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आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम्



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पद्मभूषण पण्डितराज श्री राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविड ;
अध्यक्ष, साङ्गवेद विद्यालय, रामघाट, वाराणसी ।

पद्मभूषण डा वे० राघवन्, एम० ए०, पी० एच० डी० ;
अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय, मद्रास ।

डा. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, एम० ए०, पी० एच० डी०, डी० लिट् ;
प्रोफेसर, भारती महाविद्यालय, कारी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय,
वाराणसी ।

श्री आनन्दस्वरूप गुप्त, एम० ए०, शास्त्री ; पुराण-विभाग,
सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास, फोर्ट रामनगर, वाराणसी ।

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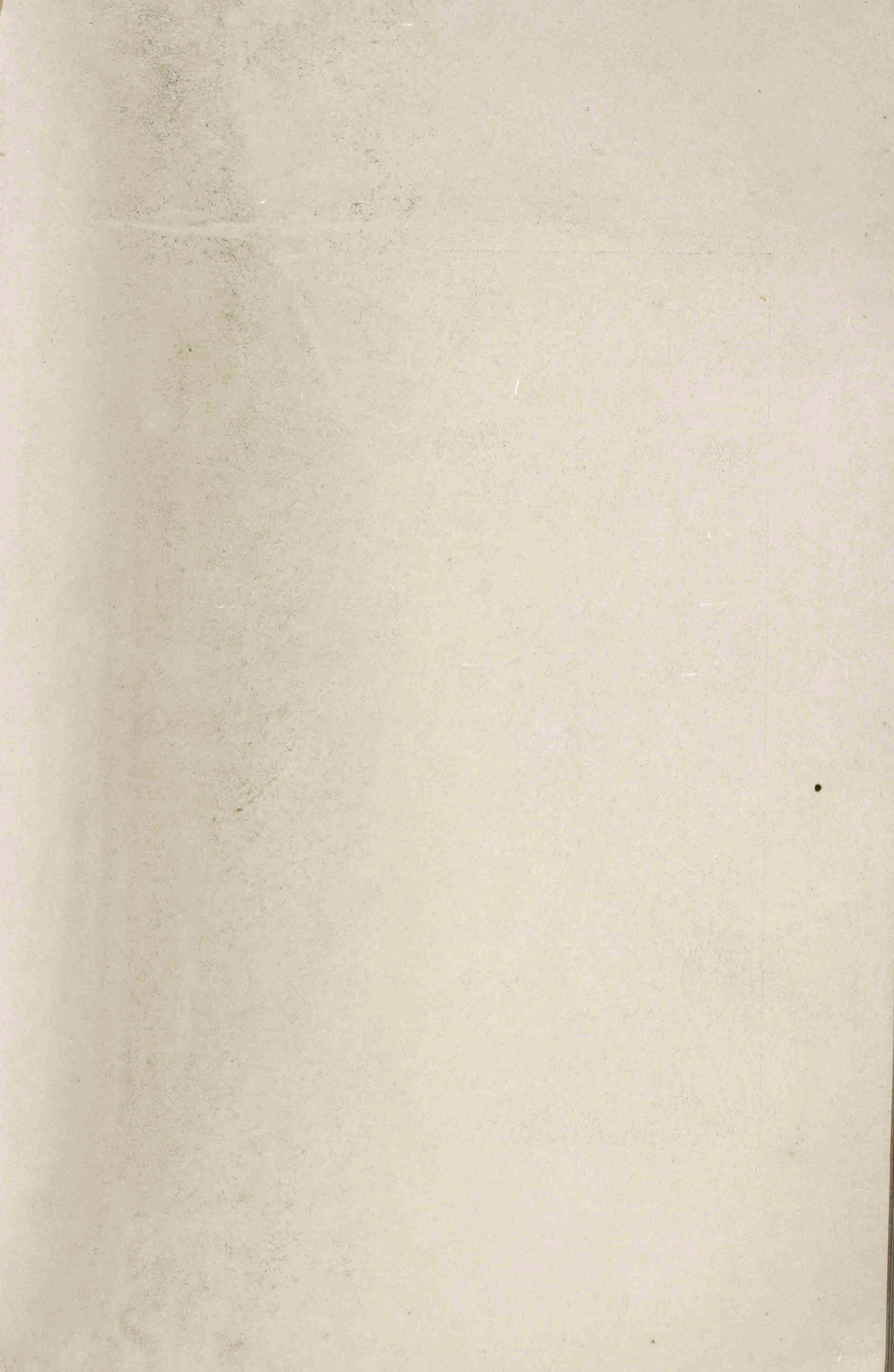
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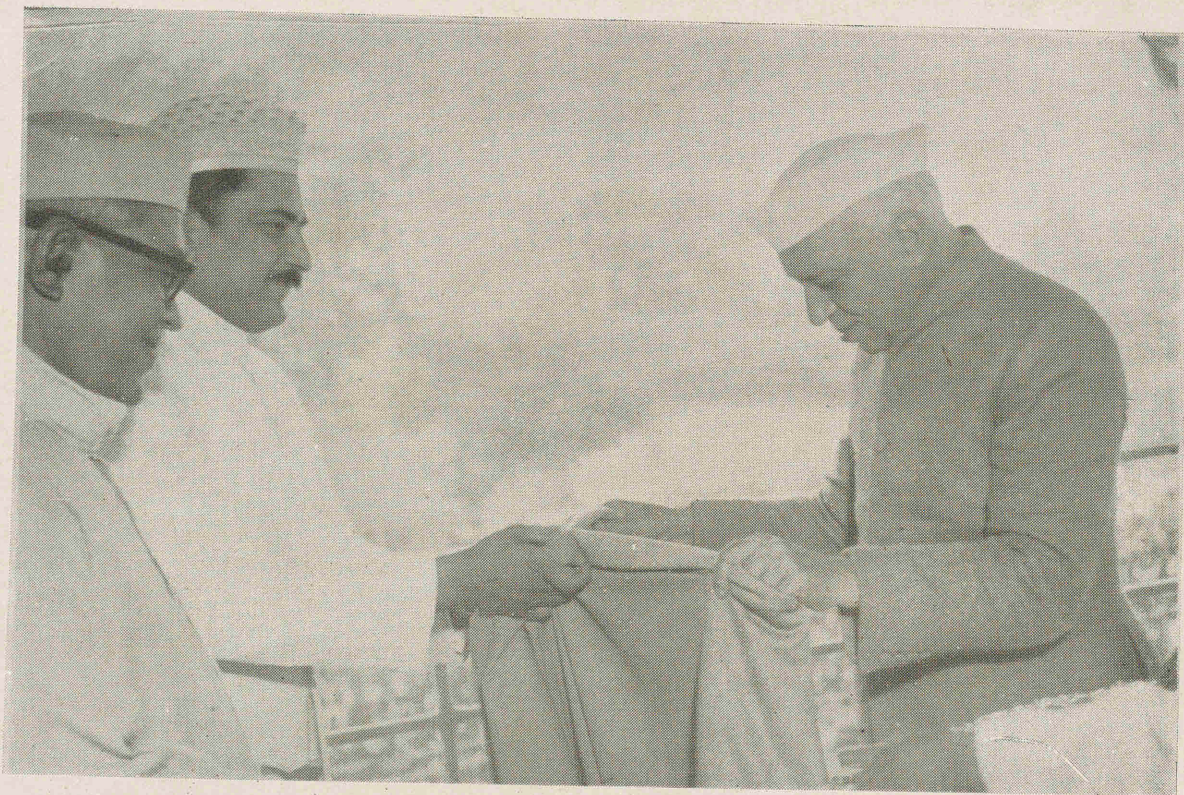
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लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् निबध्नन्ति ।

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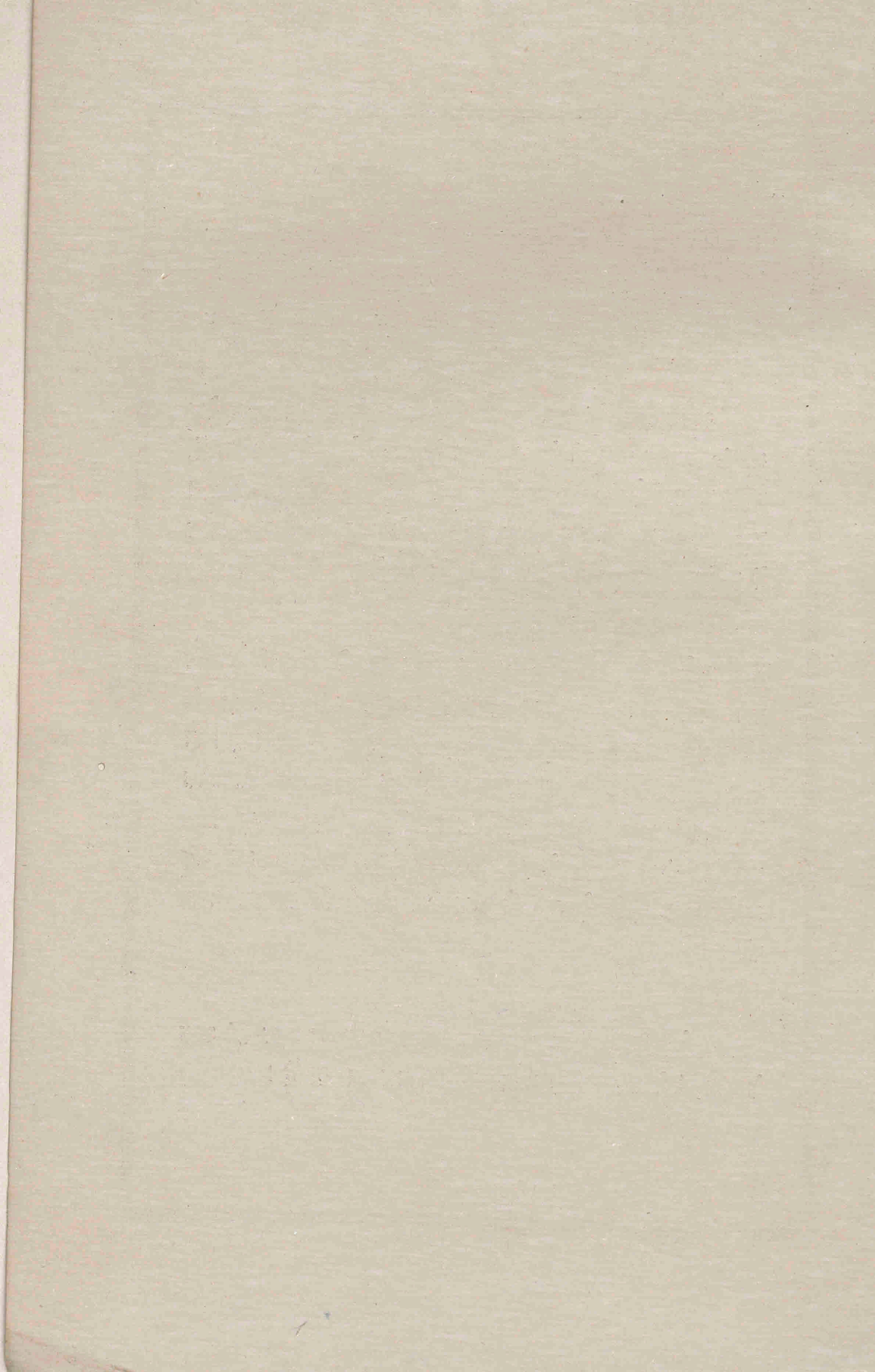
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and His Highness Maharaja of Banaras, Chairman of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, presenting Shawls to Āchārya Visvanath Prasad Misra, editor of the critical edition of the Rāmācharitamānasa, at Śivālā Bhavana of the Kashiraj Trust on Jan. 12, 1962.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF
'THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST'
ON THE SAD DEMISE OF PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

स्वतंत्र भारत के प्रथम प्रधानमन्त्री तथा उसके सर्वप्रिय महान् नेता श्री पं० जवाहर लाल जी के आकस्मिक देहावसान से न केवल भारत में, अपितु विश्व के समस्त राष्ट्रों में शोक की एक लहर व्याप्त हो गई है। स्व० पंडित जवाहरलाल जी एक युग-पुरुष थे और संपूर्ण मानव-जाति में शान्ति और सद्भावना के प्रतिष्ठापक के रूप में अवतीर्ण हुए थे।

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास के ऊपर उनकी सदा ही कृपादृष्टि बनी रही। न्यास के प्रथम प्रकाशन, गोस्वामी श्री तुलसीदास के श्रीरामचरितमानस, का उद्घाटन स्व० पंडित जी के कर-कमलों द्वारा ही हुआ। काशिराजन्यास का समस्त न्यासीमण्डल उनके इस असामयिक देहावसान से अत्यन्त दुःखी तथा शोक-संतप्त है। वह अत्यन्त विनीत भाव से दिवंगत आत्मा के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता है और प्रार्थना करता है कि ईश्वर उनके शोक-संतप्त परिवार को सान्त्वना प्रदान करे।

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास का न्यासीमण्डल अत्यन्त दुःख एवं शोक के साथ अपने उपरिलिखित प्रस्ताव को लिपिवद्ध कर रहा है।



पुराणम्—PURĀNA

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व्यासपूर्णमाऽङ्कः

[July 24, 1964

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व्यासाष्टक-स्तोत्रम्

नमो ज्ञानानलशिखापुञ्जपिङ्गजटाभृते ।

कृष्णायकृष्णमहसे कृष्णद्वैपायनाय ते ॥१॥

नमस्तेजोमयश्मश्रुप्रभाशबलितत्वेषे ।

वक्त्रवागीश्वरीपद्मरजसेवोदितश्रिये ॥२॥

नमः संध्यासमाधाननिष्पीतरवितेजसे ।

त्रैलोक्यतिमिरोच्छेददीपप्रतिमचक्षुषे ॥३॥

नमः सहस्रशाखाय धर्मोपवनशाखिने ।

सत्त्वप्रतिष्ठापुष्पाय निर्वाणफलशालिने ॥४॥

नमः कृष्णाजिनजुषे बोधनन्दनवासिने ।

व्यासायेवालिकालेन पुण्यसौरभलिप्सया ॥५॥

नमः शशिकलाकारब्रह्मसूत्रांशुशोभिने ।

श्रिताय हंसकान्त्येव सम्पर्कार्क(०त्क ?)मलौकसः ॥६॥

नमो विद्यानदीपूर्णशास्त्राब्धिसकलेन्दवे ।

पीयूषरससाराय कविव्यापारवेधसे ॥७॥

नमः सत्यनिवासाय स्वविकाशविलासिने ।

व्यासाय धाम्ने तपसां संसारायासहारिणे ॥८॥

(क्षेमेन्द्र, भारतमञ्जरी, काव्यमाला ६४, पृष्ठ ८५०-५१, श्लोक १३-२०)

This *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotra*, composed as it is by the famous Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra (11th Century, A.D.), is on the lines of the Purāṇic Stotras, and is replete with suggestive metaphors and similes. It shows the poet's great devotion to Vyāsa, and presents a vivid picture of the physical appearance of the great sage Vyāsa, and at the same time eulogises his unfathomable learning as well as his immeasurable moral and spiritual height :

“Vyāsa's yellow matted hair resembles a mass of the flames of the fire of knowledge ; he is dark in body but his splendour is free from darkness ; the brilliance of his white beard has made the splendour of his body variegated ; his eyes are like burning lamps capable of destroying the darkness (ignorance) of the three worlds ; he is like a thousand-branched tree of the garden of *dharma* (virtues), bearing fruits of *nirvāṇa* ; he wears the skin of a black antelope, which looks like an array of black bees eager for the fragrance of his virtues ; his white *brahma-sūtra* or the sacrificial thread, resembles the digit of the moon ; he is like the full moon rising out of the ocean of *Śāstras* filled by the rivers of *Vidyās* ; he is like the essence of nectar and is the creator of poetry. Salutation to Vyāsa, the seat of truth, the abode of austerities, and the reliever of the fatigue of transmigration (or the mundane existence)”.

The occasion causing the composition of the *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotra* is thus mentioned by the poet Kṣemendra :—

“Once a Brāhmaṇa named Rāmayaśas requested the poet to epitomise the Bhārata-story, to which Kṣemendra readily agreed and remarked that the son of Satyavatī (i.e. Dvaipāyana Vyāsa) had already imparted him the *Carita* in his (poet's) dreams. Saying this the poet eulogised the form of Vyāsa Muni as he had seen it in his dreams, by composing this *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotra* before commencing to write the Bhārata-Maṅjarī, the famous epitome of the great epic Mahābhārata :—

इत्युक्त्वा स्वप्नदृष्टस्य मुनेस्तुष्टाव तद्वपुः ॥ २ उ० ॥

... ..
इति व्यासाष्टकं कृत्वा महाभारतमञ्जरीम् ।

स चक्रे विबुधानन्दसुधास्यन्दतरङ्गिणीम् ॥ २२ ॥

(Bhārata-Maṅjarī, pp. 850-51)

It may also be noted here that Kṣemendra uses the epithet 'Vyāsa-dāsa' as his alias in the last colophon of the Bhārata-Maṅjarī:—

समाप्तं महाभारतमञ्जरी कृतिः कवेर्व्यासदासापरनाम्नः प्रकाशेन्द्रसूतोः
क्षेमेन्द्रस्य ।

Not only in the Bhārata-Maṅjarī, but in almost all his other works also, such as the Rāmāyaṇa-Maṅjarī, Bṛhatkathā-Maṅjarī, Daśāvātāra-Carita etc., he has used the epithet 'Vyāsa-dāsa' for himself in the colophons of these works, which shows his great reverence for the Sage.

A special sanctity and predilection seems to be attached to the *aṣṭakas*. The Ṛgveda has been divided into Aṣṭakas (each consisting of eight Adhyāyas); not only this, but the whole Ṛgveda also consists of eight Aṣṭakas. The Pāṇini-Sūtras making up the Aṣṭādhyāyī are also collectively called the Aṣṭaka (*vide* Kāśikā on Paṇini 4. 2. 65). An *Aṣṭaka-stotra* is a *stotra* consisting of eight stanzas. The *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotra* of Kṣemendra represents the ancient tradition of the *aṣṭaka-stotras* which is at least as old as 11th century A. D., when Kṣemendra flourished.

Aṣṭaka-stotras gained favour with the writers of Stotras. There are *aṣṭaka-stotras* of various deities, e. g. the *Gaṅgāṣṭaka* which is said to be composed by Vālmīki, *Narmadāṣṭaka*, *Gaṇeśāṣṭaka*, *Sūryāṣṭaka*, *Acyutāṣṭaka*, *Śivāṣṭaka*, etc. Then, like the *Sahasra-nāma-stotras* and *Śata-nāma-stotras* we have also *Nāmāṣṭaka-stotras*, such as—'अच्युतं केशवं विष्णुं हरिं सत्यं जनार्दनम् । हंसं नारायणं चैव एतन्नामाष्टकं शुभम् ॥' (quoted in the Śabdakalpadrūma from the Brahma-Purāṇa, under the word *aṣṭaka*).

Besides the *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotra* of Kṣemendra, two more *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotras* are available, viz. one by Vādirāja, a famous Kannada saint and poet of 16th century A. D. (cf. the Kannada Periodical Tattva-vāda, III, 3, March 1963, pp. 17-20), and the other *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotra* by some Brahmānanda Svāmin, a comparatively modern Sādhu. This latter *stotra* contains a running description of the exploits and works of Vyāsa. It is composed

in द्रुतविलम्बित metre (containing twelve syllables in a pāda in the order न. भ. भ. र.).

The *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotra* of Vādirāja Yati is of a high poetical merit and is also very inspiring. It is composed in the वसन्ततिलका metre (each pāda having fourteen syllables in the order of त. भ. ज. ज. गु. गु.). Vādirāja was a contemporary of the great Hindi Poet, Gosvāmī Tulasīdāsa of Northern India. He was born in 1558 A. D., and lived upto the age of full 120 years. He was a great poet, philosopher and saint, and was a follower of Madhvācārya, and was a great devotee of God Hayagrīva. He wrote a number of books on poetry and philosophy in Sanskrit. His *Tīrtha-prabandha* is an excellent work giving poetic and devotional description of all the *tīrthas* situated in all the four quarters of India, which he had visited. In this work he also describes the *Madhya-vāṭa Maṭha* (मध्यवाट मठ) of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, where Madhva Ācārya had installed a *mūrti* (idol) of Vyāsa :—

भवधर्मभवात्तिघ्नः स मठः सेव्यतां सता ।

कृष्णद्वैपायनघनो यत्रागाद् वायुवर्त्मना ॥२७॥

स्नेहार्द्रमध्वहृदयारुयदशानुषक्तं

मोहारुयसंतमसकृन्तनतीव्रशक्तिम् ।

श्रीमध्यवाटमठपौरुटभाजनस्थं

व्यासप्रदीपमिदमादरतो भजध्वम् ॥२८॥

वेदव्यास गुणावास विद्याधीश सतां वश ।

मां निराशं गतक्लेशं कुर्वनाशं हरेऽनिशम् ॥२९॥

(तीर्थप्रबन्ध, पश्चिमप्रबन्ध)

(Scholars are requested to throw light on the identification of the *Madhya-vāṭa Maṭha* of Śrī Veda-Vyāsa).

Both these *Vyāsāṣṭaka-stotras* are also given here, so that they may be compared with Kṣemendra's *Vyāsāṣṭaka* :

यतिवादि राजकृतं व्यासाष्टकम्

श्रीशं विचित्रकविता-रसपूरिताशं
 श्रीशङ्करोमखगेन्द्रहृदब्जवासम् ।
 आशङ्कमानजनतृप्तिकरोक्तिहासं
 व्यासं नतोस्मि हरितोपलसंनिकाशम् ॥ १ ॥

वेदान्तसत्रपवनोद्भृतपंचवेदा-
 मोदांशतोषितसुरर्षिनरादिभेदाम् ।
 बोधाम्बुजातलसितां स(सीमगाधां
 श्रीदां श्रितोस्मि शुक्रतातपदामखेदाम् ॥ २ ॥

द्वैपायनो जयति यन्निजशक्तिदीपः
 पापाभिर्वर्धितकुवादितमिस्रतापः ।
 पाण(ः)ख्यदुर्भगदशाकृतितीव्रकोपः
 पायाद्रुतौषधिरगे श्वसनांशरूपः ॥ ३ ॥

इन्द्रादिदेवतहृदाख्यचकोरचन्द्रा-
 मंदांशुकरपशुभजलिपतपुष्पवृन्दः ।
 वृन्दारकाङ्घ्रिपलतागुणरत्नसान्द्रो
 मन्दाय मे फलतु कृष्णतरुः फलं द्राक् ॥ ४ ॥

माता हितेव परिरक्षति येन गीता
 गीताग्र्यभारतपुराणकृता विगीता ।
 वातांशमध्ववरदः स गिरो ममैताः
 ख्याताः पराशरसुतो विदधातु धाता ॥ ५ ॥

पारं भवाख्यजलधेर्भुवनैकसारं
 स्वैरं कृतोरुविधवेदपथप्रचारम् ।

आरञ्जितामरजनं सुखचिच्छरीरं
 धीरं स्मरामि हृदि सत्यवतीकुमारम् ॥ ६ ॥

भावाश्रितं यमनुसृत्य भजन्ति देवाः
 सेवारताश्च मुनयः कवयो नृदेवाः ।
 यो वासुदेववपुरस्य महानुभावाञ्-
 छीबादरायणहरेर्न गृणीत को वा ॥७॥
 ज्ञानं प्रदेहि भवदागमवार्ध्वधीनं
 श्रीनन्दसूनुपदभक्तिनदीनिदानम् ।
 आनन्दतीर्थवरदोच्चपदाध्वनीनं
 दीनं बदर्यधिपते कुरु माममानम् ॥८॥
 वासिष्ठवंशतिलकस्य हरेर्मनोज्ञं
 दोषौघखण्डनविशारदमष्टकं ये ।
 दासाः पठन्त्यनुदिनं भुवि वादिराज-
 धीसंभवं परिभवो न दिशासु तेषाम् ॥९॥

(From स्तोत्रमहोदधि, Ganapat Krishnāji Press, Bombay, Śaka 1819)

स्वामिब्रह्मानन्दविरचितं व्यासाष्टकम्

कलिमलास्तविवेकदिवाकरं
 समवलोक्य तमोवलितं जनम् ।
 करुणया भुवि दर्शितविग्रहं
 मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥१॥
 भरतवंशसमुद्गरणेच्छया
 स्वजननीवचसा परिनोदितः ।
 अजनयत्तनयत्रितयं प्रभुः
 मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥२॥
 मतिबलादि निरीक्ष्य कलौ नृणां
 लघुतरं कृपया निगमाम्बुधेः ।
 समकरोदिह भागमनेकधा
 मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥३॥

सकलधर्मनिरूपणसागरं

विविधचित्रकथासमलङ्कृतम् ।

व्यरचयच्च पुराणकदम्बकं

मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥४॥

श्रुतिविरोधसमन्वयदर्पणं

निखिलवादिमतान्ध्यविदारणम् ।

ग्रथितवानपि सूत्रसमूहकं

मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥५॥

यदनुभाववशेन दिवं गतः

समधिगम्य महास्त्रसमुच्चयम् ।

कुरुचमूमजयद्विजयो द्रुतं

मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥६॥

समरवृत्तविवोधसमीहया

कुरुवरेण मुदा कृतयाचनः ।

सपदि सूतमदादमल्लक्षणं

मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥७॥

वननिवासपरौ कुरुदम्पती

सुतशुचा तपसा च विकशितौ ।

मृततनूजगणं समदर्शयत्

मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥८॥

व्यासाष्टकमिदं पुण्यं ब्रह्मानन्देन कीर्तितम् ।

यः पठेन्मनुजो नित्यं स भवेच्छास्त्रपारगः ॥

(From बृहत्स्तोत्ररत्नाकर, published—Kashi, 1963)

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

पुराणकर्तुर्महर्षिवेदव्यासस्य चिरजीवित्वम्

राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविड

[Maharṣi Vyāsa, the celebrated author of the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, is traditionally believed to be one of those seven personages who are considered to be *cirajīvins* (long-lived or deathless), the other six being Aśvatthāman, Bali, Hanumat, Vibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa and Paraśurāma ; Mārkaṇḍeya, though not included in the list of the seven *Cirajīvins*, is also said to be deathless and is believed to be surviving even during the *Pralaya* or the dissolution of the universe.

The learned writer in this article has tried to establish the longevity of Vyāsa. According to him longevity or even immortality is quite possible and can be acquired by a Yogin by such means as *tapas* (austerities), *samādhi*, conquest of his *Udāna Vāyu* and use of certain herbs. In support of this statement he quotes from the Kaśyapa-Saṁhitā and the Yoga-Sūtras. Vyāsa was a great Yogin; and by means of his *tapas* and *samādhi* he had undoubtedly acquired great *siddhis* or super-natural powers which must have led to his longevity.

To support his thesis the writer gives another argument also. He quotes certain verses from a commentary (called *Upādhyāya-nirapekṣā*) of the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, which record a tradition of the composition of works on the *Rājanīti* or Indian politics. According to this tradition Brahmā first composed a work consisting of one hundred thousand *Adhyāyas* or chapters. This work was then studied and summarised by Nārada, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhāradvāja, Viśālākṣa, Bhīṣma, and Parāśara's son

Vyāsa. These were the great authors of the works on Indian Politics. This tradition is also corroborated by the Mahābhārata. Now, to study such a huge work as Brahmā's Rājanīti-Śāstra of one hundred thousand chapters and then condense it into a work of ten thousand chapters requires very long life. Hence the Sages mentioned above were certainly endowed with very long life. As Vyāsa is also included in the list of these sages, he must also have been endowed with such longevity as could entitle him to be included in the list of the seven *cirajīvins*.

Moreover, Vyāsa was the arranger of the four Vedas, and the reputed author of the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. Such a stupendous task can only be accomplished by one possessing extra-ordinarily long life. All this has made Mahārṣi Vyāsa occupy a most prominent place among the *cirajīvins*.]

इतिहासनिर्धारणाय पुराणानां तद्विषयाणां च भारतीयराजनीतिदृष्ट्या संशोधनमावश्यकमिति पूर्वमेव ('पुराणम्' भाग ३, अंक १) मया लेखद्वारा प्रतिपादितम् । तथा स्वोक्तेऽर्थे प्रमाणतया भारतीयराजनीत्युद्धृतेषु प्राचीनवचनेषु कल्पितत्वाद्याशङ्कनमत्ययुक्तमेव ।

इतरशास्त्रपरिचितयाऽद्भुतया "त्रयाणामेकवाक्ये सम्प्रत्ययः" इति नीति-रीत्या प्रमाणशब्दपर्यालोचयितृन्यायालयभाष्यधिकार्युत्तमाधिकारि-समस्तप्रजाविनय-प्रयोजकतेजोदेदीप्यमान-विनीततम-वीरवरभारतीयराजवंशपरम्परागत-निःशङ्कतदर्था-नुष्ठानविदग्धव्यवहार - पुत्रोपदेशाद्यनुभावाभिव्यक्त - स्थायिविश्वासादिदुर्घटराजकार्य - सम्पादनसामर्थ्यात्मक-सुमतिभावाभिव्यक्तकविभावमध्यप्रविष्ट-शास्त्रे कल्पितादि-वचनोद्धरणाशङ्कनस्य विना बाधकदृढतरप्रमाणोपन्यासेनायुक्तत्वात् । स्पष्टमिदं १९६१ जानेवरीमासस्य पुराणाङ्के प्रकाशिते "पुराणसंशोधने भारतीयराजनीतेः सम्यगालोचनमावश्यकमिति" लेखे । एतदर्थं भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परायाः समालोचने क्रियमाणे तस्यां परम्परायां तदध्येयशास्त्रे च समीक्ष्यमाणाः पूर्वोक्ता दशविधा विशेषाः, अत्र विषये प्रमाणतया उदाहरणीयतामर्हन्ति । ते च यथा—

१—शब्दप्रमाणस्य प्रामाण्यपरीक्षानिकषः “त्रयाणामेकवाक्ये सम्प्रत्ययः” इति सूत्रितः एको विशेषः । अयं शास्त्रान्तरे न तथा परिशीलितो यथा भारतीय-राजवंशाध्येयराजनीतिशास्त्रे विशेषतः समाहृतः । अयं विशेषः—सत्यनिष्ठानां विशेषज्ञानां पुरतः समुपस्थाप्यमानः शब्दप्रमाणस्य सत्यान्वेषणक्षमतामुपपाद्य तदध्येयराजनीतिशास्त्रस्याद्भुतत्वं दर्शयति । (अस्य विस्तरस्त्वस्माभिः पूर्वोक्तलेखे प्रदर्शितो दर्शनीयः)

२—भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परायां राजपुत्राः न्यायालयस्य भाविनोऽधिकारिण इति स्थितिः । न्यायासनस्थितेन च सत्यमेवैकमुपास्यम् । तर्हेव सत्यप्रियप्रजा-जनस्य सर्वात्मना सहयोगो राज्यस्वामिना वस्तुतो लभ्यते, येन राज्यं प्रबलं दुरुच्छेद्यं च सम्भवति । एवं निष्पक्षपातं सत्यस्य स्थापनं न्यायासनस्थेन क्रियमाणं राज्ये स्थैर्यावहमिति आंग्लराज्यकाले तुलाचिह्नं पुरस्कृत्य व्यक्तीक्रियते स्मेत्यद्यापि द्रष्टुं शक्यते । अतस्तदनुसारेण भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परायां राजपुत्राः सत्यनिष्ठा यथा स्युस्तथा विनीयन्ते स्मेति विशेषो द्वितीयः ।

३—उत्तमप्रकृतिभिः परम्पराघटकैर्भाव्यमिति भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परायाः स्थितिस्तृतीयो विशेषः । उत्तमप्रकृतीनां प्रामाणिकप्रवृत्तिष्वेव मनो रज्यतीति प्रकृतिः । एवं सत्यनिष्ठप्रकृतिवादेवोत्तमप्रकृतयो राजानो राजपुत्राश्च सत्यव्रत-निर्वाहाय सत्यमर्यादापरिपालनाय च सर्वदैवाकार्पण्येन सर्वस्वं प्राणपणेन हर्षेण समर्पयन्तो महावीरचरितं प्रादुरकार्षुः । वीराङ्गनाश्च तथैव हर्षेण स्वात्मानं जुह्वत्यो लोकोत्तरचरितं चेरुः । कथमसत्यनिष्ठा अनुत्तमप्रकृतयः एवमकृपणाः सम्भवन्ति ? एवं सत्यनिष्ठाया अभावादेवान्ये मध्यमप्रकृतयो मध्यस्थितिं गताः । अतो मध्यमानां रञ्जनं कल्पितेन विना न भवतीति स्थितिः । उत्तमप्रकृतीनां तु तद्विपरीतेनैवेति नास्त्र्यशास्त्रपर्यालोचने सिद्ध्यति ।^१ एवं राजवंशपरम्परायां भारतीयायामुत्तमप्रकृतिः सत्यनिष्ठा तृतीयो विशेषः ।

१—“एवं सकलपुरुषार्थविषया व्युत्पत्तिर्नास्त्वेन प्रधानस्य राजप्रायस्य क्रियते । प्रकरणेन च मध्यमप्रायस्यापूर्वकुतूहलवतः ।” (अभिनवभारती अ० १८ श्लो० ५६) “नाटकं प्रकरणादपि प्रधानम् । प्रसिद्धयुषजोविनां हि

४— भारतीयराजवंशपरम्परा स्वीयमतिभावहेतोरकार्यकरणाह्यजायाश्च उचिताचरणेन देदीप्यमानतेजसा विभ्राजते स्म । एवं तेजस्वितयैवाभिभूतासु प्रजासु स्वत एव लज्जया विनय आधीयते स्म ।^२ एवमद्भुतेन विनयाधानप्रकारेणैव आरम्भे राज्यसंस्थाया घटना शक्यनिर्माणा समभवदिति स्वीकार्यम् । कथमन्यथा एवं विनयाधानसमर्थस्याभावे कस्यचिदनुगताः सन्तो राज्यसंस्थां निर्मातुमादौ प्रभवन्ति केऽपि जना इत्यगत्या इतिहासमनुगच्छता तर्केणापि स्वीकर्तव्यमेतत् । एवंविधं विनयाध्ययकं तेजः कुतोऽसत्यनिष्ठानां भविता ? एवंविधस्य तेजसो महाकविकालिदासकृतं वर्णनम्^३ अवश्यं मननीयम् । तदिदं सत्यनिष्ठानां मतिविनयसम्पन्नानां तेजश्चतुर्थो विशेषः ।

५— एवंविधराजवंशीया अत्यन्तं विनीता धार्मिकाश्च भवन्ति स्मेत्यत्र

कल्पनावस्तुसम्भावना अनुभवमूलत्वात्तस्या उत्प्रेक्षा अपि हि प्रमाणगतेष्वेव वस्तुषु स्वातन्त्र्येण योजनामात्रेण व्याप्रियन्ते 'षड्दन्तो हस्ती खे धावती'ति । तेनेतिहासादिप्रमाणसिद्धवस्तुप्रदर्शकं नाटकम् ।" (अ० १८ श्लो० ५०) ।
 "तथा हि कश्चिद्विनेयः प्रसिद्धमनुरुध्यमानो दृष्ट इति सप्रसिद्धेतिवृत्ते नाटके विनेयः । कश्चित्तु किमेतदपूर्वमित्यप्रसिद्धे वस्तुनि, रूपकान्तरमेव तु तदाभासं तत्सर्वम्, विनेयोऽभिनववस्तुवृत्तकौतुकपरतन्त्र इति समुत्पाद्यवस्तुना प्रकरणेन विनीयते । (अ० १८ श्लो० ६) ।

नाट्यदर्पणे — "यस्य पूर्वंप्रसिद्ध एवार्थं कुतूहलमसौ मुनिप्रणीतशास्त्र-प्रसिद्धचरितेन नाटकेन राजादिरुत्तमकृतिव्युत्पाद्यते, यस्य पुनरुत्पाद्येथं कुतूहलमसौ वणिगादिर्मध्यमप्रकृतिः प्रकरणेनेति ।" (विनेक २, श्लो० ४)

२— सहजविषययोगाद्विद्याग्रहणम्, अतो गृहीतात्मवत्त्वात् स्वयमनुष्ठित्युपदेशाच्च ततश्च राजा दीप्यमानतेजसा अभिभवन् प्रजाविनययोगनिमित्तं भवति । अतः प्रजाविनये रतः ।" इति । (जयमङ्गला, अधिकरणं १, अ० ५) ।

३— स न्यस्तचिह्नमपि राजलक्ष्मीं तेजोविशेषानुमितां दधानः ।

आसीदनाविष्कृतदानराजिरस्तमदावस्थ इव द्विपेन्द्रः ॥

लताप्रतानोद्ग्रथितैः स केशैरधिज्यधन्वा विचचार दावम् ।

रक्ष्यापदेशान्मुनिहोमधेनोर्वन्यान् विनेष्यन्निव दुष्टसत्त्वान् ॥

शशाम वृष्ट्वापि विना दवाभिरासीद्विशेषा फलपुष्पावृद्धिः ।

ऊनं न सत्वेष्वधिको बबावे तस्मिन् वने गोप्तारि गाहमाने ॥

(रघुवंश, सर्ग २, श्लो० ७, ८, १४)

रामयुधिष्ठिरादयः उदाहार्याः । एतादृशानां सत्यनिष्ठपुण्यश्लोकानां चरितेष्व-
दर्शविशेषाः पञ्चमो विशेषः ।

६—असत्यनिष्ठानां मनसापि दुरधिगमो यो मतिभावः, यस्मिन् सति शास्त्रं
निःशङ्कतदर्थानुष्ठानं विदग्धव्यवहारः शिष्यपुत्रहितोपदेश इत्यादिर्भवतीति यैरैतैरेव-
विधैर्विभावानुभावादिसामग्रीसमवायैर्व्यज्यते स मतिभाव इति साहित्यशास्त्रेषूच्यते^१ ।
सा सर्वा सामग्री एतेषु राजवंशेषु दृश्यत इति षष्ठो विशेषः ।

७—परम्परया भारतीयराजवंशः एवंविधमतिभावप्रधानवीररसो मूर्ति-
मानिति दृश्यते नत्वसत्यनिष्ठ उद्धततर इति सप्तमो विशेषः ।

८—वेदे “मतिश्च मे सुमतिश्च मे” इति सुमतिभावो वर्णितः । स च
दुर्घटराजकार्यादिनिश्चय इति भाष्यम् (तै० सं०, का० ४, प्र० ७, अनु० २) ।
स्थायिविश्वासरूपमित्रभावस्य परलोकप्रमितिसापेक्षस्य भारतीयराजनीतिरेव सम्पादने
समर्था प्रमाणत्रयनिर्णायार्थकत्वात् । वर्तमानेऽपि भारतीयधार्मिकदाम्पत्यमुदा-
हरणतया पर्यालोच्यते चेदुक्तार्थस्तर्कारूढो भवितुमर्हतीति । एतादृशा अन्ये
बहवोऽर्था अन्यैर्दुर्घटा अद्भुताश्च सन्तो भारतीयराजनीतिद्वारा साधिताः । अत एव
मतिभावः सुमतिभावतां गतः । एवंविधसुमतिभावो राजवंशपरम्परायां भारतीयायां
पूर्णतया निवसति स्म । अत एव मेगास्थनीसमहोदयस्योद्गारो “भारते तदानीं
प्रजाजने गृहिणां द्वारेषु मुद्रणस्यावश्यकता नासीदिति” । सोऽयं वैशिष्ट्यं
भारतस्य भारतीयराजवंशस्य तदध्येयशास्त्रस्य च द्योतयति इत्यष्टमो विशेषः ।

४—“नानाशास्त्रार्थनिष्पन्ना मतिः स्याच्छ्रुतधारिणी ।

संशयच्छेदनैः शिष्यहिताधानार्थदर्शनैः ॥

वर्णयते चित्तसन्तोषाद्विदग्धव्यवहारतः ॥” इति

(भावप्रकाश, अधिकरण १)

५—अत्र रामस्योदानप्रकृतेर्निसर्गत एव तत्त्वाभिनिवेशिनी मतिनिकृत्यविषये
प्रवर्तते, न च प्रवृत्तोपारमति, सा च सीतेयं मम स्वीकरणयोग्येत्वेवरूपेण
प्रवृत्ता रावणप्रार्थना-लक्ष्मणप्रोत्साहनाभ्यामुद्दीप्यमाना समुपजायमानचिन्ता-
वितर्कत्रीडावहित्यस्मृत्यादिभिः कालोचितोत्तरानुमीयमानैश्च विवेकचातुर्यै-
दायधैर्यादिभिः संसृज्यमानोदात्तरसरूपेण निष्पद्यते । इति ।

(सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणं, परि० ५)

९—भारतीयराजवंशपरंपरायां राजपुत्राः धर्मनिमित्तं स्वेच्छयैव प्राणादि-सर्वस्वं समर्पयितुं सदा सन्नद्धा आसन् यथा, तथैव तेषां गुरुजनपरम्परायां च योगिनोऽद्यत्वेऽपि सर्वमान्यतत्तच्छास्त्रप्रणेतारः संसारविषये नितरां निस्पृहाश्चा-सन्निति “सिकन्दर” (अलक्सान्दर) म्लेच्छपतेः पुरतः समागतानामनेकोदाहरणानां प्रमाणान्युदाहृत्य वक्तुं शक्यत इति नवमो विशेषः ।

१०—एवंविधस्तुत्यमानवताया निर्मात्री सुमतिः सर्वथा शास्त्रानुसरणेन शास्त्रीयविज्ञानग्रहणेनैव च भवितेति तानि स्तुत्यमानवतानिर्मातृणि शास्त्राणि प्रतारणापराणि मूर्खकृतानि प्रमादभूयिष्ठानीति करणापाटवपूर्णाणीति वा नैव प्रेक्षावता वक्तुं शक्यन्त इति दशमो विशेषः ।

एवंविधा दशप्रकारा विशेषाः पूर्वतने लेखे “आदौ शास्त्रान्धकारे” इत्यादि-श्लोकनिदर्शनेनास्माभिर्बीजरूपेण प्रदर्शिता एव ।

अत एव “पुराणमिति वृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः” इति वदता कौटिल्याचार्येण राजपुत्राध्येयमर्थशास्त्रमिदमप्यस्मत्पूर्वलेखोक्तनीति-लक्षणलक्षितत्वादितिहासप्रमाणपूरकतयोपन्यस्तम् । तद्रीत्या पञ्चानां पुराणादी-नामैककण्ठ्येन निर्णति वस्तुनीतिहासप्रमाणकर्तव्यस्य तथ्यान्वेषणस्य नीतिनिर्णयस्य परिपूर्तिर्भवति, नात्र तद्विन्नस्य कस्याप्यावश्यकतेति “इतीतिहासः” इति सूत्रांशस्थेन इतिपदेन सूच्यते ।

विचारे क्रियमाणे सोपपत्तिकं चेदमुपलभ्यते । तथा हि—अस्मिन् सन्दर्भे मुद्रिताया जयमङ्गलाटीकाया योग्यमृकृतटीकायाः प्राचीनटिप्पणीनां चालोचने वक्ष्यमाणा अर्था समवधार्यन्ते । भोजनोत्तराहर्भागे विनोदार्थं धर्म-जिज्ञासार्थं चेतिहासश्रवणद्वारा विनयं गृहीयादिति विधानम् ।^६

६—“पश्चिममहर्भागं सुखासीनो विनोदधर्मजिज्ञासार्थमितिहासश्रवणे विनयं गच्छेत् । कः पुनरितिहास इत्याह—पुराणमिति । सृष्ट्वादिज्ञानफलम् । तथा चोक्तम्—“सृष्टिप्रवृत्तिसंहारधर्ममोक्षप्रयोजनम् । ब्रह्माभिर्विधैः प्रोक्तं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् इति वृत्तं नयापनयाभ्यां सम्पत्तिविपत्तिप्रदर्शनफलम् ॥ इति रामायणमहाभारतादि । आख्यायिकोदाहरणं वर्जनसेवनफलं तन्त्राख्या-यिकादि । धर्मशास्त्रं मानवादि । अर्थसम्बन्धि यत्किञ्चिद्वातु-वादादिकं तदर्थशास्त्रमिह गृह्यते ।”

अत्रोपपत्तिः—भोजनोत्तरसमये विनोदो नाम मनःप्रियाणां शब्दादीनां सेवनम् । तच्च भुक्तस्य परिपाकार्थमनुकूलम् । तदानीं श्रमावहानि कार्यान्तराणि नैव कर्तुं शक्यन्त इति वैद्यकशास्त्रादवगम्यते ।

अस्यामवस्थायामितिहासश्रवणे कृते विनोदेन साकं धर्मनिर्णयो नीतिकाम-शास्त्रानुसारेण वर्तनं धर्म इति चार्वाकपरिभाषया चानुमोदितः सर्वमान्यनीति-निर्णयः शक्यः सम्पादयितुम् । धर्मनिर्णय एव च विनयपदार्थ इति नाट्य-शास्त्रानुसारेण विज्ञायते ।^७

एवं स्थिते राजनीतिवचनप्रामाण्ये विनोदव्यपेते नीतिमात्रनिलये न्यायालय एव समुपस्थापयितुं योग्यानां प्रमाणसामग्रीणां परिपूर्णे सङ्घटने पुरतः प्रस्तुते सति कस्याश्चित्पाश्चात्यानुगामिन्याः प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमानलक्षणप्रमाणत्रयनिर्णीतिष्ट-साधनताकर्मामनुष्ठानात्मकनीतिस्वरूपधर्मजिज्ञासाविकलाया विनोदैकफलायाः संस्थाया बहुमतैकफलाया अरुचिकरत्वमात्रेण भारतीयानामाचार्याणां गौरवावहमद्भुतं तथ्यं न निह्वमर्हति । अत एव चार्वाका अपि “लोकसिद्धो राजा परमेश्वरो नीतिकामशास्त्रानुसारेण वर्तनं धर्मः” इति वदन्तो नीतिनिर्णायकं प्रमाणं सर्वप्रमाणा-धिकं मानयन्ति स्म ।

धर्मस्य पर्यायेण नीतेः सकाशात्परिभ्रंशः कस्यापि लज्जाजनक इति स्वाभाविकम् । अतो विनयो लज्जा-भावे समावेशमर्हतीति साहित्यशास्त्रे रस-गङ्गाधरकारादिमते^८ प्रकृतेऽनुरूपमेव ।

अत्र च “पुराणमिति वृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः”

“इति-एवं-ह-स्फुटं, आस-बभूव भुवनकोशादिकम् । इति राज्ञो वृत्तं नयापनयाभ्यां सम्पत्तिविवृत्तिप्रदर्शनार्थं भारतरामायणादि ।

“असम्भूतकथावाक्यमुक्तप्रत्युत्तरान्वितम् निदर्शनार्थमन्येषामुदाहरण-मिष्यते ॥” यथा तन्त्रपञ्चकादि । इति । (जयमङ्गला टीका प्रथमाधिकरणम्)

७—“एवं विनयोऽत्र धर्मशास्त्रम्” । इति । (अभिनवभारती अ० २४, श्लो० ८७)

८—लज्जाया विनयस्य, तर्कसंशयस्य चापलाढ्याऽर्च्यस्य च वस्तुतः सूक्ष्मभेदेऽपि नान्तरीयकतया तदनतिरिक्तस्यैवाध्यवसायात् ।” इति । (रसगङ्गाधरे पृ० ११६)

इति पञ्चधा तत्प्रमाणानि विभक्तानि । तत्राप्युपपत्तिर्यदि समालोच्यते तदापि उपर्युक्तसिद्धान्तस्यानुकूल्यं तत्र परिदृश्यते यथा—

१—जगतः सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयाः पुराणादन्यतो नैवावाप्यन्ते । अतः पुराणस्येतिहासे ग्रहणमावश्यकम्, “जन्माद्यस्य यतः” (वेदान्त सू० १।१।२) इति वेदान्तसूत्रोक्तं न्यायेनेश्वरसिद्धिद्वारा धर्महेतुत्वात् ।

२—पुरातनानां राज्ञां चरित्रमिति वृत्तमितिहासे परिगृहीतम् । चरित्रे-
ऽनुष्ठानांशस्तज्जन्यमूल्यवत्फलांशश्चेत्यंशद्वयम् । तत्र कस्यापि सार्वभौमस्य स्वराष्ट्रो-
पयुक्तनीतिनिर्णयस्तर्केण चिकीर्षितश्चेत्तदर्थं स्वराष्ट्रे तदानीं राजान्तरस्य दृष्टान्त-
भूतस्याभावात्, परराष्ट्रे तदानीं सत्यपि, तद्दृष्टान्तेन तदानीन्तनस्वराष्ट्रोपयोगि-
नीतिनिर्णयायोगात् प्राचीनराजानां नीतिरेव दृष्टान्तत्वेनोपादातव्या आपतति ।
तत्रापि प्राचीनराजानां नीतिरपि प्रत्यक्षानुष्ठानरूपा नैव तदानीं द्रष्टुं शक्या
अतीतत्वात्, किन्तु तदीयनीत्यनुष्ठानेन निष्पन्नानां दीर्घकालस्थायिनां मूल्यवत्-
फलानामवलोकनेन तदीयपूर्वानुष्ठानानां महत्त्वस्यैतिहासिकतानिर्धारणीया भवति ।
तज्जापुरस्थबृहदीश्वरमन्दिरस्य शिखरे २०० “फीट” उन्नते समन्ततः १६ हस्तो-
न्मितमेकं प्रस्तरखण्डं कलशरूपेण समारोपितमत्रोदाहारणीयतामर्हति ।

प्रायशः १००० वर्षेभ्यः पूर्वनिर्मितेऽस्मिन् देवालये एवं महान् प्रस्तरः
केन साधनेनारोपितः ? इति कल्पनायां क्रियमाणायां-सुदूरार्तिर्यञ्चं क्रमेणारोहिणं
महामार्गं निर्माय ततोऽयं प्रस्तरस्तेन मार्गेण क्रमशो लोढयित्वा उन्नतः स्थापित-
श्चेति निष्कृष्यते ।

एवंविधकार्यकारणभावनियमानुसारिकार्येषु प्रत्यक्षेषु दीर्घकालस्थायिषु
तत्कर्तृणां राज्ञां कर्तृत्वातिशयो नीतिफलांशप्रत्यक्षवशात्साधयितुं शक्यते ।

३—पञ्चतन्त्रादि आख्यायिकोदाहरणमितिहास इति परिगण्यते । तत्रोप-
पत्तिर्यथा—अशक्यमिति भासमानं कर्तृत्वमपि मनुष्यस्य शक्यकोटौ वर्तते इति

६—अश्वत्थामा बलिव्यासो हनुर्माश्च विभीषणः ।

कृपः परशुरामश्च सप्तैते चिरजीविनः ॥” इति ।

(ग्राचारेन्दुनिबन्ध, आनन्दाश्रमसंस्करण, व्यासवचनम्, पत्र सं० २२)

व्युत्पादनमनेन संसाध्यते । एकमुदाहरणम्—राजपुत्रैः शिविरादिषु रात्रौ निद्राया-
मपि तथा सावधानैर्भवितव्यं, यथा सर्षपनिपातशब्देऽपि प्रबुध्य तस्य निमित्त-
प्रचारादि सर्वं निष्कर्षणीयमित्यर्थशास्त्रे विहितम् । यावद्द्विनं तत्कर्तव्यकार्याणि
कृत्वा श्रान्तेन राजपुत्रेणेदं विधानमशक्यं कर्तुमिति प्रतिभायात् । अस्य शक्यत्व-
मुत्पादनं शुनो निद्रामुदाहृत्य कर्तुं शक्यते ।

मनुष्यशरीरे मांसपेश्यः सङ्घचया परिपूर्णाः सन्ति, नैवमितरप्राणिनां शरीरेषु ।
परन्वितरप्राणिसदृशपेशीषु मनुष्यशरीरे सतीष्वपि काश्चिच्छुष्का निरुपयोगिन्यश्च
वर्तन्ते । तासां प्रयत्नेन पोषणे कृते ताः कार्यक्षमाः सम्भवन्ति । आख्यायिको-
दाहरणेन एतादृशविषयाणां व्युत्पत्त्या नीत्यनुष्ठानं शक्यमिति संसाध्यते ।
प्रात्यक्षिकोपपत्त्या सहैवं व्युत्पत्तिराख्यायिकोदाहरणप्रयोजनम् ।

४—धर्मशास्त्रमितिहासे परिगणितम् । पूर्वोक्ततज्जापुरबृहदीश्वरगोपुर-
कलशसदृशस्याद्भुतस्य स्थायिविश्वासस्य निर्माणे धर्म एक एवोपायः । धर्मातिक्रमे
परलोकमीतिः, असत्यानुसरणे लज्जा च मनुष्यं प्रधानतया संयच्छतः । अतो
धर्मशास्त्रस्य नीतिनिर्णये संग्रह आवश्यकः ।

५—एवमर्थशास्त्रमपि । नीतेर्विषयाणां प्रत्यक्ष-अन्वयव्यतिरेकात्मकप्रमाण-
द्वारा निर्णयत्वेन सर्वमपि विज्ञानशास्त्रं नीतिनिर्णये इतिहासप्रमाणतया संगृहीतम् ।
अर्थशास्त्रमित्यनेन सर्वमेव विज्ञानशास्त्रमन्तर्भावितम् ।

एवञ्च सर्वस्य सारांशोऽयमेव यत् धर्मनिर्णयो नीतिनिर्णय एव । स च
सुमतिभावफलको मतिभाव इति सङ्गीतरत्नाकरादवगम्यते ।

स च—“अपूर्वप्रतिभानं म्यान्मतिस्तां तु विभावयेत् ।

अन्वयव्यतिरेकोत्थैः प्रत्ययैः शास्त्रचिन्तनैः ॥

ऊहापोहैश्च विविधैरथ तामनुभावयेत् ।”

इत्यादिरूपः सिद्धयति । एवंप्रकारेतिहासश्रवणं भोजनोत्तराहर्भागे राज्ञा कर्तव्य-
मिति सोपपत्तिकम् ।

अत्र लेखे समुपस्थापयिष्यमाणं “प्रमाणं लिखितं भुक्तिः साक्षिणश्चेति
कीर्तितम्” (या, स्मृ. व्य. श्लो, २२३) इति याज्ञवल्क्याद्युक्तान्यतमं प्रमाणमपि

अनुमानप्रमाण-परोक्षात्मकशब्दप्रमाणान्यतरत्वात्तादृशनीतिलक्षणघटकं इति
 वक्ष्यमाणवीरमित्रोदयव्यवहारप्रकाशोद्धरणपर्यालोचने सिध्यति । तदुक्तं तत्र—
 “अनयोश्च साक्षिलेखयोः शब्दाभिव्यञ्जकत्वात् शब्दप्रमाणेऽन्तर्भावः” । तथा हि—
 यथोक्तगुणवतां दोषरहितानां च साक्षिणामाप्तवाक्यावश्यम्भावात् आप्तवाक्यस्य च
 प्रामाण्यात्, तदुभयविशेषणवत्तानिर्धारणायैव साक्षिपरीक्षोपदेशः । आप्तवाक्यस्य
 च वक्तृज्ञानानुमापकत्वेन स्वातन्त्र्येण वा प्रामाण्यमित्यन्यदेतदिति । (वी. व्य.
 पृ. १५२ पं. ६) भुक्तेस्तु वक्ष्यमाणविशेषणवत्याः स्वत्वहेत्वविनाभावात्
 स्वत्वानुमापकत्वमिति च । (वी० व्य० पृ० १५३ पं० २५) अत्राप-
 त्वाक्यस्य वक्तृज्ञानानुमापकत्वपक्षो यः प्रथमोपन्यस्तस्तदनुसारेण सर्वेषामेव
 शब्दप्रमाणानामनुरूपेण परिणमितानां निर्दुष्टप्रमितिजनकत्वं तर्कशास्त्रसरण्या
 दृढमेव । अत एव बौद्धानामपि तत्रापहृतिर्न सम्भवति । एवं च एकमपि तादृशं
 बाधकदृढतरप्रमाणरहितं वचनं साक्षिरूपेण लिखितरूपेण च यावत् पुरतस्तिष्ठति,
 तावत् पौरस्यनास्तिकीयेनापि न्यायालयेन चार्वाकीयेण बौद्धीयेनापि वा क्रमिक-
 विकासवादिनः आधुनिकपाश्चात्यानुयायिनास्तिकस्यासम्भावनामात्रेण तद्विरुद्धसिद्धान्त-
 स्येतिहासत्वकल्पनं न कर्त्तुं शक्यते ।

परमविरक्ताः योगिनः सत्यवक्तारो भवन्तीत्यत्र भारतीयाध्यात्मिकदर्शनीय-
 स्तर्क एवं प्रथितः साधारणतः असत्यवाक्यं प्रति भ्रम-प्रमाद-विप्रलिप्सा-करणा-
 पाटवानि कारणानि । कस्यचिन्न्यायाधीशस्यान्यस्य वा निर्णयः, ततः सत्यतया
 परिगृह्यते, यतः असत्यताकारणानि उपर्युक्तानि न स्युरिति लोके प्रसिद्धम् ।
 भ्रमादिकारणसत्त्वे न्यायाधीशस्यापि निर्णयः असत्यो भवितुमर्हति । अत एव
 पुराणे आण्णमाण्डव्यऋषिः, सत्यनारायणव्रतकथायां साधुवैश्यः वास्तवापराधं
 विनापि भ्रमात् न्यायाधीशेन राज्ञा शिक्षापात्रतां नीतौ । ज्ञानपरिपूर्णे जनः
 भ्रमाभिभूतो न भवितुमर्हति ।

एवं न्यायाधीशोऽन्यो वा यः किञ्चिद्विधानं शिलालेखादिकं वा करोति,
 कस्यापि प्रमादेन तत्कृतमसत्यं भवितुमर्हति । मुद्गराक्षसे नाटके मन्त्रिराक्षस-
 गृहगतानां प्रमादात् मन्त्रिणोऽङ्गुलीयकं चाणक्यहस्तगतमभवदिति प्रसिद्धम् ।
 ततश्च तदङ्गुलीयकमुद्रितार्थदूषणपत्राण्युद्भाव्य भेदनीतिद्वारा मन्त्रिराक्षसस्य पराभवः

सुकरोऽभवत् । पूर्णधर्मानुष्ठाता प्रमादेन नाभिमूयते । धर्मातिक्रमणस्यैव नीति-
च्युतिरूपस्य प्रमादपदार्थत्वात् ।

न्यायाधीशो यदि लोभेन उल्कोचादिकं गृह्णीयात्तदा तन्निमित्तमसत्यं निर्णयं
विदध्यात् । अत्र विषये अधुना उदाहरणानां सुभिक्षैव । वैराग्यं तत्रौषधम् ।
परमविरक्तो जनो विप्रलिप्सुर्न भवितुमर्हति ।

न्यायाधीशो यदि विक्षिप्तचित्तो भवेत्तर्हि तदाप्यसत्यविधानं सम्भवति ।
रागद्वेषादिग्रस्तो वा भवेत्तदाप्यसत्यलेखनादिकर्ता सम्भवैदपि । उदाहरणमिहैकं
पेशवाराज्यकाले नारायणरावमहोदयस्य बन्धनित्तलेखः । तत्र नारायणरावविषये
बन्धने अवरोद्धुं धारयेत्याज्ञालेखो निःसारितः । तस्य लेखस्य बन्धनकर्मनियुक्तं
प्रति प्राप्तेः पूर्वं मध्य एव धारयेत्यस्य मारयेति विपरिवृत्तिद्वेषविकारवता कृता ।
ततश्च विकारवशालेखोऽसत्यो जातः । अणिमाद्यैश्वर्यवतां तु नैवंविधकरणा-
पाटवादसत्यता सम्भवति । धर्मज्ञानविरागवशाद्येऽणिमाद्यैश्वर्यशालिनो भवन्ति तेषां
वपुषि आधुनिकैर्मस्मेरिकप्रक्रियेति व्यवहियमाणतेजोऽपेक्षयाप्यतीव दिव्यं सद्भाव-
शक्तिसञ्चारसमर्थं तेजः प्रसर्पति, येन न केवलं मनुष्याः, किन्तु तिर्यञ्चोऽपि
विकारादिरहिताः सन्तो विनीयन्ते स्मेति विनेयेष्वपि करणापाटवमपाक्रियते ।
धर्मज्ञानविरागवशादेवंविधैश्वर्यतेजसा देदीप्यमानास्ते पूर्वं भारतीया राजानस्तद्गुरवो
योगिनश्चासन्, येषु करणापाटवं कथञ्चिदपि न सम्भाव्यते ।

एवं चतुर्विधकारणैरसत्यविधानं शब्दलेखादिषु सम्भाव्यते । एतेषां मध्ये
एकस्यापि कारणस्याभावे कदाप्यसत्यनिर्णयस्य नैव प्रसक्तिरित्येतन्निश्चप्रचम् । न्याय-
वार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका—तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धिग्रन्थावलोकनेऽत्रविषये सर्वं स्पष्टं भवति ।
कारणाभावात्कार्याभावः सर्वसम्मतो विज्ञानसिद्धश्च । एवञ्चोक्तासत्यताकारणाभाव-
नियतचिह्ननिरतिशयधर्मज्ञानविरागाणिमाद्यैश्वर्ययुक्तानामृषीणां वचनमसत्यमिति
न सचेतसा वक्तुं शक्यते । वीरमित्रोदयव्यवहारप्रकाशस्य पूर्वोपवर्जितोऽर्थोप्यत्र-
विषये उपष्टम्भको वर्तते ।

भारतीयाः पूर्वं ऋषयः कथमुच्चकक्षाका विद्वांस आसन्निति तेषां शास्त्राण्यव-
लोकयतां स्फुटमेव । ऋषिकर्तृकाणीतरदर्शनादिशास्त्राणोव राजनीतिशास्त्रमपि

तत्कर्तृकं परिपूर्णं सर्वात्मनेति । यथा यथा समालोच्यते तथा तथा दूरदर्शिनं स्फुटीभवति । तत्रत्यस्यैकैकस्यापि विषयस्य व्यतिक्रमे कृते सति घोरघोरतरा विषयः प्रादुर्भवन्तीति इतिहासाद्वर्तमानसमस्यावशाच्च स्फुटी भवति । अतो वक्तव्यमापतति, यद्वाजनीतिविषयेऽपि ऋषीणां दृष्टिः परिपूर्णति विमर्शकानां दृष्ट्या विज्ञायते ।

राजनीतिग्रन्थानामेतेषां कर्तारो मुनयस्तदध्येतारश्च राजानो राजपुत्रास्तत्सह-कारिणोऽमात्याश्चेत्येते सर्वेऽपि विरागज्ञानैश्वर्यसम्पन्नाश्चेद्भवन्ति, तर्हि तेष्वसत्यं कथं पदं दधाति ? “अलक्सान्दर” प्रभृतयस्तत्सहयोगिनश्च प्राचीनाः पाश्चात्यमहा-पुरुषाः पाश्चात्यानां यदि मान्यास्तर्हि तेषामलक्सान्दरादीनां सुतरामद्भुतरसालम्बनी-भूताः साश्वर्यमादरपात्रभूता भारतीयाः पूर्वे ऋषयो योगिनो विरक्ताः विद्वांसः सत्य-निष्ठा राजानश्च कथं न पाश्चात्यानामपि माननीयाः ? औद्धत्यमात्रमपहाय नान्यत् किमपि तत्रानादरकारणं सम्भवतीति समनुभूयते इति ।

पूर्वोक्तविचारे प्रमादः करणापाटवं चासत्यताहेतू राजनीत्यधिकृतमात्रवर्तिनौ न भवत इति स्थितिः सम्भाविता, तदनुसारेण कस्यचिद्वचनस्य दूषितत्वाशङ्का च पूर्वोक्तैर्दशप्रकारैर्विशेषैरपनीयत इति सर्वथा सत्यत्वं नीत्युद्धृतानां वचनानां निश्चप्रचम् ।

अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे आलोचनार्हो विषय एकोऽधुना समुपस्थाप्यते । पुराण-कर्तुर्महर्षवतो वेदव्यासस्य वर्धापनदिने सर्वैरेवास्तिकैर्महाराजैः सश्रद्धं पूज्यमानस्य चिरजीवित्वं शास्त्रप्रसिद्धं लोकप्रसिद्धमपि । राजनीतिसमुद्धृतेतिहासप्रमाण-दृष्ट्याऽस्य विषयस्य सत्कर्तृपष्टब्धत्वे निश्चिते सति पुराणानां धर्मज्ञानवैराग्यैश्वर्याति-शयवत् पुरुषप्रणीतत्वमैतिहासिकमद्भुतं तत्त्वं सिद्धं भवति । सोऽयं प्रमाणभूतो भारतीयराजनीतेरितिहासो राजनीत्यामेवोक्त एवमुपलभ्यते । यथोक्तमुपाध्याय-निरपेक्षायां नीतिसारटीकायाम्—

“ब्रह्माध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।

तत्रारदेन शक्रेण गुरुणा भार्गवेण च ॥

भारद्वाजविशालाक्षभीष्मपाराशरैस्तथा ।

सङ्क्षिप्तं मनुना चैव तथा चान्यैर्महर्षिभिः ॥

प्रजानामायुषो ह्रासं विज्ञाय च महात्मना ।

सङ्क्षिप्तं विष्णुगुप्तेन नृपाणामर्थसिद्धये” इति ॥

(कामन्दकी० टी०; जयमङ्गला च अधिकरण १. अ० १)

महाभारते^{१०} ऽप्येतदनुकूलान्येवेतिहासवचनानि अर्थशास्त्रव्याख्यायां जय-
मङ्गलायां च दृश्यन्ते । उक्तवचनेषु आयुषो ह्रास उत्तरोत्तरग्रन्थनिर्माणे हेतु-
रित्युक्त्या चिरायुष्ट्वं ब्रह्मादीनां समर्थ्यते ।

एवंविधं चिरायुष्ट्वमौषधिसेवनेन सम्भवतीत्यायुर्वेदविदो वदन्ति ।^{११}

१०—(ब्रह्मा) ततोऽध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।

“ततस्तां भगवान्नीतिं पूर्वं जग्राह शङ्करः ।

बहुरूपो विशालाक्षः शिवः स्थाणुरमापतिः ॥ ८० ॥

प्रजानामायुषो ह्रासं विज्ञाय भगवाच्छिवः ।

सञ्चिक्षेप ततः शास्त्रं महास्त्रं ब्रह्मणा कृतम् ॥ ८१ ॥

वैशालाक्षमितिप्रोक्तं तदिन्द्रः प्रत्यपद्यत ।

दशाध्यायसहस्राणि सुब्रह्मण्यो महातपाः ॥ ८२ ॥

भगवानपि तच्छास्त्रं सञ्चिक्षेप पुरन्दरः ।

सहस्रैः पञ्चभिस्तात ! यदुक्तं बाहुदन्तकम् ॥ ८३ ॥

अध्यायानां सहस्रैस्तु त्रिभिरेव बृहस्पतिः ।

सञ्चिक्षेप स्वयं बुद्ध्या बार्हस्पत्यं तदुच्यते ॥ ८४ ॥

अध्यायानां सहस्रेण काव्यः सङ्क्षेपमब्रवीत् ।

तच्छास्त्रममितप्रज्ञो योगाचार्यो महायशाः ॥ ८५ ॥

एवं लोकानुरोधेन शास्त्रमेतन्मर्षिभिः ।

सङ्क्षिप्तमायुर्विज्ञाय मर्त्यानां ह्रासमेव च ॥ ८६ ॥

(महाभा० शान्तिप०, राज०, अ० ५६)

११—ओषधीनां पतिं सोममुपयुज्य विचक्षणः ।

दशवर्षसहस्राणि नवां धारयते तनुम् ॥

नाग्निर्न तोर्यं न विषं न शस्त्रं नास्त्रमेव च ।

तस्यालमायुः क्षपणे समर्थाश्च भवन्ति हि ॥

भद्राणां षष्टिवर्षाणां प्रसूतानामनेकधा ।

कुञ्जराणां सहस्रस्य बलं समधिगच्छति ॥

क्षीरोदं शक्रसदनमुत्तरांश्च कुरूनपि ।

यत्रेच्छति स गन्तुं वा तत्राप्रतिहता गतिः ॥

कश्यपसंहितायां^{१२} कुमारभृत्ये तन्त्रे एवंविधचिरायुष्ट्वयुक्तानि पूर्वयुगशरीराणि निर्दिष्टानि सन्ति । भृगुसंहिताद्वारा त्रिकालविषयफलादेशकथनदृष्टसंवादे

कन्दर्पं इव रूपेण कान्त्या चन्द्र इवापरः ।

प्रह्लादयति भूतानां मनांसि स महाद्युतिः ॥

साङ्गोपाङ्गाश्च निखिलान् वेदान् विन्दति तत्त्वतः ।

चरत्यमोघसङ्कल्पो देववच्चाखिलं जगत् ॥ इति ।

(सुश्रुते, चिकित्सितस्थाने २६ अध्याये कलकत्तामुद्रितेऽतिप्राचीने पुस्तके १५८ पृष्ठे)

१२—“कृतयुगे तु नारायणं नाम देहिनां संहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते, तस्मात्तदाहुः— तस्य धनं निष्कपालं शिरः, अस्थीनि च सत्त्वास्पदान्याकृतयो वज्रगरीयस्यः, हृदि चास्य महाशिरा दशैव, त्वगस्य शिरश्चाभेद्यमच्छेद्यं, सर्वतोऽस्य शुक्रं, योजनं चास्योत्सेधः, समरात्रं चास्य गर्भवासः, सद्यो जातस्य चास्य सर्वकर्मणि शक्यानि भवन्ति । न चैनं क्षुत्पिपासाश्रमग्लानिशोकभयेष्यऽधर्मचिन्ताधिग्न्याधिजरा बाधन्ते, न च स्तन्यवृत्तिर्भवति । धर्मतोषज्ञानविज्ञानस्थितियुक्तिश्चातिभवति । तस्य पलितोपमाधं (?) मायुरुक्कृष्टमाहुरिति । अथ त्रेतायामधनंनारायणं नाम देहिनां संहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते । तस्यैकास्थिप्रायं शरीरमाकुञ्चनप्रसारणवज्र्यं, गर्भवासोऽस्याष्टमासिकः, स्तन्यजीविका च द्वे शिरस्कपाले, पार्श्वयोरेकैकः सन्धिः, उरसि च, त्र्यस्थिपृष्ठं कोष्ठस्य सिरा विशतिः, शुक्रं च, पलितोपम (?) चतुर्भगिमायुरुक्कृष्टं पूर्वाच्चार्यगुणावसर्पणमिति । अथ द्वापरे कौशिकसंहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते केशमात्राणुसुषिरास्थि, अतिक्षिप्तसन्धिः, महाहस्तिबलः (लं) शिरानुवेषितगात्रः (त्रं) गात्रसन्धिषु चास्य शुक्रं, पलितोपमा(?)ष्टभागमायुरुक्कृष्टं पूर्वाच्चार्यगुणावसर्पणमिति । अथ कलियुगे प्रज्ञप्तिपिशितं संहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते तस्य षष्टिश्च त्रीणि चास्थिशतानि भृशसुषिराणि मज्जापूर्णानि बलवदासन्नबंधानि चत्वारि मांसपेशिशतानि, सप्तसिरा शतानि हृदयमूलानि, नव स्नायुशतानि मस्तुलुङ्गमूलानि, द्वे धमनी, शते तालुमूले, सप्तोत्तरं मर्मशतं, त्रीणि महामर्माणि, दश प्राणायतानि, पञ्च हृदयानि, त्रीणि सन्धिशतान्येकाशीता- (त्यधिका) नि, चतुर्दशकण्डराः, कूर्चाः द्विचत्वारिंशतः, षट् त्वचः, सप्त घातवः, स्रोतांसि द्विविधानि जातस्य पृथग्दन्तजन्म, दशमासं गर्भवासः, संवत्सराद्दूर्ध्वं प्रतितिष्ठति, वाचं च विसृजति तस्य वर्षशतमायुरुक्कृष्टं सुखदुःखाधिग्न्याधिजरामृत्युपरिगतः.....सर्वगात्रः क्षुत्पिपासागौरव-श्रमशैथिल्यचित्तेष्यारोषानृतलौल्यपरिक्लेशमोहवियोगप्रायः संसारगोचरः, अवाधबहुल इति द्वे द्वे युगे सत्त्वरजस्तमोऽन्वये विद्धि ।

(कश्यपसंहिता, कुमारभृत्यतन्त्रम्)

ज्योतिषेऽपि पञ्चाङ्गकर्तृभिरेवंविधा स्थितिः स्वीक्रियते । योगसूत्रेऽपि “उदान-
जयाज्जलपङ्ककण्टकादिप्वसङ्ग उत्क्रान्तिश्चे”ति (पा० यो० सू० ३-३९) सूत्रद्वारा
स्वेच्छामरणसिद्धिरुदानवायोर्जयाद्भवतीति प्रतिपादितम् । तच्च भीष्मप्रभृतिष्वा-
सीदिति महाभारतद्वारा दृष्टम् ।

समाधिभाजां मुनीनामुक्तरीत्या जितश्वासानां दीर्घजीवित्वभोजःकृतात् पुष्फु-
सहृदययोर्विश्रान्तिसुखलाभात्सम्भवतीति स्थितौ पुराणोपवर्णितं चिरायुष्ट्वं न केना-
पि प्रमाणेन विरुध्यते । अत एवायुर्वेदोक्तस्य रसायनकल्पस्योक्तयोगसाहाय्ये-
नैव कार्यकरणत्वाद्योगशास्त्रे “जन्मौषधिमन्त्रतपःसमाधिजाः सिद्धयः” (पा०
यो० सू० ४, १) इति सूत्रद्वारा परिकलनं कृतम् । तदुक्तम् तट्टीकायां
नारायणतीर्थैः—

“एताश्चतस्रः सिद्धयः पूर्वजन्माभ्यस्तयोगजाश्च जन्मादिनिमित्तेन व्यज्यन्ते ।
अत एव योगाभ्यासे विश्वासेन प्रवृत्तिः । इह सिद्धयदर्शनेऽपि जन्मान्तरे
साफल्यदि”ति ।

यद्यपि “शतायुर्वै पुरुषः” इति श्रुतिप्रतिपादितशतवर्षजीविनां सहस्रसंवत्सर-
सत्रयागानुष्ठानं न सम्भवतीत्युक्त्वा तत्रत्यसंवत्सरशब्दो दिनपरतयोपवर्णितो
मीमांसकैस्तथापि तस्याः श्रुतेस्तावद्वर्षसम्पादनीयश्वासवान् पुरुषो भवतीत्यर्थकत्वस्य
नारायणतीर्थादिभिरुक्तत्वात् कुम्भकाभ्यासवतामधिकायुष्ट्वे नास्त्येव बाधकम् ।

अत एव “आचारात् स्मृतिं ज्ञात्वा स्मृतेस्तु श्रुतिकल्पनम्”
इति मीमांसाप्रतिपादितः स्मृतिकर्तृमात्राणां तदीयाप्रतिहतैश्वर्य्यकृतां
यावच्छ्रुतिप्राप्तिं मूलीकृत्य प्रवृत्तः सिद्धान्तो मीमांसकानामेवोपपद्यते ।
सत्रयागप्रवृत्तानां तु बाह्यकर्माभिमुखतया श्वासप्रवृत्तेर्भावात्तादृशकुम्भकाभ्यासासम्भ-
वात्सम्बत्सरशब्दस्य दिनपरत्वमुपवर्णितं मीमांसकैरित्युक्तेऽर्थे तद्विशोधोऽपि नास्ति ।

अलक्सान्दरेण म्लेच्छपतिना तदीयैर्“मैगास्थनीस” प्रभृतिभिः पाश्चात्यमान-
नीयमहापुरुषैर्भारतवर्षीयाणां योगिनां मन्त्रसिद्धानामायुर्वेदविदां सर्पविषचिकित्सकानां
च इतः पूर्वं त्रयोविंशशताब्दीभवैर्दर्शनं तदीयाश्वर्य्यमाहात्म्यं च दृष्टमिति

पाश्चात्येतिहास एवोल्लिखितं सर्वेषामेव सचेतसां दृष्टिगोचरमस्त्येव । अतोऽत्र विषये पाश्चात्या अपि न विप्रतिपत्तुमर्हन्ति ।

विशेषतो याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिव्याख्यायां बालक्रीडायां (आचाराध्याय, श्लो० ३२३, ३२८) विशालाक्षवृहस्पत्यादिग्रन्थवचनानामुद्धरणे प्रत्यक्षं दृश्यमाने सति नांघ्रशास्त्रटीकायामभिनवभारत्यां (अधिकरण २४, अ० ८८) तदुभय-ग्रन्थतो निर्धारणोपार्थविशेषोक्तैश्च दर्शने सति विशालाक्षादीनां लक्षाध्यायाद्यात्मक-ग्रन्थाध्येतृत्वं दशसहस्राध्यायादिग्रन्थप्रणेतृत्वं तदुपयुक्तचिरायुष्ट्वं च महाभारतोक्तं यत्सूचितं नीतिसारटीकायां अर्थशास्त्रजयमङ्गलायां च तत्सर्वथा सम्भवदुक्तिकमेव ।

यथा च राजनीतिग्रन्थानामेतादृशानां पर्यालोचने विशालाक्षादीनां चिर-जीवित्वमैतिहासिकतथ्यरूपं सिद्धं भवति, तथैव पूर्वोक्तनीतिसारटीकावचन एव पाराशरपदेन निर्दिष्टस्य समस्तवेदशाखाध्यापकस्य बह्मविदग्नेसरस्य जगद्-गुरोर्भगवतो वेदव्यासस्यापि “न तस्य प्राणा उत्क्रामन्ति, अत्रैव समवलीयन्ते” “नोत्क्रामन्ति मुनेः प्राणा व्यापी सर्वगतो हि सः ।” इत्यादिवचनोपष्टम्भेन “यावदधिकारमवस्थितिराधिकारिकाणामि”ति (वेदान्त, अ० ३, पा० ३, सू० ३२), वेदान्तसूत्रस्थापितन्यायेन चिरजीवित्वं स्वीकर्त्तव्यं भवति, योगित्वात् त्रिकाल-ज्ञानित्वं च । अत एव भृगुसंहितादिज्यौतिषग्रन्थवत्पुराणं प्रत्यप्युच्यते—

“पुराणसंहिता तात ! ब्रूते त्रैकालिकीं कथाम्” इति । एतद्विरुद्धं व्यासपदवीभृतो बहवो व्यासास्तत्स्थलाभिषिक्ता आसन्तस्यां चतुर्युगपरिवृत्ता-वित्याधुनिकैतिहासिकद्वारा क्रियमाणं तु समाधानं पुराणेषूपवर्ण्यमानस्य भीष्मा-दीनां स्वेच्छामरणस्य भविष्यत्कल्यादिचरितस्य च कपोलकल्पितत्वाशङ्कापरम् ।

अत एवंविधेषु विषयेषु भारतीयराजनीतिदृष्ट्या पर्यालोचनमेव भारतीया-चार्यगौरवविनाशिनः कूटेतिहासनिर्माणद्रक्षकं भवेत् ।

उपर्युल्लिखितं नीतिसारटीकान्तर्गतवाक्यं प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमानलक्षणप्रमाणत्रय-निर्णीतेष्टसाधनताकर्मरानुष्ठानात्मकभारतीयराजनीतिपुरस्कृतत्वादवश्यमेव विश्वास-योग्यम् । क्रमिकविकासवादिन आधुनिकैतिहासिकस्य मतमाश्रित्यास्य वचनस्य

प्रामाणिकताविषये सशङ्का भवामश्चेत्तथा सति तर्कमर्यादामपि लङ्घयेम । तामतिलङ्घ्य च केनापि प्रमाणेनेतिहासं संशोध्य विश्वस्तेतिहासं समधिगन्तुं निर्मातुं च नैवाधिकारिणः सम्भवेम । अत एवोक्तम्—

“यस्य प्रमाणं न भवेत्प्रमाणं कस्तस्य कुर्याद्वचनं प्रमाणमि”ति ।

किञ्च अद्यत्वे इतिहाससंशोधकतया स्वात्मानं प्रख्यापयन्तः प्राचीनराजकीयशिलालेख-राजशासन-मुद्रादिसाधनान्यादाय संशोधनं कुर्मः । एतेषां साधनानां विषये प्रामाण्यनिश्चये सत्येव ततो निर्धार्यमाणेतिहासो विश्वासाहो भवितुमर्हति । तत्प्रामाण्यनिश्चयश्च तत्कर्तृणां प्रामाण्यनिश्चयादेव कर्तव्यो भवति । तर्कशुद्ध-बुद्ध्या तत्प्रामाण्यं निर्णयं चेत्तन्निर्मातारस्तत्रासत्यं न कृतवन्त इति मतौ सत्यामेव निर्णेतुं शक्यम् । एवं च येषां राजादीनां शिलालेखादि किमपि नासत्यतया बुध्यते, तेषां प्रेरकाण्यनुष्ठेयानि च शास्त्राणि प्रामाणिकतां विना कथं भवितुमर्हन्ति ? तेषां तादृशानाम्मध्ये येष्वनुष्ठेयेषु च प्रेरकशास्त्रेषु प्रतारकादि-प्रकल्प्येतिहाससंशोधकत्वमात्मनः ख्यापयितारो वयं यदि भवेम तदा स्वारूढ-शाखामेव स्वकुठारेण निधनतामौषम्यं स्वस्मिन्नावाहयेम इति ।

PURĀṆA APOCRYPHA : A "MAṆIPURA-PURĀṆA"*

By

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे मणिपुरप्रदेशे मेथेइभाषायां प्रचलितानां पुराण-सदृशानाम् आख्यानानामुत्पत्तिविकासविषयादीनां विवेचनं कृतम् । महर्षिव्यासः आर्येषु अनार्येषु मिश्रितजातिषु च प्रचलितानां परम्पराणा-माख्यानानाञ्च संग्रहाय प्रयत्नं कृतवान् । संस्कृतभाषायां निबद्धानामासां कथानां परम्पराणाञ्च 'पुराणम्' इति संज्ञा बभूव । व्यासानन्तरं तस्य शिष्यप्रशिष्यैः परवर्तिपुरुषैश्च काले काले पुराणेषु नवीनसामग्रीं समावेश्य तेषां विस्तारः कृतः । पुनश्च ख्रिष्टीयसंवत्सरस्य प्रथमशताब्द्यां पुराणसंख्या 'अष्टादश' इति स्थिरा बभूव । पुराणानां परिभाषा स्वरूपं च पुराणेषु निर्दिश्यते । किन्तु पुराणसंख्यायाः स्थिरीकरणानन्तरमपि तेषां विकास-प्रक्रिया नावरुद्धा । पुराणेषु नवीनविषयाणां संग्रहः पूर्ववदेव प्रचलितः, येन उपपुराणानां सृष्टिर्जाता । तेषामपि संख्या 'अष्टादश' इति स्थिरीकृता ।

किन्तु पौराणिकविषयाणां विकासो नावरुद्धः । यथा संस्कृते तथैव हिन्दी-मराठी-बंगला-तमिलप्रभृतिषु भाषास्वपि नानाख्यानानां निर्माणं संग्रहश्च जातः । ते देशीयभाषासंग्रहाः केनापि कारणेन संस्कृते नानुदिताः पुराणेषु च न समावेशिताः । एतान्याख्यानानि विषयाश्च संस्कृत-पुराणसदृशान्येव अतस्तानि देशीयभाषापुराणानीति संज्ञामर्हन्ति यथा तमिलभाषायां रचितानि स्थलपुराणानि ।

एतादृश्यः कथा लोकभाषासु बहुलतया प्राप्यन्ते, यथा वसिष्ठस्य चीनगमनं ततः चीनाचारस्य वा भारते आनयनमिति क्वचित् तन्त्रेषु दृश्यते अनेका रामकथा लोकभाषासु प्रचरन्ति । प्रथमशताब्दीमारभ्याष्टा-दशशताब्दीपर्यन्तं विकासमापद्यमाना राधाकृष्णकथाऽपि लोकभाषासु श्रूयते । इमाः सकलाः कथा देशीयभाषापुराणानि । विभिन्नसंस्कृतीनां

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Materials are available in the Maṇipurī language. Publications in English and Maṇipurī by Paṇḍitarāja Ātomābāpu Śarmā and Mutum Jhulon Singh have appeared (See Singh's English work the *Bijaya-Panchali*, published from Imphal, Maṇipur). Mention may be made of Lairenmayum Iboongohal Singh's *Introduction to Manipur*, Imphal, Maṇipur, 1960, which contains a mass of information about the Brahmanical set-up in Maṇipur.

कथानां देवानाञ्च सामञ्जस्यस्थापनाय आमु कथासु प्रयत्नो दृश्यते । मणिपुरीयमेथेइभाषायामपि एतादृश्यो नाना कथाः श्रूयन्ते । तत्रस्थः संस्कृतविद्वान् श्री आतोमबापु शर्मा मेथेइ पौरोहित्यवर्गणां ब्राह्मणीय-पुरोहितवर्गैस्सह सामञ्जस्यं स्थापयितुं प्रयत्नमकरोत् । तत्र मेथेइ-भाषायां पुराणसदृशा नाना कथा वर्तन्ते । तामु तत्रत्यदेवानां हिन्दूदेवै-स्सह एकीभावः स्थापितो दृश्यते । यथा 'मइ' इत्यस्य ब्रह्मणा सह, 'ईशिग' इत्यस्य विष्णुना सह, 'नंशित' इत्यस्य शिवेन सह, 'सोरारेल्' इत्यस्य इन्द्रेण सह, 'मजिग' इत्यस्य कुबेरेण सह । एकायाः कथाया अनुसारेण शिवः प्रथमं स्वर्गतः मणिपुरभूमावेवावततार । तत्प्रेरणया सप्त देवा अपि तस्मिन्प्रदेशे अवतीर्णाः । मणिपुरीयभाषापुराणेषु एषां देवानां हिन्दूसप्तग्रहैस्सह एकीभावः कृतो वर्तते । एतत्कथानुसारेण शिवः पार्वत्या सह मणिपुरभूमौ महारासं कृतवान् । तस्मिन् महारासे देवा आगताः । नागलोकात् अनन्तोऽप्यागतः यस्य शिरोमणिप्रकाशेन सकलं तत्स्थलमुद्भासितमभूत् येन कारणेन च अस्य स्थानस्य 'मणिपुरम्' इति संज्ञाऽभूत् । लोइथक-लोइखरोल (Loithak-Loikharol) नामके मेथेइ-भाषाग्रन्थे सृष्टिप्रक्रिया विशेषतो मानवसृष्टिरपि वर्णिता वर्तते । अतियगुरु शिदोब तेषां प्रधानतमो देवः । लोइथक लोइखरोल ग्रन्थे अन्याः कथा अपि कथ्यन्ते यासां संस्कृतपुराणैस्सह सामञ्जस्यं न वर्तते । चित्रभानोगं-न्धवंस्यापि वर्णनं तत्र वर्तते । चित्रभानुवंशस्य संस्कृतपुराणपद्धत्या वंश-क्रमोऽपि वर्णितः । अस्य कन्या चित्राङ्गदा इति कथिता तस्याः विवाहः अर्जुनेन सहाभवत् । इत्थं महाभारतस्य कथायाः मणिपुरीयविचारपद्धत्या सामञ्जस्यं सम्पादितम् । इदमनुमीयते यदियम् अर्जुनस्य कथैव मणिपुरीय-कथानां पुराणसरणौ आनयनाय प्रेरिका सञ्जाता ।]

The religious literature of India has a continuous history from the time of the first compilation of the two great masses of compositions which have been labelled under one or the other of the two heads—*Nigama* and *Āgama*. This urge for compiling lyric and narrative literary matter which was current orally into definite "books" started from the end of the Vedic period, when a new people came into being,—the composite Indian or Hindu people. As F. W. Thomas has said in his remarkable book *Expansion of Indianism* (Calcutta University, 1938), "It was at the end of the Vedic period that the *Indian Man* came into being." A new people with elements from at least four different and

distinct groups, with languages and cultures of their own, started being formed, and this people began to expand, immediately after its formation, throughout the whole of India. The pre-Aryan peoples of India—the Austrics, the Mongoloids and the Dravids—were welded together into one people with the Aryans; and this happened at first largely under Aryan control and organisation, with the Aryan language becoming the accepted language of this new people. In North India, the pre-Aryan languages, because of want of cohesion among them, yielded place to the Aryan speech. As a result of this, we now find the greater part of North India to have become Aryan-speaking. But in South India, although the social and cultural organisation was effected through the Aryan speech *par excellence*, viz., Sanskrit, the Dravidian languages formed consolidated blocs which could not be much disturbed or removed by the Aryan language.

A mixed people, with the Aryan language as its common speech, started establishing itself on the Indian scene and taking virtual possession of it (at least in Northern India) from about the 10th century B. C., if not earlier. The social, religious and political organisation of this mixed people, the ancient Hindu people, was taken in hand by two great personalities, Vyāsa, who gave to this people its literature and helped to stabilize its social order, and Kṛiṣṇa who gave it some of its most profound ideologies. Vyāsa and Kṛiṣṇa were both half-castes—Vyāsa's father, Parāśara, was a Brahman, but of mixed origin, and Vyāsa himself had a non-Aryan mother; while Kṛiṣṇa's father, Vasudeva, was an Aryan Kṣatriya, and his mother Devakī was an Asura or non-Aryan princess. Vyāsa was a unique personality, who unquestionably has a historical background, and it was he who first started to collect the extant literature current among the Aryan-speakers in his time. The floating mass of hymns as well as ritualistic directives, which were to be found among the wise men and priests of the Aryan-speaking *Herrenvolk* as well as their clients, was collected by him and arranged into the four Veda books, and therefore in Indian tradition he is called *Vyāsa* or "the Arranger." He also appears to have started a movement to collect all the legendary and historical

traditions and stories which were current among this growing mixed people with its Aryan speech—people, both of pure Aryan, and non-Aryan as well as mixed origin—and these myths and legends and tales and traditions which formed the repository of the old history and old memories of the people came to be known as the *Purāṇas*. Thus the two main streams of Indian religious literature—the *Veda* and the *Purāṇa*, with their later developments, which came also to be known respectively as *Nigama* and *Āgama*, came into the Indian scene. As regards Kṛiṣṇa, he presented, among other things, the spirit of compromise between Aryan and pre-Aryan or non-Aryan in the domain of thought as well as formal religion ; he also like Vyāsa, can be looked upon as a historical person, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in the *Mahābhārata* presenting some of the basic things in the ideology he gave to India.

The Purāṇa literature went on having an unchecked development or expansion in subsequent periods. From after the time of Vyāsa, the stream of Vedīc literature, at least in its generally accepted authentic form, became, from the nature of the case, restricted, and it finally for all practical purposes became a closed scripture. But the Purāṇas continued to be expanded in the form of various compilations and texts without any abatement. In later times, when the Purāṇa tradition was well-established, there would appear to have been a desire to prevent this unchecked or unfettered expansion of Purāṇa literature through every generation incorporating fresh materials. Probably during the beginning of the first millennium after Christ, the Purāṇa literature was sought to be closed against further accretions by declaring their number to be eighteen (this eighteen is significant as a favorite number in Hindu India : we have thus, for example, the eighteen *Parvans* of the *Mahābhārata*, and we have the eighteen Purāṇas, and the multiples of eighteen are also known : eighteen is a combination of the Aryan decimal basis of computation *plus* the Dravidian habit of computation of the basis of eight). And the Purāṇas, which were thus declared to be eighteen and not more in number, were all fathered upon Vyāsa, since the national memory of the ancient Hindus remembered that it was Vyāsa who originally

started the movement for compiling and propagating the Purāṇas, through a line of disciples among whom Sauti Lomaharṣaṇa was the first and the most illustrious. In a mnemonic verse which is fairly old and is said to occur in one of the Purāṇas, we have an enumeration of these eighteen Purāṇas :

*Bha-dvayaṃ Ma-dvayaṃ caiva, Bra-trayaṃ Vā-catustakam |
A-Nā-Pad-Liṅga-Kū-Skāni Purāṇānīti kathyate ||*

"The two *Bhas* (*Bhāgavata* and *Bhaviṣya*), the two *Mas* (*Matsya* and *Mārkaṇḍeya*), the three *Bras* (*Brahma*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Brahma-vaivarta*), and the four *Vas* (*Viṣṇu*, *Vāyu*, *Vāmana* and *Varāha*), and *Agni*, *Nārada*, *Padma*, *Liṅga*, *Garuḍa*, *Kūrma* and *Skanda*—these are declared to be the *Purāṇas*."

These Purāṇas are the repository of a huge mass of Indian lore, legendary, historical, didactic, ritualistic, scientific, philosophical, legalistic and what not. They are also the repository of a large mass of imaginative literature which was collected under Brahmanical inspiration and were given a place in these huge collections. The Purāṇas represent only a part of that astonishingly large mass of literary output which was the glory and, at the same time, one of the most bewildering things in Indian civilisation, the other masses being found in similar collections brought together by the Buddhists (in both Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit) as well as by the Jainas (in both the various Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa, and Sanskrit). But this attempt to restrict the Purāṇas to a limited number (so that, as in the case of the *Nigama* or the Vedic literature, a generally accepted canon could be established in these eighteen only) did not succeed in the Brahmanical world. The type of literature found in the Purāṇas went on accumulating, and the number grew, and newer additions or compilations became popular and began to have some authority or recognition. These were also collected as *Upa-Purāṇas*. Their number is also looked upon as eighteen, although they are not so voluminous as the Purāṇas. Then the *Mahābhārat* was there, which embodied in itself the saga of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas which were in all likelihood historical, going back

to the 10th century, B.C., but there was also quite a large mass of narrative, didactic, historical and romantic as well as philosophical and folk-loristic material which were embodied in it and gave this book its unique character, and made it almost like a Purāṇa. Then the supplementary addition to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Hari-vamśa*, was another great book in the Purāṇa tradition.

The nature of the Purāṇas, their genesis and development is now attracting the attention of scholars in India. The lead given by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, when it took up a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* some 40 years ago, with the intention of finding out a definite ancient vulgate text for the *Mahābhārata* by careful collation of manuscript-material from the whole of India, and the success with which this work was being pursued, gave an impetus in the direction of bringing out critical editions of the Purāṇas. A similar edition of the *Rāmāyana* has been taken in hand by the Sayaji Rao University of Baroda (The *Rāmāyana* has its proper place beside the *Mahābhārata* as one of the two National Epics of India, but in its origin the *Rāmāyana* is different from the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas—the *Rāmāyana* is a book on a single theme, although this theme is composite in its various components, and it bears the mark to a very large extent of a single personality as its original author or the final redactor). The University of Gujarat in Ahmedabad has similarly taken in hand the most popular of all the Purāṇas, namely the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The All-India Kashiraj Trust of Varanasi (Banaras) has undertaken as one of its great objectives a critical edition of the Purāṇas, as many as it would be possible for it to achieve. The Trust has taken up the *Matsya Purāṇa* first, and collation work is now proceeding, under the direction of the veteran Sanskrit scholar of India, Professor V. Raghavan of the University of Madras.

The history of the development of Indian thought and culture will have a great light thrown on it through the proper study and elucidation of the Purāṇas. In ancient India, in the Purāṇas themselves, attempts were made to formulate the nature of their contents and their intentions. Brahmanical India is

agreed in looking upon the Purāṇas as being a continuation, although along new lines, of the Vedic tradition. The Purāṇas are consequently regarded as being just of the nature of an amplification as well as new interpretation of the spiritual ideas of the Vedas. This is generally accepted. About their contents, some *rationale* was sought to be discovered in the bewildering mass of heterogeneous material which is presented by the Purāṇas in their totality. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which is one of the later books in this class, the following verse seeks to indicate the character and the contents of the Purāṇas :

*Sarga 'syātha Visargaś ca
Vṛttirakṣāntarāṇi ca |
Vaṁśo Vaṁśānucartitaṃ
Saṁsthā hetur Āpāśrayaḥ ||*

In the *Devī Bhāgavata* we have a similar statement of the nature of Purāṇa contents :

*Sargaśca Pratisargaśca
Vaṁśo Manvantarāṇi ca |
Vaṁśyānucaritañ caiva
Purāṇam Pañca-lakṣaṇam ||*

In the other Purāṇas also there is a consideration of the contents of the Purāṇa (see the Sanskrit article entitled *Purāṇa-Lakṣaṇāni* by Mm Pandit Sri Giridhara, Sarma Chaturvedi in the Journal, *Purāṇa*, Varanasi-Banaras, Vol. I, No. 2, February 1960, pp. 130ff.; also the article in the same Journal in Sanskrit by Sri Badarinatha Sukla, Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2, July 1960, pages 43 ff., the article with the title *Purāṇānāṃ-Lakṣaṇāni*). From this it is clear that the orthodox Brahmanical opinion regarding this proper contents of the Purāṇas were more or less accepted, and they are said to consist primarily of the following matters :

(1) Creation of the Universe (*Sarga* or *Visarga*) ; (2) Occasional Dissolutions of the Universe (*Pratisarga*, or *Vṛtti-rakṣā*, *Samsthā-hetu*, *Apāśraya*) ; (3) The Genealogy of the Gods, Divine Kings and Sages (*Vaṁśa*) ; (4) Epochs or Different Ages in the

History of the World (*Antara, Manvantara*); and finally, (5) The Deeds of the Gods, Kings and Sages (*Vaṁśānucarita* or *Vaṁśyānucarita*), etc.

But actually we find in the Purāṇas much more than the above topics, and excepting in some Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the subject-matter is not confined to these topics alone.

As a matter of fact, the Purāṇas are mostly a sort of huge collection of all popular lore as well as religious doctrines, dogmas and rituals, didactic and philosophical discussion, and above all, of stories, generally edifying, relating to the gods and men.

The Purāṇas, as it could be easily seen, are not confined to the stories and traditions of the Aryan people only. With the development of the Hindus as a mixed people, whatever was current among the various component elements, Aryan, Dravidian, Austric as well as Mongoloid, was known to the ever-increasing Aryan-speaking Hindu population, both as an Aryan or as a non-Aryan inheritance, was taken over by the Brahmans, and all this mass of materials of heterogeneous origin was accepted and put in Sanskrit. Sometimes these stories were current in the various Prakrits, and were of a folk or popular character all through, and it was easy to render them into Sanskrit. But frequently in this process much of the old Prakrit character of the language survived in the Sanskrit (which was of the nature of a palimpsest). This was noted by the first Purāṇa investigators like F.E. Pargiter and others. When the original stories were in a non-Aryan speech, it all depended upon the extent to which the legends and stories current among these non-Aryan speakers were assimilated by the newly formed Brahmanical world, that these were early rendered into Sanskrit or they were late in being adopted; and, in many cases they have not been brought within the orbit of Sanskrit as yet. Whenever they were put into Sanskrit, their incorporation in one or other of the Purāṇas was easy. As a matter of fact, we can very well say that the heterogeneous and conflicting character of the Purāṇas in their story material and their folk-lore elements is due to this basic

fact, namely they represent whatever was current among the all absorbing and ever-growing Hindu people of ancient and early mediaeval India, whether by way of story or popular wisdom or social usage, and whatever was not directly in opposition to the Brahmanical synthesis, was allowed to find a place in the Purāṇas. As there was no limit to this vast population of India, of diverse origin in race and originally having different languages and types of culture, and as there was the widest amount of accommodation, the Purāṇas came to be the true repository of the floating mass of popular literature in all departments of life, expressed in terms of the Sanskrit language.

Thus from the very nature of the case, there was an unbounded and unrestrained scope for the Purāṇa to expand. Even some Brahmanical scholars wanted to bring about some kind of literary discipline, and tried to put on the brake by restricting the scope of the Purāṇa, and defining its subject-matter; but this was powerless to achieve the end. A Purāṇa canon was tacitly established, embracing the eighteen major Purāṇas. But then the Upa-Purāṇas had to be admitted after that. The Upa-Purāṇas are just in the same line, and we cannot call them "Purāṇa Apocrypha" in the strict sense of the term—they were just continuations of the Purāṇa literature which obtained some kind of recognition fairly early, and they are virtually and admittedly part of the same class of compositions as the Purāṇs. But outside of the mass of literature which became available in Sanskrit as in the eighteen "Canonical" Purāṇas and the Upa-Purāṇas, the story-telling urge of the people of India has continued and has created other cycles of legends and stories. Sometimes the myths and legends and stories of non-Aryan peoples who did not come within the fold of Hinduism in fairly ancient times have continued in the original languages, whether Austric or Dravidian or Sino-Tibetan. Even then there have been attempt occasionally to bring them within the pale of the Hindu Purāṇa. Local legends of the gods and goddesses and of kings and wise men are found all over India. Sometimes in the shape of *Māhātmyās* or "Glorious

Tales” (like the medieval European *Aurea legenda* or “the Golden Legends” of Christian saints and martyrs), they were rendered into Sanskrit and were docketed within the Purāṇas like, for example, the *Skanda Purāṇa* and the *Padma Purāṇa*. Sometimes they were not rendered into Sanskrit, although they were within the range of Hindu stories, and as such they have remained outside the orbit of the All-India Purāṇa canon ; and they are found in Tamil and Bengali, Hindi and Marathi and other languages. We have, for example, the whole series of *Sthala-Purāṇas* which are found in the Tamil country, which are really Purāṇas connected with the particular holy places and with the gods presiding over them. We can mention in this context the Tamil Śaivite *Periya-Purāṇam*, compiled in the tenth-eleventh century by Chekkilar, a work which has acquired the high authority and popularity of the Sanskrit Purāṇas.

Here we have before us a whole mass of proper “Purāṇa Apocrypha” in languages other than Sanskrit. There are many stories which have a Purāṇa character, but which still remain outside of the Purāṇas only because there was no attempt at any time to render them into Sanskrit and include them in one of the well-known or canonical Purāṇas. Yet these stories are nevertheless current and are implicitly looked upon as genuine Purāṇa stories, although they are not in Sanskrit and are in the various modern Indian languages. In some cases, these may have been rendered into Sanskrit, but are for some reason or other outside of an all-India Purāṇa canon. Thus the story of Śāmba going outside India to Śakasthāna and bringing from there a new cult of the sun-god is well-known, but the story of Vaśiṣṭha going to China and bringing from there the cult of the Tantric goddess Tārā and introducing into India the ritual of the Chinese—the *Ōinācāra* or *Vāmācāra* (or “left-handed ritual”), is not so well-known, although it has been narrated in some of Brahmanical Tantras. Thus there is quite a large mass of *Rāmāyaṇa* Apocrypha current in Bengal, which has been noted by the late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen. So also stories relating to the goddess Manasā (including that fine Middle-Bengali story of the wifely devotion of

Bihulā to her husband, young Lakṣmīndhara) ; the stories relating to the goddess Chaṇḍī and her devotees (the huntsman Kālaketu and his wife Phullarā, and the merchant Dhanapati and his two wives, Labanā and Kullanā, and his son Śrīmanta), etc. are really of the same nature as Puṇḍrīka stories. But they have not obtained a place in any canonical Purāṇa. We have in Bengal and in other parts of India a whole host of other stories relating to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa which show a development of the story element of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, right down to modern times. It can be elaborately shown how the Rādhā Kṛṣṇa story went on developing from early centuries of the Christian era right down to the eighteenth century, and this development in its entirety has just escaped being recorded as proper Purāṇa only because they were not given all-India publicity through Sanskrit and added to the Purāṇa canon, as these developments were late, and popular, and consequently neglected by the Brahman scholars. They remained a vernacular Apocrypha of the greatest amount of interest. There are a number of folk-tales which could not be tagged on to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, only because they escaped being rendered into Sanskrit and being taken in hand by the Brahmanical Purāṇa reciters. The story of how Hanūmān was responsible for the mango fruit coming to India ; how the squirrel got the stripes on its back through the grace of Rāma ; how according to a widely current Bengal legend, Kumāra or Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva, remained a confirmed bachelor, how in contrast to this version, Kumāra or Murugaṇ in the Tamil land obtained a second wife in Vallī, the daughter of a mountain chieftain of the Korava people, over and above his first wife Devasenā, the daughter of Indra ; how Śiva lived among the Koch women in North Bengal and became the ancestor of a line of Koch kings ; all these, and quite a number of other stories of this type, not yet adopted into Sanskrit, formed a veritable *Purāṇa Apocrypha*. The relations between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are of the nature of a late accretion to the Kṛṣṇa legend which found in part a place even in the canonical Purāṇas. But considerable amount of other stories and legends have remained outside the canon, and are in all propriety to be labelled as *Purāṇa Apocrypha*.

When in ancient and mediæval and even in modern times, a non-Aryan speaking group was brought within the orbit of Brahmanical Hinduism, its gods and godlings were identified with the great gods of Hinduism, so that the transition of the people from an *Ādivāsi* or aboriginal group into a Brahmanical Hindu caste was facilitated, and absorption within the wider Hindu body-politic became easy and a matter of course. But sometimes this was not attended to, and the stories have remained outside the orthodox or pan-Indian Hindu orbit. Not infrequently we have got a dual world—that of the pre-Aryan myths and legends which have mostly been tagged on to the newly introduced and usually eagerly accepted Brahmanical Hindu myths and legends. And, even now, this old spirit of compromise and co-ordination appears to be quite active. In mediæval times, it was in the nature of things that these stories would be the common property of groups of people who had not wholly forgotten their pre-Aryan heritage, although they did not have any knowledge of it. The Brahmanical spirit of accommodation and re-interpretation is nevertheless everywhere helping to bring about this kind of integration which we find in the Purāṇas.

A case in point is the story of *Makkeśvara Śiva*, or Śiva dwelling in Mecca, which is virtually an Apocryphic legend in the Purāṇa style with its different versions which was widely current in Bengal, and which even after the Partition is frequently narrated orally. It was the joint creation of the Bengali Muslim and Hindu villagers, and the experience of Bengali Muslim village people who went to perform the Hajj formed the basis of this legend. There is a famous group of temples by some hot springs, centering round the temple of Śiva, known as *Vakreśvara*, near the town of Suri in Birbhum District in West Bengal; and my friend Dr. Sukumar Sen thinks that the adoption of the name and legend of *Makkeśvara* was facilitated by the name *Vakreśvara*, which in a folk pronunciation becomes *Bakkeśwar* in Bengali. The learned men both among the Muslims and the Hindus look upon such stories with amused contempt. But nevertheless there are here and there people who implicitly believe in them. The story in one

of its common versions (which I heard sixty years ago from my father, who was sure that many uneducated Bengal Muslims from villages also believed in it) runs like this. Muhammad was a great religious leader, and, naturally, in Hindu eyes—and in the eyes of a great many imperfectly Islamized Hindus also—he was a great Yogi. As a Yogi he naturally performed penance to please the supreme god Śiva. Śiva was pleased with the piety of Muhammad, so the legend says, and gave him a boon that he was to be a conqueror of the whole world. This is how Muhammad and his followers, according to the popular Hindu notion, became masters of India. But many of the followers of Muhammad did not understand the whole thing, and they began to abuse their power and ill-treat the Hindus. The Hindus in their distress appealed to Śiva, and Śiva asked Muhammad to restrain his followers. Muhammad on the other hand pleased Śiva by further penances, and Śiva offered to give him another boon. Muhammad wanted Śiva to come and stay forever in his own native town of Mecca, to which Śiva consented without any hesitation. It was to be a holy place like Banaras, and Śiva was duly installed there. Then the Hindus were in despair because Śiva had left them, and they again approached Śiva. Śiva said that although he had given his word to Muhammad to give special sanctity to Mecca by his actual presence there, he would never forsake the Hindus if they could offer him proper worship in Mecca at least once in twelve years. It is for this reason, so the legend says, that there is a great gathering of Hindu monks and mendicants at the Kumbha-Melā at Prayāg (or Allahabad) every twelve years, when from among these *sādhus* or Hindu monks a representative is selected, who goes at considerable personal peril to Mecca to perform his worship, unknown to the Arabs. This legend arose from the ritual which is followed by the Muslim Hajis when they come out from the city of Mecca to the Arafat valley, where they take their stand on one of the hillocks and throw stones towards two stone pillars on a hill opposite. Uneducated Muslim pilgrims from rural Bengal in their ignorance would consider these two stone pillars to be two *Śiva-lingas* or phallic symbols of Śiva with

which they were familiar as emblems or images in Hindu temples and out of deference to the feelings of their Hindu co-villagers they would say that they were enjoined to offer stones to these *Śiva-liṅga* pillars instead of following the Hindu ritual of offering water and flowers and leaves, which is forbidden in Islam. Within this grotesque, though synthesising, atmosphere the story started, and we have a full-fledged legend of Makkeśvara Śiva. It may have found a place in the Purāṇa if the time and condition were suitable for it. Equally grotesque stories originated among Bengali Muslim villagers, like, for example, that of 'Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet fighting Hanūmān and converting him to Islam, or that of a Pīr Ghāzī Miyān becoming, like the Hindu Dakṣiṇa-Rāya, the god who controlled tigers in the Sundarbans in South Bengal; and some of these stories, composed in Bengali verse, were printed and were quite popular as folk literature.

Dr. Verrier Elwin has collected a number of folk-tales and legends from among the Ādivāsi peoples of central and eastern India, and these form a veritable *Ādivāsi Purāṇa* for these areas. Similarly, in recent years there has been made a learned attempt by a very erudite Sanskrit scholar of Maṇipur to harmonise the legends and traditions of the Meithei people with the Brahmanical Purāṇa, including also the two Epics. Paṇḍitarāja Ātombāpu Śarmā Vidyāratna has devoted his whole life to the teaching and propagation of the Sanskrit language, literature and lore, as the most respected religious and intellectual leader of the Maṇipur people. His edition of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and the *Gītā* and the *Gītā-Govinda*, and the *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa*, his works on astrology and many other subjects of Sanskrit lore, are very well-known. Through his own press he brings out a religious journal in the Maṇipurī language for Maṇipur Hindus. His work is published in both Sanskrit and in the Meithei or Maṇipurī language. He himself is a man of great faith in Vaiṣṇavism, and his attempt at harmonising the world of the Meithei *Maibas* or priests with the Brahmanical or Purāṇic world may be ingenious, but it is perfectly serious and sincere, and legitimate as being in the line of a tradition. The Meitheis had their old world of the gods with their Meithei

names and their special stories and legends. After the Meitheis came within the fold of Brahmanism, which must have taken place at least a thousand years ago, in spite of certain periods of intensive Hindu campaign among them at subsequent epochs, these gods continued to be worshipped through the *Maibas* and *Maibis* or priests and priestesses of the old Meithei religion. But it went on side by side with the new Hindu ritual centering round the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva and Durgā, particularly of Viṣṇu in his incarnation of Kṛiṣṇa. There was no clear margin between the two religions, but in Meithei society we have a definite attempt at translating things Meithei into terms of Sanskrit, e. g. the *Shaleis* or clans of the Meitheis were connected with the *Gotras* of the Brahmans. The result of this kind of harmonisation or integration, which has been going on in India ever since Aryans and pre-Aryans met on the soil of India and set about forming a single culture and commingling to form a single people, is still at work at Maṇipur, and it can be seen from the synthesis which has been arrived at, and which is fully believed in the larger number of Meithei people at the present day. This forms a veritable *Maṇipura Purāṇa*, and the nature of it will be apparent from a little *resumē* which I am giving below of what is virtually a new and incipient mass of *Purāṇa Apocrypha*.

To start with, the Maṇipurī people themselves identified some of their own gods and goddesses with the divinities of the Hindu pantheon, and in this way *Mai* has been identified with Brahmā, *Ishing* with Viṣṇu and *Nungshit* with Śiva; so *Shorarel* with Indra, *Marjing* with Kubera, *Koriphaba* with Varuṇa, *Wangbrel* with Yama, *Irum* with Agni and *Taoroinai* with Ananta, the divine ruler of the Nāgas. The story goes that Śiva and Pārvatī came down from heaven and descended on earth in Maṇipur valley. They liked some of the hills in that area, and they first stood on the hill of *Nongmaijing* or Nilakaṇṭha Giri "the hill of the blue throat of Śiva." These hills are considered to be sacred places in Maṇipur, and thousands of pilgrims every year visit them. Śiva acquired a new name in Maṇipur, *Poireiton*, i.e., "He who came to a new spot." In Maṇipur (which Śrī

Ātombāpu Śarmā identifies with the ancient abode of the Aryans—*Pratnaukas*, mentioned in Vedic literature), Śiva caused seven gods to descend from heaven which had seven mountain peaks in it. These seven gods were identified with the seven planets as they are known in Hindu mythology—(1) *Nongmaijing* or the sun ; (2) *Ningthoukaba* or the moon ; (3) *Leipakpoku* or Mars ; (4) *Yusaikesa* or Mercury ; (5) *Sagolmel* or Jupiter ; (6) *Irai* or Venus ; and (7) *Thanja* or Saturn. These planetary deities in the Maṇipur scene were, some of them, endowed with animal heads—Mars had the head of a buffalo, Mercury that of an elephant, Jupiter of a stag and Venus of a tiger.

After that, Śiva and Pārvatī went to the North-Western direction of Maṇipur and took up their abode in the hill known as *Koubru* or Kumāra-parvata. Maṇipur is now a predominantly Vaiṣṇava country, and naturally Viṣṇu, specially in his incarnation Kṛiṣṇa, has a pre-eminence. According to this Maṇipur legend when Kṛiṣṇa was performing the *Rāsa* dance with the Gopīs or cow-herd maidens at Vṛindāvana, Śiva and Parvatī were acting as guards at the entrance to the *maṇḍapa* or pavilion where the *Rāsa* dance was being held. From the outside, Pārvatī listened to the music and the revelry of this dance, and then she desired very much to see it. But Kṛiṣṇa did not agree. Kṛiṣṇa asked Śiva and Pārvatī to find out some other place where they themselves could hold the *Rāsa* dance. One of the reasons why Śiva and Pārvatī arrived in maṇipur and took up their abode in Koubru hill was that they regarded this spot to be the most suitable to hold the great *Rāsa* dance. But the country was full of water because of numerous rivers in it, and Śiva asked Kṛiṣṇa to make the country dry. Kṛiṣṇa came down at Śiva's request, and then a certain area became dry, and this came to be known as Viṣṇupura. Ten gods, namely Indra or *Haoba Shorarel*, Kubera or *Marjing*, Yama or *Wangbrel*, Varuṇa or *Thorikaba*, Agni or *Irum Ninghou*, Nirṛiti or the Aśvīni Kumāras or *Thanging*, Īśāna or *Chingkhei-Ninghou*, Vāyu or *Loiya Lakpa*, and two others who have only the Meithei names *Nongsaba* and *Komba-Meiriomba*, came down to Maṇipur, and through the efforts of these

gods Maṇipur became a dry country, and the first eight of these ten gods became the eight *Dikpālas*, as in Brahmanical mythology, only the last two shared with Indra the guardianship of the East. In Maṇipur, Śiva and Pārvatī found people of the Kirāta tribe in occupation.

When the country was properly cleared, the *Rāsa* or *Mahārāsa* dance by Śiva and Parvatī was arranged, and the gods assembled with various musical instruments to participate in this dance undertaken by the Father and the Mother of the Universe. The serpent king Ananta came, and with the *Maṇi* or magic jewel which was on his head he filled up the whole of Maṇipur with light for seven days and nights, until the conclusion of the *Rāsa* dance by Śiva and Pārvatī. The gods were very happy, and they blessed the land of Maṇipur that it would always remain green and fertile and the people will always have devotion to Viṣṇu. The legend says that at first the country was called Śiva-nagara, but after this great *Rāsa* dance, when the country was illumined by the *Maṇi* or Jewel of the Nāga king, the country came to be known as *Maṇi-pura*.

The gods had requested Śiva to continue to be the ruler of the country. But Śiva was unwilling, and made the Nāga king, Ananta, the ruler. When Viṣṇu had assumed his boar incarnation, through the breath from the nostrils of this divine boar, a tunnel had been made at a spot in the soil of Maṇipur. And beside this tunnel, on the top of a hill, the capital city, with the throne of Ananta, was established. The images of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa were established on two sides of the main gate of Ananta's palace. Then after setting up his kingdom, Ananta Nāga established the games and sports which are still very popular among the Maṇipur people. Boat-races were started in which the gods and the *apsarases* also took part, and there was a kind of tug-of-war with a long pole rather than a rope. The god Kubera (*Marjing*) invented the game of polo, and this pleased all the gods very much; and this is the reason, as the legend says, that whenever there is an epidemic in the country, the Maṇi-puris offer polo-sticks and balls to the gods,

After ruling over Maṇipur for some time, Ananta went back to his Nāga world down in the Pātāla or the underworld. Because Ananta was the first king of Maṇipur, the Maṇipur rulers took up as their emblem the figure of a serpent with its body in a complicated coil, and with a crown on its head. Ananta Nāga was succeeded, according to this synthesised legend, by a Gandharva named Citrabhānu.

There is, according to many Maṇipurī Hindus, the story of the creation of man, and this story is a genuine Meithei one. According to a native Maṇipurī book in Old Meithei on the legends of the gods which is still extant, the *Loithak-Loikharol*, Śiva first told this story to Gaṇeśa. This story of the creation of man runs like this :

The Supreme Deity, Atiya-Guru-Shidoba, who lives in heaven (*Atiya* means "Sky or Heaven," *Guru* is the Sanskrit word, and *Shidoba* means "immortal") decided to create man. He produced a god named *Kodin* from his own body, and *Kodin* was ordered to create such a being who would be subject to death just because of the fact that he was born. *Kodin* then created seven frogs and seven monkeys, and placed them before *Guru Shidoba*. But *Shidoba* did not like them because they did not have any intelligence and perception and no idea of right and wrong. He said to *Kodin* "Here I stand; create some animal after my appearance or my shadow." Accordingly *Kodin* created another creature, but he had no power to give it life. *Guru Shidoba* then put the breath of life into this creature, and in this way man was created. He made the frogs go into the water and the monkeys to the hills.

After this *Guru Shidoba* created *Numit* or the sun and *Toha* or the moon in the form of men, and the sun received a new name *Kojen-tu Thokpa* and the moon, *Ashiba*. Then *Guru Shidoba* vanished from the earth.

Atiya Guru Shidoba had manifested himself on earth through the tunnel in the ground which was made by the breath

of Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation. He was accompanied by seven goddesses or *apsarases*, each of whom has her own name in Maṇipurī. They were married to the seven planet gods, and each of these couples had one son. These seven sons of the gods were the ancestors of the seven Maṇipurī *Shaleis* or clans, and these seven clans have been identified with the seven *Gotras* of the Brahmans. Thus we have the *Shaleis* or *Gotras* as follows : (1) *Angom* = Bhāradvāja or Kauśika ; (2) *Ningthruja* = Śāṇḍilya ; (3) *Luwang* = Kāśyapa ; (4) *Khumol* = Maudgalya, which has also been modified to Madhukulya ; (5) *Khabangangba* = Naimiṣya or Bhāradvāja ; (6) *Moirang* = Ātreya ; and (7) *Chengloi* = Bhāradvāja.

This story is just a Maṇipurī version of the Purāṇa story of the seven Ṛiṣis who were the sons of Brahmā and the ancestors of the various *Gotras* or clans of Brahmans. According to another legend current in Maṇipur, the ancestors of these seven *Shaleis* or *Gotras* were not the sons born of the seven gods and *apsarases* as mentioned before, but rather they were born from the body of Guru Shidoba himself. This is like the creation from Brahmā's person—from the *Puruṣa*, as in the Rig-Veda—of the four castes, e.g., the Brahmans from Puruṣa's mouth, the Kṣatriyas from his two arms, the Vaiśyas from his thighs and the Śūdras from his feet. Similarly from the right and the left eye, from the right ear and the left ear, from the two nostrils and from the teeth came out the founders of these seven *Shaleis*.

In another legend which is found in the *Loithak-Loikharol*, we have a number of other stories which have not been brought in line with the extant Sanskrit Purāṇas. It is said that the two gods *Pakhamba* (alias *Sembreng*) and *Shenamahi* (alias *Kupbreng*), sons of Guru Shidoba, obtained permission from their father to descend on earth, and they came to Maṇipur. To test his sons, whether they could recognise him in a disguise, Guru Shidoba took up the form of a dead cow and began to float down the Vijayā river. The brothers recognised that it was their father who had taken this disguise, and they dragged the dead cow on dry ground. Shidoba was pleased that they could recognise him,

and gave to Senbren the name of *Pakhamba*, i.e., “he who knows the father.” The two brothers then cut the dead cow into pieces and gave portions of the body to the seven ancestors of the *Shaleis*: The place where the skin of the cow was dried came to be known as *Kangla*, which means “to dry.” The seven ancestors then performed a *Homa* Sacrifice in a fire with the portions of the cow’s body they had received. Here is thus a linking up of the Meithei legend with the Vedic ritual.

To test the intelligence of his two sons, Guru Shidoba declared that he would give the rulership of the land to whichever of the two brothers would be able to make a circuit of the world and come back first. Kupbren (or Shenamahi) then started from Kangla to go round the world. But through the advice of another god, the other brother Pakhamba simply went round father’s throne seven times. At this Guru Shidoba was pleased, because circumbulating round his father was equivalent to going round the world. The other brother returned after his journey round the world and found that Pakhamba was already established as king. There is a similar story current in Bengal about Gaṇeśa outwitting his brother Kārttikeya in the same manner by just going round his mother Pārvatī once, while Kārttikeya made a dash to fly around the world on his peacock. Out of anger, Shenamahi wanted to fight his brother Pakhamba. But Guru Shidoba came riding on Ananta, the Nāga king, and a compromise between the brothers was effected by which they were to rule in alternate years. It was also decided that during the year that he would be ruling, the brother waiting for his turn would get divine worship from the people of Maṇipur. The god *Leimaren-Shidabi* who had been the patron of the unsuccessful brother now came and declared that Guru Shidoba was the Supreme Spirit.

It was after these two brothers that the Gandharva Citrabhānu came to the scene. A pedigree has been found out for this Citrabhānu in the manner of typical Sanskrit Purāṇas. Thus we are told that Brahmā was born in the lotus which came

out from the navel of Viṣṇu, and from the body of Brahmā came out the sage Marīci, and Marīci's son was the sage Kaśyapa and Kaśyapa's son was Sūrya, the sun-god, and the sage Sāvārṇa was the son of Sūrya, and Sāvārṇa's son was Citraketu. Then we have after Citraketu his son Citradhvaja and his grand-son Citrabīja, and Citrabīja's son Citrasarva, then came Citrarāja and finally Citrabhānu. Citrāṅgadā was the daughter of Citrabhānu, and then a connexion was effected between the *Mahābhārata* and Maṇipur through the story of Arjuna coming to Maṇipur and marrying Citrāṅgadā. This legend of Arjuna and Citrāṅgadā, which is very well known in India, became, one might say, the pivot for linking up Maṇipur with the Brahmanical Purāṇa tradition.

After this we have the semi-history and early history of Maṇipur, in the shape of a succession list of the kings of Maṇipur. In this list of Maṇipur kings, we have names which are both Sanskrit and Meithei. But that need not detain us. The tragic story of the hero Khamba and the princess Thoibi, whom Khamba married after a series of heroic feats, but who was himself killed by Thoibi through an inadvertent mistake, is supposed to have taken place during the rule of the Maṇipur King Loyamba, whose name has been Sanskritised as Lavaṅga Siṃha. Loyamba is said to have ruled from 1127 to 1154. The story of Khamba and Thoibi, of course, has no religious value, and therefore it could not be said to be of the nature of a Purāṇa. But it is one of the finest stories in literature produced by the Kirāta or Sino-Tibetan people in India. The popularity of the story can be gauged from the fact that, in addition to ballads which are sung by minstrels, in recent times a great poet of Maṇipur, the late Hijum Anganghal Singh, has composed a poem of 39,000 lines on the romantic tale of Khamba and Thoibi.

In this way we have the legends and stories of the Meitheis which have been attempted to be re-told like a Purāṇa ; and if these legends had been rendered into Sanskrit, say 500 or 1000 or 1500 years ago, they could easily have found place in some Sanskrit Purāṇa. Thus it is to be always remembered that in

their nature the Purāṇas are largely of folk origin, and a mass of heterogeneous pre-Aryan or non-Aryan material has found a place within the hospitable bosom of Hinduism which has never refused to accommodate the experiences and self-expression of any group of people which was itself tolerant and accommodating.

LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ON
THE ARYAN EXPANSION IN INDIA*

BY

A. D. PUSALKER

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे साहित्यिकसाक्ष्यस्य पुरातत्त्वविद्यायाः साक्ष्यस्य च प्रामाण्यविषये प्रचलितानां विभिन्नमतानां निर्देशं कृत्वा साहित्यिक-साक्ष्यद्वारा भारतदेशे आर्याणां विस्तारक्रमस्य विवेचनं कृतम्, तस्य च पुरातत्त्वविद्यासंबन्धिसाक्ष्येण समर्थनं च कृतम्। साहित्यिकसाक्ष्यस्य प्रामाण्यविषये संस्कृतज्ञा विद्वांसः पुरातत्त्वविद्याविशेषज्ञाश्च नैकमताः। ह्वीलर-पिगाट-गोर्डनप्रभृतयः पुरातत्त्वज्ञाः साहित्यिकसाक्ष्यस्य प्रामाण्यं न स्वीकुर्वन्ति। किन्तु मजुमदारश्चीनिवासाचार्यप्रभृतिविद्वांस उभयोरेव साक्ष्ययोर्महतां स्वीकुर्वन्ति। अस्मिन् लेखे डा० पुसालकरमहोदयैः वैदिक-पौराणिकसाक्ष्याधारेण आर्याणां विस्तारक्रमः विचारितः। लेखकमतानु-सारेण जलप्रलयानन्तरं राजवंशावलिः ३१०० ई० पू० वर्षे प्रारभत, महाभारतयुद्धं च १४०० ई० पू० वर्षेऽभूत्। किन्तु अल्तेकरमहोदयस्य मतानुसारेण उभेऽपि घटने क्रमशः २००० ई० पू० वर्षे तथा १००० ई० पू० वर्षे बभूवतुः। अत्र लेखे लेखकमहोदयेन अल्तेकरमहोदयस्यैव मतं स्वीकृतम्।

ऋग्वेदस्य साक्ष्याधारेण लेखकमहोदयेन प्रदर्शितं यत् ऋग्वेद-कालीना आर्या अफगानिस्तान-पञ्जाव-सिन्ध-राजपुताना-पश्चिमोत्तरीय-प्रदेश-काश्मीरदेशेषु प्रतिष्ठिता आसन्। पूर्वस्यां दिशि सरयूनदीपर्यन्तं तेषामाधिपत्यं बभूव। अस्मिन् विषये ऋग्वेदनिर्दिष्टानां नदीपर्वतप्रदेशानां निर्देशा अपि कृताः। तत्रत्यानां विभिन्नजातीनामपि निर्देशः कृतः। ऋग्वेदात् पश्चाद्वातिनि वैदिकयुगे आर्यजनपदानां निर्देशेन प्रतिपादितं यदस्मिन् युगे सम्पूर्णं उत्तरभारतदेशः दक्षिणापथे नर्मदायाः पारे च केचिद्देशा आर्यप्रदेशा आसन्।

वैदिकसाक्ष्यानन्तरं पौराणिकसाक्ष्याधारेण आर्याणां विस्तारः प्र-दर्शितः। अत्र कृतत्रेताद्वापारानुसारेण विभागत्रयं कृत्वा विस्तारः प्रदर्शितः। कृतयुगे चत्वारिंशत्पौरुषा राजवंशाः, त्रेतायां पञ्चविंशतिपौरुषाः, द्वापरे

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त्रिशल्पोरुषा इति निर्दिष्टम् । कृतयुगे राज्ञां साम्राज्यविस्तारं प्रदर्शयन्निर्दिष्टं यत् कृतयुगस्यावसाने आर्या अखिलमुत्तरदेशमावृत्य दक्षिणापथे गुजरात-काठियावाड-ब्राररप्रभृतीन् देशानपि व्याप्नुवन्तः । अङ्ग-वङ्ग-बिहारदेशेष्वपि तेषामाधिपत्यं सम्पन्नम् । त्रेतायुगेऽपि राज्ञामधिकारभूमिं प्रदर्शयन्निर्दिष्टं यत् त्रेताया अन्ते असम-उडीसा-किष्किन्धाप्रभृतिषु प्रदेशेषु आर्याः प्रतिष्ठिताः, लङ्काऽपि च तेषामाधिपत्ये आगता । महाभारत-युद्धकाले द्वापरान्ते सम्पूर्णं भारतवर्षम् आर्यैरध्यासितमभवत्, उत्तरसीमा-प्रदेशे भारताद् बहिरपि तेषां प्रभुत्वमभूत् । इदं प्रतीयते यद् दक्षिणापथो न तथा आर्यैर्विजितः यथा उत्तरापथः । भारतयुद्धे सम्मिलितानां चोल-केरलपाण्ड्यानां निर्देशः पुराणेषु महाभारते च पश्चात् प्रक्षिप्तः ।

लेखकमहोदयेनात्र स्वीकृतं यत् वेदपुराणयोः साक्ष्ययोः भेदे सति वेदसाक्ष्यमेव प्रमाणम्, यतः पुराणेषु बह्वीनां घटनानां तदा समावेशः कृतो यदा यथाऽर्थघटनाक्रमस्य ज्ञानं लुप्तमभूत् । मार्शलह्वीलरयोर्मतानु-सारेण इन्द्रः सिन्धुनद्याः समीपे स्थितानां नगराणां ध्वंसमकरोत् । तयोर्मतानुसारेण वृत्तमिदं हरप्पासंस्कृतेरायैर्ध्वंसनस्य प्रतीकम् । किन्त्वत्र लेखकेनास्य मतस्य सयुक्ति निरासः कृतः । लेखकः हरप्पासभ्यतायाः सम्पादकानां जनानां वैदिकैः पणिभिः सह तादात्म्यं स्वीकरोति । स स्वमतस्य पुरातत्त्वविद्यायाः प्रमाणेनापि पुष्टिं करोति । तेनेदं सम्भावितं यद् भावि व्यापकमुत्खननमार्याणां निवासविस्तारक्रमम् इतोऽप्यधिकं स्पष्टीकरिष्यति ।]

1.

There is a serious difference of opinion among competent scholars—Sanskritists, historians and archaeologists—as to the comparative, or even intrinsic, value of the archaeological and literary sources. Archaeologists like Wheeler, Piggott and Gordon treat the literary evidence with distrust. Woolley attaches little importance to literary evidence when not supported by archaeological data,¹ while Wheeler considers the search for literary evidence in support of archaeological data as a great risk.² According to Piggott³ the literary and philological evidence is a dangerous ground full of quick sands and pitfalls which have too often trapped the unwary and not infrequently the would-be

1. cf. Majumdar, *ABORI*, XL, p. 3.

2. *AI*, 3, p. 81-2.

3. *Prehistoric India*, p. 241.

wary too. While frankly confessing that "almost all interpretation of the archaeological materials of the early times is in fact speculative",⁴ Gordon condemns literary evidence by stating that the major portion of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas "provides little except fuel for the blaze of controversy".⁵ Kosambi goes to the length of stating that "archaeology alone can supply any reliable data for the study of ancient culture".⁶

As against this encomium of archaeology may be considered the view of Srinivasachari, who observes: "Archaeological material can at best furnish only what may constitute the dry bones of history, only such a sequence of occurrence and priority and posteriority in point of time and the general condition of the civilization of the people whose handiwork is subjected to examination".⁷ Another eminent historian, R. C. Majumdar, says: "The archaeologist is too much obsessed with outward manifestations, as a purely literary man is likely to be too much occupied with the inner conception of man. A true historian must take cognizance of both and collect his data after a proper and critical analysis, from archaeological as well as literary evidence; he can ignore either only at his peril".⁸ Majumdar points out the limitations of archaeological evidence and criticises both the extreme views taking either archaeological evidence or literary evidence as the only evidence to the exclusion of the other. The right approach is "to supply the necessary corrective to both these extreme views and draw up the picture of ancient India after a proper valuation of all available evidence".⁹ The exclusion of literary evidence would mean the restriction of culture only to the external manifestation of man's activities, ignoring the mental and moral make-up.

II

Having thus made a case for the consideration of the literary evidence, let us turn to the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas, which

4. *PBIC*, Intr., p. 2.

5. *op. cit.*, p. 153.

6. *ABORI*, XXIX, p. 274.

7. *ABORI*, XXXI, p. 56.

8. *ABORI*, XL, p. 8.

9. *op. cit.*, p. 8.

constitute the literary evidence in the present context. The *Rgveda* has generally been assigned to a period before 1000 B. C. at any rate, and its text has been very accurately handed down through the centuries by oral transmission. Other Vedic texts also are comparatively free from textual corruption. The reliability of the Vedic texts as literary evidence, therefore, goes generally unchallenged. The Purāṇas, however, stand on a different footing. Ever since they became known to the West during the last century, the Purāṇas have passed through several vicissitudes.

It is good sign that an eminent archaeologist like Sankalia assigns the Purāṇas, along with the Vedic texts, to the proto-historic period,¹⁰ thus confirming the view of Altekar,¹¹ the present writer and a few others, though in a recent publication, a well-known British historian condemns the Purāṇas as purely imaginary in unambiguous terms.¹² The information collected by me from the Purāṇas has appeared as "Traditional History" in a standard work of the History and Culture of the Indian People.¹³ Though committed to writing at a comparatively late period, the Purāṇas, as preserving royal genealogies and hero-ballads go back to the period of the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁴ The Purāṇic accounts are comparable to those of Menetho about Egypt and Berossos (recently attempted to be identified with Vyāsa)¹⁵ about Mesopotamia. Sumerian accounts, which were ignored for a long time, came into their own after being confirmed by the spade of the archaeologist despite some inaccuracies. The Purāṇas doubtless contain several inaccuracies. But the Sūtas, entrusted with the preservation of the Purāṇic tradition, were not only not deliberate fabricators, but careful students of history as would appear from their definite statements regarding the identity of certain individuals bearing

10. *Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume*, p. 232.

11. *PIHC*, XXII, p. 23.

12. *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 291.

13. *HCIP*, I (*Vedic Age*), Chs. XIV-XV.

14. cf. *Atharvaveda*, XV. 6. 11 : तमितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीव्चानुव्यचलन् । also XI. 7. 24 : ऋचः सामानि छन्दसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।

15. Buddha Prakash, *JBR*, XXXVII, pts 3-4, pp. 31-42 ; contra, Hazra, *Purāṇa*, II, pp. 17-22.

the same names, in order to avoid confusion.¹⁶ In the context of the archaeological discoveries of the chalcolithic cultures, the Purāṇic accounts need careful study and correlation instead of wholesale condemnation. It is further to be borne in mind that in order to extract meaning from some passages one has to penetrate through the allegories, exaggerations, symbolisms, etc.¹⁷

With regard to the comparative value of the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas divergent views are held by different scholars. Keith is unduly sceptical about the historical value of the Purāṇas and doubts the authenticity of any Purāṇic event not explicitly mentioned in the *R̥gveda*. Pargiter heads the other side preferring the Purāṇas to the Vedic evidence. Some differences in the accounts as preserved by the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas are inevitable in view of their being produced under different circumstances and with different aims and objects. But there is practically no contradiction or conflict in them.

The extant *R̥gveda* being a Kuru-Pañcāla product, kings of that region figure prominently therein. Vedic kings, not found in the Purāṇas, possibly belonged to minor dynasties not preserved in the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas, or the same person might have been known under different names in the Vedic and Purāṇic texts. When the Purāṇic accounts are corroborated by the Vedic evidence, it is legitimate to take the former as valid in matters on which the *R̥gveda* is silent. The Purāṇic evidence is to be very carefully evaluated in all cases.

16. cf. *Vāyu*, 83. 174-75 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II. 63. 174 ; *Liṅga*, 66. 24-25 :

नलौ द्वाविति विख्यातौ पुराणेषु दृढव्रतौ ।

वीरसेनात्मजश्चैव यश्चेक्ष्वाकुकुलोद्भवः ॥

Vāyu, 99. 2 ; *Matsya*, 48. 2 ; *Brahma*, 13. 143 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II. 74. 2 :

करन्धमस्तु त्रैसानोमंरुतस्तस्य चात्मजः ।

अन्यस्त्वाविक्षितो राजा मरुतः कथितः पुरा ॥

Brahma, 13. 112-3 ; *Harivaṃśa*, I. 32. 4-5 :

द्रावृक्षौ सोमंशोऽस्मिन्द्वावेव च परीक्षितौ ।

भोमसेनास्त्रयो विप्रा द्वौ चापि जनमेजयौ ॥

17. cf. Pusalker, *Purāṇa*, III, pp. 8-21 ; Gupta, *Purāṇa*, VI, pp. 53-78.

III

This is not the occasion to discuss the number of generations in the Purāṇic genealogies, their reliability, and the scheme of chronology adopted here regarding the *R̥gveda* and the Purāṇic accounts. Suffice it to state here that though I hold the post-Flood dynasties to have started in *c.* 3102 B.C.,¹⁸ the *R̥gveda* to be contemporaneous with the personages figuring in it, and the Bhārata war to have taken place in *c.* 1400 B.C.,¹⁹ for this paper, in order to avoid conflict with archæological data (about C-14 dates, it may be noted, some scholars still entertain doubts),²⁰ I have accepted Altekar's chronology which places these events respectively in 2000 B.C.²¹ and 1000 B.C.²² I have also indirectly accepted his scheme of allotting 15 years per generation.²³

With these rather lengthy but inevitable prefatory remarks, I start with the R̥gvedic data on the Aryan expansion.

IV

In connection with the data from the *R̥gveda* it is to be noted that it is unsafe and hazardous to draw any inference, positive or negative, from the silence of the *R̥gveda* because, in the first place, the *R̥gveda* does not profess to be a geographical manual, and secondly, it has not come down to us in all its recensions. The non-mention, as is well-known, must be of such importance as to be inexplicable except on the hypothesis of want of knowledge if any conclusions are to be deduced from it.

In order to ascertain the extent of the Aryan occupation during the period of the *R̥gveda*, we have to consider the geographical data in the hymns, especially references to mountains, rivers, countries, tribes and kingdoms. Though the courses of

18. *VA*, pp. 269 f.

19. *op. cit.*, p. 269.

20. Gordon, *PBIC*, p. 30 n 19 ; Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 47 n 3.

21. *PIHC*, XXII, p. 26.

22. *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

23. *op. cit.*, p. 26.

rivers, especially in the Panjab, have considerably changed during the last three or four millennia, and the kingdoms and tribes were subject to constant modifications both regarding their boundaries and nomenclature, we can get a fairly accurate idea of the location of quite a large number of them. Mountains, however, constitute the terra firma, and the *Rgveda* refers directly to the Himālaya by mentioning one of its peaks as the source of the Soma.

In keeping with the holiness attached to rivers through the ages, the *Rgveda* glorifies them as deities. The celebrated *Nadīstuti* enumerates several streams, most of which belong to the Sindhu system. Of the five streams, viz. the Śutudrī, Vipāś, Paruṣṇī, Asiknī and Vitastā, which are responsible for the name of the Panjab and flow into the Sindhu after uniting, the Śutudrī (modern Sutlej) is the most easterly, while Vipāś (modern Beas) appears to have been of small importance as it occurs but twice in the *Rgveda* and is omitted in the *Nadīstuti*. The Paruṣṇī (modern Ravi) played a decisive role in the famous Dāśarājña by drowning the enemies of Sudās. The Asiknī (modern Chenab) was later known as Candrabhāgā. The most westerly was the Vitastā (modern Jhelum). The Marudvṛdhā, inserted by the *Nadīstuti* between the Asiknī and Vitastā, and placed by some in the Panjab, appears to be identical with the Maruwardwan in Kashmir which joins the Chenab, as shown by Stein.²⁴ Among the western tributaries of the Sindhu, are mentioned the Rasā, identified with Jaxartes in the extreme north-west of the Vedic territory; the Kubhā (modern Kabul) which receives the joint flow of the Suvāstu (modern Swat) and Gaurī; Krumu (modern Kurram); and Gomatī or the Gomal. Several lesser streams, which have not been properly identified, are not mentioned here.

The Sarasvatī, Dṛṣadvatī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā and Sarayū are the rivers outside the Sindhu basin. The Sarasvatī, occurring very frequently, is the river *par excellence* (*nadītama*), a very important river and the holy stream in the Vedic age. Though

24. *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 92-6.

Roth, Zimmer, Griffith and Ludwig hold that in many Ṛgvedic passages the Sindhu is meant by the Sarasvatī,²⁵ it is generally identified with the modern Sarsuti which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair.²⁶ The Dr̥ṣadvatī is identified variously with the Ghaggar and the Chittang.²⁷ The Yamunā has been mentioned thrice, and the Gaṅgā does not appear to be an important river in the period of the *Ṛgveda*. The Gomatī of the *Ṛgveda* was the Gomal in the northwest,²⁸ while its namesake in the later Vedic texts is to be identified with the Gomatī, a tributary of the Gaṅgā.²⁹ The Sarayū, the scene of one of the battles in the Daśarājña, appears to be the modern Sarju, as suggested by Zimmer and others,³⁰ its location in the northwest being unconvincing.³¹

V

The extent of the region, above referred to, appears to be Afghanistan, the Panjab, parts of Sindh and Rajputana, North-West Frontier, Kashmir, and Eastern India up to the Sarayū. This whole territory was occupied by several people and tribes. Bharatas, the most important of the Ṛgvedic tribes, were settled in the region between the Sarasvatī and Yamunā, i.e. the Madhyadeśa. The Tṛtsus, identified with the Bharatas or said to be the priests of the royal family of the Bharatas,³² occupied the territory to the east of the Paruṣṇī. The Sṛñjayas were the close associates of the Tṛtsus and lived in their neighbourhood, in Pañcāla. Pūrus, mentioned along with the Anus, Druhyus, Turvaśas and Yadus, were the enemies of the Tṛtsus and Bharatas

25. Roth, *St. Petersburg Dict.*, s. v ; Zimmer, *AL*, pp. 5-10 ; Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 60 ; II, p. 90 ; &c ; Ludwig, *Trans. of the Ṛgveda*, III, pp. 201, 2.

26. *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 435 n 16 ; *CHI*, I, p. 80.

27. Macdonell, *HSL*, p. 142 ; Keith, *CHI*, I, p. 80.

28. Zimmer, *AL*, p. 14 ; Ludwig, *Trans. of Ṛgveda*, III, p. 200.

29. De, *GD*, p. 70.

30. *AL*, p. 17 ; Law, *Rivers of India*, p. 22.

31. cf. *VA*, p. 242 ; Bhargava, *IVA*, p. 70.

32. Ludwig, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 172 ff ; Oldenberg, *ZDMG*, 42, p. 207 ; Geldner, *Ved. Stud.*, II, pp. 136 ff.

and lived on either side of the Sarasvatī. These five, according to some,³³ constitute the five people (*pañcajana*) of the *Rgveda*. The Pūrus were worsted in the Dāśarājūa and coalesced with the Tr̥tsu-Bharatas in the later Vedic age to form the Kurus. The Druhyus, Turvaśas and Anus lived between the Asiknī and Paruṣṇī, and the Yadus in the southern Panjab and further south. The Turvaśas disappear in the later Vedic age, possibly because of their merger in the Pañcālas. The Krivis, also associated with the Pūrus, lived on the Sindhu and Asiknī. The Matsyas probably occupied the region comprising modern Alwar, Bharatpur and Jaipur.

The Pakthas, Bhalānas, Viṣāṇins, Alinas and Śivas were the five frontier tribes. The Pakthas, identified with modern Pathans, occupied eastern Afghanistan. The Bhalānas came from east Kabulistan, while the Viṣāṇins were between the Krumu and the Gomatī. Alinas have been located in the northwest of Kafirstan, and the Śivas between the Sindhu and the Vitastā. The Gandhāras lived to the extreme northwest.

The Cedis probably dwelt between the Yamunā and the Vindhya while the Uśīnaras and Vaśas occupied the middle country. The Kikaṭas are located in the country later known as Magadha. The Paṇis, the merchants *par excellence*, have been variously identified with an aboriginal non-Aryan people, with Babylonians, Parnians, the Dahaes and other Iranian tribes, and with non-Aryan caravan traders.³⁴ Altekar has made a strong case for their identification with the Harappans,³⁵ and I am inclined to accept the identification.

The Dāsas were the enemies of the Vedic people, and several Dāsa kings are mentioned including Ilibīśa, Śambara, Varcin, etc. The Dāsa tribes included the Kirātas, Parṇakas and Śimiyus, who mostly inhabited the Gaṅgā valley.

33. cf. Zimmer, *AL*, pp. 119-23; Macdonell, *HSL*, p. 153.

34. cf. Zimmer, *AL*, p. 257; Ludwig, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 213-5; *VA*, p. 249.

35. *PIHC*, XXII, pp. 20-2.

Thus the Aryan settlements during the age of the *Ṛgveda* were practically co-terminous with the extent of the geographical knowledge of the period.

VI

Before dealing with the Aryan expansion in the post-*Ṛgvedic* period, let us deal with *Samudra* (the sea).

Divergent views are held as to whether the *Ṛgvedic* people knew the ocean and marine navigation. While Max Müller, Lassen, Zimmer and Macdonell held that the ocean was known,³⁶ Keith and others assert that there is no clear indication of it in the *Ṛgvedic* period.³⁷ References to the western and eastern oceans,³⁸ the treasures of the ocean,³⁹ marine navigation⁴⁰ and high tides⁴¹ conclusively prove that the *Ṛgvedic* people knew the ocean, and maintained trade relations with the outside world. In the later Vedic literature, however, the word *Samudra* invariably means the sea, and there are indications that the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean were known.

VII

Some of the peaks of the *Himālayas* are referred to in the later Vedic texts, and a definite allusion to the *Vindhya* may be read in "the southern mountain".⁴² The disappearance of the *Sarasvatī* is an important landmark in this period. The *Sadānīrā*, mentioned as the boundary between the *Kosalas* and *Videhas*, has been variously identified with the *Gandak* and the *Rapti*, the *Vedic Index* lending its support to the former.⁴³ In contrast to the *Ṛgveda*, later Vedic texts refer to several place-names.

36. *SBE*, XXXII, pp. 61 ff; *Ind. Alt.*, I, p. 883; *AL*, pp. 22 ff; *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 432.

37. *CHI*, I, pp. 78-9; Wilson, *Ṛgveda*, I, p. xli.

38. *RV*, X, 136. 5-6.

39. *RV*, I. 47. 6; VII. 6. 7; IX. 97. 44.

40. *RV*, I. 116.3; 117.14; VI. 62.6; VII. 68.7; 69.7; X. 143.5.

41. *RV*, I. 48. 3.

42. *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, II. 13.

43. De, *GD*, p. 171; Law, *HGAI*, p. 32; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, p. 294; *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 422.

Āsandīvat, the capital of Janamejaya Pāriṣita, was probably identical with Nāgasāhvaya (Hastināpura). Kāmpīla is modern Kampil, while Kauśāmbī is Kosam. Naimiṣa forest has been identified with Nimsar.⁴⁴

Āryāvarta (or Brahmāvarta), Madhyadeśa and Dakṣiṇāpatha were the three broad divisions. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁴⁵ gives a fivefold division, viz. *Dhruvā madhyamā pratisthā diś*, i.e. Madhyadeśa or middle country; *Prācī diś*, or the eastern quarter; *Dakṣiṇā diś*, or the southern quarter; *Prācī diś*, or the western quarter; and *Udici diś*, or the northern quarter, along with the enumeration of the residents therein.

In the later Vedic age, several old tribes disappeared, merged with others, paled into insignificance, or were known under different names, while many new tribes sprang up. The five tribes lost prominence; the Śrūjayas disappeared; the Pūrus and Bharatas amalgamated with the Kurus who, along with Pañcālas, became dominant. The Kuru-Pañcālas, Vaśas and Uśīnaras occupied the Madhyadeśa. The Kuru kingdom comprised the modern Thanesar, Delhi and the upper Gaṅgā doab, while the territory of the Pañcālas embraced the Bareilly, Badaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the Uttar Pradesh. The Vaśas occupied the region round their capital Kauśāmbī, which was later known as the Vatsa.

The Śibis were probably in the northwest while the Śālvas were located in the region comprising the old Alwar state.

Kosala, corresponding roughly to the old Oudh, and Videha, modern Tirhut, are first referred to in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The Vedic literature does not refer to the later division of Kosala into northern and southern. Kāśī came into prominence in the later Vedic age, though it cannot be said to be unknown to early Vedic literature. Magadha constituted the easternmost region roughly corresponding to southern Bihar. The Aṅgas and Vaṅgas are new tribes. Pargiter regards the Aṅgas and Magadhas as non-

44. Raychaudhury, *PHAI*, p. 151 n2; De, *GD*, p. 135; Law, *HGAI*, pp. 41, 113.

45. VIII. 14.

Aryans coming from beyond the seas,⁴⁶ while Oldenberg takes them as the earliest Aryan immigrants.⁴⁷ The Vaṅgas were residents of modern Bengal.

The Satvants, Vidarbhas, Niṣadhas and Kuntis were the new tribes that are to be associated with the south. The Satvants were the subjects of the Bhojas and were settled in the south beyond the river Carmaṇvatī (modern Chambal). Vidarbha corresponds to old Berar, its capital Kuṇḍina being identified with modern Kaundinyapura on the Wardha.⁴⁸ The Niṣadhas were probably contiguous to the region of the Vidarbhas.

The Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras were located beyond the Himālayas, while the Madras or southern Madras in Sialkot and its adjoining districts. With the Panjab and Sindh were associated the Nīcyas, Bāhikas and Ambaṣṭhas. The *Aitarcya Brāhmaṇa* indicates that Gandhāra was the famous resort of scholars for the Vedas and Vidyās. The Kāmbojas were Vedic Aryans, and various locations have been suggested for Kāmboja, the latest identification being with Badakhshān and the Pāmirs, proposed by Jaya Chandra and supported by Moti Chandra.⁴⁹

Among the semi-Aryan, non-Aryan and barbarous tribes may be included the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras and Pulindas, who are stated to be Dasyus living on the borders of the Aryan settlements. The Andhras, according to Smith, were originally in eastern India between the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī.⁵⁰ The Puṇḍras were situated in north Bengal, and their name still survives in the Puros, an aboriginal caste in Bengal. The Śabaras were the hill tribes who probably survive in the Savaralu or

46. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 852.

47. This view gets confirmation by the Purāṇic statements that the Ikṣvākus and Videhas, of the Aryan stock, inhabited the region since the time of the *R̥gveda*.

48. *PHAI*, p. 87.

49. *JUPHS*, XVI, pp. 43-6. For the other identifications of Kamboja, cf. the above article by Moti Chandra; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 2-3; *HGAI*, pp. 88-9; & c. A controversy is going on at the moment between Sircar and Agrawala in the pages of the *Purāṇa*.

50. *ZDMG*, 56, pp. 657 ff.

Sauras of the Vizagapatam hills, the Savaris in old Gwālior state and the savages in Orissa hills.⁵¹ The Mūtibas were residents on banks of the Musi in Hyderabad.⁵² The Niṣādas probably occupied the Vindhya and the Sātpurā hills.

The territory under the occupation of the Aryas and under their influence during the later Vedic period thus comprised practically the whole of north India and some territories beyond the Narmadā to the south.

VIII

Now let us see what the Purāṇas say about the Aryan expansion in India. According to traditional history, as recorded in the Purāṇas, kings Sagara, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa flourished respectively at the end of the Kṛta, Tretā and Dvāpara ages, which preceded the Kali age, and it would be convenient to consider the Aryan expansion in the Purāṇas under these three ages (yugas). In view of the position of these kings in the genealogies, which I have exhaustively dealt with in the "*Vedic Age*", it is seen that the Kṛta age covered approximately 40 generations, Tretā 25, and Dvāpara 30. These relate to the pre-Bhārata war epoch, and the Kali age to the post-Bhārata war period.⁵³

Traditional history opens with Manu Vaivasvata, the first king of India, dividing the earth, comprising practically the whole of north India extending up to Orissa, among his ten sons. The easternmost part, covering Orissa and south Behar, came under the Saudyumnas, and Nābhānediṣṭha ruled over north Behar and the territory later known as Vaiśālī. Some accounts, which state that Nābhānediṣṭha was left out of partition and got cows from Aṅgiras for having acted as a priest, suggest the partition of the Vedic Aryans into two sections and also indicate the migration of a section of the Vedic Aryans who took with them the worship of fire (Aṅgiras).⁵⁴ The Ayodhyā kingdom, the Videha (or Mithilā)

51. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 93-4; Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, p. 69.

52. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 94.

53. cf. *VA*, p. 311.

54. cf. Viswanatha, *Racial Synthesis in Indian Culture*, p. 17.

kingdom and the Daṇḍaka forest were allotted to Ikṣvāku, the eldest son of Manu, and later fell to the respective shares of Vikuṣi, Nimi and Daṇḍa, sons of Ikṣvāku. Karūṣa occupied the country round Rewa. Nābhāga settled in the midlands on the Yamunā in between the Gaṅgā and the Aravalli in one direction and the Sarasvatī and the Vindhya on the other. Dhṛṣṭa occupied the Panjab. Nariṣyanta settled in the trans-Sindhu regions and, according to the Purāṇic accounts, his descendants, the Śakas, spread out of India in the west. Śaryāti established a kingdom on the Narmadā in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. Prāmśu was settled in Rajputana and Malwa. The youngest Pṛṣadhra was excluded from partition on account of some heinous crime. Contemporaneous with Ikṣvāku was the lunar king Purūravas, connected with Manu through his daughter Ilā. Purūravas occupied the Madhya-deśa in the Gaṅgā doab with Pratiṣṭhāna as his capital. Thus, according to tradition, royal power first developed in the plains of the Gaṅgā in the towns of Ayodhyā, Mithilā, Pratiṣṭhāna and Gayā, with the outlying branches at Kuśasthalī and on the Narmadā and Tāpī.

That the kingdoms established by Karūṣa, Nābhāga, Dhṛṣṭa, Nariṣyanta, Prāmśu and Pṛṣadhra appear to be shortlived in traditional history seems to be due to their displacement by Purūravas, Nahuṣa and Yayāti of the Lunar dynasty, who absorbed them in the Paurava realm as will be indicated presently. Bhargava seems to be partially right in stating the number of Manu's sons to be four and in confining the original extent of the region occupied by the immediate successors of Manu to the restricted area, but the actual extent seems to be larger than what he takes it to be.⁵⁵

Though the Solar dynasty originally occupied the greatest part of India, they lost to the Ailas, rising again for a time under Māndhātṛ and Sagara. The Ailas, under Purūravas, dominated the scene and extended their sway into the Gaṅgā doab (Kānyakubja), Mālwā and eastern Rājputānā. Nahuṣa and Yayāti accounted for the neighbouring kindoms under the Solar dynasty,

55. *IVA*, Chs. IV and V.

and their realm boasted of such vast territories that Kṣatravrddha, the former's brother, established at Kāśī in the east, and Yayāti's five sons founded fresh dynasties in the regions received by them. Pūru, the youngest, continued the main line in Madhyadeśa, the southern half of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab, with its capital at Pratiṣṭhāna. Yadu received territories to the southwest covering the country watered by the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal), Vetravatī (Betva) and Śuktimatī (Ken). Turvaśu got the southeastern region (round Rewa), and Druhyu the territory west of the Yamunā and north of the Chambal. The northern portion of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab was assigned to Anu. The Yādavas (descendants of Yadu) soon eclipsed the other branches of the lunar dynasty, and branched into the Yādavas and Haihayas. They destroyed the Puṇyajana Rākṣasas in the southwest, who had overthrown the Śāryātas from Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. The Yādavas then drove the Druhys across the Aravallis into the Mārwad deserts from where the latter migrated to Qandahar through Sindh.⁵⁶ Later, turning to the east, the Yādavas overthrew the Turvaśas and probably defeated the Pauravas. They further drove the Ānavas in the mid-Gaṅgā doab leading to their bifurcation northwards into the Panjab and eastwards into Bengal. The former established themselves in the Panjab under Uśīnara after displacing the Dhārṣṭakas, and the latter under Titikṣu settled in Bengal after overthrowing the Saudyumnas. These Yādava conquests were accomplished under Citraratha and Śaśabindu. The Yādava power, however, decayed after Śaśabindu, and the scene of activity was transferred to the north in Ayodhyā under Samrāṭ Māndhātṛ of the solar dynasty who had married Gaurī, the daughter of Śaśabindu.

After subjugating the Kānyakubja and Paurava kingdoms, Māndhātṛ fought against the Ānavas and Druhys in the northwest, and then carried his conquering hordes through the Vindhya to the Narmadā. His son Purukutsa continued the victorious campaigns of his father and subdued the Narmadā region. Both Māndhātṛ and Purukutsa, however, spared the

56. cf. *AIHT*, pp. 262, 264.

Yādavas, their relatives through matrimonial alliance. The Ayodhyā power declined after Purukutsa, and the Yādavas, this time their Haihaya branch, entered the arena again in their contest for supremacy. Reoccupying Malwa and fortifying Māhiṣmatī under Mahiṣyanta, the Haihayas took possession of the Paurava realm and invaded the Banaras kingdom. They reached their zenith under Arjuna who ruled practically over the whole of the north, even up to the Himālayas. Bāhu, the Ikṣvāku king of Ayodhyā, had to seek refuge with Aurva, a Bhārgava sage. The Bhṛgu left the Haihayas and set up in Kānyakubja where they strengthened their position by contracting matrimonial alliances with the ruling families. Paraśurāma, the great Bhārgava hero, organised a confederacy of Vaiśālī, Videha, Kāśī and Ayodhyā against the Haihayas. Arjuna's successor Vītahavya, after whom the dynastic list of the Haihayas practically came to an end, was completely routed, had to seek shelter with a Bhārgava ṛṣi and to become himself a Brāhmaṇa.

Sagara was posthumously born to Bāhu in the hermitage of Aurva. He was a great conqueror, and absorbed not only the Pauravas and Kānyakubjas but also the foreign Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas, Kambojas, etc., who had occupied Ayodhyā during the period of turmoil following the exile of Bāhu. As the result of Sagara's campaigns, the Yādavas retired into the Deccan and founded the kingdom in Berār. Kāśī, Vaiśālī, Videha and the eastern Ānavas in Bengal survived the onslaughts of Sagara.

Thus, by the end of the Kṛta age, the Aryans had penetrated the whole of north India including Sindh and Qandahar in the west and Behar and west Bengal in the east. In the south the Aryans colonised Gujrāt, Kāthiāwād and Berār, and their southern limits had extended beyond the Vindhya and Narmadā down to the Tāpī and the Sātpurās. Traditional history indicates that the Aryans first conquered Māhiṣmatī, then Vidarbha and Mekala, and then pressed towards Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga. It was after colonising these parts that the Aryans further conquered Aśmaka and Mūlaka in the south.

IX

The end of Sagara's reign heralded the beginning of a new order in India. New kingdoms sprang up in place of those destroyed by Sagara. The Yādavas, Haihayas and Ikṣvākus destroyed the Paurava kingdom, and the royal family sought refuge with the Turvasus. On the weakening of the Ikṣvākus after Sagara's death, Paurava Duṣyanta, who was adopted by Turvasu Marutta, not only recovered his ancestral kingdom but augmented it. His son Bharata, after whom the Pauravas came to be called Bharatas, was a great conqueror and carried the frontiers of his kingdom up to the banks of the Sarasvatī. Bharata probably shifted his capital from Pratiṣṭhāna to the city later called Hastināpura after his successor Hastin. Shortly thereafter, the Bharatas expanded into Dvimīḍhas (Kumaun Division of the U. P.), the main Hastināpura line (Meerut, Ambala and Delhi), the north Pañcāla (Rohilkhand) and south Pañcāla (Agra and Kanpur) displacing the Kānyakubja kingdom. Among the Bharatas, the north Pañcāla alone rose into prominence under its powerful kings, among whom Divodāsa was the contemporary of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. The Yādavas started expanding northwards from Vidarbha, and soon conquered the Cedī territories, gradually extending them up to the Mathurā region. The "Ānava branch in the east" founded by Titikṣu in Aṅga expanded considerably and comprised the five states of Aṅga (Bhagalpur), Vaṅga (Bengal), Kaliṅga (Orissa), Puṇḍra (Rajshahi) and Suhma (Chota Nagpur). Śibi Auśīnara and his sons pushed the Druhyus into the northwest corner of the Panjab. In course of time, the Druhyus outgrew in number and founded many principalities in the Mleccha countries beyond the frontiers of India.⁵⁷ This outward migration from India in about 2000 B.C., at a very modest estimate based on the chronology proposed by Altekar, explains the mention of the Aryan gods in the Boghazkeui treaty assigned to 1400 B.C. Rāma of Ayodhyā played a very important part in the expansion of the Aryan culture in the

57. cf. *AIHT*, pp. 108, 264, 293.

south. Agastya, the pioneer among the ṛṣis to establish a hermitage in the trans-Vindhyan region, preceded Rāma by some generations, and paved the way of later adventurers.

The Aryan occupation during this periods thus extended further east and south embracing, in addition to the territories already occupied in the Kṛta age, Orissa, Assam, Chota Nagpur, Central Provinces and some parts further south. The southern territories of Janasthāna, Kiṣkindhā and also Laṅkā came under the sphere of Aryan influence during the days of Rāmā.

X

The power of Ayodhyā waned after Rāma, and it no longer played a dominant part in traditional history. The north Pañcāla dynasty attained great prominence under a succession of powerful rulers, and Sudās, who flourished about four or five generations after Rāma, undertook great military operations. He was the principal figure in the famous Dāśarājña, and emerged victorious the battle resulting in the exile of the Paurava king Saṁvaraṇa in Sindh. After Sudās, however, the Pañcālas declined, and the Pauravas regained supremacy in the days of Kuru, son of Saṁvaraṇa. The Pauravas or Bharatas reappear as Kauravas after this Kuru. His successor Vasu Caidya absorbed the Yādava kingdom of Cedī and advanced into Chota Nagpur. Magadha and Cedī, among the dynasties founded by his sons, rose into prominence.

The Yādavas also expanded and branched off into the Vṛṣṇis, Andhakas, Sātvatas, Kukuras, Bhojas, etc. The Vṛṣṇis became allied with the Kauravas by matrimonial relations and came into conflict with Jarāsandha, the Magadha ruler. The invasions of Jarāsandha, however, forced them to retreat from the Mathurā region, and they migrated towards southwest founding their branch in Dwārkā. The Vṛṣṇi prince Kṛṣṇa with the help of the Pāṇḍavas overthrew Jarāsandha. This leads us to the Bhārata war.

By the time of the Bhārata war, the Aryans had expanded over the whole of India and even beyond its frontiers in the west.

There is no doubt that the northern India and some territories beyond the Narmadā and Tāpī in the south were Aryanised, but the regions further south did not receive Aryanisation to that extent which the north had received. The *Mahābhārata* represents the Puṇḍras as one of the Aryanised people. Prāgjyotiṣa (modern Assam), which also included portions of the slopes of the Himālayas, was ruled by the Aryans, while the subjects were the Mlecchas.⁶⁸ Though the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas speak of the Colas, Keralas, Pāṇḍyas as participants in the Bhārata war, the fact is doubtful, and the references are very late interpolations in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas.

After the Bhārata war, only Magadha, Kosala and Avanti, besides the Pauravas, retained some importance. Their activities concerned mainly the north, and up to the period of Śiśunāga, there was practically no extension of the Aryan culture of influence, there being changes of territories between these dynasties.

XI

The story of the Aryanisation in traditional History reveals several interesting features. It shows that eastern India was but imperfectly Aryanised. It never adapted itself completely to the rigid models of the Madhyadeśa. The partial Aryanisation of Magadha partly explains the receptive mood of the populace which resulted in the rise of new religions, and the large proportion of converts to new religious faiths and systems in that region. We find that the Aryanisation of the north was effected principally through conquests whereas the south was Aryanised mostly by peaceful means. The ṛṣis played a very prominent part in the diffusion of the Aryan culture in the south. The Pāṇḍyas were emigrants from the Śūrasena in the north. The Deccan and the south reveal three shades in the stages of Aryanisation. Berar and Maharashtra were completely Aryanised by the conquering Yādavas who imposed their language and creed on the populace. The Andhras did not remain long under the Aryan rule, but, hemmed in as they were between the Aryanised Berar and Kaliṅga,

58. *Mbh*, II. 23. 18-9; 47. 12-4; V. 164. 35; VIII. 4. 15-6.

they became influenced by the Aryan language and creed. The Tamil country remained free from Aryan influence.

XII

After thus considering the data afforded by the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas, let us attempt a coordination of the two. The Purāṇas open with Manu as the overlord of a large part of the north. This is certainly not correct as it must have taken a few generations to occupy the regions, as we find from the *R̥gveda*, which indicates that the Aryans had not penetrated long enough in the east.

The occupation of Ayodhyā, placed by the Purāṇas about 70 generations before the Bhārata war, occurred in *c.* 1900 B. C., so that Māndhātṛ, the 21st ruler in the dynasty, is to be assigned to *c.* 1700 B.C. This early date is confirmed by Vedic tradition in which Māndhātṛ figures as a very ancient, almost a mythical personage, who was contemporaneous with the Aṅgiras and the Pitṛs in very ancient times.⁵⁹ To reach Banaras and Videha in the east and Malwa in central India the Aryans could not have taken more than 200 years, as stated by Altekar,⁶⁰ which is corroborated both by the Vedic and Purāṇic evidence. I have shown that the war in which Paurava Saṁvarāṇa was routed and had to seek refuge in Sindh was the Purāṇic replica of the Dāśarājñā echoing the complete defeat of the Pūrus.⁶¹ The Dāśarājñā war, according to the chronology adopted for this article, was fought in *c.* 1400 B.C., but the geographical horizon at this period is much extensive in the Purāṇas embracing practically the whole of India, as the hero Sudāsa is placed after Daśaratha and Rāma in the Purāṇas. Indeed in several instances, it is seen that there is perfect agreement and synchronism between the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas in most particulars relating to various incidents; and “the apparently conflicting statements”, as observed by Rapson, “are not really contradictory; the chain

59. *RV*, VIII. 40. 12.

60. *PIHC*, XXII, p. 29.

61. Dāśarājñā : A new Interpretation, *Munshi Vol.*, II, pp. 70-9.

of evidence which might bring the tradition into substantial agreement with the *Rgveda* has been broken".⁶² There are, however, serious discrepancies regarding geographical data. Similarities of names and incidents are not mere coincidences. The reason for the differences appears to be that the Sūtas somehow lost geographical specifications in the tradition; perhaps they were thought to be of minor importance; and later on, when need was felt to supply the geographical background to the incidents, subsequent redactors incorporated whatever they could extract out of the floating tradition supplying the rest from their cultural background. In any event, in the case of a conflict between the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas, preference is always to be given to the former.

XIII

Before turning to the archæological data on the Aryan expansion, it is necessary to discuss the chronological position of the *Rgveda*, the most important of our literary sources, and the Indus valley civilization, which constitutes the earliest archæological evidence in our context.

Following Marshall, and particularly Wheeler who accused Indra of the sacking of the Indus cities,⁶³ primarily on the supposed destruction of the Harappan civilisation by the Aryans in c. 1500 B. C., archæologists place the advent of the Aryans in India in c. 1500 B. C. However, as pointed out by Kane⁶⁴ and Altekar,⁶⁵ there is no archæological evidence to prove that the Aryans completely destroyed the Harappan civilization. On the contrary, recent investigations have shown that there was no violent end, but the decay was gradual, a fight against nature.⁶⁶ Of the three cemeteries found at

62. *CHI*, I, p. 306.

63. *Indus Civilization* (Cambridge, 1953) pp. 90-2. "On circumstantial evidence.....Indra stands accused." (p. 92)

64. Presidential Address (pp. 15-6), Indian History Congress, Sixteenth Session, Waltair, 1953.

65. *PIHC*, XXII, pp. 15-6.

66. cf. Sankalia, *IAT*, p. 70 n 124 ; Wheeler, *EIP*, pp. 113-4.

Harappa, Cemetery H 1, the uppermost, has been taken to represent the Aryan culture; and the fact of its immediately overlying Cemetery R 37 representing the Harappan culture, is interpreted as the conquest and destruction of the Harappans by the Aryans and the superstructure of the latter on the ruins of the former. But the stratification is against such a view as the debris of five to seven feet between Cemetery R 37 and Cemetery H 1 shows a clear hiatus and not continuity,⁶⁷ so that it cannot be maintained that the Aryans destroyed the Harappans. There was no trace of the so-called invaders when the so-called invaders arrived on the scene. It cannot, again, be argued that the Cemetery H 1 culture was Aryan. Funerary customs of both Cemetery H 1 and Cemetery H 2 speak against their association with the Aryans, whose customs were quite different. Thus archaeological evidence does not point to the destruction of the Harappans by the Aryans in c. 1500 B. C.

Now, the Aryans were not a racially homogeneous people, and the skeletal remains in the Indus Valley indicate the presence of the Aryans. Following up the trail of the Aryans from Western Asia on the basis of archaeological evidence it is seen that a branch of the Indo-Iranians could have reached India from Bactria even earlier than 2000 B. C. The Boghazkui inscriptions do not militate against the Aryan entry into India before 1400 B. C. As has been indicated when considering the Purāṇic evidence, the Druhyus, who were ruling in Gandhāra, migrated further west to Mlecchadeśa i. e. Mesopotamia, not later than 1700 B. C. after entering India before 2000 B. C.

As the date of the end of the Harappan culture is accepted as 1500 B. C., it seems that the Aryans and the Harappans lived together in India for at least five centuries, if not more.

XIV

There has been quite an amount of speculation among scholars as to the identity of the Harappans or the authors of the Indus valley culture. Without entering into details as to the

67. cf. Lal, *AI*, 10-11, p. 151 n 1.

various views and the grounds therefor, I may state here that I agree with the views of Altekar connecting the Paṇis with the Harappans.⁶⁸ The *Rgveda* shows close contact with the Paṇis, and it has already been indicated that the date of the advent of the Aryans does not go against the association of the Aryans with the Harappans for some centuries. Relics of the Harappan civilisation have been found in the valley of the Ghaggar, the ancient Sarasvatī. The Paṇis or the Harappans appear to have taken part in the Dāśarājña and other battles of the Aryans. The Aryans apparently did not oust the Paṇis out of the Indus valley and occupy it, but allowed them as their vassals. There were several non-Aryan pockets in the Aryan territories as would appear from the Purāṇic accounts wherein several Nāga, Rākṣasa and non-Aryan principalities are said to have flourished during different periods in between the Aryan territories. The colonies of the Harappans extended eastwards to Rupa and Bara in East Panjab, Alamgirpur near Meerut, and in Bikaner, and southwards in Saurāshtra.

XV

That the copper hoard people, associated with ochre-washed ware,⁶⁹ came between the Harappans and the Painted Grey Ware culture, appears from the excavations at Rupa and Bara in East Panjab which show that the Painted Grey Ware succeeded the degenerate Harappan culture after a gap,⁷⁰ and from those at Hastinapur, where the ochre-washed ware occurred in the lowest layer below the Painted Grey Ware.⁷¹ The finds can be placed to c. 1800 B.C. We do not get information about the copper hoard people and their associations. As they belong to the pre-Grey Ware period, they are supposed to be some pre-Aryan people, probably the Niṣādas,⁷² or primitive tribes. For aught we know they might have been some tribes in the vanguard of the Aryans. The extent of their culture, in the present state of

68. *PIHC*, XXII, pp. 20 ff.

69. Lal, *AI*, 7, pp. 20-39; Wheeler, *EIP*, pp. 123 ff; Sankalia, *PPI*, p. 223.

70. cf. Sankalia, *IAT*, p. 52.

71. Lal, *AI*, 10-11, p. 11 (Period I).

72. Lal, *AI*, 7, p. 39; Sankalia, *PPI*, p. 223.

our knowledge, appears to be Rājasthān along with the Gaṅgā valley, Orissa, Central Provinces and Nasik.⁷³ The population was composite even in those early days so that there is nothing surprising if a section of the Nevasians (or even elsewhere in the region) was of a primitive racial type, or even if we get evidence of the fusion of cultures.

XVI

After the ochre-washed ware, but before the historical Northern Black Polished Ware, comes the Painted Grey Ware, which has been associated with the Aryans. It was first found in the lowest layers at Ahicchatra in 1940-44 and later at Hastinapur, Rugar, Purana Qila, Ujjain, Mathurā, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, Alamgirpur, Bikaner, and other sites, with greatest concentration in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab, the Āryāvarta or Madhyadeśa of the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas.⁷⁴ The association of the several sites of the Painted Grey Ware with the heroes of the Bhārata war raises many expectations about the solution of several knotty problems and the unfolding of unknown facets of our culture from these sites. Nothing unearthed so far tells us anything about the authors of this culture. What little we know about their food and residence seems to be quite inadequate for associating them with the Aryans of the age of the Bhārata war. No doubt horizontal excavations at these sites, as elsewhere, will unravel the mystery to some extent. Yet assuming that the Grey Ware culture people can be identified with the people of the Bhārata war, we are still far away chronologically from the age of the *R̥gveda*, and hence on this ground also, our placing the *R̥gveda* as contemporaneous with the Harappans for some centuries receives an additional support. It may be stated here that archaeology has not yet unearthed any site showing definite relics of the *R̥gvedic* period.

That the Painted Grey Ware culture people had contacts with the contemporary cultures in the Panjāb, Rājputāna, Mālwā,

73. cf. *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 30 ; 1960-61, pp. 66, 26.

74. cf. Wheeler, *EIP*, p. 129 ; *AI*, 1, pp. 58-9 ; 10-11, p. 13 ; *IAR*, 1953-54, p. 6 ; 1956-57, p. 219 ; 1954-55, p. 15 ; 1958-59, p. 48 ; 1957-58, p. 47.

Eastern U.P. and Behar would be apparent from the finds of sherds from so far south as Ujjain, Chosla and Gondī in Ajmer and Jaipur, with small settlements in Rajputana, up to Vaiśālī in Behar in the east and up to Madhopur near Jullundur in the north.⁷⁵ This shows that the Narmadā valley and the region to its south remained unaffected by the Painted Grey Ware culture.

On the basis of the assumed connection of the Painted Grey Ware Culture with the arrival of the Aryans, Sankalia equates the Bharatas who occupied the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab with the Aryans of the Painted Grey Ware culture.⁷⁶ The Painted Grey Ware sites in ancient Kosala like Śrāvastī, Ahicchatra, etc. may, in like manner, be associated with the Ikṣvākus figuring in the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas.

The Mālwā Ware is spread all along the Narmadā, and is to be tacked on to the Haihaya branch of the Yādavas,⁷⁷ who occupied the Mālwā region, according to the Purāṇas, in c. 1800 B.C., the date assigned to the Mālwā ware. Altekar's anticipation of finding a Harappan settlement below the modern Dwārka⁷⁸ has not been realised so far by the excavations at Dwārka, which tend to confirm a very late Purāṇic statement that Dwārka was swallowed by the sea.⁷⁹ Another Purāṇic statement about the transfer of the capital from Hastināpura⁸⁰ has been confirmed by the Hastināpura excavations, which show evidence of flood in early levels, which can be assigned to a period a few generations after the Bhārata war.⁸¹

XVII

Large-scale horizontal excavations will, no doubt, provide a clear picture of the vicissitudes of the Aryan occupation and expansion in India and will also solve several controversial problems.

75. cf. Sankalia, *PPI*, p. 184.

76. Sankalia, *PPI*, p. 279.

77. cf. Sankalia, *PPI*, p. 279.

78. *PHIC*, XXII, p. 30.

79. Article in the *Times of India*, June 2, 1963.

80. cf. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 5.

81. *AI*, 10-11, pp. 14-5, 23.

Abbreviations

- ABORI : Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
- AI : Ancient India, New Delhi.
- AIHT : Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F. E. Pargiter.
- AL : Altindisches Leben, by H. Zimmer.
- CHI : Cambridge History of India.
- EIP : Early India and Pakistan, by Sir Mortimer Wheeler.
- GD : Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, 2nd Ed., by N. L. Dey.
- HGAI : Historical Geography of Ancient India, by B. C. Law.
- HSL : History of Sanskrit Literature.
- IAR : Indian Archaeology : A Review.
- IAT : Indian Archaeology Today, by H. D. Sankalia.
- Ind. Alt : Indische Altertumskunde.
- IVA : India in the Vedic Age, by P. L. Bhargava.
- JBRs : Journal of the Behar Research Society.
- JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JUPHS : Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
- Mbh : Mahābhārata (Critical Edition). Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
- PBIC : Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture, by D. H. Gordon.
- PIHC : Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
- PPI : Prehistory and Proto-history in India and Pakistan, by H.D. Sankalia.
- RV : R̥gveda.
- SBE : Sacred Books of the East.
- VA : Vedic Age, Edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker.
- Ved. Ind : Vedic Index, by Macdonell and Keith.
- Ved. Stud. : Vedische Studien.

THE PURĀṆAS AND THE HINDU RELIGION*

By

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[अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणानां हिन्दुधर्मण सह सम्बन्धो विमर्शितः । भारतीयानां धर्मदर्शनपूजाविधानादीनि पुराणैः प्रभावितानि सन्ति । हिन्दुधर्मः 'पुराणधर्मः' इति वक्तुं शक्यते । पुराणप्रतिपादितोऽयं धर्मोऽतीवोदारो वर्तते, अतः स सर्वेषामेव जनानां धार्मिकभावनाः पुष्पाति । पुराणवाङ्मयं वेद इव प्राचीनतमम्, वेदेऽपि पुराणशैल्यां रचितान्यनेकानि ग्राह्यानानि प्राप्यन्ते । 'पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम्' इति पुराणेषु कथितम् । वेदोक्तानि ग्राह्यात्मिकतत्त्वानि सृष्टिविद्यात्मकानि च तत्त्वानि प्रथमत एव लोककथासु निहितान्यासन् । पुराणेषु ता एव कथा उपवर्द्धिताः प्राप्यन्ते । पुराणानां रचनायाः पूर्वमपि ताः कथा लोकेषु प्रचलिता आसन् । पाराशर्यो व्यासः सर्वास्ताः कथा एकत्र पुराणनाम्ना संगृहीतवान् । व्यासस्य मूलपुराणसंहिता परवर्तिभिः पुराणकारैः परिवर्धिता सती अष्टादशपुराणनामभिर्विभक्ता च चतुर्लक्षश्लोकात्मिका संजाता । परन्तु, वैदिकेषु चरणेषु रचितस्य सर्वस्य वैदिकवाङ्मयस्य रचयिता यथा चरणसंस्थापक ऋषिरेव सम्मत आसीत्, एवमखिलस्यापि पुराणवाङ्मयस्य रचयिता मूलपुराणसंहिताकर्त्ता महर्षिव्यास एव मन्यते स्म ।

पुराणानां सर्गप्रतिसर्गौ द्वौ मुख्यौ विषयौ स्तः । तथापि, पुराणानां प्रधानं प्रतिपाद्यं तु नित्यं निष्कलमव्यक्तमेकं चिदात्मकं तत्त्वमेव, एतदेव पुराणेषु परं सत्यं मन्यते, एतेनैव विश्वं सृज्यते पाल्यते संहियते च । एतस्यैव परमतत्त्वस्य ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवात्मिकास्तिस्रोऽभिव्यक्तयः संभवन्ति । एते त्रयो देवा एव ब्रह्माण्डचक्रस्य प्रवर्तयितारः । पुराणेषु ब्रह्मविष्णु-शिवविषयिका भक्तिः प्रतिपाद्यते । एतेषां त्रयाणां देवानां च विषये-ऽनेकान्याख्यानानि च रचितानि संकलितानि च । एतेन च देवत्रय-विषयकभक्तिभावेन तत्सम्बन्धिभिराख्यानैश्च लोके धर्मः साहित्यं कला च बहुधा प्रभावितानि ।

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अस्मिन् निबन्धे ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवाभिधानां त्रयाणां देवानां, तेषां वाहनादीनां च बुद्धिगम्या व्याख्याऽपि कृता । यथा—ब्रह्म प्रजापतिरेव, तस्य हंसो व्यष्टिमानः, मानससरश्च समष्टिमानः । ब्रह्म देवानामसुराणां च पितामहः । प्रकाशरूपा देवाः, तमोरूपाश्चासुराः । ब्रह्माण्डस्य स्थितये देवानामिवसुराणामपि श्रपेक्षा वर्तते ।

विष्णुः सृष्टिपालको देवः । वैष्णवधर्मेण सर्वाण्येव पुराणानि प्रभावितानि । गुप्तसाम्राज्यकालेऽयमेव धर्मोऽत्र प्रधान आसीत् । तदा च भागवतधर्मं एव पौराणिको धर्म इत्यमन्यत । विष्णोर्वाहनं गरुडः छन्दोमयी गतिः सुपर्णरूपेण कालात्मकः सूर्यो वा । क्षीरसागरे शेषशय्यायां विष्णुः शेते । विश्वस्य प्रलय आपोमयः समुद्रः सृष्टिश्च क्षीरसागरः । शेषश्चानन्तं ब्रह्म । पुराणेषु विष्णोस्त्रिविक्रमावतारो वैदिकत्रिविक्रमस्यैव विस्तारः ।

शिवः पुराणेषु 'रुद्र' इत्यपि प्रसिद्धः । रुद्रश्च वैदिको देवोऽग्निरेव । अग्निरुद्रयोश्चाभेदः पुराणेषु प्रथितः, शिवस्य अर्धनारीश्वररूपे 'अग्नी-षोमात्मकं जगत्' इति वैदिकसिद्धान्तस्यैवाभिव्यञ्जना वर्तते । रुद्र एवोमया सह विवाहितः सन् शिवो बभूव । तस्य पञ्चास्यानि आकाशादीनि पञ्च तत्त्वानि । एवं शिवस्य गङ्गाचन्द्रसर्पविषादीन्यपि चात्र व्याख्यातानि ।

पुराणधर्मश्च शक्तिपूजाप्रधान इत्यप्यत्र प्रतिपादितः । वेदेषु या महीमाताऽदितिः सैव पुराणेषु जगदम्बा विख्याता । सैव जगत् सृजति । अनेकरूपेषु शक्तेर्भक्तिश्च प्रचलिता वर्तते । सर्वाण्येव तानि पुराणेषु संकलितानि । एवमेव गणपतिकार्तिकेयसूर्यादीनां चाप्यत्र व्याख्या कृता ।

हिन्दुधर्मोऽपि भारतीयविश्वविद्यालयेषु अध्ययनविषयो भवितुमर्हतीति चान्ते लेखकमहोदयेन स्वमते प्रकाशितम् ।]

The Purāṇas are eighteen in number and four lakhs of *Ślokas* in extent. It is a vast literature ascribed traditionally to Śrī Veda Vyāsa as their author. In India there is no other literature comparable to the Purāṇas in range of topics and in its influence which is far-reaching on the religion, philosophy, modes of worship and spiritual inspiration and faith of the people. It may be stated with truth that Hinduism is the religion of the Purāṇas and moulded by their teachings as a subtle influence on all its aspects,

Many millions of men living in villages and cities owe their allegiance to Hinduism as propounded in the Purāṇas. We therefore owe it as a duty to inquire about the authorship, antiquity, contents and the inspiring ideals of the Purāṇa literature. In matters of religion the Purāṇas inculcate an eclectic system which is extremely elastic to suit the needs of all persons in society. This attitude is characteristically Indian which is unique in the world and which has exercised its benign influence on the entire religious tradition of India. In fact, the door of the Purāṇas was thrown wide open to all the religious disciplines ranging from the highest Vedic philosophy to the most primitive austic cults rooted in the soil. It is done with a broadmindedness that fills the Purāṇic descriptions with a super-gladenning atmosphere.

The antiquity of the Purāṇas goes back to the Vedic times. The Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature existed in the time of the Atharvaveda and there are many legendary elements in the Vedas that properly belong to the realm of the Purāṇas and have the same style. There is again a reference to the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa-Vidyā* which Nārada had learnt before he came to Sanatkumāra for instruction in higher Brahma-knowledge. In fact it is stated in the Purāṇas that Brahmā first created the Purāṇic literature even before he produced the Vedas. The meaning of this statement is that the metaphysical truths found in the Vedic Mantras were first cast in the form of legends that belonged to the realm of the Purāṇas, and these must have been current in the legendary lore of the people in an extensive area from where they were taken into the Vedic Mantras. Such may be the great legends of Indra and Vṛitrāsura, Indra and Śambara, Indra and Namuchi, Rudra and his conflict with the demons, Aśvins and their stories of exploits about Soma, Sūrya and his wife Saranyū, etc. Behind all these tales some cosmogonical truths were implied from the Vedic points of view, but they were presented as stories which the Purāṇas have presented in amplified form.

About the authorship of the Purāṇas it may be said that they existed much earlier than Veda Vyāsa himself, but he organised this literature just as he compiled and classified the

available Vedic Mantras into their respective Śākhās and Saṁhitās. It was an epoch-making literary task of which the credit goes to Veda Vyāsa, as the greatest doyen of Sanskrit scholarship in ancient times. But the chapter was never closed and the work of redaction he began was continued throughout, so that there were a number of Purāṇic authors known as *Vyāsa* in North India and as *Purāṇī* in Gujarat and Mahārāshṭra. We find frequent references to them in Sanskrit literature. It is clearly stated in the Vāyu Purāṇa (61.59) that the original *Purāṇa-Saṁhitā* consisted of four thousand verses from which many other *Saṁhitās* were compiled with additional material by subsequent authors so that to-day we have inherited a massive literature of eighteen Purāṇas comprising four lakhs of *ślokas*, that is, hundred times its original extent. Those who were responsible for this miracle of authorship and colossal amplification comprised a succession of the most brilliant poets and religious teachers who did much original thinking and incorporated a large number of new subjects in the corpus of the Purāṇic text. The over-riding condition was that the name of the original author Veda Vyāsa was to be retained throughout and under his aegis the new material was taken. This was an important rule which had been fixed in the Vedic Academy that all the Saṁhitā texts and whatever literature was produced under an Academy should bear the name of the Founder-teacher and not of any subsequent author. In a way the literature belonged to the whole Academy and was named after it and no individual authorship was claimed. The Taittirīya Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka, Upanishads, and Prātiśākhya all bore the name of the Taittirīya Academy. Similarly the Purāṇa Saṁhitā was originally a text produced under either the Vedic Academy of Pārāśarya Veda Vyāsa and was distinguished by his conventional authorship. Although factually there was a continuous addition of new matter and it was considered obligatory on new generations of Paurāṇikas to bring the text upto date from time to time. The belief in Vyāsa's authorship was maintained with uncompromising vigour and in fact the whole tradition of two thousand years no one ever thought or dared to disturb or question this. Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was also regarded as Vāchyāyana (Ahirbudhnya-

Sam̐hitā 12.17), son of Goddess Vāk or Sarasvatī, and an incarnation of Vishṇu, whose authorship of the eighteen Purāṇas, Brahma-Sūtras, Mahā-Bhārata and the Bhāgavata, was justly regarded as the most stupendous literary achievement in the annals of human history.

Purāṇic writers and those who listen to these texts as *Kathā* remained unconcerned as to the period when the texts were compiled. They were statements of eternal *Dharma*. But, the successive ages have left their clear impression on the Purāṇic texts and modern scholars have unravelled with critical acumen the different strata of historical and institutional material of which layers upon layers lie embedded in the corpus of the Purāṇas. It is a good thing in one respect that it shows the elastic nature of these compilations which have taken part in the untrammelled development of Hinduism.

Apart from historical questions, our major concern is to know the contents of the Purāṇas and how they vitalise the roots of Hinduism. According to an ancient definition the two major subjects of a Purāṇa are creation and dissolution, *Sarga* and *Pratisarga*. These are but two aspects of the same medal. The complex problem of cosmogony or creation of the world and of the individual as twofold manifestations of the divine power are subjects of the highest importance in the Purāṇas. It may be said with some justification that the highest concern of the Purāṇas is to state their belief in the transcendent reality and to explain its nature. This is a theme which they broach in a hundred ways to speak of the glory of the one divine Lord who is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the worlds. The Purāṇas clearly believe that the ultimate reality is one. He is the supreme Soul, the Universal Lord, the one God without the second, whose transcendence none can compare. His might, glory and power are supreme. He is beyond nature, but also inherent in nature and its real master and cause. The basic doctrine of Purāṇic cosmogony (*Sṛiṣṭi Vidyā*) is that of the three *Devas* who represent the triadic pattern in manifestation. Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva are the three deities who are present in every living centre. They

constitute the cyclic wheel revolving as *Brahmāṇḍa Chakra*. In abstract terms they are the three supreme principles of creation, preservation and dissolution, that is, a release of the world-building forces from an unmanifested point or tranquil substratum, maintaining those forces in a balanced condition and ultimately their withdrawal into the same source. As seen in the rhythm of time this law of coming and going, rising and setting with a stable interval between is operative everywhere. We know it from the time of Ṛigveda but the great merit of the Purāṇas consists in transforming the conception of the three deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, as the nuclei of devotional worship and investing each of them with an encircling mythology of great beauty and symbolical significance that has inspired religion, literature, art and recitations.

It may be noted that the Purāṇas maintain the supremacy of each deity in his own sphere or station so that each one transcendent as well as accompanied by the team of the three brothers, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. It is emphatically stated that they are all of equal rank and in the Purāṇic view any idea of their relatively superior or inferior position is inadmissible. Brahmā is the creator of the worlds; Brahmā signifies the ancient conception of Prajāpati, the Lord of all creatures and the maker of the worlds. Literally Brahmā represents the same idea as Brahma, that is, the principle of growth or irresistible emanation of dynamic power from its centre. This emanation is exemplified in the four directions which take the form of a *Svastika* and correspond to the four faces of Brahmā. The Lake in which Brahmā floats on his vehicle *Hansa* is Mānasarovara which symbolises universal Mind. The *Hansa* is the individual mind. Brahmā is thus the great principle of *Buddhi* or universal consciousness with which creation begins. The first act of Brahmā for initiating his creative activity is to set in harmony the two conflicting forces of cosmic energy symbolised as *Madhu* and *Kaitābha*. Brahmā is the genius of *Yajña* and *Yajña* implies a perfectly balanced system in which a field of energy is created with a controlling centre and an all-round regulation. This is

said to be the region of the *Devas* who are brought into existence by the supreme intelligence or Speech of Brahmā named *Vāk* or *Sarasvatī*, that is alternatively spoken of as the Knowledge of the Vedas. Brahmā's vision and power are due to his Vedic Wisdom which is a synonym for the Universal Mind or the conscious will to act as inspired by activated knowledge. Brahmā is said to have a *Brahma-Sabhā* attended by all the Ṛishis or archetypal sages. It is stated that none can transgress the ordinances of Brahmā and that the immutable law of *karma* has been established by Brahmā Prajāpati. The order of the cosmos which is seen in the revolution of time and space is the visible form of Brahmā's will or his Universal *Karma*.

A noteworthy feature about the mythology of Brahmā is that he is the guardian of both *Devas* and *Asuras*; both may approach him and obtain his protection. The *Asuras* frequently propitiate him by the power of their *Tapas* and they exist by his sufference and no one wholly uproot them for all times and from all places. The meaning is that the *Devas* as light and the *Asuras* as Darkness must co-exist to constitute the tensional dualism of the cosmos; otherwise creation would lapse into a stillness or equilibrium without expression of activity.

Brahmā is credited in the Purāṇas with having created the vast order of time whose durations become manifest as fourteen *Manvantaras* in the day-time of Brahmā and fourteen in his night-time, and one each in the two twilights (*Saṁdhyā Kāla*), making up a total of thirty *Manvantara* periods. It is very surprising how a minute record of these astronomical periods of time has been maintained in the Purāṇas. The vast immensity of time and the measureless depths of space are a favourite theme of the Purāṇas and both appertain to the miracle of Brahmā's creative activity. It is said in a short story that Brahmā himself was not able to charter fully the extent of space created by him. He flew on his *Haṁsa* and did not reach an end, which means that even with the power of his mind he was not able to comprehend how big the cosmos is.

Vishṇu, the preserver, is the second great deity of the Purāṇas. There is hardly a Purāṇa that has not received *Vaiṣṇava* influences or been impressed with the *Bhāgavata* stamp of religion, philosophy and cult-worship. The *Bhāgavata* movement be-strided the whole country of which a comprehensive record is available in the existing Purāṇa literature and also in the form of temples and sculptures that have survived. Great emperors like Samudragupta and Chandragupta were devotees of Bhagavān Vishṇu and it was specially during the hundred years of their reign that *Vaiṣṇavism* emerged as the greatest religion of *Bhakti*. The available *Bhāgavata* text is the greatest document of that movement.

It gives us the quintessence of the Purāṇic religion and gives a clarion call to rally round the worship of Vishṇu as representing the supreme deity who pervades the whole world and life. Vishṇu is the great bowl or container, *Mahā-Pātra*, of all the moral and spiritual virtues for which the soul aspires, e.g. truth, compassion, breadth of heart, *Dharma*, *Tapas*, *Vairāgya*, etc. The *Bhāgavatas* distinguished themselves by a sympathetic understanding towards all creatures high and low and men and animals. In the Gupta period *Purāṇic* culture and *Bhāgavata* culture became interchangeable terms.

Vishṇu is described in various forms. His vehicle *Garuḍa* is a winged bird iconographically, but explained in the *Bhāgavata* as the embodiment of rhythmic movement (*Chandomayena Garuḍena samuhyamānaḥ*). *Garuḍa* was the same as *Suparṇa Garutmān* of the *R̥gveda* to be identified with *Sūrya* or the principle of Time who is bearing on its back the cosmos. Vishṇu is said to be sleeping in the ocean of milk, *Kshīrasāgara*, and from his navel rises a lotus stalk on which *Brahmā* takes his seat before he begins his creative activity. There are two concepts, namely a primeval ocean of water and then an ocean of milk; the latter is brought into existence by the process of churning. The meaning is that dissolution (*Pralaya*) is symbolised as the ocean of water and *Sṛiṣṭi* as the ocean of milk. Conversion of water into milk implies an act of creation that we see in the cow

and in the Mother. Milk is the sign of motherhood generated in the breast for the sake of the child that is born from the mother's womb. It is stated in the Purāṇas that Viṣṇu was at first in a state of rest. He had withdrawn the principle of time into his own body and time is symbolised as Ṛishi Mārkaṇḍeya, who lived to an age of a thousand years, who entered Viṣṇu's mouth to initiate the period of dissolution. At the end of it, when the process of creation was to re-start, the Goddess of Sleep (*Nidrā*) came out of Viṣṇu's body and was propitiated in a *Stotra* by Brahmā. This roused Viṣṇu to fresh activity.

This is a symbolical description of the twofold rhythms of periodic activity and rest, also known as creation and dissolution. As soon as he woke up, Viṣṇu found the two demons, *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*, locked in combat and he used a device to bring about their mutual balancing. These were the two forces of *Rajas* and *Tamas*, activity and inertia, and Viṣṇu as the genius of *Satva* brings the two under his control and thus the stage for the balanced interplay of the three forces or *Gunās* is set, by which creation proceeds.

Viṣṇu's couch on which he sleeps is said to be the cosmic serpent, Ananta Śeṣha, with a thousand heads. *Ananta* has obviously reference to the infinite substratum of the finite worlds. The former refers to the transcendent and infinite Brahman and the latter to his form-made finite in the cosmos. Śeṣha and Viṣṇu are like the two wheels of a single chariot which support each other. The thousand heads of the cosmic serpent recall the thousand-headed *puruṣha* of the Ṛigveda, an oft-repeated theme of the Purāṇas and a motif here re-employed for a new purpose of art and cult. In each major incarnation of Viṣṇu like that of Rāma and Kṛiṣṇa there is a *Śeṣha*-counterpart of him. *Śeṣha* literally means the remainder which fills the mathematical contents of the whole. In a way the Purāṇas employ their own terminology to express the absolute and the relative and both are said to be the two aspects of Viṣṇu.

As a deity Vishṇu is known in the Ṛigveda and his greatest exploit is the taking of the three steps (*Trivikrama*); at first he is *Vāmana*, but by taking three strides, he becomes *Virāt*. This becomes the *Trivikrama* legend in the Purāṇas. Although cast in a mythical mould the meaning of the legend is clear. Each centre of new life is a dwarf in the beginning, that is of small or stunted growth; but by virtue of life's expanding rhythm it grows into its full form that is called the Giant, *Virāt*. Even the cosmos grew into its present dimensions from tiniest beginnings. The child in the womb grows from the zygote into the foetus or from the first fertilised cell to the fullest embryo in the mother's womb by the clearly established law of the Dwarf becoming the Giant by the virtue of Vishṇu's three steps. In each growth or movement these three steps are visible, since Vishṇu is present everywhere. Outward movement (*Gati*), inward movement (*Āgati*) and rest (*Stḥiti*), these are the three forms in which Vishṇu shows his activity. These are said in the Ṛigveda to be the *Dharmas* of Vishṇu and the Purāṇas made of them a legend of great beauty as the story of Vishṇu's *Trivikrama* incarnation.

Another distinguishing feature of Vishṇu is the fourfold nature of his form, his four arms holding four attributes, which has reference to the fourfold manifestation or the cosmic *Svastika*. The Ṛigveda describes it as the perfect *chakra* in the hands of Vishṇu, which consists of four angles of 90° each (Ṛigveda, 1. 155. 6). What is said to be *Yuvā Kumāra* in the Ṛigveda is the same as *Vāmana* in the Purāṇas, the 'young Hero', the 'beautiful boy'. He symbolises the principle of life (*Prāṇa*), Agni, Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa, Indra, etc., in the Upanishadic literature. The Purāṇas were called upon to take their clue from Vedic heights and to adjust their formulations to the new religious cults that were developing. So it happened in the case of Vishṇu whose fuller descriptions display many new elements and a congeries of the old one. The Purāṇas were assimilative of many strands and wove them into a new fabric of fresh meaning and beauty. The concept of Vishṇu as formulated by the Bhāgavatas is of this type and is a theme surcharged with the spirit of devotion.

The great God Mahādeva Śiva is the third deity of the *Trideva* pantheon on whom the Purāṇas pour their highest love. It is difficult to bring under reasonable limits the manifold descriptions of the metaphysical, religious and mythical forms of Śiva as given in the Purāṇas. Śiva was also called Rudra, and Rudra was a distinctive name of Agni, the Vedic God in its most popular form.

The identity of Agni and Rudra, an essentially Vedic theme, is repeated many times in the Purāṇas. The philosophical idea that Agni and Soma take part in the creation of life (*Agnīśhomātmakam jagat*) found its most beautiful expression in the *Ardha-nārīśvara* form of Śiva elaborated in the Purāṇas. The right half is male and the left half is female, that is a combination of Śiva and Pārvatī as the two parents of the world who are present in each and every centre where new life or *Prāṇāgni* symbolising the babe or *Kumāra Skanda* is produced. The Purāṇas speak of him as the son of Agni or Rudra who has become Śiva by his marriage with Umā. Śiva is said to have five faces which the Purāṇas clearly speak to be the five great elements, sky, air, fire, water and earth. Śiva is *Chandraśekhara*, that is, bears the moon-god on his head. The moon represents the universal mind of the creator, namely the death-conquering principle of illumination or *Samādhi*. He is *Gaṅgādhara*, where Gaṅgā typifies the stream of Soma as it flows from the immortal heaven to the level of the mortal *pañcha bhūtas*. The matted locks of Śiva on his head symbolise the principle of *Ākāśa* consisting of the directions of space in which the stream of Gaṅgā first descends and then loses her way and finally is released to descend on mortal earth. Both the moon and the river Gaṅgā point to the immortal nature of Śiva by which he is called *Mṛtyumñjaya*. He has conquered death in his own body represented as poison and the serpents. He keeps the poison in his throat, that is, in the midst of *Ākāśa* where its deadly fumes are dispersed without any baneful effect. He is also immune from the poisonous fangs of the vipers that clasp around his body. The motif of the winding serpents was taken from the

Rigveda where Vṛitrāsura is the great serpent interlocked in a mortal combat with Indra. The king of serpents pendent along Śiva's breast is the Purāṇic version of Vedic Vṛitra. About one thing the Vedas and the Purāṇas are unanimous, namely that Rudra and Sūrya are identical. There is both death and immortality in Sūrya. On this side of Sūrya, in the material world, there is death and darkness (*Mṛityu, tamaḥ*) and on the other side there is light and immortality (*Jyotiḥ, amṛitam*). This side and that side are to be viewed as the material and spiritual aspects of the mind in depth psychology of which each individual is constituted. Śiva after all is the great deity, the divine principle in each individual, named *Prāṇa*. He is a *Tryambaka* God, son of three mothers, Iḍā, Piṅgalā and Sushumnā, or the one who has three eyes, Sun, Moon and Fire. The Tryambaka form of Śiva is mentioned in the R̥gveda. The three mothers according to the Purāṇas are Durgā, Sarasvatī and Lakshmī, the three consorts of Śiva, Brahmā and Vishṇu who typify in Purāṇic symbology the threefold manifestation of the one *Śakti*, who is the universal Mother.

The religious cult of the Purāṇas is based on that of *Śakti* as one of their greatest contributions. The *Devī-Bhāgavata* contains the most graphic description of the worship of the Great Goddess in her several other forms also. The *Devī-Māhātmya* which is one of the most popular texts under the name of *Durgā-Saptaśatī* is a theme of sublime inspiration, the creation of a rare genius. Its several *Stotras* are an asset higher than which there is hardly anything known in Purāṇic imagery. In the Vedas both the male and the female aspects of the divine creator have been admitted. Aditi is said to be the mother of all gods. She was the same as the Great Mother Goddess, *Mahī Mātā*, and identified with *Śakti* or *Jagadambā*, the Universal Mother, who creates all forms : *Śaktiḥ srijati brahmāṇḍam*, says the *Devī-Bhāgavata*. This was the bed-rock of truth and conviction of the Purāṇic approach to the cult of the Female Energy which has found such elaboration not only in the Purāṇas but also in the *Āgamas* and the *Tantras* to which the Hindu religion owes such deep-seated allegiance.

The whole country is dotted with shrines of the Mother Goddess in various forms. The Purāṇas have brought about an integration of the thousands of the local Goddesses with the emergence of a supreme Goddess in whose transcendence all others abide and have their being in the living consciousness of the people, from Śārādā to Mīnākshī and Hīṅgulā to Kāmākshī, a vast world of the worship of the Female energy or Mother-Goddess has prevailed in this country in Hindu religion and the Purāṇas have taken note of it in the form of a list of 108 Devī-Piṭhas of which several versions are current.

Other gods like the elephant-headed deity, Gaṇapati, the six-headed war-god Kārttikeya, Sūrya and the Navagrahas, etc., form part of the Purāṇic pantheon. The technique of taking original Vedic elements and combining them with new folk elements to evolve the form of a god or goddess was favourite with the Purāṇa writers to which they have taken recourse in the case of these gods also. Gaṇeśa was identical with Brahmaṇaspati Soma which transcends the cosmic level and descends into the world through an enveloping filter. The Vedic Soma is symbolised as the sweet cake or sweet ball in the hands of Gaṇapati. The elephant head is the symbol of the universal mind, and the small mouse, the individual mind, which borrows in matter. Sūrya is interpreted in the Purāṇas in more ways than one. He is the deity of time riding on a grand chariot which is the solar year and which is described with its seven rays and seven vibrational tensions named as Rishis, Devas, Pitṛis, Apsarasas, Gandharvas, Yakshas and Rākshasas. This was the Indian VIBGYOR to represent the different conditions of actinic and thermal rays of the sun. The whole country pays its homage to the sun-god of the Purāṇas by building numerous temples with sun images on wheeled chariots. The Bhavishya Purāṇa is a document *par excellence* of Sun-worship, in which Iranian elements were admitted along with the Indian and a new synthesis of the two was produced both in the form of the image and in the attendants of Sūrya.

Hinduism is a living cult which has its scriptures at several levels. There is a tradition about Hinduism which Dr. Coomara-

swamy used to give the name of *Philosophia Perennis*, that is *Sanātana Dharma*. Hinduism is re-inforced by great scriptural texts as well as by the living practices of millions of teachers and the common people. As such it is a unique discipline worthy of study and interpretation at the highest University levels just as other religions are studied at the Universities of America and Europe. Even Chairs for the specific study of Hinduism in its many branches have to be established. The Purāṇas on that account deserve an extended investigation not only about the organised presentation of their contents and constituted critical texts, etc., but what mainly concerns their meaning and the interpretation of their legends throwing light on the religion and philosophy of Hinduism. It should be realised that Hinduism is not an ordinary legacy. It is the vastest system of religious discipline having an unbroken tradition of five thousand years with four hundred millions of followers whose destiny and way of life are linked with the health of this great religion.

NUMISMATIC GLEANINGS FROM THE PURĀNAS.

By

A. B. L. AWASTHI

(Matsya, Vishṇu-Dharmottara and Agni)

[अग्नि-मत्स्य-विष्णुधर्मख्येषु त्रिषु पुराणेषु दानप्रसङ्गे दण्ड-
प्रणयनप्रसंगे च कृतान् मुद्रानिर्देशान् संगृह्य तेषां विवेचनमत्र कृतम् ।
प्राचीनकालेऽस्मिन्देशे नानारूपा मुद्रा आसन् यासां ज्ञानं विभिन्नप्रदेशेभ्यो
लब्धानां मुद्राणामध्ययनेन भवति । मनु-याज्ञवल्क्य-विष्णु-नारद-प्रभृतिभिः
स्मृतिकारैरपि मुद्राणां प्रकारविषये, धातु-विषये भारविषये च अनेके
निर्देशाः क्रियन्ते । निर्दिष्टासु मुद्रासु निष्कमुद्रा महत्त्वपूर्णाऽस्ति ।
हिरण्यस्य सुवर्णस्य वापि निर्देशास्तत्र दृश्यन्ते, परम् एतन्न ज्ञायते यदिमे
निर्देशाः सुवर्णधातोरथवा सुवर्णमुद्राया सन्ति । सुवर्णमाशकमुद्राया
रुक्ममाशकमुद्राया निर्देशोऽपि पुराणेषु दृश्यते । भण्डारकरमहोदयस्य
मतानुसारेण माशकमुद्रा अल्पतममूल्यवती आसीत् सुवर्णमुद्रा च
अधिकतममूल्यवती आसीत् निष्कमुद्रायाश्च अतोऽप्यधिकं मूल्यमासीत् ।
मत्स्यपुराणे उपलब्धा मुद्रासम्बन्धिनो निर्देशा स्वर्णमुद्राणां गुप्तवंशीय-
शासकानां शासनकाले प्रचारस्य ख्योपकाः । मत्स्यपुराणे सौवर्णकृष्णलस्य
उल्लेखो वर्तते । अस्या मुद्राया मनुनाऽपि निर्देशः कृतः । रजत-
मुद्रासु रजतमाशकः प्रधानः । कार्षापणमुद्रा सर्वाधिकप्रचलिता
दृश्यते । एषा मुद्रा रजतनिर्मिता ताम्रनिर्मिता वा बभूव । अपराधिभ्यः
कार्षापणमुद्राया दण्डविधानं दृश्यते । स्मृतिषु पुराणेषु च कार्षापणस्य
परिमाणोऽपि निर्दिष्टः । पुराणेषु मुद्राणां रूपपरिमाणयोर्वर्णनं स्मृत्यनुसारि
वर्तते । इदमपि ज्ञायते यत् तस्मिन् काले मापनप्रणाल्यतिसूक्ष्माऽसीत् ।]

India in the past had her varied coinage studied on the basis of collections either by private individuals or museums and numerous hoards discovered in the different parts of the country. Thus "our knowledge is derived almost exclusively from the coins, the only contemporary documents now surviving." But the vast and varied literature also throws some valuable light on the ancient Indian coinage. The Smṛti works particularly Manu, Yājñavalkya, Vishṇu and Nārada are already recognized

to have supplied some valuable information on the ancient Indian coins relating to their varieties in weights and the metals used in the manufacture of these coins. Like Smṛitis, the Purāṇas also deal with the Code of Criminal Laws (*Danda pranayanam*). In the Rāja-dharma sections of Matsya, Viṣṇu-dharmottaram and Agni-Purāṇa we get some such information on our ancient currency in the chapters on *Danda-pranayanam*.

Nishka, an old variety of gold coin, is mentioned in connection with the gifts and charities given to a brāhmaṇa.¹ It is also mentioned in the *Danda-pranayanam* section. He who cut the flesh of anybody (*māṃsa-bhettā*), had to pay a fine of six nishkas.² Suvarṇa³ and hiraṇya⁴ are also frequently mentioned, but it is not certain whether they represent gold or gold coin. There is a reference to the gift of hiraṇya⁵ in the 8th Rock Edict of Aśoka. Here hiraṇya is taken to represent a gold coin.⁶ Matsya-Purāṇa refers to hiraṇya⁷ along with *go* (cow) and *bhū* (land) and hence, it is apparent, that it refers to gold. But its independent use tends to show that it certainly denotes a gold coin.⁸ Suvarṇa⁹ is explicitly mentioned as a gold coin. A cowherd, engaged in the rearing of cattle and receiving the salary for the same was to pay a fine of one hundred Suvarṇas for milking the Cow.¹⁰ Similarly one who destroyed a tree laden

1. सर्वोपस्करसंयुक्तं तथैकां गां पयस्विनीम् ।

गृहं च शक्तिमान् दद्यात् समस्तोपस्करान्वितम् ॥ (Matsya-P., 77.10)

सहस्रेणाथ निष्काणां कृत्वा दद्याच्छ्लेतेन वा ।

दशभिर्वाऽपि निष्केण तदधेनापि शक्तितः ॥ (Ibid., 77.11)

2. मांसभेत्ता च षण्णिकान् (दण्डयः) (Ibid., 227.86)

3. Ibid, Chs. 56-10, 70-23, 77-4, Ch. 227-122 (I) etc.

4. Ibid, Ch. 55-19, 56-5, 70-31, 71-4, 74-12, 101-32 etc.

5. 'हिरण्यपट्टिविधानो च', R. E. VII.

6. Dr. Mukerji (Aśoka, 1928. P. 125, Foot Note 1) observes that "this statement about Aśoka's journeys being attended with gifts of gold is supported by the Divyāvadāna where, on the occasion of his visit to each Buddhist holy place, Aśoka is said to have given 1,00,000 gold pieces (Śatasahasram dattam).

7. Matsya, 56-5.

8. Ibid, Ch. 101-12.

9. Ibid, Ch. 227-8.

10. Ibid, Ch. 227-22.

with fruits was to pay fine of a Suvarṇa.¹ The sexual intercourse with a cow (or any animal) was to be punished with a fine of one Suvarṇa.² Thus we see that Suvarṇa and Nishka, the famous varieties of Hindu gold currency were prevalent even in the epoch of the Matsya-Purāṇa i. e. in the post Gupta period of Indian history (i.e. 6th and 7th century A.D.)³

There are also references to Suvarṇa-Māshakas,⁴ Hiranya-Māshakas⁵ and Rukma-Māshakas⁶. Dr. Bhandarkar observes, "I have been able to trace at least two references to a type of gold coin called Suvarṇa-Māshaka." He adds that 'Māsha is a unit in the weight system of Indian coinage which differs in weight according as the coin is of gold, silver, or copper. And, while, as a rule Māsha denotes the weight, Māshaka denotes a coin of this weight. A Suvarṇa-Māshaka is therefore a gold coin which is equal to one Māsha in weight according to the standard of the gold coinage. We thus perceive that in ancient India of 7th century B. C. no less than three types of gold coins were current. Of the lowest value was Māshaka, of a higher denomination was Suvarṇa and of still higher denomination was the Nishka."⁷

The numismatic data from the Matsya-Purāṇa testifies to the prevalence of these three types of gold coins up to the 6th or 7th century A. D. Skanda Gupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty is believed to have issued his gold coins on the ancient Suvarṇa-standard and his successors Puru Gupta, Narasiṃha Gupta Bālāditya and Kumāra-Gupta II also used Suvarṇa standard for the purpose of their gold currency. Gold coins of the Suvarṇa-standard however continued to be issued by the Later Gupta kings in Magadha.

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1. Ibid, Ch. 227-91.
 2. Ibid, Ch. 227-144 (i).
 3. 'Classical Age' Bhāratiya Vidyabhavana, 1st Edn., P. 298.
 4. Matsya, Ch. 227-92, Ch. 277-146.
 5. Ibid, Ch. 227-7.
 6. Ibid, Ch. 227-156(i).
 7. 'Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics' by Dr. Bhandarkar.

There is also reference to Suvarṇa-Krishṇala in the Matsya¹ as well as in the other Purāṇas. Krishṇala denote the well-known raktikā or guñjā-berry, and what Krishṇala here means is a coin of gold weighing one guñjā-berry. "This is confirmed by Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā which makes mention of Hiraṇya-krishṇala (XI-4) i. e. gold coin. Krishṇala certainly continued to be known as a coin as late as the time of Manu, who in Chapter VIII prescribes a fine of 8 krishṇalas for one who, without being ill out of pride fails to perform his work according to agreement."²

Among the silver currency Rajata-Māshaka is prescribed as a fine imposed on one who caused injury to insects and worms.³

But Kārshāpaṇa appears to be the most popular coin in ancient India. It was either a silver or a copper coin. "Ordinarily Kārshāpaṇa was restricted to copper, though in course of time, it became the generic expression for standard coins in all metals—gold, silver, copper or lead. As pointed out by Prof. Rapson, Manu seems to imply that the term was properly applied to the Copper paṇa weighing a Karsha—(*Kārshāpaṇastu vijñeyas tāmrikah kārshikah paṇah*). While Nārada quoted in the Vāchaspatya states that silver kārshāpaṇa was current in the south—*Kārshāpaṇo dakshiṇasyām diśi Raupyah pravartate*."⁴ Nāsika cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna also refers to Kahāpaṇa (Kārshāpaṇa). As silver currency was most popular in this region, hence we may presume that here Kahāpaṇa refers to silver coin.

From the textual references the Kārshāpaṇa found in the Matsya-Purāṇa we can not be certain about the true character of the Kārshāpaṇa. One who called the blind, one-eyed or a lame man as such was to pay the fine of a Kārshāpaṇa⁵; One who destroyed the grass or fodder without any use was fined one Kārshāpaṇa⁶; a student was to pay a fine of 3 Kārshāpaṇas for

1. Matsya P., Ch. 227-152.

2. "Lectures On Ancient Indian Numismatics" Dr. Bhandarkar.

3. Matsya-Purāṇa, Ch. 227-92 (ii)

4. Mr. S. K. Chakravarti—Ancient Indian Numismatics.

5. Matsya P., Ch. 227-79

6. Ibid, Ch. 227-92 (ii)

negligence in his studies and a teacher was to pay its double for his bad conduct¹; and one who threw the dirt as well as filth on the road was to pay a fine of one Kārshāpaṇa in addition to the removal of the same.² From these references where fine does not exceed six Kārshāpaṇas, we may infer that in all these cases it refers to silver Kārshāpaṇas. There is also reference to the fine of 100 Kārshāpaṇas,³ and the seriousness of the crime may lead us to believe that here too it refers to silver coin.

But like Manu⁴ and Yājñavalkya; Vishṇu-dharmottara⁵ as well as Agnipurāṇa lay⁶ down clearly that Kārshāpaṇa signified a copper coin weighing one Karsha.

There are references to Paṇa,⁷ in addition to krishṇala⁸ and māshaka⁹, which were only the lower varieties of gold, silver or copper coins. There are references to Dama¹⁰ which is the same as silver drammas based on the Indo-Greek silver currency. The above information based on the study of Matsya-Purāṇa, is also supplemented and supported by a similar *Daṇḍa-Pranayana* section of Vishṇudharmottara¹¹ as well Agnipurāṇa,¹² where we find in addition to the rules laid down for the fines, these different varieties of the coins of gold, silver and copper. Vishṇudhar-

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1. Ibid Ch. 227-151
 2. Ibid Ch. 227-175
 3. पुंस्त्वहर्ता पशूनां च दासीगर्भविनाशकृत् ।
शूद्रप्रव्रजितानां च दैवे पैत्र्ये च भोजकः ॥ Ibid Ch. 227-196.
अव्रजन्वाढमुक्त्वा तु तथैव च निमन्त्रणे ।
एते कार्षापणशतं सर्वे दण्ड्या महीक्षिता ॥ Ibid Ch. 227-197.
 4. कार्षापणां तु विज्ञेयस्तान्निहः कार्षिकः पणः ॥ Manu 8-136.
 5. तान्निहकार्षापणो राम प्रोक्तः कार्षापणो बुधैः ॥ Vishṇu-Dharmottaram, 72-4 (ii)
 6. तान्निहैः कार्षिको राम प्रोक्तः कार्षापणो बुधैः ॥ Agni-Purāṇa, Ch. 227-4 (1)
 7. Matsya-Purāṇa, Ch. 227-14, 144.
 8. Ibid Ch. 227-9, 81, 93, 191.
 9. Ibid Ch. 227-108.
 10. Ibid Ch. 227-8 67, 88, 97, 107, 109, 120, 125, 180, 183, 188, 192, 198, 199, 211.
 11. Vishṇu-Dharmottaram II Chap 72, S. V. Press Edin.
 12. Agni-Purāṇa, Chap. 227 (M.N. Datt. Edn. Calcutta 1904).

mottaram mentions *krishṇala*¹ (*suvarṇa-krishṇala*² or *Rukma-krishṇala*)³ *Māshaka*⁴ (*Hiranyā-māshak*,⁵ *Suvarṇa-māshaka*⁶ and *Rajata-māshaka*),⁷ *Paṇa*,⁸ *Kārshāpaṇa*,⁹ *Dama*,¹⁰ *Suvarṇa*¹¹ and *Nishka*.¹²

But *Vishṇu-dharmottaram* distinguishes between these various types of coins made of gold, silver, and copper. It states that the weight of 3 *yavas* (barley-coin) is equal to a *Krishṇala* and five *Krishṇalas* are equal to a *Māsha*, 60 *Krishṇalas* are equal to half-*Karsha* (i.e. 120 *Krishṇalas*=1 *Karsha*), 16 *Māshakas* are equal to 1 *Suvarṇa*, 4 *Suvarṇas* are equal to 1 *Nishka*, and 10 *Nishkas* are equal to 1 *Dharaṇa*.¹³ This is the well-known weight system of copper, silver and gold currency.¹⁴ Here it adds that copper coin weighing one *Karsha* (i. e. 120 *Krishṇalas*) is known as *Kārshāpaṇa*.¹⁵ The above metric system of gold, silver and copper coins is exactly the same as given in the *Agni-Purāṇa*.¹⁶ *Vishṇu-Dharmottara* and *Agni-Purāṇa* follow *Manu*¹⁷ who states—

3 *Yavas* = 1 *Krishṇala*

5 *Krishṇalas* = 1 *Māsha*

1. *Vishṇu-Dharmottaram* II-72-26, 65, 78, 176, 182 (i).

2. *Ibid* II-72-137.

3. *Ibid* II-72-141.

4. *Ibid* II-72-92 II-72/83.

5. *Ibid* II-72-23.

6. II-72-77 (i), 131.

7. *Ibid* II-72-74.

8. *Ibid*-72-5, 30, 128 (i), 129, 179.

9. II-72-63, 77 (ii), 136, 160, 181.

10. *Ibid* II-72-24 II-72-46.

11. II-72, 25, 38, 75, 105, 128 (ii)

12. II-72-71.

13. त्रियवं कृष्णलं विद्धि माषस्तत्पंचकं भवेत् । कृष्णलानां तथा षष्ट्या कर्षाधिं
राम कीर्तितम् ॥ सुवर्णश्च विनिर्दिष्टो राम षोडशमाषकः । निष्कं सुवर्णाश्वत्वारो धरणं
दशभिस्तु तैः ॥ *Vishṇu-dharmottaram* II-72-2.

14. ताम्ररूप्यसुवर्णानाम् मानमेतत् प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ *Ibid* II-72-4 (i)

15. ताम्रकर्षपिको राम प्रोक्तः कार्षापिणो बुधैः ॥ *Ibid* II-72-4 (ii)

16. *Agni-Purāṇa* chap. 227-1, 2, 3, 4.

17. Three *Yava* weights make one *Krishṇala*, five *Krishṇalas* make one *Māsha*, sixty *Krishṇalas* make one *Karshārdha* (one half *Karsha*), sixteen *māshas* make one *suvarṇa*, four *suvarṇas* make one *nishka*, and ten

16 Māshas	=	1 Suvarṇa
4 Suvarṇas	=	1 Pala
10 Palas	=	1 Dharāṇa.

In the table given above Manu has Pala in place of Nishka. Maṇu himself observes that 4 Suvarṇas make one Nishka.¹ Hence Pala and Nishka are identical.

Thus we see that the Purāṇas not only follow the Law of Penal Code as given in the Smṛitis, but the metric system of our ancient coinage given in the Purāṇas is also based on Smṛitis. It goes to show that this weight system has been most popular. Another point which we notice from these Purāṇic gleanings is that Kārshāpaṇa was generally known to be a copper coin.

nishkas make one Dharāṇa. These weights should be used in weighing gold, silver and copper. The copper kārshika coin (weighing one karsha) is called kārshāpaṇa. These are the weights of copper, silver and gold coins. Agni purāṇa text is entirely the same as given in Vishṇu-Dharmottara except the last line which runs : ताम्रिकैः कार्षिको प्रोक्तः बुधैः which we find elsewhere in some text instead of being given here as we find in the Vishṇudharmottaram. Agni-Purāṇa has : कार्षापणः कार्षिकः स्यात् कार्षिके ताम्रिके पणः ॥

Agni-P., 366-38.

1. चतुःसौवर्णिको निष्को विज्ञेयस्तु प्रमाणतः ॥ (Manu, 8-137)

लिङ्गपुराणं तन्त्रशास्त्रं च

परांजपे विनायकशर्मा

[According to the writer the ten chapters of the Liṅga-Purāṇa (Viz. Uttara-Kh. 19-25 ; 51-53) contain the tāntric matter. He has here discussed this tāntric matter and has shown similarities between this portion of the Liṅga-Purāṇa and the corresponding matter of the Śāradā-tilaka, a famous work on the Tāntricism. The original Liṅga-Purāṇa is said to consist of 11,000 ślokas, but the present text of the Purāṇa contains about 9,000 ślokas. So it is just possible that under the tāntric influence some non-tāntric material was deleted and a portion containing tāntric elements was inserted. Moreover, all the topics of the Uttara-Kh. of the Purāṇa are not mentioned in its Anukramaṇī Adhyāya. The text of the Liṅga-Purāṇa developed gradually, and in the course of this development the above mentioned portions acquired tāntric character.

The Śāradā-tilaka consists of twenty-five Paṭālas or chapters, in which rules of Dīkṣā, Mudrā, Nyāsa and tāntric worship are given. Similar is the subject-matter of the ten chapters of the Liṅga-Purāṇa. The Liṅga-Purāṇa prescribes the concentration on God Śiva in the orb of the sun. This mode of Śiva-worship is quite tāntric. These ten chapters of the Liṅga-Purāṇa are full of such tāntric elements.

The tantricism originated in about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D. The Tantras recognise the authorities of the Āgamas and not of the Vedas. The Purāṇas, however, mostly propound the Vedic religion and the duties of the four Varṇas and Āśramas. The inclusion of the tāntric elements in the Purāṇas pre-

supposes the influence and popularity of the Tantras. So the date of these chapters of the Liṅga-Purāṇa must be about the 8th or the 9th century A. D., when the Purāṇas could not ignore the Tantras.]

भारतीयानां सकलप्रमाणमूर्धन्यभूतं प्रमाणं तावत् श्रुतिः । श्रुतिमूल-
कत्वादेव च स्मृतीनामपि परमं प्रामाण्यमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति भारतीयाः । तद्वदेव
पुराणान्यपि प्रमाणभूतानि भारतीयानां सन्तीति सर्वविदितमेवास्ति । नित्यानां
नैमित्तिकानां काम्यानां वा कर्मणां संकल्पप्रसंगेन 'श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थम्'
इति वाक्यप्रयोगः भारतीयानां पुराणेषु प्रामाण्यबुद्धिं स्पष्टयत्येव । पुराणवाङ्मयस्य
अनितरसाधारणं महत्त्वं कार्यं च 'इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेदि'ति वचनेन
स्पष्टतरं प्रतीयते ।

तदिदं श्रुतिरिव स्मृतिरिव च प्रमाणभूतं पुराणवाङ्मयं वेदादिष्वपि उल्लिखितं
समुपलभ्यत इति विचार्य पुराणानां कालदृष्ट्यापि प्राचीनत्वं साधयितुं शक्यते ।
'पुराणं' इति एकवचननिर्देशः अथर्ववेदे, शतपथब्राह्मणे, गोपथब्राह्मणे, शाङ्खायन-
श्रौतसूत्रे गौतमसूत्रे च समुपलभ्यते । सुपरिचितस्य बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि विद्य-
मानस्य "....महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्यद् ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गि-
रस इतिहासः पुराणं...." इत्यादिवचनस्य विचारमात्रेण वैदिकानामार्याणां
मनसि विद्यमाना पुराणविषयिणी प्रामाण्यबुद्धिः सुस्पष्टं प्रतीयत एव । आ-
पस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रे उपलभ्यमानेन " 'पुनःसर्गे बीजार्था भवन्ति' इति भविष्यत्पुराणे" इति
वचनेन स्पष्टतया प्रतीयते यत् आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रस्य प्रणयनसमये 'पुराणं' इति
कश्चन वाङ्मयप्रकारः समेषां जनानां दृढपरिचित आसीत् इति । यद्येवं न स्यात्
तदा भविष्यत्पुराणं' इति व्याघातात्मकं शब्दं कथं वा प्रयुञ्ज्यात् धर्मसूत्रकारः ।

न केवलं "पुराणानि" इति बहुवचननिर्देशमेव उपलभामहे नैकेषु पुराण-
ग्रन्थेषु, अपितु अष्टादश पुराणान्येव परिगणितानि सन्ति तत्र तत्र पुराणेषु ।
लिङ्गपुराणस्य पूर्वार्धे ३९ तमे अध्याये ६१-६३ तमेषु श्लोकेषु समुल्लिखितानि
सन्ति अष्टादशपुराणानि—

इतिहासपुराणानि भिद्यन्ते कालगौरवात् ।

ब्राह्मं पादूर्ध्वं वैष्णवं च शैवं भागवतं तथा ॥ ६१ ॥

भविष्यं नारदीयं च मार्कण्डेयमतः परम् ।
 आनेयं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं लैङ्गं वाराहमेव च ॥६२॥
 वामनाख्यं ततः कूर्मं मात्स्यं गारुडमेव च ।
 स्कान्दं तथा च ब्रह्माण्डं तेषां भेदः प्रकथ्यते ॥६३॥

पुराणानामेषां महापुराणानि उपपुराणानि इति विभागदर्शकं वचनं भागवते महापुराण एव प्रथमं अधिगच्छन्ति विमर्शकाः । विविधेषु पुराणेषु उपलभ्यमानानामष्टादशपुराणानां संज्ञाक्रमादिपर्यालोचने तावत् वायुपुराणं वर्जयित्वा ऐकमत्यमिव प्रतिभाति समेषाम् । कानिचित् पुराणानि चतुर्थं पुराणं वायुपुराणमिति समुल्लिखन्ति । अन्यानि च शिवपुराणमेव चतुर्थत्वेन स्वीकुर्वन्ति । लिङ्गपुराणं तु एकादशसंख्याकं पुराणमिति विषये समेषां पुराणग्रन्थानामैकमत्यमेव दरीदृश्यते ।

मत्स्यादिपुराणेष्विव लिङ्गपुराणेऽपि एवं उपवर्णितं यत् ब्रह्मणा विरचितं शतकोटिग्रन्थात्मकमेकमेव महापुराणं प्रागासीत्, गच्छता कालेन व्यासो महर्षिर्द्वापरयुगे संक्षिप्य तन्महापुराणं लक्षचतुष्टयश्लोकात्मकं अष्टादशधा भिन्नमकरोदिति । तेषु च पुराणेषु एकादशसहस्रश्लोकात्मकं लिङ्गपुराणं भवति तच्च एकादशं क्रमेण इत्यपि सुस्पष्टं तत्र निर्दिष्टं भवति । सर्वेष्वेव पुराणेषु समुल्लिख्यमानं कोटिश्लोकसंख्यात्मकं ब्रह्मणा विरचितं पुराणं तावत् स्वकपोलकल्पितमेव प्रायः प्रतिभाति । यतो हि सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया विचार्यमाणे एतादृशस्य महतः पुराणस्य रचना असंभाव्या इत्यमेव प्रतिभायात् सर्वस्यापि विचारवत्तः पुरुषस्य । नापि च उपलभामहे किमपि प्रमाणमेतादृशस्य महत्तमस्य ग्रन्थस्यास्तित्वसूचकं एतावता । विमर्शकाग्रेसराः म.म. काणे महाभागा अपि स्वकीयं मतं कोटिश्लोकात्मकस्य पुराणस्य कपोलकल्पितरूपतास्थापकमेव निगमयन्ति स्वीये ग्रन्थे ।

लिङ्गपुराणे एव निर्दिष्टा एकादशसहस्रश्लोकसंख्या तावत् मुद्रिते लिङ्गपुराणे उपलभ्यते न वेति विचार्यमाणे सा सहस्रत्रयेण न्यूना इत्येव श्लोक-

परिगणनायां कृतायां सुस्पष्टं भवति । यतो हि मुद्रितस्य लिङ्गपुराणस्य पूर्वार्धं १०८ अध्यायेषु केवलं ५८१३ श्लोका वर्तन्ते । उत्तरार्धेऽपि च ५५ अध्यायेषु केवलं २२१५ श्लोकाः सन्ति । आहत्य च भवन्ति श्लोकाः ८०२८ परिमिताः । लिङ्गपुराणे उल्लिखिता ११ सहस्रं इति संख्या, प्रत्यक्षं मुद्रिते पुस्तके उपलभ्यमाना श्लोकसंख्या च ८०२८ इति भेदः कथं वा घटेत इति विचारे क्रियमाणे एवंरीत्या परिकल्पनीयं भवति यत् पूर्वं तावत् ११००० श्लोकात्मकं एव लिङ्गपुराणमासीत् । गच्छता कालेन पुराणगताः केचन अंशा अनुपयुक्ता इति मत्वा निःसारिताः स्युः । आवश्यकश्च केचन अध्यायाः (तन्त्रमार्गपरा इव) नूतनतया तत्र स्वीकृताः स्युः इति । विख्यातः पुराणविमर्शकाग्रेसरः प्रा. हाजरा महाभागोऽपि स्वीये ग्रन्थे प्राचीनैः जीमूतवाहनादिभिः निबन्धकारैः लिङ्गपुराणादुद्धृतेषु शताधिकेषु पद्यार्धेषु एकमपि पद्यार्धं मुद्रिते लिङ्गपुराणे नोपलभ्यत इतीमां विप्रतिपत्तिं निराकर्तुमुपरिवर्णितया दिशा कस्यचन भागस्य अपसारणं कस्यचन नूतनस्य विभागस्य समावेशनं निर्दिशति इति मदीयं निष्कर्षं द्रढयत्येव ।

उपरि प्रस्थापितस्य न्यूनाधिकभावस्य समर्थकं अन्यदपि प्रमाणं ग्रन्थान्तर्गतमेव उपलभ्यते । यतो हि लिङ्गपुराणस्य द्वितीये अध्याये या तावद् अत्र अनुक्रमणिका संग्रथिता तत्र उत्तरार्धगतः नैकोपि विषयः समाविष्टः । किञ्च अनुक्रमणिकाध्याये यो वा क्रमः निर्दिष्टः तद्विषये आह लिङ्गपुराणस्य टीकाकारः 'उक्तकथानामानुपूर्व्या अभावात् तथा कथानां प्रायशः संक्षेपात् नानुपूर्व्येण न विस्तरेण' इति । अनेन टीकाकृतः स्पष्टीकरणेन अयमंशस्तु सुस्पष्टं प्रतीयते यत् मुद्रिते लिङ्गपुराणे अस्ति क्रमभेदः कथानां संक्षेपविस्तरौ च कथयत इति ।

संपूर्णस्य पुराणस्य कालावधारणं तु दुःशकमेव भवति । यतः पुराणानां इदानीमुपलभ्यमानानां ग्रथनं अनेकैः वर्षशतकैरेव परिपूर्णतया गच्छति । तत्र च तत्कालानुरूपानां विषयाणां नूतनानां समावेशः तत्कालानुपयुक्तानां च निःसारणं इति प्रक्रिया सततं प्रावर्तत एव ।

प्रो. विंटरनिट्ज्महाशयेन महाभारतस्य कालनिर्णयप्रसङ्गेन यदुक्तं,
 "That the date of each Section, nay, sometimes of each single
 verse in Mahābhārata must be determined separately"—
 तत् संपूर्णतया लिङ्गपुराणस्य विषयेऽपि वक्तुं शक्यते । अनयैव दिशा
 लिङ्गपुराणस्य उत्तरार्धे १९ तः २५ पर्यन्तं सप्तसु अध्यायेषु ५१ तः ५३
 पर्यन्तं अध्यायत्रिष्वेवेति आहत्य दशसु अध्यायेषु समावेशितानां विषयाणां
 स्वरूपं पर्यालोच्य सति संभवे तेषामध्यायानां रचनाकालनिर्धारणमपि
 कर्तव्यमस्ति प्रबन्धेऽस्मिन् ।

निर्दिष्टे अध्यायदशके समाविष्टो विषयः कदाचित् स स्यात् शिवपूजारूपः
 अन्यदा भवेत् गुरुशिष्यलक्षणविवेचनात्मकः, अथवा स्यात् दीक्षाविधिसदृशः
 सर्वथा तन्त्रशास्त्रानुसारीव इति यः कोऽपि निर्धारयितुं शक्नुयात् । तन्निर्धारणोप-
 युक्तं तन्त्रशास्त्रगतविषयपरिचयमेव पूर्वं संपादयितुं प्रयत्नामहे ।

तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य स्वरूपपरिचायकाः सन्ति नैके ग्रन्थाः । तेषु शारदा-
 तिलकारुयो ग्रन्थस्तु विशेषतः प्रसिद्धः प्रमाणभूतश्च तन्मार्गानुसारिणामिति तस्य
 ग्रन्थस्य पञ्चविंशतिपटलेषु संगृहीतानां विषयाणां स्वरूपं नामग्राहमात्रं परिचयं
 लिङ्गपुराणान्तर्गतानां विषयाणां तान्त्रिकत्वपरिज्ञानार्थमत्यावश्यकमिति हेतोरेव
 कारयामि प्रथमे पटलषट्के तावत् सृष्टिकर्म, मातृकास्वरूपं, मुद्राः, दीक्षाविधिं
 भृशुद्धिं, मन्त्रोपदेशप्रकारान्, षडध्वशुद्धिं न्यासं च निरूपयति,
 ग्रन्थकृत् । तदनन्तरं च सप्तदशभिः पटलैः गणपतिः, विष्णुः, दुर्गा, शिवः
 इत्यादीनां देवतानां बीजमन्त्रसहितान् महामन्त्रानुपदिश्य मन्त्रसिद्धेः अत्यावश्यकं
 पुरश्चरणं, उपास्यदेवतायाः मण्डलावाहनपूर्वकं पूजनं, आवरणदेवतानां, अङ्ग-
 देवतानां स्थापनपूजनादि वर्णयित्वा सिद्धमन्त्रस्य शान्तिके, पौष्टिके, आभि-
 चारिके च कर्मणि विनियोगं प्रतिपादयति ग्रन्थकारः । उर्वरिते पटलद्वये
 विविधानां देवतानां पूजार्थमावश्यकानां यन्त्राणां स्वरूपं विविच्य षट्मासनादीनाम्
 अभ्यासेन कुण्डलिनीजागृत्यादिकं योगमार्गं प्रतिपादयन् ग्रन्थकार उपसंहरति
 स्वीयं ग्रन्थम् ।

लिङ्गपुराणस्योत्तरार्धे १९ तमे अध्याये या शिवपूजोपदिष्टा सा संपूर्णतया
 तन्त्रमार्गमेव अनुसरति । यतः तत्र अर्धनारीश्वरः शिवः, चतुर्मुखः, अष्टबाहुः,

द्वादशाक्षश्च ध्येयः सूर्यमण्डल इति उपदिष्टम् । तत्रैव च शिवस्य शक्तीनां वर्णनं कृत्वा आवरणदेवतानां नवग्रहरूपाणां पूजादिकमपि विहितमस्ति । ऋग्वेद-कालमारभ्य वैदिकानामार्याणां परिचितेऽपि सूर्योपासने, सूर्यमण्डले शिवध्यानं तु तान्त्रिकाणामेव केवलं परिचितं इति अवश्यं मनसि करणीयम् । वैदिक-वाङ्मये न कुत्रापि एतादृशी उपासनोपलभ्यते । प्रत्युत मन्त्रशास्त्रे तावत् एतादृशः उपदेशः बहुत्र उपलभ्यते—

यथा — “चित्रादिमूर्तौ हृदये सूर्यबिम्बेऽथवा जले ।

उपचारैर्यथाशक्ति यजंस्तत्सिद्धिमश्नुते ॥

— ईशानशिवगुरुदेवपद्धतौ ॥ १-२६-२१ ॥

अनेन वचनेन तन्त्रशास्त्रानुसारेण एकस्या एव देवताया ध्यानं विविधेषु मूर्त्यादिषु पदार्थेषु कर्तुं शक्यत इति सुस्पष्टमेव । तावता च अयं शिवपूजा-प्रकारः तन्त्रशास्त्रानुसारीणीति निश्चप्रचं वक्तुं शक्यम् ।

विशतितमे अध्याये तावत् गुरोः शिष्यस्य च स्वरूपं वर्णितं भवति लिङ्गपुराणे । कदाचित् वेदाध्यापकस्य गुरोः वेदाध्ययनप्रवृत्तस्य च शिष्यस्य लक्षणं निरूपयितुं प्रवृत्तः स्यात् लिङ्गपुराणकार इति भ्रमः स्यात् कस्यापि । परं सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया पर्यालोच्यमाने गुरुवर्णने अयमत्र प्रकृतो गुरुः तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्तानां मन्त्राणामुपदेष्टा एवमभिमत इति निर्णेतुं सुशकम् । यतो हि गुरोर्विशेषणेषु ‘समयेषु कृतास्पदम्’ इत्यपि एकं विशेषणं भवति । तत्र समयशब्दः बहुवचने प्रयुक्तः विविधान् आगमान् मन्त्रानिव लक्षयति इति सुस्पष्टमेव ।

अस्यैवाध्यायस्य चान्ते भागे उपनिवेशितः सर्वोऽपि विषयः तन्त्र-शास्त्रान्तर्गत एव । ततश्च उपक्रमे निबद्धं गुरुलक्षणं मध्ये क्रियमाणं शिष्यलक्षणं च तन्त्रशास्त्रानुसार्येव भवति इति निर्णेतुं सुशकम् । तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य परिचयाभावे संपादकस्य सामान्यव्युत्पत्त्या पुराणग्रन्थमुद्रणं कर्तुं प्रवृत्तस्य का वा दुःस्थितिर्भवति कथं च यत्र तत्र प्रमादाः संभवन्ति इत्यस्य निदर्शनत्वेन सार्धं श्लोकमत्र उदाहरामि ।

षडर्धशुद्धिर्विहिता ज्ञानयोगेन योगिनाम् ॥ (लिङ्ग उ. २०, ४४)

.....भौवनं च पदं चैव वर्णाख्यं मात्रमुत्तमम् ॥ (लिङ्ग उ. २०, ४६)

कालाध्वरं महाभाग तत्त्वाख्यं सर्वसंमतम् ॥ (लिङ्ग उ. २०, ४७)

उदाहृतेषु त्रिषु पद्यार्धेषु अशुद्धित्रयं भवति । तच्च शोधयितुं तन्त्र-
शास्त्रान्तर्गतं षडध्वशुद्धिविवेचनमेव द्रष्टव्यं भवेत् षडध्वप्रतिपादनपरश्लोक
इत्थं वर्तते ।

उक्तं कलाध्वा तत्त्वाध्वा भुवनाध्वेति च त्रयम् ।

वर्णाध्वा च पदाध्वा च मन्त्राध्वेत्यपरं त्रयम् ॥

—(शारदातिलक ५—७८)

शिष्यस्य कटिमारभ्य मस्तकपर्यन्तं यो देहभागः स पञ्चकलात्मकः,
पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वात्मकः द्विपञ्चाशद्वर्णात्मकः पञ्चमहाभूतात्मको वा भवति इति परिकल्प्य
तस्य शरीरस्य शुद्धिस्तत्र विहिता च मन्त्रशास्त्रे तेन च ग्रन्थगतस्य अशुद्धित्रयस्य
शोधनं एवं भविष्यति ।

१. षडर्धशुद्धिः = षडध्वशुद्धिः

२. मात्रम् = मन्त्रम्

३. कालाध्वरम् = कलाध्वानम्

अनेन तन्त्रशास्त्रादुद्धृतेन वचनेन सर्वेषामपि इदं सुस्पष्टं स्यात् यत्
लिङ्गपुराणकारः तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्तं षडध्वशोधनमेवात्राभिप्रैति इति । अस्यैव
अध्यायस्य चरमे तत्त्वाध्वविवेचनात्मके भागे तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य अपरिचयवशात् टीका-
कर्तुः प्रमादः सुस्पष्टं प्रतीतो भवति ।

पदं वर्णाख्यकं विप्र बुद्धीन्द्रियविकल्पनम् । (लिङ्ग उ. २०, ४९)
अत्राह टीकाकृत् 'विप्र सनत्कुमार बुद्धीन्द्रियविकल्पनं ज्ञानेन्द्रियपञ्चकं वर्णाख्यकं
तत्संज्ञकं भवति ।' वस्तुतस्तु अत्र पदं वर्णाख्यकं इत्यनेन अंशेन पदाध्वस्वरूपं
विवृतं इति स्वीकर्तव्यम् । यतः 'वर्णसंघः पदाध्वा स्यात्' इति स्पष्टीकरणं
तस्योपलभ्यते शारदातिलके (५—५१९) । अग्रे तु बुद्धीन्द्रियविकल्पनम् ।

कर्मेन्द्रियाणि मात्रं तु मनो बुद्धिरतः परम् । अहंकारमथाव्यक्तं कालाध्वरमिति स्मृतम् । (लिङ्ग उ. २०, ५०). अनेन पद्येन तत्त्वाध्वस्वरूपं विवृतमिति मन्तव्यम् । तत्त्वाध्वशुद्धौ विविधानि मतानि तत्त्वसंख्याविषये भवन्ति । तत्र सांख्यानुसारिणीं तत्त्वसंख्यामुदाहरति शारदातिके यथा—

चतुर्विंशति तत्त्वनि मैत्राणि प्रकृतेः पुनः ।

पञ्च भूतानि तन्मात्रा इन्द्रियाणि मनस्तथा । (५-८०).

गर्वो बुद्धिः प्रधानं च मैत्राणीति विदुर्बुधाः ॥ (५-८७).

एवं च लिङ्गपुराणेऽपि बुद्धीन्द्रियविकल्पनम् इति पञ्च बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि ; पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाणि ; मात्रा इत्यनेनैव पञ्च महाभूतानि पञ्च तन्मात्राणि च निर्दिष्टानि सन्ति । तदुत्तरं मनः, बुद्धिः, अहंकारः, प्रकृतिः इति तच्चतुष्टयं निर्दिष्टमित्येवमाहत्य सांख्यानुसारीणि चतुर्विंशति तत्त्वानि अत्र वर्तन्ते । तदनुसारं चात्र तत्त्वाध्वानमित्येव पाठेन भाष्यं न तु कालाध्वरमिति । एतावता कृतेन विवरणेन लिङ्गपुराणस्य २० तमोऽध्यायः तन्त्रशास्त्रानुसारी एवेति विषयः सुस्पष्टं सिद्धो भवति ।

२१ तमे अध्याये पुनः दीक्षाविधिः साङ्ग उपवर्णितो भवति । सा च दीक्षा न यज्ञसंबन्धिनी अपितु तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्ता एव । दीक्षाया अङ्गभूता शिवपूजा च आवरणदेवतासहितस्यैव शिवस्य तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्ते अष्टदलपद्मरूपे मण्डले एव विधीयते । तथैव दीक्षायाः समाप्तौ दीक्षाङ्गभूतं ब्रह्मरन्ध्रभेदनादि यदुक्तं तदपि तन्त्रशास्त्रस्यैव सुसंगतं भवति ।

२२ तमे अध्याये निरूपितोऽस्ति स्नानविधिः । स्मृत्यादिग्रन्थेषु आचारकाण्डादिषु उपवर्णितः स्मार्तः स्नानविधिः अत्रोपदिष्टात् तान्त्रिकात् स्नानविधेः सुतरां भिद्यत इति तत्रत्यानां विधीनामवलोकनमात्रेण यस्य कस्यापि स्फुटं प्रतीयते ; तथाहि लिङ्गपुराणे स्नानाङ्गभूतं सूर्यपूजनं प्रतिपाद्य तत्र सूर्योपासने गायत्रीमन्त्रस्यान्ते 'नमः सूर्याय खखोल्काय नमः' इति मन्त्रशेषः योजनीय इत्यपि उपदिष्टमस्ति । अयं मन्त्रशेषः तन्त्रग्रन्थं वर्जयित्वा न कुत्रापि उपलभ्यते । तथैव तत्र प्रतिपादितः षडङ्गाभ्यासः तान्त्रिक एव तत्रत्यानां मन्त्राणां तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्तत्वादेव । स्नानविध्यनन्तरं उपदिष्टा संध्योपास्तिरपि

तान्त्रिकी एव । यतो हि तत्रोपवर्णिता अर्घ्यपात्रविशुद्धिः तदर्थं च विनियोज्याः बीजमन्त्राः सर्वे तन्त्रेषु उपलभ्यन्ते न स्मृत्यादिषु आचारग्रन्थेषु वा । संध्यो-पासनाया अनन्तरमुपदिश्यमाना सूर्यपूजा आवरणदेवतानां, अङ्गदेवतानां च सन्निहितत्वात् मुद्रादीनां चोपन्यासात् तान्त्रिक्येवेति निश्चप्रचं स्थापयितुं शक्नुमः ।

२३ तमे अध्याये स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रतिपादिता शिवपूजापि तान्त्रिकी एव । यतः पूजागृहप्रवेशोत्तरं प्राणायामे शोषणं दाहनं स्नावनं च तत्रोपदिष्टम् । अयमंशः तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्तः एव भवति । किञ्च उपासनायां आवरणदेवतानां, अङ्गदेवतानां च उपदेशः तान्त्रिकत्वस्थापनार्थं सूर्यपूजायाः पर्याप्त इति अवश्यं मन्तव्यम् ।

२४ तमे अध्याये पूर्वाध्यायगतस्य शिवपूजनस्यैव गद्यरूपेण विस्तारः संपादितोऽस्ति । तत्रत्यं वाक्यमात्रमपि पठितं ग्रन्थस्यास्य तान्त्रिकं स्वरूपं बोधयेत् । “वायव्यचतुर्थेन षष्ठसहितेन फडन्तेन वायुशुद्धिः” (लिङ्गपु. २४. ९)

२५ तमे अध्याये होम उपदिष्टो भवति । तत्र भवन्ति कानिचन अङ्गानि वैदिकानि । परन्तु विपुलानि सन्ति तान्त्रिकान्येव । तथाहि—अग्नेः सप्तानां जिह्वानां नामानि, प्रत्येकं जिह्वायाः मन्त्रः, अग्निकुण्डे च वागीश्वर्या देव्या आवाहनम्, तस्याश्च संस्कारवर्णनम्, तत्रैवाग्नौ शिवदेवताया आवाहनं तस्यापि च संस्काराणां उल्लेख इत्यादयो विषया वैदिके यज्ञकर्मणि न भवन्ति अपि तु तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्त एव होमे संभवन्ति ।

२६ तमे अध्याये उपवर्ण्यमाना अघोर्युपासना तु सर्वथा तन्त्रशास्त्रानु-सारिणी इति नामैव यः कोपि ज्ञातुं शक्नुयात् ।

उत्तरार्धे ५१ तमे अध्याये वज्रवाहनिकाया विद्यायाः (मन्त्रस्य) उपदेशः भवति । विशिष्टपरिमाणं खड्गं तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्तैः मन्त्रैः अभिषेकादि संपाद्य राज्ञे समर्पणीयम् । यावत् नृपः तं खड्गं हस्ते धारयति तावता तस्य युद्धे जय एव संभवेत् न तु पराभव इत्यादि वर्णनमासीत् । अयं मन्त्रः वैदिकात् मन्त्रात् सर्वतो भिन्नः भवति । यथा गायत्रीमन्त्रस्यान्ते “ओं फट् जहि हुं फट्

छिन्धि भिन्धि, जहि हन हन स्वाहा” (लिङ्ग उ. ५१.१८) इति यद्योजनायां कृतायां वज्रवाहनिका विद्या निष्पद्यते । मन्त्रस्य पाठमात्रेण तान्त्रिकत्वं तस्य स्फुटं भवति ।

५२ तमे अध्याये अस्या एव वज्रवाहनिकाया विद्यायाः (मन्त्रस्य) विविधाः सन्ति विनियोगाः सविस्तरं प्रतिपादिताः । ते च सर्वे विनियोगाः आभिचारिका इत्येव ख्याताः सन्ति तन्त्रशास्त्रेषु । ते च यथा—

वश्यमाकर्षणं चैव विद्वेषणमतः परम् ॥ (लिङ्ग उ. ५२,२)

उच्चाटनं स्तम्भनं च मोहनं ताडनं तथा ।

उत्सादनं तथा छेदं मारणं प्रतिबन्धनम् ॥ (लिङ्ग उ. ५२,३)

सेनास्तम्भनकादीनि सावित्र्या सर्वमाचरेत् । (लिङ्ग पु. उ. ५२,४)

अध्यायस्योर्वरिते भागे उच्चाटनादिकार्येषु उपयोज्यानि हवींषि प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । तत्र कानिचन हविर्द्रव्याणि यथा, सर्षपाः, खरस्य अश्वस्य उष्ट्रस्य च रक्तम् रोहीवीजमित्यादीनि । (लिङ्ग पु. उ. ५२, ११-१२)

एतावता उच्चाटनादीनां कर्मणां तथोपयोज्यानां हविषां च पर्यालोचनमात्रेण न कस्यापि विप्रतिपत्तिः स्यादध्यायस्यास्य तन्त्रप्रधानत्वविषये ।

५३ तमे चाध्याये सन्ति चत्वारः श्लोकाः मृत्युंजयमन्त्रविधिपराः । पूर्वापरसंगतिपर्यालोचनया तस्य मृत्युंजयविधानस्यापि तान्त्रिकत्वाङ्गीकारे न किमपि बाधकं पश्यामः ।

एतावता लिङ्गपुराणस्य १९ तः— २५ पर्यन्तं तथैव च ५१ तः—५३ पर्यन्तं आहत्य दशसु अध्यायेषु समावेशितानां विषयाणां स्वरूपं तावत् तन्त्रशास्त्रप्रचुरं इति सुस्पष्टं साधितम् । अयं च दशाध्यायात्मको भागः लिङ्गपुराणे तस्मिन्समये स्थानं लब्धवान् स्यात् यदा भारते सर्वत्र तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य महान् प्रसारः गौरवं च आसीत् । तादृशे काले तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य गौरवास्पदे स्थाने प्राप्ते पौराणिकैरपि एवं चिन्तितं स्याद् यदि नाम पुराणेषु तान्त्रिक्यः उपासनाः प्रतिपादिता न स्युः गौरवं पुराणानां हीयेत जनानां च आदरः

पुराणविषये न्यूनत्वं गच्छेदिति । विचिन्त्य चैवं तैः पौराणिकैः विभागोऽयं तन्त्रशास्त्रप्रधानः संनिवेशितः पुराण इति तु निश्चप्रचं वदामः ।

एवं तु दशाध्यायात्मकस्यास्य लिङ्गपुराणभागस्य कालनिर्धारणमपि नातिकठिनम् । यतो हि, तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य उदयः ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य तृतीये चतुर्थे शतके वा संजात इत्यङ्गीक्रियमाणेऽपि सर्वविद्वज्जनसंमते पक्षे पुराणग्रन्थेषु तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य प्रारम्भकाले तान्त्रिकानां विषयाणां समावेशः सर्वथा अशक्यसंभवः । यथाहि— तन्त्रशास्त्रं आगमान् प्रमाणीकृत्य वेदादीनां प्रामाण्यं नाङ्गीकरोति निरस्यति वा इत्येतादृश्यां स्थितौ वर्णाश्रमधर्मान् प्रतिपादयितुं प्रवृत्तेषु पुराणेषु कथं वा तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य समावेशः संभवेत् । प्रारम्भकाले कदाचित् न्यासं मुद्राश्च अङ्गीकृतवन्तः स्युः वैदिकाः तन्त्रशास्त्रेभ्यः । गच्छता कालेन तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य न केवलं ऐहलौकिकः उपयोगः अपि तु पारमार्थिको लाभः मुक्तिरपि तान्त्रिक्या उपासनायाः फलं भवति इति सिद्धान्ते प्रस्थापिते, तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य विशिष्टया तत्त्व-प्रणाल्या स्थैर्ये प्राप्ते, तन्त्रशास्त्रेण अङ्गीकृतेषु च वैदिकेषु मन्त्रेषु तन्त्रो-पासनायाम्, जनानां चित्तावर्जकतां अधिगतवति तस्मिन् शास्त्रे, प्रायः ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य अष्टमशताब्दीतः दशमशताब्दीं यावत् अयं तन्त्रप्रधानः अंशः पुराणे स्थानं लब्धवान् स्यात् ।

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ON

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY (PURĀNA)

.....Indian mythology is richer, vaster, very beautiful, and full of meaning. I have often wondered what manner of men and women they were who gave shape to these bright dreams and lovely fancies, and out of what gold mine of thought and imagination they dug them.

—*Discovery of India*

SOME LATE CHAPTERS OF VĀYU-PURĀṆA

By

S. N. ROY

[वायुपुराणस्य केषाञ्चिद् अध्यायानां रचना परिवर्तित्ति कालेऽभू-
दित्यस्मिन् लेखे विवेचितम् । लेखकमहोदयस्य मतानुसारेण ख्रिष्टीय-
चतुर्थशताब्द्याः पूर्वतरं वायुब्रह्माण्डपुराणयोरैक्यमासीद् । तदनन्तरं
वायुपुराणतः ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य पार्थक्यं जातम् । ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य पृथक्
निर्माणात् प्राक् वायोः पुराणस्य कस्यचिदपि देवस्य पूजने विशेष आग्रहो
नासीत् । किन्तु ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य पृथङ्निर्मितेरनन्तरं उभयोः पुराणयोः
रूपं साम्प्रदायिकं जातम् । वायुपुराणं शिवभक्तिपरकं ब्रह्माण्डपुराणञ्च
विष्णुभक्तिपरकमभूत् । यद्यपि महाभारत-हरिवंश-हर्षचरितादिषु वायु-
पुराणस्योल्लेखात् तस्य प्राचीनत्वं सिध्यति, किन्तु विभिन्नानाम् अंशानाम्
परीक्षणोऽपि हाजराप्रभृतिभिर्विद्वद्भिर्स्मिन् पुराणे नवानामांशानामुप-
लब्धिर्दृष्टा । अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन ११-२६; ३२; ३४-४९
अध्यायेषु उल्लिखितानां विभिन्नविषयाणां विस्तृतविवेचनं तत्तदंशानां
कालनिर्णयस्य यत्नश्च कृतः । ११-२० अध्यायेषु योगस्य वर्णनं विद्यते, तत्तु
न ख्रिष्टीयचतुर्थशताब्द्याः पूर्वकालीनम् । एकादशे अध्याये बौद्ध-
धर्मस्य प्रभावो दृश्यते अथ च बुद्धस्यापि निर्देशोऽस्ति । बौद्धधर्मस्य
पुराणेषु प्रभावः पञ्चमशताब्द्यामभूदिति सामान्येन निश्चितं मतम् । अत्र
माहेश्वरयोगस्य वर्णनात् साम्प्रदायिकं रूपमपि स्फुटीभवति । २०तमस्य
अध्यायस्यान्तिमेषु श्लोकेषु रुद्रप्रशंसाया विन्यासादपि इदमेवानुमीयते ।
२१-२२ अध्याययोः कल्पमन्वन्तरादिविवेचनमस्ति यत्तु ब्रह्माण्डे असद्भा-
वादपि मौलिक एवांशः प्रतीयते । किन्तु २१तमे अध्याये रुद्रस्य विष्णवादि-
देवतापेक्षया प्राधान्यप्रदर्शनात् तदंशस्य परभावित्वमेवानुमीयते ।
२२ अध्यायस्य अन्तिमश्लोकत्रयेषु शिवलोकरूपमिर्वाणित्वाऽस्ति । २३तमे
अध्याये तीर्थयात्रापेक्षया योगस्य वैशिष्ट्यादथ च कृष्णस्य अंशावतार-
रूपेणोल्लेखादस्याध्यायस्य परकालीनत्वं संभावितम् । हाजराप्रभोदयस्य
मतानुसारेण तीर्थयात्राविषयका अंशाः पुराणेषु ख्रिष्टीयषष्ठशता-
ब्द्या अनन्तरं समाविष्टाः । २४तमे अध्यायेऽपि शिवस्य प्राधान्यं
प्रदर्शितम्, शिव एव यज्ञसंस्थापक इत्यपि चोक्तम् । इत्थमस्याध्यायस्यापि
परकालिकत्वं ज्ञायते । अत्र शिवः व्रतपतिरिति कथितः किन्तु व्रतानां

पुराणेषु वर्णनमेव अर्वाचीनम् । २५तमे मधुकैटभाख्यानम्, विष्णुशिव-
योरैक्यम् च वर्णितम् । तथापि शिवं प्रति पक्षभातादस्य साम्प्रदायिक-
स्वरूपं प्रतीयते । इत्थमवशिष्टेष्वपि अध्यायेषु परकालिकनिर्माणस्य
लक्षणानि दृश्यन्ते येषामपि विवेचनत्र कृतमस्ति । अन्ततः निष्कर्षरूपेण
स्थापितं यत् ख्रिष्टीयचतुर्थशताब्द्याः पूर्वतरमेकं पुराणमासीत्, किंतु
अस्मिन् काले वायुब्रह्माण्डपुराणयोः पार्थक्यं जातम् । अनन्तरञ्च उभयोः
पुराणयोः शैवानां वैष्णवानां च सिद्धान्तानां पृथक्-पृथक् संकलनं जातम् ।]

Chronology of Vāyupurāṇa has been an important aspect of purāṇic researches. This purāṇa is commonly treated as the oldest of the extant purāṇic texts. Its early character can hardly be called in question. This is brought out not only by the internal scrutiny of its passages but also by the external evidences supplied by Mahābhārata, Harivaṃśa and Harṣacarita. The chronological survey of this purāṇa, however, seems to be incomplete unless chapters and their passages increasing its bulk are thoroughly scrutinized. In a general way Mr. Dikshitara had already pointed out that compilation of this purāṇa extended over a number of centuries.¹ Dr. Hazra has given a greater emphasis on this point and without questioning the earliness of main skeleton of the work he has scrutinized a number of its chapters having colour and character of lateness.² His conclusions no doubt give an incentive to go through other various chapters of this purāṇa and find out the forces and tendencies responsible for the alterations and additions to which this purāṇa was subjected in later times. For this purpose we shall examine Chapters 11-20 ; 21-22 ; 23 ; 24 ; 25 ; 26 ; 32 and 34-49.

Analysis of the proposed chapters

Chapters 11-20 give description of Yoga and prescribe various rules which a yogī should practise. Dr. Hazra believes that Chapters on Yoga were added to this Purāṇa not earlier

1. Some aspects of Vāyupurāṇa, p. 49.

2. Chapters 16-17 ; 18 ; 57-59 ; 101 and 105-12. According to Hazra 'the Chapters do not seem to have belonged to the present Vāyu in its extant form. They are in all likelihood later additions.'—Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p. 15.

than 400 A.D. He forms this conclusion on the ground that these Chapters are not found in the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*. He has tentatively fixed 400 A.D. as the date of separation of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* from the original text of the *Vāyu*. He has also established that the extant *Vāyu-Purāṇa* has borrowed these chapters from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* which has preserved their original nature with a greater degree of certainty. Although this conclusion is not without reason, yet one may venture to give more evidences in its support. Absence of these passages in the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* does not necessarily mean that they were absent also in the original and ancestral source of these two *Purāṇas*. For, loss of some significant passages in the extant *Purāṇas* are as common as the additions and alterations. An attempt, therefore, to support the Conclusion drawn on the basis of external evidences by internal scrutiny of these chapters will not be out of place.

When scrutinised internally these passages indicate influence of later trends. Thus verses 8 and 9 of Chapter 11 describe that observation of past, present and future enabled the sages to obtain a status equal to that of Buddha. Verse 24 of Chapter 12 says that the Yogi after entering the *Manas* and knowing the Buddhism of all living beings becomes Buddha or enlightened. Verse 17 of Chapter 16 prescribes *Ahimsā* as one of the vows to be observed by a *Bhikṣu*. Verse 13 of Chapter 18 ordains vow of *Cāndrāyana* for a mendicant who commits *Himsā* even without intention. These passages, therefore, cannot be dated earlier than the fifth century A. D. which is the commonly accepted date of influence of Buddhism on *Purāṇic* literature.¹

The fact that these chapters were added at a later date is also supported by their sectarian nature. For example, verse 3 of Chapter 12 associates different factors of Yoga with *Maheśvara*. Chapter 19 makes provision of salutation to *Maheśvara* for a yogi. Verse 11 of Chapter 20 states that by means of specific meditation a yogi attains the abode of *Śiva*. Previously in verse 6 this Chapter refers to the three steps of *Viṣṇu* but does not

1. Vide Pargiter, A. I. H. T., p. 80.

refer either to their divine glory or to their association with a yogi. This shows that the present chapter had an early shape which was non-sectarian in nature and was not devoted to any particular deity. The sectarian nature and lateness of these passages is conclusively proved by the closing verses of chapter 20 which are devoted to the glory of Rudra and in one of them (in 31) it has been said that obeisance to Rudra is far greater than that offered to any other deity.

The conclusion of Hazra that these are borrowed Chapters is supported by their incongruous and inconsistent plan. This is clearly shown by verse 2 of Chapter 17 which prescribes that the Bhikṣu, after completing the course of his yogic studies in the hermitage of the preceptor should take permission from him and make a tour of the earth in order to find out the essence of knowledge. It will be seen here that this verse is only a repetition of verse 6 of Chapter 16 both in its form as well as meaning. Such repetition could have been only due to the interference of later periods.

Chapters 21 and 22 deal with Kalpanirūpaṇa. So far as their subject matter is concerned these chapters have maintained the original form of Vāyu-Purāṇa even though they are not found in the extant Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa. But while Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa has dropped them, Vāyu-Purāṇa has made some significant changes which are indications of later attempts. This fact is supplied by the following analysis. In Chapter 21 there have been mentioned two queries put by Sāvārṇi, leader of the sages of Naimiṣāraṇya to Vāyu. His first query relates to the birth of Brahmā, friendship between Viṣṇu and Rudra and reasons why the latter is worshipped by the former (verses 4-7). Before Vāyu gives answer to this question, the second query about the origin and scope of Kalpa is put to him. This arrangement has given the Chapter a very clumsy appearance which reveals the interference of the religious fancies of later compilers. The description of Kalpa in this Chapter seems early in date. But the passages spoken about the mutual relation of Viṣṇu, Rudra and other deities in the subsequent verses are in all probability

later additions. In these verses Śiva has not only been eulogised but in one of them Viṣṇu's position has been degraded to him. Same conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the verses of Chapter 22. This Chapter gives details of Kalpa and has preserved the original text to an extent comparatively greater than Chapter 21. But the concluding verses lend spurious colour to it. Thus the last three verses mention that the Brāhmaṇas after preaching religion in its entirety, being purged off their sins attain Rudraloka from where they never return. The last verse¹ is an exact copy of verse 19 of this very chapter which describes that the sages who are engaged in Prāṇāyāma attain Brahmaloaka.

Chapter 23—In verse 93 this Chapter preaches priority of meditation over the benefits accrued from the visits to holy places. The glories of holy places, therefore, must have been well established by this time. According to the scrutiny of Hazra Chapters on holy places i.e. Tīrthas were incorporated in the purāṇas not earlier than the 6th Century A.D.² Association of Varāha incarnation and identification of Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu in this Chapter are also indicative of its lateness.³ In an earlier Chapter, on the other hand, Varāha incarnation and Nārāyaṇa are identified with God-creator⁴ (Brahmā), which being an early tendency bespeaks of the originality of the passage. Verse 206 describes Kṛṣṇa as the Amśavatāra of Viṣṇu. This tendency is analogous to the Bhāgavata in which we get a similar description,⁵ and is not available in earlier texts. Hence this Chapter cannot be dated earlier than the Bhāgavata.⁶

Chapter 24—In verse 203 of this Chapter Śiva has been called the lord of Vows (Vratas). Divine association of the

1. प्राणायामपरा युक्ता.....ब्रह्मलोकं व्रजन्ति ।

2. Hazra, Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p., 159.

3. Verse 100.

4. Chapter VI. 3.

5. According to Hazra, this conception of Bhāgavata shows its lateness, Ibid, p. 22.

6. According to C. V. Vaidya, Bhandarkar, Pargiter, Farquhar and Winternitz, Bhāgavata cannot be dated earlier than the 9th Cen. A. D. Hazra believes that its date falls in the 6th Cent. A.D., Ibid., p. 55.

Vratas clearly indicates lateness of this Chapter. It is against the nature of an early purāṇa. Vratas do not find any prominent mention in other Chapters and their passages of this purāṇa. On the other hand, as Hazra has shown, Vratas were added to the purāṇas which were thoroughly revised in later periods.¹ It is due to its later addition that the description (verses 73-76) of the cosmic egg and its breaking into two parts appears to be only a repetition of the legend described at its proper place in the purāṇa.² The legend described there is original in nature being also mentioned in the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. Description of the passage under discussion that cosmic egg was divided by Vāyu is inconsistent with the above passage showing that Tvaṣṭā broke the egg out of which Brahmāṇḍa was born. The Chapter has Śaivite learning and sectarian approach. Śiva has been shown superior to both Brahmā and Viṣṇu (from verse 57 to end). The description of the Chapter that Yajñyas³ were founded by Śiva is only an attempt to elevate his position contradicting with the common conception which disassociates Śiva from Yajñya.⁴ Interference of later compilers in the Chapter is further shown by the epithet Nārāyaṇa associated with Brahmā in verse 21, but transferred to Viṣṇu in verse 53. As shown previously identification of Viṣṇu with Nārāyaṇa is a later development while unity of Brahmā and Nārāyaṇa is an earlier tendency.

Chapter 25—Describes story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the well-known Purāṇic demons. Although in some of its verses (in 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25) the Chapter seeks unity between Śiva and Viṣṇu, yet its attempt as a whole is sectarian. Viṣṇu has been shown seeking favour of Śiva, receives boon from the latter and consequently kills the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Lateness of this Chapter is further shown by the epithet Kṛṣṇa applied to Viṣṇu. This shows that the present Chapter was incorporated in the Vāyu-purāṇa at a time when conception of

1. As in case of Matsya-purāṇa whose Chapters on Vratas were incorporated between 600 and 900 A.D. Ibid, p. 43.

2. Chapter III. 59.

3. Verse 260.

4. e.g. Vāyu-p. XXX. 1. Brahmāṇḍa-p., II, 13-72. Matsya-p., XIII, 14. Altekar, History of Banaras, p. 3.

Avatāra had fully developed. This Chapter cannot be dated earlier than the time of Bhāgavata which establishes full unity between Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. It is definitely later than Viṣṇu-Purāṇa according to whose description Kṛṣṇa was only an exceedingly small portion of Viṣṇu.¹

Chapter 26—Arrangement of this Chapter is most incongruous. It opens with the query of Sūta about the incarnation of Śiva consisting of four verses (1-4). These verses seem to be superfluous because Śiva's incarnations are already described in Chapter 23. Moreover, the subsequent verses do not answer the above query. Instead of throwing light on the incarnations of Śiva, they describe Brahmā's anxiety for creation and appearance of Svaras as a result of his meditation. Thus the present Chapter has been helpful in increasing the bulk of Purāṇa, but has affected its consistency which appears to be attempt of a late date.

The spurious character of Chapters 23-26 can also be analysed in the light of the first verse of the subsequent Chapter which is also found in the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa.² The verse runs as :—

अस्मिन् कल्पे त्वया चोक्तः प्रादुर्भावो महात्मनः ।

महादेवस्य रुद्रस्य साधकैर्मुनिभिः सह ॥

Vāyu-p.

अस्मिन् कल्पे त्वया नोक्तः प्रादुर्भावो महात्मनः

महादेवस्य रुद्रस्य साधकैर्ऋषिभिः सह ।

Brahmāṇḍa-p.

It would be seen that the verse in both the Purāṇas is apparently the same. But the Brahmāṇḍa's version of नोक्तः for Vāyu's चोक्तः has caused a very serious and commendable disagreement. The context in which the present verse occurs, however shows that the version नोक्तः (You have not described)

1. Viṣṇu-p., V. 1. 56-60. See Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

2. Brahmāṇḍa-p., II. 10. 1.

is original and has been changed into चोक्तः (and you have described) by the later compiler of Vāyu-purāṇa. So far as its place of its occurrence is concerned, the verse is a query put to Sūta. But the reading चोक्तः gives the verse, form of conclusion, which is not the case. In the subsequent verses Sūta really described, in both the Purāṇas, the appearance of Śiva and his associates, the various Rudras. Hence the reading नोक्तः should be preferred to चोक्तः. It seems very likely that the compiler of Chapters 23-26 of the Vāyu-purāṇa cleverly replaced the original reading of नोक्तः by चोक्तः in order to justify the incorporation of the above chapters one of which (Chapter 23) deals with the incarnations of Śiva and has elements of lateness.

Chapter 62—This Chapter gives a general description of various deities like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Agni, and Indra, but attaches more importance to Śaṁkara. Thus in verses 2-5, it identifies Akṣara Brahma with Maheśvara i.e. Śaṁkara and adds that Ādi, Madhya and Anta of this deity are distinct only for the benefit of humanity. It is not of Maheśvara that the seven Ṛṣis, Indra and other deities along with the Ṛṣis are born. In verse 16, it describes that Yajñya was founded by Maheśvara. As we have noticed earlier,¹ association of Śaṁkara with Yajñya is a new approach of this purāṇa throwing some interesting light on the date of the passages giving such description. Verse 21, which allots Kṛtayuga to Brahmā, Tretā to Yajñya, Dvāpara to Viṣṇu and remarks that Śaṁkara is worshipped in all the four Yugas, also brings out sectarian nature of the present Chapter.

Chapters 34-49—are devoted to Bhuvanakośa i.e. geographical description. Of these only Chapters 34, 45, 46, 47 and 49 of this Purāṇa are common with the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa. Besides, verses 36-47 of Vāyu-P. are also not available in the latter. A perusal of these passages shows that the additional verses and Chapters of the Vāyu-P. were compiled at a later date after splitting up of these two Purāṇas from the original text. The motive behind the addition of these passages, as in case of those discussed earlier, was essentially sectarian, as these are strictly written

1. Supra, p. 371.

in praise of Śiva. Thus Verses 36-47 of Chapter 34 of the Vāyu-Purāṇa identify Śaṁkara with Brahmā and describe that the entire earth along with mountains and rivers was created by him. Verse 42 of Chapter 39 mentions Śaṁkara as Mahādeva who likes to live on the Karañja mountain. Chapter 40, while describing Devakūṭa mountains refers to the abode of Śaṁkara in Bhūtavāṭa and concludes that he is worshipped by the Siddhas, Ṛṣis, Gandharvas and Nāgendras. He is Mahādeva who performs welfare of the entire world. Verse 50 of Chapter 41 applies Hari, the well-known epithet of Viṣṇu to Mahādeva. Verse 37 of Chapter 42, which eulogises the holy Ganges, mentions that this river being doubly purified by the touch of Śaṁkara, removes the sins of even the highest sinners. The superfluous character of the passage is further shown by the fact that the legend of Gaṅgā and Śaṁkara is given in great detail in Chapter 47 which appears to be more original being also available in the Brahmāṇḍa-p.¹ About the residents of Bhadrāśya verse 38 of Chapter 43 describes that they express their devotion to Śaṁkara and Gaurī by sacrifice, worship and obeisance.

There is also another consideration which shows that these Chapters of Vāyu Purāṇa did not form part of the original text and were added later. We take for instance verses 36-47 (of Chap. 34). As shown above these verses are in praise of Śaṁkara. A closer scrutiny of the Chapter shows that despite their religious merit these verses were hardly necessary at the place where they occur. Verse 35 gives description of the mountain Mālyavān and is followed by the description of Meru in the subsequent verse. But Meru's description abruptly stops. It continues only after the gap of the above eleven verses containing eulogy of Śaṁkara. That these verses were added to Vāyu-Purāṇa at a late stage is also supported by the fact that the corresponding verses of Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa are pure and simple and have hardly any sectarian value. Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa in this context has preserved the original text more faithfully than Vāyu-Purāṇa whose passages seem to have been revised by Śaiva-

1. Brahmāṇḍa-p., II. 18.

sectaries possibly at the same time when chapters 23-26 were added to it. The unadulterated and original character of the Bhuvanakośa-portion of Brahmāṇḍa's passages is more convincingly shown by some of the common verses of the two Purāṇas. Thus about the people of Plakṣa-Dwīpa, Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa says that they are worshippers of Plakṣa-tree.¹ But according to the description of Vāyu-Purāṇa these people worship god Sthāṇu.² Two other verses of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa describe the infinite and unworldly prowess of God whom it does not mention by any specific name. In one of these verses it relates that God is Ananta and has got his abode in the sky beyond darkness.³ Vāyu-Purāṇa, while giving same description uses term Śiva in place of Ananta.⁴ In verses 175 and 176 it further describes Ananta as one who is imperishable, unmeasurable and endless. Here too, Vāyu-Purāṇa equates Ananta with Īśvara.⁵

The common verses of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas, scrutinised above, are also indicative of the mutual relationship of the two texts. The argument that Vāyu-purāṇa was source of the extant Brahmāṇḍa is not without ground. But it would be more advisable to confess that the text of the Brahmāṇḍa owes itself to some earlier text of the Vāyu. The extant Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa has preserved various verses of that early text of Vāyu-Purāṇa without any serious and significant change. But the fact cannot be denied that most of its verses were remodelled under Vaiṣṇava influence. These verses also occur in Vāyu-Purāṇa. Unlike Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, they have Śaivite form in the Vāyu. Besides being indicative of sectarian nature of the passages when they occur, they also throw a flood of light on the status and comparative value of these two Purāṇas. An

1. Brahmāṇḍa-p., II. 19. 29.

2. Vāyu-p., II. 27; Sthāṇu was synonym of Śaṅkara ; Vide Amarakośa, स्थाणू रुद्र उमापतिः ; I. 1. 30.

3. Brahmāṇḍa-p., II. 19. 168

4. Vāyu-purāṇa, II. 160.

5. Ibid. II. 167. The term Īśvara generally stands for Śaṅkara

ईश्वरः सर्वं ईशानः शङ्करश्चन्द्रशेखरः । Amarakośa, I. 1. 26.

analysis of these verses in the present paper will not be out of place. Thus the first verse of the first Chapter of Vāyu-Purāṇa is in praise of Mahādeva Īśāna. But the corresponding verse of Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa praises Hari whose form is exhibited by the universe. In verse 169 of Chap. II, Vāyu-Purāṇa treats Śiva as one who is its subject of description. But the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (II.19.177) mentions Padmanābha i.e. Viṣṇu in the same context. Approach towards sectarianism of these two Purāṇas is more explicitly revealed by the concluding verses of this Chapter. In these verses Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa describes itself as one which is associated with Nārāyaṇa. It is he who is the cause of creation and annihilation of the Universe. Vāyu-Purāṇa, on the other hand, associates itself with Mahādeva and describes him to be the cause of creation and dissolution. Sometimes verses have verbatim parallels in both the texts, but the deity which is dealt with is different. Thus verse 171 of Chap. II of Vāyu-Purāṇa mentions Maheśvara as the greatest among the Yogis whose body is variously divided. This verse which is practically the same in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (II. 19. 180) refers to Janārdana instead of Maheśvara. In certain cases, the original verse continues unmodified and unchanged in one Purāṇa but has been changed in the other by insertion of the name of its favourite deity. Thus while describing Varāha-incarnation of Brahmā, Vāyu-Purāṇa compares his pace with the steps of a Siṃha. But Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa does not make any reference to Brahmā and replaces term Siṃha by Viṣṇu (I. 5. 14).

From what has been said above we can form the following conclusion: There was an original text of the Vāyu which was free from sectarian influences. This text was remodelled sometime after the 4th cent. A.D.¹ which is the commonly accepted date of separation of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa from the Vāyu-Purāṇa. Both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva passages were added to it in order to retain its age-old popularity under the new religious conditions. In its Vaisṇavite form it was renamed as Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa. Among the Śaiva worshippers, on the other hand, its

1. Hazra, Ibid, p. 18; see also "Purāṇam, Vol. V, No. 2, p. 305 ff.

original title was preserved. Possibly the text was one even upto the 7th Cent. A. D.¹ because the author of Harshacharita does not give any specific name to the purāṇa proclaimed by Pavamāna whose reading he attended in his village, while both the texts claim themselves to have been proclaimed by Vāyu in the colophons of their Chapters.

1. Harṣacarita, Chap. III, the lines simply runs as पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ and it is hardly conceivable that an author of Bāṇa's calibre should write an irrelevant and ambiguous line.

THE FIRST VERSE OF
THE BHĀGAVATA-MAHĀPURĀNA

By

RASIK VIHARI JOSHI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे लेखकमहोदयेन श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणस्य जन्माद्यस्येत्यादिप्रथमश्लोकस्य व्याख्या कृता । अस्यां व्याख्यायां श्लोकान्त-प्रयुक्तस्य 'धीमहि' इति पदस्य व्याकरणविषयकः सूक्ष्मविचारोऽपि कृतः । तत्र च छान्दसत्वाद् आत्मनेपदं, निर्विशेषणस्थले एकत्वविवक्षायामपि बहुवचनं, 'अस्मत्' शब्दस्यात्र ऐच्छिकमिति पाणिनीयसूत्रमाश्रित्य प्रतिपादितं, समस्तजीवाभिप्रायेण बहुवचनमप्यत्र संभवतीति च निवेदितम् ।

श्रीकृष्ण एवात्र परब्रह्मत्वेन गृहीतः । परब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य भगवतः कृष्णस्य सत्यज्ञानानन्दस्वरूपवर्णनेन स्वरूपलक्षणं जन्मादेः कारणताप्रतिपादनेन च तटस्थलक्षणमित्युभयमेवात्र अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां प्रसाधितम् । गायत्र्याः पदानां च एतच्छ्लोकस्थपदैः सह तुलना च प्रदर्शिता । वेदान्तसूत्रस्याद्यानां पञ्चानां सूत्राणां च भावानामस्मिन् श्लोके साम्यमपि प्रदर्शितम् ।]

I propose to give in this article an exposition of the First Verse of the Bhāgavata-mahāpurāna. The following is the text :—

जन्माद्यस्य यतोऽन्वयादितरतश्चार्थेष्वभिज्ञः स्वराट्
तेने ब्रह्म हृदा य आदिकवये मुह्यन्ति यत्सूरयः ।
तेजोवारिमृदां यथा विनिमयो यत्र त्रिसर्गोऽमृषा
धाम्ना स्वेन सदा निरस्तकुहकं सत्यं परं धीमहि ॥

Bhāgavata-mahāpurāna 1. 1. 1.

'We meditate on that Supreme Reality of the nature of truthfulness from whom the universe is created, in whom it is sustained and into whom it returns, because He is the invariable concomitance in all existing entities and is distinct from all non-existing entities, who is self-conscious and self-effulgent, who revealed the Vedas to Brahmā, where even the sages are perplexed, in whom the three-fold creation appears as real,

as the light of sun is mistaken for water, water for earth and earth for water, and who always removes Māyā by His own effulgence.'

This benedictory verse indicates the homage of the author towards the Absolute Brahman (Śrīkṛṣṇa) recognised as the ultimate reality in this Purāna. The verse ends with the words 'we meditate on the supreme reality'. The words '*Para*' has been frequently used in the sense of supreme God (Parameśvara)¹. The form '*dhīmahī*' is in optative (liṅga lakāra) from the root *Dhai cintāyām* to meditate. The form is the Vedic one, otherwise it should be '*dhyāyema*' in first person plural in optative, according to the later grammatical rules. The ātmanepada is justified in the Vedic grammar by the aphorism 'vyatyayō bahulām' (P. 3, 1, 85). By the rule 'chandasyubhayatbā' (P. 3, 4, 117), it is sārvaadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka both. As a result of this the 'sa' of 'siyut' is dropped due to its being sārvaadhātuka, while suffix śap is not added because of its being ārdhadhātuka. The samprasāraṇa is done by the rule of bāhulaka and the vowel is long by the apporism 'Halaḥ' (P. 6, 4, 2). The plural of '*dhīmahī*' could be justified by 'asmado dvayośca' (P. 1; 2, 59). According to this rule the plural is optional. The only exception to this rule is in case there is a viśeṣaṇa. 'Saviśeṣaṇasya pratiśedhaḥ', (Vārtika 721). Example 'Paṭuraham bravīmi'. In the present example there is no viśeṣaṇa of *dhīmahī*. Subsequently the plural form is justified.

The plural form *dhīmahī* includes the author and all the disciples. It is true that by the aphorism 'asmado dvayośca', (P. 1, 2, 59), the word 'asmat' could be used in plural when there was no viśeṣaṇa but lakṣaṇā in the singular sense would be unavoidable. This fact opens two difficulties.

1. In case the śakyārtha of the word 'asmat' (without a viśeṣaṇa) is possible in plural, the lakṣaṇā cannot be

1. Param Parameśvaram Tamīśvarāṇām paramaṁ maheśvaram, taṁ devatānām paramaṁ ca daivatam / Patīṁ patinām paramaṁ purastāt, vidāma devaṁ bhuvaneśamīḍyam //

justified. (sati śakyārthasāmbhave lakṣaṇāgrahasya śāstrānabhimatatvāt).

2. When śakyārtha of the word 'asmad' (without a viśeṣaṇa) is possible in singular, the plural form will be simply considered as an 'aupacārika' use.

On the other hand when the plural includes the author and the disciples, there is no difficulty because śakyārtha is clearly possible in plural.¹ Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī, however, interprets the subject of 'dhīmahi' as all the beings (samastajivābhiprāyeṇa bahutvam).²

In the Vedānta philosophy the definition (lakṣaṇa) has been explained as (a) The Svarūpa lakṣaṇa (which points out the essential characteristics), (b) The Taṭastha lakṣaṇa (which points out collateral characteristics).

The Svarūpa lakṣaṇa is that which has all the special characteristics of the object to be defined and at the same time which distinguishes other objects.³ Or, the svarūpa lakṣaṇa is that which is present in the form of the object to be defined and which defines the object by itaravyāvṛtti i.e. excluding other objects.⁴ For instance the cow is defined as having 'sāsnā' and 'Śṛṅga'. The sāsnā being present in the form of the cow, excludes the buffaloes.

In Taṭastha lakṣaṇa the characteristics do not, as a matter of fact, pertain to the defined but at the same time exclude other objects simply with the help of an epithet.⁵ Or, the object, with-

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1. Śrīmadbhāgavatam, I, I, I, Dīpanī, ed. Brahmācārī Nityasvarūpa, Vrīndāvana, samvat 1964, p. 3-4.
 2. Śrīmadbhāgavatam III., Bhāgavatavyākhyāleśa, Mahāmāhopādhyāya Gopālabhaṭṭa Gosvāmī.
 3. Svasampattisamarpakatve sati itaravyāvartakatvaṁ svarūpam. Śrīmadbhāgavatam, 1, 1, 1, Dīpanī, ed. Brahmācārī Nityasvarūpa, p. 4.
 4. Svasvarūpāntargataṁ sat itaravyāvṛttatayā lakṣyaṁ bodhayati tat svarūpam. ibid p. 4
 5. Svarūpāpraviṣṭatve sati viśeṣaṇāntaraṁ sansūcya itaravyāvartakatvaṁ taṭastham. ibid. p., 4.

out permanently pertaining to the object to be defined, excludes other objects from the lakṣya.¹ For instance, 'Kākaviśiṣṭam Devadattagrham', the house of Devadatta is that where there is a crow. Or, the cow is that who has a golden ornament.

Both these kinds of lakṣaṇa have been given in the present verse of the Bhāgavata-mahāpurāṇa in connection with the absolute supreme Brahman (the ultimate reality i. e. Śrīkrṣṇa according to the philosophy of Kṛṣṇaism). The svarūpa lakṣaṇa is because the definition of Brahman includes three characteristics² :—

- (1) eternal
- (2) cognition
- (3) bliss

These three constitute the form of supreme Brahman, and at the same time distinguish Brahman from the Jaḍa, Duḥkha and Prapañca. The svarūpa lakṣaṇa is referred to in the word 'satyam' i. e. who is of the nature of truthfulness. It is so because the creation of all the three qualities (Sattva, Rajas, Tamas), senses and matter is real in him. (amṛṣā or satya). On account of the nature of truthfulness of the supreme Brahman, the unreal creation also appears as real. It is explained by the illustration of a drṣṭānta i. e. 'Tejovārimṛdāṁ yathā vinimayaḥ'. Vinimaya means vyatyāsa. Vyatyāsa means inter-change or misapprehension of an object on the other. For example, the doubt of water on sand or fire. The text could also be explained in the sense of Mrṣā. In that case to establish the reality of the supreme God, every thing except the supreme god has been considered as unreal. Mrṣā means mithyā. Trisarga means three kinds of creation :—

(1) The sattvasarga. The Sattva creation includes the five jñānendriya, antaḥkaraṇacatuṣṭaya and the respective dieties presiding over them.

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1. Yāvat lakṣyakālaṁ anavasthitattvena svarūpāntargataṁ sat yat lakṣyam itaravyāvṛttaṁ bodhayati tat taṣṭhalakṣaṇam. *ibid.* p. 4.
 2. Satyaṁ jñānamānandaśca parameśvarasvarūpameva sat asat-jaḍaduḥkhaprapañcavyāvṛttatayā svarūpalakṣaṇam. *Śrīmadbhāgavatam*, 1,1,1, Dīpanī, ed. Brahmacārī Nityasvarūpa, p. 4.

(2) The *Rajaḥsarga*. The creation includes the five *karmendriya* and five *prāṇa*.

(3) The *Tamaḥsarga*. The *Tamas* creation includes the *pañcabhūta*, i. e. earth, water, fire, air, ether.

The supreme God has himself destroyed all deceitfulness (*Māyā*) by his own effulgence (*nirastakuhakam*). In some recensions we find the word '*kapaṭam*' in place of '*kuhakam*'. *Kapaṭa* means that ignorance which covers the bliss of the realisation of the supreme *Brahman*¹.

The *Taṭastha lakṣaṇa* of the supreme God is explained by the words '*Janmādyasya yataḥ*'. The supreme is represented as the cause of creation, sublimation and destruction of the universe. This characteristic is absent at the time of deluge.

The word '*Janmādi*' is in singular number and neuter gender. The compound between the words *janman* and *ādi* is possible in two ways. First, when we have *Tadguṇasamvijñānabahuvrīhi*. In this case the noun has direct connection with *viśeṣya* and implies the words compounded (*viśeṣaṇa*), for example '*lambakarnamānaya*'. Here the bringing of man includes the bringing of ears also. Since we accept this kind of compound, it also includes in its meaning the sense of *janma*. Thus the meaning will be "whose birth is first (*Janma utpattir ādir yasya*). Secondly when we accept the *atadguṇasamvijñānabahuvrīhi*. In this case there is no direct connection between the compound and the compounded. For instance '*dr̥ṣṭasāgaramānaya*'. Here the bringing of the man does not imply the bringing of the ocean. Hence the interpretation is—*Janma* etc. i.e. the creation, sublimation and destruction.

The word '*yataḥ*' has also a special significance. As an indeclinable it indicates the imperishable nature of the supreme God, the cause of the universe. As a form with the suffix '*tasil*', it declares that the supreme God is the *Nimittakāraṇa* as well as

1. *Kaṁ Brahmanandaṁ Paṭati āchādayati iti Kapaṭam.*

the upādānakāraṇa of the universe. This is done by the 'hetu' 'anvaya'.

Now the text can be explained in the following way :—

“We meditate on the Supreme God, the cause of the creation, sublimation and destruction of the universe.”

This interpretation is based on the rule of 'anvaya' and 'vyatireka'. Anvaya means 'in the presence of one, the presence of the other'¹. Example, by the presence of smoke the presence of fire is established. Or, in the presence of clay and kulāla, there is a possibility for the creation of a jar. Vyatireka means 'in the absence of one, the absence of the other.'² Example, by the absence of fire, the absence of smoke is established. Or, in the absence of clay and kulāla, and in the absence of a fine thread, there is no possibility for the creation of a jar.

According to the rule of 'anvaya' and 'vyatireka' the clay is the cause and the jar is the effect. The theory may be, thus further elaborated. Even after the destruction of the effect the cause does not destroy. We can conclude that the cause is permanent and the effect is temporary. For instance Gold, the cause of ornament, is permanently present in the golden ornament as completely identified with the ornament itself, while the ornament, the effect of the gold, is absent in shape, name and form in gold before the creation. Likewise, the supreme Brahman (the cause), is present in the universe (the effect) in the form of the various worldly objects i.e. the jar, the cloth etc., while the worldly objects are absent before the creation

It leads us to one more difficulty. The supreme Brahman is recognised as the upādānakāraṇa as well as the nimittakāraṇa

1. Yat sattve yat sattvam anvayaḥ, Nyāyakośa, ed. Abhyankar Vasudeva Shāstri, Poona, 1924, p. 46.

2. Yadabhāve yadabhāvo vyatirekaḥ. Ibid. p. 817.

of the universe in the vedānta system of Indian philosophy.¹ According to the theory of anvaya-vyatireka, the permanent nature (anuvṛtti) is only possible in connection with the upādānakāraṇa. It is impossible so far as the nimittakāraṇa is concerned. The nimitta may disappear immediately after the creation. It is admitted that the clay (upādāna-kāraṇa) exists after the destruction of the jar (the effect), but the existence of kulāla (the nimittakāraṇa) is not at all certain. At the same time, according to the theory of cause and effect (kāryakāraṇa) the anvaya and vyatireka cannot prove the supreme Brahman as the nimittakāraṇa (kartṛ) of the universe. It can obviously denote the supreme Brahman as the Upādāna-kāraṇa only.

The above criticism is refuted by the reasoning that the anvayavyāpti is always hetupuraḥsarā and the vyatirekavyāpti is always sādhyapuraḥsarā, Now the form of vyāpti will be as follows :—

- 1 “Idaṁ Brahmāṇḍam janmādimat sāvayavatvāt, yatra
yatra sāvayavatvam tatra tatra janmādimatvam
yathā ghaṭapaṭam, yatra yatra janmādimatvābhāvaḥ
tatra tatra sāvayavatvābhāvaḥ, yathā Ātman,
tathā pṛthivyādijagataḥ sāvayavatvāt janmādimatvam”

This form of anvayavyāpti and vyatirekavyāpti in the inference distinctly proves that the creation of the universe is the effect of the Supreme Brahman. The causality of both the kinds is further supported by the authority of the taittirīya śruti, anuvāka 1st, caramavallī.

“yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante,
yena jātāni jīvanti,
yat pratyabhiviśanti”.

The text of the śruti is explained as such :—yataḥ means from the Supreme Brahman who is the upādāna and nimitta of the

1. upādānatvam māyāvādimate jagadadhishṭhānatvam,
yathā brahmaṇo jagadupādānatvam /

Nyāyakośa, ed. Abhyankar Vasudeva Shastri, Poona, 1924, p. 175.

universe, the elements ākāśa etc. are created, protected and identified with the cause when destructed. It is note-worthy in this connection that according to the vedānta system when the anvayavyāpti is included and the vyatirekavyāpti is excluded in the form of inference, the vyatireka means 'arthāpatti'.

An objection may, however, be raised against this outlook by the follower of the Sāṅkhya system. According to this system, the supreme Brahman cannot be accepted as the upādānakāraṇa of the universe because only a conscious being (cetana) could be the upādāna cause. For instance in the case of a jar, clay (the unconscious entity or acetana) is the upādāna kāraṇa and not the kulāla who is the conscious one (cetana). Similarly in the present context Pradhāna or Prakṛti, constituted by the three qualities i. e. Sattva, Rajas and Tamas could be declared as the upādāna-kāraṇa of the universe which is of the nature of happiness, misery and attachment. According to the Sāṅkhya theory, Pradhāna is transformed as the universe simply in the presence or contact of Puruṣa, and the necessity of Īśvara as an independent creator is not required. The supporters of this point of view cite the testimony of the following Śruti :—

“Tasmāt yataḥ Pradhānāt bhūtāni jāyante,
Pradhānameva Ātmānaṁ Jagadākāreṇa kurute.

The objection of the followers of the Sāṅkhya system is easily refuted by the word 'abhijñā' in the present text, abhijñā means sarvajñā or omniscient. Pradhāna is not an omniscient. On the other hand, the Aitareya Upaniṣad states “sa sarvajñāḥ svābhāvyād Ātmā ekaḥ san aikṣata”, Aitareya upaniṣad 1. 1. It is obvious by this authority that the Supreme God is an Abhijñā or omniscient. Not only that much, it is also admitted in the upaniṣadic tradition that though the Supreme God has neither hands nor feet yet he is capable to hold and to run,¹ and that he created these worlds.²

It is obvious by these evidences that the cause of the universe is a conscious being and is unlike Pradhāna of Sāṅkhya,

1. Apāṇipādo javano grahitā, Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad, 3, 19.

2. Sa imān lokān asṛjata, Aitareya-Upaniṣad, 1, 2.

who is incapable to see and listen to. Consequently, the rule regarding the basic nature of the upādānakāraṇa as an inanimate object is true so far as the ārambhavāda of the Mīmāṃsā school is concerned, but it does not apply to the vivartavāda of the Vedānta school, where the imposition (adhyāsa) of an animate (snake etc.) is accepted on the inanimate (rope etc.)¹ Thus the Supreme God is the upādānakāraṇa of the universe and at the same time different from the universe so far as the consciousness is concerned.

The present verse of the Bhāgavata-mahāpurāṇa distinctly declares that the Supreme Brahman (Absolute Śrīkr̥ṣṇa) is neither Pradhāna of the Sāṅkhya system because the former is Abhijñā (omniscient) and the latter is inanimate, nor Jīva because the supreme one is represented as 'svarāṭ' (which illumines by itself). The Supreme Brahman is also not Hiraṇyagarbha Prajāpati who is the first born one² because this very Supreme Brahman has revealed the knowledge of the vedas to the first poet i.e. Brahmā.³ As a matter of fact, the study of the vedas by Brahmā from any other person is perfectly unknown to Sanskrit tradition. Hence the first verse of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa clearly indicates that the knowledge was mentally imparted (hr̥dā tene).

Finally the statement 'muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ' denotes that even Brahmā, the first teacher of the Vedas had illusion and doubt regarding the vedic interpretation. The knowledge of Brahmā was a derivative one and depended on the knowledge of some body else (parādhīnajñānatā) due to 'suptapratibuddhanyāya'. In this way only the Supreme Brahman (Absolute Śrīkr̥ṣṇa) could be the cause of the universe who is accepted as 'svataḥ jñānavān'. The knowledge of individual soul is limited

1. Brahma-Sūtra, II, 1, 4.

2. Svenaiva rājate, iti svarāṭ. Śrīmadbhāgavatam., I, I, I, sārāthadarsinī, ed. Brahmācārī Nityasvarūpa, p. 16.

3. Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgre bhūtasya jātāḥ patireka āsit. Ṛgveda, X, 121, 1.

4. a. tene Brahma hr̥dā ya ādikavaye, Bhāgavatapurāṇa, 1, 1, 1.

b. yo Brahmāṇaṁ vidadhāti pūrvam, yo vai vedāṁśca prahiṇoti tasmai, Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad, VI, 18.

being covered by the layers of ignorance, hence only the Supreme Brahman, full of self-illuminated knowledge (svataḥ siddha-jñānavān) is the object of meditation. Such a God is undoubtedly omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent.

An allusion to the Gāyatrī incantation has also been made in this verse. The similarity is quite clear in the meaning of the two. "We meditate upon the self-effulgent lustre (Absolute), which is the most powerful one¹. The six principal parts of the Gāyatrī incantation are compared below.²

Gāyatrī incantation

Bhāgavata, First Verse

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| <p>1. Savituḥ : The word Savitr is derived from the root sūñ Prāñiprasave. 'Sūte iti Savitā' The creation begins from the God Savitr.</p> <p>2. Vareṇyam : The foremost or supreme to all lustres.</p> <p>3. Bhargaḥ : It is derived from the root Bhrāj to shine. The lustre is real.</p> <p>4. Devasya : who illumines. 'Dīvyati iti Devaḥ'.</p> <p>5. Dhīmahi : We meditate upon.</p> <p>6. Dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt : which may inspire our intellect.</p> | <p>Similar idea is contained in the statement "Janmādyasya yataḥ" in the sense of creation. The creation begins from the Supreme Brahman (Absolute Śrīkr̥ṣṇa).</p> <p>Param : The foremost or supreme one.</p> <p>Satyam : The truthfulness, Brahman is real.</p> <p>Svarāt : which illumines by itself "svena rājate iti".</p> <p>Dhīmahi : We meditate upon.</p> <p>Tene Brahma hṛdā ya ādikavye : who revealed the vedas to Brahmā.</p> |
|---|--|

The Gāyatrī incantation begins with 'Om' and is followed by the three mahāvyyāhṛtis i. e. Bhūḥ, Bhuvāḥ, Svaḥ. The mystical syllable 'Om' is constituted by three letters.

- (a) First letter 'a' standing for Aja, Brahmā
- (b) Second letter 'u' stands for Upendra, Viṣṇu.
- (c) Third letter 'm' stands for Maheśvara.

1. Tasya bhāsā sarvamidaṁ vibhāti.-Śvetāsvatara-Upanisad, VI, 14.

2. Śrīmadbhāgavatam, I, I, I. (Tatvasāra of Rādhāmoḥan Tarkavācāspati) ed. Brahmācāri Nityasvarūpa, p. 34-35.

The meaning of all the three letters i. e. Om, the beginning of Gāyatrī, is traced in the statement 'Janmādyasya yataḥ' The word 'Janma', representing the creation, stands for 'a' or Aja Brahmā i. e. Hiraṇyagarbha Brahmā. The word 'Ādi' in Janmādi includes sublimation and destruction. These are functions of Viṣṇu and Maheśa.¹ The three mahāvyaḥṛtis are the object of creation in the sense of Bhāgavata verse. The word 'Tat' means the well-known, established by the scriptures, or which cannot be defined. The Brahman is also anirvacanīya.

The First Verse of the Bhāgavatamahāpurāṇa also includes the idea of the following five Vedāntasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa :—

1. Athāto Brahmajijñāsā, Brahmasūtra, 1, 1, 1. Then, therefore, an enquiry into Brahman.
2. Janmādyasya yataḥ, Brahmasūtra, 1, 1, 2. (Brahma is that). From whom arises the origin and rest of (world).
3. Śāstrayonitvāt, Brahmasūtra, 1, 1, 3. Because Brahman has scripture for his source.
4. Tattu samanvayāt, Brahmasūtra, 1, 1, 4. But that follows from the concordance. (The Brahman has scripture as his sole proof).
5. Īkṣatēnāśabdām, Brahmasūtra, 1, 1, 5. Because (the creator) sees, (Pradhāna is) not (the cause of the universe) it is not scriptural.

The sense of all these five above-mentioned Brahmasūtras is distinctly visualised below :—

1. *Brahmasūtra, 1, 1, 1.* *Bhāgavata, First Verse*
 - a. **Brahma :** i. Supreme being Param : foremost chief or free from all limitations (upādhi) and imperfections i. e. Ultimate Reality, the lord of all.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Param : foremost chief or free from all limitations (upādhi) and imperfections i. e. Ultimate Reality, the lord of all. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> supreme being i. e. Absolute Ultimate Reality as soul of all the beings yet being above all.
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1. G. N. Mallik, The Philosophy of Vaiṣṇava Religion, Vol. I. p. 37

- ii. Unlimited by time, space and object.
- iii. Sajātiya vijā-tīya svagata-bhedaśūnya.
- iv. Aprākṛtaguṇa-viśiṣṭa.

b. *jiñāsā* : desire to know the Ultimate Reality. The knowledge of Brahman is desired. *dhīmaḥi* : dhyai to meditate. *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, the Absolute is the object of meditation.

c. *athātaḥ* : after the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* system (Karmakāṇḍa or ritual) which is limited, not permanent and not free ; one makes an enquiry into *Uttaramīmāṃsā* system (*jñānakāṇḍa* or *vedānta*) which is unlimited, permanent and free. Brahman is to be known after the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* or vedic rituals. *dhāmnā, kapaṭam, satyam*¹ : After the destruction of darkness, illusion and ignorance by the lustre, one makes an enquiry about Brahman of the nature of truthfulness: The *Māyā* is destroyed by his own power.

The comparison clearly denotes the *svarūpalakṣaṇa* of Brahman by the words *satyam* and *param*.

2. *Brahmasūtra* 1, 1, 2.

Bhāgavata First Verse

a. *Janmādyasya yataḥ* : The supreme Brahman, the Absolute is more powerful from which proceed the creation, sublimation and reabsorption of the Universe. *Janmādyasya yataḥ* : As effect and the material cause of the universe. The Absolute *Śrīkṛṣṇa* creates, sublimates and reabsorbs.

1. Op. cit. *Satyam jñānāmanantam Brahma, Taittirīya-Upaniṣad, II, 1, 1.*

The tatāsthalakṣaṇa of Brahman is clearly mentioned here.

3. *Brahmsūtra 1, 1, 3.*

Śastraṁ vedah, tasya yonih
kāraṇam, tadrūpatvāt:

Brahman is known only through scriptures. Intellect is based on reasoning and argument; one argument can be nullified by another stronger one.² Subsequently, the supreme Brahman is the revealer of the scriptures.

Bhāgavata, First Verse

tene—ādīkavaye : who revealed the knowledge of the vedas to Brahma.¹

4. *Brahmasūtra 1, 1, 4.*

The sūtra declares that the authority of the scriptures is established by samanvaya, meaning direct and indirect i.e. all the scriptures directly and indirectly establish the supreme Brahman as the highest one.

Bhāgavata, First Verse

The sense of this sūtra is explained in the theory of anvaya and vyatireka.

5. *Brahmasūtra 1, 1, 5.*

Īkṣa means to think or to see. The thinking or seeing is only possible by a conscious being, and not by Pradhāna, the intelligent substance.

Bhāgavata, First Verse

The complete idea of the sūtra is present in the world abhijñā of the Bhāgavata text.

1. Tarkapratiṣṭhānāt, Brahmasūtra, 2, 11.

2. Op. cit. Yo Vai Vedān Vidadhāti pūrvaṁ,

Yo Vai Vedānśca prahiṇoti tasmai.

Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, VI, 18.

नासिकेतोपाख्यानमूलस्य नाचिकेतोपाख्यानस्य वेदेतिहासपुराणेषु विकासः

बलदेव उपाध्याय

[The Hindi *Nāsiketopākhyāna* (the story of Nāsiketa) written in about 1803 A.D. by Sadala Miśra, a teacher in the Fort William College of Calcutta, is well-known as one of the first pioneer works of Hindi prose. This Hindi *Nāsiketopākhyāna* is based on the Sanskrit *Nāsiketopākhyāna* which is available in manuscripts, and has also been recently published in Varanasi. The Sanskrit *Nāsiketopākhyāna* is a modified version of the Paurāṇika *Nāsiketopākhyāna* found in the Varāha-Purāṇa (Adhs. 193-212).

The learned writer in the present article discusses the text of the Sanskrit *Nāsiketopākhyāna* as available in its nine manuscripts deposited in the Library of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University, Varanasi, and examined by him for this purpose. He also traces its development from the Paurāṇika *Nāsiketopākhyāna*.

The text of the *Nāsiketopākhyāna* as available in its manuscript-form is found in two versions—longer and shorter. The longer version consists of 18 Adhyāyas, and is found in MSS. nos. 4899, 14456, 14859 and 14956. This longer version is almost uniform in all these manuscripts. The shorter version is found in MSS. Nos. 3765, 14777 and 15661, and variously consists of 11, 13 or 17 Adhyāyas. The text of the MS. No. 14777 has been much influenced by the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata-religion. In its colophon the *Nāsiketopākhyāna* is said to belong to the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, but it is not available

there. The oldest MS. No. 14456 is dated V. S. 1814 (A. D. 1757). The Hindi *Nāsiketopākhyāna* is the translation of the shorter version of the Sanskrit *Nāsiketopākhyāna*. Nāsiketa is said to be born from the Nāsikā of the daughter of a king named Raghu, hence his name Nāsiketa. On account of the curse of his father, Uddālaka, the young Nāsiketa had to go to the abode of Yama, the god of death. By the grace of Yama there he saw various punishments and rewards being given to the doers of the bad or good actions, and returned alive to his father Uddālaka, and gave to his father and the other assembled sages a vivid description of what he had seen in the *Yama-loka*.

In the Purāṇic *Nāciketopākhyāna* also Nāciketa similarly relates to his father and the assembly of the sages what he had seen in the *Yama-loka*.

The earliest account of the story of Nāciketa or Naciketas is found in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (3. 11. 8). This account is purely ritualistic, for Yama imparts Naciketas the knowledge of the *Nāciketa Agni* (i. e. *Agni-Vidyā* or the sacrificial science) as a means of acquiring immortality also.

In the *Kāṭhōpaniṣad* the *Nāciketopākhyāna* becomes predominantly spiritualistic. Here Yama advocates the immortality of the Soul or Ātman and imparts Naciketas the knowledge of the Ātman (or the *Adhyātma-Vidyā*) as a means of getting liberation from the circle of births and deaths.

The *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana-Parvan, Adh. 71) also contains the *Nāciketopākhyāna*, in which the giving away of cows in charity is glorified by Yama, which Nāciketa relates to his father after being revived from his death—caused by the curse of his father.

The *Nācīketopākhyāna* of the *Varāha-Purāna* (Adhs. 193-212) aims at giving through Nācīketa descriptions of the various rewards and punishments of good and bad actions. In this respect it differs from Brāhmanic, Upaniṣadic and epic account of this story, and is similar to the story of Nāsiketa.

The learned writer presents here a detailed and comparative study of the various stages of the development of the *Nācīketopākhyāna*.]

नासिकेतोपाख्यानम्

पौराणिकनाचिकेतोपाख्यानेन सह दूरतः सम्बद्धं, नैकशो नूतन-वृत्तोपशोभितं, नानाहस्तलेखेषु समुपलभ्यमानं, क्वचन (भार्गव प्रेस, वाराणसी १९६०) प्रकाशितचरमप्येकं वर्त्तते नातिदीर्घं पुस्तकं नासिकेतोपाख्यान-भिधानम् । अस्य देशकालौ निर्णेतुं नितान्तं दुःशकौ । वाराणसेयसंस्कृत-विश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनख्ये पुस्तकागारेऽन्यत्र च समुपलभ्यमानानां ग्रन्थस्यास्य हस्तलिखितानां प्रतीनामध्ययनेन विलसितं परिणाममत्र समुपस्थाप्यते ।

नासिकेतोपाख्याने निर्दिष्टा कथा पौराणिकनाचिकेतोपाख्यानतः सुतरां भिन्नेति पूर्वत एव निवेदनीयं वर्त्तते । अस्मिन्नुपाख्याने कथायाः संक्षिप्त-रूपमेवंविधं समुपजृम्भते ।

वेदवेदाङ्गतत्त्वविद् उद्दालकनामधेयो मुनिरुग्रे दीर्घे च तपसि व्यासक्तचेता यदा स्वाश्रमे तस्थौ, तदा पिप्पलादनामा ऋषिस्तत्राजगाम । स गृहस्थाश्रमस्य महिमानं स्वर्गतिसम्पादकतां च शास्त्रप्रामाण्येन तस्मै उपदिदेश, पुत्रप्राप्तेर्महनीयं गौरवं च तस्मै इत्थं जगौ—

कुलानि तारयेत् तस्य सुपुत्रो वंशवर्धनः ।

अपुत्रस्य गृहं शून्यमपुत्रेण गृहेण किम् ।

अपुत्रो वंशनाशोऽस्ति श्रुतिरेषा सनातनी ॥

स्वभागधेयं प्रष्टुकामो मुनिः स्वर्लोकं गतः प्रजापतिनेत्थमभिहितो नितान्तं चमत्कृतो बभूव—पूर्वं तव पुत्रस्य प्राप्तिर्भविष्यति, तदनन्तरं च पत्नीलाभेन

सन्तुष्यसीति । स्वाश्रमं प्रति निवृत्तो मुनिर्भृशं विषयचिन्तनेन स्खलितं स्ववीर्यं कमलपुष्पे दर्भादिभिः परिवेष्टिते निधाय गंगायां विससर्ज । दैवयोगात् कस्यापि रघुनाम्नो महीपतेर्दुहिता चन्द्रावती नाम्नी स्वसखीभिःसाकं तदैव गंगायां स्नानार्थं गता तदब्जपुटकं ददर्श । सखीभिरानीतं च तत् जघ्रौ । उद्दालकस्या-मोघवीर्यस्य घ्राणेन सा गर्भं दधार, समागते च दशमे मासि नासाग्रेण पुत्रं जनयामास यः खलु नासाग्रेणोत्पन्नत्वात् नासिकेतुः नासिकेतो वेति अन्वर्थाभिधानेन तदानीं ख्यातिं लेभे ।

नासाग्रेण तु समुत्पन्न ऋषिर्नाम तवाकरोत् ।

नासिकेत इति ज्ञात्वा मम प्रोक्तं महात्मना ॥

(८३७६५ अंकिते काशीहस्तलेखे चतुर्थपत्रे ३६ पत्रम्)

पुत्रमिममन्यायोपार्जितं मत्वा काष्ठमञ्जूषायां निधाय सा बाला रहसि सखीद्वारा गाङ्गे पयसि विससर्ज । तदनन्तरं ज्ञातवृत्तेन पित्राऽनर्थाशंकया सा चारण्ये विसृष्टा । काष्ठमञ्जूषातः शिष्यद्वारोपनीतं बालमिममुद्दालको महर्षिः स्वपुत्रनिर्विशेषं वर्धयामास । कालक्रमात् मुनेराश्रममुपेता चन्द्रावती स्वीयं पूर्वचरित्रं वर्णयामास—

आगतं पद्मपुटकं दर्भेण परिवेष्टितम् ।

तस्मिन्नाघ्रातमात्रेण जातं गर्भस्य धारणम् ।

(चतुर्थाध्याये, ४१ पद्यम्)

ज्ञाताखिलवृत्तान्तो मुनिः रघवे स्वीयं निखिलं पूर्ववृत्तं निवेद्य तेनानुज्ञातो नासिकेतं पुत्रत्वेन स्वीचकार चन्द्रावतीं च पत्नीत्वेन समनन्तरमुपयेमे । इत्थं प्रजापतिना पूर्वमेवोपदिष्टा फलप्राप्तिः सत्या बभूव ।

तदनन्तरं कदाचित् पित्राऽग्निहोत्रस्य सामग्रीमानेतुकामेन प्रहितो नासिकेतो वनस्य कञ्चित् नितान्तं मनोरममुद्देशं प्राप्य प्राकृतिकदृश्यैर्विलुब्धचेता यावत् समाधिमास्थीय तस्थौ तावत् संवत्सरार्धो व्यतीतः । आश्रममागतो नासिकेतोऽग्निहोत्रे प्रत्यवायमाशंकमानचेतसा पित्रोद्दालकेन नितान्तमाक्रुष्टोऽग्निहोत्रं भृशं निन्दित्वा योगविधिं प्रशशंसे—

अग्निहोत्रमिदं तात संसारस्य तु बन्धनम् ।
जन्ममृत्युमहामोहे संसारे तव न ध्रुवम् १ ॥
योगाभ्यासात् परं नास्ति संसारार्णवतारणम् ।

ततः क्रोधाविष्टेन जनकेन बालकः शोपे—

उवाच गच्छ शीघ्रं त्वं यमं पश्य सुताधम ॥

यमलोकं प्रविष्टो नासिकेतो यमस्याज्ञया चित्रगुप्तस्य चानुग्रहवशात् तरुलोके जायमाना विविधा यातनाः सौख्यानि च स्वयं ददर्श । पितुराश्रमं प्रतिनिवृत्तो मुनिभिः पृष्टो बालको यमलोकवृत्तस्य निखिलं वर्णनं कृत्वोवाच—

इत्यादि सर्वमाख्यातं तत्र दृष्टं मुनीश्वराः ।

सन्देहो नात्र कर्तव्यः सर्वप्रत्ययदर्शनात् ॥ (१७।२९)

नासिकेतोपाख्यानाभिधानस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्य नव (९) हस्तलेखा विद्यन्ते वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनाख्ये पुस्तकालये । ते सर्व एव मया विलोकिताः परीक्षिताश्च । तत्र कथायाः सरणिद्वयं स्फुटीभवति—(क) बृहत्पाठः, (ख) लघुपाठश्च । बृहत्पाठात्मकेषु हस्तलेखेषु (४८९९, १४४५६, १४८५९, १४९५६, संख्याभिरङ्कितेषु) अष्टादशाध्यायाः समुपलभ्यन्ते बृहदाकारवन्तः । लघुपाठसमन्वितेषु हस्तलेखेषु (१४७७७, १५६६१, ३७६५ संख्याभिरङ्कितेषु) अध्यायानामेकरूपता नैव साक्षात् क्रियते । एषु एकादश, त्रयोदश, सप्तदशाध्यायाः क्रमशो वर्तन्ते येषु श्लोकपाठानां बहुशः पार्थक्यमप्यवलोक्यते । १४७७७ संख्याते हस्तलेखे श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणस्था अनेके कमनीया भगवत्स्तुतिपराः श्लोका अपि समुद्घृताः सन्ति । ग्रन्थान्ते च भगवद्धर्मनिरूपणाख्येऽन्तिमेऽध्याये भागवतानां भेदस्तदाचरणप्रकारश्च बहुशो वर्णितः श्रीमद्भागवतस्य विशिष्टं प्रभावमस्मिन् उपाख्यानग्रन्थे समुद्घोषयति । रचनाकालोऽनुमानतो निर्देष्टुं पार्यते । १४४५६ संख्यातस्य हस्तलेखस्य प्राचीनतरस्य लेखनसमयः सं० १८१४ (१७५७ ईशवी)

१. तव न ध्रुवमित्यत्र 'जननं यतः' इत्यन्यहस्तलेखतः पाठः ।

वर्तते । अत एव ग्रन्थस्यैतस्य रचना इतः पूर्वं जातेत्येवाधुना कथयित्वाल्म ।
ब्रह्माण्डपुराणीयमेतदुपाख्यानमिति यत् १४७७ संख्याते हस्तलेखे पुष्पिकायां
निर्दिष्टं तत्तु ब्रह्माण्डेऽनुपलम्भात् नौचित्यमावहतीति ध्रुवमवगन्तव्यम् ।

लघुपाठसमन्वितस्यैतस्योपाख्यानस्य १८६० वैक्रमाब्दे (१८०३ ई०
वर्षे) सदलमिश्रो नाम कालिकातायां फोर्टविलियमकालेजेति नाम्नि विद्यालये
हिन्दीभाषायाः प्राध्यापको विद्वान् तद्विभागाध्यक्षस्य गिलक्राइस्तेति नाम्न
आङ्ग्लदेशीयस्य विपश्चितो निदेशेन हिन्दीभाषायामनुवादं चकार । सोऽयम-
नुवादः खड़ीबोलीनाम्न्यां जनभाषायामत्रत्यायां न केवलं प्राथम्यं
भजतेऽनुवादरूपेण, प्रत्युत परिष्कृतशैल्या आविर्भावरूपेणेति जानन्त्येव हिन्दी-
कोविदाः । बिहारराष्ट्रभाषापरिषदा प्रकाशितश्च एषोऽनुवादोऽस्योपाख्यानस्य
लोकप्रियतां प्रकाशयति ।

वेदेतिहासपुराणेषु नाचिकेतोपाख्यानम्

वेदेषु नानाविधानि भौतिकविषयकाणि अध्यात्मविद्योपकारकाणि चोपलभ्यन्ते
रोचकान्युपाख्यानानीति विदाङ्कुर्वन्त्येव पुराविदो विपश्चितः । रामायणे महाभारते
पुराणेषु चैतेषां कतिपयानि क्वचित् परिस्थितिवैशिष्ट्यात् भिन्नतात्पर्यकान्याकारेण
बृहन्ति क्वचिच्च तदभिन्नाभिप्रायकाण्यप्याकारेण ह्रस्वानि निर्दिश्यन्ते । एतेषां
ग्रन्थानामनुशीलनेन मूलभूतायाः कथाया विकासपरिपाटी तात्पर्यपरिवृत्तिश्च
परिवर्तिनि काले कथं संजातेति ध्रुवमुच्चेतुं पार्यते । लोके नितान्तं प्रख्यातस्य
नाचिकेतोपाख्यानस्य साम्प्रतं संक्षिप्तमालोचनात्मकं विवरणमत्र प्रस्तूयते ।

१. वेदे नाचिकेतोपाख्यानम्

वैदिकमेतदुपाख्यानमिति नातिरोहितं विपश्चिताम् । परन्तु वेदस्य
कस्यामपि मन्त्रसंहितायां नोपलभ्यते उपाख्यानमेतत् । तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणस्य
तृतीये काण्डे एकादशे प्रपाठकेऽष्टमेऽनुवाके, कठोपनिषदः प्रथमाध्यायस्य
प्रथमवर्ल्ल्यां, महाभारतस्यानुशासनपर्वणि (७१ तमेऽध्याये) वराहपुराणे च (१९३
अध्यायादारभ्य २१३ अध्यायं यावत्) प्रख्यातमेतदुपाख्यानं साम्प्रत-
मुपलभ्यते । तेषु नैकं तात्पर्यं कथाया एतस्याः, नैकाकार एवाभिप्रायो भिन्ने-

प्वेतेषु ग्रन्थेषु समुपजृम्भत इति कथायाः परिशीलनेन तौलनिकेनाध्ययनेन च स्फुटीभविष्यतीति किञ्चिदत्र विन्यस्यते ।

मन्त्रसंहितायां कस्यांचन नोपलब्धिरेतस्योपाख्यानस्येति कथनं किञ्चित् प्रामाणिकं पल्लवनमपेक्षते । ऋक्संहितायां दशममण्डलस्य पञ्चत्रिंशदुत्तरैकशततमे सूक्ते यमदैवत्ये यमगोत्रः कुमारः ऋषित्वेनोपवर्णितोऽनुक्रमण्याम्—“यस्मिन् कुमारो यामायनो याममानुष्टुभं तु” इति वचनैः । कोऽयं यमगोत्रः कुमार इति जिज्ञासायां सायणाचार्यस्तं नाचिकेतसमेवाभिधत्ते । परन्तु सूक्तेऽनिर्दिष्टा मन्त्राक्षरैरप्यव्याकृतेयं कथा सन्दर्भेणापि सामञ्जस्यं नैव भजते । तथा च—

यस्मिन् वृक्षे सुपलाशे देवैः संपिबते यमः ।

अत्रा नो विश्वपतिः पिता पुराणाँ अनु वेनति ॥

—(ऋग्० १०।१३।११)

सूक्तस्यैतस्यायमाद्यो मन्त्रः । अस्य मन्त्रस्य सायणभाष्यं नाचिकेतो-पाख्यानगर्भितत्वेन मण्डितमपि नाति विदुषां समर्पकम् । ‘नः’ इति बहुवचनं व्यत्ययेन ममेत्येकवचनान्तं कृतम् । ‘विश्वपति’ शब्दस्तु विशां प्रजानां पतिरिति विग्रहात् प्रजापालकेऽर्थे एव बहुशः प्रयुज्यते । ‘पुराणान् पुरातनान् अनु-पश्चात् तत्समीपे निवसत्वयमिति वेनति मां कामयते मम नाचिकेतसो जनकः’ इति चतुर्थचरणस्य व्याख्या । मूलमन्त्रे ‘वेनति’ इति क्रियापदस्य कर्मत्वेन विवक्षितं न किमपि समालोक्यते पदम् । मामिति पदं तु भाष्यकारेणोपन्यस्तम् । अत एवोपरितनं व्याख्यानं नापि समीचीनम् । यथाकथञ्चित् उत्तरकाले प्रख्याता कथा संहितामन्त्रेऽस्मिन् पूर्वतमेऽन्तर्भावितेति प्रतीयते । सायणाचार्य अपि व्याख्यानेनानेनासन्तुष्टचेतसः सूक्तमिदं सामान्यर्षिपरकमपि विवृणुते ‘यथा-वे’ति वचनात् ।

तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे नाचिकेतोपाख्यानम्

तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणस्य तृतीयकाण्डे एकादशे प्रपाठकेऽष्टमेऽनुवाके नाचिकेतस्यो-पाख्यानं प्राथम्येनोपदिश्यते, तत्र सन्दर्भसंगतिरपि नूनं निर्धार्यते । सप्तमेऽनुवाके नाचिकेताग्नेरुपासनं पक्षयाकारवायुदेवताविषयकं प्रतिपाद्य, ब्रह्मलोकप्राप्तिलक्षणस्य तत्फलस्य मृत्युराहित्यं कथं सम्पद्यते इति प्रश्नस्य समाधानावसरे एव

प्रसङ्गात् नचिकेतस उपाख्यानां प्रस्तूयतेऽस्मिन् ब्राह्मणे । तदुपाख्यानगताः
विषयाः संक्षेपेणात्र साम्प्रतं निर्दिश्यन्ते ।

वाजश्रवसो नामर्षिः सर्वस्वदक्षिणाकेन विश्वजिदादियागेन तत्फलं कामयमानो
यागमध्ये सर्ववेदसं सर्वस्वमृत्विग्भ्यो ददौ । तस्य नचिकेता नाम पुत्रो बभूव ।
स तस्मिन् काले उपनयनयोग्यवयस्कः कुमारो भूत्वा वर्तते स्म । दक्षिणासु
गोषु नीयमानासु सतीषु तस्य हृदये दानविषयिकी श्रद्धाऽऽविवेश यत् कर्मसाफल्यार्थं
यागे यजमानेन सर्वस्वं देयं भविष्यतीति । आत्मानं स्वपितुः स्वं मत्वा
नचिकेताः पितरं न केवलमेकवारं, प्रत्युत वारत्रयं पपच्छ—कस्मै मा दास्यसीति ।
अविचारितरमणीयेनाऽऽकस्मिकेन प्रश्नेन किञ्चित् क्षुब्धो जनकः ‘मृत्यवे त्वा
ददामी’ति होवाच । तदा एतेनोत्तरेण किञ्चित् विस्मितप्रायं बालकमनुगृह्णन्ती
दैवी वाक् तमवोचत्—पित्रा त्वं मृत्यवे प्रदत्तोऽसि । अतस्त्वया मृत्योर्गृहं
गन्तव्यम् । परन्तु प्रवसन्तं यममनुरुध्य तत्र गन्तव्यम् । तिस्रो रात्रीश्च
तद्गृहे भोजनरहितो निवासं कुरु । प्रत्यागतो यमो यदि त्वां पृच्छेत् कति रात्री-
रवात्सीदिति, तर्हि तिस्रो रात्रीरिति ब्रूहि । भोजनविषयके प्रश्ने सति एवं
प्रतिभाषितव्यम्—प्रथमरात्रिवासे अनश्नता मया तव प्रजा भक्षिताः, द्वितीयरात्रौ तव
पशवो भक्षिताः, तृतीयरात्रौ तु तव सुकृतान्येव मया भक्षितानि । नचिकेता
दैवीवाचाऽनुशिष्टः सकलं तदुपदेशजातं तथैव यथाविधि निर्वाहयामास ।

यमस्तु एवंविधशास्त्रमर्मानुबोधकेन प्रत्युत्तरेणाऽऽकृष्टचेताः ‘सत्कारार्होऽयं
कुमारः, न तु मारणीयः’ इति निश्चिकाय । वरं वृणीष्वेति कुमारं होवाच ।
नचिकेतसा तु वरत्रयं सद्य एव याचितम् । त्वयाऽमारितो जीवन्नेव स्वीयं
पितरं प्राप्नवानीति प्रथमो वरः । मम इष्टापूर्तयो रक्षितिर्भवतु मदीययोः
श्रौतस्मार्तसुकृतयोः कदापि क्षयो मा भवतु इति इष्टापूर्तयोः क्षयराहित्याय
हेतुविषयिकी जिज्ञासेति द्वितीयो वरः । मृत्योर्मेऽपचितिः कथं भवत्विति कृत्वा
पुनर्जन्मनिवारणाय साधनजिज्ञासेति तृतीयो वरः । यमस्त्रीनपि वरान् सद्यः
प्रददौ । प्रथमस्तु वरः अकिञ्चित्करप्रतिदानेन मण्डितो विद्यते । द्वितीयस्य
वरस्य संपूर्तिविषये नाचिकेताग्निविषयकं सकलं विज्ञानं नचिकेतसे ददौ यमः ।
तृतीयस्यापि वरस्य पूर्तये नाचिकेताग्निविद्यैव पुनरपि उपदिष्टा यमेन । एकस्या

एव नाचिकेताग्निविद्यायाः फलद्वयं कथं संजायते इति संभाव्यस्य सन्देहस्य निराकरणमित्थं सायणाचार्यैर्व्यधायि स्वभाष्ये—

‘चयनोपासनयोर्मध्ये चयनस्य प्राधान्यमुपासनस्योपसर्जनत्वं यस्य पुंसः संपद्यते, तस्येष्टापूर्तयोरक्षयत्वमात्रं चिरं पुण्यलोकमनुभूय पुनर्जन्मस्वीकारः । यस्य तूपासनं प्रधानं चयनमुपसर्जनं तस्य ब्रह्मलोकप्राप्तिद्वारा मुक्तिरेव, न तु जन्मान्तरम् ।’ (तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणस्य सायणभाष्यम्, आनन्दाश्रमसंस्कृतग्रन्थावल्यां प्रकाशितम्, १३८३ पृष्ठे)

अयमाशयो भाष्यकर्तुः । वरद्वयस्य याञ्चायाम् एकस्या एवाग्निविद्यायाः समुपदेशो फलभेदेन द्विविधोपकारको वर्तते । होमाग्निसमुपासने प्रथमस्तावत् विशिष्टपरिमाणाभिरिष्टकाभिर्वेद्या विरचनं तदुपरि अग्निस्थापनं तदनन्तरं समुचितेन यज्ञीयसाधनेन होमविधानमिति सर्वमग्निचयनशब्देनात्र निर्दिश्यते । वह्नेर्देवतारूपेणोपासनं यजमानस्य तस्मिन् मनोनिवेशेन सन्ततमनुध्यानं चैति-
तदुत्तरो विधिः ॥ तत्र प्रथमेन इष्टापूर्तयोरक्षीणता सम्पद्यते, द्वितीयेन च मृत्योरपक्षयो जायते इति एकस्या एव नाचिकेताग्निविद्यायाः फलद्वयं समभावीति ब्राह्मणस्य वाक्यानां सायणाचार्यकृतात् व्याख्यानात् स्फुटं भवतीति । तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे निर्दिष्टस्य मूलभूताख्यानस्यायं संक्षेपः ।

कठोपनिषदि नाचिकेतोपाख्यानम्

कठोपनिषद्येतदेवोपाख्यानं समानाक्षरैरपि वर्णितं किञ्चित् विस्तरेण संहब्धं साम्प्रतं लोके विशिष्टां ख्यातिं भजमानमिवावलोक्यते । तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे निर्दिष्टायाः कथायाः मुख्यांशा अत्रापि तदाकारेणैवोपनिबध्यन्ते परन्तु क्वचित् क्वचिच्च नूतनत्वं तात्पर्यविभेदात् कस्याप्यंशस्य साक्षात् क्रियते एव । स विचारः साम्प्रतमित्थमुदीरयितुं शक्यते ।

(क) दक्षिणारूपेण दीयमानानां गवामल्पप्राणतैव नचिकेतसः पितरं प्रति प्रश्नस्य कारणतां प्रतिपद्यते ।

यतः

पीतोदका जग्धतृणा दुग्धदोहा निरीन्द्रियाः ।

अनन्दा नाम ते लोकास्तान् स गच्छति ता ददत् ॥—कठ० १।१।३

निरीन्द्रियाणां गवां दानम् आनन्दरहितान् दुःखपूर्णानिव लोकान् प्रापयतीति विचार्यैव नचिकेताः पितरं वाजश्रवसमात्मदानं प्रति जिज्ञासते 'कस्मै मां दास्यसी'ति वचनेन ।

(ख) तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणेऽदृश्यमानशरीराया दैवीवाचोऽस्तित्वं स्फुटमेवावलोक्यते या नचिकेतसं सकलं भाविनं कार्यजातं समञ्जसेन सम्पादयितुमुपदिशति, कठोपनिषदि तु सा गूढरूपेणापि नो संकेतिता । तैत्तिरीये ब्राह्मणे दैवीवाणी-प्रदत्तमुपदेशं गृहीत्वैवायं बालकः स्वकार्यस्य यथोचिते संपादने नितान्तं समर्थो बभूव । कठोपनिषदि तु दैवीवाचो नितान्ताभावो नचिकेतसस्तेजस्वितामन्तः-सत्त्वं च सद्य एव समुपजृम्भयति । दैवीवाचो निर्देशमन्तरापि स कुशाग्रबुद्धि-रसामान्यसत्त्वो दृढनिश्चयो बालस्तत् सर्वं तेनैव विधिनाऽनुक्तोऽपि यथावत् सम्पादयतीति ध्रुवं जागर्ति नचिकेतसः किमपि विशिष्टं प्रागल्भ्यं चारिष्यस्य । अन्यच्च । ब्राह्मणग्रन्थे यमप्रदर्शितस्य भौतिकवैभवविलासप्राप्तिरूपस्य प्रलोभनस्य नामापि न श्रूयते । उपनिषदि तु तत् प्रलोभनं नितान्तं प्रकर्षमिवानुभूय वर्तते—

ये ये कामा दुर्लभा मर्त्यलोके सर्वान् कामाँश्छन्दतः प्रार्थयस्व

इमा रामाः सरथाः सतूर्या न हीदृशा लम्भनीया मनुष्यैः ।

आभिर्मत्प्रत्ताभिः परिचारयस्व नचिकेतो मरणं मानुप्राक्षीः ॥—

कठ० १।१।२५

तत्प्रलोभनमनादृत्य स्वनिश्चयान्न मनागपि नचिकेताः पश्चात्पदो बभूवेति तस्य प्रागल्भ्यमेवोदीर्णं भवति ॥

(ग) अन्यदपि पार्थक्यं स्पष्टमेव । उभयोरपि ग्रन्थयोः वराणां संख्या तु तावती एव । कठोपनिषद्यपि वराणां समाधानार्हाणां प्रश्नानां वा संख्या तु तिस्र एव । परन्तु प्रथमद्वयस्य वरस्य नातिभिन्नत्वेऽपि तृतीयस्य स्वरूप-निर्देशे तु भूयान् विभेदोऽनुभूयते । तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे कर्मकाण्डानुरूपां

याज्ञिकसरणिमनुसृत्य पुनर्मृत्युवारणाय नाचिकताग्नेर्यः खल्वधदेशो विहितः, स तु नितान्तमौचित्यं भजते ब्राह्मणग्रन्थे यागानुष्ठानस्यैव प्राधान्यतः प्रतिपादनात् । उपनिषदि तु आध्यात्मविषयकमुत्तरं विलोक्यते । अत्रोद्देश्यवैभिन्न्यं तात्पर्यपार्थक्यं च स्फुटमुच्चैतुं शक्यते । ज्ञानकाण्डान्तर्गतायाः कठोपनिषदोऽध्यात्मप्रतिपादकत्वात् आध्यात्मिकोत्तरस्यैव तत्र स्फुटमौचित्यमिति ध्रुवं प्रतीमः ।

इत्थं समानेऽपि कथांशे तात्पर्यभेदात् उपदेशस्य विभेदो स्पष्टमूहनीयः ।

२. इतिहासे नाचिकेतोपाख्यानम्

महाभारतस्यानुशासनपर्वणि ७१ अध्याये समग्रे नाचिकेतस्योपाख्यानं पुरातनेतिहासरूपेणोल्लिखितं वर्तते । नाचिकेतस्य पिता ऋषिरुद्दालकिकर्दीक्षोपान्ते समाप्ते नियमे स्वतनयं नाचिकेतं नदीतीरात् इध्मान् दर्भान् सुमनसः कलशञ्चाति-भोजनमानेतुमादिदेश । बालकस्तत्र गत्वा नदीवेगसमाप्लुतं तत् सर्वमनवाप्य प्रतिनिवृत्य 'न पश्यामी'ति पितरमुवाच । क्षुत्पिपासाश्रमाविष्टत्वात् महातपा अपि ऋषिः 'यमं पश्ये'ति पुत्रमशपत् । अकाण्डे किमेतदापतितमिति पितुर्वाग्वज्रणाभिहतो नाचिकेतोऽकस्मादेव गतसत्त्वो भूत्वा भूतले निपपात । पिता तु स्वकृत्यस्यानौचित्यमाकलयन् पुत्रस्य मृतशरीरमवलोक्य भृशं सन्तापतसस्तदहः-शेषं निशां च नितान्तं दुःखेनैव उदुवाह । पितुः अश्रुपातेन सित्तो नाचिकेतः स्वजीवनं पुनः प्राप्योच्छ्वसितप्राणः सन् पितुः समक्षमतिष्ठत् । उद्दालकिस्तु विस्मितविलोचनाभ्यां पुत्रं पश्यन् आश्चर्यार्णवे निमग््नो यमपुरीगतां वार्तामपृच्छत् । नाचिकेतस्तु स्वपितरं तं वृत्तान्तमशेषतो निवेदयामास—अतीव प्रकाशमानां वैवस्वतीं सभां प्रविष्टोऽहं वैवस्वतेन यमेनार्ध्यादिभिर्नितरां कृताहर्णः प्रामोदे । यमो मामनुब्रवीत् त्वत्पिता 'यमं पश्ये'त्याह । अतएव त्वं न मृतः । मम दर्शनं तु संजातमेव । कमन्यमुपकारं करोमीति साग्रहं पृष्टोऽहं पुण्यकृतां समृद्धान् लोकान् द्रष्टुकामोऽस्मीति स्वाभिप्रायं प्राकटयम् । वैवस्वतस्यानु-कम्पयाऽहं विचित्रान् अद्भुतान् चन्द्रमण्डलशुभ्रान् लोकानपश्यम् । तत्र क्षीरस्रवाः सर्पिःस्रवाश्च सरितो मनोहरा विलोक्य विलक्षणा जिज्ञासा समभून्मे मनसि । मया प्रोक्तम्—

क्षीरस्यैताः सर्पिषश्चैव नद्यः
शश्वत् स्रोताः कस्य भोज्याः प्रदिष्टाः ।

यमस्योत्तरम्—

यमोऽब्रवीद् विद्धि भोज्यास्त्वमेता
ये दातारः साधवो गोरसानाम् ।
अन्ये लोकाः शाश्वताः वीतशोकैः
समाकीर्णा गोप्रदाने रतानाम् ॥

(म. भ., अनु० ७११२६)

तत्र यमेन गोदानस्य प्रकृष्टं माहात्म्यं वर्णितम् । गोदानस्यावसरे पात्रस्य कालस्य गोविशेषस्य च जागर्ति काऽपि महिमा । शोभने काले शोभनेन विधिना शोभनपात्राय समर्पिता शोभना गौरेव दातुरनन्तान् दिव्यान् लोकान् कल्पयति । हीना जीर्णा च गौर्दीयमाना दातुर्नरकायैव सम्पद्यते ।

दत्त्वा धेनुं सुव्रतां कांस्यदोहां
कल्याणवत्सामपलायिनीं च ।
यावन्ति रोमाणि भवन्ति तस्या-
स्तावद् वर्षाण्यश्नुते स्वर्गलोकम् ॥३३॥

पद्मिदं दानेषु गोदानस्य साधिकं वैशिष्ट्यमुद्गिरति । गोभिः साकमधिकां रतिं मानवाः सर्वदैव कुर्युरित्युपदेशपरं श्लोकमिमं परिशीलयन्तु विपश्चितः—

गावो लोकांस्तारयन्ति क्षरन्त्यो
गावश्चात्रं सञ्जनयन्ति लोके ।
यस्तं जानन् न गवां हार्दमेति
स वै गन्ता निरयं पापचेताः ॥५२॥

(म. भ., अनु० ७१)

इत्थं समग्रेऽस्मिन् अध्याये गोदानस्य विशिष्टं गौरवमादिष्टवान् वैवस्वतो यमः ।

विवेचनम्

संक्षेपतोऽत्र निर्दिष्टाया महाभारतीयनाचिकेताख्यायिकायाः संक्षिप्तं विवेचन-
मत्र प्रस्तूयते । ७१ अध्यायात् पूर्वमेव गोदानस्य वर्णनं प्रसङ्गायातमवलोक्यते ।
अनुशासनपर्वणः ६९ अध्याये गोदानस्य माहात्म्यं सामान्यतो निर्दिष्टम् । ७०
अध्याये च प्राचीने काले गोदानेन लब्धवर्णस्य दशमस्कन्धे चतुःषष्टितमेऽध्याये
श्रीमद्भगवते विशेषेणोल्लिखितस्य च कस्यचन नृगमहीपतेः गोदानजन्या कीर्ति-
रसामान्येन वर्णिता । तदनन्तरं प्रसङ्गप्राप्तस्य गोदानमाहात्म्यस्य दाढ्यं प्राबल्यं
च प्रतिपादयितुं ७१ अध्यायस्यारम्भः समजनि । तत्र 'अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममिति-
हासं पुरातनम्' इति प्रतिज्ञाय नाचिकेतस्योपाख्यानं बहून्यावश्यकान्यपि वृत्त-
जातानि विहाय संक्षेपत एवात्र समारब्धम् । यत्र संक्षिप्तोपन्यासे वृत्तेऽनेक-
कथांशानामसामञ्जस्यं दूरीकरोति सचेतसामालोचकानां मनांसीति निवेद्यं वर्तते ।
असामञ्जस्यस्येत्थं प्रकारो विलसति—

(क) नाचिकेतस्याल्पीयसाऽपराधेन क्रुद्धस्य ऋषेरुद्दालकेरेष घोरः शापो-
ऽनुचित इवाभाति । इध्मादीनां नदीतीरादानयनमिति पितुरादेशः । नदी-
वेगेन तेषां वस्तूनां समाप्लवनात् तदनवाप्तौ तेषामनानयनमिति पुत्रस्यापराधः ।
नास्त्यत्र पर्याप्तं रोषस्य कारणं येन महातपाः कोऽपि ऋषिरेतावत् क्रुध्येत्
यमान्तिकं गन्तुं च पुत्रं शपेत् । इत्यनौचित्यं जागर्ति अस्मिन् कथाभागे ।

(ख) कठोपनिषदि उपजृम्भितैषा कथा यत्र गोदानस्यावसरे निरिन्द्रियाणां
गवां दानमवलोक्य दूयमानेन नाचिकेतेन महातपसः स्वपितुरनौचित्यं स्पष्टाभिर्वाग्-
भिरतीव धाष्ट्येनैव समाजृम्भि । अतएव उपनिषत्प्रतिपाद्यायाम् आख्यायि-
कायाम् गोदानार्थं नियमौचित्यप्रतिपादकेन बालकेन स्वात्मापि महति दुःखौघे
प्रक्षिप्तः । इत्थं नचिकेतसो हृदि गोः समुत्कृष्टः प्रेमा ध्रुवमवलोक्यते । स्वर्गे
गोप्रदायिनामुत्तमा गतिः दिव्यानां लोकानां च प्राप्तिः सामञ्जस्यं भजते कठोपनिषदि
प्रतिपादितायामेव नाचिकेतकथायाम् । परन्तु महाभारते नेत्थं कश्चित् उत्तर-
वृत्तोद्बलकः कथाभागः संकेत्यते पूर्वभागे । अत एव पूर्वोत्तरकथांशयोः सामञ्जस्यं
नैव कथञ्चित् घटत इति समालोचकानां दृष्ट्या त्रुटिः लक्ष्यत एव । महाभारतकारः

कठोपनिषदि प्रतिपादितान् कथांशान् नूनं जानाति । गवां कृते नाचिकेतस्य प्राणदानवृत्तेन सोऽवश्यमेव परिचितं धत्ते । तत्कथांशस्य अत्राभावात् उभयो-
रंशयोरसामञ्जस्यमुद्बेगकरमिति विदांकुर्वन्तु गुणैकपक्षपातिनो विपश्चितः ।

३. पौराणिकं नाचिकेतोपाख्यानम्

वराहपुराणे नाचिकेतस्योपाख्यानं १९३ अध्यायादारभ्य २१२ अध्यायं यावत् वर्णितं समुपजृम्भते । तत्र 'पुरावृत्ता कथैषे'ति निर्देशः पुराणकारस्य मते उपाख्यानस्यास्यातीव प्राचीनतामभिव्यनक्ति । उपाख्यानस्य महिमापि स्फुटाक्षरैर्वर्णितो यथा—

शृणु राजन् पुरावृत्तां कथां परमशोभनाम् ।

धर्मवृद्धिकरीं नित्यां यशस्यां कीर्तिवर्धिनीम् ॥ १० ॥

पावनीं सर्वपापानां प्रवृत्तौ शुभकारिणीम् ।

इतिहासपुराणानां कथां वै विदुषां प्रियाम् ॥ ११ ॥

—वराहपुराणम्, अ० १९३ ।

२१२ अध्यायस्यावसाने कथासमाप्तावपि कथाया एतस्या गौरवमेतैः
शब्दैरुद्धोषयति पुराणकारः :—

इदं तु परमाख्यानं भगवद्भक्तिकारकम् ॥ २० ॥

शृणुयाच्छ्रावयेद् वापि सर्वकामानवाप्नुयात् ॥ २१ ॥

वराहपुराणम्, अ० २१२ ।

अस्मिन्नुपाख्याने कथाया वृत्तजातं त्वतीव संक्षेपेण वर्णितं समुपलभ्यते । कथायाः
स्वरूपं तु ईदृग् वर्तते—

सर्ववेदाङ्गतत्त्ववित् उद्दालक इति नाम्ना ख्यातः कोऽपि परमधार्मिकः
ऋषिरासीत् । तस्य महातेजा योगमास्थाय बुद्धिमान् नाचिकेत इति ख्यातः
सर्ववेदाङ्गतत्त्ववेत्ता पुत्रो बभूव । रुष्टेन पित्रा पुत्रः शप्तोऽभूत्—गच्छ शीघ्रं
यमं पश्येति । योगविधेर्ज्ञाता पुत्रः पितरमुवाच—भवद्वाक्यं मृषा मा भवतु
इतिहेतोरहं धर्मराजस्य पुरं शीघ्रमेव गमिष्यामि । यमस्य दर्शनं विधाय पुनरत्र

निःसंशयमागमिष्यामीति । क्रोधात् शापं प्रदाय ऋषिरुद्दालकोऽतीव पश्चात्तापो-
द्विग्नचेताः पुत्रं नाचिकेतं यमपुरीगमनात् भृशं निवारयामास । परन्तु नाचिकेतो
भाविनः पुत्रनाशान्नितान्तं क्षुब्धं स्वजनकं सत्यात् प्रस्खलन्तं निरीक्ष्य सत्यस्य
सर्वातिशायिनं महिमानमुत्कीर्त्य तं सत्ये स्थापयितुं भृशं येते ।¹

पितरं स्वव्रते दृढं विधाय नाचिकेतस्तु परमं स्थानं गतः यत्र राजा दुरासदो
यमोऽतिष्ठत् । स तु बालकं यथाविधि अर्चित्वा दृष्ट्वैव विसर्जितवान्—

अर्चितस्तु यथान्यायं दृष्ट्वैव तु विसर्जितः । (तत्रैव अ० १९४, श्लोकः १) ।

नाचिकेतः परावृत्य स्वपितरं निजागमनेन भृशमुल्लासयन् स्वोयमाश्रमं
प्रत्याजगाम । पुत्रस्य पुनर्नचिराद्दर्शनेन स्वीयं प्रकृष्टं भागधेयं स्तुवन् उद्दालको-
ऽन्यान् सर्वान् परलोकसम्बन्धिनी वार्ताः श्रोतुकामान् ऋषीन् मुनींश्च तत्राजुहाव ।
यमलोकविषयका अनेके कौतूहलोत्पादकाः प्रश्नास्तैस्तत्राश्रमे समवेतैराग्रहेण
पृष्टाः (१९४ अध्याये) । इत आरम्भ २१२ अध्यायं यावत् सप्तदशभि-
रध्यायैर्नाचिकेतो तेषां वर्धिष्यमाणां जिज्ञासां यथातथं तत्प्रश्नानां समुचितोत्तर-
प्रदानेन प्रशमं निनाय । परलोकगतानां विषयाणां जिज्ञासानिवृत्ताविमेऽध्यायाः
परमोपकारिण इत्यालोचकैः तद्विषयसमीक्षकैः साधु आलोडनीया अनुसन्धे-
याश्च । तत्र १९५ अध्याये यमलोकस्थपापिनां १९६ अध्याये धर्मराजपुरस्य
विस्तृतं रोचकं च वर्णनं समुपलभ्यते यत्र 'पुष्पोदका' नाम वैवस्वती
सरित् प्रवहति, यस्यास्तीरे नितान्तमभ्रंलिहाग्राः प्रासादाः दर्शकानां नेत्राणि
आकर्षयन्ति ।

१९८ अध्याये यमेन कृतं नाचिकेतस्य प्रसभमभ्यर्थनमुपवर्णयते ।
कुशासंच्छन्ने दिव्यपुष्पोपशोभिते काञ्चने वरासने यमस्याज्ञया नाचिकेतः समुप-

1. सत्यमहिम्नः प्रतिपादका इमे श्लोका अतीव रुचिरा उद्बोधकाश्चेति
कतिपयेऽत्र निर्दिश्यन्ते—

उदधिर्लङ्घयेन्नैव मर्यादां सत्यपालितः । मन्त्रः प्रयुक्तः सत्येन सर्वलोकहितायते ॥
सत्येन यज्ञा वर्तन्ते मन्त्रपूताः सुपूजिताः । सत्येन वेदा गायन्ति सत्ये लोकाः प्रतिष्ठिताः ॥
सत्यं गाति तथा साम सर्वं सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितम् । सत्यं स्वगंश्च धर्मंश्च सत्यादन्यन्न विद्यते ॥
सत्येन सर्वं लभते यथा तात मया श्रुतम् । न हि सत्यमतिक्रम्य विद्यते क्रिञ्चिदुत्तमम् ॥

वराहपुराणे, अ० १९३, ३८-४१ श्लोक ।

विवेश महारौद्रं भयानकं च यमस्य वक्त्रं तदानीं सौम्यतरं बभूव । बालकेन कृतया प्रशस्तया स्तुत्या भृशं प्रसन्नो यमश्चित्रगुप्तसमीपे तं प्रेष्य विविधानां नरकयातनानां साक्षात्काराय समुचितमवसरं प्रददौ । यावद्दृष्टानां यातनानामन्येषां च वृत्तानां विस्तीर्णं वर्णनं कृत्वा परलोकवृत्तजिज्ञासूनां मुनीनां जिज्ञासां प्रपूर्य स्वपितुस्तेषां भावितात्मनां यतीनां च कल्याणभाजनं बभूव नाचिकेत इति पौराणिकी कथायाः संक्षेपः ।

विवेचनम्

वराहपुराणे निर्दिष्टस्य संक्षेपतोऽत्र वर्णितस्य नाचिकेतोपाख्यानस्य विवेचनेन केचनाधःप्रदत्ता विषया आलोचकानां दृष्टिपथं हठात् आरोहन्ति—

(क) वराहपुराणे कथेषा 'पुरावृत्ते'ति प्रतिपादिता । अनेन महाभारत-प्राक्कालिकी कथामभिधोतयन् अस्या वैदिककाले समुत्पत्तिं प्रदर्शयतीत्यनुमातुं शक्यते वैदिककालस्यैव महाभारतीयकालात् प्राग्भावित्वात् । पुराणकाले कथाया वृत्तजातं विस्मृतप्रायमिवाभवदित्यपि उच्येतुं शक्यते ।

(ख) ऋषेरुद्दालकस्य रोषकारणस्याकीर्तनात् कथाया नैसर्गिकत्वं व्याहृत्यते । केनापि रोषस्य कारणेन भवितव्यमेवेति तत्कीर्तनं तत्सूचनं वाऽऽवश्यकत्वेनापतितमासीदिति तस्य निराकरणं कथायां किमप्यनौचित्यं प्रतीमः । भाविनं पुत्रवियोगमनुरुध्य ऋषेरुद्दालकस्य पश्चात्तापः, समुद्वेगः, सत्यात् प्रच्युतिप्रमादश्च नितान्तं समुद्वेजयति पाठकानां मनांसि । ऋषेर्हृदि यत् खलु दाढ्यं विश्वस्यते लोकैः, सत्यं प्रति यश्चाग्रहः समुन्नीयते विचक्षणैः तयोरभावं साक्षात्कृत्य कस्य सचेतसो मानसं नैव दूयते ; कस्यान्तःकरणं नैव खिद्यते ।

(ग) यमलोकगतानां वृत्तानां, पुण्यकर्मिणामुत्तमगतीनां, पापकारिणां च नरकयातनानां विस्तृतं वर्णनमेव पुराणकारस्याभीष्टत्वेनापतितम् । तत्रैव तस्य तात्पर्यम् । तदभिप्रायस्य सम्यग्बोधाय जनानां चेतसि विषयस्यास्य दाढ्यप्रदर्शनाय च प्राचीना नाचिकेतकथा समुपदिष्टाऽस्मिन् पुराणे । साक्षात्कृत्य स्वलोचनाभ्यां दृष्ट्वा च वर्णितेषु विषयेषु यावान् विश्वासो जनानां प्रसरति न तावान्

कर्णाकर्णपरम्परया वा श्रुतिपथमानीतेषु वस्तुषु । नाचिकेतस्य कथा तु विषयेऽस्मिन् नितान्तमौचित्यं भजते । पितुः क्रोधेन शप्तो नाचिकेतः यमस्यानुग्रहेण परलोके जायमानानां सर्वासां नारकीयाणां यातनानां, स्वर्गं चानुभूयमानानां निखिलानां शुभगतीनां च साक्षात् द्रष्टा बभूवेति वैदिकीं कथां साग्रहं सामिप्रायं च पुराणकारोऽत्र पुराणे निबबन्ध । तस्य तात्पर्यसिद्धिरपि भृशं जातेति प्रतीमः । “दृष्टेषु वस्तुषु श्रुतेभ्यो वस्तुभ्योऽधिकं विश्वासो जागर्ति जनानां हृदयेषु” इति कृत्वैव कथा नाचिकेतीया पुराणे समुपन्यस्ता, यतो नाचिकेतः सर्वाण्येव परलोकगतानि वृत्तजातानि स्वयं दृष्ट्वैव वर्णयति, न तु केनचिदुपदिष्टस्तथा करोति । कथायाः प्राचीनत्वं प्रामाणिकत्वं विषयोपकारित्वं च ध्रुवं समुन्मेषमित्यत्र नास्ति कश्चित् सन्देहलेशः । नाचिकेतोपाख्यानेषु नानाग्रन्थस्थेषु सर्वत्रैव मुनिबालकस्याभिधानं नाचिकेता नाचिकेतो वा वर्तते । परन्तु नासिकेतोपाख्याने नासिकेतेति नामपरिवर्तनस्याभिप्रायमित्थमुन्नयामः । नाचिकेतेति संज्ञायास्तात्पर्यमविमृशन्नेव कश्चित् नासिकामितः “इति विगृह्य अन्वर्थकता-मावहन्तीं नासिकेतेति सकारान्तर्गभितां संज्ञां विदधे । तदनुरूपां च कथामिमां निबबन्ध यथा च ऋषिबालको नासिकातो जात इत्यादि । अज्ञातनामा लेखकः स्वोपाख्यानस्य कठोपनिषदीयं स्वरूपं नहि जानाति, पुराणे तु निर्दिष्टां कथां वेत्त्येवेति कथयितुं सुघटम् । कथमयं बालको नासिकातः समुत्पन्नः ? कथं च पित्रा विसृष्टो यमलोकं जगाम, तत आगत्य सर्वं निजानुभवं मुनिभ्यः कथयामासेतिविषये आद्यद्वयं लेखकेन कल्पितमन्तिमं च प्रख्यातमिति विमर्शकाणां स्फुटं भविष्यति ।

नाचिकेतस्योपाख्यानस्य विमर्शः

वेदेतिहासपुराणेषु निर्दिष्टस्य नाचिकेतोपाख्यानस्य तुलनात्मको विमर्शः संक्षिप्तैरक्षरैः साम्प्रतं प्रस्तूयते—

(क) ब्राह्मणोपनिषदोऽर्षिबालकस्याभिधानं सकारान्तपदेन निर्दिश्यते “नाचिकेताः” इति । इतिहासपुराणयोस्तु अकारान्तशब्देनैव निर्देशः “नाचिकेतः” इति । पितुरभिधानं ब्राह्मणोपनिषदोः “वाजिश्रवसः”? एव प्रथम-

मवलोकयते । अनन्तरं कठोपनिषदि (१।१।११) मन्त्रे 'औद्दालकिरारुणिः मत्प्रसृष्टः' इत्यत्र आरुणिः औद्दालकिरिति व्यवहियते । तत्र शांकरभाष्यानुसारेण "उद्दालक एव औद्दालकिः" इति व्याख्यानात् तत्पितुः 'उद्दालक' इत्यपि संज्ञा सुपरिचिता प्रतीयते । वाजिश्रवसेति संज्ञां विहाय पुराणेतिहासयोः सर्वत्र "उद्दालकः" "उद्दालकिः" वेत्यभिधानं समुपलभ्यमानमेतस्या एव संज्ञाया लोकप्रियतामभिव्यनक्ति ।

(ख) वैदिकमेवेदमुपाख्यानमिति कथयितुं शक्यते । कस्यामपि मन्त्र-संहितायामनिर्दिष्टमेतदुपाख्यानं प्रथमतः तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे एवोपलभ्यते । इत्थं तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणमेवैतस्य मूलमित्युच्येतं ध्रुवं पार्यते । परन्तु कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य कठशाख्याध्येतृणामेव यज्ञयागगोष्ठीषु एषाख्यायिका मूलतः प्रचलिता प्रसृता वाऽप्यासीदित्यपि अनुमातुं शक्यम् । अनुमानस्योपोद्बलकमित्थं प्रमाणं समुल्लसति । तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणस्य सर्वेषु मौलिकेषु प्रपाठकेषु "स्वर्ग" शब्दस्योच्चारणमेव न विधीयते 'सुवर्ग' इति, प्रत्युत तदनुपूर्वीकं लेखनमपि सर्वत्र समुपलभ्यते यथा—

अपदातीनृत्विजः समावहन्त्या सुब्रह्मण्याया ।

सुवर्गस्य लोकस्य समष्ट्यै ।

वाचं यत्वोपवसति—सुवर्गस्य लोकस्य गुप्त्यै । —तैत्ति० ब्रा० ३।८।१

एकादशप्रपाठकादारभ्य तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणस्यान्तं यावत् एषा बहुशः प्रचलिता रीतिरन्यथाभावं भजते । तत्र स्वर्गशब्दानुपूर्व्या उच्चारणेनापि स्वर्गरूपेणैव साक्षात् क्रियते, न तु सुवर्गेतिरूपेण, यथा—

1. यथा पुरस्ताद् भविता प्रतीत औद्दालकिरारुणिर्मत्प्रसृष्टः ।

सुखं रात्रौः शयिता वीतमन्युस्त्वां ददृशिवान् मृत्युमुक्त्वात् प्रमुक्तम् ॥

—कठ० १।१।११

2. अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ।

ऋषेरुद्दालकेर्वाक्यं नाचिकेतस्य चोभयं ।

ऋषिरुद्दालकिर्दीक्षामुपगम्य ततः सुतम् ।

त्वं मामुपचरस्वेति नाचिकेतमभाषतः ।३। अनु० पर्व०, ७१ अध्याये ।

यो ह वा अग्नेर्नाचिकेतस्य शरीरं वेद, सशरीर एव स्वर्गं लोकमेति । हिरण्यं वा अग्नेर्नाचिकेतस्य शरीरम् । य एवं वेद । सशरीर एव स्वर्गं लोकमेति । तैत्तिरीय ब्रा० ११ प्रपाठकस्य ७ अनुवाके ।

इमौ प्रपाठकौ अन्यशाखावलम्बिनौ इतस्ततो भ्रमन्तौ कथमप्यत्राश्रयं प्राप्ताविति कल्पना नातिविरुद्धेति प्रतीमः । मूलत इमौ प्रपाठकौ कठब्राह्मणस्यै-
वांशावित्यनुमानमपि कर्तुं क्लिष्टम् । एकादशप्रपाठके समुपलब्धमेतदाख्यानं कठशाखीयमिति कथा न कुतोऽपि विरोधमृच्छति । इत्थं कठोपनिषद्येव सर्वाङ्गरूपेण संदृढैषाऽऽख्यायिका कठशाखाध्येतृणामेव याज्ञिके सम्प्रदाये प्राचीनकाले समुत्पन्ना एवावान्तरेषु ग्रन्थेषु तात्पर्यभेदेन गृहीता स्वीकृता वेति वक्तुं पार्यते ।

(ग)---तात्पर्यपरिवृत्तिस्तु प्रेक्षकैर्भ्रुवमुन्नेया । याज्ञिकसम्प्रदायेन सम्बद्ध-
त्वात् तत्रैवोत्पत्तिलाभाच्च एतदुपाख्यानं मूलत एव कर्मकाण्डविषयकमित्यत्र न किञ्चित् बहु वक्तव्यं वर्ततेऽस्माकम् । कठोपनिषद्वर्णनं नाचिकेताग्नेर्वैशिष्ट्यं किमप्यभिव्यनक्ति । तस्य चयनविधावेव अन्यस्मादग्नेः इष्टकानां स्वरूपभेदात्, संख्याभेदेन चयनप्रकारभेदाच्च पार्थक्यप्रतीतिर्वर्तते इति नातिरोहितं कर्म-
काण्डज्ञानं विदुषाम् । “लोकादिमग्निं तमुवाच तस्मै, या इष्टका यावतीर्वा यथा वा” इति तत्र कठोपनिषदीयं वचनं प्रमाणम् । ब्राह्मणग्रन्थे नाचिकेतोपाख्यानस्य कर्मकाण्डविषयक एवोद्देशः । नाचिकेताग्नेरुपसेवनया स्वर्गप्राप्तिः पुनर्मृत्युहा-
निश्चेति तात्पर्यद्वयं स्फुटमेवोद्घुष्टं ब्राह्मणग्रन्थे । कठोपनिषदि तु सैषा कथाध्यात्म-
विद्याख्यापने प्रसृता, उपनिषदि ब्रह्मविद्याया एवोपदेशात् । उपनिषदि नाचि-
केतसो गोदानार्थं तीव्रकष्टस्वीकारो, यमलोके यमात् ब्रह्मविद्याशिक्षणं, प्रतिनिवृत्त्य
तस्मात् लोकात् पुनरपि पितुर्दर्शनमिति यत् बाहुल्येन वर्णितम्, तत्रेतिहास-
पुराणयोः आद्यन्तावेव भागौ प्राधान्येनांगीकृतौ । गोदानमहिम्नः स्तुतिपरत्वे-
नैषा कथा इतिहासरूपे महाभारते (अनुशासनिके पर्वणि ७१ अध्याये) संदृढा ।
पापाचारिणः परलोके नाना तीव्रा नारकीया यातना अनुभवन्ति, पुण्यकर्माणस्तु
दिव्यलोकप्राप्तिं दिव्यांगनासमागममक्षय्यसुखसमुच्चयं चानुभूय नितरां प्रमोदन्ते
‘स्वर्गे लोके’ इति लोकान् सामग्र्येण शिक्षयितुं नाचिकेतानुभवं यमलोकोऽयं

प्रमाणत्वेनोपस्थातुकामानि पुराणानीति पुण्यस्य सुखोदकाय पापस्य दुःखोदकाय च नाचिकेतस्योपाख्यानं सारत्वेन साधूपवर्णयन्ति । इत्थं तात्पर्यभेदात् ग्रन्थानां, परिस्थितिभेदाच्च कालस्य कथाभिप्रायो निश्चयेन भिद्यते । मूलतः कर्मकाण्ड-परैषा नाचिकेताख्यायिका उपनिषदि विद्यास्तुत्यर्था, महाभारते गोदानप्रशंसार्था, पुराणेषु च कर्मफलस्तुत्यर्थेति कालभेदेनोद्देश्यनिरूपणे ध्रुवं भिद्यत इति विदां-कुर्वतु विपश्चितः । नाचिकेतचारित्र्यं मूलतस्तेजस्वि ब्रह्मवर्चसोपेतं नितान्तमुदात्तं पुराणेतिहासयोर्नूनं क्षीणप्रभतामुपेतमुद्वेजयति विदुषां मनांसीति सुस्पष्टमेव । वैदिकमेतदुपाख्यानं लोकानुग्रहवाञ्छया केनापि विदुषा नाचिकेतोपाख्यानरूपेण कथं केन चाभिप्रायेण परिवृत्तिमापादितमिति प्रागेव निवेदितम् । मूलवृत्तजातस्या-परिज्ञानं कथायां कस्याञ्चन कथं विकृतिमापादयतीत्याख्यानस्यैतस्यानुशीलनं नूनं परिचयायालमिति विरम्यते पल्लवनात् । ब्राह्मणकालादारभ्य अद्ययावत् कालवशाद् परिवृत्तिं भजमानापीयं कथा लोकानां कल्याणाय नूनं सम्पद्यत इति उपाख्यानस्यै-तस्य विकासक्रमाध्येतॄणां विदुषां नातिपरोक्षमिति दिक् ।

SOME GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNIC DATA
OF THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA*

By

S. G. KANTAWALA

(Continued from 'Purāṇa' Vol. V, No. 1)

[अयं लेखः पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तः । पूर्वस्मिन् लेखे मत्स्यपुराणोक्तानां
अक्षरेणारब्धानां भौगोलिकानां जातिसम्बन्धिनां च नाम्नां विवरणं
प्रस्तुतम् । प्रस्तुतलेखे केषांचिदपरेषामोद्देशानां नाम्नां (वर्णक्रमशः
अक्षरेणारब्धानां) मत्स्यपुराणस्थलनिर्देशपूर्वकं विवरणं प्रदीयते ।
अयं लेखः मूलांशस्य संक्षेपः ।]

80. Badarītīrtha : The goddess Urvaśī is worshipped here. If one offers a *Śrāddha* here one attains the highest state (22. 73-75). This is also the birth-place of Bādarāyaṇa (14.16) and the place of penance of Mitra and Varuṇa (201.24). This refers to Badarīnātha in Garhwal, U. P. in the Himalayas (vide also Tk, pp. 46 ff).

81. Badarikāśrama : S. V. Badarītīrtha.

82. Bahirgiri : S. V. Bhārata. The names Antargiri, Bahirgiri and Upagiri occur in the Sabhāparvan (24.2) of the Mahābhārata and Dr. V. S. Agrawala writes that "the अन्तर्गिरि literally "Inner Mountain" denoted the same high ranges as the Pali महाहिमवन्त. It is the Great Central Himālaya which comprises those highest peaks which have an altitude of 18000 ft. and more, like Gaurīśankara, Nandādevī, Kedārñātha etc. The name उपगिरि signified the outlying region of Tarai. In between the two lies the Lesser Himālaya range known into Skt. as बहिर्गिरि and in Pali as चुल्लहिमवन्त. It is the sub-Himalayan range of low lying peaks having altitude of 6000 ft. and more upto 10,000 ft. अन्तर्गिरि and उपगिरि are also mentioned by Pāṇini (V. 4. 112). In the critical edition of the Sabhāparvan the reading accepted is

*Abridged form of the original by Author's permission,

Uparigiri which is different from the name given in the Aṣṭā-dhyāyī” (op. cit, ABORI Vol. XXXVII, p. 8, for his comments on the lection Uparigiri, vide *ibid*, p. 8; vide also his IP, p. 39).

83. Bāhlika: He is Pratīpa’s son and the brother of Devāpi and Śāntanu. His seven sons were called Bāhliśvaras (50.39). The people of Bāhlika country were thrown into confusion by Hiranyakaśipu when he came on the battlefield for a duel with Narasiṃha (163.72). It is the northern *deśa* of Bhāratavarṣa (114.40). It is the modern Balkh about the northern frontiers of Afghanistan (Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, 1 HQ Vol. XXI, p. 302, for details vide Chaudhuri S. B. *op. cit.* p. 108 ff). Dr. B. C. Law remarks that “they should be identified with ‘Baktiōi’ occupying the country near Archaos in Ptolemy’s time” (*op. cit.* p. 133, vide also IA, 1884, p. 408).

84. Balāhaka: Balāhaka, Rṣabha, Cakra and Maināka are mountains extending upto the Lavaṇa ocean (121.72) vide also S. V. Kuśadvīpa.

85. Barbara (-ka): This is a mountainous *janapada* watered by the River Cakṣu and is inhabited by the Mlecchas (121.43, 45, 46). They were killed by Pramati in the *sāndhya*-period of the Kali age of the Svāyambhuva-manvantara (144.57). On the Barbaras of the passage, i. e. MP 121.45,46, Dr. S.B. Chaudhuri writes that they “represent the various rude tribes who lived in the unexplored regions in the lower course of the Oxus near about the trans-caspian province” (*op. cit.* p. 114, and fn. 3 on the same page). Dr. D. C. Sircar connects it with Barbaricum (*op. cit.*, 1HQ Vol. XXI p. 303 fn. 30). It also appears that the country of the Barbaras extended upto the Arabian sea (Law B.C, *op. cit.*, p. 70) and this seems to be alluded to when the MP states that the Sindhu flowed through the Barba country (121.47) (vide also other information; Patil D. R., *op. cit.*, p. 250). Incidentally it may also be mentioned that there are hills Barbara by name about 16 miles north of Gayā (Law CXX B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 211).

86. Bhadraka : It is a *janapada* known after Bhadraka (48.20). S. V. Bhadrakāra.

87. Bhadrakāra : S. V. Bhārata. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar they are apparently the same as the Madrakāras who were a branch of the Śālva tribe and inhabited the north-eastern part of the Punjab or the adjacent regions (*op. cit.*, 1HQ XXI, p. 300). Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri does not accept the identity of Bhadrakāra and Madrakāra (*op. cit.*, p. 23 fn. 4) and he holds that they lived somewhere to the north of the Rohitakas. The name Rohitaka survives in modern Rohtak, the head quarters of the district of the same name in the Punjab, 44 miles north-west of Delhi (vide Chaudhuri S. B., *op. cit.* pp. 22 ff.). They had close associations with some ancient Indian ethnographical names (cf. *Sūrasenā Bhadrakārā Vāhyāḥ...*/114.36). (For other information vide Agrawala V. S., IP, p. 57, Patil D. R. *op. cit.* pp. 250-251).

88. Bhadrās̥va : Here is a forest Bhadramāla by name where a tree Kālāmra by name exists. People of this land are said to be very happy and possess immense strength. They are white in complexion and are ever young and healthy. Ladies of this land are peerless in beauty (113.51 ff.). S. V. Videha. (vide also Rai Krishnadas, Purāṇic Geography of the Catur-dvīpas, Purāṇa, Vol. I, no. 2, Feb. 1960, p. 204).

89. Bhadrēs̥vara : The goddess Bhadrā is worshipped here (13.31). This is possibly Bhadreshwar in the Hoogly district (Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 82).

90. Bhāgīrathī : This is the name of the Ganges (163.20) during its course in the Himalayan region. The Bhāgīrathī originates from the Nārāyaṇa mountain beyond Badarīnātha (Tk. p. 53) and meets Alakanandā at Devaprayāga (Tk. p. 49).

91. Bhārata : This is the land of the 14 Manus, Svāyambhuva and others, and their progeny. It is named after Manu known as Bharata because of his creative and maintaining-activity (114-1-5). It is surrounded by the ocean. It is 1000 *yojanas* in extent from north to south. It extends from Cape Comerin (*Kumārī*) to the source of the Ganges. In its oblique extent in

the north it is ten thousand *yojanas*. It is inhabited by Āryas and Mlecchas and the latter are said to dwell on all sides and borders. On the eastern and western boundaries reside the Yavanas and Kirātas. The central part is inhabited by Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras who follow their professions. The purpose of her people is the attainment of heaven. Her conqueror is said to acquire the title of *Samrāt* (114. 9-16). There are seven *kulapārvatas* : Mahendra, Sahya, Śuktimān, Vindhya, Pāriyātra, (114. 17-18) etc. In addition to these there are thousands of mountains. The following rivers rise from the Himalayas : Ganges, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Śatadrū, Airāvātī, Vitastā, Viśālā, Devikā, Kubū, Gomatī, Dhautapāpā, Bāhudā, Dṛṣadvatī, Kauṣikī, Tritiyā, Niścalā, Gaṇḍakī, Ikṣu and Lauhita (114. 20-22).

The following rivers rise from the Pāriyātra mountain : Vedasmṛti, Vetravatī, Vṛtraghnā, Sindhu, Parṇāsā, Narmadā, Kāverī, Pārā, Dhanvatīrūpā, (v. 1 Carmanvatī) Viduṣ-ā, Veṇumatī, Śiprā, Avantī, Kuntī 114. 23-24).

From the Ṛṣy (-kṣ)avat mountain rise the following rivers : Śoṇa (which is a *mahānada*), Nandanā, Sukṛṣā, Kṣamā, Mandākinī, Daśūṇā, Citrakūṭā, Tamasā, Pippalī, Śyenī, Citrotpalā, Vimalā, Cañcalā, Dhūtavāhini, Śuktimatī, Śunī, Lajjā, Mukuṭā and Hrādikā (114.24-26).

The MP 114.26^{ab} is dropped by Dr. D. C. Sircar, in the text of the Purāṇic list of rivers and 114.26^{cd} is read as '*Śunī Lajjā Śuktimatī Sakulī Tridivā Kramuḥ* (op. cit. 1HQ. XXVII. No 3, p. 222).

The Vindhya mountain is the source of the following rivers : Tāpī, Payoṣṇī, Nirvindhya, Kṣiprā, Ṛṣabhā, Veṇā, Viśvamālā, Kumudvatī, Toyā, Mahāgurī, Durgamā, and Śivā. The water of these rivers is cool (114, 27-28).

From the Sahya mountain the following rivers rise : Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Kṛṣṇavenī, Vañjulā, Tungabhadra, Suprayogā, Vāhyā and Kāverī. These are the rivers of Dakṣiṇāpatha (114. 29).

From the Malaya mountain the following auspicious rivers rise : Kṛtamālā, Tāmraparṇī, Puṣpajā, Utpalāvati. The water of these rivers is cool (114. 30).

The following rivers rise from the Mahendra mountain : Tribhāgā, Rṣikulyā, Ikṣudā, Tridivācalā, Tāmraparṇī, Mūlī, Śaravā, and Vimalā (114. 31). Dr. D. C. Sircar reads here as follows :—

त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्या च इक्षुला त्रिदिवा च या ।

लाङ्गुलिनी वंशधरा महेन्द्रतनया स्मृताः ॥

Lāngulinī is the modern Lāngulīya running past Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) in the district of that name in Madras. Vamśadharā still known by this name runs past Kalingapatam near Chicacole (cp. cit., 1 HQ. Vol. XXVII. No. 3, p. 227).

The Śuktimat (-manta) mountain is the source of the following rivers : Kāśikā, Sukumārī, Mandagā, Mandavāhinī, Kṛpā and Pāśinī. They meet the ocean. They are described as auspicious, the mothers of the world and the destroyer of all sins. They have hundreds and thousands of tributaries and distributaries. (114. 31-34).

The following are generally designated as the *janapada* of Madhyadeśa : Kuru, Pāñcāla, Śālva, Jāngala, Śūrasena, Bhadrakāra, Vāhya, Pāṭaccara, Matsya, Kirāta, Kulya, Kuntala, Kāśī, Kośala, Āvanta, Kaliṅga, Mūka and Andhaka (114. 34-36).

Near the Sahya mountain there is a river Godāvarī and the region around it is said to be most charming. There are the Govardhana, Mandara and Gandhamādana mountains. The celestial trees and herbs were brought down by the sage Bharadvāja for pleasing Rāma i. e. Paraśūrāma (cf. Pargiter F. E., Tr., p. 310). It is a beautiful land rich in flowers (114. 37-39).

The following are the *deśas* of the northern division :— Bāhlika, Vāṭadhāna, Ābhīra, Kālatoyaka, Purandhra, (V. L. Parandha-*ga, gha* ; Parandhra-*na*). Śūdra, Pallava, Āṭṭakhaṇḍika, Gāndhāra, Yavana, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Madra, Śaka, Druhya, Pulinda, Pārada, Hāramūrtika, Rāmaṭha, Kaṅṭakāra, Kaikeya,

Daśanāmaka (V. L. Daśanāmika-*ga, gha*), Atri, Bharadvāja, Prasthala, Daśeraka, (V. I. Saubhaka-*ña*), Lampaka (V.L. Lampaka-*ga, gha*), Talagāna (V. I. Tangaṇa-*ña*), Sainika, Jāṅgala and the settlement of Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras (114. 40-43).

The following are the *janapadas* of the eastern division :—

Aṅga, Vaṅga, Madguraka, Antargiri, Bahirgiri, Plavaṅga, Mātāṅga, Yamaka, Mallavārṇka, Suhmottara, Pravijaya, Mārga, Vāgeya (if read as Mārga Vāgeyamālavāḥ ; cf. The Bombay edition of the Mar.-p., (54. 44) reads Geyamallakāḥ and the Calcutta edition of the Mar.-p., (57. 44) reads Jñeyamallakāḥ. The *ga* reads (भागवा ये च मालवाः), Mālava, Prāgjyotiṣa, Puṇḍra, Videha, Tāmralipta, Śālva, Magadha and Gonarda (114. 44, 45).

The following are the *janapadas* of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, and Aparānta :—

Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Cola, Kulya, Setuka, Sūtika, Vājivāsika (V. I. Vajikāḥ, Śakāḥ-*ña* ; Vājikāsikāḥ-*ga*), Kupatha Navarāṣṭra, Māhiṣaka, Kaliṅga, Kārūṣa, Sahaiṣika (Aiṣika), Āṭavya, Śabara, Pulinda, Vindhya puṣika, Vaidarbha, Daṇḍaka, Kulīya, Sirāla, Rūpasa, Tūpasa, Taittirika, Kāraskara, Vāsikya, Antarnarmadā, Bharukaccha, Sārasvata, Māheya, Kācchika, Saurāṣṭra, Ānarta and Arbuda (114. 46-51).

The following are the *janapadas* of the Vindhya mountain :—

Mālavā, Karūṣa, Mekala, Utkala, Auṇḍra, Daśārṇa, Bhoja, Kiṣkindhaka, (s) Tośala, Kośala, Traipura, vaidīśa, Saunḍikera, Tumura, Tumbara, Padmaga, Naiṣadha, Arūpa, Vīti-hotra, Avantī (114.51-54). (For the extent of Udīcyadeśa, Prācyadeśa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Aparānta, Vindhya vāsin and Madhya-deśa, see Law B. C., op., cit. Intr. pp. 11. ff.

The following are the *parvatāśrayin deśas* :— Nirāhāra, Sarvaga, Kupatha, Apatha, Prāvarāṇa, Ūrṇa, Darva, Samudgaka, Trigarta, Maṇḍala, Kirāta, and Cāmara (114. 54-56). The home of the Parvatāśrayins (The highlanders) is placed in the region of Nihāra or Jalalabad (Pargiter F. E. ., Tr., p. 345 ; Agrawala V.S.,

IP., p. 41). Dr. V. S. Agrawala observes that "The Parvatās-rayin janapadas of the Purāṇas find pointed mention in Pāṇini as *Āyudhajīvins* of the Parvata-country (IV. 3, 91), i. e. high military landers settled in the North-west of India and Trigarta. (The Janapada and the Greek city-State; IHQ. Vol. XXX. p. 38. In this article he makes a comparative study of the Janapada and the Greek city State).

In 121.49 it (Bhārata) is said to be a *Janapada* inhabited by the Aryans and the Ganges is said to water this land. * Bhārata is also known as Himasāhvayavarṣa (121-42). It should also be noted that the MP enumerates 9 *bhedas* i. e. divisions of Bhārata (1) Indradvīpa (2) Kaseru, (3) Tāmraparṇa, (4) Gabhastimān, (5) Nāgadvīpa, (6) Saumya (7) Gandharva, (8) Varuṇa and (9) Kumārī (114.7 ff). "Of the nine *Khaṇḍas* eight have been shown to be divisions not of India proper. They are not so many provinces of India, but of greater India and are islands and countries that encircle the Indian peninsula" (Law B. C., op. cit., Intro, p. 10; See Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, Appendix I, pp. 749-754). Dr. S.B. Chaudhuri notes also the opposite view i. e. "The nine *dvīpas* represent but another scheme of the nine divisions of India proper." (The nine Dvīpas of Bhāratavarṣa, IA., Vol. 59, p. 224). For ready reference the identifications of these *dvīpas* may be given :—(1) Indradvīpa, Burma; (2) Kaserumat, Malay Peninsula (3) Tāmraparṇa, Ceylon, (4) Gabhastimān, Laccadive and Malay islands, (5) Saumya, difficult to identify, but one can trace the name in modern Siam (6) Gandharva, Gandhāra, (7) Nāgadvīpa, islands of Salsette and Elephanta near Bombay (Cunningham, op. cit., ed. by S. N. Mazumdar p. 751), but according to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, it is Nicobar and he finds confirmation for the identification in the Valahassa-jātaka (JBORAS, Vol. XXIII. Pt. 1, pp. 133-137; Pusalker, A. D., studies in the Epics and Purāṇas, p. 213). (8) Varuṇa, Borneo (Chaudhuri, S. B., *ibid.*, p. 224) (9) Kumārī, India proper (Agrawala, V. S., The Meaning of Kumārī Dvīpa, Sārdha-Śatābdī Special Volume of Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, New Series, Vols. 31-32, 1956-57 (June 1959), pp. 1 ff).

(On the nine *dvīpas*, vide Chaudhuri, S. B. The Nine Dvīpas of Bhāratavarṣa, IA, Vol. 59, pp. 204 ff.; for some continental notices on the divisions of India, vide Chaudhuri S. B., Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXVII Pt. III, December 1949, pp. 237 ff.). The concept of nine divisions was also known to foreigners. St. Epiphanius (end of the 4th century) recorded that India was formerly divided into nine kingdoms (Chaudhuri S. B., *ibid* Journal of Indian History Vol. XXVII p. 241; Yules Travels of Marco Polo, ed. by Cordier, Vol. II., p. 432, but in the opinion of Yule it is a traditional number (Yule, *ibid*, p., 199, fn. 10; Chaudhuri S. B., op. cit., p. 241).

92. Bharadvājas : S.V. Bhārata. Atris and Bharadvājas are mentioned together. It may be "The north-western country beyond the Indus on the west (as the home of there tribes" (Chaudhuri S. B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p., 134).

93. Bhojas : S. V. Bhārata. The Bhojas branched off from the Haihaya-group (43.48). They are said to be the sons of Druhyu, the son of Yayāti (34.30; 44.69). The people of the country of Bhoja were disturbed by Hiraṇyakaśipu, when the latter came on the battle-field with Narasimha (163.72). Dr. B. C. Law remarks that they should be identified with the 'Baktrioi' occupying the country near Archosia in Ptolemy's time (op. cit, p. 153, 9A, 1884, p. 408). Elsewhere Dr. B. C. Law observes that it "coincides with Berar or ancient Vidarbha and Cammaka four miles south-east of Elichpur in the Amraoti district' (Law B. C., op. cit. p. 144; See also 145). According to Pargiter some of them lived in the north-east of Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra (as Yādava), while some lived on the extreme western end of the Vindhya range (Tr. p. 342). (On Bhojas, vide also Chaudhuri S. B., op. cit., pp. 108 ff.).

94. Bindusaras : S. V. Ganges and Hiranyaśṛṅga.

95. Brahmāvarta : This is said to be an abode of Brahmā (190.7-8) as well as a *pitṛ-tīrtha* (22.69) and the offering of *pinḍas* here is believed to be highly efficacious (191.70.71). Thus there are two Brahmāvartas; the one mentioned in 190.7-8 may be

identified with Brāhmaṇagāma, two miles from Hatanorā (vide Tk. p. 235) whereas the one mentioned in 191. 70-71 appears to be Brahmaṭīrtha which is near Kāsarol which is in turn near Kāndarol. This Kāndarol is on the southern bank of the Narmadā and it is four miles from Sinor (Tk. p. 432). Otherwise the well known Brahmāvarta is the region lying between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛśadvatī : cf :—

सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्दन्तरम् ।

तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

Manusmṛti 2.17.

96. Brahmottara : It is mentioned along with Vaṅga and Tāmralipta as one of the countries through which the Ganges flowed (121. 50-51). The Brahmottaras presumably lived in Satgaon in the valley of Bhāgīrathī (Chaudhuri S. B., *op. cit.*, p. 194). Vide also Patil D. R., *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

उत्तरं यत् समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।

वर्षं तद् भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः ॥१॥

कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम् ॥२ उ०॥

अतः सम्प्राप्यते स्वर्गो मुक्तिमस्मात् प्रयान्ति वै ।

तिर्यक्त्वं नरकं चापि यान्त्यतः पुरुषा मुने ॥४॥

इतः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यं चान्तश्च गम्यते ।

न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां कर्म भूमौ विधीयते ॥५॥

(विष्णु पु०, २।१३)

NOTES ON SOME EARLY INDIAN NAMES

BY

R. MORTON SMITH

[प्राचीनभारतीयसंस्कृत्या अध्ययने प्राचीननाम्नामध्ययनं परमुपयोगि विद्यते । मानवजोवने नाम्नो महत्त्वं सुविज्ञातमेव । परन्तु भारतीय-संस्कृतेरध्ययने प्राचीननामानि प्राय उपेक्षितानि वर्तन्ते । निबन्धेऽस्मिन् उत्कीर्णलेखनकालात्प्राग्वर्तिनाम् अर्थात् १५०० ई० पू० कालादारभ्य २०० ई० पू० कालं यावत् वैदिकवाङ्मये पुराणेषु चोल्लिखितानि प्रधानतया क्षत्रियाणां ब्राह्मणानां च पुरुषनामानि विचारितानि । प्राचीनसंस्कृतवाङ्मये वैश्यनामानि त्वतीवाल्पसंख्यकानि, शूद्रनाम्नां च प्रायोऽभाव एव वर्तते, स्त्रीनामान्यपि च इतिहासे पुराणेषु च न बाहुल्येन प्राप्यन्ते । पुराणोक्त राजवंशावलीषु ब्राह्मणानां वाङ्मये च तत्काल-वर्तिनां (१५०० ई० पू०—२०० ई० पू० पर्यन्तं) नाम्नां संख्या त्वनुमानतः सहस्रद्वयमेवायाति । एषां नाम्नां विषयेऽपि निश्चयात्मकताया अभावो विद्यते, मौखिकपरम्परासु हस्तलिखितग्रन्थेषु च पाठानां प्रायशो भ्रष्टत्वात् । एतानि नामानि च पुनरनेकधा व्याख्यातुं शक्यन्ते, यथा 'अजः' = छागो नेता देवो (इन्द्रः, अग्निः) वा । पुनश्च, तत्कालीना सामाजिकी परिस्थितिरपि बहुधा न सुविज्ञाता विद्यते यस्यां परिस्थितौ तानि नामानि कृतान्यासन्, निदर्शनार्थं यथा उक्ष्णो-रन्ध्रः, किमेतन्नाम आदिवृषभालम्भनसम्बन्धिनीम् ईरानदेशीयां पुराणगाथां निर्दिशति उत वा वृषभस्य रन्ध्रः (छिद्रः) इत्यसम्भाविनमर्थं द्योतयति, एवमेव 'शङ्खमित्रः' इत्यत्र च कः पुमान् किमर्थं शङ्खस्य मैत्रौ समीहते इति तु न ज्ञायते । पुनश्च तदानन्तानि केवलं लोकप्रचलितानि नामानि तु केनाप्युपायेन ज्ञातुं न शक्यन्ते । नामसु मध्ये च शब्दाः पुरातनेष्वर्थेषु विद्यमानाः स्युः, पुरातना वा शब्दास्तत्र वर्तमानाः स्युः । एवंविधा बह्व्यो बाधा अत्र नाम्नामध्ययने उपस्थिता भवन्ति ।

बहूनि संस्कृतनामानि इन्डोयूरोपीयभाषासु पाठभेदेन प्रत्ययभेदेन वा सुरक्षितानि । विदुषा लेखकेनात्र एतादृशानां प्राचीनसंस्कृतनाम्नां तुलना ग्रीकनामभिर्लैटिननामभिर्मित्तन्नीभाषानामभिश्च कृता । संस्कृत-नामानि च कदाचिद् ग्रीकादिभाषानामभिः सह तुलनया स्पष्टानि भवन्ति, यथा 'अञ्जन' इति नाम्नोऽर्थः 'Engonos' इति ग्रीकशब्देन 'Egnatius' इति लैटिनशब्देन च स्पष्टीक्रियते ।

एतानि नामानि च विविधेषु वर्गेषु—शौर्यप्रख्यापकानि, मङ्गल-
द्योतकानि, कर्मकारणसम्बन्धीनि, देवतावाचकानित्यादिरूपेषु—
विभाजयितुं न शक्यन्ते । प्राचीनकाले प्रसिद्धानि ब्राह्मणनामानि
क्षत्रियनामानि च स्पष्टभेदवन्ति परस्परव्यावर्त्तकानि च नासन्,
यतस्तदानीं वर्णानां धार्थिक्यविषये शैथिल्यमवर्त्तत, राजानश्च धर्मकृत्येष्वप्य-
धिकृता बभूवुः । अतस्तदानीन्तनानि राज्ञां नामानि ब्राह्मणानां च
नामानि बहुधा समानानि वर्त्तन्ते, यथा 'भानुमन्त' (१०५० ई० पू०)
इति राज्ञो नाम, वंशब्राह्मणे (३९० ई० पू०) च तद् ब्राह्मणस्यापि नाम,
एवमेव 'अञ्जन' (११६० ई० पू०) इत्येतद् अत्रिवंशीयं नाम क्षत्रियस्य
बुद्धपितामहस्यापि (५८० ई० पू०) च नाम । अत्र विषये न कश्चित्
नियम उपलभ्यते ।

एवंप्रकारा नामविषयिका विविधा भारतीयसंस्कृत्यध्ययनोपयोगिनी
विचारसामग्री लेखकमहोदयेनात्र सुविचारिता ।]

In the search for light on ancient Indian culture, it seems to us that personal names have been somewhat neglected. There are many ways of misusing their evidence, and difficulties in establishing it; but names were important in a man's life, and must reflect the hopes and ideas of a once living environment. We therefore hope that some of the following observations will be found interesting and true, and the rest usefully suggestive, even if in part erroneous. The name is a word, and the word in early thought could not be undone, and its permanence is one of the sources of the doctrine of transmigration; the man is name and form, *nāmarūpa*, as late as Buddha's time, so that the nature of that name may be of some interest.

We deal here with male names in Sanskrit¹; with some exceptions we do not deal with the Jain Prakrit or Pali names, as they would need separate study; nor with female names, which in the Purāṇa and MBh.² are far less well attested as well

1. All names are from the Purāṇa King-lists (as determined in my forthcoming book, Dates and Dynasties of Ancient India) or from the well-known Vedic literature, including the Vamśas there given. If they are not from either of these sources, it is so said. The Mitanni names are from: Gelb & Others, Nuzi Personal Names, O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim.

2. All abbreviations are explained in the end.

as very few in number. Also these names in Sanskrit are pre-inscriptional, since once we find inscriptions in India, the material would far exceed what we can cope with here. Within these limitations, we realize how unrepresentative the names available are, being chiefly of kṣatriyas and brāhmaṇas, very few vaiśyas, and almost no śūdras. (Jānaśruti is addressed by the brāhmaṇa Raikva as Śūdra, but this may be a tribal designation, cf. MBh., Gk. Oxydrakoi, or there may be a social sting in the story (Ch. U. 4/2), as Jānaśruti is the Great-grandson, i.e. his family had been established for some time; the suggestion would then be that his mother was of lower caste, which would be objectionable to the purists (only) of those days: the name sounds aristocratic, paralleled by Gk. Demokles, -kleitos, famed among the people). From the Purāṇa king-lists, and the brāhmaṇic literature, say c. 1500-0200 B.C.,¹ we have about 2000 names, obviously a fraction of 1%.

There are also plenty difficulties and uncertainties in the names themselves. Oral corruption occurs even in the oral brahmanical tradition, e.g. the variation PREDI/PROTI/PRAVATI; scribal corruption can be much worse in Purāṇa, MBh., and pravara. However, a critical text can in the majority of cases be established.

Even if we know the name, it may be explicable in more than one way, or none; e.g. ALANDA, ULUNDA look non-Aryan names: CANDHANA and upa-JANDHANA look Aryan by phonology, but I have not etymologized them (there seems to be a Prakritism in the hard/soft variation c/j in this pair, and this is not unknown). Or, in AJA, have we a goat?, a leader?, or a god (epithet of Indra, Agni, etc. in RV)? Again, in a single element we may have a hypocoristic; e.g. is AJAKA an endearing diminutive, or short for Ajapāla, etc.? Time and again we do not know the exact social context in which names were given.

1. Dates are based on our book (in process of publication) *Dates and Dynasties of Early India*, and are subject to the limitations of accuracy there expressed.

We have only part of the mythology of Vedic times; we have priestly and factitious mythology, but much of the old genuine article has been lost; e.g. does the name UKṢNORANDHRA refer to the Iranian myth of the slaying of the primeval bull? "cavity, hole of the bull" would be incomprehensible. Or again, why should anyone want a shell, conch as his friend, or perhaps have a conch-contract, ŚANĀKHAMITRA? Or, kings at least may change their names, or have several, or be referred to by a title; e.g. Sahadeva Sārñjaya decided, or was advised to call himself SUPLAN, which is less obvious than his own name, SAHADEVA. Or, we have in 435 ANURUDDHA taking the throne-name NANDIVARDHANA, but nicknamed MUṆḌA, baldy. BIMBI-SĀRA is ŚRENIKA, and so on; Are there taboos about the use of names? And finally, we never know the slang, which is a very real part of a society.

One might expect archaisms to survive in names; a baby may be called after his grandfather, who was called after *his* uncle, and so on. Words may survive in old senses, or even old words survive only in names; e.g. ALARKA of c 1270 looks as if he should be compared with Gk. alalkē, alalkomenos strength/defence (Lat. arceo?), a suitable name for a king, as would be VIMŚA & VIVIMŚA, comparable with Lat. vinco, I conquer (Waldy-Pokorny want velar/k for Lith. & OSl., but semantically examples from the former at least do not look too close). An Indo-Europeanist would hope to find names preserved in different languages, and there may well be more than have been noticed. Geographically Kirfel finds KARAPATHA as hills, which must be the same name as the European Carpathians: but BALHĪKAS and BELGI show the same root, though the suffix is different. Should one separate RĀMA from ROMULUS & REMUS? Ancient habits too may be preserved in names, e.g. the ritual nudity of the Celtic warrior is well known, and such must explain the name NAGNAJIT, conquering naked: or if we remember that Agamemnon was aggrieved by the possibility of losing the king's special share, we may have the explanation of AJAMĪDHA, DVIMĪDHA, having the leader's wage, having double wage.

In deciding the meaning of names, we must take the meaning of the elements as near the date of the name as possible, or earlier, e.g. it would be better to think of SANDHIMITRĀ (f) as Establishing an alliance, or union, since that is what princesses are for, rather than Friend of peace, which is probably too modern in its connotations. Or AÑJANA is a lizard (lex.), or lamp-black, cosmetic paint; but it might be more easily understood as equivalent of Gk. engonos, born in (the family), cf. Lat. EGNA-TIUS. Again, however strange the meaning seem, it may always derive some support from a name of parallel/identical meaning; e. g. ŚĀṆKHANĀBHA is a var. lect. of ŚRĀKHALA, fetter (Pāṇ.), which is textually the better reading, and may be supported by SETU, fetter (RV).

Others have noted that through the elements of names may be common to different branches of I. E., the identical name is not often to be found : e.g. VASUMANAS of c 1350 is the Gk. Eumenes (Fehumenes), ARṆA of RV 4/30 may well be Icel, Örn, Arna-, but exact equivalents are few, Philippos is exactly PRIYĀŚVA in sense, but the latter is among the Mitanni, Bi ri a aśśu wa, and priya- is not a common element in early India. So while we might look especially among the Celtic peoples for parallels with Skt. -rix, king, so common among them in names is not to be found as a final in its early Skt. equivalent. Mere words in one language may appear as names in another; e. g. should we find in Lat. Marius not someone connected with the sea, or from the sea-coast (the Romans are not a sea-going people, and his birth-place Arpinum is far enough inland in the hills), but the RV marya, young man, seen also in the fighting men of Mitanni, the marianna (evidently Hurrian pl. suffix), which might suggest with similar suffix, connection with the Phrygian Mita, known to us as Midas.

It is not easy to make sharp distinctions between different categories of names; they are almost bound to overlap, e. g. war, virility, description, wealth, good omen, royal, aristocratic, ritual and theophoric. But we can say that no category seems to be exclusive to brāhmaṇas or kṣatriyas in early times; perhaps this is

due to greater fluidity of caste, and the early kings must have had religious duties, and been circumscribed by some religious tabus. But while categories are not peculiar, though there are tendencies, generally speaking, *kṣatriyas* and *brāhmaṇas* do not share the same name. This may be what we could have assumed, but of the names I have, only between 5 & 10% are owned by both castes, and perhaps a third of these can not be shown to be synchronic : e. g. BHĀNUMANT is royal c 1050 & 1000, but is a *brāhmaṇa* in the Vamśa Br. c 390 ; or SETU is royal Druhyava c 1520, but we have the *brāhmaṇa* patronymic SAITAVA c 400. Again we have AÑJANA c 1160 in the Atreya genealogy, and the Buddha's grandfather, *kṣatriya* of c 580. One cannot say therefore definitively that these were both *brāhmaṇa* and *kṣatriya* names. Again, Reṇu is an Aikṣvākava, hence *kṣatriya*, father-in-law of Jamadagni c 1350, and a Vaiśvāmītra *brāhmaṇa* c 1240 ? ; but perhaps the name is part of his *kṣatriya* heritage. Rathītara Nābhāga c 1370 is of *kṣatriya* origin, but the only other Rathītaras I can find (8-7th cent.s) are *brāhmaṇas*.

There does not seem to be any rule as to what names are shared, nor does any category seem to be excluded in such. TITTIRI, a king c 1110, seems guaranteed as a *brāhmaṇa* name by the Taittirīyas, and Yāska's pupil, Tittiri (partridge). We have BRHADUKTHA Vaideha c 1400, Śineya 1300 ?, *kṣatriyas*, and Vāmadevyā the *brāhmaṇa* 1160? ; Indrota Daivodāsa c 1150, and Daivāpi Śaunaka *brāhmaṇa* of 900 : CYAVANA Bhārgava, *brāhmaṇa* c 1440, and in the Kuru line c 1220 : KEŚIN Dārbhya, grandson of Śatānīka the king, and Sātyakāmi the *brāhmaṇa*, etc. Nor can I yet say that there is any time at which names cease to be shared ; much more work will have to be done first. It may also be that a name could have different connotation depending on the caste ; e. g. SUNĪTHA is Giving enjoying good guidance (MW), or this might mean Having good strategems (*nīthā* RV), very appropriate for a warrior king ; but of a *brāhmaṇa* Having good musical modes, hymns, (*nīthā* RV) would be fully as appropriate. Or DARBHA as the ritual darbha grass (of KUŚA) is very acceptable for a *brāhmaṇa* ; but perhaps also the root we

see in Gk. *trephein*, nourish, make stiff or thick, is present with connotation of the duty of the householder, or virility, suitable for *kṣatriyas*; cf. *Vidarbha* of 1290. Or *VAHNI* as a *kṣatriya* may be the warrior charioteer (1400) or rider, but as a *brāhmaṇa* (patronymic 920 & 830) his name may be theophoric, the epithet of *Agni*.

One might hope to see when certain kinds of names, or elements of names come into popularity. We may have some leads on such questions: e. g. the root *rakṣ* is older than *gup*, and *RV* knows only *gupita*, *gupta* being only *AV*, yet neither root appears in names till late: in the *Purāṇas* there is only *DEVARAKṢITA*, and his homonymous sister, children of *Devaka*, and so *very* poorly attested, but *-rakṣita* is common on the *Barhut* inscriptions, found also as author of *ThG* 79. For *-gupta* we have a somewhat doubtful *BHADRAGUPTA* of c 1060 (to be translated as *Well-protected*?. cf. Gk. *sphodra*, rather than *Protected by prosperity*), *UPAGUPTA* *Vaideha* c 560, also not theophoric, *CANDRAGUPTA* *Maurya* 320, *BRĪHASPATIGUPTA*, *brāhmaṇa* *Śāyasthi* of c 280. *MilP.* adds *Aśvagupta*, but the type of name is common in inscriptions. The suggestion would be that the rise of such names coincides with the decline of the sacrifice and faith in the *brāhmanic* ritual, and therefore also with the trend to *theism*.

We were surprized to find how uncommon theophoric names were in *Skt.*; the proportion seemed to be about 1/20, and of these, in many a title or epithet rather than the name of the deity is involved. The proportion of *brāhmaṇa* to *kṣatriya* is about 2:1. *Aryaman* is guaranteed as a name-element by *Pāṇini* 5/3. 84, and by his contemporaries *ARYAMARĀDHA* (460) & *ARYAMABHUTI* (390) *Gobhila*, but it might be asked if *Aryaman* is not negligible as a deity by this time, and the names mean *Gratifying his friends* (rather than *gift/favour of Aryaman*), *Having friends for his wealth*. But *Aryaman* does give easy childbirth, *AV* 1/11:1.

With *Agni* it is often hard to say whether we have the god or the factual (ritual and domestic) fire. And we might note that

while in the usual theophoric man is rather in dependence on the god, this need not be so in brahmanic India; e. g. in the Atreya line we have AGNIṢṬUT c 1180; he is Praising the fire, Agni, which will have inevitable magical effect: or AGNIVEŚA is not so likely Vassal, dependent of Agni as Settling Agni, having Agni for his dependent. This pride of man is again seen in the usurpation of the divine name in AGNI (Aurva) of c 1310. Truly theophoric are AGNIDATTA, given by Agni c 600 and AGNIMITRA having Agni as his friend, also a brāhmaṇa, if a king, 140. AGNIBHŪ Kāśyapa c 1020 by later analogy would be Having his becoming/ origin in Agni/ the sacred fire, but he might be Agni-essence. AGNIMĀṬHARA one suspects of being a nickname, Fire-Māṭhara. Considering the prominence of Agni in RV, this is but a small number of names from him.

We have the priest BRĤASPATI c 1290, but nothing more of this god till the Maurya of the Divyāvādāna, who may not be historical, or may be a hypocoristic (c 220), BRĤASPATIGUPTA Śāyasthi of 280, and the Śunga (?) BRĤASPATIMITRA, also 2nd century. Then the name might be astrological. BHAGAVITTA might name the Āditya Bhaga, Known to/ found by Bhaga, but it might be a class-name as Deva-in names, but it could equally mean Found/ won in sexual pleasure (also RV meaning of bhaga). The Brahma-names are very unlikely to be theophorics, but translate well otherwise; e. g. BRAHMADATTA 1090, 840, 800, given by the magic spell/ creative word (only the second a brāhmaṇa); BRAHMABALA Having the brahma as his strength, BRAHMĀTITHI, having brāhmaṇa(s) as guest(s), or possibly Having the magic word as his guest; BRAHMAVRDDHI, having his increase by/ in Brahma/ the magic word (220, also a brāhmaṇa). Brahmadata reappears in the Buddhist ThG 446.

When we come to Indra, it is surprizing to find a majority of brāhmaṇas; INDRABHŪ, Indra-becoming, having the nature of Indra, (1030), INDRABHŪTI, Having the superhuman power of Indra (Gautama, 500); INDRADYUMNA, having the brightness of Indra, INDRAPRAMATI, Having Indra as protector;

c 950 ; INDROTA, Helped by Indra ; this last name (900) is borne also by a son of Divodāsa of Pañcāla, but this line seems to be of kṣatriyan brāhmaṇa status, as well as occurring among the Mitanni. There also seems to be a brāhmaṇa Indra Vaikuṅṭha, an RV author, and MAHĒNDRA in an Agastya prayara. Kṣatriyas are Indrābha Kaurava (poorly attested), Indrasena, Indradhanyan, grandson of Bali Vairocana (who may just be Rainbow), and Indrajit whose attestation as son of Rāvaṇa is certainly not of the best.

KRṢṆADHRTI of 390 may be translated Having Kṛṣṇa as his support ; KRṢṆADATTA also Lauhitya of 350, KRṢṆARĀTA of the same family c 300 & 240 guarantee both the presence and the lateness of the Kṛṣṇa cult, attested by Pāṇini under Vāsudeva c 420. ThG 180 is by Kanhadinna (Kṛṣṇadinna, cf. the Jain Indradinna of probably the 2nd cent. BC),

It is surprizing perhaps to find Kṛṣṇa later attested than KUBERA (Vārakya of c 570), a name which seems to continue living as it is borne by the author Bāṇa's great-grandfather c AD 570. With Mītra, we again have difficulty distinguishing between the god and the contract ; we have however the god-name of the brāhmaṇa MITRĀVARUṆA Vāsiṣṭha c 1330, MITRABHŪ 1050, having his origin in, or becoming Mitra, MITRABHŪTI 330 having the power of, / having his prosperity in Mitra, cf. MITRVARCAS of 240, having the brilliance of Mitra. The only well attested kṣatriya name where Mitra seems to be the god is MITRĀTITHI, (known in Iranian and among the Mitanni) c 1150,

The Maruts disappear from names early ; we have MARUTTA, given by the Marut(s) at 1430, 1290 & 1280, kṣatriyas, but no others, unless MARU, MARUDEVA (also kings, 950, 740) are for Marut- but their name might mean dark, to be connected with Gk. amauros, morukhos (W-P 3 mer-). PRAJĀPATI would seem to be a brāhmaṇa name c 1190. It is perhaps surprizing to find Pūṣan in PŪṢAMITRA, again a brāhmaṇa, c 460 ; Nala Candanodakadundhubhi may have been PŪṢANARA, a suitable name for a nomad chief who may have to find strayed

herds. The first sign of Rudra is in the patronymic (? one would expect bhūteya) RAUDRABHŪTI, again a brāhmaṇa, only at 159 ; we have Rudradāman etc. AD 140. He appears equally late under his epithet of identification Śarva in ŚARVADATTA, 125, br., and Śiva in ŚIVASVĀTI only AD 86, (Śivaka ThG. 184) though we have the patronymic from UPAŚIVA, still brahmanic, 430. Skanda may be as early as 150 in SKANDASVĀTI, but it is perhaps better only to find that name in 16 BC.

Soma is a most popular priestly god, but again it is difficult to separate the god and the drink in names. SOMA himself is a kṣatriyan brāhmaṇa (grandson of Divodāsa) c 1130, and twice a brāhmaṇa, 1130, 890 ; SOMADATTA is thrice a kṣatriya, perhaps 4 times if SOMAKA of 1050 is his hypocoristic. SOMĀPI might be Having Soma as a friend, but VS may be right, Ā causing to obtain Soma ; SOMARĀJA/-IN Having Soma as king sounds reasonable as a teacher of Sāma-Veda, but in is also a plant, (a common source of brāhmaṇa names),-an might be the proper form, while-rāja means rather King of Soma, which might be meaningless to a brāhmaṇa. SOMAŚRAVAS appears in the Bharad. GS, in the tarpaṇa, (cf. Gk. Herakles, Diokles) may be misread for Sāma-, and in MBh. ; SOMĀHUTI, also a brāhmaṇa, may be either Offering an oblation of or to Soma. SOMAMITRA is in ThG 148.

Varuṇa may appear in the Ātreya genealogy ; VARUṆA-MITRA Gobhila, having Varuṇa for friend 500. Viṣṇu I can only find in VIṢṆUVRDDHA, which as Brough says, is probably a modernization of Vṛṣṇivṛddha. YAMA is perhaps to be inferred from the brāhmaṇa YĀMĀYANA ; YAMADŪTA (Vaiśvamitras) might be just a crow (MW), or Sent by Yama might imply that the mother died in childbirth, which need cause no surprize.

From the Mitanni area we have in addition INDROTA (in tar u ta), INDRĀTITHI (in ta ra at ti), MITRĀTITHI (mi it tar (a) at ti), SŪRYĀTITHI (śu ri a at ti).

To sum up ; the unaltered god name is *brāhmaṇa*, and not found after 800, (admitting exceptions, as *Kubera Vārakya*, and *Maurya Bṛhaspati* if that is his full name). It would also seem that after that time, the theophorics are less equivocal, i. e. the distinction between the object and the god, (fire and *Agni*, *Mitra* and the contract) has been fully made, and the names must be translated as theophorics. Also in the last centuries BC names implying the dependence of man become commoner than those implying equality, the type *Kṛṣṇadatta*, *Devarakṣita* commoner than the type *Indradyumna*, *Aryamabhūti*, (Given by *Kṛṣṇa*, as against Having the brilliance of *Indra*), Here a linguistic note might be of interest ; the earliest form for Given should be *tta*, and it is found in *Marutta*, 1400-1290 : *rāta* seems to supersede it, e. g. *Satyarāta*, *Devarāta*, *Kṛtirāta* c 1300-1160 ; -*datta* (other than *Datta Ātreya* of 1340) does not appear till *Somadatta* c 1120.

The gods found then are ; before 800 : *Agni*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Indra*, *Marut* (? , by patronymic), *Mātariśvan*, *Mitra*, *Prajāpati*, *Soma*, *Sūrya* (? , by patronymic, *Sauryāyanin*), *Yama* (similarly) and *Varuṇa*, by their own names, and in compound, *Viṣṇu* and *Pūṣan* perhaps, in compound only. After 800 only *Kubera* and maybe *Bṛhaspati* appear alone, while *Agni*, *Brahma* (?), *Indra*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Mitra*, *Aryaman* (?), *Pūṣan*, *Rudra*, *Śarva*, *Śiva*, *Skanda*, *Sūrya* (*Sūryadatta*, *Śankh. Ar.*), *Varuṇa*, *Viṣṇu*, in compound only ; *Soma* (f), and *Somamitta* speak in ThG ; this may be a distressing irregularity, but *Soma* here may now be the moon, though popular fiction or folklore should not be overlooked as a source of names. *Aryaman* does occur at *Barbut* (Luders' list 813) ; otherwise one would think of him with *Pūṣan* and *Mitra* as archaisms.

Quite as important as the gods' public names are their titles or epithets, equally powerful, but perhaps less exposed to danger magically. One might expect therefore more *kśatriyas*, but the names do not bear this out. The gods concerned are *Agni*, *Indra*, *Sūrya*, *Savitṛ*, *Viṣṇu*, the *Aśvins*, the *Rbhus*, *Mitra* (?), and *Śarva*. For *Agni* we have ; *Bhuva* (VS) (from *Bhauvāyana*),

Hiraṇyadant (RV), Saṁkaśuka (AV) Yāmāyana of RV, Vahni (from Vahneya, 920 & 830), all these before 800, and Hiraṇyakeśa (RV) of 480; Śvetaketu looks a good epithet for Agni, but I cannot so find it, and he may just have to record a comet. Indra has the title Ṛciśama in RV, which must underlie Ṛciḱa Bhārgava c 1350; his title of Vāsava is attested from MBh. and so is suitable for Vāsavadattā of 480. Sūrya, the sun, is Divākara (AV), a royal name c 830; Diviratha, having his car in the sky, should be an epithet, but the compound, though in good archaic form, does not occur in RV, or with Vedic reference in MW. MW gives the epithet Prabhākara (brāhmaṇa, 1560) only with MBh, and pra bhā(si) only occurs in RV in 1/121.7.

Savitar might be the Bhaga of Bhagavitta, but is recognizable in Hiraṇyākṣa c 1200?. Is Mitra to be seen in Ukṣno-randhra (JB) comparing the Iranian myth of the slaying of the primeval bull (denied to him by Gersevitch), or was this Yama's misdeed in the oldest legend? All these are brāhmaṇas, before 800, as are those with the RV epithets of Viṣṇu, Sindhu (by patronymic Saindhavāyana of 870), Māruta in KS, and Girikṣit c. 870, but also a kṣatriya c. 1220. So too the Ṛbhu (RV Vājaratna) is found in the brāhmaṇa Vājaratnāyana c. 900, and the Aśvins in Matavacas (RV) of c. 1180, brāhmaṇa. Śiva was in our gods after 800, and so are his synonyms, Trinetra (MBh) king c. 670, Gonarda (MBh) by patronymic Gonardiya c. 200, brāhmaṇa. As he is only Ugra in MBh, it would not be safe to see him in Ugradeva Rājani of 880, or Ugradeva of RV 1/36. Such names might be expected also among the Mitanni, but while Uruditi (u ru ti id ti) & Sudīti (su di ti, su ti it ti) look good epithets for Agni or Sūrya, they are not so used in RV. We may have the type in Yamastu(t), (ia ma as tu), praising the twins, Aśvins (for why praise Yama?) or perhaps in Maryātithi (ma ri a at ti), having the young man par excellence (Indra?) as guest.

These names then, seem to have been commoner, before than after 800; perhaps the decline in the ritual explains this, but we may have a wrong impression. However, they commit their owner to one god, whose power or attention may be limited.

Better insurance therefore is a class name, which will cancel errors and not arouse jealousy between gods.

Again, the direct name is brāhmaṇa, ASURA & GANDHARVA, both deduced from patronymics, Āsuri 800 & 820?, Gandharvāyana Āgniveśya c. 870. Māruta of KS. might be a patronymic of Marut.

The decline of the asura may be seen in the fact that the only other name containing one is Ṛtuparṇa's father, c. 1400, BHANĠĀSURA (v. 1. Bhangāsvara), which is not easy to render; breaking the asuras is not good at this time, Lord of destruction might be possible. But among the Mitanni/asura names seem common, Asurātithi (aś śu ra at ti), Yuvāsura? (i wa aś śu ra), Kalamāsura Karmāsura (kal ma aś śu ra, gal-, qa al-)?, Kṣaimāsura (śa i ma aś śu ra), Śamiasura (śa mi aś śu ra), Bhedāsura (be ta aś śu ra; cf. Skt Bheda rather than Veda), Vīrāsura/Prāsura (bi ra aś śu ra), Bhadrāsura (pa an tar(a) aś śū ra; cf. RV bhandana, praise), Śunāsura (sun aś śu ra), Avāsura (a u a aś śu ra), Tapaāsura (ta pa a śu ra). It will be seen that the first elements need study. However Bhanġāsura may be supported by Bhedāsura.

Bhaga as we have said may appear in Bhagavitta, and perhaps in the patronymic Bhāgala, and king Bhagala (Gk. Phegelas) of 330, which would be a hypocoristic become a separate name.

Easily the commonest term is deva. Where it forms the 2nd element, in the early period—and we have only Marudeva, 745, Janadeva Jānaka 700?, and Vasudeva Śunga after 800—the first element is not a proper name; with the rise of bhakti, or superstition in the classical period, it is, even though the deity be minor or astrological, e.g. at Barhut we have PHALGUDEVĪ, INDRADEVĪ, ŚAKAṬA/SAMKAṬADEVĪ, NĀGADEVĪ, CHĀPADEVĪ, PUṢYADEVĪ, NĀGADEVA, and the Śunga prince VṚṢA/VIŚVADEVA (Visadeva). Some of the women are nuns, though not Chāpadevī, and so should not be queens; I cannot find a deity for Chāpadevī, (Pali chāpa = young of an animal).

One wants the right kind of god, good, strong, pleasant, e.g. SUDEVA (3 ks. 1 br. TA), VASUDEVA (1260 & 1018, 75 br.), UGRADEVA (ks. 880),-ĀDEVA (1190 ? ks.) VĀMADEVA (1180 br.). One may be with or equal to a god, e.g. SAHADEVA (1440 to 810 kṣatriya 8 times, once brāhmaṇa, Vārṣagira 1190?, which might suggest a pratiloma marriage); ANTIDEVA (not Ranti-), cf. Gk. Antitheos, 1140; ŚRĪDEVA god in splendour, royal dignity 1010, in glory YAŚODEVĪ 930. MARUDEVA is Having the Marut?/dark one i. e. Kṛṣṇa? for god. JANADEVA is hardly theophoric; he is a god among his people, just as was the ideal of the homeric king, to be looked on as a god, theos hōs, aimed at also by Darbha Śātānīka. The majority of these-deva names are definitely kṣatriya, but with Deva-names much less clearly so.

Late names in Deva are DEVADHARMAN Maurya 200, Having the form (nature/duty) of a god (possibly Upholding the gods), which might well emphasize his royal status; and DEVABHŪMI 80, having the status of a god. Otherwise all the names I have are before 800, but Buddha's notorious cousin DEVADATTA, should warn that the intervening years are probably not blank, while we have DEVASENA & DEVARAKṢITA at Barhut, and DEVASABHA in ThG 89 & 100. We have DEVĀPI, DEVAMITRA, DEVĀTITHI, Having a god as friend, guest; DEVABHĀGA, DEVAMĪDHA, having the portion, wage of a god. DEVARĀTA, DEVAVĀTA, given, loved by a god; DEVAŚRAVAS, cf. Gk. Theokles, having glory of a god/among the gods; DEVĀNĪKA having the face/appearance of a god; DEVAKṢATRA Having the authority of a god, DEVASENA (1120), having the weapon of the god, possibly to be read/ŚŪRA, hero among the gods. The early equality is perhaps asserted in DEVĀRHA, equal to a god, DEVAVRDHA increasing the gods, DEVATARATHA overcoming gods; DEVATARAS having the strength/saving?, overcoming? of gods. More humble is DEVAVANT, having gods. There are also the hypocoristics Devaka & Devala. Devāpi, Devabhāga, Devarāta, Devātithi are shared by brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, as well as the

hypocoristics Devaka and Devala ; add Devaśravas. One might here add that while śravas names, like Deva, are about equally brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya, they do not seem to bear a god as first element ; the only exception I have is the not certain Somaśravas of Bharad. GS tarpaṇa, which could be paralled with Havihśravas ; nor is the type so common in Greece as might be thought, Hermokles, Athenokles, Heliokles Dionysiokles, Herakles can be found, but are not common ; only Diokles is.

KINNARĀŚVA, king c. 720 is an isolated name ; I do not know what advantage might be expected from having a kinnara as one's horse, perhaps something connected with sexual vigour. Bhūtas and Siddhas do not appear in these names, nor do Gaṇas or Yakṣas ; the Jains have Gaṇadeva c. 150, (not before 230), but Gaṇadhara is a title ; they also have Siddhasena Divākara, connected with Vikramāditya, which is at least enough to show the name is late.

The Vasus might appear in VASUMITRA and VASUJYEṢṬHA, Śungas c. 140, VASUDEVA of 1260, 1010 & 75, VASUŚRUTA, heard by the Vasu (s), VASUKRA, approaching the Vasu (s), both RV ; all are brāhmaṇas except the first two Vasudevas. I can not find them in Mitanni, but there is perhaps the hypocoristic DEVYA (te wi ia), and DEVĀTITHI (te u at ti).

Finally we may add an antiquated theophoric in DIVODĀSA, servant of Zeus. We find the name in 1410 & 1330, and in Paijavana of 1170 ; but the worship of Dyaus is negligable in RV ; Indra seems early to have usurped his feats. Of about 95 names above, 75 belong to brāhmaṇas, and 30 to kṣatriyas, (of whom one or two are brāhmaṇa kṣatriyas) ; about 10% therefore are shared.

Names connected with the ritual are much commoner than theophoric ; they may belong to kṣatriyas or brāhmaṇas ; the householder had religious duties, and indeed, kingship was also a ritual. So, when a king is ABHAYA(DA), giving freedom from fear, he is performing a part of the ritual perfection of

kingship, and there is a disturbance of ṛta if he fails. (Does this root bhī explain Artemis' title in Aegina, Aphāia ?) Or, as among the Celts Cathmor was famous for his hospitality, and would perform the rites of hospitality to all who came, so the king had a ritual duty of hospitality, and this is reflected in names like ATITHIGU, to whom guests come, and perhaps also DEVĀTITHI,—one remembers to Homer too, a guest may be a god,—or PURUATITHI, having many guests. The importance of the guest declines with the heroic world, and the element-atithi is not attested after the great battle of MBh./Truth, as in Ireland, is part of the king's ritual duty, and so we have DHRUVASANDHI, having firm agreement, 1040, or SATYADHṚTI, upholding truth, 1280, 1020 ? & bṛāhmaṇa c. 1060, SATYAJIT, winning by truth, 600 in Magadha.

However, the kṣatriya has his duties in household ritual ; KṚTĀGNI, KṚTAYAJŅA, 1370 & 1200, having an established fire, a completed sacrifice. He will need soma stalks, AṂŚUMANT, 1120, or be in front of the Soma PRĀṂŚU 1460 (derivation here might be from the root (W-P) enek, and the meaning be of acquisition ; alternatively connection with Lat. Ancus (Martius) might be conceivable ; Aṁśu is also a priestly name). He may rise to 10 Soma cups (ūṇi) DAŚOṆI 1180, in pressing Soma ABHIṢVANT, SUNVANT, pouring the oblation, ĀHUTI (hypocoristic ĀHUKA ?) 1220, 1040, He may be bearing curds for the offering, DADHIVAHANA 1190, after piling up the sacrificial altar, CAYAMĀNA (Atm. ci when the sacrificer builds it for himself, MW) 1190, perhaps with a ritual brick (TS) VIKARṆA (Ānava 780 ? This name may just be descriptive, he had big ears, AV). He may be offering Pūṣan's oatcake, KARAMBHA 1030, or just ghee, GHṚTA 1560, 1440, from the sacrificial ladle DARVA 1350 ? or the bowl of the spoon, (RV) PUṢKARA 1370. (Darva may be re-formation from Dārva, the tribe, the tree (totem) people, or the people from the wood, cf. Gk. Dōri-eus). He may have been pouring out UDDHAVA 1200 & 850, in a Soma-receptacle SOMĀDHI 950, at the VAJRA 940 kind of Soma ceremony (ṢvB), or perhaps

just making an offering, BALI 1250. He may have had sacrificial fires (Say. explaining CATURANGA, (1070) in RV 10/62.11), which he would produce by rotating MATHU (1280) the fire-stick, kindling it against PRATĪNDHAKA 1260 an other. For sacrifice, he would have Palāśa wood, (parṇa, which is also purifying), in the right season, ṚTUPARṆA 1370 and would have had a good proper place of sacrifice, SUṢADMAN 840, with plenty KUŚA 1380, 1170, 1040, grass, or tips of it, KUSĀGRA 1150, or DARBHA 1220, 890. But to do the sacrifice, he must be a ritual singer, GĀTHIN/GĀDHI 1340, with a powerful hymn, a getting-big hymn, BRHADUKTHA 1400, 1300, perhaps having a long hymn DĪRGHANĪTHA (RV), (he may merely have long cunning), near the Soma stones ? UPAGRĀVANT (possibly for grāvavant, but the text is corrupt, and -vimś ca may be right reading) (1090). He will certainly have been making the sacrifice thoroughly ready, SAṆKṚTI 1150, cf. TS., TB., so he will certainly be inviting the gods to a feast VĪTIHOTRA 1300 (possibly reflecting the ritual duty of royal hospitality), and will have his offering come to VĪTAHAVYA, 1300.

But the sacrifice needs preparation of one's self as well as the materials ; and the requirement of ritual purity are reflect in such names as: BRHADDĪKṢA having a great consecration (cf. Hesterman's viātya) ; ANENAS, ANAGHA (1250 ?, perhaps found in Iraq as a na ka), without guilt ; PŪTAKRATU, having a purified mind 1150, DHṚTAVRATA, DEVAVRATA, SUVRATA, SATYAVRATA, having an observed vow, a religious vow, (to the gods), a good vow, a true vow, vow to truth: (Satyavrata may reflect the royal ritual requirement of truth, while Bhīṣma Devavrata was under something very like the old Irish geasa, bonds, in his case evidently a bond of chastity). Of general piety, or at least religiosity, we have SUDĀS 1330, 1200, 1090, ŚRĀDDHADEVA (trusting in the deity TS.) 1130 ?, MĀNDHĀTR 1490, ṚNAMCAYA 1170, paying his religious debts, DEVAMĪLHUṢA, liberal to the gods, 1280, 1170, DEVAVṚDHA, 1190, nourishing the gods, The king is clearly religiously qualified if he is KAVI, MUṆI, YATI, (shaman/brāhmaṇas ? all names early), or perhaps

also KUTSA, which we would connect with Lat. *quatio*, *concussus*, desiring to shake, as a *vipra*, *brāhmaṇa* does in trance or religious experience (cf. our Quakers).

These names, to which we might add the *rājarsi* HOTRA-VAHANA bearing the burnt offering, 1050 should suffice to show that at one time the *ṣatriya* had religious duties, which he performed himself. He might even go the length of putting together invocation, or praise, JARĀSANDHA 1000. But even if he did not do his own sacrificing, he should have an interest in it, and the following names do not say who does the actual sacrificing: BRĀHANMEDHAS, BRĀHATKARMAN, having a great sacrifice, ritual act, 1040, 860, 870; SATTRAJIT 880, winning in the sacrificial session; SATTRASAHA (ŚpB) similarly; SATYAKARMAN having a correct sacrificial act (1450 & 1020); ŚATAYAJŅA 800, SARVAKARMAN, having a complete ritual act (cf. Gk. *holFos*) (1290); ŚUNAHOTRA, offering auspicious sacrifices 1580, 1200, is perhaps rather doing it himself; but KRATUJIT, 880, winning by the sacrificial will, and MEDHĀVIN, having (ritual?) intelligence may be added here, and YAJŅASENA 1000, having the sacrifice as weapon.

The ritual names fall off after 1000, and certainly after 800; the only clear ritual name I can find after is VIŚĀKHAYŪPA (456-06), having a forked sacrificial pole, though it is possible that he is only having a (victory) pillar set up under the constellation *Viśākhā*, presumably auspicious protection. His great-grandfather is given as MUNIKA as well as Punika; but if he was so, he may have been a *brāhmaṇa*, which would rule him out here, or we could not say what class of meaning the full name of a hypocoristic has. *Vikarṇa*, even at his date of 780 is not certain, UPAGU of the Janaka family might have ritual duty Beside a cow (Pan.), but has var. lect. UPAGURU, and Beside his brahmanical teacher, or following his such teacher is more suitable for the Janaka family (his date 660); Vīthotra of that family 440 probably has his mother's family name, and Trinetra of 670 is not too convincing as having 3 strings for his *araṇi*, churning stick for fire. The natural explanation of the falling-off of *ṣatriya* ritual

names is at first the greater usurpation of the ritual by brāhmaṇas, but afterwards certainly the decline in prestige of the ritual.

Some names could be explained as being taken from sacrifices or sāmans, and of these a few are kṣatriya: Adhriḡu, Tridhātu, Bharga, Sannati, but one would prefer other explanations; e.g. a 3-layer shield is acceptable to a warrior, and the name TRIDHĀTU may have been shortened; but it seems guaranteed by the patronymic Traidhātava in PvB, though it is not easy to fit it into the genealogy of Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣṇa Trasadasyu. An explanation may be that it is a sobriquet, he was not descended from Tridhātu, but was very keen on the tridhātu sacrifice, just as Hariścandra is called Vaidhasa in AB—but Vaidhas is not among his Aikṣvāku ancestors, and he may just have been connected with the pious. However, AŚVAMEDHA is a name guaranteed by RV c. 1:50, and presumably was credited as its result, just as much as Aśvamedhadatta, who should be born as a result of Janamejaya's aśvamedha c. 890. And there is Bali.

SUTAPAS Ānava of 1280 may be of some interest: the classical Sanskritist might expect him to be having good austerity, but it may be that he has (or rather, by the name is hoped to have) the heroic tapas, heat, met with in the Irish tales of Cuchulain, where the hero had so much heroic heat that he boiled 3 vats of cold water when immersed, and his dead head split a rock when set on it.

So far our names have recorded the performing of the ritual. Some indicate that it was performed: e.g. in Kaus. U.2:11, BrU (Madh) 6/4:26 the father says to the baby "Be a stone, be an axe." This may explain AŚMAKA, and the frequent AŚMAKĪ fem., and PARAŚU, PARŚU (or even the common PĀRŚVA), (which may remind one too much of Iranian)). The baby is also told to be hiraṇyam aśṛtam/asrutam; what happens to the gold is clearly no longer understood, but perhaps the original meant unstolen, cf. Gk. stereō, sterisko; this might account for KANAKA 1400, 1100, KĀÑCANA 1520. Kauṣ.U gives these orders to

the father proṣya ayan, coming back after being away; which Hume & Radhakrishnan seem to take as referring to e.g. a business journey; but perhaps it only was originally that father was expelled from the house while the birth was taking place—he is not magically safe for birth. Having addressed the child he addresses the mother (Madh. order, BrU.) then giving the child to the mother puts it to her breast, i.e. he has taken, borne the child up, and in Kaus. U. after the formulae (originally birth formulae) he embraces him; i.e. again, he had to lift him up. This acknowledging the child by taking him in one's fatherly arms is prominent in the Roman birth rites, and might well account for the origin of the name BHARATA. PUṆYAKEŚA, having ritually pure hair tells us that his hair received proper ritual treatment (his date should be c. 800; he is mentioned in JB). Is Veṇuhotra of 1060, offering bamboo (seeds) in the Agrāyaṇa isti?.

Naturally it is much easier to find brāhmaṇa names from the ritual; about 4/5ths of ritual names belong to them, e.g. ABHIṢṆĀTA, having had the ritual bath, ANABHIMLĀTA, who has not been gone down upon, i. e. caught sleeping, by the setting or rising sun, ANUVAKTR, reciter of sacred formulae, 750, or as late as 180, NIGADA, with the same meaning. GĀTR, ritual singer 630. A study of the brāhmaṇa ritual names would take more space than we have here, and will be presented subsequently; but it appears changes in brahmanic thought leave traces, e. g., KĀMA/KARMAHĀNĪ, abandoning desire/ritual, 878, KĀMADAMA c 750 taming desire?, SATYAKĀMA, desirous of truth 900 & 750, compared with BHUJYU, desirous of enjoyment. Grammar may show in GAṆAKARA who need not be before 600, and SPHOṬA, patronymic Sphoṭāyana c 450. So the search for enlightenment pratibodha, must be reflected in PRĀTIBODHĪ. PUTRA of 565, while the basis that brāhmaṇas must know, pratiṣṭhā in BrU. ālambana in KathU, may account for ĀLAMBĀYANĪPUTRA, of 550.

We might however complete this essay with a look at ritual names from the Mitanni area. There is GUPTĀGNI, having a

protected fire (ku up ta ak ni); I must say in view of the late appearance of gupta- in India, I would be happier if the u was a Syrian attempt to transcribe vowel 1, and we had then KLPTĀ-GNI, having a prepared fire. Also CANDRAMYASTĀ (za an tar(a) mi aś ta) having brilliant sacrifice; JITĀTNA (zi ta at na), having a won year; winning the year, whatever it means, is a very brahmanic notion; for the word used, it is Lat. annus. PRIYASOMA (bi ri ia śa u ma), having soma dear, so, fond of Soma. SOMĀDHI? (sa a u ma ti) for Somādhi one would prefer ma a ti, but we may have his patronymic or patronymic from Sumata/i, or Sumada (who would be nicely drunk with Soma): śa u ma di is Fem. If KARMĀSURA, lord of the ritual act is recognized in Kal/Gal ma aś śu ra, we might have a synonym in ŚAMIASURA, śa mi aś śu ra, (śami, toil), since śam in RV is especially to toil and exert one's self in ritual acts. Candramyastā should have been transliterated as -myazdha (Mayrhofer), Av. myazda; with it must go also zi ir ta mi aś da, JRTAMEDHA (to give it the classical form), having his sacrifice come to (2jr MW). Similar in meaning might be a itu ga ma, a i tak ka ma, Iḍagama, or perhaps Iḍakāma, going to or desiring ritual food; our form would be patronymic, and besides Saumādhi|ti above, the patronymic Dāśarathi certainly occurs, ta a śar(a) ti. Sukriya, having good rites is possible, śuk ri ia, but he has no I-E relatives clear, nor has pu u ta, Pūta (cf. Pūtakratu or Bhūta). One is encouraged to make ia as da ta Skt., but yajdatta would be a very strange formation, and while Av. has the form yasta, one would expect -kṛt rather than -da; not yoṣdatta since ia aś.

If these forms are not as convincing as we would like, the religious element Rta- is not so hard to find. We may have the religious need for truth in APARIDHRUK, a pa ri du ru uk, not injuring deceitfully, or even honesty in ĀRJAVYA, ar za u ia, ritual cleanliness in PUNYA? pu (un) ni ia, ANAGHA a na ka, liberality in SUDATRA? granting good gifts (RV) su ta ta ra; from rta we have RTASENA by patronymic ar ta se en ni, whose son is worthy, have ARHAMĀNA, ar (i) ha ma an na; RTADHĀMA (n), whose abode is truth (VS) ar ta ta a ma; Rtasmara, Rtamanya are not

as free from difficulty as they look ; we might for the last two have a form from ṛdh, prosper (Atm), participial, ar ta am na, and patronymic ? Ārtamnya, ar ta ma an ia.

For ritual names we might seek parallels in Greece ; but priesthoods tend to be aristocratic there, and "brāhmaṇa" and "kṣatriya" have fallen together. Hiero-is common, Hierokles (originally rather Getting a hearing, śravas, *with* the sacred, than Having sacred fame ?), Hieromnemon, Hierophon, remembering, showing the sacred ; Theokolos, servant of (the) god is found as a priest's personal name (Pape 1/492); but names directly referring to the sacrifice are hard to find, e. g. Hagnotheos (=yajñadeva), Hagnoteles having holy/sacrificial rites, Hagnothemis having sanctified law, perhaps originally having, observing the law of the sacrifice ; Thuōn sacrificing is found in Attica, Thues, Thueskotos, Thuephoros appear once each in Pape ; all of which shows the comparative rarity of ritual names in Greece. A comparison of Gk. and Skt. ritual and theophoric names would be instructive, and should illustrate the differences of approach between the peoples ; it would probably be found the Greek emphasized the relationship of persons, and the early Indian (till the rise of bhakti) emphasized the mechanical ritual far oftener. We will hope to trace the type more fully and widely when we deal with the priestly ritual names of India. Meanwhile we hope that even the above will have been found to provide some interest or stimulus.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AB Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
 Av. Avestan
 AV Atharva Veda
 Bharad. GS. Bhāradvāja Gṛhya Sūtra
 br. brāhmaṇa
 BrU (Madh.) Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (Mādhyandina)
 ChU Chāndogya Upaniṣad
 f feminine
 Gk. Greek
 IE Indo-European
 JB Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa
 KS Kāthaka Saṁhitā
 ks. kṣatriya
 Lat. Latin
 lex. in Lexicographers, (according to MW)
 Lith. Lithuanian
 Luders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, (Epigraphia Indica X)
 MBh. Mahābhārata
 MilP Milindapaṇṭho
 MW Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier-Williams
 OSl. Old Slavonic
 Pan. Pāṇini
 Pape Pape's Worterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen
 (Greek Personal Names)
 PvB Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa
 RV Ṛig Veda
 SvB Śaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa
 TB Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (TA Taittirīya Āraṇyaka)
 ThG Theragāthā/Therīgāthā
 TS Taittirīya Saṁhitā
 VB Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa
 VS Vājasaneya Saṁhitā
 W-P Julius POKORNY : Indo-Germanisches Etymologische
 Worterbuch (Indo-European Etymo-
 logical Dictionary)

(3 mer means the third root mer as given in that work)

पुराण-सुभाषितानि

(श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणात्)

(पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तम्)

न तथाऽस्य भवेन्मोहो बन्धश्चान्यप्रसङ्गतः । योषित्सङ्गाद् यथा पुंसो यथा तत्सङ्गिसङ्गतः ॥	३।३।१।३६
यस्य यद् दैवविहितं स तेन सुखदुःखयोः । आत्मानं तोषयन् देही तमसः पारमृच्छति ॥	४।८।३३
गुणाधिकान्मुदं लिप्सेदनुक्रोशं गुणाधमात् । मैत्रीं समानादन्विच्छेन्न तापैरनुभूयते ॥	४।८।३४
सर्वतः सारमादत्ते यथा मधुकरो बुधः ।	४।१८।२३०
धर्म इत्युपधर्मेषु नग्नरक्तपटादिषु । प्रायेण सज्जते भ्रान्त्या पेशलेषु च वाग्मिषु ॥	४।१९।२५
सुधियः साधवो लोके नरदेव नरोत्तमाः । नाभिद्रुह्यन्ति भूतेभ्यो यर्हि नात्मा कलेवरम् ॥	४।२०।३
श्रेयः प्रजापालनमेव राज्ञो यत्साम्पराये सुकृतात् षष्ठमंशम् । हर्ताऽन्यथा हृत्पुण्यः प्रजानामरक्षिता करहारोऽधमत्ति ॥	४।२०।१४
गुणायनं शीलधनं कृतज्ञं वृद्धाश्रयं संवृणुतेऽनु सम्पदः ।	४।२१।४४
पुत्रेण जयते लोकानिति सत्यवती श्रुतिः । ब्रह्मदण्डहतः पापो यद्देवेनोऽत्यतरत्तमः ॥	४।२१।४६
अधना अपि ते धन्याः साधवो गृहमेधिनः । यद्गृहा बर्हवर्याम्बुतृणभूमीश्वरावराः ॥	४।२२।१०

सङ्गमः खलु साधूनामुभयेषां च सम्मतः ।	
यत्सम्भाषणसम्प्रश्नः सर्वेषां वितनोति शम् ॥	४१२२।१९
नातः परतरो लोके पुंसः स्वार्थव्यतिक्रमः ।	
यदध्यन्यस्य प्रेयस्त्वमात्मनः स्वव्यतिक्रमात् ॥	४१२२।३२
अर्थेन्द्रियार्थाभिध्यानं सर्वार्थापहवो नृणाम् ।	
भ्रंशितो ज्ञानविज्ञानाद्येनाविशति मुख्यताम् ॥	४१२२।३३
न कुर्यात्कर्हिचित्सङ्गं तमस्तीव्रं तितोरिषुः ।	
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां यदत्यन्तविघातकम् ॥	४१२२।३४
श्रेयसामिह सर्वेषां ज्ञानं निःश्रेयसं परम् ।	
सुखं तरति दुष्पारं ज्ञाननौर्व्यसनार्णवम् ॥	४१२४।७७
यदि न स्याद् गृहे माता पत्नी वा पतिदेवता ।	
व्यङ्गे रथ इव प्राज्ञः को नामासीत दीनवत् ॥	४१२६।१५
मन एव मनुष्यस्य पूर्वरूपाणि शंसति ।	
भविष्यतश्च भद्रं ते तथैव न भविष्यतः ॥	४१२९।६८
अर्थे ह्यविद्यमानेऽपि संसृतिर्न निवर्तते ।	
ध्यायतो विषयानस्य स्वप्नेऽनर्थागमो यथा ॥	४१२९।७५
मन एव मनुष्येन्द्र भूतानां भवभावनम् ॥	४१२९।७७ उ०
भयं प्रमत्तस्य वनेऽवपि स्याद्, यतः स आस्ते सहषट्सपत्नः ।	
जितेन्द्रियस्यात्सरतेर्बुधस्य गृहाश्रमः किं नु करोत्यवद्यम् ॥	५।१।१७
यः षट् सपत्नान् विजिगीषमाणो गृहेषु निर्विश्य यतेत पूर्वम् ।	
अत्येति दुर्गाश्रित ऊर्जितारीन् क्षीणेषु कामं विचरेद् विपश्चित् ॥	५।१।१८
गुरुर्न स स्यात्स्वजनो न स स्यात् पिता न स स्याज्जननी न सा स्यात् ।	
दैवं न तत्स्यान्न पतिश्च स स्यान्न मोचयेद्यः समुपेतमृत्युम् ॥	५।५।१९

DHARMĀDHIKARĀṆA AND DHARMĀDHIKĀRIN

BY

D. C. SIRCAR

[अत्र लेखे 'धर्माधिकरण' 'धर्माधिकारिन्' इत्येतयोः शब्दयोस्तु-
लनात्मको विचारः प्रस्तुतः । शब्दकल्पद्रुमाख्यकोशानुसारेण मोनियर-
विलियमकृतकोशानुसारेण च 'धर्माधिकरण' शब्दो नपुंसकलिङ्गे प्रयुक्तः
सन् 'व्यवहारदर्शनस्थानम्' इत्यर्थे वर्तते, पुलिङ्गे प्रयुक्तश्च व्यवहारविचारके
प्राड्विवाकादौ वर्तते, एवं 'धर्माधिकरणिन्' इति शब्दोऽपि प्राड्विवा-
कादौ वर्तते । परन्तु, एतयोः कोशयोर्मते 'धर्माधिकारिन्' इति शब्दः,
'धर्माध्यक्ष' इति शब्दश्चापि प्राड्विवाके एव वर्तते । लेखकमहोदयस्य
मते शब्दकल्पद्रुमस्य पुलिङ्गवाची 'धर्माधिकरण' शब्दस्तु मत्स्यपुराणे
(२१४-२४) पठितस्य 'धर्माधिकरणिन्' इति पाठस्याशुद्धरूपः स्यात्,
'धर्माधिकारिन्' शब्दश्च राज्ञो दानधर्मविभागाध्यक्षे एव प्रयुक्तः आसीत्,
न तु प्राड्विवाके । मत्स्यपुराणेऽपि तत्रैव 'धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना
दानकरा नराः' इत्युक्तम्, तथा दौवारिकैः समास्ते (धर्माधिकारिणः)
प्रोक्ताः । अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलेऽपि दुष्यन्तः स्वात्मानं धर्माधिकारे नियुक्तं
प्रख्यापयति येन तपस्विजनाः स्वात्मानं सनाथा मन्यन्ते । अतः
'धर्माधिकारिन्' इति शब्दो राज्ञो 'दानधर्मविभागाध्यक्ष' इत्यर्थे एव
ग्राह्यः । अयमेवार्थो लेखकमहोदयेनात्र सप्रमाणं समर्थितः ।]

Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (second edition, 1899) explains *Dharm-ādhikarāṇa* in the neuter as 'administration' or 'a court of justice' and in the masculine as 'a judge or magistrate', etc., and refers us to the *Matsya Purāṇa*. It also explains *Dharm-ādhikāra* as 'administration of laws' with reference to the *Abhiññānaśakuntala*, while *Dharm-ādhikārika* is explained as 'an administrator of justice' or 'a judge' and *Dharm-ādhyakṣa* as 'a judge', 'a magistrate,' 'a minister of justice'. No distinction is therefore made between *Dharm-ādhikarāṇa* and *Dharm-ādhikārika*, though there is some evidence to show that there was a difference in the meanings of the two expressions.

It seems that Monier-Williams' views were partly influenced by the *Śabda-kūpadruma* (1822-58) which explains *Dharm-ādhikarāṇa* as 'a court of law' (neuter) and 'a judge' (masculine). The first of the two meanings is supported in this work by quoting the following stanza of Kātyāyana as found in the *Vṛamitrodaya*.

Dharmaśāstra-ānusāreṇa arthaśāstra-nirūpaṇam |
yatr-ādḥikriyate sthāne dharm-ādḥikaraṇam hi tat ||

Another stanza, apparently from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, has also been quoted in the same connection, and the verse runs as follows—

Puruṣ-āntara-tattvajñā prāṁśavas' = c = āpy = a-lolupāḥ |
dharm-ādḥikaraṇe kāryā jan-āhvānakarā narāḥ ||

“Those who are tall and not greedy and know the minds of others should be made callers of persons at the *adhikaraṇa* or court of law.” Unfortunately, it is difficult to understand why the caller of persons at the law-court was required to be capable of reading the minds of others and also free from greediness. It seems therefore that there is some error in the quotation of the second half of the verse.

The *Śabda-kalpadruma* further says that *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇa* (masculine) or a judge is the same as *Dharm-ādhyakṣa* and quotes the following stanza from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapter 189, enumerating the qualifications of the officer—

Samah śatrau ca mitre ca sarva-śāstra viśāradah |
vīpra-mukhyaḥ kulīnas' = ca Dharm-ādḥikaraṇo bhavet ||

“The *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇa* (masculine) should be a prominent Brāhmaṇa of a respectable family, who is an adept in all the scriptures and is impartial to friend and foe’.

This is verse 24 of Chapter 215 in the printed texts of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, in which we usually get the reading *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇē* for *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇo*, and that seems to be a better reading. Thus what has been said about *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇa* in the *Śabdakalpadruma* (and Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) on the strength of the above-quoted stanza may be due to misreading, and the qualifications enumerated may relate to *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇin* and not to *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇa* (masculine). It is however not our plea that *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇa* cannot be used as a synonym of *Dharm-ādḥikaraṇin*. What we mean is that the views of the *Śabdakalpadruma* and Monier-Williams' *Dictionary*

may be based on the misreading of a word in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, CCXV. 24.

Moreover, the interpretation of *Dharm-ādhikārika* (*Dharm-ādhikārin*) as the same as *Dharm-ādhyakṣa*, *Dharm-ādhikarāṇika* (*Dharm-ādhikarāṇin*) etc., in the sense of 'an administrator of justice' or 'a judge' does not appear to be quite accurate.

In the *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, Act I, King Duṣyanta, in explaining his presence at Kaṇva's hermitage, represents himself to Śakuntalā and her friends as an officer of the Paurava King who was employed in the *dharm-ādhikāra* and visited the holy forest inhabited by the hermits in order to know if the religious rights of the sages were being performed without hindrance, 'yaḥ Pauraveṇa rājñā dharm-ādhikāre niyuktaḥ so = 'ham = a vighnakriyopalambhāya dharm-āraṇyam = idam = āyātaḥ.' On getting this information, a friend of Śakuntalā observes that the presence of the officer there indeed provided the performers of religious rites with a protector—*sa-nāthā idānīm dharmacāriṇaḥ*. This would suggest that the *Dharm-ādhikārin*, the same as *dharm-ādhikāre niyukta* of this text, was a superintendent of the Department of Religious Affairs rather than a judge.

That the *Dharm-ādhikarāṇin* (or *Dharm-ādhikarāṇa*) was different from the *Dharm-ādhikārin* is clearly indicated by the *Matsya Purāṇa* which not only deals with the qualifications of the two officers separately but even enumerates other officers in an intervening section. Thus we have the following lines in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, CCXV. 24 ff.—

Samah śatrau ca mitre ca dharmā-śāstra-viśāradaḥ |
 Vipra-mukhyaḥ kulīnās = ca Dharm-ādhikarāṇī (or ṇo) bhavet ||
 Kāryās = tathāvidhās = tatra dvija-mukhyāḥ Sabhāsadaḥ ||
 Sarva-deś-ākṣar-ābhijñāḥ sarva-śāstra-viśāradaḥ |
 Lekhakaḥ kathito rājñāḥ sarv-ādhikarāṇeṣu vai ||
 Śīrṣ-opetān = susampūrṇān = sama-śreṇi-gatān = samān |
 āntarān = vai likhed = yas = tu Lekhakaḥ sa varaḥ smṛtaḥ ||
 Upāya-vākya-kuśalāḥ sarva-śāstra-viśāradaḥ |
 bahv-ārtha-vaktā c = ālpena Lekhakaḥ syān = nrpottama ||
 Puruṣ-āntara-tattvajñāḥ prāṁśavaś = c = āpy = a-lolupāḥ |

Dharm-ādhikāriṇaḥ kāryā janā dānakarā narāḥ ||

Evamvidhās = tathā kāryā rājñā Dauvārikā janāḥ ||

It will be seen that the qualifications of the *dharm-ādhi-
karāṇin* (or *dharm-ādhikarāṇa*) are separated from those of the
Dharm-ādhikārin by the intervening description of the *Sabhāsad*
and *Lekhaka*, so that they have to be regarded as separate officers.
We have noticed that the *Śabdakalpadruma* reads the line *Dharm-
ādhikāriṇaḥ kāryā janā dānakarā narāḥ* as *dharm-ādhikarāṇe kāryā
jan-āhvānakarā narāḥ* probably from a corrupt text of the Purāṇa.
It may be pointed out that the qualifications of the *dharm-ādhi-
kārin* was the same as those of the *Dauvārika*, 'gate-keeper'.
This, however, does not support the reading of the verse as quoted
in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, because the *Dauvārika* or *pratihāra*,
who was in charge of the gates of the royal palace or the capital
or the cities and was often engaged in the collection of tolls, was
not a petty official. The chief officer of this class, viz the
Mahāpratihāra, was not far below the Prime Minister or Com-
mander-in-chief in rank. The occurrence of the expression *sarva-
śāstra-viśāradaḥ* in two different stanzas in the description of the
Lekhaka may be a copyists' error or due to the fact that the
Purāṇa adopted the verses from two separate sources.

The epithet *dānakara* applied to the person qualified to
become a *Dharm-ādhikārin* suggests that he was in charge of
the king's *dāna-dharma* or charities, while we have seen above
that he was a superintendent in the Department of Religious
Affairs. Thus the king's charities formed a branch of the said
Department. But whether the officer had any judicial function
like the *Sadr-us-Sudur* of the Muslim administration of medieval
India is difficult to determine. The *Sadr*, whose function is
understood as that of a civil judge, maintained the list of rent-free
lands and the amounts of daily allowances to pious men, scholars
and hermits, supervised the endowments created by the king and
princes and saw that the money was rightly applied to the purposes
for which the grants were made. He also noted the deaths of
recipients and scrutinized the applications for fresh grants, and

was sometimes empowered to try civil cases. The duty of the Chief *Sadr*, called *Sadr-us-Sudur*, *Sadr-i-jahān* or *Sadr-ikul*, was to appoint *Sadrs* in the provinces. The Mughal emperors distributed their charities through this officer who was their chief almoner in charge of the distribution of large sums of money during court ceremonius and in the month of Ramadān and also tried civil suits and heard appeals when empowered to do so.¹

The *Dharm-ādhhikārin*, mentioned in some records,² is apparently the same as *Dharma-mahāmātra* of Aśoka's edicts³ and *Dharm-ādhyakṣa*, *Dharma-pradhāna*, *Dharmakarm-ādhhikārin*, etc., of later inscriptions, though sometimes the word *mahā* was prefixed to the official designations.⁴ The epithet *dharm-ādhhikār-ārpita*, applied to a royal officer in the Kamauli plate⁵ of Vaidyadeva, refers apparently to the same officer and reminds us of the expression *dharm-ādhhikār-niyukta* in the *Abhijñānśākuntala*,

Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* describes the author as the recipient of the *Dharm-ādhhikāra* from king Lakṣmaṇasena of Gauḍa and also as *Dharm-ādhyakṣa*, *Mahā-dharm-ādhyakṣa*, *Dharma-koś-ādhhikārin*, *Dharm-āgār-ādhhikārin*, *Dharm-ādhhikṛta* and *Mahā-dharm-ādhhikārin*, while his father is likewise described as *Dharm-ādhyakṣa* and *Dharm-ādhhikārika*.⁶ Nārāyaṇ-opādhyāya's *Parisiṣṭa-prakāśa* speaks of the prosperity of the Brāhmaṇas when the author's father was in charge of the *dharm-ādhhikāra*.⁷

As seen above, *dharm-ādhhikāra* means the Department of Religious Affairs, of which the king's charities formed a branch. But there are a few cases where this meaning of the expression does not appear to be quite suitable. In the Nalanda plate of Devapāla, the illustrious Balavarman is stated to have served as the *Dūta* 'in the *dharm-ādhhikāra* in question'—*dūtyam śrī-*

1. See Wahed Husain, *Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 64-65.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 151.

3. *CII*, Vol. I (1925), pp. 8 ff, etc.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 283 : *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 326, 539, etc.

5. Maitreya, *Gaudalekhamātā*, p. 136, line 68.

6. D. Bhattacharya, *Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, pp. xviff,

7. *Loc. cit.*

*Balavarmā vidadhe dharm-ādḥikāre = 'smin.*¹ The use of the word *asmin* in relation to *dharm-ādḥikāre* would suggest that the particular grant of the king, of which Balavarman acted as the *Dūtaka*, has been called here a *dharm-ādḥikāra* or a subject relating to *dharma* (religious merit). Similarly, the passage *yuktatayā dharm-ādḥikāra-buddhyā vijñāpitam* in one of the Dāmodarpur inscriptions² seems to mean that an application was properly made with the intention of *dharm-ādḥikāra*, i. e. for making a religious gift of the land purchased from the state. In both these cases, the expression *dharm-ādḥikāra* appears to mean 'a ceremonial gift' which of course fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of Religious Affairs, also called *dharm-ādḥi-kāra*.

Although most writers excepting G. Bühler and D. Bhattacharya appear to have misunderstood the function of the *Dharm-ādḥikārin*,³ some of them have even added to the confusion. Thus P. V. Kane's statement that the *Purohita*'s function came to be exercised by the *Dharm-ādḥyakṣa* or *dharm-ādḥikarāṇika*⁴ not only regards *dharm-ādḥyakṣa* and *Dharm-ādḥikarāṇika* as the same but even considers the *purohita* as identical with the same officer. We have seen above that the function of the *Dharm-ādḥyakṣa* (*Dharm-ādḥikārin*) was not really the same as that of the *Dharm-ādḥikarāṇika*, while the *Purohita* (*Mahā-purohita*) and *Dharm-ādḥyakṣa* (*Mahā-dharmādḥyakṣa*) are known to occupy separate position in the list of royal officers in numerous inscriptions.⁵ V. V. Mirashi likewise regards the *Mahā-dharmādḥikarāṇika* or *Mahāpurohita* as the head of the Religious Department.⁶

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 323.

2. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 339; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 143.

3. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 278, 281; B.C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 548, 551 : etc.

4. *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. III, p. 126.

5. cf. the grants of the Candras and Senas in N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III.

6. CII, Vol. IV, p. cxlii.

PURĀṆA, ITIHĀSA AND ĀKHYĀNA

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[वैदिककालादेव पुराणमितिहास आख्यानमित्येते विषयाः परस्परं सम्बद्धाः पुरकाश्चासन् । वैदिकवाङ्मये (अथर्ववेदे, ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु, उपनिषत्सु, सूत्रग्रन्थेषु च) तेषां निर्देशाः प्राप्यन्ते । परन्तु तत्रैतन्न निश्चीयते यत् पुराणानि, इतिहासाः, आख्यानानि च तदा पृथक् ग्रन्थ-रूपेणाविद्यन्त, उतो वा ब्राह्मणग्रन्थादिषूक्तानां प्राचीनकथानां सृष्ट्वादि-वर्णनपरकवाक्यानां च रूपेण । केवलम् आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रस्थनिर्देशैरेवेदं ज्ञायते यद् आपस्तम्बकाले पुराणानि ग्रन्थरूपाण्यासन् । वैदिकोत्तरकाले तु पुराणानामितिहासानामाख्यानानां चानेके निर्देशाः स्मृतिग्रन्थेषु, महाभारते पुराणेषु च विद्यन्ते, ये एतेषां विषयाणां ग्रन्थरूपत्वं प्रकटयन्ति । तथापि पुराणोक्तैर्बहुभिर्वचनैरिदं ज्ञायते यत् पृथक् पृथक् पुरातनकथा अपि पुराणादिशब्दैर्निदिष्टा बभूवुः । 'पुराण', 'इतिहास', 'आख्यान' इत्येते शब्दाः पर्यायरूपेणापि प्राचीनधार्मिककथासु, इतिहासकथासु, धार्मिककथाग्रन्थेषु, इतिहासग्रन्थेषु च प्रयुक्ताः प्राप्यन्ते । अतः वायु-पुराणम् 'इतिहासः', ब्रह्मपुराणम् 'आख्यानम्', च तत्र तत्र कथ्यन्ते । सर्वोऽयं विषयोऽत्र सोपपत्तिकं सोदाहरणं च विमर्शितः ।]

Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Ākhyāna have all been allied subjects since the early Vedic times. They have been regarded as supplement to each other and referred to sometimes separately (i. e. in separate contexts) and sometimes together in the same context in the Vedic as well as in the Smṛti and Purāṇic literature. Again, these terms have been used sometimes in separate senses and sometimes in an identical sense. Study of Purāṇa is facilitated by the correct understanding of these three terms. It is proposed here to discuss them in their various senses and uses.

1. Purāṇa and Itihāsa as separate subjects

The words '*purāṇa*' and '*itihāsa*' are found used (1) sometimes together and (2) sometimes separately. The latter use (2)

is found scattered in the Purāṇas and other literature, the former (1) is discussed below.

When they have been used together, they have been used either (a) in compound or (b) as separate words. A few examples are given below.

(a) *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* used in compound :—

- (i) मध्वाहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्य-
मितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंसीरित्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते ॥
(Śat. Br. X 5. 6. 8)¹
- (ii) अथर्वाङ्गिरस एव मधुकृत इतिहासपुराणं पुष्पं...ते वा एतेऽथर्वा-
ङ्गिरस एतदितिहासपुराणमभ्यतपंस्तस्याभितप्तस्य यशस्तेज
इन्द्रियं वीर्यमन्नाद्यं रसोऽजायत ॥²
(Chā. Up. III. 4. 1. 2)
- (iii) स होवाच ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमथर्वणं चतुर्थ-
मितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं....॥
(Chā. Up. VII. 1. 2)
- (iv) या एता इतिहासपुराणेष्वग्न्याद्याः संकीर्त्यन्ते नाकसदस्ता देवताः॥
(Śabara on Jaim. Sū. X. 4. 23)³
- (v) इतिहासपुराणाद्यैः षष्ठसप्तमकौ नयेत् । (Dakṣa II. 69)^{3a}
- (vi) इतिहासपुराणानि वाचयित्वाऽतिवाहयेत् ।
तद्दिनं नरशादूल..... ॥ (Matsya-P., 69, 55)

1. Cf. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, V, fn. 1316. Cf. also Pargiter : *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p., 56.

2. In this passage of the Chā. Up. Itihāsa and Purāṇa are both connected with the Atharva-Veda. On account of this connection we get in the AV references to Purāṇa and Itihāsa.

Śaṅkara explains this passage as follows :

अथर्वणा अङ्गिरसा च दृष्टा मन्त्रा अथर्वाङ्गिरसः कर्मणि प्रयुक्ता मधुकृतः ।
इतिहासपुराणं पुष्पम् । तयोश्चेतिहासपुराणयोरस्वमेवे पारिप्लवासु रात्रिषु कर्माङ्गत्वेन
विनियोगः सिद्धः ।

3. Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, fn. 1341.

3a. cf. also Garuḍa-p., I. 213. 158. Vide Kane, *op. cit.*, fn. 1335.

(b) *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* used as separate words :—

- (i) स बृहतीं दिशमनुव्यचलत् । तमितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीश्चानुव्यचलन् ॥ (Atharva-Veda XV. 6. 10-11)⁴
- (ii) अथाष्टमेऽहन् ... तानुपदिशतीतिहासो वेदः सोऽयमिति कंचिदितिहासमाचक्षीत् । अथ नवमेऽहन् ... तानुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित्पुराणमाचक्षीत् ॥ (Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 3. 12-13)⁵
- (iii) स दिशोऽन्वैक्षत प्राचीं दक्षिणां प्रतीचीमुदीचीं ध्रुवामूर्ध्वामिति । तास्तत्रैवाभ्यश्राभ्यदभ्यतपत्समतपत् ताभ्यः श्रान्ताभ्यस्तप्राभ्यः सन्तप्राभ्यः पञ्च वेदान् निरमिमत् सर्पवेदं पिशाचवेदमसुरवेदमितिहासवेदं पुराणवेदमिति । स खलु प्राच्या एव दिशः सर्पवेदं निरमिमत्, दक्षिणस्याः पिशाचवेदं प्रतीच्या असुरवेदमुदीच्या इतिहासवेदं ध्रुवायाश्चोर्ध्वायाश्च पुराणवेदम् । ॥ (Gopatha-Br. 1. 10)
- (iv) अस्य महतो भूतस्य निश्श्वसितमेतद् यद् ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरसः इतिहासः पुराणं । (Br. Up., II. 4. 10)
- (v) स्वाध्यायं श्रावयेत् पित्र्ये धर्मशास्त्राणि चैव हि । आख्यानानीतिहासांश्च पुराणानि खिलानि च ॥ (Manu. 3. 232)
- (vi) श्रुत्वादौ योगशास्त्राणि गुरुमाराध्य भक्तितः । इतिहासं पुराणं च वेदांश्चैव विचक्षणः ॥ (Brahma-P., 234. 4)

From the above quotations it is clear that here '*purāṇa*' and '*itihāsa*' have been used in separate senses. In the Atharva-Veda, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads both *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* seem to mean the particular kinds of passages in the Brāhmaṇas. According to Sāyaṇa (Comm. on Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 3) *Itihāsa* means such cosmological myths as 'in the beginning there was nothing but water' and *Purāṇa* means stories such as that of Purūravas and Urvaśī.⁶ But Śaṅkara in his Bhāṣya on Br. Up. (II. 4. 10, quoted above) reverses these definitions of *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*. According to him *Itihāsa* is such stories in the Brāhmaṇas as of Urvaśī and Purūravas, and *Purāṇa* means such cosmological descriptions as 'in the beginning it

4. Kane, *op. cit.*, fn. 1325.

5-6. *Ibid.*, fn. 1326.

(the universe) was non-existent (“इतिहास इति—उर्वशीपुरुवरवसोः संवादादिः, ‘उर्वशी ह्यप्सराः’ इत्यादि ब्राह्मणमेव । पुराणम् ‘असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत्’ इत्यादि ।”)

According to the Śat. Br. (XIII. 4. 3. 12 f, quoted above) Itihāsa is to be recited on each 8th *Pāriplava* night and the Purāṇa on each 9th *Pāriplava* night in the circle of ten such nights for the whole year in the Aśvamedha Sacrifice (‘एवमेतत्पर्यायशः संवत्सरमाचक्षीत् । दशमीं दशमीं समापयन्’, आश्व. श्रौ. X. 7. 9f.). This shows that Itihāsa and Purāṇa were separate.

In the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa (1. 10, passage quoted above) the five Vedas, viz. सर्पवेद, पिशाचवेद, अमुरवेद, इतिहासवेद and पुराणवेद, are connected with different directions or quarters. Of these five Vedas the इतिहासवेद is connected with the *udīcī* (north) and the पुराणवेद is connected with the *dhruvā* (i.e. the quarter directly under the feet) and the *ūrdhvā* (i.e. the region above, or the point of the sky overhead).

Further in the same passage the five *Mahā-Vyāhrtis*, viz. वृषत्, करत्, गुहत्, महत् and तत् are said to be produced respectively from the above-mentioned five Vedas; and thus महत् is said to be produced from the इतिहासवेद and तत् is said to be produced from the पुराणवेद.⁷

Whatever may be the interpretation of this passage of the Gopatha Br., but so much is clear that this passage takes the Itihāsa-Veda and the Purāṇa-Veda as separate classes of works; for they are related to separate directions and are said to be the sources of separate *mahā-vyāhrtis*

The word *Purāṇa* as an adjective means ‘ancient, old’ by the etymology ‘पुरा नवं भवति’ as given by Yāska⁸. In the R̥gveda this word is found used in this adjectival sense only. Its earliest

7. Cf. स तान् पञ्च वेदानभ्यश्चाम्यदभ्यतपत्समतपत् तेभ्यः श्रान्तेभ्यस् तप्तेभ्यः संतप्तेभ्यः पञ्च महाव्याहृतीनिरमिमत् वृषत् करद् गुहन् महत् तदिति । वृषदिति सर्पवेदात्, करदिति पिशाचवेदात्, गुहदित्यमुरवेदात्, महदितिहासवेदात् तदिति पुराणवेदात् ॥ (Gpatha.-Br. 1. 10)

8. पुराणं कस्मात् ? पुरा नवं भवति । (Nir. 3. 4. 2).

use as a noun in the sense of 'ancient lore or old story' (or 'works containing ancient lore and old stories') is found in the Atharva-Veda and the Brāhmaṇas as shown in the quotations given above. The word *itihāsa* means 'a story of fact or traditional history,' and it is analysed as '*iti ha āsa*' ('thus really it was').⁹ In the Atharva-Veda (XV. 6. 10-11 ; quotation given above) and in the Brāhmaṇas the word '*itihāsa*' seems to be used only in the sense of a factual story. Yāska clearly uses the word *itihāsa* in this sense¹⁰, and later on we find this word used in this sense in the Purāṇas also.¹¹

It seems, however, that in the earlier periods the word '*Purāṇa*' connoted both the senses, and any old story or ancient lore whether imaginary or factual was termed as '*Purāṇa*'. This use of the word *purāṇa* we first find in the Atharva-Veda,¹² and later on in the Purāṇas also.¹³ Afterwards a distinction seems to be made between a mythical or imaginary story and a factual or historical story, the former was termed as '*Purāṇa*' and the latter as '*Itihāsa*'. That is why in many passages of the Brāhmaṇas and in the Atharva-Veda also (quotations given above) *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* are used together as *itihāsa-purāṇa*.

As already mentioned above, the word '*purāṇa*' alone is also found used in the sense of both '*Purāṇa*' (an old myth or imaginary story) and '*Itihāsa*' (a factual story as distinguished from an imaginary story) in the old Vedic literature, but there the word

9. cf. निदानभूतः 'इति ह एवम् आसीत्' इति य उच्यते स इतिहासः ।
(Durga's Comm. on Nir., 2. 3. 1).

10. Cf. तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते—देवापिश्चाष्टिषेणः शन्तनुश्च कौरुष्यौ भ्रातरौ बभूवुः....। (Nir. 2. 3. 1) ; and तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते—विश्वामित्र ऋषिः सुदासः पैजवनस्य पुरोहितो बभूव...। (Ibid. 2. 7 2).

11. Cf. अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् । (Matsya-P., 72.6 ; etc.)

12. Cf. ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।

उच्छिष्टाज्जिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिविश्रितः ॥ (AV. XI. 7.24)

13. Cf. पुराणं सर्वशान्नाणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।

Matsya, 3.3 ; Vāyu, 60.1 ; Bd. I, 1.40).

पुरातनस्य कल्पस्य पुराणानि विदुर्बुधाः ।

(Matsya, 53.62)

'*itihāsa*' is not found used alone in the sense of both an imaginary tale and a factual story. Hence once *purāṇa* was a wider term and included both Purāṇa and Itihāsa. The Yājñavalkya-Smṛti mentions only 'Purāṇa' (and not 'Itihāsa' or 'Itihāsa-Purāṇa') as one of the fourteen *sthānas* (sources) of *dharma*.¹⁴ But Itihāsa has also been called a *Dharmaśāstra*¹⁵; so Yājñavalkya here seems to include Itihāsa also in Purāṇa. Similarly the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa includes only 'Purāṇa' (meaning thereby both Purāṇa and Itihāsa) among the fourteen (or eighteen) *Vidyās*.¹⁶ Kauṭilya, however, includes Purāṇa in Itihāsa—'पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोद(हरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थ-शास्त्रं चैतीतिहासः' (1. 5). *Vedārtha-dīpikā* also calls all the old stories (whether imaginary or factual), which it cites, as *itihāsa*.¹⁷ But later on Purāṇas tended to become encyclopaedic works and tried to include all subjects (including Itihāsa) of human interest. Thus there are four clear stages of the scope of Purāṇa and Itihāsa :—

- (1) Purāṇa included Itihāsa also, as in the Atharva-Veda and some of the Purāṇas.
- (2) Purāṇa and Itihāsa separate (as in the Vedic and Purāṇic quotations given above).
- (3) Itihāsa included Purāṇa also, as in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and *Vedārtha-dīpikā*.
- (4) Purāṇas tended to include Itihāsa and all other subjects of human interest.¹⁸

14. पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः ।

वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ (Yā. Smṛ. 1.3)

15. Mahābhārata calls itself 'Itihāsa' as well as 'Dharmaśāstra' (अर्थशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमिदं महत्) (MBh., Ch. Press. ed., I. 2.383 ab); इतिहासोत्तमादस्माज्जायन्ते कविबुद्धयः । (*Ibid.*, 385 ab). For MBh. as *Dharmaśāstra* cf. also Bhav.-P., I. 1. 54 ff.

16. Cf. Viṣ.-P., III. 6. 28.

17. *VidPargiter, op. cit.*, p. 36.

18. Cf. श्रुणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामिपुराणानां समुच्चयम् ।

यस्मिन्ज्ञाते भवेज्ज्ञातं वाङ्मयं सचरोचरम् ॥ (Nār. P., I. 92.21)

Purāṇa and Itihāsa mean single stories¹⁹ as well as compilations or works containing such stories (and other matter such as topics on *dharma* etc.). Purāṇas as separate class of works are first referred to in the Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra²⁰ In the Tait. Ār. (II. 10) also the words *purāṇa* and *itihāsa* are used in plural, and seem to be applied to separate classes of works. The Manu-Smṛti (3,232, quoted in (b) (v) above) also uses these words in plural in the sense of separate classes of works, as Medhātithi explains—‘इतिहासा महाभारतादयः । पुराणानि व्यासादिप्रणीतानि सृष्ट्वादिवर्णन-रूपाणि ।’ It seems that like a number of the Purāṇas, there were also a number of Itihāsas (Mahābhārata and others, as Medhātithi and other commentators remark). The Liṅga-Purāṇa besides mentioning the eighteen Purāṇas (Brahma-P., and others) and Upapurāṇas (Saura etc.), also mentions several other Itihāsas than the Mahābhārata (such as Śaiva etc.).²¹

2. Purāṇa and Ākhyāna as separate.

(a) Ākhyāna a part of Purāṇa

Purāṇas are said to be compiled by Vyāsa from the material supplied by *ākhyānas* (stories), *upākhyānas* (episodes), *gāthās* (stanzas handed down from the ancient times) and *Kalpa-jōktis* (lore coming down from the age, Pargiter; words or descriptions relating to the kalpas, Kane).²² Thus according to this statement *ākhyāna* is one of the four ingredients of the Purāṇa.

19. For Purāṇa as a single story cf. Vām.-P. 57. 72; 60. 78; 87. 28; 90. 45; etc. For Itihāsa as a single story cf. Matsya 72. 6; Brahma-P., 131. 2.; etc.

20. Cf. Āp. Dh. Sū. I. 6. 19. 13; 10. 29. 7; II. 9. 23. 6; 9. 24. 6 quoted in Kane, op. cit., p. 817; and referred to by Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 43 ff. with English translation.

21. Cf. Liṅga-P., I. 26. 28 ab—‘पुण्यानामितिहासानां शैवादीनां तथैव च ।’

22. आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कल्पजोक्तिभिः* ।

पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविज्ञारदः ॥

(Bd. II. 34. 21; Vāyu 60. 21; Viṣ. III. 6. 15)

* कल्पजोक्तिभिः Bd; कल्पशुद्धिभिः (Correct ascertainments of the Kalpas, Kane), Viṣ.; कुलकर्मभिः, Vāyu.

According to the Skanda-Purāṇa (VII. 2. 84) the Purāṇas are said to be mainly consisting of the five *aṅgas* (parts, i. e. five characteristics or *pañca lakṣaṇas*) and the remaining topics or subject-matters of the Purāṇa are collectively called *ākhyāna* (‘पञ्चाङ्गानि पुराणस्य चाख्यानमितरत् स्मृतम् ।’).²³ Thus Purāṇa has a wider scope, and *ākhyāna* is merely a part of the Purāṇa.

(b) *Ākhyāna and Purāṇa as separate works-*

Manu (3.232) prescribes that Veda, Dharmaśāstras, Ākhyānas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Khilas should be recited in the *Śrāddha* :—

स्वाध्यायं श्रावयेत् पित्र्ये धर्मशास्त्राणि चैव हि ।
आख्यानानीतिहासांश्च पुराणानि खिलानि च ॥

This implies that all these formed the separate classes of sacred works. Medhātithi (the famous commentator on Manu) explains these terms as follows :—

स्वाध्यायो वेदः । मन्वादिग्रन्था धर्मशास्त्राणि । आख्यानानि सौपर्ण-
मैत्रावरुणादीनि..... । इतिहासा महाभारतादयः । पुराणानि व्यासादि-
प्रणीतानि सृष्ट्यादिवर्णनरूपाणि । खिलानि श्रीसूक्तमहानाम्निकादीनि ।

Thus Ākhyānas and Purāṇas (as well as Itihāsas) were once treated as separate classes of works.

3. Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Ākhyāna as identical

The words *purāṇa*, *itihāsa* and *ākhyāna* have also been taken as synonyms and applied to the same stories and works. A few examples are given here.

(a) *Applied to the same stories*

(i) पुलस्त्य उवाच—

एतदाख्यानकं पूर्वमगस्त्येन महर्षिणा ।
रामाय कथितं राजंस्तेन वक्ष्यामि साम्प्रतम् ॥
भीष्म उवाच—

23. The Matsya-reading (Printed edns, 53. 64) differs from it, but some of the Mss. of the Matsya agree with the reading of the Skanda-P. see *Infra*.

कस्मिन्वंशे समुत्पन्नो राजाऽसौ नृपसत्तमः ।
यस्यागस्त्येन गदितश्चेतिहासः पुरातनः ॥

(Pad.-P., Ān. edn., V, 32. 9-10)

(ii) अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ।
पुराणं परमं पुण्यं सर्वपापहरं शुभम् ॥
कुमारेण च लोकानां नमस्कृत्य पितामहम् ।
प्रोक्तं चेदं ममाख्यानं देवर्षे ब्रह्मसूनुना ॥

(Ibid., VI. 29. 1-2)

(iii) इतिहासमिमं पुण्यं शाण्डिल्योऽपि मुनीश्वरः ।
पठते चित्रकूटस्थो ब्रह्मानन्दपरिप्लुतः ॥
आख्यानमेतत्परमं पवित्रं श्रुतं सकृद्वै विदेहेदधौघम् ॥

(Ibid., 193. 90-91 ab)

(b) Applied to the same works or compilations.²⁴

(i) Vāyu and Bd. Purāṇas called *Itihāsa* :—

इदं यो ब्राह्मणो विद्वानितिहासं पुरातनम् ।
शृणुयाच्छ्रावयेद्वाऽपि तथाऽध्यापयतेऽपि च ॥
धन्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं पुण्यं वेदैश्च सम्मतं ।

(Bd. सम्मितम्)

कृष्णद्वैपायनेनोक्तं पुराणं ब्रह्मवादिना ॥

(Vāyu, 103. 48, 51; Bd.-P., IV. 4. 47, 50)

(ii) Brahma-Purāṇa called *Ākhyāna* :—

इदं यः श्रद्धया नित्यं पुराणं वेदसम्मितम् ।
यः पठेच्छृणुयान्मर्त्यः स याति भुवनं हरे ॥२७॥
त्रिः सन्ध्यं यः पठेद् विद्वान्ब्रह्मया सुसमाहितः ।
इदं वरिष्ठमाख्यानं स सर्वमीप्सितं लभेत् ॥३०॥

(Br.-P., Ān. edn., Adh. 245)

(iii) Mahābhārata called *Purāṇa*, *Ākhyāna* and *Itihāsa* :—

द्वैपायनेन यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणं परमर्षिणा ।
सुरैर्ब्रह्मर्षिभिश्चैव श्रुत्वा यदभिपूजितम् ॥१७॥

24. Cf. also Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 35. and its footnotes 4-7.

तस्याख्यानवरिष्ठस्य विचित्रपदपर्वणः । १८ पू० ।
 भारतस्येतिहासस्य पुण्यां ग्रंथार्थसंयुताम् । १९ पू० ।
 संहितां श्रोतुमिच्छामि पुण्यां पापभयापहाम् ॥ २१ उ० ॥
 (MBh., Ch. Press. edn., I. 1. 17-21)
 यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः ।
 न चाख्यानमिदं विद्यान्नैव स स्याद् विचक्षणः ॥²⁵
 (Ibid. I. 2. 382)

(iv) Mahābhārata called *Bhāratākhyāna* :—

यत्तु शौनकसत्रे ते भारताख्यानमुत्तमम् ।
 जनमेजयस्य तत्सत्रे व्यासशिष्येण धीमता ॥
 कथितं विस्तरार्थं च यशोवीर्यं महीक्षिताम् ।
 (Ibid. I. 2 33 f.)

(v) Purāṇa called *Purāṇākhyāna* :—

तमजं विश्वकर्माणं चित्पतिं लोकसाक्षिणम् ।
 पुराणाख्यानजिज्ञासुर्ब्रजामि शरणं प्रभुम् ॥
 (Vāyu-P., 1. 6)

पुराणाख्यानकं विप्र नानाकल्पसमुद्भवम् ।
 नानाकथासमायुक्तमद्भुतं बहुविस्तरम् ॥
 (Nār.-P., I. 92. 5)

(vi) Five *aṅgas* in the Purāṇas called *Ākhyānaka* :—

पञ्चाङ्गानि पुराणेषु आख्यानकमिति स्मृतम् ।²⁶
 सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
 वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
 (Matsya-P., 53. 64)

25. Cf. यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः ।
 न चेत्पुराणं संविद्यान्नैव स स्याद् विचक्षणः ॥

(Vāyu. P., Venk ed., I. 1. 180).

26. The Skanda-P. (VII. 2.84 ab) reads this line as follows :—

पञ्चाङ्गानि पुराणस्य चाख्यानमितरत् स्मृतम् ।

The next two lines are the same as in the Matsya. Thus, according to the Sk. P. *Ākhyāna* is other than the five characteristics of the Purāṇa, while according to the Matsya (Vulgate) the five characteristics in the Purāṇa are called *Ākhyāna* (-ka). The Mss. of the Matsya-P. collated by the Purāṇa-Dept. of the Kashiraj Trust have the following variants of the Matsya line :

Thus Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Ākhyāna which were once treated as separate subjects and works, became, in course of time identical. Ākhyānas became essential ingredients of both Itihāsa and Purāṇa, and Itihāsa became absorbed in Purāṇa, with the result that Itihāsa and Purāṇa came to be similarly defined, e. g.—

- (1) *Itihāsa*—‘इतिहासः पुरावृत्तम्’ (Amarakośa, I, 5. 4)
 (2) *Purāṇā*—‘पुराणं पुरावृत्तम्’ (Nilakaṇṭha on MBh. I. 5.1)

पञ्चाङ्गानि पुराणेषु	आख्यानकमिति स्मृतम् ।	(Matsya, 53.64)
”	” व्याख्यानमिति तस्मृतम् ।	(1 Ms.)
”	पुराणस्य आख्यानमिति तस्मृतम् ।	(2 Mss.)
”	” तदाख्यानमिति स्मृतम् ।	(1 Ms.)
”	” व्याख्यानमिह तस्मृतम् ।	(1 Ms.)
”	” आख्यानमितरत् स्मृतम् ।	(6 Mss.)
”	” व्याख्यानमितरत् स्मृतम् ।	(5 Mss.)
”	” व्याख्यातमिति तस्मृतम् ।	(1 Ms.)
”	” व्याख्यातानि मया तव ।	(5 Mss.)

ACTIVITIES OF THE KASHIRAJ TRUST

(Dec., 1963–May 1964)

1. Critical Editions of the Purāṇas

(a) *Matsya-Purāṇa*

Work at Madras :—

- (i) The ślokas quoted in the Purāṇārtha-Saṅgraha have been identified in the Purāṇas. A list in the alphabetical order has also been made of all the names found mentioned in this work.
- (ii) An alphabetical list of all the half ślokas of the Svalpa-Matsya-Purāṇa has been prepared for the purpose of comparing these with the lines of the printed Matsya-Purāṇa and with those ślokas of the Matsya which are found quoted in the Nibandhas.

At Ramnagar Office :—

A classified subject-index of the topics dealt with in Matsya-Purāṇa is being prepared.

(b) *Vāmana-Purāṇa*

Besides the fifteen manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa collated so far, a photo-print of MS. No. K. 6815 of the India Office Library has also been recently procured, and is now being examined for collation. Efforts are also being made to procure some more non-Devanāgarī manuscript of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, especially in the South Indian scripts. Arrangements are also being made to procure a microfilm of MS., Wilson 127 from the Bodleian Library Oxford, and two Bengali MSS. from the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta, and a Newārī manuscript from the Bir Library, Nepal. A manuscript in Telugu script, No. B. 488, has also been procured from the India Office Library. It contains abstracts or Kathā-sūcīs of the Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma,

काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्याणां विवरणम्

(दिसम्बर १९६३—मई १९६४)

१—पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

(अ) मत्स्यपुराणकार्यम्

मद्रासनगरे कृतं कार्यम्—

(१) “पुराणार्थसङ्ग्रह” नामके ग्रन्थे उद्धृताः श्लोकाः पुराणेषु अन्वेषिताः सन्ति । अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे निर्दिष्टानां नाम्नां वर्णक्रमानुसारिणी सूच्यपि निर्मितास्ति ।

(२) स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य संकलितानामर्धश्लोकानां वर्णक्रमानुसारिणी सूची निर्मिता । एषामर्धश्लोकानां मुद्रितमत्स्यपुराणस्य श्लोकैः सह, अथ च निबन्धग्रन्थेषूपलब्धैः श्लोकैः सह तुलनायै एषा सूची निर्मिता ।

रामनगरपुराणकार्यालये कृतं कार्यम्—

मत्स्यपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणाय मत्स्यपुराणविषयाणां वर्गीकृता सूची निर्मायते ।

(आ) वामनपुराणकार्यम्

अद्यावधि वामनपुराणस्य पञ्चदशहस्तलेखाः संवादितास्तथा च “इण्डिया आफिस” पुस्तकालयात् के० ६८१५ हस्तलेखस्य एका फोटो-प्रिन्टप्रतिरूपलब्धा । सा च सम्प्रति संवादार्थं समीक्ष्यते । वामनपुराणस्य केषाञ्चित् देवनागरीलिपिभिन्नानां विशेषतो दक्षिणभारतीयलिपिषु लिखितानां हस्तलेखानां प्राप्त्यै प्रयत्नोऽपि प्रचलति । तथा “वोडलियन पुस्तकालय” (आक्सफोर्ड) सकाशात् विल्सन १२७ हस्तलेखस्यैकस्य माइक्रोफिल्मस्य, बङ्गीयसाहित्यपरिषदः (कलकत्ता) सकाशाच्च द्वयोः बंगलाहस्तलेखयोरथ च “वीरलाइब्रेरी” नेपालतः एकस्य नेवारीहस्तलेखस्योपलब्धयै च प्रयत्यते । तेलगूलिप्यां लिखितः नं० वी० ४८८ हस्तलेखोऽपि ‘इण्डिया आफिस’

Vāmana, Garuḍa, Vāyu, Varāha and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. These sūcīs have been copied in Devanāgarī letters. This sūcī of the Vāmana-Purāṇa mentions the Pūrva-Bhāga and the Uttara-Bhāga of the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

After completing the collation of the above MSS. the work of constituting the text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa will be taken up.

Quotations of the Vāmana P. have been noted down from the Dāna-Sāgara of Ballāla Sena (written in Śaka 1098, A. D. 1169) and from the Parāśara-Mādhava.

2. Other works on Purāṇas :

(a) *Ādhāra Pāṭha* :—The Ādhāra-Pāṭha of the following Purāṇas has been completed for the purpose of collation—(1) Garuḍa-Purāṇa, Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Brahma-Purāṇa, Kūrma-Purāṇa, and Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa. The Ādhāra-Pāṭha of the Liṅga-Purāṇa and the Agni-Purāṇa is being written, and will be completed shortly.

(b) *Śloka Index* :—It is proposed that the *Pāda-index* of all the 18 Mahāpurāṇas be prepared and printed. The Pāda-index of the ślokas of the following Purāṇas has been completed :—Vāmana, Brahma and Brahmāṇḍa. The Pāda-index of the following Purāṇas is being prepared :—Garuḍa, Liṅga, Kūrma and Agni.

(c) *Purāṇa Quotations from the Nibandhas* :—A list of the quotations of the Mahāpurāṇas and Upa-purāṇas is being compiled. The work of compilation from Dānasāgara has already been completed, and the work on the Parāśaramādhava is in progress. This will help us in comparing the texts of the different Purāṇas. Dr. R. C. Hazra has already compiled the references of such Purāṇic quotations from different Nibandhas in his valuable work '*Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*' which are found in the present editions of the Purāṇas. The work done by him will be of great help to us, and we gratefully acknowledge it. We are collecting such quotations also which are not found in the present editions of the Purāṇas.

लाइब्रेरीतः प्राप्तो वर्तते । अस्मिन् मार्कण्डेय-वामन-गरुड-वायु-वराह-ब्रह्माण्ड-पुराणानां विषयसंक्षेपाः कथासूच्यो वा प्रदत्ताः सन्ति । अस्माद् ग्रन्थादत्र वामनपुराणसूची देवनागरीलिप्यां प्रतिलिखिता । वामनपुराणस्यैषा सूची वामनपुराणस्य पूर्वभागस्योत्तरभागस्य च निर्देशं करोति । पूर्वोलिखितानां हस्तलेखानां पाठसम्वादानन्तरं वामनपुराणस्य सम्पादनकार्यं प्रचलिष्यति ।

बल्लालसेनस्य दानसागरग्रन्थात् (शक १०९८, ई० सन् ११६९, वर्षे लिखितात्)—अथ च पराशरमाधवग्रन्थात् वामनपुराणस्योद्धरणानि लिखितानि सन्ति ।

२—अन्यपुराणानां कार्यजातम्

(अ) संवादाथं निम्नलिखितानां पुराणानामाधारपाठोऽपि लिखितः—

गरुडपुराणस्य, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य, ब्रह्मपुराणस्य, कूर्मपुराणस्य, मार्कण्डेय-पुराणस्य च । लिङ्गाग्निपुराणयोराधारपाठः सम्प्रति लिख्यते शीघ्रमेव पूर्णश्च भविष्यति ।

(आ) श्लोकसूची—

इदं प्रस्तावितं यदष्टादशपुराणानां श्लोकपादसूची निर्मिता मुद्रिता च भवेत् । अतः निम्नलिखितानां पुराणानां पादसूच्यः सम्पन्ना वर्तन्ते— वामनपुराणस्य, ब्रह्मपुराणस्य, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य च । निम्नलिखितानां पुराणानां पादसूची सम्पाद्यमाना वर्तते—गरुडपुराणस्य, लिङ्गपुराणस्य, कूर्मपुराणस्य, अग्निपुराणस्य च ।

(ई) निबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः पुराणोद्धरणानि—

निबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यो महापुराणानां केषाञ्चिदुपपुराणानां च उद्धरणानां सूची निर्मायते, एषा विभिन्नपुराणानां पाठतुलनार्थं सहायिका भविष्यति । डा० आर० सी० हाजरामहोदयैः पूर्वमेव स्वीये “पुराणिक रिकार्डस् इन् हिन्दू राइट्स् एण्ड कस्टम्स” नामके महत्त्वपूर्णे ग्रन्थे विभिन्ननिबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः पौराणिकोद्धरणानि संगृहीतानि । एतत् कार्यमस्माकं महदुपकारकं भविष्यति । एतत्कृते वयं कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयामः । डा० हाजरामहोदयैरनिर्दिष्टान्युद्धरणान्यपि संगृहीतान्यत्र । इदम् उद्धरणसंकलनकार्यं दानसागरात् समाप्तम्, पराशरमाधवात् प्रचलति ।

3. Purāṇa Concordance

As noted in the previous Review, the subject-index of the six out of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas is being prepared for the first volume of the Purāṇic Concordance. The six Mahāpurāṇas selected for the first volume are Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Liṅga and Mārkaṇḍeya. Of these six Mahāpurāṇas, the subject-indexes of the Vāmana and Kūrma Purāṇas have already been published in the 'Purāṇa' bulletin. The subject indexes of the Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya have also been completed. The subject-indexes of the Matsya and Liṅga are being prepared.

4. 'Purāṇa' Bulletin

The last issue of the 'Purāṇa' (Vol. VI. No. 1, January, '64) was published on the occasion of the XXVI Session of the International Congress of Orientalists as *International Congress of Orientalists Number*. It has been favourably reviewed in several Indological Journals. Complimentary copies of this special issue were presented to a number of scholars who attended the Orientalist's Congress at Delhi.

5. Publications of the Kashiraj Trust

The Trust has published an anthology of *Vyāsa Prasāstis* compiled by Dr. V. Raghavan from various sources such as the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Māhātmyas, Nibandhas, Philosophical works and their commentaries, literary works, and also from important manuscripts deposited in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore and Granthapura Library, Trivandrum.

6. Veda-Pārāyaṇa

The Veda-Pārāyaṇa by memory was arranged for the full fortnight of the Śukla pakṣa of the month of Māgha, January 17 to 28, in the Vyāsa temple of the Ramnagar Fort, when the whole of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda together with its Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣad was recited by memory by Pt. V. Krishnamurti Ghanapāthī. On the conclusion the reciter was awarded a certificate of merit and a gold Kaṅkaṇa besides the usual Dakṣiṇā by His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras.

३—पुराणविषयानुक्रमणी

पूर्वस्मिन् कार्यविवरणे निर्दिष्टं यदिदानीमत्राष्टादशमहापुराणेषु मध्ये षण्णां पुराणानां विषयसूची निर्मायते, एषा सूची पुराणविषयानुक्रमण्याः प्रथमो भागो भविष्यति । प्रथमभागे वामन-कूर्म-मत्स्य-विष्णु-लिङ्ग-मार्कण्डेयपुराणानां विषयसूची भविष्यति । एषां षण्णां महापुराणानां वामनकूर्मपुराणयोर्विषयसूची प्रागेव प्रकाशिता पुराणपत्रिकायाम् । विष्णु-मार्कण्डेयपुराणयोर्विषयसूची सम्पन्ना वर्तते । मत्स्यलिङ्गयोर्विषयसूची निर्मायतेऽधुना ।

४—पुराण-पत्रिका

पुराणपत्रिकायाः गताङ्कः (भाग ६, सं० १, जनवरी) प्राच्यविद्याविश्वसम्मेलनस्य २६ तमस्याधिवेशनस्यावसरे 'इण्टर नेशनल कांग्रेस आफ ओरियण्टलिस्ट्स-अङ्क' रूपेण प्रकाशितः । अस्याङ्कस्य बहुभिः प्राच्यविद्यासम्बन्धिपत्रिकाभिः अनुकूल समीक्षा कृता । प्राच्यविद्याविश्वसम्मेलनस्यावसरे उपस्थितेभ्यः बहुभ्यः विद्वद्भ्यः अस्याङ्कस्य प्रतयः सादरं समर्पिताः ।

५—काशिराजन्यासस्य प्रकाशनानि

अस्मिन्नवधौ राघवन्महोदयैः सङ्कलितो व्यासप्रशस्तिनामको एको लघु-ग्रन्थो न्यासेन प्रकाशितः । अस्यां व्यासप्रशस्तौ महाभारतात्, पुराणेभ्यः, माहात्म्यग्रन्थेभ्यः, निबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः, दर्शनग्रन्थेभ्यः एषां व्यास्याभ्यश्च, साहित्यिक-ग्रन्थेभ्यः, अथ च 'गवर्नमेन्ट मैनुस्क्रिप्ट लाइब्रेरी मद्रास,' सरस्वतीमहल तञ्जोर तथा ग्रन्थपुरलाइब्रेरी त्रिवेन्द्रम् स्थलेषु सुरक्षितेभ्यः हस्तलेखेभ्यः सङ्कलनम् कृतम् ।

६—वेदपारायणम्

'वेदपारायणम्' माघमासस्य शुक्लपक्षे जनवरी १७ तः २८ यावत्, राम-नगरदुर्गस्थव्यासमन्दिरेऽभूत् । अस्मिन्नवसरे पं० वी. कृष्णमूर्तिगणपतिना ब्राह्मणोपनिषद्भ्यां सहितस्य सम्पूर्णयजुर्वेदस्य कण्ठस्थीपारायणं कृतम् । समाप्तौ च तत्र भवता काशिराजेन वेदपारायणकर्त्रे विहितदक्षिणां एकं प्रशंसा-पत्रकं स्वर्णकङ्कणञ्च प्रदत्तम् ।

7. Purāṇa-Pāṭha and Pravacana

In the month of Māgha (January, 1964) the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa was recited and discourses on it were given by Pt. Nilmeghacharya of Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University. Again in the month of Phālguna (February 1964) the Agni-Purāṇa was recited, and discourses on it were given by Pt. Vishwanatha Shastri Datara of Varanasi. In the month of Chaitra (March '64) the Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa was recited, and discourses on it were given by Pt. Ramalakshamanacharya of Varanasi.

8. Translation of the Report of the Calendar Reform Committee

After the conclusion of the last year's Pandit Conference which was held under the auspices of the All India Kashiraj Trust at Varanasi to consider the question of the *Kṣaya* and *Adhika* Months and the question of proper dates for the celebration of the festivals, the Trust has decided to get the Report of the Calendar Reform Committee of the Government of India translated into Hindi by its Purāṇa-Department. The translation has now been completed. The Trust has approached the Central Govt. for permission to print and publish the translation.

9. International Congress of Orientalists

The International Congress of Orientalists in its 25th Session at Moscow had already appreciated the Purāṇa work of the Kashiraj Trust and passed the following Resolution :—

“This present 25th International Congress of Orientalists expresses gratification at the starting of critical editions of the Purāṇas by the Kashiraj Trust of Varanasi on the lines of the Mahābhārata by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona and the Rāmāyaṇa by the M. S. University of Baroda, and hopes that international co-operation will be forthcoming for the efficient execution of this important work.”

In the 26th Session of this Oriental Congress held at New Delhi in January last 1964 the Trust sent three representatives, Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh (Trustee of the Kashiraj

७—पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

माघमासे (जनवरी, १९६४) ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य पारायणमभूत्, वाराणसेय-संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयाध्यापकेन पं० नीलमेघाचार्येण तद्विषयकाणि प्रवचनानि च कृतानि । पुनश्च फाल्गुनमासे (फरवरी १९६४) अग्निपुराणस्य पारायणं समभवत् । वाराणस्याः पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्रिदातारेण तद्विषयकाणि प्रवचनानि च कृतानि । चैत्रमासे (मार्च १९६४) आनन्दरामायणस्य पाठोऽभूत् तत्रापि पं० नीलमेघाचार्येण प्रवचनानि कृतानि ।

८—पञ्चाङ्गसुधारसमितेः प्रतिवेदनस्यानुवादः

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने क्षयाधिकमासयोः प्रश्नविचारणाय पर्वणां शुद्धकालनिर्णयाय च गतवर्षे या पण्डितसभाऽभूत् तत्समाप्तेरनन्तरं न्यासेन भारतसरकारस्य पञ्चाङ्गसुधारसमितेः आंग्लभाषायां निबद्धस्य प्रतिवेदनस्य स्व-पुराणविभागद्वारा हिन्दीभाषायां भाषान्तरीकरणाय निश्चयः कृतः । सम्प्रत्यनु-वादकार्यं समाप्तम् । न्यासेन अस्यानुवादस्य मुद्रणस्य प्रकाशनस्य चाज्ञायै भारतसरकारेण सह सम्पर्कः स्थापितः ।

९—प्राच्यविद्या-विश्वसम्मेलनम्

प्राच्यविद्याविश्वसम्मेलनं मास्कोनगरीये २५ तमे स्वस्मिन्नधिवेशने काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणकार्यस्य प्रशंसामकरोत् । अथ च तद्विषयकं निम्नलिखितं प्रस्तावं तेन पारितम्—

प्राच्यविद्याविदामेतत् २५ तमं सम्मेलनं वाराणस्याः काशिराज-न्यासेन भाण्डारकर ओरियण्टल रिसर्च इन्स्टीच्यूट (पूना) द्वारा सम्पादितस्य महाभारतस्याथ च एम. एस. यूनिवर्सिटी (बड़ौदा) द्वारा सम्पादितस्य वाल्मीकि-रामायणस्य पद्धत्याऽऽरब्धानां पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणानां विषये सन्तोषमनुभवति आशास्ते चास्य महत्त्वपूर्णकार्यस्य सम्यक् परिपूरणायान्तरराष्ट्रियसहयोगोऽपि प्राप्स्यते ।

गत जनवरी १९६४ मासे दिल्लीनगरे यत् २६ तमं प्राच्यविद्या-विश्वसम्मेलनमभवत् तस्मिन् न्यासः व्रीन्प्रतिनिधीन् प्रेषितवान् महाराजकुमार डॉ० रघुवीरसिंहः (काशिराजन्यासस्य न्यासी), श्रीरमेशचन्द्रदेवः

Trust), Sri Ramesh Chandra De (General Secretary of the Trust) and Sri Anand Swarup Gupta (Editor-in-Charge of 'Purāṇa' bulletin)—to attend the XXVI Session of the International Congress of Orientalists held in new Delhi in January last. Sri A. S. Gupta read his paper entitled "The Problem of Interpretation of the Purāṇas" in the classical Section of the Congress on January 6. In this paper he discussed the problems of interpreting Purāṇas and stressed the need for a sympathetic approach.

The Congress unanimously passed the following Resolution in its concluding Session :—

"The XXVI Session of the International Congress of Orientalists welcomes the undertaking by the All India Kashiraj Trust at Banaras of the Purāṇa Project for the critical edition of all the Purāṇas and critical studies related to the Purāṇas in all aspects, and recommends that persons and institutions interested in Oriental Research lend their support and co-operation in the undertaking."

The Trust expresses its thanks to the Congress for appreciating its activities.

10. Cultural Entertainment

In collaboration with the Indo-German Cultural Association of the Banaras Hindu University the Kashiraj Trust arranged for a performance of *Koodiyatham* by Mani Madhavan Chakyar and party of Keral in the Ramnagar Fort on 23rd March 1964. The play chosen for presentation was the 'Abhiṣeka' of Bhāsa. The language of the performance was Sanskrit and admission was free. Sri Chakyar and his party dressed in the traditional costume and make up presented the story in the form of the precise mime, introducing dialogue in Sankrit where necessary. The audience enjoyed the performance. Some foreign research scholars from the B. H. U. also were among the audience.

11. Distinguished Visitors

(1) Most of the Vice-Chancellors of the Indian Universities who had come to attend the Vice-Chancellors' Conference held

(न्यासस्य महासचिवः), श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तश्च । श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः Problem of Interpretation of the Purānas नामकं आंग्लभाषायां निबद्धं स्वनिबन्धं ६ जनवरी दिनाङ्के सम्मेलनस्य 'क्लासिकल' विभागे पठितवान् । अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणानां व्याख्यासम्बन्धिनीनां समस्यानां विवेचनं कृतम् । अथ च पुराणानां सहृदयतापूर्वकाध्ययनस्यावश्यकता प्रतिपादिता ।

एतत् प्राच्यविद्याविश्वसम्मेलनमन्तिमेऽधिवेशने सर्वसम्मत्या निम्नलिखितं प्रस्तावमपारयत्—

“प्राच्यविद्याविद्याविदामन्तराष्ट्रीयमहासभायाः २६तममिदं सम्मेलनम् सर्वेषां पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणनिर्माणाय अथ च पुराणानां विविधाय आलोचनात्मकाध्ययनाय च वाराणस्याः काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणयोजनाया अनुमोदनं करोति, तथा च संस्तुतिं करोति यत् प्राच्यविद्याविदो विद्वांसः प्राच्यविद्यासंस्था-श्चास्मिन् कार्ये स्वसाहाय्यं सहयोगञ्च प्रयच्छन्तु ।”

काशिराजन्यासः प्राच्यविद्याविश्वसम्मेलनं प्रति न्यासकार्यस्यानुमोदनाय स्वकृतज्ञतां ज्ञापयति ।

१०—सांस्कृतिको विनोदः

काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीय 'इण्डो-जर्मन्-करचरल-एसोसिएशन' इत्यस्य सहयोगेन काशिराजन्यासः केरलस्थानीयेन मणिमाधवचक्रियार महोदयेन तत्सहयोगिभिश्चाभिनेयस्य 'कोडियत्थम्' इत्यभिनयस्य व्यवस्थामकरोत् । तदनुसारेण गतमार्चमासस्य २३ तमे दिवसे रामनगरदुर्गे भासस्याभिषेकनाटकस्याभिनयः कृतः । नाटकप्रदर्शनं संस्कृतभाषायामभूत्, सर्वे च दर्शका निःशुल्कं प्रवेशमलभन्त ।

प्राचीनपरम्परानुकूलवेषधारिणः श्रीचक्रियारस्तत्सहयोगिनश्च कथानकं संक्षेपेण प्रदर्शितवन्तः । तैः यथावसरे संस्कृतभाषाऽपि प्रयुक्ता । दर्शका अनेनाभिनयेन परं सन्तुष्टा अभवन् । दर्शकेषु केचन हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयादागता वैदेशिकाश्छात्रा अप्यासन् ।

११—विशिष्टा अतिथयः

(१) गतवर्षे दिशम्बरमासस्यान्तिमे सप्ताहे काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालये यत्

at the Banaras Hindu University in the last week of December 1963, were invited by His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras, to breakfast in his Palace at Ramnagar. Copies of the 'Purāṇa' and other publications of the Trust were presented to them. They showed keen interest in the activities of the Trust.

(2) A party of the members of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana Bombay, on tour visited Varanasi. They were invited by His Highness to tea and light refreshment in the Ramnagar Fort. Some prominent members of the party, specially Prof. Nalin M. Bhatt took great interest in the activities of the Trust, and discussed some important cultural and literary topics with His Highness.

(3) Distinguished foreign delegates of the Delhi Session of the International Congress of Orientalists were invited by the Kashiraj Trust to visit its Purāṇa Department. Among them Dr. F. B. J. Kuiper, Director of the Kern Institute, Leiden (Holland) and Dr. J. A. B. van Buitenen of Chicago were kind enough to come here and visit the Purāṇa Department. They saw the Purāṇa work of the Trust and gave their useful suggestions, especially on the Concordance work and also promised their future co-operation. Dr. Kuiper and Dr. Buitenen afterwards sent here letters, appreciating the Purāṇa work of the Trust. We are thankful to them for their keen interest and co-operation.

(4) Dr. F. Moller Kristensen of the Royal Danish Academy Denmark, a delegate of Delhi Session of the Oriental International Congress, also visited the Purāṇa Department of the Trust and had discussion with His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras, the Chairman of the Trust, about the Purāṇa work taken up by the Trust.

(5) On March 24 two famous Soviet writers, the military novelist, Mr. Mikhail Aleneyer, and the Uzbek poet, Mr. Ramz Babdjan, visited His Highness in the Ramnagar Palace and discussed several topics of interest, specially concerning the military accounts of the Mahābhārata. Copies of the 'Purāṇa' bulletin were presented to them.

कुलपतिसम्मेलनमभूत्तत्र समागताः कुलपतयः तत्रभवता काशिराजेन रामनगरस्थ-
प्रासादे प्रातराहाराय निमन्त्रिता आसन् । न्यासस्य पुराणपत्रिकास्तथा चान्य-
प्रकाशनानि तेभ्यः प्रदत्तानि । ते न्यासस्य कार्यकलापेऽभिरुचिं प्रादर्शयन् ।

(२) भारतीयविद्याभवन(बम्बई)संस्थायाः केचन सदस्या यात्राप्रसङ्गेन
वाराणसीमागताः । ते तत्रभवद्भिः काशिराजैः रामनगरदुर्गे निमन्त्रिताः ।
अस्याः संस्थायाः केचन मुख्याः सदस्याः, विशेषतः प्रो० नलिन एम्.
भटः महोदयः, न्यासस्य कार्यकलापेऽत्यधिकामभिरुचिं प्रदर्शितवन्तः । तथा
च ते श्रीमद्भिर्महाराजैस्साकं महत्त्वपूर्णां संस्कृतिविषये वार्तामकुर्वन् ।

(३) प्राच्यविद्याविश्वसम्मेलने आगताः केचित् वैदेशिका अतिथयः
काशिराजन्यासेन पुराणविभागं द्रष्टुं निमन्त्रिता आसन् ।

लाइडन (हालैंड) नगरस्थाया कर्न इन्स्टीच्यूट इत्यस्याः संस्थायाः निदेशकः
श्री. डॉ. एफ्. बी. जे. कीपरमहोदयस्तथा शिकागोनगरस्य डॉ. जे. ए. बी. वान
व्यूटेनेनमहोदयश्च पुराणविभागे आगतौ । न्यासस्य पुराणकार्यं दृष्ट्वा तौ
उचितपरामर्शं दत्तवन्तौ, विशेषतश्च पुराणविषयसूचीनिर्माणविषये । भविष्येऽपि
सहयोगाय तौ वचनबद्धौ जातौ । तदनन्तरं कीपरमहोदयः ब्यूटिनमहोदयश्च
पत्राण्यत्र प्रेषितवन्तौ । तेषु च पुराणकार्यस्य प्रशंसां कृतवन्तौ ।

वयं ताभ्यां प्रति अस्मै सहयोगाय न्यासस्य पुराणकार्येऽभिरुचिप्रदर्शनाय
च कृतज्ञतां ज्ञापयामः ।

(४) दिल्लीनगरीयस्य प्राच्यविद्याविश्वसम्मेलनस्यैकः 'प्रतिनिधिः रायल डैनिश
एकादमी' (डेनमार्क), इत्यस्याः संस्थायाः एफ. मोलर क्रिस्टेन्सेन महोदयोऽपि
न्यासस्य पुराणविभागे आगतः । स न्यासस्याध्यक्षमहोदयैः तत्रभवद्भिः
काशिराजैः सह न्यासस्य पुराणकार्यविषये विमर्शमकरोत् ।

२४ तमे मार्चदिवसे द्वौ प्रथितौ रूसदेशीयलेखकौ रामनगरप्रासादे
महाराजं दृष्टवन्तौ । तयोरेकः श्री मिखेल अलेनेयर महोदयः प्रसिद्धो युद्ध-
सम्बन्धिनामुपन्यासानां कर्ता, अपरश्च उब्जेकविः श्री रैम्ज़वन्दजनमहोदयः ।
तौ महाराजेन सह महाभारतस्य विषयिकीं विविधां सैन्यविवरणविषयिकीमन्यां
च विविधां वार्तां कृतवन्तौ । ताभ्यां पुराणपत्रिका उपहारीकृता ।

(6) Dr. P. L. Vaidya from B. O. R. I. Poona also visited His Highness in the Ramnagar Palace on April 17, 1964 and discussed some important points about the critical editions of the Purāṇas. He also promised to send details of the graphic system of collation and also supply regularly from his Institute articles on the comparative study of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas for the publication in the 'Purāṇa' bulletin.

(7) In the last week of April Dr. Sampurnanand, Governor of Rajasthan, and Maharaja Kumar Dr. Raghbir Singh, both of whom are the distinguished Trustees of the Kashiraj Trust, attended the meeting of the Kashiraj Trust, and were the guests of His Highness. They also came to pay a visit to His Highness in the Ramnagar Fort, and saw the work of the Purāṇa Department. They both discussed the details of the Hindi translation of the Report of the Calendar Reforms Committee.

The Trust expresses its sincere thanks to all these distinguished visitors for their useful suggestions and kind cooperation.

12. Purchase of Property

A house property just adjoining the Shivala premises of the Trust has been purchased by the Trust for the use of guests more particularly scholars visiting Varanasi.

13. Tourist Information Section

The Tourist Information Section of the Trust is carrying on its work as usual and the Tourists are also helped by affording facilities to perform their religious rites in the said premises which is just on the bank of River Ganges. This facility is granted to them free of charge.

14. New Trustee

It is gratifying to note that Pt. Giridhari Lal Mehta of Varanasi has kindly accepted his nomination by His Highness as a Trustee of the All-India Kashiraj Trust in the vacancy caused by the sad demise of Pt. Murari Lal Mehta. We offer him our cordial welcome.

(६) पूनानगरस्थायाः भाण्डारकर ओरियण्टल रिसर्च संस्थायाः डॉ. पी. एल्. वैद्यमहोदयः अप्रैलमासस्य १७ दिनाङ्के रामनगरप्रासादे तत्रभवन्तं महाराजं द्रष्टुमागतः । ताभ्यां पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणानां विषये बहवः महत्त्वपूर्णाः विषयाश्च विमर्शिताः । डॉ. वैद्यमहोदयैः पाठसंवादस्य विषये ग्राफिकपद्धत्या विस्तृतं विवरणं प्रेषितुं पुराणपत्रिकायां प्रकाशनाय स्वशोधनसंस्थानात् नियमित-रूपेण महाभारतस्य पुराणानां च विषये तुलनात्मकाध्ययनविषयकान् लेखान् प्रेषयितुं च प्रतिज्ञातम् ।

(७) अप्रैलमासस्यान्तिमे सप्ताहे न्यासस्य द्वौ सम्मानितौ न्यासधारिणौ राजस्थानस्य राज्यपाल डा० सम्पूर्णानन्दमहोदयः, महाराजकुमारः डा० रघुवीरसिंहश्च काशिराजन्यासस्याधिवेशने सम्मिलितौ, श्रीमतो महाराजकाशिनरेशस्य अतिथी च आस्ताम् । तौ रामनगरदुर्गेऽपि महाराजेन मिलितुमागतौ पुराणविभागस्य निरीक्षणमपि कृतवन्तौ, पञ्चाङ्गसमितेः प्रतिवेदनस्य हिन्दी-भाषान्तरविषये विचारविमर्शं च कृतवन्तौ ।

काशिराजन्यास एतेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो विशिष्टातिथिभ्यः तेषां सहयोगाय उपयोगिमत्प्रदानाय च कृतज्ञतां धन्यवादांश्च प्रकाशयति ।

१२—सम्पत्तिक्रयः

न्यासस्य शिवालाभवनस्य सन्निकटे स्थितमेकं गृहमतिथीनां विशेषतो वाराणसीमागतानां विदुषामुपयोगाय न्यासेन क्रीतम् ।

१३—यात्रिणां सूचनाविभागः

न्यासस्य यात्रिसूचनाविभागः स्वकार्यं यथापूर्वं करोति । उपर्युक्तस्थले, यस्तु गङ्गायाः समीप एव वर्तते, यात्रिणां धार्मिककृत्यसम्पादनाय सुविधाप्रदानद्वारा न्यासेन सहायता क्रियते । एषा सुविधा तेभ्यः निःशुल्का एव प्रदीयते ।

१४—अभिनवो न्यास-सदस्यः

इदं सूचयन्तो वयं सन्तोषमनुभवामः यत् काश्याः पं० गिरिधारीलाल-मेहतामहोदयः पं० मुरारीलालमेहतामहोदयस्य निधनेन हेतुना तद्विक्तस्थाने काशिराजन्यासस्य न्यासिपदे तत्रभवता महाराजेन कृतां स्वनियुक्तिमङ्गीकृतवान् ॥ वयमेतां नियुक्तिं हृदयेनाभिनन्दामः ।

BOOK-REVIEW

The Gītā and Indian Culture :—By H. H. Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiar, Orient Longmans, 1963, Price Rupees Three.

The *Bhagavad-Gītā* is the central core of the *Mahābhārata* which Poet Rabindranath Tagore considered as the Eternal History of India. The learned Maharaja of Mysore, who is the author of this brochure, has tried to show in the two essays contained in this book how the *Bhagavad-Gītā* represents the perennial philosophy of India. The two essays bear the captions, (1) *The Gītā on Righteousness* and (2) *The Conception of Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña in the Gītā*.

The Maharaja has started with the statement that he is a devotee of the Gītā. This is evident from every line of the work. He is also a follower of the tradition of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya, as is natural for the head of a state in which the Śrīṅgerī Maṭha has existed for the last several centuries. He has believed, therefore, that the purport of the Gītā lies in *Jñāna*, 'Knowledge'. He thinks that "A man of knowledge alone can work of the good of the world (*loka-saṅgraha*) by precept and example". He appears to agree with the view that the eighteen verses 54-71 of the second chapter on the *sthita-prajña* form the substance of the entire teaching of the eighteen chapters of the Gītā," a view forcefully defended by a recent commentator on the *Gītā* in Bengali, the retired Professor of Chemistry of the Allahabad University, Sri Kshetra Pada Chatterjee. The Maharaja has tried to show in the first essay that it is only the *sthita-prajña* who is capable of truly righteous conduct.

In the second essay, the author has tried to show the symbolism of the war with which the Gītā starts. Kurukṣetra is with him the battle field of life. Like the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, both belonging to the same family who were at war, non-knowledge and knowledge, which form the whole content of the world, are perennially at war. It is through the victory of

knowledge that good will prevail. For that knowledge, chapter XIII of the *Gītā* gives to us the necessary materials in short form. The ascent from matter to spirit through life is the journey to be undertaken. This is where *Svādhyāya* helps. *Īśvarānugraha* or the grace of God acts in the sence of God helping those who help themselves.

From the summary and quotations given above, it is clear that this little book is very interesting and useful for the solution of many of our present day problems. It is not necessary that every reader will agree with every statement in the book. The reviewer himself does not. The Maharaja seems to agree with the view that "the full meaning of the *Gītā* can only be captured by repeated reading and study (*pārāyana*)". That is what the reviewer was taught by his Guru, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganatha Jha, who thought that the different Āchāryas had pulled the *Gītā* each his own way to the obscuration of the real meaning of this great work. But the reviewer feels that the author of this interesting work has under the influence of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya's commentary failed to do full justice to several passages of the *Gītā* which clearly lay emphasis on *bhakti* (devotion) and *prapatti* (complete surrender to God). The final teaching of the *Gītā* appears to be :

सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज । (XVIII. 66).

There are a few mistakes in translation in the book under review. E. g. the second half of verse VI. 35,

असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम् ॥

अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च गृह्यते ॥

has been translated as "Truth is grasped by *Abhyāsa* and *Vairāgya*" on page 34, whereas *manah* (mind) of the first half of the verse is the subject of *grhyate* (is controlled) of second verse. Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya has also taken that obvious view. In the Kaṭhōpaniṣad passage नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यः ; *pravacanena* has been wrongly rendered as "by reading books," (p. 35), whereas the

word means "exposition of the texts learnt". It cannot mean learning of many Vedic texts, as explained by Śaṅkara, because of what follows, न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन. For the correct meaning of *pravacana*, one may refer to a well known passage in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini's grammar, चतुर्भिश्च प्रकारैर्विद्योपयुक्ता भवत्यागमकालेन स्वाध्यायकालेन प्रवचनकालेन व्यवहारकालेनेति (Āhnikā 1, Kielhorn's edition, Volume I, pp. 5-6).

The translation of *Satyādharmaḥ dr̥ṣṭavyaḥ* in *Īsopaniṣad* verse 15, as "to my vision who am truthful and righteous" (p. 30) cannot be defended. The author has followed Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in taking the word *Satya-dharma* as a Bahuvrīhi. But even in a Bahuvrīhi the two members cannot be co-ordinates. The first is an adjective or otherwise qualifies the second member. Śaṅkara analyses the compound as *Satyam dharmo yasya* and not, as the author's translation implies, *Satyam ca dharmas ca yasya*. In spite of the view of Śaṅkara, probably based on the accent of the compounded word, we cannot take *satyadharmā* to be a Bahuvrīhi compound, because in every other passage of the vast Vedic literature, *satya* and *dharmā* when compounded as a Bahuvrīhi become *Satya-dharman* and not *satya-dharma*.¹ One may recall in this connexion Pāṇini's sūtra धर्मादिनिच् केवलात् (V. 4. 124), applicable to both the classical and the Vedic language. *Satya-dharma* in the *Īsopaniṣad* has, therefore, to be explained as a Kārmadhāraya, meaning the true *dharmā*. That is how the word has been explained by implication in the comment on this verse in *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* VI. 36 (एष ह वै सत्यधर्मो यदादित्यस्य आदित्यत्वम्). The fourth case-ending in सत्यधर्मयि is a case of case-attraction due to the following दृष्टये (meaning सत्यधर्मस्य दृष्टये) like the well-known passage दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् in *R̥gveda-Saṁhitā* I. 50. 1.

In spite of these minor points, the book under review is on the whole extremely useful.

K. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

1. *Vaidikopadānukramakośa*, Vol. II. p. 1015, XIII, 3231, XIV 3948,

In Memoriam

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru passed away on the 27th May, 1964 after a brief illness. Only five days back he informed the Press Conference that his life was not to end so soon. Panditji's death was so unexpected that the news stunned the whole Nation. Not to say of his own motherland, the whole world felt the shock. For his endeavours to bring about World Peace he had endeared himself to the peace-loving people of the world. He was a true believer of the great Indian ideal of 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्' and always thought of Peace and happiness for the humanity as a whole, for which at times he had to sacrifice the interests of his own.

He was born in a Brahmin family and remained a greater Brahmin in his sub-conscious mind, though outwardly he was affected by the impact of the age of science and technology. The Western education could not take away from him "the racial traditions of hundreds of generations." Panditji's broad vision conceived of the Hinduism of the days prior to the foreign incursion and domination, when hordes of foreigners came here and merged their identity into the great ocean of Indian Culture like small streams. He wanted to take back the Hindu religion and culture from the present static condition to its old dynamic quality when it had the capacity for synthesis of various religions of the world and could welcome everyone to its fold.

Curious are the ways of nature; circumstances took Panditji to Politics which restricted his vision to a limited sphere. Otherwise with his outstanding personality, affectionate nature and strong personal magnetism he could have been a great Reformer and would have ranked with Gautama Buddha and Sankara.

To the All India Kashiraj Trust his death has been an irreparable loss. The Trust always received his support and patronage since its creation. His message at its inauguration was;

“I am glad to learn that the All-India Kashiraj Trust will be inaugurated by the President. I think it is a very good idea to issue books for children. I send you all my good wishes on this occasion.”

The Trust invited him to accept its first publication. This, he was kind enough to accept and came to Varanasi on January 12, 1962 and stayed at Nandesar House with Mr. U. Nu. We never dreamt that it would be his last association with Varanasi.

Before a huge gathering at the premises of the Trust at Shivala he accepted from the Chairman of the Trust the first copy of the critical edition of Sri Rāmacharita Mānasa. He honoured the Editor, Pt. Vishwanath Prasad Misra by presenting to him a pair of shawls. He had a high regard for the immortal work of Goswāmī Tulasīdāsa, as will be evident from his speech delivered on the occasion which is being reproduced below from tape recording. :—

महाराजा साहब और सज्जो,

आज आपने यहाँ बुलाकर और इस कार्य में शरीक करके मुझे खुशी दी खुशी हुई मुझे और मैं आप सबका अनुग्रहीत हूँ। आपने जो चन्द शब्द कहे, तो उसमें एक सौ वर्ष की कहानी सुनायी हमें कि कैसे यह कार्य आज के सौ वर्ष पहले शुरू किया था आपके पूर्वजों ने और यह चलते-चलते बीच में, शायद रुक भी गया। तो फिर आपने दुबारा उस काम को आगे बढ़ाया और एक शुद्ध खात्मा हुआ, आपने आज उसे मुझे दी।

जो काम सौ वर्ष में पूरा हुआ, समय के लिहाज से वह बहुत बड़ा काम था। यह सौ साल का समय एक विशेष समय हो जाता है। अलावा इसके रामचरितमानस की प्रतियाँ देख उसका एक शुद्ध एडिशन निकालना आवश्यक बात थी और हिन्दी साहित्य और दुनियाँ के तमाम साहित्यों के लिए बहुत अच्छी बात थी।

दुनियाँ में प्रसिद्ध बहुत सी पुस्तकें हैं, कोई धार्मिक या और इस तरह से उनका मुकाबला करना कठिन है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ दुनियाँ में बहुत कम पुस्तकें ऐसी हैं जिसका असर आमजनता पर इतना अधिक पड़ा है जितना कि तुलसीदासजी के रामचरितमानस का। यह तो हमारे लिए, भारत विशेषकर उत्तर भारत के लिए, ऐसी पुस्तक है, जो दिलों दिमागों में बँध गयी है। मुझे वर्षों हुये, आश्चर्य होता है शायद ३० वर्ष, ४० वर्ष की बात कह रहा हूँ। बहुत दिन की बात, जब गाँवों में जाता था, अवध के गाँवों में जाता था तो बहुत से अनपढ़ किसान जिन्हें नाम तक लिखने का ज्ञान नहीं

था, वे रामचरितमानस को गाते थे, दुहराते थे। इतना याद था कि वे उसे दुहराते थे। मुझे आश्चर्य भी होता था और खुशी भी। मैंने महसूस किया कि कैसे तुलसीदास ने हमारे जीवन को ढाला है। यानी जो एक अक्षर पढ़ नहीं सकते थे रामचरितमानस उन्हें याद था। उनके मन में मानस सुनते-सुनते याद हो गया था अपनी बातों की उपमा में दोहे कह देते थे। उनकी सांस्कृतिक शिक्षा हो गयी, उनका दिमाग खाली नहीं था जैसा कि अशिक्षित या अपढ़ लोगों का होता है। बल्कि मैं कहूंगा कि उनकी शिक्षा ज्यादा अच्छी हुई बनिस्वत उनसे जो कुछ लिखना-पढ़ना जान लें और दिमाग में गहराया न हो। यानी गहराया उनके दिमाग में आ गई इस तरह कई सौ बरस से इस बड़ी पुस्तक ने हमलोगों को ढाला।

इससे ज्यादा बड़ाई या प्रशंसा किसी पुस्तक की क्या हो सकती है, जिसका इतना असर है वह सदा ही होता जायगा। ऐसी पुस्तक का शुद्ध एडिशन निकले यह एक जरूरी काम था और आप, महाराजा और आपके परिवार ने जो इस बड़े काम को उठाया और पूरा किया उन्हें मैं बधाई देता हूँ और आचार्य भी, जिन आचार्यों ने इस कार्य को किया उन्हें भी बधाई देता हूँ। यह कहानी रामचरितमानस की तुलसीदासजी की पुस्तक तो प्रसिद्ध ही है, दक्खिन में हमारे देश की और भाषाओं में यह कहानी चलती है, प्रसिद्ध है।

इतना जैसा कि मैंने शुरू में कहा बहुत कम पुस्तकें होंगी या कहानियाँ होंगी जिसने इतना जबरदस्त असर किसी जाति, कौम या देश पर डाला है। हमारे लिये वह बहुत कीमती है। हमारे इतिहास का ही हिस्सा नहीं हमारे करोड़ों आदमियों के दिलों का हिस्सा हो गयी है।

मैं फिर से आपको, राजा साहब आपको और आचार्य लोगों को बधाई देता हूँ।

How we wish that he were with us for a few years more so that the Trust could have the opportunity of bringing out books for children about which he had suggested in his message.

His last wish was that his "ashes be thrown into the Gaṅgā at Allahabad." This having been accomplished, we pray that God may bestow on him the coveted place in the other world which, according to ancient Hindu traditions, a mortal obtains when his ashes are consigned to the holy river Gaṅgā :

“गङ्गातोयेषु यस्यास्थि क्षिप्यते शुभकर्म
न तस्य पुनरावृत्तिर्ब्रह्मलोकान्नातनात् ॥

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I, Ramesh Chandra De, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Ramesh Chandra De,
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"The XXVI Session of the *International Congress of Orientalists* welcomes the undertaking by the All-India Kashiraj Trust at Banaras of the Purāna project for the critical edition of all the Purānas and critical studies related to the Purānas in all aspects, and recommends that persons and institutions interested in Oriental research lend their support and co-operation in the undertaking."