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 यद् दिव्यस्ति क्षमातेले खेऽन्यतो वा
 त्वत्सम्बन्धं^१ त्वत्स्वरैर्व्यञ्जनैश्च ॥२२॥

[सरस्वती-स्तोत्रमिदं वामनपुराणे (३२.६-२२) मार्कण्डेये (२३.३०-४७) चोभयत्र प्रायशः समानमेव वर्तते । सरस्वती नदी प्लक्षवृक्षात् समुद्भूय शैलसहस्राणि च विदार्य कुरुक्षेत्रं प्रविवेशेति वामनपुराणे उक्तम् । सरस्वती प्लक्षवृक्षस्याधस्ताद् उद्भूतेति पद्मपुराणे (आनन्दा० संस्क०, ५.१८.१८७) स्कन्दपुराणे (वैकटे० संस्क०, प्रभास०, ३५.२२) चाप्युक्तम् । अयं च प्लक्षवृक्षो हिमवति गिरौ स्थित आसीदिति स्कन्दपुराणात्प्रतीयते—“हिमवन्तं गिरिं प्राप्य पिप्पलादाश्रमात् तदा ॥ उद्भूता सा तदा देवी अधस्ताद् वृक्षमूलतः ।” (प्रभासखण्ड, ३५.२१-२२) । तस्मिन् प्लक्षवृक्षे सरस्वतीं स्थितां दृष्ट्वा मार्कण्डेयो मुनिस्तां कुरुक्षेत्रे आनयनार्थम् अनेन स्तोत्रेण तुष्टाव, तस्य स्तोत्रेण च संप्रीता सरस्वती प्रवाहसंयुक्ता सती कुरुक्षेत्रं प्रविवेशेति वामनपुराणम् ।

मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य सरस्वतीस्तोत्रं तु नागराट् अश्वतरः कृतवान् । अश्वतरस्य द्वौ पुत्रौ राजपुत्रस्य कुवल्याश्वस्य (=ऋतध्वजस्य) सुहृदौ आस्ताम् । यदा कुवल्याश्वस्य अलीकं मरणं श्रुत्वा तस्य पत्नी मदालसा मृता, तदा तस्या मदालसाया मरणं स्वपुत्राभ्यां श्रुत्वा अश्वतरस्तस्याः पुनर्जीवनाय हिमवतो गिरेः प्लक्षावतरणं नाम तीर्थं गत्वा तत्र दुश्चरं तपस्तेपे, तत्र च स सरस्वतीं देवीं तन्मना भूत्वा गोभिस्तुष्टाव, तस्य स्तोत्रेण च तुष्टा सरस्वती तस्य समस्तस्वर-सम्बन्धं चतुर्विधं तोद्यं च प्रायच्छत, स चाश्वतरः सरस्वत्याः सकाशात् पदताल-स्वरादिविज्ञानं प्राप्य कैलासशिखरे स्थितं भगवन्तं शिवं सप्तभिर्गीतकैराराधयामास, प्रसन्नीभूताच्च शिवात् स मदालसायाः पुनर्जीवनं वव्रे ।

इदं सरस्वतीस्तोत्रं मार्कण्डेयेन मुनिना नागराजेन अश्वतरेण चोभाभ्यामेव हिमवति गिरौ प्लक्षावतरणे नाम तीर्थस्थाने भिन्नकाले भिन्नोद्देश्येन च कृतम् । मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य सरस्वतीस्तोत्रं पूर्वमपि ‘पुराण’पत्रिकायाः प्रथमभागस्य द्वितीयेऽङ्के प्रकाशितम् । तच्च स्तोत्रं पुनरत्र वामनपुराणस्य स्तोत्रेण सह तुलनार्थं प्रदीयते । मार्कण्डेयगत-सरस्वतीस्तोत्रस्य व्याख्या ‘पुराण’पत्रिकायाः तस्मिन्नेव अङ्के (१३९-१४५ पृष्ठेषु) वर्तते ।]

पाठभेदाः

[काशिराज्यास्य पुराणविभागे वामनपुराणस्य संवादितेषु एकादशसु कोशेषु (७ देवनागरी०, १ शारदा०, १ काश्मिरी, १ बंगला०, १ तेलुगु०) मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य च आकलितेषु पञ्चसु कोशेषु (३ देवनागरी०, २ मैथिली०) उपलभ्यमानाः केचिद् उपयोगिनः पाठभेदा अत्र प्रदीयन्ते । तेषां पाठभेदवतां कोशानां च संख्या आहत्य प्रत्येकस्य पाठभेदस्याग्रे लघुकोष्ठे () प्रदीयते ।]

(वामनपुराणम्)

- श्लो० ६—१. ज्ञाता (१), मान्या (४); २. देवा (५); ३. स्थिता (१); ४-४. मोक्षबोधार्थतत्पदम् (२), बन्धार्थतत्पदम् (२), दाय्यर्थतत्पदम् (३), तत्त्वार्थतत्पदम् (३).
- ” ७—१-१. तत्सर्वं तत्समं योगियोगवद्देवि संस्थितम् (१), तत्सर्वं तस्य संयोगि तथा तत्त्ववि० (१), तत्सर्वं त्वयि संयोगि योगिवद्दे० (३), तत्सर्वं क्षयसंयोगि योगवद्मेऽपि० (१). पूर्वाद्धोत्तरार्धयोर्मध्येऽयं पाठोऽधिकः—‘अक्षरं परमं देवि यत्र सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।’ (६).
- ” ८—१-१. भूमौ च [भौमाश्च (१)] परमाणवः (५).
- ” ९—१. उकाराद्यालयं स्थानं (१); २-२. यत्तदेव स्थिरा (३), यत्तद्देवि स्थिरा (२), यत्तद्देवि स्थिरं स्थितं (२), यत्तद्देवि चिरं स्थितम् (१).
- ” १०—१. पावकास्त्रयः (५); २. विद्याश्च (१).
- ” ११—१-१. त्रयो देवास्त्रैस्वरूपास्तथा० (१), त्रयः शक्त्यो (?) त्रयो देवास्त्रयः क्रमाः (१), त्रयः शब्दास्त्रयो दोषास्तथाश्रयाः (१), त्रयः शब्दास्त्रयो देवा यथाक्रमं (१); २-३. त्रयो लोकास्तथा विश्वे पितरो ह्यग्निमादयः (३); ३-३. पितरश्चैवमादयः (३), पितरोऽहर्निशादयः (१).
- ” १२—१-१. विभिन्नदर्शनामाद्यां**सनातनीं (४), विभिन्नदर्शनामाद्यां**सनातनात् (१), दर्शनामाद्या ब्राह्मणादिसनातनाः (२).
- ” १३—१-१. हविःसंस्था पाकसंस्था सनातनी (२), पाकसंस्थाश्च सत्तमाः (१); २. ब्राह्मणादिभिः (१).
- ” १४—१-१. अनिर्देश्यपदं त्वेतद् (४); २. मात्रास्थितं; ३. वरं (३); पदं (१).
- ” १५—१. त्वैतत् परमरू० (४), तथैव तत्परं (१); २. यत्ते (१); ३. त्वयो-दितुम् (२); ४-४. न वाक्येन (१), न चास्येन (३); ५. न वा (२).

- १६—१-१. स विष्णुरथ यो ब्रह्मा (२); २. वृषो (५); ३. विरूपाक्षं (१);
४-४. विश्वात्मानमनीश्वरम् (४); ०त्मानमथेश्वरम् (१).
- १७—१. ०वेदित्वं (२); २. बहुशास्त्रं (३); ३-३. सदसचासदेव तु (५).
- १८—१. त्वनेकं नाप्येकं (३), एकत्वमेकं नाप्येकं (२); २. भाववेदं (४),
भाव्यभावं (१); ३. तत्त्वाख्यं च गुणाश्रयम् (१), बह्वारख्यं त्रिगुणान्वयम् (१),
०त्रिगुणाव्ययम् (३).
- १९—१-१. नानाशक्तिधरानेकं शाक्तं देवोपकारकम् (१), ०शक्तिमतानेक-शक्ति-
वैभवभाविकम् (२); २. सुखात्सुखं (३), सुखासुखं (४); ३. महत्सौरख्यं (६);
४. तत्त्वयि भाव्यते (२), तच्च विभाव्यते (३).
- २०—१. दिवि (१), दिशि (१); २-२. सकलं निष्कलं च यत् (४); ३-३. यच्चाद्वैते
(१); यच्चाद्वैतं (२).
- २१—१-१. ये च सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्माः (१), ये तथा सन्ति सूक्ष्माः (३); २-२. तेषां
देवि त्वत्त एवो (३), तेषां सर्वेषां त्वमेवोप (२).
- २२—१-१. भूतेष्वेकमेकं च किञ्चित् (१), भूतेष्वेकमेकं च किञ्चित् (८), भूतेष्वेक-
कर्मो(?) पि कश्चित् (१); २-२. ये वै दिव्या ये चलाश्चैकतो वा (५), यच्च
द्वैते व्यस्तभूतं च लक्ष्यं (१); ३. त्वत्स्वरैर् (३).

(मार्कण्डेयपुराणम्)

- श्लो० ३१—१. मोक्षबन्धार्थं (४).
- ३२—१. पदं (१).
- ३३—१. जगच्चैतत् (४).
- ३४—१-१. यत्ते देवि (३), यत्र देवे (१).
- ३५—१. मात्रात्रये (३); २. देवास् (५).
- ३६—१. धर्मादियस् (५); २. दोषास् (५).
- ३८—१. सनातना (४).
- ३९—१. ०दुर्द्धमात्राश्रितं (५).
- ४०—१-१. तत्रैव च परं (१); २. मयेरितुम् (१).
- ४१—१-१. न वा जिह्वातास्वोष्ठा (१).
- ४२—१-१. विश्ववक्त्रं विश्वाभासं परेश्वरम् (१); २. ०वेदोक्तं (४).
- ४३—१-१. एकत्वनेकमप्येकं (२).
- ४४—१. बह्वाख्यं (५); २. ०वैभाविकं (३).
- ४५—१. महत्सौख्यं (२); २. तत्त्वे (१), तत्त्वविभा (२).
- ४६—१. येषाः स्थू (१); २. सत्यं (३).
- ४७—१. तत्सम्बद्धं (४).

(आनन्दस्वरूप गुप्त)

AVATĀRAS AND YUGAS: AN ESSAY IN PURĀNIC COSMOLOGY

BY

RONALD M. HUNTINGTON

[अवतारवादः पुराणानां मुख्यो विषयो वर्तते । अवतारश्च
निर्गुणस्य निष्पाविकस्य नित्यस्याव्यक्तस्य च परमात्मदेवस्य सगुणरूपेण
व्यक्तभूमिकायामवतरणम् । धर्मसंस्थापनम् अघर्मनाशनं च मुख्यो
हेतुर्मन्यतेऽवतारधारणस्य । अस्मिन् लेखे तु पुनः अदेवानां
मानवानां देवत्वप्रापणमेव भगवतोऽवताराणां मुख्यहेतुरिति
प्रतिपादितम् । अवतारेषु मध्ये न कोऽप्यवतारोऽवरः परो वा वक्तुं
शक्यते, यतः सर्वे एव अवताराः स्वयुगानुरुह्याः भवन्ति । अवतारेषु
भौतिकाधारेण कस्याश्चिद् दिव्यसत्तायाः अपूर्वमवतरणं प्रादुर्भावो वा
भवति । अत्र नैसर्गिकप्राकृतिकविकासरूपस्य डविन्-मतस्य युक्तियुक्ता
समीक्षाऽपि विदुषा लेखकेन कृता, 'पूर्ववर्तिनी सत्तामाधारीकृत्य
अपूर्वार्था विलक्षणाया सत्तायाः प्रादुर्भावोऽपि कदाचित्संभवति' इति लायड
मार्गन (Lloyd Morgan) नाम्नो विदुषो मतं चात्र समर्थितम् ।

विष्णोरेवावतारा न शिवस्य ब्रह्मणो वेत्ति पुराणानां मतं प्रतीयते ।
अवताराणां स्वरूपविषये संख्याविषये च नास्ति काचिदवस्थितिः ।
पुराणेषु प्रथमतः सप्त दश वाऽवतारा मताः । मत्स्यपुराणे वायुपुराणे
च दशमु अवतारेषु मध्ये मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नान्तर्भाविताः, नारायण-
मान्वातृदत्तात्रेयव्यासादयश्च समावेशिताः । भागवते च पुनः
विंशतिभ्योऽप्यधिका अवताराः समाख्याताः । अन्ततश्च पुनः वाराहादिषु
पुराणेषु अष्टमशताब्दीकालीने महाबलिपुरम्-शिलालेखे च विष्णोरवताराणां
'दशावतार' नाम्ना 'दश' संख्या नियताऽभवत्, यास्यापि प्रचलति ।
इत्येषोऽवतारसंख्याया विकासक्रमः । एतेष्ववतारेषु मध्ये कृतयुगे
चत्वारोऽवताराः, त्रेतायां त्रयः, द्वापरे द्वौ, कलौ च एकः, इति युगानां
कालमानानुसारेण संख्याक्रमः आयाति । अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे विदुषा लेखकेन
कुण्डस्य पूर्णवितारत्वं बुद्धस्य मायामोहरूपत्वं चापि विवेचितम् ।
देवासुरयुद्धैश्च सह विष्णोरवताराणां सम्बन्धोऽप्यत्र विचारितः ।
वैदिकवाङ्मयमारम्य आपुराणं च यथा अवतारकल्पनाया अवतारा-
ख्यानानां च विकासोऽभूदित्यप्यत्र सम्यक् प्रदर्शितम् ।]

The doctrine of the *avatāra* is one of the most widely known of distinctive Hindu ideas, due in large part to its prominent role in the metaphysics of the Bhagavad Gītā. Less known is the fact that the concept received its greatest development and virtually all the essential facets of its present meaning at the hands of the Purāṇic writers. No Purāṇa fails to narrate the myths relating to at least some *avatāras*, but the considerable degree of variation in detail from one work to another is decisive evidence that the specific contents deduced from the general theory were still fluid. One writer has suggested that this difference in the elaboration of the *avatāra* concept may provide a valuable key to the relative chronology of the various Purāṇic writings.¹

The term *avatāra* combines the verb-root *tṛī*, which means “to cross over (a river), to pass across or over,” with the prefix *ava*, signifying “off, away, down.” Further light on the fundamental content of the term is given in the familiar passage from the Bhagavad Gītā: (4. 5-8):

बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि तव चार्जुन
तान्यहं वेद सर्वाणि न त्वं वेत्स्य परंतप ॥५॥
अजोऽपि सन्नव्ययात्मा भूतानामीश्वरोऽपि सन्
प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय संभवाम्यात्ममायया ॥६॥
यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥७॥
परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥८॥

The “river” which is to be “crossed down over” becomes apparent in the light of these verses. It is symbolic of the passage from unconditioned to conditioned, from infinite to finite, from eternity into the temporal sphere. It is the *samsāric* flux over

1. Haraprasada Sastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V: *Purāṇa* (Calcutta: The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1928), p. xci.

which the Buddhist tried to pass in the opposite direction by means of his *mahā-yāna* or *hīna-yāna*, great or lesser vehicle or boat.

Both directions are implied in the conception of the *avatāra*, although a superficial reading of the relevant passages or excessive literalism is apt to obscure its two-fold aspect. The divine descent into earthly form and nature for the restoration of the balance of *dharma* produces a corresponding ascent of the manifest universe towards the divine nature and consciousness.

To the modern mind conditioned by the dualism of much Western theological speculation, the mystery of the *avatāra* consists in the first aspect, i.e., the possibility of limitation of that which by definition is unlimited. The natural tendency from this viewpoint is to regard the *avatāra* as at best an extremely high manifestation of human character or genius. In the Vedāntic system on which the *avatāra*-concept is based, the problem is reversed. Since all is Brahman, *ekamevādvītyam*, the formidable dualistic objection is null and void from the beginning. The primary question that arises now is how an *avatāra* is to be distinguished from all the other manifestations of the divine in the world of names and forms, *nāmarūpa*.²

This problem is recognizable in the Purāṇic literature. Unanimity with regard to the number and identity of the *avatāras* is not an established fact, but emerges as the end-product of a long process of collective experience and re-formulation. While details of this process will be examined shortly, it is relevant to draw attention at this point to a passage in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. After listing twenty-two “sportful descents” (*līlāvatāra*) of the Divine, the writer continues:³

2. A further question, regarding the ontological status of the *avatāra*, is beyond the scope of this study, involving as it does a lengthy analysis of the dialectical subtleties of the various *Daśanas*.
3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 3. 26-27. Cf. II. 7. 1-38, where twenty-four *avatāras* are listed.

अवतारा ह्यसंख्येया हरेः सत्त्वनिधेर्द्विजाः ।

यथाविदासिनः कुल्याः सरसः स्युः सहस्रशः ॥२६॥

ऋषयो मनवो देवा मनुपुत्रा महौजसः ।

कलाः सर्वे हरेरेव सप्रजापतयस्तथा ॥२७॥

It is apparent that the distinction between *avatāras* and other manifestations of the divine is quantitative rather than qualitative in this passage, and the term becomes dulled by such indiscriminate application. From this approach all are *avatāras* to the extent that they manifest the Lord in the realm of *māyā*. The normative view which eventually superseded this formulation insists upon a difference in kind as well as in degree. Can a qualitative line of demarcation be drawn that will meaningfully preserve the uniqueness of the *avatāra* concept within the Vedāntic frame of reference?

An inexact but helpful parallel from Western philosophy provides one rationale for an affirmative answer. In his book *Emergent Evolution*, C. Lloyd Morgan has criticized and supplemented the Darwinian reliance on natural selection as the exclusive key to evolutionary development.⁴ In Morgan's view the term "emergence" means that in the on-going process of the universe new qualities or forms appear which cannot receive adequate explanation solely in terms of the previous level. Yet as is implied by its other name, "theory of levels," emergence does not contravene or repudiate the orderliness of the universe, but supplies an additive. Through a creative synthesis, unpredictable before its occurrence, an entirely new realm of possibilities is made available. To take a purely physical example, no amount of study and analysis of the two gases, hydrogen and oxygen, would reveal the qualities of water; yet the emergent is a product of those two constituent elements. Morgan claims that the same is true of the emergence of life from matter and mind from life. Each depends on its prior sub-stratum, but is uniquely different from it. Finally, once

4. C. Lloyd Morgan, *Emergent Evolution* (New York : Henry Holt and Company, 1923).

emergence has taken place, the new level is established and the process becomes repeatable.

The distinctive role of the *avatāra* consists in his being the efficient cause of emergence to a new level.

The Avatār is one who comes to open the Way for humanity to a higher consciousness.⁵

If there were not this rising of man into the Godhead to be helped by the descent of God into humanity, Avatarhood for the sake of the Dharma would be an otiose phenomenon, since mere Right, mere justice or standards of virtue can always be upheld by the divine omnipotence through its ordinary means, by great man or great movements, by the life and work of sages and kings and religious teachers, without any actual incarnation.⁶

From this perspective, the question of relative greatness or inferiority of the *avatāras* does not arise. The *avatāra* cannot be judged by human standards of power, morality, or what he should or should not do. His work must only have a precise appropriateness to the needs of that particular phase of the divine drama (*līlā*) in which he enacts his role.

EVOLUTION OF THE AVATĀRA-CONCEPT

The foregoing discussion will place in proper perspective a summary of the gradual crystallization of the system of *avatāras*. As it is commonly understood at the present time, the concept refers to a group of ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāmachandra, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki. But reference have already been given which show that this group was not constituted intact by the beginning of the Purāṇic period. Indeed, there are no direct references in

5. Sri Aurobindo, *On Yoga, Book Two, I* (Pondicherry : Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1958), 413. "The object of Avatarhood is to lead the evolution.....The Divine [appears] as Avatar in the great transitional stages and as Vibhūtis to aid the lesser transitions," p. 406.

6. Sri Aurobindo, *Essays on the Gita* (New York : E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1950), p. 133.

the earliest Vedic literature even to the general concept although, as a natural outgrowth of the Vedantic metaphysic it cannot be said to be said to be in conflict with the Vedas.

Despite the absence of any developed idea of the *avatāra* in the Vedic sources, it is notable that several of the later stories are prefigured in the earlier writing. To give but a single illustration, the germ of the Vāmana *avatāra* is to be traced in a Rg. Vedic hymn to Viṣṇu: "Viṣṇu strode over this universe, and in three places planted his step" (I. 154. 2b). The symbolism is further developed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the dwarf-aspect (*vāmana*) is first introduced:

स हि वैष्णवो यद्वामनः

For the dwarf is [or represents] Viṣṇu. (v.2.5.4) In the same work the idea of the three steps (*trivikramaṇa*) is connected with a battle between the gods and the demons (*daivāsura*).⁷ The next development in the history of the legend is the replacement of the indefinite horde of *asuras* by the single titanic figure of Bali. This is first observed in the expanded story told by the sage Viśvāmitra to Rāma in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁸ The version given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* differs only in the amount of detail from the still fuller account in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (VIII. 18-23), which represents the final form of the legend,

In the case of Vāmana, the nucleus of the later *avatāras* was invariably connected with Viṣṇu throughout its evolution. With the Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha *avatāras*, the earlier accounts regarded these three as manifestations of Brahmā, and even in the Mahābhārata the "fish-incarnation" is a form of the creator-god rather than of Viṣṇu.⁹ It is not possible to trace fully the process by which these legends were assimilated into the scheme of *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, although the negligible role of Brahmā as an object of popular worship as contrasted with the tremendous

7. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 2. 5.

8. Bāla Kāṇḍa 27.

9. Vana Parvan 186 (Calcutta ed.).

growth of Vaiṣṇavism supplies a partial answer.¹⁰ Nor is it entirely clear why Viṣṇu, uniquely among the Hindu deities, should be credited with *avatāras*.¹¹ There are, however, certain clues to an answer. A recurrent Purāṇic motif is that of the *daivāsura*, the unceasing conflict between gods and demons. The life-process of the world organism is upset time and again through the boundless ambitions of demonic forces, and direct intervention by the divine powers becomes necessary to restore the cosmic balance.¹² Yet the very activity of restoration generates a counterforce which leads inexorably toward another crisis. The *avatāra*-legends are vivid examples of particularly critical events in this cyclical pattern described by the pendulum of cosmic power. The development of the Hindu trinity based on the processes of creation, preservation, and destruction assigned to Viṣṇu the central role of sustainer. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Viṣṇu the very name is derived from *viś*, "to enter or pervade"—should receive the task of exerting the divine wisdom and strength to restore conditions fruitful for further evolution.¹³ The only other major religious system to develop from that trinity, Śaivism, was forced by the nature of his role as destroyer to consider its deity as containing within himself the ambivalent forces, and the adaptation of this conception to the *daivāsura* motif was not as easily or convincingly effected.¹⁴

10. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar* (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927-33), IV, 1-238, esp. pp. 3-5, 60-65, and 142-44.

11. Technically, there are no *avatāras* of Siva, though some of the later scriptures, e.g., the Śiva Saṁhitā Tantra Purāṇa, claim that Śiva often came to earth in different forms. But these are correctly known as *svarūpas* rather than *avatāras*, even if the latter term is sometimes applied incorrectly. There are no *avatāras* of Brahmā in accepted Vedic and Purāṇic lore.

12. Henry R. [Heinrich] Zimmer, "The Hindu view of World History according to the Purāṇas," *The Review of Religion* (February 1942), p. 253.

13. For this etymology of Viṣṇu, cf. Viṣṇu Purāṇa III. 1. Monier Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1899), p. 999, regards this derivation as probable, translating Viṣṇu as 'All-pervader'.

14. Bhandarkar, op. cit., IV, 223.

The number of *avatāras* seems to have been fixed at ten before their identity was agreed upon. One of the earliest purāṇic lists is that given by the Vāyu Purāṇa (98. 70-105). It contains the following names : Nārāyaṇa, Narasimha, Vāmana, Dattātreyā, Māṃdhātā, Jāmadagnya, Rāma, Vedavyāsa, Kṛṣṇa, and Kalkī. This list occurs also in the Matsya Purāṇa, but there the name of Buddha has replaced that of Kṛṣṇa (47. 234-45). If the identification of Jāmadagnya with Paraśurāma, who is referred to in other works as the son of Jamadagni, is taken for granted, each list contains only six of the ten names eventually regarded as *avatāras*. The omissions are, precisely those which, as has already been mentioned, were in earlier literature connected with the name of Brahmā—the Matsya, Kūrma, and Varahā. The Matsya Purāṇa indicates in other chapters its knowledge of all three as manifestations of Viṣṇu, but strangely neglects to include them in its concise list of *avatāras*. Significantly, the fish (*Matsya*) is given as a boon to Manu by Brahmā.¹⁵ and is subsequently recognized by Manu as a form of Viṣṇu. In this rendering of the legend can be seen the process through which the Matsya configuration was transferred to Vaiṣṇavite mythology. The Vāyu Purāṇa knows of the Varāha *avatāra*,¹⁶ but never refers to the legend connected with the Kūrma. Quite amazingly, a version of the flood legend is given, but the role of the Matsya in that tale is completely omitted.¹⁷

One other feature unique to these two Purāṇas must be noted. Both tell of the curse of Bhṛgu, which necessitated seven "descents" of Viṣṇu and not ten.¹⁸ Furthermore, both Purāṇas divide their lists of ten *avatāras* into three incarnations "in heaven" (*divya-saṃbhūtis*) and seven among men. A tentative suggestion may be advanced, on the basis of these peculiarities, that a tradition prior to that of the ten *avatāras* may have included only seven, although in the absence of critical editions of the Purāṇas listing manuscript variants, it would be impossible to determine which

15. Matsya Purāṇa 1-2.

16. Vāyu Purāṇa 48. 40; cf. 97. 16, 94.

17. Ibid., 6. 8-9.

18. Matsya Purāṇa 47. 39, 105; Vāyu Purāṇa 97. 137-42.

seven incarnations made up the earlier list.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that Hopkins has arrived at a similar conclusion with regard to the lists of *avatāras* contained in the Mahābhārata.²⁰

A somewhat later development is the expansion of the number of *avatāras* beyond ten in order to give a place to other presumed manifestations of the divine. Two lengthy lists of *avatāras* in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa have already been noted, and in two other places that work deals rather extensively with the concept.²¹ All four lists contain more than ten, and no two are entirely in agreement. The Garuḍa Purāṇa, in a similar vein to the Bhāgavata, lists nineteen incarnations, some of which are unique to this source.²² An interesting sidelight is the appearance of the name of Kapila, the founder of the Sāṃkhya *darśana*, as an incarnation. But the most important point to be noted about these five lists is that, despite their variations, each contains the names of all the *avatāras* who were eventually recognized in the received group of ten. Testimony to the existence of this latter and final development in Purāṇic times is to be found in the Agni and Varāha Purāṇas.²³ An inscription at Mahabalipuram establishes an absolute *terminus ad quem* for the accepted *daśāvatāra* in the early eighth century A. D.²⁴

It is unnecessary to multiply examples from the other Purāṇas to show that the concept of the *avatāra* passed through three quite distinct stages during Purāṇic times : (1) rudimentary

19. But cf. the list of seven forms of Viṣṇu in Viṣṇu Purāṇa III. I. 35 ff.
20. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Strassburg : K. J. Trübner, 1915), P. 217.

21. Bhāgavata Purāṇa VI. 8. 13-18 and XI. 4. 17-23.

22. Garuḍa Purāṇa I. 202. "The *Ahīrbudhnyā Saṃhitā*, probably assignable to a date earlier than the eighth century, speaks of 39 *vibhavas* (manifestations) of the Supreme Being"; R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, eds., *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bombay : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1954), III. 416.

23. Agni Purāṇa 2. 1-16. 9 ; Varāha Purāṇa 39-48.

24. मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः

रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश ।

and ill-defined lists of ten *avatāras*, perhaps based on some earlier tradition of seven; (2) greatly augmented and widely divergent "hero-lists", tending to blur any distinction between an *avatāra*, *vibhūti*, or other divine manifestation; and (3) the received *daśāvatāra*, nine past and one future, selected from the large list of candidates proposed in the second stage and conforming to a more rigid definition of the idea. Jean Herbert reminds us that

...while Western scientists simply ridiculed the idea, too many Hindu pandits busied themselves with learned and necessarily barren discussions as to whether the number should be taken (sic) as 10, or 22, or more. Will a long-winded academic debate as to the number of sections in which the Indian Ocean should be divided lead us to a fuller knowledge of its resources?²⁵

So it is to the legends and meanings of the ten *avatāras* that attention is now directed.

MYTHS OF THE DAŚĀVATĀRA

Matsya. The work of the fish-incarnation is directly connected with the Hindu versions of the ubiquitous flood legend. In Indian literature this traditional myth first appears in developed form in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 8. 1), although some have seen a prefiguration of the theme in the Ṛg. Veda.²⁶ The details of the story vary only slightly in the different Purāṇas.

Toward the close of a *kṛta yuga* Manu, the son of Vivasvān, was performing *tapas* for final liberation. As he was pouring a libation, there arose from the water in the hollow of his hand a small fish which said, "Save me, for I fear the alligators and other monsters here." Manu therefore put the fish in a jar. Soon the fish outgrew the jar and said, "Give me a bigger place." But the

25. Jean Herbert, "The Ten Avatāras of Śrī Vishnu" (Lyon: By the author, 1949), p. 3.

26. Surya Kanta, "Mārkaṇḍeya and the Flood Legend in the Skanda Purāṇa," *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, X (1949), 303-04. quotes Ṛg. Veda VII. 88. 3-5, where Manu and the fish are represented by the sage-Vasiṣṭha and Varuṇa, respectively.

fish soon became too large for a well and a pond into which Manu had cast him, and was finally carried by Manu to the ocean.

Beholding such a wondrous fish, Manu was filled with awe and recognized that it was none other than a *māyic* form of Viṣṇu. The fish then told Manu of the deluge which was to come upon the earth in seven days because a demon named Hayagrīva had stolen and destroyed the Vedas. He instructed Manu to take with him the seeds of creation and the seven *ṛṣis*, and board a ship which would appear for him. Manu did all this and, tying the ship to a horn on the immense fish, was preserved from being submerged by the flood. Hayagrīva was killed, the Vedic *mantras* were recovered, and the son of Vivasvat became the Vaivasvata Manu, progenitor of the human species for the next cycle.²⁷ Another version of the story adds that the *Matsya Purāṇa* was recited by the fish to Manu and *ṛṣis* while they were in the boat.²⁸

Kūrma. The origin of this *avatāra* is to be traced to a verse in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: "Prajāpati, having assumed the form of a tortoise (Kūrma), created living beings. That which he created he made (akarot), hence the word Kūrma" (VII.5.1.5). This etymological note was expanded until it took on a character all its own in the legend of the churning of Ocean of Milk.

This new crisis was brought about in the age-old struggle between gods and demons when one of the demons was granted, as a boon, the ability to restore life to the dead. Clearly the gods were at a disadvantage in the ensuing war with the self-confident *asuras*, for whenever one of the latter was killed, he was immediately restored to life again and re-entered the conflict. The gods betook themselves to Viṣṇu, who proclaimed that only *amṛta*, the elixir of immortality, could restore them to their former state of strength and glory. Inasmuch as many other desired objects had been lost in the Ocean of Milk during the last deluge, a truce was

27. Agni Purāṇa 2. 1-17.

28. Bhāgavata Purāṇa VIII. 24.55.

made with the *asuras* and preparations were begun to churn the ocean. Mount Mandara was chosen as a churning staff, and the serpent Vāsuki, to be identified with the cosmic serpent Śeṣa, was to be used as the churning rope.

The process had barely begun when it was recognized that Mount Mandara was sinking into the mud of the ocean. Viṣṇu then took the form of the Kūrma and made his back the base or pivot for the mountain. From the churning came the "fourteen precious things," concluding with *amṛta*. At the sight of this, both gods and demons rushed to obtain for themselves the potent beverage, but Viṣṇu instantly assumed the form of a beautiful girl, Mohinī, and arrested their attention. Bewitched by her loveliness, both gods and *asuras* agreed to let her distribute the *amṛta* to all of them. She began by serving the gods first and, when they had each drunk a potion, Mohinī disappeared. The *asuras* then realized that they had been taken by Viṣṇu's *māyā*, but it was too late. Thus the balance of power was again secured.

A remarkable feature of this legend is the simultaneous appearance of Viṣṇu under several different aspects. He is the Kūrma, Śeṣa (cf. the sculptured representations of Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin), Mohinī, one of the gods pulling on the churning rope (i.e., Vāsukī), and the leader of the heavenly hosts of onlookers.

Varāha. The boar is first mentioned in Rg. Veda VIII. 66.10 (*emūṣa-varāha*), and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is related a story of the raising of the earth from the depths by a boar called Emūṣa (XIV. 1.2.11). Again the kernel of the later *avatāra*-legend is discovered in isolated Vedic texts which remain otherwise inexplicable.

The key to the Purāṇas lies in the unravelling of the Vedic symbolism, and *vice versa* the Vedic symbols find clarity of explanation in the Purāṇic legends.²⁹

29. V.S. Agrawala, "Purāṇa Vidyā," *Purāṇa* I (July 1959), 100.

Although all of the Purāṇas make some mention of the *Varāha avatāra*, there is a great deal of variation in the accounts. In several versions the figure of Hiraṇyākṣa, prominent in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa story given below, does not appear at all.³⁰

Hiraṇyākṣa, one of the two sons of Diti³¹, practised extreme *tapas* in order to extract a boon from Brahmā. Finally he forced the creator-god to appear before him, and requested the boon that he could not be hurt by noxious animals, which he enumerated. Brahmā could only grant Hiraṇyākṣa's wish. As Zimmer has relevantly stated, in another context,

...Brahmā, though, in his heart of hearts, constantly siding with the gods and assisting them with his advice, remains strictly impartial. Representing the supreme consciousness of the world-organism, he cannot but be aware of the actual balance of energies in its divine and demonic spheres and, by his wish-granting gesture he has as if to endorse the actual status of overwhelming strength which the demon has gained by storing boundless energy in fierce austerities. The exceptional condition which Brahmā is bound to grant him bestows, as it were, only a definite and actual form upon the incredible potential force which the demon has already acquired by his own efforts.³²

Having obtained his desire, Hiraṇyākṣa became excessively presumptuous and feared none, not even the gods, who cowered before his approach. The earth became so heavy with the evils wrought by the demon that it sank beneath the waters of the ocean.

Viṣṇu, the all-preserver, intervened at this critical point and, in the form of a boar, lifted the earth from the depths on his tusk.

30. The effect of this omission is not so great as it might first appear. The evil forces represented by Hiraṇyākṣa in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are, in the other Purāṇas, responsible for the plight of the earth, only they have not been personalized. The term *hiraṇyākṣa*, meaning "golden eyed" appears in Rg. Veda I.35.8 as an epithet of Śavitṛi.

31. Diti's other son, Hiraṇyakaśipu, figures in the legend of the next, or Narasiṃha *avatāra*.

32. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-51.

Then he slew the evil Hiranyākṣa for, in his blind pride and desire, the demon had forgotten to include the boar in the list of animals from which he was secure by the boon of Brahmā.³³

Narasimha. The incarnation of Viṣṇu as man-lion is not prefigured in any of the traditional Vedic literature to the present writer's knowledge. However, it is mentioned in a minor work called the Nṛsimha-Tāpanīya Upaniṣad, upon which Śaṅkara wrote a commentary :

The worshipper praises Viṣṇu as the all pervading [viṣṇu] for the removal of *avidyā*, as the *puruṣa* of terrifying form (*mūrti*), as that one who encompassed the entire world in his three steps..... Thus he is called Narasimha.³⁴

The Purānic form of the legend is linked with the preceding *avatāra*, since Hiranyakāśipu in this myth was the brother of Hiranyākṣa.

Hiranyakāśipu, like his brother, received a boon from Brahmā as the result of his severe and lengthy *tapas*. His request was five-fold : (1) that he might not meet with death at the hands of any being created by Brahmā ; (2) that he should not die inside or outside, by day or night, by any weapon on earth or in the heavens, nor at the hand of men, beasts, gods, or *asuras* ; (3) that he should be unequalled by any other being ; (4) that he should possess undiminishing power ; and (5) that he should be the sole ruler of all creatures. Armed with the security achieved through this mighty boon, Hiranyakāśipu set about avenging his brother's death by prohibiting all recognition of Viṣṇu within the three worlds. His command was without challenge except from his son Prahlāda, who remained an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu. Greatly angered, the father threatened the young man with all manner of torture and even death. Prahlāda was thrown into the ocean with stones weighting down his body, trampled under foot by a herd of elephants, and pushed down from a high cliff, but each time he returned unharmed because of his singleminded devotion to Viṣṇu.

33. Bhāgavata Purāṇa III. 13-19.

34. Nṛsimha-Tāpanīya Upaniṣad 13. 3-4.

Realizing that these methods were totally unavailing, Hiranyakāśipu attempted to win Prahlāda by argument. He demanded to be told whether Viṣṇu was present in a stone pillar of the palace hall and, being told that Viṣṇu was omnipresent, kicked the pillar. Immediately Viṣṇu came forth as Narasimha, laid hold of Hiranyakāśipu, and tore open his abdomen. And since Narasimha was neither man nor beast, god nor *asura*, and since the encounter took place on the threshold of the palace hall at dusk, the conditions of the boon were not broken.

This *avatāra*, like the three preceding it, took place in the *satya* or *kṛta yuga*, although in the case of the first two the *manvantara* is different.

Vāmana. The Vedic roots of the dwarf-incarnation have already been discussed. The story of Vāmana is found with little variation in almost all of the Purāṇas, the Mārkaṇdeya being a notable exception.³⁵

In the *tretā yuga* there arose a great and ambitious king by the name of Bali.³⁶ With a large group of Brahmins as spiritual advisors, Bali set about the performance of powerful sacrificial rites with the object of attaining world-domination. Fortified with the strength gained from these rites, Bali entered Amarāvati, the city of the gods, and set himself up as ruler, the gods having vacated their homes. Bali then performed one hundred *aśvamedhas*, making him the equivalent of Indra.

Although he ignored the traditional worship of gods, whose dignity and power had been eclipsed by him, Bali was by earthly standards a virtuous and righteous monarch, and was loved by his subjects for his kindness and generosity. Only one thing was lacking. Since there were no perceivable limits to his power, the king lacked humility. To correct this, and to restore the gods to

35. But in Mārkaṇdeya Purāṇa 4. 56, the Vāmana *avatāra* is recognized.

36. The name means "sacrifice". According to Bhāgavata Purāṇa VIII. 15. 6-7, Bali's grandfather was Prahlāda, the Prahlāda of the Narasimha myth.

their rightful position, Viṣṇu was born of Kaśyapa and Aditi as a dwarf. On a day when Bali was engaged in the preparations for a magnificent sacrifice, Vāmana in the guise of a *brahmachārin* entered the ceremonial hall. The king welcomed him with the respect befitting the small creature's status as a religious mendicant, and with ostentatious generosity asked Vāmana to take whatever he desired. The dwarf replied, "I ask only for a strip of land three paces long, as measured by my stride, O great ruler." Bali, unaware of the real identity of Vāmana, urged him to ask for something more but, when the diminutive *brahmachārin* refused, laughingly acceded to his request.

Vāmana then expanded until it was no longer he, but the cosmic form of Viṣṇu, that filled the universe. With his first step he measured the entire earth and sky, and the second step reclaimed for the gods all the heavenly realms. He now accused Bali of deception, inasmuch as there was no place left for the promised third step. Thereupon the king demonstrated his true greatness and new-found humility by kneeling before the divine figure and calmly replying; "O illustrious one, if you consider my vow as insincere and worthless, I shall nevertheless justify it, for it was not made to deceive you. Pray place your third step on my head." Perceiving the king's ultimate devotion to *dharma* Viṣṇu praised him and bestowed on him various blessings.³⁷

Paraśurāma. Viṣṇu's sixth incarnation, as Rāma "with the axe" (*paraśu*), plays a relatively minor role in the Purāṇic literature. Reasons for this are not hard to discover. Although his story is found in the Mahābhārata, Paraśurāma is represented in that epic as being struck senseless by Rāmachandra. And he is introduced in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa solely to bear witness to the superiority of Rāmachandra. In a meeting between the two just after the second Rāma had been married to Sītā, Paraśurāma was discomfited and retired from the story and from the world.³⁸ The strong appeal and immediate popularity of

37. Bkāgavata Purāṇa VIII, 15-22.

38. Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla Kāṇḍa 38.

Rāmachandra as an object of worship, together with the above accounts, prohibited the growth of strong sectarian devotion to Paraśurāma. The relatively brief narrative of Paraśurāma in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa adds nothing to that given in the Mahābhārata except his identification as an *avatāra*.

Ranging in the forest one day in pursuit of game Arjuna, the great Kṣatriya warrior, came with his retinue to the hermitage of the sage Jamadagni.³⁹ He repaid the sage for his affluent hospitality by arrogantly stealing Kāmadhenu, the cow of plenty belonging to Jamadagni and the source of the sage's wealth. When Paraśurāma, Jamadagni's son returned to the hermitage and learned of the occurrence, he flew into a terrible rage and, taking his great axe, pursued Arjuna to the latter's capital. Invincible warrior that he was, Paraśurāma destroyed the king with his whole army and restored Kāmadhenu to his father. But Jamadagni rebuked his son for, said he, "We Brahmins have earned honor through forbearance alone..... Slaying a duly consecrated king is a great sin." He then directed Paraśurāma to make a pilgrimage in order to atone for his crime.

Shortly after Paraśurām had returned from his visit to various holy places, his mother Reṇukā fell into great disfavor with her husband for defiling herself with lustful thoughts. As each of his five sons returned individually to the hermitage that evening, Jamadagni ordered him to kill Reṇukā. None obeyed until Paraśurāma, the last to arrive, immediately did his father's bidding without question. The sage was pleased and offered him any boons he liked. Paraśurāma asked for the restoration of his mother to life, with complete forgetfulness of having been slain by him, and this was effected by the powerful Jamadagni's *yogic* power.

In the meanwhile, Arjuna's sons resolved to avenge the death of their father, and during an absence of Paraśurāma they came

39. In other sources this Kṣatriya is called Kārtavīrya Arjuna, in order to distinguish him from the great Pāṇḍava hero of the Mahābhārata. Vid. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV. 11. 20.

to the hermitage and beheaded Jamadagni. This was the origin of Paraśurāma's vow to annihilate the entire Kṣatriya race. "Thrice seven times" he rid the world of Kṣatriyas, and then renounced all forms of violence and retired from the world.⁴⁰ The Bhāgavata Purāṇa makes no mention at this point of his meeting with Rāmachandra.

Rāmachandra. The last of the three *avatāras* of the *tretā yuga*, and the main one, is Rāma, the son of King Daśaratha. The beautiful story of Rāma and Sītā is both too lengthy and too familiar for summary here. Immortalized in Valmiki's epic Rāmāyaṇa, he remained in that work a heroic human figure rather than an incarnation of Viṣṇu. But in Bhavabhūti's drama, Uttara Rāma Charita, he appears as an *avatāra*. The Purāṇas are unanimous in the recognition of his divine origin, and they devote extensive space not only to the events related in the epic, but to innumerable additional stories, many of which eventually found their way into Bhavabhūti's work.

For the Purāṇic writers, Rāma is the supreme example of the ideal human life. In every situation he is *dharma* incarnate. To his *guru* Viśvāmitra, he is the ideal disciple (*śiṣya*). To his father, the ideal son. To Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, the ideal husband and brother, respectively. To Rāvaṇa, he is the ideal foe, since he combines ultimate courage with ultimate chivalry. To the inhabitants of Laṅkā, he is the ideal conqueror, for Rāma exquisitely unites within himself justice and infinite mercy. In his testing of Sītā on her return, he shows himself as the ideal moralist, fulfilling the traditional *śāstric dharma* explicitly. And finally, to his own people in Ayodhyā, he becomes the ideal monarch.⁴¹

Kṛṣṇa. If the legends of the Rāmachandra *avatāra* are difficult to summarize because of length, those surrounding Kṛṣṇa present an impossible task for they are virtually endless. The

40. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IX. 15. 16—16.27.

41. The idea for this analysis was suggested in an interview with Swami Chidananda of the Yoga-Vedanta Forest Academy, Rishikesh,

lengthiest books of two Purāṇas, the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu, are entirely given over to the exploits of Kṛṣṇa, and neither work duplicates in these sections the material already found in the Mahābhārata.⁴² Even this observation is misleading, since the figure of Kṛṣṇa pervades both Purāṇas in their entirety. The Brahma and Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas also deal exhaustively with the life of Kṛṣṇa, the former having a common text with the Viṣṇu but older,⁴³ while the latter is altogether unique in its emphasis on Rādhā as an incarnation of Lakṣmī.⁴⁴ No Purāṇa omits recognition of this most beloved of the ten *avatāras*.

In view of such a perplexing wealth of sources, some of the inconsistencies of which can only be resolved by infinitely detailed critical study, a full story of Kṛṣṇa has yet to be constructed by scholars. Since the purpose of this essay is to deal with the *avatāras* collectively rather than to present a detailed analysis of each one individually, it will be assumed that the reader is familiar with the general outlines of the Kṛṣṇa legend—his birth and boyhood in Br̥ndāvana near the present Mathurā, re-settlement and kingship in the Gujerati realm of Dwārakā, and his role on the side of the Pāṇḍavas in the great war. Here we shall only draw attention to some of the significant issue with regard to the position of Kṛṣṇa in the total scheme of *avatāras*.

In the first place, the history of the Kṛṣṇa-figure may be explored briefly. Although the Ṛg. Veda mentions a Kṛṣṇa in one hymn (VIII. 85. 13-14) and the Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa alludes to this person (30.9), there is insufficient detail to link the later Kṛṣṇa with the one referred to in these passages. The first reference to Kṛṣṇa "the son of Devakī" occurs in the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, in a verse which self-consciously attempts to proclaim the identity of its Kṛṣṇa with that of the previous two references (III. 17.6). But it is only in the Mahābhārata that a distinct

42. Book X of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, consisting of ninety chapters, and book V of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, containing thirty-eight chapters.

43. S.N. Tadpatikar, *The Kṛṣṇa Problem* (Trivandrum, 1947), pp. 276-77.

44. Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa IV, esp. chaps. 122-25.

Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra emerges, first in the role of a human hero, religious teacher, and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas, and later gradually raised to the level of a divinity and even identified with Brahman.⁴⁵

The issue for the Purāṇic authors in the case of the Kṛṣṇa-*avatāra* was thus somewhat the reverse of that concerning the other *avatāras*. For while the others had to be raised to the status of incarnations of Viṣṇu from their various mythological roles, that question had already been settled regarding Kṛṣṇa. Indeed, the problem here was whether Kṛṣṇa was *only* an *avatāra*, one among several, or whether he was in some utterly unique sense the full manifestation of the Ultimate Reality. The difficulty was further intensified when Buddha was subsumed into the structure as a Vaiṣṇavite *avatāra*. For reasons of historical accuracy which could not be altered the Buddha incarnation had to be placed after Kṛṣṇa and, with a generally recognized ascending order in the first eight *avatāras*, this implied a supremacy of Buddha over Kṛṣṇa which was clearly untenable.

A tendency to extract Kṛṣṇa from the scheme of *avatāras* is illustrated by the enumeration given previously from the Matsya Purāṇa. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa uses the names Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa interchangeably for the most part, but does not directly confront the problem. Sometimes the name of Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa's brother, is substituted in the lists of *avatāras*, in order to reserve a higher position for Kṛṣṇa himself.⁴⁶ But none of these approaches really provided a solution to the basic question. As the ambiguity of the term *avatāra* was removed it was found that any qualitative distinction which would make that term meaningful concurrently ruled out the possibility of creating some other separate category for Kṛṣṇa. Indiscriminate use of the names of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa tended to lower the ultimate status of the former for the Vaiṣṇavite sectaries, and did nothing to clarify the relation of Kṛṣṇa to

45. A. D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas* (Bombay : Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955), pp. 51-52.

46. E. G. Agni Purāṇa 49. 1-10.

the *Avatāras*. An element of support could be found for placing Balarāma in the list of incarnations, since there existed a tradition according to which he represented a single hair of the deity.⁴⁷ But the same tradition embarrassingly referred to Kṛṣṇa as representing another single hair of Viṣṇu, thus belittling the greatness of the Kṛṣṇa incarnation as a total manifestation of the deity. Furthermore, the story of Balarāma's death—his life-force departed when a great serpent issued forth from his mouth—suggested his identification with Śeṣī, the cosmic serpent, rather than with Viṣṇu, and this explanation was later adopted.⁴⁸

Final resolution of the problem was effected not so much by re-definition of the position of Kṛṣṇa, but by conceiving the Buddha *avatāra* in such a way that the greatness of Kṛṣṇa was not endangered. Kṛṣṇa was accorded a place squarely within the pattern of Vaiṣṇavite *avatāras*, and could still be regarded as the supreme manifestation of Viṣṇu on this earth. The real ingenuity of these Purāṇic theologians becomes apparent when the role of the Buddha incarnation in the Purāṇas is understood.

Buddha. There is unanimous agreement among scholars that one of the main contributory factors to the growth of Purāṇic literature was the threat posed to orthodox Hinduism by Buddhism. The religion of the Brahmins had been on the defensive, at least in Northern India, ever since Aśoka Maurya's imperial patronage of Buddhism had made that religion a formidable influence in national affairs. In the Gupta era the balance of power swung once more to the side of orthodoxy. Yet it was a new orthodoxy, based on the ancient religion but reformulated to meet the needs of a people in whom the spirit of *bhakti* had been aroused, aided in no small degree by the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism.⁴⁹ In the reformulation of Hinduism and its subsequent

47. It is mentioned in Bhāgavata Purāṇa II. 7. 26.

48. The story of the death of Balarāma is recounted in Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 37. 54-57.

49. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and Kalikinkar Datta, *An Advanced History of India* (2d ed. ; London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1950), pp. 139-40, 199-200.

victory over Buddhism. the Purāṇas played the major role. It was the daring Purāṇic assertion that the Buddha was, in reality, none other than an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu that gave a decisive impetus to the reintegration of Buddhist and Hindu ideals, worship, and devotees.⁵⁰

This masterful stroke was not, however, without grave problems for orthodoxy itself. It has already been shown that the pre-eminent position of Kṛṣṇa was placed in jeopardy. And the strategem could easily have boomeranged, for there was in it, at least superficially regarded, an implicit sanctioning of the Buddha's doctrines by Hinduism.

The Purāṇic answer was extremely simple, yet proved to be convincing. Buddha was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, to be sure, but a *negative* one.

When the demons come to know the Vedic rites and begin to oppress the people, the [Viṣṇu] will assume an attractive and deluding form and teach them *adharmā*.⁵¹

Although in this passage the Buddha is not mentioned by name, the context leaves no doubt that he is the object of the reference, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa explicitly names the "deluder" in three other more or less parallel sections.⁵² The fullest treatment of the Buddha legend, naturally from the standpoint of orthodox Hinduism, is to be found in the Skanda Purāṇa, which was unfortunately not available at the time of writing.⁵³

The more customary Purāṇic technique, however, is to avoid direct reference to the Buddha by name. The accounts given in the Agni and Viṣṇu Purāṇas are typical.⁵⁴ The *avatāra*

50. Ibid., p. 201.

51. Bhāgavata Purāṇa II. 7. 37.

52. Ibid., I. 3. 24 ; VI. 8.19 ; X. 40. 22.

53. W. J. Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology ; Vedic and Purāṇic* (2d ed. ; Calcutta : Thacker, Spink and Co., 1900), p. 227.

54. Agni Purāṇa 16. 1.7 ; Viṣṇu Purāṇa III. 17. 14-18. 32. Cf. Padma Purāṇa V. 13.

is called Māyāmoha ("infatuating deception"), but there is no possibility of mistaking the intent, for each Purāṇa goes on to mention that the followers of Māyāmoha were known as *arhatas*.⁵⁵ The Viṣṇu Purāṇa adds,

In this manner he [Māyāmoha] said, "Know" [*budhyadhvam*], and they replied, "It is known" [*budhyate*]. Thus those *daityas* [demons or *asuras*] were led away from their own religion (III. 18. 19).

The argument against the Buddha was further strengthened by a subtle but nonetheless important alteration in the theory associated with the cycle of the four *yugas*, or ages, a doctrine which will be more fully expounded shortly. Tradition dated the beginning of the Kali *yuga* from the death of Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa at the end of the Mahābhārata war.⁵⁶ The destruction and subsequent change wrought by that event was clearly felt to mark a major transition in the scheme of world history. But from the later vantage point of the Purāṇic authors engaged in combatting Buddhist teachings, the advent of the Buddha seemed to correspond more closely to the descriptions of what was to happen in the Kali age. Without bothering to harmonize the two views, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa avers that this latter was the event that ushered in that phase of the cycle in which *dharma* was at its lowest ebb (I. 3. 24). Thus the Buddha was carefully and completely integrated into the pattern of Vaiṣṇavite *avatāras* and the rhythmical cycle of universal evolution, and in such a way as to render him harmless to orthodoxy.

Kalkī. The tenth and final *avatāra* is to appear at the end of the Kali *yuga* for the renovation of the universe and the restoration of Kṛta *yuga*. None of the Purāṇas goes into elaborate detail, since Kalkī's role is future, but all are in close agreement on such facts as are given.

55. Viṣṇu Purāṇa III. 18. 13 explains the term as follows: "They were called *arhatas* because he [Māyāmoha] had said, 'You are worthy [*arhasi*] of this great doctrine.'

56. D. R. Mankad, *Purāṇic Chronology* (Anand, Gujarat : Gaṅgājālā Prakashan, 1961), p. 69.

When the Vedic practices have been twisted beyond recognition and have nearly ceased, Viṣṇu will be born on this earth as Viṣṇuśāśa to root out all *adharmā*.⁵⁷ He will appear as an armed warrior mounted on a winged white horse, bedecked with jewels and brandishing an invincible blazing sword of destruction. His life span will be only twenty-five years, at the end of which he will give up his life at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna Rivers, and the Kṛta age will commence once more.

The similarity of the function and the specific symbolism of Kalkī to the apocalyptic Jesus as pictured in the Biblical book of Revelation is too striking to go unnoticed.⁵⁸ While there is no evidence whatsoever to support any theory of direct dependence, it is obvious that both traditions felt the necessity to posit some future and final manifestation of the deity as an invulnerable warrior, come in order to annihilate all unrighteousness and to re-create the universe in its primordial uncorrupted perfection.⁵⁹

THE DAIVĀSURAM MOTIF

In two articles written some twenty-eight years ago, Ananda Coomaraswamy pointed out the all-important role played by the various stories of conflict between "angels and titans" (*daivāsūram*) in understanding the Vedic literature.⁶⁰ The two essays dealt respectively with the masculine and feminine powers, and

57. Bhāgavata Purāṇa III. 2. 19 makes Kalkī the son of Viṣṇuśāśa. The name means "favor of Viṣṇu."

58. E. g., Kalkī's white horse, sword, and jewels all appear in Rev. 19: 11-15.

59. G. H. Mess, *The Revelation in the Wilderness* (Deventer: N. Kluwer, 1954), III, 44-45, has rightly recognized the identity of the two figures, but his interpretation is wholly unjustified. He claims that "Kalkī 'came' in Judaism and not in Hinduism." But in the Judæo-Christian tradition, the Messianic figure of the eschatological expectation has not come, and his arrival is awaited in exactly the same sense in which Hindus await the advent of Kalkī.

60. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Angel and Titan: An Essay in Vedic Ontology," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LV (1935), 373-419; and "The Darker side of Dawn", *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications*, XCIV (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1935), No. 1.

proclaimed the essential consubstantiality of the warring forces behind the scenes. Later Coomaraswamy expanded his assertions to include the Mahābhārata.⁶¹ The *daivāsūram* motif is also at the heart of Purāṇic mythology,⁶² and its significance is an important key to the cosmological interpretation of the *avatāras*.

In all that has been written about the Purāṇas, one descriptive term is noticeably lacking. They have never been characterized as "brief". But there is another reason for their compendious nature than the superficial observation that they are repositories of a growing body of traditional lore which could find no other home, although such a claim certainly has its degree of truth. If the Purāṇas are lengthy it is because the history of the manifested universe, conceived macrocosmically or microcosmically, is in their view a never-ending process. No individual myth is or could be complete in and of itself. For example, to abstract the legend of King Pṛthu from its context,⁶³ and by this is meant the entire Purāṇic chain of events of which it forms but a single link, is misleading, for it implies the achievement of stasis. The one saving feature in that myth is the incompleteness of the final *śvamedha*. Even a larger mythological complex like the *daśāvatāra* is beguilingly deceptive, since it creates the impression of a beginning and an ending where, from the Purāṇic viewpoint, there is only the endless procession of rhythmic alternation.

There is a certain sameness to these stories, as Zimmer has correctly observed.

.....Again and again the controllers of divine order and harmony are restored to their heavenly seats though

61. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Mahābhārata, Itihāsa," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII (1937), 211-12.

62. See, for example, V. S. Agrawala, "The Glorification of the Great Goddess," *Purāṇa*, V (January, 1963), 68.

63. Cf. the author's "The Legend of Pṛthu, a Study in the Process of Individuation", *Purāṇa*, II (July, 1960), 188-210.

the disruptive powers of demonic evil appear to be invincible.....Moreover, the ever recurring assaults, upsetting the divine order, form an equally constant feature of the world's history; it actually moves from crisis to crisis, it lapses from spells of rest and harmony into ever renewed turmoil and temporary enslavement. The cosmic opera of the Hindu myths teaches the equanimity with which this cycle of events and epochs, sparing none, should be faced, full of faith, not in the ultimate triumph of the righteous cause, but in the ever renewed conquest of the forces of evil.⁶⁴

Every victory contains within itself the latent seed which, full-grown, becomes the next crisis, whether the drama be viewed from the vantage point of the gods or the demons. As with a hypothetical pendulum which might oscillate continuously without any friction to slow its movement, the world-process is ever in a dynamic balance, in the sense that gross imbalances initiate auto-corrective processes. These in turn lead to an opposite imbalance.

When Rāma, by means of a questionable but at the time seemingly necessary ruse, killed Vāli in order to enlist the needed aid of his brother Sugrīva in the search for Sītā, he set in motion a slow but inexorable *karmic* process.⁶⁵ This came to fruition when Vāli, reincarnated as Jarā, despatched the arrow that mortally wounded the next *avatāra*, Kṛṣṇa.⁶⁶ And thus the slight imbalance in the scales of the universal *dharma* was corrected. The slaying of the Hiranyākṣa by Viṣṇu as Varāha made possible the restoration of the earth above the waters. It concurrently generated the animosity of his brother Hiranyakaśipu, eventually necessitating the descent of Viṣṇu as Narasimha. And what were the long-range results of the tremendous energies expended in the task of churning the Ocean of Milk? Ironically, there were virtually none. Both the demons and the gods emerged

64. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

65. Bhāgavatā Purāṇa IX. 10. 12; Viṣṇu Purāṇa IV. 4. 96.

66. Bhāgavatā Purāṇa XI. 39. 33-38; Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 37. 68-73.

with the prized gift of immortality, thereby insuring that their cosmic struggle for supremacy would endure perpetually, with neither side in a position ever to gain an ultimate victory. But the final and greatest irony is to be discovered in the role of Kalkī, the invincible warrior for righteousness of future manifestation. The coming of Kalkī signals the close of the Kali age but also, through his work of renovation, the beginning again of *Kṛta yuga*. It is seldom recognized, and cannot be too much emphasized here, that the net effect of Kalkī's efforts, therefore, is not to end the universal drama, but to bring it back again to the opening curtain!⁶⁷

The picture thus far given is not a particularly optimistic one, although it may be noted parenthetically that the terms optimism and pessimism are quite irrelevant to the ontological quest. Yet in view of the definition of *avatāra*-concept and the Purāṇic assertion that "the pastime [*līlā*] of the Lord is always purposive"⁶⁸, the teleological question must be raised. Is there such a thing as progress, in any ultimately meaningful sense of the term? If the question is phrased in this manner, the Purāṇic reply, consistent with the Upaniṣads and all orthodox Hindu tradition, would be inconclusive. Before this is shown more fully, however, it is extremely important to recognize that there is a penultimate sense in which progress is not only meaningful but assumed. And this inquiry gets to the crux of the cosmological theory of the Purāṇas, and the place of *avatāras* in that structure.

PURĀṆIC COSMOLOGY

The immense complexity and almost inexhaustible ramifications of Purāṇic cosmology necessitate (strict limitation to a skeletal outline of those factors which directly relate to the pattern of *avatāras*. Initially it is to be noted that the ten

67. Cf. the final scene of *Götterdämmerung* in Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* where, as the British comedienne Anna Russell facetiously but correctly observed, "You're right back where you started eighteen hours ago!"

68. Bhāgavatā Purāṇa I. 3. 36.

avatāras are classified by the Purāṇas according to the *yuga* in which their saving work was accomplished. The first four—Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, and Narasimha—are said to have appeared in the Kṛta *yuga*. The next three—Vāmana, Paraśurāma, and Rāmachandra—descended in the second, or Tretā *yuga*. Kṛṣṇa and Buddha are associated with the Dvāpara *yuga*, and finally Kalkī does this appointed task in the Kali *yuga*. Now this diminishing number of *avatāras* in the successive *yugas* is in direct relationship to the diminishing lengths of those *yugas*. It is not that the *avatāras* appear at regular intervals, but rather that the restoration of *dharmaic* balance is felt to be necessary or desirable by Viṣṇu four times in Kṛta, only once in Kali *yuga*.

This pattern of frequency, however, is just the opposite of what might be expected from the well-known characteristics of the four ages. Whatever differences appear between the Purāṇas in detailed descriptions of the *yugas*, all agree on the main outline of the system, according to which *dharma*, firmly established in the first age, declines progressively as the cycle passes through Tretā, Dvāpara, and finally Kali. One of the most vivid Purāṇic similes in this connection pictures *dharma* as a bull.

In the Kṛta *yuga* *dharma* stands complete on four legs. As unrighteousness advances, *dharma* loses one limb in each succeeding *yuga*.⁶⁹

In a poignant scene in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, King Parikṣit comes upon the *dharma*-bull, trembling insecurely on a single leg in the face of an attack by Kali, whose name bears an etymological relationship to the term for time as the all-devourer (*kāla*). He speaks to the bull:

.. In the Kṛta *yuga* you had all four feet—*tapa* (religious austerity), *Saucha* (purity), *dayā* (compassion), and *Satya* (truth). Three of these have since been destroyed... Now you have only the foot of *satya* left, on which you somehow manage to support yourself. But Kali,

encouraged by falsehood, desires to rob you of even that unsteady support (I.17.24-25).

If the role of the *avatāras* is concerned with the restoration of *dharma*, as the Bhagavad Gītā has claimed, it would naturally be expected that those divine incarnations would increase with the decline of *dharma* in the later *yugas*.

The solution to this paradox lies in a closer analysis of the distinctive purpose of each *avatāra*. While the myths of the *daśāvatāra* taken individually exemplify the *daivāsūram* motif, taken collectively they are not tiresomely repetitive, but exhibit an evolutionary pattern.

A remarkable feature held in common by the first three *avatāras* is that in each case Viṣṇu is concerned with rescuing something from the waters which, in mythological traditions, symbolize the undifferentiated, chaotic, or in psychological terminology, the unconscious. It may be suggested from this perspective that the Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha *avatāras* represent the emergence of life (or consciousness) onto dry land from the all-encompassing waters.⁷⁰ The fish, strictly an aquatic creature, is succeeded by the amphibious tortoise. The boar is primarily a land animal, usually considered the lowest among the animals, and one that still has a particular affinity for water.

The emergence of nascent humanity from strictly animal nature is perfectly symbolized in Narasimha, half man and half "king of the beasts." This *avatāra* came for the sole bestial purpose of killing.⁷¹ Nevertheless it is significant that the death of Hiranyakaśipu was necessary in order to free the spiritual longing represented by Prahlāda. And it may be no accidental detail that Narasimha destroys the demon by ripping open his abdomen, for Prahlāda's bondage has resulted from the very loins from which he had sprung.⁷²

70. Pusalkar, op. cit., p. lxi, relates the first to the Palaeozoic era and the second and third to the Mesozoic period.

71. Swami Chidananda, "The Esoteric Meaning of Ten Avatars", *The Yoga Vedanta Forest University Weekly*, IV. (July 2, 1953), 729-30.

72. Herbert, op. cit., p. 5.

Next comes Vāmana, small, physically undeveloped, a dwarf. Yet containing within himself the consciousness of divine power, he takes possession of the world. In Vāmana, greatly limited as he may appear, the animal nature can be completely transcended. If Paraśurāma continues this evolutionary pattern by representing the full potential of human physical strength channeled to a single purpose by the power of will, Rāmachandra is certainly the incarnation of moral strength and represents the human ideal (*Puruṣottama*), judged by every human canon of ethical conduct. It is entirely possible that the meeting between Paraśurāma and Rāmachandra which resulted in the retirement of the former is meant to show the superiority of moral strength over physical prowess, however well-controlled the latter may be.

In delineating the role of Kṛṣṇa two clues may be noted at the outset. First, his advent did not make devotion to Rāmachandra obsolete. Second and related to the first, morality is always presupposed in the teachings of Kṛṣṇa.

Rādhā and her friends, Yudhishtīra and his brothers, Bhīshma and all the close disciples of Śrī Kṛṣṇa had already learned, assimilated and practised all that ethics can teach.⁷³

They were in the same position as Śvetaketu Āruṇeya in the famous Upaniṣadic story.⁷⁴ Though a pupil for twelve years, full of all knowledge, he could not cope with his father's question: "What is that which, being known, all else becomes known?" The figure of Kṛṣṇa stand as the symbolic answer given by the Purāṇas. Conscious of his identity with the divine, beyond good and evil, he represents that transcendental knowledge which comes only from intuitive awareness, *Vidyā*. *Dharma* does not become obsolete with the arrival of Kṛṣṇa but is transmuted into *svadharmā*.⁷⁵

There is no Purāṇic evidence to support any assertion that the Buddha *avatāra* is a further step in this evolutionary process.

73. Ibid., p. 7.

74. Chhāndogya Upaniṣad VI. 1. 1 ff.

75. "Better *svadharmā* imperfectly performed than another's duty [*para-dharma*] well performed"; Bhagavad Gītā 3.35. Cf. 2. 31-33.

As has been shown, the Purāṇas regard his function as purely negative. Nor can Buddhist scriptures be used in this connection, since his followers naturally do not consider the Buddha to be an *avatāra*. A tentative suggestion may be offered, however, on the basis of the commonly accepted facts concerning the Buddha's teachings. If these be compared with the teachings of Kṛṣṇa as found in the Purāṇas, a striking contrast is immediately evident. Although both *avatāras* can experientially testify to the truth of the statement, *tat tvam asi* ("That art thou"), the precise definition of "That" is at considerable variance. Kṛṣṇa's identity is with *saguṇa* Brahman, the Godhead conceived with attributes, whereas Buddha's *nirvāṇa* seems to correspond to *nirguṇa* Brahman, the unmanifest and unthinkable Godhead without attributes. For Kṛṣṇa, *bhakti* is *mukti*: for Buddha, even *bhakti* must ultimately be given up in order to achieve liberation.⁷⁶

Since the Kalkī *avatāra* has not yet appeared according to the Purāṇas, it is obviously impossible to give any details of his position in this scheme. He will certainly represent invincible power, but of a type which cannot be predicted. The color white which is associated with him may be taken not only as a symbol of purity but also of fullness or plenitude, since it contains all other colors. Beyond such generalisations, however, it is unsafe to venture.

Before proceeding to relate the foregoing analysis to the system of *yugas*, it must once more be emphasized that the *avatāras* cannot be judged by any absolute standard as greater or lesser. Nor can the discovery of an evolutionary pattern in the incarnations be taken as necessarily supporting a concept of an expending deity; this would involve the crudest kind of anthropomorphism. The

76. It is worth observing that Sri Aurobindo grants this distinction between the Kṛṣṇa and Buddha *avatāras*, but continues "I consider that in trying to overshoot, Buddha like Shankara made a mistake"; Aurobindo, *On Yoga, Book Two, I, 409*. The essentially negative character of the Buddha *avatāra* and the greatness of Kṛṣṇa are preserved, but at the expense of calling into question the divine wisdom behind the entire scheme of *avatāras*. Aurobindo gives no indication that he recognizes the danger of his position.

sole criterion by which we may judge an *avatāra* is appropriateness to the specific situation at hand.⁷⁷

But having said this, it has still been shown that progressively fuller, or increasingly differentiated revelations of the divine are made available on earth as the regression of *dharma* occurs in the procession of the four *yugas*. The only possible explanation to be drawn from the evidence is that the so-called "decline of *dharma*" is both the cause and the effect of the increasing differentiation of the divine revelation. The growth of evil as the *yugas* succeed each other is due to an expanding realization or actualization of the inherent polarity in man and the universe. From the point of view of Western depth psychology, which must take man as its starting point, this involves expanding possibilities for both good and evil. But the Purāṇas tend to use a static conception of good and a dynamic conception of evil. Good consists in *sacchidānanda*, the unspeakable state of ultimate realization and there can be no meaningful assertion of growth in that concept. But evil, defined as that which produces separation or strengthens the conceit of individuality (*ahaṅkāra*), contains almost infinite possibilities for expansion in form and degree.

The predominant tendency in modern Western thought is to regard Prometheus as a heroic figure, and to minimize the "original sin" involved in the rebellion of Adam in the primordial Garden. The underlying assumption in this interpretation—that human evolution is the standard of value—must not be ignored. While the Purāṇic writers are cognizant of man's growth in individuality and do not belittle it, they steadfastly refuse to set it up as the exclusive measure of good. The Matsya *avatāra* rescued not the highly differentiated man of the Kali *yuga*, but Manu, the progenitor of all mankind, the Hindu equivalent of Adam before the "fall," from the waters.⁷⁸ But there is no *a priori* standard for judging the inferiority or superiority of Manu to Prahlāda, Yudhiṣṭhira, or any other creature of later times.

Progress may be given a limited meaning from the foregoing considerations, since the divine descent is into ever grosser forms of matter to effect its redemption. But what about the assertion that Kalkī comes to reinstitute Kṛtā *yuga*? Does this not weigh the balance against the idea of progress in the manifested universe by implying a ceaseless repetitive cycle? The answer is not inevitably in the affirmative. The *yuga*-system is but a small part of a much larger scheme of *Parārdhas*, two of which make up the life of one Brahmā. And the long succession of Brahmās points in turn to a still larger concept. Room is provided, therefore, in this staggeringly immense chronological scheme for evolution or progress on another level. The possibility of interpreting the cycle three-dimensionally as a spiral is never ruled out.

It may still be argued that Purāṇic descriptions of the cosmic form of the Lord, eternal, unmoving, all-encompassing, prove the ultimate unreality of all distinction. It is true that the Purāṇas are in agreement with the Upaniṣads and, for that matter, all orthodox Hinduism that, on an entirely different level, that of Brahman, progress and regress are meaningless. They are temporal terms, and outside of time-space concepts, they have no referents. But there is no reason to suppose that the atemporal has a greater reality than the temporal. *Neti-neti* is no closer to accuracy than *iti-iti* in the last analysis.

77. Cf. Sri Aurobindo, *On Yoga*, Book Two I, 428-29.

78. The Hebrew *adham* (Adam) means "mankind."

PURĀNIC ANTE-DILUVIAN DYNASTY OF
SVĀYAMBHUVA MANU

BY

D. R. MANKAD

[वैवस्वतमनोः समये जलप्रलयो बभूवेति पुराणेषु श्रूयते ।
वैवस्वतमनोः प्राक्कालीना स्वायम्भुवमनु-राजवंशावली पुराणेषूपलभ्यते ।
स्वायम्भुवमनुवंशे च स्वायम्भुवमारभ्य दक्षपर्यन्तं पञ्चदश अष्टादश वा
नृपा बभूवुरिति पुराणेषु प्रतीयते । स्वायम्भुवमनोर्वंशस्यानन्तरं
वैवस्वतमनोर्वंशस्य राज्यं बभूव । परन्तु वैवस्वतमनोर्वंशस्य प्रवर्तनं
पुराणेषु मातृपक्षाद् (दक्षकन्याया अदितेः) एव प्रोक्तम् । ईरानदेशीय-
प्राचीनराजवंशावलीसाहाय्येन तु वैवस्वतमनोः पितृपक्षीयः पूर्ववंशोऽपि
ज्ञातुं शक्यते इत्यस्मिन् लेखे प्रतिपादितम् । ईरानीयराजवंशावलीषु
सुमेरीयराजवंशावलीषु सैमेटिकराजवंशावलीषु च सर्वत्रैव जलप्रलयात्
प्राक्तना अष्ट दश वा राजानो निर्दिष्टाः । पुराणेषु पुनः स्वायम्भुवमनुवंशे
चाशुवमनुवंशीया राजानोऽप्यन्तर्भविताः, अतस्तेषां संख्या पञ्चदश
अष्टादश वा संजाता ।]

There is a wide-spread tradition found in almost all the
Purāṇas that at the end of Brahmā's day, there comes a huge
deluge, when the whole world is destroyed. Usually, it is
believed that there are fourteen Manvantaras in a day of Brahmā
and at the end of his day, the Manus with the world are
destroyed. Shorn of mythology, this would mean that there was
a huge flood, which caused enormous devastations, at the end of
the fourteenth Manvantara. Now apart from later stories, our
early literature knows of only one such vast flood, that of
Vaivasvata Manu's.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss certain matters
about this Indian ante-diluvian Dynasty. The only dynasty
usually taken to have ruled before Vaivasvata Manu is what
the Purāṇas call the Svāyambhuva vaṅśa. On collating the
king-lists of this dynasty, as given in various Purāṇas, we get the
following Table :—

Vv		Pūrva-Bhāga		Bd		Ag		Br		Hr		Km		Vn		Bg		Gd		M1	
Adh. 62nd, 74 ff		36th		10th		3rd		2nd		14th		7th		IV, 8, 13, 24, 30, 31		6th		4th			
1	Svāyambhuve																				
2	x																				
3	Uttanapāda																				
4	Dhruva																				
5	Puṣṭi																				
6	Prācīnagarbha																				
7	Udarādhi																				
8	Divamājaya																				
9	Ripu (Ījaya)																				
10	Caḥṣuṣ																				
11	Caḥṣuṣa																				
12	Uru																				
13	Āṅga																				
14	Vena																				
15	Prthu																				
16	x																				
17	Antardhāna																				
18	Havirdhāna																				
19	x																				
20	Prācīnabarhiṣ																				
21	Pracetas																				
22	Dakṣa (d's son Vaivasvata Manu)																				

Let us Study this table. Vy and Bd give 19 names from Svāyambhuva to Dakṣa (with whom the line closed, as it passed on to a daughter's son). Bg and Gd give 18, Hr. and Br give 17 Ag. gives 16, and Vn, Km and Mt give 15. Thus the number varies from 15 to 19.

Out of these names, Vīra of Br and Hr is clearly an interpolation, as he is not supported by any other Purāṇa. Thus Br and Hr will have 16 names. Again Bg. is alone in inserting Vijitāśva and Barhiṣad and they may, therefore, be eliminated. Thus Bg. total will be 16. Km and Mt. have 15 and they take Havirdhāna and Antardhāna as two brothers. And, as we, very often, find the Purāṇas rendering two brothers into two generations, we may take it that Km and Mt are correct here. Thus taking out one of these two, from all the Purāṇas, we get 15 in Ag, Br, Hr, Vn, Bg, Km, and Mt. Bg has two kings named Puṣpaparna and Vyūṣṭi, but they take the place of Ripu and Cakṣuṣ of the other Purāṇas. Thus Bg total will remain 15. In Gd, there will be 17 and in Vy and Bd there will be 18, but omission of Cakṣuṣ in Gd is not warranted and, therefore, Gd will have 16. In fact, Gd seems to follow Vy-Bd for this dynasty. Thus we get either 15 or 18 names for this dynasty. The difference is caused by the three names Prācīngarbha, Udāradhi and Divamjaya. They are supported only by Vy, Bd and Gd. Thus for the present, we take it that some Purāṇas give 15 names and others give 18 names for this dynasty.

Now, about this dynasty, I want to point out that it is very curious that our Purāṇas should give the dynasty which traces Manu Vaivasvata's line from his maternal side, and not the one which traces his line from his paternal side. Nowhere in the Purāṇas, do we find his full paternal line, except the bare mention that he was the son of Vivasvat, who was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (d. of Dakṣa). Therefore, if we can get his paternal line, it may throw quite a flood of light on the problem of ante-diluvian dynasty. And here the Iranians come to our help.

We know that according to our Purāṇas, Manu and Yama were brothers. Even in Ṛgveda, we find Manu and Yama both described by the patronymic Vaivasvata. So, let us see, if we can, Yama's paternal line. Yama in the Iranian books is called Yim.

In Bundahis, a Pahelvi text, we find Yim's genealogy given at one place. I shall quote from the Sacred Books of the East Series. Fifth chapter of Bundahis is 'On the race and genealogy of Kayans.' In 1-3, the following is found :—

Hoshyang was son of Fravak, son of Siyakmak, son of Masya, son of Gayomard (Takhmorup was son of Vivanghan, son of Yanghad, son of Hoshyang, 3 Yim), Takhmorup, Spitur and Narsih, whom they called Rashnu of Chino, were all brothers."

But a foot-note on 141 notes that the genealogy somewhat differs in Vajarkard-i-Dineh (pp 28-29) as published in Bombay, by Dastur Peshtonji Behramji Saujana in 1848. I shall tabulate the above genealogy, as found in both these sources :—

<i>Bundahis</i>	<i>Vajarkard-i-Dineh</i>
1. Gayomard	1. Gayokmard
2. Mashya	2. Mashyo
3. Siyakmak	3. Siyakmak
4. Fravak	4. Fravak
5. Hoshyang	5. Hoshyang (the peshdad, lord of seven regions)
6. Yanghad	6. Takhmorup
	7. Ananghad
	8. Ayanghad
7. Vivanghan	9. Vivanghan
8. Yim	10. Yim

Here we get 8 or 10 steps upward from Yim, i. e. the Iranians had a tradition of 8 or 10 generations for the ante-diluvian genealogy, because according to the Iranian tradition, flood came in the days of Yim.

This genealogy does not show Manu's name, though it does show Yim and his three brothers. We do not know why Manu's name is not mentioned. Of course, Manu is not the proper name of that person, but only his generic title of king-ship and, we do not know what his proper name was. Sometimes, he is called Śrāddhadeva, but that can hardly be his proper name. In Bg, he is called Satyavrata, but that whole story of Bg, is of late origin and Bg has changed the names of the localities of the flood and taken the scene of the flood from North India to South India. Therefore, we cannot be sure about the name Satyavrata. Thus, though this Iranian genealogy does not mention Manu as such and though we do not know if we can identify one of the three brothers of Yim with Manu, there can be hardly any doubt about the genealogy being that of Manu. This is Yim's genealogy. Both Yim and Manu are known to be Vivasvat's sons, and Yim is, here, described as the son of Vivanghan, which phonetically equates with Vivasvan. But it may be objected that in this genealogy, Vivasvan's or Vivanghan's father's name is not given as Kaśyapa; for Yanghad or Ananghad can never phonetically equate with Kaśyapa. To this objection, I have to say this. It is true that the Purāṇas call Kaśyapa to be the father of Vivasvat, but it is also true that the same Purāṇas describe Kaśyapa as the son of Marīci, who was Brahmā's mānasa son, and the same Purāṇas put Manu Vaivasvata at the 15th or 18th step from Brahmā, who is Svāyambhuva Manu. Kaśyapa is 3rd from Brahmā, Manu 15th or 17th from Brahmā. How can this be?

This can be explained by saying that Vivasvan was not actually the son of Kaśyapa but was a descendent of his. If so, Kaśyapa must be shown at one or the other step amongst the ancestors of Vivasvat. Let us consider. This Iranian list begins with Gayomard. Is Gayomard the same as Brahmā? I do not think so. I equate Gayomard, who is also spelt as Gaya Maretan, Gaya Maratan, with Gaya Mārtaṇḍa. We know that Kaśyapa, by Aditi, had a son, who was called Mārtaṇḍa and who was identified with the Sun. I think that above Maretan or Maratan

or Mard is the same as Mārtaṇḍa. I would, therefore, say that Kaśyapa's son's name was Gaya, who was also called Mārtaṇḍa and accordingly I would re-arrange the genealogy thus:—

Brahmā	
1. Kaśyapa	|
2. Gayomard or Gaya Mārtaṇḍa	|
3. Mashya	|
4. Siyakmak	|
5. Fravak	|
6. Hoshyang ¹	|
7. Ananghad	|
8. Ayanghad	|
9. Vivanghan	|
10. Yim 10 Manu	

Thus taking from Kaśyapa and dropping Takhmorup, who is expressly called Yim's brother, we get Yim's number to be 10th.

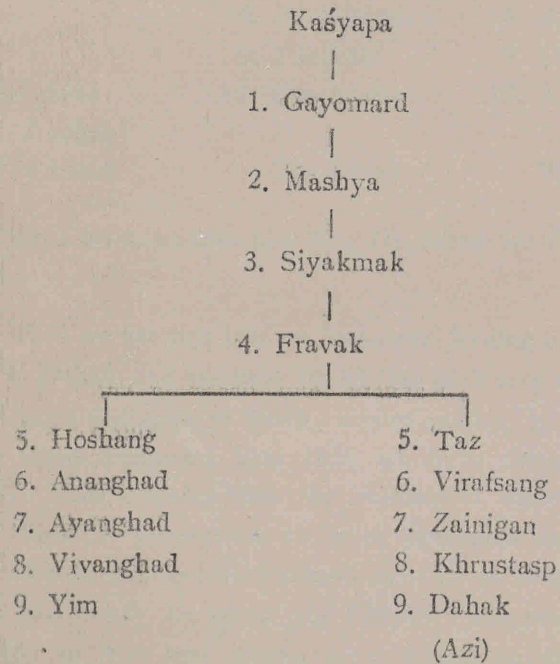
We have one more genealogy preserved in Bundahis. It is said that Dahak with Spitur cut up Yim. Now Dahak's genealogy from the father's and father-in-law's side is given as under:—

Paternal	Father-in-law's
1. Siyakmak	1. Evil spirit
2. Fravak	2. Drujaskan
3. Taz	3. Gadwithwi
4. Virafsang	4. Pairi-urvaesm

1. I may say that it is possible to equate Hoshyang with Kaśyapa. Hoshyang is also spelt as Haoshyangh. Now s is represented by h in the Iranian (cp. Sind-Hind). Therefore, Hoshyang can be soshyang. Again s and k interchange (The palatal law) and so this can be Koshyangh. Now angh=asva=aspa is Kashyangh=Kashyapa and thus we may get Kaśyapa out of Hoshyang.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 5. Zainigan | 5. Gwokhm or Gwvikh |
| 6. Khrustasp | 6. Tambayak |
| 7. Dahak
(Azi) | 7. Bayak |
| | 8. Udai |
| | 9. Daughter
m. to Dahak |

Now, on father's side Dahaks genealogy is the same as Yim's upto Fravak. I, therefore, reconstruct these genealogies as under :—



Adding Kaśyapa, we get the number of Yim and Dahak to be 10th.

Here, I would suggest that the line of Dahak's father-in-law seems to be the same as Indian Lunar line. I am putting these names together.

- | | |
|----------------|----------|
| 1. Evil spirit | 1. Atri |
| 2. Drugaskan | 2. Soma |
| 3. Gadhwithwi | 3. Budha |

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 4. Pairi-Uravaesam | 4. Puru-ravas |
| 5. Gwvikh or Gwokhm | 5. Āyuṣ |
| 6. Tambayak | 6. Nahuṣ |
| 7. Bayak | 7. Yayāti |
| 8. Udai | 8. Yadu |
| d. m. to Dahak | |

I want to point out that the phonetic equations in, at least, three names of both the lists, are very clear and their steps also correspond in both the lists. Pairi-Uravaesam is very clearly Pururavas. Āyuṣ, which in Yajurveda will be pronounced as Āyukham can equate with Gwokhm. Yadu can equate with Udai. Thus when three out of eight names tally in both the lists, I think, we are justified in identifying the two lists. This, if true, will throw quite a flood of light on Indian Lunar line, and also will raise certain problems.

This tradition of the flood is found in other nations also. Let us see, therefore, the ante-diluvian genealogies of other races. The Bible says that the flood came in Noah's days and both the old and new Testaments agree in giving the following genealogy of Noah :—

1. Adam
2. Seth
3. Enosh
4. Kenan
5. Mehalalel
6. Jared
7. Enoch
8. Methuselah
9. Lamech
10. Noah

Thus here we get 10 names for the ante-diluvian period.

For the Sumerians, we have three lists preserved. (1) that given by the Chaldean priest Brosos. (2) and (3) as given in the prism found at Isin. There are two versions of this. I give all the three Tables :—

<i>Iain Prism</i>	<i>Iain Prism</i>	<i>Brosos</i>
(I)	(II)	
1. Alum	1. ....ki-udu-in	1. Aloros
2. Alal	2. ....ama	2. Alaparos
3. Enu	3. Unmush	3. Amelon
4. En-men-gal-as-na	4. (Udu) Uk (?)	4. Ammenon
5. Dumuzi	5. Dumuzi	5. Megalanos
6. Sibazi	6. ....En	6. Dasnes or Daos
7. Unush	7. Shibazi	7. Enedorachos
	8. Rish-mama	8. Amempon
	9. Sumaddi	9. Opertes
8. Bar-dudu	10. Bar-rad-du	10. Xisonthoos
(Ziushdu)		
The Flood	The Flood	The Flood

Thus we have here also 8 or 10 names for the ante-diluvian period.

Thus we get two Iranian lists—one leading to Yim and another to Dahak, and we have found that both stop at the 10th step. The Semitic list stops at Noah, whose number is also 10th. Out of the three Sumerian lists that we have noted, two give 10 names. Thus it seems that the tradition in various races of the world took 10 generations to have flourished before the flood. Then why do the Indian Purāṇas give 15 or 18 generations upto Manu Vaivasvata i.e. up to the Flood? The reason is that this dynasty, as it is now found, is a mixed up dynasty. I shall show how.

In the collative list from the different Purāṇas that I have given in the beginning, we get two lines mixed up. The list starts with Svāyambhuva Manu and Cākṣuṣa Manu's line is incorporated in it and yet the whole is called Svāyambhuva vaṅśa. This is hardly proper. As both Svāyambhuva and Cākṣuṣa are distinct Manvantaras—the first and the sixth—their lines must be shown separately. But we do not find so. We find the whole line named as Svāyambhuva line. I, therefore, think that the Svā-

yambhuva dynasty, as is given in most of the Purāṇas, is not what it should be. Let us see how the matter stands in the Purāṇas.

In Ag, 18th adhyāya is Svāyambhuva-vaṅśa-varṇana and describes Svā-Uttānapāda-Cākṣuṣa-Dakṣa line, as is given in the beginning of this paper. Ag 107th is entitled Svāyambhuva-sargakathanam and describes Svā-Priyavrata line. Thus first describes Uttānapāda's line and the second Priyavrata's line. In Br, 2nd is entitled sṛṣṭi-katbana and gives Uttānapāda line. In Mt, the 4th is entitled ādisarga and gives the same line. These do not give Priyavrata-line; But in Vy, 32nd, which is entitled Svāyambhuva-vaṅśa, gives Priyavrata-line and then 61st, which is entitled Prajāpati-vaṅśa gives Uttānapāda-line, which is continued in 62nd and 63rd.

Thus we find that Vy distinctly puts Priyavrata line only under Svāyambhuva-vaṅśa and Uttānapāda-line, under, which Cākṣuṣa line is included, is put separately. And this is as it should be. The Purāṇas are very clear that though Uttānapāda was Svāyambhuva's son, for some reason, he was given over to Atri, who had adopted him. I shall quote the texts:—

(1) उत्तानपादं जग्राह पुत्रमत्रिः प्रजापतिः ॥ Br. 2nd, 7.

(2) उत्तानपादं जग्राह पुत्रमत्रिः प्रजापतिः ॥ Vy. 62nd, 72.

दत्तकः स तु पुत्रोऽस्य राजा ह्यासीत्प्रजापतेः ।

स्वायम्भुवेन मनुना दत्तोऽत्रेः कारणं प्रति ॥73.

So, it is clear that according to the Purāṇas, Uttānapāda was Atri's adopted son. Therefore Vy is correct when it puts Priyavrata line alone under Svāyambhuva-vaṅśa. In fact when it starts giving Uttānapāda line, it says (62nd)—

चाक्षुषस्य निसर्गं तु समासाच्छ्रोतुमर्हथ ।

तस्यान्ववाये संभूतः पृथुर्वैन्यः प्रतापवान् ॥71.

प्रजानां पतयश्चान्ये दक्षः प्राचेतसस्तथा ।

उत्तानपादं जग्राह पुत्रमत्रिः प्रजापतिः ॥ 72.

दत्तकः स तु पुत्रोऽस्य राज्ञा ह्यासीत्प्रजापतेः ।
 स्वायम्भुवेन मनुना दत्तोऽन्नेः कारणं प्रति ॥73.
 मन्वन्तरमथासाद्य भविष्यं चाक्षुषस्य हि ।
 षष्ठं तदनुवक्ष्यामि उपोद्घातेन वै द्विजाः ॥74.

Here Vy, very clearly declares that it would describe Cākṣuṣa line with an introduction (*upodghātena*) i.e. by prefixing his lineage from Uttānapāda. In fact, kings from Uttānapāda to Cākṣuṣa have nothing to do with Cākṣuṣa line, as they were Cākṣuṣa Manu's ancestors, not his descendents. But they are given here by way of introducing (*Upodghātena*) the Cākṣuṣa line.

Therefore, we should remember that when we talk about Svā-Manvantara, we should talk of Priyavrata line only and not of Uttānapāda line, and when we talk of Cākṣuṣa Manvantara, we should talk of Uttānapāda line running upto Cākṣuṣa Manu and further.

But then also, it may be said that as Manu Vaivasvata is put as Dakṣa's daughter's son and as the flood came in his days, the ante-diluvian line will be the same and will show 15 or 18 names. But it is not so.

Vy 63rd, 19 (Bd II, 37,20) is this :—

चाक्षुषस्यान्तरेऽतीते प्राप्ते वैवस्वते पुनः ।
 वैन्येनेयं मही दुग्धा यथा ते कीर्तितं मया ॥17.

Again Bd III, 72, 12 says :—

यज्ञं प्रवर्तयामास वैन्यो वैवस्वतान्तरे ॥

This clearly says that Vainya Pṛthu lived when Cākṣuṣa Manvantara had been over and Vaivasvata Manvantara had been reached (*prāpte*). How can this be? In the usual line, Pṛthu is given as 5th from Cākṣuṣa Manu and after him are given five more names in the same line and then is given Vaivasvata Manu.

How, then, can Pṛthu be at the point when Vaivasvata Manvantara was reached? I shall explain my view.

Let us compare this line with that of Yim's descent. Atri the father of Uttānapāda should be at the same step as Marīci, because both of these are taken as Brahmā's mānasa sons. And Pṛthu, if he lived when Vaivasvata Manvantara was reached, i.e. at the start of Vaivasvata manvantara, should be at the same step as Manu Vaivasvata or one step lower. Therefore putting Atri at the same step as Marīci and Pṛthu at the same level as Manu Vaivasvata, I reconstruct this line thus :—

1. Marīci	1. Atri
2. Kaśyapa	2. Uttānapāda
3. Gayomard	3. Dhruva
4. Mashya	4. Puṣṭi
5. Siyakmak	5. Ripu
	{ 1. Prācīnagarbha
	{ 2. Udāradhi
	{ 3. Divaūjaya
6. Pravak	6. Cākṣuṣ
7. Hoshyang	7. Cākṣuṣa Manu
8. Ananghad	8. Uru
9. Ayanghad	9. Aṅga
10. Vivanghan	10. Vēna
11. Yim, Manu V.	11. Pṛthu

It will thus be seen that Manu Vaivasvata's period started with the fall of Vēna and as with Manu Vaivasvata, a new manvantara started, it may be said that Cākṣuṣa Manvantara was over with Vēna and thus Pṛthu came when Vaivasvata Manvantara was reached. Therefore, from the usual table, on the one hand, three kings—Prācīnagarbha, Udāradhi and Divaūjaya—are to be taken out, and on the other hand, the five kings upto Dakṣa, who follow Pṛthu are also to be taken out. Thus Yim, Manu and Pṛthu are at the same step, i.e. are 10th from Kaśyapa and 11th from Marīci and Atri respectively. Therefore, all these three are ante-diluvian kings. Thus we find

that as in all the other races, so even in Indian tradition, the flood came at the tenth step from the beginning.

This shows that all these different ante-diluvian dynasties noted here, have 10 king-names. This feature is peculiar to Purāṇic genealogies. I have shown in my 'Purāṇic Chronology' that all the Purāṇic Kali dynasties upto the Nandas had 25 king-names and all the dynasties for the four yugas had 100 king-names. This uniformity of number for these names, shows that these dynasties are artificially made up. I have shown that the purpose for this artificial method is to link up the names with chronological computations and thus each king-name, in this context, will represent a time-unit. This is true for this dynasty also. I shall not pursue this matter further here, but shall mention that in these lists each king-name is likely to stand for 10 years. If so, the real descent of Manu and Yim will not be what is given in the Iranian dynasty, but what is given in the Purāṇas, i.e. Brahmā—Marīci—Kaśyapa—Vivasvan—Manu (Yim). But this I shall discuss in another paper.

THE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION OF THE PURĀṆAS*

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[पुराणेषु सृष्टिप्रकरणदेवासुरसंग्रामादीनि बहूनि स्थलानि समीचीनानि व्याख्यानान्यपेक्षन्ते । एषां स्थलानां व्याख्याविषये विदुषामैकमत्यं विद्यते । अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणव्याख्याविषयकः प्रश्नो विचारितः । स्वतः पुराणेषु च केषाञ्चित् स्थलानां व्याख्यानं विधाय यो व्याख्यानमार्गो निर्दिष्टः, सोऽप्यत्र पर्यालोचितः । पुराणव्याख्यानस्य च कानिचिदन्यान्यपि साधनानि यथामति समुपस्थापितानि । पुराणेषु क्वचिद् ये विरोधाभासाः प्रतीयन्ते, तेषु केचिदत्र प्रदर्शिताः । पुराण-व्याख्याविषये च विदुषां यादृशो मतभेदः सम्भाव्यते सोऽप्यत्र मस्या-वतारविषयकं व्याख्यानमाश्रित्य निर्दिष्टः । पुराणानि खलु वेदोप-बृंहणरूपाणि वेदसम्मितानि च मन्यन्ते, बहूनां पौराणिकाख्यानानां पुराणवचनानां च बीजं वेदेषु समुपलभ्यते, अतः पुराणानां समीचीनं व्याख्यानं विधातुं वेदस्वाधारोऽपि समपेक्षितः । पुराणानां समीचीना व्याख्या च तदैव संभवेत्, यदा वयम् आधुनिकतमवैज्ञानिकशैल्या सम्पादितानि तेषां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि लभेमहि । अत्र प्राचीन-पुराणकोशानां पुराणैतरग्रन्थानां च साहाय्येन कृता पाठसमीक्षा कथं पुराणव्याख्यानमुपकरोतीत्यपि सोदाहरणं प्रदर्शितम् ।]

1. Introduction

There are in the Purāṇas a large number of cosmological statements, genealogical records, geographical and astronomical accounts and mythological narratives or *ākhyānas* generally found narrated in connection with the description of religious worships, vows and fasts, *śrāddha* ceremonies, *tīrtha-māhātmyas*, *dāna-vidhis* etc., which require a correct interpretation. The problem of interpretation of Purāṇic statements is perhaps as old as the Purāṇas themselves. In the Purāṇas we occasionally find the

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listener requesting the narrator to interpret or explain his statement, and the narrator sometimes rather explains it away by offering an ambiguous interpretation, or several alternative interpretations.¹

The reason for this ambiguity may be the fact that the early tradition of correct and definite interpretation of such Purāṇic statements might not have been available at the time of the compilation of the present texts of the Purāṇas. More-over, many of the cosmological statements and *ākhyānas* of the Purāṇas may be traced to their Vedic origin. Purāṇas are really the amplified popular versions of the Vedas.² The Purāṇa, therefore, is not only equated with the Veda,³ but it is even called the fifth Veda.⁴ The Purāṇa is said to embody the essence of the Veda.⁵ Therefore, any correct interpretation of the Purāṇas, specially of their cosmological statements and *ākhyānas* of Vedic origin, should have the Vedic background, and should also be based on the precise and reliable data available in the Purāṇas themselves and corroborated by the Vedic texts. The early and original tradition of the Vedic interpretation has, however, been lost to us, or is at least far removed from us.⁶ So we cannot be sure of our present interpretation of the Purāṇas. It can only be conjectural or at the most a tentative one. But however tentative our interpretation may be, it must at least be based on our objective study of the relevant data, and we should not allow our own predilections to come in the way of arriving at our interpretation.

1. Cf. for instance Matsya-P. (MP), An. edn., 4. 1-10.

2. Cf. 'इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।' (Vāyu-P., 2. 181 ; etc.)

3. Cf. 'पुराणं वेदसम्मितम्' (Vāyu-P., 1. 9) ; 'पुण्यं वेदैश्च सम्मितम्' (Bd.-P., Uttara-bhāga, 4-10) ; etc.

4. Cf. 'इतिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं' (Cha.-Up., 7. 1. 2) ; 'पुराणं पञ्चमो वेद इति ब्रह्मानुशासनम्' (Sk.-P., Revā-kh.), etc. ; cf. also MP, 289. 7-9

5. Cf. 'सर्ववेदार्थसाराणि पुराणानीति भूपते' (Nār.-P., 1. 9. 97).

6. That is why Yāska in his Nirukta, the oldest available commentary on the Veda, offers several alternative and sometimes even doubtful interpretations and etymologies of some Vedic passages and words.

2. Purāṇa—A Distinct Branch of Learning

The Purāṇa is a distinct branch of learning. It is counted as one of the fourteen *vidyās*.⁷ Like the *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṃsā* it has its own technical terms and also its distinct technique of interpretation. It has its distinct philosophy of cosmology which is different from that of the famous six philosophical systems of India. Just as one versed in *Nyāya* is called a *Naiyāyika*, and one versed in *Mīmāṃsā* is called a *Mīmāṃsaka*, in the same way a scholar versed in the Purāṇic lore has been called in the Purāṇas a *Paurāṇika* or *Purāṇajña*. A large number of sages of the ancient India were great Paurāṇika scholars. The Purāṇas often quote their opinions for corroborating certain statements.⁸ In later times Sūta Lomahaṛṣaṇa and his son Ugraśravāṇi were famous Purāṇa-scholars and Purāṇa-narrators.^{8a} They were the great authorities on the Purāṇas. Lomahaṛṣaṇa has been called an adept in Purāṇic interpretation.^{8b} But after them this Sūta tradition of Purāṇic scholarship gradually died out. We have only a few Purāṇic commentators, like Śrīdhara, Citsukha, Vallabha, Nīlakaṇṭha, of the medieval times. Considering the great importance of the Purāṇas which are valuable repository of all the ancient traditions of Indian religion, culture, and philosophy, we should revive the old tradition of Purāṇic scholarship.

3. Some Ancient Tenets of Interpretation

For the interpretation of the Vedic sacrificial texts the *Mīmāṃsā* evolved certain valuable tenets⁹, which later on were utilised for interpreting the *Dharmasāstra* also. Similarly the

7. Cf. 'अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ।

पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ॥ (Viṣ.-P., 3. 6. 28)

8. Cf. e. g. 'तच्च पद्यं पुराणज्ञाः पृथिवीरूपमुत्तमम् ।

नारायणसमुद्भूतं प्रवदन्ति महर्षयः ॥ (MP., 169.3) ;

अष्टादशपुराणानि पुराणज्ञाः प्रचक्षते ।' (Viṣ. P., 3. 6. 20) ; etc.

8a. Cf. 'अत्र नः संशयं छिन्धि पूर्णः पौराणिको यतः ।

(Vāyu-P., Venk. ed., II. 42. 18)

8b. Cf. 'पुराणार्थविशारद' (Kūma-P., 1.1.7)

9. Such as श्रुति, लिङ्ग, वाक्य, प्रकरण, स्थान, समाख्या, etc.

vedantic schools evolved their own principles¹⁰ of interpreting the Upaniṣads which are the philosophical portions of the Veda. As the Purāṇa is also a Veda, called the *Purāṇa-Veda*,¹¹ both these principles of interpretation may advantageously be applied to the interpretation of the Purāṇas.

Further, in the Upaniṣads also we find various attempts of interpretation from several angles of vision. Thus in the Taittirīya-Up. the *upanīṣad* or the secret meaning of the *saṁhitā* (of pronunciation) has been given from five points of view, viz., *dhiloka*, *adhijyautiṣa*, *adhividya*, *adhīpraja* and *adhyātma*.¹² Similarly in the Chāndogya-Up. *Rk.*, *Sāma* and *Udgītha* have been interpreted from several angles of vision, such as *ādhidāivata*, *adhyātma* etc.¹³ This method of looking at a thing from several points of view and interpreting it accordingly is specially Indian. It may be applied to the interpretation of the Purāṇas also. Thus the *evāsurasanigrāmas* of the Purāṇas may be interpreted as taking place on the physical, mental and divine planes. This three-fold (*ādhībhautika*, *ādhyātmika* and *ādhidāivika*) interpretation of at least some of the portions of the Purāṇas may clear many of their knotty points.

4. Spirit of the Purāṇas

Our attempts for the interpretation of the Purāṇas may be fruitful only when we first acquaint ourselves with the spirit of the Purāṇas, for mere letter may mislead us. The underlying idea of the Indian religion and philosophy as embodied in the Vedas and the Purāṇas is to give a glimpse of the One Reality through its

10. Such as उपक्रम-उपसंहार, अभ्यास, अपूर्वता, फल, अर्थवाद, उपपत्ति, which are called as the six *lingas* ('लीनमर्थं गमयतीति लिङ्गशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तेः'; Narsinhā-sarasvatī's Comm. on Vedāntasāra, kh.30).

11. Cf. Vāyu-p., 1.15.; Matsya-P., 289.9

12. Taitt.-Up., Valli 1, Anuvāka 3.

13. Chānd.-Up., Adhyāya 1, khaṇḍas 1-8.

manifold manifestations.¹⁴ The Purāṇic pantheon consists in its manifold forms of the same Reality; in other words, they describe the same Reality in innumerable forms ('एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति')

The Purāṇic Trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva confronts a superficial reader with a great dilemma. Sometimes Brahmā is regarded as superior to Viṣṇu and Maheśa, sometimes Viṣṇu is regarded as superior to Brahmā and Śiva, and sometimes Śiva is regarded as superior to both Brahmā and Viṣṇu. But a deep-sighted reader cannot miss the real trend of the Purāṇic statements. The Purāṇas themselves say that the same Divinity assumes the names of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively for creation, preservation and destruction of the Universe.¹⁵ The great poet Kālidāsa also realised this truth of the Purāṇas. On the occasion of the marriage of God Śiva with Pārvatī, both Brahmā and Viṣṇu came there to pay their homage to Śiva and eulogised him. Kālidāsa does not see any impropriety in this. He remarks that there is only one God, who is differentiated in these three forms, and the superiority and inferiority is common to all of them. Sometimes Viṣṇu is superior to Hara, sometimes Hara is superior to Viṣṇu, sometimes Brahmā is superior to both of them, and sometimes both Viṣṇu and Śiva are superior to Brahmā.¹⁶ Hence, according

14. Cf. 'एक एवाग्निर्बहुधा समिद्धः***एकं वा इदं विबभूव सर्वम् ।'
(Rg. VIII. 58.2);

'इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।

एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥

(Rg. I. 164. 46)

इन्द्रस्त्वमग्निः पवनो वरुणः सविता यमः ।

वसवो मरुतः साध्या विश्वेदेवगणा भवान् ॥

(Viṣṇu-P., I. 9.69 f.)

15. Cf. 'सृष्टिस्थित्यन्तकरणौ ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवात्मिकाम् ।

स संज्ञां याति भगवान् एक एव जनार्दनः ॥' (Viṣṇu-P., 1.2.66).

16. एकैव मूर्तिविभिदे त्रिधा सा

सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्नम् ।

विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचित्

वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धानुराद्यौ ॥ (Kumāra-Sam., 7.44.)

Cf. also Matsya-P., 3.16- 'एका मूर्तिस्त्रयो भागा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।'

to the Purāṇas these three Gods are one and identical, and at the same time are also different from each other.^{16a} This spirit of the Purāṇas that diversity is nothing but another phase of the ultimate unity should be fully realised.

The Purāṇas prescribe various rules and ceremonies only with the ultimate aim of giving a foot-hold for ascending to that One Reality (एकं सत्). Even genealogies of the royal dynasties are given not as purely historical facts, but as a means to the realisation of the momentariness of the worldly life, and to produce detachment from the world for attaining emancipation from the worldly bondage.¹⁷ So if one tries to look for pure history in the Purāṇic genealogical accounts and *ākhyānas*, he may be disappointed. The Purāṇa-makers never cared for the historical facts as such, they only cared for the ideas and the effects which their accounts might produce on the minds of the readers. The Purāṇas give *phalākṛutis* after the accounts of the royal genealogies, which show that they do not aim at giving a factual history. According to the spirit of the Purāṇas, the ideas are real, facts are illusion. When the Purāṇas give the *Bhuvana-kośa* descriptions, and long computations of *yugas* and *kalpas*, they aim at producing a sense of unlimited vastness of space and time and thus widen our

16A. Cf. Kūrma-P., II. 46. 70 f.—

पितामहस्य विष्णोश्च महेशस्य च धीमतः ॥

एकत्वं च पृथक्त्वं च विशेषश्चोपवर्णितः ।

17. Cf. 'कथा इमास्ते कथिता महीयसां विताय लोकेषु यशः परेषुषाम् ।

विज्ञानैरैरायविवक्षया विभो वचोविभूतिर्न तु पारमार्थ्यम् ॥

(Bhāg. P., 12.3.14)

Also 'इक्ष्वाकुजह्नुमान्धातुसगराविकितान् रघुन् ।

ययातिनहुषायांश्च ज्ञात्वा निष्ठासुपागतान् ॥

महाबलान् महावीर्यानिनन्तधनसञ्चयान् ।

कृतान् कालेन बलिना कथाशेषान् नराधिपान् ॥

श्रुत्वा न पुत्रदारादौ गृहक्षेत्रादिके तथा ।

द्रव्यादौ वा कृतप्रज्ञो ममत्वं कुरुते नरः : ॥

(Viṣ.-P., G. P. edn., 4. 24. 141-43).

outlook on life.¹⁸ So the Purāṇas should be interpreted in the light of their true spirit.

5. Deification of Inanimate Objects and Ātma-Vāda

The Purāṇas sometimes deify and invoke certain inanimate objects. The Matsya-Purāṇa prescribes ten *parvata-dānas* (Adhs. 83-92), viz. of धान्यशैल, लवणाचल, गुडाचल, हेमपर्वत, तिलशैल, कार्पासपर्वत, घृतशैल, रत्नशैल, रजतशैल and शर्कराचल, i. e. giving in charity mountain-shaped heaps of corn, salt, raw sugar, gold, sesame, cotton, ghee, jewels, silver and sugar. At the time of giving these charities the heaps of these objects are to be deified and invoked in a ceremonial manner; e. g.—

भवाद्भर शैलेन्द्र तिलाचल नमोऽस्तु ते । (87.5)

कार्पासाद्रे नमस्तुभ्यमघौघध्वंसनो भव । (88.3)

मनोभवधनुर्मध्यादुद्भूता शर्करा यतः ।

तन्मयोऽसि महाशैल पाहि संसारसागरात् ॥ (92.12); etc.

Similarly, sixteen *mahā-dānas*, viz. तुलापुरुषदान, हिरण्यगर्भदान, ब्रह्माण्डदान, कल्पपाददान, गोसहस्रदान, हिरण्यकामधेनुदान, हिरण्यश्वदान, हिरण्यश्वरथदान, हेमहस्तिरथदान, पञ्चलाङ्गलकदान, धरादान, विश्वचक्रदान, कल्पलतादान, सप्तसागरदान, रत्नधेनुदान and महाभूतघटदान, are also prescribed by the Matsya-P. (Adhs. 274 ff.). In the performance of these ceremonies also *tulā* (a balance) and other objects mentioned above are deified and eulogised; e. g. :—

त्वं तुले सर्वभूतानां प्रमाणमिह कीर्तिता ।

मां तोलयन्ती संसाराद्भरस्व नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ (274.61-62)

नमो वः सर्वसिन्धूनामाधारेभ्यः सनातनाः ।

जन्तूनां प्राणदेभ्यश्च समुद्रेभ्यो नमो नमः ॥ (287.11); etc.

In the R̥gveda also inanimate objects such as rivers (X.75), stones (X. 94), herbs (X. 97) etc. have been personified and deified.

18. Cf. Bh. Gītā, 8.17— 'सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्षद् ब्रह्माणो विदुः ।

रात्रि युगसहस्रान्तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥'

Such deification of inanimate objects should not be interpreted as matter-worship. According to the theory of *Ātma-vāda* as given by Yāska in his *Nirukta* the One *Ātman* only is eulogised in various forms, for all the animate and inanimate objects are but so many forms of that ultimate source, *Ātman*; therefore, when the sages eulogise and worship the various objects—animate or inanimate—they eulogise and worship the *Ātman* only:—

‘महाभाग्याद् देवताया एक आत्मा बहुधा स्तूयते ।* * *अपि च, सत्त्वानां प्रकृतिभूमिभ्रमर्षयः स्तुवन्तीत्याहुः ।* * *आत्मैवैषां रथो भवति, आत्माऽश्वः, आत्माऽऽयुधम्, आत्मेपवः, आत्मा सर्वं देवस्य ।’ (Nirukta, 7.1.5).

Durgācārya comments on this as follows:—

‘* * *प्रक्रियन्ते अस्यां सर्वे विकारा इति प्रकृतिः, स सचालक्षणो महानात्मा हिरण्यगर्भ इति ।* * *तस्य भूमा बहुत्वम् अनेकधा विपरिणामः स्थावरजङ्गमभावेन ।* * *कार्यकारणयोरनन्यत्वात् कारणमहिमभिस्तान्यश्वादीन्यभिष्टुवन्तीत्याहुरात्मविदः ।’

Satyavrata Samasrami explains this in his footnote (Nirukta, Vol. III, p. 319) as follows:—

‘एषाम् आत्मवादिनां मते आत्मा एव रथः, आत्मा (एव) अश्वः, आत्मा (एव) आयुधम्, आत्मा (एव) इपवः, सर्वम् (एतत् चराचरम्) देवस्य आत्मा (एव) भवति ।* * *आत्मदृष्ट्यैव आत्मवादिनः ऋषयो रथादीनिपि स्तुवन्ते त्यात्मवादिमतोल्लेखने एव यास्कवचनतात्पर्यमिति ।’

The Purāṇas also call this *Ātman* as ‘अशेषमूर्तिः’ (Viṣ.-P., 2.70), ‘विधात्मा’ (1.4.22), सर्वं and सर्वात्मा (1.4.42) etc. This atheistic spirit of the Purāṇas is best expressed in such śloka of the Purāṇas as follows:—

सूर्यादयो ग्रहास्तारा नक्षत्राण्यखिलं जगत् ।
मूर्त्तमूर्त्तमदृश्यं च दृश्यं च पुरुषोत्तम ॥

यच्चोक्तं यच्च नैवोक्तं मयाऽत्र परमेश्वर ।

तत्सर्वं त्वं नमस्तुभ्यं भूयो भूयो नमो नमः ॥

(Viṣṇu.-P., 1.4.23-24).

6. Exaggerations in the Purāṇas

The Vedas were meant for the higher classes (*Dvijās*) of the society, *Sūdras* were prohibited from studying the Vedas. The Purāṇas, on the other hand, were composed for the masses. They were the Vedas of the laity. They were meant as the popular treatises on *dharma* and on all that is included in *dharma*. They were recited by the Sūtas and the Vyāsas in the popular assemblies. The germs of most of the Purāṇic *ākhyānas* and cosmological statements can be traced to the Vedic origin, the Purāṇas added popular elements to them and thus developed them to their present form. In order to catch the popular imagination it was but natural that the Purāṇas should resort to exaggeration, specially regarding time and space. In the *Rgveda* (X. 95.16) *Urvaśī* is said to have sojourned among the mortals (i. e. with *Purūravas*) for four seasons of winter-nights (i. e. for four years),¹⁹ but in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* she is said to have spent with *Purūravas* full 61,000 years.²⁰ These figures must not be interpreted as a historical fact. We should give proper allowance for the style of exaggeration adopted by the Purāṇas. Lack of proper appreciation of difference between true history and legends narrated along with the genealogical records may lead us to misinterpret the Purāṇas.

7. General Principles of Interpreting the Purāṇas

A statement should always be interpreted in the light of the spirit of that statement, and with full consideration of the

19. ‘यद्विरूपाऽचरं मर्त्येण्ववसं रात्रीः शरदश्चतस्रः’ (Rg. X. 95.16).

20. ‘तथा (उर्व्वया) सह स चावनिपतिः* * * रममाणः षष्टिवर्षसहस्राण्यनुदिनप्रवर्द्धमानप्रमोदोऽन्यत् ?’ (Viṣṇu.-P., G.P. edn., 4.6.46).

Cf. also Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 530. Winternitz criticises the Purāṇic tendency of exaggeration. In his opinion ‘the confused madley of contents and the boundless exaggerations’ are characteristic of the Purāṇas.

real object of the speaker with which he has made his statement. So in order to arrive at a correct interpretation of the Purāṇic statements, we should always keep in view the real spirit of the Purāṇas and the object with which the statement was made. The Purāṇic style of exaggeration should also be given proper allowance in interpreting historical and geographical accounts of the Purāṇas. Chronological considerations and archaeological data may also be helpful in interpreting the Purāṇas, specially their chapters on history and archaeology.

8. Attempts of Interpretation in the Purāṇas

The problem of proper interpretation of the Purāṇas had engaged the attention of the Purāṇa-compilers also. The following attempts of interpretation in the Purāṇas may be briefly noted as a few instances :—

(1) Nirvacana or Etymology :

Purāṇas have often given *nirvacana* or *nirukti* of many terms, epithets and names. These *nirvacanas* are sometimes literal and sometimes semantic, and sometimes mixed. The Matsya-Purāṇa gives detailed *nirvacanas* of the following epithets of Viṣṇu : Śeṣa, Acyuta, Hari, Sanātana, Ananta, Viṣṇu (three etymologies), Nārāyaṇa, Govinda, Hṛṣīkeśa, Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.²¹ The Vāyu-Purāṇa gives the *nirvacanas* of the epithets of Brahmā, i.e. of Ādideva, Āja, Prajāpati, Mahādeva, Brahmā, Bhūta, Kṣetrajña, Vibhu, Puruṣa, Svayambhū, Yajña, Kavi, Hiranyagarbha, etc.^{21a}

The Agni-Purāṇa interprets *upavāsa* thus :—

‘उपवृत्तस्य पापेभ्यो यस्तु वासो गुणैः सह ॥

उपवासः स विज्ञेयः सर्वभोगविवर्जितः ।’

(Agni-P., 175. 5f.)

The Purāṇas abound in such *nirvacanas*.

(2) Factual Interpretation :

The Matsya-Purāṇa explains the sexual relation of Brahmā with his daughter Sāvitrī by asserting that the first creation

21. Matsya-P., 248. 34-49.

21a. Vāyu-P., 5. 37-42.

(*ādi-sṛṣṭi*) was *divya* or super-physical, and the ways of the divine beings can be known only by the divine beings and not by men. The good or bad acts of the gods are not conducive to good or bad results, therefore, we need not bother about such acts of the gods.²²

(3) Symbolical Interpretation :

The Matsya-Purāṇa gives another interpretation also to this cosmological event of Brahmā's sexual relation with Sāvitrī. Brahmā is the presiding deity of all the Vedas, and so Vedas themselves are Brahmā. Sāvitrī or Gāyatrī is a portion of the Veda. As the sun's light is not without its shadow, so Sāvitrī never leaves the side of Brahmā. And thus the sexual relation of Brahmā with Sāvitrī is only a symbolical one.²³

The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa gives symbolical interpretation to Viṣṇu's Kaustubhamāṇi, Śrīvatsa, Gadā, Śaṅkha, Śārṅga, Cakra, Vaijayantī, etc.²⁴ The Matsya-Purāṇa symbolises the two *Asuras*, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, as *Tamas* and *Rajas* which cover the whole world, and also as *Artha* and *Kāma*.^{24a}

The Vāmana-Purāṇa interprets the *Cakra* of Viṣṇu as the circle of one year consisting of twelve months as its spokes, six seasons as its naves and connected with two *ayanus*.²⁵

(4) Mythological Interpretation :

The Vāmana-Purāṇa mythologically explains the epithet *Jimūta-ketu* of Siva. During the rainy season Śiva with his consort Satī ascended on the cloud and stayed there throughout the season in order to avoid the rains. And as the cloud is called

22. Matsya-P., 4. 3-6.

23. Ibid., 4. 7-10.

24. Viṣṇu-P., 1. 22. 68-82.

24a. ‘आवाभ्यां छाद्यते विश्वं तमसा रजसाश्च वै ।’ (MP., 170. 14)

‘आवामर्थश्च कामश्च’ (Ibid. 170. 16)

25. द्वादशारं तथा चक्रं षण्णाभि द्वियुतं तथा ।

त्रिव्यूहमेकमूर्तिश्च तथोक्तः परमेश्वरः ॥ (Vām-P., 61. 66)

This *Saṁvatsara-cakra* representing here Viṣṇu's *Cakra* may be compared with the description given in the Rg.-Veda (1. 164. 48).

Jīmūta, Śiva has thence been called *Jīmūta-ketu*.²⁶ The epithet *Dharma-kṣetra* of Kuru-kṣetra has similarly been explained. The king Kuru sowed eight *dharma*s, viz. *tapas* (austerity), *satya* (truth), *ksamā* (forbearance), *dayā* (compassion), *śauca* (purity), *dāna* (charity), *yoga* (meditation) and *brahmacāritā* (continence and chastity),²⁷ in Kuru-kṣetra, and so it is called a *Dharma-kṣetra*. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* explains the *Caturmūhatva* of Brahmā as an effect of his sexual desire for his daughter Sāvitrī.²⁸ The *Vāmana-Purāṇa* explains the *Kapālitva* of Śiva by narrating a mythological account of how Śiva in a personal feud with five-headed Brahmā cut off his fifth head and thus made him four-faced and himself became *Kapālin*.²⁹

(5) *Upacārika* or *Figurative Interpretation* :

The *Purāṇas* sometimes clearly assert that a particular cosmological account should be taken as *upacāra* only and not as reality.

Thus the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* says that Nārāyaṇa in the form of Brahmā is really eternal, but he is said to be born only by *upacāra* :—

‘नारायणाख्यो भगवान् ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः ।
उत्पन्नः प्रोच्यते विद्वन् नित्य एवोपचारतः ॥’

(*Viṣṇu-P.*, 1. 3. 4)

Similarly the *Vāyu-P.* says that although the creation is called the day and dissolution the night of Brahmā, but in reality there is no day or night for Brahmā. The account is only a *upacāra* (metaphor), and it is taken resort to for the benefit of the world (i.e. for making it easily understandable for the common man):—

अहस्तस्य तु या सृष्टिः प्रलयो रात्रिरुच्यते ॥
अहश्च विद्यते तस्य न रात्रिरिति धारणा ।
उपचारः प्रक्रियते लोकानां हितकाम्यया ॥

(*Vāyu-P.*, 6. 2-3)

26. *Vāmana-P.*, 1. 30-31

27. *Vāmana-P.*, 22. 24-33.

28. *Matsya-P.*, 3. 36-38

29. *Vāmana-P.*, 27-28.

The *Yoga-nidrā* of Viṣṇu is also explained as his divine *māyā* only :—

आत्ममायामयीं दिव्यां योगनिद्रां समास्थितः ।

(*Viṣṇu-P.* ?)

The *R̥gveda* also mentions that the accounts of the battles of Indra is only metaphorical, for Indra has no enemy, and so all his battles spoken of are his *Māyā* only.³⁰

(6) *Ontological or Philosophical Interpretation* :

In the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* Maitreya poses a question—How is it possible that the *Ātman*, who is said to be pure and devoid of all qualities and modifications, can be said to create the universe? Parāśara says that the *Śakti* of the *Ātman* which creates the universe is really inexplicable, like the hotness of the fire which is also inexplicable.³¹

(7) *Interpretation by means of Yuga-Kalpa Theory* :

A suitable device adopted by the *Purāṇas* for explaining the contradictions in the different accounts of the same event is to take resort to the theory of *Yugas* and *Kalpas*. The difference in the two accounts of the same event is explained by asserting that the difference is due to the difference of *Yugas* or *Kalpas* in which the event took place. A good instance of such interpretation is found in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* and also in the *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa*. Prajāpati Dakṣa is said to be born as the son of the ten Pracetasas and their wife Mārīṣā.³² Now Maitreya rightly poses a question : How is it possible that Dakṣa who was first born from the right thumb of Brahmā is again born as the son of the Pracetasas? How did he become the father-in-law of Soma whose daughter's son he had already been?—

30. ‘मायेत्सा ते यानि युद्धान्याहुर्नाद्य शत्रुं न तु पुरा विविस्ते ।’ (*R̥g.* X. 54. 2)

31. *Viṣṇu-P.*, 1. 3. 1-3.

32. Cf. *Viṣṇu-P.*, 1. 15. 74 :—

दशभ्यस्तु प्रचेतोभ्यो मारिषायां प्रजापतिः ।
जज्ञे दक्षो महाभागो यः पूर्वं ब्रह्मणोऽभवत् ॥

अङ्गुष्ठाद् दक्षिणाद् दक्षः पूर्वं जातः श्रुतं मया ।
 कथं प्राचेतसो भूयः स सम्भूतो महामुने ॥
 एष मे संशयो ब्रह्मन् सुमहान् हृदि वर्त्तते ।
 यद् दौहित्रः स सोमस्य पुनः श्वशुरतां गतः ॥

(Viṣṇu-P., 1. 15. 80-81)³³

Parāśara answers that birth and death among the creatures are taking place from the eternity. All these Dakṣa and other kings are born in every *Yuga*, and then disappear into non-existence, so the learned have no delusion in this respect :—

उत्पत्तिश्च निरोधश्च नित्यौ भूतेषु पार्थिव ।
 ऋषयोऽत्र न मुह्यन्ति ये चान्ये दिव्यचक्षुषः ॥
 युगे युगे भवन्त्येते दक्षाद्या मुनिसत्तम ।
 पुनश्चैवं निरुध्यन्ते विद्वांस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥

(Viṣṇu-P., 1. 15. 82-83)^{33a}

Thus, the Purāṇas have at least shown us a way for interpreting them. We can also adopt modern methods of interpretation for interpreting the Purāṇas ; for this, however, we require critical editions of the Purāṇas prepared according to the most up-to-date methods of textual criticism.

9. Aids to the Interpretation of the Purāṇas

So far we have discussed the various techniques which the Purāṇas themselves employ to interpret their own statements. Besides these, there are certain other aids also which help us in our interpretation of certain Purāṇic statements. Some such important aids are indicated below.

(1) Textual Criticism

The readings of the vulgate editions of the Purāṇas are not often reliable. We have to take the help of the Manuscript-material and other testimonia for determining the correct text, so

33. Cf. also Hariv.-P., 1. 2. 52-53 ; Br.-P., 2. 52-53.

33a. Cf. also Hariv.-P.' 1. 2. 54-55 ; Br.-P., 2. 54-55

that a correct interpretation may be arrived at. A few illustrations may clear the point :—

(a) The correct estimate of the interval between the reign of King Parikṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda is very important for reconstructing the ancient Indian history, for these two events are the two important land-marks in the ancient Indian history. The vulgate editions of the Purāṇas give the following intervals :—

1015 years (Viṣṇu-P., Jīvānanda edn.)³⁴

1050 years (Viṣṇu-P, G. P. edn., and Matsya-P.)³⁵

1115 years (Bhāgavata-P., G. P. edn.)³⁶

Now if these intervals are taken as correct, then the Pradyotas and (or) the Śiśunāgas become contemporaries of the Nandas, which is absurd, as the following table of the reigns of the Magadha-rulers after the Mbh. war will show :—

34. यावत् परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
 एतद् वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

(Viṣṇu-P., J. edn., 4.24.32)

Śrīdhara also has accepted this reading—

‘पञ्चदशोत्तरसहस्रवर्षपर्यन्तं शुद्धः क्षत्रियवंशः स्थास्यति, अनन्तरं नन्देन सर्व-
 क्षत्रियनाशादित्यर्थः ।’

35. यावत्परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
 एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥

(Viṣṇu-P., G.P., 4.24.104)

महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।
 एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥

(Matsya-P., 273.36)

36. शारम्य भवतो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
 एतद् वर्षसहस्रं तु शतं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

(Bhāg., P., 12.2.26).

- (i) Br̥hadhrathas (32 kings, Bd. 22 kings)—1000 years.
 (ii) Pradyotas (5 kings)³⁷—138 years (Vāyu, Bd., Viṣ., Bhāg.)³⁸
 (iii) Śiśunāgas (10-12 kings)—362 years (Viṣ., Vāyu.; Matsya—
 360 years.)³⁹
 (iv) Nandas (9 kings)—100 years.

But Pargiter has recorded the variants of two Manuscripts of the Matsya, viz. l and n and two Mss. of the Viṣṇu, viz. b and l, according to which this interval is 1500 years ('सहस्रं पञ्चशतोत्तरम्')⁴⁰, which fully tallies with the above table (1000 + 138 + 362) and leads to the correct interpretation of this important historical fact.

(b) In connection with the *viṣṇu-yātrā* of a king the Matsya-Purāṇa (240.5-6) gives the following śloka:—

चन्द्र्यां वा मार्गशीर्ष्या वा यात्रां यायानराधिपः ।
 चैत्र्यां पश्येच्च (v.l. नश्यति) नैदाघं हन्ति पुष्टिं च शारदीम् ॥
 एतदेव विपर्यस्तं मार्गशीर्ष्यां नराधिपः ।
 शत्रोर्वा व्यसने यायात्..... ॥

And the Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra (Mysore-edn. 9.1.135-136) in this context says as follows:—

वार्षिकं चास्य सस्यं हैमनं च मुष्टिसुपहन्तुं मार्गशीर्षीं यात्रां यायात् ।
 हैमनं चास्य सस्यं वासन्तिकं च मुष्टिसुपहन्तुं चैत्रीं यात्रां यायात् ।

37. Some scholars, on the strength of the reading 'वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तिपु' of MP (272.1), regard the Pradyotas as the rulers of Avanti-country and not of Magadha. (See JBORS, Vol. VIII, Parts 2, 3, pp. 113-116). The famous Pradyota of Avanti, however, seems to be different from the Pradyota of Magadha.
 38. Pargiter says that according to the Matsya-Purāṇa reading as found in some Mss. this period is given as 52 years, 100 years and 152 years (vide 'Purāṇa-Text', p. 18).
 39. According to Pargiter the Matsya reading 'शतानि त्रीणि पूर्णानि षष्टि-वर्षाधिकानि तु' (272.12) means 100+3+60, i.e. 163 years in accordance with the rules of the Prakrit construction (Pargiter, *op.cit.*, p. 20).
 40. See Pargiter, *op.cit.*, p. 58, fn. 21.

Compare also in this connection Mahābhārata, Sabhā-Parva, 5.64 (Chitrasala Press edn.) which gives the following śloka:—

कञ्चिद्धवं च मुष्टिं च परराष्ट्रे परंतप ।
 अविहाय महाराज निहंसि समरे रिपून् ॥

Here it is clear that the reading of the Matsya-Purāṇa in place of the word पुष्टि (puṣṭi) should be मुष्टि (muṣṭi)⁴¹ as given in the Mahābhārata and the Arthaśāstra, which only fits here. But unfortunately this reading मुष्टि (muṣṭi) has not yet been found in any Ms. of the Matsya-Purāṇa collated so far in the Purāṇa-Department of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi. It is just possible some Ms. may be found containing this reading when this tangle may be solved.

(2) Non-Purāṇic Works as help in Purāṇic Interpretation

The Purāṇas give the following computation of a *Kalpa*:

1000 *Mahāyugas* = 1 *Kalpa*

sādhikāḥ 71 *Mahāyugas* = 1 *Manvantara*

14 *Manvantaras* = 1 *Kalpa*

Here 14 *Manvantaras* = 994 *Mahāyugas* plus the remaining 6 *Mahāyugas* (out of 1000 *Mahāyugas*) which are included in *sādhika* as intended by the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (1.3.17). Śrīdhara explains *sādhika* as follows:—

चतुर्युगसहस्रप्रमाणस्य ब्रह्मदिनस्य चतुर्दशधाविभागे प्रति-
 विभागमेकसप्ततिश्चतुर्युगानि भवन्ति । अवशिष्यन्ते चतुर्युगषट्कान्तरस्य
 चतुर्दशांशो यथागणितः प्रतिमन्वन्तरमेकसप्ततेरधिक इत्यर्थः ।

But the Sūrya-Siddhānta makes it more clear. In its computation of *Yugas* and *Kalpas* it says that after every *Manvantara* there is a *Sandhi-kāla* equal to the period of a *Kṛta-yuga*

41. The word *muṣṭi* means the ripe harvest or corn which is kept protected, so that it may not be stolen. The root is $\sqrt{\text{mus}}$ (मु) to steal. Nilakanṭha, however, explains it as 'मुष्टिः अत्यानां गोपनकालः, दुर्भिक्षमिति यावत्'. This reading *muṣṭi* was suggested to me by Dr. V. S. Agrawala.

(i.e. 4800 divine years), and one *Sandhi-kāla* occurs at the beginning of a *Kalpa*. Thus there are fifteen *Sandhis* of 4800 divine years each, amounting to 72,000 divine years, which period is equal to the 6 *Mahāyugas* (one *Mahāyuga* being equal to 12,000 divine years). And thus the expression *sādhika* is made more clear by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. No *Purāṇa* has given this detail of *sādhika*. The *Sūrya-Siddhānta* gives one more important information in this connection. It says that during each of these fifteen *Sandhi-kālas* there is *jala-plava* or deluge.⁴² This corroborates the statement of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (Adh. 1) that there was *Jala-plava* before starting the *Vaiṣvata Manvantara*.

(3) Metaphors and Allegories

It is said in the *Upaniṣads* and the *Brāhmaṇas* that gods like indirect, metaphorical and esoteric statements and hate direct or literal statements.⁴³ So, metaphors are profusely used in the *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas*. The use of metaphors in the *Purāṇas* is indicated by such statements and descriptions as the following :—

छन्दोमयेन गरुडेन समुद्रमानश्चक्रायुधोऽभ्यगादाशु यतो गजेन्द्रः ।
(Bhāg. P., 8.3.31)

एष रुद्रः समास्थाय महालोकमयं रथम् ।

आयाति त्रिपुरं हन्तुं..... ॥

(Matsya-P., 134.22)

एवं कृत्वा तु देवेशः सर्वदेवमयं रथम् ॥

सोऽतिष्ठत् स्थाणुभूतस्तु सहस्रपरिवत्सरान् । (Ibid., 189. 7f.)

42. *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 1.18-19 :—

दुर्गानां सप्ततिः सैका मन्वन्तरमिहोच्यते ।

कृताब्दसंख्या तस्यान्ते संधिः प्रोक्तो जलप्लवः ॥

ससंधयस्ते मनवः कल्पे ज्ञेयाश्चतुर्दश ।

कृतप्रमाणः कल्पादौ संधिः पञ्चदशः स्मृतः ॥

43. Cf. 'परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः' (Ait-Up., 3.14 ; Ait-Br., 3. 83 ; etc.) ;

.....'इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवा भवन्ति प्रत्यक्षद्विषः'

(Gopatha-Br., 1. 1. 7)

तदोकारमयं गृह्य प्रतोदं वरदः प्रभुः । (Ibid., 133.50)

मुक्त्वा त्रिदैवतमयं त्रिपुरे त्रिदशः शरम् । Ibid., 150.47)

विश्वामित्रवसिष्ठात्रिकवयश्च रणे सुरान् ।

अपालयंस्ते निवार्य रागद्वेषादिदानवान् ॥ (Agni-P., 276.18)

Purāṇas are replete with such metaphorical statements.

The *Purāṇic* conception of *Yajña-Varāha*, *Pṛthvi's Pṛthivī-dohana*, creation of the universe from the Golden Egg, etc. is clearly metaphorical and should be interpreted accordingly.

(4) Conventional Descriptions

Classical poets have often given conventional descriptions of forests, mountains etc., which do not accord with the actual facts. They should be treated as mere conventional descriptions. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* has given a long and attractive description of the *Sabhā* of *Hiraṇya-kaśipu*, which is purely conventional.⁴⁴ Here the names of a large number of *Asuras*, *Apsarasas* and trees etc. are given, which may be treated as a mere conventional description. Such conventional descriptions are found in many places of the *Purāṇas*, and should be treated as such.

The above discussion has presented some of the lines on which *Purāṇas* may be studied and interpreted.

10. Unsolved Problems of Purāṇic Interpretation

But there are certain problems of *Purāṇic* interpretation which may be said to be still unsolved. Some of such problems may be briefly noted here.

(1) Problem of reconciling certain Purāṇic Statements

Here and there in the *Purāṇas* we find certain statements which need to be reconciled. E. g. —

(i) In the *Purāṇas* Lord *Viṣṇu* is said to rest or sleep on the couch of the Cosmic Serpent (the thousand-headed *Śeṣa*)

44. Cf. *Matsya-P.*, 161. 38 ff.

at the time of the Dissolution or *Pralaya*.⁴⁵ But the Purāṇas also speak of Brahmā as sleeping on the Śeṣa-Nāga during the *Pralaya*, which is Brahmā's night, i. e. the time for his sleep.^{45a} Now, how are these two Purāṇic statements to be reconciled? It should not be said here that Brahmā is not different from Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. From the transcendental point of view Brahmā is not different from Viṣṇu, but on the level of the divine manifestations Brahmā is only one of the three gods of the Purāṇic Trinity, and as such he should be treated here as separate from Viṣṇu, as is clear from his epithet *abja-sambhava* (born from the Lotus) mentioned in this context by the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (I.3. 25).

(ii) Brahmā is said to be born from the Lotus produced from the navel of Viṣṇu.⁴⁶ Hence Viṣṇu is called *Padma-nābha*,⁴⁷ and Brahmā is called *Kamala-yoni*⁴⁸ etc. According to the Matsya-Purāṇa this birth of Brahmā from Viṣṇu's Navel-Lotus took place at the beginning of the *Pādma-Mahākalpa*.⁴⁹ Now, according to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the *Pādma-Mahākalpa* preceded the present *Vārāha-Kalpa*, and the *Pādma-Mahākalpa* was the last *Kalpa* of the first *Parārdha* (i. e. the first 50 year of the age) of Brahmā's life-time, and the present *Vārāha-kalpa* is the first *Kalpa* of the second *Parārdha* of his life-time.⁵⁰ So according to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the present age of Brahmā is the first day of his 51st

45. Cf. for instance Mark.-P., 81. 49 :—

योगनिद्रां यदा विष्णुर्जगत्वेकार्णवोक्ते ।

आस्तीर्य शेषम्भजत् कल्पान्ते भगवान् प्रभुः ॥

Also cf. Viṣṇu-P., 1. 2. 64; Matsya-P., 164. 5; 166. 19 ff.; etc.

45a. Cf. for instance Viṣṇu-P., 1. 3. 24-25 :—

एकार्णवे तु त्रैलोक्ये ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः ।

भोगिशय्यां गतः शेते त्रैलोक्यप्रासर्जितः ॥

जनस्थैर्योगिभिर्देवैश्चित्यमानोऽजसंभवः ।

तत्प्रमाणां तु तां रात्रिं तदन्ते सृजते पुनः ॥

46. Cf. Matsya-P., 168. 14-169. 1, 2; etc.

47. Matsya-P., 164. 5; etc.

48. Matsya-P., 170. 11; Viṣṇu-P., 3. 25; etc.

49. See, Matsya-P., Adh. 164 ff.

50. Viṣṇu-P., 1. 3. 26-28.

year, while according to the Matsya-Purāṇa the present *Vārāha-Kalpa* becomes only the second day of Brahmā's life-time.⁵¹ How are these two versions to be reconciled?

(iii) Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha are included in the lists of the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu in the Purāṇas. But these three *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu have also been regarded as the forms assumed by Prajāpati or Brahmā. According to the Mahābhārata Prajāpati-Brahmā assumed the form of the Matsya in order to save Manu and the Seven Sages from the great deluge :—

अथाब्रवीदनिमिषस्तानृषीन् सहितस्तदा ॥

अहं प्रजापतिर्ब्रह्मा मत्परं नाधिगम्यते ।

मत्स्यरूपेण यूयं च मयाऽस्मान्मोक्षिता भयात् ॥

(Mbh., C. P. edn., Vana-Parva, 187. 51f.)

In the Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa Kūrma has been regarded as the form assumed by Prajāpati (Brahmā) in order to create the world :—

‘स यत्कूर्मो नाम । एतद्वै रूपं कृत्वा प्रजापतिः प्रजा असृजत् ।’⁵²

(Śat.-Br., 7. 5. 1. 5)

In the Taitt.-Br. Varāha has been mentioned as the form assumed by Prajāpati for uplifting the Earth from below the waters of the Deluge :—

‘स (प्रजापतिः) वै वराहो रूपं कृत्वा उपन्यमजत् । स पृथिवीमथ आचत् । तस्या उपहृत्यामजत् ।’ (Taitt.-Br., 1. 1. 3. 6.)

The Vāyu-Purāṇa (Adh. 6) also seems to support this view of the Taitt.-Brahmaṇa :—

ब्रह्मा तु सलिले तस्मिन् वायुर्भूत्वा तदाचरत् ।

निशायामिव खद्योतः प्रावृट्काले ततस्ततः ॥७॥

51. One *Kalpa* is equal to one day of Brahmā. Brahmā is said to be born in the *Pādma-Mahākalpa* and the present *Kalpa* is the next *Kalpa* after that, and so it is the second day of Brahmā's life-time.

52. This Brahmanic conception of Kūrma as creator of the universe was later on superseded by the Purāṇic conception of Kūrma as holding the *Mandara* mountain on his back at the time of the churning of the Ocean; cf. सुरामुराणामुदधि मथन्तां मन्दराचलम् । दध्ने कमठरूपेण पृष्ठ एकादशे विभुः ॥ (Bhāg.-P., 1. 3. 16); cf. also Kūrma-P., I. 1. 27-28.

ततस्तु सलिले तस्मिन् विज्ञायान्तर्गतां महीम् ।
 अनुमानादसंमूढो भूमेरुद्धरणं प्रति ॥८॥
 अकरोत् स तनुं त्वन्यां कल्पादिषु यथा पुरा ॥९॥ पू० ॥
 जलक्रीडासु रुचिरं वाराहं रूपमस्मरत् ॥११॥ पू० ॥

How these three forms of Prajāpati (Brahmā ?) came to be regarded as the three *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu is a puzzling question, which needs to be studied. More-over the Vāyu-Purāṇa (Adh. 6) and the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (1.4) also seem to suggest that Varāha was the form assumed by Prajāpati-Brahmā and was also the *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu. These two views have to be reconciled.

Then the conception and symbol of *Yajña* is associated only with the *Varāha-Avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The Purāṇas do not speak of Matsya and Kūrma as *Yajña-Matsya* and *Yajña-Kūrma*. Why is then, in the Purāṇas, Varāha only called as *Yajña-Varāha* and symbolized as *Yajña* ?

These are the few instances which are sufficient to show that many of the Purāṇic statements are still to be reconciled and need correct interpretation.

(2) Differences in Interpretation

It has already been said above (Section 3) that many of the Purāṇic topics and statements may be (and should be) interpreted differently from the different angles of vision. Such interpretations are not contradictory, but are supplementary to each other. But the difficulty arises when different scholars interpret some Purāṇic statements and topics according to their own mental horizon and predilections. Such interpretations may be conflicting. In such cases unanimous interpretation has yet to be arrived at, if ever such interpretation is possible.

How the different scholars interpret the same Purāṇic topic differently may be clear from the following illustration :—

The following different interpretations have been given to the *Matsya-Avatāra* of Viṣṇu :—

(i) Historical Interpretation :

“The idea of Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu is a direct borrowing from that of the proto-Indian cult of Āṇ..... The earliest inhabitants of India were totem-worshippers and they derived their tribal names from their respective totems. The totem of the tribe of the Mīnas was evidently the Fish. The Indus valley inscriptions also indicate that the Mīna was further identified with Āṇ, the proto-type of the historic god Śiva.....The worship of the Fish-emblem of god Āṇ (Śiva) was prevalent in the country of the Mīnas, which was situated in Northern India and all this belonged to the pre-Vedic period..... The version of the exploits of the Fish god also must have arisen in the same land alone..... The exploits of the Fish refer to its oceanic activities.... Is it possible that the land of the five rivers was once overflowed, so much so that the cultures of both this mighty pro-Indian nation (Mīnas) as well as that of the Vedic people came to an end simultaneously—thus making place for new era...? If this be so, then it is probable that just after the flood subsided both the exploits were attributed to the Fish, the original god of the Mīnas, e.g. that it saved the humanity in Northern India from the great calamity, and that it also saved the Vedas.... As time went on, the legend of the Fish underwent three different stages of transformation in India. In the first stage the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa deprives it of the proto-Indian character of the Divinity which was originally identified with the Fish. In the second, the Fish stands identified with Brahmā in the Mahābhārata. Finally in the third stage the advocates of Vaiṣṇavism attributed all the doings of the Fish to their supreme God Viṣṇu, the preserver of the universe.”⁵³

(ii) Symbolical Interpretation :

“The Vedic doctrine of Hiraṇyagarbha is completely repeated in the story of the Fish-incarnation. The Fish is an appropriate symbol of the principle of the Egg.... Moreover, there

53. Vide A. P. Karmarkar's Paper 'The Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu' published in 'A Volume of Studies in Indology' ed. by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode, Pp. 253-257.

is resemblance between the developing child in the womb called the foetus which is suspended by the umbilical cord and floats freely in the amniotic fluid and the fish in water....The Fish is the symbol of the Egg. The cosmos is the Egg of Brahman (*Brahmāṇḍa*). Somewhere in the Golden Egg (which is the symbol of life or the Golden Germ) produced by Brahman is a speck of the life-principle which recreates and perpetuates consciousness or life. The simple story of the Fish contains in relief these three elements of features in the constitution of the Golden Egg :—(i) There was water in the basin, or big jar, pool, or river and finally the ocean. This is the watery substratum or the symbol of the mother principle ; (ii) the king sees the fish in this water, that is, he has a vision of the Egg in the womb of the mother principle ; (iii) the king also sees how the fish or the Egg begins to grow. This expansion is the nature of life. It goes on the plane of Matter from the small fertilised ovum to the full developed body..., and this is what is indicated by the growth of the Fish.... The basic conception of the Vedic *Sṛisṭi-Vidyā* is the form of Hiranya-garbhā taking birth from the waters (Āpaḥ) that is presented in the story of the Matsya-Incarnation.

“Āpaḥ is equivalent to the infinite unmanifest cause which is the primal source of all the possibilities of existence. This flood of life breaks up its individuation when dissolution takes place, but the same becomes differentiated when creation starts, and then individual created objects or worlds are symbolised as Kamaṇḍalu, Kūpa, Nadī, Samudra etc.....Manu alone survived the Flood of dissolution.....This Manu is the symbol of Universal Consciousness, Prāṇa, Chetanā, Samjñā.....Manu is the mind of the creator, the principle of Egg.....The boat floating on the waters which cannot be submerged is the Veda (*Veda-nāvam*). The Vedas symbolise the mind or the thought of the Creator. It is immortal knowledge which does not succumb to vagaries of time and space”.⁵⁴

54. Vide ‘*Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*’ by Vasudeva S. Agrawala, published by the All-India Kashiraj Trust ; Varanasi, 1963 ; pp. 4 ff.

(iii) *Spiritual or Ādhyātmika Interpretation :*

The story of the Matsya Incarnation and Manu is also given in the Mahābhārata, Vana-Parva, Adh. 187 (C. P. edn). The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha gives a spiritual or metaphysical interpretation to this story. According to him “the *Matsya* is the individual *Jīva* which is a mere transformation of the Highest Brahman. He (*Jīva*) is forcibly thrown by *Ahaṅkāra* symbolised as *Manu* into the gross-bodies increasing in their fineness, and here represented by the earthen water-jar etc. Thrown into the body of the *Virāj*, which is symbolised here as *Samudra*, at the destruction of *Avidyā*, which is symbolised here as *Kalpānta* or *Pralaya*, the *Jīva* symbolised here as *Matsya* carries the *Ahaṅkāra*, which persists even after the destruction of *Avidyā*, with the *Prāṇas* etc., called here the Seven Sages and with the deeds ready to bear fruits, symbolised here as seeds, in the last body represented here by the boat fastned with the ropes of *vāsanās* or hidden impressions ; and when the *Jīva* sees the *Ahaṅkāra* well-established and merged in the form of the Lord which is steady like the peak of the Mountain Meru, he (the *Jīva* symbolised here as *Matsya*) also disappears. The *Ahaṅkāra*, shorn of the nature of *Jīva* or individuality, creates the universe as before with the help of the impressions, even after becoming one with Brahman. Even after the destruction of *avidyā*, the cause, its effect in the form of the appearance of the world continues for some time like the revolutions of potter’s wheel. This is the real sense of this chapter.”⁵⁵

55. “अत्र परब्रह्मण एव रूपान्तरं मत्स्याख्यो जीवः । सोऽहंकारेण मनुना उत्तरोत्तरश्रेष्ठेषु अलिञ्जरादिरूपेषु स्थूलदेहेषु तपोबलाग्निपात्यते । स च समुद्राख्ये वैराजे देहे निपतितश्च कल्मान्तेऽविद्यानाशरूपे सत्यपि दग्धपटन्यायेनानुवर्त्तमानमहंकारं सप्तर्षिसंज्ञकैः प्रारब्धकर्मभिश्च सहितं चरमदेहनाव्याहृतं वासानावरत्रया जीवमत्स्येन प्रलयकालेऽप्युद्धमानं मेरुशृङ्गसमेषुचले भगवतो रूपे सद्वासनया लब्धास्पदं विलीनमनुलक्ष्य जीवमत्स्योऽदर्शनं प्राप्नोति । विलीने ह्यहंकारे जीवत्वं नश्यति । स पुनर्निरस्तजीवभावोऽहंकारो ब्रह्मरूपतामापन्नो यथापूर्वं वासनया जगत् सृजति । नष्टेऽप्यविद्याख्ये कारणे संसारभानलक्षणं कार्यं चक्रभ्रमिवत् कश्चित्कालमनुवर्त्तते । इत्यध्यायस्तात्पर्यम् ।”

Such differences in interpretation of the various important Purāṇic topics create a difficulty for a student of the Purāṇas in his endeavour of discovering the original meaning of these Purāṇic topics, which might have been intended by the Purāṇic authors. But there is no remedy for such differences, for they are bound to persist. The only thing which can be helpful for a student of the Purāṇas is to carry on the Purāṇic study with perseverance, patience and faith and with the hope that the Purāṇas will be satisfied with their devotee's *jñāna-yajña*, and sooner or later will be ready to reveal to him their real meaning, as says Bhagavān Manu :—

यथा यथा हि पुरुषः शास्त्रं समधिगच्छति ।

तथा तथा विजानाति विज्ञानं चास्य रोचते ॥

(Manu, 4. 20)

प्रजापति-तरकन्या-वृत्तान्तमीमांसा

के. वि. नीलमेषाचार्य

[An article 'Prajāpati and his Daughter' written by Dr. S. A. Dange was published in 'Purāṇa' Vol. V, No. 1 (pp. 39-46), in which the writer maintained that the Vedic and the Purāṇic account of the sexual relation of Prajāpati with his daughter hints at a point which was a reality sometime far back, and that the father's sexual relation with the daughter could be explained on the basis of the primitive structure of the society. The present article, however, explains this important cosmological account from the orthodox point of view. The account is given in the Mait. Sam. (4. 2. 12), Ait. Br. (3. 9. 33), Śat. Br. (1. 6. 2), Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Br. (8. 2), and some of the Purāṇas, such as the Matsya, Bhāgavata etc. In the Mait. Sam. and the Brāhmaṇas the father is Prajāpati and the daughter is *Dyau* (sky) or the *Uṣas* (Dawn), while in the Purāṇas the father is Brahmā and the daughter is *Vāc*. The Ṛgveda (I. 71. 5; X. 61. 7) also refers to the sexual relation of a father or a god with his daughter, but there is no explicit mention of any particular god or Prajāpati and his daughter, *Dyau* etc. The learned writer in the present article gives certain Mīmāṃsīc tenets of interpretation of the Vedic texts, and on the basis of these tenets he asserts that such Vedic accounts do not relate to the worldly people, but they are absolutely super-natural and divine. In Ṛgveda X. 61. 7 the father is no other than Prajāpati himself, as is clear from the Śat. Br. (1. 6. 2). And Prajāpati is conceived as *Prāṇa-piṇḍa*, *Loka*, *Kāla* or *Yajña*. As the *Prāṇa-piṇḍa* (in the form of a stag) Prajāpati unites

with the constellation *Rohiṇī*, as *Loka* he unites with *Dyau*, as *Kāla* he unites with *Uṣas* and as *Yajña* he unites with *Vāc*. This is what Prajāpati's sexual relation with his daughter really means. This relation should not be taken in the worldly sense. It is a purely divine act, and means only the uniting of the two divine principles in the process of the creation of the universe, and has nothing to do with any worldly relation of the father and his daughter of the primitive society.]

विषयवाक्यम्

ऋग्वेदे “महे यत् पित्र” इति मन्त्रे (ऋ० १।७।१।५) स्वायां देवो दुहितरि त्विषि धात्” इति श्रूयते । तथा “पिता यस्त्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन्क्षमया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्चत् (ऋ० १०।६।१।७) इति च श्रूयते । तत्र प्रथमेन मन्त्र-खण्डेन स्वदुहितरि तेजसो रेतस आधाता पिता कश्चिद्देवो वर्ण्यते । द्वितीयेन मन्त्रेण पितुः स्वदुहितृगामित्वं तत्र रेतस्सेचनकर्तृत्वं च प्रतिपाद्यते । इमे वाक्ये अत्र विषयः । “पिता यस्त्वां दुहितरम्” इति मन्त्रात्पूर्वमेव तत्समानार्थकं “प्रथिष्ट यस्य” इत्यादि मन्त्रद्वयमप्यस्ति । तदप्यत्र विषयो भवितुमर्हति ।

संशयः

अत्र संशयते किमिमानि वचनानि सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजे पितुः स्वदुहितृगमनमाचारं साधयितुं प्रभवन्ति, उत नेति । तदर्थमिदं विचार्यते सृष्ट्या-रम्भदशायामत्यन्तासभ्यदशायां स्थितो मनुष्यसमाजः क्रमेण सभ्यतासंस्कृति-धर्मानासेदिवान् सांप्रतिकीमुन्नतिदशामधिरूढ इत्ययमर्थः किं प्रामाणिकः ? उत सृष्ट्यारम्भेऽत्यन्तसमुन्नतावस्थत्वेन सृष्टो मानवसमाजः क्रमेण दोषान् गुणांश्च भलमानोऽवनत्युन्नतिचक्रे बंभ्रमीतोत्येपोऽर्थः प्रामाणिक इति ।

पूर्वपक्षः

अद्यत्वे जगति लब्धप्रचारेषु विविधेषु धर्मग्रन्थेषु वेदाः प्राचीनाः, तत्रापि ऋग्वेदः परमप्राचीन इति सर्वविज्ञसंप्रतिपन्नोऽर्थः । उदाहृतेषु ऋग्वेदमन्त्रेषु पितुः स्वदुहितृसमागमो वर्ण्यमानो दृश्यते । उत्तरेषु मैत्रायणीसंहिताब्रह्मणवचनेषु तस्य

पितुः प्रजापतिरूपत्वं दुहितुर्मतभेदेन द्युरूपत्वमुपोरूपत्वं च प्रतिपाद्यमानं दृश्यते । पुराणेषु प्रजापतेर्ब्रह्मरूपत्वं दुहितुर्वाग्मूत्त्वमित्यादि समुल्लिख्यमानं लक्ष्यते, अत्र “प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरमभ्यकामयतोपसं सा रोहिदभवत् तामृश्यो भूत्वाध्यैत् तस्मा अपत्रतमच्छदयत्, तमायतयाभि पर्यावर्तत, तस्माद्वा अविभेत्, सोऽब्रवीत्— पशूनां त्वा पतिं करोम्यथ मे मा स्था इति, तद्वा अस्यैतन्नाम पशुपतिरिति” इति मैत्रायणीसंहितायां चतुर्थकाण्डे द्वितीयप्रपाठके द्वादशोऽनुवाके विद्यमानानि वचनानि, “प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरमभ्यध्यायद्विमित्यन्य आहुरुपसमित्यन्ये तामृश्यो भूत्वा रोहितं भूतामभ्यैत् तं देवा अपश्यन्नकृतं वै प्रजापतिः करोतीति” इत्यादीनि ऐतरेयब्राह्मणे तृतीयपञ्चिकायां नवमखण्डे ३३तमे भागे विद्यमानानि वचनानि, “प्रजापतिर्ह वै स्वां दुहितरमभिदध्यौ । दिवं वोपसं वा मिथुन्येतया स्यामिति तां सम्भभूव” इति शतपथब्राह्मणे प्रथमकाण्डे षष्ठप्रपाठके द्वितीयब्राह्मणस्थानि वचनानि “प्रजापतिरुपसमध्यैत्स्वां दुहितरं तस्य रेतः परापतत्तदस्यां न्यषिच्यत तदश्रीणा-दिदं मे मा दुषदिति तत्सदकरोत्पशूनेव” इति ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणे अष्टमाध्याये द्वितीयखण्डे (१०) विद्यमानानि वचनानि, “वाचं दुहितरं तन्वां स्वयंभूर्हरती मनः । अकामां चक्रमे क्षत्तः सकाम इति नः श्रुतम्” ॥२८॥ इति श्रीभागवते तृतीयस्कन्धद्वादशाध्यायस्थं वचनं चोदाहार्याणि ।

आस्ट्रेलियाप्रभृतिविविधदेशीयादिमनुष्यसमाजानां व्यवहारे उपलब्धप्रमाणैः पर्यालोच्यमाने इदमवसीयते यदादिमनुष्यसमाजे मातृप्रधाना कुटुम्बव्यवस्थाऽऽसीत्, नत्वद्यत्वे इव पितृप्रधाना । तदा पिता कुटुम्बसंबन्धहीनः स्वैरचारी आसीत् । तदा तस्य स्वदुहितृसंगमो दोषत्वेनापरिगण्यमानो लब्धप्रचारो बभूव । स एवादिम-मनुष्यसमाजप्रचलित आचार उदाहृतेषु ऋग्वेदेषुल्लिख्यमानो दृश्यते । पश्चात् यथा यथा मनुष्यसमाजः सभ्यतासंस्कृतिधर्मपूर्वोत्तरमधिकाधिकं विकासमाससाद्, तथा तथा मनुष्यसमाजे पितृप्रधाना कुटुम्बव्यवस्था प्रचलिता बभूव । तदा विकासभाजा मनुष्यसमाजेन पितुर्दुहितृसंगमो गर्हितोऽगण्यत । तादृशसमाजस्थितौ चिरानुवृत्तपितृदुहितृसंगमवृत्तान्तस्य पूज्यपूर्वजविषयकस्यानादशोपस्थापकतामुद्धीक्ष-माणैः सभ्यमनुष्यसमाजलब्धजन्मभिर्महर्षिसंज्ञैर्विद्विस्तस्य वृत्तान्तस्य रूपकपरत्वं पितुरग्निरूपत्वं प्रजापतिरूपत्वं दुहितुर्धलोकोपोवाग्मूत्त्वमित्यादि कल्पितं बभूव,

यद्ब्राह्मणादिग्रन्थेषु अनेकधा श्रूयते । मनुष्यसमाजस्यायं क्रमिको विकासो “भूतानां प्राणिनः श्रेष्ठाः प्राणिनां बुद्धिजीविनः । बुद्धिमत्सु नराः श्रेष्ठा नरेषु ब्राह्मणाः स्मृताः ॥ ब्राह्मणेषु च विद्वांसो विद्वत्सु कृतबुद्धयः । कृतबुद्धिषु कर्तारः कर्तृषु ब्रह्मवेदिनः ॥” (मनु० १।९६-९७) इति स्मरता मनुनापि सत्याप्यते ।

तत् सिद्धं सभ्यतासंस्कृतिविकासविधुरे स्त्रीप्रधानकुटुम्बमये आदिममानव-समाजे दोषत्वेनापरिगणितः प्रचलितः पितृदुहितृसंगमरूप आचार एव परमप्राचीने ऋग्वेदे उदाहृतेषु मन्त्रेषूपनिबद्ध इति ।

सिद्धान्तः

एवं प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते । वेदः परमप्राचीनो धर्मग्रन्थ इति सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नम् अथोपोद्धातरूपेण वेदस्य कस्मिन्नर्थे प्रामाण्यमिति निरूप्यते । ‘यत्परः शब्दः स शब्दार्थः’ इति सर्वसम्मतो न्यायः । शब्दस्तात्पर्यविषय एवार्थे प्रमाणं भवति, न त्वतात्पर्यविषयेऽप्यर्थे, यदि अतात्पर्यविषयेऽप्यर्थे शब्दस्य प्रामाण्यमास्थोयेत, तस्यातात्पर्यविषयस्याप्यर्थस्य प्रामाणिकत्वमभ्युपगम्येत, तर्हि शत्रुगृहे भोजनार्थ-मागृहानं पुत्रं प्रति हितैषिणा पित्रा शत्रुगृहे भोजननिवृत्ततात्पर्योच्यमानाया “विषं भुङ्क्ष्व” इति वाचो विषभोजने प्रामाण्यं विषभोजनस्य प्रामाणिकत्वं हितैषिपित्रभिमत्त्वं च सिध्येदिति विप्लवः प्रसज्येत । वेदश्च शब्दविशेषः । अतोऽस्यापि तात्पर्यविषय एवार्थे प्रामाण्यं युज्यते । विविधैर्न्यायैर्वेदस्य तात्पर्य-निर्धारणार्थमेव त्रिकाण्डो मीमांसा प्रवृत्ता । वेदस्य तात्पर्यविषयोऽर्थः को भवितु-मर्हतीति विमर्शोऽत्र प्राप्तकालः । प्रयोजनपर्यवसायी अलौकिक एवार्थो वेदस्य तात्पर्यविषयोऽर्थः । तत्प्रतिपादनार्थमेव वेदः प्रवृत्तः । वेदो यदि प्रयोजन-पर्यवसायिनमर्थं नाभिदधीत, तर्हि परिश्रमसाध्ये नानानियमसापेक्षे वेदाध्ययने न कोऽपि प्रेक्षावान् प्रवर्तेत । न च चित्रकथाश्रवणादाविव तादात्म्यकरसानुभवार्थं वेदाध्ययने प्रवृत्तिः; वेदाध्ययने तथाविधरसानुभवस्यादर्शनात्, यदि च वेदः प्रत्यक्षानुमानगम्यं लौकिकमेवार्थं बोधयितुं प्रावत्स्यत्, तर्हिपि महायाससाध्ये वेदाध्ययने न कोऽपि प्रेक्षापूर्वकारो प्रावर्तिष्यत् । यतोऽङ्गेशसाध्येन प्रत्यक्षेणात्प-क्षेसाध्येनानुमानेन सोऽर्थो वेदितुं शक्यते । प्रत्यक्षानुमानयोः शब्दापेक्षया ज्येष्ठ-प्रमाणत्वं शब्दस्य प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपजीवित्वं चाविप्रतिपन्नम् । अत एव ह्युक्तमभियुक्तैः

“अत्के चेन्मधु विन्देत किमर्थं पर्वतं व्रजेत् । इष्टस्यार्थस्य संसिद्धौ को विद्वान् यत्नमाचरेत्” ॥ इति । प्रयोजनवदलौकिकार्थप्रतिपादनपरत्वादेव वेदस्य वेदत्वम् । तथा च भण्यते “प्रत्यक्षेणानुमित्या वा यस्तूपायो न बुध्यते । एनं विदन्ति वेदेन तस्माद्वेदस्य वेदता ॥” इति ।

किं च, इष्टानिष्टप्राप्तिपरिहारात्मकप्रयोजनपर्यवसायितत्तद्विधेयनिषेधार्थप्र-तिपादकत्वं विधिनिषेधात्मके वेदभागेऽनुभूयमानं नापहोतुं शक्यम् । विधिमन्त्र-नामधेयनिषेधार्थवादभेदेन पञ्चधा प्रविभक्ते वेदे विधेः स्वर्गादिप्रयोजनपर्यवसायि-यागादिविधानेन, मन्त्रस्य प्रयोजनपर्यवसायिप्रयोगसमवेतार्थस्मारणेन, नामधेयस्य प्रयोजनपर्यवसायिविधेयार्थपरिच्छेदेनेन, निषेधस्यानर्थहेतुकर्मणः सकाशात्पुरुषस्य निवृत्तिकरत्वेन, विधिनिषेधशोषाणामर्थवादानां विधेयार्थ-स्तावकत्वेन निषेधार्थ-निन्द-कत्वेन च प्रयोजनपर्यवसानमुपपद्यते । ब्रह्मकाण्डस्यापि अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसपर्यवसायि-विविधोपासनविधानपरत्वं दुर्धर्मम् ।

इत्थं प्रयोजनपर्यवसायितत्तदलौकिकार्थप्रतिपादनतात्पर्येण प्रवृत्तो वेदस्तच्छे-पतयाऽन्याँस्ताँस्तानर्थान् प्रतिपादयति । अन्यपरवेदवचनप्रतिपादिता अप्यर्था यदि निर्दोषप्रत्यक्षबाधिता न स्युः, तर्हि तेऽपि अर्थाः सत्या एव प्रत्येतव्याः । यदि-तेऽर्था निर्दोषप्रत्यक्षबाधिताः स्युः तर्हि वेदस्य प्रत्यक्षाविरुद्धेऽर्थे तात्पर्यमभ्युपेत्य प्रामाण्यं निरुह्यते । इयं रीतिः “आदित्यो यूपः” इत्यादिवेदवाक्येषु स्वीकृता वाक्यविद्धिरित्यतिरोहितं मीमांसापरिचयवताम् । अन्यपरैस्स्वार्थपरैर्वा वेदवचनैः प्रतिपादिता अद्भुता लोकोत्तरा अर्था विपरीतव्याप्तिपराहृतत्वमात्रेण नानुमानेन बाधि-तुमर्हाः । किंतु अद्भुतालौकिकार्थप्रतिपादनसमर्थनिर्दोषवचनैरेव तदनुमानं बाध्यते । न हि असंभावितकरणदोषाद्देदाद् दृढोत्पन्नं ज्ञानं वस्त्वन्तरदृष्टासाधारणस्वभावाभाव-वद्वस्तुविषयतामात्रेणानुमानबाध्यं भवितुमर्हति, पावकौण्यप्रत्ययस्याप्यनुमानबाध्य-त्वप्रसङ्गात् । यथा निर्दोषेण पावकौण्यप्रत्यक्षेण पावकानुष्णत्वब्रह्मानुमानस्य बाधः, तथा निर्दोषवेदजन्येन लोकापरिदृष्टाद्भुतार्थविषयकज्ञानेन विपरीतव्याप्ति-मूलकस्यानुमानस्यैव बाधः ।

तत् सिद्धं परिश्रमसाध्याध्ययनगृह्यमाणस्य वेदस्य प्रयोजनपर्यवसायज्ञातार्थ-ज्ञापकत्वरूपं प्रामाण्यं तत्परान्यपरवेदवचनसिद्धानां निर्दोषप्रत्यक्षाबाधितानामर्थानां प्रामाणिकत्वं च दुरपह्वमिति ।

एवंभूतेषु वेदप्रतिपादितेषु परस्सहस्रेष्वर्थेषु अन्यतमोयऽमर्थः प्रजापतेः स्वदुहितृगामित्वं नाम । इमानि प्रजापतेः स्वकन्यासंगमं प्रतिपादयन्ति ऋग्वेद-वचनानि सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजे पूर्वपक्षिणा लब्धप्रचारत्वेन तथा तदा निर्दोषत्वेन परिगणितत्वेन चाभिमतं पितुः स्वदुहितृसंगमरूपमाचारं साधयितुं नेशते, प्रजापतिशब्देन सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिको मनुष्यो विवक्षित इत्यत्र प्रमाणभावात्, अन्य एव कश्चिद्देवो विवक्षित इत्यत्रैव प्रमाणसद्भावाच्च । शब्दस्यार्थविशेषे तात्पर्यं पूर्वापरसन्दर्भपर्यालोचनेनैव निर्धारयितुं शक्यते, अन्यथातिप्रसङ्गात् । अत एव ब्राह्मणः “पूर्वापरामृष्टः शब्दोऽन्यां कुरुते मतिम्” इति । पूर्वापरपर्यालोचने प्रजापतिर्देवविशेषो न मनुष्य इति स्फुटं गम्यते । तथाहि—

ऋग्वेदस्थे “महे यत् पित्र” इति मन्त्रे “स्वायां देवो दुहितरिं स्वपिं धात्” इति खण्डे देवस्यैव स्वदुहितरिं तेज आधायकत्वं श्रूयते न मनुष्यस्य । उदाहृतयो-रन्ययोर्ऋग्वेदमन्त्रयोः कन्यागामित्वेन वर्णितः पिता देवो मनुष्यो वेति यद्यपि विशिष्य न निर्दिष्टः, तथापि स उदाहृतमन्त्रानुसारेण देव इत्येव निश्चीयते । एकार्थप्रतिपादकेषु वचनेषु स्पष्टार्थकवचनानुरोधेनास्पष्टार्थकवचनस्यार्थो हि निर्णेतुं शक्यते । अत एव “अणुरपि विशेषोऽध्यवसायकरः” इति न्यायमाश्रित्य “संदिग्धेषु वाक्यशेषात् (पूर्वमी० अ० १। पा० ४। सू० २९) “विशये प्रायदर्शनात्” (पूर्वमी० अ० २। पा० ३। सू० १६) इत्यादिषु वाक्यशेषप्रायदर्शनादिभिरर्थ-निर्धारणं क्रियते । किंच शतपथब्राह्मणे प्रथमकाण्डे षष्ठप्रपाठके द्वितीयब्राह्मणे प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरमभिदध्यौ दिवं वोपसं वा मिथुन्येतया स्यामिति तां सम्बभूव” इति प्रतिपादिते प्रजापतेः स्वदुहितृसमागमरूपेऽर्थे संवादकत्वेन “तस्मादेतदपिणाभ्यनूक्तम् । पिता यत् स्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन् क्षमया रेतः सङ्गम्मानो निषिञ्चन्” इति ऋग्वेदोक्तः उद्धृतः । तेन मन्त्रोक्तः पिता प्रजापतिरूपो देव एवेति शनपथाभिप्रेतं सिध्यति । तदेव ऋग्वेदस्थैर्मन्त्रैर्देवविशेषस्य स्वदुहितृगामित्वसिद्धावपि सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकस्य मनुष्यस्य स्वदुहितृगामित्वं न सिध्यति । न च देवशब्दो मनुष्यपरः, देवमनुष्यशब्दयोरपर्यायतायाः कोशप्रमाणसिद्धत्वात् ।

उदाहृतेषु ऋग्वेदेषु देवस्य पितुः स्वदुहितृगामित्वरूपो योऽर्थः सामान्येन वर्णयते, स एवार्थो वक्ष्यमाणैर्मैत्रायणीसंहितैतरेयब्राह्मणताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणवचनैः

प्रजापतेः स्वदुहितृपसा समागमरूप इति विशिष्य प्रतीयते । तानि वचनानीमानि । मैत्रायणीसंहितायां चतुर्थकाण्डे द्वितीयप्रपाठके द्वादशोऽनुवाके श्रूयते “प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरमभ्यकर्मयतोपसं, सा रोहिदभवत्, तामृश्यो भूत्वाध्यैत्, तस्मा अपत्रतमच्छदयत्, तमायतयाभिपर्यावर्तत, तस्माद्वा अविभेत्, सोऽब्रवीत्, पशूनां त्वा पतिं करोम्यथ मे मा स्था इति, तद्वा अस्यैतन्नाम पशुपतिरिति” इति । अनेन मैत्रायणीसंहितावचनेनेदं प्रतिपाद्यते यत् जातु प्रजापतिस्वस्यां दुहितरि उपसि आसक्तो बभूव । सा मृगी बभूव, प्रजापतिर्मृगो भूत्वा तामधिजगाम तदा रुद्रः क्रुद्धः सन् प्रजापतिं वेदुं वाणं प्रयुयुजे । प्रजापतिर्बिभाय, उवाच च यदि मयि वाणं न विसृजेस्तर्हि त्वां पशुपतिं करोमीति ।

ऐतरेयब्राह्मणे तृतीयपञ्चिकायां नवमखण्डे ३३ त्रयस्त्रिंशो भागे इदं श्रूयते— “प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरमभ्यध्यायत्, दिवमित्यन्य आहुरुपसमित्यन्ये, तामृश्यो भूत्वा रोहितं भूतामभ्यैत्, तं देवा अपश्यन्नकृतं वै प्रजापतिः करोतीति, ते तमैच्छन् य एनमारयिष्यत्येतमन्योऽन्यस्मिन्नाविन्दंस्तेषां या एव घोरतमास्तन्व आसंस्ता एकथा समभरंस्ताः संभृता एषो देवोऽभवत्तदस्यैतद्भूतवन्नाम, भवति वै स योऽस्यै तदेवं वेद, तं देवा अब्रुवन्नयं वै प्रजापतिरकृतमकरिमं विध्येति, स तथेत्यब्रवीत्, स वै वो वरं वृणा इति, वृणीष्वेति, स एतमेव वरमवृणीत पशूनामाधिपत्यं तदस्यैतत्पशुमन्नाम, पशुमान् वै भवति योऽस्यैतदेवं नाम वेद, तमभ्यायत्या-विध्यत्, स ऊर्ध्वं उदप्रपत, तमेवं मृग इत्याचक्षते, य उ एव मृगव्याध स उ एव स, या रोहित् सा रोहिणी, यो एवेपुस्त्रिकाण्डा, सो एवेपुस्त्रिकाण्डा, तद्वा इदं प्रजापते रेतः सिक्तमधावत् सरोऽभवत्ते देवा अब्रुवन् मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति, यदब्रुवन् मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति, तन्मादुपमभवत्, तन्मादुपस्य मादुपत्वम्, मादुपं ह वै नामैतच्चन्मानुषं तन्मादुपं सन्मानुषमित्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः” इति । अस्याय-मर्थः—पुरा एकदा प्रजापतिः स्वदुहितरमभिलक्ष्य भार्यात्वेन ध्यानं कृतवान् । तस्यां दुहितरि ऋषीणां मतभेदः । केचिद् द्युलोकदेवतां तथा ध्यातवानित्याहुः, परे उपःकालदेवतां तथा ध्यातवानित्याहुः । प्रजापतिर्ऋश्यो मृगविशेषरूपधरो भूत्वा रोहितं भूतां मृगीं भूतां रोहितं प्राप्तां ऋतुमतीं भूतां दुहितरमभिगतवान् ।

दुहितृगामिनं प्रजापतिं दृष्ट्वा देवाः परस्परमब्रुवन् यदयं प्रजापतिरकृतमद्ययावत्के-
नाप्यकृतमकर्तव्यं निषिद्धाचरणं करोतीति विचार्य तादृशं पुरुषमैच्छन् यः पुरुष
एतं प्रजापतिम् “आरयिष्यति” आर्तिं प्रापयितुं समर्थः । अन्वेषयन्तोऽन्योन्यस्मिन्
तं प्रजापतिविघातकं न लब्धवन्तः । परस्परं दृष्ट्वा एकैकस्य शक्त्यभावं निश्चिक्वुः ।
सर्वेषु देवेषु या घोरास्तन्वः शरीराण्यासन्, ताः सर्वा एकधा सममेलयन् ।
मेलयित्वा एकं शरीरं चक्रुः । ता घोरास्तन्वो मेलिताः सत्य एकदेवरूपतां
प्रापुः । स एको देव एष रुद्र एव । एवं भूतत्वादेव तस्य देवस्य भूतपतिरिति
भूतशब्दयुक्तं नाम संपन्नम् । य एवं नाम वेद, सोऽपि “भवति” भूतिमान्
भवति । तं रुद्रं देवा अबोचन् अयं प्रजापतिः “अकृतमकृतः” निषिद्धाचरणं
कृतवान् तस्मादिदं बाणेन विध्य अर्थात् प्रहरेति । रुद्रो देवेभ्यः पशूनामाधिपत्यं
वव्रे । अत एव रुद्रस्य पशुपतिरिति पशुशब्दयुक्तं नाम संपन्नम् । एतन्नाम-
वेदी अपि पशुमान् भवति । स रुद्रोऽभ्यायत्य बाणयुक्तं धनुरमित आकृष्य तं
प्रजापतिमविध्यत् । ऋश्यमृगरूपधरः स प्रजापतिर्विद्धः सन् ऊर्ध्वमुखः “उदप्रपत”
उत्पतितवान् । अमुमाकाशे जना मृगशीर्षनक्षत्रमाचक्षते । स मृगशीर्षनक्षत्र-
रूपः संपन्नः । रुद्रो मृगव्याधरूपः संपन्नः । या दुहिता रोहित् रक्तवर्णा मृगी
सा आकाशे रोहिणीनक्षत्ररूपा संपन्ना । या एव रुद्रेण प्रेषिता त्रिकाण्डा
अनीकशल्यतेजनरूपावयवत्रयवती इषुः, सा आकाशे त्रिकाण्डा इषुस्संपन्ना ।
मृगरूपेण प्रजापतिना यद्रेतो मृग्यां सिक्तम्, तदतिवहुत्वाद्भूमौ पतितं सत् प्रवाह-
रूपेणाधावत् । तत् क्वचिन्नन्देशे सरोऽभूत् । ते देवा अब्रुवन् इदं प्रजापते
रेतो मादुषत् दुष्टमस्पृश्यं माभूदिति । मादुषदित्युक्त्यनुसारेण निर्दोषस्य रेतसो
मादुषमिति नाम संपन्नम् । मादुषशब्दाभिधेयनिर्दोषप्रजापतिरेतो जत्वादेव मनुष्यशरीरं
मानुषमिति दकारस्थाने नकारादेशं कृत्वा परोक्षेणाचक्षते परोक्षप्रियत्वाद्देवानामिति ।

शतपथब्राह्मणे प्रथमकाण्डे षष्ठप्रपाठके द्वितीयब्राह्मणे श्रूयते “प्रजापतिर्ह वै
स्वां दुहितरमभिदध्यौ दिवं वोपसं वा, मिथुन्येतया स्यामिति तां संवभूव ।
तद्वै देवानामाग आस य इत्थं स्वां हितरमस्माकं दुस्वसारं करोतीति । ते ह
देवा ऊचुर्योऽयं देवः पशूनामीष्टे—अतिसन्धं वा अयं चरति—य इत्थं स्वां
दुहितरमस्माकं स्वसारं करोति, विध्येममिति । तं रुद्रोऽभ्यायत्य विव्याध ।

तस्य सामि रेतः प्रचस्कन्द । तथेन्नूनं तदास । तस्मादेतद्विषिणाऽभ्यनूक्तम्
“पिता यस्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन् क्षमया रेतः सञ्जग्मानो निषिञ्चत्” इति” इति ।
अस्यायमर्थः—प्रजापतिः स्वां दुहितरं दिवंवा उपसं वा अभिध्यातवान् । कथम् ?
एतया मिथुनी मिथुनवान् स्यामिति । एवं ध्यात्वा तां संवभूव संगतः ।
तद् दुहितृगमनं देवानां मनसि आगः अपराधो बभूव । योऽयं देवः पशूना-
मीष्टे तं पशुपतिं देवा ऊचुः, अयं प्रजापतिर्दुहिता न गन्तव्येति संघां मर्यादाव्यव-
स्थामतिक्रम्य चरति, तस्मादपराधित्वाच्चिग्रहार्ह इत्येनं विध्येति । तं रुद्र आकृष्य
इषुं विद्धवान् । तस्य सामि अर्धं रेतः प्रस्कन्नं बभूव । अयमर्थः “पिता यत्
स्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन् क्षमया रेतः सञ्जग्मानो निषिञ्चत्” इति ऋषिणा मन्त्रेणानूक्त
इति । अत्र सायणभाष्ये प्रजापतिः प्राणपिण्डलोककालयज्ञात्माऽभिध्यातवान्
दिवं वा उपसं वा” लोकात्मना दिवं कालात्मनोपसं प्राणपिण्डात्मना (ऋक्षेभ्यो)
मृगो रोहितं रोहिणीनामकं नक्षत्रं यज्ञात्मना वाचम्, कथमभिदध्यौ मिथुनी
मिथुनवान् एतया स्यामिति तां संवभूव संगत इति भाषितं वर्तते ।

ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणे अष्टमाध्याये द्वितीयखण्डे “श्रायन्तीयं यज्ञविभ्रष्टाय
ब्रह्मसाम कुर्यात् ॥ ९ ॥ प्रजापतिरुपसमध्यैत् स्वां दुहितरम्, तस्य रेतः
परापतत्, तदस्यां न्यपिच्यत, तदश्रोणादिदं मे मादुषदिति, तत्सदकरोत्पशूनेव
॥ १० ॥ यच्छ्रायन्तीयं ब्रह्मसाम भवति श्रोणाति चैवैनं सच्चकरोति” इति
श्रूयते । अस्यार्थः—यज्ञविभ्रष्टस्य प्रायश्चित्तरूपेण श्रायन्तीयं ब्रह्मसाम कुर्यादिति
विधाय श्रोणातेः पाकार्थात् श्रायन्तीयमितिनिर्वचनविवक्षयाख्यायिकोच्यते प्रजापति-
रित्यादिना । पूर्वं प्रजापतिः स्वदुहितरमुपसमध्यैदध्यगच्छत्, तस्य रेतः परापतत्,
तदस्यां पृथिव्यां न्यपिच्यत । तदश्रोणात् परिपक्वमकरोत्, केनाभिप्रायेण मा
दुषत् दुष्टं मा भूदिति । तत् पक्वं रेतः सदकरोत् । तदेव विवृणोति
पशून्करोदिति । एतच्छ्रायन्तीयमभवदिति शेषः । यद् अस्य प्रयोगे तत्
ब्रह्मसाम भवति, तत् एनं यज्ञविभ्रष्टं श्रोणाति शुद्धं करोति, ततः सच्च यज्ञसाधकं च
करोति “इति भाष्यते ।

ऋञ्जन्त्रेष्वात्मनो देवस्य पितुः स्वदुहितृगमनरूपोऽर्थ एव मैत्रायणीसंहितायां
ब्राह्मणेषु च प्रजापतेः स्वदुहितृगमनात्मना संक्षेपविस्तरप्रक्रियया वर्णयत इति वर्णन-
शैलीसाम्याद्विज्ञायते । किं च ऋञ्जन्त्रेषु पिता देवो दुहिता च विशिष्य नोक्तौ ।

अतस्तौ काचित् जिज्ञासा स्वरससिद्धा । सा पितरि प्रजापतित्वेन दुहितरि
द्यूत्वेनोपस्त्वेन वा ज्ञातयोः शाम्यति । अतः सामान्यत उक्तस्य देवस्य पितुः
प्रजापतिरूपे विशेषे सामान्यत उक्ताया दुहितुः द्युरूपे उपोरूपे वा विशेषे
पर्यवसानं न्यायतः सिध्यति । अयं सामान्यविशेषन्यायो लोकसिद्धः ।

किंच, ऋञ्जन्त्रेषु संक्षेपेण प्रतिपादितोऽयमर्थ एव मैत्रायणीसंहितान्नाह्यवचनै-
र्विस्तरेण विव्रियत इति स्फुटं प्रतीयते । संक्षिप्तं वर्णनं व्याख्येयकल्पम्,
विस्तृतं वर्णनं व्याख्यानकल्पम् । व्याख्येयस्य विवक्षितमेवार्थं व्याख्यानं विवृणोति
न तु व्याख्येयाविवक्षितमर्थमित्युत्सर्गसिद्धम् । यत्तु व्याख्यानं व्याख्येयाविवक्षित-
मर्थं व्याख्येये आरोप्य विवृणोति तदपव्याख्यानं गण्यते । प्रकृते संक्षेपविस्तर-
प्रक्रियया प्रकृतमर्थं प्रतिपादयतामृञ्जन्त्राणां ब्राह्मणादिवचनानां च स्वरसत आपतन्
विवरणविव्रियमाणभावो निराकर्तुं न शक्यते । शतपथब्राह्मणे प्रजापतेः स्वदुहितृ-
समागमरूपे वृत्तान्ते संवादकत्वेन ऋङ्मन्त्र उदाहृत इति स्पष्टम् । ब्राह्मणादिक-
मृङ्मन्त्रविवक्षितमेवार्थं विवृणोति, न तु तदविवक्षितमर्थं तस्मिन्नारोप्य विवृणोतीति
ऋजुबुद्धिभिः प्रत्येतुं युक्तम् । अन्यथा ह्यपव्याख्यानता प्रसज्येत ।

तथा च निरुक्तन्यायैरस्मिन् वृत्तान्ते मीमांसिते स्वदुहितृगन्ता स पिता देवः
प्रजापतिः, देवस्य प्रजापतेर्गम्यत्वेन प्रस्तुता दुहिता च मतभेदेन द्यौरुपा वेति
निश्चीयते, सा दुहिता काचिन्मानुषीति नैव सिध्यति, तत्प्रज्ञापकाभावात् । तस्या
दुहितुर्गनुष्यस्त्रीत्वकल्पना उदाहृतवेदवचनविरुद्धत्वाद्नादेयैव ।

किंच ऐतरेयब्राह्मणे मृगरूपेण प्रजापतिना मृग्यां सिक्तस्य भूमौ पतितस्य
सरोभावमुपेतस्य मादुपत्' इति देवैः संकल्पितस्य रेतसो मानुषशरीरात्मना
परिणतस्य मादुषस्य मानुषत्वेन परोक्षरीत्या प्रतिपाद्यमानस्य निरूपणात् प्रजापते-
र्मृगोसंगमोत्तरमेव मनुष्यसृष्टिर्जातेति सिध्यति, ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणानुसारेण तादृश-
रेतसः पशुसृष्टिर्जातेति सिध्यति । पशुमनुष्यसृष्टेः पूर्वभावित्वेन वर्णितः
स प्रजापतेः स्वदुहितृसमागमः कथमपि सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यस्य पितुः स्वदुहितृ-
मनुष्यस्त्रीसंगमरूपो भवितुं नार्हति ।

किंच, श्रीविष्णुपुराणे प्रथमोऽंशे पञ्चदशोऽध्याये प्राचेतसदक्षचरिते
'यदाऽस्य सृजमानस्य न व्यवर्धन्त ताः प्रजाः । ततः सञ्चिन्त्य स पुनः सृष्टिहेतोः

प्रजापतिः ॥ ८९ ॥ मैथुनेनैव धर्मेण सिसृक्षुर्विधिधाः प्रजाः । असिक्रीमावहत्
कन्यां वीरणस्य प्रजापतेः ॥ ९० ॥ ततः प्रभृति मैत्रेय प्रजा मैथुनसंभवाः ॥ ७९ ॥
संकल्पाद्दर्शनात्स्पर्शात्पूर्वोपासमभवन् प्रजाः । तपोविशेषैः सिद्धानां तदात्यन्ततप-
स्विनाम् ॥" इति प्राचेतसदक्षादारभ्यैव मैथुनप्रजासृष्टेः प्रतिपादनात् दक्षात्पूर्व-
काले मैथुनजसृष्टेरत्यन्तमभावस्य सिद्धेः, तत्रैव पञ्चमाध्याये "स्थावरान्ताः सुराद्या-
स्तु प्रजा ब्रह्मश्चतुर्विधाः । ब्रह्माणः कुर्वतः सृष्टिं जज्ञिरे मानसास्तु ताः ॥"
इति ब्रह्मणा मनसा सर्जनस्यैव प्रतिपादनात् वेदप्रतिपादितोऽयं प्रजापतेः स्वदुहितृ-
समागमोऽपि मानस एव न तु स्थूलः, मानसोऽपि स्वदुहितृसंगमोऽनुचित इति
देवप्रार्थितेन रुद्रेण प्रजापतिर्दण्डित इति तदपि श्लिष्यते । मानससंगमात्प्रजा-
पतेर्निस्सृतः सृष्टिहेतुः शारीरांश एव रेतस्त्वेन प्रत्यपादि । तथा च प्रजापतेः
स्वदुहित्रा सह भौतिकं मैथुनं नैव संवृत्तम्, स्वसृष्टदुहित्रा प्रजापतेर्मानसः संबन्ध
एव तथा वर्णित इति सिध्यति । एवं चैतदवष्टम्भेन सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यस्य
स्वदुहितृगामित्वस्य समर्थनमाकाशताण्डवायते ।

किंच, यथा "पश्य नीलोत्पलद्वन्द्वानिस्सरन्ति शिताः शराः" इत्यत्र
नेत्रद्वन्द्वानिस्सरणं स्वशब्देनानुच्यमानं सत् नीलोत्पलद्वन्द्वानिच्छितशर-
निस्सरणरूपेण प्रतिपाद्यते, तथा "परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः" इति उदाहृते
ऐतरेयब्राह्मणे ऐतरेयोपनिषदि चोक्तरीत्या तस्य तस्यार्थस्यापरोक्षरीत्या वर्णनस्य
श्रुतिशैलीसिद्धत्वात् उदाहृतशतपथब्राह्मणसायणभाष्योक्तरीत्या प्राणपिण्डलोककाल-
यज्ञात्मा प्रजापतिः स्वसृष्ट्यां दिवं लोकात्मना, उपसं कालात्मना, प्राणपिण्डात्मना मृगो
रोहितं रोहिणीं नाम नक्षत्रं, यज्ञात्मना वाचं च संगत इत्ययमर्थ एव ऋञ्जन्त्रेषु
स्वशब्देनानुच्यमानः पितुः स्वदुहितृगमनरूपेण परोक्षरूपेण वर्ण्यते । तत्र
विवक्षितो वास्तविक अर्थ एव मैत्रायणीसंहितान्नाह्यवचनेषु पिता प्रजापतिः दुहिता
द्यौरुपा वेत्येवं रूपेण सुस्पष्टं प्रतिपाद्यते । श्रुतितात्पर्यविषयं सृष्टुः प्रजापतेः
स्वसृष्टया दिवोपसा रोहिण्या वाचा च संगमरूपमर्थं यथावदविदित्वा कैश्चित्
लौकिकस्य पितुः लौकिकदुहितृसंबन्धं श्रुतिविवक्षितं मत्वा तं प्राचीनं सदाचारं मा
विज्ञासीदित्येतदर्थमेव ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु रुद्रकृतस्य दण्डविधानस्य वर्णनेन तस्य
दुराचाररूपत्वं प्राख्यापीति कल्प्यते । तथा चानेकस्य प्रजापतेः स्वसृष्ट-

द्युलोकादिभिः संबन्ध एव पितुर्दुहितृसंगमरूपेणालंकारिकभाषया ऋञ्जन्त्रेषु वर्णित इत्युदाहृतैर्ब्राह्मणवचनैर्गम्यते । तथा पितुर्दुहितृसंगमस्य निषिद्धत्वं च प्रतीयते । अस्यां स्थितौ शतपथब्राह्मणादिभिर्विवृतमृञ्जन्त्रविवक्षितमर्थमुपेक्ष्य केवलऋञ्जन्त्रावलम्बनेन सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजे पितुर्दुहितृसंगमस्याविगीताचारत्वेन परिगृहीतत्वस्य कल्पनं श्रुतितात्पर्यविरुद्धत्वादानादेयमेव ।

यदपि चेदमुच्यते, ऋञ्जन्त्राः परमप्राचीनाः, मैत्रायणीसंहिताब्राह्मणवचनानि ततोऽर्वाचीनानि । मन्त्रेषु पितुर्दुहितृसंबन्धः स्वशब्देन वर्ण्यते, अर्वाचीनेषु ब्राह्मणादिष्वेव पितुः प्रजापतिरूपत्वं दुहितृद्युलोकैरूपत्वमुपोरूपत्वं पितुर्दुहितृगमनस्य निन्दितत्वादेव प्रजापतेर्दण्डभाक्त्वमित्यादिकं वर्ण्यते । तेनेदं निश्चीयते सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिके सभ्यतासंस्कृतिधर्मगन्धानाघ्राते मनुष्यसमाजेऽविगीताचारत्वेन परिगृहीतः पितुर्दुहितृसंगमऋञ्जन्त्रेषु प्रतिपाद्यते । उत्तरकाले सभ्यतासंस्कृतिधर्मप्रचारबहुले मनुष्यसमाजे बहोः कालादनुवर्तमानस्य पूज्यपूर्वजविषयकस्य तस्य वृत्तान्तस्यानादर्शोपस्थापकतां पूज्यपूर्वजविषयकश्रद्धाहासप्रसन्नकतां चोद्धीक्षमाणैस्तात्कालिकैर्महर्षिभिः पितुः प्रजापतिरूपताया दुहितृद्युलोकादिरूपतायाः प्रजापतिदण्डनिरूपणेन पितुर्दुहितृसंगमस्य पापरूपतायाश्च प्रतिपादनमकारि । अयं पश्चात्तनः पूर्ववृत्तसंशोधनप्रकारो ब्राह्मणादिषु वर्ण्यते ॥ इति ।

अत्रेदं वक्तव्यम् । यद्यपि वयमृग्वेदस्य परमप्राचीनत्वं मैत्रायणीसंहिताब्राह्मणानां ततोऽर्वाचीनत्वमिति न संप्रतिपद्यामहे । सर्वेषां वेदभागानां समकालिकत्वमेवातिष्ठामहे । अथाप्यन्वारुह्य ब्रूमः । सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकासभ्यमनुष्यसमाजे प्रचलितो पितृदुहितृसंगमरूपः प्राचीनाचारः प्राचीनऋञ्जन्त्रेषुपनिबद्ध ऐतिह्यरूपेण समाजेऽनुवर्तमानोऽनादर्शोपस्थापकत्वात्पश्चात्तनैर्ब्राह्मणादिद्रष्टृभिस्तद्वास्तवस्वरूपं विदद्भिरेव तत्स्वरूपनिहवपूर्वं प्रजापतित्वद्युत्वादिकल्पनापूर्वं दण्डविधानकल्पनपूर्वकं च रूपान्तरेण समाजे प्रचारितो बभूवेत्येतत् यदि सत्यं स्यात्, तर्हि स्वगृहीतमर्थमन्यथा जगति प्रचारयन्तस्तेऽवश्यं विप्रलम्भका एव स्युः । सदिच्छयोक्तमपि विप्रलम्भकाणां वचस्तत्समसामयिका अन्ये नैव विश्वसेयुः, खण्डयेयुश्च । परमत्र तथा तादात्विकानां मतभेदः क्वचिदप्युपनिबद्धो न दृश्यते । यदि तादात्विकाः सर्वेऽपि महर्षय एकात्मयो भूत्वा प्राचीनाचारमर्थान्तरकल्पनेना-

न्यथयित्वैव प्रचारयामासुः न कोऽपि विवदमान आसौदिति कल्प्यते, तर्हि तदानींतनाः सर्वेऽपि महर्षयो विप्रलम्भका अविश्वसनीयाश्चापद्यन्ते । विप्रलम्भकमहर्षिवचनानि सर्वेऽपि तदानींतना विश्वसन्त एवासन् इति यदि कल्प्यते, तर्हि तस्मिन्सुसभ्ये मनुष्यसमाजे सर्वेऽपि विप्रलम्भकमाप्तत्वेन गृहाणा भ्रान्ताः प्रसज्यन्ते । भ्रान्तभरितस्य तस्य मनुष्यसमाजस्य सभ्यत्ववाचोयुक्तिरुपहसनीयैव स्यात् । तदानींतनैर्महर्षिभिः स्वस्याप्तत्वं संरक्षद्विर्विप्रलिप्सातो भौतैः “अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्माः” इत्याद्युक्तनीत्या पितुर्दुहितृसंगमः प्राक्तनयुगधर्मः न सांप्रतिकयुगधर्म इति ह्युपेदष्टव्यम् । यदि सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजे तथाविध आचारो लब्धप्रचारोऽभविष्यत्, तर्हि आप्ता अविप्रलम्भकास्ते महर्षय उक्तरीत्यैवोपादेक्ष्यन् । ब्राह्मणादिद्रष्टृणां विप्रलम्भकत्वस्वीकारे ऋञ्जन्त्रद्रष्टारोऽपि महर्षयस्तुल्यन्यायाद्विप्रलम्भकाः सर्वथाऽभूतमेव पितृदुहितृसंगमवृत्तान्तं कल्पयित्वैव प्रचारयामासुरित्यप्यापद्येत । तथा च ऋञ्जन्त्रानुसारेण पूर्वपक्षिविवक्षितं पितृदुहितृसंगमस्य तात्त्विकत्वं न सिध्येत । तथा च ब्राह्मणादिद्रष्टृषु विप्रलम्भकत्वशङ्कामुपजनयन्तीयं ब्राह्मणार्थविषये कल्पना ऋञ्जन्त्रद्रष्टृष्वपि तथात्वशङ्कां प्रसज्यन्ती निजसदननिहितहुतवहज्वालयते । मैत्रायणीसंहिताब्राह्मणवचनानां सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजप्रचलितपितृदुहितृसंगमरूपाचारनिहवपूर्वं काल्पनिकनिरुक्तार्थप्रतिपादकत्वे तुल्यन्यायात्सर्वेऽपि वेदाः काल्पनिकतत्तदर्थप्रतिपादकाः चित्रकथाकल्पाः प्रसज्येरन्निति ते परिश्रमसाध्याध्ययनपथाद्दूरीभवेयुः । तथा च लोकायतवाद एव विजयेत् । उपर्युक्तवेदमन्त्रैः पितुः स्वकन्यासंगमं साधयतामिदं सर्वमनिष्टमिति नात्र तैरिष्टापत्तिरुद्भावयित्तुं शक्या । “तुष्यतु” न्यायेन ऋञ्जन्त्राणां मैत्रायणीसंहिताब्राह्मणानां पूर्वापरकालिकत्वेऽपि ऋञ्जन्त्रेऽविशदं वर्णितस्यैवार्थस्य विवरणार्थं मैत्रायणीसंहिताब्राह्मणानां प्रवृत्तेः स्वरसिद्धत्वात् विनियमाणस्य विवरणोदितार्थपरत्वस्य न्याय्यत्वात् सामान्यविशेषन्यायसर्वशाखाप्रत्ययन्यायसर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययन्यायैर्ऋञ्जन्त्रब्राह्मणवर्णितसर्वार्थोपसंहारेणास्यार्थस्य निष्कर्षणीयत्वात् नानारूपधरस्य प्रजापतेः स्वसृष्टतत्तदर्थसंगमप्रतिपादन एव ऋञ्जन्त्राणां ब्राह्मणानां च तात्पर्यमवगम्यत इति सर्वेषां प्रामाण्ये निरुह्यमाणे ब्राह्मणद्रष्टृषु विप्रलम्भकत्वाङ्गामङ्करयन्ती पूर्वपक्षिकल्पनाऽनादेया ।

किं च, अतिप्रसङ्गावहत्वादीयं पूर्वपक्षिकल्पना न स्वीकारमर्हति । तथाहि—
यथा प्रकृते पूर्वपक्षी कल्पयति सृष्ट्वारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजे अविद्योता-
चारत्वेन लब्धप्रचारः पितृदुहितृसंगमरूप आचारो मन्त्रेषु वर्णितः । पश्चात्सभ्य-
समाजे लब्धजन्मभिर्विगीतः स आचारोऽर्थान्तरकल्पनया निहतोऽभूदिति ।
तथैवान्यान्यैरपि तत्र तत्र कल्पयितुं शक्यमित्यतिप्रसङ्गावहेयं कल्पना ।

उद्धृता ऋङ्मन्त्रा न सृष्ट्वारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजे प्रचलितं पितृदुहितृ-
संगमरूपमर्थं प्रतिपादयन्ति अर्थान्तरपरत्वात् । तथाहि—

“महे यत्पित्र ईं रसं दिवे करवत्सरत्पृशन्त्यश्चिकित्वात् ।

सृजदस्ता धृपता दिद्युमस्मै स्वायां देवो दुहितरि त्विषिं धात् ॥” इति ।

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अयं “उपप्रजिन्वन्” इत्यादिके पराशरदृष्टे त्रिष्टुपच्छन्दस्केऽग्निदेवताके
सप्तमसूक्ते तृतीयमन्त्रोऽग्निदेवताकत्वादग्निप्रकाशनपरः । यो मन्त्रो यद्देवताकं स
तत्प्रकाशनपर इत्युत्सर्गः । अस्य मन्त्रस्य सायणाचार्यकृतेयं व्याख्या । “महे”
महते “पित्रे” पालयित्रे “दिवे” द्योतमानाय देवगणाय “ईं” इमं “रसं” पृथिव्या
रसं सारभूतं हविः “यत्” यदा यजमानः “कः” करोति, तदानीं “पृशन्त्यः” स्पर्शन-
कुशलो राक्षसादिः “चिकित्वात्” हवींषि वहन्तं हे अग्ने त्वां जानन् “अवत्सरत्”
स्वद्वयात्पलायते । “अस्ता” इषुक्षेपणशीलोऽग्निः “धृपता” धर्षकेण धनुषा
“अस्मै” पलायमानाय राक्षसादये “दिद्युम्” दीप्यमानं बाणं “सृजत्” विसृजति ।
“देवो” दीप्यमान उपःकालं प्राप्नोतिः “स्वायां” स्वकीयायां “दुहितरि” दुहितृ-
तत्समनन्तरभाविन्यामुपसि “त्विषिं” स्वकीयां दीप्तिं “धात्” स्थापयति । उपःकाले
हि सूर्यकिरणाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति, तैः स्वकीयं प्रकाशमेकीकरोति । तथा च
तैत्तरीयकम् “उद्यन्तं वाऽऽदित्यमग्निरनुसमारोहति, तस्माद्धूम एवान्नेर्दिवा ददृशे”
इति । अत उपसि दीप्तिं निदधातीत्युच्यते इति । स्वरससिद्धान् शब्दार्था-
नवलम्ब्य प्रवर्तमानेयं सायणकृता योजनाऽक्लिष्टत्वादुपादेया । रात्रावग्निर्दीप्यते
दिवा सूर्य इति सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नम् । सायंप्रातःकालयोः सूर्यस्याग्नौ अग्नेः सूर्ये
चानुसमारोहः श्रुतिसिद्धः । अत्र रात्रौ देदीप्यमानस्याग्नेः समनन्तरभावित्वा-
दुपःकालोऽग्नेर्दुहितृत्वेन तदा सूर्यकिरणैः सहाग्निना स्वकिरणानामेकीकरणमुपसि

दुहितरि अग्निकृतस्वकीयदीप्त्याधानरूपेण वर्णयत इत्यस्याः श्रुतेरुपसि सूर्यकिरणैः
सहाग्निकिरणानामेकीभावस्यैव प्रतिपादने तात्पर्यं गम्यते । अयमर्थोऽनया श्रुत्या-
ऽऽलंकारिकभाषया प्रतिपाद्यते । तथा प्रतिपादनं “परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः”
इत्युक्तरीत्या श्रुतिशैलीसिद्धम् । अस्या ऋचोऽग्निदेवताकत्वादग्निरूपः प्रजा-
पतिरेवात्र देवशब्देनोच्यते इति देववृत्तान्त एवात्र प्रतिपाद्यते न तु सृष्ट्वारम्भ-
कालिकस्य मनुष्यस्य स्वदुहितृगमनरूपोऽर्थ इति देवशब्दसमभिव्याहाराद्विज्ञायते ।
तत् सिद्धमस्य मन्त्रस्य सृष्ट्वारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजप्रवृत्तिपितृदुहितृसंगमरूपा-
चारपरत्वं श्रुत्यक्षरविरुद्धत्वादानादेयमिति ।

“पिता यत्स्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन्धमया रेतः सञ्जग्मानो निषिञ्चत् ।

स्वाध्योऽजनयन् ब्रह्म देवा वास्तोष्पतिं व्रतपां निरतक्षन्” ॥

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प्रशिष्ट यस्य” इत्यादिकं “पिता यत्स्वां दुहितरम्” इत्यन्तमृङ्मन्त्रत्रयं
“स्वांशेन भगवान् रुद्रः प्रजापतिर्वास्तोष्पतिं रुद्रमसृजयत्” इत्येतदर्थपरतया
सायणाचार्येण व्याख्यातम् । तत्रास्य मन्त्रस्य व्याख्यानं यथा—“पिता”
प्रजापतिः “यत्” यदा “स्वां दुहितरम्” दिवमुपसं वा “अधिष्कन्” अध्यक्ष-
न्दत् तदानीमेव “धमया” पृथिव्या सह “सञ्जग्मानः” संगच्छमानः प्रजापतिरस्मिन्
लोके रोहितं भूतामृश्यो भूत्वा “निषिञ्चत्” निषेकमकरोत् । “तामृश्यो भूत्वा
रोहितं भूतामध्यैत् इति ब्राह्मणम् । तदानीं “स्वाध्यः” सुध्यानाः सुकर्माणो वा
“देवा” “ब्रह्माजनयन्” उदपादयन् । किं तद्ब्रह्मेति तदाह—“वास्तोष्पतिम्”
यज्ञवास्तुस्वामिनं “व्रतपां” व्रतस्य कर्मणो रक्षाःप्रभृतिभ्यः पालकं “निरतक्षन्”
यज्ञवास्तुस्वामित्वं दत्त्वा कर्मरक्षकत्वेन निर्मितवन्तः” इति ।

अत्र पित्रा स्वदुहितरि रेतसि सिके तेन देवैर्वास्तोष्पतेर्निर्माणं कृतमिति
स्फुटम् । स पिता कः सा दुहिता केति विशेषजिज्ञासायां मैत्रायणीसंहिताब्राह्मणेः
स पिता प्रजापतिः सा दुहिता द्यौरुषावेति सिध्यति । शतपथब्राह्मणे इयमृक्
“प्रजापतिर्हवै स्वां दुहितरमभिदध्यौ दिवं वोषसं वा” इत्यादिना प्रतिपादितेऽर्थे
संवादकत्वेनोपात्ता । मन्त्रविवक्षित एवार्थो विवरणरूपैर्ब्राह्मणवचनैर्विन्नियत इत्य-
भ्युपगम एव न्याय्यः । तथा चास्मिन् मन्त्रे प्रजापति-तृत्वेन द्यौरुषा वा दुहितृ-

त्वेन प्रतिपादिताविति फलति । द्वितीयपादे पितृदुहितोर्ऋश्यरोहिद्रूपेण भूमौ संचरणं तत्र ऋश्येन प्रजापतिना रेतस्सेकश्च प्रतिपाद्यते । तृतीयचतुर्थपादाभ्यां देवैस्तेन रेतसा वास्तोष्पतिनिर्माणं कृतमिति वर्ण्यते । तथा चायं मन्त्रो देववृत्तान्तप्रतिपादनपर इति गम्यते । अस्य मन्त्रस्य सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाज-प्रवृत्तपितृदुहितुसंसर्गपरत्वकल्पनं देववास्तोष्पत्यादिशब्दसमभिव्याहारविरुद्धं पूर्वा-परासंगतं चेत्युपेक्षणीयतामर्हति । एतेन “प्रथिष्ठ यस्य” इति मन्त्रोऽपि व्याख्यातः ।

किं च, यथा रामचरितादौ बहुषु ग्रन्थेषु संक्षेपविस्तराभ्यां प्रतिपादिते सति तत्तद्ग्रन्थोदितसर्वविशेषोपसंहारेणैव तच्चरितस्य याथात्म्यं निष्कृष्यते, तथा संक्षेपविस्तराभ्यां वेदे तत्र तत्र प्रतिपादितोऽयं पितृदुहितुसंसर्गरूपोऽर्थोऽपि तत्तद्वेदवचनोदितारोपोपसंहारेणैव निष्कर्षणीयः । तथा निष्कर्षे कृते सति स पिता प्रजापतिः, दुहिता द्यौरुषा वाग्वा, प्रजापतेः सोऽलौकिकः संसर्गोऽपि देवैर्निषिद्ध-त्वेन गणितः, रुद्रेण प्रजापतिर्दण्डितश्चेति समुदितार्थः फलति । तथा च सृष्ट्यार-म्भकालेऽपि पितुः कन्यागामित्वमपराधत्वेन परिगणितं बभूवेत्येव सिध्यति । देवसमाजेपि पितुर्दुहितुगामित्वे पापत्वेन परिगण्यमाने सति मनुष्यसमाजे तस्य तथात्वं सुतरां सिध्यतीति सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजे तस्याविगोताचारत्वेन परिगृहीतत्वकल्पनमासग्रन्थेषु तथाऽनुक्तेः कल्पकशेषुपीप्रसूतमित्येव गम्यते । शोमांसावातिककारा भट्टपादाः प्रजापतेर्दुहितुसंगमरूपं श्रौतमर्थं व्याचक्षाणा आहुः— “प्रजापतिस्तावत्प्रजापालनाधिकारादादित्य एवोच्यते । स चारुणोदयवेलाया-पुषसमुद्यन्मभ्यैत् । सा तदागमनादेवोपजायत इति तद्दुहितृत्वेन व्यपदिश्यते । तस्यां वाग्वाकिरणारुख्यबीजनिक्षेपाल्नीपुरुषयोगवदुपचारः” इति ॥

अथैतदर्थमिदं विचार्यते किं सृष्ट्यारम्भकाले मनुष्यसमाजः सभ्यतासंस्कृति-गन्धहीनः पशुप्रायाचरण आसोत् पश्चादेव क्रमेण सभ्यतासंस्कृतिधर्मान् भजमान उन्नयन् विकसंश्च वर्तते इत्ययमर्थः प्रामाणिकः ? उत सृष्ट्यारम्भकाले मनुष्य-समाजः प्राप्तसर्वेश्वरदेवमहर्ष्यादिसंपर्कः सर्वसिद्धिसंपन्नो बभूव, पश्चाच्चकारपङ्क्ति-रिवावन्त्युन्नती पर्यायेण भजमानः सांप्रतिकीं दुःस्थितिमनुप्राप्त इत्ययमर्थः प्रामाणिक इति ।

विशालेऽस्मिन् भूषण्डले क्वचित् क्वचित् समुद्राश्रावनभूषण्डनिमज्जनज्वाला-मुखपर्वतस्फोटनमहाभूकम्पमहासंग्रामबहुसंहारकमहाव्याधिप्रसरणराष्ट्रविह्वलवस्तुपुरुषगता-गतविच्छेदादिभिस्तत्रत्ये स्वरुभावशिष्टे मनुष्यसमाजे सभ्यतासंस्कृतिधर्माणां लोपस्तादात्त्विकमनुष्याणां पशुप्रायजोवनं ततस्तेषां क्रमेण सभ्यतादीनां स्वीकरण-मित्यादिकं संभाव्यते । यथा रामराज्ये युधिष्ठिरराज्ये च सर्वप्रकारसमुन्नतिमासे-दुष्या भारतीयजनतायाः संतानानां कालक्रमेणावनतिगते पातस्तत् आत्मानमुद्धर्तुमुन्नति-मवाप्तुं च सततोद्योगो निरीक्ष्यते । तथैव सर्वेष्वपि देशेषु संभाव्यते । इत्थमव-नतस्य मनुष्यसमाजविशेषस्य क्रमेण सिध्यन्तीमुन्नतिमत्रेक्ष्य सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिक-मनुष्यसमाजेऽपि प्रथमतोऽवनततायाः क्रमेणोन्नतिप्राप्तिश्च कल्पनं कल्पकानां कृप-मण्डूकसधर्मतामेवावेदयति सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकानां मनुष्याणामुन्नतत्वमवनतत्वं वा तत्तन्मनुष्यसमाजे आसुपुरुषपरम्परया लब्धप्रसारां धारणामनुस्यूयैव निर्णयम् ।

तत्र कृतादिक्रमेण युगपरिवृत्तिं प्रतिपादयद्भ्रष्टो वैदिकानां धर्मग्रन्थवचनेभ्यः सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजस्योन्नतिकारुढता ततः क्रमेणावनत्युन्नतिचक्र-परिवृत्तिः सत्यापिता भवति । तथा च मनुः “अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मास्तेतायां द्वापरे परे । अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगहासानुरूपतः ॥” (मनु० १।८५) इति स्मरन् कृतोप-क्रमत्वाद्युगप्रवृत्तेः सृष्ट्यारम्भे मनुष्यसमाजस्य श्रेष्ठधर्मावलम्बित्वाद्दुन्नतिं क्रमेण शक्तिहासादेहेतोस्तादृशधर्मनिर्वहणासिद्धेर्निम्नकोटिकधर्मारुढत्वादवनतिं पुनः कृत-युगप्राप्तावुन्नतिं च सूचयति ।

तत्सिद्धं वेदानां प्रामाण्ये वेदोदितार्थानां प्रामाणिकत्वे संप्रतिपन्नेऽपि उदाहृतेषु “महे यत् पित्र” “पिता यस्त्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन्” इत्यादिषु मन्त्रेषु दुहितुगामिनः पितुर्देवत्वेन विशेषणात्तस्य देवरूपत्वसिद्धेः सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिक-मनुष्यरूपत्वासिद्धेः, पितृदुहितुसमागमप्रतिपादकानां मन्त्रब्राह्मणवचनानामैकार्थ्ये तत्तद्वचनोदिततत्तदंशोपसंहारपूर्वमेतद्वृत्तान्तयाथात्म्यस्य वेदनीयत्वे च नानान्याथैः सिद्धे सति एषां मन्त्राणां ब्राह्मणैकवाक्यतयाऽन्यादित्यादिनानारूपधरस्य प्रजापते-र्जगत्पितुः स्वसृष्टत्वाद्दुहितृत्वेन व्यपदिश्यया स्त्रीलिङ्गशब्दबोधयया द्युलोकदेवतया उप-कालदेवतयाऽन्यान्यरूपया च सह संपन्नस्य मानससृष्ट्यागमस्य प्रतिपादन एव

सात्पर्यावधारणात्, परोक्षवादमाश्रित्य प्रवृत्तानामेषां मन्त्राणां स्थूलवाच्यार्थपरत्वा-
भावात्, मनुष्यसृष्टिप्राक्कालिकप्रजापतिवृत्तान्तविशेषपराणामेषां मन्त्राणां स्रक्ष्यमाण-
मनुष्यवृत्तान्तपरत्वायोगात् पूर्वपक्षिसम्मतार्थप्रतिपादकत्वभावस्यार्थान्तरपरत्वस्य च
बहुप्रमाणसिद्धत्वात् पूर्वपक्षिमत्स्वोकारे ब्राह्मणद्रष्टृणां विप्रलम्भकत्वप्रसङ्ग इत्यादि
दोषगणोन्नेषात्, पूर्वपक्षिकल्पनाया अतिप्रसङ्गावहत्वात्, सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्य-
समाजसुसभ्यताया बहुप्रमाणसिद्धत्वात्, एषां मन्त्राणां सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिक-
मनुष्यसमाजप्रचलिताचारविशेषपरत्वनिर्वन्धे तत्सभ्यतानुगुणार्थान्तरपरत्वस्य
संभवाच्चैते मन्त्राः सृष्ट्यारम्भकालिकमनुष्यसमाजप्रवृत्तं पितुः स्वदुहितृगामित्वरूप-
मर्थं नैव प्रतिपादयन्तीति शम् ।

ŚĀKHĀS OF THE ṚGVEDA AS MENTIONED
IN THE PURĀṆAS

BY

GANGA SAGAR RAI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणेषु निर्दिष्टानाम् ऋग्वेदशाखानाम् विभाग-
विषयकं गवेषणात्मकमध्ययनं प्रस्तुतम् । ऋग्वेदशाखासंख्याविषये
मतान्यनेकानि प्राप्यन्ते । महाभाष्ये, कूर्मपुराणे, मुक्तिकोपनिषदि,
अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां, महाभारते, प्रपञ्चहृदये चैकविंशतिः शाखा निर्दिष्टाः
सन्ति, किन्तु शौनकचरणव्यूहे पञ्च आथर्वणचरणव्यूहे सप्त तथा
अणुभाष्ये चतुर्विंशतिः शाखा उल्लिखिताः सन्ति । अतः प्रतीयते
यद् ऋग्वेदशाखा-संख्यानाम् इयत्ता कदाऽपि नासीदिति ।

लेखेऽस्मिन् प्रमुखानाम् शाकल-वाष्कल-मारुडुकायन-आश्वलायन-
शांखायन-ऐतरेय-कौपीतकि-शौनकशाखानां प्रवर्तनविषयकं वर्णनं वर्त्तते,
पुराणेष्वनिर्दिष्टानाम् ब्रह्मच-वैङ्ग्य-वाशिष्ठ-शाम्भ्यशाखानामपि संक्षिप्तं
वर्णनमत्र प्रदत्तम् ।]

According to the Purāṇas the Ṛgveda was taught to Paila,
by Vedavyāsa. From Paila its knowledge descended to various
Ṛṣis and in this way, this single Ṛgveda branched into many
recensions. However, tradition is not unanimous as to the
number of these recensions. The number of the Śākhās vary
from text to text. The Kūrma-Purāṇa gives the number of
the Ṛgvedic Śākhās as twenty-one.¹ The Caranavyūha of
Śaunaka gives the number as only five.² On the other hand,
another Caranavyūha, the 49th Parisiṣṭa of the Atharvaveda,
enumerates these Śākhās as seven.³ The Muktikopaniṣat⁴ and
the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā⁵ count it as twenty-one, which is

1. एकविंशतिभेदेन ऋग्वेदं कृतवान्पुरा । Kūrma-P., I. 52.3. ab.
2. एतेषां शाखाः पञ्चविधा भवन्ति । P. 13 (Chaukhamba ed.)
3. तत्र ऋग्वेदस्य सप्तशाखा भवन्ति । Ath.-Parisiṣṭa, 49. 1.6.
4. ऋग्वेदस्य तु शाखाः स्वुरेकविंशतिसंख्यया । Muktikopaniṣat
5. XII. 3.

confirmed by Prapañcahṛdaya.¹ Patañjali also mentions twenty one Śākhās.² With the Aṇubhāṣya this number rises to twenty four. Thus, it is obvious that these texts are not of the one and the same opinion in respect of the Ṛgveda-Śākhās. But the majority view is that the number is twenty-one. Owing to this diversity of opinion it is impossible to fix the exact number of the Ṛgvedic Śākhās. Moreover, all the Śākhās are not extant now, and the ancient tradition is also not consistent. In fact it appears that as they differed owing to their textual peculiarities, their number could never be fixed.

An elaborate list of the Ṛgvedic Śākhās is given in the Vāyu-Purāṇa. It runs as follows :

ऋचो गृहीत्वा पैलस्तु व्यभजत्तद् द्विधा पुनः ।
द्विःकृत्वा संयुगे चैव शिष्याभ्यामददत्त्वभुः ॥ २४ ॥
इन्द्रप्रमितये चैकां द्वितीयां बाष्कलाय च ।
चतस्रसंहिताः कृत्वा बाष्कलिद्विजसत्तमः ।
शिष्यानध्यापयामास शुश्रूषाभिरतान्हितान् ॥
बोधन्तु प्रथमां शाखां द्वितीयामग्निमाठरम् ।
पराशरं तृतीयां तु याज्ञवल्क्यमथापराम् ॥
इन्द्रप्रमितिरैकां तु संहितां द्विजसत्तमः ।
अध्यापयन्महाभागं मार्कण्डेयं यशस्विनम् ॥
सत्यश्रवसमग्र्यं तु पुत्रं स तु महायशाः ।
सत्यश्रवाः सत्यहितं पुनरध्यापयद् द्विजः ॥
सोऽपि सत्यतरं पुत्रं पुनरध्यापयद्विभुः ।
सत्यश्रियं महात्मानं सत्यधर्मपरायणम् ॥
अभवंस्तस्य शिष्या वै त्रयस्तु सुमहौजसः ।
सत्यश्रियस्तु विद्वांसः शास्त्रग्रहणतत्पराः ॥
शाकल्यः प्रथमस्तेषां तस्मादन्यो रथन्तरः ।
बाष्कलिश्च भरद्वाजः इति शाखाप्रवर्तकाः ॥

1. Cf. Its Veda-Prakarāṇa.

2. एकविंशतिषा बाह्वृच्यम् ।

देवमित्रस्तु शाकल्यो ज्ञानाहङ्कारगर्वितः ।
जनकस्य स यज्ञे वै विनाशमगमद् द्विजः ॥ ३२ ॥
देवमित्रस्तु शाकल्यो महात्मा द्विजसत्तमः ।
चकार संहिताः पञ्च बुद्धिमान्पदवित्तमः ॥ ६३ ॥
तच्छिष्या अभवन् पञ्च मुद्गलो गोलकस्तथा ।
खालीयश्च तथा मत्स्यः शैशिरियस्तु पञ्चमः ॥
प्रोवाच संहितास्तिस्रः शाकपूर्णरथीतरः ।
निरुक्तञ्च पुनश्चक्रे चतुर्थं द्विजसत्तमः ॥
तस्य शिष्यास्तु चत्वारः केतवो दालकिस्तथा ।
धर्मशर्मा देवशर्मा सर्वे व्रतधरा द्विजाः ॥ ६६ ॥

Vāyu-P., I. 60. 24-32, 63-66.

It is interesting to note that these verses are also found in the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. Only a few names differ and some other additional names are added in the Brahmāṇḍa (I. 34. 24-33; 35. 1-7). It is also remarkable that the story of Śākalya's death at the sacrifice of Janaka is narrated in both the Purāṇas in identical verses.

The list of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa mentions the ṛgvedic schools thus :

विभेद प्रथमं विप्र पैलो ऋग्वेदपादपम् ।
इन्द्रप्रमितये प्रादाद्बाष्कलाय च संहिते ॥
चतुर्धा स विभेदाथ बाष्कलोऽपि च संहिताम् ।
बोध्यादिभ्यो ददौ ताश्च शिष्येभ्यस्स महामुनिः ॥
बोध्याग्निमाठकौ तद्व्याज्ञवल्क्यपराशरौ ।
प्रतिशाखास्तु शाखायास्तस्यास्ते जगृहुर्मुने ॥
इन्द्रप्रमितिरैकां तु संहितां स्वसुतं ततः ।
माण्डुकेयं महात्मानं मैत्रेयाध्यापयत्तदा ॥
तस्य शिष्यप्रशिष्येभ्यः पुत्रशिष्यक्रमाद्यथौ ।
वेदमित्रस्तु शाकल्यः संहितां ताम्पुनवान् ॥

चकार संहिताः पञ्च शिष्येभ्यः प्रददौ च ताः ।
 तस्य शिष्यास्तु ये पञ्च तेषां नामानि वै शृणु ॥
 मुद्गलो गोमुखश्चैव वात्स्यः शालीय एव च ।
 शरीरः पञ्चमश्चासीन्मैत्रेय सुमहामतिः ॥
 संहितान्नितयं चक्रे शाकपूर्णिस्तथेतरः ।
 निरुक्तमकरोत्तद्वचतुर्थं मुनिसत्तम ॥
 क्रौञ्चो वैतालिकस्तद्वद्वलकश्च महामुनिः ।
 निरुक्तकृच्चतुर्थोऽभृद्वेदेदाङ्गपारगः ॥
 इत्येताः प्रतिशाखाभ्यो ब्रह्मशाखा द्विजोत्तम ।
 बाष्कलश्चापरास्तिस्रसंहिताः कृतवान् द्विज ॥
 शिष्यः कालायनिर्गार्ग्यस्तृतीयश्च कथाजवः ।
 इत्येते बह्वृचाः प्रोक्तासंहिता यैः प्रवर्तिताः ॥

Viṣṇu-P., 3. 4. 16-26

The Śrīmadbhāgavata sets forth the Ṛgvedic schools in the following verses :

पैलः स्वसंहितामूचे इन्द्रप्रमितये मुनिः ।
 बाष्कलाय च सोप्याह शिष्येभ्यः संहितां स्वकाम् ॥
 चतुर्धा व्यस्य बोध्याय याज्ञवल्क्याय भार्गव ।
 पराशरायामित्रे इन्द्रप्रमितिरात्मवान् ॥
 अध्यापयत्संहितां स्वां माण्डूकेयमृषिं कविम् ।
 तस्य शिष्यो देवमित्रः सौभर्यादिभ्य ऊचिवान् ॥
 शाकल्यस्तत्सुतः स्वां तु पञ्चधा व्यस्य संहिताम् ।
 वात्स्यमुद्गलशालीयगोखल्यशिशिरेष्वधात् ॥
 जातूकर्ण्यश्च तच्छिष्यः सनिरुक्तां स्वसंहिताम् ।
 बलाकपैजवैतालविरजेभ्यो ददौ मुनिः ॥
 बाष्कलिः प्रतिशाखाभ्यो बालखिल्याख्यसंहिताम् ।
 चक्रे बालायनिर्भज्यः कासारश्चैव तां दधुः ॥

Bhāgavata-P., XII. 6. 54-59

Besides these Purāṇas, in which the Śākhās are mentioned in detail, the Devī-Bhāgavata (II. 2. 45.), the Agnī (270. 2) and the Kūrma (Pūrvārdha ch. 52) also mention some of the schools of the Ṛgveda.

Here some of the important Śākhās are discussed in detail.

The Śākala-Śākhā

The extant text of the Ṛgveda belongs to the school of the Śākalas. Its importance, superiority and unbroken continuity may be judged from its survival. It certainly possesses some overwhelming qualities due to which it has been preserved. The authority of Śākalya, the founder of this Śākhā is cited by Pāṇini, Patañjali and the Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtras.

The school of Śākalya is clearly referred to in the Purāṇas, where he is described as Devamitra or Vedamitra Śākalya. The ṚK-Prātiśākhya, too, mentions him as Vedamitra Śākalya. According to the Purāṇas Śākalya was the son of Māṇḍūkeya Ṛṣi. He learnt the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā and taught it to Vātsya, Mudgala, Śālīya, Gokhalya and Śīsira.¹ He is also stated to have been a pupil of Satyaśrīḥ and the founder of a Śākhā.

A story is narrated in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas about the death of Śākalya. During the sacrifice of King Janaka, there arose a dispute as to who was the most learned among those present. The prize was won by Yājñavalkya but Śākalya insulted him and was cursed. He died on the spot.² A similar story is related in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad. According to it, in the sacrifice of Janaka, the Videha, a discussion started between Śākalya Vidagdha and Yājñavalkya. Yājñavalkya said that if Śākalya was unable to answer his questions his head would fall down on the earth. Śākalya Vidagdha could not answer those questions

1. शाकल्यस्तत्सुतः स्वां तु पञ्चधा व्यस्य संहिताम् ।

वात्स्यमुद्गलशालीयगोखल्यशिशिरेष्वधात् ॥

Bhāg., XII. 6. 57 ; see also Brahmāṇḍa, II. 35. 1 ; Vāyu 60-32.

2. Brahmāṇḍa, II. 34. 32-57 ; Vāyu, 60. 31-63.

and his head actually dropped on the earth. The thieves, mistaking his bones for something else, carried them away.¹ In the Mahābhārata, Śākalya is referred to as a Ṛṣi devoted to Lord Śaṅkara and as having performed a mental sacrifice (Manomaya Yajña) for nine hundred years.² Śākalya has three epithets: Vidagdha, Sthavira and Vedamitra. It seems most probable that these three epithets refer to one and the same person.

The home of Śākalya: From the above mentioned discussion between Yājñavalkya and Śākalya Vidagdha, it is clear that Śākalya was present in the sacrifice of King Janaka. The kingdom of Janaka was Mithilā, the northern part of the modern Bihar. So it may be inferred that Śākalya was the resident of Northern India. From the northern part of the country, the Saṁhitā might have extended to the far distant regions of the Country.

Five Śiṣyas of Śākalya: The Purāṇas and the other texts dealing with the Śākhās of the Rgveda unanimously hold the view that the Śākala-Śākhā ramified into five sub-recensions. These five sub-recensions were founded by five Ṛṣis who were the pupils of Śākalya. According to Śrīmadbhāgavata-Purāṇa Śākalya gave five forms to his Saṁhitā.³ The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, too, holds the same view.⁴ The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas are of similar opinion.⁵ Uvaṭa in his commentary on the RK-Prātiśākhya quotes an identical verse.⁶ From the citations of the Purāṇas and other treatises it is obvious that the Rgveda in the Śākala school was divided into five Śākhās. The names of these five Śākhās are :

- (i) The Mudgala-Śākhā
- (ii) The Vātsya-Śākhā
- (iii) The Śālīya-Śākhā

1. Adhyāya III, Brāhmaṇa 9th.
2. Anuśāsana-parva, 14.100.
3. Bhāg., XII, 6.57.
4. Viṣṇu, III. 4.22.
5. Vāyu, 60.65.
6. Commentary on RK-Prātiśākhya.

(iv) The Gālava-Śākhā and

(v) The Śaisīrīya-Śākhā

(i) *The Mudgala-Śākhā:* The Mudgala-Śākhā was one of the five subdivisions of this śākhā. It is remarkable that when all the texts vary on the names of other Śākala-subdivisions they invariably mention Mudgala as a subdivision of the Śākala Śākhā.

The name of Mudgala occurs at several places. As he was the son of Bhṛmyaśva, he was called Bhārmyaśva Mudgala. In the Bṛhad-devatā of Śaunaka also he is mentioned as Bhārmyaśva Mudgala.² The Purāṇas are well acquainted with him. According to Śrīmadbhāgavata, Mudgala was a son of Bhārmyaśva and from him sprang the Brāhmaṇa family of the Maudgalyas. He was the father of twins—Divodāsa and Ahalyā. He was a pupil of Śākalya. Similar descriptions are given in the Vāyu, the Viṣṇu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas.⁴ In the Matsya-Purāṇa he is regarded as the son of Bhadrāśva.⁵ Here also he is described as Mantra-kṛt. It seems that Bhadrāśva is a variant reading of Bhṛmyaśva or Bhārmyaśva which occurs in the Bṛhad-devatā. The Vālmikīya Rāmāyaṇa is acquainted with a Maudgalya.⁶ In the Bṛhadāranyaka-upaniṣat a Naka-Maudgalya finds mention. The Mahābhārata is aware of a Mudgala or Maudgalya who was well-versed in Veda-vidyā. He was one of the priests in the Serpent-sacrifice of Janamejaya.⁷ He was the resident of Kurukṣetra.⁸ He went to see Bhīṣma lying on the bed of arrows,⁹ and is said to have taken a golden house from king Śatadyumna.¹⁰

The name of Mudgala occurs among the teachers of the Rgveda in the Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana Sūtras. This Śākhā has not come down to us in any form.

1. मुद्गालो भार्म्येश्व ऋषिवृषभं च दुषणं च युक्त्वा... Nirukta, IX. 23
2. Bṛhad-devatā, VI. 46.
3. Bhāg., IX. 21 ; 31-34 ; XII. 6.57.
4. Vāyu, 63,60, 64 ; Viṣṇu, III. 4.22 ; Brahmāṇḍa, II. 32.109.
5. Matsya, 50.53 . 145. 103.
6. Rāmāyaṇa, II. 73.102.
7. Ādiparva, 47.6.
8. Vana-parva, 260.3.
9. Śānti-parva, 47.9.
10. Ibid. 234.32

(ii) *The Vātsya-Śākhā*: Nothing remains of this Śākhā. A variant form of this name is Matsya (Vāyu P.) which is a corrupt form of Vatsya. Reference has been made to it by Patañjali.¹ He is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata. He was present in the sacrifice of Janamejaya² and went to see Bhīṣma lying on the arrows.³

(iii) *The Śālīya-Śākhā*: This is the third sub-recension of the Śākalas. The name occurs in the Kāśikā-ṛtti (4.2.114). The variations of this name are Khālīya, Khalāyana and Khalīyān. The verse quoted in the commentary of ṚK-Prātisākhya reads it as Śārīra. Nothing is available of this Śākhā.

(iv) *The Gālava-Śākhā*: The name of Gālava, as the founder of a Śākhā occurs seldom in Vedic literature. The variations of this name are Gokhula, Golaka and Gomukha. But the real name seems to be Gālava. The reasons for accepting the name Gālava are these: In the beginning of the Śaiśira-Śikṣā the name is given as Gālava.⁴ In the Bṛhad-devatā, Gālava is referred to along with Śākapūṇi and Śaunaka.⁵ In the Āśvalāyana, Kauṣītaki and the Śāmbhavya Sūtras he is referred to among the Ācāryas of the Ṛgveda. Gālava was the resident of Pañcāla country and author of Krama-pāṭha.

(v) *The Śaiśirīya-Śākhā*: The only existing Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda belongs to the school of the Śaiśirīyas. Śaiśiri or Śiśira is mentioned in the Purāṇas as one of the five pupils of Śākalya. In the Purāṇas the name has some variations e. g. Sośareya. Pāṇini mentions to the Śauśari in the Gaṇapāṭha.⁶

The Purāṇas are not fully acquainted with Śaiśiri. They only know that he was a pupil of Śākalya. From the references of Śaunaka it is obvious that he was fully aware of the Śaiśirīya Śākhā. He refers the number of Anuvākas in the Śaiśirīya-

1. Patañjali on pāṇini, IV. 3. 126.

2. Ādiparva, 53.9.

3. Śāntiparva, 47.5.

4. Śaiśira-Śikṣā: मुद्गलो गालवो गार्ग्यः शाकल्यः शैशिरिस्तथा.

5. Bṛhad-devatā, VIII. 38.

6. सौमिन्नि-शौशरि-ब्रासुरि... Pāṇini-Gaṇapāṭha.

Saṁhitā.¹ Further the Anuvākānukramaṇī mentions the number of the hymns in the Śaiśirīya-Śākhā as 1017.²

The Bāskala-Śākhā

According to the Caranavyūha of Śaunaka the Śākhā of the Bāskalas is another major Śākhā of the Ṛgveda. The Devī-Purāṇa^{2a} holds that the Ṛgved has only three Śākhās, viz. Śākala, Bāskala and Maṇḍaka. It seems that Bāskala was the name of a Ṛṣi who founded this Śākhā. According to the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas,³ Bāskala was the son of Anuhrāda and Surmayā and disciple of Paila. He learnt the Ṛgveda and taught it to Bodhya and others. He also rearranged the Saṁhitā into four parts with the help of his four disciples, Bodhya, Agnimāḍhaka, Yājñavalkya and Parāśara. He arranged three more Saṁhitās and entrusted them to Gārgya, Kālāyani and Kathājapa, all his pupils. The Bhāgavata, further mentions a Ṛṣi, Bāškali, who was the son of Bāskala, the author of the Vālakhilya Saṁhitā, who imparted it to Bālāyani and others.⁴ The other Purāṇas regard him as an Āṅgīrasa and Mantra-kṛt. Here, too, he is mentioned as a pupil of Paila.

Four Sub-divisions of the Bāskalas: According to the Purāṇas Bāskala taught his Saṁhitā to his four pupils. Great variation is seen in the names of these four pupils. None the less, these names could be fixed thus: Baudhya, (2) Agnimāḍhara, (3) Parāśara and (4) Jātūkarṇya. According to the Purāṇas Baudhya (or Bodhya) was a pupil of Bāskala.⁵ In the Purāṇas he is designated as a Siddha. He was incharge of a ṚK-Saṁhitā.⁶ According to Pāṇini Baudhya was the son of Bodha who belonged to Āṅgīrasa family.⁷ The Mahābhārata, too, is aware of Bodhya Ṛṣi who preached to king Yayāti. His preachings were called as Bodhya-Gītā.⁸

1. Verse 9.

2. Verse 36.

2 a. Devī-Purāṇa (as quoted in Ṛgveda Poona ed. Vol. IV, P. 904).

3. Bhāg. P., XII. 6. 54-5.

5. Bhāg., XII.6. 12, Viṣṇu, III. 4. 18.

7. Pāṇini, IV. 1. 107.

4. Bhāg., XII. 6. 59.

6. Bhāg., VI. 15. 14, XII. 6. 55; Brahmāṇḍa, II. 34. 37.

8. Śāntiparvan, Chapter 178.

The name of Agnimāthara occurs along with that of Bāṣkala in the Bṛhad-devatā.¹ Other variations of this name are Agnimātara, Agnimitra and Agnimādhaka.

The fourth Subdivision of the Bāṣkalas is Jātū-karṇya. A great diversity is seen about this name. Generally, the Purāṇas refer to the Yājñavalkya-Śākhā as the fourth subdivision. Only in a manuscript of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the name Jātūkarṇya occurs.² In the Śrīmadbhāgavata Jātūkarṇya is regarded as a pupil of Śākalya.³ A Jātūkarṇya was present in the court of Yudhiṣṭhira.⁴

Nothing remains of these Śākhās.

The Māṇḍūkāyana-Śākhā

According to the Caraṇavyūha, Māṇḍūkāyana is one of the five Śākhās of the ṛgveda. Pāṇini has cited this name repeatedly.⁵ The authority of Māṇḍūkya is cited in the beginning of the ṚK-Prātiśākhya. The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka, too, cites the opinion of Māṇḍūkya. The Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtras enumerate this name among their Ācāryas.⁷

The Purāṇic tradition has shed some light on Māṇḍūkya. It regards him the founder of a ṛgvedic school. According to the Bhāgavata, he was a Ṛṣi and poet.⁸ The Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā was entrusted to him by Indrapramati, who was a pupil of Paila. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa also gives the same information.⁹ Matsya-Purāṇa regards him as founder of a Bhārgava-family (gotra-kṛt). In the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa this name occurs as Maṇḍūki.¹⁰ At another place the same Purāṇa regards him as a pupil of Kṛta. In the Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka he is said to be a resident of Magadha.

From these descriptions the antiquity of Māṇḍūkya may be deduced. In the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka the name of Māṇḍūkya occurs frequently in those parts of the Āraṇyaka which are unanimously attributed to Mahīdāsa Aitareya (the fourth and

1. Bṛhad-devatā, 8.85.

2. Pt. Bhagavaddatta, Vaidika Vāṇmaya Kā Itihāsa-P., 197.

3. Bhāg., XII. 6. 58.

4. Sabhāparva, 4. 14.

5. Pāṇini, IV, 1. 10.

6. Ait. Ār., III. 1. 1 ; III. 4. 4.

7. Āś. Gr., III. 4. 4.

8. Bhāg.; XII. 6. 58.

9. Viṣṇu, III. 4. 10.

10. Brahmāṇḍa, P., II. 33. 6.

the fifth Āraṇyakas are thought to have been written by Āśvalāyana and Śaunaka respectively). Hence it is certain that Māṇḍūkya preceded Mahīdāsa Aitareya. On the other hand, according to the Purāṇas Vedamitra Śākalya was a pupil of Māṇḍūkya. Thus, it is also probable that the Māṇḍūkya-Śākhā was established earlier than that of Śākalya. It can also be surmised that the Māṇḍūkya is one of the earliest schools of the Ṛgveda. Only one text of this Śākhā, called Māṇḍūkī-Śikṣā is available. But in the opinion of Prof. Max Müller it is a later production.¹

The Āśvalāyana-Śākhā

In the Agni-Purāṇa only two Śākhās of the Ṛgveda are enumerated, the Śāṅkhāyana and the Āśvalāyana.² According to the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka, the Āśvalāyana-Śākhā is one of the five schools of the Ṛgveda. In the view of the Vikṛti-Kaumudī it is one of the five subdivisions of the Śākalas. But this view lacks validity, as it is nowhere else included among the five Śākhās of the Śākalas.

The word Āśvala is referred to by Pāṇini.³ Purāṇas have no adequate knowledge about Āśvalāyana. According to the Vāyu-Purāṇa an Āśvalāyana was the son of Sahiṣṇu and incarnation of the Lord.⁴ Reference has been made to Āśvalāyaninaḥ in the Matsya-Purāṇa, where they are regarded as the Kaśyapa-gotrakāras.⁵ The Mahābhārata is acquainted with an Āśvalāyana who is said to be one of the sons of Viśvāmitra.⁶

No Saṁhitā of this Śākhā is available. But there are certain documents which prove the existence of a separate Āśvalāyana-Saṁhitā. They may be summed up thus: (1) In the MSS. of Walker's collection, there is a work entitled Āśvalāyana-Śāḥhokta-Mantra-Saṁhitā which contains the hymns as required for the Gṛhya of Āśvalāyana.

1. History of Ancient SKT. Lit., P., 75.

2. भेदः शांखायनश्चैक आशलायनद्वितीयकः । Agni P., 271.2.

3. स्थिरक-ब्राह्मण-चटक-बदर-ग्रन्थ... । Naḍādhī.

4. Vāyu, 23. 213.

5. Matsya, 199. 6.

6. Anuśāsana-Parva, 4.54

(2) Mahidāsa, the commentator of the Caranavyūha, mentions the number of verses in the Āśvalāyana-Saṁhitā. But unfortunately the commentators of the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra hold the contrary view. They are of the opinion that this Sūtra is based on the Saṁhitās of the Śakalas and Bāskalās.

The texts attributed to Āśvalāyana are as follows :

- (1) The Śrauta-Sūtras of 12 Adhyāyas
- (2) The Gṛhya-Sūtras of 4 Chaptets, and
- (3) The Fourth Āraṇyaka of the Aitareyins.

The Śāṅkhāyana-Śākhā

The Caranavyūha and the other treatises dealing with the Śākhās of the Ṛgveda mention the Śāṅkhāyana-Śākhā among the schools of the Ṛgveda. The Gṛhya-Sūtras refer to him among the Ācāryas. Today in spite of the absence of its Saṁhitā, the Śāṅkhāyana-Śākhā has its own Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and Kalpa-sūtras.

It is to be noted that the Purāṇas are quite silent about the founder of this Śākhā. In the Bhāgavata some Śāṅkhāyanas are mentioned. They are regarded as sages of rigid vows. The Matsya-Purāṇa, too has the same observation.² It is the Agni-purāṇa which mentions this Śākhā.³

Many years ago Prof. Weber advanced the view that the home of the Śāṅkhāyanas was in the western region of India. Prof. Bühler held the same view.⁴ From a passage of Mahārṇava the idea advanced by Weber and supported by Bühler is well confirmed^{4a}.

It is most probable that originally this Śākhā consisted of the Saṁhitā. The reasons for this are these :

- (1) In the Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra XII. 10.15, such references are found as prove that either the Sūtrakāra has made mistake or his recension of the Ṛgveda was different.⁵

1. Bhāg., III. 8.7, 8

2. Matsya, 200.11

3. Agni, 271.2

4. Sacred Books of the East., Vol. II, P. 31

4a. उत्तरे गुजरे देशे वेदो बहवृच ईरितः ।

कौषीतकिब्राह्मणं च शाखा शाङ्खायनी स्थिता ॥

Quoted in Caranavyūha (P. 33)

5. T. R. Chintamani, Kauṣītaka-Gr.-Sūtra, Into. pp. 15, 16.

(2) In the Śāṅkhāyana's Śrauta-Sūtra 12 mantras are found by Pratīkas but are not found in the extant text of the Ṛgveda. It indicates the separate existence of the Śāṅkhāyana-Saṁhitā.

At present the Brāhmaṇa, the Āraṇyaka and the Kalpa-sūtras of this Śākhā are in existence.

The Aitareya-Śākhā

No mention has been made of it in the Caranavyūha. But from the references in old treatises its existence is known. The verses quoted in the Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra in full, occur only in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. Hence, it is clear that they were attached to the Aitareya-Śākhā

The Indian tradition has tried to trace the name to Itarā. Regarding the origin of the name, Sāyaṇa in his introduction to the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa narrates the following story on the authority of Sampradāyavidāḥ : there was a Ṛṣi in the ancient time who had many wives and one of them was called Itarā. He had a son Mahidāsa by her who is mentioned in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka as Mahidāsa Aitareya. He was neglected by his father, who showed more affection towards his other sons. At a certain sacrifice all his sons were allowed to sit in his lap excepting Mahidāsa. Thereupon, his mother Itarā invoked her family deity Earth who appeared at once in the assembly and offered a divine throne to Mahidāsa and seated him on it. To Mahidāsa enlightened by the boon of Earth, the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa and the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka were revealed.¹

The mantras referred to in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa are for the most part available in the present ṚK-Saṁhitā. There are however, some which are not to be found in the Śakala recension. Hence, it may be concluded that the Aitareya recension was a different one. Oldenberg holds a different view and says that these untraced mantras are of later origin. The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka is divided into five Āraṇyakas. According to Sāyaṇa the first

1. Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Com. on the Ait.-Br., see also the beginning verses of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in his com. on the Ait.-Br. He mentions the name of Aitareya's father as Bharadvāja ; a similar story is found in the Skanda-Purāṇa, Kumārikā Khaṇḍa. 52.27-45.

three were composed by Aitareya. The last two are written by Āśvalāyana and Śaunaka.

The Kauṣītiki-Śākhā

It is a major Śākhā of the Ṛgveda. It is obvious from the existence of its Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra that this Śākhā was not merely a sūtra-śākhā and it was widely followed. But unfortunately the Purāṇas are silent about the school of the Kauṣītikins. It is curious to note that neither the Purāṇas nor the Mahābhārata has referred to it. But this school is mentioned in the Brahmad-devatā and the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra.

At present the schools of the Kauṣītikins and Śāṅkhāyana are combined together into one, and unfortunately the Saṁhitā is totally lost. The Brāhmaṇa for both the schools is one and bears the name of Kauṣītiki as well as of Śāṅkhāyana. But originally, as Lindner has suggested, both the Brāhmaṇas differed. The Upaniṣads of these two Śākhās differ more widely. The Gṛhya-Sūtras of the Kauṣītikins have been published.

The Saunaka-Śākhā

In the history of the Ṛgvedic lore and in the development of the Ṛgvedic treatises Saunaka has an undisputedly high rank. Saunaka was a famous Ṛṣi of Naimiṣāraṇya. Śaḍguruśiṣya tells a story about Saunaka according to which he was an incarnation of Gṛtsamada. He composed a Kalpa-sūtra which was based on the Saṁhitā of the Śākālas and Bāśakālas. Āśvalāyana was his pupil and he composed his own Sūtras. Being pleased with his pupil's creation he destroyed his own Kalpa-Sūtras.¹

No Saṁhitā of this Śākhā has come down to us. Pāṇini has mentioned the Saṁhitā of Saunaka.² Ten works are attributed to him.³

The Bahvṛca, Paiṅgya, Vāsistha Sāmbhavya and Sulabha Śākhās

All these Śākhās have been mentioned in the texts dealing with the Śākhās of the Ṛgveda. But none of these is referred

1. Max Müller, History of Ancient Skt. Lit., pp., 120-122.

2. शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि Pāṇini, IV. 3.166.

3. History of Ancient Skt. Lit., pp., 120-122.

to in the Purāṇas. The Ṛgveda is generally described as Bahvṛca. But there are certain references in the old texts which prove the existence of a Bahvṛca-Caraṇa. But in spite of these quotations and references nothing is certain about this Śākhā.

The Prapañcahṛdaya mentions the name of Paiṅgya among the Śākhās of the Ṛgveda. According to the Mahābhārata a Paiṅgya was present in the court of Yudhiṣṭhira. In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa the opinion of Paiṅgya is quoted. In the Kauṣītiki-Brāhmaṇa Paiṅgya has frequent occurrences. According to Kumārila, the Dharmasūtra of Vasiṣṭha was prescribed for the Bahvṛcas. The opinion of Vasiṣṭha is quoted in the commentary on Parāśara-Gṛhya-Sūtra.

A Sāmbhavya Śākhā is said to be attached to the Ṛgveda. We have no acquaintance with Sāmbhavya Ācārya. A Sāmbavya-Kalpa is mentioned in the Jaiminiya Śrautabhāṣya of Bhavatrāta.

A Sulabha Brāhmaṇa is twice mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.¹ A Sulabhā Maitreyī is mentioned in the Gṛhya-Sūtras of Āśvalāyana, Kauṣītaka and Śāṅkhāyana. From these references we can surmise that this Sulabha-Brāhmaṇa was related to the Ṛgveda.

No Literature of these Śākhās is available.

Besides these Śākhās the Purāṇas mention some others which generally do not occur in the other treatises. According to the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa Śākapūṇi Rathetara proclaimed his Saṁhitā to three students. To a fourth student he taught the Nirukta. His four pupils are : Paila, Ikṣalaka, Sitabalāka and Gaja.² The Śrīmadbhāgavata has a different version. According to it Jātūkarṇya taught his Saṁhitā along with the Nirukta to Balāka, Paija, Vaitāla and Viraja.³ In the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the names are : Krauñca, Vaitālika, Balāka and the Niruktakṛt.⁴

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV. 2.66 ; IV. 3.105.

2. Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, II. 34. 3, 4.

3. Bhāg., XII. 5. 58.

4. Viṣṇu, III. 4. 23, 24.

The difference between these may be seen in the following table :

Propagators' names.	Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa	Viṣṇu Purāṇa	Bh. Purāṇa
	Śākapūṇi	Śākapūṇi	Jātūkarnya.
	Rathetara.	Tathetara	
Name of the students.			
1.	Paila	Krauñca	Paija
2.	Ikṣalaka	Vaitālika	Vaitāla
3.	Sitabalāka	Balāka	Balāka
4.	Gaja	X	Viraja

In the Vijayā commentary on the Śrīmadbhāgavata the name is written as Paiṅgi instead of Paija or Paila. Nothing is known about these Śākhās.

According to the Purāṇic tradition Bāṣkala is mentioned as the teacher of the three other students (Bāṣkala and his four other students are already mentioned). The variation of this name is also Bāṣkali. According to the Śrīmadbhāgavata Bāṣkali collected all Khilas from all the Śākhās and made a Vāḷakhilya-Saṁhitā. This Saṁhitā was entrusted to Bāla, Nirbhajya and Kāsāra. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa tells us that Bāṣkala composed another three Saṁhitās and his three pupils were Kālāyani, Gārgya and Kathājava. The Vāyu-Purāṇa tells that Bāṣkali, the Bhāradvāja, taught his three Saṁhitās to three pupils who were sages (Mahātmāṇaḥ) and qualified persons (Guṇānvitas). Their names were Nandāyanīya, Pannagāri and Ārjava. Similar data are seen in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa in whose opinion these three pupils are Āpanīpa, Pannagāri and Ārjava.

CĀṆAKYA'S APHORISMS IN PURĀṆAS

BY

LUDWIK STERNBACH

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे प्राधान्येन गण्डपुराणान्तर्गतबृहस्पतिसंहितायाः (१० पु०, अध्यायाः १०८-११५) चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्रस्य च नीतिवचनानां तुलनात्मकम् अध्ययनं प्रस्तुतम् । तदर्थं च चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्रस्यात्र द्वौ मुद्रितग्रन्थौ यद् प्राचीनकोशाश्च समाकलिताः । विदुषा लेखकेनापि भूमिका-निर्धारितपाठ-पाठभेदादिसहितं च चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्रग्रन्थमुद्रितम् । तस्य निर्धारितपाठोऽप्यत्र निर्दिष्टः ।

गण्डपुराणस्य बृहस्पतिसंहितायां ३९० श्लोकाः सन्ति । तेषु ३३४ श्लोकानां चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्रस्य श्लोकैः सह साम्यं वर्तते, ११ श्लोकाः चाणक्यनिर्मितेष्वन्येषु ग्रन्थेषु वर्तन्ते, ५ श्लोकाश्च अन्यसंस्कृत-ग्रन्थेषु विद्यन्ते तस्माद् बृहस्पतिसंहितायां केवलं ३९ श्लोका एव गण्डपुराणस्य स्वकीयाः श्लोका अवशिष्यन्ते ।

अन्येऽपि ३१ श्लोकाः चाणक्यग्रन्थेषु पुराणेषु च समाना लभ्यन्ते । ते सर्वेऽप्यत्र निबन्धे वर्णक्रमानुसारेण आकरनिर्देशपूर्वकम् उल्लिखिताः । १६ श्लोकाश्च सादृश्येन पुराणेषु चाणक्यग्रन्थेषु चोपलभ्यन्ते, तेष्वत्र आकरनिर्देशपूर्वकं निर्दिष्टाः ।

चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्रं नाम ग्रन्थो दशम्यां ख्रीस्तीयशताब्द्यां भिद्युरिनचेनजोनपोनाम्ना तिब्बतदेशीयेन विदुषा स्वकीये संग्रहग्रन्थेऽन्तर्भावित आसीत् । एतेनास्य ग्रन्थस्य तदानीमपि परं महत्त्वमासीदिति स्पष्टं प्रतीयते । अतएव गण्डपुराणेऽस्य प्रायशः सर्वेषामेव श्लोकानां संग्रहः कृतः ।]

1. In his previous study "The Cāṅkya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Bṛhaspati-Saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa" in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institue (ABORI XXXVII, pp 58-110) this author came to the conclusion that the Bṛhaspati-Saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa (GP) is almost identical with Cāṅkya's aphorisms, the Cāṅkya-rājanīti śāstra version (CR). He was able to prove that seventy per cent of the Bṛhaspati-Saṁhitā maxims of the Garuḍa-purāṇa are identical with CR. This study was based on three texts of CR, viz. the text of the Cāṅkya-rāja-nīti-śāstram ed. by Pt. Īśvara Chandra Śāstri (Calcutta Or. Series, No. 2) (CRC), the MS. Sansk. f. 15 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (CRB) and the MS. 1559 in the Library of the

Pennsylvania University in Philadelphia, Pa. (CRP).¹ In the meantime this author was able to secure five additional texts of CR, viz. MS. 347 of 1892-25 in the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Insitute, Poona (BORI) (CRBh I), the MS. 348 of 1892-95 in BORI (CRBh II), the MS. Add. 2525 in the University Library in Cambridge (CRCa I), the MS. Add. 1040 in the University Library in Cambridge (CRCa II) and the Tibetan text of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, as published by Sunitikumar Pathak in the Viśva-Bhāratī Annals, Vol. VIII (CRT).² On the basis of these eight texts (in particular CRT and CRCa II, which might even be extracts from the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP) it was possible to identify all but fifty-six stanzas of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP³ as identical with at least one of the eight texts of the CR version, i. e. over eighty-five per cent of the whole Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP. Of the remaining fifteen per cent (fifty-seven stanzas) those marked with one asterisk, i. e. eleven maxims are found in other versions of Cāṇakya and those marked with two asterisks, i. e. five stanzas, in other texts of Sanskrit literature. That would mean that, as long as the ur-text of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP or other texts of CR are not found, only thirty-nine stanzas,⁴ i. e. less than ten per cent of the whole Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of GP, are maxims original to the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP.

2. The following table shows the correlation of the stanzas of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP with the eight texts of CR.⁵

1. Described in detail by L. Sternbach in "A new Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra Manuscript" in Bhāratīya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1958 and Bhāratīya Vidya XVI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 89-143 and Nos. 3-4, pp. 97-124.

2. Also see L. Sternbach, "The Tibetan Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra." ABORI XLII, pp. 99-122. There the author came to the conclusion that the CRT text is possibly another text of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. The CRCa II text seems rather to be an extract of the same work than a text of the CR version, although in the colophon Cāṇakya is said to be the author.

3. 108.5, 9, 10; 109.16, 31*, 50**, 54; 110.6, 28; 111.11, 14, 19, 20, 25; 112.9*; 113.5, 13*, 20, 26*, 28, 32, 38, 58*, 59; 114.3, 7, 10, 23, 43*, 45*, 53, 64, 65, 71**, 73**, 74; 115.6*, 13*, 14, 19**, 29**, 34*, 35, 37, 40, 50, 53, 56-8, 64, 70, 72, 77*, 82, 83 (closing stanza).

4. In reality thirty-eight stanzas, since the last stanza is a closing stanza.

5. The figures followed by an asterisk (*) denote variants (or only similarities).

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed ¹
ADHYĀYA 108									
1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...		...
2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...		...
3	1.6	3	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8		1.8
4	...	...	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9		1.9
5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...
6	1.8	...	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10		1.10
7	...	...	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.13		1.11
8	...	...	1.12	...	1.12	1.12	1.11		1.12
9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...
10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...
11	...	...	1.17	1.15	1.17	1.17	1.17		1.16
12	1.7	4	1.18	1.16	1.18	1.18	1.18		1.17
13	1.10	...	1.19	1.17	1.19	1.19	1.19		1.18
14	1.11	5	1.20	1.18	1.20	1.20	1.20		1.19
15	1.12-13	6	1.21	1.19	1.21	1.22	1.22		1.21
16	1.12-13	...	1.26	...	1.26	1.27	1.27		1.28
17	...	...	1.22	1.20	1.22	1.23	1.23		1.29
18	cf.1.14	...	cf.1.27	cf.1.25	cf.1.27	cf.1.28	cf.1.28		1.27*
19	1.15	...	1.28	1.26	1.28	1.29	1.29		1.28
20	1.16	...	...	...	...	...	...		...
21	1.17	...	...	...	...	...	...		...
22	1.18	...	1.36	1.32	1.37	1.38	1.38		1.35
23	1.19	7	...	...	...	1.39	...		...
24	cf.1.21	cf.8	...	...	...	...	...		...
25	1.22	9	1.43	1.38	1.44	1.45	1.45		1.40
26	...	...	2.11	2.12	2.11	2.8	2.12		2.11
27	...	...	cf.1.45	cf.1.40	cf.1.46	...	cf.1.54		1.42
28	cf.1.23	...	cf.1.51	cf.1.46	cf.1.52	cf.1.52	cf.1.57		1.48

1. CR reconstructed in Cr. (see abbreviations).

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP I	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed
ADHYĀYA—109									
1	2.1	10	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1		2.1
2	2.2	...	2.7	2.2	2.7	2.3	...		2.3
3	2.3	11	...	2.7	...	2.5	2.5		2.6
4	2.4	12	2.10	2.10	2.10	...	2.10		2.9
5	2.5	13	2.6	2.11	2.6	...	...		2.10
6	2.6	...	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.10	2.14		2.12
7	2.7	...	2.14	2.14	2.14	2.11	2.15	M I S S I N G	2.13
8	2.8	...	2.15	2.15	2.15	2.12	2.18		2.14
9	2.9	...	2.16	2.16	2.16	2.13	2.19		2.15
10	2.10	14	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.14	2.20	M I S S I N G	2.16
11	2.11	...	...	2.18	...	2.15	...		2.17
12	2.12	...	2.18	...	2.18	...	2.21	2.17	2.18
13	2.13	...	2.19	2.19	2.19	2.16	2.22	...	2.19
14	2.14	...	2.21	2.22	2.21	2.18	2.24	2.20	2.21
15	2.15	15	2.22	2.23	2.22	2.19	2.25	2.21	2.22
16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17	2.16	...	2.23	2.24	2.23	2.20	2.26	2.22	2.23
18	2.17	...	2.24	2.25	2.24	2.21	2.28	2.23	2.24
19	2.18	...	2.25	2.26	2.25	2.22	2.27	...	2.25
20	cf.2.19	...	2.26	2.27	2.26	2.23	2.29	2.24	2.26
21	2.21	...	cf.2.28	cf.2.33	cf.2.28	cf.2.25	cf.2.30	cf.2.26	2.28
22	2.22	...	2.29	2.34	2.29	2.26	2.31	2.27	2.29
23	2.23	...	2.31	2.36	2.31	2.27	2.33	2.29	2.31
24	2.24	...	2.33	2.38	2.33	...	2.40	2.30	2.33
25	...	...	2.35	2.40	2.35	...	...	...	2.35
26	...	...	2.30	2.35	2.30	...	2.32	2.28	2.30
27	...	...	2.36	2.41	2.36	...	...	2.32	2.36
28	...	...	2.37	2.42	2.37	...	...	...	2.37
29	...	...	cf.2.38	cf.2.43	cf.2.38	...	...	cf.2.33	2.38

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed
30	...	...	2.39	2.44	2.39	...	...	2.34	2.39
31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32	2.25	...	2.40	2.45	2.40	...	...	...	2.40
33	2.26	...	2.41	2.46	2.41	2.35	...	2.35	2.41
34	...	...	2.42	2.47	2.42	2.36	...	2.36	2.42
35	...	...	2.43	2.48	2.43	...	...	2.37	2.43
36	...	...	cf.2.44	cf.2.49	cf.2.44	...	...	cf.2.38	2.44
37	...	...	2.45	...	2.45	...	...	2.39	2.45
38	...	...	2.46	2.50	2.46	2.39	2.42	...	2.46
39	...	...	2.47	...	2.47	2.37	...	2.40	2.47
40	2.27	16	2.48	2.51	2.48	...	...	2.41	2.48
41	2.28	...	2.49	2.52	2.49	2.39	2.43	...	2.49
42	2.29	...	2.50	2.53	2.50	2.40	2.45	2.42	2.50
43	2.30	...	2.51	2.54	2.51	2.41	2.46	2.43	2.51
44	...	...	2.52	2.55	2.52	2.42	2.47	...	2.52
45	...	20	1.44	1.39	1.45	1.46	1.48	MI	1.41
46	...	...	2.54	2.57	2.54	2.44	2.49	2.44	2.54
47	...	...	2.55	2.58	2.55	2.45	2.50	2.45	2.55
48	...	...	2.57	2.60	2.57	2.47	2.52	2.47	2.57
49	...	...	2.56	2.59	2.56	2.46	2.51	2.46	2.56
50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51	...	...	2.58	2.61	2.58	2.48	2.54	...	2.58
52	...	...	2.59	2.62	2.59	2.49	2.55	2.49	2.59
53	...	...	2.60	2.63	2.60	...	2.56	2.50	2.60
54	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

1. Also CPS. 373.3

2. Also VCSr 9.1. Vet. 21.13, VS 3436.

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CR reconstructed
30	4.14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
31	4.15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32	4.16	...	4.30	4.42	4.30	4.35	4.50	4.21
33	4.17	23	...	...	...	...	...	...

ADHYĀYA 112

1	cf.5.11	...	cf.5.1	cf.5.1	cf.5.1	cf.5.1	cf.5.1	5.1	5.1 ¹
2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	...	...	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.2
4	5.5	...	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3
5	5.6	...	5.5	5.4	5.5	4.36	...	5.4	5.4
6	5.7	...	5.4	5.5	5.4	4.41	5.4	5.5	5.5
7	5.4	...	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.6
8	5.8	...	5.8	5.8	5.8	5.8	5.7	5.8	5.8
9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	5.9	...	5.10	5.10	5.10	...	5.10	5.10	5.10
11	5.3*	...	5.11*	5.12*	5.11*	5.6*	5.11*	...	5.11
12	5.2	...	5.13	5.15	5.13	5.9	5.13	5.12*	5.13
13	...	...	5.14*	5.16*	5.14*	5.10*	5.14*	5.15*	5.14 ²
14	5.15	...	5.19	5.21	5.19	5.18	5.20	5.20	5.19
15	5.16	...	3.30	3.31	3.30	3.30	...	3.21	3.29
	5.17	...	5.20	5.22	5.20	5.28	5.21	5.21	5.20
17	...	...	5.21	5.23	5.21	...	5.22	5.22	5.21
18	5.18	...	5.23	5.25	5.23	5.29	2.25	...	5.22
19	5.18	...	5.24	5.26	5.24	5.30	5.26	5.25	5.23
20	5.20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	...	...	5.26*	5.28*	5.26*	5.32*	5.28*	5.27*	5.25

1. Also CS I. 73, CNI I.267, CNG 79 and in old Javanese NS (OJ) 15.3.

2. Almost identical in CS. I. 61-2, CN 103, Cv 4.13, CnI II 6.8, CnT III 4.15, CnT VI 70, SR 143-33.

3. Almost identical in CL "G", CLS. 5.13

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed
22	5.22	...	5.27	5.29	5.27	5.33	5.29	5.28	5.26
23	5.23	...	5.31	5.33	5.31	5.37	5.33	5.32	5.30
24	5.25	...	5.32	5.34	5.32	5.44	5.34	5.33	5.31
25	5.26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

ADHYĀYA—113

1	6.1	...	5.34	5.36	5.34	5.42	5.36	5.35	5.33
2	6.1	...	5.35	5.37	5.35	5.43	5.37	5.36	5.34
3	...	24	5.36 ¹	5.38	5.36	5.38	5.38	5.37	5.35
4	...	...	5.37*	5.59*	3.37*	5.39*	5.39*	...	5.36
5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	...	...	5.38	5.40	5.38	5.40	5.40	5.38	5.37
7	6.3	...	5.39	5.43	5.39	5.47	5.41	...	5.38
8	6.4	25	5.40	5.44	5.40	...	5.44	...	5.39
9	6.5	...	5.43	5.47	5.43	5.49	5.47	5.43	5.52
10	6.6	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	...	...	5.44	5.48	5.44	...	5.48	5.44	5.43
12	6.7*	27	6.1*	6.1*	6.1*	6.1*	6.1*	6.1*	6.1
13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	...	...	6.5	6.7	6.5	6.4	6.8	6.6	6.4
15	...	...	6.8	6.10	6.8	6.7	6.11	6.9	6.7
16	...	...	6.9	6.11	6.9	6.8	6.12	6.10	6.8
17	...	...	6.10	6.12	6.10	6.9	6.13	6.11	6.9
18	...	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19	...	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	...	...	6.14	6.17	6.15	6.11	6.19	6.15	6.13
22	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23	...	31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

1. Wrongly marked 5.26

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed
24	::	32	6.18	6.21	6.20	6.15	6.22	6.18	6.17
25	::	...	6.20	6.23	6.21	6.17	6.30	...	6.19
26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...¹
27	...	cf.33-4	6.21*	6.24*	6.22*	6.18*	6.31*	6.20*	6.20*
28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29	...	35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30	...	36	6.23	6.26	6.24	6.20	6.33	...	6.22
31	...	...	6.24	6.27	6.25	6.21	6.35	6.21	6.23
32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33	6.9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
34	6.10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35	6.11	...	6.28	6.32	6.29	6.26	6.39	6.25	6.27
36	6.12	...	6.29	6.33	6.30	6.27	6.40	6.26	6.28
37	6.13	...	6.30	6.34	6.31	6.28	6.41	6.27	6.29
38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
39	...	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	...	47	6.32	6.36	6.33	6.30	6.45	6.29	6.31
41	6.14*	19	6.33*	6.37*	6.34*	...	6.46*	6.30*	6.32
42	6.15*	...	6.35*	6.39*	6.36*	6.34*	6.47	6.32*	6.34
43	6.16	41	6.40	6.44	6.41	...	6.55	6.36	6.38
44	...	42	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45	...	43	...	...	...	...	6.66	...	O
46	cf.6.17	44	...	...	...	6.41	6.60	...	P
47	...	...	...	6.46	...	...	6.59	...	Q
48	...	39	6.43	6.48	6.44	6.44	6.87	6.37	6.41
49	6.17	40	6.44	6.49	6.45	6.46	6.88	6.38	6.42
50	...	37	6.46	6.51	6.47	6.48	6.90	6.39	6.44
51	...	...	6.47	6.52	6.48	6.49	6.91	6.40	6.45
52	6.18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

1. Also CS 2.100

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed
53	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54	...	38	6.49	6.55	6.50	6.51	6.94	6.41	6.47
55	6.19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56	6.20	...	6.50	6.56	6.51	6.54	6.95	6.42	6.48
57	...	...	6.51*	6.55*	6.52*	...*	6.96*	6.43*	6.49
58	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...¹
59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60	6.21	...	6.52	6.60	5.53	...	6.97	...	6.50
61	6.22	...	...	6.61	...	6.55	6.18	...	6.51
62	6.23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
ADHYĀYA 114									
1	7.1	...	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.1
2	7.2	49	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2
3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	...	...	7.3	7.3	7.3	...	7.3	7.3	7.3
5	7.3	...	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.6	7.7	7.4	7.4
6	...	...	...	...	...	...	7.9	...	...
7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	7.4	...	...	...	...	...	7.10	...	...
9	...	...	7.7	7.7	7.7	...	...	7.6	7.6
10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	...	...	7.8	7.8	7.8	...	...	7.7	7.7
12	...	...	7.12	7.12	7.12	...	7.15	7.11	7.11
13	7.5	...	...	...	...	7.9	7.11	...	S
14	...	...	7.13-4	7.13	7.13-4	7.15	7.16	7.12	7.12
15	7.6	...	7.15	7.14	7.15	7.11	7.17	7.13	7.13
16	...	...	7.17	7.15	7.17	...	7.18	7.14	7.14

1. Also CV 13.5, CNP I. 84, CNP II 275, CNG 252, CNT IV. 85, CPS 311.15, SR 390.519 and in old Javanese SS (OJ) 487.

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed
17	...	...	7.18	7.17	7.18	...	7.20	...	7.16
18	7.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19	7.8	...	7.20	7.19	7.19	7.60	7.27	7.10	7.18
20	...	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	7.11	...	...	...	...	...	7.26	...	...
22	7.12	...	7.29	7.29	7.28	7.13	7.24	7.25	7.28
23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24	7.13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25	...	...	7.21	7.20	7.20	7.14	7.30	7.17	7.19
26	7.14	...	7.23	7.21	7.21	7.19	7.31	7.18	7.20
27	7.15	...	7.23	7.22	7.22	7.20	7.32	7.19	7.21
28	7.16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29	...	...	7.24	7.23	7.23	7.17	7.33	7.20	7.22
30	7.17	...	...	7.24	...	7.21	7.34	...	7.23
31	7.18	...	7.25	7.25	7.24	...	7.35	7.21	7.24
32	...	...	7.27	7.27	7.26	7.22	7.37	7.23	7.26
33	...	...	7.26*	7.26*	7.25*	7.23*	7.36*	7.22*	7.25
34	...	...	...	...	...	7.24	7.38	...	T
35	7.19	...	7.30	7.30	7.29	7.18	7.39	7.26	7.29
36	...	...	...	7.31	...	...	7.43	...	U
37	7.20	...	7.38	7.39	7.37	...	7.47	7.34	7.36
38	7.21	57	7.39	7.40	7.38	7.25	7.48	7.35	7.37
39	7.22	58	7.40	7.41	7.39	7.26	7.49	7.35 ^{bis}	7.38
40	...	54	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
41	...	55	7.41	7.42	7.40	7.29	7.50	7.36	7.39
42	...	...	7.42	7.43	7.41	...	7.51	7.37	7.40
43	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...¹
44	...	56	7.43	7.45	7.43	...	7.53	7.39	7.41

1. Almost identical in CNG 148, CNPN 29, CNI I 143, CnT II 16.11, CnT III,

b 7, TP 45.

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed
45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...¹
46	7.25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47	...	...	7.44	7.46	7.44	...	7.25	...	7.42
48	...	...	7.46	7.48	7.46	7.27	7.54	...	7.44
49	cf.7.27	...	...	...	...	...	cf.7.56	...	...
50	7.28	...	7.49	7.51	7.49	...	7.58	...	7.46
51	7.29	...	7.50	7.52	7.50	7.30	...	MISSING	7.47
52	...	...	cf.6.45	cf.6.50	cf.6.46	cf.6.47	cf.6.89	...	cf.6.42
53	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54	...	...	7.61	7.62	7.60	...	7.61	MISSING	7.55
55	...	...	7.62	7.63	7.61	...	7.68	...	7.56
56	8.48	...	7.63	7.64	7.62	7.34	7.69	...	7.57
57	8.47	...	7.64	...	7.63	...	7.73	...	7.58
58	...	...	7.65	7.65	7.64	7.34	7.74	...	7.59
59	8.46	...	7.67	7.67	7.66	7.43	7.77	...	7.61
60	...	50	7.68	7.68	7.67	...	7.78	...	7.62
61	...	...	7.72	7.72	7.71	7.36	7.75	...	7.66
62	...	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
63	...	...	cf.7.73	cf.7.73	cf.7.72	...	cf.7.82	...	7.67
64	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
65	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
66	...	...	...	7.80	...	7.37	7.85	...	...
67	...	...	7.76	7.76	7.75	...	7.86	...	7.70
68	...	...	7.77	7.77	7.76	7.38	7.87	...	7.71
69	...	52	7.78	7.78	7.77	7.40	7.89	MISSING	7.72
70	...	...	7.80	7.81	7.79	...	7.93	...	7.74
71	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...²
72	...	...	8.46	8.48	8.45 ³	8.43	8.45	MISSING	8.44

1. Also CV 7.5, Cv. 5.15, CS 3.55, CnT II 8.2, CnT III 5.14, CnT VI 88, CPS 189.12,

2. Also ŚP 703, VS 2991.

3. Cf. CR 8.43-4.

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR Reconstructed
73	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..¹
74	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
75	..	..	7.84	7.85	7.82 ^a	7.66	7.97	..	7.78
ADHYĀYA 115									
1	8.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	..	..	cf8.1	cf8.1	cf8.1	cf8.1	cf8.1	..	8.1
3	8.2	..	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.5	..	8.3
4	8.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	8.4	..	8.4	8.4	8.4	8.4	8.6	..	8.4
6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..³
7	8.5	..	8.7	1.24	8.7	1.21	1.21	M I S S I N G	1.20
8	..	..	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.8	..	8.6
9	8.45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	..	..	8.9	8.5	8.9	8.12	8.9	..	8.8
11	8.6	..	8.10	8.9	8.10	8.7	8.10	..	8.9
12	..	..	8.11	8.10	8.11	8.13	8.11	..	8.10
13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	cf8.9 ⁴
14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	..	..	8.14	8.13	8.14	8.16	8.13	..	8.13
16	8.7	..	8.15	8.15	8.15	8.17	8.14	..	8.14
17	8.8*	..	8.16*	8.17*	8.16*	8.19*	8.15*	..	8.15
18	8.9	..	8.17	8.16	8.17	8.18	8.16	..	8.16
19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..⁵
20	8.10	..	8.18	8.19	8.18	8.20	8.17	..	8.17
21	..	..	8.19	8.20	8.19	..	8.18	..	8.18

1. Also SR 156.134.

2. Cf CR 7.78-9.

3. Also CnT II 29.6, CnT VII 80.

4. Cf. GP 115.11, CV 8.1, CS 3.14, CNP II 147 and 243, CN I 1-125, CNG 146, CNT IV 131, CnT II 15.11, CnT III 7.33, CnT V 125, CPS 223.4, SR 159, 289 SuM 26.1, SRHt 209.4.

5. Also SR 389. 478.

GP	CRT	CRCa II	CRP	CRB	CRBh I	CRBh II	CRC	CRCa I	CR reconstructed
22	8.11	..	8.22	8.23	8.22	8.23	8.21	..	8.21
23	8.12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	8.13	..	8.23	8.24	8.23	8.25	8.22	..	8.22
25	..	..	8.24	8.25	8.24	8.24	8.23	..	8.23
26	8.14	..	8.25	8.26	8.25	8.26	8.25	..	8.24
27	8.15	..	8.27	8.28	8.27	8.28	8.27	..	8.26
28	..	..	8.28*	3.29*	8.28*	8.29*	8.28*	..	8.27
29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..¹
30	8.16	..	8.29	8.30	8.29	..	8.31	..	8.28
31	8.17	..	8.32	8.33	8.32	8.31	8.29	..	8.30
32	..	..	8.35	8.36	8.35	8.33	8.36	..	8.33
33	..	..	8.36	8.37	8.36	8.35	8.38	..	8.34
34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..²
35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	8.19	..	8.37	8.38	8.37	8.36	8.37	..	8.35
37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38	8.20	..	8.38	8.39	8.38	..	..	..	8.36
39	8.21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
41	8.22	..	8.41	8.42	8.41	8.41	8.40	..	8.39
42	8.23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
43	8.24	..	8.42	8.43	8.42	..	8.41	..	8.40
44	8.25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45	..	..	8.44	8.46	8.44	8.42	8.43	..	8.42
46	..	..	8.47	8.49	8.46	8.44	8.46	..	8.45
47	..	..	8.49	8.52	8.49	..	8.49	..	8.48
48	8.26	..	8.50	8.53	8.50	8.45	8.50	..	8.49

1. Also MBh. (Bhandarkar ed.) 12. 237, 27 and in old Javanese SS (OJ) 378.

2. Also SR 385, 314.

GP	CRT	CRC ^a II	CRP	CRB	CRB ^h I	CRB ^h II	CRC	CRC ^a I	CR reconstructed
49	8.27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
51	8.28	..	8.51	8.54	8.51	8.47	8.51	..	8.50
52	8.29	..	8.54	8.57	8.54	8.49	8.54	..	8.53
53	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54	8.30	..	8.55	8.58	8.55	8.50	8.55	..	8.54
55	8.31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
56	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
57	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
58	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
59	..	..	8.59*	8.62*	8.60*	..	9.58*	..	8.58
60	..	..	8.60	8.63	8.61	..	8.59	..	8.59
61	..	..	8.63	8.66	8.64	..	8.62	..	8.62
62	8.32	..	8.64	8.67	8.65	8.54	8.63	..	8.63
63	8.33	..	8.65	8.68	8.66	8.55	..	..	8.64
64	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
65	..	..	8.89	8.91	8.100	..	8.96	..	8.87
66	cf.8.34	..	cf.8.90	cf.8.92	cf.8.101	..	cf.8.98	..	8.88
67	8.35	..	8.60	8.69	8.67	8.56	8.64	..	8.65
68	..	..	8.67	8.70	8.68	8.57	8.65	..	8.66
69	..	..	cf.8.68	cf.8.71	cf.8.69	cf.8.58	cf.8.66	..	cf.8.67
70	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
71	..	..	8.71	8.74	8.72	8.60	2.16	..	8.69
72	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
73	..	..	8.72	8.75	8.73	8.61	8.68	..	8.70
74	8.36	..	8.79	8.82	8.80	8.65	8.75	..	8.77
75	..	..	8.80	..	8.81	8.66	8.76	..	8.78
76	8.37	..	8.81	8.83	8.82	8.67	8.77	..	8.79
77	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...¹

1, Also KDr. ad याचन् attributed GP.

GP	CRT	CRC ^a II	CRP	CRB	CRB ^h I	CRB ^h II	CRC	CRC ^a I	CR reconstructed
78	8.100	8.102	8.111	..	8.107	..	8.97
79	8.102	8.104	8.113	..	8.109	..	8.99
80	cf.7.66	cf.7.66	cf.7.65	cf.7.65	cf.7.70	..	7.60
81	2.31	..	2.31	2.36	..	..
82
83

3. Since the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP contains 390 stanzas and 334 stanzas are identical with at least one text of CR in addition to eleven stanzas of other Cāṇakya's versions, 345 stanzas of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP are identical with maxims generally attributed to Cāṇakya.

In addition, I could identify thirty-one stanzas as identical in a text usually attributed to Cāṇakya and a Purāṇa text. They are thirteen stanzas in the Padma-purāṇa (प.), one in the Padma-Purāṇa, the Vāyu-Purāṇa (वायु.), the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (विष्णु) and the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (भा. or भागवत), one in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa (भविष्य), one in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa and the Skanda-Purāṇa (स्क. or स्कन्द), one in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, five in the Skanda-Purāṇa, four in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (मार्कण्डेय), one in the Brahmaivaivarta-purāṇa (ब्र. वै.), one in the Kūrma-purāṇa (कूर्म), one in the Śiva-purāṇa (शिव), one in the Varāha-purāṇa (वराह) and one in the Liṅga-purāṇa (लिङ्ग). They are quoted in paragraph 7 below.

4. In addition to these thirty-one maxims which are identical, or partly identical with a Purāṇa text and a text of maxims usually attributed to Cāṇakya, I found sixteen texts

6. L. Sternbach, "Various versions of Cāṇakya's Compendia" in "Akten des XXIV Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses", München 1957, pp. 544,6,

similar in a Purāṇa text and in a text usually attributed to Cāṇakya. They are :⁷

अग्निपुराण २.२०.१—वृ.चा.४.१३, चा.सा. १.६२, चा.नी. १०३ (CnT II 6.8, CnT III 4.15, CnT VI 70), गरुडपुराण १.११२.६, मत्स्यपुराण २१५.८-१०, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर २.२४.४-६, सु.र.भा. १४३.३३, IS 6841, संस्कृतपाठोपकारक ५५, (महाभारत ११००.१२.८५, मानोल्लास २.२. ६०-२, कामन्दकीय-नीतिसार १८.२७-४३). NM (T) 7.15.

ब्र वै. ब्रह्मखण्ड २३.६३—वृ.चा. १.१७, चा.नी.द १.१७, चा.सा. २.६२, चा.नी. शा० १.४ (CnT II 2.7, CnT III 1.19, CnT VI 20, CnT V 14, CnT VII.11), चा.रा.नी.शा. CRC 3.7, CRT, 3.5) वृ.चा.शा. २३.६२, गरुडपुराण १.११०.८, उज्ज्वलदत्त (उणादिसूत्र ३१४), मल्लिनाथ (कुमारसम्भव ६.३०) सुभाषितमुक्तावली २३, ४६, सूक्तिरत्नहार १६७.१८, सु.र.भा. १५५.६६, IS 6227 and 4440, सु. ३०२, TK (OJ) 50, NS (OJ) 8, Sit (OJ) 26, ShD (T) 182, LN (P) 161, Dh N (P) 164, NKY (B) 200.

भागवत २.७.३२—चा.नी.द १५.६, वृ.चा. (Cv 1b 8.19), चा.नी.शा. (CNF 49, CNPN 64, CNL 65), वृ.चा.शा. ३३६.१९, हितोपदेश २.६६, माधवानल ३८, नीतिरत्न (वररुचि) १२, सुभाषितमुक्तावली ६.२८, सु.र.भा. २१७.४७, IS 4655, TP 396

४.१४.६—वृ.चा. ४.१७, चा.नी. (CNW 73, CNN 55, CNP II 153, CNI I 85, CNG 142, CNT IV 141, CNM 139, CNMN 105, CNSC 107, CNSI 107 CNL 5, CnT II 19.8, CnT III 52.3, CNT VIII 88, CnT I 36), पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts 1.389, PtsK 1.434), हितोपदेश ३.४, शतकत्रयादि-सुभाषितसंग्रह (भर्तृहरि) ४३१, शाङ्गधर ४१८, सु.र.भा. ३६.४, सु. १५१, सुभाषितमुक्तावली २३. २१, सूक्तावली (Bartoli) १३ ब. ८, सुभाषितरत्नाकर ३६.२४, IS 1287 & 7482.

७.२.४० चा.रा.नी. ६.४१, चा.नी. (CNG 232), वृ.चा.शा. १५७.६४, गरुड १.११३.४८, महाभारत १३.१६३.११, हितोपदेश २.१५,

7. For abbreviations see paragraph 7 below.

नीतिसार (घटकपर) १६, नारदपञ्चरात्र १.३.२०, सु.र.भा. १६०. ३०१, IS 3595, SS (OJ) 383.

७.१२.६—See below Paragraph 7.3

१०.४७.७—चा.नी.द. २.१७, वृ.चा.शा. ३०.१६, IS 3761 (तुल्यम् पञ्चतन्त्र PP 2.41, 1.114 Pts K 2.102), विक्रमचरित VI 14, कथासरित्सागर १०.६१.१८, कामन्दकीयनीतिसार ५.६३, सुभाषितसंदोह (अमितगति) २४ १२, सुगधोपदेश ३८, काव्यालंकार (रुद्रट) १२.४०, कुट्टनीमत ६३.७०६-१०, दशरूप २.३४, कथारत्नकार (हेमविजय) २२०.५, शिशुपालवध ६१०, १६.६२, समयामातुका ५.७८, ८६-७, मुच्छकटिक ४.१०.)

१०.११४.५८—चा.नी.शा. ८, चा.नी.द. ४.६, ल.चा. "O", चा.रा.नी.शा. ७.५६, हितोपदेश कथामुख १७, सुभाषितवली २७२०, सुभाषितमुक्तावली २३.३६, सु.र.भा. ६०.७, सुभाषितरत्नाकर १२०.१, सु० १३२, सूक्तावली (Bartoli) ११.३, संस्कृत-पाठोपकार ५३, IS 5971 (गरुड १.११४, ५८).

१०.११४—(सु.र.भा. १६०, ३८०), चा.नी.शा. ६, चा.नी.द. ३१८, वृ.चा. ३.१, चा.रा.नी.शा. ७.६२, चा.सा. १.२२, वृ.चा.शा. ८२.७५, गरुड १.११४.५९, सु.र.भा. १६०.३८०, IS 5848, NS (OJ) 4.20, Sit (OJ) 48.

मत्स्यपुराण १८६—शब्दकल्पद्रुम (लेखक), चा.नी.शा. १०२, चा.सा. १.५६, सु.र.भा. १४४.७५, संस्कृतपाठोपकार ५५, IS 6654, (शाङ्गधर १३३६, सूक्तिरत्नहार १४२.२), NM (T) 7.10, RN (P) 14.

२१५.२५-६—See above अग्निपुराण २.२०.१.

वीरमित्रोदय-राजनीतिप्रकाश १४६.६, चा.नी.द. (वृद्धवाणक्य-नीतिसमुच्चय १६.२३), मानवधर्मशास्त्र ७.४५, पराशर-धर्मसंहिता १.२. ४७३.१, राजनीतिरत्नाकर ६.१२-३, कृत्यकल्पतरु राजधर्मखण्ड १४३.११-२ (तु० कामन्दकीय नीतिसार १.३६-६८, ११.२२; १४.६५, शुक्रनीतिसार १.२१५, २३८, मार्कण्डेय [पराशरधर्मसंहिता], विष्णुस्मृति ३.५०-२)

मार्कण्डेय ३४.७३—चा.सा. १.५०, चा.रा.नी.शा. ७.३०, चा.नी.शा. (CNPN 41, CnT V 101), वृ. चा. शा. १६१.४६, IS 7566 (सूकावली [Bartoli] ३.२)

३४.११२-३—चा. नी. द. १.६, वृ. चा. १.१०, चा. रा. नी. शा. "B" चा.नी.शा. ३४ (CnT II 1.9, CnT III 1.9, CnT VI 9, CnT V 10), वृ. चा. शा. २०.५५, हितोपदेश १.११०, गरुड १.११०.२६, शार्ङ्गधर १४६५, सु. र. भा. १५३.३५, IS 3861 (विष्णुस्मृति ७१.६६), LN (P) 113, Dh N (P) 78, NKy (B) 141.

विष्णुधर्मोत्तर २.२४-४-६—See above अग्निपुराण २.२०, १.

शिव. शतक ३८.१८—चा. नी. शा. ३.२, चा. रा. नी. शा. ८.७७, चा. नी. शा. (CNP I 15, CNPh 95, CNPN 38, CNI I 213, CNG 266, CNM 14, CNMN 14, CnT II 11.8, CnT III 7.30, CnT V 52), वृ. चा. शा. ५०.२, गरुड १.११५, ७४, IS 870, TK (OJ) 49, NS (OJ) 28, Śit (OJ) 81, Vyās (C) 70.

5. Despite thorough studies by many scholars the chronology of various chapters of the Purāṇas is still not known with certainty, nor is the date of the compilation of the various versions of Cāṇakya's aphorisms known. It is not likely that the aphorisms usually attributed to Cāṇakya were really composed by Cāṇakya, the minister of Candragupta Maurya himself; they were probably attributed to him *in majorem gloriam* only.

We seem only to know with certainty that the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, which is almost identical with the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the GP⁸, was included in the Tibetan Tanjur by the Tibetan Bhikṣu Rin-chen-bzon-po who was born in 955 A. D. Thus, this version must have been compiled in the tenth century A. D. at the latest. (At that time it was already well-known and venerated, otherwise it would not have been included in the GP).

6. Many of the aphorisms found in the collections of maxims usually attributed to Cāṇakya and a Purāṇa text are well-

8. For the inclusion of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā in the Garuḍa-purāṇa see L. Sternbach, "The Cāṇakya-rājanīti-śāstra and the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa." ABORI XXXVII, pp. 58-110.

known stanzas which were borrowed from the Mānava-dharma-śāstra, or from the Mahābhārata or from both (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18) and were included independently in the collections of maxims usually attributed to Cāṇakya and in various Purāṇa texts. Many of them also spread to "Greater India" and were included in the Pāli literature of Burma, Siām, Cambodia, etc. Loknīti [LN (P)], the Pāli literature of Burma (Dhammanīti [DhN (P)]), Rājanīti [RN (P)], the Burmese literature (Nīti kyan [NKy (B)]), the old Javanese literature (Nītiśāstra [NS (OJ)]), Ślokāntara [Śit (OJ)], Sārasamuccaya [SS (OJ)], Tantri Kāmandaka [TK (OJ)], the Tibetan literature (She-rab Dong-bu [ShD (T)], Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa [NM (T)], or the Ceylonese literature (Vyāsakāraya Vyās (C))). The other aphorisms were probably borrowed from the floating treasure of Hindū wisdom and tradition; their simultaneous existence in the various collections of maxims usually attributed to Cāṇakya and in various Purāṇa texts do not prove that one borrowed from the other.

7. The following aphorisms occur in the collections of maxims usually attributed to Cāṇakya and Purāṇa texts; they are quoted below in alphabetical order.

The following abbreviations are used :

गरुड Garuḍa-purāṇa, ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1890.

चा नी. शा. Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version. See Cr.

चा. नी. द० (Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇa) by Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version. See Cr.

चा. रा नी. शा Cāṇakya-rāja nīti-śāstra version. See Cr.

चा. सा. Cāṇakya-śāra-saṁgraha version. See Cr.

प. Padma-purāṇa.

भा. Bhāgavata-purāṇa.

ल. चा. Laghu Cāṇakya version. See Cr.

वृ. चा. Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* version. See Cr.

- वृ. चा. शा. Vṛddha Cāṇakya. Ed. by Pt. Śrī Rāma Śāstrī. Calcutta 1777. (An anthology of Cāṇakya's maxims).
- सु. Subhāṣitārṇava, as quoted in IS.
- सु. र. भा. Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra, ed. by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya Kāvya-tīrtha. 8th edition, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay 1952.
- CNF. Cāṇakyam. Codice Indiano edito dal Dre Emilio Bartoli. Napoli 1911.
- CNG. The Recension of Cāṇakya used by Galanos for his "Ek diaforōn poiēton" by G. M. Bolling. In "Studies in honor of Maurice Bloomfield." New Haven, 1920.
- CNI I. MS. No. 1518 a (Eggeling 3990) in the India Office Library, London.
- CNL. MS. No. A. 447 in the Universitätsbibliothek of the Karl Marx Universität, Leipzig.
- CNM. Rājanīti of Cāṇakya-muni. No place, no date.
- CNMN. Cāṇakya-muni-kṛta-nīti-sāra. Allahabad 1880.
- CNN. E. Bartoli, Un secondo codice fiorentino inedito di Cāṇakya. In "Rivista Indo-greco Italica di Filologia." Vol. 3, fasc 3-4, pp. 151-66.
- CNP I. MS. No. 17072-3 (A) in Université de Paris. Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
- CNP II. MS. No. 17072-1 (B) in Université de Paris. Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
- CNPh. MS. No. 1566 in the University of Pennsylvania Library. Philadelphia Pa.
- CNPN. MS. Sanskrit 684 (Cabaton 684) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- CNŚC. Cāṇakya-śloka-saṅgraha, publ. by Tārāprasanna Mṛityunjay, Calcutta 1915. Also : by N.C. Cattopadhyaya. Rudra Printing Press, Calcutta 1918.

- CNŚL. Aṣṭottaraśata-Cāṇakya-ślokāh. Lakṣmī Printing Works, Calcutta 1322.
- CNŚI. Cāṇakya-śloka-saṅgraha ed. by N. Cattopadhyaya. Rudra Printing Press, 1918.
- CNT IV. MS. No. 5119, Tanjore, as quoted by O Kressler, Indica 4.
- CnT I. MS. No. 5031, Tanjore, as quoted by O. Kressler, Indica 4.
- CnT. II. MS. No. 5117, Tanjore, as quoted by O. Kressler.
- CnT. III. MS. No. 5118, Tanjore, as quoted by O. Kressler. Indica 4.
- CnT. V. MS. No. 5120. Tanjore, as quoted by O. Kressler. Indica 4.
- CnT. VI. MS. No. 5152, Tanjore, as quoted by O. Kressler. Indica 4.
- CnT. VII. MS. No. 5122, Tanjore, as quoted by O. Kressler. Indica 4.
- CNW. A. Weber, Über 100 Sprüche des Cāṇakya. In "Monatsberichte der Kön. Preuss. Akademie der Wiss. zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1864", Berlin 1865, pp. 400-31.
- Cr. Cāṇakya-nīti-Text-Tradition (चाणक्य-नीति-शाखा-सम्प्रदायः) Six Versions of Cāṇakya's Collections of Maxims Reconstructed and critically edited for the first time with Introductions and Variants...by Ludwik Sternbach, Vol. I: 1. The Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* (चा.नी.व. CV), the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* (वृ.चा; Cv), the Cāṇakya-nīti śāstra (चा.नी.शा. ; CN), the Cāṇakya-sārasaṅgraha (चा.सा. ; CS) ; Vol. I.2 : The Laghu Cāṇakya (ल.चा. ; CL), the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra versions (चा.रा.नी.शा. ; CR). Vol. II : The Ur-text. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 27, 28, 29, Hoshiarpur 1963.

- CRC. Cānakya-rāja-nīti-śāstram, Calcutta Oriental Series 2. Calcutta.
- CRT. Cānakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra. Viśva Bhāratī Annals, Vol. VIII.
- CvH. MS. No. H. 250 in the Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
- CvL. I. MS. A. 445 in the Karl Marx Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig.
- CvL. II. MS. A. 446 in the Karl Marx Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig.
- CvTb. MS. or. fol. 1037 in the Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen.
- IS. Indische Sprüche...Zweite Ausgabe. O. Böhtlingk. St. Petersburg 1870-3.
- NT. Nītiśāstra in Telugu, as quoted in IS
- PN. Pañcatantra, Nepali text, as quoted in PS. 117-35 and LXXXIX, PT. I. 153; 104-26 and PRE. 2.192.
- PP. The Pañchatantra, A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in the recension, called Pañchākhyānaka... of the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra. Critically edited in the original Sanskrit by J. Hertel. HOS. 11-2. Cambridge Mass. 1908-12.
- PRE. The Pañcatantra I-V. The text in its oldest form Edited...by F. Edgerton. Poona 1930. Also: The Pañchatantra reconstructed...by F. Edgerton I-II AOS 2-3. New Haven 1924.
- PS. Das südliche Pañcatantra Sanskrit text der Recension β mit den Lesarten der besten HSs. der Recension α; herausg. von J. Hertel; Abh.d.Phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. XXIV. 5. Leipzig 1906.
- PT. Über das Tantrākhyāyikā, die Kasmirische Rezension des Pañcatantra mit dem texte der HS. Decc. Coll.

- VIII. 145; herausg. von J. Hertel; Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. XXII. 5. Leipzig 1904. Also: The Pañchatantra. A collection of ancient Hindu Tales in its oldest Recension, the Kashmirian entitled Tantrākhyāyikā; the original Sanskrit text *editio minor* (PTem) by J. Hertel; HOS 14. Cambridge. Mass. 1915. Also: Tantrākhyāyikā, die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt...von J. Hertel, I-II, Leipzig u. Berlin 1909.
- Pts. Pañchatantra (*textus simplicior*), Edited with notes by F. Kielhorn (I) and G. Bühler (II-V). Bombay Sanskrit Series 1, 3, 4, Bombay, 1891-6.
- PtsK. Pañchatantrum, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens...Edidit...Io. Godofr. Ludov. Kosegarten... Pars prima, textum sanscritum simpliciozem tenens. Bonnæ ad Rhenum, 1848.
- TI. M. W. Carr. A Collection of Telugu Proverbs... Madras, 1868.
- VC. Vikrama's adventures, or the thirty-two tales of the throne...Edited in four...recensions: Southern (VCsr.), Metrical (VCmr.), Brief (VCbr.), Jainistic (VCjr); also sections from Vararuci's recension... and translated into English...by Franklin Edgerton...2 vols. HOS. 26, 27. Cambridge, Mass. 1926.

१. अकर्तव्यं न कर्तव्यं प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि ।

कर्तव्यमेव कर्तव्यं प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि ॥

वा. सा. २.६८.

प. उत्तर १७.८.

चैव IS 7425 तु, पञ्चतन्त्र (PP 4.36, Pts 4.40 PtsK 4.42)

१ इति धर्मविदो विदुः (प.)



२. अपुत्रस्य गृहं शून्यं दिशः शून्यास्त्वैवान्धवाः ।
मूर्खस्य हृदयं शून्यं सर्वशून्या दरिद्रता ॥

चा.नी. द. ४.१४, वृ.चा. ७.६, चा.नी. (CNP I 24, CNI I 150, CNT IV 23, CNM 23, CNMN 23, CNSL 107, CnT II 17. 11, CnT III 7 b 8, CnT V 29), वृ. चा. शा. १०१.२३.

स्कन्द. आवन्त्य. रेवा. १०३.१२८.

चैव पञ्चतन्त्र (PRE 2.34, PP 2.80, PS 2.32 [PTem 2.59, PN 1.29], हितोपदेश १. १३५, विक्रमचरित (VCsr 21.1, [VCmr 21.19-20]) वेतालपञ्च-विशतिका ६ २, सु. र. भा. १६३. ४५४, IS 444, सु. १०२.

LN (P) 115, Dh N (P) 261, NKy (B) 143, NS (OJ) 5.4.

१ ह्य (स्क.)

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३. घृतकुम्भसमा नारी तसाञ्जारसमः पुमान् ।
तस्माद् घृतं च वह्निं च नैकत्र स्थापयेद् बुधः ॥

चा. नी. ७५.

प. सृष्टि. ५४. २१ तु° भागवत ७ १२.६.

चैव हितोपदेश १. १२७, वेतालपञ्चविशतिका कथामुख १ (तु° ३.१०), सु. र. भा. १६२. ४०८, IS 2217 (तु° CNP II 263; मानवधर्मशास्त्र २, ६४).

SS (OJ) 439.

१ नैकस्थाने न धारयेत् (प.)

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४. चतुस्सागरपर्यन्तां यो दद्यात्पृथिवीमिमाम् ।
न स्वादेच्चापि यो मांसं तुल्यमेतद् विदुर्बुधाः ॥

चा. सा. ३ ६३.

प. सृष्टि. १६, २६५.

चैव IS 7523.

१ बुद्धते (प.). २ तुल्याश्मकाञ्चनो यश्च (प.). ३ कृतार्थो न पार्थिवः (प.)

❀

५. कुटुम्बचिन्ताकुलितस्य पुंसः कुलं च शीलं च गुणाश्च सर्वे ।
अपक्वकुम्भे निहिता इवापः प्रयान्ति तेनैव समं विनाशम् ॥

चा. रा. नी. शा. ८.१०५, वृ. चा. शा. २६२.११७.

प. भूमि. ६६.१५८.

चैव मु. र. भा. ३६७.२५.

१ श्रुतं (प०). २ देहेन (प.).

❀

६. ज्ञानवृद्धा वयोवृद्धा ये च वृद्धा बहुश्रुताः ।
ते सर्वे धनवृद्धस्य द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति किकराः ॥

चा. नी. (CNI I 66).

स्कन्द. माहेश्वर, कौमारिका, २.११.

१ वृद्धस्तयो (CNI I). २ सर्वे ते (CNI I). ३ द्वारे CNI I. ४ करः (CNI I).

❀

७. दशसूनासर्मा चक्रं दशचक्रसमो ध्वजः ।
दशध्वजसमा वेश्या दशवेश्यासमो नृपः ॥

चा. नी. (CNI I 305).

प. सृष्टि. १६.२३६, भविष्य, उत्तर. १६.

चैव तु० मानवधर्मशास्त्र ४.८५^१, तु० शाङ्गधर. २०८६, सु. र. भा. १४९.२१४.

१ समश्चक्री (प., भा.), दशचक्री (प., भा.).

❀

८. दृष्टिपूतं न्यसेत्पादं वस्त्रपूतं जलं पिवेत् ।
शास्त्रपूतं वदेद्वाक्यं मनःपूतं समाचरेत् ॥

चा. नी. द. १०.२, चा. नी. "G" (CnT II 25. 5, CnT VII 10), वृ. चा. शा. २७८.१८.

मार्कण्डेय ४२.४.

चैव मानवधर्मशास्त्र ६.४६ (पराशरधर्मसंहिता १. २, १६४. २, शूलपाणि-दोषकलिका ४६.१७, याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति [अपरार्क] ६५३-२४-५), शुकसप्तति १७. ६१.१२-३, सूक्तावली (Bartoli) ४.७, सुभाषितरत्नाकर २२६. ५८, सु. १६३, कविताऽमृतकूप ४, IS 2934, TP 416.

१ चक्षुःपूतं (मार्कण्डेय). २ सत्यपूतं वदेद् वाणी (मार्कण्डेय). ३ बुद्धिपूतं च चिन्तयेत् (मार्कण्डेय) ।

❀

९. न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति ।

हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मव भूय एवाभिवर्धते ॥

वृ. चा. शा. ३७७.१६.

विष्णु. ४.१-६, प. सृष्टि १६ २ ३, भागवत. ६, १६, १४, वायु-६३.६५.

चैव मानवधर्मशास्त्र २.६४, महाभारत १.७५.४६, १.८५.१२, हरिवंश
१.६.३६, ब्राह्मधर्म २.१३.३, सुभाषितावली (बल्लभदेव) ३३५२, सु. र. भा.
१६६.६०६, सूक्तिरत्नाहार २२४५, IS 3241, तु^१ पञ्चरात्र १.२४.६७.

SS (OJ) 429.

१ जातुः (वृ. चा. शा.).

❀

१०. नवनीतोपमा वाणी करुणाक्रीमलं मनः ।

एकबीजप्रजातानां भवत्यवनतं शिरः ॥

चा. रा. नी. शा. (CRC 7. 11), वृ. चा. शा. १८७.३४.

प. सृष्टि, ९१.३३.

चैव दर्पदलन (क्षेमेन्द्र) १. ५३, सूक्तिमुक्तावली (जलहण) ४४६. ३,
(सु. र. भा. ३८५.३१२, सुभाषितमुक्तावली ६, २७).

१ एतत्प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् (प.).

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११. न विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते ।

विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रकान् ॥

चा. रा. नी. शा. (CRC 7.88), वृ. चा. शा. १८४.२७.

कूर्म. उपविभागे १५ (शब्दकल्पद्रुम ४४४, विष).

चैव विक्रमचरित (VCsr V.2), सु. र. भा. ६८.१, IS 3437.

१ देवस्वं चापि यत्नेन (कूर्म). २ सदा परिहरेत्ततः (कूर्म).

❀

१२. नास्ति विद्यासमं चक्षुर्नास्ति सत्यसमं तपः ।

नास्ति रागसमं दुःखं नास्ति त्यागसमं सुखम् ॥

चा. नी. शा. "U", वृ. चा. शा. ३५६.६.

वराह, १५३.२६.

चैव महाभारत १२.१७५. ३५, १२.२७६. ३५, १२.३२६.६, सूक्तिरत्नहार
२३८.२६, सु. र. भा. १६७.६२४, IS 368 O.

१ चक्षुः समं बलम् (वराह). २ त्यागात्परं (वराह).

❀

१३. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग् यज्ञो न व्रतं नाप्युपोषितम् ।

पतिं संसेवते या तु तेन^३ स्वर्गो महीयते ॥

चा. नी. शा. (CNPh 93).

मार्कण्डेय १६.६२,

चैव मानवधर्मशास्त्र ५.१५५, विष्णुस्मृति २५.१५^१, सु. र. भा. ३५१. १६,
IS 3686.

१ श्राद्धं (मार्कण्डेय). २ भर्तृशुश्रूषयैवैतान् (मार्कण्डेय). ३ लोकानिष्टान्
व्रजन्ति हि (मार्कण्डेय).

❀

१४. पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने ।

रक्षन्ति वार्धके पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥

चा. रा. नी. शा. ८.६४.

प. सृष्टि ५४.२३, गरुड. १११५.६३.

चैव मानवधर्मशास्त्र ६.३, गौतमस्मृति २८.१, वासिष्ठस्मृति ५.३, नारदस्मृति
१३.३१, नारदीयमनुसंहिता १३.३१, महाभारत १३.२०.२१., १३.४६.१४, रामायण
२.३६.३३ (२२.६.१८), हितोपदेश १.१२८, पराशरधर्मसंहिता २.१, ३८.२, २.५०,
२-३, सु. र. भा. १६६.५७५, NT 77, IS 4067.

१ पुत्राश्च (त्रास्तु, गरुड.) स्थविरे भावे (काले, गरुड.) (प., गरुड.)

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१५. बुद्धिर्यस्य बलं तस्य निर्वुद्धेश्च कुतो बलम् ।

वने^१ सिंहो मदोन्मत्तः शशकेन निपातितः ॥

चा. नी. द. १०. १६, चा. नी. शा. (CNW 64, CNPN 58, CNI I. 201,
CnT II. 18. 12, CnT.III. 8.6), वृ. चा. शा. २८५. २५.

शिवरुद्रसंहिता ४.२१६.५२.

चैव पञ्चतन्त्र (PRE 1.63, PT 1. 55, PTem 1.62, PP. 1.172, Pts
1.214, PtsK 1.245 & 268, PS 1.54, PN 2. 39), हितोपदेश २. १२१, शुकसप्तति
(Textus ornator) ३६५. ४-५ (cf. Textus simplicior 101. 6-7, कथासरित्सागर
१०. ६०. ६१ च १०७, बृहत्कथामञ्जरी १६. २६२), सु. र. भा. १५६, मुक्तावली
(Bartoli) १४.१३, IS 5386 TP, 438, ShD(T)85.

१ कूपे सिंहो (शिव.).

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1. See L. Sternbach, Mānava-Dharmaśāstra verses in Cāṅkya's Compendia, JACS 79, pp. 233-54, No. 17 where various Nibandha-s are quoted.

2. L. Sternbach op. cit. No. 28 where various Nibandha-s are quoted.

१६. मात्रा स्वप्ना दुहित्रा वा न विविक्तसो वसेत् ।
बलवानिन्द्रियग्रामो विद्वांसमपि कर्षति ॥

चा. रा. नी. शा. (CRC ७.६), वृ. चा. शा. १८८.३६.
भागवत ६.१६.१७, भविष्य; ब्रह्मपर्वन् ४.१८४, गरुड. १.११४.६.

चैव मानवधर्मशास्त्र २.२१५,^१ हितोपदेश १.१२६, शाङ्गधर ६५४, सुभाषितावली
२७८०, सु. रा. भा. १५४.४५, (शुक्रनीतिसार ३.१८), सु. २२८, IS 4809
(तुं महाभारत १३. ४८. ३७-८, आपस्तम्बीय १. २. ७. ३, ७-१२, १. १. १ ३,
१६, बौधायन १. २. ३, २३, ३३, नारद, २.२१४-५; २.६४)
SS (OJ) 448.

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१७. यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु वत्सो गच्छति मातरम् ।
तथा यच्च कृतं कर्म कर्तारमनुगच्छति ॥

चा. नी. द. १३. १४, चा. रा. नी. शा. ६. ४७, चा. नी. शा. (CNP II 247,
CNG 233, CNT IV 261, CnT II 20.9, CnT II 53.8, वृ. चा. शा. ३१६. २६.
प. भूमि. ८१. ४७, गरुड. १. ११३. ५३-४.

चैव महाभारत १२.१८१. १६; १२. ३२२. १६; १३. ७.२२-३, पञ्चतन्त्र
(PT 2.95, PTem 2.106, PP 2.135, Pts 2.125, PtsK 2.134), सुभाषितावली
३०८१, सु. रा. भा. ६१.१२, सुभाषितमुक्तावली ८३१, सुभाषितरत्नाकर ७६३,
सूक्तिरत्नहार ४६.५, IS 5154, सु. २४३.
SS (OJ) 359.

१ विन्दति (र., गरुड). २ तथा शुभाशुभं कर्म (प), पूर्वं [यच्च] (गरुड)

❀

१८. यथा ह्यामिषमाकारो पक्षिभिः श्वापदैर्भुवि ।
भक्ष्यते सलिले मत्स्यैस्तथा सर्वत्र वित्तवान् ॥

चा. नी. शा. (CnT II 20.3, CnT III 53.1).

स्कन्द, नागर., १८५.१५.

चैव महाभारत ३.२.३६, पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts 1.401 च 2.116), हितोपदेश १.१६४,
सुभाषितावली ३३५६, सु. रा. भा. ६४.६, IS 5160 (तुं शाङ्गधर ३३८).
SS (OJ) 470.

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१९. योजनानां सहस्राणि ब्रजन्त्याति पिपोलिकः ।
अगच्छन् वैनतेयोऽपि पदमेकं न गच्छति ॥

चा. सा. १.३४.

मार्कण्डेय २०.३८.

चैव सु. रा. भा. ८८.१, सूक्तिरत्नहार ६७.५, IS 5589.

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२०. यो धर्मशीलो जितमानरोपो विद्याविनीतो न परोपतापो ।
स्वदारतुष्टः परदारवर्णी न तस्य लोके भयमस्ति किञ्चित् ॥

वृ. चा. (CvH 8.11, CvL I 8.20, CvL II 8.14), चा. नी. शा.
CNI I. 144).

प., छष्टि. २२४.४७.

चैव वेतालपञ्चविशतिका १६.१२, सु. रा. भा. ३८६. ४६०, IS 5598.

Śit (OJ) 16.

१ परदारवर्जितो (प.).

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२१. वनेऽपि दौषाः प्रभवन्ति रागिणां गृहेऽपि पञ्चेन्द्रियनिग्रहस्तपः ।
अकुस्मिन्ते कर्मणि यः प्रवर्तते निवृत्तरागस्य गृहं तपोवनम् ॥

चा. रा. नी. शा. ५.४२, चा. नी. शा. २८५.

प. छष्टि, १६.३१७, गरुड १.११३.६.

चैव हितोपदेश ४. ८७, पञ्चतन्त्र (PRE 4. 14, PS 4. 6, PN 4.2)
शान्तिशतक २.२३, सु. रा. भा. १७४.६०९, सूक्तिरत्नहार २६१.२०, काव्यकलाप २८,
कविताऽमृतकूप ६१.

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२२. वाजिवारणलोहानां काष्ठपाषाणवाससाम् ।
नारीपुरुषतोयानामन्तरं महदन्तरम् ॥

वृ. चा. ८.८, चा. रा. नी. शा. ३.१३, चा. नी. शा. (CNG 57, CNI I
222, CNHU 18, CNT IV 246, CNT V 45), वृ. चा. शा. ७४.५६.

प. छष्टि., १८.६२, गरुड, १.११०.१५.

चैव पञ्चतन्त्र (PRE 1.41, PT 1.36, PTem 1.40, PP1.328), हितोपदेश
२.३८, विक्रमचरित (VCsr 26.4), युक्तिसप्तति १७२.११-२, वेतालपञ्चविशतिका
३.७, माधवानलकथा १२१, सु. रा. भा. १६३.४७४, IS 6029, सु. २०७,

१ लौहानां (गरुड)

❀

२३. विषादप्यमृतं ग्राह्यममेध्यादपि काञ्चनम् ।
नीचादप्युत्तमा विद्या स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि ॥

चा. नी. द. १.१६, वृ. चा. १.१७, चा. सा. २.६२, चा. नी. शा. १४ (चैव
CnT II 2.7, CnT III 1.19, CnT VI 20, CnT V 14, CnT VII.11) चा. रा.
नी. शा. (CRC 3.7, CRT 3.5), वृ. चा. शा. २३.६२.

द्र वै २.५६.२२, गहड १.११०.८.

चैव उज्ज्वलदत्त (उणादिसूत्र ३.१४), मल्लिनाथ (कुमारसम्भव ६.३०,
सुभाषितमुक्तावली २३.४६, सूक्तिरत्नहार १६७.११८, सु. र. भा. १५५.६६,
IS 6227 & 4440, सु. ३०२.

TK (OJ) 50, NS (OJ) 3.9, Sit (OJ) 25.

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२४. संतोषामृतवृष्टानां यत्सुखं शान्तचेतसाम् ।
कुतस्तद्गनलुब्धानामित^१श्चेतश्च धावताम् ॥

वृ. चा. ५.१३, चा. नी. द. ७.३, चा. नी. शा. (CNI I 130, CNSK 45,
CnT I 41), वृ. चा. शा. १८१.२०.

स्कन्द, प्रभास. २५५.३३.

चैव पञ्चतन्त्र (PRE 2.48, PP 2.161, Pts 2.152, PS 2.43, PN 1.39),
हितोपदेश १.१३६, सुभाषितमुक्तावली ६.४६, सुभाषित रत्नाकर ५३. ४, शाङ्गधर ३१०,
सूक्तिमुक्तावली (जल्हण ४४३.७, IS 6800.

१ न च (चा. नी. द.). २ सुखं चाशान्तचेतसाम् (स्कन्द).

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२५. सकृज्जल्पन्ति राजानः सकृज्जल्पन्ति पण्डिताः ।
सकृत्कन्याः^१ प्रदीयन्ते त्रीण्येतानि सकृत्सकृत् ॥

चा. नी. द. ४.१२, चा. नी. शा. (CNP I 21, CNG 262, CNT IV 20,
CNM 21, CNMN 21, CnT II 22.10, CnT III 56.3), वृ. चा. शा. १००.५०.

भविष्य ४.१०२.२६.

चैव पञ्चतन्त्र (PP 1.379), वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका ४.२६, विक्रमचरित (VCmr
2.71.7), सु. र. भा. ३७७.१८, IS 6650 (तु० मानवधर्मशास्त्र ६.४७).

LN (P) 120, NKy (B) 148.

१ प्रदीयते कन्या (भविष्य)

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२६. सङ्गः सर्वात्मना त्याज्यः स चैत्यक्तुं न शक्यते ।
स सद्भिः सह कर्तव्यः^१ सन्तः सङ्गस्य भेषजम् ॥

चा. नी. शा. (CNP II 268).

मार्कण्डेय, ३७.२३.

चैव हितोपदेश ४.६३, सु. र. भा. ८७.१७, सूक्तिरत्नहार ६.६, IS 6674.

१ सतां संगो हि (मार्कण्डेय, हितोपदेश).

❀

२७. सदम्भश्च हतो धर्मः क्रोधेनैव हतं तपः ।
अदृढं च हतं ज्ञानं प्रमादेन हतं श्रुतम् ॥

चा. सा. १.६६.

प. उत्तर., २४२.२०.

चैव IS 6749.

❀

२८. सर्वाः^१ संपत्तयस्तस्य संतुष्टं यस्य मानसम् ।
उपानद्गूढपादस्य ननु चर्मावृतेव भूः ॥

चा. रा. नी. शा. ८. ७४, वृ. चा. शा. २३७.४६.

स्कन्द., प्रभास. २५५. ३२.

चैव पञ्चतन्त्र (PRE 2.47, PT 2.79, PTem 2.68, PP 2.97, PS 2.
42, PN 1.38), हितोपदेश १.१५२, शाङ्गधर ३१६, सुभाषितावली ३३४७, सुभाषित-
रत्नाकर ५४. ६, सूक्तिरत्नहार २६८.४, सु. र. भा. ७५.८, सूक्तिमुक्तावली (जल्हण
४४३.५, IS 6918.

SS (OJ) 421.

१ सर्वत्र संपदस्तस्य (स्कन्द).

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२९. सुजनो न याति^१ वैरं परहितनिरतो विनाशकालेऽपि ।
छेदेऽपि चन्दनतरुः सुरभायति मुखं कुठारस्य ॥

चा. नी. शा. (CNI I 126).

प., उत्तर., ७.२३,

चैव शतकत्रयादिसुभाषितसंग्रह (भर्तृहरि) ८०१, शाङ्गधर २३७, सुभाषितावली
२४१, सु. र. भा. ४७.११०, सुभाषितरत्नाकर १०४, सुभाषितमुक्तावली ६. ११,
सूक्तिमुक्तावली (जल्हण) ५३. १२, सूक्तिरत्नहार ३५.२१, सदुक्तिकर्णामृत ५.३५.३,
रसिकजीवन १४२६, IS 7099, सु. २७४. (A Code of Gentoo laws by Helhed,
London 1776, p. XXX).

१ विकृति (प.). २ द्विघोर्षि (प.)

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३०. स्त्रीसंगमे तथा गीते द्यूते^१ व्याख्यानसंगमे ।

आये^२ व्यये तथा नित्यं^३ त्यक्तलज्जः सदा भवेत् ॥

वृ. चा. शा. १८२, १८.

लिङ्ग, पूर्वभाग, ३५. ६०.

१ ध्रुते (वृ. चा. शा.). २ व्यवहारे तथाहारे (लिङ्ग). ३ त्वर्यानां च समागमे (लिङ्ग).

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३१. स्वकर्मधर्माजितजीवितानां स्वेष्वेव दारेषु सदा रतानाम् ।

जितेन्द्रियाणामतिथिप्रियाणां गृहेऽपि मोक्षः पुरुषोत्तमानाम् ॥

चा. रा. नी. शा. २.५१, वृ. चा. शा. ४६.६३.

प., सृष्टि, १६.३१८.

KANNADA VERSIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS¹

BY

M. K. SURYANARAYANARAO

[संस्कृतभाषायां वर्तमानैः पुराणप्रबन्धैः प्रवर्तिताः कर्णाटक-भाषाकवयः तान् तदन्तर्गतान् क्षेत्रतीर्थादिमाहात्म्यभागान् कर्णाटकभाषायां पर्यवर्तयन् । तथाविधकर्णाटकप्रबन्धाश्च पद्यात्मकाः, गद्यात्मकाः चम्पवात्मकाश्च दृश्यन्ते । तेषां कर्तृप्रतिपाद्यादिविषया अत्र वर्यन्ते ।]

The influence of the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas on the people of Kārṇāṭaka is amply reflected in their fine arts and literary works. Episodes from the Purāṇas are to be found sculptured on the walls of several temples dating from the 11th Century onwards.

The temples being the centre of all religious activities, we find that several endowments have been made to temples by various kings, and chieftains. Grants of villages were made for the purpose of "performance of prayers, sacrifices, daily services and recitation of the Vedas" according to an inscription of Hoysala Ballāḷadeva (1174 A. D) found at the bottom of a stone on the inner wall of the Treasury of Cennakeśava temple in Belur^{1a}. Specific reference to grant of a share to the teachers of Purāṇas

1. Prepared under the direction of Dr. V. Raghavan.

Note : K. K. C. = Kārṇāṭaka Kavi Carite, Vols. I, II and III Printed in 1924 (2nd Edn.), 1924 and 1929 respectively.

MD (K.) No = A Descriptive Catalogue of the Kannada MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Ptd. in 1937.

MYS. D. No. = A Descriptive Catalogue of Kannada MSS. in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, Ptd. in 1962.

* = Not clear whether adaptation or actual rendering.

1a. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 134-135 (Kannada translation portion)

is to be found in an inscription during the reign of Bijjalaadeva of Kālacūrya dynasty. This Śilāśāsana at Taladagunḍi (1157 A. D.) written in Halegannaḍa (old Kannada) characters purports to say that mahāpradhāna Keśava Daṇḍayaka and his accountants gave the village of Hiriya Tagulaṭṭi as a grant and the settlement was made having in view the discharge of various religious duties. Thus the Vedaśākhās, teachers of language and grammar and the heads of different schools of logic as well as the teachers of Kannada got relevant shares. The teachers of the Purāṇas and Śāstras had their own shares specified in the grant².

Coming to the literary works, it is seen that in the early part of the 10th and 11th centuries when Jaina writers dominated the field of Kannada literature, the influence of Sanskrit was restricted to the use of Sanskrit words to enrich the Kannada vocabulary. Religion was the main force behind Jaina works. If poets like Ādipampa (941 A. D.) and Nāgacandra (1100 A. D.) drew the theme from the Sanskrit epics for their Vikramārjunavijaya and Rāmcandracaritapurāṇa, it was only to equate their patrons to the heroes of the epics and to propagate their religious tenets. The Sanskrit epics have undergone a remarkable change at the hands of the Jaina writers, who re-wrote these stories as it were, to suit their *Sampradāya*. An important feature of the Kannada works by the Jaina writers is the prose-verse form. The Campū form had taken firm root in these writers to such an extent that even their successors like the Brahmin poets could not overcome its spell. Rudrabhaṭṭa (about 1180 A. D.) who is said to be the first Brahmin poet "who wrote the Purāṇa of the Brahmins in the form of a Kāvya"³ wrote his Jagannāthavijaya in prose-verse form. This work has as its theme the Kṛṣṇacaritra found in the 5th and 6th aṁśas of the Sanskrit Viṣṇupurāṇa. The period between 12th and 15th centuries was the heyday of Kannada literature under the Vīraśaiva poets who wrote many Kannada works in simple style with *vacana* and metres like

2. Mysore Inscriptions. Tr. by B. L. Rice, P. 193

3. S. G. Narasimhacār. vide his introduction to Jagannāthavijaya, 1904 edn., p. xiii.

Bagale, Ṣaṭpadi, Tripadi Sāṅgatyā and so on. But the actual impetus to render the Sanskrit Purāṇas into Kannada came from the Kings of Vijayanagar of whom Acyutarāya may be mentioned. It is perhaps during his rule (1530-1542 A.D.) that Cāṭuviṭhala-nātha also called Nityātmaśuka wrote his Kannada Bhāgavata, being the Kannada version of the Sanskrit Bhāgavata with its twelve Skandhas, in Bhaminīṣaṭpadi metre.

It is, however, from the 16th century onwards that many poets patronised by the Kings of Mysore rendered the Sanskrit Purāṇas or sections thereof into Kannada. Kings like Cāmarāja (1617-1637 A. D.), Cikkadevarāja (1672-1704 A.D.), Mummaḍi-kṛṣṇarāja (1794-1868 A. D.) were themselves poets of no mean order. King Cāmarāja wrote prose versions of Rāmāyaṇa and the Brahmottarakhaṇḍa of Skāndapurāṇa. Cikkupādhyāya (1672 A.D.), a court poet of Cikkadevarāja who is accredited with more than thirty works in Kannada has rendered several *māhātmyas* appearing in the Sanskrit Purāṇas like Bhaviṣyottara, Brahmāṇḍa, Nārādīya etc. into Kannada mostly in prose and campū forms. He rendered the whole of Viṣṇupurāṇa into Kannada in prose as well as in prose-verse form. Other proteges of Cikkadevarāja like Timmakavi (1677 A.D.) and Mallikārjuna (1678 A.D.) rendered into Kannada the *māhātmyas* found in Nārādīyapurāṇa, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa etc. Mummaḍikṛṣṇarāja has written more than fifty works in Kannada and thus stands unique among the kings of Mysore. He was responsible for rendering many Sanskrit works into Kannada. The Śaṅkarasamhitā-vivaraṇa of the Skānda-purāṇa, Vivaraṇa of the Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa, Devīmāhātmya and other puranic works were written by him. Kaḷale Nañjarāja (about 1740 A. D.) is another prolific writer. He was the minister and *Senāpati* of Immāḍi-Kṛṣṇarāja, the King of Mysore during 1734-1766 A. D. He has rendered into Kannada a number of *māhātmyas* found in the Sanskrit Skānda-purāṇa, Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa, Padma-purāṇa and so on.

Of all the Kings of Mysore it is Sri Jayacāmarājendra Oḍeyar, the present Governor of Mysore, who did a great deal

in the direction of getting rendered into Kannada most of the Śanskrit purāṇas besides other works like Yogavāsiṣṭha, Ānandarāmāyaṇa, Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa, Śivarahasya, Upaniṣad-bhāṣya, Bhagavadgītā-bhāṣya, Ṛgveda and many other religious works. These works have been translated into Kannada by various living scholars and published under the series “Śrī Jayacāmarāja-ṇdra Grantharatnamālā” in Mysore. The unique feature of these works is that the sanskrit text is given in the Kannada script and then follows the translation in prose.

It is thus seen that from 16th century onwards the Sanskrit Purāṇas attracted a number of Kannada writers who rendered many of them into Kannada either completely or in sections. At least the two great Purāṇas Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇupurāṇa had great effect on the writers in the early part of the 16th and 17th centuries and they have been completely rendered into Kannada. We shall presently deal in detail with the main Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas or their sections which were rendered into Kannada.

THE SKĀNDA-PURĀṆA.

This Purāṇa has attracted the mass with its innumerable *māhātmyas* and *sthalapurāṇas*. Obviously these were rendered into Kannada by several authors. The Descriptive Catalogues of Kannada Mss. of the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore and the Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite of Sri R. Narasimhacharya mention several such portions rendered into Kannada from the great Skānda-purāṇa. Sānandacaritre told by Nandi to Sanat Kumāra which forms part of Skānda-purāṇa was rendered into Kannada by Kumārapadmarasa at the bidding of his father Kereya Padmarasa as far back as 1180 A. D. It contains in all 791 *ṣaṭpadi*s and 2 *Raga*’s.^{3a} MD (K.) No. 214 is a rendering of the Brahmottarakhaṇḍa of the Skānda-purāṇa in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre whose author has not been mentioned. It contains 31 sections called sandhis. The prose version of the Brahmottara-

3a. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhacārya, Vol. I, pp. 277-278 ; also see Kannada Sāhitya Caritre by R. S. Mugali, P. 194.

khāṇḍa is by Cāmarāja (son of Narasarāja), a King of Mysore during 1617-1637 A. D. It is called Maṇiprakāśa (vide. MD (K.) No. 217 and the K. K. C. vol. II, p. 361). Adhyāyas 2-8 of the ms. are complete and the beginning of the 1st Adhyāya and the end of the 9th Adhyāya are wanting. Mys. D. Nos. 1080 and 1081, however, contain 22 Adhyāyas. The “Classified Catalogue of Kannada printed works and Mss. in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore” (ptd. in 1921) shows the Brahmottarakhaṇḍa of Cāmarāja as printed at Bangalore. Bhaktavilāsadarpaṇa [MD. (K.) No. 218] is the Kannada version of Śivabhaktamāhātmya by Kaḷale Naṅjarāja. It contains chapters 21-90 complete and Ch. 20 incomplete. Mys. D. No. 1093 is another Ms. of the same work which is incomplete. K. K. C. (vol. II, p. 46) refers to Bhaktavilāsadarpaṇa as a translation of the 90th Adhyāya of the Skānda-purāṇa. MD. (K.) No. 242 is a rendering in prose of the Sanskrit Śivadharmottara which forms part of the Skānda-purāṇa. The author is Kaḷale Naṅjarāja. It is complete in 65 Adhyāyas. MD (K.) Nos. 243-246 are the same work by the same author but are incomplete. Saṅkaṣṭaharacaturthīvrata [MD (K.) No. 249 and 250 (inc.)] is a rendering in prose of the Sanskrit Saṅkaṣṭaharacaturthīvrata-māhātmya of the same Purāṇa by Kaḷale Naṅjarāja. Garaḷapurimāhātmya [MD (K.) No. 253, 254 and also see Mys. D. Nos. 396 and 397] is a rendering in prose of the Sanskrit Garaḷapuri, now called Naṅjangūḍu, a centre of pilgrimage, is near Mysore on the bank of the river Kapilā. Hālāsyamāhātmya [MD (K.) No. 275 and 276 (inc.) 277 (inc.)] is a translation in prose of the Sanskrit Hālāsyamāhātmya found in Agastyasamhitā of Skānda-purāṇa. The author is Kaḷale Naṅjarāja. It contains 71 Adhyāyas. The 64 līlās of Sundarēśvara of Madura are told here. First, there are 15 verses in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre and then follows the prose. The work is also called Naṅjarājavāṇivilāsa. The “Classified Catalogue of Kannada printed works and Mss. in the Oriental Library, Mysore”, mentions one Hālāsyamāhātmya by S. G. Narasimhachar as printed at Mysore⁴. A recent translation of

4. vide p. 7.

this work is by Śrī S. Sītārāma Śāstri, published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in three parts as No. 29 in the series. It has been printed in Śrī Vināyaka Printing works, Mysore, in 1946. Another work of Kaḷale Naūjarāja is Dhunḍivināyaka-nacaritre [MD (K.) No. 278]. It is a free rendering in prose describing the story of Dhunḍivināyaka according to the Sanskrit Skānda-purāṇa. The descriptive Catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, mentions two more works of Kaḷale Naūjarāja. They are Kakudgirimāhātmya and Kāśīmahimārthadarpaṇa (Mys. D. Nos. 198, 199 and 296 to 301). The former contains 20 Adhyāyas in prose. The editor, however, remarks that this is a translation of the Sanskrit ślokas occurring in 12 Adhyāyas of Tīrthakhaṇḍa and 6 Adhyāyas of the Kalyāṇakhaṇḍa of the Skānda-purāṇa and 2 Adhyāyas of Tīrthakhaṇḍa of the Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa⁵. The other work Kāśīmahimārthadarpaṇa in prose is a rendering of the mahimā of Kāśī as told in Skānda-purāṇa. Mys. D. No. 298 and 301 contain 100 Adhyāyas and Mys. D. Nos. 299 and 300 together make 100 Adhyāyas. Others are incomplete. The same catalogue mentions Kāverīmāhātmya in verse (Mys. D. No. 288) being a translation into Kannada of the Sanskrit ślokas of Kāverīmāhātmya, a part of Skānda-purāṇa by one Raṅga of about 1730 A.D. Mys. D.No.289 is a ṭīkā (word to word meaning) in Kannada prose of the Sanskrit ślokas of Kāverīmāhātmya by Śrīnivāsadāsa.

Kāśīkhaṇḍa of Mummaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja, a king of Mysore is a Kannada version of the same name found in Skānda-purāṇa. It is in prose and contains 100 Adhyāyas. It is available in print. Published in 1908 by Gundlupandit Lakshmanacharya, Manager, Āryamatagranthapravardhinīsabhā, it has been printed in Kanyakāparameśvarī Press, Mysore. The titles of the 100 Adhyāyas generally agree with the 100 Adhyāyas of the Sanskrit text. Another work of the King is Śāṅkara-saṁhite, a *vivarāṇa* in Kannada of the work of the same name in Sanskrit

5. A Descriptive catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, Vol. I sec, D. No. 199.

Skānda-purāṇa. It has been divided into 7 khaṇḍas namely, Sambhava, Asura, Vīramāhendra, Yuddha, Deva, Dakṣa and Upadeśa.⁶

Kukke subrahmaṇyakṣetramāhātmya found in Kaumārīkākhaṇḍa of the first Māheśvarakhaṇḍa of Skānda-purāṇa has been rendered into Kannada prose by Sri Nelli Lakshminarayana-bhatta. The first part containing Adhyāyas 1-33, available to us, was published by the Manager, Board of Administration, Kukke Sri Subrahmaṇya Temple, Subrahmaṇya, South Kanara in 1953. This contains Sanskrit text in Kannada script followed by Kannada translation.

Kannada rendering of all important stanzas connected with the Uḍupi-kṣetra and found in the Rūpyapīṭha-māhātmya of Skānda-purāṇa has been done by one Śrīnivāsabhatta of Uḍupi. It has been published by P. Guru Rao, Śrīman Madhva Siddhānta-granthālaya, Uḍupi, in 1932.

In his introduction to Kannada Version of Kedārakhaṇḍa, Sri M. S. subrahmaṇya Śāstri, the author, writes that he has rendered Skānda-purāṇa into Kannada prose in 12 parts.⁷ His two books Kedārakhaṇḍa and Kaumārīkākhaṇḍa (available to us) have respectively been printed in B.B. Power Press, Aralepet, Bangalore, in 1928 with 35 Adhyāyas and in Universal Power Press, Bangalore, in 1930 with 43 Adhyāyas.

The Saṁhitā and the Khaṇḍa portions of Skānda-purāṇa have been translated into Kannada by various authors and published in separate series in Śrī Jaya-cāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā. These are recent translations. The Khaṇḍātmaka Skānda-purāṇa has been translated by Āsthāna Vidvān Moṭa-gānahallī Subrahmaṇya Śāstri. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 27 volume as series No. 14, it has been printed in Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore, between 1944 and 1954.

6. Karṇāṭaka Kavi carite by R. Narasimhācārya vol. III, p. 177.

7. Vide M. S. Subrahmaṇya Śāstri's introduction to Kedārakhaṇḍa of Skāndapurāṇa.

The Śaṅkarasamhitā has been translated by Āsthāna Vidvān Sri H. P. Veṅkaṭa Rao and the Sūtasamhitā by Āsthāna Vidvān Edatore Candraśekhara Śāstri. They have been published in Sri Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 6 volumes and 4 volumes as series No. 45 and 22 respectively. The Sanskrit text of Śaṅkarasamhitā has been prepared with the help of tālapatra ms. available in the Oriental Library, Mysore and printed edition in grantha character. The Sūtasamhitā has been printed in Śrī Panchacharya Electric Press, Mysore, in 1945 and the Śaṅkarasamhitā in Śrī Chamundeswari Electric Press, Mysore, between 1947-48. Śivatattvasudhānidhi from Sanatkumārasamhitā has been translated by S. Sitarāma Śāstri. This contains Sanskrit text and a Sanskrit commentary called Cintāmaṇivyākhyā by Śrīnivāsadīkṣita, printed in Kannada script. Then follows the Kannada translation in prose. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 3 parts as series No. 53 it has been printed in two different presses in Mysore in 1949.

THE LIṄGA-PURĀṆA.

The life of the famous 63 Śivabhaktas told by Upamanyumani to Kaṇṇāda as found in the Liṅga-purāṇa was written in Kannada in prose-verse form by Surāṅgākavi, a Viraśaiva poet, in 63 āśvāsas as far back as 1500 A. D.⁸ Kaḷale Naṅjarāja, however, rendered into Kannada prose the Sanskrit Liṅga-purāṇa, in two parts, Pūrvabhāga and Uttarabhāga. The former contains 108 Adhyāyas and the latter 50 Adhyāyas complete and 51st incomplete in a ms. [MD (K.) No. 234] according to the Catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Government Oriental Mss. Library Madras. Another ms. according to the same catalogue [MD (K.) No. 234] contains 108 Adhyāyas in the Pūrvabhāga and 50 Adhyāyas in the Uttarabhāga. The catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, shows two Mss. (Mys. D. Nos. 1491 and 1492) of the same work of Kaḷale Naṅjarāja in two parts.

8. Karṇā aka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhācārya, Vol. II p. 161.

A more recent translation of the Sanskrit Liṅga is by Āsthāna Vidvān Śrī Candraśekhara Śāstri. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 6 parts as series No. 19, it has been printed in Bangalore Press Branch, Mysore, between 1945-1947.

THE BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA

The whole of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa in its 12 skandhas has been rendered into Kannada in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre by Cātuviṭhalanātha, also known as Nityātmaśukayogin. His real name appears to be Sadānandayogin. He appears to have written this great work during the rule of Acyutarāya, the King of Vijayanagar (1530-1542 A.D.). His Bhāgavata has been divided into 280 sections called Sandhis and contains 12235 verses⁹. The Descriptive Catalogue of Kannada manuscripts in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Volume II, shows a number of Mss. of Bhāgavata of Nityātmaśukayogin [vide MD (K.) Nos. 139-190] but none of them contains all the twelve skandhas. They are rather scattered over a number of Mss. The Descriptive Catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, however, contains a manuscript (vide Mys. D. No. 1P36) with the 12 skandhas complete. The same catalogue shows another manuscript (vide Mys. D. No. 1135) with 1-4 skandhas in prose by one Nārāyaṇa. other unknown authors have rendered in *Sāṅgatyā* metre (MD (K.) No. 191 and vacana (MD. (K.) Nos. 192-196). Some Mss. show under different captions either a portion of the work taken from the Kannada Bhāgavata of Nityātmaśukayogin or a portion of the Sanskrit Bhāgavata rendered into Kannada separately by the author. Thus MD (K.) No. 203 entitled Gajendramokṣa is a poem in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre which is in fact a portion of the Kannada Bhāgavata of Nityātmaśukayogin. MD (K.) No. 252 entitled Hariharacāritra is a poem in Kannada in the Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre describing the story of Hariharacāritra found in the Sanskrit Bhāgavata by the same author. Mys. D. No. 24 is Ajāmiḷacarite in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre being Kannada version of the 6th skandha of Bhāgavata by the same

9. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite of Sri R. Narasimhācārya vol. II, p. 223.

author. The Bhāgavata of Nityātmaśukayogin is available in print. The first edition contains all the 12 skandhas in one book. Edited by some pandits, it has been published by T. N. Krishnaiah Setty, Book Depot Proprietor, Chikkapet, Bangalore, having been printed at the Rajeshvari Press, Bangalore in 1911. The second edition is in two parts. Edited by Sri M. V. Śāstri, both the parts have been printed by Sri T. N. Krishnayyasetty in Sri Veṅkṭeśa Press, Arcot Srinivasacharu Street, Bangalore, in 1926. The first part contains the first nine skandhas and the second part tenth to twelfth skandhas. On comparing it is seen that the Kannada Bhāgavata is a free rendering of the original text in Sanskrit. The division of the sections does not correspond to the Sanskrit text. In some places there is condensation as well as elaboration. For example, while the Sanskrit text makes only a reference to the arrival of Nārada in the 4th Adhyāya of the 1st Skandha, this has been described in 3 complete verses in the Kannada Bhāgavata. A special feature of the latter is that a verse in Tripadi purports the gist of each Adhyāya in the beginning. On the whole, the author mostly follows the Sanskrit text.

We find different portions of the Sanskrit Bhāgavata in Kannada version by different authors one such portion is Prahlādacaritre told by Śuka to Parīkṣit in Bhāgavata. It is in Bhāminī-ṣaṭpadi metre containing 17 sandhis and 1,111 verses.¹⁰ The author is Narahari of about 1650 A. D. Kṛṣṇalīlābhūdaya* of Veṅkayārya, a Mādhva poet of about 1650 A. D., is the story of 10th skandha of Bhāgavata containing 51 sandhis and 2,543

10. The author of K. K. C. says that another ms. reads 16 sandhis and 1114 verses *Vide.* Vol. II, P. 432 f. n. The Descriptive Catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, shows 7 Mss. of Prahlādacaritre by Narahari of about 1650 A. D. *Vide.* Mys. D. Nos. 980-986. Two Mss. (Mys. D. Nos. 983-984) call this Prahlāda Bhārata. But from a stanza in Tripadi in the beginning of the work in two Mss. (Mys. D. Nos. 985 and 986) this appears to be, in all probability, the same work referred by the author of K. K. C. Some of these Mss. contain, however, 16 sandhis and 17 sandhis and different No. of verses.

verses in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre. Cikadevarājasūktivilāsa by Cikkadevarāja, the famous King of Mysore (1672-1704 A. D.) is a *tīkā* in Kannada prose of the Sanskrit Bhāgavata. Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇa of about 1700 A. D. is the story of the 10th skandha of the Sanskrit Bhāgavata. An incomplete ms. available to the author of Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite contained 10 śatakas and a few verses in the 11th śataka in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre.¹¹ Kṛṣṇarājavāṇīvilāsa is *tīkā* in Kannada of the Bhāgavata conforming to the Sanskrit Śrīdhariyavyākhyā by Mummaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja, King of Mysore (1894-1868 A. D.).

A more recent rendering of Bhāgavata into Kannada prose (*vacanā*) is by Paṇḍita Devaśikhāmaṇi Aḷasiṅgarācārya. It is available in print in 8 volumes, published as No. 2, in the Ānanda Karṇāṭaka Granthamālā and printed in Ānanda Printing Press, Madras (2nd Edn. 1918). The author has closely followed the Sanskrit text of Bhāgavata and the titles of the Adhyāyas also generally correspond to those of the Sanskrit Bhāgavatam.

Another rendering of this work is by Sri K. V. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri, Retired Sanskrit Teacher, Ānandavana, Agāḍi. It is published by Sri Y. G. Kulakarṇi, Editor, Sadbodhacandrike, Ānandavana, Agāḍi and printed in Śrī Śeṣācala Printing Press, Ānandavana, Agāḍi. It is available in three parts the first, second and the third parts having been printed in 1919, 1922 and 1924 respectively.

The "Classified Catalogue of Kannada Printed Works and Mss." in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore (ptd. in 1921), shows under the printed works, the following :

Bhāgavata of Nityātmakavi in verse printed at Bangalore.
 "5th and 6th Skandhas by Rāmaśeṣa Śāstri.
 4th Skandha —do— —do—
 1—3 Skandhas by Krishnaraja Odeyar.
 4—5 —do— —do— Printed at Bangalore.
 6—9 —do— (details not given).

11. Karṇāṭaka Kavi carite of Sri R. Narasiṃhācārya, Vol. II, 540.

6—7—8—9 Skandhas by Krishnaraja Odeyar
printed at Bangalore.

10th skandha printed at Bangalore.

11th and 12th skandhas by Krishnaraja Odeyar
printed at Bangalore.

THE ĀDITYA-PURĀṆA (SAURA-PURĀṆA)

Āditya-purāṇa or Saura-purāṇa which forms part of Brahmopapurāṇa has been written in Bhāminīṣatpadi metre by an unknown author who styles himself “Kaviṛāja-kaṇṭhīrava” [vide. MD (K.) Nos. 200 and 201 and Mys. D. Nos. 122 to 125]. The author of Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite, however, calls him Rāmacandraguruśiṣya since he eulogises H. H. Sri Ramachandra Bhārati of Sringeri Mutt and calls himself his pupil.¹² His date is therefore about 1550 A. D. It contains 48 sandhis. The author says that this work is Śivakāvya called Śivakathāṃṛta and that the hero is Kāśī Viśvanātha. A portion of this work has for the first time, been published in 1951, with the first 18 sandhis by Āsthāna Vidvān Śrī B. Śivamūrtiśāstri under Śarapasāhityamālā as series No. 13 and printed in Svatantra Karṇāṭaka Power Press, Raṅgasvāmi Temple Street, Bangalore 2. The text has been prepared with the help of a palm-leaf ms. available with Sri Veṅkaṭaramaṇa Holḷa which contains 48 sandhis and 2666 verses. This publication is, however, an abridgment carried out by Sri K. Veṅkaṭarāyācār of Suratkal, South Kanara.

The Sanskrit Saurapurāṇa has been translated into Kannada prose by Āsthāna Vidvān H. Gaṅgādhara Śāstri. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 24 in two parts, it has been printed in Śrī Vināyaka Printing works, Mysore, in 1945.

THE PADMA-PURĀṆA

Portions of Padma-purāṇa have been rendered into Kannada by a few authors. Tirumalabhaṭṭa of about 1600 A. D. wrote

12. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhācārya, vol. II pp. 260-261.

the Kannada version of the Sanskrit Śivagītā of Padma-purāṇa in Vārdhikaṣatpadi metre. It contains 16 sandhis and 377 verses.¹³ Śivagītā has also been rendered into Kannada Prose by Kalale Naūjarāja [vid. MD (K.) No. 241]. Another rendering of Śivagītā in prose is by Śrī Bhāṣyam Tirumalācārya. It contains Sanskrit text in Kannada script besides the translation. Published by Karṇāṭaka prakāśikapustakaśālā, Bangalore, it has been printed by K.S. Krishna Ayyar, Irish Press, Bangalore, in 1911. It contains 16 Adhyāyas. A prose work in Kannada narrating the greatness of chastity by an unknown author is from the 16th Adhyāya in Vaśiṣṭha-Dilīpasamvāda of Padma-purāṇa [MD (K.) No. 211]*. The Descriptive Catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, shows a Ms. (Mys. D. No. 829) whose title is Pativratādharmā. This deals with the same subject-matter as MD. (K.) No. 211 and forms a part of Padma-purāṇa. The author and date are not known. The same catalogue shows another ms. (Mys. D. No. 834), which is incomplete and is a prose (ṭīkā) version of Padma-purāṇa by Cikkupādhyāya. The *Kandapadya* in the beginning corroborates this. The Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa in Kannada by an unknown author is the subject-matter of MD. (K.) No. 212.* It deals with the procedure to be adopted in branding the top of the arms of Śrīvaiṣṇavas with heated metallic diagrams resembling Viṣṇu's Conch and discus and also deals with Ūrdhva-puṇḍra-dhāraṇa etc. Puṣkarakhaṇḍa, a prose version in Kannada narrating the story of Puṣkarkhaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa is by an unknown author [vide. MD (K.) No. 213]. It contains 3-25 Adhyāyas complete which are mostly condensed.

A recent translation of the Padma-purāṇa is by Śrī Beladakere Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstri. It is in Kannada prose and has been published in 22 volumes in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā series as No. 16. These parts have been printed between 1944 and 1946 in different presses in Mysore. The Śivagītā forming a part of Padma-purāṇa with its 16 Adhyāyas

13. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite, vol. II pp. 317-318.

has been translated into Kannada separately by Āsthāna Vidvān Sri H. Gaṅgādharaśāstri. This, again, has been published in Śrī Jayācāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 2. It has been printed in Sri Sharada Press, Mysore, in 1950.

THE NĀRADĪYA-PURĀṆA.

A few *māhātmyas* from this Purāṇa have been rendered into Kannada by the well-known Kannada writers. Cikkupādhyāya rendered the Sanskrit Yadugirimāhātmya forming part of the Nārādīya-purāṇa into Kannada prose at the instance of Cikkadevarāja, King of Mysore. It is complete in 12 Adhyāyas [vide MD (K.) Nos. 260 and 261]. Yadugiri, now known as Melukote is in the Mysore District. The same *māhātmya* has been written in *Sāṅgatyā* metre by Cikkupādhyāya. It contains 12 sandhis and 1219 verses [vide MD (K.) No. 263 and also K. K. C. vol. II P. 482]. Another rendering of this *māhātmya* is by Timmakavi who wrote this at the instance of Cikkadevrāja, King of Mysore (1672-1704 A. D.). It is in prose-verse form. It is complete in 12 Āśvāsas [vide MD (K.) No. 266]. The Karṇāṭakakavi Carite states that this work contains 16 Āśvāsas and that the first four Āśvāsas deal with the description of the genealogy of Cikkadevarāja etc., after which the story proper Commences¹⁴. Besides, Mys. D. No. 1375 which is the same work contains 16 Āśvāsas (see also Mys. D. Nos. 1376 to 78). So it appears that the scribe who wrote MD (K.) No. 266 would have omitted to copy the first four Āśvāsas. Another ms. of this work [MD (K.) No. 267] by an unknown author contains Adhyāyas 1-11 complete and the 12th incomplete. It consists of Sanskrit stanzas with Kannada commentary. Yādavagirimāhātmya* of Veṅkaṭāryaśiṣya of about 1700 A. D., is a poem in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre. The author of K. K. C. says that an incomplete ms. of this work got by him contained only 10 Sandhis¹⁵. But of the two Mss. available in the Oriental

Research Institutes, Mysore, one contains 13 Sandhis while the other is incomplete (vide Mys. D. Nos. 1372, 1373).

Rukmāṅgadacarite* of Lakṣmakavi of 1723 A. D. in Vārdhikaṣaṭpadi metre is the story of the Ekādaśī-māhātmya told by Vasiṣṭha to Māndhātā in NārādīyaPurāṇa. It contains 17 Sandhis and 953 verses. It has also been written in prose-verse form by Cikkupādhyāya. It contains 10 Āśvāsas and 2286 verses [vide MD (K.) No. 219 and K. K. C. Vol. II. P. 475].

The Nārādīya-Purāṇa has been translated into Kannada prose by Śrī Vāsudevacārya of Doḍḍaballāpur. Published by Śrī Jayācāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 10 parts as series No. 39, it has been printed in Chamundesvari Electric Press, Mysore, between 1946 and 1948. At the end of each Adhyāya the author gives the gist.

THE BHAVIṢYOTTARA-PURĀṆA.

Portions of this Purāṇa dealing with the *māhātmyas* have been rendered into Kannada. The Kannada version of Kamalācala-māhātmya is by Cikkupādhyāya. It is the *māhātmya* of Himavadgopālasvāmī hill or Kamalācala found in the Tīrthakāṇḍa of the Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa (Mys. D. Nos. 225 and 226). It is in prose-verse form. It contains 16 Āśvāsas, 2591 Kāṇḍas, 1161 Vṛttas and 276 Vacanas (K. K. C. vol. II. P. 471). Prose-version of the same Purāṇa is by Gopālārāja of about 1740 A. D. It is also called "Gopālabhūpālōktivilāsa". It contains 9 Adhyāyas. The syamantakopākhyāna forming part of the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa has been rendered into Kannada by the famous Kaḷale Naūjarāja [MD (K.) No. 251]. Another work of the same author is Haradattācāryamāhātmya, a translation into Kannada of the Sanskrit Haradattācāryacaritra of Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa.¹⁶

Dhanurmāsamahimā of this Purāṇa has been written* in Kannada by Veṅkaṭārāmaśāstri of Devaṇḍahalli, a protege of Mummaḍikṛṣṇarāja, a King of Mysore.¹⁷

14. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhācārya, vol. II, p. 493.

15. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhācārya, vol. II p. 545.

16. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhācārya, Vol. III, P. 46.

17. ibid, P. 183.

THE BRAHMĀṆḌA-PURĀṆA

Several *māhātmyas* appearing in the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa attracted many Kannada writers. Some of them were translated into Kannada. Cikkupādhyāya, a celebrated writer in Kannada, wrote the Paścimaraṅgadhāma-māhātmya, a poem in *Sāṅgatyā* metre describing the story of the same name found in Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. It contains 5 sandhis and 317 verses [MD (K.) No. 257]. This is in the form of Saṁvāda between Śaṅkara and Nārada. The place Paścimaraṅga or Śrīraṅgapaṭṇa is near Mysore on the banks of the river Kāverī. The prose version of the same *māhātmya* [MD (K.) No. 258] is by an unknown author. It contains 1—4 Adhyāyas complete and the 5th Adhyāya incomplete. Veṅkaṭagirimāhātmya [MD (K.) No. 269] by Cikkupādhyāya is a free rendering in prose of the Tirupatimahimā told by Nārada to Bhṛgu, under Puṇyakṣetra-māhātmyakhaṇḍa of Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. It is complete in 10 Āśvāsas. The same *māhātmya* has been written in prose-verse form by Timmakavi of 1677 A.D.* It contains 10 *Āśvāsas*, 190 *Kāṇḍas*, 285 *Vṛttas* and 31 *Vacanas*. The author is a protege of the Mysore King Cikkadevarāja who ruled during 1672-1704. Cikkupādhyāya's another work is Kāncīmāhātmya also called Hastigirimāhātmya found in the Tīrthakhaṇḍa of Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. It is in prose-verse form and contains 18 Āśvāsas and 1174 verses¹⁸. Śrīraṅgamāhātmya [MD (K.) No. 270] is a free rendering in prose of the same name found in Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa by Cikkupādhyāya. It is complete in 10 sections. A prose-verse form* of this *māhātmya* is by Mallikārjuna (1678 A.D.), a Brahmin poet and a protege of Cikkadevarāja, a King of Mysore during 1672 - 1704 A.D.²⁰ The editor of the Descriptive catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, thinks that MD (K.) No. 272 may be the work of Mallikārjuna referred to by the author of the K.K.C.

18. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhacārya Vol. II, pp. 596-497.

19. *ibid.* pp. 473-474.

20. *ibid.* pp. 498-499.

in view of certain similarities found between this ms. and the portions cited in the K.K.C. A prose version of this *māhātmya* is by one Raṅgacārya [MD (K.) No. 273 (inc)]. This incomplete ms. contains 10 paricchedas and dates back to Śalivāhanaśaka 1585. Another prose version of the same *māhātmya* is by Singarācārya who says that he was the tutor to Beṭṭada Cāmarāja Oḍeyar, king of Mysore in 1507 A. D. [vide. MD. (K.) No. 274]. It is complete in 10 Āśvāsas. The Sanskrit Bhadragirimāhātmya forming part of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa has been rendered into Kannada prose by Kaḷale Naūjarāia. It is complete in 16 Adhyāyas [vide. MD (K.) No. 259].

The Devāṅgacaritra found in the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa has been written* in Sāṅgatyā metre by one Deva of about 1725 A. D. It contains 13 Sandhis and 1380 verses.²¹

Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa in Kannada is a *vivarāṇa* of the Sanskrit Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa which is in the form of saṁvāda between Umā and Maheśvara in Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. The author is Mumadi Kṛṣṇarāja, a king of Mysore, during 1774-1868 A.D. It contains 7 kāṇḍas, 65 sargas.²²

A recent translation of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa into Kannada prose is by Āsthāna Vidvān Śrī Pāṭaṇakar Chandrasekhara-bhaṭṭa of the University of Mysore. Published in 5 parts in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as No. 17, in the series, it has been printed in Mysore Printing and Publishing House, Mysore between 1945-1946. Kāncīmāhātmya forming part of Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa has been separately translated by the same author and published in the same series as No. 18 having been printed in Cāmuṇḍeśvarī Electric Press, Mysore, in 1945.

THE VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA

The Viṣṇu-purāṇa has been rendered into Kannada in prose as also in prose-verse form by the reputed writer Lakṣmīpati popularly known as Cikkupādhyāya. More than 30 major

21. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhacārya Vol. III p. 37.

22. *Ibid.* p. 177.

Kannada works stand to his credit, most of them being on Purāṇas. He was a minister and Court poet of Cikkadevarāja Oḍeyar who ruled Mysore during 1672-1740 A. D. A Śrīvaiṣṇava poet, Cikkupādhyāya was an erudite scholar of scripture and literature with a command over Sanskrit and Kannada languages. The first, fourth and the fifth aṁśas of the prose version (available to us) have been edited by Sri M. A. Rāmānuja Ayyangar, the then Asst. Master, Maharani's College, Mysore and printed and published by the Karṇāṭaka Kāvyaakalānidhī publishers, Mysore, as Nos. 45, 36 and 30, respectively in the series. The first aṁśa was printed in 1914 at Śrīnivāsa printing Press, Mysore and the fourth and fifth aṁśas at G. T. A. Press, Mysore, in 1911 and 1910 respectively. The Adhyāyas of these three aṁśas correspond to the 22, 24, and 38 Adhyāyas of the Sanskrit text respectively. The rendering is faithful. A manuscript containing the prose-verse form of Kannada version of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa by Cikkupādhyāya is noticed in the catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Government Oriental Mss. Library Madras [vide. MD (K.) No. 238.] It contains 6 aṁśas, 32 Āśvāsas and 6255 verses.²³ This manuscript and another ms. available at the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, have been utilised in preparing the edition of the 5th aṁśa of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa²⁴ by the editors, Prof. M. Mariappa Bhat and the late Sri M. Govinda Rao of the Madras University. It has been published by the University of Madras in the Kannada series as No. 14 in 1957. Of the six aṁśas of the prose-verse version, it appears, the 5th aṁśa alone is available in print. The 38 Adhyāyas of this aṁśa are dealt with in 13 Āśvāsas in the Kannada version. The faithful rendering into Kannada of the Sanskrit Viṣṇu-purāṇa has been applauded by Sri M. A. Rāmānuja Ayyangar in the following words: Those who wish to learn the art of

23. Vide a Descriptive catalogue of the Kannada Mss. in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, vol. II p. 389.

24. "Sri Viṣṇu-purāṇa by Cikkupādhyāya" edited by Prof. Mariappa Bhat and Sri M. Govinda Rao, see preface p. 10.

translating the Sanskrit works (into Kannada) would do well to compare this work with its original in Sanskrit."²⁵

All the six aṁśas of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa have been rendered into Kannada prose by one Ubhayavedāntapravartaka Śrī Yajñānārāyaṇadīkṣita of Śāntigrāma near Hassan in Mysore State and published by Śrī S. Śrīnivāsa Ayyangar, Retired Engineer, (Bombay), Dharwar in 1928 having been printed in the Universal Power Press, Sultanpet, Bangalore.

The Prathamāṁśa rendered into Kannada by one Pānyam Sundarāśāstrī (Pandit, St. Joseph College, Bangalore) has been published by Śrī B. Ādinārāyaṇa Śāstrī as No. 10, of the Vidyānandagrānṭhamālā, Vidyānanda Office, Shankarapuram, Bangalore, in 1914. It contains 22 Adhyāyas and has been printed by Sri K. S. Krishna Ayyar, Irish Press, Bangalore. The original Sanskrit text in Kannada script is given first and then follows the prose translation.

A more recent translation of this purāṇa into Kannada is by Pandit Ganjam Timmaṅṅayya. The Sanskrit text has been given first in Kannada script and then follows the translation. It has been printed in three parts in Śrī Vināyaka Printing Press in 1948 and published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā series as No. 49,

THE ĀGNEYA-PURĀṆA

Tulākāverīmāhātmye [MD (K.) No. 256] is a rendering in prose of the story of Tulākāverīmāhātmya as found in the Sanskrit Āgneya-purāṇa by Caluvāmbike, the wife of Doḍḍa Kṛṣṇarāja, King of Mysore during 1713-1731 A. D. It is also called Caluvāmbikāvāṇīvilāsa. It is complete in 30 Adhyāyas.

From a śloka at the end of the work, it appears that one Śrīnivāsa wrote this in the name of Celuvāmbike.²⁶

25. Vide M. A. Rāmānuja Ayyangar's introduction to the 5th aṁśa of prose version of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa of Cikkupādhyāya.

26. मीदगल्यान्वयदुग्धसिन्धुरजनीकान्तेन पुण्यात्मना
श्रीवासाख्यविश्विता जनिजुषा श्रीवेङ्कटार्यादिभुवि ।
व्याख्यानं च तुलाकवेरनुजालीलामहिम्नः कृतम्
कर्णाटोक्तिमयं परं विजयतामासेतुहेमाचलम् ॥

Vide. K. K. C., Vol. III, p. 25, f. n.

THE BRAHMOTTARA-PURĀṆA

Brahmottarakhaṇḍa of Mahādeva, a Vīraśaiva poet of about 1725 A. D. is a translation in Kannada of the Sanskrit Brahmottara-purāṇa. It is in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre. The Śaḍ-akṣaramahimā, Vibhūtimahimā, Rudrākṣamahimā, Purāṇaśravaṇa-mahimā, the mahimā of Vratas like Śivarātri etc., worship of Śivayogins etc. are told here. It contains 32 sandhis, 1898 verses, here and there Ragle, Vṛtta and some prose.²⁷ According to a ms. in the Descriptive Catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, Volume IV, this work contains 32 sandhis and 1896 verses. The author of Karṇāṭaka-kavicarite in the footnote mentions another ms. which reads 31 sandhis and 1945 verses.²⁸ This is perhaps the same as Mys. D. No. 1074, which contains the same No. of sandhis and verses. Mys. D. Nos. 1075-1079 being the same work contain 31 sandhis but different No. of verses.

THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA-PURĀṆA

Devīmāhātmya of Cidānandāvadhūta (about 1750 A.D.) is in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre. It is a translation of the Sanskrit version of the same name (Mys. D. No. 683). It contains 18 sandhis and 796 verses.²⁹ The Classified Catalogue of Kannada printed works and Mss. in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore (1921), shows under printed works, a Devīmāhātmya in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre by one Cidānandasvamin, printed in Ratnākara Press, Madras.³⁰ Devīmāhātmya by Mummaḍikṛṣṇarāja, King of Mysore (1794-1868 A. D.) in prose (Mys. D. No. 681) is Devīmāhātmyaprakāśaka saptāśatī-mahāmantrārtha found in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.

The whole of Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa has been translated into Kannada prose by Āsthāna Vidvān Śrī Pāṭaṇakar Candrasekhara-

27. Karṇāṭakakavicarite by R. Narasiṅhācārya, Vol. III, pp. 33-34.

28. Ibid. see f. n.

29. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasiṅhācārya, Vol. III, p. 79.

30. Classified Catalogue of Kannada Printed works and Mss. in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore (1921) p. 2.

bhaṭṭa of the University of Mysore. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 57 in 4 parts, it has been printed in Śrī Pañcācārya Electric Press, Mysore, in 1953 and 1954.

THE BHAVIṢYA-PURĀṆA

The author of Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite notes a work called Amāsomavāravata forming part of Bhaviṣya-purāṇa rendered into Kannada by Veṅkaṭarāma Śāstri of about 1823 A. D., a protege of Mummaḍikṛṣṇarāja, King of Mysore during 1794-1868 A.D. The author appears to have rendered this at the instance of the queen Lakṣmammani.³¹

The whole of Bhaviṣya-purāṇa has been translated into Kannada by Āsthāna Vidvān Sri B. Cannakeśavayya. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 13 parts as series No. 36, it has been printed in Basaveśvara Electric Press, Mysore, Between 1946-1952.

THE NARASIMHA-PURĀṆA

Prahlādacaritra forming part of Nṛsimha-purāṇa has a *ṭikā* in Kannada by Raṅganātha Śāstri of about 1849 A.D. The *ṭikā* is called Vidvatpratoṣiṇī (vide Mys. D. No. 988 and K.K.C. Vol. III, p. 197).

A complete translation of this Purāṇa is by Āsthāna Vidvān Sri N. V. Padmanābhācāriar. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 51, in 3 parts, it has been printed in Śrī Vināyaka Printing Works, Mysore, in 1949. The author gives the gist at the end of each Adhyāya.

THE DEVĪBHĀGAVATA-MAHĀPURĀṆA

According to an information found on the covering page of the printed book "Śivapurāṇa" by Roṅūru Veṅkaṭarāma Śāstri printed and published by Sri T. K. Krishnaswami Setty, Kalanidhi Press, Bangalore, in 1920, the Devībhāgavata in Kannada prose with its 12 Skandhas is available in print. Śrī Sāligrāma Śrī

31. Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasiṅhācārya, Vol. III p. 183,

Kaṇṭha Śāstri, the author of Kannada Version of the Sanskrit Śaṅkaravijaya in a note at the beginning of his work, refers to a Devībhāgavata in Kannada verse form with 14050 verses in Bhāminīṣaṭpadi metre written in the name of "Tripurasundarī Devī" perhaps by himself.³²

All the 12 skandhas of this purāṇa have been translated into Kannada by Edatore Candraśekhara Śāstri. The author has followed the Sanskrit Commentary "Tilaka" by Nilakaṇṭha. Published in 11 parts in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No.5, this Purāṇa was printed in Śrī Pañcācārya Electric Press, Mysore, between 1942 and 1945.

THE ŚIVAMAHA-PURĀṆA

This Purāṇa has been translated into Kannada prose by Roṇūru Veṅkaṭarāma Śāstri. It has been divided into seven sections : Vidyēśvarasāṃhitā, Rudrasāṃhitā, Śatarudrasāṃhitā, Koṭirudrasāṃhitā, Umāsāṃhitā, Kailāsasāṃhitā and Vāyavīyasāṃhitā. It was printed and published by Sri T. K. Krishnaswami Setty, Proprietor, Kalanidhi Press, Bangalore in 1920.

Śivamahāpurāṇa has been translated into Kannada by Āsthāna Vidvān Pandit Veṅkaṭarao of Hassan. A ms. from Oriental Library, Mysore, a book printed at Madhure with Hindi translation and another printed in Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, have been utilised in preparing the text. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 12 parts as series No. 21, it has been printed in two different presses in Mysore, in 1945 and 1946.

THE GĀRUḌA-PURĀṆA

Viṣṇudharmottara, purporting to be a portion of the Gāruḍa-purāṇa³³, has been written in simple prose by an unknown author. It purports to establish the supremacy of Lord Viṣṇu. The two Mss. MD (K.) No. 236 and 237 in the Descriptive Catalogue of

32. Vide Karṇāṭaka Śaṅkaravijaya by Sāligrama ŚrīKaṇṭha Śāstri, 2nd Edition Printed in Sitārāghava Printing Press, Mysore, in 1951, under "Abhivandana".

33. On this, see separate note at the end of this Paper.

Kannada Mss. in the Government Oriental Mss. Library Madras, contain 1-24 Adhyāyas complete and the 25th incomplete.

THE VARĀHA-PURĀṆA

Kaiśika-purāṇa forming part of Varāha-purāṇa has been rendered into Kannada prose by an unknown author [vide MD (K.) No. 202]. According to the colophon, it contains 44 Adhyāyas.

A complete translation of this Purāṇa is by Āsthāna Vidvān Śrī M. R. Varadācārya. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 31, in 5 parts, it has been printed in Śrī Hanumān power press, Mysore, between 1946 and 1948. The author gives the gist at the end of each Adhyāya. The Sanskrit text has been prepared with the help of a ms. in Grantha Script available in Oriental Library Mysore, and printed editions of Veṅkaṭeśvara Printing Press, Bombay, and one Printed by Pandit Hṛṣīkeśa Śāstri of Calcutta.

THE OTHER PURĀṆAS

There are some Purāṇas for which there appears to be no earlier translation. About a dozen such Purāṇas have been rendered into Kannada, perhaps for the first time, by living authors enabling the lovers of Purāṇas in Karṇāṭaka to have a perusal of them. They have been published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā. The translators have mostly used the printed editions from Bombay and Ānandāśrama series, Poona and at times Mss. in Telugu or Grantha character. The details such as the series No. , year of publication etc. are dealt with in the following respective Purāṇas.

THE ĀDI-PURĀṆA

This has been translated by Āsthāna Vidvān Edatore Candraśekhara Śāstri. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 41, it has been printed in Pañcācārya Electric Press, New Sayaji Rao Road, Mysore, in 1946. The book contains 29 Adhyāyas.

THE KALKI-PURĀṆA

This has been translated by Edatore Candraśekhara Śāstri. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as Series

No. 37, it has been printed in Bangalore Press Branch, Mysore, in 1946 in one book.

THE KĀLIKĀ-PURĀṆA

This Purāṇa has been translated by Pandit Veṅkaṭa Rao of Hassan. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in four parts as series No. 10, it has been printed in Śrī Bisaveśvara Electric Press, Mysore, in 1944.

THE KŪRMA-PURĀṆA

A translation into Kannada prose of this Purāṇa is by Śrī Pāṭṇakar Candraśekharaḥṭṭa of the University of Mysore. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 40 in 4 parts, it has been printed in Śrī Vināyaka Printing works, Mysore, in 1946 and 1947.

THE GAṆEŚĀ-PURĀṆA

This Purāṇa has been translated by Āsthāna Vidvān H. Yajñeśvara Śāstri. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as No. 55 in the series in 5 parts, it has been printed in Śrī Mallikārjuna Press, New Sayaji Rao Road, Mysore, between 1953 and 1955. One feature of this work is that at the end of each part there is a pariśiṣṭa explaining some important names appearing in the book and an index to the ślokaś.

THE BRAHMA-PURĀṆA

A complete translation of this Purāṇa is by Pandit Veṅkaṭa Rao of Hassan. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 6 parts as series No. 30, it has been printed in Śrī Cāmuṇḍeśvarī Electric Press, Mysore, in 1946 and 1947. The Sanskrit text has been prepared with the help of a Telugu ms. and printed editions from Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay and Ānandāśrama, Poona.

THE BRAHMAVAIVARTAMAHAĀPURĀṆA

This Purāṇa has been translated by B. S. Krishnappa (Sanskrit Pandit, Government High School, Nanjangud). Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in 10 parts as

series No. 50 it has been printed in Śrī Śāradā Electric Press, Mysore, between 1948 and 1949.

THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA

This Purāṇa has been translated into Kannada by Vājapeyam Śrīraṅgācār. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 33, in 7 parts, it has been printed in Śrīnivāsa Electric Press, Mysore, between 1946 and 1948. The author gives the gist at the end of each Adhyāya.

THE VĀMAṆA-PURĀṆA

The translation of this Purāṇa is by Śrī S. Veṅkaṭācārya. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as series No. 25, in 3 parts, it has been printed in Śrī Śāradā Electric Press, Mysore in 1946.

THE VĀYU-PURĀṆA

The translation of this Purāṇa is by Āsthāna Vidvān Śrī R. Setumādhavācār (Pandit of Government Training College, Mysore). Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra grantharatnamālā as Series No. 38 in 6 parts it has been printed in Śrī Śāradā Electric Press, Mysore, in 1947 and 1948. The author gives the gist at the end of each Adhyāya.

THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARAMAHAĀPURĀṆA

This Purāṇa³⁴ has been separately printed in 3 khaṇḍas and published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā as No. 15 in the series. The first, second and the third Khaṇḍas are printed in 5, 4, and 3 parts respectively. The first Khaṇḍa and the first two parts in the second Khaṇḍa were translated by Śrī Veṅkaṭaramaṇa Śāstri of Chamarajanagar and after his demise the rest of the two parts in the 2nd Khaṇḍa and the 3rd khaṇḍa were translated by Sankīghaṭṭam Veṅkaṭācārya. All the three khaṇḍas were printed in different presses during 1945 and 1953 in Mysore.

34. Different from the text of the same name described as a part of the Garudapurāṇa.

THE SĀMBA-PURĀṆA

A translation of this Purāṇa is by Āsthāna Vidvān Śrī H. Gaṅgādhara Śāstri. Published in Śrī Jayacāmarājendra Grantharatnamālā in two parts as series No. 43, it has been printed in Śrīnivāsa Printing Work, Mysore, in 1947.

A NOTE ON THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA DESCRIBED AS A PART OF THE GARUḌA-PURĀṆA

D. Nos. 236 and 237 are two mss. entitled Viṣṇudharmottara noticed in the Descriptive Catalogue of Kannada Mss. in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. The beginning and the colophons³⁵ state that this is a portion of Garuḍa-purāṇa. The Sanskrit mss. Catalogue in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, shows 9 mss. under the title 'Viṣṇudharmottara' in different scripts like Nandināgarī, Grantha and Telugu. The two complete palm-leaf Sanskrit mss. in Telugu characters (D. Nos. 2112 and 2113) verified by us contain 27 Adhyāyas complete. The subject matter, throughout, is in the form of a dialogue between Marīci and Garuḍa. It deals with Vaiṣṇava-dharma, Pativrata-vidhī, Varṇāśramadharma, Tulasīpatra-māhātmya, Viṣṇudevālaye dipasthāpanamāhātmya etc. The two Kannada mss. mentioned above represent a Kannada version of the above Sanskrit Viṣṇudharmottara said to be a part of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. As in the Sanskrit original, the subject matter in the Kannada version too commences with the verse, "सम्यग्ज्ञानात्म संतुष्टं भगवत्प्रियवाहनं । विनतातनयं शान्तं मरीचिः पर्यंपृच्छत ॥"³⁶

The mss. of this Kannada version contain only 24 Adhyāyas complete, with the 25th incomplete.³⁶

35. Beginning : Svastyastu.....Garuḍapurāṇadalli Viṣṇudharmottara-śāstra Kathā prasaṅgaventene (May it be well.....in Garuḍapurāṇa the Viṣṇudharmottaraśāstrakathāprasaṅga is): Samyagjñānātma santuṣṭam bhagavatpriyavāhanam. Vinatātanayam śāntam Maricīḥ paryaprechata.

Colophon : Iti Garuḍapurāṇe Śrī Viṣṇudharmottare prathamādhyāyah
36. Mys. D. No. 1573 in prose is the same work but contains only 16 Adhyās.

A Comparison shows that the work under reference is different from the well-known Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, which is in the form of a dialogue between King Vajra and the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, published by the Venkateswara Press. The three Khaṇḍas of this printed work deal, as is well-known, with the arts, poetry, dance, painting, iconography, Arthaśāstra, Vedānta, Vaṁśacaritra, Stotra, Rājyābhīṣekavidhī, Haṁsagītā, methods of manufacturing longstanding gold and silver articles etc., besides Viṣṇu-worship.

The printed edition of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, however, does not contain a section called Viṣṇudharmottara. Of the few Sanskrit mss. of the latter verified by us, two incomplete mss. in Grantha character found in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras (Vide. D. No. 2115 and R. 4748), mention a Viṣṇudharmottara forming part of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. At the end of the first Adhyāya of D. 2115 there is the colophon, "इति श्रीगारुडपुराणे विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।"

The colophon at the end of the 27th Adhyāya of R. 4748 is, "इति श्रीगारुडपुराणे श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे गरुडमरीचिसंवादे सप्तविंशोऽध्यायः ॥"

Besides, the Catalogus Catalogorum mentions (Vide. p. 5902) that Viṣṇudharmottara is held to be a part of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. The Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the palace at Tanjore, compiled by A. C. Burnell shows 3 mss. (Nos. 1887-9) of Viṣṇudharmottara "said to be the Uttarabhāga of the Garuḍa-purāṇa" (Vide. p. 1882). It is thus seen that the Kannada version mentioned above is of the Viṣṇudharmottara forming a part of the Sanskrit Garuḍa-purāṇa.

There is of course, as noted already, a modern Kannada version of the better known printed Viṣṇudharmottara too, forming a dialogue between Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya and containing art-chapters.

इतिहासपुराणादिषु दिल्लीनगरस्य प्राचीनं रूपम्

नरेन्द्रनाथशर्मा चौधुरी

[In this article the learned writer has traced the origin and history of Delhi from the Mahābhārata and the Kalikā-Purāṇa. In the times of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas Delhi was known as *Indra-prastha* or *Khāṇḍava-prastha*. The city of Indra-prastha was founded by the Pāṇḍavas after burning the Khāṇḍava forest. After the death of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa the city was given to his grandson, Vajra. In course of time Indra-prastha became known as *Dilli*, *Dhilli* or *Dhillikā*. The name *Dhillikā* is found recorded in the Bijolia Rock Inscription of Someśvara. From the stone-inscription in the Prithivirāja Museum, Delhi, we find that the city *Dhillikā* or *Dhilli* was built by the Tomara-Kings, after whom it was ruled by the Chohān-Kings. In the times of the Muslim rule the name *Dhilli* was changed to *Dilli*. The writer cites some other traditions also for the origin of the name '*Dilli*'. The name may be due to the name of a king, *Dilu* who ruled in Indra-prastha in 1st century B.C., the name *Dhilli* may be due to the predominance of the Dhillon Jātas, a branch of the Yādavas, in Indra-prastha. In the times of the Muslim rule it began to be pronounced as *Dilli* according to the Persian pronunciation. Then in the times of the English rule in India *Dilli* became *Delhi*. This Delhi is now the capital of Independent India also.]

“सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ।”

(रामायणम् ७. ५२. १२)

इह खलु भारते वर्षे दिल्लीनगरमतीव प्रसिद्धमस्ति । इदं हि नगरं साम्राज्यलक्ष्याः प्रधानं लीलाक्षेत्रमिव वर्तते । नलिनोदलगतजलमिव अतितरला राज-

लक्ष्मीरिति नगरमेतत् सुतरां प्रतिपादयति । इदं तावन्नगरं बहूनां नरपतीनां, बहूनां राजवंशानाञ्च समुत्थानस्य पतनस्य च चिह्नजातं वक्षसि धारयति, प्रबलं कालविलासञ्च दर्शयति । अत्र खलु संस्थापितानां राजभवनानां ध्वंसावशेषात् जनानां मनसि सत्यमेतत् समुदेति यत् दिल्लीनगरं हि समृद्धानां साम्राज्यानां भयङ्करं महाशमशानमिव वर्तते । दिल्लीनगरस्य प्राचीनं नामधेयम् ‘इन्द्रप्रस्थं’, ‘शक्रप्रस्थं’, ‘खाण्डवप्रस्थं’ आसीत् । अत्र श्रीमहाभारतम्—

(क) इन्द्रप्रस्थे ददौ राज्यं वज्राय परवीरहा ।

(१७. ८. ७२)

(ख) वीरैर्दिहीनान् सर्वास्तान् शक्रप्रस्थे न्यवेशयत् ।

(१७. ८. ७०)

(ग) नगरं खाण्डवप्रस्थं रत्नान्यादाय सर्वशः ।

तत्र ते न्यवसन् पार्थाः संवत्सरगणान् बहून् ॥

(१. ६१. ३५)

अथ खाण्डवप्रस्थस्येतिवृत्तं कालिकापुराणात् स्पष्टतयाऽवगम्यते । कालिकापुराणोक्ता कथा एव प्राचीनतरा प्रतिभाति । तथा हि—चन्द्रवंशीयः कश्चिद्राजा सुदर्शनः तदिन्द्रप्रस्थवनस्थलमेकदा संपूर्णं भग्नमकरोत्, महन्नगरञ्च तत्र स्थापयामास । इत्थञ्च तत्र स्थितं तद् घोरं वनं खण्डं खण्डं भूत्वा ननाश, वनखण्डनाञ्च तस्य स्थानस्य खाण्डवप्रस्थमिति युक्तं नामधेयं जातम् । खाण्डवप्रस्थस्य कर्ता राजा सुदर्शनस्तु प्रयत्नेन तन्नगरं समृद्धं समुन्नतञ्चाकरोत् । तथा चोक्तं श्रीकालिकापुराणे (पञ्चाननतर्करत्नसम्पादिते वङ्गीये) एकोनवतितमेऽध्याये (८९. ४४-४६)—

सोमवंशोऽभवद्राजा महात्मा स महाबलः ।

धीरः सुदर्शनो नाम चारुरूपः प्रतापवान् ॥

स वै हिमवतो नातिदूरे भङ्क्त्वा महावनम् ।

सिंहान् व्याघ्रान् समुत्सार्य क्वचिच्चापि तपोधनान् ॥

खाण्डवीं नाम नगरीमकरोत्तत्र शोभनाम् ।

त्रिंशच्चोजनविस्तीर्णामायतां शतयोजनाम् ॥ इत्यादि ।

परन्तु महाबलोऽपि नृपः सुदर्शनः खलु हठकारी, देवमानवद्रोही च जातः । ततश्च वाराणसीपतेर्महाबलस्य नरपतेर्विजयस्य तस्योपरि महान् क्रोधो बभूव । अथ कदाचिद् राज्ञः सुदर्शनस्य राज्यं खाण्डवप्रस्थं रुरोध, रणे सुदर्शनञ्च जघान । अथ हते तस्मिन् सुदर्शने, देवेन्द्रः समागत्य नृपं विजयमुवाच—‘भो राजन्, पुरा स्थानेऽस्मिन् महद् वनमासीत् । तच्च वनमस्माकमानन्दमवर्धयत् । परन्तु सुदर्शनेन ममाप्रियेण हठाहलाच्च तद्वनं भग्नं विधाय महद् राज्यमेकं स्थापितम् । मह्यं तु वनमेवात्र नितरां रोचते । अतोऽत्र पुनरेव महद् वनं जायताम् । तेन चाहं मम मित्रेण तक्षकेण सहात्र यथासुखं विहर्तुं समर्थो भविष्यामि । अथ राजा विजेता विजयः खलु देवेन्द्रस्य तद्वचनमाकर्ण्य, देवेन्द्रं प्रति गौरवात्, तत्स्थानं पुनर्वनमेव विधातुं मनो दधे । तदर्थञ्च स सर्वास्तत्रत्याः प्रजाः संबोध्य प्रोवाच—भोः प्रजाः, यूयं युष्माकं पूर्वं स्थानं गच्छत, पुनर्येषामिच्छा स्यात् ते मम राजधानीं वाराणसीं गत्वा तत्रापि निवासं कर्तुं पारयेयुः । ततो राज्ञो विजयस्य तद् वचनं श्रुत्वा प्रजाः काश्चन पूर्वं स्थानं ; काश्चन च वाराणसीं जग्मुः । खाण्डवप्रस्थञ्च पुनरेव महद् वनं जातम् । तथा चोक्तं श्रीकालिकापुराणे (बङ्गीये) (एकोनवतितमेऽध्याये ५५ तमश्लोकतः)—

असहिष्णुस्ततो जिष्णुर्नृपतिं तं सुदर्शनम् ।
कृतापचारं बहुधा देवानाञ्च तथा नृणाम् ॥
विजयो विवरं प्राप्य महाबलपराक्रमः ।
सुदर्शनस्य नृपतेरवस्कन्दमथाकरोत् ॥
ततः सुदर्शनो राजा दारितो गदयाऽपतत् ।
नष्टेषु तस्य सैन्येषु विजयः खाण्डवीं पुरीम् ॥
प्रविश्य ददृशे तत्र राशिभूतान् गिरीनिव ।
सुवर्णानाञ्च रत्नानां सञ्चयान् बहुशः पुरः ।
तं वीक्षन्तं नरपतिं नगरीं तां सुरेश्वरः ।
समेत्य विजयं प्राह सान्त्वयन् श्लक्ष्णया गिरा ॥

इन्द्र उवाच—

राजन्, महद् वनमिदमासीद् देवगणावृतम् ।
नरगन्धर्वयक्षाणां सुनीनां च मनोहरम् ॥

सर्वानुत्सार्य देवादीन् मम चाप्यप्रिये रतः ।
भङ्क्त्वा वनमिदं गुह्यं समुत्साद्य तपोधनान् ॥
खाण्डवीं नगरीं चक्रे क्षणाद् राजा सुदर्शनः ।
तद्विदं पुनरेव त्वं वनं कुरु नरोत्तम ॥
तत्राहं विहरिष्यामि तक्षकेण समं रहः ।
एतच्छ्रुत्वा वचस्तस्य शकस्य विजयस्तदा ॥
वनमेवाकरोत् तां तु खाण्डवीं शकगौरवात् ।
त्रिंशद्योजनविस्तीर्णां शतयोजनमायताम् ।
तां पुरीं विजयश्चक्रे न चिरादेव वै वनम् ॥ इत्यादि ।

ततश्च तस्मादेव कालात् तद्वनस्थलं भगवत इन्द्रस्याधीनं जातम् । तेन च खाण्डवप्रस्थस्य इन्द्रप्रस्थमिति शकप्रस्थमिति च प्राचीनं नामद्वयं सुसङ्गतमेवाभूत् । अथ गच्छति काले तस्मिन् वने इन्द्रासुहृदां दैत्यानामेवाधिपत्यमभवत् । ततश्च लोकाहितार्थं विश्वशान्त्यर्थञ्च देवाः तद्वनं भस्मीभूतं कृत्वा दैत्यान् तस्मात् स्थानात् विताडयामासुः ।

अत्र श्रीमहाभारतम्—

पुरा देवनियोगेन यच्चया भस्मसात्कृतम् ।
आलयं देवशत्रूणां सुघोरं खाण्डवं वनम् ॥
तत्र सर्वाणि सत्त्वानि निवसन्ति विभावसो ।
तेषां त्वं मेदसा वृषः प्रकृतिस्थो भविष्यसि ॥

(१. २२३. ७५-७६)

अथ पुनर्वहतिथकालात्परं द्वापरे युगे, यदा धृतराष्ट्रपुत्राणां पाण्डुपुत्राणाञ्च मध्ये महद् वैमनस्यं जातं तदा राजा धृतराष्ट्रस्तावत् शान्तिसंस्थापनार्थमुपायमेकमुद्भाव्य भ्रातृपुत्रान् पाण्डवानुवाच—‘हे पाण्डवाः, अहं युष्मद्भ्यः अर्धराज्यं प्रयच्छामि । यूयमस्मात् स्थानात् गत्वा खाण्डवप्रस्थे नगरं स्थापयत, सुसुखञ्च निवसत’ इति । पाण्डवाश्च तथा चक्रुः । तथा चोक्तं श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वणि (१. २०७. २४-२९)—

भ्रातृभिः सह कौन्तेय निबोध गदतो मम ।
 पुनर्नो विग्रहो मा भूत्, खाण्डवप्रस्थमाविश ॥
 प्रतिगृह्य तु तद्वाक्यं नृपं सर्वे प्रणम्य च ।
 प्रतस्थिरे ततो घोरं वनं तन्मनुजर्षभाः ॥
 अर्धं राज्यस्य सम्प्राप्य खाण्डवप्रस्थमाविशन् ।
 ततः पुण्ये शिवे देशे शान्तिं कृत्वा महारथाः ॥
 नगरं स्थापयामासुर्द्वैपायनपुरोगमाः ॥ इत्यादि ।

अथ खाण्डवप्रस्थनगरं पुनः परिखाभिः प्राकारैः रथ्याभिर्भवनैश्च समलङ्कृतम्, तीक्ष्णाङ्कुशशतघ्नीभिर्यन्त्रजालैश्च सुपरिरक्षितं बभूव । सर्वभाषाविदः, सर्वशिल्पविदश्च समागम्य तस्मिन्नगरे निवासं चक्रुः । अथैकदा राज्यविस्तारार्थं पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनस्तावत् श्रीकृष्णस्य साहाय्येन खाण्डवं वनं दग्धुमारोभे, वनरक्षार्थं विमानयानेन समागतं सगणं स्वपितरमिन्द्रं महता महावीरजनोचितेन च युद्धेन सन्तोष्य पञ्चदशभिर्दिनैर्निखिलं तत् खाण्डवं वनं भस्मसादकरोत्, तत्रत्यान् असुरांश्च हत्वा जगतो हितं राज्यस्य च विस्तारं विदधौ (महाभारतम् १, खाण्डवदाहपर्व, अध्यायाः २२२-२२७) ।

तस्मिन् भयङ्करे खाण्डवदाहे नमुचेरसुरस्य भ्रातुः, शिल्पोनां वरस्य, शरणमागतस्य मयस्य प्राणा अर्जुनेन कृपया रक्षिता आसन् दानववरो मयोऽपि प्रत्युपकारं कर्तुमिच्छंश्चतुर्दशधिकैर्मासैरिन्द्रप्रस्थे पाण्डवानां कृते महतीमनुपमां सभामेकां चकार । अस्यामेव सभायां पाण्डवज्येष्ठो युधिष्ठिरो भ्रातृणां बाहुबलेन, भूमण्डलस्थान् सर्वान् नृपान् करदान् विधाय राजसूयं महायज्ञं चकार (महाभारतम्, आदिपर्व, मयदर्शनपर्व; सभापर्व, अध्यायाः १-६८) ।

इत्थं प्राचीनमिन्द्रप्रस्थं पुनः सुसमृद्धं सुप्रतिष्ठितं च नगरं जातम् । अथ द्यूतनिर्जितेषु वनं गतेषु पाण्डवेषु इन्द्रप्रस्थस्य रमणीया दिव्या शोभापि पुनः शनैः शनैरस्तमगात् । ततः कुरुक्षेत्रमहासमरात् परं जयश्रीसमुद्भासिताः खलु पाण्डवाः प्राचीनां गङ्गातीरस्थितां कुरुराजधानीं (सम्प्रति मीराट्प्रदेशे विद्यमानां) हस्तिनापुरमेव समलङ्कृतुः । इत्थं पुनर्यमुनातीरस्थमिन्द्रप्रस्थं क्रमेण साधारणमेव नगरं

बभूव । अथ महाकालप्रभावात्ताशमुपगते यदुवंशे, स्वर्गं प्रति प्रस्थिते च भगवति श्रीकृष्णे, महादुःखदग्धा महाप्रस्थानाय कृतनिश्चयाः खलु पाण्डवाः पौत्राय वालकाय परीक्षिते हस्तिनापुरं श्रीकृष्णस्य पौत्राय वालकाय, वज्राय च इन्द्रप्रस्थं ददुः । एतदेव प्राचीनेन्द्रप्रस्थस्य, शक्रप्रस्थस्य, खाण्डवप्रस्थस्य वा दुःखावहं महाभारते वर्णितं महदितिवृत्तं वर्तते ।

अथ गच्छति काले प्राचीनेन्द्रप्रस्थस्य दिल्लीति दिल्लीकेति च नाम समजायत । दिल्लीकेति नाम्नः समुल्लेखः खलु—

प्रतोल्यां च बलभ्यां च येन विश्रामितं यशः ।

दिल्लिकाग्रहणश्रान्तमाशिकालाबलम्भितम् ॥

(येन=चाहमाननृपेण वीसलदेवेन विग्रहराजेन) इति विजोलियागिरिलेखे (Bijolia Rock Inscription of Someśvara, History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. III., by C. V. Vaidya, pp. 149, 479).

देशोऽस्ति हरियानाख्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसन्निभः ।

दिल्लिकाख्या पुरी तत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता ॥

तोमरानन्तरं तस्यां राज्यं निहतकण्टकम् ।

चाहमाननृपाश्चक्रुः प्रजापालनतत्पराः ॥

इति दिल्लीपृथ्वीराजचित्रशालाशिलालेखे (Delhi Prthvirāja Museum Stone Inscription, History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. III, By C.V. Vaidya, p. 304).

अथ अस्माल्लेखद्वयादित्थमनुमीयते यत् तोमरनृपशासनसमये इन्द्रप्रस्थस्य दिल्लीति दिल्लीकेति च नाम जातम् । तदनु यवनशासनसमये दिल्लीति नाम्नः स्थाने दिल्लीति नूतनं नामाभूत् । परन्तु अत्र नूतने नाम्नि बह्व्यः किंवदन्यः सन्ति । तथा हि एका किंवदन्ती प्राह—

ख्रिस्तपूर्वप्रथमशतके समुत्पन्नस्य इन्द्रप्रस्थे राज्यं कुर्वतः कस्यापि बलवतो नूतननगरनिर्माणप्रियस्य राज्ञः 'दिल' इति नामासीत् । तदेव नाम दिल्लीति नूतननाम्नः कारणमिति । अथान्या किंवदन्ती समाचष्टे—

इन्द्रप्रस्थस्थितस्य प्रसिद्धस्य लोहस्तम्भस्य केनचन कारणेन कदाचिदुत्खननं पुनः प्रोथनं च जातम् । तेन च शिथिलत्वात् तस्य ढिल्लीति नाम बभूव । इत्थं तृतीया किंवदन्ती प्रभाषते—

यादवभेदानां 'जाट' इति प्रसिद्धानां 'ढिल्लो' इति नामकानां जनानाम् इन्द्र-प्रस्थे पुरा किल प्राचुर्येण निवासात् स्थानस्यास्य पूर्वं ढिल्लीति यथार्थं नाम बभूव । तदनुयवनशासनसमये पारसीकवर्णमालायां वर्गस्य द्वितीयचतुर्थवर्णयोरभावात् ढिल्लीतिनाम्नि 'ढ' वर्णस्य स्थाने क्रमेण 'द' वर्णस्योत्पत्त्या ढिल्लीति परिवर्तनं जातम् ।

अथाङ्गलशासनसमये ढिल्लीति शब्दस्य आङ्गलभाषायां देल्हीति पुनः किञ्चित् रूपान्तरं संवृत्तम् । तदेव च नाम साम्प्रतमपि विद्वत्सु प्रचरति । अथ ढिल्लीतिनाम्नस्तत्त्वं यथा तथा वा भवतु, अस्य प्राचीनत्वं तु निर्विवादमेवास्ति । तथा च पारसीकभाषायां 'हनूज् ढिल्ली दूर अस्त' (अद्यापि ढिल्ली दूरमस्ति) इत्याभाणको ढिल्लीतिनाम्नः सुतरां प्राचीनत्वमेव प्रतिपादयति ।

अथ मध्यकाले केचन आर्या राजानः खलु पुनरिन्द्रप्रस्थे ढिल्लीसंज्ञके राजधानीमकुर्वन् । तेषु च राजसु पृथ्वीराजस्य नाम समुल्लेखमर्हति । तदनु, कुरुक्षेत्रसमरभूमौ यवनेन मुहम्मदगोरिणा जिते पृथ्वीराजे, इन्द्रप्रस्थं क्रमेण बहूनां यवननृपाणां राजधानी समजनि । ततः परमांगलराजैरत्र स्थापिता राजधानी । परं सापि साम्प्रतं तेषां हस्तात् स्वदेशीयानामेवाधिपत्ये समागता । अथ स्वतन्त्र-भारतराज्यस्य ढिल्लीति प्रसिद्धमिन्द्रप्रस्थमधुना राजधानी विद्यते । इन्द्रप्रस्थं (ढिल्ली) खलु निखिलस्य विश्वस्य हितार्थं, मङ्गलार्थं, शान्त्यर्थं च सदा भूयात् ।

A LOWER LIMIT FOR THE DATE OF THE DEVĪ-MĀHĀTMYA

By

V. V. MIRASHI

[लेखेऽस्मिन् विदुषा लेखकेन देवीमाहात्म्यस्य तिथिचिषये अन्य-मतालोचनपुरस्सरं स्वकीयं मतमुपन्यस्तम् । डा. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल-महोदयेन काशिराजन्यासद्वारा प्रकाशितस्य देवीमाहात्म्यस्यामुखे दक्षिमतो-माताऽभिलेखस्य कालः ६०८ ई० एवावधारितः, अस्मात् कालात् पूर्वमेव च देवीमाहात्म्यस्य रचनाऽभूदिति च प्रतिपादितम् । भारतीयसाहित्यस्येति-हासे विण्टरनिट्जमहोदयेनापि तथैव प्रतिपादितम् । जोधपुर-राज्ये नागोरात् द्वादशकरोधे पूर्वोत्तरभागे अवस्थितो दक्षिमती-माता-शिलालेखो देवीमाहा-त्म्यस्यैकेन श्लोकेनान्वितो वर्तते । डा. भण्डारकरमहोदयस्य मते ५० रामकर्णमहोदयस्य च मते तदुल्लिखितः "२८९" वर्षसंकेतः गुप्तवर्ष-सूचकः, अतः ६०८ ई० एव तस्य शिलालेखस्य रचनाकालो वर्तते ।

किन्त्वक्षरतुलनया मन्दसोरशिलालेखापेक्षयाऽयं लेखो नवीनतरः, यदि हि वर्षसंकेतः २८९ एव, तथापि न स गुप्तसंवत्सरं सूचयति, तथा सति तयोर्भिलेखयोः पञ्चसप्ततिवर्षाणामेवान्तरम् स्यात् । राजपुताना-प्रदेशे गुप्तसंवत्सरस्य प्रचार आसीदित्यत्रापि न किमपि प्रमाणं वर्तते । न च वर्तते तत्र गुप्तवर्षोल्लेखान्वित अन्यः कोऽपि शिलालेखः । द्रम्ममु-द्रायाः समुल्लेखेनाप्ययं शिलालेखो न तथा प्राचीनः प्रतिभाति ।

वस्तुतो दक्षिमती-माता-शिलालेखे प्रदत्तं वर्षसंकेतम् १८९ इत्यस्यैव वाचकम् तदपि च न गुप्तवर्षप्रतिपादकम्, अपि तु जोधपुरप्रदेशे प्रचलितस्य "भाटिक" वर्षस्यैव सूचकम् । तदनुसारं तच्छिला-लेखस्य कालः ८१३ ई० आयाति; तथा स एव देवीमाहात्म्यस्य तिथेः निम्ना सीमा वर्तते । यदि च बाणस्य चण्डीशतकः तदाधारितः स्यात्तदा तद्रचनाकालः गुप्तसाम्राज्य-समये भवितुमर्हति ।

The *Purāna*, Vol. V, No. 2 gives a Sanskrit rendering of Dr. V. S. Agrawala's Introduction to the *Devīmāhātmya* published by the Kashiraj Trust. While discussing the date of this work Dr. Agrawala cites the opinion of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that a

stone inscription citing a verse from the *Devīmāhātmya* is dated in A. D. 608. He also points out that the same date is given by Dr. Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 565 (n. 2). In this note Dr. Winternitz has cited the same opinion of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. On the evidence of this inscription the lower limit for the date of the *Devīmāhātmya* is fixed as the first decade of the seventh century A. D. It is proposed to examine this view in the present article.

The inscription the date of which is read as A. D. 608 is the Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription of the time of Dhrulhāna. This was originally found in an old temple dedicated to Dadhimatī-Mātā situated in a desert about 24 miles north-west of Nagor in the Jodhpur State. Nagor is about 80 miles north-east of Jodhpur. The inscription was noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar first in *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, for 1906-07, p. 31 and later in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, p. 74. Bhandarkar read the date as 289, which he referred to the Gupta era. Thereafter the inscription was edited with a facsimile plate in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 299 f. by Pandit Ram Karna of Jodhpur. The Pandit also read the date as 289 and, referring it to the Gupta era, took it as equivalent to A. D. 608.

My attention was called to this date long ago by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, who asked me to examine it carefully in view of its importance for the date of the *Devīmāhātmya*. I published an article on it in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. III, pp. 109 f. It does not seem to have attracted the attention it deserves, for even Dr. Agrawala has not referred to it in discussing the date of the *Devīmāhātmya*; for he has adopted D. R. Bhandarkar's reading and interpretation of the date. My article has been republished recently in my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 200 f. I shall briefly examine here the reading and interpretation of the date given by D. R. Bhandarkar and Ram Karna and then state my own view in the matter.

(1) Bhandarkar and Ram Karna read the date of this record as follows—*Samvachohra-śe(śa)teshu 200 80 9 Śrāvāṇa ba 10 3 i. e.*

the year 289, the thirteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvāṇa. It should be noted that the date is given in the numerical symbols, not in the decimal notation which came into vogue in a comparatively later age. No era is named in connection with the date, but both Bhandarkar and Ram Karna took it to be the Gupta era on the ground of palaeography. Ram Karna thought that the characters of this inscription were similar to those of the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana, which is dated in the Mālava (or Vikrama) Samvat 589 (A. D. 533-34). But the characters of the Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription are much later as the forms of the following letters will show—

- (1) *K* in the Mandasor inscription is dagger-shaped, while in the Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription it has developed a loop.
- (2) *D* has no tail in the former inscription, but it has developed one in the latter.
- (3) *M* has no loop on the left in the former record, while it shows one in the latter.
- (4) *Y* is tripartite in the former record, while it has developed a bipartite form in the latter.
- (5) *Ś* (palatal) has a horizontal bar in its upper limb in the former record while it has become a hook in the latter.

The forms of these test letters thus show that the Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription is much later in date. If the reading 289 of the date is correct, it cannot refer to the Gupta era; for it would then be equivalent to A. D. 608 i. e. only about 75 years later than the Mandasor inscription.

(2) Another reason why the date cannot be referred to the Gupta era is that there is no evidence that the era had spread to Western Rajputana. Apart from this doubtful case, there is no inscription of that era from the Western or, for the matter of that, even Eastern Rajputana. The era is not therefore likely to be that of the Guptas.

(3) Another reason why the date of the Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription cannot be taken to be so early as the first decade of

the seventh century A. D. is the mention therein of several donations in *drammas*. The earliest reference to these silver coins are those which occur in the inscriptions of the time of Pratīhāra Bhoja (A.D. 836-885). In earlier times the silver coins were called *Dharaṇa*, *Purāṇa* or *Rūpaka*. In South India references to *drammas* occur first in a record of the Śilāhāras dated in the Śaka year 765 (A.D. 843). The Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription which mentions the donations in *drammas* cannot therefore be referred to as early a date as the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

What is then the era to which the date refers? Before we attempt to answer this question, it would be necessary to examine the reading of the date. As stated before, the date was read as 200 80 9 by both Bhandarkar and Ram Karna. It will be noticed that it is denoted by numerical symbols. There is no doubt about the reading of the last two symbols. They are 80 and 9 as read by the previous scholars. But I cannot accept their reading of the first symbol. Ram Karna took it to represent 200 because it resembles *sū* as in the Jain manuscripts. But the symbol does not look like *sū*, as there is no clear indication of the length of the vowel *ū*. Besides, in the early period to which this inscription has to be referred in view of its use of numerical symbols, *sū* was not used to denote 200. In that period the usual device to convert the symbol for 100 into one for 200 was to add a small horizontal bar generally at the top of the vertical of the symbol for 100.¹ No such bar is seen in the present case. The symbol therefore stands for 100, and the correct reading of the date is 100 80 9 *i.e.* the year 189.

To what era is this date to be referred? That it cannot be the Gupta era has been shown above. I previously referred the date to the Harsha era, and took it as equivalent to A. D. 795-96. Since then I have noticed that the Bhāṭika era was in vogue in the region of Jaisalmer which borders Jodhpur on the north-west.²

1. See Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, Plate IX.

2. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 191 f.; *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 147 f.

Again, Dr. Gai has drawn attention to 13 more dates, of which as many as eleven can be verified.³ They all mention the era explicitly as *Bhāṭika*. The Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription, which comes from the adjoining region of the Jodhpur State, is also likely to be in the same era. The epoch of the Bhāṭika era is A.D. 623-24 for a current year and A.D. 624-625 for an expired year. The date 189 of the Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription would correspond to A. D. 812-813 if the year was current and to A.D. 813-14 if it was expired. It does not admit of verification in the absence of the mention of a week-day or nakshatra.

This reading and interpretation of the date do not militate against any evidence afforded by the Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription. The palaeographic evidence detailed above shows that though the inscription cannot be as early as the sixth century A. D. it is also not very late. Its characters resemble those of records incised in the eighth century A. D. such as the Multai plates⁴ of A. D. 709-10. This inscription shows *k* with a loop on the left, *d* with a tail, *m* with a loop on the left, the bipartite *y* and *ś* with a hook in its left limb. The numerical symbols continued in vogue till the ninth century A. D. This is well illustrated by the dates in the stone inscription at Ahar.⁵ This inscription is a public copy of several documents recording donations made from time to time. Their dates range from 258 to 298. In the case of the first two of these dates the hundreds are denoted by numerical figures, but the tens and units are expressed by numerical symbols. All subsequent dates in that record are denoted wholly by decimal notation. These dates are referred to the Harsha era. They show that the numerical symbols went out of fashion in north-west India in the second half of the 9th century A. D. It is therefore no matter for surprise that the Dadhimatī-Mātā inscription which we have dated above in *circa*

3. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 65 f. Many more later inscriptions of the same era from Jaisalmer have been given by Dr. Dasarath Sarma, *ibid.*, pp. 227 f.

4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 234 f.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52 f.

A. D. 813 should use the decimal notation. The *dramma* coins must have become current about this time ; for though no coins of the first half of the ninth century A. D. have yet been found, those of the second half of that century, issued by the Pratihāra Emperor Bhoja have been found in abundance.

The lower limit for the date of the *Devīmāhātmya* is thus *circa* A. D. 813. It must of course, have been composed long before this date in order to become so popular as to be cited in an inscription. If Bāṇa's *Chandīśataka* was based on it, it may go back to the Gupta age. Pargiter, who has discussed the date of this work, has come to the conclusion that "the *Devīmāhātmya*...was certainly complete in the 9th century and very probably in the 5th or 6th century A. D.

[I am grateful to Dr. V. V. Mirashi for this correction about the date of the Dadhimati-Mātā inscription, which I accept. As stated by Dr. Mirashi himself, it does not, however in any manner alter the probable period of the composition of the *Devīmāhātmya* in the Gupta-period.—V. S. A.]

PURĀṆA-VIDYĀ

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणविद्याया वैदिकाधारमाश्रित्य व्याख्यानं क्रियते । पुराणानि खलु वेदार्थोपबृंहणरूपाणि सन्ति । पुराणेषु वैदिकाख्यानानां वैदिकसृष्टिविद्यायाश्च कथमुपबृंहणं कृतमित्यत्र सम्यक् प्रदर्शितम् । अत्र वेदेषु तदाश्रित्य पुराणेषु च प्रतिपादिता त्रिदेवविद्या-एकार्णवविद्या हिरण्यगर्भविद्यादीनां विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

The existing text of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas and of a similar number of Upa-Purāṇas are like an Encyclopedia of Indian religion, cults, philosophy, sociology, arts, geography, law, domestic observances and many other topics of which a complete concordance is a task which remains to be accomplished. All that material should be classified and interpreted as an essential part of the Purāṇa-vidyā. However, we regard that as secondary material which was taken into the Purāṇas during the course of their subsequent redaction. We are here more concerned with that aspect of Purāṇa-vidyā in which by deliberate choice the Vedic doctrines were incorporated in the Purāṇas by several literary techniques, the most important of which was the creating of legends and sometimes offering direct commentary on Vedic Sūktas and Mantras. This technique was named as *Vedārtha-Upabrinhana*, i. e. an exposition of the Vedic meanings specially relating to cosmology. We have the well-known dictum of giving the fullest approval to this method: *Itihāsa-Purāṇābhyāṃ Vedaṃ sam-upabrinhayet*. The literary style followed in the Purāṇas concerns itself mainly with the formulation of new legends or elaboration of old ones, where the Purāṇas partly cover the same ground as the Vedic literature. We propose to examine here some of the Purāṇic motifs with a view to understand their Vedic background. For the sake of convenience we may designate them as so many Vidyās. Each Vidyā is a doctrine explaining some religious or

metaphysical truth. The number of such Vidyās is large and it would not be possible to do justice to the available material without venturing upon a comprehensive volume. In this paper we propose only to take some of them.

1. Trideva-Vidyā

The doctrine of three Devas, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva is the quintessence of Purāṇic cosmogonical thought and the writers emphasise in a thousand places the trinitarian aspect of cosmic creation. The three Devas represent a triadic pattern of the widest significance for which abundant material is offered by the Purāṇic texts. In short they evolve a dictum stating that what in Yajña is symbolised by Three Fires corresponds to the symbolism of the Three Devas for the sake of cult worship, the Three Guṇas in the sphere of philosophy and the Three Vedas in the realm of Word or Knowledge :

एत एव त्रयो लोका एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ।
 एत एव त्रयो वेदा एत एव त्रयोऽग्नयः ।
 परस्परांश्वया ह्येते परस्परमनुव्रताः ।
 परस्परेण वर्तन्ते प्रेरयन्ति परस्परम् ॥
 अन्योऽन्यं मिथुना ह्येते अन्योन्यमुपजीविनः ।
 क्षणं वियोगो न ह्येषां न त्यजन्ति परस्परम् ॥

(Bmd.-P., Prakriyāpāda, 4.9-11 ;
 Mār., 46.18ff.)

The Liṅga Purāṇa also has explained this doctrine with reference to Śiva :—

महेश्वरात् त्रयो देवा जज्ञिरे जगदीश्वरात् ।
 शाश्वताः परमा गुह्याः सर्वात्मानः शरीरिणः ॥
 एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ।
 एत एव त्रयो लोका एत एव त्रयोऽग्नयः ॥

(Liṅga-P., 1. 70. 77-78)

The author of the Devī-Bhāgavata has to his credit a statement of this doctrine even in more emphatic terms :—

ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च त्रयो देवाः सनातनाः ।
 नातः परतरं किञ्चिद् ब्रह्माण्डेऽस्मिन् महामते ॥
 ब्रह्मा सृजति लोकान् वै विष्णुः पात्यखिलं जगत् ।
 रुद्रः संहरते काले त्रय एतेऽत्र कारणम् ॥
 एका मूर्तिस्त्रयो देवा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।
 रजःसत्त्वतमोभिश्च संयुताः कार्यकारकाः ॥

(Devī-Bhāg., 1. 8. 2-4)

The bed-rock of Purāṇic thought in the realm of philosophy and religious worship is found in the above triadic conception. If all the relevant material were brought together and examined, one would feel how deeply the Purāṇa-writers were influenced by this basic approach. In fact each Deva or Devī typifies the unfoldment of a single reality into a trinitarian pattern of creativity. This formula was basically Vedic and there is hardly any other channel in which the flood of Vedic thought was transmitted with such a tidal flow into the Purāṇas as this trinitarian doctrine or *Trayī-Vidyā* of the Vedas. According to the Śatapatha, Sūrya is the exemplar of the *Trayī-Vidyā* (*Saishā trayyeva vidyā tapati*, ŚB. 10. 5. 2, 2). The *Trayī* doctrine of Vedas was constituted of Rik, Yajur and Sāma (*trayī vā vidyā richo yajūṁshi sāmāni*, ŚB. 4. 6. 7. 1). These three Vedas symbolically correspond to three lokas, *Prithivī*, *Antariksha* and *Dyauh* (*imameva lokam richā jayati antariksham yajushā divameva sāmāni*, ŚB. 4. 6. 7. 1). In its esoteric meaning the symbolism of the *Trayī Vidyā* relates to the triple constitution of the Self as based on Mind, Life and Matter (*etanmayo vā ayam ātmā vānmayo manomayah prāṇamayah*, ŚB. 14. 4. 3. 10 ; BU. 1. 5. 3). Vedic metaphysics was a comprehensive doctrine explaining the working of the cosmos from many points of view, all of which are represented in the doctrine of Yajña. In the Rīgveda Yajña is described as *Trivrit* :—(*imam no agna upa yajñamehi pañcha-*

yāmān trivṛitān sapta-tantūn, RV. 10. 124. 1). When Yajūa is said or Sūrya is said, the entire *Trivṛit* principle becomes invoked. One of the most perfect enunciations of the *Trayī* doctrine is found in Manu :—

अग्निवायुरविभ्यस्तु त्रयं ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।

दुदोह यज्ञसिद्धयर्थं ऋग्यजुःसामलक्षणम् ॥ (Manu, 1.23)

The Brihad-devatā explains in clear terms that the principle of one Agni is stated by the Rishis to be three-fold in nature :—

एतद् भूतेषु लोकेषु अग्निभूतं स्थितं त्रिधा ।

ऋषयो गीर्भिरर्चन्ति व्यञ्जितं सामभिस्त्रिभिः ॥

(Br. D. 1.64)

It is possible to amplify this *Trika* doctrine by many more examples from the Vedas and the Purāṇas, e.g. “Three are the truths of your three-fold birth, O Agni” (*trirasya tā paramā vṛiti satyā spārhā devasya janimānyagneḥ*, RV. 4. 1. 7). These were also known as the Three Lights of Creation (*tri rochanā*, RV. 5. 29. 1). Three-fold Movements (*tri rajānsi*, RV. 4. 53. 5), Triple Ordinances (*tribhiḥ vrataih*, RV. 4. 53. 5), and further elaborated as the Three *Antarikshas*, three *Prithivīs* and three *dyaus* (RV. 4. 53. 5). The whole doctrine was boiled down to that of *Pranava-Vidyā* or Omkāra with three *mātrās*, corresponding to *Tripād Brahma*. Its *tāmasa* aspect was identified as Rudra, *rājasa* as Brahmā and *sāttvika* as Vishṇu (*tamaṁśo yoyam rudrah, rajasamśo yoyam brahmā, sāttvikamśo yoyam vishṇuh, sa vā esha ekas-tridhābhūtaḥ*, Mait. Up. 5.2). The Maittrāyaṇi-Upanishad offers an eloquent commentary on Omkāra in the light of its triple constituents as valid on the following twelve planes :—

(1) Form of uttered syllables (*svanavati tanuḥ*, A-U-M) ;

(2) Form of the triple sexes (*lingavati-Strī, Puṁ, Napuṁsaka*)

(3) *Bhāsvati*—Agni, Vāyu, Āditya ;

(4) Three sovereign deities (*adhīpativati*—*Brahmā, Rudra, Vishṇu*) ;

(5) Form with three faces of Fire (*mukhavati*—*gārhapatya, dakṣiṇāgni, āhavanīya*) ;

- (6) Three-fold knowledge (*vijñānavati-Rig, Yojus Sāma*) ;
- (7) Three worlds (*lokavati—bhūr, bhuvah, svah*) ;
- (8) Three aspects of time (*kālavati—bhūtan, bhāvyaṁ, bhaviṣyat*) ;
- (9) Three kinds of heated temperatures (*pratāpavati—prāṇa, agni and sūrya*) ;
- (10) Three replenishing entities (*āpyāyanavati—anna, āpaḥ-chandramas*) ;
- (11) Triple consciousness (*chetanavati—buddhi, manas, ahankāra*) ;
- (12) Three-fold *prāṇas* (*prāṇa-apāna-vyāna*) (Mait. Up. 6.5).

The Purāṇa-writers accept the validity of these statements and elaborate them in many places either retaining the ancient terminology or introducing new terms.

Ekārṇava-Vidyā

In several Purāṇas the comogonical doctrine, *Sṛisṭi-vidyā*, is introduced with the description of the *Ekārṇava* or primeval ocean which engulfed the created cosmos at the time of dissolution. This is known by several terms as *salila, mahārṇava, ekārṇava, agādha stabdha salila* (Harivamśa, 3. 10. 34), *yugānta toyā* (Bhāgavata, 3.8.23). The Harivamśa goes a step further and describes the primeval watery flood as enveloped by a nebulous frost :—

यच्चैकार्णवे जले नीहारेण वृत्तान्तरे ।

अव्यक्तभीषणे लोके सर्वभूतविवर्जिते ॥

(Harivamśa, 3. 10.31)

In the unmanifested stage of creation when aḥ sentient beings are non-existent and everything is covered by darkness, the Single Ocean looks formidable as covered by darkness and nebulous masses. The manifest units of creation being disrupted, all are drawn together and submerged under the primeval ocean :—

भूत्वा नारायणो योगी सप्तमूर्त्तिविभावसुः ।

गभस्तिभिः प्रदीप्ताभिः संशोषयति सागरान् ॥

पीत्वाऽर्णवांश्च सर्वान् सनदीकूपांश्च सर्वशः ।

(Harivamśa, 3.9)

In fact the *ekārṇava* doctrine of the Purāṇas was with all its implications borrowed from the R̥g-Veda where the primeval cause of the universe is conceived of as *Apah, Salilam, Samudra, Arṇavah, Krishṇam niyānam* and by many other similar terms. Waters are said to be the divine mothers who carry within their wombs the cosmos :—

आपो ह यद्बृहतीर्विश्वमायन् गर्भं दधाना जनयन्तीरग्निम् ।
ततो देवानां समवर्त्ततासुरेकः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥
यश्चिदापो महिना पर्यपश्यद् दक्षं दधाना जनयन्तीरज्ञम् ।
यो देवेष्वधि देव एक आसीत् कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥
मा नो हिंसीज्जनिता यः पृथिव्या यो वा दिवं सत्यधर्मा जनान् ।
यश्चापश्चन्द्रा बृहतीर्जजान कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

(RV. X. 121. 7-9)

परो दिवा पर एना पृथिव्या परो देवेभिरसुरैर्यदस्ति ।
कं स्विद् गर्भं प्रथमं दध्न आपो यत्र देवाः समपश्यन्त विश्वे ॥
तमिद्गर्भं प्रथमं दध्न आपो यत्र देवाः समगच्छन्त विश्वे ।
अजस्य नाभावध्येकमर्पितं यस्मिन् विश्वानि भुवनानि तस्थुः ॥

(RV. X. 82. 5-6)

Here the primeval waters of Motherhood are termed as *Bṛihatīh āpah* and it was in their womb that the cosmos was conceived, of which the first germ became manifest in the form of *agni, prāṇa* or *yajña*. Many more off-shoots of this idea can be traced in the Vedas and in the Purāṇas. In the Nāsadiya Sūkta, the doctrine is known as *Ambho-Vāda (ambhaḥ kimāsīt gaganarṇ gabhīram, RV. 10. 129. 1; apraketam salilam sarvāmā idam, RV. 10. 129. 3)*. The Vishṇu-Purāṇa states that the *ekārṇava* doctrine was very ancient and the *Brahmavādīn* philosophers who were well versed in the Vedas had elaborated it to explain the process of creation and dissolution :—

वेदवादविदो विद्वन्नियता ब्रह्मवादिनः ।

पठन्ति चैतमेवार्थं प्रधानप्रतिपादकम् ॥ (Vishṇu, 1.2.22).

In this state there was no distinction of day and night, nor of sky and earth, nor of light and darkness :—

नाहो न रात्रिर्न नभो न भूमिर्नासीत्तमो ज्योतिरमूच नान्यत् ।

श्रोत्रादिवुद्धयाऽनुपलभ्यमेकं प्राधानिकं ब्रह्म पुमांस्तदासीत् ॥

(Vishṇu, 1.2.23).

It is literally borrowing the terminology of the Nāsadiya Sūkta and with it introducing the conception of *Prādhānika Brahma Purusha*, where *Pradhāna* is explained as the Unmanifest, First Cause :—

अव्यक्तं कारणं यत्तत्प्रधानमृपिसत्तमैः ।

प्रोच्यते प्रकृतिः सूक्ष्मा नित्यं सदसदात्मकम् ॥

(Vishṇu, 1.2.19)

Hiranyagarbha-Vidyā

As complementary to the *Ekārṇava* doctrine we have both in the Vedas and in the Purāṇas the conception of *Hiranyagarbha Purusha*, the Golden Germ of *Prāṇa* or the Life-principle which makes itself manifest in the cosmic Egg as a speck of Fire: This was known as *Agni, Apān Napāt* (Son of Waters) in the Vedas and *Nārāyaṇa-Brahmā* in the Purāṇas :

एकार्णवे तु त्रैलोक्ये ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः ।

भोगिशय्यागतः शेते त्रैलोक्यग्रासवृंहितः ॥ (Vishṇu, 1.3.24)

नारायणाख्यो भगवान् ब्रह्मा लोकप्रितामहः ।

उत्पन्नः प्रोच्यते विद्वन् नित्यमेवोपचारतः ॥ (1.3.4)

प्रजाः ससर्ज भगवान् ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः ।

प्रजापतिपतिर्देवो यथा तन्मे निशामय ॥ (1.4.2)

अतीतकरपावसाने निशासुतोत्थितः प्रभुः ।

सत्त्वोद्विक्तस्तथा ब्रह्मा शून्यं लोकमवैक्षत ॥ (1.4.3)

नारायणः परोऽचिन्त्यः परेषामपि स प्रभुः ।

ब्रह्मस्वरूपी भगवाननादिः सर्वसम्भवः ॥

इमं चोदाहरन्त्यत्र श्लोकं नारायणं प्रति ।

ब्रह्मस्वरूपिणं देवं जगतः प्रभवाप्ययम् ॥

(Vishṇu I. 4.4,5)

The twofold process of creation and dissolution is symbolised as the sleep and awakening of Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa denotes the transcendental divine power as the substratum of infinite creation. The Maitrāyaṇi Up. explains Nārāyaṇa in a grand equation as follows *Esha hi khalvātmeshānaḥ sambhur bhavo rudrah prajāpatirviśvasrig Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ satyaṁ prāṇo haṁsaḥ śānto viśṇur nārāyaṇo arkaḥ savitā dhātā vidhāta samvād indra induriti* (Mait. U, 5. 8).

The cosmos is conceived of as the outcome of the twofold process of contraction and expansion (*sa saṅkocavikāsābhyāṁ pradhānatvepi cha stithaḥ*, Viṣṇu, 1. 2. 31).

Nidrā or sleep is the Purāṇic term for the principle of rest or *stasis* and *jāgarāṇa* or awakening for that of movement. These correspond to the rhythmic process of *samañchana* and *prasāraṇa*, the twin rhythm of the cosmic *prāṇa* (*prāṇo vai samañchana-prasāraṇam*, ŚB, 8. 1. 4. 10). This was the primeval principle of *Prāṇa* manifesting itself as the cosmic pulsation in the form of the rhythm, described as *jāgarāṇa* and *nidrā* in the Purāṇas. The first quickening Impulse, *Kshobhya*, and its Impeller, *Kshobhaka*, both are the two aspects of Nārāyaṇa himself. The principle of *Kshobha*, agitation or movement is an essential step in the act of creation. It is variously described as *parisphuraṇa*, *vispandana*, *jāgarāṇa*, *kshobhāṇa*, *saṁrañbha*, *guṇa-vaishamya* or *samāndhana*, i.e. lightening of the Cosmic Fire. The Liṅga Purāṇa explains it as follows (Liṅga P. I. 70. 72, 73, 75 and 76) :

साधर्म्येणावतिष्ठेते प्रधानपुरुषावुभौ ।

तमः सत्त्वरजोपेतौ समत्वेन व्यवस्थितौ ॥७२॥

अनुपृक्तावभूतां तावोतप्रोतौ परस्परम् ।

गुणसाम्ये लयो ज्ञेयो वैषम्ये सृष्टिरुच्यते ॥७३॥

उपास्य रजनीं कृत्स्नां परां महेश्वरीं तथा ।

अहर्मुखे प्रवृत्तश्च परः प्रकृतिसम्भवः ॥७५॥

क्षोभयामास योगेन परेण परमेश्वरः ।

प्रधानं पुरुषञ्चैव प्रविश्य स महेश्वरः ॥७६॥

[लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध, ७०।७२, ७३, ७५, ७६]

According to the Devī Bhāgavata when *Yoganidrā* enters the body of Viṣṇu, he was rendered unconscious, *achetana*, and motionless (*Spandavarjita*), Devī Bhāgavata 1. 7. 18).

Brahmā symbolising the principle of growth waited upon Viṣṇu with a Stotra or the principle of *Vāk* which is the same as the Veda, and by the miraculous power of *Vāk*, sleeping Viṣṇu, as if touched by a spark, was roused to activity and the inertia of sleep. *tāmasī nidrā*, was ejected out of his body :—

एवं स्थिता तदा देवो तामसी तत्र वेधसा ।

निःसृत्य हरिदेहात् संस्थिता पार्श्वतस्तदा ॥

विस्पन्दितशरीरोऽसौ यदा जातो जनार्दनः ।

धाता परमिकां प्राप्तो मुदं दृष्ट्वा हरिं ततः ॥

(Devī-Bh., 1. 7. 48, 50)

The Purāṇas are very particular in invoking the doctrine of Nārāyaṇa Puruṣa who is the same as the transcendent Creator or the Thousand-fold Person (*Sahasraśirshā Puruṣa*) of the Puruṣa-Sūkta. Also in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we find a full-fledged conception of the cosmic creation being the *Yajña-Kratu* or Sacrifice of Nārāyaṇa Puruṣa—Puruṣo ha Nārāyaṇo' kāmayaata atitishṭheyam sarvāṅ bhūtānyahamevedaṁ sarvaṁ syāmiti, sātam puruṣamedham pāncarātram yajña-kratum apaśyāt taṁ āharat tena ayajata, teneshṭvā atyatiṣṭhat sarvāṅi bhūtānīdam abhavat—ŚB. 13. 5. 1. 1.

It is also stated that Prajāpati persuaded Nārāyaṇa-Puruṣa to perform a sacrifice and so the latter conceived of a plan to perform his *Yajña* by means of the Vasus in the morning libation, by the Rudras in the midday libation and by the Ādityas in the evening libation, and this completed the scheme of his *Yajña* (*Yajña-Vāstu* ŚB. 12. 3. 4. 1-11).

The Purāṇic writers translated the Vedic doctrine of Hiraṇyagarbha into that of *Nārāyaṇa Puruṣa* and the following verse is quoted almost in all the Purāṇas as the main Sūtra of their cosmogonical thesis :—

“आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनुवः ।
ता यदस्यायनं पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥”

(Manu, 1.10; Brahma P., 56. 12, 60. 25; Vāyu, 5. 38, Sānti Parva, 328.35, Udyoga Parva, 68. 10). The Bhāgavatas adopted this as their basic creed. Here we have three terms, viz. (1) *Nara*, (2) *Nāra* and (3) *Nārāyaṇa*. The meaning of these three should be clearly grasped in order to understand the nature of *Nārāyaṇa Puruṣa*. According to the Vedic cosmologists, in the beginning was the self-existent *Svayambhū Puruṣa* who is described as *Sahasra*, the Thousand-fold or Infinite. He is beyond the categories of time and space and may be compared to the absolute mathematical point which is non-dimensional. That *Puruṣa* is called *Nara*, the Person or the Male Principle. All his *Ojas* or Energy was introvert, that is turned upon Himself (*virāṭajāh*) or withdrawn into his own centre until for the sake of creation he produced his female counterpart which became His Majesty (*mahimā*).

The second stage in creation is known by many names e.g. as the female principle it is known as *Mahad Yoni*, the Great Womb in the *Gītā* which is the same as Universal Motherhood or Infinite Nature or the Great Goddess (*Mahā Mātā*). These are known as *Nārāh*, i.e. the female counterpart of *Nara* (*narasūnavah*). What was the nature of *Nārāh*? This question is answered in the above verse that the primeval waters (*āpah*) as the creation of the primeval Person were named after him as *Nāra* (His female energy). They are also known as *salilam*, *samudrah*, as pointed out above. In the *Rig-Veda* they are also known as *Rita-Samudra*, *Rita-Sadana* or *Soma-Samudra* of *Parameshthī*, that is, the Universal. This is also known as *Virāt* as stated in the *Rig Veda* (*tasmāt virāḍajāyatu*, RV. 10. 90. 5) The *Atharva* identifies *Virāt* with *Parameshthī*, as both denote the Universal (*asmīn virāt parameshthī prajāpatiḥ*, AV. 13. 3. 5). The *Virāj* is also known as *Aṇḍa*.

What has been referred to above as *ekārṇava* is the same as *Apah*, *Salilam*, *Rita*, *Samudra*, etc., as stated in the *Śatapatha* :

adbhir vā idam sarvam āptam (SB. 1. 1. 1. 14); since as primordial Matter it was all-pervasive or Universal it was called *Āpah* (*yadāpnot tasmādāpah*, SB. 6. 1. 1. 9). We also find reference to the creation of *āpah*, that is *nārāh*, in the *Manu Smṛiti*: *Apā eva sasārjādau tāsu bījamavāsrijat*. The creation of the waters as the Mother-principle was essentially a Vedic doctrine under the name of *Virāj*, *Parameshthī*, *Rita*, *Salila*, *Soma-Samudra*, etc., and the Purāṇic writers accepted it *in toto*.

The third category to be produced by the union of *Nara* and *Nāra* is *Nārāyaṇa*. To repeat, *Svayambhū Prajāpati* is *Nara*, *Parameshthī Prajāpati* is *Nāra*, and *Hiraṇyagarbha Prajāpati* is *Nārāyaṇa*. *Nārāyaṇa* was etymologically explained as subsisting in *Nāra* or the womb of the Mother-principle or the primeval waters of creation which was the Cosmic Egg. Somewhere within the Egg was preserved the Germ of Life (*Hiraṇya* or *Prāṇa*) from the preceding aeon and that is termed in the *Rig Veda* as *Vairāja Adhipuruṣa* (*virājo adhipūrushah*, RV. 10. 90. 5; also *Bhāgavata*, 3. 6. 4), also as *Vairāja Manu* in the Purāṇas. In fact he is given many names; e.g. *Indra*, *Sūrya*, *Prāṇa*, *Mārtāṇḍa*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vivāśvān*, *Manu*, *Agni* or *Nārāyaṇātma* *Brahmā*. It is the energised centre of *Prāṇa* or the Life-principle named *Prāṇāgni* which is present in the Cosmic Egg, *Brahmaṇḍa*, and gives a meaning to it, and the same is also incarnating in each individual egg or cell: *koṭi-koṭi-yutānyatra chāṇḍāni kathitāni tu* (*Liṅga P.* 1. 3. 33), i. e. there are millions and billions of eggs both in the cosmos and in the individual organism and in each egg there is the *Prāṇic* spark with its three-fold potentialities of Mind, Life and Matter, which are also known as the Three Infinities (*trisāhasrī*). The *prāṇic* centre is called *Brahmā*, literally the principle of Growth or Creativity, and his three-fold powers are symbolised as *Trayī Vidyā*, which has reference to the basic triads of creation. Each cell (*aṇḍa*) is constituted of seven sheaths, viz. Mind, Life and five gross elements of Matter, and in the centre of each is a *Brahmā* on his Lotus (*saptāṇḍāvarāṇānyāhustasyātmā kamalāsanaḥ*). The *Brāhmaṇas* explain the Lotus as *Agni* and *Sūrya* which have been thrown up as the symbols of growth out

of the churning of the primeval Waters or the Mother-principle or the First Cause of creativity from some unknown and unmanifest source. The Bhāgavata goes into great detail to explain the cosmology as elaborated on the basis of the Purusha Sūkta in terms of *Virāj* and *Aṇḍa* (2. 6. 7).

The cosmic Nārāyaṇa Purusha is called *Yajña Purusha*, *Hiraṇmīya Purusha* (*tapanīya-varṇa*), *Chhandomaya Purusha*, *Sarva-devāmaya Purusha*, *Yajñamīya Purusha*, *Hayaśirsha Purusha* in which the Horse is the dynamic principle of Time (*kālośivo vahati saptarāśmih*, AV. 19. 43. 1).

Time is also symbolised as Rishi Mārkaṇḍeya, having the life of a thousand years (*sahasrāyurjajñe*) which is also said to be the life-span of the Golden Egg floating in the Waters, (Bhāgavata, 2.6.54: ŚB. 11. 1. 6 1-2). It is the story of Rishi Mārkaṇḍeya and of Bāla-Nārāyaṇa floating on the surface of the billowy ocean on a leaf of the Banyan tree. It is verily the Cosmic Tree called both *Aśvattha* and *Vaṭa*, each leaf of which is a universe in which the centre of *Prāṇa* or the life-principle is symbolised as Bāla-Nārāyaṇa. He is the same as the Kumāra, the Miraculous Babe (*Chitra Śiśu*, RV. 10.8.2, or *Adbhuta Putra*, Aranyaka Parva, 212.2; Mārkaṇḍeya 94.7). It is the recurrent principle of new life is becoming visible as the Babe (*navo navo bhavati jāyamānaḥ*, RV. 10.85.90). The Vedic Kumāra-Vidyā propounded in the Śatapatha Br. (6.1.3. 18-20) was taken up by the Purāṇa-writers and elaborated in the legend of Skanda, or Swāmi Kārttikeya (for its fuller meaning see Introduction to my Hindi book: Meghdūta; also my English book; Matsya-Purāṇa—A Study, pp. 247-258; Matsya Purāṇa, chs. 159-163).

Trivikrama-Vidyā

There are many other Vedic Vidyās elaborated in the Purāṇas according to the dictum: *Itihāsa purāṇābhyām vedān samupabrinhayet*. For example, the legend of *Vāmana* and *Virāt* which was essentially Vedic where *Vāmana* signifies the unmanifest cause and *Virāt* its manifested extension, (cf. *Vāmano vā vishṇurāsa*, SB. 1.2.5.5). This is the law of Life implying the growth of the Dwarf into the Giant. The tiniest fertilised ovum

produces the complete foetus. Everywhere there is an oscillation of forces between the cause and its final effect. These are also known as *Vāma* and *Palita*, viz. the beautiful youth and the grey-haired old (RV. 1. 164. 1), and again as *Yuvā kumāra* and *Bṛihat śarīra* (RV. 1.155.6):—

चतुर्भिः साकं नवति च नामभिश्चक्रं न वृचं व्यतीर वीविपत् ।
बृहच्छरीरो विमिमान ऋक्भिर्बुवाकुमारः प्रत्येत्याहवम् ॥

The transformation of the Dwarf as the Giant takes place by virtue of Vishṇu's taking Three Steps. The young boy at one end measures out himself into the vast form of cosmic dimensions by the power of his three strides as stated in the *Tri-Vikrama* conception of Vishṇu in the Rig Veda (cf. Vishṇu-Sūktas, RV. 1.154-155; also 1.22.16).

इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम् ।

We have explained at length the idea of the Three Steps of Vishṇu in the article 'The Symbolism Of The Three Brothers' (Sparks From The Vedic Fire, pp. 29-39).

पुराणसुभाषितानि

(श्रीमद्भागवतमहापुराणात्)

इदं हि पुंसस्तपसः श्रुतस्य वा स्विष्टस्य सूक्तस्य च बुद्धिदत्तयोः ।
अविच्युतोऽर्थः कविभिर्निरूपितो यदुत्तमश्लोकगुणानुवर्णनम् ॥

(१।५।२२)

मत्तं प्रमत्तमुन्मत्तं सुप्तं बालं स्त्रियं जडम् ।
प्रपन्नं विरथं भीतं न रिपुं हन्ति धर्मवित् ॥ (१।७।३६)
यथा पङ्केन पङ्काम्भः सुरया वा सुरा-कृतम् ।
भूतहत्यां तथैवैकां न यज्ञैर्माण्डुमर्हति ॥ (१।८।५२)
कालकर्मगुणाधीनो देहोऽयं पाञ्चभौतिकः ।
कथमन्यास्तु गोपायेत्सर्पग्रस्तो यथा परम् ॥
अहस्तानि सहस्तानामपदानि चतुष्पदाम् ।
फलगूनि तत्र महतां जीवो जीवस्य कारणम् ॥

(१।१३।४५, ४६)

मन्दस्य मन्दप्रज्ञस्य वयो मन्दायुषश्च वै ।
निद्रया हियते नक्तं दिवा च व्यर्थकर्मभिः ॥ (१।१६।९)
यस्य राष्ट्रे प्रजाः सर्वास्त्रस्यन्ते साध्यसाधुभिः ।
तस्य मत्तस्य नश्यन्ति कीर्तिरायुर्भगो गतिः ॥
एष राज्ञां परो धर्मो ह्यार्तानामार्तिनिग्रहः ।

(१।१७।१०, ११)

प्रायशः साधवो लोके परैर्द्वन्द्वेषु योजिताः ।
न व्यथन्ति न हृष्यन्ति यत आत्माऽगुणाश्रयः ॥ (१।१८।५०)
प्रायेण तीर्थाभिगमापदेशैः स्वयं हि तीर्थानि पुनन्ति सन्तः ।

(१।१९।८)

निद्रया हियते नक्तं व्यवायेन च वा वयः ।
दिवा चार्थहया राजन् कुटुम्बभरणेन वा ॥
देहापत्यकलत्रादिष्वात्मसैन्येष्वसत्स्वपि ।
तेषां प्रमत्तो निधनं पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति ॥
तस्माद् भारत सर्वात्मा भगवानीश्वरो हरिः ।
श्रोतव्यः कीर्तितव्यश्च स्मर्तव्यश्चेच्छताऽभयम् ॥ (२।१।३-५)
किं प्रमत्तस्य बहुभिः परोक्षैर्हायनैरिह ।
वरं मुहूर्तं विदितं घटेत श्रेयसे यतः ॥ (२।१।१२)
द्रव्यं कर्म च कालश्च स्वभावो जीव एव च ।
वासुदेवात्परो ब्रह्मन् चान्योऽर्थोऽस्ति तत्त्वतः ॥ (२।५।१४)
न भारती मेऽङ्ग मृषोपलक्ष्यते,
न वै कचिन्मे मनसो मृषा गतिः ।
न मे हृषीकाणि पतन्त्यसत्पथे,
यन्मे हृदौत्कण्ठ्यवता घृतो हरिः ॥ (२।६।३३)
शृण्वतः श्रद्धया नित्यं गृणतश्च स्वचेष्टितम् ।
कालेन नातिदीर्घेण भगवान् विशते हृदि ॥ (२।८।४)
यश्च मूढतमो लोके यश्च बुद्धेः परं गतः ।
तावुभौ सुखमेधेते क्षिप्रत्यन्तरितो जनः ॥ (३।७।१७)

YAJŪNA-VARĀHA—SOME MORE MATERIAL

BY

V. RAGHAVAN

In the last issue of the *Purāṇa*, several textual sources bearing on the concept of Yajūnavarāha were presented. Further search has shown that, in addition to the several *Purāṇas* already taken note of, Yajūnavarāha is described in two more places in the *Purāṇas*, a second time in the *Vāyu* and once in the *Narasimha*.

(i). The context already noticed in *Vāyu* is the earlier one, in 6.16 ff., which gives the vulgate version of the Yajūnavarāha concept. In the same *Purāṇa*, in chapter 23, verses 103-108, we are given another description of the Yajūnavarāha which has little to do with the general conception already noticed. Here is a special conception of Yajūnavarāha as the embodiment of *Kāla*, Time, although this conception is not bereft of elements of the former sacrificial symbolism; in fact, the *Saṁvatsara*-equation is given a further extension to the equation with sacrifice.

साध्यो नारायणश्चैव विष्णुस्त्रिभुवनेश्वरः ।
भविष्यतीह नाम्ना तु वाराहो नाम विश्रुतः ॥
चतुर्बाहुश्चतुष्पादः चतुर्नेत्रश्चतुर्मुखः ।
तदा संवत्सरो भूत्वा यज्ञरूपो भविष्यति ॥
षडङ्गश्च त्रिशोर्षश्च त्रिस्थानस्त्रिशरीरवान् ।
कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्चैव चतुर्गुणम् ॥
एतस्य पादाश्चत्वारः अङ्गानि क्रतवस्तथा ॥
भुजाश्च वेदाश्चत्वारः क्रतुस्सन्धिमुखानि च ।
द्वे मुखे द्वे च अयने नेत्राश्च चतुरस्तथा ॥

शिरांसि त्रीणि पर्वणि फाल्गुण्याषाढकृत्तिकाः ।
दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमानि त्रीणि स्थानानि यानि तु ॥
सम्भवः प्रलयश्चैव आश्रमौ द्वौ प्रकीर्तितौ ।
स यदा कालरूपाभो वराहत्वे व्यवस्थितः ॥
भविष्यति यदा साध्यो विष्णुर्नारायणः प्रभुः ।

(ii). The second one is in the *Narasimhapurāṇa*, Ch. 39, verses 10-13, which gives the well-known Vedic and sacrificial symbolism; some of the elements of the imagery here agree with those in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Sūktas* as *Saṭā* (manes) and charitable acts or *Pūrteṣṭa* as ears.

अथ वेदमयं रूपं वाराहं वपुरास्थितम् ।
वेदपादं यूपदंष्ट्रं केतुवक्त्रं नराधिप ॥
व्यूहोरस्कं महाबाहु पृथुवक्त्रं नराधिप ।
अग्निनिह्वं श्रुवं तुण्डं चन्द्रार्कनयनं महत् ॥
पूर्तेष्टधर्मश्रवणं दिव्यं तत्सामनिःस्वनम् ।
प्राग्वंशकायं हविर्नासं कुशदर्भतनूरुहम् ॥
सर्ववेदमयं तच्च पुण्यसूक्तमहासटम् ।
नक्षत्रताराहारं च प्रलयावर्त्तभूषणम् ॥
इत्थं कृत्वा तु वाराहं प्रविवेश वृषाकपिः ।
रसातलं नृप श्रेष्ठ सनकाद्यैरभिष्टुतः ॥

(iii). A third reference to Yajūnavarāha that may be added is the one in the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* X. i. where, in a verse to Earth, Varāha who lifted her up is described as hundred-armed, *Sata-bāhu*—

उद्धृतासि वराहेण कृष्णेन शतबाहुना ।

What the hundred arms represent is not clear; there is no help from *Sāyaṇa* or *Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara*; they could be understood if Varāha is *Sūrya*, an equation underlying, although somewhat darkly, the final line of the Yajūnavarāha description in *Matsya* etc.—*छायापत्नीसहायः* etc.

A PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA

By

R. C. DE

The Matsya-Purāṇa occupies a very important place among the 18 Mahāpurāṇas. The Vāmana-Purāṇa considers it as the best of the Purāṇas. Like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa it was also translated into Persian. This Persian translation is available in the Manuscript-form. The Manuscript is deposited in the Instituto Italiano of Rome (Italy). A microfilm copy of Vol. I of this translation has been procured by the All-India Kashiraj Trust through the kind help of its Director, Dr. G. Tucci.

From an English note written on the cover-page of this Manuscript it appears that the work consisted of 9 volumes, of which 7 volumes contained the Persian translation and the remaining 2 volumes contained paintings. From the serial numbering it also appears that all the nine volumes were acquired by the mss.-collectors, but they gave only Volume I to the Institute. The Ms. is in the book-form and contains 15 lines on a page. The writing is not very legible in the microfilm.

This Persian translation of the Matsya-Purāṇa was made at Banaras near about the close of the eighteenth century A.D. by Gosvāmī Ānandaghana. He was the resident of Delhi and came to Banaras to settle here. He was here introduced to Mr. Jonathan Duncan (the famous and popular English Resident at Banaras from 1787-1795 A. D. in the court of Rājā Mahip Narain, on behalf of the East India Company). Mr. Duncan entrusted him with the work of translating several Sanskrit texts into Persian, as the translator, Gosvāmī Ānandaghana, himself says in the preface of his translation :—

“First there was order for translating the Rāmāyaṇa. In course of twenty months all the

seven Kāṇḍas consisting of forty thousand ślokas were rendered into Persian. After this the order was to translate the *Mitākṣarā*, because it was often required by the venerable gentleman for the administration of justice. I then induced him to get the *Maccha-Purāṇa* translated into Persian. According to his direction the voluminous book of the *Maccha-Purāṇa* which consisted of 24,000 ślokas in Hindi was undertaken to be translated into Persian.”

The present vulgate text of the Matsya-Purāṇa consists of only 14,000 ślokas. Most probably the number 24,000 has been mentioned by mistake; Hindi has also been mentioned loosely to indicate the Devanāgarī character in which the Sanskrit text was written.

The first volume of this translation consists of 41 Adhyāyas only. The work of translation was commenced on the Vasanta-Puñcamī day in Vikrama Saṁvat 1848 (1792 A.D.).

From the examination of the translation it appears that it is a free translation of the Sanskrit text of the Matsya-Purāṇa. Some other Purāṇic details have also been introduced into it. These details are not found in the present available text of the Matsya-Purāṇa. A few such extra details are given below :—

(1) The translation mentions that Rājā Satyavrata was performing penances on the banks of the river *Deva*, but in the original Sanskrit text of the Matsya no such river is mentioned. The name *Satyavrata* is also not given in the Matsya-Purāṇa text in this context, it is perhaps taken from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (8. 24. 10).

(2) In the translation it is stated that the Fish told Manu that a great flood would take place on the seventh day. In the Sanskrit text of the MP, however, no mention is made of the seven days. The idea is most probably taken from the following śloka of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa :—

सप्तमेऽद्यतनादूर्ध्वं महत्येतदरिदम ।

निमङ्क्ष्यत्यप्ययाम्भोधौ त्रैलोक्यं भूर्भुवादिकम् ॥ (8. 24. 32)

(3) At the end of Adhyāya one the translation gives a description of the Manvantaras and the day of Brahmā. But no such description is found in the original text at the end of the first Adhyāya.

(4) In the original Matsya text (2. 34) the formation of seven seas is mentioned, but the translator adds elaborate details of the seven seas. These details have probably been taken from some other source.

These are only the few illustrations showing the inclination of the translator to introduce other Purāṇic details in his translation. So it is possible that the translator might have drawn upon other Purāṇic texts also. It may also be possible that a different version of the Matsya-Purāṇa text might have been available to him, which he used for his translation.

On the whole the translation is very useful for the scholars to work upon. An English rendering of this Persian translation of the Matsya-Purāṇa is proposed to be given in some future issues of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin.

THE LOCATION OF KAMBOJA

By

K. D. SETHNA

When doctors disagree, the patient often dies. Dr. D. C. Sircar and Dr. V. S. Agrawala are at variance over the location of Kamboja¹ and as a result the historical truth about this ancient Mahājanapada appears to fade out. The irony of the situation is that both the doctors are right—and both are wrong.

Agrawala puts Kamboja in the region of the Pāmīrs. He has the clear support of Kālidāsa (*Raghuvamśa*, IV. 60 ff) as well as of Kalhaṇa (*Rājataranginī*, IV. 165-66). Some passages of the *Mahābhārata*, which we shall specify later, are also on his side. Then there is the fact that, as Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra showed on the basis of Grierson's Linguistic Survey, the root *śava*, which Yāska had long ago noted as used only in the Kamboja dialect among the dialects of the Aryans, is still current in the Ghalcha-speaking parts of the Pāmīrs. This fact, of course, is not quite determinative of the Kambojas' location, because *śava*, with its Irānian affinity is likely to have been used wherever the Irānian influence on a dialect was strong. Its currency today in the Pāmīrs cannot decide where the Kambojas, as members of a national or racial group which Yāska had in mind, were located in his ancient age. However, the fact creates a fair presumption that the Kamboja country may have once been in the modern Ghalcha-speakers' territory. And what finally clinches Agrawala's point is the testimony of the geographer Ptolemy (c. 140 A. D.), which is completely omitted by both Agrawala and Sircar.

It was Sylvain Lévi² who drew attention to the place which Ptolemy locates to the south of the Oxus under the name

1. *Purāṇa*, July 1963, pp. 251-257, 355-56.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, 1923, p. 54.

of Tambyzoi. Lévi identified it with Kamboja on the ground that Tambyzoi is only a Greek transliteration of the Austro-Asiatic spelling of Kamboja.

Yes, Agrawala is not off the mark at all. But several statements he makes in support of his thesis seem unacceptable. Thus, apropos of Kālidāsa, he says that all the area from the Sindhu to the Oxus, including Balkh (Bāhlika, Bactria), was under the Guptas. First, even if Kālidāsa did imply such sway by the king who was his contemporary, we could not confidently apply it to the Guptas: We are not yet certain that any Gupta was his contemporary. Secondly, the Meherauli pillar inscription of King Chandra, who was either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, unmistakably mentions that the Bāhlikas were conquered after a crossing of the mouths of the Indus by King Chandra. Agrawala makes no comment on this specific detail, even when he refers to it. As Allan¹ correctly remarked many years back, the inscription cannot mean that "Chandra's arms penetrated to Balkh, the route to which would not be across the mouths of the Indus." Neither can the inscription be looked upon as merely marking by the Indus-delta and the Bāhlikas two terms of a conventional fourfold definition of a *chakravartin's* achievement: we cannot ignore the close-knit grammar of the inscription's sentence, by which the conquest directly and intimately depends upon the crossing. Apart from Allan's own suggestion that the term "Bāhlika" in the time of King Chandra may have been employed in a general sense to indicate foreigners, the only plausible idea offered so far is Raychaudhuri's,² pointing to a tribe not very distant from the Indus-delta: "The Vāhlikas beyond the seven mouths of the Indus are apparently the Bactrioi occupying the country near Arachosia in the time of the geographer Ptolemy."

Another statement of Agrawala's, which is impossible to accept, is that the Yavanas of Aśoka's inscriptions, who are

1. *Catalogue of Coins, the Gupta Dynasty, etc.* Introduction, p. xxxvi.

2. *The Political History of Ancient India* (3rd Ed.), p. 364, fn. 2.

mentioned along with the Kambojas, are the Bāhlika-Yavanas of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (Uttaradhāga, Upodghāta-Pāda, Ch. 16. 18) and that therefore Aśoka's Kambojas can very well be in the Pāmīr region. It is plain history, as Sircar urges, that Bāhlika (Bactria) in Aśoka's day was part of the Seleucid empire until c. 250 B. C. (or c. 256 B. C., according to Newell) when its governor Diodotus revolted and made the province independent. It could never have been under Aśoka at any time. So the Bāhlika-Yavanas could not have had Aśoka's Kambojas as their neighbours. What is more, Aśoka's Yona-Kamboja, as Sircar reminds us, is closely associated in Rock Edict V with Gandhāra, whose two chief cities, Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvātī, are about the Indus and not near the Oxus.

Sircar's two points go to prove that there was a Kamboja country in the vicinity of the Indus, most probably somewhere in Afghānistān and perhaps wide enough to take in Rājapura which is mentioned by the *Mahābhārata* (VII. 4, 5) as the scene of Karṇa's victory over the Kambojas and which Raychaudhuri¹ considered, with the help of Hiuen Tsang's Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Rajapura, modern Rajauri), as the central clue to the location of Kamboja.

Sircar's further argument that the Aramaic version below the Greek in the recently discovered Kandahār edict of Aśoka must be for the Kambojas whom Aśoka (R. E. XIII) groups with the Yavanas is not at all negligible. But Agrawala is right in observing that we cannot connect Aramaic with the Kambojas exclusively or, merely on the strength of it at Kandahār, locate them in Southern Afghānistān. For, two other Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka exist—at Takṣaśilā and Lampāka (Laghmān). Sircar's strong point is Aśoka's *yonakambojesu*. If the Greek text was meant for the Yavanas, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Aramaic here was for the Kambojas.

Sircar, however, writes about the latter: "They appear to have lived side by side with the Yavanas." Does this mean the two peoples formed a single province? If that is the implication read

1. *Op. cit.*, 1938, pp. 125 ff.

in Kandahār's bilingual text, it goes against Aśoka's other edicts. In those edicts, not only are the Yonas put with the Kambojas but both are put with the Gandhāras and once (R. E. XIII) the Yonas are mentioned by themselves. The clear suggestion is that each people formed a province on its own and that the three peoples formed contiguous provinces. Sircar himself at one place speaks of their living in contiguous areas of Uttarāpatha in the age of the Mauryas. In view of this, I suppose we should take his "side by side" to mean nothing more than contiguity. In that case the Kandahār epigraph cannot be said to stand in the Yavana country but only at the common boundary between the Yavana and the Kamboja countries. Attending to the Aśokan sequence Yona-Kamboja-Gandhāra, we should say that Yona stood south of Kandahār and Kamboja north of it, extending right up to the point where Gandhāra started and perhaps marching with its borders further north.

Now we may sum up. Sircar is right about his Kamboja on this side of the Hindu Kush. Agrawala is right about his Kamboja on the other side of that mountain. Both are wrong in ruling out each other's Kamboja. The historical truth is that there were two Kambojas. We have explicit evidence of it in the *Mahābhārata*. The epic does not direct us only to a Kamboja in the Rajauri region. It has an earlier reference (II. 27. 23-26) describing not the conquests of Karṇa but those of Arjuna, and here we have the *Paramakambojas* as distinguished from the *Kambojas*. The latter are grouped with the Daradas who are to be put on the right bank of the Upper Indus, whereas the Paramakambojas are said to have allied their forces with the Lohas and "the Rishikas of the north". In fact, it is the Paramakambojas whom Vidyālaṅkāra identifies with the Ghalcha-speaking peoples while identifying "the Rishikas of the north" with the Yuēh-chis (Kushāpas). These Paramakambojas are the same as the Kambojas whom Vidyālaṅkāra finds often associated in the epic with the Vāhlikas. But this association, which fully supports Agrawala, must not lead us to overlook the

association with the Daradas nor the third associative formula, first emphasised by Raychaudhuri, which the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 207, 43) gives—Yauna-Kamboja-Gandhāra—in the closest possible agreement with the one in Aśoka's R. E. V., which fully supports Sircar.

There is no need for the two eminent doctors to disagree. B. M. Barua¹—no less a doctor—could have reconciled them with the double diagnosis he made quite a time ago. And a further truth which Barua² brought forward may interest Sircar and Agrawala, especially the latter. Just as the *Mahābhārata* speaks of Kamboja and Paramakamboja, the *Mahānidāsa* (pp. 155, 415) speaks of Yona and Paramayona.

Where shall we locate Paramayona? Only two possibilities present themselves. Bāhlika, from where the Bāhlika-Yavanas of Agrawala came, may have been known by an alternative name, Yavana. Ferghāna (Sogdiana) was named Ta-Yuan by the Chinese and, as René Grousset³ suggested, the component "Yuan" may be the same as the Irānian "Yauna" and the Indian "Yona" or "Yavana". As both Bāhlika and Ferghāna can be considered contiguous to the Pāmīr-region, Agrawala no less than Sircar can legitimately have a Yona-Kamboja, but the heavy odds against its being Aśokan must be admitted.

We may add that Kālidāsa, on whom Agrawala leans a great deal, does not permit any combination of the Yavanas with the Kambojas. No alternative *yonakambojasu* to Aśoka's can be based on him. For, while his Kambojas are in the Oxus-area, his Yavanas are pretty far from it. The *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 61) clearly suggests that in moving towards Persia from Western India (*Aparānta*, Northern Konkan) Raghu had to cross the land of the Yavanas. Kālidāsa's Yavanas are not Bāhlika-Yavanas. They are not northern enough to be anywhere near Bāhlika, much less near a Pāmīrian Kamboja.

1. *Aśoka and His Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1946), I, pp. 92-96.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 96.
3. *L'Empire des Steppes*, p. 57. fn.

Here a final question must be posed and answered. Which of the two Kambojas was counted in ancient times as one of the Mahājanapadas of India? All depends on what limits we assign to Bhāratavarṣa. Sircar speaks of Kālidāsa as describing Raghu's subjugation of "the countries in the northern areas of Bhāratavarṣa" and as mentioning in this region "the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vanṅṣu (Oxus), i. e. in the Bāhlīka country or Bactria," and "the Kambojas" and "the Himālayas". If Bhāratavarṣa can be thought of in such wide terms, there is no objection to making the Pāmīrian Kamboja a Mahājanapada of India. But, as none of the old list of Indian Mahājanapadas includes Bāhlīka, it may not be proper to go beyond the Kamboja which neighboured Gandhāra.

Now we may make a few remarks on certain declarations by both Agrawala and Sircar, which strike us as insufficient. Not in his present article but in his admirable *India as Known to Pāṇini*¹, Agrawala repeats what many others have stated before him: "The Kambojas are known as Kambujiya in the Old-Persian inscriptions". May we ask where in these inscriptions Kamboja is mentioned as a tribe or a country? The term "Kambujiya" occurs only as the name of the Persian king whom the Greeks called Cambyses. And even this term E. Benveniste², disagreeing with J. Charpentier, refuses to affine in any way with the Indian designation "Kamboja". Benveniste plainly says: "The name of the Kambojas does not yet appear in any Irānian source".

This fact should make us pause before asserting too categorically that the Kambojas were of Irānian extraction. The root *śava* itself, we may remember, is commented on by Yāska because it occurs in the *Nighaṅṭu* (II. 14) which is a collection of Vedic words. *Śava* must have been part of Vedic usage, even if we have lost the passages where it occurred, and it does not by itself prove Irānian extraction in the speakers. It only proves Irānian influence, either linguistic or racial. As Pusalker³ writes: "The earliest mention of Kāmboja occurs in the *Vanṣa*

1. Pp. 48-49. 2. *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCXLVI, I, p. 48 with fn.

3. In *The Vedic Age* (London, 1952), pp. 259-260.

Brāhmaṇa of the *Sāmaveda* where a teacher Kāmboja Aupamanyava is referred to. The sage Upamanyu mentioned in the *Rigveda* (I. 102. 9) is in all probability the father of the Kāmboja teacher. The speech of the Kāmbojas is referred to by Yāska as differing from that of other Aryans and Grierson sees in this reference the Irānian affinities of the Kāmbojas, but the fact that Kāmboja teachers were reputed for their Vedic learning shows them to have been Vedic Aryans, so that Kāmboja was an Aryan settlement. Later on Kāmbojas settled to the north-west of the Indus..."

In regard to their historical status as compared with that of the Yavanas, it is hardly right to say, as Sircar does, that they and not the Yavanas were important in the age of Buddha. No doubt, the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (VII. 5. 3 and 5), which Sircar quotes, enumerates among the Mahājanapadas the Kambojas as well as the Gandhāras and omits the Yavanas. But the *Mujjhimānikāya* (43. 1. 3), which too he quotes and which is as old as the *aṅguttaranikāya*, makes Buddha himself mention the Yavanas together with the Kambojas in exactly the same form as Aśoka: *Yonakambojesu*. So the Yavanas were as prominent as the Kambojas or the Gandhāras in Buddha's age. Besides, as B. C. Law¹ tells us, the *Chullānidḍesa* (which is included in the Buddhist canon and is therefore one of the oldest Pāli commentaries) omits Gandhāra and mentions Yona no less than Kamboja in its list of the Mahājanapadas which flourished before the time of Buddha. Yona and Kamboja are absolutely on a par in the period of which Sircar speaks.

Here a problem arises. What are we to make of the references to a Yona state having existed in India's north-west in such antiquity? Must we revive that old favourite of Bhandarkar and Jayaswal - a pre-Alexandrine Greek colony in India? Or shall we accept the ancient Indian tradition which regards the Yavanas no less than the Kambojas as degraded Kṣatriyas? Then we shall have to say that in ancient India,

1. In *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bombay, 1951), p. 1.

before the Greeks came to be called Yavanas, there were non-Greek Yavanas - just as in medieval India, though in a different way, the label "Yavana" was not confined to the Greeks. This is a theme well worth discussing at some length, and the more we explore it the more surprises we are likely to encounter, prompting changes in several aspects of ancient Indian history.

One of the surprises Sircar himself has touched on in passing: the Purāṇic description of both the Yavanas and the Kambojas as having "shaven heads". And what renders this description all the more a challenge to the exclusive Greek-Yavana equation is that it merely reiterates what the *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini's rule II. 1. 72 says of these two tribes: *kāmbojamuṇḍaḥ yavanamuṇḍaḥ*. If this is authentic Pāṇinian material, what happens to the usual interpretation of that grammarian's *yavanāni* as an allusion to the Greek script? Here are deep waters indeed and we cannot launch on them at the moment. It is an enterprise to which we may well invite Sircar and Agrawala—particularly Agrawala who has not mentioned this part of the *Gaṇapāṭha* in his famous book.

KAMBOJA

BY

D. C. SIRCAR

My article entitled 'The Land of the Kambojas' appeared in this journal, Vol. V, No. 2, July 1963, pp. 251-57. I pointed out that the Kambojas, who lived in Aśoka's empire and were his subjects,¹ could not have been inhabitants of the Pamirs, where some scholars locate the Kamboja country, since the Pamirs lay outside the Mauryan empire. It was also suggested that the Aramaic version of the Kandahar Rock Edict of Aśoka was meant for the Kamboja subjects of the Maurya emperor, so that the concentration of the Kamboja population in the Maurya empire was in the region around Kandahar, which was apparently a district of Aśoka's dominions.

Elsewhere in the same issue of the journal (pp. 355-59), Dr. V. S. Agrawala has disagreed with me and has supported the location of the Kamboja land in the Pamirs. Unfortunately, Dr. Agrawala does not categorically state that the Kambojas were not Aśoka's subjects and that they lived outside his empire or that the Pamirs formed a part of the dominions of Aśoka. Consequently, much of what he has said is not really relevant while many of his statements and suggestions appear to me quite clearly wrong.

In the first half of his note, Dr. Agrawala enumerates three points of discussion and these we shall take up first for our comments.

1. This point may probably be ignored since Dr. Agrawala himself admits that it 'is not useful for a definite location' of the Kamboja country.

1. Cf. *hide raja-viṣavaspi Yona-Kambojesu*, etc. (Shahbazgarhi) in Rock Edict XIII.

2. In Dr. Agrawala's opinion, the discovery of the Aramaic version of the Kandahar Rock Edict of Aśoka does not help us in locating the land of the Kambojas, because two Aramaic inscriptions were discovered at Taxila and Laghman. He further observes that the Aramaic Edict of Aśoka at Kandahar does not prove the existence of an Aramaic-knowing colony in that area during the age in question and says, "Kharoṣṭhī, Aramaic and Greek were the three scripts selected for the north-western province of Aśokan empire, and no good reason can be pointed out why a particular script was chosen for a particular place." It is, however, a matter of regret that I do not agree with any of these points raised by Dr. Agrawala.

In the first place, the Aramaic Edict of Aśoka at Kandahar is an official record engraved on rock, so that it was undoubtedly meant for the Aramaic-knowing people of the area just as the Greek version of the Edict certainly points to the existence of Greek-knowing subjects of Aśoka in the same region. If such was not the case, the very purpose for which Aśoka is known to have issued his Edicts would have been defeated. In the Edicts, the Maurya emperor very often clearly states the reasons why he engraved his rescripts on Dharma on rocks, and it is well known that one of these reasons was to make his views known to his officers and subjects who, as well as those who would read them in future, were expected to follow his instructions.

Secondly, the fragmentary Aramaic inscriptions from Taxila and Laghman are not definitely known to have been official records engraved on rock, while the Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar District) and Mansehra (Hazara District) Edicts in the Kharoṣṭhī script and Prakrit language would suggest that, even if there were settlements of Aramaic-knowing people in the area, the majority of Aśoka's subjects in these parts, for whom the Edicts were meant, were used to Kharoṣṭhī and Prakrit and not to Greek and Aramaic. What I said is that there could have been persons knowing Greek and Aramaic outside the Kandahar region, but that the concentration of such people in Aśoka's empire was in

the area where his Greek and Aramaic Edicts engraved on rock have been discovered.

Thirdly, the reason why particular languages and scripts were chosen by Aśoka for his Edicts meant for different parts of his empire is quite obvious. The emperor wanted that his Edicts should be intelligible to the majority of the local people.

3. Dr. Agrawala says, "The Yavanas in Indian history are found in two regions, namely, at first in Bactria and secondly in Gandhāra and Punjab..... The yavanas in Bactria were remembered as Bāhlīka-yavanas as mentioned in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*... in a list of horses from that country (बाह्लिकयवनीसूता). This was the situation in the post-Alexandrian period during the period from Candragupta to Aśoka. Therefore, it were the Bāhlīka-yavanas, to whom Aśoka was referring..... The country of the Bāhlīka-yavanas, i.e. Bactrian Greeks, being Balkh on the south of the Oxus, Kamboja mentioned along with the yavanas could very well have been in the region of the Pamir." I am sorry that none of these statements seems to be acceptable.

Firstly, the statement regarding yavana rule only in Bāhlīka, Gandhāra and the Punjab is wrong since certain yavana kings (e.g. Hermains) are known to have ruled outside those territories.

Secondly, I do not find any reference to the Bāhlīka-yavanas or Bactrian Greeks in the expression *Bāhlīka-yāvan-odbhūtāḥ* which in my opinion, means 'born in the Bāhlīka and yāvana lands (i. e. the lands of the Bāhlīkas and Yavanas).'

Thirdly, even if we accept that the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* mentions the Bactrian Greeks, it is quite impossible to assign the reference to 'the period from Candragupta to Aśoka' for the simple reason that Bactria, as is well known, never formed a part of the Maurya empire. It was at first a province of the Selucid empire and was ruled by the Greek governors of the Selucids. About the middle of the third century B. C., when Aśoka was on the Maurya throne, Divodotus I, governor of Bactria, threw off the Seleucid yoke and, from that time, it

continued to be an independent kingdom till long after the fall of the Mauryas. In his eagerness to look the Kambojas in the Pamirs Dr. Agrawala has ignored this well-known fact of history.

The points raised in the latter part of Dr. Agrawala's note have not been enumerated as in the above cases. But we shall take them up one by one for the convenience of discussion.

1. Dr. Agrawala elaborately discusses the value of the evidence of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* in locating the Kambojas in the Pamirs especially because, in my opinion, the *Raghuvaṃśa* does not prove anything at all.

(a) He points out that Kālidāsa takes Raghu from the land of the Pārasīkas to the bank of the Oxus 'without mentioning any other territory in the way' probably because 'the whole area from Sindhu to the Oxus was already included in the Gupta empire.' But, in Kālidāsa's age, Pārasīka would mean the Sasanian empire and, in marching from the Sasanian capital on the Tigris to the Oxus, Raghu would have little to do with 'the whole area between Sindhu and the Oxus.' A more serious error in Dr. Agrawala's statement is that the Gupta empire extended only upto the Punjab and did not include the land between the Indus and the Oxus where the Kuṣāṇas were still ruling.

(b) In Dr. Agrawala's opinion, Kālidāsa's reference to Raghu's conflict with the Hūṇas on the Oxus is supported by the Meharauli pillar inscription describing the conquest of Bāhlika by Candra (i.e., Candragupta II Vikramāditya) after crossing the Indus Delta. Probably he means that the former is an echo of the latter. Unfortunately the Meharauli inscription also merely describes Candra's conventional *dig-vijaya* or conquest of the *caleravarti-kṣetra*, and hundreds of such conventional descriptions are noticed in the epigraphic and literary records of India. Such claims cannot be regarded as historically true.¹

(c) Kālidāsa takes Raghu from the Pārasīka country in the west to the Hūṇa land on the Oxus, which has been regarded as the northern boundary of the *caleravarti-kṣetra* here as well as

in the description of a conventional *digvijaya* attributed to the Parmāra king Lakṣmadeva in an inscription of Vikrama 1161.¹ After subduing the Hūṇas, Raghu is said to have gone to the land of the Kambojas. In my opinion, this does not go against the location of the Kambojas to the south of the Hūṇas. Dr. Agrawala, however, says, "The whole description of Kālidāsa would become topsy-turvy if Kamboja is placed in the region of Kandahar, for Raghu in that case would have to return southward and thus would be placed in an almost impossible geographical position to make an attempt on the Himalayas."

But Raghu went by the land route from the Northern Konkan to the Sasanian kingdom through Baluchistan and Makru and thence to the Oxus valley.² His advance from the Hūṇa land to the Kamboja country can therefore by no means be called a "return." Again, the ranges of hills and mountains in Afghanistan and its neighbourhood formed parts of the Himālaya according to the ancient Indian conception of the *varṣa-parvata*. I therefore see no difficulty at all if Raghu moved towards the south from the Oxus valley and then, after subduing the Kambojas in Southern Afghānistan, reached the Indus valley through the Khyber Pass and moved towards the north along the Indus. Dr. Agrawala should not have ignored the very significant fact that Kālidāsa locates the Kambojas on the plains and not on the Himālaya while the Pamirs are in the Himālaya

(d) More important than the above is the fact that, even if the Kambojas lived in the Pamirs in the 4th or 5th century A. D. when Kālidāsa is now generally supposed to have flourished how does it prove that Southern Afghanistan was not their principal homeland nearly seven centuries earlier during the days of Aśoka? We know that the Turuṣkas are located in India by the medieval authors. It certainly does not prove that they lived in this country in pre-Christian times.

(2) Dr. Agrawala refers to Yāska's statement that the root *śava* meaning 'to go' is used only in the language of the

1. See Bhandarkar's List, p. 27, note 8.

2. Cf. my *Sac. Śil.*, pp. 325-26.

1. See my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 1-16.

Kambojas as well as to the view that the root is still current in the Ghalcha dialect of the Pamirs. But, even accepting that the present Ghalcha dialect is the only language using *śava* in the sense of 'to go', does it prove that the ancestors of the modern Ghalcha-speaking people were inhabitants of the Pamirs more than two millennia ago when Aśoka flourished in the third century B. C. ? On the face of it, the evidence is at best problematical.

(3) In an attempt to show that there was no space for the Kambojas in Southern Afghanistan, Dr. Agrawala unnecessarily mentions Dārva, Abhisāra, Urasā, Gandhāra, Kāpiśī, Bāhlika, Aparīta and Darada, none of which he locates in Southern Afghanistan. He then locates the Hārahūraka, Jāguda and Ramaṭha countries about the Kandahar area. Unfortunately he does not prove that the said peoples lived in Southern Afghanistan during the age of Aśoka. As a matter of fact, apart from the uncertainty regarding the location of the Hārahūrakas and Ramaṭhas, the three peoples are known only from records which are many centuries later than Aśoka's time. We may repeat here the question about the Turuṣkas already cited above.

Moreover, even if the Hārahūrakas, Jāgudas and Ramaṭhas lived in Southern Afghanistan in the third century B.C., is it possible to prove that no other people then lived in that area ?

4. Dr. Agrawala seems to hold that two routes, one starting from Dvārāvātī and another from Tāmralipti met at Bāhlika and thence the joint route entered Kamboja. This is partly based on imagination. What I meant is that the mention of Kamboja and Gandhāra in the list of sixteen big states flourishing in the age of the Buddha and of Yavana, Kamboja and Gandhāra as people living in the north-western districts of Aśoka's empire would suggest that the Kamboja capital was connected by road with the headquarters of Gandhāra in the Rawalpindi-Peshawar region and that the Kamboja country was nearer Gandhāra and more easily accessible from it than the distant and inaccessible Pamirs were.

THE KAMBOJA JANAPADA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

There has been a difference of opinion amongst the scholars about the exact location of Kamboja since the time of Lassen who placed the Kambojas in the region of the Pamirs. I am glad the question has been taken up again by learned scholars who are specialists in the geography of ancient India, since it opens out a possibility of our getting nearer to the truth in this matter. I am grateful to Dr. D. C. Sircar and Sri K. D. Sethna who have taken interest in the topic. It is time that some of the points in the controversy should be restated as being basic in a recent consideration of the arguments :—

(1) The ancient *Bhuvanakośa* description of Bhāratavarsha acquaints us with the boundaries of the country towards the north by including the river Vaṅkshu or the Oxus which is so well-known as the most conspicuous geographical feature equal in significance to the Indus and the Gaṅgā as the landmark for demarcating boundaries. The Oxus as the northernmost limit of the geographical territories once included in Bhāratavarsha seems to have been a real fact in the political history of ancient India. The Oxus is a long river starting from its source in the Pāmirs and flowing westward upto Bahlik or Bactria whence it takes a northerly course. The Oxus obviously is the most well-defined geographical feature of delimiting the boundaries in this area.

(2) Both Dr. Sircar and Sri Sethna rightly accept the Oxus as the ideal *Chakravarti-Kshetra* of Bhāratavarsha. It was therefore right for Kālidāsa to refer to the Oxus as the limit of the northern conquests of Raghu.

(3) There is no difference of opinion about the position or identification of Bāhlika in the western area of the Oxus. My viewpoint is that its eastern part was the region of Kamboja.

(4) Both Bāhlika and Kamboja are mentioned in the list of *Janapadas* included in Bhāratavarsha. If the location of Kamboja is insisted upon somewhere in south Afghanistan the eastern tract

of the Oxus river would remain unaccounted for as part of Bhāratavarsha as required by the Oxus being mentioned as the outermost boundary on that side.

(5) The strongest and incontrovertible testimony to which we cannot close our eyes is furnished by Kālidāsa. He first takes his conquering hero Raghu to the banks of the Vaṅkshu or Oxus where a fierce battle was fought with the Hūṇas. This was a fact of political history which Kālidāsa knew as a contemporary event and he also learnt from other sources that the Hūṇas about the end of fourth century had advanced upto the Oxus and were threatening the regions south of it. The scene of these events was Bactria. Either we accept that the Hūṇas were checkmated in reality by the military strength of the Gupta emperors on the banks of the Oxus, or we merely take the description of Kālidāsa as that of an ideal *digvijaya* of a *Chakravartin*; in both cases the fixed geographical point is Bāhlika on the Oxus where Kālidāsa describes a major military action in which the Hūṇic forces met with complete disaster. Kālidāsa had such intimate knowledge of the Hūṇas as enabled him to describe their particular customs by which the bewailing Hūṇa women on the death of their husbands pricked their cheeks with sharp-pointed knives or needles so as to make the blood flow and mingle with their tears. This is implied in the sentence: '*Kapola-pāṭanādeśi babhūva Raghu-cheshṭitam*' (Raghu, 4.68). Charitrvardhana, Vallabhadeva, Sumati-Vijaya and Dharmameru support the reading '*pāṭanādeśi*' in their commentaries and Charitrvardhana and Sumati-Vijaya go to the extent of explaining that it was the custom of their country that the Hūṇa women made lamentations in their grief by pricking their cheeks and breasts (*Hūṇa-yoshitah kuṣha-kapola-vidāraṇa-pūrvam rudantīti taddeśāchārah*). I have cited this to show that Kālidāsa was not writing about these places and facts from imagination, but had at his disposal firm knowledge about the Hūṇas, their military advances, reverses and their country-customs.

It is therefore naturally to be expected that as in the case of the other contemporary geography of India and the frontiers his

knowledge of facts and events along the Oxus was also perfectly reliable and in conformity with what was actually happening in that area. Having recorded in some detail the events on the western side of the Oxus he, it appears, was careful to mention what happened in the eastern parts of that territory so far as the ideal frontiers of Bhāratavarsha were indicated. This is in conformity with the whole burden of the ideal *Chakravartin's digvijaya* that is described in the *Raghuvamśa*. He mentions the conquest of Lauhitya and Prāgjyotisha on the east, India's farthest limits towards the NEFA side, of the southern ocean upto the mouths of the Cauvery and the region of the pearl-fisheries in the Gulf of Mannar, and of the frontiers of India touching the country of the Pārasikas towards the west. What the Poet's words naturally imply is that the Kambojas, following the reverse of the western Hūṇas, did not give battle to Raghu (*Kām'ojāḥ samare soḍhum tasya vīryam anīśvarāḥ*, Raghu, 4. 69), but by discretion as better part of valour sent their embassies with presents of excellent horses and *paiṇṇīka* gold to sue for peace. Sri Sethna recognises the force and implication of this description of Kālidāsa, and, I think, agrees with me that the sequence of the Poet's description about the relative positions of the Hūṇas and the Kāmbojas cannot be construed otherwise, except along the banks of the Oxus in its western and eastern portions respectively.

Kālidāsa did not stop with this description of the two great peoples and of the events along the Oxus, but goes a step further in giving clear indications of the route after the settlement with the Kāmbojas. He says that the cavalry forces of Raghu ascended the passes of the Himalayas (*tato gaurīgurum śailamāru-rohāśvasādhanah*, Raghu, 4. 71). The ascent on the Himalayas is a significant statement and if we look to the map of this whole area from the Karakoram to the Hindukush it can hold good only in the case of the route from the Pāmirs through the passes of the Karakoram which are used even today as the direct route from Central Asia leading to India. If we place Kāmboja in the region of Kandhahar the route of making an ascent on the Himalayas becomes rather an impracticable proposition,

In this connection Kālidāsa himself has given additional details which throw light on the route taken by Raghu. Whether the conqueror actually travelled along the route is not the point, but there is hardly any doubt that Kālidāsa had in mind the route which descending from the Pāmirs in Central Asia, through Karakoram, Leh-Ladakh, and Western Tibet, and touching the region of Trigarta (Kulu-Kāngra), and the Kinnara country skirted the Himalayas upto the Kāmarūpa country. The śloka under consideration is as follows :

मूर्जेषु मर्मरोभूताः क्रीचक्रध्वनिहेतवः ।

गंगाशीकरिणो मार्गे मरुतस्तं सिपेविरे ॥

(Raghu, 4. 73)

Here the Poet has mentioned the *mārga* or route in which three characteristic phenomena were experienced by the travellers at three points of the route, viz. its beginning, middle point and the terminal point. The starting point is indicated by the word *kīchaka-dhvani-hetavaḥ*, i.e. the winds blowing in a region where the land abounded in the forests of the *kīchaka* bamboos which produced a flute-like sound by the passage of air through their holes. The reference to the *kīchaka* bamboos is a material point in the data. The word *kīchaka* was borrowed from the Chinese as the name of a large thick variety of bamboos growing in Central Asia in the valley of the Śailodā river and in the region of the Pāmirs or the Meru mountains which were also known as *dirghaveṇu* in Sanskrit. The gold brought from this region was called *vaiṇava* gold as given in the Arthaśāstra. The Mahābhārata-Sabhāparva (48. 2-3) and the Rāmāyaṇā-Kishkindhākāṇḍa (43.37) make mention of the forests of *kīchaka* bamboos growing along the Śailodā river between the *Meru* and *Mandara* mountains. The Śailodā is identified with the Jade river, the Meru with the Pāmir and the Mandara may be Altai Tag. The land of the *kīchakas* was thus situated between the Pāmirs on one side and the Altai Tag on the other, and the river-valleys between the two were overgrown with the forest of *kīchaka* bamboos. The route mentioned by Kālidāsa started from this region of the *kīchakas* in Central Asia.

Passing through the Pamirs and the Karakoram the route descended into the eastern parts of Kashmir including the Leh-Ladakh and the Kashtwar regions which were overgrown with the birch-bark trees (*bhūrjeshu marmari-bhūtāḥ*, Raghu, 4. 73) which was the middle point of the journey. The terminal point of the route is indicated by the head-waters of the Gaṅgā in Garhwal (*Gaṅgā-śikarīṇaḥ mārge marutas taṁ śishevire*, Raghu, 4.73). The Poet combines imagination with hard geographical facts in the statements that the cold Himalayan winds blowing from the north to the south along this great route from Central Asia to Garhwal proved for the delectation of the travellers marching along this ancient and often frequented route.

If we have interpreted rightly the information about the three punctuating points followed by Raghu we may be permitted to add that the triple phenomenon stated by Kālidāsa hold good in the case of the eastern route along which Kamboja was also located and there seems to be no justifiable possibility of its being explained somehow with reference to the geography of Kandahar and southern Afghanistan.

In spite of the overwhelmingly clear evidence furnished by Kālidāsa about the geographical position of Kamboja, it is not clear why Dr. Sircar should observe that "in my opinion, the Raghuvamśa does not prove anything at all." It is unfortunate that a scholar of great discriminating ability like Dr. Sircar should make Raghu march from the Sassanian capital on the Tigris to the Oxus. This has never been stated by me, nor by Kālidāsa, nor it is in accordance with any other known fact of history. As we might all agree, Kālidāsa makes the conquering hero advance by the land route upto the frontiers of the Sassanian and the Gupta empires, and thereafter makes the hero take a northerly course and this must have been along a well-established route. I have clearly stated that this route was from the ancientmost times along the banks of the river Indus. To my mind even Mohenjo-daro was situated on this route which, as stated in the Pali literature, started from Dvārāvātī in Saurashtra and terminated at the capital of the Kamboja country.

If Kamboja, as Dr. Sircar believes, was somewhere in the Kandahar region, then we would have to presume that the route terminated at Kandhar. To my mind there seems no reason to suppose so against all evidence that the trade route coming from Tāmralipti-Pāṭaliputra on the one side and from Dvāravatī on the other had its destination in Kamboja *via* Bāhlika on the Oxus as is the fact even to the present day.

According to the justifiable canons of interpretation I have understood the evidence of the Mehrauli Inscription of King Chandra and the literary evidence of the Raghuvamśa as both referring to the same facts and supporting each other. Whatever others may say to brush aside the statements made in the Mehrauli Inscription, I have no doubt that the resounding victories of the four directions painting a picture of the *Chaturanta-Vijaya* of a Chakravartin King, do hold good only in the case of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. Here the seven mouths of the Indus are clearly mentioned which only reasonably implies that the delta of the Indus formed part of the route towards the western frontiers of India along which both merchants and military leaders travelled since the most ancient times as it is even upto now. Both the Inscription and the Raghuvamśa speak of a conquest of the Bāhlika country then occupied by the Hūnas. To this Kālidāsa adds also the country of the Kambojas. About the conquest of the eastern regions by the Guptas both the Raghuvamśa and Mehrauli epigraph are in agreement. Similar is the case with the conquest of the southern regions, but the Mehrauli Inscription is more factually worded in stating that the waters of the southern sea were made fragrant by the breezes overladen with the aroma of King Chandra's valour. There is no mention here of actual warfare. Historically speaking, Samudragupta has given us an account of his southward expedition, but it seems that soon after him all the southern states asserted their independence and stopped payment of tributes which had been exacted by Samudragupta. It then became necessary for his son and successor, Chandragupta Vikramāditya, to pla refresh the military campaigns relating to western and southern India. In

the west he exterminated the Śaka rule and extended his empire up to Saurashtra.

In the case of the southern conquest he marched upto Vidiśā and from there he negotiated a settlement with the southern states not in terms of conquest but by restoring to them the rights of sovereignty and also relinquishing his claims of exacting tributes as from feudatories. Kālidāsa refers to this twofold policy by a subtle implication. He says that previously the kings had been made to pay tributes (*pratyakam āttasvatayā babhūvuh*, Raghu, 7.34) but later they were won over by the mild policy of *Prasvāpana*, (Raghu, 7.61) which has a twofold meaning, the latter political meaning being the freedom restored to them with regard to the payment of monetary tributes which previously they had been forced to pay, i.e. the policy of *Ātta-svatā* was changed to that of *Prasvāpana*. I have mentioned this in order to show that the Mehrauli Inscription applies only to the achievements of an all-India Emperor like Chandragupta Vikramāditya and that the details of world-conquest recorded in it tally with those given by Kālidāsa.

In further support of the Mehrauli Inscription and Kālidāsa we wish to invoke the evidence from a new source, viz. reference to Chandragupta Vikramāditya under the veiled name of King Pramati in Chapter 144 of the Matsya Purāna. It is stated there that Pramati as sovereign king brought under his control the seven divisions of India. His sphere of conquest, *Chakra*, included the kings of Draviḍas, Sinhalas to the south, and Gandhāra, Pārada, Pahlava, Yavana, Śaka, Tushāra, Barbara, Darada, Khaśa, Lampāka, Śveta-Halika (probably White Hephthalites) to the north (Matsya, 144 55-58). It is stated that the king reigned for thirty-two years (cf. Chandragupta's reigning period from 380 to 412 A.D.) and that he was engaged in military campaigns for twenty years, *Prakrānto vimśatih samāh*). He was an incarnation of Vishṇu, pointing to the *paramabhāgavata* epithet. This would indicate that the predominant fact of the victories of the Gupta emperor, Chandragupta II, were quite well known to his contemporaries and are verified from both literary and epigraphic sources. (See my *Matsya Purāna—A Study*, pp. 228-230).

While considering the location of the Kambojas we must take into account the evidence furnished by Yāska in his *Nirukta* as to the linguistic peculiarity.

Yāska is very specific in stating that the root *śava* in the sense of 'to go' is current only amongst the Kamboja people. Sir George Grierson pointed out that this is still a fact in the *Ghaleha*-speaking tracts of the upper Oxus in the Pamir regions (JRAS, 1911, p. 802). He further pointed out that 'The whole subject of the Kambojas had been previously worked out by Prof. E. Kuhn on pp. 213. ff. of the First Series of *Avesta, Pahlavi and ancient Persian Studies, in honour of the late Shamas-ul-ulma Dastoor Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana*. (Strassburg and Leipzig, 1904). (JRAS, 1912, p. 255).

The full evidence about the various conjugations of the root *Śava* as a dialectical peculiarity of the Pamir-region in the upper Oxus valley, has been recorded by Grierson in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pp. 468, 473, 474, 476, 500, etc. (Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, *Bharata-Bhumi*, pp. 297-303).

(12) The list of Janapada States in ancient India as recorded in the *Bhuvana-Kosha* chapters are purposeful and require greater attention with reference to their possible location in the light of available evidence from other sources. It was from this point of view that I had indicated the names of 12 Janapadas which occupied the stretch of territory from Jammu-Duggar in the east to Hārahūraka in the west and Bāhlīka-Kamboja in the north. Some of these names are beyond question, e. g. Darva (Jammu, Duggar), next to that being Abhisara (Punch-Rajauri), next to that Uraśā (Hazara). South of Hazara was the Mahā Janapada of Gandhara with its eastern capital at Taxila and the western at Pushaklāvati (modern Charsadda) at the junction of the Swat and Kabul rivers, to the north-west was the Kapiśa Janapada (Kohistan, Kafaristan) and beyond it was Bāhlīka or Bactria on the Oxus. In between there were 10 Maṇḍalas of Lohita or Loha, the ancient name of Central Afganistan and also the smaller Janapadas of Nāgarahāra (Jalalabad) and Lampāka (Laghman). In the south-west of Afganistan in the valley

of the Arghandab river was the Hārahūraka Janapada. The Arghandab represents the ancient Sarasvatī which became known as Haravaiti in the Avesta from which were derived Araghand and Arachosia. The word Hārahūra was also from the same original name which form occurs in the Artha-śāstra of Kauṭilya together with Kāpiśāyana. My submission is that Hārahūraka was a Janapada in the Arghandab valley and Kāpiśī another Janapada in Central Afganistan beyond the Hindukush on the route which was leading to Balkh or Bahlika. Thus there was a scheme in the relative positions of ancient Janapadas. It does not seem possible to find some narrow corner in the midst of these Janapadas for a Mahā-Janapada like Kamboja, as the same was included in the list of 16 Mahā-Janapadas. Kamboja was no ordinary element in the geographical scheme of ancient India, since in the list of the 16 Mahā-Janapadas as stated in the Aṅguttara Nikāya in the whole north-west only two namely, Gandbāra and Kamboja are mentioned which shows that even Bāhlīka and Hārahūraka and Kāpiśī were considered to be of lesser importance. As shown in the Jātaka and Avestic literature Kamboja was a centre of ancient Iranian civilization as evidenced by the peculiar customs of the country (JRAS, 1912, p. 56; the Jātaka edited by Fausbäll, Vol. VI, p. 210).

(13) As regards the existence of two Kambojas the other under the name of Parama Kamboja I am not in a position at present to give my opinion on this point, since I am inclined to think that it was only one country under two variant names.

To prove the location of Kamboja on the basis of the find-spot of an Aśokan inscription is, to say the least, inadmissible, since as pointed out by Shri Sethana, Aśokan epigraphs in Aramiac script have been found at widely separated centres namely Kandhar, Lampak and Taxila for which no such linguistic argument as pleaded by Dr. Sircar can be reasonably put forward. In view of all the facts and arguments I think there is all the possibility of the identification proposed by Lassen of placing Kamboja into Pamir region, which was reinforced by Grierson's linguistic argument and supported by Pt. Jai Chandra.

ACTIVITIES OF THE KASHIRAJ TRUST

(June 1963—Nov. 1963)

During the period under review the following literary and cultural activities were carried out by the Kashiraj Trust.

CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE PURĀNAS

Matsya-Purāna :

The following Matsya-Purāna Work has been done at Madras :—

1. The text of the Svalpa Matsya-Purāna is being collated with the main Matsya-Purāna line by line.

Four chapters of the Svalpa have been edited for publication in the 'Purāna' bulletin. They are now being published in the present issue of the 'Purāna'.

Further portion is being examined and edited.

2. Matsya quotations in Nibandhas, not found in main Matsya, are being traced in the Svalpa with a view to ascertain the antiquity and the authenticity of the main and the Svalpa Matsya texts.
3. To help this work, a line index of the Svalpa Matsya is being prepared.
4. Svalpa Matsya lines, not found in *mūla* Matsya are also being traced in other Purānas.

In addition to the above Matsya-Purāna work the following work has also been done at Madras :—

1. *Vyāsaprasāsti* : In pursuance of the resolution of the last Purāna Committee meeting, a brochure was compiled, bringing together eulogies on Vyāsa and the Mahābhārata, Vedānta-Sūtras and the Purānas—with all of which Vyāsa is associated. These passages have been collected from the Mahābhārata, Purānas, Kāvya, Nāṭakas and Vedantic works. This brochure has been printed.

काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जून १९६३—नवम्बर १९६३)

अस्मिन्नवधौ काशिराजन्यासस्य निम्नाङ्कितं साहित्यिकं सांस्कृतिकं च

कार्यजातं संपन्नम्—

पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

मत्स्यपुराणम्—

अधोनिर्दिष्टं मत्स्यपुराणकार्यविवरणं मद्रासनगरात् डा. वे० राघवन् महोदयैः संप्रेषितम्—

१. स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य प्रकाशनार्थं तस्य मूलमत्स्यपुराणेन साकं संवादं कृत्वा सम्पादनकार्यं प्रचलदस्ति । तत्राध्यायचतुष्टयात्मको भागः पाठभेदादि-प्रदर्शनपूर्वकं सज्जीकृतः, 'पुराण' पत्रिकाया अस्मिन्नङ्के प्रकाश्यते च । एवम् उपरितनभागेष्वपि शोधनं प्रचलदस्ति ।

२. निबन्धग्रन्थेषु मत्स्यपुराणीयत्वेन उदाहृताः श्लोकाः नैतावता मत्स्यपुराणे उपलब्धाः, अस्मिन् स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे उपलभ्यन्ते वेति गवेषणकार्यं प्रचलदस्ति ।

३. एतन्निर्धारणसौकर्यार्थं स्वल्पमत्स्यश्लोकानां अर्थानुक्रमणिकापि सज्जी-क्रियमाणा वर्तते ।

४. स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणीयश्लोकानां मूलमत्स्येऽनुपलभ्यमानानां पुराणान्तरेषु उपलब्धिर्दृश्यते तेषां गवेषणमपि प्रचलदस्ति ।

एतदतिरिक्तं निम्नलिखितकार्यविवरणमपि तैः संप्रेषितम्—

१. व्यासप्रशस्तिः—व्यासं, महाभारतं, पुराणञ्चाधिकृत्य संस्कृतसाहित्ये दृश्यमानान् प्रशस्तिश्लोकान् तत्तदाकरनिर्देशपूर्वकं संकलय्य सुदृढं कृतम् ।

2. *Purānārthasaṅgraha*: An article on the work *Purānārthasaṅgraha* was published in the Bulletin before the last. This Digest of the Purāṇas contains a collection of about 100 Purāṇic stories. These stories are being traced in different Purāṇas.

3. *Bangalore Seminar on Manuscriptology and Textual Criticism*: Dr. V. Raghavan and Sri S. Sambandhan attended the same on behalf of the Purāṇa-Department.

4. Material is being collected on the 18 Vedavyāsas of the different epochs, together with their followers and the pupils, as found in the different Purāṇas.

Vāmana-Purāṇa :

The following manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa were collated.

1. A Kashmiri Ms. from Sri Raghunath Sanskrit Library Jammu.
2. A microfilm from the British Museum, London.
3. The collation of the Śāradā Ms. of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, procured from the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, has also been completed.

It is also being arranged to procure some more Mss. of the Vāmana-Purāṇa from the Palace Library, Tanjore, British Museum, London, and Bodleian Library, Oxford.

We thank His Highness Maharaja Karan Singh for his kind help in our procuring the Kashmiri Manuscripts of the Vāmana and the Matsya Purāṇas from Sri Raghunath Sanskrit Library, Jammu.

The Śloka-index of the Vāmana-Purāṇa has already been prepared as mentioned in the previous report. The collection of the Vāmana-Purāṇa quotations from the Nibandhas is also being arranged.

The Ślokas and topics of the Vāmana-Purāṇa are also being traced in other Purāṇas for comparative study.

२. पुराणार्थसंग्रहः—अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे प्रतिपादितानां पौराणिककथानां आकरनिर्देशः क्रियमाणो विद्यते ।

३. बेङ्गलूरनगरे प्रचलिततालपत्रसंबन्धविशेषणसमये तत्र गत्वा मुद्रणोपयुक्तकार्यजातं कथं प्रचलनीयमिति विचारसमालोचनमवहितम् ।

४. विविधेभ्यः पुराणेभ्यः अष्टाविंशतिव्यासानां तदनुयायिनां च विचारः क्रियते ।

वामनपुराणम्

अस्मिन् काले रामनगरस्थ-पुराणविभागे वामनपुराणस्य निम्नाङ्किताः कोशाः संवादिताः—

१. जम्भूस्थानस्थात् श्रीरघुनाथसंस्कृतपुस्तकालयात् प्राप्तः काश्मीरी-हस्तलेखः ।

२. लण्डनस्थब्रिटिशसंग्रहालयात् प्राप्तः माइक्रोफिल्मात्मकः नागरीकोशः ।

३. वाराणसीस्थात् हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयात् प्राप्तस्य वामनपुराणीयशारदा-हस्तलेखस्य संवादोऽपि पूर्णतां नीतः । वामनपुराणस्य केषाञ्चिदन्येषामपि हस्तलेखानां ताञ्जोरस्थपैलेसपुस्तकालयतः, लण्डनब्रिटिशसंग्रहालयतः, आक्स-फोर्डस्थवोडलिनपुस्तकालयतश्च प्राप्त्यर्थमपि प्रयत्नः प्रचलति ।

जम्भूस्थात् श्रीरघुनाथसंस्कृतपुस्तकालयात् वामन-मत्स्ययोः काश्मीरीलिपिकोश-प्राप्तौ साहाय्यप्रदानार्थं श्रीमद्भयो महाराजकर्णसिंहेभ्यो बहून् धन्यवादान् वितरामः ।

पूर्वस्मिन् विवरणे निर्दिष्टमेव यद् वामनपुराणस्य श्लोकसूची सर्वथा पूर्णा जाता । इदानीं निबन्धेभ्यः वामनपुराणस्योद्धरणानां सङ्ग्रहणायपि प्रयत्नः क्रियते । वामनपुराणस्य श्लोकाः विषयाश्च तुलनात्मकाध्ययनाय अन्येषु पुराणेषु अन्विष्यन्ते ।

Work on other Purāṇas :

It has been arranged that the *ādhāra pāṭha* of the various Purāṇas should be written for the purpose of the collation which will be done as and when manuscripts are available. The *ādhāra pāṭha* of the Kūrma-Purāṇa, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa has already been completed. Now the *ādhāra-pāṭha* of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa and the Agni-Purāṇa is being written. The Śloka-indexes of these Purāṇas are also being prepared.

Purāṇa Concordance :

The subject-index of the Kūrma-Purāṇa as well as of the Vāmana-Purāṇa has already been published in the 'Purāṇa' bulletin, Vol. III. The subject-indexes of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa are being prepared. The subject-indexes of the Linga and the Matsya Purāṇas are also shortly to be taken up. The subject-indexes of these six Purāṇas thus prepared are to be published in one Volume in the form of a Concordance.

Purāṇa Bulletin :

The 'Purāṇa' now enters its sixth year. The first five volumes consisted of 1,800 pages, and contained 134 articles, besides a number of stotras, sūktis, notes, and comments etc. More than fifty scholars of Indology including the nine foreign scholars contributed these articles. In these articles almost all the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas have been dealt with in some form or other, besides some of the Upa-purāṇas, such as the Devī-Purāṇa, the Viṣṇu-Dharmottara-Purāṇa, the Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa, the Mudgala-Purāṇa, and the Javanese Agastya Parvan.

A Supplement to the last issue (V. 2) was also published containing the detailed subject-wise and author-wise indexes of all the issues of Vols. I to V.

The Trust is thankful to the contributors for their co-operation and hopes that this co-operation will be continued in future as well.

अन्यपुराणानां कार्यजातम्

विभिन्नपुराणानां संवादनाथं आधारपाठलेखनस्य प्रबन्धः समभवत् । यदा तेषां पुराणानां हस्तलेखाः प्राप्स्यन्ते तदा संवादनकार्यमपि भविष्यति । कूर्म-विष्णु-मार्कण्डेय-पुराणानामाधारपाठः सर्वथा सम्पन्नः । गरुडान्नपुराणयोराधार-पाठोऽधुना लिख्यते । एतेषां पुराणानाम् श्लोकसूच्यपि निर्मायते ।

पुराणविषयानुक्रमणी

कूर्म-वामनपुराणयोर्विषयसूची 'पुराण'पत्रिकायास्तृतीयेऽङ्के प्रकाशितैवास्ति । विष्णु-मार्कण्डेययोर्विषयसूची प्रस्तुता भवति । लिङ्गमतस्ययोर्विषयसूच्यपि प्रारम्भो वर्तते । एवं प्रस्तुता षण्णां पुराणानां विषयसूची सम्मिलितरूपेण संवादिता सती प्रकाशिता भविष्यति ।

पुराणपत्रिका

'पुराण' पत्रिका षष्ठे वर्षे प्रविशति । अस्याः पूर्वं पञ्च भागाः अष्टादश-शतपृष्ठात्मकाः स्तोत्र-सूक्ति-टिप्पण्यालोचनादीन् विहाय १३४ लेखान् धारयन्ति । पञ्चाशतोऽप्यधिकैर्भारतीयविद्याविद्भिर्मनीषिभिः, नवभिर्विदेशीयविद्भिः सहितैर्लेखा ह्ये प्रदत्ताः । लेखेष्वेव प्रायशोऽष्टादशपुराणानि देवीपुराण-विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-हरिवंश-मुद्गलप्रभृत्युपपुराणानि च पर्यालोचितानि । गताङ्केन (भाग ५, अङ्क २) सह पञ्चभागस्थानां सर्वेषां लेखानां विषयान् लेखकांश्चाधारीकृत्य विरचितं विस्तृत-सूचीद्वयात्मकं तस्यैकं परिशिष्टमपि प्रकाशितम् ।

न्यासोऽयं लेखकानां सहयोगाय तान्प्रति कृतज्ञो वर्तते आशास्ते च एतादृशः सहयोगो भविष्येऽपि अवाधितः स्यादिति ।

In exchange of our 'Purāṇa' bulletin we receive 40 Indological Journals of India and also the following 8 Oriental Journals from the West :—

1. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London ;
2. Archiv Orientalni (Journal of the Oriental Institute, Prague) ;
3. WZKSO (Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vienna University) ;
4. Bulletin De L' Ecole Francaise, Paris ;
5. East and West (Rome, Italy)
6. NVMEN (International Review for the History of Religions, Leiden),
7. Viśākha-Pūjā (published by the Buddhist Association of Thailand),
8. Scopus (Issued by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

The 'Purāṇa' is also subscribed by a number of Indian and foreign Universities, Research Institutes, Colleges and Libraries, and also by some individual scholars.

Other Publications of the Kashiraj Trust :

As already mentioned in the previous review the Trust has published a critical edition of the Rāma-charita-Mānasa, and a translated and annotated edition of the Devī-Māhātmya, the text of which is based on an old Nepālī MS. A study on the Matsya-Purāṇa by Dr. V. S. Agrawala has also been recently published by the Trust. A Sanskrit book on the Purāṇas entitled 'Purāṇa-Pārijāta' written by MM. Pt. Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi is also to be published by the Trust.

'पुराण' पत्रिकायाः विनिमये अस्माभिः भारतवर्षात् चत्वारिंशत् भारती-विद्यासंबन्धिन्यः पत्रिकाः प्राप्यन्ते । पाश्चात्यदेशेभ्यश्चापि अधो निर्दिष्टाः पत्रिकाः प्राप्यन्ते । यथा—

१. बुलैटिन आफ दि स्कूल आफ ओरियन्टल एंड आफ्रिकन स्टडीज, युनिवर्सिटी आफ लण्डन ।

२. आरक्विव ओरियन्टलनी (जर्नल आफ दि ओरियन्टल इंस्टीट्यूट, प्रेग) ।

३. WZKSO (जर्नल आफ दि ओरियन्टल इंस्टीट्यूट, वियना युनिवर्सिटी) ।

४. बुलैटिन डी एल एकोले फ्रांसेसि, पैरिस ।

५. ईस्ट एंड वेस्ट (रोम, इटली) ।

६. NVMEN (इंटरनेशनल रिव्यू फार दि हिस्ट्री आफ रिलिजन्स, लीडन) ।

७. विशाखपूजा (स्यामदेशीयबौद्धसंघेन प्रकाशिता) ।

८. स्कोपस (जेरुसैलमस्थेन हिब्रू-विश्वविद्यालयेन प्रकाशिता) ।

पुराणपत्रिकेयं कतिपयैः भारतीयैः विदेशीयैश्च विश्वविद्यालयैः, शोध-संस्थानैः, महाविद्यालयैः पुस्तकालयैः, स्वातन्त्र्येण कतिपयैर्विद्वद्भिश्च नियतं क्रियते ।

काशिराजन्यासस्य अन्यानि प्रकाशनानि—यथा पूर्वस्मिन् विवरणे निर्दिष्टमेव, न्यासेन रामचरितमानसस्यालोचनात्मकं संस्करणम्, देवीमाहात्म्यस्य सटीकं अनूदितं संस्करणञ्च, यस्य मूलपाठः नेपालीहस्तलेखाधारितो वर्तते, प्रकाशिते । डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल महोदयकृतं "मत्स्यपुराणाध्ययनम्" अधुनैव न्यासेन प्रकाशितम् । न्यासः पुराणोपरि म० स० गिरिधरशर्मचतुर्वेदि-कृतं पुराणपारिजातनामकमेकं संस्कृतग्रन्थमपि प्रकाशयितुकामो वर्तते ।

Celebration of the Vyāsa-Utsava :

A Vyāsa-Utsava was celebrated by the Kashiraj Trust in the Shivālā Palace on the occasion of the last Vyāsa-Pūrnimā (July 6, 1963) in honour of Maharshi Vyāsa. A number of local scholars and Paṇḍits took part in the celebration. The plan of the future Purāṇa work of the Trust was also discussed in the Sabhā and some valuable suggestions from various scholars were received.

Veda-Pārāyaṇa.

In the last Āshāḍha (July) month the Sāma-Veda was recited by memory for a month from 8th June to 6th July, by Pt. Krishna Murti Śrottriya, a scholar from the Deccan and at present residing at Varanasi.

The learned reciter recited by memory the पूर्वाचिक (संहिता) and उत्तराचिक (संहिता) of the Sāma-Veda, together with its वेयगान, आरण्यगान, ऊहगान, रहस्यगान, पूर्वाचिक (पद, स्तोम), and उत्तराचिक (पद, स्तोम). Besides, some portions of the Chhāndogya-Upanishad was also recited.

Maharaja Kashiraj Dharma-kārya Nidhi (the Religious Trust of the Kashi Naresh) is now paying him Rs. 150/- per month as scholarship for committing the whole of the Chhāndogya Upanishad to memory. This scholarship will be given for 20 months.

Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravāchana :

In the last Āshāḍha month the Mudgala-Purāṇa was recited for 9 days, and the discourses on it were given by Pt. Thakur Prasad Sharma in the absence of MM. Pt. Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi. In the Kārtika month (November) the Nāradya-Purāṇa was recited and discourses on it were given by Pt. Nīlameghācharya, Assistant Professor of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University.

Pravāchana Kendra Activities :

Sri Tripurari Chakravarty of Calcutta, who is a renowned scholar of Indology, delivered a series of three lectures (first in English and the other two in Bengali) on the political and religious aspects of the Mahābhārata for three days from 3rd November to 5th November, 1963 in the Shivālā Bhawan, Varanasi of the All-India Kashiraj Trust.

व्यासोत्सवस्यानुष्ठानम्

महर्षिव्यासस्यार्चनायाम् व्यासपूर्णमावसरे काशिराजन्यासेन शिवालाराज-भवने व्यासोत्सवोऽनुष्ठितः । उत्सवेऽस्मिन् क्षेत्रीया विद्वांसः सम्मिलिता अभवन् । न्यासस्य भविष्यत्कालीनः पौराणिककार्यक्रमोऽपि अस्यां सभायां सूचितः तत्सम्बन्धे च उपस्थितेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यः परमोपयोगिन्यः सम्मतयोऽपि प्राप्ताः ।

वेदपारायणम्

आषाढमासे वाराणसीनिवासिना दाक्षिणात्येन विदुषा पण्डितकृष्णमूर्ति-श्रोत्रियेण ८ जूनतः ६ जुलाई पर्यन्तम् मासमेकं स्मृत्याधारेण सामवेदस्य पारायणं कृतम् । विदुषा वेदपारायणकर्त्रा सामवेदस्य पूर्वाचिकं, उत्तराचिकं, वेयगानं, आरण्यगानं, ऊहगानं, रहस्यगानं, पूर्वाचिक-पद-स्तोम, उत्तराचिक-पद-स्तोम च पठितम् ।

महाराज-काशिराज-धर्म-कार्य-निधिः (काशीनरेशस्य धार्मिकन्यासः) पूर्णं छान्दोग्योपनिषदं स्मरणे आघातुं पञ्चाशदधिकशतरूप्यकमितां मासिकां वृत्तिं तस्मै इदानीं ददाति । वृत्तिरियं विंशतिमासान् प्रदास्यते ।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

गत आषाढे मासे मुद्गलपुराणस्य नवाह्नपाठः समभवत्, म. म. पं. गिरिधरशर्मणामनुपस्थितौ पण्डितठाकुरप्रसादशर्मणा तदुपरि भाषणानि च कृतानि । कार्तिके मासे नारदीयपुराणः पठितः, तदुपरि वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सहायकप्राध्यापकेन पण्डितनीलमेघाचार्येण व्याख्यानानि च कृतानि ।

प्रवचन-केन्द्र-कार्याणि

प्रख्यातो भारतीयविद्यानिष्णातः कलकत्तास्थानीयः श्रीत्रिपुरारिचक्रवर्ती अखिलभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य वाराणसीस्थे शिवालाभवने दिनत्रयं तृतीय-नोवेम्बरतः पञ्चमनोवेम्बर १९६३ पर्यन्तम् महाभारतस्य राजनीतिकरूपस्य धार्मिकरूपस्य च विषये प्रवचनत्रयम् (प्रथमं आंग्लभाषायां शेषद्वयं च वङ्ग-भाषायाम्) अकरोत् ।

Panḍita Conference on the Adhika & Kshaya Months :

In pursuance of the Resolution No. 4 passed by the Trustees of the All-India Kashiraj Trust in their meeting of 6th June, 1963, a Pandit Conference was held on the 13th and 14th July, 1963, to consider the problem of the *Adhika-māsa* and the *Kshaya-māsa* of this year. A number of astronomers both of the Ancient Siddhānta school and the modern school of astronomy were invited to this Conference. His Highness the Kashi Naresh, Maharaja Vibhuti Narain Singh presided. The Government of India was kind enough to depute Sri N. C. Lahiri of the India Meteorological Department, to the Pandit Conference as an observer. He explained the Government's point of view on this matter. After a heated discussion for two days the Conference decided that the observation and celebration of Navarātra, Vijaya Daśamī and Dīpāvalī festivals according to the traditional Siddhānta school only is in conformity with the Dharmasāstras. With regard to the last Kshaya (decayed) month which occurred in Śaṁvat 1879 (A.D. 1822) the Panḍita Sabhā of the then Peshwa had also given the similar decision, as is clear from its document, a photo-copy of which was sent here on the occasion of present Pandit Conference by Pt. Bhatta Jataśankar Sastri, Director of the Śuddhādvaiva Purātattva Kāryālaya, Rajkot (Saurashtra).

It is a matter of satisfaction that the Govt. of India accepted the decision of this Pandit Conference and consequently announced October 27, 28 as Vijaya Dasmi holidays and November 15, as Dipavali holiday in supersession of its previous announcement of Vijaya Daśmī holiday in September and of Deepāvalī in October. The Trust is thankful to the Govt. for this decision.

To study the matter more deeply the Kashiraj-Trust is arranging to supply to the Pandits of the Siddhānta school of Jyotisha and of the Dharmasāstra the Report of the Calendar Reform Committee of the Govt. of India. This will enable the Pandits to study the problem in details and give their views on how far the recommendations of the Report can be acceptable for the observance of the religious rites and festivals.

अधिक-क्षयमासयोर्विषये पण्डितसभा

जूनमासस्य षष्ठे दिवसे अखिलभारतीयकाशिराज-न्याय-सदस्यानाम् सम्मेलने तैः स्वीकृतस्य चतुर्थसंख्यकनिर्णयानुसारम् एतद्वर्षीयाधिक-क्षयमासप्रश्नं समाधातुम् एका पण्डित-सभा जूलाईमासे त्रयोदशतमे दिवसे चतुर्दशतमे च समाहृता । एतदर्थं प्राचीनसिद्धान्तसम्प्रदायस्य नवीनसम्प्रदायस्य च अनेके ज्योतिर्विदः आमन्त्रिता आसन् श्रीमता काशीनरेशमहाराजविभूतिनारायणसिंहदेवेन साभापत्यमकारि ।

भारतसरकारेण स्वकीयस्य ऋतुविज्ञानविभागस्य श्री एन. सी. लाहिरी महोदय एतत्पण्डितसभायाः प्रेक्षकत्वेन प्रेषितोऽत्र । एतत्सम्बन्धे सरकारस्य दृष्टिकोणस्य व्याख्यानं तेन कृतम् । दिनद्वयस्य गभीरविवादानन्तरं सभेयं निर्णयमकरोत् यत् नवरात्रम्, विजयादशमी, दीपावलीत्येतेषामुत्सवानामनुष्ठानं परम्परागतसिद्धान्तसम्प्रदायानुसारेणैव करणीयं, यतः सिद्धान्त एव धर्मशास्त्रैः सहान्वेति । वि० सं० १८७९ [१८२२ ई०] वर्षे समापितस्य गतक्षयमासस्य सम्बन्धे तत्कालीनपेशवानां पण्डितसभाऽपि समानमेव निर्णयमकरोदिति तद्विवरणपत्रात् स्पष्टमेव ज्ञायते तस्यैका विम्ब-प्रतिलिपिः एतत्पण्डितसभावसरे सौराष्ट्रराजकोटस्थशुद्धाद्वैतपुरातत्त्वकार्यालयनिदेशकमहोदयेन पण्डितजटाशङ्कर-शास्त्रिणा अत्र प्रेषिता ।

सन्तोषप्रदोऽयं विषयः यत् भारतसरकारेण एतत्पण्डितसभायाः निर्णयः स्वीकृतः । फलतस्तेन 'सितम्बरमासे विजयादशम्यवकाशः, अक्टूबरमासे दीपावलयवकाशः' इति पूर्वघोषणां परित्यज्य अक्टूबरमासस्य सप्तविंशतितमे अष्टविंशतितमे च दिवसे विजयदशम्याः, एवं नवम्बरमासस्य पञ्चदशतमे दिवसे दीपावल्याः अवकाश उद्घोषितः । न्यास एतन्निर्णयाय भारतसरकारं प्रति कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयति ।

एतद्विषयस्य विशेषाध्ययनाय काशिराजन्यासः भारतसरकारस्य पञ्चाङ्ग-निर्माणसमितिकार्यविवरणग्रन्थं ज्योतिषसिद्धान्तसम्प्रदायस्य धर्मशास्त्राणाञ्च पण्डितान् प्रति प्रेषयितुं चेष्टते येन अयं ग्रन्थः अस्य प्रश्नस्य विस्तृतरूपेणाध्ययनाय धार्मिककार्याणामुत्सवानाञ्च अनुष्ठानार्थं क्रियत्साहाय्यं ददाति अस्मिन् विवरणग्रन्थे च प्रकृतिता के विचाराः स्वीकर्तुं शक्यन्ते इति च पण्डितैर्ज्ञायते ।

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

The following distinguished persons visited Varanasi and were the guests of His Highness Maharaja Vibhuti Narain Singh :

1. Sri Viswanath Das, Governor of Uttar Pradesh.
2. Sri Chandrabhan Gupta, Chief Minister of U.P.
3. Srimati Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Chairman of the Board of Cottage Industries.
4. Mrs. Steil Bowles, wife of the American Ambassador in India.
5. Sri Raja Rao, the famous Journalist of India.
6. Sri D. V. Potdar, Vice Chancellor of the University of Poona, and Chairman of the Sanskrit Board, Govt. of India.
7. Sri C. D. Desmukh, Vice Chancellor of the Delhi University and former Chairman of the University Grants Commission.
8. Srimati Desmukh.

The 'Purāṇa' bulletin and other publication of the Trust were presented to them.

Sri D. V. Potdar, Sri C. D. Desmukh and Srimati Desmukh visited the Purāṇa Department also, and were much satisfied to see the work on the Purāṇas which is being carried on here. They also visited the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra Library of His Highness, and showed their great satisfaction over the rich collection of the books and the manuscripts deposited therein.

We thank all these distinguished visitors for their interest in the activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust.

विशिष्टा अतिथयः

अधोनिर्दिष्टा विशिष्टाः पुरुषा वाराणसीमागताः, एवं श्रीमतां महाराज-विभूतिनारायणसिंहदेवानामतिथयः समभवन् ।

१. श्री विश्वनाथदासः, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य राज्यपालः ।
२. श्री चन्द्रभानुगुप्तः, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य मुख्यमन्त्री ।
३. श्रीमती कमलादेवी चट्टोपाध्यायमहोदया, गृहोद्योगसमितेः अध्यक्ष ।
४. श्रीमती स्टेल् बोल्समहोदया, भारते अमरीकादेशस्य राजदूतपत्नी ।
५. श्री राजारावः, भारतीयः प्रसिद्धः पत्रकारः ।
६. श्री डी. वी. पोद्दार, पूनाविश्वविद्यालयस्योपकुलपतिः, केन्द्रीयसंस्कृत-बोर्डाध्यक्षश्च ।
७. श्री सी. डी. देशमुखमहोदयः दिल्लीविश्वविद्यालयस्योपकुलपतिः, विश्वविद्यालयसाहाय्यसमितेर्भूतपूर्वोऽध्यक्षश्च ।
८. श्रीमती देशमुखमहोदया ।

एतेभ्यः "पुराणम्" न्यासस्यान्यानि प्रकाशनानि च समर्पितानि ।

श्री डी. वी. पोद्दारः, श्री सी. डी. देशमुखः, श्रीमती देशमुखमहोदया च पुराणविभागमपि निरीक्षतवन्तः । अत्र सम्पाद्यमानानि पुराणकार्याणि समवलोक्य अतीव सन्तुष्टाश्चाभवन् । महाराजकाशिनरेशस्य सरस्वतीभण्डारपुस्तकालयोऽपि तैर्दृष्टः, तत्र संगृहीतानां हस्तलेखानां पुस्तकानाम् प्राचुर्यं दृष्ट्वा च महान् सन्तोषः प्रदर्शितः ।

वयं एतेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो विशिष्टेभ्योऽतिथिभ्यः काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यजातं प्रति सौहार्दाय धन्यवादान् प्रकाशयामः ।

BOOK-REVIEW

Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal

Volume I, No. i and ii, Pp. No. i—1-178+xxiii+25, No. ii—179-371+xviii+32. Editor—Acharya Vishva Bandhu. Published by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (Punjab, India). Annual Subscription Rs. 20/- ; 30 Sh. ; 5 \$.

The publication of this new Journal is an important event in the field of the Indological studies. Its very first volume has sky-rocketed the standard of Oriental Journals and is eloquent of the organising ability of its Editor, Pt. Vishva Bandhu Shastri, who is the soul of the world-famous Vishveshvaranand Research Institute. A first rate Indological Journal was the need of Sanskritic Studies in India and its place on the top has at once been occupied by this new venture. Many scholars of repute in the East and West have come forward with their contributions to the making of the Journal and the range of their articles is also comprehensive.

A century and a half of research in Sanskrit and Indology has established this subject on World-Summit and created wide interest in India. We expect that *V. I. J.* will develop as a focus for the dissimination of knowledge about the several creative fields of ancient Indian culture, as the first volume aptly shows, and will also help in giving direction to future research. It may be observed that Sanskrit studies have now entered on a stage of maturity in which new planning is needed on several fronts : of which the following four may be specially reckoned as the *Svastika* of its rejuvenated life, viz. (i) Interpretation of R̥gveda, in all its aspects together with the allied Vedic literature ; (ii) Interpretation of the Purāṇic as well as the Āgamic literature ; (iii) Renewed interpretation of Sanskrit literature including the kindred Pāli and Prakrit with reference

to the culture material in which they are soaked, so as to recover hidden material of institutional history ; (iv) Detailed study of the ample material of Indian art available in many forms and media and its co-relation with literay texts and living tradition. The task is to be accomplished during the coming half-a-century of generations of Indological scholars, and the *V. I. J.* forebodes with its gladdening first appearance its contribution to such an accomplishment.

—V. S. AGRAWALA

The Thousand Syllabled Speech [सहस्राक्षरा वाक्].

[Being a Study in Cosmic Symbolism in its Vedic version]. I. VISION IN LONG DARKNESS. Pp. xx, 1-218, with 28 illustrations. By Dr. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, Professor, Banaras Hindu University. Varanasi, 1963.

This Volume contains the text, translation and commentary of the *Asya Vāmāya Sūkta* of Ṛṣi Dīrghatmas (R̥gveda, I. 164. 1-52). We welcome this detailed exposition of the difficult *Asya Vāmāya Sūktā*, which previous scholars had adjudged to be a riddle, obscure and unintelligible. And as the Vedas hold the key to the right understanding of the Purāṇas, such scholarly expositions of the obscure Vedic Sūktas greatly help the Purāṇic studies.

The author has interpreted the thoughts of this Sūkta in the light of Vedic cosmogony and has shown in a lucid style that the Mantras of this Sūkta explain quite a number of Vedic metaphysical doctrines or *Vidyās*, such as *Gau-Vidyā*, *Suparṇa-Vidyā*, *Vāg-Vidyā*, *Sākāñja-Prāṇa-Vidyā*, *Agnī-Soma-Vidyā*, *Yajña-Vidyā*, etc. It is urged that the *Asya Vāmāya Sūkta* is to be viewed not as an isolated utterance of a single Ṛṣi, but as integrated with the essential metaphysical thought of the R̥gveda. Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas is explained as one who has obtained knowledge of the mystery of creation ; or has an insight into the eternal supreme mystery of the cosmos, and into its transcendent source,

whereas the conscious world of manifestation serves for him as the symbol or pointer of the unknown and hidden cause.

The author has instituted the approach of symbolism for understanding the esoteric meaning of the Mantras. Three Brothers of Agni give us an insight into the numerous Triads of the ṛgveda. The Seven Singing Sisters similarly are illustrative of the Vedic Heptads, and the Five spokes of the wheel point to the Pentads. Thus a comprehensive code of symbol language was invoked by the Vedic thinkers in order to express their ideas.

Apart from the Vedic meanings, a special interest attaches to the commentary for the explanations of Purāṇic legends which were amplifications of Vedic ideas as accepted in the Indian tradition that the Purāṇas elaborate the essence of Vedic thoughts ('सर्ववेदार्थसाराणि पुराणानि'). The meaning of Viṣṇu's Garuda is explained under Mantras 20 and 31 in terms of *Suparṇa* or the Great Bird of time or *Samvatsara*. The doctrine of the Three Birds (*Tri-Suparṇa-Vidyā*, Mantras 23, 25) was later on elaborated in the legend of the fetching of *Soma* from heaven by *Gāyatrī* in the form of *Suparṇa* and the same appears as the *Suparṇa* saga. The legend of *Urvaśī* is explained under the symbolism of *Vidyut* (Mantra 29). The story of *Indra* as *Sahasra-bhaga* or *Sahastrākṣa* is explained under Mantra 40 as linked with the motif of the *Bhaga-vatī*, where *bhaga* stands for the thousandfold Prāṇic creativity, and *akṣa* for its awakening or manifestation on the plane of consciousness or matter.

The illustrations to explain graphically the ideas of the Mantras is a new technique of the author. Their peculiarity is that they have been taken from the ancient tradition of Indian art, where they spring up into æsthetic forms in stone and in painting from the racial sub-consciousness of the people.

This study of the *Aśya Vāmī* hymn is a distinct step promoting the cause of Vedic exegesis and Purāṇic interpretation.

—A. S. GUPTA

Śrī Rāsa-pancādhyāyī—Sāṃskṛtika Adhyayana

By Dr. Rasik Vihari Joshi, Reader, Sanskrit Department, Delhi University. Pp. 24 + 226. Delhi, 1961. Rs. 10.

Śrīmad-Bhāgavata occupies a unique place in the Purāṇic literature. It is called the Pāramahansa-Sambhitā, and is full of deep and esoteric meanings. It requires a deep scholarship and insight to unravel the intricacies of this great Purāṇa. The Rāsa-Pañcādhyāyī (Adhyāyas 29-33 of Skandha X) forms an important and a very popular portion of the Bhāgavata. The *rāsa-līlā* of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is generally misunderstood as *lāma-kriḍā* of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa having taken place on the gross physical plane. The Bhāgavata has given a vivid description of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's *rāsa-līlā* in its Rāsa-Pañcādhyāyī. Dr. Joshi has done well to bring out the hidden spiritual sense of these chapters.

The author has tried to give us an authentic text of these five chapters, constituted with the help of 4 Devanāgarī editions, two Bengali editions and two Malayalam editions of the Bhāgavata. For his explanation of the text he has consulted about 14 Commentaries on it. Each śloka has first been literally translated into Hindi, then follows an elaborate and scholarly commentary by the author on it. Full references are given in the footnotes.

In the Introduction of about 12 pages he has given a brief comparative study of the *rāsa-līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as found in the various Purāṇas—Harivamśa, Brahma, Padma, Brahma-vaivarta, and Devī-Bhāgavata.

The work contains two *pariśiṣṭas* (appendixes) at the end. The first gives the Sanskrit commentary of Bhāg. X. 29. 29 in 49 ślokas written by the revered father of the author several years ago; the second *pariśiṣṭa* also gives his father's elaborate Sanskrit commentary of Bhāg. X. 31. 1, written in prose and covering about eight pages of the book. Then follows a bibliography of

about 70 works consulted and utilised by the author for this work. In the end the author gives an index of the important words and an alphabetical śloka-index of the Rāsa-Pañcādhyāyī. After the indexes there are about 15 diagrams of various *Bandhas*, such as *Mīdaniga*, *Muraḥa*, *Padma*, *Nāya* etc., of the ślokas of the 3rd Adhyāya.

The work on the whole is a useful and interesting study, and is an outcome of the deep insight and erudite scholarship of its author.

—A. S. GUPTA

॥ स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणम् ॥

(सम्पादकः वे० राघवन्)

(१)

यस्मिन् सर्वमिदं जगज्जलनिधौ पोतायितं नित्यशः
यस्मिन् विश्वमिदं विवेकविरहाद्भ्रजौ भुजङ्गायितम् ।
यो जातो दशधा विशेषविभवैर्मत्स्यादिभिर्लीलया
तस्मै श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाय सततं मत्स्याय नित्यं नमः ॥ १ ॥

अनेकदुर्बोधसुबोधकारिणो

जन्मान्तरोपार्जितदुःखहारिणः ।

पुनन्तु रक्षन्तु जगतीह^१ नित्यं

गुरोः प्रसादादित^२पादपांसवः ॥ २ ॥

^३भुजङ्गरज्ज्वा मत्स्यस्य शृङ्गे नावमयोजयत् ।

उपर्युपस्थितस्तस्याः प्रणिपत्य जनार्दनम् ॥ ३ ॥

आवृत्तं (आभूत्) संसृष्टे तस्मिन्नतीते योगशायिनि(ना) ।

पृष्टेन मनुना प्रोक्तं पुराणं मत्स्यरूपिणा ॥

तदिदानीं प्रवक्ष्यामि शृणुध्वमृषिसत्तमाः ॥ ४ ॥

१. वृत्तदोषः ।

२. ग. भा. रि. इ. पत्रिकायां 'चित्त०'। 'प्रसादायित' इति स्यात् ।

३. स्व. म. १.३-७-आ. म. २. १६-२३

सङ्केतविवरणम्

1. कुण्डलमध्ये प्रदर्शितः पाठः मुद्रितमूलमत्स्यपुराणीयः । 2. कुण्डलमध्ये दत्तः प्रश्नसङ्केतः (?) अस्माभिः सूचितं पाठं प्रदर्शयति । 3. श्लोकानां पादचतुष्टयप्रतिपादनार्थं 1, 2, 3, 4, संख्या दत्ता । 4. ग. झा रि. इ.—Ganganath Jha Research Institute. 5. आ. म.—आनन्दाश्रम—मुद्रित—मत्स्यपुराणम् । 6. स्व. म.—स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणम् । 7. मु. ते.—मुद्रित—तेलुगुमत्स्यपुराणम् ।

यद्भवद्भिः पुरा पृष्टः सृष्ट्यादिकमहं द्विजाः ।

तदा एका(तदेवैका०)र्णवे तस्मिन् मनुः पप्रच्छ केशवम् ॥५॥

मनुरुवाच—

उत्पत्तिं प्रलयं चैव वंशो(शान्)मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंशानचरितं चैव भुवनस्य च विस्तरम् ॥ ६ ॥

दानधर्मविधिं चैव श्राद्धकल्पं च शाश्वतम् ।

वर्णाश्रमविधानं च तथेष्टापूर्तसंस्थितिम् ॥ ७ ॥^४

तडागवापीप्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा^५

निर्माणमेपां च सुविस्तरेण ।

प्रासादकूपपादिसमण्डपानां(?)

स्वल्पेह(?)मत्स्ये कथिता(?)पुराणैः(णे?)^६ ॥८॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्या(?)^७ साहस्रे प्रथमोऽध्यायः॥

४. ६, ७ — पद्ययोः क्रियापदमपेक्ष्यते । मध्ये 'मनुरुवाच' इति पदे यदि न स्यातां, तदा ५—पद्यस्थेन 'पप्रच्छ' इत्यनेनान्वयः सुलभः ।

५. तथा मत्स्ये २. २४ — देवतानां प्रतिष्ठादि ।

६. 'स्वल्पे इह' इत्यत्र पुनस्तन्धिः क्त इति भाति । अथवा 'स्वल्पे हि' इति स्यात् ।

७. सर्वास्वेव पुष्पिकामु एवमेव 'षट्पादकार्यायाम्' इति ग. ना. रि. इ. पत्रिकायाम् (पृ. १८५) ।

(२)

मनुरुवाच—

चतुर्मुखत्वमगमत्कस्माल्लोकपितामहः ।

कथं च लोकानसृजद् ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मविदां वरः ॥ १ ॥

मत्स्य उवाच—

तपश्चचार प्रथममसु(म)राणां^१ पितामहः ।

आविर्भूतास्ततो वेदास्साङ्गोपाङ्गपदकर्माः ॥ २ ॥

पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् (ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम्)

नित्यं शब्दमयं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥ ३ ॥

अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिस्तृताः ।

मीमांसा न्यायवार्ता च प्रमाणाष्टकसंयुता[ः]^३ ॥ ४ ॥

वेदाभ्यासरतस्यास्य प्रजाकामस्य मानसाः ।

मरीचिरभवत्पूर्वं पुत्रोऽत्रिर्भगवानृषिः ॥ ५ ॥

अङ्गिराश्चाभवत्पश्चात् पुलस्त्यस्तदनन्तरम् ।

ततः पुलहनामा वै ततः क्रतुरजायत ॥ ६ ॥

प्रचेताश्च ततः पुत्रो वसिष्ठश्चाभवत्पुनः ।

पुत्रो भृगुरभूत्तत्र नारदोऽपि(प्य) चिराद्भूत् ॥ ७ ॥

दशेमान् मानसान् ब्रह्मा यस्मात्पुत्रानजीजनत् ।

शारीरानथ वक्ष्यामि मातृहीनान् प्रजापतेः ॥ ८ ॥

१. स्व. म. २. १—५_२ = आ. म. ३. १—५_२

” ” ” ५_३—१२ = ” ” ” ६—१२

२. यद्यपि ब्रह्मा अपुराणामपि पितामहः, तथापि स्व. म. पाठमपहाय आ. म. पाठः सूचितः, पूर्वस्य अप्रस्तुतत्वात् ।

३. आ. म. 'संयुताः' इति बहुवचनपाठस्तत्र 'न्यायविद्याः' इति बहुवचनशब्देनान्वेति । स्व. म. पाठे 'न्यायवार्ता' इति एकवचनपाठमनुसृत्य 'संयुता' इति एकवचनपाठः सूचितः ।

४. यस्मात्—इदं पदमनपेक्षितमत्र । बृहन्मत्स्यस्य मातृकामु मुद्रितपुस्तकेषु चात्र बहुधा भिन्नः पाठो दृश्यते ।

अङ्गुष्ठादक्षिणादक्षः प्रजापतिरजायत ।
 धर्मः स्तनान्तादभवद्दृष्ट्यात्कुसुमायुधः ॥ ९ ॥
 भ्रूमध्यादभवत्क्रोधो लोभश्चाधरसत्तमः (० सम्भवः) ।
 बुद्धेर्मोहः समभवदहङ्कारादभूत्ततः (० न्मदः) ॥ १० ॥
 प्रमोदश्चाभवत्कण्ठान्मृत्युर्लोचनतो नृप ।
 रभसः^१ करमध्यात्तु ब्रह्मसूनुर्भूत्ततः ॥ ११ ॥
 एते नव^२ सुता विप्राः (ः?) कन्यैका दशमी पुनः ।
^३अङ्गजा इति विख्याता दश(शा?)मी ब्रह्मणस्सुताः (ः?) ॥ १२ ॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे

षट्पादकार्या(?)साहस्रे द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

५. आ. म. भरतः । भरतस्याप्रस्तुतत्वात् रभसस्य काम-मदादिसजातीयत्वात् समजसत्वम् ।
६. दश पुत्रानुद्दिश्य नवत्वगणनमसङ्गतम् ; तथापि 'नव' इत्येव सर्वत्र पाठः । मूलमत्स्यस्य मातृकामु नवसु रभस इति वा भरत इति वा उपक्रान्तं दशमपुत्रविषयमर्थं नास्ति । मूलमत्स्यद्रविडानुवादे च रभसं करमध्यं चानुदाहृत्य नवत्वमुक्तम् । भागवते ३.१२.२५ श्लो. आरभ्य समुद्दिष्टेषु ब्रह्मपुत्रेषु रभस इति वा भरत इति वा प्रस्तावो नास्ति ।
७. 'अङ्गजा' शब्दस्य कन्यानामत्वेन स्त्रीत्वे प्रथमैकवचनत्वे च सन्धिदोषः । 'अङ्गजाः' इति पुंसि प्रथमावहुवचनत्वे शिराः पुत्राः' इति पूर्वोद्दिष्टस्यानुवादः । आ. म. 'अङ्गजा' शमी' इति स्त्रीत्व-एकवचनघटितः पाठः कन्यकान्वितत्वेन ग्राह्यः ।

(३)

मनुरुवाच—

'बुद्धेर्मोहः समभवदिति यत्परिकीर्तितम् ।
 अहङ्कारः स्मृतः क्रोधाद्(को वा ?)^३ बुद्धिर्नाम किमुच्यते ॥१॥

मत्स्यरूपो भगवानुवाच—

सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्चैव गुणत्रयमुदाहृतम् ।
 साम्यावस्थितिश्चैतेषां^३ प्रकृतिः परिकीर्तिता ॥ २ ॥
 केचित्प्रधानमित्याद्यामव्यक्तमपरे जगुः ।
 एतदेव पुरा सृष्टिं प्रजापतिः करोति च ॥ ३ ॥
 गुणेभ्यः क्षोभमाणेभ्यस्त्रयो देवा विजज्ञिरे ।
 एकमूर्तिस्त्रयो देवा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ॥ ४ ॥
 सविकारात्प्रधानात्तु महत्त्वं प्रजायते ।
 महानिति यतः ख्यातिर्लोकानां जायते सदा ॥ ५ ॥
 अहङ्कारश्च महतो जायते मानवर्धनः ।
 इन्द्रियाणि ततः पञ्च रक्षे(वक्ष्ये)बुद्धिरसानि(वशानि)^५ तु ।
 प्रादुर्भवन्ति चान्यानि तथा बुद्धि(कर्म)रसानि(वशानि)तु ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रोत्रं त्वक्चक्षुषी जिह्वा नासिका चैव पञ्चमी ।
 पायूपस्थ (स्थौ ?) हस्तपादौ वाक् चेतीन्द्रियसङ्ग्रहः ॥७॥
 शब्दः स्पर्शश्च रूपं च रसो गन्धश्च पञ्चमः ।
 उत्सर्गानन्दनादानसत्यलोपाश्च (० गत्यालापाश्च) तत्क्रियाः ॥८॥

१. स्व. म. ३.१—११ = आ. म. ३.१३—२३
 " " " १२_१ = " " " २३
 " " " १२_२—३६ = " " " २४—४७

२. 'को वा' पाठः क्वचित् मूलमत्स्यमातृकामु दृश्यते ।
 ३. आ. म. ०तिरेतेषां । स्व. म. पाठे वृत्तदोषः ।
 ४. स्व. म. मातृकायाम् आसामीयलिखितायां सर्वत्रैव रेफ-वकारयोर्भ्रान्ति-
 दृश्यते ।

मन एकादशं तेषां कर्मबुद्धिगुणान्वितम् ।
 इन्द्रियाण्येव याः (०न्द्रियावयवाः) सूक्ष्माः तस्य मूर्तिः (ति?) मनीषिणः^५ ॥९॥
 श्रयन्ति त (य?) स्मात्तन्मात्राः शरीरं तेन स स्मृता (तेन संस्मृतम्?)^६ ।
 शरीरयोगे जीवश्च शरीरीत्युच्यते बुधैः ॥१०॥
 मनस्सृष्टिं विकुरुते नोद्यमानं सिसृक्षया ।
 आकाशात् शब्दतन्मात्रात् वायुः स्पर्शगुणोऽभवत् ॥११॥
 वायोश्च शब्द (स्पर्श?) तन्मात्रात् तेज आयु (वि)र्भवेत्ततः ।
 त्रिगुणं तद्विकारेण तच्छब्दस्पर्शरूपवत् ।
 तेजोविकारादभवत् वारि राजंश्चतुर्गुणम् ॥१२॥
 रसतन्मात्रसंभूतं प्रायो रसगुणात्मकम् ।
 भूमिस्तु गन्धतन्मात्राद्भूत्पञ्चगुणा ततः ॥१३॥
 प्रायो गन्धगुणा सा तु बुद्धिरेषा (पां?) बलीयसी ।
 एतैस्संपाति (दि) तं भुङ्क्ते पुरुषः पञ्चविंशकः ॥१४॥
 ईश्वरेच्छावशस्तोऽपि यतात्मा कथ्यते बुधैः ।
 एवं षट्त्रिं (ड्विं) शकं प्रोक्तं शरीरमिह मानवैः ॥१५॥
 सांख्यं सांख्य (संख्या) गुणत्वं (०त्वात्) च कपिलादिभिरुच्यते ।
 एवं तन्त्वात्मकं कृत्वा जगद्धेधा अजीजनत् ॥१६॥

५. तस्य मनीषिणः, तस्य चैतन्यात्मकस्य जीवस्य ।

६. शीर्यंत इति शरीरमिति यद्यपि प्रसिद्धा शरीरशब्दव्युत्पत्तिः, अत्रेन्द्रिया-
 वयवास्तन्मात्राख्याः तत् श्रयन्तीति इन्द्रियश्रयत्वात् शरीरमिति
 व्युत्पत्तिर्दत्ता । दृश्यतां मनु. १.१७३

यन्मूर्त्यवयवाः सूक्ष्माः तस्यैमान्याश्रयन्ति षट् ।

तस्मान्छरीरमित्याहुः तस्य मूर्ति मनीषिणः ॥

एवमेव भविष्ये ॥ १.२.२८

७. अत्र प्रक्रिया क्वचित् संक्षेपेण काचित्स्तिरेण इति । मूलमत्स्ये स
 यथावद्वत्ता (३.२३-२४)

सावित्रीं लोकसिद्धयर्थं हृदि कृत्वा समास्थितः ।

ततस्सा जायते तस्य भित्त्वा देहमकलमपा ॥१७॥

स्त्रीरूपमर्धमकरोदर्थं पुरुषरूपवत् ।

मातृरूपा समाख्याता सावित्रीति निगद्यते ॥१८॥

सरस्वत्यथ गायत्री ब्रह्मणी च परंतप ।

ततस्स्वदेहसंभूतामात्मजामिति कल्पयन् ॥१९॥

हृत्पान्ते^{१०} व्यथितस्तावत् कामवाणादितो विभुः ।

अहो रूपमहो रूपमिति चाह प्रजापतिः ॥२०॥

ततो वशिष्ठप्रमुखा भगिनीमिति^{११} चुक्रुशुः ।

ब्रह्मा न किञ्चिद्दृशे तन्मुखालोकनादृते ॥२१॥

अहो रूपमहो रूपमिति प्राह पुनः पुनः ।

ततः प्रणामनम्रां तां पुरस्तादवलोकयत् ॥२२॥

अथ प्रदक्षिणं चक्रे सा पितुर्वरवर्णिनी ।

पुत्रेभ्यो लज्जितस्यास्य तद्रूपालोकेनेच्छया ॥२३॥

आविर्भूतमथो वक्त्रं दक्षिणं पाण्डु संभ(गण्ड)वत् ।

विस्मयस्फुरद्विक्पञ्च(०स्फुरदोष्टं च)प्रश्नोऽभ्युदयशान्ततः(पाश्चात्यसुदगात्ततः) ॥२४॥

चतुर्थमभवत्पश्चाद्रामकामशरोद्भवम्(पश्चाद्दामं कामशरातुरम्) ।

ततोऽन्यदभवत्तस्य कामातुरभया तथा(०तुरतया तंथा) ॥२५॥

८. आ. म. ततस्सजपतः । मूलमत्स्यपातुकासु 'सा जपतः, तां जपतः, स
 तथा जपतः' इत्यादयः पाठा दृश्यन्ते ।

९. आ. म. शतरूपा । अथः ३१ तमश्लोके पूर्वार्धं च दृश्यताम् ।

१०. आ. म. दृष्ट्वा तां ।

११. मूलमत्स्यमातुकासु 'भगिनीति च'

तपस्तप्त्वा सदाकाशम् (उत्पतन्त्यास्तदाकाशम्) आलोकयन् (०कन) कुतूहलत् ।

१२ तेनाशु^{१३} वक्त्रमभवत्पञ्चमं तस्य धीमतः ।

अभवज्जनीभिश्चैव (आविर्भवज्जटाभिश्च) तद्वक्त्रस्या (०द्वक्त्रं चा)
भवत् (वृणोत्) प्रभुः ॥ २६ ॥

सृष्ट्यर्थं यत्कृतं तेन तपः परमदारुणम् ।

तत्सर्वं नाशमगमत्सुतोपगमनेच्छया ॥ २७ ॥

ततस्तानन्नवीद् ब्रह्मा पुत्रानात्मसमुद्भवान् ।

प्रजासृजध्वमभितस्सदेवासुरमानुषाः ॥ २८ ॥

एवं वक्त्रात् (एवमुक्ताः) ततस्सर्वे सिसृक्षुः (ससृजुः) विविधाः प्रजाः ।

गतेषु तेषु सृष्ट्यर्थं प्रत्यञ्जनसि तामिमाम् ॥ २९ ॥

उपयेमे स विश्वात्मा शतरूपामनिन्दिताम् ।

स बभूव तथा सार्धमतिकामातुरो विभुः ॥ ३० ॥

स लज्जां चकाम (चकमे) देवः (ः) कमलोदरमन्दिरं ।

थावदब्दशतं दिव्यं यथान्यः प्राकृतो जनः ॥ ३१ ॥

ततः कालेन महता ततः (तस्य) पुत्रोऽभवन्मनुः ।

स्वायम्भुव इति ख्यातः स विभातीति (विराडिति) नः श्रुतम् ॥ ३२ ॥

तद्रूपगुणसामान्यादधिपु (पू) रूप उच्यते ।

वैराजा यत्र ते जाता बभूवुः (बहवः) शंसित (संशित) व्रताः ॥ ३३ ॥

स्वायम्भुवो (वा) महाभागास्सप्त सप्त तथापरे ।

स्वारोचित्याद्याः (०चिपाद्याः) सर्वे ते ब्रह्मतुल्यस्वरूपिणः ॥

उत्तमी (औत्तमि) प्रमुखास्तद्वद् एषां तु (त्वं) सप्तमोऽधुना ॥ ३४ ॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्या (?) साहस्रे मनुस्मृतौ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

१२. अयं श्लोकः समनस्तरश्मोकात्परं व्युत्क्रमेण दृश्यते । तथैव मनुस्मृत्ये च ।

१३. आ. म. तेनोर्ध्वं

(४)

भगवानुवाच—

ततस्तु शतरूपायां सप्तापत्यान (न्य) जीजन्त ।

ये मरीच्यादयः पुत्रा मानसास्तस्य धीमतः ॥ १ ॥

तेषामयमभूलोकः पुराद्य (द्य) व्यक्तरूपिणाम् ।

ततोऽसृजद्वामदेवं त्रिशूलवरधारिणम् ॥

सनत्कुमारं रितुं (च विभुं) पूर्वेषामपि पूर्वजम् ॥ २ ॥

वामदेवस्तु भगवानसृजन्मुखतो द्विजान् ।

राजन्यानसृजद्वाहोर्विट्शूद्रानरूपादयोः ॥ ३ ॥

विद्युतोऽशनिमेघांश्च रोहितेन्द्रधनूंषि च ।

छन्दांसि च ससर्जदौ पर्जन्यं च ततः परम् ॥ ४ ॥

ततस्साध्यगणानीशस्त्रिनेत्रान् सृजत्प्रभुः ।

कोटयः (०टीश्च) चतुराशीति (ति) जरामरणवर्जितः (ताः) ॥ ५ ॥

रामो (वामो) सृजन्नमर्त्यास्तान् ब्रह्मणा विनिवारितः ।

'नैवं विधा' भवेत् सृष्टिः जरामरणवर्जिता ॥ ६ ॥

शुभाशुभात्मिका या तु सैव सृष्टिः प्रशस्यते ।

एवं स्थितस्त तेनादौ सृष्टिः (ष्टेः) स्थानु (णु) रतोऽभवत् ॥ ७ ॥

स्वायम्भुवो मनुर्धामान् तपस्तप्त्वा सुदुश्चरम् ।

पत्नीमवाप रूपाख्यामनन्तां नाम नामतः ॥ ८ ॥

१. स्व. म. ४. १—२८ = आ. म. ४. २५—५२

” ” ” २६, ३० = ” ” ” ५४, ५५

२. मु. ते. त्रिवेत्ताद् । 'त्रिवेत्तान्' इति द्वितीयाबहुवचनान्तः पाठ एव प्रायिकः, किन्तु स दुर्घटार्थः । वामदेवः स्वनेत्रादेतान् ससर्ज इति चेत् सुघटोऽर्थः ।

३. अत्र विशिष्य तुरीये पादे, पाठबाहुल्यमन्वयदुर्घटता च मातृकामु मुद्रितकोशेषु च दृश्यते । इत्थमन्वयो भाति—एवं तेन प्रजापतिनिवारणहेतुना स वामदेवः आदौ सृष्टेः स्थितो विरतोऽभवत् ॥ एवमेव वायौ १०. ६४—

“ऊर्ध्वरेताः स्थितः स्थाणुर्यावदाभूतसंज्ञवम् ।

यस्माच्चोक्तं स्थितोऽस्मोति ततः स्थाणुरिति स्मृतः ॥”

प्रियत्रतोत्तानपादौ मनुस्तस्यामजीजनत् ।
धर्मस्य चतुरा कन्या सूनुता नाम भावि (मि) नी ॥९॥
उत्तानपाद (०दात्) तनया (०यान्) प्राप मन्थरगामिनी ।
अपश्यन्ती (अपस्यतिः) वपुस्मन्तः (अपस्यन्तः) कीर्तिमान्
ध्रुव एव च ॥१०॥

उत्तानपादोऽजनयत् सूनुतायां प्रजापतिः ।
ध्रुवो वसु (वर्ष) सहस्राणि त्रीणि कृत्वा तपः पुरा ॥११॥
दिव्यमायतनं (०मापततः) स्थानमनन्तं ब्रह्मणो वरम् ।
तमेव पुरतः कृत्वा ध्रुवं सप्तर्षयः स्थिताः ॥१२॥
धन्या सा या मनोः कन्या ध्रुवा (त्) शिष्ट^४मजीजनत् ।
अग्निकल्पा (०न्या) ह्रस्वच्छाया (तु सुच्छाया)^५
शिष्टादाधातु (धत्) वै सुतान् ॥१३॥

विप्रं रिपुञ्जयं वृत्तं वृकणं वृकतेजसम् ।
चा (च) क्षुषं ब्रह्मदौहित्र्यां वैरि (र) ण्यां स रिपुञ्जयः ॥१४॥
वीरणस्यात्मजायां तु चक्षुषैवम् (चक्षुर्मनुम्) अजीजनत् ।
मनुर्वै राजकन्यायां नदुषायां (नड्वलायां)^६ स चाक्षुषः ॥१५॥
जनयामास तनयां (०यान्) दशपुत्रानकलमषान् ।
उरुः पुरः शतद्युम्नस्तपस्वी सत्यवाक् कविः ॥१६॥
अग्निष्णुर (०ष्टुद) तिरात (त्र) श्व सुद्युम्नश्चापराजितः ।
अभिमन्युश्च दशमो नदुषायां (नड्वलायाम्) अजायत ॥१७॥

४. अत्र द्वितीयान्तः पाठोऽपेक्ष्यते ।
५. विष्णौ (१. १३. १) 'शिष्टिम्' ।
६. विष्णौ 'सुच्छाया' ।
७. विष्णौ 'शिष्टेराधत्त सुच्छाया' ।
८. विष्णावपि 'विप्रं' । अन्यत्र 'कृषं' 'रिपुं' इति बहुधा ।
९. आ. म. 'वीरिण्यां' । अस्या वीरणस्यापत्यत्वेन कथनात् 'वैरिणी' इत्येव नाम ग्राह्यम् ।
१०. आ. म. ४. ४०; भागवते ४. ४. १४. १. १३. ४. सुवृत्रास्या 'नड्वला' इत्येव नाम दृश्यते ।

उरुस्त्वजनयत्पुत्रान् स चा(षडा)ग्नेयी तु सुप्रभान् ।
अंशु^{११} सुमनसं स्वातिं क्रतुमग्निरसोऽम्बुजम् (०मङ्गिरसं गयम्) ॥१८॥
पितृकन्या सुनीथा तु वेनं वंशा (अंशा ?) दजीजनत् ।
वेनमन्यासितं (०न्यायिनं) विप्रा अमर्दनं तत्करादभूत् ॥१९॥
पृथुनामा महातेजाः स पुत्रौ द्वावजीजनत् ।
^{१२}अन्तर्धानं (नः) सुमारीचं (हविर्धानं) शिखण्डिन्यामजीजनत् ॥२०॥
हविर्धानात्षडाग्नेयी वृषलान् (धिपणा)^{१३} जनयत् सुतान् ।
प्राचीनवर्हिषं सार्धं यमं शक्रं मरुं बलम् ॥२१॥
प्राचीनवर्हिर्भगवान् महानासीत् प्रजापतिः ।
^{१४}हविर्धानात् (हाविर्धानिः) प्राजायन्त (प्रजा येन)
नवमं (बहवः) संप्रकीर्तिताः (संप्रवर्तिताः) ॥२२॥
सुवर्णायां तु सामुद्र्यां दशाधत्त सुतान् प्रभुः ।
सर्वे प्राचेतसो राजन् धनुर्वेदस्य पारगाः ॥२३॥
तत्रापारक्षिता (तत्तपोऽरक्षितं ?) घृत्या (वृक्षाः ?)
चतुर्लोकं (वन्नृलोकं ?) समन्ततः^{१५} ।
वेदावेदाश्च (तदादेशाच्च ?) तानग्निरदहदरि (द्रवि ?) नन्दन ॥२४॥

११. विष्णौ, भागवते च 'अंशु' ।
१२. विष्णौ १. १४. १; भागवते ४. २४.
१३. आ. म. ४. ४५; विष्णौ १. १४. २.
१४. आ. म. ४. ४६; विष्णौ १. १४. ३; भागवते ४. २४. ६, १३.
१५. अत्र सूचितानां पाठानामाधारविषये दृश्यतां विष्णौ १. १५. १-४ —
तपश्चरत्सु पृथिवीं प्रचेतस्सु महीरुहाः ।
अरक्ष्यमाणामावद्भुः बभूवाथ प्रजाक्षयः ॥
नाशकान् मरुतो वातुं वृत्तं खमभवद् द्रुमैः ।
दशवर्षसहस्राणि न शेकुः चेष्टितुं प्रजाः ॥
तान् दृष्ट्वा जलनिष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे क्रुद्धाः प्रचेतसः ।
मुखेभ्यो वायुर्मग्निं च तेऽसृजन् जातमन्यवः ॥
उन्मूलयन्तश्च तान् वृक्षान् कृत्वा वायुरशोषयत् ।
तानग्निरदहदोरस्तत्राभूद् द्रुमसंक्षयः ॥
भागवते च ४. ३०. ४४-४८; ४. ४-१६.

सोमकन्या उरुपत्नी (तरुपुत्री ?)^{१६} मारिषा नाम विश्रुता ।
 तेभ्यस्तु दक्षमेकं सा पुत्रमश्रु (०३य) मजीजनत् ॥२५॥
 दक्षादनन्तरं वृक्षादौ(नौ)पधानि च सर्वशः ।
 अजीजनत्सोमकन्या नदीं चन्द्रवतीं तथा ॥२६॥
 सोमाङ्गस्य^{१७} च तत्रापि दक्षस्याशीतिकोटयः ।
 तासां तु विस्तरं वक्ष्ये लोके यस्संप्रतिष्ठितः ॥२७॥
 द्विपदाश्चाभवन् केचित् केचिदुलूक(०लुक ?)दानवाः ।
 कर्णेमुखाः शङ्कुकर्णाः कर्णश्रावयशः(प्रावरणाः)तथा ॥२८॥
 जनयामास धर्मात्मा स्लेच्छान् सर्वाननेकशः ।
 स सृष्ट्वा मानसान् दक्षः स्त्रियः पश्चादजीजनत् ॥२९॥
 ददौ स दश धर्माय कश्यपाय त्रयोदश ।
 सप्तविंशतिः(ति)सोमाय दक्षो नक्षत्रसंज्ञिताः ॥
 देवासुरमनुष्यादि ताभ्यस्सर्वमजीजनत् ॥३०॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्या(?)साहस्रे
 आदिसर्गे चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

१६. विष्णो १. १५. ७-९, ६०, ७३-४. अत्रेयं 'वाक्ष्यो.' वृक्षसम्बन्धिनो
 इति वर्णितं । अतश्चात्र स्व. म. पाठः 'उरुपत्नी' इति यो दृश्यते
 स 'तरुपुत्री' इति स्यात् । भागवते ४. ३०. १२

१७. विष्णो १. १५. ९—
 युष्मत्कं तेजसोऽर्धेन मम चापि तेजस.
 अस्यामुत्पत्स्यते विद्वान् दक्षो नाम प्रजापतिः ॥

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