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पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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वसन्तपञ्चम्यङ्कः

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अम्बुवीचकृतं सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम् *

(स्कन्दपुरा०, नागर०, अ० ४६, श्लो० २२-३३, वैकटेश्वर० गंगवासी० च)

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* सारस्वततीर्थमाहात्म्यवर्णनप्रसङ्गे स्तोत्रमिदं स्कान्दे वर्त्तते । बलवर्धननाम्नि नृपतौ संग्रामे निहते, अग्न्यसुतस्याभावेऽम्बुवीचिनामा तस्य बालः सुतो मूकोऽपि सन् मन्त्रिभी राज्ये स्थापितः । वसिष्ठवचनाच्च सोऽम्बुवीचिः सारस्वततीर्थे स्नात्वा तत्क्षणादेव मूकभावाद् विमुक्तः कलस्वनो जातः । सरस्वत्या एव तत्प्रभावमिति विज्ञाय मृत्तिकया स्वयमेव चतुर्भुजां भारतीं कृत्वा मध्ये शिलापृष्ठे च तां निवेश्य धूपमाल्यादिभिः पूजयित्वा च श्रद्धापूतमनसा तदग्रे प्रयतो भूत्वा महता स्वरेणेमां स्तुतिं चकार । (श्लो० ४-२१) ।

१. 'तुष्टिकाष्ठा' इति पाठे छन्दोदोषोऽत्र विद्यते, 'तुष्टिः' पदं च पूर्वं (२६ श्लोके) पठितमेव । परन्तु वेङ्कटेश्वरप्रेससंस्करणे वङ्गवासीप्रेससंस्करणे चोभयत्रायमेव पाठो वर्त्तते । अतो लेखकादिप्रमादजनितो भ्रष्टपाठोऽयमित्यनुमीयते । अन्यच्च, इदमप्यनुमातुं शक्यते यत् 'काष्ठा' शब्दोऽत्रासमस्तं पृथक् पदमेवासीत्, यथा कठोपनिषदि 'सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः' इति । अथवा पुराणादिषु प्राचीनग्रन्थेषु छन्दोदोषस्य प्रायेणोपेक्षितत्वात् 'तुष्टिकाष्ठा' पाठोऽपि समीचीन इति मत्वा 'तुष्टेः काष्ठा' अर्थात् 'परा तुष्टिरिति व्याख्येयम् ।

इङ्गितं नेङ्गितं तच्च तद् रूपं ते सुरेश्वरि ।
 गन्धर्वाः किन्नरा देवाः सिद्धविद्याधरोरगाः ॥ ३० ॥
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 हरन्तु देवताः पापमन्ये त्वं कीर्त्तितापि च ॥ ३२ ॥

(आनन्दस्वरूप गुप्त)

STUDIES IN PURĀNIC HISTORY, GENEALOGIES AND
CHRONOLOGY IN MODERN TIMES

BY

D. R. MANKAD

[पुराणानां पाठसंशोधनार्थं, तेषामन्तःसाक्ष्यमाश्रित्य भारतवर्षस्य प्राचीनेतिहासस्य पुनर्निर्माणार्थं, पुराणोक्तराजवंशवर्णनान्याश्रित्य प्राचीन-राजां शुद्धराजवंशावलीनां निर्माणार्थं, पुराणानां साहाय्येन पुरावृत्तानां कालक्रमावधारणार्थं च बहुभिर्विद्वद्भिरेतावत्कालपर्यन्तं कृतानां प्रयत्नानां सिंहावलोकनं विदुषा लेखकेन श्रीमानकडमहोदयेनास्मिन् लेखे क्रियते । तद्यथा —

१. पुराणानां शुद्धपाठनिर्धारणम्— अस्मिन् विषये (१) ब्राङ्गलदेशीयेन पार्जिटरमहोदयेन 'डाइनेस्टीज् आफ कलि-एज' ('कलि-युगराजवंशावली') ग्रन्थे (१९१३ ई०), (२) जर्मनदेशीयेन किरफल महाशयेन च 'पुराणपञ्चलक्षण'ग्रन्थे (१९२७) 'प्रशांसाहं कार्यं कृतम्; (३) गार्गीसंहितोक्तस्य 'युगपुराण'स्य शुद्धपाठयुक्तानि संस्करणानि जायसवालमहोदयेन (१९२८), ध्रुवमहोदयेन (१९३०) मानकडमहोदयेन (१९५१) च सम्पादितानि; (४) काशिराजन्यास-संस्थयाऽधुना मत्स्यपुराणसम्पादनाय (५) गुजरातविद्यासभाद्वारा च भागवतपुराणसम्पादनार्थं प्रयत्नाः क्रियन्ते ।

२. पुराणानां साहाय्येन भारतेतिहासनिर्माणम्— अस्यां दिशायां सर्वश्री (१) सर विलियम जोन्स (१७९३ ई०), (२) पार्जिटर ('एनशियन्ट इंडियन हिस्टोरिकल ट्रेडिशन' = 'प्राचीनभारतीयेतिहासपरम्पराः', १९२२), (३) रायचौधरी ('पोलिटिकल हिस्ट्री आफ एनशियन्ट इंडिया' = 'प्राचीनभारतस्य राजनैतिकइतिहासः', १९२३), (४) सीतानाथप्रधान ('क्रॉनोलोजी आफ एनशियन्ट इंडिया' = 'प्राचीनभारतेतिहासस्य कालक्रमः', १९२७), (५) पुसाळकर ('इन दि वैदिक एज' = 'वैदिकयुगे', १९५२), (६) अल्तेकर, (७) श्रीरंगराघव (प्राचीन भारतीय परम्परा और इतिहास, १९५४), (८) पी० एल० भार्गव ('इंडिया इन दि वैदिक एज' = 'वैदिकयुगे भारतम्', १९५६), (९) जयचन्द्रविद्यालंकार ('भारतीय इतिहास की रूपरेखा'), (१०) भगवद्दत्त ('भारतवर्ष का इतिहास'),

(११) श्रीरंगाचार्य ('प्रि-मुसल्मान इंडिया' = 'मुसल्मानकालात् प्राक् भारतम्'), (१२) के० पी० जायसवाल ('हिस्ट्री आफ इंडिया') (१३) एस० के० पिल्लै ('वैदिक हिस्ट्री', १९५९) प्रभृतिभिर्विद्वद्भिः कार्यं कृतम् ।

३. पौराणिकराजवंशावलीनामवधारणम्—अस्मिन् काले मौर्य-शुङ्ग-काण्व-आन्ध्रवंशीयानां राज्ञां पौराणिकराजवंशावलीविषये-स्नेकैर्विद्वद्भिर्द्विष्ययनं कृतम् । पुराणोक्तानामनेकेषां राज्ञां नामानि मुद्राशिलालेखादिभिरन्यैः प्रमाणैरपि समर्थितानि । जायसवालमहोदयेन भारशिवानां, वाकाटकानां, नागानां च विषयेऽध्ययनं कृत्वा मुद्रादिसामग्री-साहाय्येन तेषां याथार्थ्यं प्रतिपादितम्, 'युगपुराणं' च तेनैव प्रथमं सम्पादितम्, आन्ध्राणां (सातवाहननृपाणां) विषयेऽपि जायसवाल-मानकड-सेठना प्रभृतिभिर्विद्वद्भिर्विषया कृता । एवं मौर्यकालादारभ्य गुप्तकालपर्यन्तं पौराणिकराजवंशावलीनां सम्यग्ध्ययनं संजातम् । मौर्यकालात्प्राक्वर्तिनां नन्दानां प्रद्योतानां शैशुनागानां च विषयेऽपि विद्वद्भिर्द्विष्ययनमनुसंधानं च कृतम् । एच० सी० राय चौधरी, एस० एन० प्रधान, डी० आर० भण्डारकर-प्रभृतीनां विदुषां नामान्यत्र विषये ख्यातानि । महाभारतकालात्प्राक्वर्तिनां नृपाणां राजवंशावलीविषये श्री प्रधानेन सम्यग्गवेषणा कृता । रामपितुर्दशरथस्य दिवोदासस्य च यौगपद्यं निर्णयं महाभारतात्प्राक् रामं यावत् राजवंशावलीनां सम्यग् निर्धारणमपि तेन कृतम् । रामादारभ्य कृष्णपर्यन्तं चतुर्दश, पञ्चदश वा राजकुलानि (यादव-वीतथ्य-मगध-हस्तिनापुर-पाञ्चाल-अङ्ग-इक्ष्वाकु-कोशल-काशिप्रभृतीनि) बभूवुरिति तेन प्रतिपादितम् । श्रीमानकडमहोदयेन वैवस्वतमनोरारभ्य रामपर्यन्तं सप्तपञ्चाशत् नृपाः श्रुतायुपर्यन्तं च एकसप्ततिर्नृपा बभूवुरिति प्रतिपादितम् । 'पुराणं' (भाग २, अंक १-२) पत्रिकायां श्री रायकृष्णदासेनापि इक्ष्वाकु-वंशविषये केचिदुपयोगिनो विचाराः प्रकटीकृताः । पुनश्च, मयुरिति वंशनाम, मन्वन्तरं च वंशराज्यकाल इति श्रीमानकडेन प्रतिपादितम् । यद्यपि प्राचीनराज्ञां पुराणोक्तः क्रमः प्रामाणिको न सिध्यति, तथापि पुराणोक्तानां प्रायः सर्वेषामेव राज्ञामस्तित्वं तु सर्वथा प्रामाणिकमेव सिध्यति ।

४. कालक्रमानुसारेण भारतेतिहासस्य पुनर्निर्माणम्—प्राचीनभारतीय इतिहासः कालक्रमानुसारेणैतत् विभज्यते—(१) महाभारतात्प्राक् राजवंशावलयः, (२) महाभारतादारभ्य नन्दवंशपर्यन्तं राजवंशावलयः, (३) नन्दवंशादुत्तरकालवर्तिन्यो राजवंशावलयश्च । महाभारतप्राक्कालीनानां राज्ञां राज्यकालः पुराणेषु

नोक्तः, परन्तु महाभारतोत्तरकालीनानां वंशानां नृपाणां च राज्यकालः पुराणेषु कथित एव । आधुनिककाले नन्दवंशोत्तराणां राजवंशानामध्ययनं तु सम्यक्कृतम्, परन्तु नन्दवंशात् प्राक्वर्तिनां राज्ञां कालक्रमो नावधारितः । मगधसम्राट् चन्द्रगुप्तमौर्यो यवनसम्राजः सिकन्दरस्य समकालीन आसीदिति 'विलियमजोन्स' विदुषा प्रतिपादितम् । इदमेव मतमधुनाऽपि स्वीक्रियते, परन्तु केचन विद्वांसः 'सिकन्दरस्य समकालीनो गुप्तसम्राट् चन्द्रगुप्तप्रथमः आसीत्, न तु चन्द्रगुप्तमौर्यः' इति प्रतिपादयन्ति । राजतरंगिणीसम्पादकेन 'ट्रॉयर' नाम्ना विदुषा १८५८ ई० वर्षे मतमिदं प्रथमं प्रकाशितम् । तदनन्तरं च गोपाल ऐय्यर (१९०१), टी० एस० नारायणशास्त्री (१९१५), एम० कृष्णमाचार्य (१९३९), डी० आर० मानकड (१९५१) प्रभृतिभिर्विद्वद्भिरपि ट्रॉयरमतं समर्थितम् । तथापि भारतेतिहासस्य कस्मिंश्चिदप्याधुनिकग्रन्थे इदं मतं न सन्निवेशितं नापि समालोचितमिति त्वाश्चर्यम् ।

पुराणेषु परिक्षितमारभ्यैव कालक्रम ऊक्तः, परिक्षिन्नुपात् प्रारभ्य नन्दानां राज्यकालं यावत् १५०० वर्षाणि व्यतीतानीति पुराणेषु कथितम् । १५०० स्थाने १०१५, १११५, ११५० इति कालगणनाऽपि पाठान्तरेषु प्रोक्ता । पुनश्च, पुराणोक्तः कालक्रमः कलिवर्षं सप्तषिवर्षं मन्वन्तरं चाश्रित्य निश्चितः । आधुनिका विद्वांसस्तु कालक्रमविचारणे पुराणोक्तानां कलिवर्षादीनामुपेक्षामेव कुर्वन्ते—इति तु न समीचीनम् । महाभारता-प्राग्वर्तिनां राज्ञां राजवंशानां च कालक्रमावधारणेऽपि कैश्चिद्विद्वद्भिः किञ्चित् प्रयतनं कृतं, तथापि बह्वत्रकरणीयमास्ते ।]

In his Presidential address delivered at the last Indian History Congress, December 1960, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal had, while surveying studies in Indian history, only this to say (p. 14) about Purānic studies in modern times.

"A reconstruction of the Royal genealogies and chronology of the Vedic Age based entirely or partially on the Purānic data has likewise been attempted by Pargiter (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*), S. N. Pradhan (*Chronology of Ancient India*), H. C. Raychaudhary (*Political History of Ancient India*), A. D. Pusalkar (*In the Vedic Age*), and P. L. Bhargava (*India and the Vedic Age*)."

Perhaps, Dr. Ghoshal had no time or it was out of his scope, but he has omitted to take notice of many more attempts

that have been made in Purāṇic studies. I have, therefore, chosen the subject of '*Studies in Purāṇic History, Genealogies and Chronology in modern times*'. In doing so, I shall not enter into controversies, but shall state the results obtained by various scholars about Purāṇic History etc. I shall do this under four sections :—(1) Textual Reconstruction, (2) Historical Reconstruction, (3) Genealogical Reconstruction and (4) Chronological Reconstruction.

1. TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

1. Pargiter, in his '*Dynasties of Kali Age*' (1913), has collected Purāṇic texts concerning Kali dynasties, i. e. the dynasties starting just after the Mahābhārata war and coming upto the rise of the Guptas. His method of fixing the text has been eclectic, but he has quoted more recensions wherever he thought it necessary. He has also noted every available reading both from the printed editions and the manuscripts collected by him. This has preserved all the available evidence for us.

2. Kirfel in his '*Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*' (Bonn, 1927) did the same work as was done by Pargiter for the extended purpose of giving Purāṇic texts of the five traditional lakṣaṇas of the Purāṇas viz. Sarga, Pratisarga, Manvantara, Vamśa, and Vamśānucarita. Whereas Pargiter had to collate from only five Purāṇas, Kirfel had to collate from about nine Purāṇas. But Kirfel's foot-note material is not as rich as Pargiter's.

All the same, these two are very able pioneering efforts in Purāṇic textual reconstruction. Kirfel also collated text on Bhāratavarṣa, but that is geography. Unfortunately this has not been followed up. Only the recently started Kashi Raj Trust gives hopes in this direction. They have undertaken a critical edition of *Matsya Purāṇa*, and Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā at Ahmedabad have started work on a critical edition of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

The text of the *Yuga-purāṇa*, a historical chapter from *Gārgyasaṃhitā* has been edited by K. P. Jayswal, 1928 ; K. H. Dhruva, 1930 and D. R. Mankad, 1951.

Question whether the original Purāṇas were written in Prākṛta has been discussed by Pargiter, A. B. Dhruva, Pusalkar and others.

2. HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

This was first attempted by Sir William Jones in A. D. 1793, when he declared that the name of the Magadhan ruler, contemporary of Alexander was Chandragupta Maurya. Colonel Wilford took up this theme and later till the present day, this theme has been relied upon and strengthened by a number of scholars of ancient Indian History. And in this light, Purāṇic dynasties of Śaiśunāgas, Pradyotas, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas and Āndhras have been studied.

Then came Pargiter's great attempt in A. D. 1922, when he, in his '*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*', undertook the study of traditional and historical materials available in the various Purāṇas. This he did from the very beginning of Purāṇic history—the dynasty of Svāyambhuva Manu. He has established a number of synchronisms and his contribution has been invaluable in drawing our attention particularly to the period prior to the Pradyotas and Śaiśunāgas. It is he, who for the first time, proved that Purāṇas preserve genuine historical materials, which, when used with discretion, can yield important results. Results obtained by him are well-known and I need not re-tell them here.

H. C. Raychaudhary, in his '*Political History of Ancient India*' (A. D. 1923) took up detailed studies of the Purāṇic dynasties of Śaiśunāga, Pradyota, Nanda and Maurya families. He supplemented these studies by a detailed study of Buddhistic, Jain and Brahmanic sources. His studies have been, now, recognised as standard and therefore authoritative.

Dr. Sita Nath Pradhan, in his '*Chronology of Ancient India*' (1927) took up this inquiry further and studied the Purāṇic dynasties from the period of Rāma to Kṛṣṇa in details. He also included post-Mahābhārata dynasties of Bārhadrathas,

Śaiśunāgas, Pradyotas, Nandas and Mauryas in his studies. His work is very important and shows original insight. He has been able to establish many historical synchronisms, which Pargiter could not. He has, at places, corrected Pargiter's synchronisms. His singular achievement is his study of kings Divodāsa and Nala Naiṣadha. He has unmistakably established that Divodāsa Atithigva of the Ṛgveda was the same as Divodāsa of the Purāṇas and that he was a contemporary of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma. Another important result achieved by him is that Nala Naiṣadha was the father-in-law of the Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi Mudgala, the grand-father of Divodāsa.

Pusalkar in the *Vedic Age*, 1952, gives a connected history of Ancient India from Manu Vaivasvata to the Bhārata War and later. He has utilised the Purāṇic genealogies and has tried to reconstruct the history dynasty-wise.* It is for the first time that pre-Bhārata history of India is thus included in a book of Indian History. In his '*Studies in Epics and Purāṇas*' (1958) he has studied the question of Śrīkrṣṇa's historicity, which he has proved. He has also established the identity of Vedic Kuruśravaṇa with Purāṇic Kurusaṁvaraṇa. He has also surveyed Purāṇic studies in modern times.

A. S. Altekar in his Presidential address at Ancient section of the Indian History Congress (Calcutta) studied certain Purāṇic names and came to the conclusion that 'there is nothing unscientific or unhistorical in utilising the data of the Purāṇic genealogies of pre-Pāṇḍava period for reconstructing contemporary history after taking all due precautions.' He has also said that the various pre-Bhārata war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as real and historical as the Śaiśunāgas or the Mauryas or the Nandas.

Shri Rangaya Raghava, in his Hindi book '*Prācīna Bhāratiya Paramparā aur Itihāsa*' (1954) has given a detailed account of Purāṇic history under the periods which he had called Kirāta-Deva-Asura-Yuga, Satyayuga, Tretāyuga, Dvāparayuga,

* *Vedic Age*, pp. 270 ff.

Kaliyuga etc. He has utilised Purāṇic materials in great details. He has based his work on Pargiter, but has differed from him on several points. His is an attempt which takes Pargiter's researches further. His chapter on Kirāta-Deva Asura-Yuga is a noteworthy contribution.

P. L. Bhargava in his '*India in the Vedic Age*' (Lucknow 1956) has studied the Purāṇic materials in details for the purpose of reconstructing pre-Bhārata war period. He has tried to establish agreement between Vedic and Purāṇic traditions and thus has tried to establish several synchronisms which Pargiter could not and then he has tried to give the history of ancient India from Manu Vaivasvata to Bhārata War. He has tried to study the question of Āryan advent and expansion in India. His view* that—'the story of the flood, which is undoubtedly connected with the migration of the Āryas, suggests by a reference to 'Manu's descent' on the northern mountain that the Āryas originally lived near some mountain range to the north of Saptasindhu from where they descended into the plains of Saptasindhu, being compelled by a flood. This mountain range was either the Hindukush or the north western part of the Himalayas—is the only one that a student of Purāṇas can arrive at. I myself have held this view for a long time past.†

Shri Jayachandra Vidyānankāra (*Bhārataṛya Itihāsa kē Rāṅparekhā*), Shri Bbagavaddatta (*Bhāratavarṣa kē Itihāsa*), Shri Rangacharya (*Pre-Mussalman India*) have also tried to reconstruct Purāṇic History from the days of Manu Vaivasvata downwards.

K. P. Jayaswal, in his '*History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*' studied the Vākāṭaka and Nāga dynasties.

Shri S. K. Pillai, in his '*Vedic History (set in Chronology)*', Allahabad 1959, has utilised Vedic and Purāṇic materials and has tried to trace historical details of the Ṛṣis and Kings that ruled in Vedic Age.

* India in the Vedic Age, p. 26.

† He seems to be ignorant of the views of S. N. Pradhan and even Raychowdhary. He is also unaware of the 'Purāṇic Chronology.'

3. GENEALOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Purāṇic genealogies of the Maurya, Śuṅgas, Kāṇva and Āndhra dynasties have been studied by a number of scholars in modern times and their results are, now, commonly accepted. These studies have shown that out of 9 or 10 Purāṇic names of the Mauryas, those of Chandragupta, Bindusāra, Aśoka, Samprati, Śāliśuka are corroborated by other evidences. Similarly, out of ten Purāṇic names of Śuṅgas, those of Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra and Bhāgabhadra are corroborated by other evidences. So also out of the Purāṇic names of the Kāṇvas and Āndhras, some are corroborated and others are not.

K. P. Jayaswal¹ made a good study of the Bhāraśivas, Vākātakas and Nāgas and he established with the help of numismatic and other materials that these were real dynasties that actually ruled. Purāṇas name certain kings of these dynasties and he proved their historicity. He also ventured identifications of certain Purāṇic names, like Viśvasphūrji, Kāṇva, Pravīra with certain king-names from other sources. In this connection, I have postulated² that the Purāṇic Viśvasphūrji (with various spellings) is the same as Samudragupta.

Jayaswal, with the help of the *Yuga Purāṇa* which he edited for the first time, showed that Śāliśuka of the Purāṇic Maurya dynasty was a real king and that Indo-greek rule of Demetrius and others was proved by this small Purāṇa. The present writer also edited³ *Yuga Purāna*, with the help of a fresh Ms and showed the following :—

“ It will be seen that according to this Purāṇa, following is the sequence of events : (1) Śāliśuka i.e. the Mauryas. (2) After the Mauryas, at Sāketa ruled seven kings in succession and at Magadha ruled, at first, the five allied governors, then came anarchy, then a Śaka king and then the four kings

1. History of India from 150 A. D. to 350 A. D. (1933) Chapters 2-4.

2. Purāṇic Chronology (=PC) pp. 268 ff.

3. *Yuga Purana* edited by D. R. Mankad, Vallabhvidyanagar, 1951.

Amlāṭa and others. (3) Then came Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, who replaced, at Sāketa, the rule of the seven kings and at Magadha, the dynasty of Amlāṭa. (4) Then ruled three more Śuṅga kings. (5) Then a king ruled for 10 years. (6) And lastly, the Śakas overran the whole land.

This means that the Śuṅgas did not immediately follow the Mauryas, but between them there was a gap caused by foreign rule and anarchy. The evidence of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* makes it clear that there was a period at Magadha between the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas, during which no indigenous independent native king ruled there. In other words, it was a period of foreign rule and of disorder.

Similarly, if this Purāṇa is to be believed, the Kāṇvas did not follow the Śuṅgas immediately, but soon after the Śuṅgas, the Śakas overran the Northern India."

There are detailed studies made by several scholars about the Andhras i. e. the Sātavahanas.

Jayaswal postulated¹ that Caṇḍasena of the play Kaumudī-mahotsava was the same as Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and in my opinion this hypothesis of Jayaswal has never been really disproved. It has been supported by me,² Dasharatha Sharma,³ Sethna⁴ and others.

Thus the Purāṇic genealogies from the Mauryas to the Guptas have been studied well.

Then we take up the pre-Mauryan period of the Nandas, the Pradyotas, the Śaiśunāgas.

H. C. Raychowdhary has established⁵ that Purāṇic Pradyota and Śaiśunāga dynasties were not lineal but were collateral, that the Purāṇic Śaiśunāga dynasty was a composite dynasty, that this dynasty really started with Bimbisāra and

1. History of India pp. 113-4 ; 116-18.

2. PC. pp. 259 ff.

3. IHQ

4. Mother India, Aug. 1956 ff.

5. Political History of Ancient India, 1950 pp. 115-6 ; 222-3.

not with Śīsunāga, that the Bimbisāra family was called Haryaṅkakula, that Bimbisāra and his successors Ajātaśatru, Udāyi, Anuruddha Muṇḍā and Nāga Dāsaka (same as Darśaka) ruled in Magadha and that Śīsunāga's successor Purāṇic Kākavarṇa was the same as Kālāśoka of the Ceylonese chronicles.

S. N. Pradhan carried these studies further and showed¹ that the first two names of the Purāṇic Śīsunāga genealogy viz. Śīsunāga and Kākavarṇa were the same as the last two names of this dynasty viz. Nandivardhana and Mahānandi and that Śīsunāga of this dynasty, Viśākkhayūpa of the Pradyota dynasty, Sumitra of the Aikṣvāka dynasty and Kṣemaka of the Aila dynasty were all at the same step and therefore contemporaries.

To this I have added² that the Purāṇic Kalki, who started the new Kṛta Age and who was later taken as an Avatāra was a contemporary of these four kings viz. Śīsunāga, Viśākkhayūpa, Sumitra and Kṣemaka.

About the Nandas, D. R. Bhandarkar identified Purāṇic Mahānanda with Ugrasena of the Jain Literature and Raychowdhary³ and Pradhan⁴ accepted this view. These writers seem to accept the Buddhist statements as also Purāṇic statements that ten sons of Kālāśoka ruled for 22 years and then the nine Nandas starting with Mahāpadma ruled for another 22 years. In this connection I have said⁵ that Mahānanda (same as Kālāśoka) had 9 descendents who were Nandas and I have explained their period differently and have showed that then came Mahāpadma and his son, who together ruled for 86 years.

Purāṇic Bārhadhratha genealogy is hardly studied by any scholar. There is a paucity of corroborative evidence for this period. I have, however, shown⁶ that at one time, Bārhadhratha

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1. Chronology of Ancient India, pp. 211 ff.
 2. PC pp. 78 ff.
 3. PHAI p. 229-38.
 4. CAI p. 225.
 5. PC p. 87.
 6. PC p. 76.

list had included the names of Kṣemadhanvā and kṣatraujāh, who are now found in the Śaiśunāga list.

Coming to the Mahābhārata level, Raychowdhary has examined¹ the question of Parikṣit and has concluded that the two Parikṣits—Purānic and Vedic are identical.

For the pre-Mbh genealogies, there is no serious effort made with the sole exception of Pradhan.² He has, first, fixed the contemporaneity of Daśaratha and Divodāsa and has then, examined and reconstructed pre-Mbh genealogies upto the level of Rāma Daśarathi. He has ably shown that there were 14 or 15 generations from Rāma to Śrīkṛṣṇa in all the lines he has examined. He has examined the following lines:—Yādava, Vithavya, Magadha, Hastināpura, North and South Pāñcāla, Aṅga, Ikṣvāku, Janaka, South Kośala and Kāśī—and in all these lines he has shown that from the kings who were contemporaries of Daśaratha to the kings who were contemporaries of Śrīkṛṣṇa there were 14 or 15 names. He has also shown³ that the Aikṣvāka King Daśaratha, the father of Rāma, the Northern Pāñcāla king Atithigva Divodāsa, the brother of Ahalyā, Senajit, the southern Pāñcāla king, Sārvabhauma and Ṛkṣa II, the Sons of Vidūratha of the Hastināpura line, Kṛta, the father of Uparicara Vasu whose descendent Bṛhadratha I founded the kingdom of Magadha, Romapāda Daśaratha of the dynasty of Aṅga, Siradhvaaja Janaka the father of Sītā, king Satvanta of the Yadu dynasty and the father Vithavya, the Haihaya—all these ten kings belonged to the same age, namely the age of Divodāsa. He has also obtained a number of incidental results which are of great value in the reconstruction of our pre-Mbh period. I have examined⁴ the pre-Mbh Ayodhyā line from Vaivasvata Manu to the level and have confirmed the view of Pradhan that the kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala were collateral (and not lineal) to the kings from Kuṣa to Śaṅkhaṇa. I have put the number of Rāma Daśarathi to be 57th from

1. PHAI p. 12-21.

2. CAI pp. 3ff.

3. CAI p. 30.

4. PC p. 341 ff.

Manu Vaivasvata and that of Śrutāyu and Bṛhadbala to be 71st, thus taking 14 generations from Rāma to Kṛṣṇa.¹

This Ikṣavāku dynasty has also been examined by Shri Rai Krisnadas (*Purāṇa*, Vol. II, No. 1-2). He has proposed some reconstruction of this dynasty.

Reconstruction of this as well as other pre-Mbh Purāṇic genealogies is still to be made from the point of the references to some of these kings that we get in the Vedic and Epic literature. In this connection, I should point out that I have reached some other conclusions regarding the method of reconstructing Purāṇic genealogies. I have shown in my Purāṇic chronology that Manu was a dynastic title and Manvantara meant a dynastic period and taking these senses as well as some clues furnished by Megasthenes and Herodotas into consideration, I have found that all our present Purāṇic genealogies upto the Nandas even later have been constructed in an arbitrary and artificial method, which I have designated as Manvantara-centuryyuga—Method (=MCM). According to this method, one king-name in the genealogical lists represents a time-unit of 40 years or sometimes of 20 years.

Thus the succession list, which is given in the Purāṇas, is not reliable *as such*, but this also is certain that a name mentioned in the Purāṇic genealogies generally guarrantees the existence of that person as a king, not necessarily in the same chronological or successive order but most probably in the same family.

4. CHRONOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

We generally divide Purāṇic genealogies thus : Pre-Mbh genealogies, post-Mbh genealogies upto the Nandas and Post-

1. PC p. 341 ff. Subsequently, there has been a change in my view. I have realised that originally, the distance between Manu and Rāma was of about ten generations, and that between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa of 3 or 4 generations. The present Puranic genealogies are arranged as they are today for the specific purpose of following the Manvantara-centuryyuga-Method-which I have explained in my Purāṇic Chronology.

Nanda genealogies. Purāṇas do not give periods for the reigns of kings of the Pre-Mbh genealogies. But for the post-Mbh genealogies they give total regnal period for each of the dynasties as also individual regnal period of each of the kings of all these periods. They also give a general computation twice—from Parikṣit to Nanda and from Nanda to Āndhra—end.

Out of the post-Mbh dynasties, those which are post-Nanda are studied well, even from the point of view of their chronology but the chronology of the pre-Nanda period is hardly studied. I shall not go into the details of the chronological studies made by various scholars for the post-Nanda period. But I shall, here give, details of the studies of the most debatable question of the Purāṇic chronology that of the synchronism between Alexander the Great and Chandragupta Maurya. Sir William Jones and almost all the modern scholars agree that Sandrocottus, who was a contemporary of Alexander was Chandragupta Maurya, while a small group of Scholars have held that the Magadhan king, who was the contemporary of Alexander, was not Chandragupta Maurya, but Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty.

Troyer, in his *Rājatarāṅginī*, as early as A. D. 1858, advocated that Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty was the Magadha contemporary of Alexander. This has been supported by several other scholars also.

V. Gopal Aiyar (1901) in his *The Chronology of Ancient India*, T. S. Narayan Shastri (1915) in his *Age of Śaṅkara and the Kings of Magadha*, M. K. Achārya, A. Somayajula (1936) in his *Dates of Ancient Indian History*, M. Krisnamachariar (1939) in his *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Kalyananda Sarasvati, N. Jagannath Rao in his *The Age of the Mahābhārata War*, Kuppiāh in his *Ancient Indian History*, D. R. Mankad (1951) in his *Purāṇic Chronology* D. S. Trivedi in his various articles, Indranarayan Dwivedi in *Vishal Bharata*, Oct. 1954, Pt. Kota Venketachalam in his various books,¹ K. D. Sethna in

1. (1) *The Plot in Indian Chronology*, 1933.

(2) *Chronology of Nepal History*, 1953.

the issues of 'Mother India' (1956 August ff), G. C. Bose (1934) in his Bengali book '*Purāṇa Pravesha*, Gulshan Ray, Subba Rao—All these writers have supported the stand taken by Troyar in 1858.

And yet, absolutely no notice has been taken of these views in any modern history of Ancient India, nor is this view ever referred to. These writers have built up their case by refuting all the usual arguments which are advanced in support of the view that Chandragupta Maurya, was the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander. I shall briefly summarise the whole position here, without going much in individual views.

There are certain crucial points in Purāṇic Chronology. One such point is that the Purāṇas start their chronology with Parikṣit and from Parikṣit to the beginning of the Nandas, they put 1500 years. This is borne out by counting the total regnal period given to Bārhadrathas (1000), Pradyotas (138) and Śaiśunāgas (362), and also by referring to a verse¹ which explicitly says that from Parikṣit to the beginning of Nandas, had elapsed a period of 1500 years.

Most of the modern scholars do not accept both these, while this small group of scholars does. It is usually objected that the local regnal periods given to these dynasties do not tally with the totals of regnal periods given to individual kings. Therefore, these figures are not reliable. Similarly, the verse, which puts 1500 years between Parikṣit and the Nandas, has some other readings for 1500, such as 1015, 1115, 1150. Generally, the scholars accept the lowest figures and explain the totals also that way. In so doing, they have often to put their own construction on the Purāṇic evidence. But this small

(3) Chronology of Kasmir History, reconstructed 1955.

(4) Indian Eras 1956.

(5) Age of Buddha, Milinda and Antiyoka and Yuga Purāṇa 1956.

(6) The Historicity of Vikaramāditya and Śalivāhana 1957.

(7) Ancient Hindu History Vols. I-II, 1957.

1. महापद्मामिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्मपरीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

group of scholars accept both the figures as they are given in the Purāṇas. This is one main point of difference in Purāṇic chronology.

Another crucial point is the use of certain eras. Purāṇic chronology is based on two eras—Kali Era and Saptarṣi Era. There is also a calculation based on Manvantara. Modern scholars completely ignore the evidence of these eras and of Manvantara.

According to the Purāṇic traditions, Kali Era started in B. C. 3101 and Saptarṣi Era in 3176 B. C. Now it is stated in the Purāṇas that Kali started on the day on which Kṛṣṇa died. Therefore, Kṛṣṇa's death will be put in 3101 B. C. and the Mbh war will be dated a few years earlier, say in 3126 or 3136 B. C.

Purāṇic scholars have shown¹ that, according to the Purāṇas, Saptarṣi Era was in Maghhā in the days of Parikṣit and it was again in Maghhā in the days of 24th or 27th Āndhra king. Saptarṣi Era is a cycle of 2700 years and therefore, according to this statement, 2700 years had elapsed from Parikṣit to the 24th or 27th Āndhra.

Similarly, I have shown² on Purāṇic evidence that a Manvantara lasted for 2840 years and that a Manvantara had started with Parikṣit and ended with the rise of the Guptas.

These calculations based on Saptarṣi Era and Manvantara calculations show that between Parikṣit and the rise of the Guptas, about 2800 years had elapsed and putting Parikṣit in 3101 B. C., the rise of the Guptas falls in c. 300 B. C.

According to the Purāṇas, Kali Era started at the death of Kṛṣṇa and therefore at the accession of Parikṣit. Kali had ended in the days of Sumitra and Kṣemeka i. e. in the days of Viśākkhayūpa, the fourth king of the Pradyota dynasty. It has

1. See Indian Eras by Pt. K. Venkatachalam, and PC pp. 322 ff. Pargiter's frantic efforts to explain away this are not at all convincing.

2. PC pp. 42 ff.

been shown¹ that this Kali Era was of 1200 years and though it had ended in the days of Sumitra and Viśākkhayūpa, Kali Era continued and continues even to-day.

These calculations are corroborated by the total number of years assigned to various post-Mbh dynasties upto the rise of the Guptas. These Purāṇic scholars, have worked out² details of these calculations very accurately.

Most of the modern scholars, on the other hand, do not consider these statements about these eras, but take as their basis of calculations the number of years given to various post-Mbh dynasties ; but they always select the smallest period, where two or more calculations are available and even then have to put their own construction at several places in order to make the Purāṇic figures fit in with their own chronology. Their method is this. Putting Chandragupta Muarya in c. 327 B. C. they go backward and forward and adjust the Purāṇic figures. They take Chandragupta Maurya's date—arrived at by them as the central point, while the Purāṇic scholars take traditional date of the Mbh war as the central point.

Purāṇic scholars, who put about 2800 years between Parikṣit and the rise of the Guptas, put Chandragupta the First Gupta as the contemporary of Alexander. These scholars have examined and refuted all these points³ which, according to the present day chronology, militate against putting Chandragupta I in C. 320 B. C.

These points are the mention of Yona kings in the Piyadasi inscriptions, Date of Buddha's death, Beginning of the Gupta Era as fixed by modern scholars to be in 318-19 A. D. Harṣa Era, Śaka Era, Kṛta Era etc.*

1. PC pp. 60 ff.

2. See particularly, pt. K. Venkatachalam, T. S. Narayan Shastri, Mankad, V. Jagannath Rao and K. D. Sethna.

3. See particularly the writings of pt. Kota Venkatachalam, T. S. N. Shastri, Mankad and Sethna.

* I must, however, say that the reference to the Yona kings in the piyadasi Inscriptions has not been satisfactorily explained.

Some attempts have been made to study the pre-Bhārata war chronology, but here the material is scanty and often uncertain. However, some attempts in this direction are noteworthy.

Pusalkar in the Vedic Age, takes 3102 B. C., which is the usual date for Flood in Mesopotamia, to be the date of Manu Vaivasvata. He, then divides the ancient Indian Historical periods thus; The Manu Vaivasvata Period (3102) B. C., The Yayāti Period (3000-2750 B. C.), the Paraśurāma Period (2550-2350 B. C.). The Rāma-candra Period (2350 B. C.—1950 B. C.), The Kṛṣṇa Period (1950-1450 B. C.). His method is that of counting generations given in the Purāṇas by taking an average of 18 years for one ruling generation. He has taken 95 generations between Manu and the Bhārata war and thus has put the Bhārata war in $3100 - (95 \times 18 = 1710) = C. 1400$ B. C.

P. L. Bhargava¹ has divided the ancient period into Eras called—The Era of Saptasindhu, The Era of conquest, the Era of Expansion and the Era of Settlement. This is from the point of Aryan advent and expansion in India. His method of settling the ancient chronology is this: He takes his stand on the Purāṇic verse which says that 1050 (with v. 1.) years had elapsed between the birth of Parikṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda. But he takes Parikṣit of this verse, not to be that Parikṣit who was the grandson of Arjuna, but to be that Parikṣit who is given in the Paurava genealogy at an early stage. He takes² this Parikṣit to be the same as Kuru the son of Saṁvarāṇa and as such to be the first king of the Kurus as separate from the Pāñcālas.

Having called this Parikṣit as Parikṣit I, he puts 1050 years between the birth of the Parikṣit I and Mahāpadma Nanda. And taking 360 B. C. as the date of the coronation of Mahāpadma, he puts³ the birth of this Parikṣit I in $360 + 1050 : 1410$ B. C. He has, then, fixed his chronology by counting the generations of kings, taking an average of 20 years for one ruling

1. India in the Vedic Age p. 96 ff.

2. Ibid. p. 46.

3. Ibid. p. 128-29 ff.

generation. He has taken 81 generations from Ikṣvāku to Parikṣit I and thus putting the accession of Parikṣit I in 1380 B. C. and adding to it $81 \times 20 = 1620$ he gets 3000 B. C. as date of Ikṣvāku. He puts the Bhārata war in 1000 B. C. putting it 32 generations before Mahāpadma.

Shri M. N. Yajnik in his "*Genealogical Tables of the Solar and the Lunar Dynasties*" Baroda, 1930 gave only from Viṣṇupurāṇa 12 dynasties and tried to fix up certain dates. He puts Manu Vaivasvata in 6000 B. C., Rāma in 3250 B. C. and Mbh war in 1898 B. C.

S. C. Bose in his '*Purāṇa Praveśa*, Calcutta 1920 (in Bengali) has said that Kalpa is a cycle of 5000 years divided into 14 Manvantaras (one of 359 years and thirteen of 357 years each) as also four yugas in proportion of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1. According to him Bhārata war took place in 1416 B. C. the beginning of the Kali Age was 1458 B. C. and of Kṛta Age 5958 B. C.

Pargiter examined the question of Purāṇic chronology on the basis of Yuga-calculations of Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali. Some other scholars¹ also have tried to examine the question of the yugas. Usually, Kali is given 4,32,000 years. Dvāpara is given 8,64,000 years, Tretā is given 17,28,000 years and Kṛta or Satya is given 34,56,000 years. These are considered Mānava years. When they are changed to Divya years, each of this period is divided by 360 and then Kali will have 1200 divya years, Dvāpara 2400, Tretā 3600 and Kṛta 4800 Divya years. Some scholars have said that these are the real Mānava years, which were later taken as divya. Again here the proportion is 1. 2. 3. 4. It has been pointed out² that originally the proportion was 1. 1. 1. 1 and therefore each Yuga will have 1200 years and if we take out 200 years of the sandhyā and sandhyāṁśa each Yuga will have 1000 years. Thus it has been shown³ that from Manu Vaivasvata to Śiśunāga

1. Tilak (The Arctic Home), Rangacharya (The Yugas), V. S. Aiyer (The Chronology of Ancient India), S. B. Ditarkit (Bharatiya Jyotiḥśāstra).

2. PC pp. 320-1.

3. PC pp. 60 ff.

(Sumitra, Kalki), four yugas i. e. 4000 years had elapsed. Thus the yuga calculations are applied to ancient Purānic chronology.

Some other scholars have given some dates for Manu Vaivasvata and some other subsequent kings and events. I have given¹ some dates by using a method which I have called Manvantara centuryyuga Method.

Attempts have also been made² to equate some of the earlier Purānic dates with the dates in earlier Kashmirian and Nepalese genealogies.

Pradhan has put³ 14 to 15 generations between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and has put about 300 years between them.

In Vaidika Sāhitya Pariśilana (1953) by Shr Rajnikant Shastri an attempt has been made to fix up the dates of principal Ṛgvedic ṛṣis, by connecting them with certain Purānic kings and counting the number of these Purānic kings. Thus Madhuchandas, the son of Viśvāmītra is taken as a contemporary of Hariścandra and as Hariścandra is removed upwards from Mbh war by 61 king-units, his date is taken to be $61 \times 25 : 1525$ i. e. $1525 + 3101$ (date of Kali start) : 4626 B. C.

In my '*Date of Ṛgveda*' (1951) I have also fixed the dates of Ṛgvedic ṛṣis on somewhat different lines.

Here ends my survey of these studies. It is likely that for want of information, I might have not been able to refer to other attempts in this direction, for which I beg to be excused.

This survey of Purānic studies in modern times shows that the Purāṇas are now being recognised as an important source of ancient Indian History. Purāṇas had been already recognised for the period upto the Śaiśunāgas. Now several scholars have a tendency to recognise even the pre-Bhārata war period of the Purāṇas.

1. PC Ch. 2.

2. D. S. Triveda, Pt. K. Venkatachalam, Mankad.

3. CAI in several chapters.

In this connection, I would point out here that though our studies, few as they are, stop at Manu Vaivasvata, the Purāṇas have a period which may be termed as prediluvian or pre-flood period. For this period, the Purāṇas have preserved the genealogy of Svāyambhuva Manu. This genealogy, though given as one continuous genealogy, is, in fact, composed of two or three branches, one starting with Svāyambhuva Manu and the other starting with Cākṣuṣa Manu. Moreover, there is a third genealogy—that of Priyavrata which, to some extent, can be called pre-diluvian. These pre-flood lines are not studied yet, but they deserve a close study. Pre-flood dynasties of Egypt, Babylon, Sumer etc. have been studied and they have yielded some results. Pre-flood i. e. Pre-Vaivasvata dynasties of India also are likely to yield good results.

Again, Buddhistic Mahāvamśa, Dipavamśa and the Jain Āgamas and their commentaries as well as what are called Jain Purāṇas are known to throw valuable light on the period of Buddha and Mahāvīra; but if used properly they are likely to throw good light on Bārhadratha to Maurya dynasties. Some light is likely to be thrown on the pre-Bhārata period also.

Earlier Purāṇic materials are likely to throw light on the Harappan culture also.

GENEALOGY OF THE SOLAR DYNASTY IN THE PURĀNAS
AND THE RĀMĀYAṆA : A CRITICAL STUDY*

By

A. D. PUSALKER

[लेखेऽस्मिन् डा० पुसाळकरमहोदयेन रामायणे पुराणे चोपवर्णितस्य सूर्यवंशस्य विषये आलोचनात्मको विचारः प्रस्तुतः । सूर्यवंशस्य प्रवर्तको वैवस्वतमनोः पुत्र इक्ष्वाकुरासीत् । पुराणेषु सूर्यवंशस्य वर्णनमितरवंशापेक्षया विस्तृततरं वर्तते । रामायणे तु रामपर्यन्तमेव सूर्यवंशावली कथिता । अतोऽस्मिन्लेखे सूर्यवंशविषयको विचारो रामपर्यन्तमेव प्रस्तूयते । पुराणेषुपवर्णितायाः सूर्यवंशावल्याः पाजिटर-रंगाचार्य-मनकड-भार्गवोपाह्वै विद्वद्भिः सम्यग्विचारः कृतः, अत्र तु लेखकमहोदयेन मूलग्रन्थानां सम्यगवलोकनानन्तरं सूर्यवंशसूचीविषये स्वमतमुपस्थापितं लेखस्यान्ते च सूर्यवंशावलीविषयिका स्वनिर्मिता एका सूच्यपि संयोजिता ।

महाभारते, हरिवंशे, पुराणेषु च सूर्यवंशसूचीविषये प्रायः सादृश्यं वर्तते, परन्तु रामायणे सूचीयमतीव संक्षिप्ता वर्तते । अत्र इक्ष्वाकु-वंशीयानां केषांचिन्नृपाणां नामान्यपि पुराणकथितनामभ्यो भिद्यन्ते क्रमोऽपि क्वचिद् भिद्यते । पुराणोक्तासु सूर्यवंशीयसूचीषु मनुमारभ्य रामपर्यन्तं नृपाणां न्यूनतमा संख्या सप्तपञ्चाशत्, रामायणे तु पञ्चत्रिंशदेव । परन्तु रामायणं तु वस्तुतः काव्यमेव, न त्वितिहासः, पुराणानां च राजवंशवर्णनं प्रधानं लक्षणम् । अतः इतिहासदृष्ट्या रामायणसूची नातीवोपयुक्ता । कालिदासेनापि रघुवंशकाव्ये इक्ष्वाकुवंशप्रभवानां नृपाणां चरितवर्णने तु रामायणमाश्रितम्, परन्तु सूर्यवंशावलीवर्णने पुराणान्येवाश्रितानि ।]

The dynasty started by Ikshvāku, son of Vaivasvata Manu, was known as the solar dynasty, and it produced such celebrated figures as Kakutstha, Māndhātri, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Hariśchandra, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Ambarīsha, Raghu, Rāma and others. The importance of the dynasty in traditional history can also be seen from the fact that the

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genealogical list of this dynasty in the Purāṇas is more detailed and complete as compared with the lists of other dynasties. The genealogy of the solar dynasty (either whole or in part) appears in as many as eleven Mahā-Purāṇas, the *Saura* and the *Śiva* Upa-Purāṇas, the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As the genealogy given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* runs only up to Rāma, we shall consider here the solar dynasty up to Rāma only.

The genealogy of the solar dynasty, as given in the Purāṇas, has been considered, more or less fully, by Pargiter, Rangacharya, Mankad and Bhargava. After going through these learned treatises, I made my own study on the basis of the original texts and have prepared my own list. A comparative study of the lists in the Purāṇas, the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Mahābhārata* (so far as they go) shows that they are in general agreement on the whole. The *Rāmāyaṇa* genealogy, however, is much shorter, contains several omissions with considerable differences regarding names and order of the persons, and has a number of new names. The *Rāmāyaṇa* gives the genealogy at two places, which is almost identical.

In dealing with the Purāṇa lists it is to be borne in mind that it is not always correct to regard as genuine or nearer the original the list that contains a smaller number. In the first place, it is likely that the particular text is deficient and has lost the portion containing the missing names. It is well known that in course of transmission some Purāṇas have lost original parts. Secondly, some Purāṇas definitely state that with regard to particular lists, they have not given them exhaustively but have listed only the important names. Thus, the *Matsya*, which lists only important names, omits as many as twelve names, so that we cannot rule out as later interpolation the names uniformly found in the other Purāṇas, especially if they are corroborated by other sources. It is, therefore, not safe either to regard the smaller number in any particular Purāṇa as indicative of genuineness or larger number of later interpolations. Further, we cannot always rely on the view

of the majority of the Purāṇas, because in some cases it is possible that some of the Purāṇas are mere copies of the relevant parts from the other Purāṇas. Every case is to be considered on its merits. It is again to be noted that a particular Purāṇa, found to be trustworthy regarding a particular dynasty, may not be equally trustworthy with regard to other dynasties. Even in the portion dealing with a particular dynasty there may be found corrupt or interpolated passages. It is, therefore, necessary that every stanza or every line must be considered independently on the basis of the data furnished by all Purāṇas. In the accompanying table, I have given the Purāṇic lists according to Bhargava, Pargiter, Rangacharya, Mankad and myself, the last column being allotted to the *Rāmāyaṇa* list.

The Purāṇic lists show that the solar dynasty contained at least 57 names from Manu to Rāma. So far as the portions in the *Mahābhārata* are concerned, it is seen that they are in general agreement with the Purāṇas. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, springs a great surprise by presenting a much smaller number of kings in the dynasty, viz. 35. Thus our sources present two wholly divergent genealogies-

Before comparing the Purāṇic list with that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it may be observed that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not a historical work, though it deals with history incidentally; it is a *kāvya*. It is not much concerned with genealogies. The Purāṇas, on the other hand, profess to give traditional history and genealogical lists, and hence *prima facie* have a superior claim to trustworthiness.

As compared to the Purāṇic list, the *Rāmāyaṇa* list has several omissions; the individuals occupy different positions; and there are several new names. It is found that such celebrated names from the Purāṇic list of solar dynasty as Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Hariśchandra, Rohita, Bhagīratha, Rītu-parṇa, Sudāsa, and Aśmaka, are conspicuous by their absence in the *Rāmāyaṇa* list. Now, the Purāṇas get confirmation from other authorities such as the *Rīgveda* and later Vedic texts and

the *Mahābhārata* with regard to the fact that all these kings belonged to the solar dynasty. Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Tri-dhanva, Trayyāruṇa, Hariśchandra and Rohita are well known to Vedic literature as belonging to the Ikshvāku (solar) dynasty. Rituparṇa occurs in the famous Nala story in the Great Epic. Though the second *Rāmāyaṇa* list admits the existence of Sudāsa by calling Kalmāshapāda "Saudāsa", the name Sudāsa is omitted in both lists and Kalmāshapāda is spoken of as the son of Raghu. The *Mahābhārata* declares Kalmāshapāda to be the son of Sudāsa, and mentions Aśmaka, omitted in the *Rāmāyaṇa* lists, as Kalmāshapāda's son. The well-known Hariśchandra story is given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a story of Ambarīsha, and though we can say that Ambarīsha may have been another name of Hariśchandra, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is wrong in stating Nahusha to be his son instead of Rohita. We must thus conclude that the Purāṇic lists, supported as they are by independent texts, are correct, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* list is untrustworthy and defective as regards length. When considered as a whole, therefore, the *Rāmāyaṇa* list is open to grave doubt.

If we turn to details, it is found that there are considerable differences in the order of names in both sets of lists. Kakutstha, who appears as the son of Śaśāda and the third earliest king in the line in the Purāṇic list, appears quite late in the *Rāmāyaṇa* list as the son of Bhagīratha and grandson of Dilīpa. The Purāṇas are corroborated by the *Mahābhārata*, which states that from Kakutstha's time the kings bore the title Kākutstha and that Dilīpa was his descendant. Ambarīsha, whom the *Rāmāyaṇa* places three steps above Nābhāga, was in reality the son of Nābhāga according to the Purāṇas supported by the *Mahābhārata*.

Though the *Rāmāyaṇa* list contains a smaller number, all the names cannot be taken to belong to the solar dynasty. The list wrongly includes Nahusha and Yayāti who were obviously rulers of the lunar dynasty. Some names are not found in the Purāṇas.

For the above reasons we conclude that the *Rāmāyana* genealogy of the solar dynasty is defective and unreliable. From the fact that for other particulars in his *Raghuvamśa* Kālidāsa draws on the *Rāmāyana* but depends on other sources for his genealogy, it seems more likely that the text of the *Rāmāyana* used by Kālidāsa had no genealogies than that he preferred the Purāṇa lists to those in the *Rāmāyana*. In dealing with the unreliability of the *Rāmāyana* list, Pargiter has, in some instances, referred to the *Raghuvamśa* in support of the Purāṇic statements; but the *Raghuvamśa* cannot be considered to be an independent authority in this connection.

The differences between the Purāṇic and *Rāmāyana* genealogies are so obvious that it cannot be asserted that both are in general agreement. Dr. Daftary relies on the *Rāmāyana* genealogy of the solar dynasty in preference to the Purāṇic list possibly as the former contains fewer names. From the *Rāmāyana* list also he omits as many as eleven names. Dr. Daftary's scheme of genealogical tables based on his study of the Purāṇic accounts would form the subject of an independent paper.

Bhargava	Pargiter	Rangacharya	Mankad	Writer (A. D. Publisher)	Rāmāyana
1. Manu	1. Manu	1. Manu	1. Manu	1. Manu	1. Manu
2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku	2. Ikshvāku
3. Vikukshī	3. Vikuksh- Śāsāda	3. Vikukshī (Śāsāda)	3. Vikukshī- Śāsāda	3. Vikukshī	3. Kukshi
4. Kakutstha	4. Kakutstha	4. Kakutstha	4. Kakutstha	4. Kakutstha	4. Vikukshī
5. Anenas	5. Anenas	5. Anenas	5. Anenas	5. Anenas	5. Bāṇa
6. Pṛithu	6. Pṛithu	6. Pṛithu	6. Pṛithu	6. Pṛithu	6. Anaranya
7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Vishṭarāśva	7. Pṛithu
8. Ārdra	8. Ārdra	8. Ārdra	8. Ārdra	8. Ārdra	8. Trīśaṅku
9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Yuvanāśva I	9. Dhundhumāra
10. Śrāvasta	10. Śrāvasta	10. Śrāvasta	10. Śrāvasta	10. Śrāvasta	
11. Bṛhadāśva	11. Bṛhadāśva	11. Bṛhadāśva	11. Bṛhadāśva	11. Bṛhadāśva	
12. Kuvālāśva	12. Kuvālāśva	12. Kuvālāśva	12. Kuvālāśva	12. Kuvālāśva	

13. Dṛiḍhāśva	13. Dṛiḍhāśva	13. Dṛiḍhāśva	13. Dṛiḍhāśva	13. Dṛiḍhāśva	10. Yuvanāśva
14. Pramoda	14. Haryaśva I	14. Pramoda	14. Haryaśva I	14. Pramoda	11. Mādhātṛi
15. Haryaśva I	15. Nikumbha	15. Haryaśva I	15. Nikumbha	15. Haryaśva I	12. Susandhi
16. Nikumbha	16. Saṁhataśva	16. Nikumbha	16. Saṁhataśva	16. Nikumbha	13. Dhruvasandhi
17. Saṁhataśva	17. Akṛiśāśva	17. Saṁhataśva	17. Saṁhataśva	17. Saṁhataśva	14. Bharata
18. Akṛiśāśva	18. Prasenajit	18. Akṛiśāśva	18. Akṛiśāśva	18. Akṛiśāśva	22. Purukutsa
19. Prasenajit	19. Yuvanāśva II	19. Prasenajit	19. Prasenajit	19. Prasenajit	23. Trasadasyu
20. Yuvanāśva II	20. Mādhātṛi	20. Yuvanāśva II	20. Mādhātṛi	20. Yuvanāśva II	
21. Mādhātṛi	21. Purukutsa	21. Mādhātṛi	21. Purukutsa	21. Mādhātṛi	
22. Durgaha	22. Trasadasyu	22. Purukutsa	22. Purukutsa	22. Trasadasyu	
23. Girikshit		23. Trasadasyu	23. Trasadasyu	23. Trasadasyu	
24. Purukutsa					
25. Trasadasyu					
26.					

Bhargava	Pargiter	Rangacharya	Mankad	Writer (A. D. Pusalker)	Rāmāyana
27. Sambhūta	24. Sambhūta	24. Sambhūta	23. Sambhūta	24. Sambhūta	
28. Vishṇu- vṛiddha					
29. Anarāya	25. Anarāya	25. Anarāya		25. Anarāya	
30. Trasadaśva	26. Trasadaśva	26. Pṛishadaśva		26. Trasadaśva	
31. Haryaśva II	27. Haryaśva II	27. Haryaśva II		27. Haryaśva II	
32. Hasta		(Hasta)		28. Hasta	
33. Rohidaśva					
34. Vasumanas	28. Vasumat	28. Vasumanas		29. Vasumanas	
35. Trivṛishan	29. Tridhanvan	29. Tridhanvan	24. Tridhanvan	30. Tridhanvan	
36. Tryaruṇa	30. Trayyāruṇa	30. Trayyāruṇa	25. Trayyāruṇa	31. Trayyāruṇa	
	31.				
37. Triśāṅku	32. Satyavrata- Triśāṅku	31. Satyavrata- Triśāṅku	26. Satyavrata- Triśāṅku	32. Satyavrata- Triśāṅku	

38. Hariścandra	32. Hariścandra	27. Hariścandra	33. Hariścandra
39. Rohita	33. Rohitāśva	28. Rohita	34. Rohita
40. Harita	34. Harita (or Haritāśva (Sañchu)	29. Harita	35. Harita
41. Chañchu		30. Chañchu	36. Chañcha
42. Vijaya	35. Vijaya	31. Vijaya	37. Vijaya
43. Ruruka	36. Ruruka (or Kuruka)	32. Ruruka	38. Ruruka
44. Vṛika	37. Vṛika	33. Vṛika	39. Vṛika
45. Bāhu	38. Bāhu (Asita)	34. Bāhu (Asita)	40. Bāhu (Asita)
	40.		15. Asita
46. Sagara	39. Sagara	35. Sagara	41. Sagara
47. (Asamañjas)	40. Asamañja	36. Asamañja	42. Asamañjas
48. Amśumat	41. Amśumān	37. Amśumat	43. Amśumat
49. Dilīpa	42. Dilīpa I	38. Dilīpa I	44. Dilīpa I
50. Bhagīratha	43. Bhagīratha	39. Bhagīratha	45. Bhagīratha
			16. Sagara
			17. Asamañjas
			18. Amśumat
			19. Dilīpa
			20. Bhagīratha

Bhargava	Pargiter	Rangacharya	Mankad	Writer (A. D. Pusalker)	Rāmāyaṇa
51. Suhotra					21. Kakutstha
52. Śrūta	46. Śrūta	44. Śrūta (or Suhotra)	40. Śrūta	46. Śrūta	22. Raghu
53. Nabhāga	47. Nabhāga	45. Nabhāga	41. Nabhāga	47. Nabhāga	
54. Ambarīsha	48. Ambarīsha	46. Ambarīsha	42. Ambarīsha	48. Ambarīsha	
55. Sindhudvīpa	49. Sindhudvīpa	47. Sindhudvīpa	43. Sindhudvīpa	49. Sindhudvīpa	
56. Ayutāyus	50. Ayutāyus	48. Ayutāyus	44. Ayutāyus	50. Ayutāyus	
57. Rituparṇa	51. Rituparṇa	49. Rituparṇa	45. Rituparṇa	51. Rituparṇa	
58. Sarvakāma	52. Sarvakāma	50. Sarvakāma	46. Sarvakāma	52. Sarvakāma	
59. Sudāsa	53. Sudāsa	51. Sudāsa	47. Sudāsa	53. Sudāsa	
60. Mitrāsaha	54. Mitrāsaha- Kalmāshapāda	52. Saudāsa-Mitra- saha-Kalmāshapāda	48. Mitrāsaha- Kalmāshapāda	54. Mitrāsaha- Kalmāshapāda	23. Kalmāshapāda
61. Āsmaka	55. Āsmaka	53. Āsmaka	49. Āsmaka	55. Āsmaka	24. Śaikhana
62. Mūlaka	56. Mūlaka	54. Mūlaka	50. Mūlaka	56. Mūlaka	25. Sudarśana

63. Śataratha	57. Śataratha	51. Śataratha	55. Śataratha	57. Śataratha	26. Agnivarṇa
64. Idāvīda	58. Aidāvīda Vṛiddhaśarman Viśvasaha I	52. Aidāvīda- Vṛiddhaśarman	56. Aidāvīda Vṛiddhaśarman Viśvasaha I	58. Idāvīda	27. Śighraga
65. Vṛiddha- śarman Viśvasaha I	60. Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga Dīrghabāhu	53. Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga	58. Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga Dīrghabāhu	59. Aidāvīda- Vṛiddhaśarman	28. Maru
66. Viśvasaha I	62. Raghu	54. Raghu	60. Raghu	60. Viśvasaha I	29. Praśūsruka (-va in II. 110)
67. Dilīpa Kha- tvāṅga Dīrghabāhu	63. Aja	55. Aja	61. Aja	61. Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga	30. Ambarīsha
68. Dīrghabāhu	64. Daśaratha	56. Daśaratha	62. Daśaratha	62. Raghu	31. Nahusha
69. Raghu	65. Rāma	63. Rāma	63. Rāma	63. Aja	32. Yayāti (omi- tted in II. 110)
70. Aja	64. Daśaratha	62. Daśaratha	61. Aja	64. Daśaratha	33. Nabhāga
71. Daśaratha	65. Rāma	63. Rāma	62. Daśaratha	65. Rāma	34. Aja
72. Rāma					35. Daśaratha
					36. Rāma

धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणानां वेदोपबृंहणत्वम्

(पं. के० त्रि० नीलमेघाचार्य)

[In this article the learned writer has explained how the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas amplify the Veda, and has tried to show that the spirit of the Purāṇas is to take the *arthavāda* portions of the Śruti in the literal sense and as real historical facts (and not as allegories), occurring and reoccurring in the same form in every *Kalpa*. The Mīmāṃsakas, however, have disregarded this spirit of the Itihāsa-Purāṇas, and have taken such historical portions of the Veda as *guṇavāda* or figurative statements. The writer has criticised this *guṇavāda* explanation of the Mīmāṃsakas, and has shown how such portions of the Śruti have been amplified as true history by the Purāṇas. This kind of amplification is called the उपबृंहण of the Veda by the Itihāsa-Purāṇas. According to his view, to explain these portions of the Śruti, and the Ākhyānas of the Purāṇas, which are based on Śruti, as allegories or metaphers is to misinterpret the Veda. He calls this tendency of the Mīmāṃsakas and the modern Indologists as 'वेदप्रतारणा' (deceiving the Veda).

And, to explain the *arthavāda*-portions of the Śruti, and the Ākhyāna-portions of the Itihāsa-Purāṇa as historical facts is also the उपबृंहण or amplification of the Veda by means of Itihāsa-Purāṇa.]

“इमे वेदा अनन्ताः”, “अनन्ता वै वेदाः” इति हि श्रूयते । वेदशाखाः परिगणयन् भगवान् पतञ्जलिर्बभाषे एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः, एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यम्, नवधाऽऽथर्वणो वेदः” इति । एषु सशिरस्केषु वेदेषु सिद्धसाध्यात्मना द्विविधा बहवोऽर्थाः प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । तत्राभ्युदयसाधनानि नाना-

विधानि काम्यकर्माणि, अकरणनिबन्धनप्रत्यवायपरिहारार्थान्यनेकानि नित्यनैमित्तिक-
कर्माणि, अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससाधनानि तत्तद्देवतोपासनप्रभृतीनि ब्रह्मोपासनान्तानि
बहून्युपासनानि, मोक्षसाधनोभूता ब्रह्मविद्या इत्यादयो बहवः साधयार्था विधीयन्ते
येषु प्रवृत्तिर्युज्यते । अनर्थोदकाणि असत्यवदनादीनि बहूनि पापकर्माणि
निषिध्यन्ते, येभ्यो निवृत्तिर्युज्यते । परं ब्रह्म परमात्मा पुरुषोत्तमस्ततो जगतः
सृष्टिस्थितिलया ब्रह्माण्डानि चतुर्दशभुवनानि पुण्यपापकर्मफलभोगभूमयो देवतिर्थड्-
मनुष्यस्थावरात्मना चतुर्विधानि भूतानि विग्रहहविरादानकर्मसन्निधिप्रीतिफलप्रदानादि-
नानाविशेषोपेता देवता इत्यादयो बहवः सिद्धार्था विध्यर्थवादमन्त्रब्राह्मणोपनिषदादि-
षु वैदिकेषु भागेषु संप्रतिपाद्यन्ते । तत्र संयोगरूपचोदनाख्यानामविशेषे नाना-
शाखोदितानि दर्शपूर्णमासादीनि कर्माणि शाण्डिल्यविद्यादयो विद्याश्चैकत्वं प्रतिपाद्यन्त
इति पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसासिद्धम् ।^१ नानाशाखोदितानां कर्मणां विद्यानां चैक्यस्य
फलं नन्विदमेव यद् अनधीतशाखोदितानि कर्मसु अनधीतशाखोदितानुपास्य-

१. पूर्वमीमांसा अ० २, पा० ४, अ० २ । तत्रेदं विचारितम् यत्—
काठककाण्वमाध्यंदिनतैत्तरीयादिशाखासु दर्शपूर्णमासाख्यं कर्म विहितम् । तत्र संशयते इह
शाखाभेदात् कर्म भिद्यते नवेति । किं तावत् प्राप्तम् । शाखाभेदात् कर्म भिद्यते । कुतः
कर्मभेदकानां नामभेदादीनां सत्त्वात् । तथाहि—काठककाण्वादिको नामभेदः ।
कारीरीनाक्यान्यधीयानाः केचिच्छाखिनोभूमौभुञ्जते नापरे तथेति धर्मभेदः । एकस्यां शाखायां
पठ्यमानाः “इषे त्वा” इत्यादयो मन्त्राः पलाशशाखाच्छेदादयः क्रियाश्च शाखान्तरेऽपि तथैवा-
धीयन्त इति पुनरुक्तिः । अतः शाखाभेदात् कर्मभेद इति पूर्वपक्षे प्राप्ते उच्यते, संयोग-
रूपचोदनाख्याविशेषादेकं कर्म । यदेवैकस्यां शाखायामाग्नेयाष्टाकपात्रादियागरूपं श्रूयते
तदेवेतरत्रापि श्रूयत इति रूपाभेदः । “दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत” इति चोदनाप्येकरूपा ।
“दर्शपूर्णमासौ” इति कर्मनामाप्येकम् । “स्वर्गकामः” इतिफलसंयोगोप्येकः । अतोऽ-
भिन्नं कर्म । पूर्वपक्षहेतवस्त्व न्ययासिद्धाः । काठकादिकं न कर्मनामः “काठकेन यजेत”
इत्यश्रवणात् । किंतु तद् ग्रन्थनाम । भूभोजनादिरध्यनधर्मः, नतु कर्माङ्गम् । अध्ये-
तृणां भिन्नत्वात् तान् प्रति पुनः पुनर्वक्तव्यं भवतीति पुनरुक्तिरप्यन्ययासिद्धा । अतोऽनन्यथा-
सिद्धरूपप्रत्यभिज्ञया शाखाभेदेऽपि कर्म न भिद्यते इति गम्यते ।

उत्तरमीमांसा अ० ३, पा० ३, अ० १ । तत्रेदं विचार्यते । किं सर्वेषु
वेदान्तेषु श्रूयमाणा दहरादिविद्या एका, उत विद्यान्तरमिति संशयः । अविशेषपुनः,
श्रवणस्यप्रकरणान्तरस्य च विद्याभेदहेतोः सत्त्वाद्विद्यान्तरमिति पूर्वपक्षः । चोदनाफल-
संयोगरूपाख्यानामविशेषाद्विद्यैक्यम् । प्रतिपत्तृभेदात्पुनः श्रवणमुपपद्यते । अतएव
प्रकरणान्तरमपि नास्तीति सिद्धान्तः ॥

गुणान् विद्यासु चोपसंहृत्य कर्मणां विद्यानां चानुष्ठानं कार्यमिति । अत्रेमाश्चिन्ताः प्रवर्तन्ते यद् एकद्वशाखाधीतिनाऽर्वागृशा पुरुषेण शाखान्तरोदितान्यज्ञानि गुणाश्च कथं नाम ज्ञायेरन् ? कथंतरां च तदुपसंहारपूर्वं कर्माणि विद्याश्चानुष्ठीयेरन् ? विविधासु शाखासु तत्र तत्र विप्रकीर्णतया प्रतिपादिता वर्णाश्रमधर्मादयो धर्मा अधर्माश्च एकद्वशाखाधीतिना कथं नु साकल्येन ज्ञायेरन् ? कथं च पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसयोः स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेन कर्मब्रह्मकाण्डस्थानि कानिचित्संदिग्धार्थकानि वचनान्युदाहृत्य तत्र पूर्वपक्षनिरासपुरःसरं सिद्धान्तस्थापनेनार्थो निर्णीतेऽपि अनुदाहृतानां सन्दिग्धार्थकानां बहूनां वचनानामर्थो निर्णीयेत ? इति । अस्मिन् चिन्ताप्रसङ्गे समाधानार्थमेवेदं वचनं प्रवृत्ते “इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् । विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्भेदो मामयं प्रतरेदिति ॥” इति । अत्रेतिहासपुराणग्रहणं धर्मशास्त्राणामप्युपलक्षणम् । अनेन वचनेन धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणैर्वेदस्योपबृंहणं कार्यमिति विधीयते । उपबृंहणं नाम स्वावगतवेदार्थस्य व्यक्तीकरणम् । यथा वेदेन “अहरहः सन्ध्यामुपासीत” इति विहितस्य सन्धयोपासनस्य शरीरशुद्धिप्रकारदन्तधावनस्नानादिविशेषैः सह निष्कर्षः क्रियते, तथाऽज्ञातविशेषैः सह स्वावगतस्य सर्वस्य वेदार्थस्य निष्कर्षः कार्यः । अयं च निष्कर्षो विदितसकलवेदतदर्थानां विदितवेदितव्यानामधिगतयाथातथ्यानां परावरज्ञानां स्वयोगमहिमसाक्षात्कृतवेदतत्त्वार्थानामध्यक्षितधर्माणां महर्षीणां वाक्यैरेव कर्तुं युज्यते । तत् सिद्धं सकलवेदशाखाप्रतिपाद्या महान्तोऽर्थराशय एकद्वशाखाश्रवणमात्रेण दुर्ज्ञाना इति स्मृतिशब्दाभिधेयैर्धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणैर्वेदस्योपबृंहणं कार्यमेवेति ।

मन्त्रब्राह्मणार्थवादमया ह्यनन्ता वेदाः संकीर्णा विप्रकीर्णाः क्वचित् कदाचिदुत्सन्नाश्च । सांप्रतं भारते उपदशा एव वेदशाखाः समुपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र कृत्स्नवेदिनो मन्वादयोम हर्षयस्तत्तद्देशकालविशेषेषु अकृत्स्नवेदिषु संभावितस्य तत्त्वज्ञानकर्मानुष्ठानयोर्विप्लवस्य प्रशमनार्थं स्वानुभूतान् वेदार्थान् धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणरूपेषु स्मृतिग्रन्थेषु यथावन्निवन्धुः । एभिरेवोपबृंहणैरनादिवाचां वेदानामर्थनिर्णयः कर्तुं शक्यते । इमा वेदमूलाः स्मृतयस्त्रिविधाः, धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणभेदात् अत एवेतिहासपुराणवचनान्यभिसन्धाय “स्मर्यते च” “अपि स्मर्यते” “स्मृतेश्च” इति सूत्राणि प्राणायिषत भगवता बादरायणेन । तत्रेतिहासपुराणे अदूरविप्रकर्षादेकस्मिन् विद्यास्थाने निविशेते । ब्राह्मणमन्त्रार्थवादमूलेषूपबृंहणेषु

धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणेषु धर्मशास्त्रं बाहुल्येन कर्मकाण्डस्योपबृंहणम्, इतिहासपुराणे ब्रह्मकाण्डस्योपबृंहणे ।

स्मृतिशब्दाभिधेयानामेषां त्रयाणां प्रामाण्यं येन युज्यते तत्रैते हेतवः, (१) एषामुपलभ्यमानश्रुतिभिः सहाविरलः संवाद उपलभ्यते, (२) श्रुतीनामिवैषामपि शिष्टमहाजनपरिग्रहः समस्ति, (३) “सहोवाच व्यासः पाराशर्यः”^१ “यद्वै किञ्चन-मनुरवदत्तद्वेषजम्”^२ इत्यादिश्रुतिभिरेवैतत्कर्तृणां मनुपराशरपाराशर्यादीनामासत्त्वं ख्याप्यते, (४) ते ते स्मर्तारः स्वस्वस्मृतीः श्रुतिमूलाः प्रतिजानते । अत एभिर्हेतुभिः स्मर्तृभिरुच्यमानं स्मृतीनां श्रुतिमूलत्वं श्रद्धेयमेवेति स्मृतीनां प्रामाण्यं फलति ।

किं च, श्रुतीतरेषां मूलत्वायोगादप्येषां श्रुतिमूलत्वं सिध्यति । तथाहि— न तावदिन्द्रियमेषां मूलं भवितुमर्हति । न हि स्मृतिप्रतिपाद्येष्वलौकिकेष्वर्थेषु इन्द्रियाणि प्रवर्तितुं प्रगल्भन्ते । नाप्यनुमानं तत्र प्रवर्तितुमुत्सहते, भूयो दर्शने-नैवान्वयक्यतिरेकव्याप्त्योग्राह्यत्वात् तत्र प्रत्यक्षस्य निवृत्तावनुमानमपि हि निवर्तते । नापि लौकिकं वाक्यं तन्मूलं भवितुमर्हति, तस्य प्रत्यक्षानुमानमूलत्वात्तन्निवृत्तौ निवृत्तिरेव ह्यौचित्यकोटिमाटीकते । नापि भ्रमस्तस्य मूलं भवितुमर्हति, तथा सत्येवं महाजनपरिग्रहो नोपपद्येत । नापि भावनामूलम्, अज्ञाते भावनाया अप्रसतात्, ज्ञाते भावना, भावनया स्मृतिः, स्मृत्या ज्ञानमिति चक्रकककचापाताच्च । अथोच्येत श्रुत्या ज्ञाने जाते भावनोत्पद्यते, तथा च स्मृतिरिति, तर्हि स्मृतीनां श्रुतिमूलत्वमेव फलतीति समीहितसिद्धिः । तत्सिद्धं श्रुतिमूलत्वात्स्मृतीनां प्रामाण्यमविचाल्यमिति ।

तद्विन्धं सिद्धप्रामाण्यैर्धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणैर्वेदार्थविशदीकरणरूपं वेदोपबृंहणं कार्यम्, अन्यथा “विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रतरिष्यती”ति प्रतिपादितो वेदप्रतारणरूपः प्रत्यवाय आपद्येत । वेदस्य प्रतारणं नाम तद्भिप्रेतविपरीतार्थवर्णनमेव । तन्निवृत्तिरेवोपबृंहणस्य दृष्टं प्रयोजनम् । यदीतिहासपुराणे अननुरुध्य स्वमनीषयैव स्वेच्छया वेदार्था विशदीक्रियेरन्, तर्हि वेदानभिप्रेता अर्था अपि वेदार्थत्वेन

१. “सहोवाच” इत्यादि । तैत्तरीयारण्यके १।८॥

२. “यद्वै किञ्चन” इत्यादि । तैत्तरीयसंहिता २।२।१०।२॥

प्रख्याप्येरन् इति संभाव्यते वेदानां प्रतारणा । एवं वेदानभिप्रेतानेवार्थान् विशदयन्तो वेदपुरुषस्य सेवका भवेमेत्येतदर्थं धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणैरेव वेदोपबृंहणं कार्यम् । ताथात्वे एव यथावस्थिता वेदार्था लोकस्य समक्षमुपस्थापयितुं शक्येरन्, नान्यथा । इतिहासपुराणानुरोधेन वेदाननुपबृंहयतां स्वैरं वेदव्याख्याने प्रवृत्तानां दृष्टयो वेदानभिप्रेतार्थानामपि वेदार्थत्वेन प्रख्यापने व्याप्रियेरन्, तथाविधा व्याख्यातारस्तदनुयायिनश्च तमोनिष्ठाः संपद्येरन्निति वेदबाह्यस्मृतिनिर्विशेषं कुदृष्टीरपि भगवान् मनुनिन्दति—

“या वेदबाह्या स्मृतयो याश्च काश्च कुदृष्टयः ।

सर्वास्ता निष्फलाः प्रेत्य तमोनिष्ठाश्च ताः स्मृताः” ॥^१ इति ।

मनोराशयं विवृण्वद्विरभियुक्तैरपि भगवत्स्तुतिमिषेणाग्रेड्यते—

“चित्रं विधेर्विलसितं त्विदमाविरस्ति दुष्टात्मनामयमहो किल दुर्विपाकः ।

यत् केचिदन्नभदतीं श्रुतिमाश्रयन्तोऽप्यर्थे कुदृष्टविनिविष्टधियो विनष्टाः” ॥^२

“बाह्याः कुदृष्टय इति द्वितयेऽप्यपारं घोरं तमः समुपयान्ति नहीक्षसे तान् ।

जग्धस्य काननमृगैर्मृगतृष्णिकेप्सोः कासारसत्त्वनिहतस्य च को विशेषः” ॥^३

“न्यायस्मृतिप्रभृतिभिर्भवता निसृष्टैर्वेदोपबृंहणविधावुचितैरुपायैः ।

श्रुत्यर्थमर्थमिव भानुकैरैर्विभेजुस्त्वद्भक्तिभावितविकल्मषशोमुषीकाः” ॥^४ इति ।

“मायां न सेवे भद्रं ते न वृथा धर्माचरे ।

शुद्धभावं गतो भक्त्या शास्त्राद्धेहि जनार्दनम्” ॥^५

इति संजयोक्तरीत्या भगवद्भक्तिसहकृतोपबृंहणैरेव यथावस्थितो वेदार्थोऽवगन्तुं शक्यत इति सिध्यति । मनुप्याणामल्पश्रुतत्वात्सकलवेदशाखागतवाक्यार्थज्ञानस्य दुःसंपादतामितिहासपुराणकर्तृणां मर्हीषणामितरापेक्षया विलक्षणं महिमानं सर्ववेदशाखाज्ञानं चाभ्युपयद्भिर्वेदप्रामाण्यप्रतिष्ठापकैः पूर्वमीमांसकैरपि विदितसकलवेद-तदर्थमहर्षिप्रणीतैरितिहासपुराणैर्वेदोपबृंहणं कार्यमित्ययमर्थः स्वीक्रियते अत एव

१. “या वेदबाह्याः” इत्यादि । मनुस्मृति अ० १२।श्लो० ६५ ॥

२. “चित्रम् विधेः” इत्यादि । श्रीकूरेशचिरचिते वैकुण्ठस्तवे ॥ १३ ॥

३. “बाह्याः कुदृष्टयः” इत्यादि । वैकुण्ठस्तवे १४ ॥

४. “न्यायस्मृति” इत्यादि । वैकुण्ठस्तवे १५ ॥

५. “मायां न सेवे” इत्यादि । महाभारते उद्योगपर्वणि अ० ६८ । श्लो० ५ ॥

मीमांसकमूर्धन्येन खण्डदेवेन “मन्वादीनां तु संभवति विदितसकलवेदतत्त्वार्थानां न्यायनिर्णायकत्वमिति अस्मदाद्यनुग्रहार्थं स्मृतिप्रणयनमिति सिद्धान्त्यते ।

श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहासपुराणानां प्रामाण्यमभ्युपयन्त एव पूर्वमीमांसका अपि वेदानां तत्र तत्रानित्यार्थप्रतिपादकत्वाच्चित्यत्वं न युज्यत इति वेदप्रामाण्यविषयैर्बाह्यैः क्रियमाणस्याक्षेपस्य तेषामर्थानां प्रवाहनित्यताभ्युपगमेन सुपरिहरत्वेऽपि “अभीष्टार्थव्ययेनापि जयति क्षेत्रहारिणम् । लब्धक्षेत्रैर्न दुष्प्रापः स्यादर्थ इति निश्चयात् ॥” इति न्यायेन गूढाभिप्रायेण समाधानार्थं प्रवृत्तास्तेषां वचनानां नित्यार्थप्रतिपादकत्वप्रतिष्ठापयिषया इतिहासपुराणोपबृंहितवेदाभिप्रेतार्थविपरीतार्थपरतां व्याचक्षाणास्तथा वेदतात्पर्यविरुद्धान् बहून् राद्धान्तान् स्थापयन्तो वेदप्रतारणे प्रवर्तन्ते । इत्थमितिहासपुराणोपेक्षापूर्वकं स्वमनीषया वेदार्थविशदीकरणे प्रवृत्तानां वेदप्रामाण्यपक्षपातिनां पूर्वमीमांसकानामपि समापतति वेदप्रतारकत्वे, किमु वाच्यमाधुनिकानां स्वैरं पुराणेतिहासोपेक्षणेन स्वमनीषया वेदव्याख्याने प्रवर्तमानानां विदुषां शिरसि वेदप्रतारकत्वदोषः समापतति । अत्र वेदानामपार्थक्यनेन पूर्वमीमांसकैः कृताः काश्चिद्वेदप्रतारणाः स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेनोदाहियन्ते ।

(१) वेदप्रामाण्यसमर्थने प्रवृत्ताः पूर्वमीमांसकाः “न कदाचिदनीदृशं जगत्, सदा जगदित्यमेव प्रवर्तमानं वर्तते, जगतः सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलया न भवन्ति, उपनिषद्भिर्जगत्सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयलील ईश्वरो न प्रतिपाद्यते, उपनिषदः कर्मशेषभूतस्य कर्तुरात्मनो याथात्म्यस्य प्रतिपादने तत्पराः, एतत्तात्पर्यानुरोधेनैवोपनिषदामर्थो वर्णनीयः” इति सिद्धान्तमातिष्ठमाना उपनिषदः कर्मशेषभूतात्मयाथात्म्यपरतया व्याचक्षते । इतिहासपुराणोपेक्षणपूर्वमीमांसकैः क्रियमाणमिदमुपनिषद्वाक्यानां वेदाभिप्रेतार्थविपरीतार्थनिष्ठत्वात्तेषां वेदप्रतारकतामनक्षरमावेदयति ।

“एतद्योनीनि भूतानि सर्वाणीत्युपधारय ।

अहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा ॥”

“ममाऽध्यक्षेण प्रकृतिः सूयते सचराचरम् ।”

“सर्वभूतानि कौन्तेय प्रकृतिं यान्ति मामिकाम् ।

कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ विसृजाम्यहम् ॥”

“यो मामजमनादिं च वेत्ति लोकमहेश्वरम् ।
 असम्मूढः स मर्त्येषु सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते” ॥
 “अहं सर्वस्य प्रभवो मत्तः सर्वं प्रवर्तते” ॥
 “विष्णोः सकाशादुद्भूतं जगत् तत्रैव च स्थितम् ।
 स्थितिसंयमकर्ताऽसौ जगतोऽस्य जगच्च सः” ॥

इत्यादीन्युपवृंहणवचनानि तदुपवृंहितानि ।

“संयुक्तमेतत्क्षरमक्षरं च व्यक्ताव्यक्तं भरते विश्वमीशः ।”^१
 “क्षरं प्रधानममृताक्षरं हरः क्षरात्मानावीशते देव एकः ।”^२
 “क्षरं त्वविद्या ह्यमृतं तु विद्या विद्याविद्ये ईशते यस्तु सोऽन्यः ।”^३
 “अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत्तस्मिन्श्चान्यो मायया सच्चिरुद्धः ।”^४
 “मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ।”^५
 “तमीश्वराणां परमं महेश्वरं तं दैवतानां परमं च दैवतम् ।
 पतिं पतीनां परमं परस्ताद्विदाम देवं भुवनेशमीड्यम् ॥”^६
 “न तस्य कार्यं करणं च विद्यते न तत्समश्चाभ्यधिकश्च विद्यते ।
 पराऽस्य शक्तिर्विधैव श्रूयते स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च ॥”^७
 “स कारणं करणाधिपाधिपो न चास्य कश्चिज्जनिता न चाधिपः ॥”^८

इत्यादीन्युपनिषद्वचनानि च महता तात्पर्येण निखिलजगत्सृष्टिस्थितिभङ्गादि-
 लीलं सर्वेश्वरं क्रियासमभिहारेण प्रतिपादयन्ति । इमानि परः सहस्राण्युपनिष-
 द्वचनान्युपेक्ष्य पूर्वमीमांसकैः कर्मशेषभूतात्मपरतयोपनिषदां विशदीकरणं तेषां
 वेदप्रतारकतां स्फुटयति ।

१. “संयुक्तमेतत्” इत्यादि । श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि० अ १ । मं ८ ॥
२. “क्षरं प्रधानम्” इत्यादि । श्वेताश्वतरे अ १ । मं १० ॥
३. “क्षरं त्वविद्या” इत्यादि । श्वेता० अ० ५ । मं १ ॥
४. “अस्मान्मायी” इत्यादि श्वे० अ० ४ मं ६ ॥
५. “मायां तु” इत्यादि । श्वे० अ० ४ । मं १० ॥
६. “तमीश्वराणाम्” इत्यादि श्वे० अ० ६ मं ७ ॥
७. “न तस्य” इत्यादि । श्वे० अ० ६ । मं ६ ॥
८. “स कारणम्” इत्यादि श्वे० अ० ६ । मं ६ ॥
९. “इतिहासपुराणाभ्याम्” इत्यादि । बाह्वृस्पत्यस्मृतौ महाभारते च ॥

(२) पूर्वमीमांसादेवताधिकरणव्याख्याने प्रवृत्ताः पूर्वमीमांसकाः

‘विग्रहो हविरादानं युगपत्कर्मसन्निधिः ।

प्रीतिः फलप्रदानं च देवतानां न युज्यते ॥”

इति देवतानां विग्रहादिपञ्चकं निषेधन्तः कर्मणां कर्तृगुणभूतापूर्वद्वारा फलसाधनतां देवताप्रीतिद्वारा फलसाधनत्वाभावं चातिष्ठमानाः स्वरसतो देवताविग्रहादि-प्रतिपादकत्वेन प्रतीयमानानां मन्त्रार्थवादानां देवताविग्रहादावतात्पर्यं व्यवस्यन्तस्तदनुरोधेन मन्त्रार्थवादानन्तरपरतया यद्व्याचक्षते, यत्र देवताविग्रहादि-कमपलपन्ति, तत्र हेतुरितिहासपुराणानुरोधेन वेदार्थविशदीकरणे प्रवृत्तिरेव । इतिहासपुराणे अतन्त्रोक्त्यै स्वैरं वेदार्थविशदीकरणे प्रवृत्तत्वादेव ते अन्यपरवाक्य-प्रतिपादितानामप्यर्थानामवाधितत्वात्सत्यत्वेऽभ्युपगमनीये सति तेषां सत्यत्वमनिच्छन्तो देवताविग्रहादिकमपलपन्तोऽर्धनास्तिकशब्दव्यपदेश्याः समपत्सत । यदि ते इतिहासपुराणानुरोधेन वेदार्थविशदीकरणे प्रावत्स्यन्, तर्हि मन्त्रार्थवादप्रमित-मवाधितं देवताविग्रहादिकं न न्यषेधिष्यन् । इतिहासपुराणेषु देवतानां विग्रहादि-पञ्चकं प्रस्पष्टं प्रतिपादयन्ति परस्सहस्राण्युपाख्यानानि लक्ष्यन्ते । इतिहासपुराणेषु सृष्टिप्रकरणे देवतिर्यञ्जनुप्यस्थावरात्मना चतुर्विधा भूतसृष्टिर्निगद्यते, अतोऽपि देवतानां विग्रहादिमत्त्वं सिध्यति । कर्मनिमित्तकतत्तद्देहेन्द्रियसम्बन्धनिबन्धनमेव ह्यात्मनां देवादित्वम् । न ह्यात्मनां स्वतो देवादित्वसंभवः । तथा च विष्णुपुराणम्—

“पुमान्न देवो न नरो न पशुर्न च पादपः ।

शरीराकृतिभेदास्तु भूपैते कर्मयोनयः ॥” इति ।

तथा च—

“देवान् भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः ।

परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ॥”

“कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपद्यन्तेऽन्यदेवताः ।”

“देवान् देवयजो यान्ति मद्भक्ता यान्ति मामपि ।”

“अहमादिर्हि देवानां महर्षीणां च सर्वशः ।”

“पश्यादित्यान् वसून् रुद्रानश्विनौ मरुतस्तथा ।”

“पश्यामि देवांस्तव देव देहे सर्वास्तथाभूतविशेषसङ्घान् ।

ब्रह्माणमीशं कमलासनस्थमृषींश्च सर्वानुरगांश्च दिव्यान् ॥”

“रुद्रादित्या वसवो ये च साध्या विश्वेऽश्विनौ मरुतश्चोष्मपाश्च ।

गन्धर्वयक्षासुरसिद्धसङ्घा वीक्षन्ते त्वां विस्मिताश्चैव सर्वे ॥”

इत्येभिर्वेदोपबृंहणश्रीभगवद्गीतावचनैर्देवतानां विग्रहादिमत्वं विशदं प्रतीयते । एतादृशोपबृंहणोपबृंहितैः “वज्रहस्तः पुरन्दरः” “तेनेद्रो वज्रमुदयच्छत्” “तद्भोभये देवासुरा अनुबुबुधिरे ते होचुः” “इन्द्रो ह वै देवानामभिप्रवत्राज विरोचनोऽसुराणाम्, तौ हासंविदानावेव समित्पाणी प्रजापतिसकाशमाजग्मतुः, तौ ह प्रजापतिरुवाच” “प्रतर्दनो ह वै दैवोदासिरिन्द्रस्य प्रियं धामोपजगाम युद्धेन च पौरुषेण च, तं हेन्द्र उवाच त्रिशीर्षाणं त्वाष्ट्रमहनम्, अरुन्मुखान् यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छम्, बह्वीःसन्धा अतिक्रम्य दिवि प्राह्लादीनतृणहम्, अन्तरिक्षे पौलोमान्, पृथिव्यां कालकञ्जान्” इत्यादिभिः कर्मब्रह्मकाण्डस्थैर्मन्त्रार्थवादरूपैर्वचनैर्देवतानां विग्रहादिपञ्चकं स्पष्टं प्रतिपाद्यते ।

ईदृशोपबृंहणोपबृंहितश्रुतिवचनसिद्धं देवतानां विग्रहादिपञ्चकं निराचिकीर्षन्तः पूर्वमीमांसका इमांस्तर्कानुपस्थापयन्त आचक्षते—नैषां मन्त्रार्थवादानां देवताविग्रहादौ तात्पर्यम्, मन्त्राणां कर्मविधिशेषत्वादनुष्ठेयार्थप्रकाशन एव तात्पर्यम्, अर्थवादानां च कर्मविधिशेषत्वाद्विहितानां कर्मणां प्राशस्त्यबोधन एव तात्पर्यम्, अतोऽन्यपरैर्मन्त्रार्थवादैः प्रतिपाद्यमानमपि देवताविग्रहादिपञ्चकं प्रामाणिकमित्याख्यातुं न युज्यते, “यत्परः शब्दः स शब्दार्थः” इति न्यायादिति । उपबृंहणानुसारेण श्रुत्यर्थविशदीकरणे प्रवृत्ता विपश्चितो मीमांसकानामिमान् तर्कान् तर्काभासान् अभिप्रयन्त आचक्षते—कर्मशेषभूतानामपि मन्त्रार्थवादानां देवताविग्रहादाववान्तरतात्पर्यं युक्तगभ्युपगन्तुम्, कर्मसु विनियुक्ता मन्त्रास्तत्र स्वस्य तत्र किञ्चित्करत्वसंपत्त्यर्थमनुष्ठेयमर्थं प्रकाशयन्ति, इत्थमनुष्ठेयार्थप्रकाशने व्यापृता मन्त्रा देवतादिगतविग्रहादिविशेषानभिदधाना एव तत्र किञ्चित् कुर्वन्ति । मन्त्रैर्देवतादिगते विग्रहादिविशेषेऽप्रतिपादिते देवताध्यानमेव न निर्वर्तेत, न हि निर्विशेषा देवता धियमधिरोढुमलम् । अतो देवतास्मारणद्वारा कर्मसु किञ्चित्कुर्वन्तं मन्त्राणां देवताविग्रहा-

दाववान्तरतात्पर्यं नान्तरीयकं सिध्यति । एवं कर्मारध्यदेवतागुणप्रकाशन-
द्वारा कर्मप्रशंसापराणामर्थवादानां “वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता” इत्यादीनां प्राशस्त्योप-
युक्तदेवतागुणेष्वपि तात्पर्यं सिध्यति, सतां गुणानां प्रतिपादने हि स्तुतित्वं संगच्छेत ।
असतां गुणानां कथनेन हि अभिज्ञस्य प्ररोचना कर्तुं न शक्यते । अन्यपरवाक्य-
प्रतिपन्नस्यापि अवाधितस्यार्थस्य प्रामाणिकत्वं ह्यभ्युपगन्तुं युक्तम् । अपि च,
क्षणप्रध्वंसिनः कर्मणः कथं कालान्तरभाविफलसाधनत्वमिति विचारे उपस्थिते—

“लभते च ततः कामान् मयैव विहितान् हि तान् ।”

“ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति ।
भ्रामयन् सर्वभूतानि यन्त्रारूढानि मायया ॥”

“तमेव शरणं गच्छ सर्वभावेन भारत ।
तत्प्रसादात्परां शान्तिं स्थानं प्राप्स्यसि शाश्वतम् ॥”

“तेषां सततयुक्तानां भजतां प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।
ददामि बुद्धियोगं तं येन मामुपयान्ति ते ॥”

“मच्चित्तः सर्वदुर्गाणि मत्प्रसादात्तरिष्यसि ।”

“तानहं द्विषतः क्रूरान् संसारेषु नराधमान् ।
क्षिपाभ्यजस्रमशुभानासुरीष्वेष योनिषु ॥”

इत्याद्युपबृंहणवचनैरेतदुपबृंहितैः “वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता वायुमेव स्वेन
भागधेयेनोपधावति, स एवैनं भूतिं गमयति” “स एनं प्रीतः प्रीणाति” इत्यादिभिः
श्रुतिवचनैः कर्मणां देवतेश्वरप्रीतिकोपद्वारा इष्टानिष्टफलसाधनत्वमित्यवगम्यते ।
किं च, “यज देवपूजासंगतिकरणदानेषु” इत्युक्तेर्यजधातोर्देवतापूजावाचित्वं सर्व-
संप्रतिपन्नम् । पूजा च प्रीतिहेतुभूतः सेवाविशेष इति प्रसिद्धम् । अतः
साक्षाद् देवताद्वारा वा यज्ञाद्याराधितो भगवान् संपन्नः साक्षाद्देवताद्वारा वा फलं
प्रयच्छतीति सोपबृंहणश्रुतिसिद्धम् । विध्यपेक्षिते ईश्वरसंकल्पात्मनि द्वारे श्रुत्यैव
समर्पिते सति अपूर्वाभिधानं किञ्चिद् द्वारं न कल्पनीयम् । विध्यपेक्षितस्यार्थवाद-
प्रतिपन्नस्यार्थस्याङ्गीकार एव युक्तः । अत एव रात्रिसत्रे आर्थवादिकं प्रतिष्ठास्यं
फलं स्वीक्रियते । स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्यादौ स्वर्गस्वरूपे विधिवाक्यप्रतिपन्नेऽपि
तत्प्रकारजिज्ञासायां—

“यत्र दुःखेन संभिन्नं न च ग्रस्तमनन्तरम् ।

अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्सुखं स्वःपदास्पदम् ॥”

इत्यर्थवादप्रतिपन्नस्तत्प्रतीकारविशेषः स्वीक्रियते । तथैव प्रकृतेऽपि सोप-
बृंहणश्रुतिसिद्धं देवतेश्वरप्रीतिकोपखण्डमेव द्वारं स्वीकर्तव्यम्, न त्वपूर्वं कल्पयितुं
युक्तम् । किं च, अन्यपरवाक्यप्रतिपन्नस्यानपेक्षितस्यार्थस्य निर्बाधत्वे तात्त्विकत्व-
मेव स्वीकर्तुं युज्यते, अर्थवादमन्त्रप्रतिपादितस्य विध्यपेक्षितस्य निर्बाधस्य देवता-
विग्रहादेस्तात्त्विकत्वं किंपुनर्न्यायसिद्धम् । इतिहासपुराणानुरोधेन वेदोपबृंहणम-
कुर्वन्तः श्रुतिप्रतिपन्नान्निर्बाधान् देवताविग्रहादिकानर्थानपलपन्तः पूर्वमीमांसकाः
“मामयं प्रतरिष्यति” इति वचनस्य विषया भवन्तीत्यत्र न संदेहः ।

(३) “बर्हिषि रजतं न देयम्” इति निषेधस्य शेषत्वेनायमर्थवादः श्रूयते
“सोऽरोदीत्, यदरोदीत् तद्द्रुद्रस्य रुद्रत्वम्, यदश्रु अशीर्यत तद्रजतं हिरण्यमभवत्
पुराऽस्य संवत्सराद् गृहे रुदन्ति यो बर्हिषि रजतं ददाति” इति । अस्यायमर्थः—
अग्निरूपो रुद्रोऽरोदीत् तस्य तदश्रु पपात, तद्रजतं हिरण्यमभवत् अग्न्यश्रुप्रभवं
रजतं यागे रजतं न देयमिति । एतदर्थवादोदितार्थविषये शावरभाष्ये “कथं
पुनरुदत्यरोदीदिति भवति ? कथं वा ऽनश्रुप्रभवे रजतेऽश्रुप्रभवमिति वचनम् ?
पुराऽस्य संवत्सरादसति रोदने कथं भवतीति” इत्यनुपपत्तिमाशङ्क्य “गुणवादस्तु ।
गौगा एते शब्दाः, रुद्र इति रोदननिमित्तस्य शब्दस्य दर्शनात् “यदरोदीत्”
इत्युच्यते । वर्णसारूप्यान्निन्दन् अनश्रुप्रभवमित्याह, निन्दन्नेव च धनत्यागे
दुःखदर्शनात्पुराऽस्य संवत्सराद् गृहे रोदनं भवतीत्याह” इति समाधीयते । तन्त्र-
वार्तिके इदं भाष्यम् “अश्रुणश्च शौक्ल्य्याद्यदि नामैतत् कठिनं भवेत् ततो रजत-
सदृशं भवेदित्युत्प्रेक्ष्य तत्प्रभवनिन्दा । धनत्यागेनात्यन्तोदारस्यापि गृहजनः
पीड्यत इति तत्सामान्याद्वा रोदनोपन्यासः” ॥ इति विव्रियते । तन्त्रवार्तिके
शावरभाष्ये चास्यार्थवादस्य विषये कृतेयं व्याख्या उपबृंहणाननुसारिणी करुपना-
मात्रप्रसूतेति यथोपबृंहणं वेदान् व्याचक्षणानां वैदिकानां चित्तं न रञ्जयति ।
शावरभाष्योल्लिखिताः शङ्का वैदिका एवं समादधते—न तावद्द्रुद्रस्य रोदनमसंभवि,
शतपथब्राह्मणादौ रुद्रोदनस्य सहेतुकं प्रतिपादितत्वात् । शतपथे चाष्टमूर्ति-
ब्राह्मणे प्रथमांशे “संवत्सरे कुमारोऽजायत, सोऽरोदीत्, तं प्रजापति-

रब्रवीत्, कुमार किं रोदिषि यच्च मम तपसोऽधिजातोऽसीति, सोऽब्रवीत्, अनपहतपाप्मा वा अहमस्मि, हन्त नामानि मे देहीति, तस्मात्पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात् पाप्मानमेवास्य तदपहन्ति, अपि द्वितीयम्, अपि तृतीयम्, अपि पूर्वमेवास्य पाप्मानमपहन्ति, तमब्रवीद्बुद्धोऽसीति, तस्य तन्नामाकरोत्, अग्निस्तद्रूपमभवत्, अग्निर्वै रुद्रः, यदरोदीत् तद्रुद्रः” इत्यादि श्रूयते । सेयं श्रुतिर्विष्णुपुराणे उपबृंह्यते—

“कथितस्तामसः सर्गो ब्रह्मणस्ते महामुने ।
 रुद्रसर्गं प्रवक्ष्यामि तं मे निगदतः शृणु ।
 कल्पादावात्मनस्तुल्यं सुतं प्रध्यायतस्ततः ।
 प्रादुरासीत् प्रभोरङ्के कुमारो नीललोहितः ।
 रुरोद सुस्वरं सोऽथ द्रवंश्च मुनिसत्तम ।
 किं रोदिषीति तं ब्रह्मा रुदन्तं प्रत्युवाच ह ।
 नाम देहीति तं सोऽथ प्रत्युवाच प्रजापतिः ।
 रुद्रस्त्वं देवनाम्नाऽसि मा रोदीः स्थैर्यमावह ।
 एवमुक्तः पुनः सोऽथ प्रत्युवाच महातपाः ।
 ततोऽन्यानि ददौ तस्मै सप्त नामानि स प्रभुः ।
 स्थानानि चैषामष्टानां पत्नीः पुत्रांश्च वै विभुः ॥” इति ।

प्रकृते रुद्रशब्दनिर्दिष्टस्याग्नेर्देवगणनिक्षिप्तधनप्रत्यर्पणजः शोको रोदनहेतुरिति-
 प्रमाणसिद्धम् । अतो रुद्रस्याग्ने रोदनमसंभवीति वक्तुं न शक्यते ।
 अशरीरस्याग्नेः कथं रोदनाश्रुपातादिरिति चेत्, देवताविग्रहादेर्मन्त्रार्थवाद-
 सिद्धत्वान्न कश्चिद्दोषः । तदश्रुणो रजतरूपेण परिणामो नानुपपन्नः, प्रतिनियत-
 वस्तुशक्तेरपर्यनुयोज्यत्वात् । दृश्यते हि द्रवादेः परिणामविशेषवशात् काठिन्यं
 करकादौ, तद्वत् प्रकृतेऽपि भविष्यति । गोमयवृश्चिकादिन्यायेन विलक्षणादप्यश्रुणो
 रजतोत्पत्तिर्युज्यते । तृणारणिमणिजाम्निषु अग्निजातियोगवदश्रुप्रभवानश्रुप्रभव-
 रजतयोरेकरजतत्वजातियोगोऽप्युपपद्यते । शब्दप्रमाणकस्यार्थस्य शब्देतरप्रमाणेन
 बाधनमतिप्रसङ्गमावहेत् । द्रव्यविशेषाणां तत्तद्भातुरूपेण परिणामोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ।
 रुद्रशरीरस्य तैक्षण्यात् सर्वधातूपादानत्वमुपपन्नम् । वक्ति च भगवान् वाल्मीकिः

पार्वतीपतेर्वीर्येण ताम्रादिसर्वधातूपत्तिम् । तद्यथा—

“उत्ससर्ज महातेजः स्रोतोभ्योऽपि तदानघ ।
यदस्या निर्गतं तस्मात्तप्तजाम्बूनदप्रभम् ।
काञ्चनं धरणीं प्राप्तं हिरण्यममलं शुभम् ।
ताम्रं काष्णायसं चैव तैक्षण्यादेवाभ्यजायत ।
मलं तस्याभवत्तत्र त्रपु सीसकमेव च ।” इति ।

अश्रुप्रभवं रजतं स्वकारणानुगुण्येनाश्रुपातहेतुर्भवतीति यदुच्यते, तत्रापि न काप्यनुपपत्तिः । यथा कृत्तिकाग्न्याधानादेर्गृहदाहाद्यनिष्ठहेतुत्वम्, तथा यागे रजतदानस्याप्यनिष्ठहेतुत्वमुपपद्यते । अतो रजतदानस्यानिष्ठहेतुत्वं “बर्हिषि रजतं न देयम्” इति निषेधे तथैवोपयुज्यते, यथा अपगोरणस्य शतयातनासाधनत्वं “तस्माद् ब्राह्मणाय नापगुरेत” इति निषेधे उपयुज्यते । क्वचिन्नियतकाले फलादर्शनं तु प्रबलकर्मन्तरप्रतिबद्धत्वात्समाधानीयम् । तदेवमितिहासपुराणानु-
रोधेनोपबृंहमाणोऽयमर्थवादस्तात्त्विकार्थपरतया व्याख्यातुं शक्यते, अस्य गुणवादाश्रयणेन मीमांसकैः कृतं व्याख्यानमुपबृंहणाननुगुणत्वादानादरणीयतामेव गाहते । किं च, रुद्ररोदनादिसंभवस्य सप्रमाणं साधितत्वाच्च “कथं पुनरुदत्यरोदीदिति भवति” “कथं वाऽनश्रुप्रभवे रजतेऽश्रुप्रभवमिति वचनम्” इति शाबरभाष्योदितौ प्रश्नौ यथोपबृंहणं सुसमाधानाविति गुणवादा-
श्रयणमनुपपन्नमेव । “पुराऽस्य संवत्सराद्गृहे रुदन्ती”त्यस्य “धनत्यागे दुःखदर्शनात्पुराऽस्य संवत्सराद् गृहे रोदनं भवतीत्याह” इति व्याख्याने प्रवृत्तेन शबरस्वामिना “धनत्यागेनात्यन्तोदारस्यापि गृहजनः पीड्यत इति तत्सामान्याद्वा रोदनोपन्यासः” इति तद्विवरणे प्रवृत्तेन भट्टपादेन च नूतनमर्थवादः प्रहसनकोटौ निवेशित इत्येव वक्तव्यं भवति । यदि धनत्यागे दुःखदर्शद्रजतमदक्षिण्यमदेय-
मित्युच्येत, तर्हि ततोऽपि प्रकृष्टस्यान्यस्य दक्षिण्यत्वेन विधानं कथं नु संगच्छेत । किं रजतादपि प्रकृष्टस्य वस्तुनो दक्षिणात्वेन दाने दातुस्तदनुबन्धिनां चाधिकं दुःखं न जायेत ? अतः कृत्तिकाग्न्याधानादेः गृहदाहाद्यनिष्ठकारणत्वात् तात्त्विकमेव यागे रजतदानस्य रोदनाद्यनिष्ठकारणत्वमनेन वाक्येन प्रतिपाद्यत इत्येव मन्तुं युक्तम् । तत् सिद्धमस्यार्थवादस्य गुणवादमाश्रित्य मीमांसकैः कृतं व्याख्यान-

मुपबृंहणविरुद्धत्वाद्देदप्रतारणे एव पर्यवस्यति, उपबृंहणानुसारेण यथावस्थितार्थ-
परतया व्याख्यानमेव समञ्जसमिति ।

(४) वेदे “यः प्रजाकामः पशुकामः स्यात्, स एवं प्राजापत्यं तूपरमाल-
भेत” इत्यस्य विधेः शेषत्वेन “स आत्मनो वपामुदक्खिदत्” इत्यादिरर्थवादः श्रूयते ।
अस्मिन्नर्थवादे प्रजापतिनाऽऽत्मवपोत्कर्तनं तस्या अग्नौ प्रहरणं ततस्तूपर-
पशोरुत्पत्तिरित्यादिरर्थः प्रतिपाद्यते । इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां प्रजापतिर्लोकोत्तरशक्ति-
मानवगम्यते, इतिहासपुराणानुसारेणायमर्थवादो यथावस्थितार्थपरो व्याख्यातुं
शक्यते । लोकोत्तरशक्तिमता प्रजापतिनाऽऽत्मवपोत्कर्तनं कर्तनोत्तरमपि जीवनं
तस्या अग्नौ प्रक्षेपस्ततः कर्मप्रभावात् तूपरपशूत्पत्तिरित्यादिकं सर्वं तात्त्विकमेव ।
प्रजापतिर्हि अलौकिकशक्तिमानितिहासपुराणयोः प्रथते । कर्मस्तुत्यर्थमनेनार्थवादे-
नेदं सर्वं वर्ण्यते । प्रजापतेर्वपायामग्नौ प्रहृतमात्रायामजस्तूपर उत्थितः इत्थं
किल बहवः पशव उद्बभूवुः, तदिदं कर्मणः सामर्थ्यमिति कर्म स्तुतं भवति ।
तूपरस्य प्राजापत्यत्वमप्युपपादितं भवति । इत्थमयमर्थवाद इतिहासपुराणप्रति-
पन्नप्रजापतिमहिमानुरोधेन यथावस्थितार्थपरो व्याख्यातुं शक्यत इति सिद्धम् ।
एवं सत्यस्यार्थवादस्य विषये शाबरभाष्ये “कथं पुनरनुत्खिन्नायां वपायां प्रजापति-
रात्मनो वपामुदक्खिददित्याह” इति परिचोद्य “उच्यते असद्भूतान्तान्वाख्यानं
स्तुत्यर्थेन प्रशंसाया गम्यमानत्वात्” इति समाधानं “वृत्तान्तान्वाख्यानोऽपि विधीय-
माने आदिमत्तादोषो वेदस्य प्रसज्येत” इति वृत्तान्तान्वाख्यानपक्षे दूषणं तथा
“कथं पुनरिदं निरालम्बनमन्वाख्यायते” इति परिचोद्य उच्यते “नित्यः कश्चिदर्थः
प्रजापतिः स्यात्, वायुराकाश आदित्यो वा, स आत्मनो वपामुदक्खिददिति वृष्टिं
वायुं रश्मिं वा, तामग्नौ प्रागृह्णात् वैद्युते आर्वीसे लौकिके वा, ततोऽज इत्यन्नं
बीजं वीरुद्धा, तमालम्ब्य तमुपयुज्य प्रजाः पशूनाप्नोतीति गौणाः शब्दाः” इति
प्रबन्धस्यास्यार्थवादस्य गुणवादाश्रयणेन गौणार्थपरतया व्याख्यानं च यत्कृतम्,
तदिदं सर्वमितिहासपुराणोदितप्रजापतिभावविरुद्धत्वादनदेयमेव । इत्थं कुशका-
शावलम्बनेन व्याख्यानापेक्षया चित्रकथावस्तूनामिव मिथ्यात्वाश्रयणमेव ज्यायः, न
हि चित्रकथायां किञ्चिदालम्बनं कल्प्यते, न वाऽऽलम्बनाकल्पने विवक्षितस्य रसादे-
रसिद्धिः, एवमिहापि आलम्बनाकल्पनेऽपि विवक्षितं स्तुत्यादिकं सेस्त्यतीति कुश-

काशावलम्बनेनालम्बनकनमनावश्यकम् । अतोऽस्य दोषस्य परिहारयेतिहासपुराण-
प्रतिपन्नप्रजापतिमहिमानुसारेणास्यार्थवादस्य तात्त्विकार्थपरतया व्याख्यानमेव शोभते ।
अत एव सानुशयेन वार्तिककृता भट्टपादेनोक्तम् “मन्त्रार्थवादेतिहासपुराणप्रामाण्यात्
सृष्टिप्रलयविष्येते, तत्र सृष्ट्यादौ प्रजापतिरेव योगी तस्मिन् काले पुण्यकर्मोद्भवा-
भ्युपगमेन पशूनामभावात्स्वमाहात्म्येनात्मानमेव पशुमभिनिर्माय वपोत्खननादि कृतवान्,
ततोऽसमाप्त एव कर्मणि तुपरपशुरुत्थितः, ईदृशं च कर्म प्रत्यासन्नफलम्, एवं च
प्रजापतिना चरितमिति सर्वं सत्यमेव, प्रतिसृष्टि चतुर्लिङ्गन्यायेन तुल्यनामप्रभाव-
व्यापारवस्तूपत्तेर्नानित्यताप्रसङ्ग” इति । तत्सिद्धमस्यार्थवादस्य भट्टपादसंमतमुप-
बृंहणानुकूलं पूर्वोक्तं तात्त्विकार्थपरतया व्याख्यानमेवादरणीयतां भजते, न तूपबृंहण-
प्रतिकूलं शावरं व्याख्यानमिति ।

(५) “आदित्यः प्रायणीयश्चरुरादित्य उदयनीयश्चरुः” इत्यस्य विधेः शेष-
भूतोऽयं “देवा वै देवयजनमध्यवसाय दिशो न प्राजन्न्” इत्यादिरर्थवादः ।
अनेनार्थवादेन देवदिङ्मोहशमनहेतुत्वेनेष्टिः स्तूयते । देवदिङ्मोहप्रतिपादकमिदं
वाक्यमृत्विग्दिङ्मोहपरतया “कर्मसु कौशलेन दीव्यन्तीति देवा ऋत्विजः, ते
देवयजनाध्यवसानानन्तरं दर्शपूर्णमासयोरनभ्यस्तं सौमिकं कर्मराशिमालोक्य कथ-
मविदितं करिष्याम इत्याकुलीभावसामान्यादिङ्मोहाभिधानम्” इति व्याख्यायते ।
परंत्वस्यार्थवादस्येदं विशदीकरणमुपबृंहणानुगुण्यान्मुख्यार्थवाधाभावेऽपि गौणार्था-
वलम्बनेन प्रवृत्तेश्च यथावस्थितार्थव्यञ्जकं न भवतीत्यनादरणीयतां भजते । अति-
शयितज्ञानशक्तीनामपि देवानां सृज्यचतुर्विधभूतान्तःपातित्वात् कर्मवश्यत्वाच्च
वत्साहरणादौ चतुर्मुखस्येव कदाचिदुद्भूतरजस्तमोदोषवशादिङ्मोहसंभवे विरोधाभा-
वाद्वास्तविकदेवदिङ्मोहपरत्वेनापि व्याख्यातुं शक्यते । अत्र देवानां देवय-
जनाध्यवसानं दिङ्मोहहेतुत्वेन न व्यपदिश्यते । तथा प्रतिपादने हि अन्येषु
दिङ्मोहानुपलम्भेन विरोधशङ्कोन्मिषेत् । किं तु देवयजनाध्यवसानानन्तरं तेषां
कालविशेषे स्वकारणादिङ्मोहोऽभूत्, स चानेन कर्मणा शान्तिं नीतः, इत्थमिदं
कर्म प्रशस्तम्, अतः कर्तव्यमिति किलेह विवक्षितम् । अस्मदादिविषयेऽप्यस्य
कर्मणो मोहशमनहेतुत्वेन कश्चिद्विरोधः, न हि निवर्तनीयेन मोहेन तादात्विकेन
भाव्यमिति नियमः, कालान्तरे भवतः शमनमादायापि मोहशमनहेतुत्वं सुवचम् ।

इत्थमयमर्थवादो गुणवादमनाश्रित्योषबृंहणमनुसृत्य व्याख्यातुं शक्यत्वेऽपि पूर्वमीमांसकैरुषबृंहणोपेक्षणपूर्वं गुणवादमाश्रित्य व्याख्यायमानो व्याख्यातृणां “मामयं प्रतरिष्यति” इति दोषभाजनतां ख्यापयति ।

(६) “किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशीरं दुहे न तपन्ति घर्मम् । आनोभरप्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखं मघवन् रन्धयानः” इति मन्त्रस्य स्वरस-सिद्धोऽयमर्थो यत्—“हे मघवन् इन्द्र ! कीकटेषु कीकटनामकेषु देशेषु गावः किं कुर्वन्ति, न किञ्चिदप्युपकारं कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः । तदेवोपपाद्यते—आशीरं प्रवर्ग्यार्थं षयो न दुहन्ति, घर्मं प्रवर्ग्यार्थं घृतं न दापयन्ति, घृतोपयुक्तं क्षीरं न प्रयच्छन्ति, तद्देशस्थानां नास्तिकत्वात् । प्रमगन्दस्य कीकटाधिपते राज्ञो यद्वेदो धनमस्ति, तत् अस्माकं नैचाशाखं आभर रन्धय वर्धय चेति’ । अस्य मन्त्रस्यायमर्थः शबरस्वामिना “अनित्यसंयोगान्मन्त्रानर्थक्यम्” इति पूर्वपक्षसूत्रे “कीकटा नाम जनपदाः, नैचाशाखं नाम नगरम्, प्रमगन्दो नाम राजा” इति शब्दैरनूद्यते । अनेन सूत्रेण प्रमगन्दराजवृत्ताद्यनित्यार्थसंयोगेन मन्त्राणामनित्यता प्राप्नोतीति प्रापिते पूर्वपक्षे “उक्तश्चानित्यसंयोगः” इति सूत्रं वैदिकानां प्रवाहनित्यकीकटनैचाशाखनगरप्रमगन्दराजाद्यर्थप्रतिपादकत्वादनित्यसंयोगः पूर्वाधिकरणनिर्णयन्यायेन परिहृत इत्येवमर्थकं व्याख्याय सुपरिहरे सत्यपि अनित्यार्थसंयोगदोषवारणार्थं भट्टपादैरयं मन्त्र इत्थं क्लिष्टगत्या व्याख्यायते “सर्वलोकस्थाः कृपणाः कीकटाः, प्रमगन्दः कुसीदृत्तिः, स हि प्रभूतरमाग-मिष्यतीत्येवं ददाति, नोचाशाखः षण्डः, तदीयं धनं नैचाशाखम्, तच्च सर्वमयज्ञाङ्गभूतं तेषां कर्मण्यप्रवृत्तेस्तदस्माकमाहरेति, शेषं गतार्थम्” इति । एवं च वार्धुषिकादयः प्रवाहनित्या इति नानित्यार्थसंयोग इति भट्टपादस्याशयः । वस्तुतस्तु प्रमगन्दराजादयोऽप्यर्था इन्द्रादिदेवतावद्वतुल्लिङ्गन्यायेन प्रवाहतो नित्या इति सिद्धान्तमास्थाय स्वारसिकार्थे स्वीकृतेऽपि अनित्यार्थसंयोगरूपदोषः सुपरिहरः, “सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयत्” इति श्रुतेः ।

“यथर्तुष्वृतुलिङ्गानि नानारूपाणि पर्यये ।

दृश्यन्ते तानि तान्येव तथा भावा युगादिषु ॥”

“तथाऽभिमानिनो नीतास्तुल्यास्ते सांप्रतैरिह ।
 देवा देवैरतीतैर्हि रूपैर्नाभिरेव च ॥”
 “यस्मिन् यो यः पुराक्लृप्तो यस्मिन् देशे यथा स्थितिः ।
 तस्य तस्यानुरूप्येण प्रजासर्गः प्रवर्तते ॥”
 “ऋषीणां नामधेयानि याश्च वेदेषु दृश्यः ।
 शर्वर्यन्ते प्रसूतानां तान्येवैभ्यो ददात्यजः ॥”

इत्याद्युपबृंहणवचनानां च पर्यालोचने देवानामृषीणां देशानां तदधिपती-
 नामन्येषां च यथापूर्वं सृष्टेः सिद्धेरुपर्युक्तमन्त्रप्रतिपाद्यकोटदेशनैचाशाखप्रमगन्द-
 राजादीनां प्रवाहनित्यत्वे न कश्चिद्विरोधः । उपर्युक्तोपबृंहणाद्यनुसारेण
 स्वारसिकार्थपरतया तस्मिन् मन्त्रे व्याख्यातव्ये सति क्लिष्टगतिमाश्रित्य वाधुषिकाद्यर्थ-
 परतया यद्व्याख्यानं कृतम्, तदुपबृंहणाननुगुणत्वात्काल्पनिकत्वाच्चानादरणीयम् ।

(७) वेदे “अहल्यायै जार” इति मन्त्रेण इन्द्रोऽहल्या जारत्वेन वर्ण्यते ।
 अस्याहल्याजारत्वरूपेन्द्रवृत्तप्रतिपादनपरत्वेऽनित्यार्थसंयोगः स्यादिति मन्वानैः
 कैश्चिद्विद्वद्भिः “अहि लीयत इत्यहल्या रात्रिः, तस्या जारो जरणहेतुः सूर्यः” इति
 व्याख्यायते । अहल्येन्द्रवृत्तान्तस्य प्रवाहनित्यतामभ्युपगम्य यथोपबृंहणं
 स्वरसार्थपरतयैवायं मन्त्रो व्याख्यातुं युज्यते । उपबृंहणे इतिहासश्रेष्ठे
 श्रीवाल्मीकिरामायणे बालकाण्डे अष्टचत्वारिंशो सर्गो अयमहल्येन्द्रवृत्तान्त इत्थं वर्ण्यते ।

“गौतमस्य नृपश्रेष्ठ पूर्वमासीन्महात्मनः ।
 आश्रमो दिव्यसंकाशो सुरैरपि सुपूजितः ॥
 स चेह तप आतिष्ठदहल्यासहितः पुरा ।
 वर्षपूगाननेकांस्तु राजपुत्र महायशः ॥
 तस्यान्तरं विदित्वा तु सहस्राक्षः शचीपतिः ।
 मुनिवेषधरोऽहल्यामिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥
 ऋतुकालं प्रतीक्षन्ते नार्थिनः सुसमाहिते ।
 संगमं त्वहमिच्छामि त्वया सह सुमध्यमे ।
 मुनिवेषं सहस्राक्षं विज्ञाय रघुनन्दन ।
 मतिं चकार दुर्मेधा देवराजकुतूहलात् ॥” इति ।

ईदृशोपबृंहणविरुद्धं परैः कृतं तस्य मन्त्रस्य व्याख्यानं तेषु वेदप्रतारकत्वदोषमासञ्जयेदेव ।

एभिः सप्तभिरुदाहरणैरिदं सुज्ञानं यदितिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदमनुपबृंहयद्भिः स्वमनीषया वेदव्याख्याने प्रवृत्तैर्विद्वद्भिः कथं कथं वेदानभिप्रेतार्था वेदाभिप्रेतत्वेन व्याख्यायन्त इति । वेदशिरसि वेदानभिप्रेतार्थारोपणनिवन्धनवेदप्रतारकत्वदोषपरिहारार्थमेवेदमनुशिष्यते “इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्” इति । किं च, “किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावः” इति मन्त्रमर्थान्तरपरतया व्याचक्षाणा पण्डितास्तस्मिन् मन्त्रे “अहल्यायै जार” इत्यत्र च शब्दसाभ्यात्प्रतीयमानं प्रमगन्दराजाहल्यादिवृत्तान्तं श्रुत्यविवक्षितं मन्यन्ते, यथा च “अहल्यायै जार” इत्यादिकमन्यथा व्याचक्षते, तथैव मन्त्रार्थवादैर्वेदपूर्वभागोपनिषद्गतैः प्रतीयमानान् परमात्मसृज्यसुरनरतिर्यगादिविशेषतद्बृत्तान्तान् अपि वेदाविवक्षितान् ख्यापयन्तः पूर्वोत्तरभागगतमन्त्रार्थवादानर्थान्तरपरतया व्याचक्षीरन्निहितासपुराणोपबृंहणानभिज्ञाः स्वैरव्याख्यातारस्ते वेदप्रतारकाः संपद्येरन्निति तत्परिहारार्थोऽयमुपबृंहणविधिः सुष्ठूपपद्यते । तदिदं सर्वमभिसन्धायैव श्रीरामानुजाचार्याः श्रीभाष्ये जिज्ञासाधिकरणे महासिद्धान्ते उपबृंहणावश्यकर्तव्यतां समर्थयमाना बभाषिरे “इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् । विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रतरिष्यति” । इतिशास्त्रेणार्थस्येतिहासपुराणाभ्यामुपबृंहणं कार्यमिति ज्ञायते । उपबृंहणं नाम विदितसकलवेदतदर्थानां स्वयोगमहिमसाक्षात्कृतवेदतत्त्वार्थानां वाक्यैः स्वावगतवेदवाक्यार्थव्यक्तीकरणम् । सकलशाखानुगतस्य वाक्यार्थस्याल्पभागश्रवणाद्दुःखगमत्वेन तेन विना निश्चयायोगादुपबृंहणं हि कार्यमेव” इति । अथैतस्य विवरणं प्रस्तूयते ।

अत्रेदमवधेयम् । यद्यपि द्विजो बहुरूपनीतोऽपि “स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः” इति वेदान्तर्गतमध्ययनविधिं न जानीते, अध्ययनोत्तरं हि स ज्ञायेत् । अतएव एतद्विध्यधीना तस्याध्ययने प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति, तथापि विध्यभिज्ञैर्हितैषिभिः पित्रादिभिः प्रेरितोऽथवा उपनीतानामध्ययनानुष्ठानं दृष्ट्वा स्वनाप्युपनीतेनाध्ययनं कार्यमिति निश्चिन्वानोऽध्ययने प्रवर्तते । संस्कृतप्रचारदेशवासादङ्गाध्ययनबलाच्च “दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत”, “यन्नदुःखेन संभिन्नं नचग्रस्तमनन्तरम् । अभिलाषोप-

नीतं च तत्सुखं स्वःपदास्पदम् ॥”, “अपामसोममृताअभूम”, “अक्षप्यं ह वै चातुर्मास्ययाजिनः सुकृतं भवति” इत्यादिभिः कर्मकाण्डवचनैः कर्मणां नित्यनिरतिशयफलकत्वे आपाततोऽवगते “ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम्” “तमेवं विद्वानभृत इह भवति” “क्रियावानेषां ब्रह्मविदां वरिष्ठः” “तमेवं ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन” इत्यादिभिर्ब्रह्मकाण्डवचनैः कर्मकाण्डवचनैरेनन्तनिरतिशयफलजनकत्वे कर्माङ्गकब्रह्मोपासनस्यापाततोऽवगते सति तन्निर्णये प्रविवृतसुखिवर्गे प्रथमप्रावण्यात् वेदानां कर्मोपक्रमात् कर्मणां निरतिशयफलजनकत्वे किं तदङ्गकेन ब्रह्मोपासनेनेति चिन्तनाच्च रागात् प्रथमतो धर्ममीमांसायां प्रवृत्तस्ततो षोडशलक्षणीत आवृत्तिविधानादिभिर्हेतुभिः कर्मणामल्पास्थिरफलकत्वं विनिश्चित्य ततो ब्रह्मोपासनस्य कर्माङ्गकस्य निरतिशयफलजनकत्वापातप्रतीत्या प्रेरितस्तन्निर्णयेच्छया ब्रह्ममीमांसायां प्रवृत्तस्ततः कर्माङ्गकब्रह्मोपासनस्य नित्यनिरतिशयापवर्गरूपजनकत्वमवधारयति । ततोऽधीयमानशाखागतेन “अनन्ता वै वेदाः” इति वचनेन वेदानामानन्त्यमवगत्य चिन्तयते अधीतशाखातोऽनवगतास्तदविरुद्धा विरुद्धाश्चार्थाः शाखान्तरेषु स्युः ते कथं नाम ज्ञायन्ताम् ? उपबृंहणैरेव तेऽर्था ज्ञातुं शक्यन्ते । किंच, “स्मृतेश्च” “अपि स्मर्यते” इत्यादिभिर्मीमांसासूत्रैर्विज्ञायते वेदार्थनिर्णय उपबृंहणसापेक्ष इति । एवं चिन्तनेन प्रेरितोऽज्ञातविशेषैः सह स्वावगतार्थनिष्कर्षार्थं रागत उपबृंहणश्रवणे प्रवर्तते । तत्र पूर्वभागोपबृंहणेषु धर्मशास्त्रेषु श्रुतेषु उपनिषद्भागोपबृंहणभूतेषु इतिहासपुराणेष्वपि रागत एव प्रवर्तते माणवकः । इत्थं न्यायप्राप्तमुपबृंहणस्य कर्तव्यत्वमेव “इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् । विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रतरिष्यति” इत्यनेन विधिच्छायेन वचनेनानूद्यते । अयमेकोऽस्य वचनस्य निर्वाहप्रकारः ।

अपरस्तु—कश्चिन्माणवक एवं मन्यते यत् इतिहासपुराणे हि वेदान्तोपबृंहणे गण्येते । तयोः श्रवणं नापेक्ष्यते । यतो ब्रह्ममीमांसागताभ्यां समन्वयविरोधपरिहारपराभ्यां प्रथमद्वितीयाध्यायाभ्यामेव तत्त्वस्थितिः सुनिश्चिता । वस्तुनि विरुद्धाकारो न संभवति । अतोऽधीयमानश्रुतिनिर्णीतविरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादक उपनिषद्भागो नैव संभाव्यते । यदि तादृशः कश्चिदुपनिषद्भागः स्यात्, तर्हि वेदो

भ्रान्तजल्पतायेत । अतोऽधीतश्रुतिनिर्णीतविरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादकोपनिषद्भागस्यासंभावितत्वात्तदर्थजिज्ञासयोपबृंहणश्रवणं नापेक्ष्यते । यद्यप्यधीतशाखोपनिषदनवगता अविरुद्धा ब्रह्मणि गुणविभूतिविशेषाः संभवन्ति, येषां प्रतिपादनं शाखान्तरीयोपनिषत्सु संभाव्यते, तथा येषामुपबृंहणमितिहासपुराणयोः संभाव्यते, तथापि ब्रह्मगतानां गुणविभूतिविशेषाणामियत्ता इतिहासपुराणैरपि दुष्प्रतिपादा, तेषामानन्त्यात् । अवगतकतिपयगुणविभूतिविशिष्टब्रह्मोपासनेनैव पुरुषार्थसिद्धिरुपपद्यते । अतोऽप्युपबृंहणश्रवणं नापेक्ष्यते इति । एवं मन्यमानमुपबृंहणश्रवणनिरपेक्षं माणवकं प्रति “इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्” इति वचनेनाप्रवृत्तप्रवर्तनरूपं विधानं क्रियते । अयमस्य वचनस्य द्वितीयो निर्वाहः ।

नन्वयं द्वितीयो निर्वाहो न संभवति, यतो न्यायानुगृहीतवाक्यावगतोपबृंहणेषु उपबृंहणैर्निष्कृष्टयोऽशो नास्ति । निष्कृष्टव्यः सर्वोऽप्यंशः सूत्रोदाहृतैरेव वचनैर्निष्कृष्टचरः । तथा चायमुपबृंहणविधिरदृष्टार्थ एव स्यात् । विभेत्त्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रतरिष्यतीत्युत्तरार्धेन च दृष्टार्थत्वं ख्याप्यते । वेदस्य प्रतारणं नाम तदभिप्रेतविपरीतार्थवर्णनमेव । अतस्तन्निवृत्तिरूपे दृष्टफले वाचनिके फले जायति अदृष्टार्थत्वं कल्पयितुं न युज्यते । वाचनिकं दृष्टार्थत्वं च दुरुपपादम्, यतोऽधीयमानश्रुतिनिर्णीते विरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादकप्रदेशान्तरसंभवे वेदस्य भ्रान्तजल्पतायमानत्वं प्रसज्येतेतिनिर्णीततत्त्वविरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादकप्रदेशसंभवेन तत्त्वविपर्यासप्रतिपादनमसंभवि । साकल्येन ब्रह्मगुणविभूत्यनवगमस्समस्ततद्वान्तरविशेषानवगमश्च न वेदप्रतारणरूपतां भजते । अतस्तन्निवृत्तिरपि फलं न युज्यते इति चेत्, अत्रोच्यते—यद्यपि परतत्त्वतदुपासनप्रतिपादनेषु विपर्यासो न संभवति, तथापि “किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावः” इत्यादिवाक्यप्रतिपन्नं प्रमगन्दादिवृत्तान्तं यथा शवास्वामिप्रभृतयो मीमांसका वाक्याविवक्षितं मन्यन्ते, यथा च अहल्याजारादिवाक्यान्तर्यन्तरपरतया ते व्याचक्षते, तथैव परमात्मसृज्यसुरनरतिर्यगादिविशेषतदुत्पत्तितद्वृत्तविशेषाणामपि श्रुतिसामान्यप्रतीतत्वेन वाक्याविवक्षितत्वं मन्यमानो यदि कश्चिद् वेदपूर्वभागोपनिषद्भागगतानां मन्त्रार्थवादान् अर्थान्तरपरतया व्याचक्षीत, तर्हि सोऽश्रुतोपबृंहणतया वेदं प्रतारयत्येवेति तत्परिहारायोपबृंहणविधिरुपपद्यत इति ।

अथेदं भाष्यमनेनाशयेन प्रवृत्तं व्याख्यायते । इतिहासपुराणाभ्यामिति-
वचनेन वेदशब्दो वेदान्तपरः । वेदोपबृंहणेषु धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणेषु धर्मशास्त्राणि
पूर्वभागोपबृंहणानि, इतिहासपुराणान्युपरितनभागोपबृंहणानीति विभागः । तत्र
धर्मशास्त्रेषु ब्रह्मप्रतिपादनं कर्मणां तदाराधनरूपत्वज्ञापनार्थम् । इतिहासपुराणेषु
कर्मप्रतिपादनं कर्मणां ब्रह्मोपासनाङ्गत्वप्रतिपादनार्थमिति विभाव्यम् । कर्मणां
ब्रह्माराधनरूपत्वं ब्रह्मोपासनस्य कर्माङ्गकत्वं च —

“यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥”

“ध्यायेन्नाारायणं देवं स्नानादिषु च कर्मसु ।
ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति न चेहावर्तते पुनः ॥”

“यैस्स्वकर्मपरैर्नाथ नरैराराधितो भवान् ।
ते तरन्त्यखिलामेतां मायामात्मविमुक्तये ॥”

“ये तु सर्वाणि कर्माणि मयि संन्यस्य मत्पराः ।
अनन्येनैव योगेन मां ध्यायन्त उपासते ।
तेषामहं समुद्धर्ता मृत्युसंसारसागरात् ।
भवामि न चिरात् पार्थ मय्यावेशितचेतसाम् ॥”

इत्यादिभिर्वचनैः सिध्यति ।

अस्मिन् भाष्ये “उपबृंहणं नाम” इत्यादिना वाक्येन “इतिहासपुराणाभ्याम्”
इति श्लोकस्य पूर्वार्धं व्याख्यायते । अत्र “विदितसकलवेदतदर्थानां स्वयोग-
महिमसाक्षात्कृततदर्थानां वाक्यैः” इति बहुवचनैः कपिलाद्येकैकमतादपि इतिहासा-
दीनां प्राबल्यं द्योत्यते । व्यक्तीकरणं नाम अज्ञातविशेषैः सह स्वावगतार्थ-
निष्कर्षः संपाद्यः । यथा वेदेन कर्तव्यत्वेन विहितस्य सन्ध्योपासनादेः
शरीरशुद्धिप्रकारदन्तधावनस्नानादिविशेषैः सह निष्कर्षः, एवमुपनिषद्भागोऽप्यर्थ-
निष्कर्षः संपाद्यः । उपनिषदर्थनिष्कर्षो ब्रह्ममीमांसासिद्ध इति नोपबृंहणापेक्षेत्यस्यां
शङ्कामुत्तरार्धस्य व्याख्यानं “सकलशाखानुगतस्य” इत्यादिना वाक्येन क्रियते ।
श्लोके उत्तरार्धं पूर्वार्धविहितोपबृंहणकार्यतोपपादकम् । उपबृंहणं नाम अनधीतशा-
खान्तरार्थैः सहाधीतशास्त्रार्थनिष्कर्षः । अतो नोपबृंहणविचारनैरपेक्ष्यं संभवतीत्यर्थः ।

CONCEPTION OF SARASVATĪ IN THE PURĀṆAS*

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[भगवती सरस्वती वेदेषु पुराणेषु च नदीरूपेण देवीरूपेण च वर्ण्यते । ऋग्वेदे नदीरूपेण सा 'अपसामवस्तमा' (६६११३), 'सिन्धुमाता' (७३६६), 'सिन्धुभिः पिन्वमाना' (६५२६) 'यती गिरिभ्य आसमुद्रात्' (७६५२) इत्यादिभिर्विशेषणैः संयोज्यते । देवीरूपायाश्च तस्याः 'सूतृतानां चोदयित्री' (१३११), 'धीनामवित्री' (६६१६), 'ऋतावरी' (६६१६), 'वाजिनीवती' (७६६३), 'देवितमा' (२४११६) इत्यादि स्वरूपमुपवर्णयते । द्विविधेयं वैदिकी सरस्वती पुराणेष्वपि नदीरूपेण देवीरूपेण च द्विविधं वर्णयते । नदीरूपायास्तस्याः पुराणेषु 'सरिच्छ्रेष्ठा', 'तीर्थवरा', 'पञ्चस्रोताः', 'सागरगामिनी' इत्यादि स्वरूपं वर्णयते । देवीरूपा च सा 'वाग्बुद्धिविद्याज्ञानाधिदेवता' 'सर्वविद्या-स्वरूपा', 'सदम्बिका' इत्यादिरूपेण वर्णयते । 'ज्योतीरूपा', 'ब्रह्मास्वरूपा', 'अक्षरा' इत्यादि च तस्याः परमं रूपमपि पुराणेषु विभाव्यते, येन रूपेण तस्याः परमतत्त्वेन परब्रह्मणा सहाभेदोऽपि मतः । पुनः, यथा ऋग्वेदे सा 'घोरा' 'वृत्रघ्नी' (६६१७) 'जेषि शत्रून्' (२३०८) इत्यादिरूपेणापि वर्णयते, एवमेव ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे सा ललितायाः शक्तिरूपेण भण्डासुरं हन्तुं तस्याः साहाय्यं कुर्वती तथा मार्कण्डेयपुराणे देवीमाहात्म्ये दुर्गायाः शक्तिरूपेण शुभनिशुम्भनिर्वाहणीति च प्रोच्यते । पुनश्च वागीशा देवी सरस्वत्येव शापदानेककारणैर्नदीरूपेण परिणतेत्यपि पुराणेषु बहुधा कल्पितम् । सर्वमिदं पुराणमतं वैदिक-भावानामेव विभिन्नरूपैरुपवृंहणं त्रिकासो वेति प्रतीयते । इमां पृष्ठभूमिका-माश्रित्य सरस्वतीविषयकाः पौराणिका विचाराः प्रस्तूयन्तेऽत्र ।]

*. Amplified version of the paper read at the 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference (Srinagar, Kashmir), Oct., 1961.

The present paper is divided into the following main sections:—I. Vedic conception of Sarasvatī; II. Transition from Vedic to Purāṇic conception; III. Purāṇic conception—A. Sarasvatī as the Goddess of speech and learning; 1. Etymological interpretation of 'Sarasvatī'; 2. Purāṇic accounts of the origin of Sarasvatī; 3. Synonyms and epithets of Sarasvatī; 4. Sarasvatī in relation to other deities; 5. The *ghora* aspect of Sarasvatī; 6. Anthropomorphic form or *vigraha* of Sarasvatī; 7. Iconographical representations of Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas; 8. Sarasvatī-worship in the Purāṇas; 9. Pantheistic and transcen-

The philosophical flight of the Indian mind in search of the ultimate reality gave it an insight which is unique in the history of religious thoughts. The innumerable gods and goddesses conceived by the Indian sages are to them nothing but so many manifestations of the same ultimate Reality—the *Akṣara Brahman* or the *Parā Śakti*. Amidst the bewildering innumerability of the gods and goddesses of the Indian pantheon Goddess *Sarasvatī* has always occupied an important and exalted place. What distinguishes man from animals is speech, intellect and super-sensuous knowledge with which he has been endowed by Nature; and as *Sarasvatī* has been conceived as the goddess of speech, intellect, learning and knowledge, her importance in the whole range of the Indian pantheon may easily be imagined.

Both in the Vedas and the Purāṇas *Sarasvatī* has been considered as one of the principal deities, sometimes even the foremost among them. The Ṛgveda calls her as the best or the greatest goddess (‘देवितमे’ II. 41. 16) and the Purāṇas make her worshipped even by the three great gods of the trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśa.¹ Thus the Purāṇas have assigned her a more exalted position even than that assigned to her by the Vedas. The Purāṇas have further conceived her in the double aspect—immanent and transcendent.² But the Purāṇic conception of *Sarasvatī* may be said to be rooted in her Vedic conception, both as a river-goddess and as the goddess of eloquence. Therefore, for the study of the Purāṇic conception of *Sarasvatī* a brief study of her Vedic conception also may prove helpful.

dent aspects of *Sarasvatī*. B. *Sarasvatī as the River and River-goddess* (to be dealt with in a future article in continuation).

Note :

- (a) For the sake of facility relevant portions of the texts, specially the long portions, referred to in some of the footnotes, are quoted in Appendix I at the end of this paper.
- (b) The explanation of abbreviations used is given in Appendix II.
 1. Cf. BvP II. 4. 29 ; 5. 31 ; etc.
 2. This double aspect of *Sarasvatī* is manifest in the *Sarasvatī-stotras* of the MārP (Adh. 23) and the VāmP (Adh. 32).

VEDIC CONCEPTION OF SARASVATĪ

The place which Sarasvatī occupies in the Indian pantheon can be judged from her long life in Indian literature. From the early Vedic times she has been an object of praise and devotion. Her importance among the Vedic deities led to the creation of a corresponding male deity *Sarasvān*, conceived as the guardian of water (RV. VI. 96. 4 ff.), who was later on considered in the Purāṇas as the offspring of Sarasvatī and Purūravas (BrP 101. 8ff.). In the Ṛgveda several *Sūktās* (e.g. VI. 61 ; VII. 95 ; VII. 96) are exclusively devoted to Sarasvatī. In these *Sūktās* as well as in the various *re-s* of some other *Sūktās* Sarasvatī has been highly eulogised both as a sacred river and as a goddess.

In the Ṛgvedic *Āpṛi-Sūktas* (I. 13 ; I. 188 ; III. 4 ; VII. 2 ; X. 110) she has been invoked along with the two other goddesses—*Ilā* and *Bhāratī* (also called '*Mahī*'); and so *Bhāratī*, *Ilā* and *Sarasvatī* together form a triad and are collectively termed as 'three goddesses' ('*तिस्रो देवीः*').³ They may be said to form a Vedic trinity like the Purāṇic trinity of *Durgā*, *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī*. According to the Vedic conception these three Vedic goddesses—*Ilā*, *Sarasvatī* and *Bhāratī*—belong respectively to the terrestrial, atmospheric and the celestial sphere.⁴ These three goddesses have allied functions. All of them are mentioned as 'of noble actions' ('*स्वपसः*' X. 110. 8) 'fit to be worshipped at the *yajña*' ('*यज्ञियाः*' I. 142. 9) ; 'awakening our intellect' ('*चेत्तयन्ती*' X 110. 8) ; 'producing (or source of) happiness' ('*मयोभुवः*' I.13.9) and 'urging us for wealth and prosperity' ('*त्रिये*' I. 188. 8).⁵

3. Cf. Relevant verses of the *Āpṛi Sūktas* quoted in the Appendix at the end of this paper.

4. Cf. *Durg.* on *Nir.* VIII. 2. 10 : 'भारती—भरत आदित्यः, सर्वभूतान्युदकेन विभक्तिं, तस्य स्वभूता भा दीप्तिः ; इळा च पृथिवीस्थाना सरस्वती च मध्यस्थानैव'.

5. A symbolic or psychological interpretation has been given to *Sarasvatī*, *Ilā* and *Bhāratī* (or *Mahī*) by Sri Aurobindo—'Sarasvatī represents the truth-audition, *sruti*, which gives the inspired word. *Ilā* represents *drsti*, the truth-vision,.....*Bhāratī* or *Mahī* is the largeness of the truth-Consciousness.' (*On the Veda*, University Edition 1956, p. 110). Some scholars regard *Sarasvatī*, *Ilā* and *Bhāratī* as three varieties of speech. (Cf. Dr. Sūryakanta's article *Śaras, Soma and Sira* in *ABORI*, XXXVIII (1957) pp. 115 ff.)

Among these three goddesses Sarasvatī has been assigned a more important place than the other two, as *Sarasvatī-Sūktas* indicate. She is treated both as the goddess as well as the sacred river. In fact, in the Veda these two aspects of Sarasvatī are often inseparable. Even in those Ṛgvedic *ṛc*-s which speak of her as the 'best of the rivers' ('नदीतमे' II. 41. 16), 'mother of the rivers' ('सिन्धुमाता' VII. 36. 6), 'pure among the rivers' ('नदीनां शुचिः' VII. 95. 2), 'flowing from the mountains to the sea' ('यती गिरिभ्य आसमुद्रात्' XII. 95. 2), 'breaking the peaks of mountains by her mighty waves' ('०वाहजत् सानु गिरिणां तविषेभिर्हर्मभिः' VI. 61. 2) and so on, there are mentioned certain attributes of Sarasvatī, which, in fact, are not applicable to the physical river Sarasvatī; for she has also been mentioned, in the same *ṛc*-s, as 'the best of the goddesses' ('देवितमे' II. 41. 16), 'desiring' ('वावशाना' VII. 36. 6), and 'conscious' ('चेतत्' VII. 95. 2), and also as 'being propitiated by the Seer for his protection by his hymns of good praises and thoughts' ('०मवसे सुवृक्तिभिः सरस्वतीमा-विवासेम धीतिभिः' VI. 61. 2).

Hence even in such Ṛgvedic *ṛc*-s the divine aspect of the Sarasvatī is more prominent than her physical or the river-aspect. In the Veda the Sarasvatī is not merely a river, but also a river-goddess or *nadī-devatā*. In course of time, the *nadī-devatā* Sarasvatī might have evolved into the *Vāg-devatā* Sarasvatī. The starting point for the conception of Sarasvatī as the *Vāg-devatā* may be traced to a verse of the Vājaṣaneyi-Saṁhitā, which says that at a sacrifice performed by the gods for heavenly cure *Aśvins*, the Physicians, gave vigour to Indra and *Sarasvatī* did her share as a Physician by *vāc* ('देवा यज्ञमतन्वत भेषजं भिषजाश्विना । वाचा सरस्वती भिषगिन्द्रायेन्द्रियाणि दधत; ॥' VS 19. 12) It is on account of this two fold Vedic conception of Sarasvatī that Sāyaṇa in his *Bhāṣya* on Ṛ V I. 3. 12 remarks—द्विविधा हि सरस्वती विग्रहवद्देवता नदीरूपा च', meaning thereby that Sarasvatī has two forms, viz. (a) a *vigraha* or anthropomorphic form, and (b) a river-form. This double conception of Sarasvatī has been further developed in the Purāṇas, as we shall see later.

In the Ṛgveda goddess Sarasvatī has not only been regarded as 'full of truth' ('ऋतावरी', VI. 61. 9, etc.), 'impeller of true and sweet speech in us, and awakener of our happy and noble thoughts' ('चोदयित्री सुनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम्' I. 3. 11), 'illuminer of our entire understanding' ('धियो विश्वा विराजति' I. 3. 12), and 'full of plenitude' ('वाजिनीवती' I. 3. 10, etc.), but she has also been conceived as 'full of or accompanied by *Maruts*' ('मरुत्वती' II. 30. 8) on account of her belonging to the middle or the atmospheric region,⁶ 'of golden path or chariot' ('हिरण्यवर्त्तिनिः' VI. 61. 4), 'the virgin girl related to *Pavīravān*'⁷ ('पावीरवी कन्या' VI. 49. 7,⁸ consort of the hero' ('वीरपत्नी' ib.), 'conquering the enemies' ('जेषि शत्रून्' II 3. 8), 'terrible' ('घोरा' VI. 61. 7) and 'Killer of *Vitra*' ('वृत्रघ्नी' ib). In the Veda goddess Sarasvatī has, thus, been conceived in two forms—*saumya* and *ghora*, mild and awful. The Purāṇas too conceive her in these two forms as will be discussed later.

TRANSITION FORM VEDIC TO PURĀṆIC CONCEPTION

In course of time, however, this Vedic conception of Sarasvatī changed to some extent, and was further developed by the Purāṇas. In the Ṛgveda Sarasvatī and Bhārati are two separate deities, though performing allied functions. But in the Purāṇas Bharatī has been merged in Sarasvatī, and thus 'Bharatī' and 'Sarasvatī' have become two names of one and the same goddess (Sarasvatī or *Vāg-devatā*). Again, in the Ṛgveda Sarasvatī, though spoken as 'impelling noble speech in us'

6. Cf. Sāyaṇa on RV II. 30. 8 — 'मरुत्वती मरुद्भिर्द्युक्ता, मध्यस्थाना हि वाक् सरस्वती, मरुतश्च मध्यस्थानस्थाः, अतस्तद्वती ।'

7. Cf. Nir. XII. 3. 11—'पविः शल्यो भवति, यद् विपुनाति (= विदारयति) कायम्, तद्वत् पवीरम् आयुधम्, तद्वान् इन्द्रः पवीरवान् ।' Cf. also RV X. 60. 3 where the words both 'पवीरवान्' and 'अपवीरवान्' occur as attributes of *Indra*.

8. The expression 'पावीरवी' has been explained by Nir. (XII. 3. 11) as meaning *Vāk* whose *devatā* is *Pavīravān* or *Indra* (तद्देवता वाक् पावीरवी), which is further explained by Durg. as 'स इन्द्रो यस्या माध्यमिकाया वाचो देवता सा ऐन्द्री वाक् पावीरवी'

(‘चोदयित्री सुनुतानाम्’), has not been explicitly mentioned as *Vāc*- or *Vāg-devatā*. It is only in the Brāhmaṇas that we first find her identified with *vāc*. This identification is carried out to the full extent in the Aitareya and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas.⁹ Further, in the Purāṇas she has become the full fledged goddess of speech (वाग्देवता or वाग्देवी)¹⁰, and in some places and contexts even the mere word *Vāc* or *Vāñī* connotes the sense of Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech.¹¹ In the Purāṇas Sarasvatī has also been expressly mentioned as the ‘goddess of inspiration, knowledge and learning’ (‘ज्ञानाधिदेवी’, विद्याधिष्ठातृदेवता).¹²

According to Yāska the sound residing in the clouds is *mād'hyamikā vāk*^{13a} and DY also remarks that the thundering sound of the clouds is the *mādhyamikā vāk*.^{13b} He explains *sarasvatī* as *udakavati* taking ‘*saras*’ as a synonym for ‘*udaka*’ or ‘water’, and so he conceives Sarasvatī as the presiding deity of rain’ (‘वृष्ट्यधिदेवता’), and identifies her with the *mādhyamikā vāk* which is also *udakavati*. He further says that Sarasvatī (as the *mādhyamikā vāk* and the presiding deity of rain) was also the river Sarasvatī.¹⁴

The Vāmana P. adopts this Vedic conception when it makes Vasiṣṭha eulogize Sarasvatī as ‘the goddess moving at will and producing water in the clouds’ (‘त्वमेव कामगा देवि मेघेषु सृजसे पयः’ 40. 14 p). The Skanda Purāṇa (VI. 46. 28 c) also mentions

9. Cf. ‘वाग्घ सरस्वती’ (AitB 3. 2); ‘वाग्वै सरस्वती पावीरवी’ (ib. 3. 27); ‘वागेव सरस्वती’ (ib. 2. 24; 6. 7); ‘वाक् सरस्वती’ (ŚB VII. v. 1. 31; XI. ii. 4. 9; etc.); ‘वाग्वै सरस्वती’ (ib. II. v. 4. 6; III. ix. 1. 7); etc.—Vide Hansarāja : *Vaidika Kośa*, Lahore, 1926.

10. Cf. ‘वाग्देवतायाः स्तवनं’ (BvP II. 5. 1a), स्तुहि वाग्देवीं (ib. 4c); etc.

11. Cf. ‘वाचं दुहितरं तन्वीं’ (BhP III. 12. 28a); ‘उवाच वाणीं श्रीकृष्णः’ (BvP. II. 2. 58).

12. Cf. BvP II. 5, DBhP IX. 5; etc.

13. (a) ‘वागेषा माध्यमिका.....मेघेऽधिष्ठिता’ (Nir. II. 2. 5);

(b) ‘स्तनयित्पुत्रक्षणा माध्यमिका, साप्युच्यते इति वाक्’ (DY on Nigh.1.11),

14. ‘यद्वा ‘सरस्’ इति ‘उदक’ नाम सत्तेः, तद्वती वृष्ट्यधिदेवतात्वात्, उदकवती हि माध्यमिका वाक्, सैव चासीन्नदी सरस्वती ।’ (DY on Nigh, 1. 11).

'*vr̥ṣṭi*' as one of the epithets of Sarasvatī. The VāmP even goes further in identifying all waters with Sarasvatī herself ('सर्वस्त्वापस्त्वमेवेति' 40. 14 c). This Purāṇic conception seems to follow the Vedic conception according to which Sarasvatī is the goddess of the atmospheric or the middle sphere.¹⁵

The Vedas, thus, have treated Sarasvatī in three aspects : (i) as the goddess impelling and invigourating our speech and intellect, and conferring happiness (*mayas*), fame (*praśasti*) and prosperity (*śr̥ṅ*) on us,¹⁶ and invoked by the Vedic Seer or *R̥ṣi* to the sacrifice, often with the two sister goddesses, Bhārati and Iḷā ; (ii) as the river-goddess, also invoked by the Seer, sometimes with Indra and other gods ;¹⁷ and (iii) as the sacred river Sarasvatī rising from the mountains and flowing to the sea with its tributaries, and included in the group of the famous seven Vedic rivers or *Sapta-Sindhu-s*.¹⁸

The Purāṇas also treat Sarasvatī in these three aspects, but in an amplified and mythological style. In the Purāṇas these three aspects of Sarasvatī, however, are often mingled. In the Vāmana P. Sage Mārkaṇḍeya praises the Sarasvatī river as the 'mother of all the worlds' and 'the source or origin of the Vedas'.¹⁹ In the Padma P. the gods, while praising Sarasvatī as the goddess of various sciences or *vidyā-s*, identify her with Sarasvatī, the sacred river (*punya-jalā*), flowing to the sea (*sāgaragāminī*).²⁰

15. See footnotes 4 and 6.

16. Cf. RV I. 3. 11 ; I. 13. 9 ; I. 188. 8 ; II. 41. 16 , etc. (See App.).

17. Cf. RV I. 89. 3 ; VI. 52. 6 ; etc. (See App).

18. River Sarasvatī is included among the rivers mentioned in the famous *ṛc* of the RV—'इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति' (X 75. 5). This *ṛc* contains the names of the nine rivers, but Śāyana says : 'अत्र प्रधानभूताः सप्त नद्यः, तदवयवभूता नद्यस्तिस्रः श्रूयन्ते'. The phrase 'सप्तसिन्धून्' occurs in RV. I. 32. 12, where again Śāyana remarks : 'सप्तसिन्धून्—इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने इत्यस्यामृच्यान्नाता गङ्गाद्याः सप्तसंख्याका नदीः'.

19. VāmP 32. 6 p—'त्वं देवि सर्वलोकानां माता वेदारणिः शुभा ।'

20. PdP V. 27. 118 f. (See App.).

Thus, we see how the Vedic conception of Sarasvatī developed into the Purāṇic conception, which, in course of time, was further amplified with various Purāṇic myths and legends.

PURĀṆIC CONCEPTION OF SARASVATĪ

A. SARASVATĪ AS THE GODDESS

1. Etymological interpretation of 'Sarasvatī':

The word 'सरस्वती' (*saras-vatī*) is derived from the root √स्र (गतौ—to move, glide, run, flow etc.) by adding the *unādī* suffix अस्रन् (अस्) to it, and then by adding to the word 'सरस्' thus formed the *taddhīta* suffix वतुप् (i. e. मतुप्) forming the word 'सरस्वत्' (*saras-vat*), and then finally adding the feminine suffix डीष् (ई) to the word 'सरस्वत्', thus forming the word 'सरस्वती' (*saras-vatī*). The word सरस् (सरः) actually means सरणम् or प्रसरणम् (moving, gliding, flowing etc.), and as speech or *vāc* has the quality of moving or flowing out of the mouth, in the form of prose, verse etc., it has also been called '*saras-vatī*'.²¹ Then the presiding deity of '*saras-vatī*' or *vāc* was also called '*Sarasvatī*'²² or *Vāc*²³ (also *Vāg-devatā* or 'goddess of speech'). And as speech (*vāc*) is the great contributing factor to the acquisition of knowledge, Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech, also came to mean the 'goddess of knowledge and learning' (*jñāna-devatā* and *Vidyā-devatā*).

The Purāṇas also offer their own interpretations for several epithets of Goddess Sarasvatī. The BvP and DBhP have inter-

21. Cf. also DY on Nigh. 1. 11—'गद्यपद्यादिरूपेण प्रसरणमस्या अस्तीति...'

In the Nigh. (1. 11) 'सरस्वती' is one of the 57 synonyms of 'वाक्'. In the classical lexicons also 'सरस्वती' is found mentioned as a synonym of 'वाक्' (Cf. Hem. 4. 135 a).

22. In the Purāṇas Sarasvatī is clearly mentioned as 'the presiding deity of speech' (Cf. BvP II. 1. 31; etc.), Cf. also Hem. 4. 135 b—'गोवाग्देवतयोरपि'.

23. Cf. DY on Nigh. 1. 11—'साप्युच्यते इति वाक्, तदधिष्ठात्र्यपि देवता वागिष्यते'.

preted four such epithets of Sarasvatī. According to the DBhP she is called (i) 'भारती', because she went down to भारत ; (ii) 'ब्राह्मी' because she is the beloved consort of ब्रह्मा ; (iii) 'वाणी', because she is the presiding deity of वाणी (speech) and (iv) 'सरस्वती', because she belongs to God सरस्वान् or *Hari* who is called 'Sarasvān' because though pervading everywhere he is particularly seen in the *saras-s* i. e. in the waters, lakes and ponds (सरस्मु), and also in the streams (स्रोतस्मु).²⁴ The BvP (II. 7.2f.) has also given the same interpretation for these four epithets.

The word 'सरस्' (*saras*) secondarily means 'water' (*udaka*), which also flows ; and with this meaning in view 'सरस्वती' (*saras-vatī*) has been explained as 'उदकवती' (rich in water)²⁵ and means 'a river'. In course of time the *yangika* word 'saras-vatī' acquired a *yangarūḍha* character, and began to denote the name of the particular river Sarasvatī²⁶ which flowed through the regions of the Kurukṣetra, Puṣkara and Prabhāsa. Then the presiding deity of the Sarasvatī river was also called 'Sarasvatī', for according to the Purāṇic conception a sacred river is presided by the deity of that name. The Purāṇas also conceive the *Nadī-devatā* Sarasvatī and the *Vāg-devatā* Sarasvatī as identical.²⁷

24. भारती भारतं गत्वा ब्राह्मी च ब्रह्मणः प्रिया ।
वाण्यधिष्ठातृदेवी सा तेन वाणी प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥
सरोवाप्यां च स्रोतस्मु सर्वत्रैव हि दृश्यते ।
हरिः सरस्वान् तस्यैयं तेन नाम्ना सरस्वती ॥ (DBhP IX. 7. 2, 3)

BvP reads the last two lines as follows :

- सर्वं विश्वं परिख्याप्य स्रोतस्यैव हि दृश्यते ।
हरिः सरस्मु तस्यैयं तेन नाम्ना सरस्वती ॥ (BvP II. 7.3).

25. cf. 'सरस्वती--सर इत्युदकनाम सत्तैस्तद्धती' (Nir. IX. 8. 5). Also see fn. 14.

26. Dr. Suryakant identifies the Sarasvatī river with the Amśumatī, and takes the words 'saras' and 'amśu' to mean *Soma*. According to him, therefore, 'Sarasvatī' means 'rich in *Soma*, and not rich in water.' It was the river on whose banks great soma-sacrifices were performed. cf. his article 'Saras, Soma and Sira' in *ABORI XXXVII* (1957) pp. 115 ff.

27. Dr. Muir (the author of the '*Hindu Pantheon*') endeavours to account for the identification of the river-goddess Sarasvatī with *Vāk* or *Sara*.

Thus the word 'Sarasvatī' in the Purāṇas stands for (i) *vāk* or speech, (ii) *Vāy-devatā* or the presiding deity of speech (also conceived as *Buddhi-devatā*, *Jñāna-devatā*, *Vidyā-devatā*, *Śāstra-devatā* etc.), (iii) a river, (iv) the particular river Sarasvatī, and (v) the presiding deity of the Sarasvatī river, who is taken as identical with Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of speech, intellect and knowledge.

2. Purāṇic accounts of the origin of Sarasvatī :

Various accounts of the origin (*samudbhava*) of Goddess *Sarasvatī* are found in the Purāṇas. These mythological accounts are in most cases allegories, and form, so to say, symbolical sheaths covering important cosmological and psychological truths, only to be discovered and expounded by advanced devotees of Sarasvatī.

The main accounts of the origin of *Sarasvatī*, as they are given in the different Purāṇas, are noted below, without endeavouring to suggest their esoteric interpretation :

(1) According to the BvP and the DBhP—Goddess *Sarasvatī* is one of the five main forms which the *Mūla Prakṛti* (the Primordial Nature) or the *Śakti* of *Brahman* assumes at the time of creation of the universe according to the different functions of creation. For the purpose of creation the *Atman* assumed two forms—His right half was the Male and the left half is known as *Prakṛti*. Due to the desire of Śrī Kṛṣṇa (= *Para-Brahman*) *Prakṛti* assumed five forms, viz. *Durgā* (the mother of *Gaṇeśa*), *Rādhā*, *Lakṣmī*, *Sarasvatī* and *Sāvitrī*.²⁸

svatī, the goddess of speech. He says "When once the river had acquired a divine character it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were celebrated on the margin of her holy waters, and that her direction and blessing should be invoked as essential to their proper performance and success. The connection into which she was thus brought with sacred rites may have led to the further step of imagining her to have an influence on the composition of the hymns which formed so important a part of these proceedings, and of identifying her with *Vāch*, the goddess of speech." (Quoted in *CDHM*, p. 284).

28. BvP II. 1. 1 ff.; 4. 4; DBhP IX. 1. 1 ff.; 4. 4. (App.)

(2) Another account of the origin of Sarasvatī is also found in these two Purāṇas (BvP and DBhP):—From the tip of the tongue of the *Saktī* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa there appeared suddenly, in the course of the creation of the universe, a white-coloured and beautiful girl (*Kanyā*), wearing yellow garments, decorated with jewels, and bearing a lute and a book (‘वीणापुस्तकधारिणी’); she was *Sarasvatī* or *Vāṇī*, the presiding deity of all the *sāstras* (‘सर्वशान्नाधिदेवता’). Then again the *Saktī* or *Yoṣit* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa assumed two forms, her left half was *Kumalā* and the right half was *Rādhā*.²⁹

This account appears to be another version of the previous account in the Purāṇic style.

(3) The Vāyu Purāṇa contains the following account:—From the concentrated anger of Brahmā a *Puruṣa* was produced; his body was half male and half female (‘अर्धनारीनरवपुः’), he was *Śaṅkara*. Brahmā asked him to divide his body; so he divided his body, the male and the female portions of his body became separated into a Male and a Female. The Male was again asked by Brahmā to divide himself, and he divided himself into eleven Rudras. The right half of the Female was white, and the left half was black. She was also asked by Brahmā to divide her body, and so she divided her body, the white part and the black part of her body became separated into two forms—white and black. *Sarasvatī* is one of the various manifestations of the white form (known as *Gaurī*).³⁰

(4) The Vāyu Purāṇa contains also another account: When the thirty-third *Kalpa* called *Viśvarūpa* started, Brahmā thought of creating the world; so he desired for an offspring; he meditated, and from him appeared Sarasvatī containing all forms (‘विश्वरूपा’) and roaring loudly (‘महानादा’). She was the offspring of Brahmā (‘स्वयंभुवः प्रसूतिः’), and appeared in the form of a *gau* having four mouths, four horns, four teeth, four eyes,

29. BvP II. 2. 54 ff.; DBhP IX. 2. 54 ff. (App.)

30. VP I. 9, 67 ff.; Also cf. ViṣP I. 7, 10ff. (App.)

and also four hands. This *gau* was no other than the *Prakṛti*, the source of the universe (जगद्योनिः).³¹

(5) According to the account given in the *Lalitopākhyāna* portion of the *Brahmāṇḍa P.* Goddess *Mahālakṣmī* (also called *Kāmākṣī* or *Tripurasundarī*) produced three eggs. *Gīrā* (i. e. *Sarasvatī*) was born along with *Śiva* from one of these three eggs. From the other two eggs two more pairs were born, viz. *Ambikā* and *Viṣṇu* from the one egg, and *Śrī* and *Brahmā* from the other. Goddess *Mahālakṣmī*, then combined *Sarasvatī* with *Brahmā*, *Ambikā* (*Pārvatī*) with *Śiva*, and *Śrī* (*Lakṣmī*) with *Viṣṇu*.³²

(6) A paralld account is given in the *Prādhānika Rahasya* appended to the *Devī-Māhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* Goddess *Mahālakṣmī*, endowed with three *guṇas*, assumed also a *tāmasika* form known as *Mahākālī*, and also a *sāttvika* form known as *Sarasvatī* (= *Mahāsarasvatī*). Each of these three goddesses—*Mahālakṣmī*, *Mahākālī* and *Sarasvatī* or *Mahāsarasvatī*—is said to have four hands (*caturbhujā*). These goddesses created three pairs of deities, each creating one pair; thus :

Mahālakṣmī created *Brahmā* and *Śrī* (*Lakṣmī*)

Mahākālī created *Rudra* and *Trayī* (*Sarasvatī*) ;

Mahāsarasvatī created *Viṣṇu* and *Umā* (*Gaurī*)

Mahālakṣmī, then, gave *Trayī* (*Sarasvatī*) to *Brahmā* as his wife (पत्नी), *Gaurī* (*Umā*) to *Rudra* and *Śrī* to *Vāsudeva*.³³

This account of the creation of the three pairs of deities tallies with the account of the *Lalitopākhyāna* given above. In both of these accounts *Sarasvatī* and *Śiva* are said to have been born together from the same source.

(7) According to the *Matsya P.* (Adh. 3) *Sarasvatī* is the body-born (देहसंभूता) daughter of *Brahmā*. When *Brahmā* desired to create the Universe he meditated, and then his body was divided into two halves, the one half was male, and the other

31. VP I. 23, 34 ff. (App.)

32. BdP IV. 40. 5 ff (App.)

33. See the relevant text of the *PrādhR* quoted in the Appendix.

half was female. This female was goddess Sarasvatī or Bhārātī. Being born from his own body Brahmā considered her as his daughter (आत्मजा).³⁴

Besides the Matsya P., Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma, Padma and Skanda also mention Sarasvatī as Brahmā's daughter.³⁵

3. Synonyms and epithets of Sarasvatī

Several synonyms and epithets of Goddess Sarasvatī are mentioned in the Purāṇas. Some of them indicate her symbolic and psychological aspects, some denote her cosmic and divine aspect, and some also point to her transcendent aspect. The study of these synonyms and epithets also may give us an idea regarding the conception of Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas.

(a) *Synonyms of Sarasvatī :*

(i) According to the Matsya P. the body-born daughter of Brahmā is called *Satarūpā*, *Sāvitrī*, *Sarasvatī*, *Gāyatrī* and *Brahmāṇī* :

‘शतरूपा च सा ख्याता सावित्री च निगद्यते ॥

सरस्वत्यथ गायत्री ब्रह्मणी च परंतप ।’ (MP 3. 31u, 32p)

(ii) The Padma P. gives six synonyms of Sarasvatī, *viz.* *Mati*, *Smṛti*, *Prajñā*, *Medhā*, *Buddhi* and *Girā* (i. e. *Vāk*) :

‘मतिः स्मृतिस्तथा प्रज्ञा मेधा बुद्धिर्गिरा शुभा ॥

सरस्वत्याः सुपर्यायाः षडेते परिकीर्त्तिताः ।’³⁶

(PdP. V. 18. 217u.-218p).

(iii) The *Prādhānika-Rahasya* mentions several synonyms or epithets of Sarasvatī (i. e. Mahāsarasvatī, who was a *sāttvika* form of Mahālakṣmī) as follows :

34. MP 3. 30 ff. (App.)

35. Cf. BhP. III. 12. 28 ; BdP III. 35. 44 ; BrP 101. 4 ; 102. 2f. ; PdP V. 18. 163 ff. ; V. 37. 79 f. ; SkP VII. 33. 16f., 20f. ; 35. 17 ; etc.

36. In the Skanda P. these six names are mentioned as belonging to the attendants (*Upāsikās*) of Sarasvatī :

मतिः स्मृतिस्तथा प्रज्ञा मेधा बुद्धिर्गिरा धरा ॥

उपासिकाः सरस्वत्याः षडेते प्रस्थितास्तदा ॥

(SkP VII. 35. 28u-29p)

‘महाविद्या महावाणी भारती वाक् सरस्वती ।

आर्या ब्राह्मी कामधेनुर्वेदगर्भा च धीश्वरी ॥’ (Śl. 16)

But the goddess who was created along with Śiva by Mahākālī is called *Trayā*, *Vidyā*, *Kāmadhenu*, *Bhāṣā*, *Akṣarā* and *Svarā* :

त्रयो विद्या कामधेनुः सा स्त्री भाषाक्षरा स्वरा ।’;

which are definitely the synonyms of Sarasvatī who is here differentiated from Mahāsarasvatī.

(iv) The name ‘*Sāradā*’ has also been used for Sarasvatī by the Skanda P. (VII. 33. 87d). According to the *Sarasvatī-Rahasya-Upaniṣad*, however, *Sāradā* is the name of a particular form of goddess Sarasvatī, residing in Kashmir :

‘नमस्ते शारदे देवि काश्मीरपुरवासिनि’

These and similar other synonyms of Sarasvatī are found mentioned in the several other Purāṇas also. All these synonyms may be divided into the following categories :

(i) Speech-synonyms—such as वाक्, वाणी, गिरा, भारती, सरस्वती, भाषा, अक्षरा, स्वरा, रसना (SkP VI. 46. 29b) ; etc. ;

(ii) Psychological synonyms—such as मति, बुद्धि, प्रज्ञा, मेधा, स्मृति, etc. ;

(iii) synonyms of knowledge—such as विद्या, महाविद्या, त्रयो, etc.

(iv) synonyms denoting her cosmic aspect—such as शतरूपा (MP), विश्वरूपा, (VP), शारदा (SkP), etc.

(v) Those indicating her divine character or her association with a god—such as ब्रह्मसुता, ब्राह्मी, ब्रह्माणी, सावित्री etc.

(b) *Epithets and attributes of Sarasvatī* :

It has been stated before that the Rgveda has used ‘ऋतावरी’, ‘वाजिनीवती’, मरुत्वती’, ‘हिरण्यवर्त्तनिः’, ‘पात्रीरवी’, ‘वृत्रघ्नी’ etc. as the epithets of Sarasvatī. The Purāṇas have also mentioned a large number of epithets and attributes of Sarasvatī which may throw ample light on the Purāṇic conception of Sarasvatī. These are briefly given below :

(i) *Attributes relating to speech :*

वाग्देवी, वाग्देवता, वाग्वादिनी, वर्णाधिदेवी, सर्ववर्णात्मिका, सर्वकण्ठवासिनी, जिह्वाप्रवासिनी, कविजिह्वाप्रवासिनी, गद्यपद्यवासिनी (BvP II. 4, 5), शब्दवासिनी (MP 66. 11b, v. 1.) वागीशा (BrP 101. 11), महावाणी (PrādhR), etc.

(ii) *Attributes relating to mental faculties and functions :*

स्मृतिशक्ति, ज्ञानशक्ति, बुद्धिशक्तिस्वरूपिणी, कल्पनाशक्ति, प्रतिभा, विचारकारिणी—(BvP II. 4, 5) ; मनस्विनी, धृति, मेधा, भक्ति, तुष्टि, रति, प्रीति, लज्जा, शान्ति, स्मृति, दक्षा, क्षमा—(SkP VI. 46) ; श्रद्धा, परा निष्ठा, सिद्धि—(PdP. V. 28, 116) ; etc.

(iii) *Attributes relating to knowledge and learning :*

विद्या, महाविद्या, त्रयी, वेदगर्भा—(PrādhR) ; त्रयोविद्या (PdP V. 27. 118c) ; वेदारणि (VāmP 32, 6) ; श्रुति, कला—(SkP VI. 46, 28) ; विद्याधिदेवता, सर्वविद्याधिदेवी, विद्यास्वरूपा, सर्वविद्यास्वरूपा, ज्ञानाधिदेवी, बुधजननी, सर्वशास्त्रवासिनी, सर्वशास्त्राधिदेवता, पुस्तकवासिनी, ग्रन्थबीजरूपा, ग्रन्थकारिणी, व्याख्यास्वरूपा, व्याख्याधिष्ठातृदेवता, भ्रमसिद्धान्तरूपा, विषयज्ञानरूपा, सर्वसंगीत-संधानतालकारणरूपिणी, वीणापुस्तकधारिणी—(BvP II. 1-7) ; etc.

(iv) *Attributes relating to her cosmic aspect :*

शतरूपा (MP), विश्वरूपा (VP), सर्वलोकानां माता (VāmP 32-6), जगद्धात्री (MārP 23.30) ; जगन्माता, जगदम्बिका, सदांम्बिका, शक्तिरूपिणी—(BvP II. 4, 5) ; सर्वभूतनिवासिनी, क्षिति, कृषि, वृष्टि—(SkP VI. 46) ; संध्या, रात्रि, प्रभा, भूति—(PdP V. 28, 117). सिनीवाली, कुहू, राका—(SkP. VI. 46. 27) ; प्रकृति, गौ—(VP I. 23. 50) ; etc.

(v) *Attributes relating to her divine aspect :*

देवी, सुरेश्वरी, ब्रह्मस्वरूपा, ज्योतीरूपा, सनातनी, अच्युता—(BvP II. 1-7) ; महेश्वरी (VP.) ; ब्रह्मयोनि (MārP 23, 30) ; ब्रह्मवासिनी MP 66. 11b) देवमाता (SkP VI. 45. 27 ; VII.34. 36 ; 35. 103) ; लक्ष्मी, गौरी, शिवा, ब्रह्माणी, दाक्षायणी, देवेशी, स्वधा, स्वाहा, गङ्गा, अदिति, सावित्री, गायत्री, विनता, कद्रू, रोहिणी, सिनीवाली, कुहू, राका—(SkP VI. 46) ; etc.

(vi) *Other attributes :*

कीर्ति, निद्रा, क्षुधा, पुष्टि, वपुःप्रीति, सत्य, धर्म, बला, नाडी—(SkP VI. 46) ; आर्या, कामधेनु—(PrādhR) ; etc.

It need not be said that the above list of the attributes of Sarasvatī is not exhaustive. Still, this list gives us a fair idea of the Purāṇic conception of the nature and functions of Goddess Sarasvatī, and also of the important position which has been assigned to her in the Purāṇas.

4. Sarasvatī in relation to other deities

The relation of Sarasvatī with the Vedic deities *Bhārati* and *Ilā* has already been discussed under the head 'Vedic conception of Sarasvatī'. In the Purāṇas too she has been associated with some of the important Purāṇic deities.

(1) **Sarasvatī and Brahmā** : In the Purāṇas the relation of Sarasvatī with Brahmā is of three kinds—(a) Sarasvatī as the virgin daughter of Brahmā, (b) Sarasvatī as the consort or spouse of Brahmā, and (c) Sarasvatī as residing in the mouth of Brahmā (in a figurative sense). The Matsya and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas have treated her both as the daughter as well as the spouse of Brahmā. Some Purāṇas, such as the Brahma, Padma and the Skanda have treated her only as the virgin daughter (कुमारी, कन्या) of Brahmā, while some Purāṇas, such as the BvP and the DBhP treat her as the spouse of Brahmā. The BdP mentions her as the daughter of Brahmā (ब्रह्मसुता ; III. 35. 44) ; but in the *Lalitopākhyāna* of the BdP Sarasvatī is said to be united with Brahmā as his spouse by Goddess Mahālakṣmī.

(a) *Sarasvatī as the daughter of Brahmā* : As has already been stated, the Matsya mentions her as being produced from the body of Brahmā. BvP, PdP and SkP merely mention her as the virgin daughter (*Kumārī*, *Kanyā*) of Brahmā. (*vide* Section on the origin of Sarasvatī).

(b) *Sarasvatī as the spouse of Brahmā* :

(i) The Matsya P. says that when Brahmā looked at his body-born daughter Sarasvatī, his heart was captured by her extreme beauty, and inspite of her unwillingness, Brahmā made her his spouse and remained mated with her in the lotus-temple for a hundred divine years ; and out of this union

Śvāyambhuva Manu was born.³⁷ The epithet *Brahmāṇī* for Sarasvatī (MP 3.32 b ; SkP VI. 46.) also supports this Purāṇic account.

(ii) According to BvP—When Sarasvatī was produced from the tip of the tongue of the *Sakti* or *Yosit* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, he gave her to God Nārāyaṇa (the *Uaturbhuja* from of Śrīkṛṣṇa) as his wife. But once Sarasvatī picked up a quarrel with her co-wife Gaṅgā, and so Nārāyaṇa transferred Sarasvatī to Brahmā, and Gaṅgā to Śiva.³⁸

(iii) According to the *Lalitopākhyāna* and the *PrādhR* Sarasvatī was given to Brahmā as his wife by Mahālakṣmī.³⁹

(c) *Sarasvatī as residing in the mouth of Brahmā :*

The conception of Sarasvatī as residing (in a metaphorical sense, of course) in the mouth of Brahmā is also found in several Purāṇas. In the Pdp Viṣṇu praises Sāvitrī as Śarasvatī residing in the mouth of Brahmā ('ब्रह्मास्ये तु सरस्वती' V. 29. 216 b), and in the MP Gaurī is also praised in the same words as 'ब्रह्मास्येषु सरस्वती' (MP 13. 52b). These are, however, indirect references to the conception of Sarasvatī living in the mouths of Brahmā. The *Sarasvatī-Rahasya Up.* contains a direct reference to this conception when it prays Sarasvatī as : 'चतुर्मुखमुखास्भोजवन-हंसवधूर्मम । मानसे रमतां नित्यं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥'.

(2) **Sarasvatī and Viṣṇu:** In the Purāṇas Sarasvatī has been conceived as (a) the wife of Viṣṇu, (b) the offspring of Viṣṇu, and (c) the tongue of Viṣṇu.

(a) *Sarasvatī as the wife of Viṣṇu :* According to the BvP. (II. 6) and DBhP (IX. 6) Sarasvatī had been at first the wife (भार्या) of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, as has already been stated before. This conjugal relation between Sarasvatī and Viṣṇu is rarely found mentioned elsewhere in the Purāṇas.

37. MP. 3.53 -44. (See App.)

38. BvP II, 2. 54 ff ; II. 6, ('ब्रह्मणः कामिनी भव' II. 6. 53 b); DBhP IX (corresponding portions).

39. Cf. BdP IV. 40. 7a—'सरस्वत्या पितामहम्' (महालक्ष्मीर्योजयामास), and PrādhR 26p—'ब्रह्मणो प्रददौ पत्नीं महालक्ष्मीर्नृप त्रयीम् ।'

(b) *Sarasvatī as the offspring of Viṣṇu*: The SkP mentions Viṣṇu as the 'cause of being' (कारण) of Sarasvatī.⁴⁰ In the ṚV (VI. 49. 7) she has been mentioned as the virgin girl related to *Pavīravān* or Indra (पावीरवी कन्या). Thus in the ṚV the relation between Indra and Sarasvatī had already been established. In the Purāṇas Viṣṇu is also termed as *Upendra* (the younger brother of Indra), for Viṣṇu in his *Vāmana*-incarnation was born as the son of Aditi, the mother of Indra. So it is just possible that the Vedic relation between *Indra* and his *Kanyā* Sarasvatī might have been developed into the relation (of progenitor and offspring) between *Upendra* (Viṣṇu) and *Sarasvatī*

(c) *Sarasvatī as the tongue of Viṣṇu*: The conception of Goddess Sarasvatī as being 'the tongue of Viṣṇu' gained popularity in the Epics and the Purāṇas. The Matsya P. says that when God *Vāmana* assumed the cosmic form *Satya* became his speech and Goddess Sarasvatī became his tongue ('सत्यं तस्याभवद् वाणी जिह्वादेवी सरस्वती' MP 246. 57). The *Vāmana* P. also calls Sarasvatī as 'the tongue of Viṣṇu' ('विष्णोर्जिह्वा सरस्वती' VāmP 32. 23). In the Brahma P. Viṣṇu is spoken as 'holding Sarasvatī in his mouth' (बिभ्रत् सरस्वतीं वक्त्रे' BrP. 122. 71c).

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Brahmā says to Rāma, 'O Rāma, I am thy heart, and Goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue' ('अहं ते हृदयं राम जिह्वा देवी सरस्वती' Rām. VI. 120. 24). In the *Mahābhārata* Brahmā praises Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu in his cosmic form as—'The earth is thy feet, directions thy arms, *diva* (sky) thy head, I thy form, gods thy body, the moon and the sun thy eyes.....Aśvins thy ears and Goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue'. ('पादौ तव घरा देवी दिशो बाहू दिवं शिरः । मूर्तिस्तेज्जं सुरा कायश्चन्द्रादित्यौ च चक्षुषी ॥.....अश्विनौ श्रवणौ नित्यं देवी जिह्वा सरस्वती ।' Mbh. VI. 95. 59-61).

(3) *Sarasvatī and Siva*: It has been already said that according to the *Lalitopākhyāna* Sarasvatī was born along with

40. तेनैवमुक्ता सा देवी वाडवेनाग्निना तदा ।

सस्मार कारणमात्मानं विष्णुं कमललोचनम् ॥ (SkP, VII. 33. 96)

Śiva from one of the eggs produced by Goddess Mahālakṣmī, and according to the *PrādhB.* also Sarasvatī was created along with Śiva by Goddess Mahākālī. This conception of the association of Sarasvatī with Śiva seems to be borrowed from the *Tantras*, for both these works are of the Tāntric nature.

Again, in the ṚV Sarasvatī has been spoken as *Marutvatī*. (II. 30. 8) and *Marutsakhā* (VII. 96. 2.) The *Maruts* are regarded as the sons of Rudra in the RV.⁴¹ In the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* also *prāṇas* are identified with *Rudras*,⁴² and the Liṅga Purāṇa also identifies *prāṇas* with *Rudras*.⁴³ Thus the Purāṇic (or rather the Tāntric) conception of Sarasvatī as associated with Śiva or Rudra may be traced back to the Ṛgveda.

(4) **Sarasvatī and Śatarūpā** : In the Vāyu P. (I. 23. 24) Sarasvatī has been mentioned as *Viśvarūpā* (containing all forms within her) ; '*Śatarūpa*' also is the original Female Principle of the universe, containing hundred (i. e. innumerable) forms within her, she is also called *Śatendriyā* (MP. 4. 24 a). Sarasvatī as *Viśvarūpā* has been regarded as the *Prakṛti-Gau*, the source of the universe ('जगद्गोनिः' *ib.* śl. 50). *Śatarūpa* also has been spoken as producing *Rṣis*, *Prajāpatis*, and *Manus* such as *Svāyambhuva* and others (PdP. V. 16. 11f.). She has been identified with Sāvitrī in the Padma P. ('शतरूपा च या नारी सावित्री सा त्विहोच्यते' *ib.* 10u) and with Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī in MP. (3. 31 f.). *Śatarūpā*, thus identified with Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī both, has been mentioned as the spouse of Brahmā both in the Padma P. (V. 16. 11 a) and the Matsya P. (3. 43p), and the mother of *Svāyambhuva* Manu ('जननी या मनोदेवी शतरूपा शतेन्द्रिया' MP. 4. 24u ; 'स्वायम्भुवादींश्च मनुन् सावित्री समजोजनत्' PdP. V. 16. 12 p).

But elsewhere in the Padma P. (V. 3. 169 f.) and also in the several other Purāṇas *Śatarūpā* has been mentioned as the

41. cf. 'युवा पिता स्वपा रुद्र एषां सुदुधा पृथिनः सुदिना मरुद्भ्यः' (RV. V. 60.5).

42. cf. 'कतमे रुद्रा इति, दशमे पुरुषे प्राणा आत्मैकादशः' (ŚB. XI. vi. 3. 7); and 'प्राणा वाव रुद्राः' (ChUp. III. 16. 3).

43. 'ये रुद्रास्ते खलु प्राणा ये प्राणास्ते तदात्मकाः' (LiP. I. 22. 24u)

wife of Manu *Śvāyambhuva*, who gave birth to two sons—*Priyavrata* and *Uttānapāda*.⁴⁴ *Śatarūpa* is spoken as '*ayoniḥ*' (BrP 2. 1 ; VP I. 10. 12 ; LiP I. 5. 16 ; etc.) and as '*bhūṭadhātrī*' (VP I. 10. 8). *Sarasvatī*, being born from the body of *Brahmā* is also *ayoniḥ* ; she is also spoken as '*sarvabhūṭadhārā*' (ib. 23. 85) in the form of *Prakṛti-Gau*. Moreover, in the *Mahābhārata* *Sarasvatī* also is mentioned as the wife of Manu.⁴⁵ So, as Manu's wife too, both *Śatarūpā* and *Sarasvatī* seem also to be identified.

(5) **Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī** : These three goddesses are often associated in the *Purāṇas* as follows—

(a) In the MP (Adhs, 3, 4) *Sarasvatī*, *Sāvitrī* and *Gāyatrī* are mentioned as identical, being the names of the body-born daughter of *Brahmā*. In the account of the *Śārasvata-Vrata* as given in MP (Adh 66) and PdP (V. 22. 176-194) *Sarasvatī* and *Gāyatrī* are the names of the same goddess (i.e. *Sarasvatī*). Again, in the *Sarasvatī-stotra* of the SkP (VI. 46) *Gāyatrī* and *Sāvitrī* are both mentioned as synonyms of *Sarasvatī*.

(b) *Sarasvatī*, *Sāvitrī* and *Gāyatrī* are also conceived as three separate goddesses in some of the *Purāṇas*. (i) In the BrP these three goddesses are mentioned as the three out of the five daughters of *Brahmā*;⁴⁶ (ii) In PdP and SkP both *Gāyatrī* and *Sāvitrī* are mentioned as the two female friends of *Sarasvatī*;⁴⁷ (iii) In PdP again, while *Sarasvatī* is mentioned as the virgin daughter of *Brahmā* ('कुमारी तनया' V.18.165d),

44. cf. BhP. III. 12. 53 ; DBhP. IX. 1. 127 ; BvP. II. 1. 132 ; BrP. 2. 1 ff. ; ViṣP. I. 7. 17 ff. ; VP. I. 10. 7. ff. ; LiP. I. 5. 15 f. ; etc. In the MP, the name of the wife of *Śvāyambhuva* Manu is '*Anantā*' (v. 1. '*Ananti*'), who also is said, like *Śatarūpa*, to have given birth to two sons—*Priyavrata* and *Uttānapāda* (MP. 4. 33 f.). So both *Śatarūpā* and *Anantā* (or *Ananti*) seem to refer to the same person.

45. Mbh. VI. 117. 8 ff. (See App. of this article).

46 'सावित्री चैव गायत्री श्रद्धा मेधा सरस्वती ॥ एषा मम सुता ज्येष्ठा धर्मसंस्थानहेतवः । (BrP 102. 2u, 3p)

47 Cf. Pd P V. 18. 185 f. and Sk P VII. 33. 39 f. where गङ्गा, यमुना, गायत्री and सावित्री are mentioned as friends of *Sarasvatī*,

both Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī are mentioned as the two wives of Brahmā.⁴⁴ Gāyatrī is 'the mother of the Vedas' (वेदमाता, PdP 17. 308d; 309a). Sāvitrī is also mentioned as 'the mother of the four Vedas' ('माता चतुर्णां वेदानाम्' BrP II. 1. 39c), and Sarasvatī is called, as has already been mentioned before, 'the presiding deity of knowledge' ('ज्ञानाधिदेवता' *ib.* 31b) and 'the symbol or form of all the branches of learning' ('सर्वविद्यास्वरूपा' *ib.* 31c). Thus, like the Vedic Sarasvatī, Bhārati and Ṫā, these three goddesses—Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī Gāyatrī—belong to the sphere of knowledge (*vidyā, jñāna, Veda*).

(6) **Sarasvatī and Śrī**: These two goddesses—Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī—cover the entire sphere of man's life; Sarasvatī symbolises intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement or *mukti*, and Lakṣmī represents physical and worldly well-being or *bhukti*. The healthy evolution of a man's being depends on the harmony and close association of these two divine principles in his life. The greater is the harmony between Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī (i. e. between *mukti* and *bhukti*, or between *jñāna* and *bhoga*) in a man's life, the more he advances towards perfection. The Purānas have kept this truth in view. The BvP and DBhP. have represented Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī as the wives of Viṣṇu, living in harmony.⁴⁹ The BrP also says that Viṣṇu holds Sarasvatī in his mouth and Lakṣmī in his bosom, by virtue of which he is both *sarvajñu* (omni-scient) and *Lakṣmīvān* (most prosperous and glorious),⁵⁰ the two qualities essential for his being *Puruṣottama* and *Pūrṇa*.

Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are so closely related in the Purānas that they are sometimes even identified. In the MP (66. 9) and PdP (V. 22. 184c) '*Lakṣmī*' has been mentioned as one of the

48 Cf. 'सावित्रीपतये देव गायत्रीपतये नमः' (PdP V. 15. 118u)—Brahmā praised by the gods.

49. cf. 'लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती गङ्गा तिष्ठो भार्या हरेरपि ।

प्रेम्णा समास्तच्छन्ति सततं हरिसंनिधौ ॥' (BvP II. 6. 17).

50. cf. 'विभ्रत् सरस्वतीं वक्त्रे सर्वज्ञोऽसि नमोस्तु ते ।

लक्ष्मीवानस्यतो लक्ष्मीं विभ्रद् वक्षसि चानघ ॥' (BvP 112. 71u, 72p)

eight *tanus* or forms of Sarasvatī. In the *Sarasvatī-stotra* of the PdP. (V. 27. 166 ff.) and also of the SkP (VI. 46. 22 ff.) 'Lakṣmī' is one of the epithets or names of Goddess Sarasvatī. Similarly, in the 'Lakṣmī-stotra' of the ViṣP (I. 9. 117 ff.) 'Sarasvatī' has been mentioned as one of the epithets of Goddess Lakṣmī. Even some parallel ślokas containing the same epithets for the two goddesses—Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī—are found in the above mentioned *Sarasvatī-stotra* of the PdP. and the *Lakṣmī-stotra* of the ViṣP.⁵¹ Some connection is also found mentioned in the ṚV between *Lakṣmī* and *vāc*,⁵² although the word 'Lakṣmī', there, is the name of a quality (power, success, efficacy etc.) and not of a goddess, for *Lakṣmī* is not yet deified or personified in the ṚV; still it might supply some clue to the evolution of the Purāṇic conception of the relation of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

(7) **Sarasvatī. Gandharvas and Devas**: Sarasvatī, the Indian Muse, has been represented as holding a *vīṇā*, and regarded as the goddess of music ('सर्वसंगीतसंधानतालकारणरूपिणी' BvP II. 1. 34p), and as such she has been associated with the Gandharvas who are also regarded as the musicians of gods (सुरगायकाः)⁵³. As the goddess of speech (वाग्देवता) she has been associated with the Devas or gods who are also called *gīrvāṇas* (गीर्वाणाः). According to the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā (19. 12) Sarasvatī was the physician with *vāc* at the healing sacrifice of the gods. (See p. 58).

(8) **Sarasvatī and Soma**: As *Sarasvatī* may be said to represent *jñāna* and *Soma* may symbolize *karma* or *bhoga* produced by *karma*, the relation between Sarasvatī and Soma may be regarded as very close or even inseparable; the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Purāṇas* also lend to this view.

51. cf. PdP V. 27. 117 f. and ViṣP I. 9. 119 f. (App.)

52. cf. RV X. 71. 2 ('सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो... भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि')

53. Cf. 'विश्वानसुप्रभृतयो गन्धर्वाः सुरगायकाः ।
तुम्बुरुनरिदश्चैव साक्षादेव सरस्वती ॥
जयमङ्गलपद्यानि पठन्तः पटुगीतिभिः ।

(BdP IV. 20. 101f.)

An interesting episode regarding Sarasvatī and Soma, indicating the inseparableness of their relation, is narrated in the BrP (Adh. 105).⁵⁴ *Soma*, who gives vigour and vitality to the Devas (देवानां प्राणदः), was possessed by the Gandharvas. But the Devas were anxious to have *Soma* for themselves, and so they consulted Brahmā. Sarasvatī, who was sitting beside Brahmā, advised the Devas to buy *Soma* from the Gandharvas in her exchange; she told them that as the Gandharvas always crave for women ('स्त्रीप्रिया नित्यं' 8 a; स्त्रीषु कामुकाः' 11 b) they would readily accept the exchange. But the Devas told Sarasvatī that they could not do without either of the two, and so wanted both *Soma* and *Sarasvatī* for themselves. There-upon Sarasvatī revealed to the Devas her intention to return to them afterwards by some trick. According to the suggestions of Sarasvatī the Devas organised a sacrifice (ऋतु, मख), invited the Gandharvas to the sacrifice, and offered to them *Sarasvatī* in exchange for *Soma*. The Gandharvas took Sarasvatī from the Devas, and gave *Soma* to them. Afterwards, Sarasvatī returned to the Devas according to her plans, and so both *Soma* and *Sarasvatī* now belonged to the Devas, and the Gandharvas were deprived of both *Soma* and *Sarasvatī* ('ततोऽभवद्देवतानां सोमश्चापि सरस्वती । गन्धर्वाणां नैव सोमो नैवासौ च सरस्वती ।' 17f.)

A parallel episode about Sarasvatī and Soma, is briefly given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa also.⁵⁵ According to the account of the ŚB the Devas gave *Vāk* (*Sarasvatī*) to the Gandharvas in exchange for their *Soma*, and afterwards she (*Vāk* or *Sarasvatī*) returned to the Devas along with *Soma*-तेभ्यो (गन्धर्वेभ्यो) वाचं प्राहिष्वन्, सैतान् (देवान्) सह सोमेनागच्छत् ।' (ŚB III, ii. 4. 3). The ŚB here speaks of *Vāk* (*Sarasvatī*), as one 'exchanged for buying *Soma*' ('वाग्वै सोमक्रयणी' *ib.* III. ii. 4. 10).⁵⁶

9. **Sarasvatī and Dharma** : According to the PdP (V. 37. 79ff.) Sarasvatī was produced by Brahmā, and was given to

54. BrP 105. 2-18.

55. Cf. ŚB III. ii. 4. 1-10.

56. This ŚB-account seems to be the original of which the BrP-account might be said to be an amplification. It is a good illustration of how the Purānas have amplified the Veda.

Dharma as his wife along with four other daughters or goddesses : 'लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती संध्या विशेषा च मता शुभा (८.१. विश्वेशा च महायशाः) ॥ देवी सरस्वती चैव ब्रह्मणा निर्मिता पुरा । एताः पञ्च वरिष्ठा वै सुरश्रेष्ठाश्च पार्थिव ॥ दत्ता धर्माय भद्रं ते ब्रह्मणा दृष्टकर्मणा' . But other Purāṇas and the Hariyamśa (I. 3. 31) mention 'मरुत्वती' (and not 'सरस्वती') as the name of one of the wives of Dharma, and the PdP also later on mentions the name 'मरुत्वती' in place of 'सरस्वती' ('मरुत्वती मरुत्वतो देवानजनयत् सुतान्' ib. 98u). So 'मरुत्वती' here may be a variant for 'सरस्वती', or another name or epithet of Goddess Sarasvatī as in the Rgveda (II. 30. 8).

5. The ghora or awful aspect of Sarasvatī

So far we have discussed the *saumya* form of Goddess Sarasvatī. In the Veda as well as in the Purāṇas she has also been conceived in her *ghora* or awful aspect. As has already been said the Rgveda speaks of her as *ghorā* and *Vrtraghnū* (VI. 61. 7). The Purāṇas have further amplified the conception of her *ghora* aspect. The Vāyu P. speaks of Sarasvatī as of 'loud roar' ('महानादा' I. 23. 34). In the Brahmāṇḍa P. (*Lalitopā-khyāna*) Sarasvatī has been included among the nine Mother-goddesses or *Śaktis*—'लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती गौरी चण्डिका त्रिपुराम्बिका । भैरवी भैरवी काली महाशाली च मातरः ॥' (BdP. IV. 7. 27). She has, thus, been associated here with such terrific goddesses as चण्डिका, भैरवी, काली etc. Further, when Goddess *Lalitā* marched in her great chariot to fight with the demon called Bhaṇḍāsura, Sarasvatī, along with some other *Śaktis*, also accompanied her. Like the other *Śaktis* of the group Sarasvatī is also represented here as 'a virgin with eyes red with anger,' and 'armed with lance and disc to kill the powerful demon.'⁵⁷ Resembling this *ghora* form of Sarasvatī eight other female goddesses or *Śaktis* called the *Rahasya-Yoginīs* are also mentioned. Like Sarasvatī they are also the presiding deities of speech ('वागधीश्वराः'), 'adorned with lutes and books' ('वीणापुस्तकशोभिताः'), 'holding arrows and bows in their hands' ('वाणकार्मुकपाणयः'), and wearing armour

57. BdP IV. 19, 70 ff. (App.)

on their bodies.⁵⁸ These *Rahasya-Yoginīs* are perhaps the extension of the *ghora* aspect of Sarasvatī.

In the *Vaikṛtika Rahasya* appended to the *Devī-Māhātmya* Sarasvatī has been spoken as 'produced from the body of Gaurī or Durgā,' and 'constituted of the pure *sattva*,' she has eight hands, bearing an arrow, a mace, a trident, a disc, a conch, a bell, a plough and a bow in them; she is the killer of the two demons named Śumbha and Niśumbha; and she bestows omni-science when worshipped with devotion.⁵⁹ The same Goddess Sarasvatī has been conceived here in two forms. In the case of demons, who represent the dark and evil forces of the universe, she is *ghorā*, but at the same time she is also *saumyā* conferring omni-science on her worshippers. Thus a synthesis has been established here in the two apparently opposite aspects of Sarasvatī.

6. Anthropomorphic form or *vigraha* of Sarasvatī

The question whether gods are endowed with some *ākāra* or form engaged the attention of the ancient sages. Yāska in his *Nirukta* (VII. 2. 2f) starts an interesting discussion on the question of *ākāra* or *vigraha* of gods ('अथाकारचिन्तनं देवतानाम्'). He records various views on this important question. He says that some regard gods as having anthropomorphic form ('पुरुषविधाः स्युरित्येकम्'), some regard them as of non-anthropomorphic form ('अपुरुषविधाः स्युरित्येकम्'), and some hold the view that gods have both kinds of form—anthropomorphic as well as non-anthropomorphic ('अपि बोभयविधाः स्युः').

The Purāṇas have anthropomorphized most of their gods. The description of the anthropomorphic form of Goddess Sarasvatī is found scattered in several Purāṇas. The BvP in its *Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa* gives vivid description of the form of Sarasvatī. The DBhP (IX) literally follows the BvP in this respect. Several other Purāṇas also give some description of the *Vigraha*

58. ib. 46 ff. (App.)

59. Cf. VaikṛtR. (App.)

of Sarasvatī. The *Sarasvatī-Rahasya-Upaniṣad* also has given a detailed description of the anthropomorphic form of Sarasvatī. All this description may be classified as follows :—

(a) She is of white colour ('शुक्लवर्णा' BvP II. 2. 54d ; 4. 46a), resembling snow, sandal, kunda flower, moon, kumuda and lotus in colour ('हिमचन्दनकुन्दकुमुदाम्भोजसन्निभा' *ib.* 1. 36a ; 5. 13p), smiling and extremely charming ('सस्मिता सुमनोहरा' *ib.* 4. 46b) and having a lustrous and graceful form bright like the light of the millions of moons ('कोटिचन्द्रप्रभाजुष्टपुष्टीयुक्तविग्रहाम्' *ib.* 4. 46u). The SkP calls her 'शारदाम्बुदसंकाशा' (VII. 33. 33) resembling the white cloud of the autumn. The SRUp also regards her form as wholly white ('सर्वशुक्ला'), and resembling snow, pearl-necklace, camphor and the moon in lustre ('नीहारहारघनसारमुधाकराभा'); her neck resembles a conch in shape ('कम्बुकण्ठी') and her lips are copper-red ('सुताम्रोष्ठी'). The pure white colour of her *vigraha* may be due to her form being made of the pure *sattva*. ('शुद्धसत्त्वस्वरूपा' BvP II. 1. 36a). The Rgveda has also conceived her form as 'of white colour', she is addressed there as 'शुभ्रे' (RV VII. 95. 6 ; Sāyaṇa : 'शुभ्रे शुभ्रवर्णे देवि'). The SRUp mentions her as being adorned on her forehead with the crescent moon, and the *Tantrasāra* also mentions her as 'चन्द्रार्धाङ्कितमस्तकाम्'.

(b) In the SkP she has been conceived as 'having four arms' ('चतुर्भुजा' VI. 46. 17d). In the PrādhR. Sarasvatī (i.e. Mahāsarasvatī) has been conceived as having four hands; and in the VaikṛtR Sarasvatī, the destroyer of the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha, is said to have eight arms ('अष्टभुजा'). The Vāyu P. (I. 23. 46ff.) has conceived Sarasvatī as representing the *Prakṛti*, and, as such, having four hands ('चतुर्हस्ता') four feet ('चतुष्पादा' or 'चतुष्पदा'), four faces ('चतुर्मुखी', 'चतुर्वक्त्रा') and four eyes ('चतुर्नेत्रा').

(c) According to the BvP she holds a lute and a book in her hands ('वीणापुस्तकधारिणी' BvP II. 1. 35d ; 2. 55b). According to the SkP she holds a beautiful lotus in her right hand, a rosary in the other hand, a *Kamaṇḍalu* filled with the celestial

water in the third, and her book, the source of all the learning, in the left hand ('दधतीं दक्षिणे हस्ते कमलं सुमनोहरम् । अक्षमालां तथान्यस्मिन् जिततारकवर्चसम् ॥ कमण्डलुं तथान्यस्मिन् दिव्यवारिप्रपूरितम् । पुस्तकं च तथा वामे सर्वविद्यासमुद्भवम् ॥' VI. 46. 17f). According to the MP she holds *vīṇā*, *akṣamālā*, *kamaṇḍalu* and *pustaka* in her hands ('...वीणाक्षमणि [v.l. ०क्षमाल] धारिणीम् । ...सकमण्डलुपुस्तकाम् ॥' 66. 9). The SRUp mentions her as holding *akṣasūtra* (rosary), *aṅkuśa* (goad), *pāśa* (noose) and *pustaka* (book)—('अक्षसूत्राङ्कुशधरा पाशपुस्तकधारिणी'). The PrādhR speaks of her as holding *akṣamālā*, *aṅkuśa*, *vīṇā* and *pustaka* ('अक्षमालाङ्कुशधरा वीणापुस्तकधारिणी' 15p). The BvP says that she repeats the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Parmātman, with her *ratnamālā* or jewel-rosary ('जपन्ती परमात्मानं श्रीकृष्णं रत्नमालया' BvP. II. 1. 37 p).

(d) She wears fire-like pure garments ('वह्निशुद्धांशुकाधाना' BvP. II. 4. 47a). BvP also speaks of her as wearing yellow garments ('पीतवस्त्रपरीधाना' *ib.* 2. 55a). According to the SkP she puts on white garments ('सिताम्बरधरा' VII. 33. 33). Her body is besmeared with white sandal ('सितचन्दनगुण्डिता' *ib.*). She is adorned with Jewel-ornaments ('रत्नभूषणभूषाढ्या' BvP II. 2. 55c; 'रत्नसारेन्द्र-खचितवरभूषणभूषिताम्' *ib.* 4. 47b). She is also adorned with a *kanaka camṛaka* garland⁶⁰ ('कनकचम्पकदामभूषाम्' SRUp.), and wears a pearl-necklace ('मुक्ताहारसमायुक्ता' *ib.*). According to the SkP also she is adorned with an excellent necklace of pure pearls ('तारहारविभूषिता' VII. 33. 33). Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita* says that Sarasvatī had her body purified by wearing a *Brahmasūtra* or sacred thread over her shoulder ('अंसावलम्बिना ब्रह्मसूत्रेण पवित्रीकृतकाया' Hcar. p. 8).

(e) According to MP (66. 9) and PdP (V. 22. 184) Sarasvatī is said to have eight forms (*tanus*) named as लक्ष्मी, मेधा, धरा, पुष्टि, गौरी, तुष्टि, प्रभा and मति.⁶¹ The SRUp also says that Sarasvatī has been conceived in eight forms according to her different *nāmas* and *jātis* etc. ('नामजात्यादिभिर्भेदैरष्टधा या विकल्पिता').

60. 'कनकचम्पक' is a species of चम्पक flower. (cf. M. W.).

61. 'लक्ष्मीर्मेधा धरा पुष्टिर्गौरी तुष्टिः प्रभा मतिः । एताभिः पाहि चाष्टाभिस्तनुभिर्मा सरस्वती ॥' (MP. 66.9; PdP. V. 22. 184). These eight *tanus* of Sarasvatī are, in fact, rather her eight names or attributes,

7. Iconographical Representations of Sarasvatī

In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas we find some references to the iconographical representations or *arcās* of Goddess Sarasvatī. In the Mbh. King Yudhiṣṭhira is said to have visited the sacred *āyatanas* or temples of Sarasvatī and other sacred gods near the place called *śūrpāraka* on the sea-coast during his pilgrimage.⁶² The SkP says that King Ambuvīci installed a *caturbhujā* earthen *pratimā* of Goddess Bhāratī at a place situated in the हाटकेश्वरक्षेत्र (modern 'बदनगर' in Gujarat, according to a footnote in the Venk. ed. of the SkP), and this place came to be known as the *Sārasvata-tīrtha* on account of the installation of the *pratimā* of Sarasvatī.⁶³ The VāmP says that God *Sthānu* (Śiva) himself installed Sarasvatī in the *liṅga* form ('स्थापयामास देवेशो लिङ्गाकारं सरस्वतीम्' 40. 4u) at *Sthānu-tīrtha*.

Sarasvatī is also said to have established herself in the form of *pratimā* at certain places. The SkP says that Sarasvatī, holding the *Vaḍavānala* or the sub-marine fire, established herself in the south-east of *Someśvara* at Prabhāsa, it enjoins the worship of this *vaḍavānala-dhāriṇī* *pratimā* of Sarasvatī; on account of this *pratimā* the place was known as the *Agni-tīrtha*.⁶⁴ In another place also the SkP says that Sarasvatī established herself in the form of a *mūrti* ('मूर्त्तिमती सती') on the sea-coast, in the south-west of the *Bhairaveśvara liṅga* which she had already installed for worship before putting the submarine fire into the ocean.⁶⁵

62. Cf. Mbh, III. 118. 9 ff.—'सरस्वत्याः सिद्धगणस्य चैव पुण्याश्च ये चाप्य-मरास्तथान्ये । पुरयानि चाप्यायतनानि तेषां ददर्श राजा सुमनोहराणि ॥' (Śl. 13).

63. Cf. SKP VI. 46. 12 ff.—'ततस्तूर्ण समादाय मृत्तिकां स नदीतटात् । चकार भारतीं देवीं स्वयमेव चतुर्भुजाम् ॥' Śl 17 ; also 'अद्यप्रभृति मद्वाक्यात्त्वया स्थेयमसंशयम् । अत्रार्चायां त्रिलोकेऽस्मिन् यावत्कीर्त्तिर्मम स्थिरा ॥' (Said by Ambuvīci to Sarasvatī.)

64. Cf. *ib.* VII. 34. 32 f.—'सोमेशाद् दक्षिणाग्नेये सागरस्य समीपतः । संस्थिता तु महादेवी वडवानलधारिणी ॥ स्नात्वाऽभितीर्थं पूर्वं तां पूजयेद्विधिना नरः ।'

65. Cf. *ib.* VII. 40. 5 ff.—'इत्युक्त्वा तु तदा देवी भैरवेश्वरनैर्ऋते । सागरस्य स्थिता रम्ये तत्र मूर्त्तिमती सती'

Some Purāṇas also contain chapters on Iconography, giving various instructions for making *pratimās* or *arcās* of several important deities. The Agni Purāṇa prescribes that the *pratimā* of Goddess Sarasvatī should have *pustaka*, *akṣanālā* and *vīṇā* in her hands.⁶⁶ The *pratimā* of Brahmā should also have *Sarasvatī* and *Sāvitrī* on the left and right sides.⁶⁷ The Matsya Purāṇa also says that on the left side of Brahmā *Sāvitrī* should be installed, and on the right side should be installed *Sarasvatī*.⁶⁸ For the purpose of worshipping Sarasvatī on certain occasions a water-jar and a book are also prescribed as her symbolical representations and as temporary substitutes for her *pratimā*.⁶⁹

Almost all the principal Purāṇic gods and goddesses have their special *vāhanas*. But there is, perhaps, no direct mention of the *vāhana* of Goddess Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas. Sarasvatī however, being conceived as ब्रह्मणी (daughter or wife of ब्रह्मा), should have the same *vāhana* as Brahmā's. The MP in its chapters on the *pratimā-lakṣaṇa* says that *Brahmā* should be iconographically represented as seated on a *swan* or on a *lotus* ('हंसारूढः क्वचित्कार्यः क्वचित्च कमलासनः' MP 260. 40u). Sarasvatī also being *Brahmāṇī*, should be iconographically represented like *Brahmā* ('ब्रह्मणी ब्रह्मसदृशी' 'हंसाधिरूढा कर्त्तव्या' *ib.* 261. 24 f.), and therefore she should also be made seated on a *swan* (हंसारूढा) in her iconographical representations. The *Tantrasāra* also mentions her as 'हंसारूढा हरहसितहारेन्दुकुन्दावदाता.' (Tsār, p. 204)

8. Sarasvatī-worship in the Purāṇas

Through their various accounts and akhyānas of gods and goddess the Purāṇas aim at inspiring devotional emotions and spiritual thoughts in us. For them the mere intellectual and

66. अथ चण्ड्यादिप्रतिमालक्षणानि—'पुस्तकाक्षमालिकाहस्ता वीणाहस्ता सरस्वती' (AP 50. 16 p).

67. 'आज्यस्थाली सरस्वती सावित्री वामदक्षिणे' (*ib.* 49. 15 u).

68. 'आज्यस्थालीं न्यसेत्पार्श्वे वेदांश्च चतुरः पुनः । वामपार्श्वेऽस्य सावित्रीं दक्षिणे च सरस्वतीम् ॥ (MP 260. 41)

69. *Of.* प्रतिविशेषु ते पुजां महतीं ते मुदान्विताः । माघस्य शुक्लगञ्ज्यां विद्यारम्भेषु सुन्दरि ॥...मद्वरेण करिष्यन्ति कल्पे कल्पे यथाविधि ।...जितेन्द्रियाः संयताश्च पुस्तकेषु घटेऽपि च ॥ (BvP II, 4 23 ff.)

informative study of the spiritual and the religious problems without the emotional and spiritual background is of not much avail. Even in giving historical and genealogical details of the important royal dynasties the Purāṇas aim at results of higher values than mere supplying informative knowledge about them, as the Purāṇic *phalaśrutis* indicate. The review of the Purāṇic conception of Sarasvatī, therefore, will be incomplete without going through some important accounts of the devotional side of this conception.

(1) *Origin of Sarasvatī-worship according to the Purāṇas :*

According to the Purāṇas Sarasvatī-worship was first started by the three great gods of the trinity. The BvP says that at first Goddess Sarasvatī was worshipped by Brahmā, and after that she was worshipped in the three worlds by all the gods, sages and men.⁷⁰ Elsewhere it says that Sarasvatī-worship was first formulated by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and he, though himself worshipped by all the creatures, worshipped the Goddess, and then Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara performed her worship and also Ananta, Dharma, sages like Sanake and others, all the gods, Manus and men worshipped her ; and thus Sarasvatī became adorable by all the worlds.⁷¹ The PdP says that Viṣṇu, the best of the gods, worshipped Sarasvatī at the *Prācīna-tīrtha* which, therefore, became the best *tīrtha* on the earth.⁷² According to the VāmP God *Sthāṇu* (Śiva) worshipped Sarasvatī and installed her in the form of *liṅga* at the *Sihāṇu-tīrtha*.⁷³ The

70. 'आदौ सरस्वती देवी ब्रह्मणा परिपूजिता । तत्परचात् त्रिषु लोकेषु देवता-मुनिमानवैः ॥' (BvP II. 1. 157 ; also DBhp IX. 1. 151 u-152p).

71. (BvP II. 4. 11f).—'आदौ सरस्वतीपूजा श्रीकृष्णेन विनिर्मिता ।' (11 p.)
 ...'इत्युक्त्वा पूजयामास तां देवीं सर्वपूजितः ॥ (28 u) ततस्तत्पूजनं चक्रुर्ब्रह्मविष्णु-महेश्वराः । अनन्तश्चापि धर्मश्च मुनीन्द्राः सनकादयः ॥ सर्वे देवाश्च मनवो नृपा वा मानवादयः । बभूव पूजिता नित्या सर्वलोकैः सरस्वती ॥ (29f.)

72. 'देवानां प्रवरो विष्णुस्तेन यत्र सरस्वती ॥ सेविता तत्परं तीर्थं क्षितौ ब्रह्म-सुतोऽब्रवीत् ॥' (PdP V. 27. 146f.)

73. 'यत्रेष्ट्वा भगवान् स्थाणुः पूजयित्वा सरस्वतीम् । स्थापयामास देवेशो लिङ्गाकारां सरस्वतीम् ॥' (VāmP 40. 4).

Purāṇas thus by conceiving the three great gods as the first worshippers of Goddess Sarasvatī, have attached great importance to her worship. In the days of the great Epic Mahābhārata also Sarasvatī-worship was in vogue : In reply to Śrī Kṛṣṇa's query about the gods who are being worshipped by him, Nārada enumerates the names of a number of deities whom he (Nārada) worships, and Sarasvatī is mentioned as one of those deities.⁷⁴

(2) *Special occasions for Sarasvatī-worship :*

The BvP and the DBhP have prescribed the *śukla-pañcamī* day of the month of *Māgha* ('माघस्य शुक्लपञ्चम्याम्' BvP II. 4. 23c, 34a) and the day on which a child's education is formally to begin ('विद्यारम्भदिनेऽपि च' *ib.* 23d, 34b) as the special occasions on which Sarasvatī should be worshipped. Besides, the Purāṇas prescribe various *tithis* or the days of the lunar months for Sarasvatī-worship. According to the SkP Sarasvatī as installed in her *arcā*-form at the *Sārasvata-tīrtha* should be worshipped on the *aṣṭmī* and *caturdaśī*;⁷⁵ and at Prabhāsa where she installed herself near the *Bhairaveśvara liṅga* she should be worshipped along with *Bhairaveśvara* on the *mahā-navamī* (i.e. the ninth day of the bright half of the month of *Āśvina*).⁷⁶ The AP prescribes the *trītyā-tithi* of the month of *Jyeṣṭha* (?) for the worship of Sarasvatī.⁷⁷ The PdP and the MP have prescribed *pañcamīs* of each *pakṣa* of a month for her worship as a part of the *Sārasvata-vrata*.⁷⁸

(3) *Formulas and rules of Sarasvatī-worship :*

Certain special rules and formulas have been prescribed by the BvP (II. 4) and DBhP (II. 4) for Sarasvatī-worship.

74. Cf. Mbh. XIII. 31. 5 ff. (App.)

75. Cf. 'यो मामत्र स्थितां नित्यं स्नात्वाऽत्र सलिले शुभे । अष्टम्यां च चतुर्दश्यां
पूजयिष्यति मानवः ॥' etc. (SkP VI. 46. 37 ; also cf. 41. 39)

76. Cf. SkP VII. 41. 8.—'पूजयेत्तां विधानेन तं तथा भैरवेश्वरम् ।
महानवम्यां यत्नेन कृत्वा स्नानं विधानतः ॥'

77. Cf. AP 178. 27 f. (App.)

78. Cf. PdP V. 22. 186 ; MP 66. 11p.—'पञ्चम्यां प्रतिपक्षं च पूजयेद्
ब्रह्मवासिनीम् ।'...

Various requisites as white flowers white *akṣatas*, white sandal-wood, milk etc. are also prescribed in details for her worship (BvP II. 4. 35ff.). According to the BvP (II. 4. 31 ff.) Sarasvatī worship mainly consists of the *stavana* (eulogy), *dhyāna* (meditation of her form), *kavaca* and *mantra-japa*. A number of highly inspiring *Sarasvatī stotras* are given in the Purāṇas which deserve a special study. The *dhyāna* which the BvP (II. 4. 46-48) prescribes is as follows :

‘सरस्वतीं शुक्लवर्णां सस्मितां सुमनोहराम् ।

कोटिचन्द्रप्रभाजुष्टपुष्टश्रीयुक्तविग्रहाम् ॥

वह्निशुद्धांशुकाधानां सस्मितां सुमनोहराम् ।

रत्नसारेन्द्रखचितवरभूषणभूषिताम् ॥

सुपूजितां सुरगणैर्ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवादिभिः ।

वन्दे भक्त्या वन्दितां तां मुनीन्द्रमनुमानवैः ॥’

The *Sarasvatī-kavaca* mentioned in the BvP (II. 4. 61 ff.) is named as the *Viśvajaya*. It is to be worn in the neck or on the right arm in the form of a gold *gutikā* (*ib.* 4. 27). The *kavaca-siddhi* is said to be accomplished by five lacs of its *japa*.

The eight-syllabled *Sarasvatī-mantra* (‘श्रीं ह्रीं सरस्वत्यै स्वाहा’) as given in this Purāṇa is highly praised⁷⁹, and a long tradition of the sages through whom it has been transmitted is also recorded (*ib.* 4. 53 ff.). The *mantra-siddhi* is said to be accomplished by its four lacs of *japa*.

The BvP also prescribes that the worship of Sarasvatī is to be performed after bath and performance of daily rites (‘स्नात्वा नित्यक्रियां कृत्वा’ 4. 35a). The worshipper is to remain physically and mentally pure (‘शुचिः’ *ib.* 34d), he should have complete control over his senses (‘जितेन्द्रिय’ *ib.* 26c), and should be constantly regular, self-controlled and disciplined (‘संयतः’ *ib.*) in life. According to the rules relating to the *Sārasvata-vrata* as

79. ‘सरस्वतीचतुर्थ्यन्तो वह्निजायान्त एव च ॥ श्रीं ह्रीं सरस्वत्यै स्वाहा । लक्ष्मी-मायादिकं चैव मन्त्रोऽयं कल्पपादपः ॥’ (BvP II. 4. 51 f.). (वह्निजाया = स्वाहा ; लक्ष्मी = श्रीं ; माया = ह्रीं).

given in the MP and PdP,⁸⁰ the worshipper is to observe throughout his *vrata* complete silence both at day-break and at sun-set ('सन्ध्यायां च तथा मौनमेत्कुर्वन् समाचरेत्' MP 66. 12p), and also at his morning and evening meals ('मौनव्रतेन भुञ्जीत सायं प्रातस्तु धर्मवित्' ib. 10u), he should also not eat any thing during the interval ('नान्तरा भोजनं कुर्यात्' ib. 12c). It is thus clear from these rules that a worshipper of Goddess Sarasvatī must have full control over both the functions—viz. speaking and tasting—of the tongue which is rightly regarded in the Purāṇas as the visible form of Goddess Sarasvatī in man;⁸¹ and therefore the proper and controlled use of these two faculties of the tongue in a devotional spirit may also be regarded as a superior form of Sarasvatī-worship.

4. Fruits accruing from Sarasvatī-worship

Sarasvatī has been primarily conceived as the goddess of speech, knowledge and wisdom; her devotion and worship, therefore, is naturally considered to bestow eloquence, intelligence, knowledge, wisdom, poetic genius and skill in arts.⁸² Defects in speech and even dumbness are said to be cured by worshipping Sarasvatī.⁸³ The *Sarasvata-vrata*, given in the MP and PdP, is mentioned as conferring sweet and charming speech

80. In the MP and the PdP the *Sarasvata vrata* is given in two places : (i) MP-Adh. 66 (whole Adh. is devoted to this *vrata*, in the form of the interlocution between Manu and Matsya); PdP V. 22. 176-194, (interlocutors-Bhīṣma and Pulastya); (ii) as included in the *ṣaṣṭi vratas* (sixty *vratas* or vows), in MP 101. 17f., (interlocution between Nārada and Nandikeśvara); in PdP, V. 20. 61 f. (interlocutors—Bhīṣma and Pulastya). The versions of the two Purāṇas are exactly the same with a very few variants.

81. Cf. SkP. VI. 46. 29 b.

82. Cf. 'यस्तां पूजयते मर्त्यः श्वेतपुष्पानुलेपनैः । स स्याद् वाग्मी सुमेधावी सदा जन्मनि जन्मनि ॥' (SkP VI. 46.40); and 'महावाग्मी कवीन्द्रश्च त्रैलोक्यविजयी भवेत् ।' (BvP II. 4. 90 p); etc.

83. Cf. 'सरस्वतीं पूजयित्वा वाग्दोषान्मुच्यतेऽखिलात्' (SkP VII. 40. 8u). King Ambuvici is said to have been cured of his dumbness by worshipping Sarasvatī (Vide the introductory footnote on the Sarasvatī-stotra given at the beginning of this Issue of 'Purāṇa').

(मधुरा भारती), musical voice ('रक्तकण्ठ'), grace and beauty ('रूप')⁸⁴ wisdom and learning ('विद्या'), wealth and prosperity ('अर्थ'), and long life ('आयुश्च विपुलं'). The Ṛgvedic Ṛṣis invoke Sarasvatī for conferring fame (प्रशस्ति)⁸⁵ and prosperity (श्री)⁸⁶. The Sarasvatī-Rahasya Up. mentions भुक्ति (worldly enjoyments) and मुक्ति (final release or salvation) as accruing from the worship of Goddess Sarasvatī.⁸⁷

9. Pantheistic and transcendent aspects of Sarasvatī

The Vedic literature has conceived Sarasvatī as occupying the *antarikṣa* or the middle region. In one place the Ṛgveda even mentions Sarasvatī as filling the wide earthly and the middle regions with her *rajās* or light.⁸⁸ This Vedic conception of Sarasvatī (which may be called her regional conception) has developed into the Purāṇic conception of the pantheistic and then of the transcendent aspect of Sarasvatī.

The VāmP indentifies Sarasvatī with all the waters of the world ('सर्वास्त्वापस्त्वमेवेति' VāmP;40. 14 c.) The SkP (VI. 46) indentifies her with the speech in the tongue and the light in the eyes ('वाचारूपेण जिह्वायां ज्योतीरूपेण चतुषि'), and also with the various psychological faculties and even with the various deities (such as गौरी, रोहिणी, सिनीवाली, अदिति, लक्ष्मी, विनता, कद्रू etc.). The PdP (V. 28. 118) indentifies her with various lores or *vidyās*.

84. cf. 'एतत् सारस्वतं नाम रूपविद्याप्रदायकम्' (° द्याप्रदं व्रतम्, PdP)
— (Mp 101. 18 u; PdP V. 20. 62 u). The PdP also says that by giving silver in charity on the banks of the Sarasvatī river (the daughter of Brahmā) a man acquires beauty: ('रजतस्य प्रदानेन रूपवाञ्जायते नरः । पुरया पुरयजलोपेता नदीयं ब्रह्मणः सुता ॥' PdP V. 18. 463).

85. cf. RV II. 41. 16—'अम्बिमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति ।

अप्रशस्ता इव स्मसि प्रशस्तिमम्ब नस्कृधि ॥'

86. Vide RV. I. 138. 8 (Āpri -) quoted in the Appendix.

87. 'यः कवित्वं निरातङ्गं भुक्तिमुक्ती च वाञ्छति ।

सोऽभ्यर्च्यैतां दशश्लोक्या नित्यं स्तौति सरस्वतीम् ॥' (SRUp.)

88. cf. RV VI. 61. 11—'आपप्रुषी पार्थिवान्युरु रजो अन्तरिक्षम् ।..... ॥'

The identification has been extended further and the whole universe—both animate and inanimate—has been conceived as the form of Sarasvatī.⁸⁹ In the *Sarasvatī-stotras* of the MārP (23. 30-47) and the VāmP (32. 6-22) the universe considered as consisting of the various triads,⁹⁰ has been conceived as represented by the three *mātrās* of the sacred syllable *Om̐kāra*; and the whole universe thus conceived as the three *mātrās* of *Om̐kāra*, and consisting of both which is imperishable and perishable, existent and non-existent, is said to be the form of Sarasvatī.⁹¹ Thus the pantheistic conception of Sarasvatī has been fully developed in the Purāṇas.

But the Purāṇas do not stop here. They extend their conception of Sarasvatī, far beyond the manifested universe, to the unmanifest ultimate Reality called the *Akṣara* (or *Pura*) *Brahman*. The remaining silent *ardha-mātrā* of the *Om̐kāra* represents this unmanifest *Akṣara-Brahman*, the eternal cosmic consciousness, which is incomprehensible and indescribable (अनिर्देश्य), changeless (अविकारि), imperishable, (अक्षय), divine (दिव्य), and devoid of all modifications (परिणामविवर्जित). This indescribable, unmanifest and eternal Reality is mentioned as the transcendent form of Sarasvatī.⁹² In her transcendent form she cannot be described as One or Many, Existent or Non-existent, for her transcendent aspect is beyond all conceptions of duality.

89 cf. 'यत्किञ्चित् त्रिषु लोकेषु बहुत्वाद् यन्न कीर्तितम् ।

इङ्गितं नेङ्गितं तच्च तद्रूपं ते सुरेश्वरि ॥' (SkP VI. 46. 29 u.)

90. cf. MārP 23. 35 u-37 p; VāmP 32. 10-11. (App.)

91. cf. 'ओंकाराक्षरसंस्थानं यत्तु (यत्र, VāmP) देवि स्थिरास्थिरम् ॥

तत्र मात्रात्रयं सर्वमस्ति यद् देवि नास्ति च ।

... ..

एतन्मात्रात्रयं देवि तव रूपं सरस्वति ॥'

(MārP 23. 34 u-35 p; 37 u; VāmP 32. 9, 12 p.)

92. cf. अनिर्देश्यं तथा चान्यदद्धमात्रान्वितं (० त्राश्रितं, VāmP) परम् ॥

अत्रिकार्यक्षयं दिव्यं परिणामविवर्जितम् ।

तवैतत् परमं रूपं यन्न शक्यं मयोदितुम् ॥

(MārP 39 u-40 u; VāmP 23. 14-15 p.)

In fact, the Purāṇas have conceived all their principal deities in their double aspect—immanent and transcendent. In their transcendent form all the principal Purāṇic gods and goddesses have been identified with the *Akṣara Para-Brahman* (the eternal, absolute and ultimate Reality) where all conceptions of duality and non-duality meet and coincide, and where all these gods submerge and lose their individuality. In her indescribable transcendent aspect, therefore, Goddess Sarasvatī is not different from all the other principal deities—Durgā, Lakṣmī, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa Sūrya, Vahni and others ; in this transcendent form *Sarasvatī* is herself *Viṣṇu*. She is *Siva*, *Brahmī*, *Candra*, *Sūrya* and *Jyotiḥ* (Light, *Agni*) :

तवैतत् (v. 1.) परमं रूपं यन्न शक्यं मयोदितुम् ।

न चान्येन तथा जिह्वाताल्लोष्ठादिभिरुच्यते ॥

स विष्णुः स शिवो ब्रह्मा चन्द्रार्कज्योतिरेव च ।

(VāmP 32, 15f)

APPENDIX I

Some important texts referred to in the footnotes but not quoted there are given below :

fn. 3. Relevant verses (*rc.s*) of the R̥gvedic *Āpri-Sūktas* :

R̥V I. 13. 9—इळा सरस्वती मही तिस्रो देवीर्मयोभुवः । बर्हिः सीदन्त्वस्त्रिधः ॥

I. 188. 8—भारतीळे सरस्वति या वः सर्वा उपब्रुवे । ता नश्चोदयता श्रिये ॥

III. 4. 8—आ भारती भारतीभिः सजोषा इळा देवैर्मनुष्येभिरग्निः । सरस्वती
सारस्वतेभिरर्वाक् तिस्रो देवीर्बाहिरेदं सदन्तु ॥

VII. 2. 8—Same as III. 4. 8.

X: 110. 8—आ नो यज्ञं भारती तूयमेत्विळा मनुष्वदिह चेतयन्ती । तिस्रो
देवीर्बाहिरेदं स्योनं सरस्वती स्वपसः सदन्तु ॥

16. R̥V I. 3. 11—चोदयित्री सूनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम् । यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती ॥

II. 41. 16—अम्बितमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति । अग्रशस्ता इव स्मसि
प्रशस्तमम्ब नस्कृधि ॥

(For I. 13. 9 and I. 188. 8—see above).

17. RV I. 89. 3—तान् पूर्वया निविदा हूमहे वयं भगं मित्रमर्दित दक्षमस्त्रियम् ।

अयंमणं वरुणं सोममश्विना सरस्वती नः सुभगा मयस्करत् ॥

VI. 52. 6—इन्द्रो नेदिष्ठमवसागमिष्ठः सरस्वती सिन्धुभिः पिन्वमाना । पर्जन्यो
न ओषधीभिर्मयोभुरग्निः सुशंसः सुहवः पितेव ॥

20. PdP V. 27. 118 f—यज्ञविद्या महाविद्या गुह्यविद्या च शोभना । आन्वीक्षिकी
त्रयीविद्या दण्डनीतिश्च कथ्यते ॥ ११८ ॥ नमोऽस्तु ते पुरयजले नमः
सागरगमिनि । नमस्ते पापनिर्मोके नमो देवि वराङ्गने ॥ ११९ ॥

28. BvP II. 1. 1; 4. 4—गणेशजननी दुर्गा राधा लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती । सावित्री वै
सृष्टिविधौ प्रकृतिः पञ्चधा स्मृता ॥

29. BvP II. 2. 54 f—एतस्मिन्नन्तरे देवीजिह्वाग्रात्सहसा ततः । आविर्बभूव
कन्यैका शुक्लवर्णा मनोहरा ॥५४॥ पीतवस्त्रपरीधाना वीणापुस्तक-
धारिणी । रत्नभूषणभूषाढ्या सर्वशास्त्राधिदेवता ॥५५॥

30. VP I. 9. 67 ff—तेष्वेवं निरपेक्षेषु लोकवृत्तानुकारणात् ॥६७३॥ हिरण्य-
गर्भो भगवान् परमेष्ठी ह्यचिन्तयत् । तस्य रोषात्समुत्पन्नः पुरुषोऽर्कसम-
द्युतिः ॥ अर्द्धनारीनरवपुस्तेजसा ज्वलनोपमः ॥६८॥ सर्वं तेजोमयं
जातमादित्यसमतेजसम् । विभजात्मनमित्युक्त्वा तत्रैवान्तरधीयत ॥६९॥
एवमुक्त्वा (?) द्विधाभूतः पृथक् स्त्री पुरुषः पृथक् । स चैकादशधा जज्ञे
अर्धमात्मानमीश्वरः ॥७०॥.....तत्र या सा महाभागा शङ्करस्यार्द्ध-
कायिनी ॥७१ उ ॥ प्रागुक्ता तु मया तुभ्यं स्त्री स्वयंभोर्मुखोद्गता । कायार्द्धं
दक्षिणं तस्याः शुक्लं वामं तथाऽसितम् ॥७२॥ आत्मानं विभजस्वेति
सोक्ता देवी स्वयंभुवा । सा तु प्रोक्ता द्विधा भूता शुक्ला कृष्णा च वै
द्विजाः ॥ तस्या नामानि वक्ष्यामि शरणुध्वं सुसमाहिताः ॥७३॥
स्वाहा स्वधा महाविद्या मेधा लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती ॥७८ पू॥.....लोके
गौरीति विश्रुता ॥७८॥... विश्वरूपमथार्यायाः पृथग्देहविभावनात् ॥८० पू॥

31. VP I. 23. 34 ff.—ब्रह्मणः पुत्रकामस्य ध्यायतः परमेष्ठिनः । प्रादुर्भूता
महानादा विश्वरूपा सरस्वती ॥३४॥.....प्रकृतिं विद्धि तां ब्रह्मंस्त्वत्प्रसूतिं
महेश्वरीम् ॥४९ उ॥ सैषा भगवती देवी तत्प्रसूतिः स्वयंभुवः । चतुर्मुखी
जगद्योनिः प्रकृतिर्गौः प्रकीर्त्तिता । प्रधानं प्रकृतिं चैव यदाहुस्तत्त्वचिन्तकाः ॥५०॥

32. BdP IV. 40. 5 ff—इयमेव महालक्ष्मीः ससर्जाण्डत्रयं पुरा ॥५ उ॥ परत्रयाणा-
मावासं शक्तीनां तिस्रणामपि । एकस्मादण्डतो जातावम्बिकापुरुषोत्तमौ ॥६॥
श्रीविरिञ्चौ ततोऽन्यस्मादन्यस्माच्च गिराशिवौ । इन्दिरां योजयामास मुकुन्देन
महेश्वरी ॥ पार्वत्या परमेशानं सरस्वत्या पितामहम् ॥७॥

33. PrādhR—सर्वस्याद्या महालक्ष्मीस्त्रिगुणा परमेश्वरी ।४ पू। * * शून्यं तदखिलं लोकं विलोक्य परमेश्वरी । बभार परमं रूपं तमसा केवलेन हि ॥७॥ * * * * महा-लक्ष्मीः स्वरूपमपरं नृप । सत्त्वाख्येनातिशुद्धेन गुणेनेन्दुप्रभं दधौ ॥१४॥ अथो-वाच महालक्ष्मीर्महाकालीं सरस्वतीम् । युवां जनयतां देव्यौ मिथुने स्वानु-रूपतः ॥१७॥ इत्युक्त्वा ते महालक्ष्मीः ससर्ज मिथुनं स्वयम् । हिरण्यगर्भौ रचिरौ स्त्रीपुंसौ कमलासनौ ॥१८॥ ब्रह्मान् विषे विरिञ्चेति धातरिद्याह तं नरम् । श्रीः पद्मे कमले लक्ष्मीत्याह माता च तां स्त्रियम् ॥१९॥ महाकाली भारती च मिथुने सृजतः सह । २० पू । नीलकरुणं रक्तबाहुं श्वेताङ्गं चन्द्र-शेखरम् । जनयामास पुरुषं महाकाली सितां स्त्रियम् ॥२१॥ स रुद्रः शंकरः स्थाणुः कपर्दी च त्रिलोचनः । त्रयी विद्या कामधेनुः सा स्त्री भाषाऽक्षरा स्वरा ॥२२॥ सरस्वती स्त्रियं गौरीं कृष्णां च पुरुषं नृप । जनयामास नामानि तयोरपि वदामि ते ॥२३॥ विष्णुः कृष्णो हृषीकेशो वासुदेवो जनार्दनः । उमा गौरी सती चण्डी सुन्दरी सुभगा शिवा ॥२४॥ * * * * ब्रह्मणे प्रददौ पत्नीं महालक्ष्मीं नृप त्रयीम् । रुद्राय गौरीं वरदां वासुदेवाय च स्त्रियम् ॥२६॥

34. MP 3. 30 ff.—(एतत् तत्त्वात्मकं कृत्वा जगद् वेधा अजीजनत् ॥२९ उ॥) सावित्रीं लोकसृष्ट्वर्थं हृदि कृत्वा समास्थितः । ततः संजपतस्तस्य भित्त्वा देहमकल्म-षम् ॥३०॥ स्त्रीरूपमर्द्धमकरोदर्द्धं पुरुषरूपवत् । शतरूपा च सा ख्याता सावित्री च निगद्यते ॥३१॥ सरस्वत्यथ गायत्री ब्रह्मणी च परंतप ॥ ततः स्वदेहसंसृतामात्मजामित्यकल्पयत् ॥३२॥

37. MP 3. 33ff.—दृष्ट्वा तां व्यथितस्तावत् कामबाणादितो विभुः । अहो रूपमहो रूपमिति चाह प्रजापतिः ॥ ३३ ॥ * अहो रूपमहो रूपमिति प्राह पुनः पुनः । ततः प्रणामनम्रां तां पुनरेवाभ्यलोकयत् ॥ ३५ ॥ * * * * सृष्ट्वर्थं यत्कृतं तेन तपः परमदारुणम् ॥ ३६उ ॥ तत्सर्वं नाशमगमत् स्वमुतोपगमेच्छया । ४० पू । * * * उपयेमे स विश्वात्मा शतरूपामनिन्दिताम् । संबभूव तया सार्द्धं मतिकामातुरो विभुः ॥ सलजां चकमे देवः कमलोदरमन्दिरे ॥ ४३ ॥ यावदब्दशतं दिव्यं यथाऽन्यः प्राकृतो जनः । ततः कालेन महता तस्य पुत्रोऽभवन्मनुः ॥ ४४ ॥ स्वायंभुव इति ख्यातः स विराडिति नः श्रुतम् । ४५पू ।

45. Mbh. VI. 117. 8 ff.—रेमे स (= द्विवोदासः) तस्यां (= स्वपत्न्यां माधव्यां) राजर्षिः प्रभावत्यां यथा रविः । स्वाहायां च यथा वह्निर्यथा शच्यां च वासवः ॥ ८ ॥ * * * * यथा भूम्यां भूमिपतिरुर्वश्यां च पुरुरवाः । ऋचीकः सत्यवत्यां च सरस्वत्यां यथा मनुः ॥ १४ ॥

51. PJP V. 27. 117 f.—देवैः कृता सरस्वतीस्तुतिः 'त्वं सिद्धिस्त्वं स्वधा स्वाहा त्वं पवित्रं मतं (v. 1. घृतं) महत् । संध्या रात्रिः प्रभा भूतिमेंधा श्रद्धा सरस्वती' ॥ ११७ ॥ 'यज्ञविद्या महाविद्या गुह्यविद्या च शोभना । आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयीविद्या दण्डनीतिश्च कथ्यते' ॥ ११८ ॥
- ViṣP I. 119 ff.—इन्द्रकृता लक्ष्मीस्तुतिः 'त्वं सिद्धिस्त्वं स्वधा स्वाहा सुधा त्वं लोकपावनी । संध्या रात्रिः प्रभा भूतिमेंधा श्रद्धा सरस्वती' ॥ ११९ ॥ 'यज्ञविद्या महाविद्या गुह्यविद्या च शोभने । आत्मविद्या च देवि त्वं विमुक्तिफलदायिनी' ॥ १२० ॥ 'आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वात्तं दण्डनीतिस्त्वमेव च ॥ १२१ ॥'
57. BḍP IV. 19. 70ff.—गेयचक्ररथेन्द्रस्य चतुर्थं पर्वं संश्रिताः । ब्राह्मीमुख्यास्तु पूर्वोक्ताश्चण्डिका त्वष्टमी परा ॥ तत्र पर्वण्यघस्ताच्च लक्ष्मीश्चैव सरस्वती ॥ ७० ॥ रतिः प्रीतिः कीर्त्तिः शास्त्री पुष्टिस्तुष्टिश्च शक्तयः । एताश्च क्रोधरक्ताक्षयो दैत्यं हन्तुं महाबलम् ॥ ७१ ॥ कुन्तचक्रधराः प्रोक्ताः कुमार्यः कुम्भसंभव ॥ ७२ ॥
58. ib. 46f.—अथ चक्ररथेन्द्रस्य तृतीयं पर्वं संश्रिताः । रहस्ययोगिनीनाम्ना प्रख्याता वागधीश्वराः ॥ ४६ ॥ रक्ताशोकप्रसूनाभा बाणकार्मुकपाणयः । कवचच्छन्नसर्वाङ्गयो वीणापुस्तकशोभिताः ॥ ४७ ॥
59. VaikṛtR 14ff.—गौरीदेहात् समुद्भूता या सत्त्वैकगुणाश्रया । साक्षात्सरस्वती प्रोक्ता शुम्भासुरनिर्बहिणी ॥ १४ ॥ दधौ चाष्टभुजा बाणमुसले शूलचक्रभृत् । शङ्खं घण्टां लाङ्गलं च कार्मुकं वसुधाधिप ॥ १५ ॥ एषा सम्पूजिता भक्त्या सर्वज्ञत्वं प्रयच्छति । निशुम्भमथिनी देवी शुम्भासुरनिर्बहिणी ॥ १६ ॥
74. Mbh. XIII. 31. 5ff.—Nārada says to Keśava: 'शृणु गोविन्द यानेतान् पूजयाम्यरिमर्दन' । ॥ ५ ॥ 'वरुणं वायुमादित्यं पर्जन्यं जातवेदसम् । स्थारुं स्कन्दं तथा लक्ष्मीं विष्णुं ब्रह्माणमेव च' ॥ ६ ॥ 'वाचस्पतिं चन्द्रमसमपः पृथ्वीं सरस्वतीम् । सततं ये नमस्यन्ति तान् नमस्याम्यहं विभो' । ७ ॥
77. AP 178. 27 f.—आत्मतृतीया मार्गस्य प्राच्येच्छाभोजनादिना ॥ २७ उ ॥ गौरी काली उमा भद्रा दुर्गा कान्तिः सरस्वती । वैष्णवी लक्ष्मीः प्रकृतिः शिवा नारायणी क्रमात् ॥ मार्गतृतीयामारभ्य सौभाग्यं स्वर्गमाप्नुयात् ॥ २८ ॥
90. VāmP 32. 10f.—त्रयो लोकास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रैविद्यं पावकत्रयम् । त्रीणि ज्योतीषि वर्गाश्च त्रयो धर्मादयस्तथा ॥ १० ॥ त्रयो गुणास्त्रयो वर्णासु, (०यो शब्दासु, MārP) त्रयो देवास्तथाक्रमात् (०स्त्रयः क्रमाः, V. 1.) । त्रिधातवसु (त्रयः कालासु, MārP) तथाऽवस्थाः पितरश्चाणिमादयः (०रोऽह्निशादयः V. 1; MārP) ॥ ११ ॥ एतन्मात्रात्रयं देवि तव रूपं सरस्वति ॥ १२ ॥

APPENDIX II

Explanation of the abbreviations for works used :

- ABORI = Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
- AitB = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa ; Ānandāśrama edition, 1930-31. (*Reference* : Adhyāya, Khaṇḍa).
- AP = Agni-Purāṇa ; Ānandāśrama ed. (*Ref.* : Adhyāya, Śloka).
- BdP = Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa ; Venkatesvara ed. (*Ref.* : Pāda [III = Upodghāta-Pāda ; IV = Upasamhāra-Pāda], Adh. Śl.)
- BhP = Bhāgavata-Purāṇa ; Gītā Press ed. (*Ref.* : Skandha, Adh. Śl.)
- BrP = Brahma-Purāṇa ; Ān. ed., 1895. (*Ref.* : Adh. Śl.)
- BvP = Brahma-vaivarta-Purāṇa ; Ān. ed., 1935. (*Ref.* : Khaṇḍa [II = Prakṛti-Kh.], Adh. Śl.)
- CDHM = A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology (By John Dowson); Ninth ed., London, 1957.
- ChUp. = Chāndogya Upaniṣad. (*Ref.* : Adhyāya, Khaṇḍa, Mantra).
- Durg. = Durgācārya's Vṛtti on the 'Nirukta' of Yāska ;
- DBhP = Devī-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa ; Banaras ed. (*Ref.* : Skandha, Adh. Śl.)
- DY = Devarāja-Yajvan's *Tikā* on the *Nighaṇṭu*, as included in Sāmaśrami's ed. of *Nirukta*, vol. I.
- Hem. = Hemacandra's Kośa named '*Anekārtha Saṅgraha* ; Chawkhamba ed., V. S. 1985.
- Hcar. = Harśa-carita of Bāṇa ; Nirṇaya S. ed., 1946.
- Hv. = Harivaṃśa ; Chitrashala Press ed., 1936. (*Ref.* : Parva [I = Harivaṃśa P.] Adh. Śl.)
- LiP = Liṅga Purāṇa ; Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara ed., Calcutta 1885. (*Ref.* : Pūrvārdha [I]. Adh. Śl.)
- Mbh. = Mahābhārata ; Chitrashala Press ed. (*Ref.* : Parva [III = Vana P. ; VI = Bhīṣma P. ; XIII = Anuśāsana P.], Adh. Śl.)
- MP = Matsya-Purāṇa ; Ān. ed. (*Ref.* : Adh. Śl.)
- MārP = Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa ; J. V. ed., Calcutta 1879. (*Ref.* : Adh. Śl.)

M.W. = M. Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899.

Nigh. = Nighaṅṭu ; ed. by S. Sāmaśrami as 'Nirukta' Vol. I. (Ref. : Adh. Khaṇḍa).

Nir. = Yāska's Nirukta ; ed. by Pt. Satyavrata Sāmaśrami in 4 volumes, Calcutta 1882-1891. (Ref. Adh. Pāda. Khaṇḍa).

PdP = Padma-Purāṇa ; Ān. ed. (Ref. : Khaṇḍa [V = Srṣṭi-Khaṇḍa]. Adh. Śl.)

PrādhR = 'Prādhānika Rahasya' appended to the 'Devī-Māhātmya' or 'Durgā-Saptaśati' ; Gītā Press ed. (Ref. : Ślokas).

Rām. = Rāmāyaṇa ; M. L. J. Press, Madras, ed., 1958. (Ref. : Kāṇḍa [VI = Yuddha K.]. Adh. Śl.)

ṚV = Rgveda. (Ref. : Maṇḍala. Sūkta. Ṛc).

ŚB = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa ; Acyuta-granthamālā ed., Kāśī. V. S. 1994-97. (Ref. : Kāṇḍa. Adhyāya. Brāhmaṇa. Khaṇḍa).

SkP = Skanda-Purāṇa ; Veṅk. ed. (Ref. : Khaṇḍa [VI = Nāgara-Kh. ; VII = Prabhāsa-Kh.]. Adh. Śl.)

SRUp. = Sarasvatī-Rahasya-Upaniṣad ; as included in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Pr. ed. of the 108 Upaniṣads, Bombay 1925.

Tsār. = Tantra sāra of Kṛṣṇānanda ; Vaṅg. Press ed.

VaikṛtR = 'Vaikṛtika Rahasya' appended to the 'Durgā-Saptaśati' ; Gītā Press ed. (Ref. Śloka).

Vāmp = Vāmana-Purāṇa ; Veṅk. ed. (Ref. : Adh. Śl.)

VS = Vājasaneyi-Samhitā (Śakla-Yajurveda). (Ref. : Adh. Mantra)

Other Abbreviations :

p = (after a śloka-number) Pūrvārdha or the first half of the śloka.

u = (after a śloka-number) Uttarārdha or the second half of the śloka.

पू = पूर्वार्द्ध of a śloka.

उ = उत्तरार्द्ध of a śloka.

THE PROBLEM OF GANEŚA IN THE PURĀNAS

BY

JUAN ROGER RIVIERE

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे डा० 'जुआन रोजर रिवरि' नाम्ना स्पेनदेशीयेन विदुषा महादेवसूनोः श्रीगणेशस्य मूलस्वरूपादिविषयका विचाराः प्रस्तुताः, कार्तिकेयगणपत्योश्च परस्परसम्बन्धस्य विषये तयोर्मूर्त्तीनां पूजादीनां च विषये विचारोद्बोधको विमर्शश्च कृतः । शिवस्य द्वौ पुत्रौ श्रूयते—स्कन्दो गणेशश्च । ख्रीस्ताब्दारम्भे स्कन्दोऽत्र भारते लोकप्रियो देव आसीत् । उपनिषदादिषु प्राचीनग्रन्थेष्वपि तस्योल्लेखः प्राप्यते । परन्त्वधुना स 'सुब्रह्मण्य' इति नाम्ना दक्षिणभारते एव प्रायशः पूज्यते । इतिहासपुराणेषु भगवतः शिवस्यापरोऽपि पुत्रो 'गणेश' इति नाम्ना श्रूयते । तैत्तिरीयारण्यकेऽपि 'वक्रतुण्ड' 'दन्ती' इति च विशेषणद्वयोपेतः कश्चिद्देवः प्रोक्तः । परन्तु महाभारते एव गणेशः प्रथमतः ख्यार्ति गतः । स बुद्धिदेवता विघ्नेशश्च मन्यते । सर्वकार्यारम्भे च तस्य पूजा विहिता । ख्रीस्तीयकालस्य दशम्यां शत्यां गणपत्यसम्प्रदायस्य समुदय आसीत् । अस्मिन् सम्प्रदाये गणेश एव प्रधानदेवता, स एव तत्र परमात्मेति च मन्यते । अस्य सम्प्रदायस्य गणपतितापनीयोपनिषदप्येका वर्त्तते, तथैव गणेशपुराणं नामैकमुपपुराणमपि प्राप्यते । गणेशस्य तस्य शक्तेश्च मूर्त्तयोऽपि 'एलोरा' प्रभृतिस्थानेषु प्राप्यन्ते । तिब्बतदेशे गणेशान्या अपि मूर्त्तयः प्राप्यन्ते । कुत्रचित् शिलामन्दिरेषु जैनैरपि स पूज्यते । महायानबौद्धेऽपि 'गणपतिहृदय' नाम्ना रहस्यात्मकेन मन्त्रेण गणपतेरुपासना प्रचलति । महायानबौद्धस्यायं गणपतिदेवताकः सम्प्रदायोऽधुनापि वर्मास्याम-तिब्बत-चीन-जापानादिदेशेषु विद्यते । एवं लोके गणेशः पूज्यतमेष्वन्यतमो देवो वर्त्तते । पुराणानां सम्यगध्ययनेन तस्य स्वरूपादिविकासविषयकमन्यदपि परमोपयोगि ज्ञानं प्राप्स्यते ।]

There is, in Indology, the problem of the origin of Śiva's son : *Ganeśa* or *Gaṇapati*. I think that some investigations in the Purānas could bring a bit of light on this obscure question. In fact, there is, by one side, the affirmation of the existence of a son of Śiva in the Upaniṣadic period : *Kārtikeya* or *Skanda* and, on the other, the presence of a second son : *Ganeśa*, in the

historical period of India both in epics and *Purāṇas*. The development of the person and worship of this latter God, the animal-headed God of the Hindu pantheon, is mysterious. Can we suppose two sons of Śiva? Has *Gaṇeśa* kept some characteristics of his supposed brother? Has he supplanted the last one by an historical evolution?

Without going back to the *Sruti* and studying the evolution of the concept of *Sanatkumāra*, "the eternal Son", called in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII, 25, 2) "The God of War", as does H Heras¹, we can only note that this beautiful image of the "Son of God" is identified with the God *Skanda* by Śaṅkara in the *Bhāṣya* on the same Upaniṣad: "this *Sanatkumāra* is called *Skanda* by the people who know his real character". Narayan Apte, in his commentary on the same Up. affirms also that *Sanatkumāra* is the same as *Skanda* or *Kārtikeya*.²

Skanda (root *SKAND*—to leap) is the God of War—the planet Mars. According to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he is the son of Śiva. His name is found, for the first time, in the *Maitrayāṇī* and in the *Gṛhya-sūtra*. He has there a demoniac character and his servants are "the catchers". Śiva-Rudra produced him without the intervention of a woman, casting his seed into fire which was afterwards received by the Ganges; he is called for this reason *Agni-bhū* and *Gaṅgā-ja*. Fostered by the *Kṛtikāḥ* or Pleiades, hence he has six heads, *Ṣaṁmukha* and the name *Kārtikeya*. Patañjali calls him "he who has two-mothers, three mothers". He was born for the purpose of destroying *Tārakāsura*, a *Daiṭya* whose austerities were dangerous for the Gods, according to the *Mahābh.*

He is called also *Kumāra*, the boy. There are many representations of this God seated on one of the knees of *Pārvatī* (Mahabalipuram and Madras Museum). He is a Brahmachārin. He is represented riding on a peacock called *Parayani*, his usual *vāhana*, holding a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other.

1. In *The Problem of Gaṇapati*, "Tamil Culture", III, 2 (April, 1954).

2. The *Līṅga Purāṇa* considers *Sanatkumāra* as the first born of all the mind-born sons of Brahmā.

He has the appearance of a young man with one, six or twelve heads. The *Kumāratantra* speaks of sixteen distinct representations. He has many titles: as a warrior, he is called *Mahā-sena*, *Senā-pati*, *Sakti-dhara*, *Tārakājī*; he is *Guha* "the mysterious one". In the south of India, he is called *Su-Brahmaṇya* (see the poems of *Tiruppugal* by Arungagirinadar) and was the *iṣṭa-devatā* of the Calukyas. His cult is very old in the Tamil-nadu and worshipped in the mountainous region of the Kuaras. His main shrine is in Pālni.

In the northern India, *Skanda* was very well known, and numismatic evidence shows him a popular God in the beginning of the Christian era (Banerjee, *the Development of Hindu Iconography*).

The Gupta family was much devoted to this deity, as among them two bear names of *Kumāra* and one *Skanda*. Notwithstanding, at a later period, devotion to him died out in northern India; it is odd that his terrible and fearful aspect predominates: Gopinatha Rao¹ affirms that in the Bombay State no woman whose husband is alive would ever visit a temple of *Kārtikeya Svāmī*. He is in fact now almost exclusively a South Indian deity. We have to lay aside the hypothesis of Prof. Kerbaker that *Skanda* was a popular form of *Soma* in relation with the mention of Dionysos by Megasthenes.

Now, in epics and *Purāṇas*, appears another son of Śiva: *Gaṇeśa* and that is the problem. This name appears for the first time in the *Rgveda* (II, 23,1) where Brahmaṇaspati is given the title of *Gaṇapati* (*Gaṇānām tvā Gaṇapatim kavāmahe*). The *Gaṇa* forms the host of semigods, attendants of Śiva. Indra, in the *Rg.* (X, 112, 9) is also called *Gaṇapati*; at a later period, the title went to Śiva, for in the epics, Śiva is called *Gaṇeśa* and *Gaṇeśvara*.

The *Taittirīyāranyaka* (X, i, 5) speaks of a God who possesses a twisted trunk (*valkratuṇḍa*) and is called *Dantin* (the one having the tusk). But *Gaṇeśa* appears really in the *Mahābhārata*,

1. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, 2, p. 415,

according to Winternitz. Bhandarkar¹ shows that in the *Smṛti* of *Yājñavalkya* (6th cent.), *Gaṇapati* is mentioned as a demon exalted to the rank of a deva and, in the 8th cent, "described as elephant-headed". Notwithstanding in the frieze round the Kantaka Cetinga stupa, near Mihintale, in Ceylon (1st and 2nd cent.), there is a double procession of *gaṇa*, carrying gifts and converging to a central point, wherein there is another figure with the face of an elephant with his trunk turned to the left, as most of his images of a later period are². *Gaṇeśa* appears as an attendant of Śiva, according to the rock-cut temples of Aihole. Hopkins notes³ the affirmation of Manu: "*Sambhu* is the God of the Brāhmaṇas, while *Gaṇeśa* is the God of the Śūdras". Miss Getty concludes that it seems "to have been known to the uneducated classes upto the sixth century".

Gaṇeśa is the God of wisdom and remover of obstacle, being propitiated at the beginning of any special undertaking. His popularity is very extensive; in the 10th century arose the sect of the *Gāṇapatya* with the *San̄karadigvijaya* of Ānandatīrtha. For them, he was the supreme God, the first Cause, *Paramātman*. They had an Upaniṣad, the *Gaṇapatitāpanīya* (or *Varadatāpanīya*). The mantra of the *Gāṇapatyas* was *śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ*, and the sect seems to decay in the 12th century. Bhandarkar thinks that the active period of the sect was between the 5th and the 8th centuries.

We find *Gaṇapati* in many *Purāṇas*; the *Agni P.* describes a ritual of *Gaṇeśa*. Others speak of him as a deity above the Trimūrti. The *Gaṇeśa P.*, an *Upapurāṇa*, condenses the theology and the cult of the God⁴. It was the influence of the *Gāṇapatyas* that introduced him with his myths into the last editions of the *Purāṇas*. The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* contains

1. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Sects*, pp. 147-148.

2. Getty, *Gaṇeśa: A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God*, p. 25, pl. 22c (cited by H. Heras, *op. cit.*)

3. *Religions of India*, p. 487.

4. A good analysis of this *Upapurāṇa* is by Stevenson, *Analysis of the Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* in J.R.A.S., 1846, pp. 319-329.

many stories about him and equates him with *Kṛṣṇa*¹; the *Vāmana P.* speaks of the origin of the God; the *Varāhu P.* narrates his birth; the *Padma P.* describes his cult; the *Garuḍa P.* includes him among the five great Gods. The Hindu Architecture shows how his cult is popular; we find him in Tantrism, specially in the *Prapañcasāra Tantra*.

There are images of this God with his *Śakti* (Ellora); Miss Getty speaks of a female form of *Gaṇeśa*, a *Gaṇeśānī* at Bhera ghat, near Jubbulpore, whose left bent leg is supported by a small *Gaṇeśa*, half kneeling underneath. There are female forms of the God in Tibet, where he represents *Mahākāla* in the lamaic Buddhism. We find *Gaṇapati* worshipped by some Jainas in rock Temples. Heras writes that "the Museum of our Indian Historical Research Institute possesses a few metal images of *Gaṇeśa* which came from places of Jaina worship, among them one is of *Mahā-Gaṇapati* with his *Śakti*" (*op. cit.* p. 182). There is a cult of a mystic mantra, the *Gaṇapatihrdaya*, in the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, the mantra said to be given by the Buddha to Ānanda and to be used at the time of the dedication of an image of a dancing *Gaṇeśa*. The cult of the God through the *Mahāyāna* can be found in Buddhist countries, Burma, Siam, Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan, where there are many artistic creations of his figure on painting and sculpture. We have seen the twofold aspect of *Gaṇeśa* as a demon and a god. It is very interesting to find again this character in the Buddhism where he appears as *Vinataka* under the feet of the goddess *Aparājitā*, who is called *Gaṇapati-samākrāntā* for this reason, or under the feet of the black *Mañjuśrī* of the lamaic pantheon; but he is also, as in India, *Vighneśa*, *Vighnahārin*, the "remover of obstacles".

It is evident that this Śiva's son has adopted, little by little, many characteristics of his father; he has the *ūrdhva liṅga*, the third eye, three faces (Japan), five heads as *Heramba Gaṇapati* (Nepal), riding the lion of *Pārvatī*, with his *Śakti*, wearing a

1. There exists a *Gaṇeśa Gītā* in which the name of the God substitutes that of *Kṛṣṇa*.

jaṭā-mukuta, dancing the *Tāṇḍava* (*Nṛtta-Gaṇapati*) on one leg like Śiva ; he holds the trident, the *aṅkuśa* and the rosary ; he is ornamented with skulls, symbol of Śiva as Destroyer. In the south his cult is very popular and Srikanta Iyer writes that "Gaṇeśa has become the most popular of all the domestic deities of India".¹

Now, if we return to *Kumāra*, his supposed brother, we find that the position of the two brothers is ambiguous. The second son of Śiva appears in the purāṇic and epic periods as an intruder ; in the images of the two brothers with *Pārvatī*, we find many times *Kārtikeya* seated on the lap of the Goddess and *Gaṇeśa* playing beside her, as affirms Miss Getty. Sometimes, the two brothers are next to each other in adoration in front of Śiva and *Pārvatī* (Elephanta). But, in the *Purāṇas*, there are many stories "in which Gaṇeśa fought with Skanda and emerged victorious, though with the loss of his tusk", as writes Venkatakrishna Rao². The modern interpretations affirm that Gaṇeśa is the elder and *Skanda*, the younger ; this last one is always a war-god and symbolises the brutal, physical forces, the elder represents the spiritual forces which help the man to reach *mokṣa*. We can perceive the two ways of the confidence in the efficacy of the personal endeavour or the submission to the divine grace. Heras says that "in Northern India, Skanda, Kumāra or Kārttikeya is absolutely overlooked in the religious life of the people. For the majority of the people Śiva has only one son and that is Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati. Accordingly he receives the titles of *Sivaputra*, *Sambhutanaya* and *Sambhusuta*" (op. cit. p. 195). This author quotes the *Skanda P.* which "depicts the crowds of unworthy people, *Sūdras* and barbarians worshipping Siva at Somnath in order to attain to the heavens of the *devas*. The minor deities headed by Indra protested to Maheśvara. The latter then created *Vināyaka*, the Lord of obstacles, to impede those low people to enter heaven" (p. 195).

1. "The Popular view of Gaṇeśa in Madras", in "Indian Antiquary", XXX, p. 255.

2. *The Gaṇapati Cult* in Q. J. M. S. XLI, p. 94.

The Indologists have advanced some theories to explain the mystery of the origin of Gaṇeśa, this *Dvai-mātura*, 'having two mothers'. Miss Getty believes that he was primarily the totem of a Dravidian tribe, though there is no evidence of such a totem. Prof. Foucher thinks of an elephant-spirit of the jungle with a therianthropic evolution. Meyer affirms that it was a spirit of the fecundity and of the dead in connection with the "Mothers" ; Grierson and Crooke believe in a solar hero of Dravidian origin. Coomara Swamy supposes that Gaṇeśa was a *Yakṣa*, one of the semigods attending on Kubera, but we do not find any of his names in the yakṣa lists, according to Miss Getty. The matter is more complicated, yet, because all the myths of his birth show that *Gaṇeśa* had originally a man's head which was substituted for the head of an elephant (*Brahmavaivarta P.*, *Śiva P.*, *Varāha P.*). Heras and Zimmer think of a connection with the *Nāga* (the word means also elephant) tribes which were spread all over India ; for them, the idea of giving the elephant-head to *Skanda*, the God of War, is not so extraordinary.

In any way, the mystery of *Gaṇeśa* remains. He has the original characteristics of *Śiva* and *Skanda*, without any foundation in the *Veda*. I think that systematical studies of the *Purāṇas* could give some light on the problem of his origin. We must not forget that the *Purāṇas* were meant especially for the masses and represented the *Veda* for the laity. The characteristics of *Gaṇeśa* are eminently popular and his origins are surely humble and perhaps pre-Aryan ; I think of a Dravidian or Indus valley origin. The *Purāṇas* occupy a very important position in the religious life of the Hindus as they have been, and are still the main sources of remote traditions in spite of the apocryphal character and revisions or modifications of some of them. I am sure that a detailed study of the Puranic references, special terminology and subject-concordance connected with *Gaṇeśa* could be useful to investigate the obscure origin of this popular God.

भगवती लक्ष्मीः

(नरेन्द्रनाथ शर्मा चौधुरी)

[In this article the learned author has discussed the various aspects of Goddess *Lakṣmī* and her relation with *Viṣṇu*, *Sarasvatī* and *Uṣā*. *Lakṣmī* is regarded as the wife of *Viṣṇu*, and *Sarasvatī* has also been regarded as her co-wife. In the *Ṛgveda* Goddess *Uṣā* has been conceived both as gold-coloured (हिरण्यवर्णा) and white coloured (शुभ्रा); gold-colour signifying her gold giving capacity, and the white colour her knowledge-bestowing capacity. In course of time the Vedic deity *Uṣā* evolved into the Purāṇic and Tāntric goddesses *Lakṣmī* (conceived as gold-coloured and wealth-bestowing), and *Sarasvatī* (conceived as white-coloured, and bestower of knowledge).

The worship of *Lakṣmī* has been prescribed on the occasions of the *Kejāgara-Pūrṇimā* of the lunar month *Āśvina*, and the *Dīpāvalī-Amāvasyā* (of the *Kārtika* month). The author has criticised the custom of gambling on the occasions of *Lakṣmī*-worship, although it has been prescribed by *Raghunandana* in his *Tithitattva*. The custom might be due to a confusion between the *akṣas* (the casts of gambling) and the *akṣamālā* (which really means 'rosary') of Goddess *Lakṣmī*. On account of her wealth-bestowing capacity *Lakṣmī* has also been associated with *Kubera* whose worship is recommended along with the worship of *Lakṣmī*.]

भगवत्या लक्ष्म्याः प्रसिद्धिरस्मिन् भारते वर्षे सुतरां सर्वत्रैव वर्तते ।
ऋग्वेदस्य खिले श्रीगुक्ते, सौभाग्यलक्ष्म्युपनिषदादिषु च देवीयं सम्यक् समाज्ञायते ।

अस्याः पूजनं माहात्म्यं च पुराणे तन्त्रेऽपि विशेषेण वर्णितमस्ति । “लक्ष्मीः पद्मालया पद्मा कमला श्रीर्हरिप्रिया” (१-४-५४) इत्यादयोऽस्या अमरकोषधृता वाचकाः शब्दाः । तेषु च श्रीरिति नाम नितरां प्रसिद्धयति ।

अथास्याः पुराणे तन्त्रे च वर्णनं कीदृशम् ? किं वा तस्य तात्पर्यम् ? कश्चास्याः सम्बन्धः सरस्वत्या, विष्णुना, उषसा च ? किंचास्यास्तत्त्वं रहस्यं च ? इत्येतत्सर्वमत्र समासेन विविच्यते ।

लक्ष्मीः खलु समुद्रमन्थनसमये प्रादुरभूदिति शास्त्रे समीरितम् । अत्र भारतम्—“श्रीरनन्तरमुत्पन्ना धृतात् पाण्डुरवासिनी” । (१-१८-३५) अत्र भागवतं च ।

“ततश्चाविरभूत्साक्षाच्छ्री रमा भगवत्प्रिया” । (८-८-८)

अथ कीदृशमस्या रूपमित्यत्र स्मार्त-रघुनन्दनस्य तिथितत्त्वे कोजागरकृत्ये आदित्यपुराणधृतं ध्यानं यथा—

“पाशाक्षमालिकाम्भोजसृणिभिर्याम्यसौम्ययोः ।

पद्मासनस्थां ध्यायेच्च श्रियं त्रैलोक्यमातरम् ॥

गौरवर्णां सुरूपां च सर्वालङ्कारभूषिताम् ।

रौकमपद्मव्यग्रकरां वरदां दक्षिणेन तु” ॥

(चण्डीचरणस्मृतिभूषणप्रकाशितं तिथितत्त्वं, कोजागर-कृत्यम्, पृष्ठांकाः ३८१)

ध्यानादस्मादवगम्यते यद् भगवतीयं पद्मासनस्था, गौरवर्णा, हस्तद्वयेन केषांचिन्मते हस्तचतुष्टयेन वा पाशं, रुद्राक्षजपमालां, पद्ममङ्कुशं च विभर्ति । परमेतत् सर्वमेतस्याः कर्मजातं हि प्रकटीकरोति । तथा हि लक्ष्मीतो जनानां मायाबन्धनं पाशेन, धर्मादिकर्म च रुद्राक्षजपमालया, सौन्दर्यसम्पदानन्द-वर्धनं च पद्मेन, दुःखोत्पादनं चांकुशेन व्यज्यते । एवं च भगवतीयं धनादिदेवता वर्तते । ततश्च धनाद् यथा बन्धनं दुःखं च भवति, तथा धर्मः सुखमानन्दं च सञ्जायते । इत्येव ध्यानेनानेन सूचितम् ।

इयं हि देवी लक्षयति पश्यति प्रसन्ना प्रपन्नमिति लक्ष्मीः, श्रयति वा विष्णुमिति श्रीश्च निगद्यते ।

“श्रीं” इत्यस्याः प्रसिद्धो बीजमन्त्रः । ध्यानेन यद्रूपमुपतिष्ठते तदेव बीजमन्त्रार्थः ।

एषा तावद् विष्णोर्नारायणस्य पत्नीति गीयते । अस्याः सपत्नी वाग्देवी सरस्वती वर्तते ।

अथ लक्ष्मीः खलु चान्द्राधिनमासस्य कौजागरपौर्णमास्यां विशेषेण समर्च्यते । तस्यां रात्रौ अक्षैर्जागरणं च शास्त्रे विहितम् । यथा तिथितत्त्वे कौजागर-कृत्ये रघुनन्दनः—“अक्षैर्जागरणं चरेत्” (चण्डीचरणस्मृतिभूषणप्रकाशितं तिथितत्त्वं कौजागरकृत्यम्, पृष्ठांकाः ३८०) यथा च पुनस्तत्रैव—

“निशीथे वरदा लक्ष्मीः को जागर्तीति भाषिणी ।

तस्मै वित्तं प्रयच्छामि अक्षैः क्रीडां करोति यः । (पृ० ३८०-३८१)

परं विधानमेतत् दुर्विधानमिवाभाति । तथा हि ऋग्वेदेऽपि अक्षसूक्तं वर्तते, सत्यम्, किन्तु तत्र अक्षनिन्दैव कृता वेदपुरुषेण, अक्षक्रीडा च निषिद्धा; यथा—‘अक्षैर्मा दीव्यः कृषिमित् कृषस्व’ (१०-३४-१३) । श्रीमहाभारतेऽपि सभापर्वणि अष्टपंचादशाऽध्याये दुरोदरस्य निन्दैव विहिता भगवता व्यासेन; यथा—‘द्यूतमनर्थमूलम्’ (११), यथा च पुनस्तत्रैव एकोनषष्टितमेऽध्याये—“देवनं पापम्” (५); तथापि कौजागर-रात्रौ ऋथङ्कारं विहिताक्षक्रीडेति विचित्रमिवैतत् प्रतिभाति । परमत्रैतत् सम्भाव्यते यत् पुराणे वर्णिताया लक्ष्मीदेव्या हस्ते स्थिताक्षमालिकैव विधानस्यास्य हेतुः । किन्तु पूर्वमेतदुक्तमेव यत् साक्षमालिका तत्त्वतो रुद्राक्षमालैवास्ति, न तु द्यूताक्षाः । अतएव विधिरयं श्रुति-भारतादिस्मृतिविरुद्धः स्वार्थसिद्धयर्थं केनचित् प्रक्षिप्त इवेति समामनन्ति विद्वांसः ।

एवं च लक्ष्मीः दीपान्वितायाममावास्यायामपि प्रदोषे पूज्यते, यतस्तस्यामेव रात्रौ महाप्रलयात् परं महाशक्तिः पुनः सृष्ट्यर्थं प्रादुरभूत् ।

अथ लक्ष्मीदेव्या साकं कुबेरस्यापि शास्त्रे पूजा विहिता । कुबेरः खलु मुनेर्विश्रवसः “इडविडा”—नामधेयायां “मिलविला”—नामधेयायां वा भार्यायां जातः पुत्रः । अयं हि धनाधिपस्यम्बकसखो यक्षराजश्चास्ति । निकषा-नन्दनस्य राक्षसराजस्य रावणस्यायं वैमात्रेयो भ्राता च वर्तते । कुत्सिताङ्गः कुष्ठी

चेति कुबेर इति नाम्नायं व्यपदिश्यते । परन्तु लक्ष्मीदेव्याः भाषाकथायामुक्तं यत् कुबेरः लक्ष्मीनारायणयोः पुत्रोऽस्तीति । किमिदम् ? किं वा चास्य मूलम् ? उच्यते । धनसम्बन्धाद् धनाधिपः कुबेरोऽपि धनाधिदेवताया लक्ष्म्याः कालक्रमेण लोके पुत्रत्वं लम्बित इत्येव संगच्छते । अन्यथा यक्षराजस्य नरवाहनस्य मनुष्यधर्मणः कुबेरस्य लक्ष्मीनारायणयोः पुत्रत्वं दुरुपपादमेव विद्यते । किञ्च ऋग्वेदस्य खिले श्रीसूक्ते देवसखः (शिवसखः) इति नाम्ना कुबेरः श्रूयते “श्रीद्” इति नाम कश्चिद् ऋषिश्च लक्ष्म्याः पुत्र इति चाम्नायते । “श्रीद्” इति कुबेरस्य नामान्तरमिति च कोषतो ज्ञायते । अतः कुबेरस्यापि कथञ्चित् लक्ष्म्याः पुत्रत्वं श्रुतिसिद्धमेवास्तीति मा वोचः, यतः श्रीदस्य श्रीसूक्ते ऋषित्वेन श्रुतत्वात्, कुबेरस्य तु तथा प्रसिद्धत्वाच्चेति दिक् ।

अथ कुत्रेयं लक्ष्मीः प्रतिवसतीति प्रश्ने श्रीमहाभारते, अनुशासनपर्वणि, एकादशोऽध्याये लक्ष्मीवाक्यम्—

“वसामि नित्यं सुभगे प्रगल्भे, दक्षे नरे कर्मसु विद्यमाने ।

अक्रोधने देवपरे कृतज्ञे जितेन्द्रिये नित्यमुदोर्णसत्त्वे ॥” (६)

यथार्थमेतत् । ईदृश एव जनो लक्ष्म्याः परं भाजनं भवति । जगत्यस्मिन् समृद्धये सत्यं प्रणिधातव्यमेतदस्ति ।

अथ तन्त्र-शास्त्रे श्रीर्लक्ष्मीः कमला वा, काल्यादिमहाविद्यास्वन्यतमा विद्यते । इयं हि काञ्चनसन्निभा, सिन्दूरारुणकान्तिर्वा चकास्ति । चतुर्भिर्ग-जैर्हस्ताक्षिप्त-हिरण्यकृतघटैरासिच्यमाना, चतुर्भुजा च वर्तते । अस्या अष्टौ शक्तयः सन्ति । तासु च उषा देवी सरस्वती चान्यतमा विद्यते । यथा वैष्णवचरणप्रकाशिते कृष्णानन्दस्य तन्त्रसारे महालक्ष्मीमन्त्रप्रकरणे—

“उमाद्याः पत्रमध्यस्था शक्तीरष्टौ यजेत् क्रमात् ।

अथोमा श्रीसरस्वत्यौ दुर्गा धरणि संयुता ।

गायत्री देव्युषा चेति पद्महस्ता सुशोभना ॥ इति (पृष्ठांका १३०)

न केवलं धनार्थिना, विद्यार्थिनापि सदेयं सेव्या ध्यातव्या चार्कमण्डले इत्यपि तन्त्रसारे लक्ष्मीकवचे, लक्ष्मीप्रयोगे चोक्तम् (पृष्ठांकाः ४१९, ४७३)

अथ सरस्वत्या अपि मार्तण्डमण्डल एव ध्यानं तन्त्रसारे सरस्वतीप्रयोगे (पृष्ठांकाः ४७३) विहितम् । इयं च सरस्वती देवी शुभ्रकान्तिः, सिताब्जे निषण्णा, विद्याधिदेवता, विद्यादायिनी, सकलविभव-सिद्धिदा च प्रोक्ता । यथा सरस्वती लक्ष्म्याः शक्तिस्तथा लक्ष्मीरपि सरस्वत्यास्तनुर्वर्तते । यथा तिथितत्त्वे पञ्चमीप्रकरणे—

“लक्ष्मीर्मेधा धरा पुष्टि गौरी तुष्टिः प्रभा धृतिः :

एताभिः पाहि तनुभिरष्टाभिर्मां सरस्वति ॥” (पृष्ठा० १३८-१३९)

अपि च श्रीशब्दो यथा लक्ष्मीवाचकस्तथा सरस्वतीवाचकोऽपि । अत्र खलु तिथितत्त्वे—(पृष्ठांकाः १३६) “पञ्चम्यां श्रीरपि श्रियम् ॥” इति,

“पञ्चम्यां पूजयेत्लक्ष्मीं पुष्पधूपान्नवारिभिः ।

मस्याधारं लेखनीं च पूजयेन्न लिखेत्ततः ॥

माघे मासि सिते पक्षे पञ्चमी या श्रियः प्रिया ।

तस्यां पूर्वाह्ण एवेह कार्यः सारस्वतोत्सवः ॥”

(पृष्ठांकाः, १३६-१३८) इति च शास्त्रवचनं समुद्धृत्य,

“लक्ष्मी-सरस्वती-धी-त्रिवर्ग-सम्पद्-विभूति-शोभासु ।

उपकरण-वेशरचनासु च श्रीरिति प्रथिता ॥”

इति व्याडिकोषं च प्रदर्श्य स्मार्तेन रघुनन्दनेनापि श्रीशब्दस्य सरस्वतीपरत्वमपि सुप्रतिपादितमस्ति ।

अथैतेभ्यो वचनादिभ्यः स्पष्टमिदं प्रतीयते यद् वेदस्य काचित् सूर्यमण्डल सम्बन्धिनी प्रसिद्धैव देवी महाभाग्यात् कर्मपृथक्त्वात् पुराणे तन्त्रे च लक्ष्मीनाम्ना सरस्वतीनाम्ना च रूपभेदेन च पृथक् पूज्यते । परं नास्यनयोस्तत्त्वतः कश्चिद् भेदः । अन्यथानयोरुभयोः सूर्यमण्डलसम्बन्धः श्रीप्रभृति—नामधेयसाम्यं कर्मविशेषादिसाम्यं च नोपपद्यते ।

अथ कासौ महाभागा वैदिकी देवी या पुराणे तन्त्रे च लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती च सञ्जातेति प्रश्ने प्रोच्यते—वैदिकी उषा एव सा देवता चक्रास्ति । कथम् ? श्रूयताम् । ऋग्वेदे लक्ष्मीशब्दः खलु “सक्तुमिव तितउना” इत्यादिमन्त्रे “भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि ।” (१०-७१-२) इत्यत्र सकृदेव श्रूयते । न तत्रास्ति

श्रीसूक्तं न वा लक्ष्मीसूक्तम् । यत्सरस्वतीसूक्तम् ऋग्वेदे दृश्यते तत्तु नदीपरं न तु विद्यादेवी परमिति तु निर्विवादमेव । परं तत्र खिलभागे श्रीसूक्तमेकमवश्यं वर्तते । तत्तु पश्चात् संयोजितमिति तस्य खिलनाम्ना सिद्धमेव । परन्तु ऋग्वेदे भगवती उषादेवी खलु सुप्रसिद्धा । सा च “हिरण्यवर्णा” (७-७०-२) “शुभ्रा” (४-५१-६) चेति, “रेवती” (३-६१-६) “प्रचेताश्चेति” (३-६१-१), “सूर्यस्य योषा” (७-७५-५) चेति च वर्ण्यते । अतएव दृश्यते यत् उषा लक्ष्मीवत् सुवर्णवर्णा, सरस्वतीवत् शुभ्रवर्णा च । इयं न केवलं धनाधिदेवता, ज्ञानाधिदेवता च । लक्ष्मीवदस्याः प्रधानं कर्म न केवलं धनदानं, परन्तु सरस्वतीवत् ज्ञानदानं च । इयं च सूर्यस्य पत्नी । अतोऽस्या अपरं नाम “सूर्या” इति श्रूयते । अत्र यास्कः—“सूर्या सूर्यस्य पत्नी । एषैवाभिसृष्टकालतमा ।” (निरुक्तम्, १२-७-२) अस्य व्याख्याने दुर्गाः—“एषैव उषाः अभिसृष्टकालतमा यथा सूर्यस्योदयकालं प्रत्यभिसृष्टतमा भवति गततमा भवति, तथा तथा सैषा उषाः सूर्या सम्पद्यते ।” इत्थमवदातमेतद् यत् उषा देवी, वैदिकस्य विष्णोःपत्नी, ध्यानादिसौकर्यार्थं पूजादिसौकर्यार्थं च, सुवर्णवर्णेन समं सुवर्णादिरूपस्य धनस्य, शुभ्रवर्णेन च समं निर्मलस्य ज्ञानस्य च संयोजनेन, पुराणे तन्त्रे च लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती च सम्पन्ना । तेन च, वेदे सत्यामपि प्रसिद्धयौ, उषादेवी पुराणे तन्त्रे च, तेन रूपेण न पूज्यते न वा दृश्यते, यतः खल्वियं तत्र रूपान्तरमेव प्राप्ता, अतएव पुनस्तत्र उषोरूपेणाविर्भावस्यावश्यकतैव नालोक्यते । मतस्यास्य पुष्टिः खलु ऋग्वेदस्य खिलात् श्रीसूक्तात् सुतरां जायते । तथा च श्रीसूक्ते श्रूयते—

“चन्द्रां हिरण्मयीं लक्ष्मीं जातवेदो म आवह ।”

अन्यच्च—“श्रियं देवीमुपह्वये ।”

अपरं च—“आदित्यवर्णे ।”

किञ्च—“सूर्या हिरण्मयीं लक्ष्मीं जातवेदो म आवह ।”

अपि च—महालक्ष्म्यै च विद्महे विष्णुपत्न्यै च धीमहि । तन्नो लक्ष्मीः प्रचोदयात् ।

अथैतेभ्यः श्रीसूक्तश्रुतिवाक्येभ्यो विज्ञायते यत् श्रीलक्ष्मीर्महालक्ष्मीश्चैका एव देवता । इयं हि हिरण्यवर्णा, आदित्यवर्णा, शुभ्रवर्णा च । इयं पुनः सूर्यस्य पत्नी सूर्या, विष्णुपत्नी च ।

एवञ्चानेन लक्ष्म्या वैशिष्ट्येन सममत्र द्रष्टव्यं यन्महाभागा भगवती उषा-
देव्यपि नभसि, प्रकृत्या, प्रतिदिनं, प्रत्युषः, हिरण्यवर्णा, ततश्चादित्यवर्णा,
तदनन्तरं च शुभ्रवर्णा समालोक्यते । इयं पुनर्मध्याकाशवर्तिनी विष्णुसंज्ञकस्य
सूर्यस्य पत्नी सूर्या इति च श्रूयते । अपि च भगवतीयं विभातसमये सवनादिकर्मसु
प्रेरणाद् धनं, ततश्च स्वाध्यायादिकर्मसु प्रेरणाच्च ज्ञानं जनयति । अतएव
इयमेव वर्णक्रमादिभेदाद् उषसि लक्ष्मीरूपं, ततश्च सरस्वतीरूपं प्रतिपद्यते तेन च
लक्ष्मीसरस्वत्योः सूर्यमण्डलसम्बन्धिदेवतात्वं, परस्परशक्तित्वं, नामाद्यभेदश्चोप-
पद्यते । एवञ्च लक्ष्म्याः काञ्चनकान्तित्वं, सिन्दूरारुणकान्तित्वं च, तथा
प्रभातकिरणतोयैर्दिग्गजासिच्यमानमूर्तित्वम्, उषसः शक्तित्वं च सर्वं सुसमञ्जसमेव
भवति । अपरं च तमः-समुद्रात् प्रातरुषसः प्रादुर्भाव एव समुद्रमन्थनात्
लक्ष्म्या आविर्भावरूपेण पुराणे वर्णित एव इति यत् तदपि सुवचमेव भवति ।
इत्थं च “इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम्” इति श्रुत्या ऋग्वेदस्थया
(१-२२-१७) प्रतिपादितो मध्याकाशवर्तिसूर्याभिन्नो विष्णुरेव पुराणे उषसः
खल्वभिन्नाया लक्ष्म्याः सरस्वत्याश्च पतिरूपेणोपवर्ण्यते । अथ किं स्वरूपः
खलु पौराणिकोऽयं विष्णुरिति प्रश्ने प्रसिद्धायां पूजापद्धतौ विष्णोर्ध्यानं यथा—

“विष्णुं पीतवाससं चतुर्भुजं वनमालाविभूषितम् ।

लक्ष्मीसरस्वतीकान्तं गरुडासनमाश्रमे” ॥

एवं च पौराणिकस्य विष्णोः सूर्याभिन्नत्वं विष्णोः रूपान्तरभूतस्य नारायणस्य
प्रसिद्धात् ध्यानात् सम्यक् प्रतीयते । यथा—

“ध्येयः सदा सवितृमण्डलमध्यवर्ती नारायणः” । इति ।

अपि च—“इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे” इति ऋग्वेद-श्रुतौ विष्णोस्त्रिधा पदनिधानं
खलु शाकपुण्यादिभिर्मनीषिभिर्भिरूपेणैवाकलितं वर्णितं च । अथ एतदेव
विष्णोः पदत्रयनिधानं किञ्चिद् रूपान्तरं पुराणे वामनबलिसंवादे धृतवामनरूपे

विष्णौ प्राप्तम् । अतएव देव्या उषसः पतिर्वैदिको विष्णुरेव पुराणे तन्त्रे च उषसस्तावदभिन्नाया लक्ष्म्याः सरस्वत्याश्च वल्लभत्वमवाप्त इत्यादि सर्वं शास्त्रदृष्ट्या सुश्लिष्टमेवोपपन्नम् ।

अथ लौकिकदृष्ट्या देव्या उषसः पुराणे तन्त्रे च रूपद्वयस्य किं कारणमित्यस्य निपुणं विचारे क्रियमाणे दृश्यतेऽस्माभिर्यत् सम्प्रदायादि-विद्वेषादिकमप्यत्र किल कारणं भवेत् । पुरा पौराणिकयुगप्रारम्भे भारतवर्षे धनिसम्प्रदायस्य ज्ञानिसम्प्रदायस्य च मध्ये तथा नाम वैमनस्यमासीद् यथा सम्प्रदायद्वयेन न पुनर्यथा पुरा धनाय ज्ञानाय च एकस्या एव देवताया उषसः समभ्यर्चनं सम्भवमभूत् । तेन च महाभाग्यात् कर्मपृथक्त्वाद्वा लक्ष्मीरूपेण सरस्वतीरूपेण च रूपद्वयमुषसः सम्प्रदायद्वयेन स्वार्थसिद्धये प्रकल्पितम् । एवं च सपत्नीत्वेन लक्ष्म्याः सरस्वत्याश्च कल्पनया तयोरेकत्रावस्थानं खलु दुष्करमिव सम्पद्यत । इत्थं धनिसम्प्रदायस्य ज्ञानिसम्प्रदायस्य च मध्ये सौमनस्याभावेन देवताभेदाद् देशस्य, समाजस्य, जनगणस्य च समभ्युदयो व्याहत एव समजनि । इदमवितथं यद्गनयोः सम्प्रदाययोर्मध्ये सौहार्दं सत्येव सर्वत्र भद्रमनामयं शान्तिश्च सम्भवति । तदेव च देशस्य समाजस्य च नेतृणां कवीनां च परमं काम्यमासीत् । परं तत्तथा तदानावर्तत । एतत्सर्वं संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य सम्यग्ध्ययनादवदातमेव सम्पद्यते । बहोः कालात्पूर्वमाविर्भूतेन कविना कालिदासेनापि सर्वमेतदन्तराऽन्तरा समासेन सुष्ठु प्रकटीकृतम् । तथा चोक्तं तेन विक्रमोर्वशीये—

“परस्परविरोधिन्योरेकसंश्रयदुर्लभम् ।

सङ्गतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्भूयादुद्भूतये सताम् ॥ (५-२४)

इत्थं धनिज्ञानिसम्प्रदायविरोधोऽपि तावदुषसः पौराणिके युगे मूर्तिद्वयग्रहणस्य निदानान्तरं स्यादिति मतं युक्तियुक्तमिव प्रतिभाति ।

अथ लक्ष्म्याः किं तत्त्वं, किं वा रहस्यमिति प्रश्ने वदामो यदियं लक्ष्मीः खलु तत्त्वतः कालशक्तेः काल्याः कर्मभेदात् कमलामूर्त्या रूपान्तरमेवास्ति । इयं भगवतः सूर्यस्य पराशक्तिः, पत्नीरूपा, सरस्वत्यभिन्ना, श्रीमदुषसः परिणामभूता, भद्रकाली, धनारोग्यविद्यानन्दकरी, परमेश्वरी, विभातसमये प्रतिदिनमाविर्भूय,

सर्वेभ्यः सुतरां श्रेयः प्रेष्यश्च वितरति । एषा खलु यथार्थतो नैव स्त्री न वा
पुमान् वर्तते तथापि महादेवीयं साधकानां साधनादिसौकर्यार्थं, मातृरूपेणानिशं
ध्यायते पूज्यते च । अस्याः स्वरूपस्यास्य विज्ञानेन साधकस्य शक्यभिन्न
ब्रह्मरूपत्वमेव सिध्यति । अथैतदेव भगवत्या लक्ष्म्यास्तत्त्वं रहस्यं च विभाति ।

पुराण-रत्नानि

सम्पदां हेतुभूता च विपत्तिः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।

विना विपत्तेर्महिमा केषां पद्मे भवेद्भवे ॥

(ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त०, आनन्दाश्रम०, २।६।९०)

चेदस्ति शक्तिर्द्रव्यदाने ततस्ते,

दातव्यमेवार्थिने किं विचार्यम् ।

नो चेत्सन्तः परकार्याणि कुर्यु-

र्वाग्भिर्मनोभिः कृतिभिस्तथैव ॥

(ब्रह्मपुराण, वैकटेश्वर०, गौत० मा०, ४०।३९)

THE GEOGRAPHICAL TEXT OF THE PURĀNAS :
A FURTHER CRITICAL STUDY.

By C. A. LEWIS

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे श्री 'लैविस' उपाह्वेन आङ्ग्लविदुषा पुराण-भुवनकोशप्रकरणेषु प्रोक्तानां जनपदानां जातीनां च विषये गवेषणापूर्णा विमर्शः कृतः । पुराणेषु मध्यदेश-उदीच्य-प्राच्य-दक्षिणापथ-अपरान्त-विन्ध्य-हिमालयवर्तिनां जनपदानां वर्णनमुपलभ्यते । तत्र द्विविधो भुवनकोशग्रन्थः पुराणेषु प्राप्यते - क्वचित् संक्षिप्तः, क्वचिच्च विस्तृतः । संक्षिप्तग्रन्थस्य विस्तृतग्रन्थे एवान्तर्भूतत्वात् भुवनकोशस्य विस्तृतग्रन्थ एवात्र विचार्यते । जर्मनीदेशीयेन श्रीकिरफिलमहोदयेन पुराणान्तर्गत-भुवनकोश-ग्रन्थानां यः पाठो निर्धारितः, श्रीदिनेशचन्द्रसरकारमहोदयेन च तथैव भुवनकोशग्रन्थानां यः पाठो निर्णीतः, तावुभौ पाठौ समाश्रित्य लेखकमहोदयेनात्र भुवनकोशविषयका विचाराः प्रकटीकृताः, उभाभ्यां विद्वद्भ्यां निर्धारितानां पाठानां च सम्यक् समालोचनं विधाय शुद्धपाठ-विषये स्वमतोऽपि प्रदर्शितः । भुवनकोशप्रकरणेषु प्रोक्तानां जनपदानां च कैश्चिदाधुनिकैर्जनपदैः सहाभेदोऽपि तेन प्रतिपादितः । एतादृशेऽभेद-प्रतिपादने पाठनिर्धारणे च विदुषा लेखकेन बहूनां पुराणोत्तर-प्राचीनग्रन्थानां प्रमाणान्यप्युद्धृतानि ।]

The objective of this essay will be a detailed analysis and comparative study of the so-called Bhuvana-kosa geographical lists which occur in several of the purānas. As is well known, in these texts the various peoples are grouped according to their position into one of seven specific divisions, i.e. the Central division (Madhya-deśa), the Northern (Uttarāpatha), the Eastern (Pīācyā), the Southern (Dakṣiṇāpatha), the Western (Aparānta), the Vindhya and the Himalayan. There are two types of Bhuvana-kośa text, the first consisting of an extremely short list of names, but specifying the directions, while the second comprises a much longer text with the same directions as the shorter text but with the welcome addition of many more names. The sources for the shorter text are Viṣṇu-purāṇa II. 3. 1-19; Kūrma-purāṇa I. 47. 20-42; Śiva-purāṇa 18. 1-15; and Agni-purāṇa 118, 1-8. The longer text occurs in Mār-

kaṇḍeya-purāṇa 57. 32-58; Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa I. 16. 40-69; Matsya-purāṇa 114. 34-57; Vāyu-purāṇa 45. 109-137; Brahma-purāṇa 27. 41-70; and Vāmana-purāṇa 13. 36-58. As the longer texts include all the geographical data of the shorter texts, they alone need to be examined.

The great value of these Bhuvana-kośa lists as a source for the study of ancient Indian geography was recognised as long ago as 1885 by Burgess who suggested that lists of names contained in the purāṇas should be prepared "as a means to the better elucidation of the ancient geography of India" (I. A. XIV. 319-322). Before this can be achieved however, there are several intrinsic defects in the texts themselves, which will considerably diminish their value unless they can be removed, the foremost being the widespread textual corruption which must be eliminated before any identification with modern place-names can be attempted. A comparison of the different purāṇic texts makes it clear that despite their considerable individual variations of reading they are all nevertheless derived from one original source. Accordingly, both W. Kirfel (*Das Purāṇa von Weltgebaude*. Bonn. 1954. p. 112ff.)¹ and D. C. Sircar (I.H.Q. xxi. p. 267 ff.) have made independent critical studies of the geographical purāṇic texts, and have established their own texts which however not infrequently differ from one another. The purpose of the present article therefore is to go one step further by a comparative study of the results of these two scholars both in the light of their own conclusions and those able to be made by a comparison of their texts with any relevant external evidence. The importance of the investigation of other independent geographical sources in an effort to discover names similar to these that occur in one or more of the Bhuvana-Kośa lists cannot be stressed too highly, for the discovery of such a name in another context at once establishes that it is very probably authentic and not a product of textual corruption.

1. This text is a slightly different version from that originally published in an earlier critical study by the same author, i.e. *Bhāratavarṣa (Indien) Textgeschichtliche Darstellung sweier geographischen purāṇa-Texte nebst Übersetzung*. Stuttgart. 1931.

This being the case only then may we proceed to attempt to identify it with the name of some modern locality if sufficient philological or geographical data is available for this purpose.

Since it would be a cumbrous procedure to list both the texts of Kirfel and Sircar in full and then compare and contrast them, it has been thought more practicable to divide them into various sections according to the directions they employ, and so discuss all the geographical names of one specific division at the same time. This method, it is hoped, will result in making the materials less unwieldy to handle and in facilitating easier reference to them. As regards the identification of these tribal names only the salient features supporting the identification will be given; for more detailed information one may consult the geographical dictionaries of N. L. Dey² and B. C. Law³ or the recently published study by S. B. Chaudhuri⁴. The primary aim of the present thesis is to establish the correct text as far as is practicable.

MADHYA-DEŚĀ

Kirfel's Text

tāsv ime : Kuru-Pāñcālāḥ Śalvā Mādreya-Jāṅgalāḥ
 Śurasenā Bhadrakārā Bodhāḥ saha-Paṭaccarāḥ
 Matsyāḥ Kuśalyāḥ Kulyās ca Kuntalāḥ Kāśi-Kośalāḥ
 Atharvās ca Kaliṅgās ca Magadhās ca Vṛkaiḥ saha
 Madhyadeśyā janapadāḥ prāyaśo 'mī prakīrtitāḥ

Sircar's Text

tāsv ime Kuru-Pāñcālāḥ Śalvās caiva sa-Jāṅgalāḥ
 Śurasenā Bhadrakārā Bodhāḥ saha-Paṭaccarāḥ
 (Yodhāḥ saha—, Yaudheyāḥ sa—)
 Matsyāḥ Kirātāḥ Kulyās ca Kuntayāḥ Kāśi-Kośalāḥ
 Āvantās ca Bhulīṅgās ca Magadhās cĀndhakaiḥ saha
 Madhyadeśyā janapadāḥ prāyaśo 'mī prakīrtitāḥ

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2. N. L. Dey. The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India. Second edition. London, 1927.
 3. B. C. Law. Historical Geography of Ancient India. Paris, 1954.
 4. S. B. Chaudhuri. Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India. Part I Calcutta, 1955.

An examination of the above texts shows the following variations ;

(1) K. Mādreya. S. caiva sa ; (2) K. Bodha. S. Bodha, but ? Yodha/Yaudheya ; (3) K. Kuśalya. S. Kirāta ; (4) K. Kuntala. S. Kunti ; (5) K. Atharva. S. Āvanta ; (6) K. Kaliṅga. S. Bhuliṅga ; (7) K. Vṛka. S. Andhaka.

(1) Mādreya/caiva sa. Mādreya is mentioned by two independent sources, the Mahābhārata (6.10.37) where it is placed in exactly the same position as in Kirfel's text between the Śālvas and the Jāṅgalas, and the Pariśiṣṭa to the Atharva-veda (56.4.) where it is located in the South-East between, Sajjapura and Tāmralipta (mod. Tamluk in the Midnapur District of W. Bengal). In view of the conflicting positions assigned to the Mādreyas by the Purāṇic and Pariśiṣṭa texts one must either assume that they migrated from Madhya-deśa to Bengal at some period, or alternately the existence of two separate tribes of Mādreya may also be regarded as a metonymic of Nakula and Sahadeva, i.e. sons of Mādrī. Accordingly it seems preferable to follow Kirfel's text and retain Mādreya, as two independent texts establish that a tribe of such a name did exist.

(2) Bodha/Bodha (? Yodha or Yaudheya). Sircar's efforts to include the Yaudheyas in the text are unnecessary. The authenticity of the Bodhas is established by the indisputable authority of Patañjali, who twice mentions them in association with the Audumbaras (MB, II. 4. 58, I. 4. 89). As the latter are known from the evidence of the Kāśikā commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī IV. 1. 173 and Yādavāprakāśa's Vaijayantī (p. 37. śl. 38) to be a member of the Śālva confederacy the location of Bodhas in Madhya-deśa is decisive. The Bodhas are also mentioned along with the Śurasenas, Śālvas, Bhadrakāras and Paṭaccaras as one of the tribes who fled westwards from fear of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha. Accordingly there is no need whatever to attempt to remove the Bodhas from this passage in favour of the Yaudheyas.

(3) Kuśalya / Kirāta. The crux here is far more complicated than in either of the two preceding cases, and the consequent uncertainty is reflected in the fact that each purāṇic list gives a different reading, i. e. Bḍ. (Followed by Kirfel) Kuśalya ; Mt. (followed by Sircar) Kirāta ; Mk. Aśvakūṭa ; Vā. Kisaṣṇa / Kisaṣṭa ; Br. Mukuṭa ; Vām. omits. Even greater variations are found in the corresponding section of the Mahābhārata geographical list where the editor of the Poona Critical Edition has adopted the reading Sukatya. Variants include Sukuṭta, Sakuṭta, Sunkanta; Kucanḍa, Kucāṭta, Kucāṭta, Kucadlya and Kucalya. Neither Kirfel's nor Sircar's text appears satisfactory. The Kāśyapa-saṁhitā (25. 9.) has a reading Kauśalya which is very similar to Kirfel's, but locates it in the East between Tāmralipta and Kaliṅga. Moreover what is precisely to be understood by Kuśalya is far from clear. At first sight it would appear to have some connection with Kośala, but this name is actually mentioned at the end of the same line. Kuśalya therefore seems a somewhat dubious reading. Sircar's variant, Kirāta, is at least free from obscurity, for this tribe is one of the best known of Ancient India. The difficulty in this case arises from its location in the Central Division. The usual location of this tribe is on the North-Eastern frontiers of India and Nepal, where its name is clearly preserved by the modern Kirantis. Its location in Madhyadeśa however is extremely improbable, and is most likely to be the result of a copyist's effort to "correct" the text by changing a name unknown to him into a well known one without considering its geographical position at all.

Fortunately evidence supplied by the Vaijayantī (p. 38. śl. 40) and the Jain geographical lists collated by Kirfel (Die Kosmographie der Inder p. 227) seems to provide a solution of the problem. The Vaijayantī mentions a tribal name, Kusaṭa, and locates it in Madhya-deśa, while the Jain texts refer to a country called Kuśārtha or Kusaṭṭha whose capital was called Saurika or Seripura. The close similarity in form between Jain Kuśārtha or Kusaṭṭha, Vaijayantī Kusaṭa, and the variants

found in certain manuscripts copies of the geographical catalogue of the Mahābhārata Kucāṭṭa Kucāṭṭa indicates that the original reading was possibly Kucāṭṭa. The Jain texts do not unfortunately specify the direction in which this tribe is to be located, but its association with Kāśi, Kośala, Kuru, Pāñcāla and Jaṅgala is a clear indication that it must belong to Madhya-deśa, an hypothesis which is supported by the Vaijayantī and Mahābhārata passages.

(4) Kuntala / Kunti. The difficulty in establishing the correct text here is of a completely different nature to the preceding one. In this case the problem is not to determine the form of the name but to decide which of two well known names is the more probable reading, a point which can only be solved by reference to their location. The evidence for a tribe of Kuntalas in Madhya deśa is very doubtful. Pargiter (Mārkp. trans. p. 308) following Cunningham, locates them at Kuntala near Chanour to the south of Banaras, an identification accepted by S. B. Chaudhuri in his recent study "Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India" (p. 59). Such an identification however only rests on similarity of form between the ancient and modern name and must therefore be disregarded. The evidence of both literary texts and epigraphy prove that the Kuntalas occupied the modern Kanarese speaking districts of Mysore. The Kuntis on the other hand are definitely located by a passage of the Mahābhārata on the banks of the Aśvanadī river, a tributary of the Carmanvatī (mod. Chambal) and have accordingly been identified with Kontwar in Gwalior State by Agrawala. (M. B. Vanap. ch. 303. India as known to Pāṇini. p. 66). Such a position would enable them to be included within Madhya-deśa. Moreover the Garuḍa-purāṇa (55. 12.) also locates them in the Central Division. While in the geographical section of the Mahābhārata and Padma-purāṇa both Kuntala and Kunti are found. Accordingly Sircar's reading may be accepted.

(5) Atharva / Āvanta. Neither Kirfel's nor Sircar's text seem satisfactory. The authenticity of the Atharvas cannot

be established from any independent text and so the form is likely to be the result of textual corruption. Sircar connects the Āvantas with the Avantis, who lived in West Malwa and had their capital at Ujjain. The latter are however mentioned later on in the Bhuvanakośa lists as a Vindhya people (e. g. Mārkp. 57. 55). Unless therefore we are to assume an "overlapping" of the Central and Vindhyan division, a thing for which there is no evidence, Avanti must be regarded as out of place in the present context. Once again considerable help in restoring a more plausible name than Atharva or Āvanta is supplied by the Vaijayantī which mentions, a form Pṛthava (p. 38. śl. 4). This may be connected with the Pṛthūdaka (mod. Pehoa) of Rājaśekhara's Kāvyaṃmāmsā, which specifies it as the boundary separating Madhya-deśa from Uttarāpatha. The Vāyu-purāṇa from Arthapa, would also suggest that a 'p' formed part of the original name.

(6) Kaliṅga / Bhuliṅga. Sircar's choice of Bhuliṅga is very attractive. Bhuliṅga can certainly be placed within Madhya-deśa, as both the Kāśikā⁵ commentary on Pāṇini IV. 1. 173 and the Vaijayantī (p. 38. śl. 39) refer to it as a member of the Śālvas' confederacy so that no difficulty arises with regard to its location within Madhya-deśa. A difficulty however does arise from the fact that, as the Śālvas, have just been mentioned in the text, there appears to be no logical reason for singling out one of the members of the confederacy and repeating it. On the other hand a similar anomaly is found in the *Kūrmavibhāga* texts (BS. XIV. 2-4) where, while the Śālvas are again located in the Central Division, the Audumbaras, who according to the Kāśikā and the Vaijayantī are also a branch of the Śālvas, are again separately mentioned. Similarly in the

5. Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV. 1. 173.

Udumbarās Tilakhalā Madrakāra Yugandharāḥ
Bhuliṅgāḥ Śaradaṇḍās ca ṣaṭ Śālvāvayavā ime

The Vaijayantī's text is slightly corrupt.

Śālvās tu Kārakutsiyās teṣāṃ tv avayavāḥ pare
Udumbarās Tilakhalā Mahākārā Yugandharāḥ
Huliṅgāḥ Śaradaṇḍās ca ṣaṭ Śālvāvayavā ime

Mahābhārata, the Śālvās and Yugandhāras are both mentioned. Accordingly though there is a degree of tautology involved in accepting the reading Bhuliṅga, the evidence of other texts shows that this cannot be regarded as a serious objection for its inclusion in the text. On the other hand Kirfel's choice of Kaliṅga presents considerable difficulty because there is no evidence for assuming that this important tribe lived at any time within the limits of Madhya-deśa. Though there is considerable divergence of opinion over the exact area they occupied, literary and epigraphic sources agree in placing them in Orissa.

(7) Vṛka/Andhaka. The weight of the evidence of the purāṇic lists is preponderately in favour of Vṛka, for only the Matsya-purāṇa reads Andhaka. Vṛka may be connected with the Vṛkashala of the Mahābhārata (V. 84. 1.) which locates it a short distance to the south of Hastināpura.

(8) Though both Kirfel and Sircar adopt the reading *Magadha*, its inclusion in Madhya-deśa is by no means free from difficulties, as this well-known kingdom is also located in the later on in these Bhuvana-kośa lists (e.g. Märkp. 57.44.) and also by the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (G.O.S. p. 93) which specifies Banaras as the boundary between Madhya-deśa and Pūrva-deśa. As Magadha is to be identified with the Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar to the East of Banaras, it is difficult to understand how it can be included in Madhya-deśa. Moreover the reading Magadha is only to be found in the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu-purāṇas. Kirfel himself was evidently not altogether satisfied with its accuracy at the time of writing his earlier study, Bhāratavarṣa, and adds a footnote⁶ that perhaps the reading Malaja (i.e. mod. Shahabad District, west of the Sone) should be adopted. B.C. Law (A.B.O.R.I 1936 p. 217ff.) also rejected Magadha and has been followed quite recently by S. B. Chaudhuri who makes the original suggestion that the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa variant, Malaka, is a slight corruption of

6. p. 58. n. 92. Vileicht ist hier Malaja zu lesen; diese bewohnten den Distrikt Shahābād, westlich des Flusses Sone.

Mulaka, a people who are frequently associated with the well known Aśmakas. Chaudhuri's hypothesis however depends on the location of the Aśmakas in Madhya-deśa for which he cites the evidence of the Kūrma-vibhāga text of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (58. 7.). A comparison of this text with the parallel passages of the Br̥hatsamhitā and Parāśara shows that Aśmaka is a variant for Aśvattha. The authenticity of the form Aśvattha is confirmed by the gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini IV. 2. 80. n. 5. Aśmaka on the other hand is a well known name but cannot be included in Madhya-deśa, as elsewhere they are located in the North-West (BS. XIV.22) or in the South (Mārkp. 57.48.) where they may be identified with the region around Paithan on the north bank of the Godāvarī. Accordingly Mulika cannot be accepted as reading here for the same reasons as Magadha.

The results of our investigation of the lists of Madhya-deśa tribes now being completed, we may tabulate our results in the form of a new text. All *underlined names* will denote new readings different from those of Kirfel and Sircar; a *dotted underlining* will show where a choice has been made between the two. This procedure will also be continued throughout this article with regard to the other geographical divisions with the result that a new text will be established.

tāsv ime Kuru-Pāñcālāḥ Śālvā Mādreya-Jāṅgalāḥ
.....

Śūrasenā Bhadrakārā Bodhāḥ saha-Paṭaccarāḥ
.....

Matsyāḥ Kuṣaṭṭiḥ Kulyāś ca Kuntayaḥ Kāśi-Kośalāḥ
.....

Pr̥thavaś ca Bhuliṅgās ca. Magadhās ca Vṛkaiḥ saha
.....

Madhyadeśyā janapadāḥ prāyaśo 'mi prakīrtitāḥ

It now remains to identify briefly the above mentioned names and so establish that they can be located within Madhya.deśa :

(1) Kuru. mod. Thaneswar between the Sarsuti and Chitang rivers. Capitals Hāstinapura in Meerut District and Indraprastha. (mod. Indarpat near Delhi.)

(2) Pāñcāla. mod. Bareilly and Farrukhābād Districts.

Capitals Abichattrā (mod. Ramnagar) and Kāmpilya (mod. Kampil).

(3) Śālva. mod. Jaipur and Alwar according to Cunningham (A. R. A. S. I. XX. p. 120). Pargiter (Mārkp. trans. p. 349) and McCrindle (Ptolemy p. 163) would locate them on the west side of the Aravalli Hills.

(4) Mādreya. Possibly the territory adjoining the Śālvās where the descendants of one of the sons of Mādri, i. e. Sahadeva or Nakula, set up a small independent kingdom.

(5) Jāṅgala. This territory, also known as Kuru-Jāṅgala, may be identified with the wooded districts to the east of Kurukṣetra between the Ganges and Uttara-Pāñcāla.

(6). Śurasena. They are the Surasenoī of Arrian, and may be located in the mod. Mathura District. Their capital, Mathurā, may be identified with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the modern town of Mathura. Their territory therefore lay to the south of the Kuru country and to the Matsyas.

(7) Bhadrakāra. Their identity is uncertain. Most scholars⁷ would connect them with the Madrakāras, a branch of the Śālvās. This however is by no means certain, for the evidence of the Kūrma-vibhāga⁸ text of the Bṛhatsamītā clearly implies that the Bhadrās and Madras were two separate tribes. Accordingly the Bhadrakāras are more likely to be connected with the Bhadrās rather than the Madras, and the Kūrma-vibhāga text does actually mention a group of Bhadrās as living in Madhya-deśa, with which the Bhadrakāras may well be identical. Some support for this view is also supplied by the Pariśiṣṭa to the Atharva-Veda, which refers to a people called the Bhadrakas in association with the Godhas (i. e. corrupt for Bodha), Madhya-deśa and the Kurus (L. 2. 4.) It therefore appears highly probable that the Bhadrakāras of the Purāṇas,

7 e. g. Agrawala. *India as known to Pāṇini*. p. 57; Przyluski. *J. A.* 1929. p. 7.; Sircar. *IHQ.* XXI. p. 300. For opposite view see Chaudhuri. *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*. Part. 1. p. 23.

8. Bhadra. BS. XIV. 2 (in Madhya deśa); XIV. 7 (in East); XIV. 16 (in South). Madra. BS. XIV. 22. (in North); XIV. 27 (in North-West).

the Bhadrakas of the Pariśiṣṭa, and the Bhadras of the Br̥hatsamhitā XIV. 2 are identical. Modern Bhadra, situated on the Ghaggar near the north-east border of Bikaner may mark the site of their original home.

(8) Bodha. mod. East Punjab north of Indarpat.

(9) Paṭaccara. mod. Allahabad and Banda Districts.

(10) Matsya. mod. Alwar and Jaipur. Capital Vairāṅgara (Mod. Bairat 100 miles S-W of Delhi and 40 miles N of Jaipur).

(11) Kuṣaṭṭa. Location uncertain.

(12) Kulya. Possibly the Kol⁹ of Muslim historians. i.e. mod. Aligarh and Bareilly Districts.

(13) Kunti. According to the evidence of Mahābhārata 3.292.25 the Kuntis must be located to the south of Mathurā on the bank of the Aśvanadī, a tributary of the Carmanvatī (mod. Chambal).

(14) Kāśi. mod. Banaras District. Kāśi was properly the name of the country of which Vārāṅasī (Banaras City) was the capital.

(15) Kośala. This Kośala is Uttara-Kośala with its capital at Ayodhyā on the Sarayū. mod. Oudh.

(16) Pṛthu. The Pṛthus may be regarded as the inhabitants of Pṛthūdaka. i. e. mod. Pehoa in the Karnal District of the Punjab.

(17) Bhuliṅga. Ptolemy refers to them as Bolingai (VII. 1.69), but wrongly locates them east of the Vindhyas. According to Pliny (N. H. VI. 20) they may be placed to the north-west of the Aravallis.

(18) ? Magadha. As stated, the text is very uncertain here. Magadha must be identified with Patna and Gaya Districts of Bihar.

(19) Vṛka. This tribe is mentioned by Pāṇini (V. 3. 115) as a sangha. Agrawala¹⁰ connects it with the Varkana of the

9. Chaudhuri. p. 53-59.

10. Agrawal. p. 434. Behistun Law of Darius col. II. 1. 16.

Behistun Inscription of Darius and locates it in Hyrcania, but such an identification is untenable if the Vṛkas of Pāṇini are the same as those of the Purāṇas. as is very likely. A more probable place for their location is Vṛkasthala, which is only a short distance south of Hastināpura according to the Mahābhārata (V. 84. 1.). Chaudhuri¹¹ would connect them with the Varikas mentioned in the Bijayagarh (Near Byana in Bharatpur State) inscription of Viṣṇu-vardhana dated 372 A. D., and so locate them in Bharatpur.

UTTARĀPATHA.

Kirfel's Text.

Bāhlikā Vāṭadhānās ca Ābhirāḥ Kālatoyakāḥ
 Aparāntās ca Śūdrās ca Pallavās Carmakhaṇḍikāḥ
 Gāndhārā Yavanās caiva Sindhu-Sauvira-Madrakāḥ
 Śakā Druhāḥ Kulindās ca Pāradā Hāramūrtikāḥ
 Ramaṭhāḥ Kaṇṭakārās ca Kekayā Daśamālikāḥ
 Kṣatriyopaniveśās ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca
 Kāambojā Daradās caiva Barbarā Aṅgalaukikāḥ
 Cimās caiva Tuṣārās ca Pahlavā Bāhyatodarāḥ
 Ātreyaś ca Bharadvājāḥ Prasthalās ca Daserakāḥ
 Lampākās Talagānās ca Sainikāḥ saha Jāṅgalaiḥ
 Apagās cĀlimadrās ca Kirātānaṃ ca jātayah
 Tomarā Hāmsamārgās ca Kāśmirās Taṅgaṇās tathā
 Cūlikās Cāhukās caiva Hūṇa-Darvās tathāiva ca
 ete deśā udīcyās tu,

Sircar's Text.

Vāhlikā Vāṭadhānās ca Ābhirāḥ Kālatoyakāḥ
 Aparāntās ca (Parāntās caiva ?) Śū-(Kṣu-?) drāśca
 Pahlavās Carmakhaṇḍikāḥ
 Gāndhārā Yavanās caiva Sindhu-Sauvira-Madrakāḥ
 Śatadrujāḥ Kuṇindās ca Pāradā Hārahūṇakā
 Ramaṭhāḥ Kaṇṭakārās ca Kaikeyā Daśamānakāḥ
 Kṣatriyopaniveśās ca tathā śūdrakulāni ca
 Kāambojā Daradās caiva Varvarā Aṅgalaukikāḥ
 Cinās caiva Tuṣārās ca bahulā bāhyato narāḥ

11. Chaudhuri p. 80, CII, III, 253.

Kṣatrayoṭha Bharadvājāḥ Prasthalāś ca Daserakāḥ
Lampākās Tala-(ś cĀva-?) gānās ca Cūlikā Jāguḍaiḥ saha
Aupadhā (Aurasā ?)-ś CĀnibhadrās ca Kirātānām ca
jātayaḥ

Tomarā Haṁsamārgās ca Kāśmīrās Taṅgaṇās tathā
Kulūtās Cāhu-(Bāhi-?)kās caiva Ūṛṇā (Hūṇā ?) Darvās
tathaiva ca
ete deśā udīcyās tu

An analysis of the above texts show the following variations :

- (1) K. Bāhlika. S. Vāhlika ; (2) K. Aparānta. S. ? Parānta ;
(3) K. Śūdra. S. ? Kṣudra ; (4). K. Pallava. S. Pahlava ;
(5) K. Śaka, Druha. S. Śatadruja ; (6) K. Kulinda. S. Kuṇinda
(7) K. Hāramūrtika. S. Hārahūṇaka ; (8) K. Kekaya ; S. Kaikeya ;
(9) K. Daśamālika ; S. Daśamānaka ; (10) K. vaiśya. S. tathā ;
(11) K. Barbara. S. Varvara ; (12) K. Pahlava. S. bahula ; (13)
K. Bahyatodara. S. bāhyato narāḥ ; (14) K. Ātreya. S. Kṣatra-
yotha ; (15) K. Talagāṇa. S. ? Avagāṇa ; (16) K. Sainika. S.
Cūlika ; (17) K. Jāṅgala. S. Jāguḍa ; (18) K. Apaga. S. Aupadha
(? Aurasā) ; (19) K. Alimadra. S. Anibhadra ; (20) K. Cūlika. S.
Kulūta ; (22) K. Cāhuka. S. ? Bāhika ; (22) K. Hūṇa.
S. Ūṛṇa. (Hūṇa).

Of these nos. 1, 6, 8, 11, are merely recognised variants of the same name and accordingly do not require further discussion.

(2) Aparānta ? Parānta. It is very difficult to understand how Aparānta (i. e. the inhabitants of the Western Region) can be the correct reading here in a list of Northern tribes. The Vaijayanti (p. 37 śl. 35.) specifically locates it in the West (Aparāntās tu pāścātyās), while Bhaṭṭasvāmī, the commentator on Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra (II. 1, 2, 4.) identifies it with the Konkan. Sircar without giving any reason suggests that Parānta is the correct reading, while Kirfel identifies Aparānta with the Western seaboard of India. Chaudhuri (Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India. pp. 55-6.) after citing considerable evidence in support of the accepted identification of Aparānta with the Konkan, then somewhat arbitrarily decides that the Aparānta of the Junāgadh record (c. 150 A. D.) had a different application

representing a portion of Upper Sindh with portions of North Rajputana". It is difficult however even to consider this area as lying within the limits of Uttarāpatha. An attractive solution to the problem is to be found in the variant Aparīta which is included in the text of the *Brahmāṇḍa* - and - *Vāyu-purāṇas*. This name may be associated with the *Apritas* of *Pāṇini* (IV.2.53. Gaṇa) and the *Aparytai* of *Herodotus* (III. 91) who has transcribed it almost perfectly. It may accordingly be identified with the modern *Afridi* tribe of N. W. F. P. It is not without significance that *Afridi* is still locally pronounced as *Apridi*. *Aparānta* can therefore be dismissed as a copyist's "correction" of the text by changing a less well known name to a well known one without any regard for its geographical location.

(3) *Śūdra* / *Ḳṣudra*. *Sircar's* attempt to substitute *Ḳṣudra* i. e. Greek *Oxydrakoi* is unnecessary. The *Śūdras* were known to the Greeks as *Sodrai*. They are mentioned in association with the *Ābhīras* in the *Mahābhāṣya* of *Patañjali* (1. 2. 3.) and the *Mahābhārata*, a passage¹² of which specifically locates these two peoples in the Northern Division where the *Sarasvatī* (mod. *Sursooti*) disappears.

(4) *Pallava* / *Pahlava*. *Pahlava* (*Parthia*) is certainly the correct reading. The *Pallavas* are always referred to as a southern people and are first known from epigraphic evidence in the third century A. D. By the end of the sixth century A. D. they had achieved a considerable importance there.

(5) *Śaka*, *Druha* / *Śatadruja*. *Kirfel* in his earlier¹³ study of this passage had originally adopted the reading *Śatadravāh*. His later text presents no difficulty as far as the *Śakas* are concerned, but neither the *Druhas* nor the *Vāyu-purāṇa* variant,

12. MB. (Gita Press ed) IX. 37. 1. *Śūdrābhīraṇaṁ prati dveṣad yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī*. This evidence is confirmed by another passage of the *Mahābhārata*.

*Śūdrābhīraganaś caiva ye caśritya Sarasvatim
vartayanti ca ye matsyair ye ca parvatavāsinaḥ*

MB. (Poona ed.) 2. 29.9

13. *Bhāratavarsha*, p. 44.

Hrāda, are known elsewhere. Accordingly Śatadruja. i. e. the people of the Sutlej valley, is a much more attractive reading. The Śatadru is mentioned as a river of Uttarāpatha both by Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (G. O. S. p. 93) and the Pariśiṣṭa to the Atharvaveda (LVI. 9). The difficulty in adopting this reading however is that it necessarily compels the elimination of Śaka from the Uttarāpatha list where one would naturally expect it to be included. On the other hand it is not difficult to imagine that a careless copyist might have corrupted Śatadruja into Śatā (which a later copyist might have "corrected" into Śaka) and Drujā i. e. the Druha of the Brahma-purāṇa.

(7) Hāramūrtika/Hārahūṇaka. Sircar's choice of Hārahūṇaka has much to recommend it, as the geographical catalogue of the Mahābhārata associates them with the Rāmaṭhas (6. 10. 55). Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (G. O. S. p. 93) similarly locates the Hārahaura (i. e. Hārahūṇas) in Uttarāpatha. Kirfel's reading, Hāramūrtika, is slightly different from that found in his earlier study where the form Hāramūśika was adopted. As the authenticity of neither of these forms can be corroborated from any independent source, they may be rejected as corruptions.

(9) Daśamālika/Daśamānika. The accuracy of Kirfel's form, Daśamālika, is confirmed by the geographical section of the Mahābhārata (MB. 6. 10. 65). These Daśamālikas are possibly identical with the Dāsamiyas mentioned elsewhere in the Great Epic (MB. 2.47.5 ; 8.30.36 ; 8.51.16.) and the Dāsameyas of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (XVI. 28) who are likewise located in the North.

(10) Vaiśya/Tathā. Sircar's omission of vaiśya seems quite unnecessary. One would naturally expect the vaiśyas to be mentioned along with the other two castes of Hindu society. Moreover the weight of textual evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of vaiśya, as only the Vāmana-purāṇa omits them. Similarly in the geographical text of the Mahābhārata (MB. 6. 10. 65.) all manuscripts consulted by the Editors of the

Poona Critical Edition read vaiśya, the only variant being whether it should be part of a compound or Nominative Plural.

(12) Pahlava/bahula. The difficulty involved in reading Pahlava is that this name has already been adopted at an earlier place in this text (see. sec. 4.) Kirfel by choosing Pallava in the first instance is accordingly able to read Pahlava here. As stated previously the Pallavas cannot possibly be located in the Northern Division and the theory that they had originally some connection with the Pahlavas has now finally been disproved. The variant 'bahula' overcomes this difficulty of a double mention of Pahlava and gives quite a good sense when considered in regard to the other names of the śloka. It is evident that the list is now passing through the outer limits of Bhārata-varṣa into Central Asia; firstly we find a reference to the Kāmbojas and Daradas of the Hindu Kush region, then to the Cīnas and Tuṣāras, who must have lived somewhere to the North of that region, and finally to the bahulā bāhyato narāḥ i. e. the populous tribes who lived outside the limits of Bhārata-varṣa.

(13) Bāhyatodara / bāhyato narāḥ. The text here depends entirely on what has been adopted as the preceding word. If bahula i. e. populous, is read, inevitably the following part of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa text must be adopted. Chaudhuri¹⁴ conjectures that Bāhyatodara is possibly corrupt for an original like Vihāra-dvāra and may be connected with Bukhara, but this seems a very doubtful suggestion.

(14) Ātreya/Kṣatrayoṭha. Kirfel's reading is clearly correct as the Ātreyas are mentioned along with the Bharadvājas in the geographical section of the Mahābhārata (MB. 6.10.67.) and also in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (IV. 1.110. gaṇa). As two independent sources prove the close association existing between the Ātreyas and Bharadvājas, there is no need for Sircar's emendation to Kṣatrayoṭha.

14. Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India. pt. 1. p. 107,

(15) Talagāna/? Avagāna. Sircar's suggestion that Avagāna is the original reading is quite unnecessary as the authenticity of the form Talagāna is proved by the shorter Kūrmavibhāga text of the Garuḍa and Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa (Gḍ 55. 19; Vdh. 1. 9. 9), both of which refer to a tribe called the Tāla or Tananāgas, in the Northern Division in close association with the Lampakas. Nāga may easily be explained as a metathesis of gāna. The same confusion between the forms Talagāna and Talanāga is found in editions of the Matsya-purāṇa, that of the Baṅgabā-ī Office, Calcutta, adopting the latter, while other printed editions prefer the former.

(16) Sainika/Cūlika. Cūlika is the most probable reading. The Kūrma-vibhāga texts locate them in the North-West (BS. XIV. 23) and the accuracy of this location is confirmed by the Matsya-purāṇa which states that the Vakṣu (Oxus) flowed through their territory. (Mt. 121. 45). Neither Sainika nor any of the variants listed in the other purāṇas occur elsewhere.

(17) Jāṅgala/Jāguḍa. Jāṅgala is a most improbable reading as it has already been located in the Central Region. The accuracy of Sircar's choice of Jāguḍa is confirmed by a passage of the Mahā-bhārata, (MB. 3. 48. 21) where the Jāguḍas are mentioned in association with the Hāra-hūṇas, Cīnas, Tuṣāras, Saindhavas, Ramaṭhas etc. According to the Matsya-purāṇa (121. 46) the Indus flowed through their territory.

(18) Apaga/Aupadha (? Aurasa). The corresponding passage of the geographical text of the Mahā-bhārata (6. 10. 67) lists the variants Aupaka, Opaga and Aupaga. Of these forms the most plausible reconstruction is probably Aupaga.

(19) Alimadra/Anibhadra. The constant confusion that arises between m and bh owing to their great similarity in the Devanāgarī character has been mentioned earlier in this article. Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 4) would identify the Alimadras with the inhabitants of Hoti-Mardan to the north-east of Peshawar.

(20) Cūlika/Kulūta. The difficulty in reading Cūlika in this context is that this name has already been selected in section

16. Kirfel however has escaped this obstacle by adopting Sainika in the latter passage, and so he is free to read Calika here. Sircar's suggestion of Kulūta has much to recommend it, as this tribe is frequently located in the North by passages in the Mahā-bhārata (e. g. MB. 6, 10, 52; 2. 24. 4. etc.) and Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (G.O.S. p. 93). The Br̥hat-samhitā refers to two branches, one in the North-West and the other in the North-East (BS. 14. 22 and 29).

(21) Cāhuka/? Bāhika. Sircar's suggestion that Cāhuka should be emended to Bāhika (i. e. the Panjab) seems very arbitrary and not required by the context. The parallel passages of the Brahma and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇas list the form Kuhaka, while Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā refers to a Northern people called the Hūhukas. The Matsya-purāṇa (121. 46) says that the Indus flowed through the janapadas of Gāndhāra, Urasa, and Kuhu. It is obvious that all these forms are variants of the same name. A comparison suggests that the original form may have been Kuhuka, i. e. the inhabitants of the territory adjoining the Kuhū (mod. Kabul) river.

(22) Hūṇa/Ūrṇa (? Hūṇa). The reading Hūṇa is almost certainly correct as one would not expect a tribe of its importance to be omitted from any geographical list.

The results of our investigation of the lists of Udīcyā peoples now being completed, we may tabulate the results in the form of a new text. As before all underlined names will denote new readings different from those of Kirfel and Sircar, while a dotted underlining will show where a choice has been made between the two.

Bāhlikā Vāṭadhānās ca Ābhīrāḥ Kālatoyakāḥ
Aparītās ca Sūdrās ca Pahlavās Carmakhaṇḍikāḥ

Gāndhārā Yavanās caiva Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madrakāḥ
 Śatadrujāḥ Kulindās ca Pārādā Hārahūṇakāḥ

Ramaṭhāḥ Kaṇṭakārās ca Kekayā Daśamālikāḥ
 Kṣatriyopaniveśās ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca

Kāambojā Daradās caiva Barbarā Aṅgalaukikāḥ

Cīnās caiva Tuṣārās ca bahulā bāhyato narāḥ

 Ātreyaś ca Bharadvājāḥ Prasthalās ca Daserakāḥ

 Lampākās Talagānās ca Śūlikā Jāguḍaiḥ saha

 Aupagā Alimadiās ca Kinātānām ca jātayaḥ

 Tomarā Haṁsamārgās ca Kāśmīrās Taṅgaṅās tathā
 Kulūtāḥ Kuhukās caiva Hūṇā Darvās tathaiva ca

 ete deśā udīcyās tu.

It now remains to locate the above tribes and so confirm their position in Uttarāpatha.

(1) Bāhlika. Most scholars locate this well known tribe originally in the modern region of Balkh on the northern frontier of Afghanistan. From this region they are said to have migrated later to the Panjab where they lived generally between the Sutlej and the Indus, but more particularly in the areas west of the Rāvi and the Āpagā. It should be remembered however that there is no evidence for assuming that the Bāhlikas originally migrated from Balkh, and the references to them throughout Sanskrit literature, the oldest of which appears to be that of the Atharva-veda (5. 22. 5-9), imply that they were an Indian and not an Iranian tribe. Furthermore the Old Persian Inscriptions of Darius, which must refer to a period some centuries later than the Atharva-veda, mention Balkh as Baxtri which the Greeks correctly transcribe as Baktra. The migration theory accordingly seems somewhat doubtful.

(2) Vāṭadhāna. Passages in the Mahā-bhārata agree in locating them in the North-West. (MB. 2. 29. 7 ; 6. 10. 45. etc.). Their exact location is uncertain. Pargiter (Mārkp. trans). (p. 313.) places them on the east bank of the Sutlej to the south of Ferozepur, while Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 27.) locates them at Bhatnair.

(3) Ābhīra. They are frequently associated with the Śūdras, and are to be located in West Rajputana where the river Sarasvatī (mod. Sursooti) disappears (MB. Gitā Press. IX. 31. 1 ; Śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣād yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī.). Dey wrongly

identifies this Sarasvatī with the Western Sarasvatī and so erroneously locates them in Gujarat.

(4) Kālatoyaka. Pargiter would identify this with the Delta of the Indus.

(5) Apaiṛta. The modern Afridi tribe of N. W. F. P.

(6) Śūdra. They are the Sodrai of the Greeks and the Sudraki of Pliny (Nat. Hist. 6. 20.). Their location in West Rajputana where the Sarasvatī disappears has already been established by the passage quoted above in regard to the Ābhīras.

(7) Pahlava. The Parthians.

(8) Carmakhaṇḍika. Possibly the inhabitants of Samarkhand.

(9) Gāndhāra. This was a janapada of considerable antiquity being known from Vedic times. (RV. 1. 126. 7.). The Greeks knew it as Gandaridai (Ptol. 7. 1. 44) or Gandarites (Strabo. XV. 1. 25). It is to be located in the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts. Its capitals were Puṣkalāvati (mod. Chersaddah) to the west of the Indus and Takṣaśilā (mod. Taxila) to the east of the same river.

(10) Yavana. The Indo-Greek settlements in the North-West of India.

(11) Sindhu-Sauvīra. Sindhu clearly refers to some part of the Indus region, and at the time of Hiuen Tsang was evidently restricted to the upper part of this territory. (Watters. on Yuan Chwang. II. pp. 252-3.). The location of Sauvīra has however been a matter of some controversy. Cunningham (A. G. I. 1924 ed. p. 57) identified it with Eder, a district of Gujarat, but such a location is too far south. Alberuni (ed. Sachau. I. p. 259-60, 300.) identifies it with Multan and Jahrawar districts below the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab. According to Buddhist texts its capital was Roruva (mod. Rori in Upper Sind.).

(12) Madraka. The district between the Chenab and Ravi rivers. Capital Sākala (mod. Siālkot).

(13) Śatadruja. The people of the Sutlej valley.

(14) Kulinda. The Kulindrine of Ptolemy (VII. 1. 42), who locates them in the mountainous region where the Sutlej, Jumna and Ganges have their sources. They are considered to have inhabited the southern slopes of the Himalayas eastward from the Kulu valley to Nepal. Large numbers of their coins have also been found in the Saharanpur and Ambala Districts north of Delhi.

(15) Pārada. The Paradene of Ptolemy (VI. 21. 4.) who locates them in Gedrosia. They are very probably of Iranian origin. Most scholars consider them identical with the Pahlavas (i. e. Parthians), but an objection to this view is that the Pahlavas have already been mentioned in this passage. Similarly in the geographical text of the Mahāmāyūrī J. A. 1915. p. 112, line 65.) both Pahlava and Pārata (i. e. Pārada) occur in the following sequence : Kāpiśī-Pārata-Śakasthāna-Pahlava. If the two names were synonyms one would not expect both to be mentioned in such close juxtaposition.

(16) Hāra-Hūṇa. The "White Huns". In the Mahābhārata they are classed as an "outside" people, but by the time of Kālidāsa (*Raghuvamśa*. IV. 68) they had established a kingdom in the Oxus valley. The Bṛhatsamhitā (XIV. 33.) makes them the most important tribe of the North-West division in the sixth century A. D. and the accuracy of this information is strikingly confirmed by the early Christian writer, Kosmas Indikopleustes¹⁵ (circa. 535 A. D.) who says that the empire of the White Huns extended to the Indus.

(17) Ramaṭha. A low and barbarous tribe according to the Mahābhārata (12. 65. 14.). They were probably closely associated with the Hāra-Hūṇas, as in addition to the evidence of the present text they are also connected with the same tribe in the Dig-vijaya of Nakula. (MB. 2. 29. 11.). They are perhaps identical with the Rhamnai of Ptolemy. Lēvi¹⁶

15. McCrindle *Anc. India*. vol. VI. p. 165 ; For a detailed study of the Hāra-Hūṇas see Bailey 'Hārabūna Asiatica' (*Festschrift Friedrich Weller*. 1954).

16. J. A. 1915, p. 112 ; MB. 3. 48. 21. Mahā-māyūrī, line 99.

would locate them near Ghazni on the evidence of the Mahābhārata and Mahā-māyūrī.

(18) Kaṇṭhakāra. They are probably identical with the Kaṇṭhadhānas of the Br̥hatsamhitā, who are also located in the North (BS. XIV. 26.). Chaudhuri (*Ethnic Settlements*, p. 99.) conjectures that they may have been the inhabitants of modern Kandahar.

19. Kekaya. Mod. Jhelum and Shahpur Districts of the Punjab. Capital Rājagṛha or Girivraja (mod. Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum river).

20. Daśamālika. Nothing is known of this tribe except that, as already mentioned, it may be identical with the Dāsamīyas of the Mahābhārata or the Dāsameyas of the Kūrma-vibhāga texts which likewise locate it in the North.

21. Kāmboja. Though Kāmboja¹⁷ was a janapada of considerable importance and antiquity being mentioned in the Nirukta of Yāsku (II. 2.), its exact location is still uncertain and has been the subject of much controversy. Much of this has been caused by the inability of scholars¹⁸ until recently to realise that there are two countries called Kāmboja. This is specifically shown by a passage of the Mahābhārata (2. 24. 22-4.) which states that Arjuna after conquering the Daradas and Kāmbojas proceeded North and next after defeating the robber tribes, subjugated the Lohas, the Parama-Kāmbojas and the Uttara-ṛṣikas. The mention of the Daradas in the present text shows that the more southernly branch of Kāmbojas are

17. Agrawal (*India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 49) would connect Kāmboja with Old Persian Kambujiya. This is clearly wrong as the latter is a proper name, Cambyses; cf. the Behistan Inscription of Darius, I, 28.

18. Upādhyāya (*India in Kālidāsa*, p. 59.) who locates correctly the Kāmbojas of the Raghuvamśī in the Galcha-speaking territory of the Yarkand Valley but fails to realise that this branch is the Parama-Kāmbojas, not the branch of Kāmbojas associated with the Daradas.

MB. 2. 24. 22-4. Daradān saba Kāmbojair ajayat pakaśāsaniḥ
 prāguttarāṃ diśaṃ ye ca vasantī āśritya dasyavaḥ
 nīvasanti vane ye ca tān sarvān ajayat prabhuh
 Lobān Parama-Kāmbojan Ṛṣikān uttarān api
 sahitāṃs tān mabārāja vyajayat pakaśāsaniḥ

being referred to in this context. Nevertheless there is still considerable difference as to the region they occupied. As the purpose of this article is primarily to determine the correct text however, it will be sufficient to state the two most important opinions among modern scholars on the location of Kāmboja.

According to Ray Chaudhuri (L' Iconographie Bouddhique. p. 134), who relies on the evidence of the Karṇa-parva (MB. 7.4.4.), Rājapura (mod. Rajaori S.E of Punch) is contiguous to Kāmboja. He accordingly locates it in the present Chitral and Hazara districts. This view is however refuted by Jayacandra Vidyālakṣmī (Bhāratā-bhūmi aur uske nivāsi. pp. 297-305), who points out that these regions were occupied by the Uragas and Abhisāras. He then proceeds to identify Kāmboja in modern Kafiristan on the evidence of the Rājatarāṅginī,¹⁹ which states that Lalitāditya of Kashmir (695-732 A. D.) on entering the northern district defeated the Kāmbojas, while the Tuṣāras fled; he then marched against the Bhattas and Daradas. The location of the former in Baltistan and Bolar is certain and so Kāmboja must accordingly be placed in Kafiristan.

(22) Darada. The Daradrai of Ptolemy (VII. 1. 42), who locates them near the source of the Indus. Mod. Dardistan, north of Kashmir.

(23) Barbara. Sircar would connect this name with the Barbaricon emporium at the mouth of the Indus delta which is mentioned by the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. (*Periplus* p. 38). Ptolemy (VII. 1.59) also mentions a town of Barbarei on an island formed by the same river, and Majumdar in his revised edition of McCrindle's Ptolemy (p. 370) identifies the Barabara of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas with these Barbarei. This however seems a dubious conjecture as the Barbaras of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas are always mentioned in association with Himalayan tribes like the Kirātas,

19. Rāj. IV. 163ff. vide also J. U. P. H. S. Dec. 1943, Geographical Studies in the Mahābhārata. p. 38ff, I. H. Q. XXVI (1950) p. 123. Hūṇa, Yavana, Kambojas.

Daradas and Śakas. It accordingly seems preferable to assume that the term Barbara in Sanskrit Literature refers to the wild tribes of the Himalayas.

24. Aṅgalaukika. Perhaps the Agalassians of Alexander's historians (Diodorus. 17. xcvi.); if so, they are to be located below the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab. It is more probable however that they are identical with the Aṅgalokyas of the Matsya-purāṇa (121. 44.) through whose territory the Sitā (Jaxartes) is said to flow.

25. Cina. They are usually identified with the Tibeto-Chinese tribes who lived on the northern slopes of the Himalayas, though attempts have been made to connect them with the Shinas of the Upper Indus Valley.

26. Tuṣāra. The Tukhāristān of the Arabs which included old Bactria and the mountainous country on both sides of the middle Oxus as far as Badakhshan.

27. Ātreya. and 28. Bhāradvāja. Both these gotras of brahmins are referred to by Pāṇini in his gaṇapāṭha to IV. 1.110. Pargiter (Mārkp. (trans.) p. 320.) has located them in Garhwal on the evidence of the Mahā-bhārata (MB. 3. 26.6-8; 3.135. 9f.), which places them in Dvaita-vana.²⁰ This may be identified with an area not far from the Himalayas which was bounded by the Taṅgaṇas on the North-East and Kurukṣetra and Hastināpura on the South-East.

29. Prasthala. Mod. Patiala District. Law (Geog. Dict. p. 117.) erroneously connects it with the Patala of Greek writers, and so locates it in the Indus Delta. The extremely close association of Prasthala and Trigarta in both the Mahā-bhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa indicate that the Prasthalas were a Panjab people.

30. Daśeraka. The three lexicographers, Yādava-prakāśa, Hemacandra, and Puruṣottamadeva agree in identifying the Daśerakas with the inhabitants of Maru, i. e. mod Marwar.

20. E. I. XXVII. pt. VII (1948). p. 319ff.

31. Lampaka. The Lambatai of Ptolemy (VII. 1.42.), who locates them near the sources of the Koa (Kabul) river. Their name is preserved in modern Lamghan, a small territory on the northern bank of the Kabul river.

32. Talagāna. The close association of this people with the Lampakas not only in the present texts but also in the geographical sections of the Garuḍa-purāṇa (55. 19.) and the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa (1. 9. 9.) prove that they must be located somewhere near Lamghan.

33. Śūlika. According to the Matsya-purāṇa (121. 45.) the Oxus flowed through their territory.

34. Jāguḍa. "The Saffron country". mod. Ghazni district of South Afghanistan from which large quantities of asafoetida are exported. The name Jāguḍa survives in modern Jaghuri to the south of Ghazni in the Kandahar.

35. Aupaga. Dey would identify this with Kāamboja, but this appears very doubtful as the latter have already been mentioned in the present list and hence there would be little point in repeating it through a synonym. Shafer suggests that they may be a tribe of Kirātas, but again there is no evidence for this. Sitcai²¹ considers it to be a corruption of an original Aurasa (mod. Hazara District), while S. B. Chaudhuri, who prefers the variant Apaga, thinks that the correct reading should be Avagāṇa (Afghans).

36. Alimadra. Mod. Mardan District to the north of the Kabul river in the Yusufzai subdivision of Peshawar District.

37. Kirāta. The Kirrhadaï of the Greeks. This well-known and²² powerful tribe occupied the Himalayan regions of Nepal and Assam. Their name is preserved by the modern Kiranti tribe.

21. Ethnography of Ancient India. p. 121.

22. A great point of controversy among scholars is whether the Kirātas were originally an Eastern tribe, who extended westwards, or whether they were originally a North-Western people, who spread eastwards finally settling in the extreme North-Eastern corner of India. For a detailed analysis see Ronnow in *Le Monde Oriental*, 1936, vol. 30, p. 90 ff.

38. Tomara. The inhabitants of the mod. Garo Hills region in the south-western corner of Assam.

39. Haṁsamārga. Possibly modern Hunza and Nagar Districts (J. U. P. H. S. XVII. Pt. 1. (1944) p. 48.). It is an interesting example of how the name of a place, "the route of the geese" became that of a people.

40. Kāśmīra. Kashmir.

41. Taṅgaṇa. According to McCrindle²³, the Ganganoi of Ptolemy is a corruption of Tanganoi. They are accordingly to be located in the region extending from the Rāmagaṅgā river to the sources of the Upper Sarayū.

42. Kulūta. The Kulu valley of modern Kangra District. Numismatic evidence indicates that they were the neighbours of the Kuṇindas.

43. Kuhuka. The inhabitants of the banks of the Kabul river.

44. Hūṇa. Though well known in the Epics and Purāṇas as a "frontier" tribe, no specific position can be assigned them until the time of Kālidāsa, who locates them on the Oxus. By the middle of the sixth century A. D. they had established a considerable empire in the North-West extending to the Indus. Their power was subsequently destroyed by Yaśodharman.

45. Dārva. This tribe is frequently associated with the Abhisāras and may be located along with them in the Punch-Naoshera regions between the Jhelum and the Chenab.

PŪRVA-DEŚĀ

Kirfel's Text.

Aṅgā Vaṅgā Madgurakā Antargiri-Bahirgirāḥ
tataḥ Plavaṅgā Vaṅgeyā Māladā Mālavartikāḥ
Suhmottarāḥ Pravijayā Bhārgavā Geyamālavāḥ
Prāgyotiṣāś ca Puṇḍrās ca Videhās Tāmraliptakāḥ
Mālā Magadha-Gonardāḥ prācyā janapadāḥ smṛtāḥ

23. McCrindle, Ptolemy p. 241 on Ptolemy VII. 2. 13.

Sircar's Text.

Aṅgā Vaṅgā Mudgarakā Antargiri-Bahirgirī
 tathā Pravaṅga-Vāṅgeyā Maladā Mallavarttakāḥ
 Brahmottarā Pra (Śrī ?)-vijayā Bhārga-Vāṅgeya-Mallakāḥ
 Prāgjyotiṣāś ca Pauṇḍrās ca Videhās Tāmraliptakāḥ
 Mallā Magadha-Gonardāḥ prācyā janapadāḥ smṛtāḥ

An analysis of the above texts shows the following variations.

- (1) K. Madguraka. S. Mudgaraka; (2) K. Bahirgirāḥ. S. Bahirgirī; (3) K. Plavaṅga. S. Pravaṅga; (4) K. Vaṅgeya. S. Vāṅgeya; (5) K. Mālada. S. Malada; (6) K. Mālavartika. S. Mallavarttika; (7) K. Suhmottara. S. Brahmottara; (8) K. Pravijaya. S. ? Śrīvijaya; (9) K. Bhārgavā Geyamālava. S. Bhārga-Vāṅgeya-Mallaka; (10) K. Puṇḍra. S. Pauṇḍra; (11) K. Māla. S. Malla.

of these nos. 5, 6, 10 and 11 are obvious variants of the same name and accordingly do not require further discussion. In the case of no. 2. both agree on the name Bahirgiri, K making it Nominative Plural, while S prefers to link it with Antargiri in a dual compound.

(2) Madguraka/Mudgaraka. Sircar's reading is definitely the correct form as both the Vaijayantī and the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā list it as Mudgaraka and Mudgara respectively.

(3) Plavaṅga/Pravaṅga. The second reading seems preferable and evidently refers to a tribe who are before the Vaṅgas. Pargiter (Mārkp. (trans) p. 325) identifies it with the Aṅgas, but they have already been mentioned if we take the Matsya-purāṇa text of this passage as most likely to represent the original one. The Pravaṅgas are probably identical with the Upavaṅgas of the Bṛhatsamhitā. These cannot possibly be equated with the Aṅgas, for the latter are mentioned only two names after the Upavaṅgas (BS. XIV. 8. Vaṅga-Upavaṅga Jaṭhara-Aṅga etc.).

(4) Vaṅgeya/Vāṅgeya. Though both Kirfel and Sircar agree in including Vaṅgeya in their texts, its inclusion in a

passage where both the Vaṅgas and Pravaṅgas have already occurred seems to add nothing to the sense. An extremely interesting variant is found however in the Ānandāśrama Press edition of the Matsya-purāṇa which instead of Vaṅgeya reads Mātaṅga, a name that has so far been completely disregarded by scholars, but which appears to be a much better alternative. Its location in the Eastern Division is proved by the testimony of the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā (25. 9.), while it is also mentioned in the Bṛhatsaṁhita, the Yukti-kalpa-taru, and the Ratna-parīkṣā, of Budha-bhaṭṭa as a place famous for its diamonds. Thus no objection can be made to Mātaṅga on the ground of location.

(7) Suhmottara/Brahmottara. The correct reading here is supplied by the geographical text of the Kāvya-mīmāṁsā, which corresponds so closely in form to the purāṇic texts that it may be reasonably assumed that its author utilised one or more of them as his source. Most scholars assumed the question whether Suhmottara or Brahmottara is the correct reading. Those favouring the former defend their choice by stressing the importance of the Suhmas, while those adopting the latter reading refer to its mention in the Kāvya-mīmāṁsā and the Nāṭya-śāstra, where Brahmottara is included in a list of Eastern peoples. It is also mentioned in the purāṇa list of rivers as one of the countries through which the Ganges flows. Accordingly this evidence is conclusive in establishing the existence of the Brahmottaras with the result that many scholars²⁴ at once reject Suhmottara. This however is only partially correct, for Rāja-śekhara's list shows that the original text was Suhma-Brahmottara. Brahma in the text of the Matsya-purāṇa somehow became displaced and so the false form 'Suhmottara' arose. Accordingly both Suhma and Brahmottara should be included in the text.

(8) Pravijaya/ ? Śrīvijaya. Sircar's suggestion of Śrīvijaya which he connects with mod. Palembang in Sumatra is extre-

24. BS. LXXX. 7. ; Yuktikalpataru. p. 96. ; Ratna-parīkṣā I. 18.

25. Pargiter Märkp. (trans) p. 327 ; I.H.Q. III (1922) p. 521ff. Law A.B. O.R.I. 1936 p. 217 ff.

mely fanciful. It is clear from the context that only tribes within the boundaries of Bhārata-varṣa are being listed. Praviṣaya, which Dey (without citation of evidence) identifies with Jyntea in Assam, is also a very doubtful form and probably owes its existence to textual corruption as the evidence of both the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā and the Nāṭya-śāstra shows, for both these texts at this point read *prabhṛtayaḥ* "etc." The parallel of the Mahābhārata reads *Prāvṛṣeya* "people in whose country there is a long rainy season."

Compare :

Purāṇic.	Brahmottarāḥ <i>Praviṣayā</i> Bhārgavāḥ
Mahā-bhārata (6.10.49.).	Mahyuttarāḥ <i>Prāvṛṣeyā</i> Bhārgavāḥ
Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (p. 93.).	Suhma-Brahmottara- <i>prabhṛtayaḥ</i>
Nāṭya-śāstra (13. 33.).	Brahmottarāḥ <i>prabhṛtayo</i> Bhārgavāḥ

If we adopt the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā text, we become involved in a scansion difficulty, as the first half of the śloka would have too many syllables. This however can be overcome by substituting for *prabhṛtayaḥ* its synonym *ādyāś ca*. The final form of the first half of the line will accordingly be *Suhmā Brahmottarādyāśca*.

(9) Bhārgavāḥ Geyamālavāḥ / Bhārga-Vaṅgeya-Mallakāḥ. It will be evident that the crux of the problem here is whether we are to read two names with Kirfel or three with Sircar. In the latter case it is difficult to understand whether Sircar wishes his text to be divided as above or alternatively as Bhārgava-Aṅgeya. The cause of the confusion is due to some doubt as to whether the first name is to be read as Bhārgava or Bhārga ; if we adopt the latter alternative, *vā* must necessarily form the first syllable of the following name and so *vāgeya* at once suggests Vaṅgeya. Our first consideration must be therefore to establish the form of the first name as Bhārgava or Bhārga. Unfortunately however to make the position more complex, both names occur in the geographical catalogue of the Mahābhārata in what appears to be a list of eastern peoples, *viz.* Mahyuttara, Prāvṛṣeya, *Bhārgava*, Puṇḍra, *Bhārgas*, Kirāta,

etc. In addition, the Bhārgavas are mentioned by the Nāṭya-śāstra (13. 33.) in a group of Eastern peoples, while the Bhārgas are mentioned in a sūtra of Pāṇini (IV. 1. 178.) Thus both names are definitely established by two independent sources other than the geographical catalogue of the Mahābhārata. The question of which of them is the more probable reading in the passage under discussion can therefore only be determined by location. The Bhārgas are obviously connected with the Bhaggas of Pāli texts,²⁶ according to which they were a dependency of the Vatsas. The Vatsas are definitely to be located around their capital, Kauśāmbī (mod. Kosam, west of Allahabad). Accordingly they would normally be classed as a tribe of Madhya-deśa, so that it is probable that the Bhārgas were also members of the same division. Bhārgava is therefore the better reading as the Nāṭya-śāstra specifically places it in the East. In addition it automatically removes Vaṅgeya as a member of the list which considerably simplifies the position, for there is no need for such a name when the Vaṅgas and the Pravaṅgas have already been mentioned.

Bhārgava therefore is clearly the first member of the second half of this śloka; it now remains to determine the second part. There is considerable difference however between the names in Kirfel's and Sircar's texts, the former reading Geyamālava and the latter Vaṅgeya or Aṅgeya and Mallaka. None of the names in any of the Purānic lists occur elsewhere so that the probability arises that they are all corruptions. It would seem likely though that Geya should be emended to Gaya, i. e. the inhabitants of the city of Gaya, who are mentioned in the Mahā-bhārata (2. 48 15.) among a group of eastern peoples who paid tribute. The only outstanding question now is to determine the final name for which we have two alternatives, Mālava and Mallaka. Of these two choices the Mālavas are a very well known people, but they are always located in either the Northern or the Vindhyan division and so

26. Ang. II. 61; Vin. II. 127, IV. 115. See also Kirfel's lists in Die Kosmographie der Inder. p. 227.

cannot possibly be considered in the present context. Mallaka on the other hand would be a possible reading, did the same name not occur in the next śloka. As there can hardly be room for two tribes of the same name in a comparatively short list of this nature, it would also appear a doubtful reading. One possible solution suggests itself. If we take m as an orthographical error for bh, a confusion that repeatedly occurs in Sanskrit due to the considerable similarity of these two letters in the Devanāgarī script, a form *Bhallaka* is obtained. This can at once be equated with the Bhallas of the Kūrma-vibhāga texts, who are located in the North-East. Similarly a country called Bhallāṭa is mentioned in the eastern digvijaya of Bhīmasena²⁷. The evidence of these two independent sources thus definitely establish the existence of a country called Bhalla or Bhallāṭa in the eastern division. Accordingly it seems preferable to replace Mallaka by Bhallaka, so that the second half of this line may be restored as *Bhārgavā Gaya-Bhallakāḥ*.

The results of our investigation of the lists of Eastern peoples now being completed, we may tabulate our results in the form of a new text. As before, all underlined names denote new readings; a dotted underlining will show where a choice has been made between Kirfel's and Sircar's texts.

Aṅgā Vaṅgā Mudgarakā Antargiri-Bahirgirāḥ

.....

tathā Pravaṅgā Mātaṅgā Maladā Mallavarttakāḥ

Suhmā Brahmottarādyās ca Bhārgavā Gaya-Bhallakāḥ

Prāgjyotiṣās ca Puṇḍrās ca Videhās Tāmraliptakāḥ

Mallā Magadhā Gonardāḥ prācyā janapadāḥ smṛtāḥ

It now remains to identify each of the above mentioned tribes briefly and so confirm their location in the Eastern division.

(1) Aṅga. mod. Bhagalpur district. Capital Campā, two miles west of Bhagalpur.

(2) Vaṅga. In Epic and Purāṇic texts the Vaṅgas occupied only the eastern section of Bengal towards the Ganges

27. BS. XIV. 30; MB. 2. 27. 5. (Poona Critical Edition reads *Copakṛta*.)

delta. Pargiter (J.A.S.B. 1897 p. 85) accordingly located them in the areas of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, and parts of Rajshahi and Faridpur. Later they greatly extended their territory and their name came to denote the whole province of Bengal.

(3) Mudgaraka. mod. Monghyr in Bihar.

(4) Antargiri and (5) Bahirgiri. In another passage of the Mahā-bhārata (6.10.48) these two names are associated with the Aṅgas and Maladas. Accordingly they may be identified with the people living within, and on the outskirts of the Rajmahal Hills.

(5) Pravaṅga. They are probably the same as the Upavaṅgas of the Bṛhat-saṁhitā and may be located in the central portion of the eastern part of the Ganges delta.

(6) Mātāṅga. Reference has been made to its location by the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā in the Eastern division to the north of Tamruk. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā (LXXX.7.) says that it is famous for its diamonds, evidence which is confirmed by the Yuktikalpa-taru (p. 96). Dey would locate it to the south-east of Assam.

(7) Malada. mod. Maldah. Another tribe of the same name is later mentioned in these texts as living in the Vindhya near the Kārūṣas.

(8) Mallavarttaka. Probably the inhabitants of the Mallaparvata or Pārśvanātha Hills, namely the area now forming the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum in the states of Bihar and Orissa.

(9) Suhma. mod. Howrah and Midnapore districts of West Bengal.

(10) Brahmottara. Its position within the Eastern division is uncertain, though by its close association with Suhma, one might normally expect it to be located somewhere to the north of the Midnapore district. Sircar's identification of Brahmottara with Burma is unsupported by any evidence and is

decisively rejected by the Matsya-purāṇa (121.50) which states that the Ganges flowed through the territory of the Magadhas (mod. Bihar), the Aṅgas (mod. Bhagalpur dist.), the Brahmo-ttaras, the Vaṅgas (mod. Murshidabad dist.) and the Tāmraliptas (mod. Tamluk.) According to this evidence the Brahmottaras must be located on the Ganges between Bhagalpur and Murshidabad.

11. Bhārgava. The general consensus of opinion of modern scholars is to identify the Bhārgavas with the Bhars of western Assam. Such a location however would be more suitable for the Bhallas, as will be shown very shortly in paragraph 13 of this section. Shafer²⁸ would locate them in the southern part of U. P. on the strength of being a brahmin line which served at Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja and their having conquered the Tālajaṅghas. Such a position would make them a tribe of Madhya-deśa rather than of Pūrva-deśa.

12. Gaya. This reading, if correct, would of course refer to the inhabitants of Gayā on the Phalgu river which flowed through the city. At the time of Hiuan-tsang's²⁹ visit in A.D. 637, it was a flourishing city "well defended, difficult of access and occupied by a thousand families of brahmins, all descendants of a single ṛṣi".

13. Bhallaka. The dig-vijaya section of the Mahābhārata establishes its location on the side of the Śuktimān (Kukṣimān) mountain, which must be a peak of the Himalayan range. The Bṛhatsamhitā also locates the Bhallas in the North-East. Ptolemy refers to them as Barrhai. They may accordingly be identified with the Bhara who now occupy the mountainous areas of Western Assam.

14. Prāgjyotiṣa. Mod. Gauhati Dist. of Assam and the region of the Brahmaputra valley. According to the lexicographers, the Prāgjyotiṣas were identical with the Kāmarūpas. Prāgjyotiṣa was also the name of a city, possibly the capital, of

28. E.A.I. p. 69 ; 27 Watters on Yuan Chuang II. pp. 110 ff ; 18 BS, XIV. 30, Ptol. VII. 2, 20.

29. Ptol. VII. 1. 73, Nat. Hist. VI. 20,

Kāmarūpa according to a passage in the Kālikā-purāṇa, (38. 155), which runs thus: *Prāḡgyotiṣam puram gatvā Kāmārūpāntara-sthitām.*

15. Puṇḍra. mod. North Bengal. Capital Puṇḍra-var-dhana (Mod. Mahasthan, seven miles north of Bogra).

16. Videha. mod. Tirhut Dist. of North Bihar, Capital Mithilā (mod. Janakpur in the Nepalese Tarai).

17. Tāmraliptaka. mod. Tāmluk in Midnapur Dist. about 12 miles from the junction of the Rūpnarayan with the Hooghly. It is identical with the Tamalites of Ptolemy and the Taluctae of Pliny.

18. Malla. According to Buddhist sources the Mallas are to be located in the districts of Kuśāvati at the junction of the Gaṇḍak with the Little Rāpti or near Kasiā and Pavā (mod. Padraona, 12 miles N-E of Kasiā or Fāzilpur 10 miles S-E of the same place.).

19. Magadha. mod. Patna and Gayā Dists. of Bihar. Capitals Girivraja (mod. Rajgir) and Pāṭaliputra (mod. Patna), which in the annals of classical writers is referred to as Palibothra.

20. Gonarda. Both Chaudhuri and Sircar are inclined to doubt the inclusion of Gonarda in the Eastern Region. A decisive fact in establishing its location in this division however is the evidence of the Kāśikā commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭā-dhāyī. I. I. 75. *En Prācāṇi deśe* "A word that has e and o as the first among its vowels gets the designation of Vṛddha when it is the name of *Eastern* countries". Among examples of these Gonarda is quoted. Gonarda may be identified with Gonda in Oudh, the birthplace of Patañjali.

(To be Continued)

THE FOUR-FOLD DIVISION OF THE HEAVENLY RIVER IN THE PURĀṆAS

DR. B. H. KAPADIA

Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth

[देवन्द्या गङ्गाया उद्गमस्थानं पुराणेषु सोमाख्यः कश्चिद्
आकाशाम्भोनिधिः कथ्यते । गङ्गावतरणं रामायणे महाभारते पुराणेषु
च वर्ण्यते । रात्रौ दिवि दृश्यमानशङ्खायापथ एव दिव्या त्रिपथगा इति
वायुपुराणे प्रोक्तम् । आकाशादवतीर्यं शिवशिरसि घृताया गङ्गाया
बिन्दुभिश्च क्षितौ बिन्दुसरो निर्मितमित्यपि पुराणेषु कथितम् । रामायणे
गङ्गायाः सप्तधा स्रोतसु विभागो वर्णितः, पुराणेषु तु प्रायेण गङ्गाया-
श्चत्वारि स्रोतांसि-सीता-अलकनन्दा-वक्षु-भद्रसोमा-इति नामभिः
प्रोक्तानि । महाभारते च त्रीन् लोकान् पावयन्ती त्रिपथगा,—इत्यादि
गङ्गाया वर्णनं प्राप्यते—इत्यादयो विषया लेखकेनात्र निबन्धे विचारिताः ।]

The investigation of the relation of Soma with the waters has given out that even the Vedic Indians had thought of the Heavenly river or the rivers as the exodus of the Heavenly Soma-ocean existing in the highest heaven. The Purāṇas¹ also know the Heavenly river as the defluxion of the Soma ocean.

In the 47th Adhyāya of the Vāyu Purāṇa is described the descent of the Gaṅgā. The opening (vv. 22-27) exactly agrees with the M. Bh. 6.6.42-47. The line तत्र दिव्या सप्तधा प्रतिपद्यत of M. Bh. 6.6. 47 occurs here again with the variant सोमपादप्रसूता सा "coming out from the rays of the moon." Here it is the 3rd pāda of v. 26. It is followed by a pair of verses which gives us interest : The path of light (the milky way) in the heaven which one sees illuminated at night along the belt of the circle of constellations is the godly purifying river flowing in three paths. Purifying mid-air and the heaven coming down on the earth when she fell on the head of Śiva, she was held back through the magic of yoga. The lake Bindusaras arose on the earth from the few drops that fell off from the enraged

one. Therefore it is called the Bindusaras (the lake of the drops).²

Then it is narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa I. 43 (partly verbally borrowed from the Epic), how Śiva restrained the Gaṅgā, which believed to carry forth the god in her torrential sweep to the nether world down below, and was restrained by way of punishment for her haughtiness. Śiva did this till he was moved at the sight of Bhagīratha who implored him to release her. As in the Rāmāyaṇa, here she does not give rise to the Bindusaras in the first instance although it is referred to in v. 26 and after it in v. 41 but here is described at once the seven fold division again somewhat resembling the Rāmāyaṇa³ and at the conclusion of it countries are mentioned in detail, the countries through which the seven streams flow through.

A quite different description of the descent of the heavenly river, which is absolutely incongruous with the one that is given above, occurs in many other Purāṇas⁴ and is already given before in the 42nd Adhyāya verses 1 ff.⁵—

‘These divine rivers with holy waters have flown out from excellent lakes and rivers with large mass of water. Listen to these in due order. From that heavenly ocean possessing the name of Soma, the support of all beings, the container of nectar of gods, from which started the river full of holy water, flows in the air with her clear water, flows in the seventh path of the wind. The mighty elephant of the Great Indra wandering in the path of the mid-air and sporting in the interior agitates the water. Speedily going round the mountain Meru from the right to the left, she flows to the extent of 84 Yojanas.⁶ During which her water is split asunder by the furious wind. She fell on the four highest pinnacles of the mountain Meru. Then recoiling on the highest slope of the highest peak of Meru has her water scattered up and herself is divided into four parts. She then makes to fall the 60000 yojanas of the sky devoid of support in the four directions from Meru. The auspicious, the beautiful,

the great river, fell round the four great slopes of the mountain Mandara (i.e. Meru) etc.'

In the following verses is described exactly the path of each of the four rivers from the spur of the mountain Meru, to the four lakes and the thickets encircling Meru and through a phantastic series of mountains till the junction of Sītā in the Eastern, Alakanandā in the Southern, Vākṣu⁷ in the Western and Bhadrasonā in the Northern ocean.

In the place of the sevenfold division, thus here is described the fourfold division of the heavenly river. However, the common origin of the four great heavenly rivers in which Gaṅgā divides is the heavenly ocean, which has the name Soma, i.e. not other than that ocean in the highest heaven which we know as the home of Soma. Indeed, it was only so very near that time, which had become foreign to the description of the heavenly Soma-ocean and thus understood Soma here as the Moon. Thus, e. g. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 56. I. ff makes Gaṅgā to originate from the foot of Nārāyaṇa, and then first enters the Moon and from there fell on the mountain Meru.⁸ Thereby the Moon is designated as Soma and is provided with adjectives सुधायोनि and आघार अम्भसां thus the ancient description once more glimmers through Viṣṇupurāṇa (II, 2. 31) and Kūrma P. (46. 28) but it is simply said : After coming out from the foot of Viṣṇu she flooded over the orb of the Moon.⁹

The fourfold division of the heavenly river is likewise unknown to the epics as the sevenfold division to the numerous Purāṇas. A combination of both however occurs in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (56.7-12),¹⁰ Viṣṇu Purāṇa (II-2.34)¹¹ and Agni Purāṇa (108.20).¹² Like the usual Purāṇas they describe the fourfold division and add to this the account about the course of the southerly stream with the sevenfold division.

That the Ganga came out from the feet of the Lord is known even to Kālidāsa. In Kumārasambhava 6.70 he writes :-

यथैव श्लाघ्यते गङ्गा पादेन परमेष्ठिनः ।

In one of the inscriptions¹³ of Samudragupta of about 350 A. D., there is reference to Gaṅgā being entangled in the matted hair of Śiva

To take a review of the above discussion, we find that, the story of the Gaṅgāvataṛaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa agrees somewhat with Vāyu P. In Harivaṃśa (3. 17. 22-25) the words of Vāyu (सोमपादप्रसूता सा) is differently worded. The story of Gaṅgā coming from the foot of Vāmana must have been set rolling by the Vaiṣṇavas. Harivaṃśa, the oldest literary record of the Vaiṣṇavas, has not got this. But the Sabhā Parvan of the M. Bh. 47. 22 and Viṣṇu P. has got this account. In Viṣṇu P. (4. 4. 15) Gaṅgā is described as coming from the lotus like feet of Viṣṇu. Bāṇa and Kālidāsa make use of this, Rāmāyaṇa has this legend in detail. Vāyu has not the legend in such a great detail (Ad. 47). Vāyu P. 32-33 and Rāmāyaṇa Bāla-Kāṇḍa Adh. 43 8-9 are almost identical. On comparison, we find, that the description about the descent of the Gaṅgā was in vogue from antiquity. Vāyu and Rāmāyaṇa may have made use of the third source. The story of Hariv. as compared to Vāyu and Rāmāyaṇa appears to be modern. It may be as old as 4th cent. A. D. as it is used by Kālidāsa. Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, a work on Jaina Cosmology, divided into seven sections makes a reference to the Gaṅgā.

The sacred river Ganga is very well known as *tripathagā*. In accordance with the account of the M. Bh. 109, the heavenly Gaṅgā as she was made to fall down on the earth, divided not in seven but in three paths. In V. 10 it is stated : "Spreading about in different directions she became of three paths as she was going to the ocean." According to this threefold division the Gaṅgā is generally called as one going in three paths.¹⁴ She possesses this name even there where she is specially called the Heavenly river.¹⁵ For the explanation of this expression, it is said in the Rāmāyaṇa I. 44. 6 . "She is called tripathagā because she purifies the three paths.¹⁶ Other passages give scope for no doubt that the three paths go through the three worlds. M. Bh. I. 96. 19 mentions Gaṅgā as Trilokagā. In the Gaṅgāvataṛa of

the M. Bh. 13. 26 73 it is said that the three worlds are embellished through the pure three paths.¹⁷ M. Bh. 13. 26. 89 states that the Gaṅgā lends purity to the three worlds.¹⁸ V. 28 therefore calls her trilokagoptrī.¹⁹ It is quite possible that the composer of the Mahābhārata considered the three worlds as the heaven, the mid-region and the earth. It is said in v. 79 : “the great and the small beings, who are found in the heaven, in the mid-region and on the earth should always take bath in it.”²⁰ In v. 87 it is stated that once her fame was filled in the air, in the heaven, on the earth, the main directions and in the intermediary directions.²¹ M. Bh. I. 170. 21ff notes : “Of one shore, pure, flowing in heaven, with the gods this Gaṅgā appears as Alakanandā, O gandharva. Likewise, this Gaṅgā when she is desired by the Pitṛs is known as Vaitaraṇī, difficult to be crossed by the sinful ones. Thus is said by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana.”²² Thus, according to M. Bh. 3. 109. 10 there is a reference to the threefold division of her. The ashes of the Sagarides, for the purification of which she is called, is in the netherworld. Therefore her three courses are : “one is in the heaven, one is on the earth and one is in the netherworld”

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the legend about the descent of the Gaṅgā is referred to in the concluding Maṅgala of Brh. Vārttika (VI. 5. 22.) but in a sense quite different from Naiṣkarmya siddhi, IV. 76.

Footnotes

1. A similar abridged account with variants occurs in Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 18. 25 ff, Matsya-purāṇa 120. 23 ff

2. Vāyu Purāṇa 47. 28-30 :—

दिवि छायापथो यस्तु अनुनक्षत्रमण्डलम् ।
दृश्यते भास्वरो रात्रौ देवो त्रिपथगा तु सा ॥ २८ ॥
अन्तरिक्षं दिवं चैव भावयन्ती भुव्वं गता ।
भवोत्तमाङ्गे पतिता संमूढा योगमायया ॥ २९ ॥
तस्या ये विन्दवः केचित् क्रुद्धायाः पतिता क्षितौ ।
कृतं तु तैर्विन्दुसरस्ततो विन्दुसरः स्मृतम् ॥ ३० ॥

3. Rāmāyaṇa vv. 37-41 :—

ततो विसर्ज्यमानायाः स्रोतस्तत् सप्ततां गतम् ।
तिस्रः प्राचीमभिमुखं प्रतीचीं तिस्र एव तु ॥ ३७ ॥

नद्याः स्रोतस्तु गंगायाः प्रत्यपद्यत सप्तधा ।
 नलिनी ह्लादिनी चैव पावनी चैव प्राग् गताः ॥ ३८ ॥
 सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च प्रतोचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ।
 सप्तमी त्वन्वगात् तासां दक्षिणेन भगीरथम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 तस्मात् भागीरथी या सा प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम् ।
 सप्तैता भावयन्तीह हिमाह्वं वर्षमेव तु ॥ ४० ॥
 प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्ताः शुभा विन्दुसरोद्भवाः ।
 नानादेशान् भावयन्ति म्लेच्छप्रायांश्च सर्वशः ॥ ४१ ॥

4. Liṅga-purāṇa 52, 1-10, Kūrma-purāṇa 46, 28-33 :—

5. cf. सरोवरेभ्यः पुण्योदा देवनद्यो विनिर्गताः ।
 महौघतोया नद्यश्च ताः शृणुध्वं यथाक्रमम् ॥ १ ॥
 आकाशाश्भोनिधिर्योऽसौ सोम इत्यभिधीयते ।
 आधारः सर्वभूतानां देवानाममृताकरः ॥ २ ॥
 तस्मात्प्रवृत्ता पुण्योदा नदी ह्याकाशगामिनी ।
 सप्तमेनानिलपथा प्रयाता विमलोदका ॥ ३ ॥
 [सा ज्योतींष्यनुवर्तन्ती ज्योतिर्गणनिषेविता ।
 ताराकोटिसहस्राणां नक्षत्रैश्च समायुता ॥] ॥ ४ ॥
 माहेन्द्रेण गजेन्द्रेण आकाशपथयायिना ।
 क्रीडता ह्यन्तरतले या सा विक्षोभितोदका ॥ ५ ॥
 [नैकैर्विमानसंघातैः प्रकाशयद्भिन्नभस्तलम् ।
 सिद्धैरुपस्पृष्टजला महापुण्यजला शिवा ॥ ६ ॥
 वायुना प्रेर्यमाणा हि चानेकाभोगगामिनी ।
 परिवर्तयत्यहरहो यथा सूर्यस्तथैव सा] ॥ ७ ॥
 चत्वार्यंशीतिं प्रतता योजनानां समन्ततः ।
 वेगेन कुर्वती मेरुं सा प्रयाता प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ ८ ॥
 विभिद्यमानसलिला तैजसेनानिलेन च ।
 मेरोरन्तरकूटेषु पतिताथ चतुर्ष्वपि ॥ ९ ॥
 मेरुकूटतटान्तेभ्य उत्कृष्टेभ्यो निर्वातिता ।
 विकीर्यमाणसलिला चतुर्धा संखतोदका ॥ १० ॥
 षष्टियोजनसाहस्रं निरालम्बनमम्बरम् ।
 निपपात महाभागा मेरोस्तस्य चतुर्दिशम् ॥ ११ ॥
 सा चतुर्ष्वभितश्चैव महापादेषु शोभना ।
 पुण्या मन्दरपुर्वेषु पतिता हि महानदी ॥ १२ ॥

6. Liṅga-purāṇa 52. 6 ff. has instead :—

चत्वार्यशीतिश्च तथा सहस्राणां समुच्छ्रितः ।
योजनानां महामेरोः श्रीकण्ठाक्रीडकोमलः ॥
तमासीनो यतः सर्वः साम्बः सह गरुध्वरैः ।
क्रीडते मुचिरं कालं तस्मात् पुरयजला शिवा ॥
गिरिं मेहं नदी पुण्या प्रयाति हि प्रदक्षिणम् ॥

7. i. e. the Oxus. Viṣṇu P. does not give the name, other Purāṇas mostly give the reading *Cakṣus* or the like.

8. cf ततः द्रवृत्ता या देवी गंगा त्रिपथगामिनी ।
सा प्रविश्य सुधायोतिं सोममाधारमम्भसाम् ॥
ततः सम्बध्यमानाकार्कश्मिसंगतिपावनी ।
पपात मेरुपृष्ठे च सा चतुर्धा ततो ययौ ॥

9. (विष्णुपादविनिष्क्रान्ता ज्ञावयित्वेन्दुमण्डलम् ।)

likewise Bhāg. P. V. 17. 4 : इन्दुमण्डलमावार्यं ; Agni

P. 148. 19 : ज्ञावयित्वा चन्द्रम्

10. Mārkaṇḍeya P. 56. 7 ff. :—

तथैवालकनन्दाख्या दक्षिणे गन्धमादने ॥ ७ ॥
मेरुपादवनं गत्वा नन्दनं देवनन्दनम् ।
मानसं च महावेगात् ज्ञावयित्वा सरोवरम् ॥ ८ ॥
आसाद्य शैलराजानं रम्यं हि शिखरं तथा ।
तस्माच्च पर्वतान् सर्वान् दक्षिणोपक्रमोदितान् ॥ ९ ॥
तान् ज्ञावयित्वा सम्प्राप्ता हिमवन्तं महागिरिम् ।
दधार तत्र तां शम्भुर्न मुमोच वृषध्वजः ॥ १० ॥
भगीरथेनोपवासैः स्तुत्या चाराधितो विभुः ।
तत्र मुक्ता च सर्वेण सप्तधा दक्षिणोदधिम् ॥ ११ ॥
प्रविवेश त्रिधा प्राच्यां ज्ञावयन्ती महानदी ।
भगीरथरथस्थानु स्रोतसैकेन दक्षिणाम् ॥ १२ ॥

(11) Viṣṇu P. II. 2. 34 :

तथैवालकनन्दापि दक्षिणेनैव भारतम् ।

प्रयाति सागरं भूत्वा सप्तभेदा महासुते ॥ ३४ ॥

(12) Agni P. 108. 20, where however the stanza ends :

कृत्वा सप्तभेदाथ पश्चिमम् ॥ अन्धि च चक्षुः.....

(13) Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol III :

प्रदानभुजविक्रमप्रशमशास्त्रवाक्योदयै—

रुपर्युपरिसंचयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्गं यशः ।

पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्जटान्तर्गुहा-
निरोधपरिमोक्षशीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गांगं पयः ॥

of. श्वेतगंगावर्तपाण्डुरं पद्ममिव त्रिभुवनवन्दनीयं त्रिविक्रमस्य ।

(14) Tripathagā Vāyu P. 42. 7., 51. 21 ; 46 ; 58 88. Am. I. 10. 31 , Hem 1881 ; M. Bh. 13. 26. 77, Rām. I. 35. II ; 16, (गंगां त्रिपथगां नदीम्), I. 36. 3 ; I. 44. 6 ; 2. 50. 12 ; Amaru. 99 ; Rajatar. 3. 323 ; Kathās. 4. 30 ; त्रिपथगामिनी M. Bh. I. 98. 8 ; Rām. I. 35. 22 ; Trivartmagā M. Bh. 13. 26. 84, त्रिमागंगा Raghu. 13. 20 ; त्रिस्रोत Am. I. 10. 31 ; Hem. 1081, Kum. 7. 15.

(15) M. Bh. 2. 42. II ; Hariv. 3. 45. 32' त्रिकूटस्थां गगां त्रिपथगामिव ; M. Bh. 3. 107. 16, पौत्रश्च ते त्रिपथगां त्रिदिवादानयिष्यति ; 6. 6. 47 तत्र दिव्या त्रिपथगा प्रथमा तु प्रतिष्ठिता । ब्रह्मलोकादपक्रान्ता Sak. 7. 6, त्रिस्रोतसंवहति यो गगनप्रतिष्ठाम् ; Raghu. 10. 63, कृताभिषेकैर्दिव्यां त्रिस्रोतसि च सप्तभिः । ब्रह्मर्षिभिः Raghu. 13. 5. सप्तर्षिहस्तोद्धृतहेमपद्मां.....त्रिस्रोतसं त्र्यम्बकमौलिमालाम् ।

(16) त्रीन् पथो भावयन्तीति तस्मात् त्रिपथगा स्मृता ।

(17) अलंकृतास्त्रयो लोकाः पथिर्भविमलैस्त्रिभिः ।

(18) गंगा लोकानां पुण्यदा वै त्रयाणाम् ।

(19) M. Bh. 18. 3. 23 calls Gangā त्रैलोक्यपावनी ।

(20) भूस्थैर्दिविस्थैश्च भूतैश्चावचैरपि ।

गंगा विगाह्या सततम्..... ।

(21) ख्यातैर्यदस्याः खं दिवं गां च नित्यं पुरा दिशो विदिशश्चावतस्थे ।

(22) The world of the Pits is here naturally thought of as nether world.

of. M. Bh. 12. 328. 30 :

देवयानचरो विष्णो पितृयाणश्च तामसः ।

द्वौ एतौ प्रेत्य पन्थानौ दिवं चाधश्च गच्छतः ॥

इयं भूत्वा चैकवप्रा शुचिराकाशगा पुनः ।

देवेषु गंगा गन्धर्वं प्राप्नोति अलकनन्दताम् ॥२१॥

तथा पितृन् वैतरिणी दुस्तरा पापकर्मभिः ।

गंगा भवति वै प्राप्या कृष्णद्वैपायनोऽन्नवीत् ॥२२॥

पद्मपुराणसुभाषितानि

(पद्मपुराण, आनन्दाश्रमसंस्करण)

स वै पुंसां परो धर्मो यतो भक्तिरधोक्षजे ।	११११३
अचिन्त्याः खलु ये भावास्तान्न तर्केण साधयेत् ।	११३१२
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विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥	११११९
सदम्भश्च हतो धर्मः क्रोधेनैव हतं तपः ।	
अदृढं च हतं ज्ञानं प्रमादेन हतं श्रुतम् ॥	११२९।२८
अनभ्यासहता विद्या हतो बोधो विरोधकृत् ।	
जीवनार्थं हतं तीर्थं जीवनार्थं हतं व्रतम् ॥	११२९।३१
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अहिंसा परमो धर्मो ह्यहिंसैव परं तपः ।	
अहिंसा परमं दानमित्याहुर्मुनयः सदा ॥	११३१।२७
सर्वे धर्मा अहिंसायां प्रविशन्ति तथा दृढम् ॥	११३१।३७
ऋषीणां परमं गुह्यमिदं भरतसत्तम ।	
तीर्थाभिगमनं पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विशिष्यते ॥	११४९।१५
कृषिकारो यथा देवि क्षेत्रे बीजं सुसंस्थितः ।	
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परज्ञानप्रदा या च सा प्रज्ञा परिकथ्यते ।	
प्रज्ञा माता समाख्याता प्राणिनां पालनाय सा ॥	२।८।५९
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तथा दोषान्प्रज्वलित्वा दर्शनं हि प्रयास्यसि ॥	२।८।९९
तस्य पार्श्वं प्रगाथैव जयकालं प्रतीक्षयेत् ।	
दीपच्छायां समाश्रित्य तमो वर्तेत वै तथा ॥	

स्नेहं दशागतं प्रेक्ष्य दीपस्यापि महाबलम् ।
 प्रकाशं याति वेगेन तमश्च वर्धते पुनः ॥
 तथा प्रसाधयेच्छुभं स्नेहं निर्दिश्य तत्त्वतः ।
 स्नेहं कृत्वा सुरैः सार्धं धर्मभावैः सुरद्विषः ॥ २११०१२९-४१
 लोभः पापस्य बीजं हि मोहो मूलं च तस्य हि ।
 असत्यं तस्य स्कन्धो वै मायाशाखा-सुविस्तरः ॥
 दम्भकौटिल्यपत्राणि कुबुद्ध्या पुष्पितः सदा ।
 नृशंसं तस्य सौगन्धं फलमज्ञानमेव च ॥
 छद्मपाखण्डचौर्येष्याः क्रूराः क्रूराश्च पापिनः ।
 पक्षिणो मोहवृक्षस्य मायाशाखासमाश्रिताः ॥
 अज्ञानं यत्फलं तस्य रसोऽधर्मः प्रकीर्तितः ।
 भावोदकेन संवृद्धिस्तस्याश्रद्धा ऋतुः प्रिय ॥
 अधर्मः सुरसस्तस्य चोत्कटैर्मधुरायते ।
 यादृशैश्च फलैश्चैव सुफलो लोभपादपः ॥
 तस्यच्छायां समाश्रित्य यो नरः परितुष्यते ।
 फलानि तस्य चाशनाति सुपक्वानि दिने दिने ॥
 फलानां तु रसेनापि ह्यधर्मेण तु पालितः ।
 स संतुष्टो भवेन्मर्त्यः पतनायाभिगच्छति ॥ २११११६-२२
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 यथा वह्निप्रसङ्गाच्च मलं त्यजति काञ्चनम् ।
 तथा सतां हि संसर्गात् पापं त्यजति मानवः ।
 सत्यवह्निप्रदीप्तश्च प्रज्वलेत्पुण्यतेजसा ॥ २१३२११९
 सुक्षेत्रे कर्षको यादृग्बीजं वपति तत्परः ।
 स तथा भुञ्जते देवि यथा बीजं तथा फलम् ।
 अन्यथा नैव जायेत तत्सर्वं सदृशं भवेत् ॥ २१३४११२
 आत्मा कायश्च द्वावेतौ मित्ररूपावुभावपि ।
 कायं मित्रं परित्यज्य आत्मा याति सुनिश्चितम् ॥ २१६४१५८

- स्कन्धात्स्कन्धे नयन्भारं विश्रामं मन्यते यथा ।
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- यथामृत्पिण्डतः कर्ता कुरुते यद्यदिच्छति ।
तथा पूर्वकृतं कर्म कर्तारमनुगच्छति ॥ २।६१।४२
- इह यत् क्रियते कर्म फलं तत्रैव भुज्यते ।
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- यादृशं वपते बीजं तादृशं फलमश्नुते ।
न वापयति यः क्षेत्रं न स भुञ्जति तत्फलम् ॥ २।९७।५७
- नास्ति ज्ञानसमो दीपः सर्वान्धकारनाशने ।
अङ्गारसदृशी योषित् सर्पिःकुम्भसमः पुमान् ।
तस्याः परिसरे ब्रह्मन्स्थातव्यं न कदाचन ॥ ३।१८।१८
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येन संतरते जन्तुरिह लोके परत्र च ॥ ४।९२।६३
- किं विद्यया किं तपसा किं त्यागेन नयेन वा ।
किं विविकतेन मनसा स्त्रीभिर्यस्य मनो हृतम् ॥ ४।९५।१४
- परित्यजेदर्थकामौ स्यातां चेद्धर्मवर्जितौ ।
धर्मेण प्राप्यते सर्वमर्थकामादिकं सुखम् ॥ ४।९५।२६
- श्वास एव चपलः क्षणमध्ये यो गतागतशतानि विधत्ते ।
जीवितेऽपि तदधीनचेतसा कः समाचरति धर्मविलम्बम् ॥ ४।९५।४९
- प्रमादात् सर्वभूतानि विनश्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ५।१८।३५७
- लोभात् प्रमादात् विश्रम्भात् त्रिविधैः क्षीयते जगत् ।
तस्माल्लोभं न कुर्वीत न प्रमादं न विश्वसेत् ॥ ५।१८।३६०
- प्राणत्यागे समुत्पन्ने शपथैर्नास्ति पातकम् ॥ ५।१८।३९१
- उक्त्वाऽनृतं भवेद्यत्र प्राणिनां प्राणरक्षणम् ।
अनृतं तत्र सत्यं स्यात् सत्यमप्यनृतं भवेत् ॥
- कामिनीषु विवाहेषु गवां मुक्तौ तथैव च ।
ब्राह्मणानां विषतौ च शपथैर्नास्ति पातकम् ॥ ५।१८।३९२-३९३

- न सा सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा वृद्धा न ते ये न वदन्ति धर्मम् ।
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- द्विविधं च सुखं तावत् पुत्रि लोके विभाव्यते ।
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- अश्वत्थामा बलिव्यासो हनूमांश्च विभीषणः ।
 कृपः परशुरामश्च सप्तैते चिरजीविनः ॥ ५१४६१७
- नखिनां च नदीनां च शृङ्गिणां शस्त्रधारिणाम् ।
 विश्वासो नैव कर्तव्यः स्त्रीणां प्रेप्यजनस्य च ॥
 न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते विश्वस्ते नातिविश्वसेत् ।
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- यथा हि पथिकः कश्चिच्छायामाश्रित्य तिष्ठति ।
 विश्रम्य च पुनर्गच्छेत्तद्बद्धभूतसमागमः ॥ ५१९८१३६८
- लोको वदति वाक्यानि चन्दनं किल शीतलम् ।
 पुत्रगात्रपरिष्वङ्गश्चन्दनादपि शीतलः ॥ ५१९८१३७५
- सुजनो न याति विकृतिं परहितनिरतो विनाशकालेऽपि ।
 छिन्नोऽपि चन्दनतरुः सुरभयति सुखं कुठारस्य ॥ ६१७१२३
- ते साधवो भुवनमण्डलमौलिभूता
 ये साधुतामनुपकारिषु दर्शयन्ति ।
 आत्मप्रयोजनवशात्कृतछिन्नदेहः
 पूर्वोपकारिषु खलोऽपि हितानुरक्तः ॥ ६१७१२५
- अन्यस्माल्लब्धोष्मा नीचः प्रायेण दुःसहो भवति ।
 रविरपि न तपति तादृग् यादृशं तपति बालुका-निकरः ॥ ६१८११४

(रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य)

THE OLD-JAVANESE AGASTYAPARVAN

BY

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[हालेण्डदेशनिवासिना डा० 'जे० गोन्डा' नाम प्रसिद्धविदुषा जावादेशे प्राप्तस्य 'अगस्त्यपर्व' नाम्नः प्राचीनग्रन्थस्य विषये विमर्शोऽत्र प्रस्तुतः । जावाद्वीपे भारतीयसंस्कृतिसम्बन्धिनो द्विविधाः प्राचीना ग्रन्थाः प्राप्यन्ते—मूलसंस्कृतग्रन्थानां जावाभाषान्तररूपा ग्रन्थाः, प्राचीनं भारतीयसंस्कृतवाङ्मयमनुसृत्य च रचिता ग्रन्थाः । जावा-ब्रह्माण्ड-पुराणमिव केचिद् ग्रन्था मूलसंस्कृतग्रन्थानामुद्धरणानि प्रदाय ततोऽनन्तरं तेषां जावाभाषान्तरं व्याख्यानं च (वा) चक्रुः । 'अगस्त्यपर्व' नाम जावादेशीयो ग्रन्थः एतामेव पद्धतिमनुसरति । तस्य रचनाकालोऽनवगतः । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य श्रीगोन्डामहोदयेन सम्पादनं डचभाषान्तरं च कृतम् (१९३३-३६ ई०) । अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे गुरोरगस्त्यस्य स्वपुत्रेण दृढस्युना सह पौराणिकाः संवादा वर्तन्ते । अत्र बहूनि संस्कृतोद्धरणान्यपि सन्ति येषां विषयसाम्यं धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थ-महाभारत-पुराणादिभिः सह वर्तते, परन्तु कोऽप्येकः संस्कृतग्रन्थोऽस्य मूलत्वेन नाद्यावधि ज्ञातम् । अत्रोद्धृतानामनेकेषां संस्कृतश्लोकानां मूलमपि नोपलभ्यते । यद्यप्यत्र पौराणिकान्याख्यानानि वंशवर्णनानि च पुराणेष्विवैव वर्तन्ते, परन्त्वत्र कतिचिद् धार्मिका विषया असाधारणा अपि सन्ति । अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे दृढस्युकृतान् द्वाविंशतिप्रश्नाननुसृत्य त्रयोविंशतिरध्यायाः सन्ति । आद्याश्वत्वारोऽध्यायास्तु प्रास्ताविकाः, शेषेषु च ब्रह्मर्षिवंशानां, प्रधानतः दक्षस्य तस्य संततेश्च, वर्णनं वर्तते, यत्रान्तराऽन्तरा बहून्त्याख्यानमिश्रितानि धर्म-दर्शन-नीतिविषयकाणि प्रवचनान्यपि सन्ति । किमेतानि प्रवचनानि प्रक्षेपरूपाणि उत मूलरूपाणि, कश्च संस्कृतग्रन्थोऽस्य मूलमित्यादयः प्रश्ना अप्यत्रोपस्थिता भवन्ति ।]

Among the many ancient Javanese texts which are either translated from Sanskrit or deal with subjects borrowed from the Indian religious, juridical or traditional literature, and which therefore are of the highest importance for any student of Indian religion and literature, there are some which attract our special attention, or excite our interest because their Indian model or prototype has hitherto not been traced. Although it would be too much to hope that in the future we shall be able to detect

the source or the author of any Old-Javanese passage written in Sanskrit, it may be recalled to mind that in the last decennium one of these vexing problems has been felicitously solved. We now know, by the joint efforts of the Indian scholar Manomohan Ghosh and the Dutch professor Dr. C. Hooykaas, that the author of the great and famous Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (\pm 925 A. D.) has, in about the first 65% of his work, followed Bhaṭṭi's version of the epic subject matter, that is to say the well-known poem Bhaṭṭikāvya.¹ We now know also that the Javanese poet has, like his model, endeavoured also to make his work exemplary from the point of view of theoretical poetics by applying the rules of alaṃkāraśāstra.

It does not seem impossible that in the future more light may be shed on the origin and the composition of other Javanese works which, while dealing with Indian subject-matter, either follow, like the Rāmāyaṇa, Indian models and rules of composition, or consist, like the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa², largely of Sanskrit quotations followed by Javanese translations and (or) explanations. One of the texts belonging to the latter class—which may be given the general name of translational prose—is the so-called Agastyaparvan. This interesting Old-Javanese treatise, of unknown date and considerable length, was at the time edited and translated (into Dutch) by myself³. Filling, in print, about 60 pages, it consists in the usual way, of a conversation between a guru, *in casu* the famous sage Agastya, and a disciple or interrogator, his son Dṛḍhasyu. In this conversation the former does, of course, most of the talking. As to its contents and composition this book may, generally speaking, be called a work of the Purāṇa variety. Although the Agastyaparvan, like for instance also the Javanese adaptation of the

1. See C. Hooykaas, in *Madjalah untuk ilmu bahasa, ilmu bumi dan kibudajaan Indonesia* 86 (Djakarta 1958).

2. See my article *The Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa in Purāṇa*, II (1960), p. 252.

3. *Agastyaparva*, by J. Gonda, 's-Gravenhage 1933-1936 published by the Institute voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 90; 92; 94, and also separately in one volume.

parvans of the Mahābhārata, is interlarded with Sanskrit quotations, it is as yet impossible to say whether it was, like the Mahābhārata, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa etc., modelled upon, or even meant to be an adapted version of a Sanskrit text. We are not even able to say whether it is a complete work or only part of a larger text. Although the contents of many passages can be, more or less easily, traced in Sanskrit works (dharmaśāstras, Mahābhārata, Purāṇas), no single Sanskrit work or part of a larger work has come to my knowledge which is in the main identical with the contents of this Javanese document. And although part of the Sanskrit quotations do not differ much from similar ślokas in Indian books, there are exceptions, and the question may arise as to the source of these non-identified stanzas. Moreover, while part of the contents are well-known paurāṇic myths, tales, genealogies etc., which remind us of parallels in the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, other passages, especially those of a more theological character, are not always well represented in Sanskrit literature, however much they resemble, in purport and character, and often also in detail, similar episodes in many Indian works of the epic, śāstric and paurāṇic varieties. In short, although there are other ancient Javanese texts which deal, at least in part, with the same subject-matter—e. g. the Sañhyañ Kamahāyānikan⁴, the Koravāśrama⁵—the Agastyaparvan does not fail to confront us with intriguing problems.

The twenty-two questions put by young Dṛḍhasyu suggest a convenient division in twenty-three chapters or paragraphs, not all of which are however strictly speaking completely relevant. After four introductory chapters, almost the entire book consists of a relation of the genealogy of the brahmarṣis, especially of Dakṣa and his offspring. These genealogies, however, serve as a framework encompassing brief treatises of a didactic, theological or philosophical character—which however constitute the essential part of the subject-matter—, alternating with short

4. Edited by J. Kats, The Hague 1910.

5. Edited by J. L. Swellengrebel, Thesis Leiden 1936.

stories or legends connected with one of the persons mentioned in the course of the author's expositions. The problem arises as to how the 'philosophical' passages were inserted in the genealogical and legendary framework; do the former constitute real insertions or was the text conceived as a whole?

It would be convenient to insert here a somewhat abridged English translation of the Dutch table of contents which I composed in my above publication (Bijdr. T.L.V. 92, p. 338-340; separate publication p. 94-95); Ch. I introduction, Agastya and his son hold a conversation. Ch. II: Dr̥ḍhasyu wishes to receive some information about the origin of the world; his father gives an exposition of creation and pralaya, of earth, atmosphere, heaven and subterranean worlds and abodes, of the well-known Sāṃkhya doctrine of the elements and their successive emanation. At the time of the Mahāpralaya the Lord Sadāśiva—the whole of the treatise is decidedly Śivaite in character—is the only being in existence. It is He who, wishing to create the universe, causes the elements to come into existence. Ch. III deals in a similar way with the origin of the brahmarṣis and the manus; Ch. IV with the manvantaras. In Ch. V the daughters of Dakṣa, their husbands and children are enumerated. Then the author proceeds to discuss, in Ch. VI, the causes and reasons for which beings go to heaven or hell; the results of a sinful life are demonstrated by means of an explication of special sins and demerits. The journey of the ātman after death towards heaven or hell; the tortures of hell; reincarnation in accordance with one's merits or demerits in the previous earthly existence; the concepts of *tapas*, *yajña* and *kīrti* (a general term for founding buildings, parks, fountains etc. for religious purposes or for gaining religious merit) etc. are the subjects of Ch. VII; they are illustrated by examples and followed by an expatiation on those daughters of Dakṣa's who had not yet been made mention of, viz., the thirteen who married Kaśyapa. With reference to the eldest of them, Aditi, whose twelve children are enumerated, Dr̥ḍhasyu asks (Ch. VIII) for what reason these children of Aditi were gods. The cause of

their divinity, Agastya answers, was the very character of their mother, a statement leading him to a general discussion of the characters of gods and saptarṣis. The genealogies of the children of Kaśyapa and the other daughters of Dakṣa, which is the next subject, is followed by some digressions on Indra who after slaying Prah̄lāda attempts to kill Diti's second child: he enters the body of the expectant mother, for which reason he is called Puram̄dara. Because of his brahmahatyā—the idea is explained—he cannot return to his heavenly abode; the brahmahatyā falls, as a thread, to the earth to be present, at night, in various fruits, milk, butter, and honey, and, by day, in women. The genealogies are continued. In Chapter IX the character of Diti is said to be the cause of the daitya nature of her issue, which is compared with men and gods in respect of their mastering of the *ṣaḍvarga* (*kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha* etc.). In a similar way the character of the gandharvas is explained from that of their mother Prabhā (Ch. X), Vinatā's character is discussed in connection with her son Garuḍa. Mention is also made of Kadrū's offspring (Ch. XI), which consists of snakes, a fact the cause of which is again said to lie in their mother's character. The genealogy is continued. When the yakṣas are mentioned, Agastya explains (Ch. XIII) why they are keepers of treasures. Thereupon the narrative passes on to the churning of the ocean, the *ṣaḍvarga* which are to be controlled by men and the origin of which lies in the *antaḥkaraṇa* (the well-known concept of Sāṁkhya philosophy). In Ch. XIV it is taught that the ahaṁkāra should be destroyed or nullified by yoga. There follows an excursion on the so called *trikāya paramārtha*, i. e. the well-known group of *kāyika*, *vācika* and *mānasika* activities or *kāya*, *vāk* and *citta*. In a continuation of the genealogy (Ch. XV) the animals are, in a long passage, said to be the children of Pulaha. Some doctrines concerning reincarnation are added, with special reference to the question as to why a being may descend to lower and lower births. Agastya then proceeds (Ch. XVI) to explain the deliverance of those who have sunk low. After other genealogical observations

he makes some remarks on the biological contributions of fathers and mothers to the constitution of their children in general and on the rules of conduct to be observed during the cohabitation. After some comment (Ch. XVII) on the family of Dakṣa's son-in-law Bhṛgu, mention is made of Aurva and Paraśu-Rāma. The latter's intention was (Ch. XVIII) to reach the highest of the sixteen tattvas, viz. final emancipation. In a next paragraph the yoga required to reach the various stages and grades is described, and also (Ch. XIX) the conditions to be fulfilled by those who want to become *devatās*, among which are in the first place the three *vratas* (the so-called *akrodha*, *alobha*, *śokavarjita*). If one is not able to live up to these principles there is, Ch. XX says, another way, viz. rendering homage to a paṇḍita and being initiated by him. These observations are followed by a description of the qualities of persons who devote themselves to a religious and spiritual life, who want to be able and qualified gurus, etc. and by a passage on the *dīkṣā* and related subjects. In Ch. XXI Agastya deals with the offspring of Aṅgiras and Marīci's daughter Suiṇpā, in Ch. XXII with the other relatives of Pulastya who had also married Ilā, a daughter of Tṛṇabindu. In connection with the names of Raghu, Dilipa, and Rāmabhadra in the ensuing genealogical account, Dṛḍhasyu asks how these kings behaved so that the world became happy and prosperous (Ch. XXIII). The answer is: they, and each of the *caturvarṇa*, followed the dharma. Here the text ends without adding, for instance, the statement that father and son discontinue their conversation.

As is well known many legends centre round the figure of the narrator Agastya, the sage and great champion of Aryan civilization in the South.⁶ Part of these legends appear in the epics and purāṇas to preserve the memory of a vast and important cultural movement, the Hinduization of Southern India.

6 A. K. Nilakanta Sastri, a *History of South India*, Oxford 1955, p. 64 ff. ; the same, *History of India*, 12, Madras 1953, p. 170 f. ; K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, *The History and Culture of the Indian people*, II 2, Bombay 1953, p. 290 ff.

Agastya was also worshipped in Further India and Indonesia.⁷ His role as a saint and as the promoter of Hinduization and preacher of Śivaism in the island of Java is well attested by epigraphy, sculpture and literature.⁸ Mention may, for instance, be made of the Dinaya inscription (A. D. 760) recording how the ruler of East Java, who was a great devotee of the saint, made a fine abode for him, installing his image of black stone in the place of the wooden image set up by his ancestors. The Agastyaparvan however does not shed much light on the Javanese Agastya-worship, although it stands a fair chance of having enjoyed special popularity because of the prevalence of that worship in the archipelago.

The role played by the sage in the treatise under consideration is, although unknown from other Indonesian texts, not uncommon in India. There are in India many works or episodes in which Agastya appears as the author, narrator or interrogator. Already in the Ṛgveda, no less than 27 hymns (1, 165-171) are attributed to him. The Mahābhārata informs us of his marriage with Lopāmudrā and the birth of his son Dr̥ḍhasyu.⁹ In the Rāmāyaṇa the sage explains to Rāma the origin of the rākṣasas, adding a long genealogical account of their families (Rām. 7, 4 ff.). The cantos 1-36 of the VII book of the Rāmāyaṇa, being not intrinsically related to the main theme of the epic, essentially are a concatenation of 'ancient history' and genealogies, and as such are of a 'paurāṇic' character. As to its form and composition this section is an 'Agastyaparvan', because it is Agastya who after having, at

7. Nilakanta Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Bombay 1949, p. 59; 128 f.; 1'0; R. C. Majumdar, in *Majumdar Pusalkar, o c., IV*, p. 418. ff.

8. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel*, Thesis Leiden 1926; Nilakanta Sastri, *Agastya*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen 1936, p. 471 ff.

9. See A Holtzmann, *Der heilige Agastya nach den Erzählungen des Mahābhārata*, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 34 (1889), p. 589 ff.

the head of a delegation of ṛṣis, approached Rāma, gives him the information wanted. In the same Uttarakāṇḍa Agastya is also the narrator of sargas 77-82 which may again be regarded as 'paurāṇic': Daṇḍa, a descendant of Manu, interfered with a daughter of his purohita Uśanas who therefore cursed him so that he and his country were reduced to ashes. Did the original author of the Old-Javanese document under consideration draw on these passages or was he inspired by them to write a larger work on genealogies?

In the Purāṇas there are also some episodes in which the sage appears as the narrator or as a studious listener. The beginning of the Pātālakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa bears a striking resemblance to the introductory passage of the Uttarakāṇḍa. Another circumstantial account ascribed to Agastya occurs in the Varāhapurāṇa, 51 ff.: here the sage relates, *inter alia*, the story of king Paśupāla, adding some instruction of Viṣṇu worship (*vratas* etc.), a legend dealing with Nārada, an account of the conduct of the *varṇas* in the different *yugas*, on *agamyāgamana* and some stories in connection with the narrator himself. There is a considerable difference in content between this episode and the Javanese book; yet, the former could be considered an 'Agastyaparvan'. There is further a work that, passing under the name of Devīpurāṇa, is a semitāntric purāṇa, glorifying the power of the great goddess and professing to be revealed by Agastya to Nṛpavāhana; it is related to the ṛṣis by the muni Vaśiṣṭha. An Agastya-smṛti¹⁰ lays down the rules for the acts and religious rites which a brahman should perform from the early morning until late into the evening. Agastya-sūtras expounding the bhakti of the Devī-Bhāgavata and bearing resemblance to the Nārada and Śaṅḍilya-sūtras were at the time (1897) studied in volume III of the Sanskrit Journal of Madras¹¹. The Arabic author Alberuni made mention of "the book Agastyamata,

10. A triennial Catalogue of mss., Madras 1912/4-1915/6, 1309, no. 994 h.

11. J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, Oxford 1920, p. 262 and 359.

composed by Agastya, treating of the subject that in all investigations we must use the apperception of the senses as well as the tradition"¹²

As is well known, there are many texts which profess to belong to, or to form part of, one of the purāṇas. One of these is an Agastyasamhitā in which the sage and his brother Sutikṣṇa hold a conversation (*sutikṣṇāgastyasamvāda*); according to its colophon,¹³ it belongs to the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and contains at least thirty-five chapters. Such a text has however not been incorporated into that purāṇa, as it is known to us from printed editions. And many 'Agastyasamhitās' are, in a similar way, said to form part of the conglomerate of traditions known as Skandapurāṇa. These writings deal, in a general way, with religious subjects, such as *prāyaścittas*, *śānti*, *mudrālakṣaṇas*, worship, *dharma*, religious traditions etc. The Old-Javanese work stands therefore a fair chance of being an adaptation of a Sanskrit text of this category, the original of which has hitherto remained obscure. In any case the Javanese treatise is, as to its spirit and contents, paurāṇic, this term to be taken in its wider sense. It does not only contain cosmology, ancient history, legends and genealogies, but also episodes of a philosophical and theological nature. At the same time it reminds us of that category of religious works which is known as āgamas, a technical term which even occurs in the text itself—p. 382 (54); 389 (61); 391 (63)—expressing the sense of "traditional doctrine." Although this large body of literature is closely related to the tantras, the evidence pointing to mutual borrowing and percolation of ideas, it would be incorrect to consider the Javanese Agastyaparvan a tantristic document or even to assume¹⁴ that it may shed light on the origin and provenance of tantristic tenets and rites in the island of Java.

12. Alberuni, India, ed. Sachau (1887), p. 64; English translation by Sachau (1910), I, p. 132.

13. See A descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss., Madras XVI, p. 6297, no. 8682.

14. With Dr. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, De Tantu Panggelaran, Thesis Leiden 1924, p. 325.

As already observed, the Javanese work is Śivaitic in character. It is Śiva who, as Sadāśiva, creates the universe and his name is repeatedly mentioned. The term Śivabhakti occurs in a Sanskrit stanza, the name Śivāditya is well known to the author. The god is however neither the author nor the narrator, a function ascribed to him by the authors of the tantras. No mention is made of the worship of Devī. In relating the creation of the world the *prakṛti* is not identified with Śiva's śakti. The *pañcatattva*, *yantras*, *mudrās*, *nyāsas* and the doctrine of *mantras* are left undiscussed. In describing the *varṇāśramas* no mention is made of the *sāmānyas*. Such female divinities and personifications as Rati, Aditi, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, Svadhā are not represented, as they are in the tantras, as partial incarnations of the Female Principle. If we follow the definition proposed by Sir John Woodroffe¹⁵: "where there is *mantra*, *yantra*, *nyāsa*, *dikṣā*, *guru* and the like, there is Tantra Shāstra", the text cannot be described as written under the influence of Tāntrism. Only some passages may be said to tend towards Tāntrism. For instance, whereas most of the tāntristic topics are absent, the high position of the spiritual teacher, the *dikṣā* and the discussion of some rites point at least in that direction.

The paragraphs devoted, in Chapter XX, to the *guru* and his functions are indeed of some interest because they clearly show the power and influence of the spiritual guide and importance of his position. He represents Sadāśiva. The qualities required to be a good *guru* are discussed at some length. One of his privileges is the initiation of the adepts (the *dikṣā*), that is to say the admission into the religious community, the ordination by which the adepts are brought into immediate contact with the divinity. As a whole and in general however, the text represents, from the point of view of dogmatics, that mixture of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta ideas which is characteristic of many Indian works of the paurāṇic variety; from the point of view of ethics it is, in the main, in agreement with the doctrines

15. Sir John Woodroffe, *Shakti and Śākta* 3, London 1929, p. 56.

of Manu—whose name is mentioned—and the Bhagavadgītā ; it gives evidence of acquaintance with a fully developed yoga system on the basis of the general Hinduistic, and in particular Śivaite, conceptions.

It seems however possible to determine the religious and literary position of the Old-Javanese work somewhat more precisely. Although the many (about 155) Sanskrit quotations which it contains are, generally speaking, not identical with stanzas occurring in Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa version of the paurāṇic themes, the text itself not rarely reminds us of these two works. This is not strange because the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa was at least in part translated into Javanese. There is a considerable number of passages in which proper names, the sequence of the facts related and other details, while being different from the corresponding passages in the other sources, are in agreement with the Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu texts. For instance, p. 349, 14 six of the twelve *sādhyas* are mentioned by name ; these names look very much like those in Bmḍ. 2, 3, 17 ; Vā. 66, 16 ; they do not however occur in other purāṇas. Moreover, the colophon points in this direction, because it says that the Agastyaparvan is a *piturun* of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. This Javanese word (“incarnation, descendant”) is no doubt intended to inform us that the text goes back to that purāṇa, or is an adaptation of subject-matter contained in it. The question however remains as to which Agastyaparvan—the Javanese work or an Indian prototype—and which Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa are meant, for in a minority of cases the Agastyaparvan, while joining other purāṇas varies from the Brahmāṇḍa text. In a few cases the closest resemblance is to the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.

Let us now turn to a discussion of some other points of importance. Whereas, to begin with, the patriarch Dakṣa and his spouse Prasūti had, according to the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, 24 daughters, 13 of whom were married to Dharma and 11 to 11 other men, the Agastyaparvan gives them 51 daughters, 13 of whom became Prajāpati's wives and 12 the ladies of

Dakṣa's brothers; on the others the text is silent. Dakṣa however had according to the Agastyaparvan, also another wife, Asiktiki—i. e. Asiknī—, Vīraṇa's daughter, who gave him 10 daughters who married Dharma, and 27 daughters who became the wives of the Moon. Elsewhere the same work states that Dakṣa had another 13 daughters who married Kaśyapa; their mother (perhaps Prasūti?) is left unmentioned. The version of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa has the support of a number of Indian purāṇas, although the number of Dakṣa's daughters and their husbands varied greatly. In the main, however, there are two versions of the paragraphs dealing with Dakṣa's family; according to the one he had 50 or 60 (mother: Asiknī), according to the other 24 daughters (mother: Prasūti). Curiously enough, both versions are often found in the same purāṇa (Padma, Viṣṇu, Kūrma, Liṅga, Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu), but then Dakṣa's marriage with Prasūti is said to have taken place in Svāyambhuva-manvantara, his wedding with Asiknī, in another existence, in cākṣuṣamanvantara. In the Agastyaparvan, however, no mention is made of two different manvantaras, and the number 51 is strange, although the names of the 13 wives of Prajāpati are in harmony with those of Dakṣa's daughters, who according to the Indian texts and the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa married Dharma. The conclusion must be that in the Agastyaparvan, two traditions seem to have been fused without any attempt at accounting for Dakṣa's two marriages. May we infer from this that the version it presents is younger than that of those purāṇas which assume the rebirth of Dakṣa in a later manvantara? And may we arrive at the same conclusion on the strength of the assumption that the number 51 is a detail of a version of the story in which the 10 daughters who married Dharma, the 27 who married the Moon, and the 14 wives of Kaśyapa were added up, a younger version making these 51 girls the daughters of Prasūti and marrying them off otherwise?

A closely connected passage is that dealing with the *nakṣatras*, i. e. the 27 spouses of Soma. In enumerating them the Agastyaparvan resembles the version of the Sanskrit

Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyupurāṇas more closely than other texts. Unlike the Nakṣatrakalpa (Atharvaparīśiṣṭa I), 1, 1 ff. etc. the Javanese work mentions 27, not 28, nakṣatras and begins with Aśvinī, not with the Kṛttikā. A comparison between the relevant data contained in the Agastyaparvan on the one hand and the Javanese and Balinese astrological calendars¹⁶ on the other shows that the former, it is true, mentions also the Javanese names of the constellations, but agrees only in one single case with the latter in respect of their identification with the Sanskrit names. This point is of some interest because in the opinion of some scholars the Javanese had adopted the Sanskrit names to indicate constellations for which they had already, a more or less systematical nomenclature of their own; after that their astrological calendar did not, however,—according to the same scholars—include or refer to the Indian nakṣatra names. Interestingly enough, the Agastyaparvan actually gives, in part of the cases, such an identification of Indonesian terms and nakṣatra names: “As to the constellations called in popular speech the head of the pig Damaluñ, that is Puṣya”. In other cases such an identification fails to turn up, but the author while mentioning the Sanskrit names of the nakṣatras attempts, by describing their outward form to make clear which constellation is meant: “if you see a constellation like a vehicle it is Rohiṇī”. The conclusion seems to be that for the latter category there were no Indonesian names¹⁷.

Turning now to some other details it may be observed that the contents of Chapters VI and VII—an account of the miserable consequences of sinful behaviour—is generally speaking in perfect harmony with a considerable number of Indian parallels¹⁸. The narrative is amplified by many examples of

16. See A Maass, Sternkunde und Sterndeuterei im malaiischen Archipel [Astronomy and astrology in Indonesia, in German], in Tijdschrift T. L. V. 64 (1924), p. 163 ff.

17. For particulars I refer to my above publication, Bijdr. T. L. V. 92, p. 361 (sep, publ. p. 120).

18. For a comparison between the data contained in the Agastya parvan and in other Old-Javanese sources the reader may be referred to my article

special cases in which diseases and physical defects arose from the sins committed in a former life. The description of the tortures to which the sinners are subjected in the nether world, the sojourn in heaven of the well-conducted who are distinguished for asceticism, sacrifices and what is called *kīrti*, i.e. *dharmakriyā* (cf. Manu 12, 31), the digression on the five *mahāyajñas* and other particulars are completely Indian. In order to characterize the style and composition of the work a passage may be quoted and, as far as the Javanese is concerned, translated here. The stanza which after emendation—almost all Sanskrit passages have been handed down in a more or less corrupted form—reads as follows (p. 351 or 23): *śarirajaiḥ karmadoṣair yāti sthāvaratāṃ naraḥ vācikaiḥ pakṣimrgatāṃ mānasair antyajātītām* (= Manu 12, 9; cf. also Yājñavalkya 3, 134-136) is in the usual way paraphrased and explained: “that is to say: if there is a human being whose behaviour is in all respects wrong, who gives pain to the people who see him, without however resorting to malicious speech and sinful thoughts—who however does not know how to behave decently—, when such a human being dies, he will become a plant, a tree. The man however who uses bad language, who does not know how to express himself properly, who does not know how to behave decently,—when such a human being dies, he will become a plant, a tree. The man, however, who uses bad language, who does not know how to express himself properly, who does not know how to behave decently, qualities which, however, are not accompanied by a wicked state of mind, but whenever he speaks, he offends the ears of those who listen to him—when such a man dies, he will be reborn as a forest-animal or a bird. The man who is without a good mind, whose state of mind is exclusively and uninterruptedly engrossed with envy, anger, and avarice, whose heart is base (?), when such a man dies, he will be a barbarian (*mleccha*). His condition will be worse than that of those who

‘Karman and Retributive Justice in Ancient Java’, which is to appear in the Volume in honour of Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Calcutta.

are reborn as trees, because it is difficult for those who are called barbarians to obtain emancipation. The trees, however, and the animals, it is their destination (?) to be emancipated. Thus that which is done with the body, with words and with the mind constitutes the lowest, middle and highest categories”.

The next śloka runs as follows : *dharmasūlam loke draṣṭum necchati kātaraḥ | pretyabhūtya vācaksuḥ syād mahārauravasambhavaḥ* (for blindness as a result of sins in a preceding existence see e. g. Manu 11, 52 ; Viṣṇusmṛti 45, 20 etc.). I have not succeeded in tracing the source of this śloka, which in all probability was followed by a pendant which though omitted in the Javanese text as this is known to us, has been paraphrased as follows : “but who rejoices in seeing (people) liking fisticuffs, people thumping and kicking, people who cudgel and injure other people, the character of such a man produces the effect of being reborn as a blind man, because the Lord has created the eyes for the purpose of seeing virtuous and correct behaviour”.

The genealogies which are the subject of the framework of Chapters XV-XVII are, in the main, in agreement with the Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu version. Here also there are some striking differences in detail, among other things a moralizing passage in connection with the story of Jaṭāyu which does not occur in the parallel texts. Jaṭāyu, it is told, has become a god because he has done many services to his fellow-men. Therefore the great mass of the people should follow his example and exert themselves to the utmost, conferring benefits upon others, so that they may be purified and their behaviour justified. A wise man does not want to be favoured by the rich, because the recompense does not fall to him. Those who accept gifts without scruples are avaricious, they will be reborn as women and become the wives of the rich who were their benefactors.

Attention may also be drawn to Chapter XVIII containing, *inter alia*, a description of the *multapada*, in which the names and terminology of different religious schools and

communities are enumerated in succession (p. 385 ; 57) : the text makes mention of the Yogitapakṣa (?) who call the abode of the emancipated yogādiparamanerātmya ; of the adherents of the Bhairavamārga who give it the name of anantaparamānanda ; of the Śaivas Pāśupatas and the adepts of the Siddhānta doctrine according to whom it is the *yogādiparamaguhyā* ; and the Vaiṣṇavas who call it *niṣkalaparamaśūnya*¹⁹. This paragraph reminds us of a passage in the Buddhist Javanese text *Sanhyañ Kamahāyānikan*, b 44 ff.²⁰

Another chapter is devoted to the obligations of the social classes and stations in life (XXIII), a favourite subject of *smṛtis* and *purāṇas*. The passage dealing with permissible and forbidden marriages between members of the four classes is however of a striking brevity and succinctness : one should marry a person of one's own class, a man may however also choose a girl from the next lower class. As is well known *savarṇa*—was, e. g. by Baudhāyana (1, 8, 16, 6), defined as “the son of a couple belonging to the same *varṇa* or class, or of a father who belonged to the next higher class to that of the mother”.

There are also some paragraphs which cannot go back to Indian sources and must therefore be of Javanese origin. To these passages belong, for instance, a reference to a certain Uḍug basur (Ch. VIII ; p. 363 or 35) : the *daitya* Gaveṣṭhi or Kālanemi is said to have been the grandfather of Uḍug Basur who in olden times destroyed the island of Java. As this figure reminds us of Budug basu or Udubasu, a legendary dog which—according to traditions handed down in the Western provinces of the island of Java—wished to destroy the rice which had recently been given to men, there can be no doubt that here a Javanese mythological or legendary figure has been incorporated into the Indian genealogy. It may be

19. See also R. Goris, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*, Thesis Leiden 1926, p. 101 ff.

20. See J. S. Speyer, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 67, p. 352.

observed that Kālanemi's behaviour (see Viṣṇupur. 5, 12 ff.) bears resemblance to the story of Budug basu, because he also infested the residences of men.

In Chapter XXII Agastya refers to Viśrava(s), the son of Pulastya and Ilā. Ilā was the daughter of king Tṛṇabindu, who is said to have been Agastya's pupil and to have devoted himself to asceticism in the island of Java. Observing that Tṛṇavindu (as he writes the name) now is among the *saptarṣis* the author adds that he was one of those *siddhayogīśvaras* who lived in that island, the others being Harideva and Anaka), who was the ascetic of the Dihyañ (Diëng) plateau in Java and Mārkaṇḍeya, who lived, likewise as an ascetic, on the mountain Damaluñ. Tṛṇabindu—who is, e. g. also in the Mahābhārata called a muni (3, 263, 5 etc)—is a figure of frequent occurrence in Javanese art and literature²¹. Harideva may in all probability be identified with Haricandana who was worshipped at the same place²², viz. the Diëng. Mārkaṇḍeya was (as *Karmaṇḍeya*!) according to the Javanese work Tantu Panggelaran, p. 89 a devaguru on the Kailāsa and, as the successor of the gods, the first human devaguru of the first Javanese *maṇḍala* (*āśrama* or hermitage) Sukuyajña; the same text (p. 126 f.) informs us that *Agasti* (sic) was his successor. It is difficult to say whether these passages go back to the scholar who translated and adapted the Agastyaparvan and who may, anyhow, be considered the author of the Javanese text, or to an 'editor' or copyist.

Some words may finally be added on the date of the Agastya-Parvan. As is usually the case with ancient Javanese treatises of this category, no reliable data are available. Anyhow, it must be much older than the Koravāśrama which seems to have been compiled in the 15th cent. A. D., because that

21. See e. g. F. D. K. Bosch, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 57, p. 434 ff.; Bigeaud, o. c., p. 285 f.; Boerbatjaraka, o. c., p. 41; 55; 92 ff.

22. See e. g. H. J. Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis 2, 's-Gravenhage 1931, p. 183; 193 (with references).

book in a curious passage mentions the work under consideration, as well as the Uttarakhaṇḍa, among the books of the Mahābhārata : this can only mean that the author regarded it as a classic and as contemporaneous with the epic 'parvans.' The Agastyaparvan may also be older than the recension C of the Saṅghyañ Kamahāyānikan which to all appearance is a younger hinduistic adaptation of this originally buddhist work, because the author (or a redactor ?) of this recension—which, however, is of uncertain date, though much older than the Koravāsrama—borrowed some lines from the former treatise. Judging from the style, the grammatical forms and the vocabulary of the text, it can hardly be considered much younger than the adaptation of the books of the Mahābhārata which may roughly speaking date from about 1000 A. D.

A NOTE ON PUṢKARA-MĀHĀTMYA OR
THE SO CALLED PADMA-PURĀṆA SAMUCCAYA

BY

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

[स्वतन्त्ररूपेण रचितान्यनेकानि माहात्म्यानि पद्मपुराणान्तर्गतानीति ख्याप्यन्ते । पद्मपुराणसमुच्चयाभिधं 'पुष्करमाहात्म्यम्' अपि कश्चित् स्वतन्त्र एव ग्रन्थो वर्तते । अस्यैको हस्तलेखः कलकत्तास्थानीय-एशियाटिकसोसाइटीसन्धिषे विद्यते । अयं ग्रन्थः प्राचीनपद्मपुराणस्य पर्वदिविभागां प्रथमखण्ड-द्वितीयखण्डात्मकं विभागं च सूचयति । पार्वतीयाः दक्षिणोत्तराश्च ब्राह्मणाः गर्हिताः, पार्वतीयाश्च श्राद्धेष्वाग्निमन्त्रणीयाः कथिताः ।

पुष्करं नाम तीर्थं तु ब्राह्मसम्प्रदायस्यैव प्रधानं स्थानं प्रसिद्धम् । परन्तु 'पुष्करमाहात्म्य' ग्रन्थे शाक्तसम्प्रदायस्यैव प्राधान्यं वर्तते । शक्तिश्च तत्र माहेश्वरी रौद्री वा मता । सा शक्तिः सर्वव्यापिका सर्वशक्तिमती च कथिता । ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवादीनां देवतानामपि माहात्म्यमत्र वर्णितम्, येनास्य ग्रन्थस्य समन्वयात्मिका दृष्टिः सूच्यते । पुष्करे ब्राह्मसौर सम्प्रदाययोः सहावस्थानमप्यनेन पुष्करमाहात्म्याख्येन ग्रन्थेन सूच्यते]

There are quite a good number of independent mĀhātmyas which claim to belong to the Padma-purāṇa but actually their claim holds no good and on a scrutinising analysis their independent character can be easily detected. Among these independent mĀhātmyas, however, there are a few whose importance cannot be gainsaid. Sometimes, these throw light on the hitherto unknown division and part of the Padma-purāṇa in its earlier form, present a vivid picture of the society and offer interesting information regarding the relation and attitude among different sects and sectaries. Among such independent works, *Puṣkara-māhātmya* which is known by another name *Padma-purāṇa-samuccaya*¹ (i.e. collection of Padma-purāṇa) stands pre eminent.

We have shown elsewhere² that the Parva-division of the Padma-Purāṇa was the earlier one in comparison with the

1. Ms. No. G. 8348, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

2. See my paper 'The Antiquity and Origin of the Padma-purāṇa and its Early Character and position in the Purāṇic Literature' published in *Our*

Khaṇḍa-division of it. It is interesting to observe that this manuscript also refers to the Parva-division of the Padma-purāṇa³. Moreover, this suggests that broadly speaking there may be two divisions of the Padma-purāṇa, 'prathama-khaṇḍa' and dvitiya-khaṇḍa.⁴ (It is evident, here Khaṇḍa stands for 'half' and has got no connection with the Khaṇḍa-division of the Padma-purāṇa).

Thus we find that the evidence of this manuscript is not at all negligible.

A critical analysis of the manuscript will show that the śakti-worship predominates all through the work and this śakti is no other than the Śiva-śakti. Thus it will not be unwise to conclude that it is the outcome of some over-zealous propagators of the śakti-cult who, although they knew that Puṣkara was predominantly an original place for Brahmā-worshippers, utilised it with a view to popularising their sect, associating themselves with a place already regarded as divine and accepted as such by the masses. Its great devotion towards Māheśvari-śakti can be shown from the following narrative.

In days of yore, there lived a demon named Kuku, who by the strength of his arms had vanquished the host of the gods. The latter being defeated practised penance in the Nīla mountain. They invoked 'Saṃhāra-kāriṇī raudrī-mūrti' who being pleased at heart, and in order to fulfil their desired object, vehemently attacked Kuku, and at once devastated his army. Kuku by his 'māyā' brought an untimely night but her power was irresistible. She (Śiva-śakti) took no pains to kill the demon at once. All the gods assembled together and eulogised her.⁵

Heritage (Bulletin of the post-Graduate Research and Training Department, Sanskrit College, Calcutta), Vol. II, 1954, pp. 175-189.

3. 'पुराणं पौष्करं नाम पञ्चपर्वसमन्वितम्' Puskaramāhātmya, fol. 3.

4. 'इति श्रीपद्मपुराणसमुच्चये द्वितीयखण्डे सप्तविंशतितमोऽध्यायः,' Ibid, fol. 73b.

5, Fol. 18a-19b.

It reminds us of the story of Śrī-Śrī Caṇḍī; but without establishing a fundamental connection between the two, it will be unwise to infer one's influence on the other. Moreover the narrative mentioned above can not be said to be the same as that of Śrī-Śrī Caṇḍī.

The manuscript repeatedly narrates the triumphant activities of Raudrī-śakti over others. She is taken to be omnipresent and omnipotent. Through Her, all knowledge of the world had originated. As a direct reference, only two lines are quoted.

एषा ज्ञानात्मिका शक्तिर्वेदवेदाङ्गगामिनी ।
एषा रौद्री च वै शक्तिः शिवदूतीति वोच्यते ॥⁶

But, as in the case of most of the similar treatises, it also does not form an exception in embodying the glorifications of several other gods and goddesses. The compromising spirit among the different sects and sectaries which dominated the thoughts of the then-noted Indians for a considerable period, is also seen in this Māhātmya.

Although it is predominated by the śakti-worshippers as we have seen above, worship or devotion to such gods as Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Āditya is not conspicuous by its absence in it. The compromising spirit of the work can best be followed by the following simple narrative which, we will see, adheres to the worship of Brahmā and Āditya at the same time, 'Once a king on the eve of his Aśvamedha sacrifice went with his charioteer for a joy-ride. There, on his way, he came across a beautiful and heavenly lake. In the middle of the lake, there was a nice large lotus. He being pleased with the sight of the lotus, ordered his charioteer to pluck that up.

The charioteer did accordingly. But no sooner had he touched that flower, than a loud uproar (Huṁkārah) was heard, in consequence of which the charioteer fell and died instantly. The king also became devoid of strength and might, was rendered pale, and fell to the ground being turned into a

6. Ibid. f. 20b.

leper.⁷ He understood that he had himself committed a grave sin; hence, in order to get rid of such pitiable condition, he approached Vaśiṣṭha who told him that that was a place of worship of Brahmā. This lotus had taken its growth from Brahmā itself. Its very sight makes one attain the result of seeing other gods. There was an image of Brahmā amidst its water. An image of the Sun-God was also found here. Vaśiṣṭha also advised him to approach Lord Brahmā in Puṣkara and propitiate Him. The king did according to the advice of the sage. In Puṣkara, he caused a jewelled image of the Sun-god to be built and worshipped Him with various rites and performances. At the end of his sacrifice, he went to Heaven in the abode of the Sun God.⁸

To an intelligent interpreter the above mentioned story has much narrative value. Among all other manuscripts claiming to belong to the Padma-purāṇa, this is the only one which suggests the alliance of the sects of Brahmā and Sūrya. It is a well-known fact that from time immemorial Puṣkara is associated with the holy worship of Brahmā. We have already shown how the original portion of the Padma-purāṇa, not a very small portion of which was associated with the glorification of Puṣkara, was the outcome of the efforts of the Brahmā-worshippers. In the present day, it is in Puṣkara only where the worship of Brahmā still goes on perhaps in the single temple of Brahmā in India. Thus it is obvious that Puṣkara has been

7. 'कुष्ठी विगतवर्णश्च बलवीर्यविवर्जितः' fol. 15.

8. The following lines may be compared in this connection.

एतद् ब्रह्मोद्भवं नाम पद्मं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् ।

दृष्टमात्रेण चानेन दृष्टाः स्युः सर्वदेवताः ॥

एनं (ब्रह्माणं) दृष्ट्वा जले मग्नं संसाराद् विप्रमुच्यते ।

आदित्यः पद्मगर्तेऽस्मिन् पूर्वमेव व्यवस्थितः ।

इदानीमेव तं देवमाराधय महामते ॥

वसिष्ठवचनं श्रुत्वा राजा पुष्करमभ्यगात् ।

रत्नादित्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य आराध्य त्रिविधैर्ब्रतैः ।

जगाम परमं स्थानं यत्र देवो दिवाकरः ॥ fol. 15

controlled and influenced by the Brahmā-sects. But at the same time Puṣkara engaged the attention of other rival sects or sectaries also. In the Purānas, a good number of references are not wanting which will show that from time to time the Vaiṣṇavas or the Śaivas had tried to spread their influence on this famous sacred place of the Brahmāites. This trio came into conflict some time regarding Puṣkara; but it is the Brahmāites who came out successful ultimately.

Although the Sun-worshippers (Sauras) did never rise into such prominence as the big three reached, still from the inclusion of the Sun-god in the Pañcāyatana Pūjā, the conclusion becomes irresistible that a sect was formed by some people who took Sūrya as the supreme god.

There was a difference in attitude between this sect and the three major sects. While these three were from time to time most friendly in their behaviour and only at times came into conflict, the Saura-sects were never hostile to any other. It is not difficult to understand from the above-mentioned narrative that this is the contribution of the Sun-worshippers. They, like all others, tried to associate themselves with the famous sacred place. But in doing so they not for a moment even have engaged themselves in denouncing Brahmā or the Brahmāites. Their duty was not to belittle the Brahmā-sects but to associate themselves with those sects. Hence it is told that in the same lake where there was an image of Brahmā, an image of the Sun-god was also found. Hence it has been mentioned that the king sinned against Brahmā, but was purged of all sins as he propitiated Divākara (i. e. Sun-god). These are the perfect evidences that the Saura-sects far from trying to come into a clash with the Brahmāites, tried to develop a friendly attitude towards them.

The alliance between these two sects is shown by another interesting narrative. It describes the installation of an image

of the Sun-god on the right side of the image of Brahmā⁹ by a king of Dvārāvati, named Śatrujit who received the Syaman-taka maṇi from Sūrya. It is also reported that previously, the son of Rāvaṇa (Indrajit) had established the image in Laṅkā.

The manuscript in its entire range is strewn with such sectarian affinity between the Sūrya-worshippers and Brahmā-worshippers. From this, the above conclusion can easily be averred.

A few words should be mentioned as regards its sociological stand-point. The Pārvatīya brāhmaṇas have been denounced in more places than one. They do neither deserve to be invited in the Srāddha ceremonies nor have they the sanctity in administering these ceremonies.¹⁰ Similarly, the Northern or Southern brāhmaṇas do not enjoy high position. It has been stated that those brāhmaṇas often commit such actions as are debarred by the Smṛti-authorities.¹¹ The term 'Dakṣiṇottara vipra' can not easily be explained. Does it show superiority of the Western brāhmaṇas who are nearer to Puṣkara ?

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9. पितामहस्य देवस्य दिग्भागे दक्षिणे स्थिता ।
स्थापिता प्रतिमा श्रुत्वा स विप्रैस्तु प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ fol. 75a.
10. 'ये चान्ये पार्वतीयाश्च श्राद्धे नार्हन्ति केवलम् ।' fol. 93b.
11. 'गहिता धर्मशास्त्रेषु विप्राश्च दक्षिणोत्तराः ।' fol. 93b.

प्राचीनग्रन्थेषु 'पुराण' निर्देशाः

१. मुख्यैरवगृहीतं वा राजानं तत् प्रियाश्रितः ।
इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां बोधयेदर्थशास्त्रवित् ॥
(कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्र पृ० २६७, मैसूरसंस्करण)
२. तन्मतेन इतिहासपुराणयोरैक्यम् । मिश्रणत्ववचनाच्च वेदोपकरणत्वेन
पुराणादीनां वेदस्वातन्त्र्यमभिहितम् ।
(बालक्रीडा, याज्ञ० १।३)
३. तत्र तूक्तं कण्वेन अथर्ववेदेतिहासपुराणानि ध्यायन् ब्राह्मेण तीर्थेन ओष्ठयोः
सलोमप्रदेशं मृज्यात् ।
(गो० ध० सू० १।३९ —मस्करिभाष्य)
४. पुराणं यत्र सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारा उच्यन्ते । तत् पुराणं ब्रह्माण्डादि ।
(गो० ध० सू० ८।६ —मस्करिभाष्य)
५. पुराणमानवेतिहासव्यतिरिक्तगौतमवसिष्ठशङ्खलिखितहारीतापस्तम्बबौधायनादि-
प्रणीतधर्मशास्त्राणां गृह्यग्रन्थानां च प्रातिशाख्यलक्षणवत् प्रतिचरणं
पाठव्यवस्थोपलभ्यते ।
(तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० १७९)
६. यत् प्रथमं परिमार्ष्टि तेन अथर्ववेदम्, यद् द्वितीयं तेन इतिहासपुराणम् ।
(बोधायनधर्मसूत्र ४।३।५)
- ” स्कान्दमाग्नेयमित्यादिसमाख्यास्तु प्रवचननिबन्धनाः काठकादिवत् ।
आनुपूर्वीनिर्माणनिबन्धना वा । तस्मात् क्वचिदनित्यत्वश्रवणम् तु
आविर्भावतिरोभावापेक्षया । तदेवमितिहासपुराणयोर्वेदत्वं सिद्धम् ।
(जीवगोस्वामिकृत-तत्त्वसन्दर्भ पृ० २८-२९,
अच्युतग्रन्थमालासंस्करण)

७. पुराणे सुमहत् कार्यं भविष्यं हि मया श्रुतम् ।
दृष्टं मे तपसा चैव श्रुत्वा च विदितं मम ॥ (रामायण ४।६२।३)
८. एतच्छ्रुत्वा रहः सूतो राजानमिदमब्रवीत् ।
श्रूयतां तत् पुरावृत्तं पुराणे च मया श्रुतम् ॥ (रामायण १।९।१)
९. तथा च भगवान् पराशरः × × ×
वेदवेदाङ्गेतिहासपुराणधर्मशास्त्रावदातं शुचिं × × आचार्यम्
(बृहत्संहिता २।२० टीकायामुद्धृतम्)
वेदेतिहासधर्मशास्त्रकुशलं कुलीनमव्यङ्गं तपस्विनं च पुरोहितम्
(विष्णुस्मृति ३।६७-००)
१०. तथा गीतवादित्रोल्लापकश्लोकगाथास्यायिकेतिहासपुराणकुशलान्
(चरक-सूत्रस्थान १।५।७)
(रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य)

THE VĀMANA PURĀṆA

BY

V. RAGHAVAN

[अत्र वामनपुराणस्य मुद्रितामुद्रितानां पुस्तकानां परीक्षणेन स्वरूप-
कालादिचर्चा ; कालिदासीयकाव्यच्छायासङ्क्रमः ; तथाचार्वचिनसाहि-
त्यांशानुप्रवेशः, पुराणान्तरसंबन्धश्च संग्रहेण विचार्यन्ते वे० राघवत्]

The Vāmana Purāṇa called for examination, as during the course of the study of Matsya Purāṇa and its problems, it was found that the Vāmana called the Matsya the foremost among the Purāṇas. While praising the best in different classes of things, the Vāmana says :

मुख्यं पुराणेषु यथैव मात्स्यम् ॥ 12. 48.

The textual problems of this comparatively short Purāṇa are not less complicated than those of the larger Purāṇas. We have the printed text of the Venkateswara Press, Bombay (1903-4), which is in 95 chapters ; it deals, of course, with the Vāmana-story, but that story is submerged in the stories of Śiva, Pārvatī and Kumāra. In this connection we may consider the manuscript-position of this Purāṇa to have a full picture of its textual problems.

The following manuscripts of the Vāmana are known from the Catalogues at my disposal for the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*¹ work.

VĀMANA-PURĀṆA

Adyar I p. 155a (Chs. 1 to 66)..... (Dn pp. 269).

Alph. List. Beng. Govt. p. 104 (No. 844)

Alwar 868.

America 1447 (Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, no. 2172).....(Śaka 1679).....(Dn. ff. 133)

Ānandāśrama 1384. 7635. 7865.

1. For the abbreviations of Catalogues used here, see *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I. (Also see 'Purāṇa' Vol. I, No. 2. pp. 225ff.)

- Mysore I.p. 167 (2 mss.) C. 433 (Dn. ff. 163) 4037 (Tel. ff. 168).
 Nabadwip 71, 72.
 NP. V, 10.
 Oppert II. 4923. 6952. 7739.
 Oudh. XI, 6. XIX, 36.
 Oudh. 1875. 8.
 Oxf. 45 b.
 Oxf. II. Index 1217.....(ff. 4-49) See Ms. Wilson 127 (102)
 Bodl. Cat. pp. 45 ff.
 Pul. II. 2065.....(Dn. ff. 175). 2066 (inc.).....(Dn. ff. 243,
 gr. 7000), 2067 (inc.).....(Dn. ff. 195 ; gr. 6000).
 Radh. 40.
 Ranbir. 7896. 7932.
 RASB. V. 3989 (Ben. ff. 167. gr. 4500). 3990 (Kashmiri. ff.
 182. gr. 5800).
 Serampore G-2-52.
 S. K. Ray. 10 (inc.).....(ff. 151).
 S. K. Ray DC. 252.....(ff. 151).
 Skt. Coll. Ben. 1907-1910, p. 12, no. 1922 (ff 38. gr. 1300).
 1916-1917, p. 12, no. 2678... (ff. 27. gr. 700).
 Sringeri Mutt. 252 (chs. 62).....(Dn.).
 SSPC. I. F. 51. F. 157.
 Stein. 213 (2 mss.).
 Taylor II. p. 347 Chs. 56).
 TD.—10419 (Viṣṇupūjyavastukathana).....(Dn. gr. 4874).
 10420-3 (Viṣṇupūjyavastukathana). 10424 (fr.).....
 (Tel. pl. gr. 900) 10425-6 (Veṅkaṭagirimāhātmya from
 chs. 1 to 44).
 Tekkematham III. 9b (fr.).
 Udaipur I. p. 138 (no. 350).....(Dn.).
 Udaipur II. 53. 1.....(ff. 204) 53. 2 (inc.).
 Vangiya p. 114 (inc.). (Ben. ff. 2-92, 112-173).
 VVRI. ptd. Cat. p. 157 (nos. 1782. 1804. inc.) (Both Dn.)
 — Kapālamocanamāhātmya from. IM. 1726.
 — Kṛṣṇakavaca from. IM. 9787.
 — Dadhivāmanastotra from. IM. 6930. 8344.

BRHAD-VĀMANA

—Kīśoramahimā from. Jaipur Palace, Almirah 38,
XLVIII (9) (inc.)

Whether the Vāmana now in print is the Mahāpurāṇa or the Upapurāṇa has been discussed¹, and it has been pointed out that although some portions of the printed text may be old, it may on the whole be a later redaction, but not later than the 9th century.

While in its original form its Vaiṣṇava character was perhaps most prominent, in its present form, the Vāmana shows prominent Śaiva influence, but it must be conceded that there is no sectarian bias here towards any one deity. According to the description in the Nārādīya-purāṇa, ch. 105, the Vāmana consisted of a Pūrva and an Uttara Bhāga and the latter, in one thousand granthas, comprised four Saṁhitās—Māheśvarī devoted to Kṛishṇa, Bhāgavatī devoted to Devī, Saurī devoted to the Sun and Gaṇeśvarī devoted to Gaṇeśa. The list of topics given in the Nārādīya for the Pūrvabhāga agrees with the printed text, but the Uttarabhāga is not represented in the present text, although stories of Devī and a brief account of Gaṇeśa are part of the printed text. What is interesting is that the Nārādīya calls the Uttarabhāga *Bṛhad-Vāmana* (śl. 13—*श्रुणुतास्योत्तरं भागं बृहद्भामनसंज्ञकम्*). Hazra has noted in his *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* (Vol. I.)² that the Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta quotes six verses from the *Bṛhad-Vāmana*. Here, he takes Bṛhad-Vāmana as a separate Vaiṣṇava-upapurāṇa, distinct from a Vāmana Upapurāṇa, if such a text ever existed. But as we have seen, according to the Nārādīya, Bṛhad-Vāmana is the latter part of the Vāmana, and the Vaiṣṇava-material associated with Vāmana might belong to the first Saṁhitā of the Uttara-bhāga of Vāmana, designated Bṛhad-Vāmana.

Now in the manuscripts recorded above, there are some evidences to support a text of Vāmana which once existed in two Bhāgas. In 10. 3586 (a Mackenzie manuscript), we have

three chapters (31-34) on the greatness of a shrine Tiruvoondi of Kalyānapurī in the South,—which includes a Varāhamāhātmya—described as part of the *Uttarabhāga* of the Vāmana. 10.6815 is a concordance of the Vāmana-contents, (a South Indian ms.), and here the *Pūrva-bhāga* of the Purāṇa is referred to. In the Jaipur palace collection (Almirah 38, ms. bundle 48 (9), there is a *Kiśoramahimā* which mentions its source actually as *Bṛhad-Vāmana*.

In the Bikaner catalogue, we have in No 466 a manuscript of the Vāmana, and from Mitra's detailed description under this, one would be tempted to suppose that here is a manuscript of the Purāṇa in two Bhāgas. There is nothing like that. The text in this manuscript is just the same as in the printed text. The descriptive note by Mitra is wholly based on the description of the Vāmana in the Nāradya.

Similarly the manuscripts analysed in detail in L. 1264 agrees in contents with the printed text. But a tallying of the chapters here, as well as in RASB. V. 3989, with the printed text shows that although the topics are the same in these manuscripts and the printed text, there is a different order of the chapters, as also a difference in the opening verses, in both these manuscripts as contrasted with the printed text. This difference in chapter-order, as also in the verses in the beginning, may itself be some evidence of the process of textual change from the old Vāmana to the new.

In the Sarasvatī Mahal, Tanjore, there are five Vāmana mss. (10419-23) having a portion dealing with Vaiṣṇava-worship—*Vishṇu-pūjya-vastu-kathana* which might go the older version.

In the same Library, there are three mss. containing a *Veṅkaṭagirimāhātmya* (11424-6), described as part of the Vāmana; this ascription too may be explained by the Vaiṣṇava-character of the earlier version or at least of the *Uttarabhāga* which had a specific section devoted to Kṛishṇa.

One may not agree with every argument advanced by H. P. Sastri¹ to show the early date of the Vāmana, but the Purāṇa does have an older air about it, not found in the later redactions of the other Purāṇas. Also we can accept that, as it is, the text was produced in Kurukṣetra region, for in a series of verses praising the best of each class, already referred to, the Vāmana speaks of Kurukshetra and its Tīrthas like Prithūdaka as the most sacred. (ch. 12, śls. 44-57):

क्षेत्रेषु यद्वत्कुरुजाङ्गलं वरं
तीर्थेषु यद्वत् प्रवरं पृथुदकम् । 45.

The Vāmana text, as at present available, shows a considerable amount of literary polish, and the influence on it of Kālidāsa² in particular is patent.

Vāmana.

51.38 : न युक्तं चैवमुक्त्वाथ
सगणोऽन्तर्दधे ततः ।

„ 58 : तपसा वाञ्छयन्तीह
गिरिजे सचराचराः ।
रूपाभिजनमैश्वर्य-
भेतत्ते वर्तते बहु ॥

„ 59 तत्किमर्थमपास्यैतान्
अलङ्कारान् जटा धृताः ।

K. S.

III. 74 :
अन्तर्दधे भूतपतिः समूतः ॥

V. 41. कुले प्रसूतिः प्रथमस्य वेधसः
त्रिलोकसौन्दर्यमिवोदितं वयः ।
अमृग्यमैश्वर्यं सुखं नवं वयः
तपः फलं स्यात् किमतः परं वद ॥

V. 44. किमित्यपास्याभरणानि यौवने
धृतं त्वया वार्धकशोभि वल्कलम् ।

In the further conversation between Śiva in the form of the Vaṭu, the metre too approximates to that of the K. S.

51.63 : कथं करः पल्लवकोमलस्ते
समेष्यते शार्ङ्करं ससर्पम् ।

V. 66. अस्तुनिर्वन्धपरे कथं नु ते
करोऽयमाप्तुक्तिवाहकौतुकः ।
करेण शम्भोर्वलयीकृताहिना
सहिष्यते तत्प्रथमावलम्बनम् ॥

1. ASB. Cat. V. Introduction, pp. 182-4.

2. On Kālidāsa's influence on some other Purāṇas, see my 'The Kālikā Purāṇa, Kālidāsa and Māgha', Woolner Com. Vol. pp. 191-4, and 'Gleanings from the Matsya Purāṇa', *Purāṇa*, Vol. I. p. 85. and 'Further Gleanings', *ibid.*, Vol. III. No. 2.

- 64 : तथा दुकूलाम्बरशालिनी त्वं 67 : वधूदुकूलं कलहंसलक्षणं
मृगारिचर्माभिवृतस्तु रुद्रः । गजाजिनं शोणितविन्दुवर्षि च ।
,, त्वं चन्दनाक्ता स च भस्म भू (रू)षितः 69 : स्तनद्वयेऽस्मिन् हरिचन्दनास्पदे
पदं चिताभस्मरजः करिष्यति ।
,, न युक्तरूपं प्रतिभाति मे त्विदम् 69 : अयुक्तरूपं किमतः परं वद ।
65 : एवं वादिनि विप्रेन्द्रे VI. 84 : एवं वादिनि देवषौ

Pārvatī's reply—

- 66 : शिवो वाप्यथवा भीमः V. 77 : न भीमरूपः शिव इत्युदीर्यते
सधनो निर्धनोऽपि वा । ,, ,, अकिञ्चनस्सन् प्रभवः स संपदाम्
अलंकृतो वा देवेशः ,, ,, विभूषणोऽङ्गासि पिनद्धमोगि वा
तथा वाप्यनलङ्कृतः । ,, 83 : निवार्यतामालि किमप्ययं बटुः
,, 67 : निवार्यतामयं भिक्षुः ,, पुनर्विवक्षुः स्फुरितोत्तराधरः ।
विवक्षुः स्फुरिताधरः । ,, ,, न केवलं यो महतोऽपभाषते
न तथा निन्दकः पापी ,, 84 : स्वरूपमास्थाय च तां कृतस्मितः
यथा श्रोता— II
- ,, 68 : ततोऽस्यजद् भिक्षुरूपं ,, 84 : स्वरूपमास्थाय च तां कृतस्मितः
स्वरूपस्थोऽभवच्छिवः ।

Ch. 52 Marriage.

- Śl. 1 : ततः संपूजितो रुद्रः VI. 3 : ऋषीन् ज्योतिर्मयान् सप्त
सस्मार स्मरशासनः ।
सस्मार च महर्षीस्तु 4 : सारुन्धतीकाः सपदि
अरुन्धत्या समं ततः ॥ प्रादुरासन् पुरः प्रभोः ।
,, 11 : तां मदर्थाय शैलेन्द्रो 29 : तामस्मदर्थं युष्माभिः
याच्यतां द्विजसत्तमाः । याचितव्यो हिमालयः ।

13. Śiva to Arundhatī

- पुरन्ध्रयो हि पुरन्ध्रीणां 32 : प्रायेणैवं विधे कार्ये
गीतं धर्मस्य वै विदुः । पुरन्ध्रीणां प्रगल्भता ।
cf. also 13 :
क्रियाणां खलु धर्म्याणां
सत्पत्न्यो मूलकारणम् ।

- 26 : Himavān to the sages : 54 :
अनभ्रवृष्टिः किमियम् अपमेघोदयं वर्षम्

- उताहोऽकुसुमं फलम् ।
अप्रतर्क्यमचिन्त्यं च
भवदागमनं त्विदम् ॥
- 28 : दृष्टिपूतं पदाक्रान्तं
तीर्थं सारस्वतं यथा ।
- 29, 30 : दासोऽहं भवतां विप्राः ।
किंकरोऽस्मि—
स्थितो युष्मदाज्ञाकारी तदुच्यताम् ।
सदारोऽहं समं पुत्रैः ।
- 31 : ऊचुरङ्गिरसं वृद्धं
कार्यमद्रौ निवेदय ।
- 39 : यावन्तो जङ्गमा गम्या
भूताः शैल चतुर्विधाः ।
तेषां माता त्वियं देवी
यतः प्रोक्तः पिता हरः ॥
- 41 : याचितारो वयं शर्वो
वरो दाता त्वमप्युमा ।
वधुः सर्वजगन्माता
कुरु यच्छ्रेयसे तव ॥
- 59 : ततोऽप्यरुन्धती काली-
मङ्कमारोप्य चाटुकैः ।
विलज्जमानामाशवास्य
हरनामोचितैः शुभैः ॥
- 60 : जामित्रगुणसंयुक्तां
तिथिं पुरयां सुमङ्गलाम् ।
- 61 : उत्तराफल्गुनी योगं
तृतीयेऽहि हिमांशुमान् ।
गमिष्यति च तत्रोक्तो
मुहूर्तो मैत्रनामकः ॥
- Ch. 53. śl. 11 : यमुना सरितां श्रेष्ठा
वालव्यजनमुत्तमम् ।
- अदृष्टकुसुमं फलम् ।
अतर्कितोपपन्नं वो
दर्शनं प्रतिभाति मे ॥
- 56 : यदध्यासितमर्हद्भिः
तद्धि तीर्थं प्रचक्षते ।
- 58 : जङ्गमं प्रेष्यभावे वः ।
- 62 : भ्राज्जां मे दातुमर्हथ ।
- 63 : एते वयममी दाराः
कन्येयं कुलजीवितम् ।
व्रत येनात्र वः कार्यम् ।
- 65 : अथाङ्गिरसमग्रयं × ×
ऋषयो नोदयामासुः ।
- 80 : यावन्त्येतानि भूतानि
स्थावराणि चराणि च ।
मोतरं कल्पयन्त्वेनाम्
ईशो हि जगतः पिता ॥
- 82 : उमा वधुभवान् दाता
याचितार इमे वयम् ।
वरः शम्भुरलं ह्येष
त्वत्कुलोद्भूतये विधिः ॥
- 91 : तां प्रणामादर × ×
अङ्कमारीपयामास
लज्जमानामरुन्धती ॥
- VII. 1 : तिथौ तु जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम् ।
- 6 : मैत्रे मुहूर्ते शशलाब्धनेन
योगं गतासूत्तरफल्गुनीषु ।
- VI. 93 : वैवाहिकीं तिथिं वृष्टाः
ते त्र्यहादूर्ध्वमाख्याय
- VII. 42 : मूर्ते च गङ्गायमुने तदानीं
सचामरे देवमसेविषाताम् ।

23. The acts of the city-ladies
on seeing Śiva coming :

जीमूतकेतुरायात्
इत्येवं नगरस्त्रियः ।
निजकर्म परित्यज्य
दर्शनायादृता भवन् ॥

24 : माल्यदाम समादाय
करेणैकेन भामिनी ।
केशपाशं द्वितीयेन
शङ्कराभिमुखी गता ॥

25 : अन्यालक्तकरागाढ्यं
पादं कृत्वाकुलेक्षणा ।
अनलक्तकमेकं हि
× ×

26 : एकेनाक्षणाञ्जितेनैव
श्रुत्वा भीममुपागतम् ।
साञ्जनां च प्रगृह्यान्या
शलाकां सुष्ठु धावति ॥

27 : अन्या सरसनं वासः
पाणिनादाय सुन्दरी ।

30 : × × अबला ब्रुवन्ति ।
स्थाने तपो दुरचरमम्बिकायाः

53 : तस्मिन् मुहूर्ते पुरसुन्दरीणा-
मीशानसंदर्शनलालसानाम् ।
प्रासादमालासु बभूवुरित्थं
त्यक्तान्यकार्याणि विचेष्टितानि ॥

57 : × × ×
कयाचिदुद्वेष्टनवान्तमाल्यः ।
वद्भुं न सम्भावित एव तावत्
करेण रुद्धोऽपि च केशपाशः ॥

Cf. 58 : × × अग्रपाद-
माक्षिप्य काचिद् द्रवरागमेव
etc.

59 : विलोचनं दक्षिणमञ्जनेन
संभाव्य तद्वञ्चितवामनेत्रा ।
तथैव वातायनसन्निकर्षं
ययौ शलाकामपरा वहन्ती ॥

60 : × अन्या प्रस्थानभिन्नां न
बबन्ध नीवीम् ।
× हस्तेन तस्थौ अव-
लम्ब्य वासः ॥

65 : स्थाने तपो दुरचरमेतदर्थ-
मपर्णया पेलवयापि तप्तम् ।

Towards the end, in the chapters dealing with Vāmana-
avatāra story, the Vāmanapurāṇa devotes a chapter (94th) to
a conversation between Bali and Prahlāda and the latter
speaking to the former on the greatness of devotion to Hari.
Here almost the first verse in Prahlāda's teaching—'भवजलधिगतानां
हृन्द्वाताहतानाम् सुतदुहितुकलत्राणभारदितानाम् । विषयविषमतोये मज्जतामल्लवानां
भवति शरणमेको विष्णुपोतो नराणाम् ॥' is identical with verse 11 of the
famous hymn Mukundamālā of Kulaśekhara. Verse 31 स्वपुरुष-
मभिनोक्ष्य पराहस्तं here is Visnu Purāṇa III. 7. 14.

ON SOME READINGS OF THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA*

BY

NILMADHAV SEN

[लेखकमहोदयेनात्र निबन्धे आनन्दाश्रममुद्रितमत्स्यपुराणपुस्तके वर्तमानान् कांश्चिदशुद्धपाठान् समालोच्य तेषां स्थाने शुद्धपाठाः सप्रमाणमुपन्यस्ताः । तद्यथा—२०८।१० श्लोके अश्वपते राज्ञः पत्नी 'मालती' इति कथिता, २१३।१६ श्लोके तु 'मालवी' इति । महा-भारतेऽपि 'मालवी' पाठ एव । अतो देशनामानुसारेण वैदेही-मैथिलीवत् अत्रापि 'मालवी' पाठ एव शुद्धो मन्तव्यः । २५४।११ श्लोके 'यद्विशालकं' इत्यत्र 'यद्विशालकं' इति पाठः शुद्धः, यतः चतुःशाल-त्रिशाल-द्विशालादिनिर्माणस्यैवात्र प्रकरणं वर्तते; 'विशालश्च' पुनः २७०।११ श्लोके वर्णितः अष्टत्रिंशत्स्तम्भात्मको मण्डपविशेषः 'द्विशाल' गृहाद् भिन्न एव । तत्रापि (२७०।११) श्लोके 'चत्वारिंशद् यज्ञभद्र-स्तद्विहीनो विशालकः' इति पाठे 'तद्विहीनो विशालकः' इति पाठो युक्तः । एवमेव 'ब्रह्मभागाधिका' (२६५।५) स्थाने 'ब्रह्मभागाभिधा', 'परिवारितः' (२६६।४१) स्थाने 'परिवारतः', 'चन्द्रशालो विभूषितः' (२६६।४०) स्थाने 'चन्द्रशाला-विभूषितः' तथा 'मनोर्मनुश्च', 'नरोषा नोच', चित्तहार्योऽनशचैव (२०३।११-१२) पाठानां स्थाने 'मनो मनुश्च' 'नरोऽपानश्च' ('नरोषाणौ' वा) 'चित्तिर्ह्यो नयश्चैव' इति शुद्धाः पाठाः प्रस्तुताः, वायुपुराणेऽपि द्वादश सिद्धास्तथैव नाम्ना निर्दिष्टाः—इति हेनुश्चात्रोपन्यस्तः । एवमन्येऽपि कतिचिद् भ्रष्टाः पाठाः समालोचिताः संशोधिताश्च ।]

[Bibliographical Note : The following editions of the Matsya-Purāṇa (MP) have been consulted for this paper :—

1. The Ānandaśrama Sanskrit Series (ASS) edition.
2. The Lakṣmī-Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (LVP) edition.
3. The Baṅgabāsi Press Edition in Bengali characters (Bl.)

References have been given to the ASS edition.]

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the meaningless reading *parivāritah* should be emended to *parivāratah* 'in the order of the attending gods have been placed'.

The readings *tad vihīna°* | *tad vihīnaka°* at 270. 9; 10; 11, etc. should be *tad dvihīna°* | *tad dvihīnaka°*. *Dvihīna°* is actually found in these very passages where it is not preceded by *tad* (cf. *yad viśāla°* for *yad dviśāla°* discussed above).

The text *mrgarājas tu vikhyātaś candraśālo vibhūṣitah* at 269. 40ab should be.....*candraśālā-vibhūṣitah*. Similarly, *anekaś candraśālaś ca gajaḥ prāsāda īsyate* at 269. 41ab should be *aneka-candraśālaś ca* etc.

At 203. 11-12 the verses giving the names of the 12 Sādhyas read as follows :

manor mānuś (v. l. *mānaś*) *ca prāṇaś ca naroṣā noca* (sic !)
vīryavān
cittahāryo' yanaś caiva haṃso nārāyaṇas tathā
vibhuś cāpi prabhuś caiva sādhyā dvādaśa kīrtitāḥ

These verses contain so many wrong readings and have so many variants and the names are given so differently in the different Purāṇas that it is quite difficult to suggest a full-proof emendation here. Be that as it may, I would like to suggest the reading *mano manuś* (*mānaś*) *ca prāṇaś ca naro' pānaś ca vīryavān* for the first line.* *Mana* occurs in the list of the Sādhyas as given in the Vāyu-Purāṇa, 66. 15, and the reading *naro' pānaś ca vīryavān* is found in many MSS. of the Vāyu-Purāṇa. *Cittahāryo' yanāś caiva* of the second line should probably have to be emended to *cittir hayo nayaś caiva*, as in the Vāyu-Purāṇa.

* Or, *naroṣā noca* may also be a w. r. for *naroṣāṇau ca*. In that case Uṣan would correspond to Vṛṣa of the Harivaṃśa-list of the Sādhyas.

THE LEGEND OF CIRAKĀRIN IN THE SKĀNDA
MAHĀPURĀṆA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

(A COMPARATIVE STUDY)

BY

V. M. BEDEKAR

[स्कन्दपुराणे माहेश्वरखण्डान्तर्गतकौमारखण्डस्य षष्ठेऽध्याये महाभारते च मोक्षधर्मपर्वणि ३५८ अध्याये चिरकारिकोपाख्यानं वर्तते । चिरकारी नाम मेधातिथेर्गौतमस्य पुत्र आसीत् । स स्वभावादेव विमृश्यकारित्वाचिरकारीति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो बभूव । स्कन्धपुराणानुसारेण तस्य माता कौशिकीतीरे बाल राजानमोक्षितवती । अस्माद् व्यभिचाराद्धेतोश्चिरकारी स्वमातुर्वधाय गौतमेनादिष्टः, मातुर्वधं स्वीकृत्यापि स्वभावादेव चिरं विमृश्यकारित्वात् मातुर्वधे दोषान् विमृशन् मातुश्च महान्तं गौरवं विचारयन्नेव चिरमतिष्ठत् । एतस्मिन्नन्तरे ब्राह्मणवेषधारिणा शक्रेण गौतमः स्त्रीणामपराधः उपेक्षणीय इत्युपदिष्टः । गौतमोऽपि स्वपत्न्या वधो नैच्छत् । अतः स चिरकारिणं विमृशन्तं स्वपत्नीं च जीवन्तीमेव दृष्ट्वा परं सुखी बभूव । महाभारते गौतमपत्नी गौतमवेषधारिणन्द्रेण सह व्यभिचारं चरितवत्यपि चिरकारिणा गौतमेन चोभाभ्यामेव सा निरपराधा मता । अत्र स्कन्दपुराणे चिरकारिकोपाख्यानस्य जमदग्नि-रेणुका-परशुरामोपाख्यानं मूलं, महाभारते च गौतम-अहल्या-इन्द्रोपाख्यानं जमदग्नि-परशुरामोपाख्यानं चोभयमेव मूलम् । इत्यादिरूपेणास्मिन्नन्धे लेखकमहोदयेन तुलनात्मकदृष्ट्याऽ तीव्रोपयोगी विमर्शः प्रस्तुतः, द्विविधमिदमाख्यानमाश्रित्य च तदानीन्तनस्य लोकस्य स्त्रीणां विषये का दृष्टिर्बभूवेत्यादिविषयोऽपि समालोचितः ।]

There are many legends which are common to the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas and other old Sanskrit works. Though many of these legends, appearing in common in these works, seem to be broadly identical, they are likely to show, on a closer comparative study, significant difference in details indicative of the different versions handed down by different old traditions. Though the general frame-work of the story and persons appearing in it may be identical in these several works, there may be found from work to work

a new adaptation and orientation given to the drift of the original story and to the characterization of persons figuring in it, indicative of the change in the temper and outlook of the society in which the story was retold.

It is proposed, in this article, to make a comparative study of the legend of *Cirakārin* from this point of view.

The story of *Cirakārin* ('one who acts late' i.e. one who reflects long before doing anything) occurs in two works—the *Skānda Mahāpurāṇa* (*SK*) and the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*). The story is significant from many points of view; it also differs in many important details in the two works. Before we mark the points of difference in the presentation of the story in these two works and its significance, we shall first present the story in accordance with its version occurring in the *SK*.

The story of *Cirakārin* is found in *SK*. 1. 2. 6. i.e. in the 6th adhyāya of the *Kaumāra-khaṇḍa* of the *Māheśvara-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skāndamahāpurāṇa*. *Nārada*¹ is desirous of settling a colony of *Brāhmaṇas* in a holy place called *Stambha-tīrtha* which is said to be situated 'at the meeting-place of the earth and the sea' (*महीसागरसंगमे*). He wanted to make a free religious gift of that holy place to the *Brāhmaṇas*. He, therefore, took with him twenty-six thousand *Brāhmaṇas* belonging to *Kalāpa* and other adjoining villages in the north to the *Stambha-tīrtha* on the sea-coast in the South. The leader of those *Brāhmaṇas* was *Hārīta* who readily accepted *Nārada*'s offer to go and settle in the *Stambha-tīrtha*.² *Nārada*

1 अहं हि ब्रह्मणो वाक्याद्विप्राणां स्थानकं शुभम् ।

दातुकामो महातीर्थे महीसागरसंगमे ॥ 9 ॥

—SK. 1. 2. 6,

(Venkatesvara Press edition, Bombay)

2 *Hārīta* Says :

कलापादिषु ग्रामेषु को वसेत विचक्षणः ।

यदि वासः स्तम्भतीर्थे क्षणार्धमपि लभ्यते ॥ 24 ॥

.....

arrived at the *Stambha-tīrtha* with the host of the Brāhmaṇas and proceeded to wash the feet of the Brāhmaṇas as a preparation previous to the announcement of his proposed gift, when there arrived on the scene a sage named Kapila. Nārada treated this distinguished guest with great hospitality and gave over to him, according to the latter's desire, eight thousand Brāhmaṇas from among the Brāhmaṇa inhabitants of Kalāpa, with a piece of land at the *Stambha-tīrtha*, announcing that this small colony would be called the कपिलं स्थानं.¹—Then Nārada with a view to carrying out his original proposal of giving away in charity the gift of the *Stambha trtha* to the Brāhmaṇas, invited their leader Hārīta to accept at his hands the 'washing of feet'. Accordingly Hārīta came forward and stood, bringing his left foot in front to be washed, instead of his right foot. At this fault of Hārīta, the sages, the celestial damsels and the gods who had assembled there, burst into a laughter of ridicule. Nārada was offended and he cursed Hārīta and his Brāhmaṇa followers that they would be block-

षड्विंशतिसहस्राणि ब्राह्मणा मे परिग्रहे ।
 षट्कर्मनिरताः शुद्धा लोभदम्भविर्वजिताः ॥ 27 ॥
 तैः सार्धमागमिष्यामि ममेदं मतमुत्तमम् ।
 ॥ 28 ॥

SK. ibid.

1 नारदः—

धन्योऽहं यदिहायातः कपिल त्वं महामुने ।
 नास्त्यदेयं तवास्माभिः पात्रं नास्ति तवाधिकम् ॥ 53 ॥

कपिल उवाच—

अष्टौ विप्रसहस्राणि मम देहीति नारद ॥ 57 ॥
 भूमिदानं करिष्यामि कलापग्रामवासिनाम् ।
 ब्राह्मणानामहं चैषां तदिदं क्रियतां विभो ॥ 58 ॥

नारदः—

तत्ते मया प्रतिज्ञातमेवमस्तु महामुने ।
 त्वयापि क्रियतां स्थानं कपिलं कपिलोत्तमम् ॥ 59 ॥

SK. ib.

heads and reduced to penury.¹ Hārīta retorted: "Oh sage, it is you who stand to lose by cursing us thus. I committed this fault in a fit of absent-mindedness. Hear why I was absent-minded. I was all the while thinking hard in my mind about accepting your gift. The acceptance of gift is very painful for a Brāhmaṇa, because the acceptance of gift diminishes his spiritual power. That is why you should not be angry with me for a fault which I committed in a fit of absent-mindedness."² At this explanation of Hārīta, Nārada was stung with repentance for his hasty pronouncement of the curse and openly blamed himself in the presence of the Brāhmaṇas for his foolish rashness. He said: 'One should not do actions rashly. Rash action is the abode of calamities. All the goods and riches of life come to a wise man who does things only after

1 ततो महामुनिः श्रीमान् हारीतो ह्वयितस्तदा ॥ 6 ॥

पादप्रक्षालनार्थाय सिद्धदेवसमागमे ।

हारीतश्च पुरस्कृत्य वामपादं तथा स्थितः ॥ 63 ॥

ततो हासो महाज्ञज्ञे सिद्धाप्सरःसुपर्वाणाम् ।

..... ॥ 64 ॥

ततो ममापि मनसि शोकवेगो महानभूत् ।

..... ॥ 65 ॥

ततोऽहमब्रवं विप्रान् यूयं मूर्खा भविष्यथ ।

धनधान्याल्पसंयुक्ता दारिद्र्यकललावृताः ॥ 67 ॥

SK. ibid.

2 एवमुक्ते प्रहस्यैव हारीतः प्राब्रवीदिदम् ।

तवैवेयं मुने हानिर्यदस्माञ्छपते भवान् ॥ 68 ॥

शृणु तत्कारणं धीमञ्छून्यता मे यतो भवेत् ॥ 71 ॥

इति चिन्तयतश्चित्ते हा दुःखोऽयं प्रतिग्रहः ।

प्रतिग्रहेण विप्राणां ब्राह्मण्यं तेजो हि शाम्यति ॥ 72 ॥

इति चिन्तयतो मह्यं शून्यताभूद्धि नारद ।

..... ॥ 75 ॥

तदेषु मतिमान् कोपं न कुर्वीत..... ॥ 76 ॥

-8K. ib.

reflection.¹ In this context, Nārada remembered the old story of Cirakārin and told it to the Brāhmaṇas. The following is the close summary of the story as Nārada told it to the Brāhmaṇas (SK. ib. 80—131).

Gautama had a son named *Cirakārin* (C.). He was very intelligent. He did all actions after long reflection. He was called C. because he reflected long before doing anything. People, who had small minds and could not see far, called him an idler and a fool.²

Once his father was angry with his wife (C.'s mother) for some moral transgression (*vyabhicāra*) on her part. Leaving aside all other sons, the father asked C. to kill his mother. C., according to his wont, said 'Yes' after a long time. Then he thought long : "Oh ! shall I sink down like a wretch under this dilemma and quandary of duties. To obey the father's command is the highest duty. Still who can hope to be happy after having killed a woman and a mother ?"³

1 तान्विप्रानन्नवं पुनः ।

धिङ् मामस्तु च दुर्बुद्धिमविमृशयार्थकारिणम् ॥ 78 ॥

सहसा न क्रियां कुर्यात्पदमेतन्महापदाम् ।

विमृश्यकारिणं धीरं वृणते सर्वसंपदः ॥ 79 ॥

—SK. ib.

2 चिरकारी महाप्राज्ञो गौतमस्याभवत्सुतः ।

चिरकार्याभिसंपत्तेश्चिरकारी तथोच्यते ।

अलसग्रहणं प्राप्तो दुर्मेधावी तथोच्यते ॥

बुद्धिलाघवयुक्तेन जनेनादीर्घदशिता । 81-33 ।

—SK. ib.

3. व्यभिचारेण कस्मिन् स व्यतिक्रम्यापरान् सुतान् ।

पित्रोक्तः कुपितेनाथ जहीमां जननीमिति ।

स तथेति चिरेणोक्तः स्वभावाच्चिरकारकः ॥

विमृश्य चिरकारित्वाच्चितयामास वै चिरम् ।

कथं धर्मच्छलेनास्मिन्निमज्जयेयमसाधुवत् ।

पितुराज्ञा परो धर्मः.....

स्त्रियं हत्वा मातरं च को हि जानु सुखी भवेत् ॥ 83-87 ॥

SK. ib.

Then C. thought of arguments in favour of the claims of the father : One who disregards one's father is not an honourable man. The father bodies forth his own self in his son. One owes one's body to the father, When father is pleased, all gods are pleased. If the father approves, one gets free from all sins, as a flower or fruit gets free from its stem, So the father occupies a big place in our mind. But then let me think of my mother."¹

And C. thinks of arguments in favour of his mother and sings of the glory of having a mother : "This assembly of five elements in me is due to my mother as the birth of the fire is due to the fire-stick. In the presence of the mother, one is not affected by grief or old age.² Even a poor man, when he comes home and calls 'mother'—even if he be hundred years old, he behaves like a baby of two years. The whole world becomes a void in the absence of mother. There is no shady shelter, refuge or protection or watering place like the mother. She is धात्री because she sustains her baby in the womb, जननी because she gives birth, अम्बा because she nourishes the limbs, वीरसू because she produces a वीर, श्वश्रू because she attends to and nurses her baby and माता because she thinks

1. पितरं चाप्यवज्ञाय कः प्रतिष्ठांमवाप्नुयात् ।
 पिता ह्यात्मानमाधत्ते जायायां जज्ञिवानिति ॥
 सोऽहमात्मा स्वयं पित्रा पुत्रत्वे परिकल्पितः ।
 शरीरादीनि देयानि पिता त्वेकः प्रयच्छति ।
 तस्मात्पितुर्वचः कार्यं न विचार्य कथंचन ॥
 निष्कृतिः सर्वपापानां पिता यदभिनन्दति ।
 मुच्यते बन्धनात्पुष्पं फलं वृन्तान्प्रमुच्यते ॥
 पिता नाल्पतरं स्थानं चित्तियिष्यामि मातरम् । 88-97 ।

SK. ib.

2. यो ह्ययं मयि संघातो मर्त्यत्वे पांचभौतिकः ॥
 अस्य मे जननी हेतुः पावकस्य यथारणिः ।
 मानुलाभे सनाथत्वमनाथत्वं विपर्यये ।
 न स शोचति नाप्येनं स्थावर्थमपकर्षति ॥ 97-99 ॥

SK. ib.

highly of her child."¹ Then at last, C. concludes that the mother is worth more than the whole world of men and gods and that, therefore, though other elders fallen from virtue may be abandoned, the mother though fallen from virtue should never be forsaken as she is greater than all others on account of her bearing the foetus and nourishing it.²

The father of C. had seen his wife staring, according to the nature of women, at King Bali on the bank of the river Kauṣīki and had therefore asked his son to kill her. After having given the order, the father was uneasy and thought for a long time and could not overcome his uneasiness.³ While he was brooding over the matter, there arrived, at his hermitage, Indra in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa. He cited to the father of C. certain old verses (गाथा) which meant: "False and frail

1. श्रिया हीनोऽपि यो गेहे अंबेति प्रतिपद्यते ।
 अपि वर्षशतस्यान्ते स द्विहायनवचरेत् ।
 तदा शून्यं जगत्स्य यदा माता वियुज्यते ।
 नास्ति मातृसमा छाया नास्ति मातृसमा गतिः ।
 नास्ति मातृसमं त्राणं नास्ति मातृसमा प्रपा ।
 कुक्षिसंधारणाद्धात्री जननाजननी तथा ॥
 अङ्गानां वर्धनादम्बा वीरसूत्रे च वीरसूः ।
 शिशोः शुश्रूषणाच्छ्वश्रूमाता स्यान्माननात्तथा ॥ 100-105 ॥

SK. ib.

Up to this point, the Mbh. version of the story of C. is almost common. But at this point, there intervenes in the Mbh. a passage of about 16 lines which, in effect, exculpates the mother, even though she is guilty of sexual infidelity. We shall summarize this passage in the sequel of this article when we deal with the differences which the Mbh. has from the SK.

- 2 मर्त्यानां देवतानां च पुगो नात्येति मातरम् ॥
 पतिता गुरवस्त्याज्या माता च न कथंचन ।
 गर्भधारणपोषाभ्यां तेन माता गरीयसी ॥ 106-107 ॥

SK. ib.

- 3 एवं स कौशिकीतीरे बलिं राजानमीक्षतीम् ।
 द्रोवृत्तिं चिरकालत्वाद्धन्तुं दिष्टः स्वमातरम् ॥
 विमृश्य चिरकालं हि चितान्तं नाभ्यपद्यत । 108-109 ।

SK. ib.

are women: That is how the ancient author of the Sūtras describes them. Fruit should be gathered from them. A wise man should not be fault-finding in their respect."¹ Hearing these wise words, Medhātithi Gautama (the father of C.) —It appears that Gautama was the family name and Medhātithi was the personal name of C's father—honoured that Brāhmaṇa. He was sorry and full of tears. In this repentant mood he thought to himself²: "Oh! on account of jealousy, I have come to such grief! Now who would save me from this sin? How good it would be, if my son Cirakārin would be late, according to his wont, in executing my command! O Cirakārin, if you would be late today, you would be true to your name. Save me from this sin which I have earned!" Thus brooding, Gautama, C's father, sought out C. and found him weapon in hand, with his mother. At the sight of the father, C. threw down the weapon, bowed at the feet of his father and sought his mercy and favour for having failed to discharge his order. Medhātithi, however, when he saw his son prostrate at his feet

¹ एतस्मिन्नंतरे शक्रो ब्राह्मणं रूपमास्थितः ॥
गायन् गायामुपायातः पितुस्तस्याश्रमान्तिके ।
अनृता हि स्त्रियः सर्वाः सूत्रकारो यदब्रवीत् ॥
अतस्ताभ्यः फलं ग्राह्यं न स्याद्दोषेक्षणः सुधीः ।
इति श्रुत्वा तमानर्चं मेधातिथिरुदारधीः ॥
दुःखितश्चिन्तयन् प्राप्तो भृशमश्रूणि वर्षयन् । 109-112 ।
SK. ib.

² अहोऽहमीर्ष्याक्षितो मग्नोऽहं दुःखसागरे ॥
हत्वा नारीं च साध्वीं च को नु मां तारयिष्यति ।
यद्ययं चिरकारी स्यात् स मां त्रायेत पातकात् ।
चिरकारिक भद्रं ते भद्रं ते चिरकारिक ॥
यदद्य चिरकारी त्वं ततोऽसि चिरकारिकः ।
त्राहि मां मातरं चैव तपो यच्चाजितं मया ॥
एवं स दुःखितः प्राप्तो गौतमोऽचिन्तयत्तदा ।
चिरकारिकं ददर्शाथ पुत्रं मातुरुपान्तिके ॥
(चिरकारी तु....) शस्त्रं त्यक्त्वा स्थितो मूर्ध्ना प्रसादायोपचक्रमे ॥

and the wife alive, was mightily pleased, kissed and embraced his son and wished him long life. In that joy, he burst into a paean in praise of the action of C., i.e. of his long reflection before doing an action: "One should hold counsel for a long time, give it up only after a long time. One should make friendship after a long time and should maintain it long. In matters of ill health, acts of arrogance, pride and hatred, in matters relating to any unpleasant action, in the case of friends, servants and women whose crimes are not obvious, it is the *Cirakārin*—one who reflects long before action, who is praised.¹ On the other hand, in matters of urgent religious duties, in the presence of an enemy with weapon in hand, in imminent danger and in honouring good men *Cirakārin* i.e. one who takes time for long reflection before acting, is not commended"². With these words Medhātithi Gautama accompanied by his wife and son, lived a holy life long in his hermitage and went finally to heaven.

The story of C. appears in almost identical verses in the Mbh. The Mbh. version of the story runs into about 150 lines

- 1 मेधातिथिः सुतं दृष्ट्वा शिरसा पतितं भुवि ॥
 पत्नीं चैव तु जीवन्तीं परामभ्यगमन्मुदम् ।
 ततः पित्रा चिरं स्मृत्वा चिरं चाप्राय मूर्धनि ।
 चिरं दोभ्यां परिष्वज्य चिरं जीवेत्युदाहृतः ॥
 गाथाश्चाप्यत्रवीद्विद्वान् गौतमो मुनिसत्तमः ॥
 चिरेण मंत्रं संधीयात् चिरेण च कृतं त्यजेत् ।
 चिरेण विहितं मित्रं चिरं धारणमर्हति ॥
 रोगे दर्वे च माने च द्रोहे पापे च कर्मणि ।
 अप्रिये चैव कर्त्तव्ये चिरकारी प्रशस्यते ॥
 बन्धूनां सुदृदां चैव भृत्यानां स्त्रीजनस्य च ।
 अव्यक्तेष्वपराधेषु चिरकारी प्रशस्यते ॥ 118-126 ॥

SK. ib.

- 2 धर्मं शत्रौ शस्त्रहस्ते पात्रे च निकटस्थिते ॥
 भये च साधुपूजायां चिरकारी न शस्यते ।
 एवमुक्त्वा पुत्रभार्यासहितः प्राप्य चाश्रमम् ॥
 ततश्चिरमुपास्थाय दिवं यातश्चिरं मुनिः । 129-131 ॥

SK. ib.

of the Anuṣṭubh, while the SK. version into about 100. On a comparison of the texts of the two versions,¹ we find that the SK. version drops about 63 lines appearing in the Mbh., while it shows additional 15 lines. These differences are, however, very important from the point of their contents. We are here concerned with the differences. Before we discuss the contents of these differences and their implications in the light of the text of the Mbh. version, we shall recapitulate and emphasise certain important points in the story as told in the SK. version above. They are as follows :

(i) Nārada introduces the story of C. in his mood of self-condemnation for having pronounced a hasty impatient curse on Hārīta. By telling the story of C, he means to suggest that he ought to have reflected a long time like C. before hurrying into the pronouncement of the curse.

(ii) C., while cogitating between the claims of the father and the mother on his affection, decides ultimately in favour of the mother. It seems that he feels more deeply attached to the mother and is overwhelmed by the feeling of gratitude for her on account of her sustained and patient care of the children.

(iii) The fault of the wife of Medhātithi Gautama lies in the fact that she once remained staring for a while at King Bali. The part that Indra plays in the affair is that of an adviser who impresses on Gautama that the latter should take a lenient view of his wife's laxity in view of the fact that women are constituted that way.

Now, when we come to the version of C.'s story as told in the Mbh., the first difference which strikes us is in the matter of the introduction of the story. In the Mbh., Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma : "How should one decide in the matter of doing a duty—whether speedily or late after a long time ? This is by all means a difficult matter in which I regard you

1. vide Appendix II, passage no. 5, page 2126 of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata (the critical edition of the Bhandarkar Oriental R. Institute).

as our greatest guide."¹ In reply to Yudhiṣṭhira's query, Bhīṣma recounts the 'ancient story of C.'²

The diaskeuast who inserted this story as it stands in the Mokṣadharmaparvan of the Mbh. was perhaps led to insert it in this place i.e. as chapter 258 under the impression that the story highlights the doctrine of non-injury or non-killing (अहिंसा). For, the chapter 257 viz. विचखुगोता and chapter 259 viz. सत्यवद्ब्रुमत्सेनसंवाद respectively preceding and succeeding the चिरकारिकोपाख्यान (ch. 258) are, in their import and significance, mainly concerned with non-violence. Nilakaṇṭha, the famous commentator of the Mbh. takes it in this sense; for he prefaces his commentary to this chapter by remarking that the doing of violence imposed at some body's behest should be avoided by delay.³

The second difference which the Mbh. shows from the SK. is in the matter of an additional argument which C. puts forth in favour of the mother. After advancing the argument of the SK. in identical words that the mother, as धात्री, जननी, अम्बा, शुश्रूः has stronger claim over her children's affections, the Mbh. sets forth in an additional passage an interesting additional argument as follows: "The couple copulate together. But

1 युधिष्ठिर उवाच—

कथं कार्यं परीक्षेत शीघ्रं वाथ चिरेण वा ।

सर्वदा कार्यदुर्गोऽस्मिन् भवान्नः परमो गुरुः ॥

—Mbh. 12. 158. 1.

2 भीष्म उवाच—

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ।

चिरकारेस्तु यत्पूर्वं वृत्तमाङ्गिरसे कुले ॥

—Mbh. ib. 2

The SK. also says that C. was born in the Āngirasa family. "चिरकारी
..... । पुरा हि ब्राह्मणः कश्चित्प्रख्यातोऽङ्गिरसां कुले ॥" 1. 2. 6. 80.

3 'एवमहिंसाधर्मस्यावश्यानुष्ठेयत्वमुक्त्वा कदाचित्परनिर्वन्धाद्विसामुपस्थितां
कालविलम्बादिना परिहरेदिति प्रश्नपूर्वकमाख्यायिकामुखेनाह ।'

—नीलकण्ठ on Mbh. 12. 266.

(Chitrashala press edition, Poona, 1932, page 501)

the fact (of the identity of the father of the child) rests on the mother. The father's family is that alone which the mother knows. Again, when the husband takes the hand of the wife in marriage, he alone becomes responsible for the lapse, if any. The wife is never responsible for the lapse. The husband is called the भर्ता because he feeds and sustains the wife; he is called पति because he protects her. If he fails to do both these things, he is no longer the husband. Thus if there is any fault, it is the man's and never the woman's; for it is ultimately on account of the man's incompetence that the lapse, if at all, occurs on the part of the woman."¹ The above argument is interesting because it exculpates the woman from the guilt of her lapse, holding her husband responsible for it, inasmuch as he could not protect her against temptation. In the S K. Version, however, the son does not raise the point of his mother's guilt at all. The sense of love and gratitude for the mother so much overwhelms him that the idea of guilt on the part of the mother does not at all weigh with him and he decides that the mother always deserves a place of honour. In the Mbh. version, however, the question of mother's guilt vis-a-vis the father is squarely faced and most ingeniously answered: Here the tables are turned against the father who, in a patriarchal system, is held to be the absolute custodian of the mother's morals.

The next point of difference—and the most important of all—of the Mbh. version from the SK. version is in respect of

- ¹ दम्पत्योः प्राणसंश्लेषे योर्भिसंधिः कृतः किल ।
 तं माता वा पिता वेद भूतार्थो मातरि स्थितः ॥
 माता जानाति यद् गोत्रं माता जानाति यस्य सः ।
 पाणिबन्धं स्वयं कृत्वा सहधर्ममुपेत्य च ।
 यदि याप्यन्ति पुरुषाः स्त्रियो नार्हन्ति याप्यताम् ॥
 भरणाद्धि स्त्रियो भर्ता पात्याच्चैव स्त्रियाः पतिः ।
 गुणस्यास्य निवृत्तौ तु न भर्ता न पतिः पतिः ॥
 एवं स्त्री नापराध्नोति नर एवापराध्यति । 32-33

—Mbh. *ibid.*

The main import and not the literal translation of these verses is given above, on the basis of the interpretation given by Nilakanṭha and Pratap Chandra Ray who has followed Nilakanṭha.

the nature and magnitude of the mother's guilt. We have seen above in the SK. version that the mother's guilt lay in her lapse of merely having gazed at King Bali. There Indra merely played the part of an adviser who advised Gautama to take a lenient view of the affair. In the Mbh. version, however, in a passage which is found dropped in the SK., Indra plays the active and principal part in seducing and ravishing the wife of Gautama (the mother of Cirkārin). Both Gautama and Cirkārin know it and still hold the wife and the mother respectively as guiltless in the exigency of that particular situation, of course, on different grounds. C. argues that Indra approached his mother in the guise of Gautama, his father, and that, therefore, it was no fault of his mother, if she answered the overtures of Indra, in her husband's guise. Further he says that if it was anybody's fault or sin, it was Indra's; for it was Indra who had put sexual passion in women's nature and who now took advantage of that trait in the particular case. C.'s words in the Mbh. passage are as follows: "A husband is the highest object with the wife and the highest deity to her. My mother gave up her sacred person to one that came to her in the form and guise of her own husband. Then again the sinfulness (in this case) is evident of Indra himself who (by acting in the way he did) caused the recollection of the request that had been made to him in days of yore by women (when a third part of the sin of Brāhmanicide of which Indra himself was guilty, was cast upon her sex)."¹

- 1 स्त्रिया हि परमो भर्ता दैवतं परमं स्मृतम् ।
 तस्यात्मना तु सहशमात्मानं परमं ददौ ॥
 यश्चनोक्तो हि निर्देशः स्त्रिया मैथुनतृप्तये ।
 तस्य स्मारयतो व्यक्तमधर्मो नात्र संशय ॥ 37-38

Mbh. ib.

The translation given above of these two verses is that of Pratap Chandra Ray who has followed Nilakaṇṭha's interpretation of the verses. In view of the importance of these obscure verses, we give below Nilakaṇṭha's relevant commentary (on these verses) which forms the basis of the translation above :

“स्त्रिया हि इति । तस्य आत्मना शरीरेण सहशं इन्द्रम् आलक्ष्येति शेषः । आत्मानं शरीरं परमं श्रेष्ठं ददौ । स्वपतिवेषेणागताय परस्मै पतिबुद्ध्या शरीरं प्रयच्छन्त्या

In the same Mbh. version Medhātithi Gautama, C.'s father, holds his wife not guilty on quite different grounds from those of C. In his words, they are as follows:¹

“Indra, the lord of the three worlds arrived at my hermitage as a guest in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa. He was comforted with words and honoured with welcome by her who treated all guests equally. She also gave him, as was customary, water to wash his feet and usual offerings of *Arghya*. She said to him that she was a dependant (being a wife to another) and that she would honour him only according to the requirements of ordinary courtesy. If in such a situation, something untoward happens, it is not the woman's fault. So none is at fault—neither my wife, nor I, nor the guest Indra.”

It will be clear from the above summary that the Mbh. version of C.'s story shows a very significant difference from

मम मातुर्न व्यभिचारदोषोऽस्ति । गर्भानुत्पत्तेः कुलसंकराभावान्नेयं वध्येत्यर्थः ॥ यश्चनेति ।
चनशब्दोऽप्यर्थे योऽपि मैथुनजन्यतृप्तये निर्देशो वचनं उक्त इन्द्रं प्रति इति शेषः । एवं
ह्युपाख्यायते—त्वष्टुः पुत्रस्त्रिशिराः इन्द्रेण हतः तद्धत्यायाः तृतीयांशः स्त्रीषु रजोरूपेण
स्थापितः द्वौ वृक्षभूम्योः निर्यासोषरूपौ स्थापितौ तदा स्त्रीभिर्वरः प्रार्थितः—काममावि-
जनितोः सम्भवामेति । अस्माकं जननपर्यन्तं पुरुषसंगोऽस्त्विति । सोऽयं निर्देशः स्त्रिया
उक्तः तस्य तं स्मारयतः स्वहत्यांशनिधानेन तत्स्मरणप्रयोजकस्येन्द्रस्यैव व्यक्तम् अघर्मः
न तु मम मातुः अत्र संशयो नास्ति । तस्मादिन्द्रस्यापराधान्मम मातुर्वधो न न्याय्यः
इति भावः ॥” Mbh. 12. 266, 39-41

(Chitrashala Press edition, p. 503)

- 1 आश्रमं मम सम्प्राप्तान्त्रिलोकेशः पुरन्दरः ।
अतिथिव्रतमास्थाय ब्राह्मणं रूपमास्थितः ॥
समया सान्त्वितो वाग्भिः स्वागतेनाभिपूजितः ।
अर्घ्यं पाद्यं च न्यायेन तयाभिप्रतिपादितः ॥
परवत्यस्मि चाप्युक्तः प्रणयिष्ये नयेन च ।
अत्र चाकुशले जाते स्त्रियो नास्ति व्यतिक्रमः ॥
एवं न स्त्री न चैवाहं नाध्वगन्त्रिदशेश्वरः ।
अपराध्यति धर्मस्य प्रमादस्त्वपराध्यति ॥ 44-47

Mbh ib.

On the last quarter of the above verse 47, Nilakanṭha has the following interesting comment. “धर्मस्य योगसम्बन्धिप्रमादोऽनवधानता । इन्द्रस्यानपराधत्वं द्वेषराहित्यान्मुनिनेहोक्तं न तु व्यवहारतः ।” (Chitrashala Press edition, p. 504.)

the SK. in a very important detail. Indra, in the Mbh. version, does not play the part of an adviser but he actually makes overtures to C.'s mother and ravishes her chastity. Both C. and his father hold her not guilty because she has committed the offence unawares. Though the lapse on the part of Gautama's wife appears to be more serious than the one described in the SK. version, it is condoned on account of the extenuating fact that she naturally took Indra in Gautama's guise as her husband. The Mbh. version nowhere mentions the name of C.'s mother. Nilakaṇṭha, the commentator, however, repeatedly mentions her in his commentary by the name of Ahalyā. He appears to think that this story refers to the same famous Gautama-Ahalyā-Indra episode described in works like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas only with a different conclusion.¹ In the usual Gautama-Indra-Ahalyā story, Ahalyā is cursed by Gautama as a result of which she is turned into a stone to be eventually restored by the touch of Rāma's foot. But in the C.'s story in the Mbh. the plot of the story has a different dénouement.

It may be further pointed out that the C. story in the two versions viz. the Mbh. and the SK. adapts and modifies two different ancient stories. The C. story in the Mbh. incorporates and adapts and alters the old Gautama-Ahalyā-Indra story; In the old Gautama-Ahalyā-Indra Story Gautama does not ask his son to kill Ahalyā but curses her himself. In the Mbh. version of the story, however, a son is brought in on the model of the Jamadagni-Paraśurāma episode to do the behest of the father. Thus the Mbh. version adapts and alters the two ancient stories—that of Gautama-Ahalyā-Indra and that of Jamadagni-Paraśurāma. The C.

1 On the following line in the Mbh. version :

पत्नीं चैव निराकारां परामभ्यागमन्मुदम् । 58 (Mbh. ibid.)

Nilakaṇṭha comments as follows :

निराकारां लज्जया पाषाणभूताम् । पुराणान्तरे गौतमशापेनैव पाषाण-
भूतामिति स्मर्यते ।' —Śbāntiparvan.

(Chitrashala Press edition, p. 504.)

story in the SK. version, however, embodies and adapts a quite different story viz. the story of Jamadagni, Reṇukā and their son Paraśurāma. It will be recalled that in the original story Reṇukā was accused of guilt similar to that of the mother of C.: Reṇukā was found guilty of gazing at a Gandharva King for which the indignant Jamadagni ordered Paraśurāma, one of his sons, to behead his mother. Paraśurāma instantly carried out the command of his father. Paraśurāma was not, however, devoid of filial love towards his mother; for, he asked a boon from his father who was pleased with his dutiful son that his mother should be restored back to life, without retaining any memory of her having been beheaded by her son. The SK. version, while following the Jamadagni-Reṇukā model, deviates from it in putting C. in place of Paraśurāma and in making him put off the execution of the father's order until the father arrives on the scene.

The main import of the C. story is, no doubt, its impressive emphasis on the advisability of reflection before action or of thoughtful action. It may be said to be a good illustration of the famous verse in this behalf of Bhāravi :¹

सहसा विदधीत न क्रियाम् अविवेकः परमापदां पदम् ।
वृणते हि विमृश्यकारिणं गुणलुब्धाः स्वयमेव संपदः ॥

In fact Nārada, in the version of the SK. given above, while setting out to relate the story of C., appears to echo the very words of the above stanza in the verse—

सहसा न क्रियां कुर्यात् पदमेतन्महापदाम् ।
विमृश्यकारिणं धीरं वृणते सर्वसंपदः ॥

already quoted in Footnote 6. The above verse in the SK. followed by the story of C. in the sequel equates, in effect, चिरकारिन् with विमृश्यकारिन् and sets forth an opposition, as in Bhāravi's verse, between सहसा क्रियां कुर्यात् and विमृश्यकारित्व. It may be pointed out that Mbh. version nowhere expresses such opposition in explicit terms.

1. *Kirātārjunīyam* II. 30.

The story of C. in both the versions—the *Mbh.* and the *SK.*—may be said to indicate a significant change in outlook towards moral lapses and the individual's responsibility (for the moral lapses). In the old Gautama-Ahalyā-(Indra) and Jamadagni-Reṇukā-(Paraśurāma) stories there is found little regard and understanding for the moral position and the psychological condition of the wife and the son. The will of the patriarch is supreme and his command is to be carried out peremptorily. There is, however, a refreshing humane change in this outlook in the C. stories. The son is, no longer, an automaton involuntarily carrying out the command of the father but an intelligent thinking individual weighing the pros and cons of the situation. He thinks that the mother is also an individual having her own moral dignity and self-respect and has with the father equal, if not more, claims on his love and affection. The father or the patriarch of the family, after issuing his peremptory command, has also his second thoughts and develops an understanding sympathy for the wife and the son and a humane discernment between major and minor lapses (as in the case of the *SK.* version) or between witting and unwitting lapses (as in the *Mbh.* version).

We have dealt with the important differences between the *Mbh.* and the *SK.* versions of the C. story and pointed out some of the implications stemming from them. Before we conclude, it would be advisable to touch on the time-relation between the texts of the two versions. The *SK.*, as it stands at present, is judged by competent scholars as not being earlier than 700 A.D.¹ The *Mbh.* in its present size is generally believed to have existed by the 4th century A.D. Judging by these dates, one may be tempted to say that the *SK.* version of the C. story may have been the direct borrower from the *Mbh.* version. In fact, more than half the verses bearing on the C. episode are common to both. But if one takes into consideration the remarkable differences discussed above between

1. vide R. C. Hazra 'Studies in Purāṇic Records etc.' p. 165 : "There seems to be little in it (the present Skanda) which can be dated earlier than 700 A. D."

the two versions, one may not be sure whether there was a direct borrowing of the SK from the Mbh. The differences are so remarkable that they may lead one to conclude that both the versions drew upon a common floating version of the story, adapting the material with suitable changes. Even so, one can not resist the impression that the version of C. story retained after adaptation by the Mbh. appears to belong to an earlier time than that of the SK. The impression is based on two reasons: one, in contrast to the Mbh., the SK. introduction of the story, as already pointed out above evidently appears to echo words of Bhāravi (6th century); the second reason is that the Mbh. version works up into its story the motifs of two ancient stories—that of Gautama-Ahalyā-Indra and of Jamadagni-Reṇukā (Paraśurāma). The mixing of the two motifs makes the story unnecessarily complex and introduces elements which detract from the telling effect of the C. story. The author of the SK version must have realized the awkward complexity caused by the mixing of the two motifs and must have thought it advisable to economize in the interest of the story by retaining only one motif viz. that of Jamadagni-Reṇukā-Paraśurāma and thus make the story simple, direct and more telling.

विष्णुकृतं गणेशस्तोत्रम्

(ब्रह्मवैवर्त०, गणपतिखण्ड, अ० १३; आनन्दाश्रम०)

[अथ विष्णुः सभामध्ये तं सम्पूज्य गणेश्वरम् ।

तुष्टाव परया भक्त्या सर्वविघ्नविनाशकम् ॥ ४० ॥

विष्णुरुवाच—

ईश त्वां स्तोतुमिच्छामि ब्रह्मज्योतिः सनातनम् ।

नैव वर्णयितुं शक्तोऽस्म्यनुरूपमनीहकम् ॥ ४१ ॥

प्रवरं सर्वदेवानां सिद्धानां योगिनां गुरुम् ।

सर्वस्वरूपं सर्वेशं ज्ञानराशिस्वरूपिणम् ॥ ४२ ॥

अव्यक्तमक्षरं नित्यं सत्यमात्मस्वरूपिणम् ।

वायुतुल्यं च निर्लिप्तं चाक्षतं सर्वसाक्षिणम् ॥ ४३ ॥

संसारार्णवपारे च मायापोते सुदुर्लभे ।

कर्णधारस्वरूपं च भक्तानुग्रहकारकम् ॥ ४४ ॥

वरं वरेण्यं वरदं वरदानामपीश्वरम् ।

सिद्धं सिद्धिस्वरूपं च सिद्धिदं सिद्धिसाधनम् ॥ ४५ ॥

ध्यानातिरिक्तं ध्येयं ध्यानासाध्यं च धार्मिकम् ।

धर्मस्वरूपं धर्मज्ञं धर्माधर्मफलप्रदम् ॥ ४६ ॥

बीजं संसारवृक्षाणामङ्कुरं च तदाश्रयम् ।

स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकानां च रूपमेतदतीन्द्रियम् ॥ ४७ ॥

सर्वाद्यमग्रपूज्यं च सर्वपूज्यं गुणार्णवम् ।

स्वेच्छया सगुणं ब्रह्म निर्गुणं स्वेच्छया पुनः ॥ ४८ ॥

स्वयं प्रकृतिरूपं च प्राकृतं प्रकृतेः परम् ।

त्वां स्तोतुमक्षमोऽनन्तः सहस्रवदनैरपि ॥ ४९ ॥

न क्षमः षड्वक्त्रश्च न क्षमश्चतुराननः ।

सरस्वती न शक्ता च न च शक्तोऽहं तव स्तुतौ ।

न शक्ताश्च चतुर्वेदाः के वा ते वेदवादिनः ॥ ५० ॥

LITERARY AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

The following is a brief review of the work of the Purāṇa-Department and of the other cultural activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, carried out since the publication of the previous review in 'Purāṇa' (III. 2)

Critical Editions of the Purāṇas.

1. *Matsya-Purāṇa*. As has already been noted in the previous review, four manuscripts of the Matsya-Purāṇa, deposited in the Oriental Library, Mysore, have also been collated besides the thirty manuscripts collated previously, a detailed description of which appeared in 'Purāṇa' Vol. I (pp. 101-111). The additional verses of these four manuscripts have also been copied separately and arranged alphabetically. A separate inventory of the Matsya-Purāṇa verses missing in the four Mysore-Mss. has also been prepared. In addition to this, the following work at Madras has also been done under the guidance and supervision of Dr. V. Raghavan :

- (i) In collecting Matsya-Purāṇa quotations from the Smṛti-Nibandhas and noting variants found therein, fifty more Nibandhas have been gone through during this period ; such as दण्डविवेक, विवादादस्ताकर, गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्ध-कदम्ब, व्यवहारनिर्णय, कृत्यसारसमुच्चय, दानमयूख, मदनमहाराव, स्मृतिरत्नाकर, पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि, etc.
- (ii) Extra verses in the Nibandhas examined so far, which are not found in the printed editions of the Matsya-Purāṇa, have been separately copied ;
- (iii) A complete Examination of the Matsya-Purāṇa as compared with all other Purāṇas has been made to find out how many lines of the Matsya are there which are not traceable in the other Purāṇas. A concordance of these verses of the Matsya has been prepared ;

- (iv) An inventory with chapter-references of the Matsya-Purāṇa quotations found in the Śābdakalpadruma has also been prepared, and variants noted ;
- (v) Availing of the opportunity of the Srinagar Session of All-India Oriental Conference, Matsya-Mss. in Jammu and Hoshiarpur were examined by Dr. V. Raghavan ; noteworthy points and necessary data have been collected from these manuscripts.

2. *Vāmana-Purāṇa* : As has been stated previously, Dr. V. S. Agrawala of the Banaras Hindu University has been entrusted with the work of preparing the critical edition of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. For this purpose several Mss. have been collated, a detailed description of which was given in '*Purāṇa*', (Vol. III, No. 1). The Bengali-script manuscript (No. 353-71-B-3 ; No. 3989 of H. P. Shastri's Catalogue, V) belonging to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, is now being collated at Varanasi, and the collation of the Śāradā Manuscript procured from the B. H. University is also shortly to be taken in hand. It might be noted here that there is a dearth of scholars who can easily read and collate the old Śāradā and Bengali Mss. of the Purāṇas. Some Mss. of the Vāmana-Purāṇa appearing as its older version, and showing the Vaiṣṇava character of the old Vāmana P. are deposited in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore (South India). Their collation has been arranged under the supervision of Dr. V. Raghavan at Madras. An alphabetical pāda-index of the ślokas of the Vāmana-Purāṇa has also been prepared for collecting Vāmana-Purāṇa quotations from the Nibandha-granthas.

Purāṇa-Concordance

The Purāṇa Concordance according to the plan published in '*Purāṇa*' Vol. I, No. 1, is in progress. A complete subject-index of the Vāmana-Purāṇa has been published in '*Purāṇa*' Vol. III, No. 1, and that of the Kūrma-Purāṇa in '*Purāṇa*' Vol. III, No. 2, for eliciting the opinions of scholars. The work on the other Purāṇas is also going on. The subject-index of the

Viṣṇu Purāṇa which has been completed is now being revised. The subject-slips of the Brahma, Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Agni and Liṅga Purāṇas have been prepared and are to be revised.

Formerly it was planned that the work of preparing the subject-concordance of all the Purāṇas should be done together, so that a complete and integrated subject-concordance of the Purāṇas may be prepared. But now for the sake of convenience the Concordance is to be prepared in three volumes, each volume will contain the concordance of about six Purāṇas. The first volume of the Concordance of six Purāṇas is now being prepared.

'Purāṇa' Bulletin

The 'Purāṇa' Bulletin which has now become an important organ of the Purāṇa Department of the Kashiraj Trust, and which provides an exclusive forum for Puranic studies has secured the appreciation and co-operation of prominent Indologists, both Indian and foreign. A number of Oriental Journals—such as 'Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, the 'Orientalist', Poona, the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, the Journals of the Adyar Library and the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, the 'Oriental Research', Madras, 'Our Heritage' of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 'Archiv Orientalni' (Journal of the Oriental Institute of Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague), the 'WZKSO' (Journal of the Indological Institute, University of Vienna), 'East and West' (Journal of the Italian Institute, Rome), and several others are received by us in exchange of our 'PURĀṆA' Bulletin. Besides these Oriental Research-Journals, we also receive 'Kalyāṇa' of the Gita Press, Gorakhpur, the 'Advent' of the Aravindo Ashrama, Pondicherry, 'Bhārati Bhavana Journal and 'Bhārati' of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, on the exchange basis.

All-India Oriental Conference, Srinagar

We are glad to note that Dr. V. Raghavan, who is a member of our Purāṇa-Committee and of the Editorial Board, was

ected as the General President of the Srinagar session of this Conference. In his Presidential address he made a reference to the project of the All-India Kashiraj Trust for the critical editions of the Purāṇas, and specially to the Matsya Purāṇa edition which is being prepared at Madras under his own editorship. Prof. D. R. Mankad also in his Presidential address in the History Section referred to the efforts of the Kashiraj Trust for Purāṇic textual reconstruction in the form of the critical editions of the Purāṇas.

Shri Anand Swarup Gupta represented the All-India Kashiraj Trust, and read his paper there. At this conference he also contacted a number of scholars, specially those interested in the Purāṇic studies, and acquainted them with the Purāṇa-work of the Kashiraj Trust. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, in his letter of 26th December, much appreciated the Purāṇa project of the Kashiraj Trust and has specially shown his interest in the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. Shri A. S. Gupta also visited the Raghunath Sanskrit Library at Jammu, and consulted some important Mss. of Matsya and Vāmana Purāṇas. It contains about 7000 manuscripts including about 300 Purāṇa Mss. It is expected that in future the Trust will be able to make use of this collection with the kind help of the Library-Authorities.

Veda-Pārāyana

As has been said in the previous review, the *pārāyana* (recitation of the complete text) of the Veda from memory is arranged twice a year on the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā (July) and Vasanta Pañchamī (Jan.-Feb.) occasions, with an annual donation of Rs. 1100 by H. H. Maharaja Dr. Shri Vibhuti Narayan Singh. On the present Vasanta Pañchamī occasion, the Rgveda with its Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad is being recited from memory by Pt. Sakharam Maheshwar Padhye of Kolhapur Distt. (Maharashtra).

Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravachana

According to the scheme given in the last review, the Varāha Purāṇa was recited in November last, and a series of nine discourses on it were delivered by Pt. Neelmeghacharya, Professor of Sanskrit University, Varanasi. In the present month (Feb.) the Kālikā Purāṇa has been recited, and a series of discourses on it have been given by Pt. Vishwanath Shastri Datar of the Sāṅga Veda Vidyālaya, Varanasi.

Shivala Bhavana Pravachana Kendra

Shri Dilip Kumar Roy, a great devotee and scholar, gave a discourse on *bhakti* in the Shivala Bhavana Pravachana-Kendra, on 10th Nov. and on the following day sang devotional songs or *bhajan*s which attracted a large audience and kept the listeners spell-bound. He, with his party, stayed at the Nadesar House for two days as the guest of His Highness, the Chairman of the Kashiraj Trust.

Visit by distinguished scholars

Several distinguished foreign scholars interested in Indology, visited the Purāṇa Department, and acquainted themselves with the Purāṇa project of the Kashiraj Trust. The Chairman of the Trust personally discussed with these scholars the activities of the Trust. The literature so far published by the Trust was also presented to them. Among these scholars the names of Dr. Nasr, Professor of Philosophy in the Tehran University, Dr. Juan Roger Riviere, Prof. of Indology in the University of Madrid and Chief Scientific Officer of the Higher Council for Scientific Research of Spain and also a contributor to our 'Purāṇa' Bulletin, Prof. Philippe Lavistine of Paris University, and Prof. R. H. L. Slater of the Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, deserve special mention. The first two scholars stayed at Nadesar House as the guests of His Highness.

The delegates of the All-India Numismatic Society attending its Jubilee Celebrations at Varanasi, and the delegates

of the All-India Philosophical Conference and Social Conference which also held their Sessions at Varanasi, were entertained at a tea-party by His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in the last week of December. These delegates acquainted themselves with the Purāṇa work and other cultural activities of the Kashiraj Trust. Dr. A. K. Narayan, Secretary of the Numismatic Society, and Dr. T. Mahadevan, President of the Philosophical Conference, specially showed interest in the Purāṇa work of the Trust. These scholars were good enough to show their readiness for co-operating with the cultural activities and specially the Purāṇa work of the Kashiraj Trust

Critical Edition of Rāmācharita-Mānasa

The critically edited version of Gosvāmī Tulasidāsa's Rāmācharita-Mānasa published by the Kashiraj Trust was released on the 12th January, 1962. At a public function arranged by the Trust at the Shivala Bhavana the first copy of this publication was presented by its editor, Acharya Shri Vishwanath Prasad Misra, to Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, who received it reverentially, and remarked in his speech that the Rāmācharita-Mānasa is a great epic which has moulded the lives of millions of the people in India and has become a part of their lives.

Originally the work of the critical edition of the Rāmācharita-Mānasa was started by His Highness Maharaja Ishwari Prasad Narayan Singh in 1846, when the modern graph-system of collation was pioneered by the scholars of Kashī who collated a number of Mānasa-Mss. for the purpose of preparing its authentic edition; but somehow the work could not proceed further at that time. By God's grace it has now seen its completion.

The present work is the first of its kind. It is a scientific-ly prepared edition of the Rāmācharita-Mānasa, prepared after examining all the available manuscript-evidence dating within a hundred years of the Poet's death. The personal Library of His Highness, the Maharaja of Banaras, contains one of the richest

collections of the Mānasa literature, which was made available to the Kashiraj Trust for this purpose. The Trust also procured other Manuscripts from different collections in India and abroad. The present Maharaja, His Highness Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan Singh donated a sum of Rs. 50,000/- to the Trust, to complete the work of the critical edition of the Mānasa started by his illustrious great-grand-father, Maharaja Ishwari Prasad Narayan Singh, a hundred years ago.

The Kashiraj Trust gratefully acknowledges the kind help given by the Banaras Hindu University and specially by its Vice-Chancellor, Justice Sri N. H. Bhagavati, in lending the services of Prof. Vishwanath Prasad Misra for preparing the critical edition of the Rāmācharita-Mānasa.

On the occasion of the release of the Mānasa edition, His Highness, the Maharaja of Banaras, gave a garden party to the honoured guests, Shri U. Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, and Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, on 12th January, 1962, both of whom were his guests at the Nadesar House.

We offer our felicitations to His Highness Maharaja Shri Vibhuti Narayan Singh, Chairman of the Kashiraj Trust, on his receiving the degree of D. Litt. *honoris causa* from the Banaras Hindu University this year for his patronage, contribution and advancement of the cause of education and Indology.

We also offer our hearty congratulations to Dr. V. Raghavan for his receiving the Republic Day honour of Padma Bhushan.

BOOK-REVIEW

Willibald Kirfel: *Zur Eschatologie von Welt und Leben* (Ein Puranischer Text Nebst Übertragung in Text Geschichtlichen Darstellung)—Bonn 1959.

The works of Prof. Kirfel, in the field of Purāṇic Studies are well known. Let us only recall his monumental *Die Kosmographie Der Inder* (Bonn 1920), *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa* (1927), *Bhāratavarṣa*, an essay in puranic geography (1931) and *Das Purāṇa Vom Weltgebäude* (1954).

The present book written thirteen years ago, but published only recently, is concerned with the 'eschatology' or the representations of the 'ultimate ends' of "world and life" in the Purāṇas. It corroborates, according to the author, the thesis propounded by him, in his previous works, that the huge puranic literature has been compiled, in an Age of Renaissance, out of a multiplicity of shorter and more ancient treatises which were originally standing by themselves and have been welded, as it were, in these composite works called Purāṇas (Page VII).

In his Introduction, Prof. Kirfel gives a sketch of puranic cosmology and compares it briefly to other cosmologies of the Middle East (Babylon and Iran) and of the West. Speaking for instance about the Iranian conception of a world-year of 12000 earthly years, he says that Hinduism conceived the same as composed of 12000 heavenly or divine years, one year of this kind being made of 360 earthly years, the result being a World year of a much greater duration, of 43,20,000 earthly years. Another difference is that the Iranians divided their world year equally in four parts of 3000 years, while the Indians divided it according to the progression of 4:3:2:1, viz. Kṛta-yuga (14,40,000), Tretā (10,80,000), Dvāpara (of 7,20,000) and Kāli (3,60,000). During these 4 ages, the colour of the body of Viṣṇu changes from White and Red to Yellow and Black,

respectively the colours of the 4 castes. And when the Dharma which was four-legged (*Catuspād*) or complete in the first Age has lost his last leg in the darkest part of the Black Age, i. e. when the world or Dharma is practically at end, comes the new creation (*pratisarga*), as the dawn after the night, according to an eternal descending (*avasarpinī*) and ascending (*utsarpinī*) line. These views, among many others, are compared to similar and dis-similar views of the other traditions.

The bulk of the book is composed of Purāṇic texts. Excerpts from Viṣṇu Purāṇa VI. 1-1-58 ; VI. 2, 1-40 ; VI. 3, 1-41 ; VI. 4-1-49 ; VI. 5-1-87 ; Brahma Purāṇa chapters 229, 231-233, also 122, 124, 126 ; Agni Purāṇa chapters 368, 369 ; Brahmāṇḍa (chapter III, 1-23) and Vāyu Purāṇa (chapter 102, 1-31) have been here critically edited, translated and compared with each other. The author finds in this way different strata, and he makes his best to distinguish the most ancient from the new, going in such details that it is impossible to do justice to his analyses in this short paper. To give only one example, he says that the compiler of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa had before his eyes evidently the text or fragment of the text which is to be found in Brahma Purāṇa under the name of Vedavyāsa Dvaipāyana. Now we find this text on the lips of Parāśara in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. In order to motivate such exclusion, the compiler of Viṣṇu Purāṇa must have had recourse to a *pia fraus* (pious cheating) etc. The conclusion of the work is given in a "Kritische text analyse" where the author stresses the necessity of comparing the different puranic versions of the same subjects, if we wish to obtain an idea of the former works out of which they were compiled. Reading for instance, the chapter VI of Viṣṇu Purāṇa without comparing it with the chapters of Brahma-Purāṇa which deal with the same 'eschatologie' topics, we might have thought that the author of Viṣṇu Purāṇa was expounding his own ideas. This erroneous view can be excluded only when we know all the parallel versions. The Purāṇas do not compose a homogenous

whole. Nevertheless, many teachings of a previous age, namely the teachings of the theist Sāṃkhya-Philosophy have been incorporated in a great number of them. The author does not say that even Vedic teachings might have been incorporated in the Purāṇas.

PHILIPPE LAVASTINE.

मार्कण्डेय पुराण—एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन MĀRKAṆḌEYA PURĀṆA—A CULTURAL COMMENTARY). By Dr. Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala, Professor, Banaras Hindu University. Published by the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. 1961. pp. 9 + 194. Price Rs. 8.50.

This work is a running commentary on the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, presenting an interpretation of its contents from two points of view—viz. firstly cultural history and secondly, which is more important and basic, an exposition of the symbolism embodied in the Purāṇic legends on the basis of their Vedic background and metaphysical thought. The Purāṇas were, in reality, designed primarily to offer a symbolical formulation of Vedic cosmogony in the form of Ākhyānas. So if one wishes to understand the Veda, one should know the Purāṇas and *vice-versa*. The unlocking of the symbolical treasure-chest hidden in the Purāṇas and the Vedas leads to the inevitable conviction that the Vedas and the Purāṇas represent the two sides of the same coin and are a mutual revivification of the same idea.

The above point of view is amply illustrated by the learned author in his present study of the Mārkaṇḍeya P. From the book which is extremely rich in its contents we may take a few examples :

The author tells us that the four interlocutors represented as the four pious and spiritually minded Birds are really the four Vedas. Then he goes on to explain the symbolism of Nara and Nārāyaṇa—the meaning of *nārāḥ* and its equation with *āpaḥ*, the abode of Nārāyaṇa in the primeval Ocean as the Puruṣa or what in the Vedas is known as the Hiranyagarbha

or the Golden Germ. In the *Pāñca-rātra* symbolism this was transformed into *Catur-vyūha* formula—namely, Vāsudeva corresponding to *Sahasra-śiṛṣā* Puruṣa (*parātpara*), Balarāma to *Svayambhū* Puruṣa (= Nara or *avyaya* Puruṣa), Pradyumna to Virāj or Parameṣṭhin (= *āpaḥ* or *nārāḥ*), and Aniruddha to Hiranyagarbha or *ḷṣara* Puruṣa or *Vairāja* Puruṣa or Brahmā. This doctrine occurs in several Purāṇas and has been clearly enunciated in the present treatise.

Another instance is the explanation of the symbolism contained in the thirteen chapters of the well-known *Devī-Māhātmya*. Here the cosmogonic principles behind the conception of Devī are fully explained. Devī symbolises Power and Energy, Madhu-Kaiṭabha, as the two aspects of Parameṣṭhin, symbolise *rajas* and *tamas* or *brahmaudina* and *pravargya*; Mahiṣāsura is the Purāṇic version of the Vedic Vṛtra who represents darkness and comes into conflict with Indra, the power of light, the immortal god. The Vedic conflict of Indra and Vṛtra is exemplified in the conflict of Devī and Mahiṣa, involving a mass of other symbolical definitions which have also been clearly explained.

A third example is that of Sūrya and of the various members of his family like his three wives—Samjñā, Chājā and Aśvā (the form assumed by Samjñā), and his several offspring like Yama, Yamī, Aśvinī-Kumāras and Sāvarṇi Manu, etc.

The web of these stories becomes illumined when their symbolism is properly grasped. There is the real wealth of the Purāṇic version.

There are also many interesting portions explaining the cultural material of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, e. g. those relating to the story of Satyavādī Hariścandra (a new creation of the Gupta-period-storytellers in contrast to that of the Aitareya Br.), of the Avadhūta Dattātreya, and of Alarka and his mother Madālasā, a type of the ideal woman in the Golden Age, and of the *Bhuvanakośa* chapters of which there are two versions viz. the

traditional lists of the Janapadas, Mountains, Rivers, etc., as found in so many other Purāṇas, and a special *Kūrma-vibhāṣā* geography of India compiled during the Gupta-period, to which the present book offers many new identifications.

The work is replete with much useful material for Purāṇic studies in general. It is desirable that similar analytical studies are made available on the other Purāṇic texts also.

A. S. Gupta

SPARKS FROM THE VEDIC FIRE (A New Approach to Vedic Symbolism). By Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Published by The Director, School of Vedic Studies, Banaras Hindu University. Sole Distributor: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi—1. Price Rs. 30/-.

According to Professor Agrawala, the problem of Vedic interpretation is fundamentally the problem of symbols. Great scholars both from the West and East have tried to understand the Vedas, but their attempts have yielded only superficial results so far as the real problem of decoding the thoughts of the Ṛishis is concerned. This was due not to any inherent drawback in the academic equipment of these savants, but it was due to their failure to appreciate the correct value of the symbols in which Vedic thought was deliberately couched by the original thinkers. This important fact must be realised and admitted to carve a real entrance to this fascinating study which to my mind, has a value not only for India but for all humanity, because Indian symbolism holds the key to the cosmic thought and its concrete formulations by the peoples of many countries and ages. It is the domain of widest synthesis and not of conflict; it is this basic concord which intelligent men in all countries are seeking to day to reclaim the lost language of their religious disciplines.

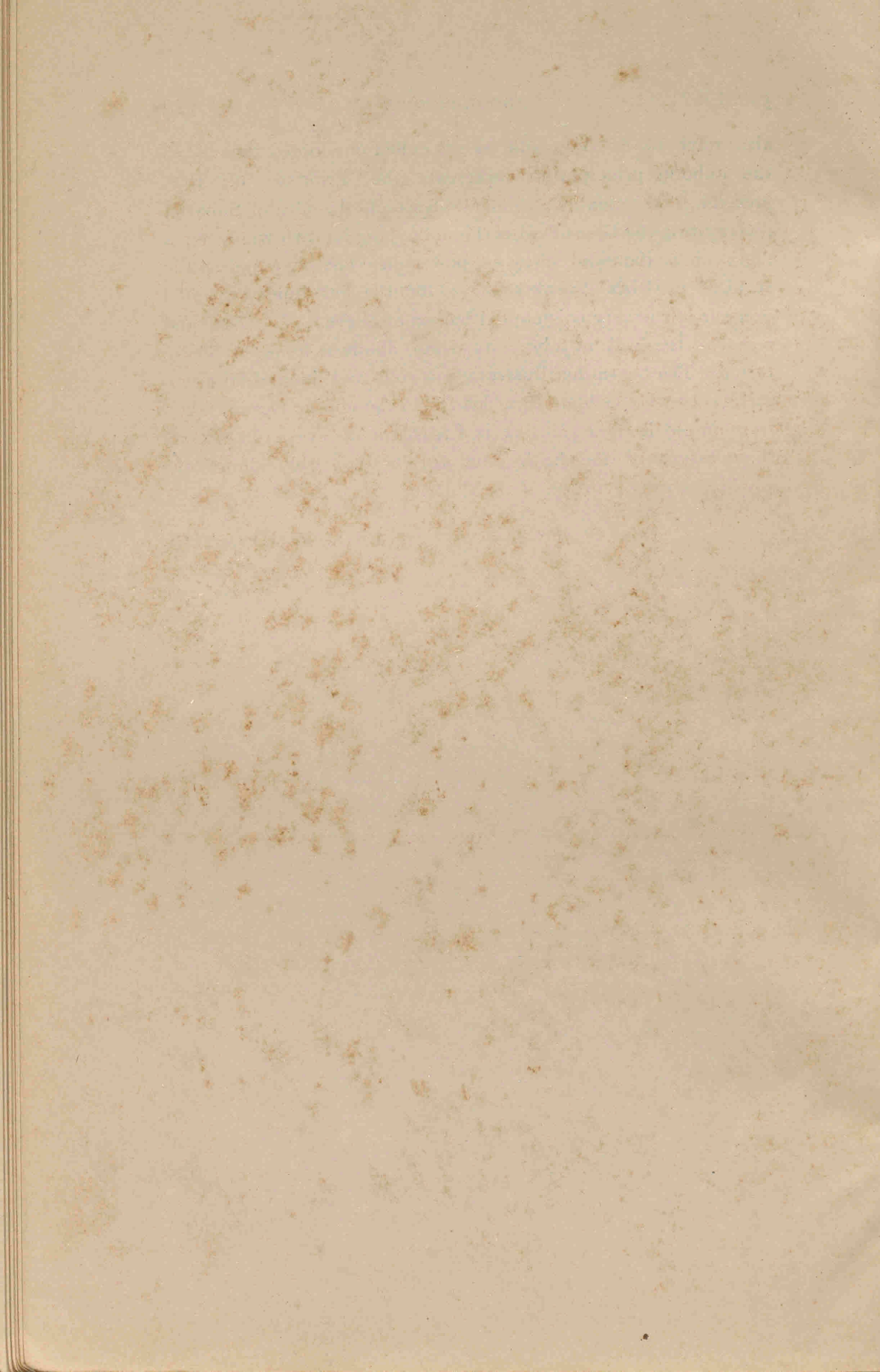
Here comes to our help this latest book by Prof. Agrawala who has given us a sampling of the meanings of the Vedic symbols in a series of essays, which I consider both learned

and brilliant, and, what is more, as representing the correct traditional Indian point of view. For Prof. Agrawala the Indian evidence is of value for a fresh attuning of the mind to the thought of the Rishis in the mantras. He says graphically that "the exploding meaning of the symbol in a mantra is as gladdening as divine encounter." For example, the Forest represents the infinite source of cosmic generation and the Tree stands for the Tree of Existence; Pestle and Mortar signify the two Clashing Rocks; and even the despised croaking Frog (*Maṇḍūkā*) is the sign of the Individuated Life-principle stirred to activity by the drops of the heavenly clouds, that is, Universal Life-forces moistening the material existence. The author has pointed out in the Preface that the familiar domestic and natural objects have been used by the Rishis as pegs for the mystical meanings intended by them. Sun, Moon, Water, Fire, Sky, Earth, Day, Night, Hill, River, Wheel, Cow, Horse, Eagle, Dragon, are frequently used as the alphabet of the language of Infinite Nature. These symbols do not change or evolve their meaning: they are changeless in time and place. Similarly family relationship, as Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Son, Daughter, are entities of householed life with the meaning of which we are familiar. So also the Wheel, Car, Full Vase, Bowl, House, Door, Pillar, Bricks, Bow and Arrow etc. have been employed in the Vedas as pegs to fasten the meanings constituting the metaphysical thought of the Seers.

It is to the credit of the author that he draws our attention to this aspect of Vedic interpretation, which may be completely new for many students of the Vedas. There are twelve papers in the book entitled Prajāpati, Agni, Hiraṇyagarbha, Three Brothers of Agni, One-footed Goat (*Aja Ekapād*), Gaurī, Suparṇa, Nāsadiya Sukta, Riddles of Rishi Vasukra, One Rudra and the Many, *Asṭamūrti Śiva* and *Purāṇa-Vidyā*. It is hardly possible in a review like this to do justice to the meaning and information conveyed by the author. But to take one example, the One-footed Goat is not a creature of fancy but the symbol of the Unborn Creator whom the Vedas

also refer to as Aja, and who is called one-footed because as the unborn principle he represents the Principle of Rest preceding the creation. The analysis of the idea of Suparna representing the Great Bird of Time flapping its two wings on a flight of a thousand days is powerful. The big paper on the Riddles of Rishi Vasukra offers for the first time a rational exegesis of the very enigmatical hymns of R̥gveda, X. 27-28 and removes the veil of obscurity from about a hundred Vedic terms. The charming illustration in gold and blue of Hiranyagarbha or the Golden Egg, floating in the cosmic Ocean, taken from an old Kangra painting is a feast for the eyes. In the last three essays of the book the author has ably shown the amplifying inter-relation of the Purāṇas to the Vedas.

PHILIPPE LAVASTINE.



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The 'Purāna' Bulletin has been started by the Purāna Department of the All-India Kashiraj Trust with the aim of organising the manifold studies relating to the Purānas. It will specially discuss the several aspects of text-reconstruction, of the interpretation of the vast cultural and historical material, and of the obscure esoteric symbolism of legends and myths of the Purānas. The editors invite contributions from all those scholars who are interested in the culture of the Purāna literature, and in the religion and philosophy of the Vedas, which has found the fullest expression in the Purānas.

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