wrong to say that all these were, without any exception, the subject-matters of the *Padma-p.* in its original form.

We have shown elsewhere² that this Purāṇa was originally a contribution of the Brahmā-worshippers. It is quite natural that these sectaries would not like to propagare the glorification of Rāma (by narrating Rāma-kathā etc.) instead of championing their own views.

It can easily be pointed out that only a few chapters towards the beginning of the Śṛiṣṭi-khaṇḍa have been retained from the original *Padma-p.*, and hence it can be easily averred that as the place of this Pātāla-khaṇḍa in the arrangement of the six khaṇḍas of the *Padma-Purāṇa* is even after Svarga-khaṇḍa, in the matter of originality no great weight should be given to it.

But however late the Pātāla-khaṇḍa may be (we shall presently discuss that point), the information given by it should be taken into serious consideration. It partly settles the vexed problem of the arrangement of the different khaṇḍas of the *Padma-Purāṇa* when it says that the beautiful Svarga-khaṇḍa preceded it.³ It is unhappy to note that in the Ānandāśrama edition of the *Padma-Purāṇa*, there is no such division as the Svarga-khaṇḍa. But the evidence as furnished by the Pātāla-khaṇḍa itself proves clearly that it is the Svarga-khaṇḍa, and not the Brahma-khaṇḍa (as seen in the printed text), which closely preceded it

It is to be noted that all the topics, on which Śeṣha is said to have spoken to Vātsyāyana are found in the khaṇḍas

1. Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 1. 4-7

2. See my paper i. e. 'The Position and Antiquity of the *Padma-Purāṇa*' in *Our Heritage*, (Bulletin of the Post Graduate and Research Dept. Sankrit College, Calcutta) Vol. II, pt. 1.

3. Ibid., 1. 2 'ṛiṣhaya ūchuh—śrutam sarvaṁ mahābhāga svargakhaṇḍam manoharam'

preceding the Pātāla, the only exception being that accounts of the kings of the solar race occur in the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension about which we shall discuss later on. Thus it can be averred that the writer or compiler of this Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* was conversant with this Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension. Thus to stand to reason, it is evident that the information of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* sets aside the arguments in favour of placing Brahma-khaṇḍa just before it and hints at the correct arrangement of the several khaṇḍas of the *Padma-purāṇa*.

On a scrutinising analysis it can be observed that perhaps the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in its earlier form, was completely a work of the Rāmaites who took a fancy to this khaṇḍa and used it freely to propagate their views. They did not think suitable for them to follow the narration of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* at every step and to be guided always by those narrative elements of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki; on the other hand they have built up several stories which were quite different from that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and have introduced these in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in a very befitting manner. The innovations made by them and their deviations from the main *Rāmāyaṇa* will be discussed in their proper place.

The original portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Rāmaites describes primarily the later portion of Rāma's story which begins from his victory at Laṅkā and return from there to Ayodhyā after placing Vibhīṣhaṇa on the throne and extends upto the end of his Aśvamedha sacrifice or (if we take the evidence of the Bengal manuscripts of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa) upto the end of his life. In one place¹ it speaks of the six divisions of the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. Bāla, Āraṇyaka, Kishkindhā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara, and gives a very brief summary of the contents of each Kāṇḍa. It is to be noted here that although it does not mention the name of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, its summary of contents of the Bāla-Kāṇḍa from Daśaratha's Putreshtī sacrifice

1, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 66. 163-168.

down to Rāma's advent to Chitrakūṭa with Sītā and Lakshmaṇa, his refusal to go back to the capital even though entreated by Bharata and his abode at Nandigrāma includes the contents of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa also. The information about the number of ślokas of the *Rāmāyana* is also given in it¹. Thus we see that this portion was purely Rāmaite. But this Rāmaite influence on it was not made to be the alpha and omega of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. On the other hand, as is the case with most of the Purāṇas, this Rāmaite influence on the Pātāla-khaṇḍa did not find favour with the supporters of the other sects who in their spirit of adherence to their particular sects tried to replace the whole of the latter half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa with fanciful glorifications of Liṅga and Śiva who was according to them much superior to Rāma who often bowed down to the Great Omniscient and Omnipotent Lord Śiva. It is interesting to note that the first half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa (which ended in ch. 68 from the beginning of the Ānss. edition of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p*) was left untouched by the staunch Śaiva worshippers who perhaps did not venture to replace it on account of its growing popularity among the people. It is also possible that the original portions (by which we mean those portions which were written by the Rāmaites) actually ended with the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma (ch. 68) or with the passing of Rāma to heaven.² Thus the Liṅga-worshippers may not have altered the portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa following chap. 68 but added some new chapters of their own interest to the then recognised Pātāla-khaṇḍa as its latter half. It is evident that if a portion ends with Rāma's passing to heaven, it is self-contained and complete and needs no further additions; that this portion was spurious and superfluous is further proved by the Bengal manuscripts which do not contain a single line of these. In their zeal to propagate their view-points the Liṅga

1. *Chaturviṃśatisāhasraṁ śaḥ-kāṇḍa-paricikihnitam, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 66. 183a.*

2. The account of Rāma's passing to heaven is not found in any of the printed editions of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa*, but it is preserved in the Bengal Mss. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which give it in their first twenty-eight chapters

worshippers wrote some chapters and added these to the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in such a hopeless way that the spuriousness of these later chapters is easily observable. The following lines of this latter half show the complete disconnection of this half with the first half of the Rāmaites. It says that once Śaṅkara came to Ayodhyā to meet Rāma. The latter, after due reception and worship of Śaṅkara, asked Him to tell him about some Māhātmyas. He said, "The method of worshipping a liṅga; the glorifications of the same; praise of (uttering) the name of Maheśa and of worshipping, saluting and seeing Him; praise of giving water, offering incense, lamps, scents, etc., glorification of flowers; sanctifying narration or various anecdotes and historic tales; (discourses on) Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Moksha and the ways of attaining them— all these I wish to hear from you, O! Greatest of the great sages and one of celebrated vow".¹ But besides these this half deals with many other topics of interest such as bhasma-māhātmya etc., which have been introduced here and there in this half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. Here the sole endeavour of the liṅga-worshippers is confined to showing greatness of Śiva— His greater power than that of Rāma or Viṣṇu. It will be a matter of no mean interest to refer to some relevant verses to show how Rāma or Viṣṇu was much below the status of Śiva. While praising Śiva highly, Viṣṇu says "O Lord! I have devoutly worshipped you for a thousand years, daily with a thousand

1. *Liṅgārchana-prakāraṁ cha Liṅga-māhātmyam eva cha |*
Maheśanāma māhātmyaṁ pūjāmāhātmyam eva cha ||
namaskārasya māhātmyaṁ drishṭīmāhātmyam eva cha |
jaladānāsya māhātmyaṁ dhūpadānāsya sattama ||
dīpagandhādīdānāsya puṣpamāhātmyam eva cha |
nānākhyānetihāsānām kathām pāpa-praṇāsinīm ||
dharmārtha-kāmamokshāṁścha tadupāyāṁścha svrata |
tatsarvaṁ śrotumicchāmi tvatto munivarottama ||

Ibid. 100. 23-26

The verses from 23b-25a do not occur in the Vaṅga. ed. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. The Venkaṭ. ed. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa possesses all the verses, see Venkaṭ. ed. 104. 23-26.

lotuses, still you have not shown your feet to me.”¹ While Śiva and Viṣṇu were engaged in mirthful water sports many a time Viṣṇu was drowned by Śiva who jumped upon the shoulders of Viṣṇu, caught his head and made him sink.² It has been said that once while worshipping Śiva, Hari had offered his eyes to Him for want of flowers.³ Once in the body of Rāma there appeared a shadow of Maheśa four armed and three-eyed.⁴ After beautifully eulogising Śiva, Śrīviṣṇu fell down at the feet of Him⁵. Once Pārvatī rebuked Śiva. Hearing his blame, Viṣṇu who was present there was about to put an end to his life by tearing away his head with his nails as he did not like to live at a place where Śiva was decried; but he was prevented from doing so by Śiva Himself⁶. In ch. 112. vs. 181, Rāma glorifies Śiva with great respect. He recites fifty-seven names of Śiva (the name ‘śubhacharita’ has been mentioned twice) in address and bows down to him saying ‘namaste’ ‘namaste’. It has been said that as Rāma was not conversant with the Purāṇas, he had invited Śiva to teach him the Purāṇas; but it is interesting to note that although Śiva has approached Rāma for an instruction of the Purāṇas still Rāma asks him to tell him something about Liṅgārchanaprakāra etc. and the mähātmyas of the Purāṇas, although related, have been only of secondary importance. The Liṅga worshippers were so anxious of propagating their sectarian motive that they could not resist themselves from

1. Ibid. 110. 187.

*mayā varshasahasraṇ tu sahasrābjais-tathānvaham |
bhaktyā saṃpūjitopiśa pado na darśitas-tvayā ||*

2. Ibid. 110. 151b-152.

*atrāntre hareḥ skandham āruroha maheśvaraḥ |
haryuttamāṅgaṃ bāhubhyāṃ grīhitvā so nyamajjayat ||
unmajjayitvā cha punaḥ punaśchāpi punaḥ punaḥ |*

3. Ibid. 106. 34b. *puṣhpābhāve harir netram*

4. 101. 111.

*pratibimbam atho gātre rāmasya samadṛśiyata |
dṛishṭvaiva bimbitam sambhum chaturbāhum trilochanam ||*

5. Ibid. 101. 232b, “ityudīrya mahāviṣṇuḥ śivapāde papāta ha’; for the glorification see Ibid. 101. 191-232.

6. Ibid. 110. 267-270

saying that it is Maheśvara, who is the speaker of the *Padma-purāṇa* and in it the characteristics of the Pramathas have been described.¹ Thus they tried to convince the people that the whole of the *Padma-purāṇa* was originally a contribution of the Śaivaites. It is true that here and there stray references to the worship of Hari are not wanting², but these are very few in number and need no particular attention.

Thus we see how this part was utilised for propagating the sectarian doctrines of the Liṅga worshippers. But the compiler or writer of this half thought himself to be too clever, in as much as he, in order to give it the appearance of a portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story as dealt with in the first half, and in order to establish a link with the first-half, and to wipe out the marks of spuriousness in its character, had dealt at length with the *Rāmāyaṇa* story beginning from the birth of Rāma and three brothers down to his victorious return from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā after destruction of Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa and performance of his mother's Śrāddha sacrifice at Ayodhyā in a very gorgeous and befitting manner, introducing innumerable deviations³ from the original *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki. But he

1. Pātāla-khaṇḍa 109. 22,

'*purāṇam pādman.....maheśvareṇa kathitaṁ pramathakṛitvarṇanam*

2. See, e.g. *Ibid.*, 110-390

*'dhyānameva kṛite śreṣṭham tretāyām yajñameva cha
dvāpare chārchanam tishye dānam cha harikirtanam*

see also *Ibid.* 110. 430a etc.

3. According to this, Daśaratha had four wives, viz. Kauśalyā (mother of Rāma), Sumitrā (mother of Lakṣmaṇa), Surūpā (mother of Bharata), and Suvешā (mother of Śatrughna) (*Ibid.* 112. 26, 31). But before the birth of these sons, Daśaratha had a son who had been killed by a bear (*Ibid.* 112. 12.). Bālī had taken away Ruṇā, the lawful wife of Sugrīva (112. 160). Rāma had worshipped Śiva before the advent of his march to Laṅkā and Śiva told him to place His Pināka bow over the two sides of the ocean and advised him to walk over that bow and to cross the ocean. Rāma did the same (*Ibid.* 112. 180-191). Indrajit fell down from the sky while fighting there with Hanumān and Jāmbavān and then Lakṣhmaṇa killed him (*Ibid.* 112. 200-210). Atikāya told Rāma that if he would be able to pierce the wooden image of Pañchānana which is placed at the doorway of Laṅkā and cut it into five pieces, then there is a chance of Rāvaṇa being killed (112. 208). Kumbhakarṇa was killed after Rāvaṇa (112. 222-224). Besides these there are a few minor innovations which are of not such importance.

had perhaps not seen that the first portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Rāmaites did contain such matter as has been repeated in this portion. He had perhaps not also understood that this tautology or repetition would go against him and doubly prove the superfluosness and spuriousness of the second portion. Moreover, the author has not succeeded in creating a proper occasion for introducing this Rāmāyaṇa story.

Thus we see that the present Pātāla-khaṇḍa which was perhaps not so voluminous in the beginning was originally a contribution of the Rāmaites. Later the Liṅga worshippers took it and most injudiciously wrote some new chapters and added these to the same. But this was not the only change that was brought in to form the present day Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* A third and last attempt was made by the Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇavas to put a stamp of Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism on it by supplementing it with some new chapters of their own interest. In the second recast it has been shown how the Liṅga worshippers of the Pāśupata sect made Śiva to be eulogised by Rāma. Now in this third attempt of the Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇavas, the Liṅga-worshippers have been paid back in their own coin. Here it is seen that Pārvatī and Īśvara (i. e. Śiva) were glorifying the Māhātmyas and celebrity of Kṛiṣṇa and Rādhā, His eternal consort, and Vṛindāvana, their eternal blissful abode. Rādhā has been highly praised.

She is Śivānandā in Śivakuṇḍa, Nandinī in Dehikālātā, Rukmiṇī in Dvārāvati, Devakī in Mathurā, Sītā in Chandrakūṭa, Vindhyanivāsini in the Vindhyas, Viśālākshī in Vārāṇasī and Vimalā in Purushottama. But as Vṛindāvana is the resort of supreme bliss and Rādhā is eternal bliss as such, so it is highly justified that Vṛindāvana has been regarded as the suitable abode of the Supreme Being. The celebrity of Vṛindāvana has also been highly spoken of. It has been regarded as situated above this Brahmāṇḍa. It is much superior to ever blissful Vaikuṇṭha and other similar places of the universe. It is the playful abode of Lord Kṛiṣṇa and has been worshipped by the

devoted Vaishṇavas who are absolutely pure in mind. It is an outward expression of the Pūrṇa Brahma as such and an abode of charming Rasa of evershining bliss. Even Brahmā and other gods and the Siddhas pay homage to that Vṛindāvana. There is no anger, sense of egoism and of difference there. It is famous as it carries the touch of dust from the feet of Govinda. It is secret among secrets, pleasant, most sacred and ever blissful.¹

Thus we see the three attempts of the different sectaries to control this Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa.

(To be continued.)

पदार्थशक्तयो या यास्ता गौरीति विदुर्बुधाः ।
 शक्तिमन्तः पदार्था ये स च सर्वो महेश्वरः ॥
 गौरीरूपाणि सर्वाणि शरीराणि शरीरिणाम् ।
 शरीरिणस्तथा सर्वे शंकरांशा व्यवस्थिताः ॥

(लिङ्गपु०, उत्तरा०, अ० ११)

1. It should however be noted in this connection that the Bengal Mss. of the Pāt-kh. do not contain all these references as they end in ch. 80 of the Ānss. ed. of the Pāt-kh.

पुराणप्रसङ्गः

महामहोपाध्याय पं० मधुसूदन ओझा

[The accounts of cosmogony are known as Purāṇa, and the deeds of men are called Itihāsa. The Purāṇa-Vidyā dealing with the origin of the Universe is Śṛiṣṭi-Vidyā. It is fivefold ; (1) Knowledge about Creation and the Triple Worlds ; (2) Astronomy ; (3) Geography and Cosmology ; (4) Miscellaneous (Prāsaṅgika) and (5) Dynastic History. Each one of these is explained. Prāsaṅgika is fourfold, viz. Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Gāthā and Kalpaśuddhi, the last including the different metaphysical doctrines and religious cults. The eighteen Purāṇas are then classified into four groups. It is stated that from the point of view of contents the existing texts of the Purāṇas have got mingled up. Finally the Purāṇa is said to be 'Vedānām Vedam', that is a veritable source of information about the Veda itself.]

विज्ञानशास्त्रे प्रतिपादनीये लोकेतिवृत्तस्य भवत्यपेक्षा ।
तच्चेतिवृत्तं द्विविधं पुराणेतिहासभेदात् प्रवदन्ति वृद्धाः ॥ १ ॥
यद् विश्वसृष्टेरितिवृत्तमासीत् पुरातनं तद्वि पुराणमाहुः ।
यच्चेतनानां तु नृणां चरित्रं पृथक् कृतं स्यात् स इहेतिहासः ॥ २ ॥
अनाद्यनन्तं यदिह प्रदृश्यते विश्वं विचित्रं बहुरूपमद्भुतम् ।
कदा कथं वा तदभूत् कुतः कुतस्तदित्थमग्रे बहुभिर्विचारितम् ॥ ११ ॥
तद् विश्वसृष्टेर्बहुधा निरूपणं पुरातनं यत्कृतमादिसूरिभिः ।
सा सृष्टिविद्येह पुराणसंज्ञया ख्याता विभक्ता बहुधा च पंचधा ॥ २ ॥

१ ज्योतिश्चक्रं २ च भुवनकोशश्च ।
३ त्रैलोक्यविश्वविद्या ४ प्रासंगिकं च वंशावली, पुराणं तु पंचविधम् ॥ ३ ॥

या विश्वसृष्टिविद्या साऽष्टादशधा परिच्छिन्ना ।
 सृष्टिपरिच्छेदानां पुराणसंज्ञा पुराणत्वात् ॥ ४ ॥
 ग्रहनक्षत्रज्ञानं ताराविज्ञान - गोलविज्ञाने ।
 स्मारकचरित्रकल्पसिज्योतिश्चक्रं खगोलविद्याऽस्ति ॥ ५ ॥
 वर्षविभागो गिरि-वन-समुद्र-नद्यः सरांसि चाखाताः ।
 नगरस्थानावासा भूमितिरिस्थं च भुवनकोशोऽस्ति ॥ ६ ॥

१ २ ३ ४

आख्यानोपाख्याने गाथा अथ कल्पशुद्धिश्च ।
 प्रासंगिकं चतुर्धा प्रश्नसमाधिप्रसंगतोऽधीतम् ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रौतः स्मार्तः समयश्चाचारो धर्मभेदास्ते ।
 नानोपासनभेदा दर्शनभेदाश्च कल्पशुद्धिरिह ॥ ८ ॥
 स्वायंभुवादिषण्मनुवंशाः वैवस्वतो वंशः ।
 सूर्याग्निचन्द्रवंशा उक्ता वंशावलिग्रन्थे ॥ ९ ॥

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६

ब्रह्मा षड्मं विष्णुर्वायुश्चापश्च नारदश्चेति ।
 षट्कं सृष्टेरुक्थं ब्रह्मादीनां परं परं तूक्थम् ॥ १० ॥
 ७ ८ ९ १०

त्रैगुण्यमग्निसूर्यौ ब्रह्मविवर्तोऽन्य उक्थमतभेदाः ।
 प्रकृतेरग्नेः सूर्यात् सृष्टिरियं ब्रह्मणो विवर्तो वा ॥ ११ ॥
 ११ १२ १३ १४ १५ १६

लिंगं वराह - वामन - कुमार - कूर्माश्च मत्स्यश्च ।
 एते षष्ट् त्ववताराः सन्ति विराजोऽनु सृष्टिविधाः ॥ १२ ॥
 संचरतः प्रतिसंचरकर्म्मार्थोत्क्रान्त्यनुत्क्रान्ती ।

१७

अपि संपरायविद्या गरुडपुराणे पुनर्जन्म ॥ १३ ॥
 विश्वस्य रूपमस्ति ब्रह्माण्डं, तस्य यादृशी संस्था ।

१८

तत्र यथा ये लोकास्तदिदं सर्वं पुराणेऽन्ये ॥ १४ ॥

एवं पुराणमेकं कृष्णद्वैपायनेन संग्रथितम् ।
वेदग्रन्थादुद्धृतमष्टादशखण्डतः परिच्छिन्नम् ॥ १५ ॥

प्रचलितपुराणग्रंथानामेकैकस्मिन् सर्वपुराणार्थानां सांकर्यम् ।

पौराणसंहिता सा सूतेनासीत् प्रचारिता लोके ।
तिस्रोऽन्यसंहिता अपि शिष्यैः सूतस्य निर्मिता अभवन् ॥ १ ॥
पौराणिकस्तु सूतः स रोमहर्षण इति श्रुतस्तेन ।
सप्त पुराणग्रन्थाः षट्संवादिप्रकारतो रचिताः ॥ २ ॥
उग्रश्रवास्तु सौतिः पुनर्द्वितीयं व्यधाच्चतुर्थं च ।
अपि पंचमं स चक्रे शेषपुराणानि चाष्टमादीनि ॥ ३ ॥
तस्मात् पद्मपुराणं द्विविधं द्विविधं चतुर्थं च ।
द्विविधं च पंचमं तच्छेषाणां ग्रन्थ एकैकः ॥ ४ ॥
प्रश्नानुसारतस्तु ग्रन्थेष्वेषु प्रवर्तमानेषु ।
अन्यपुराणार्था अपि सर्वे सर्वत्र सन्ति संकीर्णाः ॥ ५ ॥
एतत् पुराणशास्त्रं ह्युपजीव्यं सर्वशास्त्राणाम् ।
वेदानामपि वेदं पुराणमितिहासमप्याहुः ॥ ६ ॥
वेदः शास्त्रं तदिदं कदाभवत् कोऽत्र वा विषयः ।
केन च निर्मितमेतज्ज्ञानं शास्त्रस्य शास्त्रं स्यात् ॥ ७ ॥
प्रत्यर्थं या भातिर्या चास्ति सोपलब्धिरपि वेदः ।
स कदा कथमभवद्वा तज्ज्ञानं वेदवेदः स्यात् ॥ ८ ॥
सन्ति पुराणसमीक्षाग्रन्थं विशदं प्रदर्शिता एते ।
सर्वे विषयास्तस्मिन् दृश्यन्तामिह तु संक्षेपः ॥ ९ ॥

विश्वसंस्थाचतुष्टयम् ।

इह तावदाधिभौतिकमस्ति खलु ब्रह्मचरितमालोच्यम् ।
तदुपोद्बलकतथैवाधिदैविकं ब्रह्मचरितमाकलये ॥ १ ॥
यद् दृश्यते विश्वमिदं तदेतत् पिण्डाण्डभूमक्रमतस्त्रिधास्ति ।
पृथ्वी प्रतिष्ठात्र पशुद्रुजन्तुग्रामस्तदित्थं द्विविधोऽस्ति पिण्डः ॥ २ ॥

ततश्चतुःसंस्थमिदं हि विश्वं भूमाण्डभूपिण्डशरीरपिण्डैः ।
 आत्मा चतुर्धाऽस्ति ततोऽनुपाख्यो हिरण्यगर्भोऽथ च धिष्ण्यहृद्यौ ॥ ३ ॥
 यो दैहिकस्तेजस एष हृद्यो धिष्ण्यः पृथ्व्यादिषु योऽन्तरस्थः ।
 हिरण्यगर्भोऽण्डगतोऽस्ति सूर्योऽव्ययोऽनुपाख्यो विरजो द्युपृष्ठे ॥ ४ ॥
 पिण्डे शरीरे हृदयस्थ आत्मा धातून् सृजत्यस्थिपलासृगादीन् ।
 एवं पृथिव्या अपि नभ्य आत्मा धातून् सृजत्यन्नकगन्धकादीन् ॥ ५ ॥
 ब्रह्माण्डनभ्यो रविरेष आत्मा ज्योतिश्च गामायुरुताण्डधातून् ।
 यथा सृजत्येवमसावनन्तः - सूर्यक्षमेन्दुप्रभृतीन् ससर्ज ॥ ६ ॥
 सृष्टिश्च तत्र प्रतिसृष्टिरेवं पुनः पुनः संभवति स्वभावात् ।
 प्रत्यर्थभेदाद् प्रतिसूर्यभेदाद् व्यष्ट्या समष्ट्या प्रलयोदयौ स्तः ॥ ७ ॥

[From his *Jagad-guru-vaibhavam*, pp. 4-6.]

PADMINĪ VIDYĀ OF THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA PURĀṆA

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

['पद्मिनीविद्या'नामेदं वर्णनं मार्कण्डेयपुराणे (अ० ६८) लभ्यते अत्र देवी श्रीलक्ष्मीरेव पद्मिनीत्यभिधीयते । साऽष्टानां निधीनामधिष्ठात्री देवी, सर्वेषां भोगानामुपपादिका च । अस्मिन् लेखे तस्या विद्याया इतिहासपरा व्याख्या प्रस्तूयते । गुप्ताभिधाने स्वर्णयुगेऽस्मिन् राष्ट्रे पूर्वापराभ्यां समुद्राभ्यामानीय महान् स्वर्णराशिः संचितः । लोके सर्वत्र तस्य वितरणं संजातम् । तस्यैव यानि विविधानि रूपाणि तामाढ्यताम् एकैकेन निधिना वर्णयन्ति तेषां सुस्पष्ट-मुपलक्षणं पुराणकारेण प्रदत्तम्]

Chapter 68 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa contains an account of the Padminī Vidyā, which although cast in a mythical mould really describes the ideals of wealth and richness as entertained in the Golden Age of the Guptas. It is stated that king Svarochis, lustrous as the immortals, accompanied by his wives, enjoyed life in fulness. His knowledge of the Padminī brought the Eight Nidhis in his power, which secured for him gems for every kind of enjoyment, sweet melodies, garlands, raiments, ornaments, richly scented unguents, brilliant golden seats according to desire, golden pots and vessels, and also beds of diverse kinds arrayed with heavenly coverings.¹ Here ten items of enjoyment of the best quality are enumerated

- १ ततः स ताभिः सहितः पत्नीभिरमरद्युतिः ।
रराम तस्मिन् शैलेन्द्रे रम्यकानननिर्झरे ॥ १
- सर्वोपभोगरत्नानि मधूनि मधुराणि च ।
निधयः समुपाजहुः पद्मिन्या वशवर्तिनः ॥ २
- स्रजो वस्त्राण्यलंकारान् गन्धाढ्यमनुलेपनम् ।
आसनान्यतिशुभ्राणि काञ्चनानि यथेच्छया ॥ ३
- सौवर्णानि महाभाग करकानि भाजनानि च ।
तथा शय्याश्च विविधा दिव्यैरास्तरणैर्दृताः ॥ ४

(मार्कण्डेय पुराण, अ० ६५)

which then constituted the paraphernalia of *Bhoga* for wealthy persons.

Svarochis continued to enjoy the pleasures of sense with his wives, until he was awakened to the illusory nature of life. He then, by the power of the Padminī, which accomplishes all pleasures, built for his three sons three cities conducive of all enjoyments. The poet then records a concise statement of the ideal of *Bhoga* as the Gupta citizens looked upon it :

‘What time is unfit for pleasures? The world is all composed of pleasures. Brāhmaṇas with souls subdued perform *Yajñas* in order to get pleasures. Moreover people of discrimination (*vivekinah*), being eager for pleasures experienced and not yet experienced, give alms (*dāna*) and perform the full round of righteous acts (*pūrṇa-dharma*). Pleasure is the reward of effort among men (भोगश्चेष्टाफलं नृणाम्, मार्क० 66. 33-55).

The two ideals of कर्मभूमि and भोगभूमि are often referred to in the Purāṇas. Bhārata is कर्मभूमि and स्वर्ग is भोगभूमि, and even the gods wish to be born in Bhārata to earn new merits for potential enjoyment. Kālidāsa speaks of a prosperous kingdom as being the very heaven on earth :

ऋद्धं हि राज्यं पदमैन्द्रमाहुः । (रघुवंश II. 50)

The *Varāṅga-charita* of Jaṭānandi, a beautiful poem of the seventh century, gives a charming description of भोगभूमि and कर्मभूमि respectively in cantos VII and VIII.

Padminī is defined as the knowledge which brings all pleasures or secures all enjoyments :—

पद्मिनी नाम या विद्या सर्वभोगोपपादिका । (मार्क० ६६।७)

Secondly Padminī achieves this happy condition by putting all the Eight Nidhis within the power of the individual :

सर्वोपभोगरत्नानि मधूनि मधुराणि च ।
निधयः समुपाजहूः पद्मिन्या वशवर्तिनः ॥ (मार्क० ६५।२)

Further clarifying the notion of Padminī it is stated that the presiding deity of the Padminī Vidyā is Lakshmī and the Nidhis are its supporters :

पद्मिनी नाम या विद्या लक्ष्मीस्तस्याश्च देवता ।

तदाधाराश्च निधयस्तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ॥ (मार्क० ६८।२)

Goddess Śrī Lakshmī was the family deity of the Gupta emperors who styled themselves as *Parama-bhāgavata*. She is represented on the reverse of the coins of Gupta kings like Samudragupta, Chandragupta Vikramāditya, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, in both seated and standing poses with several attributes like lotus, cornucopia ('the horn of plenty'), etc. (A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 370-371). This feature of gold coinage continued as a legacy well nigh into the medieval period up to the time of Gāṅgeyadeva of the Kalachuri dynasty. This goddess was very popular in the Golden Age of the Guptas and has also been found depicted on numerous clay sealings and stone reliefs and statuettes. She became the symbol of the vast wealth amassed by the people in the Gupta period. For several centuries a steady stream of gold had been pouring into India both from the Dvīpāntara or the Indonesian islands in the east and the provinces of the Roman empire in the west through a sea-faring commerce in which the Indian merchants and navigators took a leading part. Kalīdāsa sings of this unprecedented opulence as being due to a rain of gold from above (हिरण्यमयीं कोषग्रहस्य मध्ये वृष्टिं शशंसुः पतितान् नभस्तः । Raghuvamśa, 5. 29). This motif is also referred to in the Divyāvadāna where in the kingdom of king Mandhātā a similar phenomenon of *Hiranya-varsha* takes place for a full week (वृष्टं मे सप्ताहमन्तःपुरे हिरण्यवर्षम्, Cowell's edn., pp. 213-214). A similar motif is mentioned in the Harshacharita (महाकनकावदातां वसुधारासिद्धयौः, N. S. edn., p. 134). The Śānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata records the Rain of Gold motif in a rather elaborate form :—

सुहोत्रं चेद् वैतिथिनं मृतं सञ्जय शुश्रुम ।

यस्मै हिरण्यं ववृषे मघवान् परिवत्सरम् ॥ २२ ॥

सत्यनामा वसुमती यं प्राप्यासीज्जनाधिप ।
 हिरण्यमवहन्नद्यस्तस्मिन्ननपदेश्वरे ॥ २३ ॥
 कूर्मान् कर्कटकान् नक्रान् मकराञ्छिशुकानपि ।
 नदीष्वपातयद्राजन् मघवा लोकपूजितः ॥ २४ ॥
 हैरण्यान् पतितान् दृष्ट्वा मत्स्यान् मकरकच्छपान् ।
 सहस्रशोऽथ शतशस्ततोऽस्मयत वैतिथिः ॥ २५ ॥

(षोडशराजकीय, ch. 29, Poona edn.)

This version of the Shodaśa-rājakiya [Sixteen Great Kings] seems to have been grafted on this Parvan in a subsequent redaction, probably that of the Golden Age. The *Hiraṇya-varsha* was a typical literary motif of that period.

The Padminī Vidyā became popular a symbol of this inundation of the yellow metal amongst rich merchants, landlords and potentates, etc. It is conceived of as a conglomerate of the Eight Treasures (*Aṣṭa-nidhis*) distributed amongst the several classes of moneyed men in society :

यत्र पद्ममहापद्मौ तथा मकरकच्छपौ ।
 मुकुन्दो नन्दकश्चैव नीलः शंखोऽष्टमो निधिः ॥
 सत्यामृद्धौ भवन्त्येते सिद्धिस्तेषां हि जायते ।

(मार्क० ६८-५-६)

Wherever there is prosperity (*satyām riddhau*) one or more of these Nidhis are at the root of that good fortune. As a result of divine favour (*devatānām prasādena*) and of attendance on virtuous people (*sādhu-samīsevanena*) a man acquires wealth in the form of these Nidhis.

The poet then selects the eight most opulent professions and associates each one with a Nidhi, giving a vivid picture of the typical economic avocations of that age as follows :

1. पद्म—Firstly the Padmanidhi typifies the wealth of those who amass immense quantities of gold, silver, and other metals. This was the class of shroffs

or members of merchant guilds dealing in gold and silver (vs. 10-11), of what is now called the *Sarāfa bazār* and which in ancient times was known as the class of Śresṭhins and Mahājanas. These often enjoy hereditary richness and are the persons who institute *yajñas* with abundant *dakṣiṇā*, and build temples and mansions (*devaniketa* and *sabhā*). These are men of trustworthy character, perfect politeness and sincerity (दाक्षिण्यसार, सत्त्वाधार, सार्विक).

2. महापद्म —The second Nidhi is Mahāpadma. Its possessor is a person of profound goodness (सत्त्वप्रधान) and his *tour de force* is his uprightness and courage (सत्त्वाधार). He deals in precious stones and gems like rubies (पद्मरागादि रत्न), pearls and corals (मौक्तिक, प्रवाल). He patronises devoted persons by building religious establishments for them. This refers to families of distinguished jewellers, whose reputation was hereditary and is said to have lasted for seven generations (पूर्वदिमात्रः सप्तासौ पुरुषांश्च न मुञ्चति, vs. 16).
3. मकर— The third Nidhi is Makara, having some vile association, although the person who owns it may be of good temperament (सुशील). Such a one gathers a store of arrows, swords, spears, bows, shields and noose (*raśanā*), and seeks friendship with kings and warriors. He finds pleasure in buying and selling weapons as in nothing else. This is rather a unique reference to merchants dealing in military stores, whose wealth is said to have lasted for only a single generation, and not descended to their progeny.
4. कच्छप—The fourth Nidhi called Kachchhapa has in view the type of a rich man who has amassed great wealth but 'who does not give nor enjoy himself, being afraid of losing it' (न ददाति न वा भुंक्ते तद्विनाशभयाकुलः). He is extremely self-centred: 'Just as a tortoise draws all his limbs in, so drawing in all his

thoughts he remains with a selfish mind and confides in no one, not even his own agents (कर्मस्थानखिलांश्चैव न विश्वसिति कर्हिचित् । समस्तानि यथांगानि संहरत्येव कच्छपः ॥ तथारिष्टस्वचित्तानि तिष्ठत्यायत्तमानसः). Such a one buries his wealth under the earth¹ and his riches are for one generation only, for after him his descendants spend quickly and squander with vengeance. The *Dhārtaviṭṭasānīvāda* Bhāṣa of Iśvaradatta, a monologue play of the Gupta period, refers to a rich person of such stingy habits by the epithet हैम कूर्म, who when approached with affectionate looks by lovely women, further tightens the strings of his purse, — such a fellow is accursed to a life of gloom like the setting sun (हैमः कूर्म इवावसीदति शनैः संक्षिप्तपादो रविः, verse 70). As the Purāṇa states, his mind remains steeped in darkness (तमःप्रधानो भवति यतोऽसौ तामसो निधिः).

5. मुकुन्द—The fifth Nidhi called Mukunda aims at a person who is heir to untold wealth earned and amassed by his forefathers ; he is not required to earn himself, and is free to devote his leisure to fine arts like music, dance, drama, poetry, etc. 'He gathers together musical instruments as वीणा, वेणु, मृदंग; he bestows wealth on singers and dancers, and on minstrels and bards, and those who are skilled in drama ; he bestows pleasures on them day and night, and enjoys life with them as companions.' This Nidhi was also believed to last for a single generation. In terms of natural temperament, such a person tends to display Rājasic qualities.

6. नन्द—The sixth Nidhi called Nanda has in view the wealthy persons represented by the class of landlords, like *zemindārs*, *talugdārs*, *thikānādars*, *bhogikas*, *sāmantas*,

1. निधानमुर्व्या कुरुते (vs. 24) is not understood by Pargiter who translates : 'He makes his resting place on the earth'. *Nidhāna* was a well-known term for 'buried treasure', 'treasure trove.'

etc. 'They are the support of their own family and of guests and visitors ; they like to be praised by their bards and cannot brook even small insult. Such persons often enjoy a big harem. They build within their homes big stores of grain, precious stones and metals; they are of haughty temper.' This wealth lasts for seven generations, and confers long life on its owners. Such a person is not much interested in the affairs of the other world.

7. नील—The seventh Nidhi, known as Nila, refers to the class of merchants who do business in general merchandise and building stores., e. g. clothes, cotton, grain, fruits, flowers, pearls, corals, shells, and other similar objects, also timber and other materials. 'He constructs, ponds (तडाग) and tanks (पुष्करिणी) and gardens for pleasure (आराम) ; he makes embankments across rivers (बन्धश्च सरितां) and plants trees. He likes enjoying unguents, flowers and such objects of delight.' This kind of wealth abides for three generations.
8. शंख—The eighth Nidhi is named Śaṅkha, composed of passion and ignorance, enveloping the owner in *rajas* and *tamas*. It has reference to a tight-fisted person of extreme miserliness and despicable nature : 'It is when quite alone that he enjoys food and clothing such as himself has made ; his family eat wretched food and wear miserable clothing ; he makes no gift to friend, wife, brother, son, daughter-in-law or other relatives. He is intent on his own fattening (स्वपोषणपरः).

Each of the above Nidhis is the देवता or presiding deity of that particular kind of wealth. They blend mutually and produce diversified combinations.

As sovereign over them all, presides the goddess Padminī-Śrī or Padmā-Śrī :

सर्वेषामाधिपत्ये च श्रीरेषा द्विज पद्मिनी ।^१

(मार्क० ६८।४६).

पद्मिनीविद्या

(Mārka. Purāṇa, Ch. 68)

क्रौष्टुकिरुवाच ।

भगवन् कथितं सर्वं विस्तरेण त्वया मम ।
स्वरोचिषस्तु चरितं जन्म स्वरोचिषस्य तु ॥ १ ॥
या तु सा पद्मिनी नाम विद्या भोगोपपादिका ।
तत्संश्रया ये निधयस्तान् मे विस्तरतो वद ॥ २ ॥
अष्टौ ये निधयस्तेषां स्वरूपं द्रव्यसंस्थितिः ।
भवतामिहितं सम्यक् श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं गुरो ॥ ३ ॥

मार्कण्डेय उवाच ।

पद्मिनी नाम या विद्या लक्ष्मीस्तस्याश्च देवता ।
तदाधाराश्च निधयस्तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ॥ ४ ॥
यत्र पद्ममहापद्मौ तथा मकरकच्छपौ ।
मुकुन्दो नन्दकञ्चैव नीलः शंखोऽष्टमो निधिः ॥ ५ ॥
सत्यामृद्धौ भवन्त्येते सिद्धिस्तेषां हि जायते ।
एते ह्यष्टौ समाख्याता निधयस्तव क्रौष्टुके ॥ ६ ॥
देवतानां प्रसादेन साधुसंसेवनेन च ।
एभिरालोकितं वित्तं मानुषस्य सदा मुने ॥ ७ ॥
यादृक् स्वरूपं भवति तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ।
पद्मो नाम निधिः पूर्वं मयस्य भवति द्विज ॥ ८ ॥
सुतस्य तत्सुतानां च तत्पौत्राणां च नित्यशः ।
दाक्षिण्यसारः पुरुषस्तेन चाधिष्ठितो भवेत् ॥ ९ ॥
सत्त्वाधारो महाभोगो यतोऽसौ सात्त्विको निधिः ।
सुवर्णरूप्यताम्रादिधातूनां च परिग्रहम् ॥ १० ॥
करोत्यतितरां सोऽथ तेषां च क्रयविक्रयम् ।
करोति च तथा यज्ञान् दक्षिणां च प्रयच्छति ॥ ११ ॥
सर्वां देवनिकेतांश्च स कारयति तन्मनाः ।
सत्त्वाधारी निधिश्चान्यो महापद्म इति श्रुतः ॥ १२ ॥
सत्त्वप्रधानो भवति तेन चाधिष्ठितो नरः ।
करोति पद्मरागादिरत्नानां च परिग्रहम् ॥ १३ ॥

मौक्तिकानां प्रवालानां तेषां च क्रयविक्रयान् ।
 ददाति योगशीलेभ्यस्तेषामावसथास्तथा ॥ १४ ॥
 स कारयति तच्छीलः स्वयमेव च जायते ।
 तत् प्रसूतास्तथाशीलाः पुत्रपौत्रक्रमेण च ॥ १५ ॥
 पूर्वद्धिमात्रः सप्तसौ पुरुषाश्च न मुञ्चति ।
 तामसो मकरो नाम निधिस्तेनावलोकितः ॥ १६ ॥
 पुरुषोऽथ तमःप्रायः सुशीलोऽपि हि जायते ।
 बाणखड्गर्षिष्ट धनुषां चर्मणां च परिग्रहम् ॥ १७ ॥
 रसनानां च कुरुते याति मैत्रीं च राजभिः ।
 ददाति शौर्यवृत्तीनां भूभुजां ये च तत्प्रियाः ॥ १८ ॥
 क्रयविक्रयं च शस्त्राणां नान्यत्र प्रीतिमेति च ।
 एकस्यैव भवत्येष न च तस्यानुयानगः ॥ १९ ॥
 द्रव्यार्थं दस्युतो नाशं संग्रामे चापि स त्रजेत् ।
 कच्छपश्च निधिर्योसौ नरस्तेनाभिर्वीक्षितः ॥ २० ॥
 तमःप्रधानो भवति यतोऽसौ तामसो निधिः ।
 व्यवहारानशेषांस्तु पुण्यजातैः करोति च ॥ २१ ॥
 कर्मस्थानखिलांश्चैव न विद्वसिति कस्यचित् ।
 समस्तानि यथांगानि संहरत्येव कच्छपः ॥ २२ ॥
 तथारिष्टस्वचित्तानि तिष्ठत्यायत्तमानसः ।
 न ददाति न वा भुङ्क्ते तद्विनाशभयाकुलः ॥ २३ ॥
 निधानमुर्व्यां कुरुते निधिः सोऽप्येकपूरुषः ।
 रजोगुणमयश्चान्यो मुकुन्दो नाम यो निधिः ॥ २४ ॥
 नरोऽवलोकितस्तेन तद्गुणो भवति द्विज ।
 वीणावेणुमृदंगानामातोद्यस्य परिग्रहम् ॥ २५ ॥
 करोति गायतां वित्तं नृत्यतां च प्रयच्छति ।
 वन्दिनामथ सूतानां विद्यानां लास्यपाठिनाम् ॥ २६ ॥
 ददात्यहर्निशं भोगान् भुङ्क्ते तैश्च समं द्विज ।
 कुलटास्वरतिश्चास्य भवत्यन्यैश्च तद्विधैः ॥ २७ ॥
 प्रयाति सङ्गमेकं च यं निधिर्भजते नरम् ।
 रजस्तमोमयश्चान्यो नन्दो नाम महानिधिः ॥ २८ ॥
 उपैति स्तम्भमधिकं नरस्तेनावलोकितः ।
 समस्तधातुरत्नानां पुण्यधान्यादिकस्य च ॥ २९ ॥
 परिग्रहं करोत्येष तथैव क्रयविक्रयम् ।
 आधारः स्वजनानां च आगताभ्यागतस्य च ॥ ३० ॥

सहते नापमानोक्तिं स्वल्पामपि महामुने ।
 स्तूयमानश्च महतीं प्रीतिं बध्नाति यच्छति ॥ ३१ ॥
 यं यमिच्छति वै कामं मृदुत्वमुपयाति च ।
 ब्रह्मयो भार्या भवन्त्यस्य सूतिमत्योऽतिशोभनाः ॥ ३२ ॥
 रतये सप्त च नराब्धिर्नन्दोऽनुवर्तते ।
 प्रवर्द्धमानोऽथ नरमष्टभागेन सत्तम ॥ ३३ ॥
 दीर्घायुष्ट्वं च सर्वेषां पुरुषाणां प्रयच्छति ।
 बन्धूनामेव भरषं ये च दूरादुपागताः ॥ ३४ ॥
 तेषां करोति वै नन्दः परलोके न चादतः ।
 भवत्यस्य न च रनेहः सहवासिषु जायते ॥ ३५ ॥
 पूर्वमित्रेषु शैथिल्यं प्रीतिमन्यैः करोति च ।
 तथैव सत्वरजसी यो विभर्ति महानिधिः ॥ ३६ ॥
 स नीलसंज्ञस्तत्सङ्गी नरस्तच्छीलवान् भवेत् ।
 वल्लकार्पासधान्यादिफलपुष्पपरिग्रहम् ॥ ३७ ॥
 मुक्ताविद्रुमशंखानां शुक्तयादीनां तथा मुने ।
 काष्ठादीनां करोत्येष यच्चान्यज्जलसम्भवम् ॥ ३८ ॥
 क्रयविक्रयमन्येषां नान्यत्र रमते मनः ।
 तडागान् पुष्करिण्योऽथ तथारामान् करोति च ॥ ३९ ॥
 अनुलेपनपुष्पादिभागं भुक्त्वाभिजायते ॥ ४० ॥
 त्रिपौरुषश्चापि निधिर्नीलो नामैष जायते ।
 रजस्तमोमयश्चान्यः शंखसंज्ञो हि यो निधिः ॥ ४१ ॥
 तेनापि नीयते विप्र तद्गुणित्वं निधीश्वरः ।
 एकस्यैव भवत्येष नरं नान्यमुपैति च ॥ ४२ ॥
 यस्य शंखो निधिस्तस्य स्वरूपं क्रोष्टुके शृणु ।
 एक एवात्मना सृष्टमन्नं भुङ्क्ते तथाम्बरम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 कदन्नभुक् परिजनो न च शोभनवल्लभृक् ।
 न ददाति सुहृद्भार्याभ्रातृपुत्रस्तृषादिषु ॥ ४४ ॥
 स्वपोषणपरः शंखो नरो भवति सर्वदा ।
 इत्येते निधयः ख्याता नराणामर्थदेवताः ॥ ४५ ॥
 मिश्रावलोकनान्मिश्राः स्वभावफलदायिनः ।
 यथाख्यातस्वभावस्तु भवत्येव विलोकनात् ॥
 सर्वेषामधिपत्ये च श्रीरेषा द्विज पद्मिनी ॥ ४६ ॥

YAKSHA WORSHIP IN VARANASI :
MATSYAPURĀṆA (Ch. 180)

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA AND MOTICHANDRA

[अस्मिन् लेखे मत्स्यपुराणान्तर्गतवाराणसीमाहात्म्यस्याङ्गभूताया यक्ष-
पूजाया ऐतिहासिकी मीमांसा क्रियते । तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे प्राक् कालात् यक्षाणां
पूजा प्रचलिताऽऽसीत्, तामुत्खाय शिवपूजा हरिकेशवयक्षेण प्रतिष्ठापिता ।
नानायक्षाः शिवगणाः संजाताः । हरिकेशवयक्षश्च संप्रत्यपि 'हरसू वरम' नाम्ना
यक्षपूजाविधिना काशिक्षेत्रे पूज्यते ।]

The worship of the Yakshas as a folk-cult was of great anti-
quity and goes back to the Vedic period. In the Purāṇas also,
the Yakshas as a class of deities play an important part, but
the available references seem to indicate that the Yaksha cult
had receded into the background in the face of the emergence
of the well-known Purāṇic gods like Viṣṇu, Rudra and
Brahmā. There is in the Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 180, Ānandā-
śrama edition) evidence which is of value to indicate how the
Yaksha cult was superseded by the expanding worship of Śiva.

The legend is that Yaksha Pūrṇabhadra was the king
of Yakshas. His son was Harikeśa Yaksha, a devout fellow,
who pinned his faith in Śiva. His father, Pūrṇabhadra,
became enraged and spoke to his son as follows:—'My dear,
this conduct of yours does not fit in with the Yaksha tradition.
You should not follow this line. Yakshas naturally are fond
of flesh and blood and given to violence. It does not behove
you to act like a human being.' When Harikeśa did not
submit to his father's admonition, he was turned out of his
home. Thereupon he came to Vārāṇasī, and engaged himself
in austerities for a thousand years with his mind intent on Śiva.
Ultimately Śiva became pleased with his devotion and asked
him to choose a boon. Harikeśa requested for himself a

permanent stay in Varanasi, which was granted by Śiva. He was appointed the Kshetrapāla of Kāśī and four other Yakshas were appointed as his assistants, namely Tryaksha, Dandapāni, Udbhrama and Sambhrama.

In another place (Matsya, ch. 183) names of other Yakshas are enumerated who had attained the status of the gaṇas of Śiva, e. g. Vināyaka, Kūshmānda, Gajatuṇḍa, Jayanta, Madotkāṭa, Nandī, Mahākāla, Chandaghaṇṭa, Maheśvara, Dandachandēśvara, and Ghaṇṭākarna, together with others of grotesque (विक्रट) and dwarfish form (कुब्ज, वामन), or others having the head of a lion or of a tiger and of pot-bellied or gigantic appearance. It is stated that they were appointed as the guardian attendants of Avimukta ('रक्षन्ति सततं देवि ह्यविमुक्तं तपोवनम्' 183. 66). It is also recorded that they practically existed in every household (द्वारे द्वारे च तिष्ठन्ति शूलमुद्गरपाणयः, ibid. 183. 66).

Several important facts of religious history lie concealed behind the veneer of this story. Firstly, that at one time Harikeśa Yaksha was held in high esteem and worshipped in the Kāśī Janapada. Secondly, this Harikeśa belonged to the cult of Yaksha Pūrṇabhaddra whose worship was of wide distribution, and who was regarded as one of the leading Yaksha companions of Kubera according to the unanimous tradition of the Mahābhārata and the Buddhist and Jain texts. Thirdly, this Yaksha worship was an extremely popular folk-cult with a universal belief in its favour, and this worship covered practically every household either in the form of images or figures painted on the doorway as protective deities.

In the fourth place, the story makes it clear that a landslide occurred against the Yaksha tradition which was supplanted by the rising cult of Śiva, and in this transition Harikeśa who was himself a Yaksha and also the son of a Yaksha king is made the instrument of change, so that the followers of the Yaksha cult meekly accepted and reconciled themselves to the emergence of Śaiva worship.

The story shows further that the Yaksha worship was not violently eradicated, but as has often happened, it was assimilated by the new cult of Śiva and given a place of honour within its orbit. The worshippers of Yakshas and those of Śiva became reconciled to each other. The Yaksha cult was given a definite and orderly place as an integral part of the Śaiva religion, and all the Yakshas were recognised as the Gaṇas and Pārshadas of Śiva. The Matsya Purāṇa goes to the extent of stating that even Kubera, the great Yaksha king gave up all his orgies and attained to the status of the lord of Gaṇas by merely his stay in the Vārāṇasī Kshetra :—

कुबेरस्तु महायक्षस्तथा सर्वापितक्रियः ।

क्षेत्रसंवसनादेव गणेशत्वमवाप ह ॥ (Matsya, 180-62.)

The struggle for supremacy between the Yaksha and Śaiva cults would naturally have taken a long period, and the final triumph of Śaivism in Vārāṇasī may be assigned to the Gupta period when the complete religious reorganisation of Vārāṇasī was achieved in terms of the numerous Śiva līṅgas of which a list occurs in the Kāśī-khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa.

Important archaeological evidence comes to our aid in support of the above hypothesis. A number of clay sealings of the Gupta period found in the excavations at Rājghāṭ, the site of ancient Vārāṇasī, are inscribed with the names of numerous Śiva līṅgas which also occur in the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa.

The story of Harikeśa Yaksha also occurs in the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa (ch. 32), but in a revised version where both father and son (Pūrṇabhadra and Harikeśa) are depicted as devotees of Śiva, and even the birth of the son is said to be the fruit of तपस् performed by Pūrṇabhadra in devotion to Śiva. The writer of this version had lost the intimations of the old story of the Matsya Purāṇa where it is expressly stated that bloody offering formed an essential part of the Yaksha cult :—

गुह्यका वत यूयं वै स्वभावात् क्रूरचेतसः ।

क्रव्यादाश्चैव किंभक्षाः हिंसाशीलाश्च पुत्रक ॥ (Matsya 180.9-12)

The continuity of folk cults is a factor to be reckoned with in religious history. It is therefore not surprising that there are still abundant traces of the survival of Yaksha worship in Banaras. This can be identified in three forms; firstly, there is the god Harsū Baram worshipped at the village Bhabhua, about 40 miles from Banaras. The word 'Baram' stands for Sanskrit 'Brahma' meaning a 'Yaksha' and 'Harsū' is apparently the same as Harikeśa. The shrine consists of a platform (Sanskrit *chatvara*, Hindi *chaurā*) where ceremonious worship to the deity is offered with the necessary elements of Yaksha *pūjā*.

The second form of survival is even more important and wide-spread, consisting of a number of Yaksha shrines in the form of *chaurās* (also called *sthānas*) with conical 'yaksha-piṇḍis' or having the name of Bīra which also was a term for Yaksha. There are four such shrines in the campus of the Banaras Hindu University and many more in the city as Lahura Bīra, Bullā Bīra, etc., and also others in the villages.

The third survival is seen in the names of the different Bhairavas also mentioned in the lists of the Matsya and the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa, all now taken for granted to be attendants of Śiva and subordinate to his authority.

PURĀṆIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE CHATUR-DVĪPAS.

BY

RAI KRISHNADASA.

[प्रायः एकादशसु पुराणेषु भुवनकोशवर्णनं प्राप्यते तत्रारम्भे चतुर्णां द्वीपानां कल्पनाऽऽसीत् । अनन्तरं 'सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती'ति परिभाषामाश्रित्य सप्तद्वीपवर्णनं कृतम् ततो वर्णनद्वयस्य सांकर्यं संजातम् तस्माद्धे तोः पुराणेषूपलभ्यमानस्यास्य प्रकरणस्य संगतिरतीव दुर्बोधा । सौभाग्यात् वायुपुराणे चातुर्द्वीपीयभूगोलवर्णनपरम्परा स्पष्टतया लक्ष्यते । तामाश्रित्य वर्णनद्वयं पृथक्कृत्य तयोः सांकर्यं च निराकृत्य भुवनकोशस्य विषयोऽत्र लेखे सुस्पष्टीकृतः]

The following eleven Purāṇas have geographical contents called Bhuvana-Vinyāsa or Bhuvana-Kośa :—

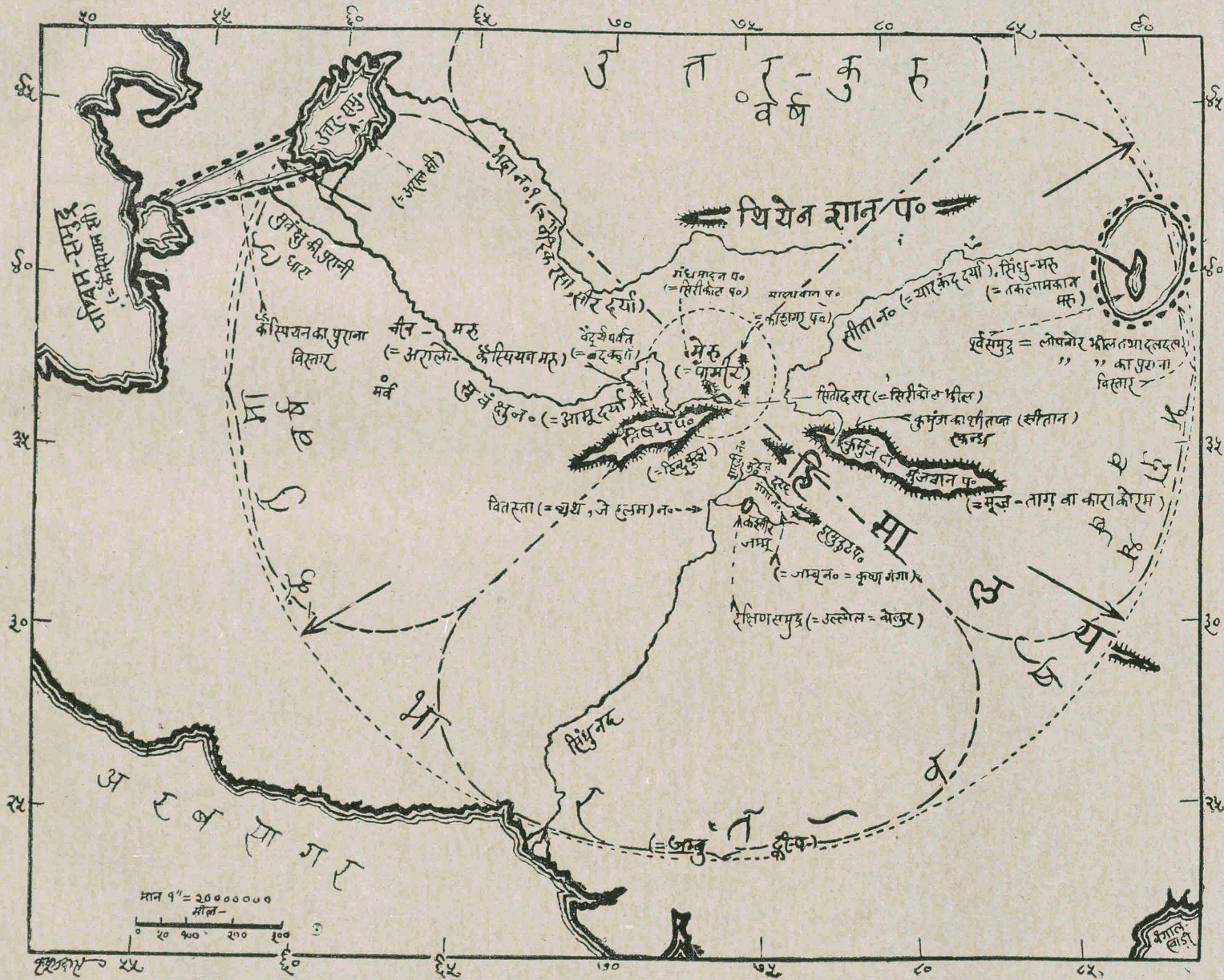
Brahma, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Śiva, Agni, Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa, and Liṅga.

Of these the description of the Vāyu is most elaborate and comprehensive, and apparently the oldest. Brahmāṇḍa, a version of this, shows the geographical chapters in a mutilated form. Matsya follows Vāyu but is very brief and also shows some variations. Kūrma is quite elaborate and preserves a slightly different redaction from the Vāyu. Viṣṇu derives its summary contents from Kūrma. The rest are late and much curtailed, and depend on the Vāyu and Kūrma. Historically Vāyu, Matsya, Kūrma and Viṣṇu are of value for us.

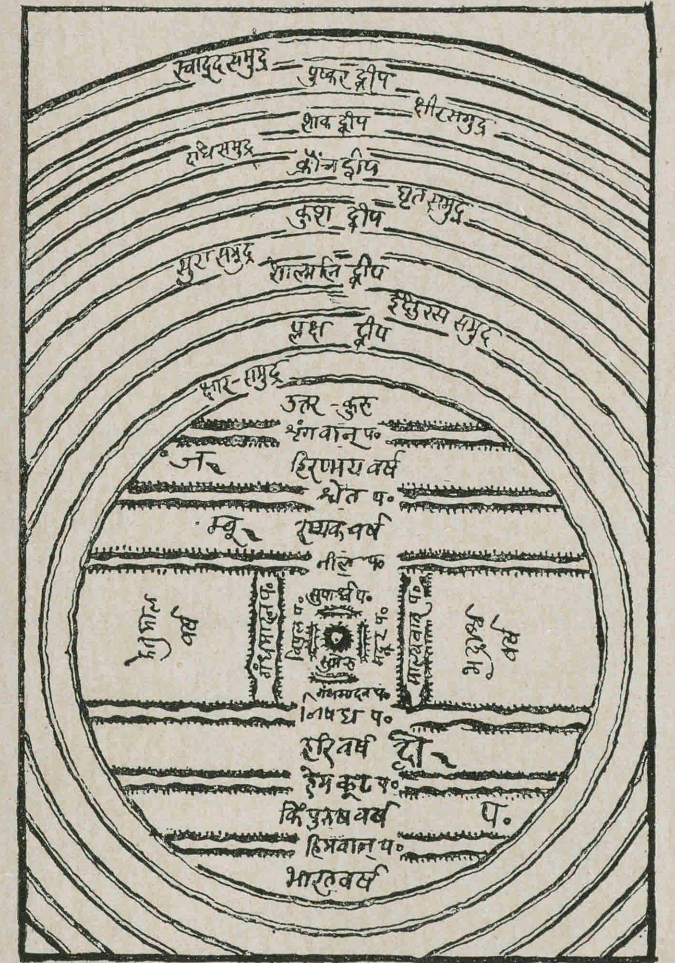
The geographical portions of these Purāṇas contain a number of similar verses, pointing to their being derived from a single original source. In reality, there were two conceptions of the Earth's geography, one based on the Four Dvīpas, and the other on the Seven Dvīpas. At present the two texts have become confused.

Of these two, the one based on Four Dvīpas was more ancient and is found only in Vāyu. Its antiquity may probably

पौराणिक भुवनकोश मानचित्र



चतुर्द्वीपा पृथिवी



सप्तद्वीपा पृथिवी

be traced to the Ṛigveda where the four oceans are mentioned. In the old Buddhist literature also the tradition of the Four Dvīpas was accepted in which Jambū Dvīpa is a synonym of Bhārata Varsha, as was the case in the Chatur-Dvīpa tradition. In the later Sapta-Dvīpa conception Bhārata is only one of the nine Varshas of the Jambū Dvīpa.

Patañjali in the Mahābhāshya refers to *Sapta-dvīpā Vasumatī*. Most probably this new and expanded conception arose in the time of Asoka as a result of his vast missionary activities in foreign countries.

The Purāṇas in their present form lay emphasis on the Sapta-Dvīpa conception and the more ancient Chatur-Dvīpa notion is somehow dovetailed in the new Sapta-Dvīpa frame. It did not meet with success, since the Chatur-Dvīpa basis was so different from the other. The older version much suffered in its new context, and would be unrecognisable if the Vāyu had not preserved it.

The Sapta-Dvīpa version contains speculative elements, as frankly admitted at the outset—

येषां मनुष्यास्तर्केण प्रमाणानि प्रचक्षते ॥ ५ ॥

अचिन्त्या खलु ये भावास्तास्तु तर्केण साधयेत् ॥ ६ ॥ (मत्स्य, अ० ११३)

How this occurred may be clarified by an instance. In Matsya, Haimavata Varsha is a name for Bhārata ('इदं हैमवतं वर्षं भारतं नाम विश्रुतम्', ११२। २८; वायु ३४। २८), The same becomes a separate Varsha in the Sapta-Dvīpa geography ('इदं तु भारतं वर्षं ततो हैमवतं परम्', भीष्मपर्व ६। ७)

The Chatur-Dvīpa version was more realistic. It states that the Earth is like a lotus and the four Mahādīvīpas are its four petals (चतुष्पत्रं पार्थिवं पद्मं), and Mount Meru is its centre. On its east was Bhadrāśva, on south Jambū-Dvīpa or Bhārata Varsha, on west Ketumāla, and on north Uttarakuru. One end of these four Dvīpas touched Meru and the other the four oceans. Each of these had its own high mountain, river, garden,

lake and incarnation; e. g., River Sitā flowing in Bhadrāśva to the east, River Alakanandā in Bhārata Varsha to the south, River Svarakshu (a variant of the Vakshu or Oxus) in Ketumāla to the west, but the northern river Bhadrā instead of flowing to the Northern Ocean meets the Western Sea.

In the Sapta-Dvīpa version as elaborated later, Jambū Dvīpa is at the centre of the earth, and surrounded by the Lavaṇa-Samudra; after that surrounded again by a round terrestrial disc called Plaksha Dvīpa, which is enveloped by the Ikshu-Samudra; and so on five more Oceans and Dvīpas follow, named respectively Surā, Ghṛita, Kshīra, Dadhi, and Śuddha Samudras, and Śālmali, Kuśa Krauñcha, Śaka and Pushkara Dvīpas.

The arrangement of Varshas in the Sapta-Dvīpa conception is somewhat tangled and may be clarified as follows. In the centre is Jambū Dvīpa; its focal point is Mount Meru surrounded by Ilāvṛita Varsha (मेरुमध्यमिलिवृतं). To the south of this central focus are three Varshas; (1) Harivarsha (with Nishadha Varsha-Parvata); (2) Kimpurusha Varsha (with Hemakūṭa), (3) Bhāratavarsha (with Himavān). To the north of Meru again are three other Varshas; viz (1) Ramyaka Varsha (with Nila as Varsha-Parvata); (2) Hiraṇmaya Varsha (with Śveta); Uttarakuru (with Śṛiṅgavān). The northernmost and the southernmost Varshas are bent like a bow (धनुःसंस्थे) and with the other four varshas which are parallel to Jambū Dvīpa and co-extensive in length with it, they stretch from east to west and touch the two Oceans (जम्बूद्वीपस्य विस्तारात् समेन तु समन्ततः॥ प्रागायताः सुपर्वाणः षड्भिरे वर्षपर्वताः । अवगाढा उभयतः समुद्रौ पूर्वपश्चिमौ ॥ वायु ३४।१३)

The central Ilāvṛita Varsha is of square form and envelops Jambū Dvīpa. To the east of Ilāvṛita is Bhadrāśva (with Mālyavān as Varsha-Parvata); and to the west is Ketumāla (with Gandhamādana as Varsha-Parvata. Mālyavān and Gandhamādana extend vertically from north to south, and are joined to Nishadha and Nila mountains making a complete parallelogram for enclosing Ilāvṛita Varsha. Thus Jambū Dvīpa is constituted of these nine Varshas :-

नववर्षं प्रवक्ष्यामि जम्बूद्वीपं यथा तथा ।
विस्तारान्मंडलाच्चैव योजनैस्तन्निबोधत ॥

(See for a full account Vāyu 34.9-35)

Now if we turn to the prior Chatur-Dvīpa conception of the geography of the earth we find much greater clarity based on a realistic description. Here, Jambū is only one of the four Mahā-Dvīpas and is but another name of Bhārata Varsha. In the Sapta-Dvīpa version the extent of Jambū Dvīpa is much inflated and draws within its orbit the other three Dvīpas of the original Chatur-Dvīpa conception ; viz ; Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, and Uttara-kuru, which instead of having independent status are reduced to a subsidiary rank. Bhārata-Varsha which was once synonymous with it now becomes a separate varsha in the Jambū Dvīpa system. We have clear evidence in the revised Sapta-Dvīpa version that the original Bhārata = Jambū-dvīpa was split up into Hari Varsha, Kirīpursha Varsha and Bhārata Varsha, all three to the south of Meru (दक्षिणवेद्यर्ध) ; and the original Uttarakuru was split up into Ramyaka, Hiraṇmaya and Uttarakuru Varshas placed in the (उत्तरवेद्यर्ध). Bhadrāśva of the east and Ketumāla of the west remained as they were before with the exception that instead of Mahādīvīpa status they were reduced to the rank of a Varsha in the over-all system of Jambū-Dvīpa.

We have thus made an attempt to unravel the tangled skein of those important chapters of the Purāṇas which relate to the geography of the earth (भुवनकोश). The original Chatur-Dvīpa and the later Sapt-Dvīpa conceptions got interminably mixed up and the existing portions of the several Purāṇas are transmitted to us in a state of much confusion. Fortunately the strands of grafting of the one on the other can be perceived with a patient and critical approach to the material as preserved in the Vāyu Purāṇa textual transmission. When once an insight is obtained the two versions become transparent and easily recognisable.

THE SEVEN-SEA GIFT IN THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

[सप्तसागर-महादान]

(Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. 287)

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[मत्स्यपुराणे षोडशमहादानप्रकरणमुपलभ्यते, लिङ्गपुराणेऽपि चायं विषयः । ततः सप्तसागर महादानमित्यस्य इतिहासपरा व्याख्याऽस्मिन् लेखे क्रियते । सप्तसमुद्रेभ्यः प्रत्यागतानां महर्दिकलोकानां रत्नसुवर्णमयानि दानानि यत्र क्रियन्ते स्म ते कृपाः सप्तसामुद्रा इत्याख्यामभजन्त । ईदृशीमभिधां भजमानाः कृपाः मथुरा-प्रयाग-वाराणसी-पाटलिपुत्रोज्जयिनीषु पञ्चस्वपि मध्य-देशीयेषु प्राचीनव्यापारिकनगरेषु प्राचीनकाले आसन्, एवमधुनाऽपि प्रसिद्धाः सन्ति ।]

The Matsya Purāṇa in the last lap of its present recension contains a bunch of sixteen chapters, 274 to 289 (Ān. ed.), specifying the details of Sixteen Great Gifts (षोडश महादान) as follows :

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|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. तुलापुरुषदान (ch. 274); | 9. सुवर्णहस्तिरथदान (282); |
| 2. हिरण्यगर्भदान (275); | 10. पंचलांगलदान (283); |
| 3. ब्रह्माण्डदान (276); | 11. सुवर्णपृथिवीदान (284); |
| 4. कल्पवृक्षदान (277); | 12. विश्वचक्रदान (285); |
| 5. गोसहस्रदान (278); | 13. सुवर्णकल्पलतादान (286); |
| 6. सुवर्णकामधेनुदान (279); | 14. सप्तसागरदान (287); |
| 7. सुवर्णाश्वदान (280); | 15. रत्नधेनुदान (288); |
| 8. सुवर्णाश्वरथदान (281); | 16. महाभूतघटदान (289); |

The Liṅga Purāṇa (Uttarārdha, chs. 28-44) contains in a varied version an account of षोडशदान of which some names are common, as तुलापुरुषदान (ch. 28), हिरण्यगर्भदान (ch. 29), सुवर्णमेदिनी-दान (ch. 32), कल्पपाददान (ch. 33), हेमधेनुदान (ch. 35), गोसहस्रदान (ch. 38), हिरण्याश्वदान (ch. 39), हैमगजदान (ch. 42); some are new in this list as तिलपर्वतदान (ch. 32), गणेश or विश्वेश्वरदान (ch. 34), श्रीलक्ष्मीदान (ch. 36), तिलधेनुदान (ch. 37), कन्यादान (ch. 40), हिरण्यवृषदान (ch. 41), लोकपालाष्टकदान

(ch. 43), and ब्रह्मा-विष्णुदान (ch. 44), the last being an extra one (सर्वदानोत्तमोत्तम) to round off the ceremonies.

There is also only reference to some of these, viz. पृथिवीदान कल्पवृक्षदान, कामधेनुदान, in the Agni Purāṇa, ch. 213 (Jivanand edn). These extraordinary gifts involving huge quantities of gold and jewels could be conceived in an age of exceptional prosperity, such as the Golden Age of Indian history. In the paintings of that period we actually find the depiction of विश्वचक्र (e. g. भवचक्र on the ceiling of Ajanta Cave) and रत्नमय कल्पवृक्ष, etc.

The 'Gift of the Seven Oceans' was specially appropriate in an age when merchants and travellers and naval captains crossed the seven seas for trade and commerce, navigation and religious missions. We need consider the significance of such ritual as the सप्तसागर महादान, and specially examine the appropriateness of its name.

In the compound of the present site of the Mathura Museum there is an ancient deep well known as सप्तसमुद्रकूप (popular सातसमन्दरी कुआँ). In a campaign of well-clearance carried out on behalf of the Museum, the well was drained off and a large number of Kushāṇa and Gupta sculptures were recovered, establishing the antiquity of the Well. What probably had happened was that at the time of some devastating raid of the city like that by the Hūṇas in the last quarter of the fifth century, stone statues and reliefs from neighbouring temples were deposited in the Well with the idea of being redeemed later ; that contingency, however, never came up.

The Well continued to be used as a place for performing some religious ceremonies until its being closed up recently with a platform of cement-concrete. Its name, however, is a pointer to its real original significance. Sea-faring in those times was fraught with great danger. Those who went out to the sea bade last farewell to their relations and friends and had not much hope of a safe return. In case they came back safe and secure they brought enormous wealth and were greeted with

universal rejoicing amongst their kith and kin. In spite of the naval risks stout hearts were resolved to face them and many a young man of undaunted spirit left their home in search of oceanic markets, inspired by the thought of earning wealth through their own efforts. The belief became common that a sea-voyage alone fetched sufficient wealth. Bāṇa speaks of this motif (अद्भ्रमणेन श्रीसमाकर्षणं, *Harshacharitra*, VI p. 189 ; अद्भ्रमण = समुद्रयात्रा according to Śaṅkara), and also refers to the massive wealth of the four oceans falling to the share of a person of courageous resolution (चतुःसागरसंभूतस्य भूतिसंभारस्य भाजनं महापुरुषहृदयम्, *ib.* VI, p. 191). He refers also to the magic ointment which applied to the feet secured peregrination over the oceanic islands (सर्वदीपान्तरसंचारी पादलेप, *ib.* VI, p. 194). In the *Mṛichehkhakatika*, the Vidūshaka overwhelmed by the exceeding wealth in Vasantasenā's house expresses his surprise by asking if the Courtezan also indulged in the shipping trade (भवति किं युष्माकं यानपात्राणि वहन्ति, Act. IV).

In this context the सप्तसागर महादान was formulated as a befitting religious ceremony for those fortunate ones who came back from their oceanic trip loaded with gold and jewels of which a share they disposed of in pious charities. A well was selected to represent the oceans and there the ceremonies were performed. The name सप्तसमुद्र for such wells was thus justified.

With this background in mind, it struck me that the five big commercial cities of Madhyadeśa in the Gupta period, viz. Mathurā, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī, which appear as the starting point in the motif of the sea-voyage in the story literature of that period, should each possess a सप्तसमुद्र well. To my great joy enquiry confirmed this assumption and it acquired for me almost the value of a scientific hypothesis.

The Saptasāmudra Well at Mathurā which provided the first hint has been mentioned above. To my satisfaction a reference to it was subsequently found in the Varāha Purāṇa :

अर्कस्थलसमीपे तु कूपं च विमलोदकम् ।

सप्तसामुद्रकं नाम देवानामपि दुर्लभम् ॥ (वाराह० १५७।१३)

i. e. near the holy spot called अर्कस्थल which is sacred to the Sun-god, is the Well named Sapta-Sāmudraka which is difficult of access even to the gods.

I then turned my enquiry to Prayāga. There we have long known the Samudra Kūpa at Pratiṣṭhāna or Jhusi. It is duly mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa as part of the Prayāga-māhātmya :

पूर्वपार्श्वे तु गंगायस्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत ।

कूपं चैव तु सामुद्रं प्रतिष्ठानं च विश्रुतम् ॥ (मत्स्य० १०६।३०)

The verse with some variation, but conveying additional information, is also found in the प्रयागमाहात्म्य of the Kūrma Purāṇa :

पूर्वपार्श्वे तु गंगायस्त्रैलोक्ये याति मानवः ।

अवटः सर्वसामुद्रः प्रतिष्ठानं च विश्रुतम् ॥

(कूर्म० पूर्वार्ध, ३७।२२)

To the east of the conjoint stream of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā after their confluence, towards modern Jhusi side (ancient Pratiṣṭhāna) a pilgrim finds himself at the spot called Trailokya, and there the Sarva-Sāmudra Well is situated. सामुद्र of the Matsya is named सर्वसामुद्र here, which should be the same as सप्तसामुद्र, and it is probable that the latter may be found in some Mss. as a variant reading for the former. The प्रयागमाहात्म्य is the work of one who was fully conversant with local topography as shown by this and other references in it. At Vārāṇasī which was one of the biggest commercial cities on the Gaṅgā and a starting point for many a naval enterprise, there is a *mohallā* called Sapta Sāgara where there are temples and wells named after the Seven Oceans.

I owe the information to my friend Shri Surya Narayan Vyas that there is the Sapta-Samudra well at Ujjain also.

Similar information about a Sapta-Samudra Well at Patna has been heard, but details are awaited.

The सप्तसागर महादान consisted of a neat ceremony performed near the Sapta-Sāmudra well by ordering seven golden basins (*kundās*) to represent the Seven Seas. They ranged in size from one *prādeśa* (9") to one *aratni* (18") and the quantity of gold used varied from 7 *palas* to 1000 *palas* (a *pala* being equal to 4 *karsha* or *tola* wt.). These were filled all with precious stones and each with salt, milk, butter, molasses, curds, sugar, holy water, (लवण, क्षीर, घृत, इक्षुरस, दधि, शर्करा, शुद्ध उदक), and the figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Chandra, Lakshmī, Pārvatī respectively were placed in them. Before making the gift, one was devoutly to recite *mantras* to the Oceans :

11. Homage to you, O eternal Seas, the meeting-place of all the flowing rivers, and life-givers to living creatures.

12. You make happy the creatures of the three worlds with your ambrosial gifts of milk, water, butter, curds, sugar, salt, and molasses, and also with treasures. May you effect an end to my miserable condition.

13. In these worlds you alone bestow stable wealth lasting for generations (सुवद्ध मणिप्रदान) on religious people (तीर्थ), Gods and Asuras. You possess in your womb goddess Śrī-Lakshmī that adorns the bodies of men by applying the ambrosial unguent of wealth and removing wants (पाप = दारिद्र्य);— may that Goddess come to me also.

14. Remaining pure and unperplexed who offers to the Occans surging with ambrosial fluids golden lotuses, he attains to the seat of God Viṣṇu and even the immortals begin to worship him.

15. Himself becoming free from all his sins (in the form of wants and miseries), his merits (earned by virtue of the Great Gift of the Seven Occans) at once transfer his ancestors, sons and wives from burning hell to the abode of God Śiva.

Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. 287 (Ānandāśrama edn.)

सप्तसागरमहादानविधिवर्णनम् ।

मत्स्य उवाच ।

नमो वः सर्वसिन्धूनामाधारेभ्यः सनातनाः ।

जन्तूनां प्राणदेभ्यश्च समुद्रेभ्यो नमो नमः ॥

अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि महादानमनुत्तमम् ।

सप्तसागरकं नाम सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥ १ ॥

पुण्यं दिनमथासाद्य कृत्वा ब्राह्मणवाचनम् ।

तुलापुरुषवत्कुर्याल्लोकेशावाहनं बुधः ॥ २ ॥

ऋत्विञ्जण्डपसम्भारभूषणाच्छादनादिकम् ।

कारयेत्सप्तकुण्डानि कांचनानि विचक्षणः ॥ ३ ॥

प्रादेशमात्राणि तथारत्निमात्राणि वै पुनः ।

कुर्यात्सप्तपलादूर्ध्वमासहस्राच्च शक्तितः ॥

संस्थाप्यानि च सर्वाणि कृष्णाजिनतिलोपरि ।

प्रथमं पूरयेत्कुण्डं लवणेन विचक्षणः ॥

द्वितीयं पयसा तद्वत्तृतीयं सर्पिषा पुनः ।

चतुर्थन्तु गुडेनैव दध्ना पंचममेव च ॥ ६ ॥

षष्ठं शर्करया तद्वत् सप्तमं तीर्थवारिणा ।

स्थापयेत्लवणस्थं तु ब्रह्माणं काञ्चनं शुभम् ॥

केशवं क्षीरमध्ये तु घृतमध्ये महेश्वरम् ।

भास्करं गुडमध्ये तु दधिमध्ये निशाधिपम् ॥

शर्करायां न्यसेल्लक्ष्मीं जलमध्ये तु पार्वतीम् ।

सर्वेषु सर्वरत्नानि धान्यानि च समन्ततः ॥

तुलापुरुषवच्छेषमत्रापि परिकल्पयेत् ।

ततो वारुणहोमान्ते स्थापितो वेदपुंगवैः ॥ १० ॥

त्रिःप्रदक्षिणमावृत्य मन्त्रानेतानुदीरयेत् ।

नमो वः सर्वसिन्धूनामाधारेभ्यः सनातनाः ॥

जन्तूनां प्राणदेभ्यश्च समुद्रेभ्यो नमो नमः ॥ ११ ॥

क्षीरोदकाज्यदधिमाधुरलावणेक्षुसारामृतेन भुवनत्रयजीवसंधान् ।
आनन्दयन्ति वसुभिश्च यतो भवन्तस्तस्मान्ममाप्यघविघातमलं दिशन्तु ॥ १२ ॥

यस्मात्समस्तभुवनेषु भवन्त एव तीर्थामरासुरसुबद्धमणिप्रदानम् ।
पापक्षयामृतविलेपनभूषणाय लोकस्य विभ्रति तदस्तु ममापि लक्ष्मीः ॥ १३ ॥

इति ददाति रसामृतसंयुतान् शुचिरविस्मयवानिह सागरान् ।
कमलकांचनवर्णमयानसौ पदमुपैति हरेरमरार्चितः ॥ १४ ॥

सकलपापविधौतविराजितः पितृपितामहपुत्रकलत्रकम् ।
नरकलोकसमाकुलमप्ययं झटिति सोऽपि नयेच्छिवमन्दिरम् ॥ १५ ॥

इति श्रीमात्स्ये महापुराणे महादानानुकीर्तने सप्तसागरप्रदानविधिर्नाम
सप्ताशीत्यधिकद्विशततमोऽध्यायः ॥ २८७ ॥

नारायणमहार्णवः

वृन्दं जलमुचां चैव श्वसनेनाभिताडितम् ॥ ३२ ॥

क्षमायां वृष्टिं विसृजते भासयत् तेन भास्करः ।

तोयस्य नास्ति वै नाशः तदेव परिवर्तते ॥ ३३ ॥

अपां त्वधिपतिर्देवो भव इत्येव कीर्तितः ॥ ३६ ॥

भवात्मकं जगत्सर्वमिति किञ्चेह चाद्भुतम् ।

नारायणत्वं देवस्य हरेश्चाद्भिः कृतं विभोः ॥ ३७ ॥

जगतामालयो विष्णुस्त्वापस्तस्यालयानि तु ॥ ३८ ॥

THE DATE OF THE PURĀNAS

BY

SIVA DATTA GYANI

[पुराणानां रचना कस्मिन्कालेऽभूदितिं प्रश्नमवलम्ब्य विदुषां गवेषणं दीर्घकालात्प्रवृत्तमपि नैकमत्याय प्रकल्पते, यतस्तेषां विवेचनस्य न कोऽपि स्थिर आधारो दृश्यते, लेखेऽस्मिन् अयं प्रस्ताव उपन्यस्तो यद् एकैकशः पुराणान्यनुपगृह्य तेषु प्रतिपादितानां विषयाणां तुलनात्मकविमर्शेन आपेक्षिककालक्रमस्य मीमांसा यदि क्रियेत तर्हि बहुशः फलवती भवेत्]

The problem of the date of the Purāṇas is very intriguing and controversial. No particular date or period can be assigned to a particular Purāṇa, but the problem of the date may best be solved by evolving a chronological setting for the Purāṇic literature in general, special attention being paid to the individual Purāṇas. The Purāṇic scholars have tackled in their own way this aspect of the Purāṇic studies. Scholars from Wilson to Pargiter as also subsequent writers in the field did not try to study the evolution of the Purāṇic literature as a class by itself. They took into consideration individual Purāṇas, and discussed their chronology in their own way, thus arriving at divergent results.

The earlier scholars stressing on the sectarian and religious matter in the Purāṇas assigned a very late date to them. Colebrooke relying on the tradition that Bopadeva, the grammarian, was the author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* assigns it to about the 13th century A. D. Vans Vennedy thinks that like the *Bhāgavata* the other Purāṇas must be of an equally modern date as the Purāṇas are always held to be eighteen and in most of the Purāṇas the names of the eighteen including the *Bhāgavata* are enumerated. Wilson² realised the difficulty of solving the problem of the

1. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII, p. 467; *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 104.

1. *Researches into the Nature and Affinity of ancient and Hindu Mythology*, ch. IV, pp. 19-22 ;

2. *Vishṇupurāṇa* Vol. I, Preface, p. XVI ;

date of the Purāṇas and thinks that they are works of different ages compiled under different circumstances. He takes into consideration the religious matter in the Purāṇas smacking of the popular forms of Hinduism, which, in his opinion, took shape not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A. D., the probable date of Śaṅkarāchārya, and were, perhaps finally established during the period when Rāmānuja (12th cent A. D.), Madhvāchārya (13th cent. A. D.) and Vallabhāchārya (16th cent.) flourished. Thus, he assigns to them 'a very modern date.' According to him, the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* may be assigned to about A.D. 1045. But this view may not be tenable as Alberuni¹ writing in A. D. 1030 gives a list of the eighteen Purāṇas as occurring in the *Vishṇupurāṇa*. Bāṇa, the author of the *Harsha-charita*² (about A. D. 620) refers to a Purāṇa described by *Pavana* or *Vāyu*. Dr. Führer thinks that Bāṇa had used the *Agni*, *Bhāgavata* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* Purāṇas as well as the *Vāyu*.³ Discovery of a Bengal manuscript of the *Skanda Purāṇa* written in the Gupta script shows that the *Purāṇa* was in existence in the 7th cent.⁴ A. D. References to the Purāṇas occur in the *Milindapaṭho* (earlier than 300 A. D.).⁵ Bühler⁶ collected many early quotations from and references to the Purāṇas and pointed out that the account of the future kings in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, *Matsya-Purāṇa* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* seems to stop with imperial Guptas and their contemporaries. Thus the Purāṇas, at least the earlier ones, may have been finalised during the Gupta period. Pargiter interprets the word *Bhavishya* occurring in the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Matsya* as the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* and not mere 'future' as Keith⁷ thinks, and suggests that the *Bhavishya-purāṇa* in its early form was the original authority from which the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Matsya* derived their dynastic lists, and the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* are the later condensed

1. Sachau's *Translation*, Vol. I, pp. 130, 131, 264.

2. Cowell and Thomas : *Transaction*, p. 72.

3. *Transactions of the Vth Oriental Congress*, Vol. III, p. 205.

4. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (London), 1903, p. 193.

5. *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 6, 247.

6. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXV, 1896, p. 323.

7. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1914, pp. 1021-31.

redactions based on the same.¹ As for the date of the Purānas, Pargiter² takes into account the historical data available in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata*, and thinks that the first compilation of the historical matter may have been made in the reign of the Andhra king Yajñāśrī about the end of the second century A. D. According to him, the first certain compilation was made in the original *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* about A.D. 260 ; soon after which it was incorporated in the *Matsya-purāṇa*. This account was extended to the rise of the Gupta Kingdom before the year 335 A. D., which augmented compilation is what the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* contain, and the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* have condensed. A critical perusal of the *Bhaviṣhya* account occurring in the *Matsya*³ *Purāṇa* clearly shows that the account ends with the Andhras, Gardabhillas, Śakas, Guruṇḍas, Yavanas, Tushāras Mlechchhas, Ābhīras and Kilakilās. This clearly reflects the political conditions of India after the down fall of the Kushanas in the second and third century A. D. The *Matsya* account, thus, ends with the mere mention of Kila-kilā kings and no manuscript of the *Matsya* contains anything later. The Āndhra kingdom fell about A.D. 236 ; thus the *Matsya* account brings the historical narrative down to about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. and no further. The *Vāyu* *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* carry the narrative to the rise of the Guptas. The Guptas are mentioned as reigning over the country comprising Prayāga, Sāketā (Ayodhyā) and Magadha, that is exactly the territory ruled over by Chandragupta I (A. D. 319-20 to 329-30) of the Gupta dynasty. The Nāgas, Maṇḍhānyas, and others are also mentioned as contemporaries of the Guptas ruling over the neighbouring countries. The account takes no note of Samudragupta's conquests and the Gupta empire. Thus it may be concluded that the account was closed soon after the commencement of the Gupta era or by A.D.⁴ 335.

1. Pargiter : *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introduction, pp. VII-IX.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. XII, XIII ; V. A. Smith : *Early History of India* (Fourth edition), p. 24.

3. Chapter. 273.17-26.

4. Pargiter : *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introduction, p. XII.

According to S. M. Edwardes¹, the Purāṇas in some shape were already authoritative in the 4th century B. C. on the basis of a reference to *Purāṇa* in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, which directs the king to spend his afternoon in the study of *Itihāsa* comprising *Purāṇa*, *Itivṛitta*, *Ākhyāyikā*, *Udāharaṇa*, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*. Jackson² thinks that Megasthenes was acquainted with part, at least, of a Purāṇic cosmogony and with a Purāṇic description of the upper and lower world. It is a fair conclusion that he had before him the same Purāṇa that has already been shown to have existed from the Vedic times to the second century B. C.; and the contents of which are more or less, reproduced in the more primitive parts of the existing Purāṇas. The common source of the Purāṇas, therefore, was compiled not later than the last quarter of the 4th century B. C.

Macdonell³ regards the Purāṇas as old, perhaps, earlier than the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mauusmṛiti*. In his opinion, they are connected by many threads with the old law-books (*Smṛitis*) and the Vedas, representing probably a development of older works of the same class. R. C. Hazra⁴ has tried to fix up the approximate date of the additions of the *Dharmaśāstra* matter to the Purāṇas. In the case of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu*, *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata* such additions were made during the 3rd to the 7th century A. D.

A critical examination of the views of various scholars as stated above would clearly show that the problem of the date of the Purāṇas is far from solved. But a critical examination of the references to Purāṇic literature in other works and a close study of the process of development in the light of the contents of the Purāṇas would supply us a chronological setting for the Purāṇic literature as a whole.

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1. V. A Smith : *Early History of India* (4th edition), p. 24.
 2. Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, *Centenary Memorial Volume*, p. 72.
 3. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 299.
 4. *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 174-177.

The earliest reference to Purāṇic literature in the sense of a literary composition is to be found in the *Atharvaveda*,¹ where the Purāṇic literature is mentioned along with *R̥ik*, *Sāman*, *Chkandus* and *Yajus* as produced from *Uchchhishta*. It is also associated with *Itihāsa*, *Gāthā*, and *Nārāśamsi*. This clearly shows that there existed during the period represented by the *Atharvaveda*, a definite literary form going by the name of the *Purāṇa*. In the same Veda a reference to *Purāṇavid*² (one possessing a knowledge of Purāṇa) also occurs which may be associated with *Purāṇa*. The word occurs also in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas³ in the sense of a person well-versed in the Purāṇic lore. In the Brāhmaṇas, the Purāṇic literature is referred to in several places. In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*³, the Vedas are described as produced along with *Kalpa*, *Rahasya*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Upanishad*, *Itihāsa*, *Anvayākhyāna* and *Purāṇa*. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁴, *Purāṇa* is mentioned with the Vedas and other forms of literature as produced from the breath of *Mahābhūta*, the Primeval Being. In the same *Brāhmaṇa*⁵, at another place, Adhvaryu is described as reciting *Purāṇa*, and daily study of the Purāṇic literature along with other branches of learning is recommended.

In the Upaniṣads⁶ also, the Purāṇic literature is referred to in several places. In these references, *Purāṇa* is mentioned along with other branches of learning. In the Sūtra literature clear and definite references are found to the Purāṇic literature.⁷ The Gṛihyasūtras generally lay down that during the period of impurity due to a relative's death, the accounts of those who enjoyed longevity and the stories from the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* should

1. II, 40, 420 ;

2. *Matsya*, 60, 1, *Padma*, *Pāṭalakhanda*, III, 46, 50.

3. I, 10

4. XIV, 6, 100, 1

5. XIII, 4, 3, 13 ; XI, 5, 7, 9 ; XI, 5, 6, 8.

6. *Jaiminiya Up.* I, 53 *Bṛihadāraṇyakop.* II, 4, 40 ; IV, 1, 2, IV, 5, 11 ;

Chhāndogyaop. III, 4, 1 ; III, 2, 4, VII, 2, 1 ; VII, 7, 1 ; *Taittiriya Ār.* II, 9.

7. *Sāṅkhāyana Gṛihya* I, 2, 11 ; *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta* XVI, 2, 27 ; *Gautama Dharma*, I, 8, 6 ; II, 2, 19, *Āpastamba Dharma*, I, 6, 19, 13 ; I, 10, 19, 7 ; II, 9, 23, 3-6 ; *Āpastamba Gṛihya*, XIV, 4 ; *Pāraskara Gṛihya*, I, 15, 7.

be heard.¹ More definite information about the Purāṇic literature is obtained from the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra*, where verses are quoted from a certain Purāṇa which also occur in the *Manu-smṛiti*.² Then again the same Sūtras³ make a definite reference to a passage from the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*. In the words of Bühler⁴ the passage would run—"They (the ancestors) live in heaven until the (next) general destruction of created things. (After the destruction of the world, they stay again in heaven, being the seed of the new creation)."

Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*⁵ mentions *Purāṇa* under *Itihāsa-Veda* which includes *Itivṛitta*, *Ākhyāyikā*, *Udāharaṇa*, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* also, and this *Itihāsa-Veda* is assigned an equal position with the *Atharvaveda* (the three Vedas *Ṛik*, *Yajus* and *Sāman* being separately mentioned as scriptures). The *Arthaśāstra* further, refers to *Itivṛitta* and *Purāṇa* as necessary to set a king right, who goes astray; it also refers to a *Paurāṇik*, whose function was to recite *Purāṇa* to him.

In the epics,⁷ too, several references occur to the Purāṇic literature. The *Mahābhārata*⁸ refers to a *Purāṇa* proclaimed by Vāyu. The Buddhist literature is aware of the existence of the Purāṇic literature.⁹ From the 7th century onwards the Digambar Jains began to compose their own Purāṇas.¹⁰ With the progress of time, the Purāṇic literature became so popular that even the Dravidian south adopted it in its literature¹¹: The term *Purāṇa*

1. *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya*. IV, 6, 8.

2. IV, 248-249, C. F., *Āpastamba Dharma*. I, 6, 19, 13; I, 10, 29, 7; Pargiter: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Chap. III, *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. VIII (Dec. 1932), pp. 749-750.

3. II, 9, 24, 5 6.

4. *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. II, p. 158.

5. I, 3, 1, 5, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Lon.) 1914, p. 1022.

6. I, 5; V, 3, 6.

7. *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 62, 3; *Mahābhārata*, I, 1, 40; I, 5, 2; I, 5, 6-7.

8. III, 191, 16.

9. *Lalitavistara* calls itself a Purāṇa. Passages in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*, *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* and *Mahāvastu* resemble those in the Purāṇas.

10. Winternitz: *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 417-504.

11. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII (Dec. 1932) pp. 746-766,

in the sense of 'semi-legendary and legendary tales' is mentioned in the *Silppadikāram* and the *Manimeklai* which mentions the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* as *Kaḍavaluaṇanpurāṇam*. The Purāṇic teachings were freely adopted by the Nāyanmārs and Ālavārs who preached them throughout Tamil-land. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* was well-known during this epoch. Besides, the *Śiva*, *Liṅga*, *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Bhāgavata*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Devībhāgavata*, *Vishṇu* and *Garuḍa* were all translated into Tamil.

These references to the Purāṇic literature occurring in the works dating from the later Vedic period to the seventh century of the Christian era clearly show that during this long period of several centuries, there existed a definite literary form called *Purāṇa* embodying old traditions, stories etc., which in course of time attained religious sanctity. In most of the earlier references, the word *Purāṇa* occurs in singular and not in plural as is the case at a subsequent period. This suggests that *Purāṇa* was originally one but at a later stage it assumed its multifarious form. All this naturally involved a long process of development spreading over many centuries (circa B. C. 1000-circa A. D. 700).

(To be continued)

1. XIII, 1, 98.

2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 370-371,

INVENTORY OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA MANUSCRIPTS

By

V. RAGHAVAN

[श्रीकाशिराजन्यासान्तर्गतेन पुराणविभागेन मत्स्यपुराणस्य संशोधित-
संस्करणाय प्रस्तावे कृते सति श्री वे० राघवनमहोदयाः तस्य सम्पादन-
कार्यं स्वीकृतवन्तः, तत्प्रसङ्गे तैः पुराणानां ये ये कोशाः (हस्तलिखितादर्शग्रन्थाः)
तालपत्रीयाः पत्रात्मका वा यत्र यत्र सुरक्षितास्तेषां बृहती सूची संकलिता ।
तस्याः सूच्या मत्स्यपुराणकोशानां सूचीयं संमुद्रयते । यदत्रावशिष्टं
ज्ञायेत तदनुसूचनीयमिति प्रार्थते]

[The Kashiraj Trust having decided on a critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa, Dr. V. Raghavan undertook its editorial work and in that connection prepared a comprehensive *Inventory of the Purāṇa Manuscripts*, both on palm-leaf and paper, deposited in the various collections. The Matsya Purāṇa portion of the same is being printed here with the request that if there be any omissions or additions, they may kindly be intimated.

In the following list the manuscripts collated in the Purāṇa Dept. of the Kashiraj Trust have been marked with an asterisk.

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*340/Viśrāma (I) (Ng., Pr., ff. 334) Comp. Sañ. 1700
45 Viśrāma (II)
*119/1884-87 (Ng., Pr.) Incomp.
164 1887-91
*226/1895-1902 (Ng., Pr., ff. 439) some ff. missing,
Sañ. 1680
158 A. 1881-82
- Mandlik B. H. 35 (p. 66) (ff. 381) Sañ. 1804
- B I S M V. 110/32
- Nasik II 90 (ff. 450)
477 (ff. 328)
- Udaipur II 551 (ff. 342)
- Anandaśrama 1165
1381
6945
- Vanguja, p. 93 832 (Ng. ff. 379) Incomp. Chs. 1-273 ; a few
ff. lost.
1400 (Beng. 300) Incomp.
1437 („ 398) Comp. chs. 271

C.P.B.	3779 (The Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur) 3780 (Lakshmi Prasad of Jabalpure) 3781 (Tukaram Pathak, of Yeoda, Amaroti Distt.)
Varendra	38
Jodhpur	753
Viśvabharati	2293 (Beng. Pr. pp. 100) incomp.
S. K. Ray	1 (ff. 436) comp.
Wai	361
Mandlik Sup.	161 (ff. 404) 162 (ff. 254) Saṃ. 1915, Śaka 1780
Ranbir (Jammu)	7705 7755
TPL.	26, 27, 2 Vols.
Navadvipa	39
S. K. Ray, DC	250 (ff. 436)
Bombay Univ. (Ichchharam Desai Collection)	*368 (Ng., Pr. ff. 604) Comp
Surat	*124 (Ng. Pr. ff. 538) Comp. 423 (Ng. Pr.) Comp.
DCRI	2153 2288
Tel. Aca	4226 (a) (ff 59, chs. 13-49)
Cog. App.	95 (ff. 377) A. D. 1729 813-14 (ff. 601)
BISM	Punde 110 Mitikar 225 Sadashiva Pandurang Gore 116 Poona Patawardhan 14
Rome	69 (Ng. Pr. ff. 352)

- Auf. I. 422a Mack 44
 IO 406, 407.108 D
 Oxf. 38 b. 347 a, 358 a
 Paris (B. 18)
 Khn 30
 K. 28
 B. 2, 22, 24
 Ben. 49
 Bik 203
 Kātm 2
 Rādh. 40
 Oudh 1877, 14 VIII 4
 XV, 22
 N P VIII., 20
 Burnell 192 a
 Gu 3
 Poona 340. II, 45083
 Oppert I, 96, 8153
 II, 3223, 4816, 6936 In Private Libraries
 of Southern India
- Rice 76
 Govt. Ori. Libr., Madras, 63
 Rgb. 119
 Stein 211, 212
- Auf. II 215 b. Ulwar 847 Appendix
- Auf. III 91 b. As p. 135 (3 mss.) 136 (incomp)
 BC. 260
 Bd. 164
 H pr. 1, 264
 IO 406, 407, 1080, 1918
 2032, 2831 (Adhyāyas 1-127)

ADDENDA.

Srinagar, Kashmir

Raghunath Mandir Pustakalaya
 Saraswati Bhāṇḍāgāra

No. 3854 ff. 262, Comp. Nag. A. D. 1800

No. 3601 ff. 562, Comp. Śāradā

No. 3920 ff. 685, with commentary, Śāradā

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE INVENTORY OF
PURĀṆA-MANUSCRIPTS

Abbreviations (alphabetically arranged) of the Inventory of Manuscripts of the Purāṇas with their explanation as given in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* and the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, are given below :—

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- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Adyar I. | Adyar Library, Adyar, Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. Part I, 1926. |
| Auf. | Theodor Aufrecht : <i>Catalogus Catalogorum</i> , Vols. I, II, III. |
| A. K. | Report for the search of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency by Abaji Vishnu Kathavade, Bombay 1901. |
| Alph. List-
Beng. Govt. | An alphabetical list of manuscripts by Haraprasad Shastri Vol. XI, Calcutta 1895. (Also Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal by Haraprasad Shastri. |
| America | A Census of Indic Manuscripts ; American Oriental Series No. 12. |
| Ananda-
shrama. | A hand-list of 8518 manuscripts in the Anandāśrama, Poona. |
| Ani | A hand-list of manuscripts in the Ani Pandit Library, P. O. Beani Bazar, Sylhet, Assam. |
| Avanappa-
rambhu Mana. | A hand-list of Sanskrit Mss. in the Avanapparambhu Mankkal, Vadakkanchari, P. O. Cochin State. |
| A. S. | Catalogue of printed books and manuscripts in Sanskrit, Oriental Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. |

- B. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. contained in the Private Libraries of Gujarat, Kathiawad. Kachch, Singh and Khandesh, compiled under the superintendence of G. Buhler.
- Baroda. List of Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Vol. I. 1942.
- BBRAS Catalogue of Sansk. and Prakrit Mss. in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 4 Volumes.
- B. C. Manuscripts presented to India Office Library by A. C. Burnell.
- Bd. Report on the search of Sansk. Mss. in Bombay Presidency by R. G. Bhandarkar 1997.
- Ben. A Catalogue of manuscripts in Banaras Sansk. College Library, Banaras, 1864-74.
- Bharatpur. A list of Mss. in the State Library, Bharatpur.
- Bhau Daji. Catalogue of Mss. belonging to the Bhau Daji Memorial, Bombay 1882.
- BHK. Report on the Search for Sansk. Mss. during 1881-82 by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- Bhor. List of Manuscripts in the Palace Library, Bhor State.
- Bik. Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, compiled by Rajendralal Mitra.
- Bikaner. List of Sansk. Mss. in Anup Sanskrit Library, Fort Bikaner.
- B. I. S. M. List of Sansk. Mss. in Bharatiya Itihasa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.
- BL Lists of Sansk. Mss. in private libraries in the Bombay Presidency by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- BORI Manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.

- BP, Report on the Search for Sansk. Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1887.
- Br. Mus. Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the British Museum by Cecil Bendall.
- Burdwan. List of 30 Sansk. Mss. in the Palace library of Bardwan.
- Burnell Index to the Sansk. Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore by A.C. Burnell, London, 1880.
- Cabaton I. Catalogue des Manuscrits Sanskrits at Paris par A Cabaton, Paris. Ier Fascicule – Manuscrits Sanskrits 1907.
- CPB Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Central Provinces and Berar by R.B. Hiralal. Nagpur 1926.
- Cs. Descriptive Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Vols I-X.
- Dacca List of Sansk. Mss. in the Collection of the Dacca University, Dacca, Bengal,
- Gough Papers relating to the Rewards of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India, by A. E. Gough., Calcutta, 1878.
- Grantha-ppura A Revised Catalogue of the Palace Granthappura (Library) Trivandrum, 1929.
- H. Pr. Notices of Sansk. Mss., Second series, by Haraprasad Shastri, 4 Volumes. Govt. of Bengal, Calcutta.
- Hz. Reports of Sansk. Mss. in Southern India by E. Hultzsch. 3 Vols. Government Press, Madras.
- IIO Catalogue of Sansk. and Prakrit Mss. in the Indian Institute Library Oxford, by A. B. Keith.
- IL List of Sansk. Mss. in the Imperial library, Calcutta.

- IM List of Sansk. Mss. in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- IO Catalogue of Sansk. and Prakrit. Mss. in the India Office Library, Julius Eggeling, 2 parts.
- Jha List of Mss. of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, in two sections, A – Palm-leaves, and B – Paper Mss.
- Jodhpur. List of Mss. in the Archaeological Department of the Jodhpur State, Jodhpur.
- K Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. existing in the Central Provinces, edited by F. Kielhorn, Nagpur, 1874.
- Khatm. List of Sansk. works in the Nepalese Libraries of Khatmandu, S. R. Lawrance, 1868.
- Kh. Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency by F. Kielhorn.
- Kotah List of Mss. in the State Library, Kotah.
- L. Notices of Sans. Mss. by Rajendralal Mitra, Calcutta, 1871-90, 11 Volumes. Volumes X and XI by H. Pr. Shastri
- Lz. Katalog der Sanskrit Handschriften der Universitates-Bibliothek zu Leipzig von Theodor Aufrecht, Leipzig 1901.
- Mack. The Mackenzie Collection, by H. H. Wilson, Calcutta, 1822-8. The greater part of this collection is in the India Office Library.
- Mad. Uni. List of 940 Sans. Mss. by R. A. Shastri deposited in the Madras University Library.
- Mandlik Catalogue of Mss. in the Mandlik Library, Fergusson College, Poona.,
- Mandlik-Supp. Supplementary list of the Mss. in the Mandlik Library.
- MD Descriptive Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,

- Mithila Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila, pub. by Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
- Mysore I Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore, 1922 (quoted by pages)
- Nabadwip. List of Mss. in Edward VII Anglo-Sanskrit Library, Nabadwip Bengal.
- Naduvil-Matham. List of Sansk. Mss. in the Naduvil Matham, Trichur, Cochin State.
- Nepal Catalogue of palm-leaf and select paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, by H. Pr. Shastri, Calcutta 1905.
- NP Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in Private libraries of the North-Western Provinces, Parts II-X, Allahabad, 1877-86.
- NW Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in Private Libraries of the North-West Provinces, Part I, Benares 1874.
- Oppert I, II Lists of Sansk. Mss. in Private Libraries of Southern India by Gustav Oppert, Vol. I, Vol. II.
- Oudh Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. existing in Oudh by J. C. Nesfield, Sep. 1875; compiled by Pt. Devi Prasad, Fascicles III-XIII.
- Oxf. Catalogue Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecal Bodllianae. Th. Aufrecht., Oxford. 1864.
- Paira Mall. List of 18 birch bark manuscripts with Paira Mall, M. D. Dhab, Khatikan, Amritsar.
- Paliyam List of manuscripts in the Private collection of the Paliyam family, Cochin State, copied from a hand-list supplied by P. Anujan Achan, State Archaeologist, Trichur, Cochin State.
- Paris (a) A written alphabetical catalogue compiled by S. Munk.

- (b) List des titres de manuscrits sanskrit ajoutés on catalogue de Munk....., supplied to him in 1886 by Feer.
- Peters Reports on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts by Peter Peterson. 6 volumes. Aug. 1882—March 1898.
- Phet Peharist Samskrita ke Pustakon ka, 16 pages.
- Poona A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Deccan College, Part I, prepared by F. Kielhorn; Part II by R. G. Bhandarkar, 1884.
- PUL A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Punjab University Library, Lahore. Vol. I 1932; Vol. II, 1941.
- Putuvamana- Mana List of 64 Sanskrit Mss. in the Putuvamana Mana, Tattara, Mulanthuruthy P. O. Cochin State.
- Radh. Pustakānām Sūcīpatram, 48 pages, belonging to the Late Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore.
- Ranbir List of Mss. in Shri Ranbir Library, Jammu.
- R.H. Shastri Diary of Pt. R. H. Shastri tour in search of Sansk. Mss.
- R.A.S.B.V. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sansk. Mss. Royal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, by H. Pr. Shastri. Vol. V. Purāṇas.
- Report. Detailed report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana, and Central India by G. Buhler, Bombay 1877.
- Rgb. Report on the search for Sansk. Mss. in the Bombay Presidency by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay 1994.
- Rice Catalogue of Sank. Mss. in Mysore and Coorg, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore 1884.
- Sakti. List of Mss. with Sakti Sastrigal Aykudi, Travancore State.

- S. B. Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Sanskrit College Library, Banaras.
- SKt. Coll.- Ben. List of Sansk, and Hindi Mss. deposited in the Sanskrit College, Banaras; Allahabad 1954.
- Serampore Descriptive list of 81 Mss. in the Serampore College, Serampore, Bengal.
- S. K. Ray- A Hand-list of Mss. with Sarat Kumar Ray, 1-4 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.
- S. K. Ray- D. C. An Unfinished Descriptive Catalogue of the above Collection.
- Sringeri- Mutt A Hand-list of Mss. in the Mutt of H. H. Sankaracharya of the Saradapitha, Sringeri, Mysore.
- SSPCI. A hand list of Sansk. Mss. in the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta Vol. I. F. Purāṇa., III. 2. Purāṇa.
- Stein Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Raghunath Temple Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Prepared by M. A. Stein, Bombay 1894.
- Suchindram A Hand-list of 200 Mss. with P. N. Sharma, Ayurvedasram Suchindram, Travancore.
- Taylor A Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the College, Fort Saint George, by Rev. William Taylor. 3 Vols., Madras 1857-1862
- Tanjore D. Desc. Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore.
- T D. Catalogue of 163 Tod manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, by L. D. Barnelt.
- TPL A list of Sansk. Mss. in the Public Library Tri-vandram.
- Trav. Uni. List of Sansk. Mss. in Travancore University Mss. Library, Travancore.
- Trippurni- thura I Five hand-lists of Mss. in Trippurnithura, Cochin.

- Udaipur I A. Hand-list of Mss. in the Sajjan Vani Villas Library Mewar, Udaipur.
B. List of Mss. in the Saraswati Libray, Mewar.
- Udaipur II A Hand-list of Mss. in the library of Nathdwara, Udaipur, Mewar State.
- Ujjain I A Catalogue of Oriental Mss. in the Oriental Mss. Library, Prachya Grantha Sangraha, now called Scindhia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, Vol. I. 1936, Vol. II. 1941.
- Ulwar. Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar by Peter Peterson, Bombay 1892.
- Vangiya. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, Sahitya Parishat Series, No. 85.
- Varendra A list of Mss. in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.
- Vishva-
bharati A list of the Mss. in the Visvabharati, Santi-niketan.
- Wai A list of Sansk. Mss. in the Prājña Pathshala (Dharmaksoa Karyalya) Wai, Satara District, Bombay. Quoted by Bandh numbers.

THE PĀŚUPATA YOGA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

[पुराणेषु माहेश्वराख्यानां शैवपाशुपतानां बहुकृत्वो वर्णनं प्राप्यते । पाशुपतानामियं महती परम्परा प्राचीना वैदिकी चासीत् । याजुषे शतरुद्रिया-
ध्याये नमःस्तोत्रे 'पशूनां पतये नमः' इति या नमउक्तिर्विहिता सा रुद्रस्वरूपाय
रुद्रापरनाम्ने 'महोदेवाय' अग्नये एव । लिंगपुराणे पशु-पाश-पशुपतितत्त्वानां
व्याख्या विस्तरतः कृता । तस्मादाकृष्यास्मिन् लेखे सा सुविचारिता । स एव
पाशुपतयोगः ज्ञानध्यानयोगव्रतोपवासादिसाधनतत्परैः तपश्चरणपरायणैः
जीवधारिभिः पशुत्वनिराकरणाय मलव्यपोहनाय क्षेत्राख्यस्वशरीरविशोधनाय
वा कतिभिश्चिदन्दैः संपूर्यते, तदेव पाशुपतं व्रतम् । 'एको रुद्रो न द्वितीयाय
तस्थौ' इत्येवाद्याख्यं स्वयम्भूपुरुषतत्त्वमव्यक्तं लिंगमुच्यते । प्राणरूपस्याग्नेः
प्रथमंः सहस्रधा सहस्रात्मिका मानसी सृष्टिर्जायते त एवासंख्याता रुद्राः । तदनु
शिवस्यार्धनरनारीवपुषः उदयादर्वाक् ब्रह्मणा मैथुन्यः प्रजा अग्नीषोमात्मिका
उत्पाद्यन्ते । अक्षरस्वरूपः प्राणात्मकोऽग्निरेव लिंगार्चनेन उपास्यते । अयं लेखः
पाशुपतयोगं क्रमशः व्याख्यातुमुपक्रमते ।]

The Pāśupata Śaivas were an ancient cult with widespread distribution. They have left an indelible stamp on the Purāṇas, classical Sanskrit literature and early Indian sculpture of the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods. In the Mathura Museum an array of Śiva-liṅgas and bas-reliefs of Śaiva worship greets us right from the Kushāṇa times. They offer a commentary on the Pāśupata influences operative at Mathura, which became an important centre of this religion from about the first century A.D. The Chaṇḍul-Manḍal Bagīchī Inscription of Chandragupta II dated 381 A. D., edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, is a Pāśupata document of great historical value found in North India, which records an account of the line of Pāśupata teachers and of Śiva-liṅgas established by them, and on its front side depicts a figure of Lakuliśa, the original founder of the Sect.

The existing Purāṇa literature specialises in an extensive preservation of the Pāśupata doctrines and their religious practices. They believed in Rudra-Śiva as Paśupati and Maheśvara, and were therefore famous under several names, as Raudra-Śaiva, Pāśupata, Māheśvara, etc.

The main emphasis of this religion was on Yoga accepted as a rigorous discipline for the purification of body and mind. This was called *Viśodhana* or *Mala-Vyapohana*, to be achieved by the practice of Ashtāṅga Yoga and a planned system of Vratas based mainly on *upavāsa* or *anaśana*, and *svalpāhāra*. This earned for them the epithet of Vratins, and also Mahāvratins when the austere practice of denying food was extended over longer periods.

Their metaphysical doctrine was directly derived from the Rudra-Śiva tradition of the Vedas. For them Rudra-Śiva was the same as Agni in its Ghora and Aghora aspects. The worship of Agni was a vital part of their *sādhanā*, reflected in the external practices of Agni-tāpana and Bhasma-dhāraṇa, both of which possessed an esoteric meaning, with reference to the purification of Prāṇa or vital energy. They worshipped Śiva in the form of Liṅga. Iconographically Liṅga images were two-fold—Ekamukhī referring to the conception of एको रुद्रो न द्वितीयाय तस्यै or एक एवामिर्वहुधा समिद्धः, and Pañchamukhī symbolising the पंचब्रह्म conception based on the Vedic कामप्र पाङ्क्तयज्ञ of परमेष्ठी प्रजापति (Śatapatha, XI. 1.6.1-40). Liṅga is the symbol of the priac energy of the Creator, the highest principle of cosmic creation, the same as the great immortal god Agni of the Rīgveda (महोदेवो मर्त्या आविवेश, IV. 58.3) and of the Brāhmaṇas, as explained in the formulas :—

अग्निर्वै सर्वा देवताः (ऐतरेय २।३)

सर्वदेवत्योऽग्निः (शतपथ ६।१।३।१०)

यो वै रुद्रः सोऽग्निः (शतपथ ५।२।४।१३,

५।३।१।१०, ६।१।३।२०)

एष रुद्रः यदग्निः (तैत्तिरीय १।१।५।८-९, १।१।६।६)

रुद्रोऽग्निः	(तांब्य १२।४।२४)
सर्वेषामु ह्येष देवानामात्मा यदग्निः	(शतपथ ७।४।१।२५)
त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महो दिवः	(ऋग्वेद २।१।६)

In the Vedic यज्ञविद्या, Agni in its concrete form is the same as पशु :—

अग्निर्वै पशूनामीष्टे	(श० ४।३।४।११)
तऽपते सर्वे पशवो यदग्निः	(श० ६।२।१।१२)
अग्निर्ह्येष यत्पशवः	(श० ६।२।१।१२)
पशुरेष यदग्निः	(श० ६।४।१।२)
अग्निर्हि देवानां पशुः	(ऐतरेय १।१५)
ते देवा अब्रुवन् पशुर्वाऽग्निः	(श० ६।३।१।२२)

(हंसराज, वैदिक कोश)

This ancient doctrine of Paśu was much elaborated in the Pāśupata philosophy and lifted to a metaphysical plane :

रुद्रः पशुपतिश्चैव पशुपाशविमोचकः ।

यः पशुस्तपशुत्वञ्च व्रतेनानेन संत्यजेत् ॥ (लिंग० १।७२।४३)

The Devas, Asuras and Manushyas, or the entire creation is Paśu : तस्माद्द्वै पशवः सर्वे देवासुरनराः प्रभो (ib. I. 72. 42). It is essential to purify the animal or demoniacal nature inherent in all beings by dedicating one's self to the Divine Lord Paśupati, and subjecting it to a course of *sādhana*. Divine Life is not haphazard or riotous living, but a यज्ञ or planned living in accordance with the cosmic laws. The founders of the Pāśupata system were inspired with the ideal of the highest purity of life and self-realisation through Yoga. The Purāṇas serve as veritable documents of this once powerful and inspiring faith, whose adherents together with the Bhāgavatas established themselves on ancient Vedic foundations and built new edifices of thought and practical religion full of vitality which attracted even the best minds like Kalidāsa and Bāṇa. The Līṅga Purāṇa is a sublime Pāśupata text, specific and clear and singularly free from those

unedifying phases which later on marred the history of the faith. This Purāṇa* has preserved the early tenets of the

* The present version of the Liṅga Purāṇa (Jivanand edn.) is divided into two portions, पूर्वार्ध of 108 adhyāyas and उत्तरार्ध of 55 adhyāyas :—
 त्रैलोक्यादशसाहस्रं पुराणं लैङ्गमुत्तमम् । अष्टोत्तरशताध्यायमादिमांशमतःपरम् ॥ ३६ ॥
 षट्चत्वारिंशदध्यायं धर्मकामार्थमोक्षदम् । (उत्तरार्ध अ० ५५)

It appears that this division was arbitrarily imposed on the original unitary text by later redactors who were the Pāsupatas themselves. In the third stage the Vaiṣṇavas added chs. 1-8 at the beginning of the उत्तरार्ध, in which Nārāyaṇa is glorified in a dialogue between Ambariṣa and Nārada. Without this accretion the Uttarārdha is left with about 46 chs. The Uttarārdha also describes the षोडशदान (chs. 28-44) which was based on the षोडशमहादान of the Matsya Purāṇa (chs. 274-289)

The original Liṅga Purāṇa of 108 chs. seems to have been a compact text of the Kuṣāṇa age when the Pāsupatas were in full glory. The उत्तरार्ध of chs. 9-27 was a supplement by the Pāsupata teachers of the Gupta age. The षोडशदान chapters much inferior in spirit and literary skill floated into that text. Chs. 1-8 of the Uttarārdha are lamentably inane and constitute a later Vaiṣṇava grafting. Only the Kauṣika story in ch. 1, is of value. Tearing the veil of motifs in this story, we may identify Kauṣika with Kuṣika, the great founder-teacher of the Lakulīṣa sect (I, 24, 131). [The References to Liṅga Purāṇa as I and II denote its पूर्वार्ध and उत्तरार्ध and the next two figures the adhyāya and sloka respectively.] Kuṣasthala seems to be Ujjayinī (See Kuṣasthālī in Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 111), where Mālava-Mālavi are said to have supported Kauṣika and his disciples. It appears that Kuṣika whom Pāsupata history regards to have been a brilliant organiser moved from Kāyāvarohaṇa to Ujjayinī, and thence the faith spread through Dhundhumūka, or Rajasthan area. Dhundhu was the presiding spirit of the Marudhanva region (according to Āraṇyaka-parvan) who had been converted to the Vaiṣṇava faith by king Kuvalāśva. This implies that the Pāsupatas first became entrenched in Ujjayinī and then spread towards the Vaiṣṇava centre of Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva in Nagari or ancient Madhyamikā near Chittor where an inscription records the building of the Nārāyaṇa-Vaṭaka monument. The Pāsupata teachers then moved northwards—आदाय सर्ववित्तञ्च ततस्ते जगमुत्तराम् । दिशमासाद्य कालेन कालधर्मेण योजिताः ॥ (II, 1. 34-35).

The identification of Kauṣika with Kuṣikāchārya becomes quite probable when we remember that the Pūrvarḍha makes explicit mention of Lakuli born at Kāyāvarohaṇa and to his four disciples named कुशिक, गर्ग, मित्र, and कौरुष्य :—

भविष्यामि तदा ब्रह्मन् लकुली नाम नामतः ॥ १२९ ॥

Pāśupatas, when they were saturated with the background of Vedic thought which was incorporated freely into this system, as also in that of the Bhāgavatas (cf. Kālidāsa, श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत्, रघु० २।२.)

At the outset the त्रिदेव idea is further clarified in terms of the त्रिगुण conception :—

तमसा कालरुद्राख्यं रजसा कनकाण्डजम् ।

सत्त्वेन सर्वगं विष्णुं निर्गुणत्वे महेश्वरम् ॥ (I. 1. 22)

Tamas is Kāla-Rudra, Rajas is Brahmā, Sattva is Vishṇu, and that who is beyond the guṇas is Maheśvara. This belief that Maheśvara transcends the triple qualities is frequently repeated and led to the name माहेश्वर being applied to the Pāśu-patas.

कायावतार इत्येनं सिद्धक्षेत्रञ्च वै तदा ।

भविष्यति सुविद्यतां यावद्भूमिर्धरिष्यति ॥ १३० ॥

तत्रापि मम ते पुत्रा भविष्यन्ति तपस्विनः ।

कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौरुष्य एव च ॥ १३१ ॥

योगात्मानो महात्मानो ब्राह्मणा वेदपारगाः ।

प्राप्य माहेश्वरं योगं विमला ह्यूर्ध्वरेतसः ॥ १३२ ॥

एते पाशुपताः सिद्धाः भस्मोद्धूलितविग्रहाः ॥ १३३ ॥

लिङ्गाचर्चनरता नित्यं बाह्याभ्यन्तरतः स्थिताः ॥ १३५ ॥ (I. 24)

Kusika was a historical person since it is mentioned in the above Mathura Inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (380-81 A.D.) that the two Śaiva pontifs Uditāchārya and Kapilāchārya were tenth in descent from him. What the author of the Kushāna period has said in very reverential terms has been put in slighting terms in the Liṅga Purāṇa to paint him as a devotee of Hari.

The Pūrvārtha opens not with the usual invocatory verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य, a sure भागवत stamp, but with नमो रुद्राय हरये ब्रह्मणे परमात्मने । प्रधानपुरुषेशाय सर्गस्थित्यन्तकारिणे ॥ (I. 1. 1.), a statement of Trideva synthesis, repeated in I. 1. 18. However, the motif of Nārada, who appears as one of the interlocutors in the Pāñcharātra recensions of a great many Purāṇic works and discourses, is introduced, who after paying reverential homage to Śiva in several tirthas, comes to Naimisha and joins the audience assembled to hear Sūta's discourse.

It was an obligation on the author to define his idea of
Līṅga :

अलिङ्गो लिङ्गमूलन्तु अव्यक्तं लिङ्गमुच्यते ।
अलिङ्गः शिव इत्युक्तो लिङ्गं शैवमिति स्मृतम् ॥ १ ॥
प्रधानं प्रकृतिश्चेति यदाहुर्लिङ्गमुत्तमम् । २
विग्रहो जगतां लिङ्गमलिङ्गादभवत् स्वयम् ॥ ४ ॥

(I. 3)

The Unmanifest Principle is अलिङ्ग and the manifest Universe (Pradhāna) is लिङ्ग ; Prakṛiti is लिङ्ग and शिव is अलिङ्ग, — such was the basic metaphysical position of the Māheśvara or Paśupata school. प्रकृति is the consort or शक्ति of शिव and पुरुष or शिव himself is लिङ्ग :—

प्रकृतिस्तस्य पत्नी च पुरुषो लिङ्गमुच्यते ।

(I. 75. 9)

As explained in the Mbh. the व्यक्त is the object of senses and the अव्यक्त is called लिङ्ग :—

इन्द्रियैः सृज्यते यद् यत् तत् तद् व्यक्तमिति स्मृतम् ।

अव्यक्तमिति विज्ञेयं लिङ्गग्राह्यमतीन्द्रियम् ॥

(आरण्यकपर्व, २०२. ॥)

It is the power of अलिङ्ग which transforms its लिङ्ग manifestation into 7, 8, or 11 different forms, which was an obvious reference to the Seven Prāṇas, or Eight Mūrtis of Śiva (called the Eight Names of Kumāra in the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas), or the Eleven Rudras :

सप्तधा चाष्टधा चैव तथैकादशधा पुनः ।

लिङ्गान्यलिङ्गस्य तथा मायया विततानि च ॥ (I, 3, 5)

Whatever be the varying number of Tattvas (सृष्ट्यारम्भक पदार्थs) in earlier literature, the Purāṇas synthesize them into three categories which they designate as त्रिदेव :—

तेभ्यः प्रधानदेवानां त्रयमासोच्छिवात्मकम् ।

एकस्मात् त्रिष्वभूद् विश्वमेकेन परिरक्षितम् ॥६॥

एकेनैव हृतं विश्वं व्याप्तं त्वेवं शिवेन तु ॥७॥ (I. 3)

What Manu mentions as बीजप्रदः पिता, is called here—‘अलिङ्गी भगवान् बीजी स एव परमेश्वरः’ (I. 3. 8). शिव is पुरुष and प्रकृति is शैवी, also called अजा, as in the Upanishads :—

तामजां लोहितां शुक्लां कृष्णामेकां बहुप्रजाम् ॥१३॥

अजा जनित्री जगतां साजेन समधिष्ठिता ॥१४॥ (I. 3)

This अजा produces for the sake of creation the Primordial Principle of महत् (I. 3. 15). Then follows the scheme of Sāṅkhya cosmogony which both the Śaivas and the Bhāgavatas accepted *in toto* with their particular retouching. Along with this the scheme of Vedic cosmogony described by Manu in terms of the हिरण्यण्ड (Golden Egg), the same as the Vedic हिरण्यगर्भ, was also admitted in both the Pāśupata and Pāñcharātra systems.

Out of the Egg is born Brahmā (जलबुद्बुदवत्तस्मादवतीर्णः पितामहः, I. 3. 28) ; he is identical with रुद्र and विष्णु when functioning in the cosmos :

स एव भगवान् रुद्रो विष्णुर्विश्वगतः प्रभुः । (I. 3. 29)

The cosmos is a single Egg, but within it each Prāṇic centre is itself an egg :

कोटिकोटियुतान्यत्र चाण्डानि कथितानि तु (I. 3. 33)

The egg is thus a pulsating unit of life with its throbbing nucleus called Brahmā, from the root वृह् to grow, since it represents the principle of growth which inheres in each egg (तस्यात्मा कमलासनः, I.3.33 ; cf. Manu, तस्मिञ्ज्ञे स्वयं ब्रह्मा सर्वलोकपितामहः). Within the Egg is an epitome of the world (तस्मिन्ण्डे त्विमे लोका अन्तर्विश्वमिदं जगत्, I. 3.29). The inner world of the Egg reflects the enveloping macrocosm outside it. Both comprise seven Principles, viz. The Five Elements, Ahaṁkāra (the principle of Individuation) and Mahat (of Universalisation) (I. 3.30-32). These seven enveloping shells are the (सप्ताण्डावरण, I. 3-33). In each centre the

activating Triad is Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, the same as the Triple Guṇas, which derive their energy from the Transcendent Principle who is God Maheśvara or Sadāśiva (I. 3.34-38). Then follows a Purāṇic summary of the अहोरात्रवाद, the Vedic doctrine of Time (कालवाद) which dominated the whole field of Vedic cosmogony (cf. the Kālasūktas in the Atharva and the list of कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा in the Śvetāśvatara Up. where काल heads the list). Creation is अहः and dissolution is रात्रि, but both are only relative (औपचारिक, I. 4. 2) for the Absolute is beyond both. The Kalpa is equal to सहस्रयुग, the period of a thousand aeons, equal to 14 Manus. Vedic मनु-विद्या is the Purāṇic मन्वन्तर विद्या. Both the Śaiva and Bhāgavata schools not only subscribed to the ancient sublime doctrine of काल but also endowed it with amplified versions (cf. I, 4 and 54). In contemporary Persia also the sect of the Zarvanites believed in the doctrine of Boundless Time (*Zārvāno-i-akanarak*) according to which the Creator Ahurmazda produced Light and brought forth a number of persons all of light (The Zaravanite System, *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Sanjana*, p. 72). This corresponds to Sūrya and his sons the Manus of the Indian version. The notion of Infinite Time is artistically woven in the following verses :

कोटिकोटिसहस्राणि कल्पानां मुनिसत्तमाः ॥ ४९ ॥
 गतानि तावच्छेषाणि अहर्निश्यानि वै पुनः ॥ ५० ॥
 गुणानां चैव वैषम्ये विप्राः सृष्टिरिति स्मृता ॥ ५२ ॥
 साम्ये लयो गुणानान्तु तयोर्हेतुर्महेश्वरः ।
 लीलया देवदेवेन सर्गास्वीदृग्विधाः कृताः ॥ ५३ ॥
 असंख्याताश्च संक्षेपात् प्रधानादन्वधिष्ठितात् ।
 असंख्याताश्च कल्पाख्या ह्यसंख्याताः पितामहाः ॥ ५४ ॥
 हरयश्चाप्यसंख्यातास्त्वेक एव महेश्वरः ॥ ५५ ॥ (I. 4.)

The Vedic doctrine of अदिति and दक्ष (Rv. X, 72) is adapted in the Purāṇas as the story of Dakṣha Prajāpati and his Yajña. Dakṣha had many daughters, the eldest Satī being wedded

to Śaṅkara, but not reconciled to him (I. 5). This refers to अग्नि-सोम विद्या; शिव is अग्नि and सती is सोम, both repelling each other but later on in the अर्धनारी-नरवपु, पार्वती becomes the one-half of him. Śiva is अग्नि and पार्वती is सोम and the Ardhanārīśvara form is the symbol of the eternal Yajña in the अग्नीषोमात्मक universe :—

अहमग्निर्महातेजाः सोमश्चैषा महाम्बिका ।

अहमग्निश्च सोमश्च प्रकृत्या पुरुषः स्वयम् ॥

(Linga., I. 34. 7)

The Śaiva tradition specialises in the symbolism of the Vedic Agni-vidyā and the Vaiṣṇava in that of the Soma-vidyā which were amplified in a rich concrete symbolism in the Purāṇas. Rudra is said to be Agni and Kārttikeya as Śiva's son is Agni's son, whose birth is a favourite theme in the Purāṇas. A kindred topic was that of Agni-vaṁśa describing the 49 forms of Agni, of which the Sacrificial Three Fires (यज्ञाग्नित्रेता) are पवमान-पावक-शुचि belonging to पृथिवी-अन्तरिक्ष-द्यौः (I. 6. 1-3). These Fires are all forms of one Rudra (रुद्रात्मक; cf. अग्निर्वै रुद्रः in the Brāhmaṇas). Like one Agni there is the One Transcendent Rudra, whose emanations are the numberless Rudras (I. 6. 11-16), all of similar blue-red hue (नील-लोहित, vs. 11, 13; Śiva as Fire is नीललोहित (vs. 25), the one source of the dualism of light and heat, i.e. the ज्योति of सूर्य and अग्नि; or अमृत-मृत्यु, etc.*

* Ch. 1. 7. opens with an account of व्यासावतार and योगाचार्यावतार, the latter of course being the पाशुपत, whose foundation members comprised 4 Teachers (I. 7. 9) :

कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौहूय एव च ।
शिष्यास्त्वेते महात्मानः सर्वावर्तेषु योगिनाम् ॥ ५१ ॥
विमला ब्रह्मभूयष्टा ज्ञानयोगपरायणाः ।
एते पाशुपता सिद्धा भस्मोद्भूतविग्रहाः ॥ ५२ ॥
शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्च तेषां शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ।
प्राप्य पाशुपतं योगं रद्रलोकाय संस्थिताः ॥ ५३ ॥

It is a faithful picture of the Pāsupata Siddha order.

The conception of पशु formed a significant theme of these tenets :

देवादयः पिशाचान्ताः पशवः परिकीर्तिताः ।

तेषां पतित्वात् सर्वेशो भवः पशुपतिः स्मृतः ॥ (I. 7. 54)

तेन प्रणीतो रुद्रेण पशूनां पतिना द्विजाः ।

योगः पाशुपतो ज्ञेयः परावरविभूतये ॥ (I. 7. 54-55)

It presents almost a literal translation of the Vedic doctrine of पशुविद्या—

अग्निर्वै पशूनामीष्टे (श० ४।३।४।११)

अग्निर्ह्येष यत्पशवः (श० ६।२।१।१२)

पशुरेष यदग्निः (श० ६।४।१।२; ७।२।४।३०; ७।३।२।१७)

ते देवा अब्रुवन्पशुर्वा अग्निः (श० ६।३।१।२२)

देवा यद् यज्ञं तन्वाना अबध्नन्पुरुषं पशुम् (Rv. X. 90-15)

All manifest life takes the form of a Paśu :—

तस्मादाहुः प्राणाः पशवः । स (प्रजापतिः) प्राणेभ्य एवाधिपशून् निरमिमीत ।

(श० ७।५।२।६)

प्राणाः पशवः

(तैत्तिरीय ३।२।८।९)

Each centre of individual material manifestation is a पशु and a यज्ञ with the dual constituents of Agni and Soma :

कतमो यज्ञ इति पशव इति (श० १।१।६।३९)

पशवो हि यज्ञः (श० ३।१।४।९; ३।२।३।११)

(प्रजापतिः) तेषु (पशुषु) एतं (अग्निं) अपश्यत्तस्माद्वैवैते पशवः

(श० ६।२।१।४)

शिव as पशुपति is सर्वदेवमय (I. 65-162) and यज्ञपति (I. 62. 169). The animal forms are Paśus by the simple logic of their being concrete or visible forms of Agni or energy :

Wherever there is Agni, there is Yajña, and Yajña builds the पशुव्या चित्ति in the form of the body. The ancient अग्नि-पशु-विद्या became the Paśupata Yoga of the Purāṇas. Yajña consists of व्रत (अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि) and दीक्षा (व्रतेन दीक्षामाप्नोति); the पाशुपत योग is also a planned session of व्रत and दीक्षा extending over

the period of whole life (नैष्ठिक), or 12 years, or 6 years, or 3 years, or 12 months or even 12 days.¹ Seemingly new, this was an old conception of Paśu fully accepted in the Vedic ritual. There were only five मेध्य or यज्ञीय Paśus, viz. पुरुष, अश्व, गौ, अवि, अज (Śatapatha, 6. 2. 1. 2.); of these, पुरुष is the foremost animal, he is the primeval victim fastened to the sacrificial stake :

देवा यद् यज्ञं तन्वाना अबध्नन् पुरुषं पशुम् । (Rv. X. 90. 15)

Prajāpati himself undergoes the dismemberment of his body for purposes of creation and that is the theme of the Purusha Sūkta.

The symbolism of the Five Paśus may be explained as follows:—

1. पुरुष (Man) — Mind, Consciousness (मनः or प्रज्ञा or आत्मा)
2. अश्व (Horse)— Prāṇa, Energy (प्राण or असु)
3. गौ (Cow) — Five Elements (पंचभूत, collectively called वाक्)
4. अवि (Sheep)—Symbol of Agni } असृक् or blood or the
5. अज (Goat)—Symbol of Soma } 'Burning Water of Life'

This symbolism has other explanations also, since, the Paśus correspond to the Five Elements (पंचभूत) which externalise the Unmanifest Principle and are therefore real पशवः, i. e. manifest creatures in flesh and blood, material and earth-bound. As Pt. Madhusudan Ojha has explained :

भूपृष्ठे उत्पन्ना दूर्वोषधिवनस्पतिप्राणिशरीराद्याः पशवः । त इमे पशवोऽग्निः ।

तेनाग्निना पशुभिर्यज्ञः संपद्यते ।

(आधिदैविकाध्याय, p. 38).

येचाप्यन्ये चरिष्यन्ति व्रतं पाशुपतं मम ॥ ३९ ॥

मोक्षयन्ति ते न सन्देहः पशुत्वात्सुरसत्तमाः ।

नैष्ठिकं द्वादशाब्दं वा तद्धं वर्षकत्रयम् ॥ ४० ॥

शुश्रूषां कारयेद्यस्तु स पशुत्वाद्धिसुच्यते ॥ ४१ ॥ (I. 72)

व्रतं पाशुपतं प्रोक्तं भवेन परमेष्ठिना ।

व्रतेनानेन भूतेश पशुत्वं नैव विद्यते ॥ ४२ ॥

अथ द्वादशवर्षं वा मासद्वादशकं तु वा ।

दिनद्वादशकं वापि कृत्वा तद्व्रतमुत्तमम् ॥ ५० ॥

मुच्यन्ते पशवः सर्वे पशुपशौर्भवस्य तु ॥ ५१ ॥ (I. 80)

This was a subject elaborated under Vedic विराज् विद्या, comprising 10 constituent parts, viz. कुमार अग्नि, and 8 forms of चित्राग्नि (also called शिष्ण्याग्नि in the Vedic ritual, and अष्टमूर्ति in the Purāṇas and the Pāśupata system) and the last पाशुकाग्नि अग्नि (same as the पशव्या चिति) i. e. the animal physical body composed of the Five Elements, which is elaborated in the पंचचितिक अग्नि चयन of the ritual, or the building of the Fire-Altar in five layers (viz. अग्नि चिति or वेदि चिति symbolising the human body).

The principal object of this ancient symbolism is the physical body comprising Life, Mind and Matter, or as stated in the R̥gveda :

भूम्या असुः असृग् आत्मा (I. 164.:4)

'the blood of earth, the life, the spirit.' (Griffith). These three becoming manifest in the body or in each cell constitute Life or प्राणवान् पशु. प्राण is the Inner Light whose beams oscillate between the two poles :

अन्तश्चरति रोचनास्य प्राणादपानती ।

व्यख्यन्महिषो दिवम् ॥ (Rv. X. 189. 2)

Light is effulgent in the sky and on the earth : He is the Supreme Bull—the Fire, Sun or Prāṇa.

The Pāśupatas borrowing these archaic symbols turned them to new advantage¹ and devised a fresh terminology, e. g. Pañcha-Brahma, and Aṣṭa-Mūrti, both of which are explained at length in the Liṅga Purāṇa. Their view-point is as broad as the old one : the Angels, Titans and Men are all Paśus. Rudra Paśupati is the Lord of Paśus. He is the Divine Power to unloosen the bonds of the Paśus. A Paśu can get rid of his bonds by means of the Pāśupata Vow.¹ This is a restatement

1. तस्माद्द्वै पशवः सर्वे देवासुरनराः प्रभोः ।

रुद्रः पशुपतिश्चैव पशुपाशविमोचकः ।

यः पशुस्तत् पशुत्वञ्च व्रतेनानेन संत्यजेत् ॥

(Liṅga Purāṇa, 2. 42. 43).

of the Vedic idea of the three-fold bonds of Varuṇa with which each Śuṇaḥsepa is tied to the stake. The higher bond (उत्तमपाश) enchains the Mind (मनस्), the middle one (मध्यमपाश) the Prāṇa, and the lower one (अधम पाश) the Body :

उदुत्तमं वरुणपाशमस्मदवाधमं वि मध्यमं श्रथाय ।

अथा वयमादित्य व्रते तवानागसो अदितये स्याम ॥

(Rv. I. 24, 15)

Here also the appeal is to Āditya, viz. Rudra¹, whose व्रत is invoked for emancipation from the bonds of sin (आगस्).

(To be continued)

1. Rudra is termed नीलग्रीव and gliding, in Yajus, XVI. 17 (असौ योऽव-
सर्पति नीलग्रीवो विलोहितः), which Griffith rightly interprets as the Sun or Āditya
who like Rudra is नीललोहित, i. e. of blue and red rays.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE PURĀṆAS

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

English Translation of the Matsya Purāṇa

(Panini Office, Allahabad, 1916).

- (1) The Date of the Mahābhārata and the Matsya Purāṇa.
(from the Introduction to the Translation)

[The date has been derived from the astronomical data given in the Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 273, ślokas 39-44, Ān. edition]

- (2) The Date of the Matsya Purāṇa—The Sacrificial Session. (Appendix X.)

[Extracts from H. H. Wilson's articles.]

- (3) An Account of the Dynasties of the Kali Age after the War. (Appendix III.)

The account is based on chapters 271-273 of the Matsya Purāṇa.]

Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference, Vol. I.

- (4) The Story of Yayati as found in the Matsya Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata. A Textual Comparison. (By Ganga Prasad Dixit)

[The metres and the textual differences arising out of the metrical differences of the two versions of the Story are discussed in detail. Metrical analysis of the trimetre stanzas of both the versions is also given.]

*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V.*

(Edited by M. M. Dr. Haraprasāda Shastri)

(5) The Matsya Purāṇa (Preface, pp. CLCCCVII–CXCI)

[The original MP. consisted only of 103 chapters which contain interlocutions between Matsya and Manu ; then several revisions and additions. The genealogies were added in two instalments, first ending in ch. 51, and the second beginning in ch. 271. The MP. adds many more characteristics to the five ordinary ones (Pañcha Lakshaṇas).]

J. G. B. I., Allahabad, Vol. IX., Parts 2–4, Feb.–Aug. 1952.

(6) The Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa. (By Manoranjan Shastri, Assam)

[Two Mss. of this Purāṇa were procured from Kamrupa District. They are written in old Assamese characters. Only some Assamese and Bengali writers in Dharmasāstra have referred to this work by name ; it is compiled in 49 chapters, all except first five deal with Dharmasāstra. Except the 1st, 2nd, and the last, all are taken from the ritualistic manuals, compiled during the 1st half of the 11th century A. D.]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda

Vol. VI. No. I, Sept. 1956.

(7) The Cult of Manes as Depicted in the Matsya Purāṇa.
(By S. G. Katawala M. A.)

[Various classifications of the S'rāddhas dealt with in the Matsya Purāṇa ; the mode of performing Ś'rāddha rites also discussed. The importance of the group of three Pitṛis ; emphasis of MP on Sapta-Purusha-Sāpiṇḍya.

Primitive Community-worship changed to family-worship ; some of the elements of *vikira* rites are probably a remnant of the primitive community-worship.]

The Vishṇu Purāṇa, translated by H. H. Wilson, London, 1840.

(Preface.)

(8) MATSYA PURĀṆA.

[The account of the Matsya-avatāra and the preservative of Manu is also given in the Mahābhārata, but in a primitive simplicity, and so is of a much more antique compilation than the mysticism and extravagance of the actual Matsya Purāṇa. This is a miscellaneous compilation, but including in its contents the elements of a genuine Purāṇa. It is indebted to various works, not only for its matter, but also for its words, specially to the Padma Purāṇa which it quotes on one occasion.]

Our Heritage, Calcutta, Vol. II. Part I.

(9) MATSYA PURĀṆA MENTIONED BY NAME IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (from an article by Asoka Chatterji, on the Padma Purāṇa).

[In the course of discussing the early origin of the Purāṇic literature the writer points out that the Mahābhārata knew individual Purāṇas in some form or other at least at certain stages of its growth. The Mahābhārata expressly mentions 'Vāyu-Prokta Purāṇa' and the 'Mātsyaka-Purāṇa' with some of their contents, although very little of these contents is to be found in the present Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas. The verse mentioning the Matsya Purāṇa by name is :—

तपसा महतायुक्तः सोऽथ स्रष्टुं प्रचक्रमे ॥
सर्वाः प्रजा मनुः साक्षाद् यथावद् भरतर्षभ ॥
इत्येतन्मात्स्यकं नाम पुराणं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

Poona ed. iii. 185.521539.

Alberuni's India. (Trübner' Oriental Series).

(10) QUOTATIONS FROM THE MATSYA PURĀṆA BY ALBERUNI.

[Alberuni has quoted from the Matsya Purāṇa in the following chapters of his book :—

Ch. XXIII—Mount Meru and the mountains of the earth in the Matsya Purāṇa.

Ch. XXIV—Description of the Dvīpas according to the Matsya and Vishṇu Purāṇas.

Ch. XXV—Quotations from the Matsya Purāṇa on the rivers of India.

Ch. XXVI—Quotations from the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas on the shape of Heaven and Earth.

Ch. XXVII—Quotations from the Matsya Purāṇa on the two motions of the Universe.

Ch. LXVI—An extract on Holy Pond from the Vāyu and the Matsya Purāṇas.

All these quotations are in the form of translation of the ślokas of the Matsya Purāṇa ; but this Matsya Purāṇa must have differed from the present Matsya Purāṇa, for all his quotations are not found in the present MP.]

(To be continued)

**Diacritical signs used
same as in the Epigraphia Indica.**

ऋ ri as Kṛishṇa (कृष्ण)

च ch
छ chh } as Kachchhapa (कच्छप)

श s'
ष sh } as Śesha (शेष)

अनुस्वार m as Samsāra (संसार)

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October 15, 1949

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