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VYĀSA-PŪRNIMĀ NUMBER

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

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लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,  
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् न्यासं च निबध्नन्ति

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व्यासोऽप्युवाच तं देवमशुद्ध्वा मा लिख क्वचित् ।  
ओमित्युक्त्वा गणेशोऽपि ब्रह्मव क्लिप्त लेखकः ॥

( म. भा. आदिपर्व, १.७९ )

## ILLUSTRATION OF VYĀSA

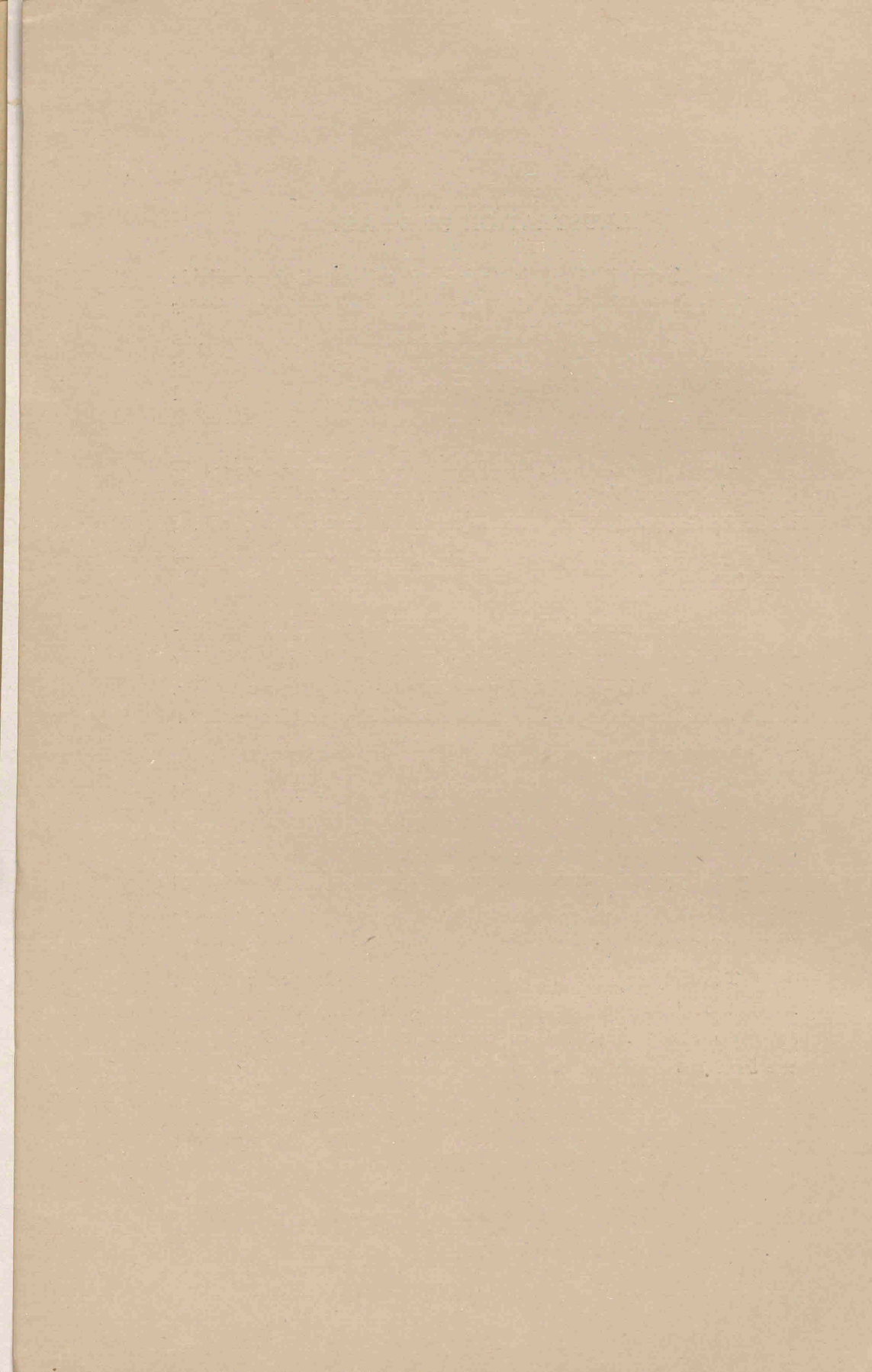
The Kashiraj Trust is trying to collect all the available paintings and illustrations of Vyāsa, depicting various episodes and phases of his life, and painted in old traditional as well as in the modern style. Some illustrations of Vyāsa have already been published in our 'Purāṇa' Bulletin, all prepared in old traditional style.

The painting of Vyāsa published in Vol. II (1960) of 'Purāṇa' depicts Vyāsa as sitting in tense concentration, with his scribe Gaṇapati depicted in a mood of discomfiture, asking the sage for respite, so that he may probe into the depth of his kūṭa ślokas.

The illustration of Vyāsa given here is a reprint of the illustration which appeared on the cover-page of the Illustrated Weekly of August 25, 1963, and is being published here by their courtsey. It has been prepared by Shri Madhusudan Rao in the 'cubism' style, a form of the modern impressionist style of painting.

This painting also depicts Vyāsa with Gaṇapati as his amanuensis. Vyāsa is depicted here with an extraordinary long beard and with his eyes half-closed in a mood of deep thinking, and god Gaṇapati writing the ślokas of the Mahābhārata which are being instantaneously composed by Vyāsa and dictated by him to his scribe, god Gaṇapati.

The importance of this illustration lies in the fact that it shows that the modern styles of painting are also extending their scope to the ancient Indian themes described in the epics and the Purāṇas.





## पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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## व्यास-गायत्री

ॐ पूर्णज्ञानाय विद्महे पूर्णानन्दाय धीमहि ।  
तन्नो व्यासः प्रचोदयात् ॥

### व्यासगायत्रीध्यानम्

ध्यायेच्छशाङ्कशतकोट्यतिसौरुच्यकान्ति  
संसिच्यमानममृतोरुघटैः सुरेशैः ।  
वर्णाभिमानिभिरजेशमृखैः सहैव  
पञ्चाशता प्रतिगिरन्तमशेषविद्याः ॥

## A NOTE ON THE VYĀSA-GĀYATRĪ

This *Vyāsa-gāyatrī* is given in the 'विनायकादि-पूजापद्धति' published in 1922 at Kumbhakonam (South India) by R. Gururāja Āchārya, second edition, p. 28.

It is preceded by :—

वेदव्यासध्यानं—

विज्ञानरोचिःपरिपूरितान्तर्बाह्याण्डकोशं हरितोपलाभम् ।

तर्काभयेतं विधिशर्वपूर्वगीर्वाणविज्ञानदमानतोस्मि ॥

व्यां व्यासाय नमः । वेदव्यासगायत्रीध्यानं—

ध्यायेच्छशाङ्कशतकोट्यतिसौख्यकान्ति

संसिच्यमानममृतोरुषटैः सुरेशैः ।

वर्णाभिमानिभिरजेशमुखैः सहैव

पञ्चाशता प्रतिगिरन्तमशेषविद्याः ॥

In the *तन्त्रसारसंग्रह* of Śrīmad Ānanda-tīrtha (Madhvācārya) *Bhagavat-pādācārya* (published by P. K. Madhvācārya of Tiruvallikēṇi, Madras, 1935) we have the basis of this *Vyāsa-gāyatrī* as follows :—

ज्ञानानन्दपुरः पूर्णो विद्महे धीमहे तथा ।

तन्नः प्रेरणमध्ये तु व्यासो मन्त्राधिपाधिपः ॥ (45.1)

The two ślokas of the वेदव्यासध्यान and व्यासबीजध्यान as quoted above from the 'विनायकादि-पूजापद्धति' are also given in the *तन्त्रसारसंग्रह* of Ānanda-tīrtha (4.50 and 4.53 respectively). The *तन्त्रसारसंग्रह* calls this व्यासगायत्रीमन्त्र as 'मन्त्राधिपाधिपः' i.e. the lord or king of all the *mantras*. It also says that this व्यासगायत्री मन्त्र (or the व्यासबीज) destroys all sins, cures all diseases, and gives salvation :—

आदिबीजं स्थिरादोष (v.l. ०राशेष) ज्ञानबीजं विमुक्तिदम् ।

सर्वपापक्षयकरं सर्वव्याधिविनाशनम् ॥ (4.52)

The *तन्त्रसारसंग्रह* says that though in the Kaliyuga *mantras*

have become ineffective, yet the व्यासमन्त्र and the कृष्णमन्त्र are quite effective :—

दृष्टार्थ एव मन्त्राणां कलौ वीर्यं तिरस्कृतम् ।

तत्राप्युद्दीप्तवीर्या हि मन्त्रा अत्र प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

वासिष्ठवृष्णिप्रवरमन्त्रास्तत्रापि वीर्यदाः ॥ (4. 46-47 ab)

Those who recite this *Vedavyāsa-gāyatrī* also recite (traditionally) the *R̥ṣi*, *Chandas* and *Devatā* of this *mantra* as follows :—

अस्य श्री वेदव्यासमन्त्रस्य ब्रह्मा ऋषिः, गायत्री छन्दः, श्री वेदव्यासो देवता ।

In the *Gaṇapati-Upaniṣad* we have the *Gaṇapati-gāyatrī* composed in the similar style :—

गणक ऋषिः । निचृद्गायत्री छन्दः । श्रीमहागणपतिदेवता । ॐ गं  
गणपतये नमः ।

एकदन्ताय विद्महे वक्रतुण्डाय धीमहि ।

तन्नो दन्ती प्रचोदयात् ॥

In some other *Upaniṣads* also (which are probably of later date than those commented upon by Śaṅkara, and are influenced by the *Tantras*) *Gāyatrī*s of various deities are given in the similar style, e.g. :—

नारायणाय विद्महे वासुदेवाय धीमहि । तन्नो विष्णुः प्रचोदयात् ॥

गोविन्दाय विद्महे वासुदेवाय धीमहि । तन्नो नारायणः प्रचोदयात् ।

( नारायणपूर्वतापनीयोपनिषद् )

आदित्याय विद्महे सहस्रकिरणाय धीमहि । तन्नः सूर्यः प्रचोदयात् ।

( सूर्योपनिषद् )

महाकालाय विद्महे श्मशानवासिने धीमहि । तन्नो रुद्रः प्रचोदयात् ॥

( पारायणोपनिषद्, Unpublished *Upaniṣads*, Adyar 1933, p. 302)

In the *tantras* of Śrī Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa also more than 25 *Gāyatrī*s of different Deities are given in the same style. (*Chaukhamba*, Banaras, edition, pp. 68-70).

† When the *Gāyatrī* metre (a metre of three *pādas*, and each *pāda* of eight syllables) has one syllable less, it is called the *Nicṛd-gāyatrī*,

as says Kātyāyana in his *Sarvānukramaṇikā*—‘अथ छन्दांसि.....

चतुर्विंशत्यक्षरादीनि चतुरुत्तराणि । ऊनाधिकेनैकेन निचृद्भूरिजौ । द्वाभ्यां  
विराट्स्वराजौ ।’

All these *Gāyatrī*-s including the *Vedavyāsa-gāyatrī* are the Tāntric *Gāyatrī*s and are composed in a style different from that of the famous Vedic *Gāyatrī* relating to God *Savitā* (viz. तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ *R̥gveda* III. 62. 10 ; etc.).

In the *Savitṛ-gāyatrī* its three *pādas* are connected with each other in sense, and its Deity has been mentioned simply as 'सविता देवः' (सवितुर्देवस्य). But in the *Gāyatrī*-s of the other Deities as given mainly in the Tāntric Upaniṣads and the Tantras, the three *pādas* are somewhat independent in sense, and each *pāda* contains a different epithet of the Deity, and also a different verb (1st *pāda*-विद्महे, 2nd *pāda*-धीमहि or धीमहे, 3rd *pāda* प्रचोदयात् ). Another peculiarity of these *Gāyatrī*s is this that the nouns governed by the verbs विद्महे and धीमहि have both the dative instead of the accusative (which we have in the *Savitṛ-Gāyatrī* as वरेण्यं भर्गो धीमहि ).

In the *Vedavyāsa-gāyatrī* also we have three epithets of *Veda-vyāsa*, as follows :—

In the 1st *pāda*—पूर्णज्ञान (Having perfect knowledge)

In the 2nd *pāda*—पूर्णानन्द (Having perfect bliss)

In the 3rd *pāda*—व्यास (Arranger of the Vedas)

The verb used with पूर्णज्ञानाय is 'विद्महे' (the roots in ज्ञान and विद्महे have the same meaning—to know); the verb with पूर्णानन्दाय is 'धीमहि' (bliss is to be concentrated or enjoyed—a step further than the mere knowledge); and finally the verb with व्यासः is 'प्रचोदयात्' (*Vyāsa*, Deity of this *mantra*, is prayed by the worshipper to urge him to perfect knowledge and bliss :—'तन्नो व्यासः प्रचोदयात्'). This *Vyāsa-gāyatrī*, thus, may be translated as follows :—

We know him (*Vyāsa*) to be of perfect knowledge.  
We concentrate on him (*Vyāsa*) who is of the nature of the perfect bliss. We pray that *Vyāsa* may urge or lead us also to perfect knowledge and bliss (i.e. *mokṣa*).

A *gāyatrī mantra* whether given in the Vedic Saṁhitās, or in the Upaniṣads, or in the Tantras, is always related to some deity, or to some person who is deified and raised to the status of a deity. The most modern example of the *Gāyatrī* of a person raised to the status of a deity is the *Rāmakṛṣṇa-Gāyatrī*, i. e. the *Gāyatrī* related to Shri Rāmakṛṣṇa Parama-haṁsa, a modern saint of Bengal. This *Gāyatrī* is as follows :—ॐ रामकृष्णाय विद्महे । गदाधराय धीमहि । तन्नो देवः प्रचोदयात् ॥ ( दीक्षितेर नित्यकृत्य ओ पूजापद्धति, १म भाग, Pub. by श्रीरामकृष्ण अद्वैताश्रम, काशी )

Maharṣi Veda-vyāsa (or Vyāsa), the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī has been considered in the Purāṇas as well as in the Mahābhārata as an *Āṁśa-Avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (III. 4. 5) says :—

कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रमुम् ।  
को ह्यन्यो भुवि मैत्रेय महाभारतकृद्भवेत् ॥

The Bhāg.-Purāṇa (I. 3. 21) considers Vyāsa as the seventeenth (out of twenty-two) of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu:—

ततः सप्तदशे जातः सत्यवत्यां पराशरात् ।  
चक्रे वेदतरोः शाखा दृष्ट्वा पुंसोऽल्पमेधसः ॥

Similarly the Matsya-Purāṇa (Ān. edn. 47. 246) mentions him as the eighth *prādurbhāva* or manifestation of Viṣṇu :—

अष्टमो द्वापरे विष्णुरष्टाविंशे पराशरात् ।  
वेदव्यासस्तथा जज्ञे जातुकर्ण्यपुरःसरः ॥

Thus Veda-vyāsa has been regarded as a deity or an avatāra of Viṣṇu, like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. We have the *Rāma-gāyatrī* (रघुवंश्याय विद्महे सीतावल्लभाय धीमहि । तन्नो रामः प्रचोदयात् । Unpublished Upaniṣads, p. 463), and also the Kṛṣṇa-gāyatrī (given in the दीक्षितेर नित्यकृत्य ओ पूजापद्धति). So the *Vyāsa-gāyatrī*, although it could not be traced in the Upaniṣads or other ancient works, comes in the same line, and deserves our respectful study.

## ORIGINAL PURĀṆA SĀMĪHĪTĀ

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

[ अत्र मूलपुराणसंहिताया उत्पत्ति-स्वरूप-विस्तारादिविषये विवेचनं कृतम् । महर्षिणा वेदव्यासेन वेदसंहितानां पुराणसंहितानां च संकलनं कृत्वा शिष्येभ्यस्तासामध्यापनं कृतम् । पुराणसंहितास्तु व्यासात् प्राक्कालत एव प्रचलिता आसन् सूत्रैश्च तासां प्रवचनं कृतम् । सूतानां रोमहर्षणः प्रमुख आसीत् । व्यासः रोमहर्षणसाहाय्येन मूलपुराणसंहितायाः संग्रहं कृतवान् । एषा मूलपुराणसंहिता षड्भ्यः शिष्येभ्य अध्यापिता । तेषु शिष्येषु काश्यपः सावर्णिः शांशपायनश्च पुराणसंहितायाः प्रथमकर्तारो बभूवुः । इमाः पुराणसंहिताः चतुष्पादा आसन् । तत्र प्रथमे प्रक्रियापादे सर्गवर्णनम्, द्वितीये अनुषङ्गपादे देवर्षीणां ब्रह्मर्षीणां च वंशवर्णनम्, तृतीये उपोद्घातपादे मन्वन्तरवर्णनं राक्षर्विवंशवर्णनञ्च चतुर्थे उपसंहारपादे च प्रतिसर्गवर्णनमासीत् । एषा चतुष्पादव्यवस्था वायुब्रह्माण्डपुराणयोः अद्यापि दृश्यते । कालान्तरेण मूलपुराणसंहितायामनेके नवीनविषया अपि समाविष्टाः, येन पुराणसंहिताया विस्तारो बभूव । अत्र वायुपुराणविषयाणां समालोचनं कृत्वा, मूलवायुपुराणसंहितायाः स्वरूपं निर्धारितं प्रक्षिप्ताध्यायानामपि पृथक् स्वरूपं प्रदर्शितम् । तत्रैवं निर्धारितं मूलवायुपुराणमेव मूलपुराणसंहिताऽत्र स्वीकृता । ]

The compilation of the Purāṇa Sāmhītā is traditionally attributed to Krishṇadvaipāyana Vyāsa. He also accomplished a similar literary task in respect of the mass of Vedic mantras which in course of time had become divided into many schools. Their names for each Veda are listed in the Charaṇa-Vyūha and several Purāṇas. The credit is given to Vyāsa for organising the Sāmhītā texts of the four Vedas through his four pupils viz. Paila for R̥gveda, Vaiśampāyana for Yajurveda, Jaimini for Sāmaveda and Sumantu for Atharvaveda. Here we are concerned with what Dvaipāyana Vyāsa undertook to do with respect to the transmission of the Purāṇa Sāmhītā.



We are indebted to the Vāyu Purāṇa and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa for a precise statement of how Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as an institution accomplished the difficult and important task of originating the Purāṇa Samhitā. The two texts are as follows :—

षट्शः कृत्वा मयाप्युक्तं पुराणमृषिसत्तमाः ॥  
 आत्रेयः सुमतिर्धीमान् काश्यपो ह्यकृतव्रणः ।  
 भारद्वाजोऽग्निवर्चाश्च वासिष्ठो मित्रयुश्च यः ।  
 सावर्णिः सौमदत्तिस्तु सुशर्मा शांशपायनः ।  
 एते शिष्या मम ब्रह्मन् पुराणेषु दृढव्रताः ।  
 त्रिभिस्त्रिस्तः कृतास्तिस्रः संहिताः पुनरेव हि ।  
 काश्यपः संहिताकर्ता सावर्णिः शांशपायनः ।  
 मामिका च चतुर्थी स्यात्सा चैषा पूर्वसंहिता ।  
 सर्वास्ता हि चतुष्पादाः सर्वाश्चैकार्थवाचिकाः ।  
 पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥  
 चतुःसाहस्रिकाः सर्वाः शांशपायनिकामृते ।  
 लोमहर्षणिका मूला ततः काश्यपिकाऽपरा ।  
 सावर्णिकास्तृतीयास्ता यजुर्वेदार्थमण्डिताः ।  
 शांशपायनिकाश्चान्या नोदनार्थविभूषिताः ।  
 (Vāyu, 61. 55-61)

षट्शः कृत्वा मयाप्युक्तं पुराणमृषिसत्तमाः ।  
 आत्रेयः सुमतिर्धीमान् काश्यपोऽकृतव्रणः ॥  
 भारद्वाजोऽग्निवर्चाश्च वासिष्ठो मित्रयुश्च यः ।  
 सावर्णिः सौमदत्तिश्च सुशर्मा शांशपायनः ॥  
 एते शिष्या मम प्रोक्ताः पुराणेषु धृत्व्रताः ।  
 त्रिभिस्तत्र कृतास्तिस्रः संहिताः पुनरेव हि ॥  
 काश्यपः संहिताकर्ता सावर्णिः शांशपायनः ।  
 मामिका तु चतुर्थी स्याच्चतस्रो मूलसंहिताः ॥  
 सर्वास्ता हि चतुष्पादाः सर्वाश्चैकार्थवाचिकाः ।  
 पाठान्तरे वृथाभूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥

चतुःसाहस्रिकाः सर्वा शांशपायनिकामृते ।  
 लौमहर्षणिका मूला ततः काश्यपिका परा ॥  
 सावर्णिका तृतीयाऽसावृजुवाक्यार्थमण्डिता ।  
 शांशपायनिका चान्या नोदनार्थविभूषिता ॥

(Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa II. 35. 63-69)

The Vāyu gives a list of 27 teachers who had inherited the Purāṇa lore from Brahmā upto Krishṇa Dvaipāyana. This list is as follows :

ब्रह्मा ददौ शास्त्रमिदं पुराणं मातरिश्चने ।  
 तस्माच्चोशनसा प्राप्तं तस्माच्चापि बृहस्पतिः  
 बृहस्पतिस्तु प्रोवाच सवित्रे तदनन्तरम् ॥  
 सविता मृत्यवे प्रादान्मृत्युश्चेन्द्राय वै पुनः ।  
 इन्द्रश्चापि वसिष्ठाय सोपि सारस्वताय च ॥  
 सारस्वतस्त्रिधाम्ने च त्रिधामा च शरद्वते ।  
 सरद्वतस्त्रिविष्टाय सोन्तरिक्षाय दत्तवान् ॥  
 वर्षिणे चान्तरिक्षो वै सोपि त्रय्यारुणाय च ।  
 त्रय्यारुणो धनञ्जये स च प्रादात्कृतञ्जये ॥  
 कृतञ्जयात्तृणञ्जयो भरद्वाजाय सोप्यथ ।  
 गौतमाय भरद्वाजः सोपि निर्यन्तरे पुनः ॥  
 निर्यन्तरस्तु प्रोवाच तथा वाजश्रवाय च ।  
 स ददौ सोमशुष्माय स ददौ तृणबिन्दवे ॥  
 तृणबिन्दुस्तु दक्षाय दक्षः प्रोवाच शक्तये ।  
 शक्तेः पराशरश्चापि गर्भस्थः श्रुतवानिदम् ॥  
 पराशराज्जातुकर्णस्तस्माद् द्वैपायनः प्रभुः ।  
 द्वैपायनात्पुनश्चापि मया प्रोक्तं द्विजोत्तमाः ॥

(Vāyu 103. 58-66)

Separating Brahmā and Vāyu as mythical names we have a list of 25 teachers for whom a period of 500 years may be allowed counting 20 years for each generation from the time of Uśanas to that of Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. That was the pre-Samhitā stage of Purāṇa transmission. Its chronological position is problematical but a tentative supposition may be 1500 B. C.—1000 B. C. or even somewhat earlier.

We find from several versions e.g. in Linga Purāṇa ch. 64. that Parāśara in the above list occupied an important position so far as Purāṇa Samhitā was concerned; and it appears that Vyāsa himself owed his knowledge of the Purāṇas to Parāśara. It is said that Vasishṭha had a son named Śakti whose posthumous son was Parāśara. His pupil was Jātūkarṇa and his disciple was Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa (पराशराज्जातुकर्णस्तस्माद् द्वैपायनः प्रभुः Vāyu 103.66). Probably Jātūkarṇa was a senior fellow student of Vyāsa and the two learnt the Purāṇa from Parāśara. Vyāsa's role in this literary activity was two-fold: firstly, his relationship with the bards who were the traditional custodians of the Purāṇas and secondly, with the authorship of the Purāṇa Samhitā in a precise literary form.

#### MŪLA SAMĪHITĀ

Vyāsa found that the material of the Purāṇas was in the hands of the Sūtas or bards. Their number seems to have been quite large and they were connected with many families and royal houses and they went about in their round meeting people with the object of imparting to them what they knew of the ancient genealogies, ballads and anecdotes. They were also invited for this purpose and held recitations. This institution of the bards was an ancient one referred to in the Yajurveda (Śatarudriya Book XVI. 18, 26 as *Sūta Kṣattrā*). The most important person of this class in the time of Vyāsa was Romaharshana or Lomaharshana. He was well versed in the material that had been orally handed down. He was taken into confidence by Vyāsa to collaborate in organising this branch of knowledge in a systematic manner and to continue what the Sūtas were already doing in the

form of Kathā recitations. The work of collaboration between Dvaipāyana and Lomaharshaṇa seems to have been on this pattern that Vyāsa supplied the Vedic material of Purāṇic lore since the Purāṇas also existed in the time of Vedas and the Purāṇa knowlege is mentioned there by name. This is clearly specified in the Vāyu stating that Vyāsa undertook the substance of the Vedic subject mater to incorporate the same in the Purāṇic corpus सर्ववेदार्थघटितां व्यासः पौराणिकीं कथां Vāyu 104.20. This material seems to have appertained to various creation myths of the R̥g-veda and other Saṁhitās. The Sūta, on the other hand, contributed his portion in the form of dynastic lists and genealogies of R̥shis and kings.

This was the Mūla Saṁhitā or the original Purāṇa Saṁhitā at which Dvaipāyana himself seems to have worked. The Vishṇu Purāṇa ascribes its authership to Romaharshaṇa and says that this formed the Mūla Saṁhitā which was the original of the three subsequent Saṁhitās giving the form of definite texts by Kāśyapa, Sāvarni and Śāmsapāyana. This seems to have contained mostly the topics and subjects forming the Purāṇa tradition and was of the nature of that class of literature which, according to Paninian definition, was styled as '*tena proktam*' (IV.3.101). Lomaharshaṇa being instructed in this manner by Vyāsa as teacher continued the recitations of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā as other members of his class had been doing from much earlier times. Dvaipāyana and Lomaharshaṇa may be credited with the *pravachana* of the Mūla Purāṇa Saṁhitā in a manner that the *Prokta* technique of book-making implied. It was the cultivation of a new branch of knowledge by an eminent teacher who imparted its instructions to his desciples or members of his school. His own son named as Lauma-harshaṇi Sūta became an adept in this art. The house-holders assembled at Naimishāraṇya and known as Naimishīyāḥ besided under the leadership of Śaunaka to listen to a prolonged recitation of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā from the mouth of Lomaharshaṇa. The Mūla-Saṁhitā was styled as Lomaharshaṇikā Saṁhitā. It is problematical how far that Saṁhitā was in the form of verses. It rather seems to have consisted mainly of

the topics on which Lomaharshaṇa expatiated for the delectation of his Naimishīya audience. We know from other sources that the progress of the twelve year session was interrupted during its ninth year (Tāṇḍya\* 25.6.5). The thread was later on taken up on the banks of the Sarasvatī in Kurukshetra by some other Sūta.

The next approach of Romaharshaṇa in fulfilment of his obligation was more of an academic nature i. e. teaching the Mūla Samḥitā i. e. the Lomaharshaṇikā Samḥita or the Purāṇic lore to regular students who studied as an integral subject or branch of learning and on the tradition in schools similar to that of the Vedic schools. Romaharshaṇa admitted six pupils or students for this purpose to whom he imparted the mūla-samḥitā as his Brahmachārins. They were Brahmachārin students under him, whose term of admission coincided with the period in which they learned the subject. For this special purpose we are envisaging some arrangement as implied in Pāṇini's rule तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् (V. 1. 94), The names of these six students are recorded in both Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa together with their Gotra names as follows :

1. सुमति आत्रेय (i.e. of Atri Gotra)
2. अकृतव्रण काश्यप (i.e. of the Kaśyapa Gotra)
3. अग्निवर्चाः भारद्वाज (i.e. of the Bharadvāja Gotra)
4. मित्रयु वासिष्ठ (i.e. of the Vasishṭha Gotra)
5. सौमदत्ति सावर्णि (i.e. of the Sāvarna Gotra)
6. सुशर्मा शांशपायन (i.e. of the Śamśapa Gotra)

(also Viṣṇu III. 6. 17-9 षट् शिष्यास्तस्य चाभवन्, 17)

\* ते ह सप्तदशेभ्य एवाभ्युत्तस्थुस्त उ होचुर्यो नः प्रजायामृध्यातै स एतत्सत्रं समापयादिति । तदेतत्समीप्सन्तो ब्राह्मणास्सत्रमासते ।

(टी०) ते नैमिशीयाः सप्तदशेभ्य एव सप्तदशस्तोमकेभ्यस्त्रिभ्यः संवत्सरेभ्यः सप्तदशं समाप्यैवाऽभ्युत्तस्थुः सत्राद्बुद्धिता आसन् । तउह एते खलु तदेवमूचुः—यो दीक्षितो नोऽस्माकं प्रजायां पुत्रपौत्रादिलक्षणायां ऋध्यातै यज्ञाङ्गैः समृद्धस्यात् स एतत्सत्रं एकविंशवर्षत्रयमप्यनुष्ठाय समापयेदिति ।

एतावताऽस्य नवसंवत्सरानुष्ठानं विद्यते । तथाऽपि साधनसमृद्धावप्यनापदि सप्तदशेभ्य उत्थापनं कुर्यादित्युक्तं भवति । यस्माद्यो नः प्रजायामृध्याता इति नैमिशीयैरुक्तं तस्मादित्यर्थः । तत्सत्रं समीप्सन्तः समापयितुमिच्छन्तो ब्राह्मणा द्वादशसंवत्सरमेव सत्रमासते (इति ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणे सायणाचार्यविरचिते माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे) ।

It is said that Romaharshaṇa made six divisions of his Mūla Purāṇa Saṁhitā and taught his six pupils each one of them. Evidently this Mūla Saṁhitā had not yet taken the form of a book but consisted mainly of large number of topics and subjects. Their exact nature is not indicated. The *Pañchalakṣhaṇa Purāṇa* is a later attempt to give some idea of what the Mūla Saṁhitā comprised, but the same seems to have been of a fluid nature in which floating topics and themes from earlier and contemporary traditions were admitted with a certain amount of freedom. The details of the corpus depended on the interest of the listeners and the competence of the bards to comply with their wishes. The method of the interlocutors and narrators which is always recorded in the Purāṇa therefore played an important part in the organising of the subject matter.

#### PARA-SAMHITĀ

Of the six students of Romaharshaṇa only three became the regular authors of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā texts. These were firstly Kāśyapa, secondly Sāvārṇi and thirdly Śaṁśapāyana. The other three viz. Sumati Ātreya, Mitrayu Vāsishṭha, Agni-varchas Bhāradvāja seem to have been of a less marked calibre and did not launch upon any literary venture.

The literary activity of the three pupils comes under the category of *Kṛte granthe* (IV. 3. 87) of Pāṇini as coming next to '*tena proktam*'; this is clearly mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa. काश्यपः संहिताकर्ता i.e. he gave it the form of a regular text or book. Thus there were two stages in the art of book-making, viz., the cultivation of a branch of knowledge by a master mind or original thinker and secondly, its treatment in the form of a book. These two stages were distinguished as '*tena proktam*' and '*adhikṛītya kṛite granthe*'. The teacher who mastered the subject and gave it the form of a regular book was the real *grantha-kartā*. Such was the status of Kāśyapa who is mentioned as Saṁhitā Kartā. The style of Kāśyapa's work was simple and it consisted of *Vākyas* or sentences having some topics for their meaning ( ऋजुवाक्यार्थमण्डिताः ). This appears to signify that these Saṁhitās

were in a versified form, in a very simplified style as we find in several places in the extant older Purāṇas. The Samhita texts of these three authors have been distinguished as परसंहिता to show their difference from the मूलसंहिता.

The Samhita text of Kāśyapa Akṛitavraṇa became famous as *Kāśyapikā*, the Samhita of Sāvārṇi Saumadatti as *Sāvārṇikā* and the third one of Śāmsapāyana as *Śāmsapāyanikā*. These three were regular Samhita's which took the form of text or books consisting of ślokas, of which the common source was the Mūla-Samhita of Romaharshaṇa.

The extent as to the number of verses of these regular texts is given as 4000 ślokas each. This held good in the case of *Kāśyapikā* and *Sāvārṇikā* but the extent of the शांशपायनिका was some what different. What exactly it was is not said but in the Liṅga Purāṇa (64.122) we read of six thousand verses (षट्सहस्रान्वितम्) as the Purāṇa text in the initial stages when these compilations were being done and that may have been the number in the शांशपायनिका संहिता.

#### THE THEORY OF PĀTHĀNTARA

The reason why one Mūla Samhita became transformed as three Para-samhitās in the hands of Kāśyapa, Sāvārṇi and Śāmsapāyana is so clear and precise that any modern diaskuest could not wish for anything better. It is said that there was no essential difference between them but their distinction was rooted in variant readings or repetitions : पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा. The comparison with the Vedic Śākhās which were distinct from each other owing to their variants of words and phrases or repetitions of Mantras here and there is quite apt and graphic. In order to give a clear idea of the one Purāṇa Samhita becoming three-fold in the hands of three disciples who had studied the subject from a common teacher.

#### एकार्थवाचिकाः—

This statement is quite happy and initiates us more intimately into the inner nature of the three subsequent Samhitās. They were treating of the same topics or expressing the same meaning

or declaring identical themes (एकार्थवाचिकाः). The uniformity of significance was the most distinguishing feature of authorship for the three Saṁhitās. What this subject matter (एकार्थ) was we are left to conjecture and we may not be far from the truth if we discover these topics from the nature of the earlier (वंश) Purāṇic text. Cosmogony (सर्ग) and genealogy were essentially two such subjects. The other two appear to have been Manvantara descriptions and pratisarga or dissolution. Thus Sarga and Pratisarga became one pair and Manvantara and Vamśa another pair of the subjects treated. For this reason the original Saṁhitās consisted of four pādas or a four-fold divisions and for following this scheme they were known as चतुष्पादाः

(‘चतुष्पादं पुराणं तु ब्रह्मणा विहितं पुरा’ Vāyu, 32. 67.)

The चतुष्पाद division is preserved only in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas.

These are named as :—

प्रक्रिया प्रथमः पादः कथ्यवस्तुपरिग्रहः ।

उपोद्घातोऽनुषङ्गश्च उपसंहार एव च ॥ Vāyu 4. 13.

प्रक्रियापाद

अनुषङ्गपाद

उपोद्घातपाद and

उपसंहारपाद

These more or less correspond to the पञ्चलक्षणपुराण definition as follows :—

1. प्रक्रियापाद i. e. creation corresponds to *Sarga*; prakṛiyā implying सृष्टिप्रक्रिया. Chs. 1-6 in Vāyu are so named. The original topics under this head seem to have dealt with एकार्णवविधि, हिरण्यगर्भ or हिरण्याण्ड and the birth of ब्रह्मा from the golden egg. These three were Vedic topics enunciating the metaphysics of creation and were recast by Purāṇic writers in their own mould and definitions.

2. अनुषङ्गपाद—अनुषङ्ग literally implied connected matter i. e. the subjects connected with the first portion of सृष्टिविद्या. It



included the birth and genealogies of ब्रह्मर्षिः, देवर्षिः and राजर्षिः but the last topic was transferred to the उपोद्घात division.

In the Vāyu the अनुषङ्ग division extends from Ch. 7 upto 58 with a supplementary portion of six chapters (59-64) added later on. At the end of its 58th ch. the Vāyu states :—

अनुषङ्गः समाख्यातः सृष्टिसर्गं निबोधत । (58. 126).

At the end of ch. 64 the same is repeated as follows :—

इत्येष वै मया पादो द्वितीयः कथितो द्विजाः । (64. 31)

The description of the देवयोनिः seems to have formed part of देवादि सृष्टि and came under this pāda.

### 3. उपोद्घातपाद

It seems to correspond to the मन्वन्तर division of the Purāṇas together with the dynastic lists of Solar and Lunar dynasties and the achievements of individual kings like Māndhātā, Hariśchandra, Purūravas and Yayāti who also were dovetailed under Vamśa. This seems to have been the subject styled उपोद्घात or the beginning and continuation of the genealogies.

The subject of Manvantaras specially स्वायम्भुव and वैवस्वत is found in three places in Vāyu viz. ch. 21, 61-62 and 85-89. This may be due to careless redaction and interposition of exotic material in place which do not conform to the context.

### ४. उपसंहार

This was the same topic as प्रतिसर्ग treating of the destruction of the worlds and to withdrawal of creation into its source. The Vāyu names this frankly as प्रतिसर्ग (ch. 102).

### THE PAÑCHALAKSAṆA

The number of topics of the Purāṇas is generally put as पञ्चलक्षण viz. सर्ग, प्रतिसर्ग, वंश, मन्वन्तर and वंशानुचरित (Vāyu 4. 10-11 ; Matsya 53-64).

These subjects seem to have been quite compact to cover the pages of a single book of modest size, i. e. four thousand śloka in extent. It is possible to recover it from the extant oldest

Purāṇas, like the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa etc. In course of time the number of topics was increased considerably from five to ten and from ten to hundred or more as found in the मत्स्य (Ch. 53 and 290) भागवत (II. 10. 1-6) and the अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता (XI. 31-56). According to the Nārada P. (Ch. 92-109) this list includes several hundred topics for all the eighteen Purāṇas.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT VĀYU PURĀṆA :

It is necessary to examine closely the contents of the present Vāyu Purāṇa to recover the Mūla Saṁhitā of about 4000 ślokas. We may proceed by eliminating such chapters as appear on the surface to bear the stamp of a later date or subsequent redaction, which are as follows :—

#### INTERPOLATIONS

#### PRAKRIYĀ PĀDA

Chapter	Subject
1.	Anukramaṇikā (a long ch. of 205 ślokas giving the contents of the Purāṇa).

#### ANUSHANGA PĀDA

8.	Chaturāśrama vibhāga
11.	Pāśupatayoga
12.	Yogopasarga
13.	Yogaiśvarya
14-15.	Pāśupatayoga
16.	Śauchāchāra
17.	Paramāśramavidhi
18.	Yati Prāyaśchitta
19.	Arishtanirūpaṇa
20.	Omkāraprāptilakṣhaṇa
23.	Maheśvarāvatāra yoga
24.	Śarvastava (Śivastotra by Viṣṇu)
25.	Madhukaiṭabh-otpatti
26.	Svarotpattiḥ

27. Mahādevatānu-varṇanam (A description of the 8 names of Śiva and of the 9th as Kumāra).
32. Yugadharmā
- 34-53. Jambūdvīpa, Bhuvanakośa, Jyotish-prachāra.
54. Nilakanthastava
55. Lingodbhava.
29. Agnivamśa—A concocted genealogical tree of the family of Fire which was improved by some Vedic scholar during Gupta times. The idea was inspired by the Sūrya and Chandra-Vamśa list. It is a compilation of 49 names of fire arranged as a family tree. It is also found in Matsya P. and also in the Epic.
56. 'Pitrivarṇanam
57. Yajñavarṇanam
- 58-64. Chaturyugākhyāna  
Rishi Lakshana Veda Śākhā Purāṇaśākhā,  
Mahāsthana tīrtha, Prithivīdohana.
- UPODGHĀTA PĀDA
- 71-87. Śrāddha
- 97-98, Vishṇumāhātmya
- UPASAMHĀRA PĀDA
101. Bhūrlokadivyaāvasthā
104. Vyāsasamśayopanodanam.
- 105-112. Gayāśrāddha.
103. Śriṣṭivarṇanam—A repetition of the description of creation in later terminology importing the agency of the 3 guṇas and three devas.

The above statement of the spurious material extending over 80 adhyāyas appears to be very near the truth with a probable margin of 10%. The broad topics relating to Pāśupata yoga, Aṣṭāṅga Yoga, Bhuvanakośa, Śrāddha, Gayā Māhātmya are undoubtedly later fabrications and cannot in any manner be ascribed to the Mūla-samīhitā. Besides the subject-matter being

of a later stratum some of these chapters are missing in manuscripts and their number of verses is quite long. The size of the original chapters is usually much less in their number of śloka. Thus we may re-arrange the Chatuṣpāda Mūla Purāṇa Saṁhita as confined to the following topics and chapters as far as possible to retrieve them from the present recension of the Purāṇa.

### Original

Chapters	Subjects
	<b>I. PRAKṚIYĀ PĀDA</b>
2.	Dvādaśavarṣhika Sattva
3.	Prajāpatiśriṣṭi
4-6.	Sṛshtiprakaraṇam (Account of creation).
	<b>II. ANUSHANGA PĀDA</b>
7.	Pratisamdhivarṇanam
9.	Devādisriṣṭi
10.	Dakshavaṁśa
21-22.	Kalpanirūpaṇam
28.	Ṛshivaṁśa (genealogy of the Ṛshis)
30.	Dakshaśāpa
31.	Devavaṁśa
33.	Svāyambhuvavaṁśa
	<b>III. UPODGHĀTA PĀDA</b>
65.	Prajāpativaṁśa
66-69.	Kāśyapīya Prajāsarga
70.	Ṛshivaṁśa
88-89.	Vaivasvatamanuvaṁśa
90-95.	Somavaṁśa
96.	Vishṇuvaṁśa (A corollary of the Somavaṁśa subsequently added)
99.	Turvasvādivaṁśa
	<b>IV. UPASAMHĀRA PĀDA</b>
100.	Manvantarāṇisarga (should be carried to Upodghāta)
103.	Pratisarga-varṇanam.

Thus we have for the Mūla-Purāṇa SamĪhitā or the Romaharṣaṇikā SamĪhitā or the SamĪhitā-text as constituted of 4000 ślokaś, a text comprised of about 30 chapters. The Samhita produced under the authorship of Kāśyapa named Kāśyapikā may have been a simple modest text of this nature. The number of Adhyāyas may have been a little more but we think we are not far from the truth in arriving at the names of topic and the selection of subjects that were included in the four pādas of the Kāśyapikā SamĪhitā.

## VAMANA AND VIṢṆU

BY

B. N. SHARMA

[ भगवतः विष्णोरवतारभूतस्य वामनत्रिविक्रमस्य चरितं पुराण-  
काव्य-शिलालेखादिषु नितरां प्रसिद्धमस्ति । वेदेऽपि त्रिविक्रमस्य वर्णनं  
विद्यते । निबन्धेऽस्मिन् पुराणकाव्यादिषु उपलब्धस्य वामनवृत्तान्तस्य  
संक्षिप्तं परिचयं दत्त्वा विभिन्नमन्दिरेषु संग्रहालयेषु चोपलब्धानां  
त्रिविक्रमस्य प्रतिमानां विवरणं प्रस्तुतम् । विभिन्नप्रदेशेषु उपलब्धानां  
तत्तन्मूर्तीनां स्वरूपेषु भावभङ्गिमासु च क्वचिद् विभेदोऽपि दृश्यते । इमा  
मूर्तयः गुप्तकाले तद्दुत्तरकाले च निर्मिता आसन् । विभिन्नशिलालेखेषु  
उत्कीर्णस्य वामनाख्यानस्यापि अत्र उल्लेखो वर्तते तस्य विवरणं च  
प्रस्तुतम् । लेखकमहोदयेन वेद-पुराण-साहित्य-कला-मूर्ति-शिलालेखादी-  
नामाधारेण भगवतो वामनस्य विभिन्नमूर्तीनां विवरणं प्रदत्तम् । ]

The ideology underlying *avatāravāda* is beautifully expressed in the following verses of the *Bhagavadgītā* :—

*Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati bhārata |  
abhyutthānam adharmasya tad ātmānam srijāmyaham ||  
paritrāṇāya sādḥūnām vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām |  
dharma-saṁsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge ||*

Ch. IV vv. 7-8.

Lord Viṣṇu had twice before helped the sons of Aditi (gods) against the tyrannical sons of Diti, Hiranyākṣa and Hiranyakaśipu. Thus we had Viṣṇu's avatāras as Varāha and Nṛsimha. But Hiranyakaśipu's great-grandson, Bali once again drove out the gods from *svarga* (heaven) and Viṣṇu had to incarnate himself again to free the world from the clutches of the *Daityas* and to restore the sovereignty of *svarga* to Indra, the king of *Devas*.

Vāmana-Trivikrama has a clearly Vedic origin.<sup>1</sup> Viṣṇu who is a solar deity in the *Rg Veda*, is mentioned as having

1. *Yasy oruṣu triṣu vikramaṇeṣu adhikṣayanti bhuvanāni viśvā |  
Ya idam dīrgham prayatam sadhastham eko vimame tribhir it padebhiḥ ||  
Yasya tri pūrṇā madhunā padāny akṣiyamāṇā svadhayā madanti |  
Ya u tri dhātu pṛthivim uta dyaṁ eko dādḥāra bhuvanāni viśva ||*

traversed all the *worlds with his three steps*, and consequently rightly described as *urukrama*, *urugāya* (he of the great strides) or *trivikrama* (he of the three great strides). According to the Vedic commentator, Aurnavābha these three strides signified the progress of the Sun through the firmament.<sup>2</sup> And through some such interpretations developed the myth of Vāmana-Trivikrama, of the great god who seemingly mild and weak in the beginning soon engulfs the whole world with his effulgence and banishes the demon of darkness to the nether world.

Vāmana is also repeatedly mentioned in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*.<sup>2a</sup> But the detailed story of the incarnation can be had only from the *Vāmana*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Brahma*, the *Padma*, the *Skanda*, and the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*. According to these Bali, the son of Virocana and grandson of Prahlāda, conquered Indra, and drove him out of his celestial kingdom. Indra's mother Aditi, therefore, prayed to Lord Viṣṇu that He should be born to her as son and after conquering the demons reestablish Indra as the lord of his kingdom. Accordingly, Viṣṇu was born to her as Indra's younger brother.

We further learn that once when king Bali was conducting a great sacrifice, Viṣṇu in the disguise of Vāmana (i. e. a dwarf) reached the *yajñaśālā* of the *daitya* king, to put an end to his glory :

*vidhāya mūrtim kapaṭena Vāmanīm*  
*svayam Bali-dhvaṁśi-vidāmbinīmayam*

*Naiṣadha Carita, 1, 124.*

The Vāmana incarnation has also been mentioned in the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (2, 1, 3, 1), *Sata-patha Brāhmaṇa* (1, 2, 5, 5), *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (1, 7, 17), *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (6, 3, 7), etc.

2. There are also other interpretations. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* identified Vāmana with Yajña. Sāyaṇa thought triple time or *guṇas*.
- 2a. *Bāla-kāṇḍa, sarga, 29, 2-18.*

*atha Viṣṇur mahāteja adityām samajāyata |*  
*Vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya Vairocanim upagamat ||*  
*trīṅpadān aha bhikṣitva pratigrihya ca medinīm |*  
*ākramya lokāṁ lok ātmā sarva loka hite rataḥ ||*  
*Mahendrāya punaḥ prādān niyāmya Balim ojasū |*  
*trailokyam sa mahā-tejās cakre Sakra-vaśam punaḥ ||*

*Ibid, vv. 19-21.*

Śukrācārya, the *Guru* of the *asuras*, who already knew that the dwarf was none else but the God Hari Himself warned Bali and asked him not to fulfil even the least request of Vāmana. He said, "O son of Virocana, He (the dwarf) is the self-same divine Lord and eternal Viṣṇu. With a view to accomplishing the object of the gods, He has been begotten by Prajāpati Kaśyapa on Aditi. Not seeing through the impending calamity, thou hast promised to, grant the land to Him. Methinks there is no well-being for the Daityas, as a great disaster is approaching them. Taking from thee thy kingdom, wealth, effulgence, energy, fame, learning and all, He will confer them on Śakra (Indra). He is the self-same Hari under the guise of a dwarf Brāhmaṇa boy by virtue of His illusory powers. Having the Universe for His body, He shall occupy all the worlds with three foot-steps. Having conferred thy all on Viṣṇu, O fool, where shalt thou live? With one foot He shall occupy the Earth, with another the Heavens and covering the firmament with His body, where shalt He place His third foot?"

Bali, who was irreverential enough not to carry out his *guru's* command, was cursed by Śukrācārya,—“Thou art ignorant and proud of thy learning so let thy prosperity soon wither away.”<sup>4</sup>

Bali still pleaded in favour of his sacrificial oath and told the preceptor, that if anyone asked for his head at the time of the performance of the sacrifice, he would not hesitate to offer that

3. *ēṣa Vairocanaḥ sāksād bhaguān Viṣṇur auyayaḥ |*  
*Kaśyapād aditer jāto dēvānāṃ kṛya-sādhaḥ ||*  
*pratiśrutam tvay etasmai yad-anartham ajānata |*  
*na sādhu manye daityānāṃ mahān upagato'nayaḥ ||*  
*eṣa te sthānam aiśvaryaṃ śriyaṃ tejo yaśaḥ śrutam |*  
*dāsyaty ācchidya Sakrāya māyā mānavako Hariḥ ||*  
*tri-vikramai rimāmi lokān viśvakāyaḥ kramiṣyati |*  
*sarvasvaṃ Viṣṇave datvā mūḍha vartīṣyase katham ||*  
*kramato gāṃ pad aikena duitiyena divaṃ vibhoḥ |*  
*khaṃ ca kāyena mahatā tīrtiyasya kuto gatiḥ ||*

J. M. Sanyal, *Srīmad-Bhāgavatam*, 8, 19, 30-34.

4. *evam āsraddhitaṃ śiṣyam anādēśakaram guruḥ |*  
*śaśāpa daiva-prahitaḥ satya-sandham manasvinam ||*

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 8, 20, 14.



even. How could he refuse Govinda's request, when he had not refused to give *dāna* even to ordinary supplicants :

*yajñe'smin yadi yajñeśo yācate mām Janārdanaḥ |  
nija-mūrddhānam ap. yusmai dāsyām ev āvicāritam ||  
sa me vakṣyati dehīti Govindaḥ kim ato'dhikam |  
nāst'iti yan mayā n oktm anyeṣām api yācatām ||*

*Vāmana Purāṇa, 31, 23-25.*

And the king further asserted that if the seed of this gift was received by Viṣṇu, the most deserving one, there remained nothing unattained by him :

*etad bija-varaṁ dānam bijam patati ced guroḥ ||  
Janārdane mahā-pātre kim na prāptas tato mayā ||*

*Vāmana Purāṇa, 31, 30.*

Bali seeing Vāmana in his *yajñasālā* welcomed Him wholeheartedly and requested Him to have anything from him as a sacrificial gift. Vāmana asked for nothing, but a piece of land which he could cover with His three steps, and advised the king to give gold, villages and jewels to his supplicants :

*tasmāt tvatto mahīm iṣad vṛṇe'ham vārad arṣabhāt |  
padāni trīṇi daity endra sammitāni padā mama ||*

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 8, 19, 26.*

*mam āgni-śaraṇārthāya dehi rājan pada-trayaṁ |  
suvarṇa-grāma-ratnādi tad arthibhyaḥ pradīyatām ||*

*Vāmana Purāṇa, 33, 49.*

Bali agreed to it.<sup>5</sup> But as soon as he poured the sacrificial water in the hands of Vāmana to confirm his gift, Vāmana suddenly transformed himself into a colossus<sup>6</sup> :

*pāṇau tu patite toye Vāmano'bhūd avāmanaḥ |  
sarva-deva-mayaṁ rūpaṁ darśayāmāsa tat-keṣaṇāt ||*

*Vāmana Purāṇa, 31, 53.*

5. Cf : *Baliṇo bāṇbandhe cojjanṇiu pādānto |  
surasattha-kaṇṇando Vāmanarūvo Harī jaai ||*

*Gāthā-Saptasatī, v. 6.*

6. *Vāmanād anutamād aṇu jīyas tvaṁ  
Trīvikramaṁ tanu-bhyta-dik kaḥ |*

*Naiṣadha Carita, 21, 95.*

Thereupon, His first pace occupied the whole Earth; His body the Sky', and His two arms the quarters. His second pace was accomodated by Heaven ; but no space was left for the third :

*ks̥itīm pad aikena Baler vicakrame  
nabhaḥ śarīreṇa diśas ca bāhubhīḥ ||  
padād dvitīyāt kramitas tri viṣṭapam  
na vai trtīyāya tadīyam anv api |*

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 8, 20, 33*

Thus the simple Bali, giving away all his riches, made himself a prisoner :

*dātṅvā sarvaṁ dhanam mugdho bandhanam labdhavān Balīḥ ||  
|| Naisadha Carita. 17, 81.*

and was bound by the noose so tightly, that he was now unable to move :

*niśādyā yāvad api yena nibaddhau  
na prabhū vicālitum Bali-vindhyau |*

*Naisadha Carita, 5, 100.*

Thereupon, Rkṣapati Jāmbavān announced the festival on all sides by the sound of a bugle :

*Jāmbavān rksa rājas tu bherī-śabdair manojavaḥ |  
vijayam dikṣu sarvāsu mahotsvam aghoṣayat ||*

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 8, 21, 8.*

Bali (seeing no other alternative) offered his head to the Almighty for measuring out His third step :

*Yadyuttama śloka bhavān mameritam  
vaco vyulīkam suravaryya manyate |  
karomyrtam tanna bhavet pralmbhanam  
padam trtīyam kuru śīrṣṇi me nijam ||*

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 8, 22, 2.*

Trivikrama (the Lord of three strides) became extremely pleased with Bali ; and after placing His third step on his head. He sent him to the *Pātālaloka*, as the king of all the *asuras*.

7. Harer yad-akrāmi pad-aikakena kham |

*Naisadha Carita, 1, 70.*

Thus God Viṣṇu gave the three worlds to Indra (and also pleased his mother Aditi) :

*jitvā loka-trayaṁ kṛtsnam hatvā cāsura-puṅgavān |*  
*Purandarāya trai-lokyṁ dadau Viṣṇur urukramaḥ ||*  
*Vāmana Purāṇa, 31,70.*

The story described above has repeatedly been shown by the Indian *Śilāśrī*<sup>8</sup> (i. e. one who imparts beauty to stones) in sculptures. The whole theme is depicted in two scenes and in two types of images. Firstly we have Viṣṇu in the form of Vāmana (*Māyā-vaṭu*) i. e. as a dwarf Brahmachārin holding various Vaiṣṇavite attributes in his four hands.<sup>8a</sup> He stands in the *sambhaṅga* pose and is flanked by accessory figures on both sides.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, he is shown as Trivikrama (*Viśvarūpa*) with one of the legs thrown upwards in the attitude of measuring the sky.<sup>10</sup> Below the uplifted foot of the god is king Bali pouring the ceremonial water from the vessel into the hands of Vāmana to confirm the gift. Vāmana holds an umbrella.

We have probably no definite evidence of Trivikrama image going back to any date earlier than the Gupta period. The Gupta images of Trivikrama are found from Mathura (U.P.) as well as Pawaya (M.P.). The two images from Mathura, now in the local museum, show the deity measuring the universe with his outstretched left leg. Jāmbavān is shown sounding some instrument.<sup>11</sup>

8. Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, p. 85.

8a. According to the authorities cited by Śrī Gopi Nath Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, i, p. 161, the Vāmanāvatāra of Viṣṇu should be fifty-six angulas in height, and should carry an umbrella and a *Kamanḍalu* (water-vessel). The *Vaikhānasaḡama* mentions him as a deformed dwarf in the form of an ill-shaped man with a hunched back, protruding joints of bones and having a big belly.

9. B.N. Sharma, *Some Mediaeval Sculptures from Rajasthan in the National Museum, Roopa-Lekha*, New Delhi, XXXV (1966), No. I.

10. *bṛhaç çarīro vimimāna ṛkvaahir juvā kumāraḥ pratyety āhavam |*  
 — *Rg. Veda*, 1, 155, 6.

*Vāmana iti Trivikram abhidadhati daś-āvatāra-vidah |*

— *Āryā-Saptasatī*, v. 60.

*sthaleṣu māyā-vaṭur Vāmano 'vyāt Trivikramaḥ khe' vaṭu viśvarūpaḥ |*

— *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 6, 8, 13.

11. Dr. V. S. Agrawal, *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in the Mathura Art*, 1951, pp. 8, 12-13 ; *Annual Report of the Mathura Museum*, 1936-37, pl. II, fig. 2.

The Pawaya image is badly damaged, but its finished execution and majestic serenity of expression leave no doubt of its being a Gupta production. On the right side of the image is carved the scene of *dāna* given by Bali to Vāmana. The figure of the monkey at the top has yet to be identified. In the image, as it originally stood, probably Trivikrama might have been shown as measuring the sky with his left leg, now lost.

The deity from Rajim, Raipur belongs to the early part of the 8th century A.D. Its peculiarity consists in representing Ananta, the King of Serpents and Lord of Nether-Regions, as paying obeisance to the Great Lord by putting his hands in the *añjalī*-pose. The idea symbolised perhaps is that of eternal time bowing down to the Great Lord, the Supreme Victor. The perfect artistic mastery of the gifted sculptor is revealed in this great masterpiece.

An image of Trivikrama from Ghusai (M. P.), assignable to the 9th century A. D., is also a good example of such sculptures. The scene of *dāna* here is depicted on the lower side. Though it is a departure from Gupta idiom, it still keeps the spectator spell-bound by the heightened aesthetic qualities of its classical ideal. The eight-armed god who holds a sword, shield, bow along with his usual weapons, presents the vigorous attitude of a mighty conquerer. A beautiful epigraphic description of such an image is the following<sup>12</sup> :—

*helālālitāloka pālamukūṭaśreṇīlasatkoṭayo*  
*līlāmbītahetijāvilasaddikehakravalantarah |*  
*ākalpam kalayantu vo Balimahe vyajṛmbhamāṇā Hares*  
*śreyāmsi tridaśānūlāsīkharīreṇisriyo bahavaḥ ||*

*Epigraphia Indica*, XV, pp. 58-59.

Osian, 'Khajuraho of Rajasthan', has several images of Trivikrama carved on the walls of its magnificent temples.<sup>13</sup> A

12. Quoted from Śrī C. Sivaramamūrti's *Iconographic Gleanings from Epigraphy, Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, IV, 1957, p. 39.

13. *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-09, p. 113. For more Trivikrama images from Rajasthan see, *Ibid*, 1909-10, p. 97; *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of India* 1905; *Annual Report Rajasthan Museum, Ajmer*, 1923, p. 2; *ibid*, 1922-23, p. 5. etc.

four-armed beautiful image of the deity is executed on the back wall of the Viṣṇu temple. Another finely carved sculpture can be seen on the famous Mātā-kā-Mandir. But the image carved on the sūn temple I at Osian datable to the early mediaeval period<sup>14</sup> is superb and the best among them. Though enclosed by decorated bars from three sides, it carries no idea of restriction. The dynamic movement of the figure has freed the deity from the weight of mass and elevated Him to a state of supreme bliss and boundless joy. The dignity of His pose and attitude has probably no parallel in the history of Indian art. The sacrificial horse is shown on the right of the main figure. Demon Namuchi is holding the right leg of the deity in great reverence :—

*tri-bhuvana-bhavana-stambho nabhaḥ tal ambhodhi-setur agha-  
dahanah |  
brahmāṇḍa-maṇḍal-āmbuja-daṇḍa-rucir jayati Hari-caraṇah ||*

*Epigraphia Indica, IX, p. 252.*

Another vigorously modelled sculpture of Trivikrama is at Kumbhasvāmī temple at Chittorgaḍh in Rajasthan. In its figure the *sāstric* conventions have been observed, but it does not have the beauty of its predecessors.

An image of Trivikrama is also available at Modherā (Gujarāt), where the deity is shown taking the decisive third step. Though badly damaged, its facial expression and graceful pose show fine chiselling.<sup>15</sup> In a Viṣṇu temple at Kasara in the same State, we find a sculpture carved inside a niche along with the images of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and Varāha etc. Its design and execution are perfect. It is a good specimen of mediaeval Indian sculpture.<sup>16</sup>

14. The eight arms of Trivikrama are more frequent in early images, but four arms become more and more popular in the images of the mediaeval period. See Śrī C. Sivarāmamūrti *Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography, Ancient India*, No. 6, Jan. 1950, p. 41.

15. Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of India Report, Western Circle*, IX, pl. lvi, fig. I.

16. Dr. A. K. Majumdar, *Chalukyas of Gujarāt*, p. 381.

Another image of Trivikrama has been found at Kurukṣetra (Punjab).<sup>17</sup> Here the deity stands with his *āyudha-puruṣas* holding *cakra* and *śaṅkha*. Below the main image are shown Lakṣmī and Bhūmi (the two consorts of the deity); while in the corners, we find the figures of a Nāga and his consort. Behind the head of Trivikrama, are carved the miniature images of Brahmā, Śiva and Indra. At the top the seven sages (*sapta-ṛṣis*) are seated in a row.

A remarkable sculpture from Kāśīpur (U. P.) represents the high water-mark of the later phase of the Gurjara-Pratihāra art of the 10th-11th centuries A. D. The sculpture fashioned according to the *Silparatna* has a flickering smile on his lips and its elegant contours have been delightfully rendered. He holds a *padma* (lotus), *gadā* (club) and a *cakra* (disc) in his hands. The lower left hand, which is now lost probably held a *śaṅkha* (conch).<sup>18</sup> The subject treated in the lower part is in two sections. Firstly, the crowned Bali is shown pouring ceremonial water on the right hand of Vāmana. In the centre, Śukrācārya stand somewhat annoyed with this act of Bali. His face is turned to the left. In the second scene, behind Vāmana again, Bali is shown tied with a *pāśa* (noose) the ends of which are tightly held by a male figure. The sculpture is now in the National Museum, New Delhi.

A beautifully sculptured image of Trivikrama is carved inside a niche on the north side wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhubneswar (Orissa)<sup>19</sup>. Depiction of the deity can also be seen on one of the subsidiary shrines surrounding the great Liṅgarāja temple along with the figures of other gods and goddesses<sup>20</sup>.

An image of Viṣṇu-Trivikrama found at Dinājpur (Bengāl) is quite interesting. Here the deity is carved standing under the

17. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1922-23, p. 89.

18. Cf. *padmaṁ kaumodakīm cakram śaṅkhaṁ dhatte Trivikramaḥ* | See also *Rupamaṇḍana* (Ch. III, v, 15 and *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* (Ch. V, v. 11).

19. *The Orissa Historical Journal*, 1962, X, No. 4, p. 71.

20. Dr. R. D. Banerjea, *History of Orissa*, II, p. 364.

canopy of a seven-hooded serpent. The *gadā* (club) and *cakra* (disc) are shown on full-blown lotus flowers. Dr. J.N. Banerjee is of the opinion that this image has got Mahāyāna features, as the mode of placing the *āyudhas* (attributes) on lotus is similar to that of Manjuśrī and Simhanāda<sup>21</sup>.

In some images of Trivikrama, we generally notice a grinning face above the upraised foot of the deity. Long ago, T. G. Rao, while quoting from the *Varāha Purāṇa* had said, "that when the foot of Trivikrama was lifted up to measure the Heaven world, the Brahmāṇḍa burst and cosmic water began to pour down through the clefts of the broken Brahmāṇḍa. This face is perhaps meant to represent the Brahmāṇḍa in that condition<sup>22</sup>". But afterwards, S. Kramrisch, J.N. Banerjee and C. Sivaramamurti expressed, the view that this face stands for Rāhu, who is often shown in mediaeval Indian art in this manner. A beautiful description of this is given by Śrīharṣa in his *Naiṣadhacarita*, which is as follows :—

*mān Trivikrama punṭhi pade te kim lagannajani Rāhur upānat\* |  
kim pradakṣiṇana-kṛd bhrami pāśam Jāmbavāna dita te*

*Balibandhe ||*

*Naiṣadha Carita*, 21, 96.

Some early images of Trivikrama from South India are found at Badami (latter half of the 6th century A.D.), Mahābalipuram (7th century A. D.) and at Ellora (8th century A. D.). Among these, the scene carved inside the Varāha-maṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram undoubtedly shows a wonderfully remarkable degree of mastery over the lithic medium. The perpendicular figure of the deity dominates the whole scene like a 'pillar of

21. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 433-34, pl. I, fig. 4.

22. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, i, p. 167.

23. *The Hindu Temple*, II, pp. 403-04.

24. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 419.

25. The representation of Rāhu above the upraised foot of Trivikrama, however, is not only found in the mediaeval sculptures, but also in early sculptures, belonging to the Gupta period. Cf: Dr. V. S. Agrawal, *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Image in the Mathura Art*, 1951, pp. 8, 12-13.

\* The black Rāhu consisting of a severed head is here likened to a shoe.

victory'. His out-thrashing left leg appears like a roaring column of fire, driving the chaos to cosmos. But inspite of all this great fury that surround Him, one can mark His eternal peace and happiness :

*Brahmānda-cchatra-danḍaḥ śatadhṛti-bhavan-āmbhoruho*

*nāladanḍaḥ*

*kṣaurī-nau-kūpa-danḍaḥ-kṣarad-amara-sarit-paṭṭikā-keṭu danḍaḥ |*

*jyotiś-cakrākṣa-danḍas tri-bhuvana-vijaya-stamba-danḍo*

*ṅghridanḍaḥ*

*śreyas trai-vikramas te vitaratu vibudha-dveṣinān kāla-danḍaḥ ||*

*Daśakumāracarita, I, 1.<sup>26</sup>*

One of the most remarkable and rare examples in bronze of Pallava work of the 8th century A. D. represents Trivikrama as measuring the sky with his left leg. The dignity of its bearing, deeply spiritual expression and graceful modelling testify to the artist's great skill. The image is under worship in a temple at Singnallur, Coimbotore.<sup>27</sup>

Trivikrama images are also found on the famous Hoyasaleśvara temple at Halebid in Mysore. Above the raised right leg of the deity is the figure of Brahmā, who is shown seated and washing the foot of Trivikrama with the sacred water of the Ganges<sup>28</sup>. The artist has beautifully carved the figures of fishes and tortoises to give it the shape of a river—a technique which has been followed in India through the ages. It recalls a beautiful panel from Sanchi and a medallion from Barhut (C. 2nd century B. C.), where the artist while illustrating the story of *Mahākapi-Jātaka* has given the same affect, which we have in the present Hoyasāla piece<sup>29</sup>. Garuḍa, the celestial mount of the deity, is depicted below his raised leg. The deity standing below the

26. Quoted from Sri C. Sivaramamurti's *Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa*, Madras, p. 14.

27. Cf. Sri C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Bronzes*, p. 71, fig. 15 a.

28. This idea finds beautiful expression also in the verse from Khajuraho inscription quoted below.

29. Cf. Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, II, pl. LXIV, fig. a; and Cunningham, *Barhut*, pl. 33, 4.



creepers, may be the *kalpavṛkṣa*. The beautiful sculpture is almost perfect in every detail.

In the Pāla and Sena sculptures of Eastern India, we occasionally get the image of Trivikrama with one of his legs raised<sup>30</sup> but in general the deity is shown in the *sambhāṅga* pose. He has the proper attributes and is accompanied by his consorts, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī<sup>31</sup>, and other figures. These sculptures are quite different from those found in other parts of India, in respect of their poses, decoration and the attending figures.

Besides, the literary and sculptural evidences, there are several epigraphs which supply ample data to prove that like Varāha and Nṛsīṃha incarnations, Viṣṇu-Trivikrama form was also quite popular in ancient India.

In the Khajurāho stone inscription of Candella king Yaśovarman dated V. S. 1011 (A. D. 954), the three strides which Hari took while cheating Bali are invoked to protect the three worlds<sup>32</sup> :

*pāyāsur vva (bba)livanca (ñca)na-vyatikare devasya vikrāntayah |*  
*sadyo vismita-deva-dānava-nutas tisra strilokim Hareḥ |*  
*ya su vra (bra)hma-vitṛṇṇamargha-satilaṁ pād-āravinda-cyutam*  
*dhatte' dy āpi jagatra (t tra)yaika-janakah puṇyam sa mūrddhnā*  
*Harah ||*

‘Wonder-struck the *Devas* and *Dānavas* bowed down their heads in salutation. And to this day the holy Hara, the sole creator of three world, holds on his head the waters that flowed off His steps as Brahmā offered them as *argha*.<sup>33</sup>

30. Dr. S. Kramrisch, *Pāla and Sena Sculptures*, *Rupam*, No. 40, Oct. 1929, pl. 27 ; N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 105, pl. XXXVIII ; R. D. Banerjea, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculptures*, pl. XLVI.

31. Sometimes, Trivikrama is also shown flanked by his *ayudha-puruṣas* (personified weapons) in place of his consorts. Cf: *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, 1954, XXXX, 14, pp. 413 f.

32. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 123-

33. The reference is to Gaṅgā, which is believed to have originated from the holy water which Brahmā poured at the feet of Trivikrama.

The Cālukya king Mūlarāja in his Anhilavāḍa copper plate grant dated V. S. 1043 (A. D. 968) is compared with Trivikrama in treading over the whole earth by virtue of his prowess<sup>34</sup> :

*Siddha\* Rāj-āvalī-pūrvvam || rāja-haiṁsa iva vimal obhaya-pakṣaḥ |  
kamala-  
yonir.iva vitata-kamal āsrayaḥ | Viṣṇur iva vikram-ākrānta-bhūtalāḥ ||*

The Silimpur stone inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva (C. 11th century A. D.) records that a Brāhmaṇa named Prahāsa, besides performing other meritorious deeds, installed (an image) of Trivikrama for the spiritual benefit of his parents<sup>35</sup> :

*bhagnaṁ punar nūtanam'atra kṛtvā grāme ca dev-āyatana-dvayaṁ  
yaḥ |  
pitus-tathā 'rthena cakāra mātus trivikramaṁ puskarayāṁ imāṅ ca ||*

In th Fyzabad copper plate of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra of V. S. 1243 (A. D. 1186) the king's fame has been compared to three steps of Trivikrama, because both delighted in traversing or overcoming the three worlds, the majesty of both was described by *Kavi* (Śukra and other poets) and both caused fear to *Rājā*Bali and powerful rulers.<sup>36</sup>

*loka tray-ākramaṇa-keli-viśṛṅkhalāni  
prakhyaṭa-kīrti-kavī-varṇita-vaibhavāni |  
yasya (tri)-vikaama-pada-krama-bhāṅgi bhānti  
pro (ddyo) taya (nti) Balirāja-bhayaṁ yaśāmsi ||*

34. *Indian Antiquary*, VI, p. 191.

35. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIII, pp. 222 ff.

36. *Indian Antiquary*, XV, p. 11.

There is *double entendre* in the words *Kavi* and *Bali*. *Kavi* means Śukra as well as poets. *Bali-rajā* has the meaning of king *Bali* as well as 'powerful rulers'.

There is a reference also to Trivikrama in the 9th verse of Gwalior inscription of Mihira Bhoja (C. 835-C. 888 A. D.), which is poetically appropriate, though not very complimentary to Trivikrama.— see *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, pp. 107-14. For this reference, the writer is highly obliged to his respected teacher Dr. Dasharatha Sharma.

## वेदेषु पुराणादिषु च भगवतः शिवस्य तत्त्वं रहस्यं च

नरेन्द्रनाथ शर्मा चौधुरी

[In this article the learned author has dealt with God Śiva and his worship. From the hoary Vedic period up to the later literature God Śiva has been much glorified. The Vedas, the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and other texts contain praises and deeds of God Śiva. The three gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra—are the most favoured gods in the Purāṇas. Among these three also Viṣṇu and Śiva are worshipped all over India. The author has explained the meaning of the word Rudra and Śiva, which denote the bounteous as well as the auspicious nature of the God. Some people put forth certain arguments with regard to the identity of the Vedic Rudra and the Purāṇic Rudra : In the Veda Ambikā is said to be the sister of God Rudra, but in the Purāṇic period she is known as the wife of Rudra. More-over, in the Purāṇas Rudras are different from Śiva that is why we meet with Rudras as well as with Śiva at the time of the sacrifice of Dakṣa Prajāpati. In the Skanda-Purāṇa Śiva is said as the leader of *Anāryas*. The Phallic worship is connected with the Śaiva-sect. But phallic worshippers are condemned in the Veda. Here, the learned author tries to refute all these objections and proves that both Rudra and Śiva are identical. The importance of Śiva and his worship has also been explained.]

भगवतः शिवस्य महिमा शास्त्रेषु सुतरां वर्णितो वर्तते । वेदेषु प्रायेण  
'रुद्रः' इति नाम्नायं समाम्नायते । पुराणेषु सर्वासु देवतासु ब्रह्मा विष्णुः शिवश्च

नितरां प्रसिध्यन्ति । आसु तिसृष्वपि देवतासु, भारते वर्षे, सर्वत्र, बाहुल्येन विष्णुवत् शिवस्य पूजा भवति । तन्त्रेषु शिवस्य गूढं तत्त्वं विस्पष्टीकृतं विद्यते । अतः समासतः “शिव एव रुद्रः, रुद्र एव च शिवः” इति पर्यवस्यति । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन—“स वै रुद्रः स च शिवः ।”

( महाभारतम्, द्रोणपर्व, २०२, १०२ )

इत्थं वेद-पुराण-तन्त्रेषु भगवतः शिवस्य माहात्म्यं सुतरां प्रकाशमुप-पादितम् ।

इयति नाशयति दुःखमिति वा, शेते शरीरे इति वा शिवशब्दस्यार्थो विद्यते । भगवान् शिवः प्रसन्नः सन् भक्तानां शरणमापन्नानां ज्ञान-सुख-धनादिवर्धनेन सर्वत्र शिवं करोतीति सार्थकेन ‘शिवः’ इति नाम्नायं सदा व्यपदिश्यते । अत्र श्रुतिः—

“नमः शंभवाय च मयोभवाय च,  
नमः शंकराय च मयस्कराय च,  
नमः शिवाय च शिवतराय च ।”

( शुक्लयजुर्वेदः, शतरुद्रियम्, १६, ४१ )

अत्र स्मृतिरपि—

“समेधयति यन्नित्यं सर्वार्थान् सर्वकर्मसु ।

शिवमिच्छन् मनुष्याणां तस्मादेष शिवः स्मृतः ॥”

( महाभारतम्, द्रोणपर्व २०२, १, ३१ )

ऋग्वेदे तावदनेकानि रुद्रसूक्तानि विलसन्ति । तेषु देवस्य रुद्रस्य सम्यग्-वर्णनं विद्यते । ‘रुद्र’ रोदनं दुःखं द्रावयतीति वा, र्वणं स्त् ज्ञानं राति ददातीति वा, पापिनो दुःखभोगेन रोदयतीति वा रुद्रपदस्यार्थो वर्तते । ऋग्वेदस्य दशमे मण्डले विश्वदेवसूक्ते रुद्रमन्त्रे भगवान् रुद्रः ‘शिवः’ इति श्रूयते ।

तथाहि—

“स्तोमं वो अद्य रुद्राय शिक्वसे क्षयद्वीराय नमसा दिदिष्टन ।

येभिः शिवः स्ववाँ एवयावभिर्दिवः सिषक्ति स्वयशा निकामभिः ।”

( ऋग्वेदः, १०, ६२, ६० )

शुक्लयजुर्वेदस्य षोडशोऽध्याये शतरुद्रिये भगवतो रुद्रस्य शिव-भव-शर्व-पशुपति-नीलग्रीव-शितिकण्ठ-शंकर-नीललोहितप्रभृतीनि नामानि श्रूयन्ते ।

कैवल्योपनिषदि, नारायणोपनिषदि, अथर्वशिखोपनिषदि, शरभोपनिषदि, स्कन्दोपनिषदि, योगशिखोपनिषदि, अन्यास्वपि उपनिषत्सु भगवान् शिवः खलु 'उमासहाय' इति, 'महादेव' इति, 'रुद्र' इति, 'ईश' इति, 'सदाशिव' इति च समाह्वयते ।

नकुलीशपाशुपतदर्शन-शैवदर्शन-प्रत्यभिज्ञादर्शनादिष्वपि भगवतः शिवस्य सत्यं स्वरूपं विचारितम् ।

महाभारते, शिव-स्कन्द-लिङ्ग-भागवत-मत्स्य-कूर्म-वामन-कालिकापुराणादिष्वपि शिवस्य रुद्रादिनामभिः सम्यग् वर्णनं समुपलभ्यते ।

रुद्रयामल-तोडल-लिङ्गार्चन-शिवादितन्त्रेष्वपि भगवतः शिवस्य माहात्म्यं देवदेवस्वरूपत्वं च सुष्ठु प्रकटीकृतम् ।

अथ भगवतः शिवस्य तत्त्वं तस्य ध्यानेभ्यः स्तोत्रादिभ्यश्च सुखेन सुतरां परिज्ञायते । भगवतः शिवस्य शास्त्रेषु बहूनि ध्यानानि, स्तव-कवचादीनि, मन्त्राश्च समुपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र पञ्चाक्षरमन्त्रस्य षडक्षरमन्त्रस्य च यद् ध्यानं दत्तं तदेव नितरां प्रसिद्धिसुपगतम् ।

तद् ध्यानं यथा शिवपुराणे ( १, ६८, १७ )—

ध्यायेन्नित्यं महेशं रजतगिरिनिभं चारुचन्द्रावतंसं,

रत्नाकरपोज्ज्वलाङ्गं परशु-मृगवराभीतिहस्तं प्रसन्नम् ।

पद्मासीनं समन्तात् स्तुतममरगणैर्व्याघ्रकृत्तिं वसानं,

विश्वाद्यं विश्वबीजं निखिलभयहरं पञ्चवक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रम् ॥

ध्यानादस्मादवगम्यते यद् भगवानयं महेश्वरः, पद्मासनस्थश्चन्द्रकलावतंस-श्चतुर्भुजो, व्याघ्रचर्माम्बरो देवगणस्तुतः, पञ्चाननस्त्रिनेत्रश्च विद्यते । भुजचतुष्टयेनायं परशुं ज्ञानमुद्रां वरमुद्रामभयमुद्रां च विभर्ति । विश्वसृष्टेः प्रागयमेव केवल आसीत् । विश्वमस्मादेव प्रजायते । देवोऽयं प्रसन्नः सन् भक्तानां सकलं भयं नाशयति, वाञ्छितं वरं च वितरति । अत्र भगवतो हस्तचतुष्टयं तस्य कर्मजातमेव प्रकाशयति । तथाहि—

वरमुद्रा तावत् सृष्टिकर्तृत्वम्, अभयमुद्रा स्थितिकर्तृत्वम्, परशुः संहारकर्तृत्वम्, मृगमुद्रा ( ज्ञानमुद्रा ) ज्ञानदातृत्वम्, महायोगित्वं चास्य प्रकटीकरोति । भगवतः शिवस्य सपर्यायां प्राधान्येन तस्य मूर्तीनामष्टानां पूजा भवति । अष्टसु मूर्तिषु च पञ्च महाभूतानि, चन्द्रसूर्यौ, यजमानश्च सन्ति । इयमेव भगवतः शिवस्यापरा प्रकृतिर्वर्तते । परा तु जीवभूता शिवरूपा चकास्ति । इदमेव तत्त्वं श्रीमद्-भगवद्गीतायाम्—“भूमिरपोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च (७, ४) इत्यादिना भगवता श्रीकृष्णेनापि प्रदर्शितम् ।

अथ शिवाष्टमूर्तिषु यजमानस्यापि परिगणनेन शुद्धस्य शिवरूपस्यैव यजमानस्य शिवपूजायामधिकारो नान्यस्येति सूच्यते । एवं च—

“देव एव यजेद् देवं नादेवो देवमर्चयेत् ।”

( गन्धर्वतन्त्रम्, ८. १ ) इति

शास्त्रेणायमेवार्थो भगवता शिवेनापि प्रतिपादितः । भगवतः शिवस्य पुराणादिषु पठितः पुष्पाञ्जलिप्रदानमन्त्रस्तु ऋग्वेदे यजुर्वेदे च रुद्रदैवतः खलु श्रूयते । स मन्त्रो यथा—

“त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धि पुष्टिवर्धनम् ।

उर्वारुकमिव बन्धनान् मृत्योर्मुक्षीय मामृतात् ॥”

( ऋग्वेदः ७, ५६, १२ ; शुक्लयजुर्वेदः ३, ६० )

अस्मादपि मन्त्रात् भगवतः शिवस्य त्रिनेत्रत्वं, दिव्यगन्धोपेतत्वं, मर्त्यधर्म-विहीनत्वं, पुष्टिवर्धनत्वं, मृत्युनाशकत्वममृतत्वप्रदायकत्वञ्चावगम्यते । अथ भगवतः शिवस्य देवादिभिराराध्यमानाया लिङ्गमूर्तेस्तत्त्वं तु नितरां गुह्यं, गुरुगम्यं, साधनाविज्ञेयं च वरीवर्ति । समासत एतद्धुना निगद्यते यत् लिङ्ग-पीठिका, लिङ्गं च द्यावापृथिव्यौ, जगतः पितरौ च स्तः । सर्वमेतदग्रे स्फुटं भविष्यति । एवञ्च-सर्वैश्चतुर्वर्गफलप्राप्तये सदा सेव्योऽयं भगवान् भूतपतिर्महेश इत्येव शास्त्राणां हृदयं विभाति ।

अथात्र कश्चित् ‘कौत्सो’ महता कण्ठेन सघोषं भाषमाणो विवदते । स एवमाह—

अयि भोः, किमुच्यते भवता ? नेतत् सर्वं संगच्छते । वैदिको रुद्रः

खलु पौराणिकात् तान्त्रिकाच्च रुद्रात् भिन्न एव । नास्त्यत्र सन्देहलेशोऽपि ।  
कुतः ? श्रूयताम्—

एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्त्राऽम्बिकया त्वं जुषस्व स्वाहैष ते रुद्रभाग  
आखुस्ते पशुः ।” ( शुक्लयजुर्वेदे ३, ५७ )

इति मन्त्रो विराजते । मन्त्रादस्मादवगम्यते यदम्बिका वैदिकस्य रुद्रस्य  
भगिनी एवास्ति, न तु पत्नी । परन्तु पुराणेषु, तन्त्रेषु च अम्बिका रुद्रस्य पत्नीति  
वर्त्तते । अतः खलु वैदिकात् रुद्रात् पौराणिकस्तान्त्रिकश्च रुद्रो भिन्न एवेति  
सिध्यति । एवञ्च श्रीमहाभारतमप्यत्र प्रमाणं वर्त्तते । तथाहि तत्र शान्तिपर्वणि  
दक्षयज्ञे समीरितं व्यासदेवेन यत् दक्षेण सर्वे रुद्रा देवा निमन्त्रिता आसन्, परन्तु  
रुद्रो महेश्वरो नाहूतः, यतस्तस्य रुद्रत्वे सत्यपि वैदिकरुद्रेषु दक्षेण न परिगणनं  
कृतम् । उक्तं च—

“सन्ति नो बहवो रुद्राः शूलहस्ताः कपर्दिनः ।

एकादशस्थानगता नाहं वेद्मि महेश्वरम् ॥

( महाभारतम्, १२, १८४, २० )

अपि च—श्रीशिवपुराणेऽपि अयमेवार्थ इत्थमेव वर्णितो विद्यते ।

एवञ्च—स्कन्दपुराणे केदारखण्डे मायाक्षेत्रमाहात्म्ये दक्षयज्ञे शिवो हि  
दक्षेण ‘अनार्यः’, अनार्यसङ्गश्चेति, सुतरामधिक्षिप्तः । अतः खलु शिवस्यानार्यत्वमेव  
गम्यते । अपरञ्च—ऋग्वेदस्य सप्तमे मण्डले, अष्टादशे सूक्ते, ये दश राजानः  
समिताः सुदासेन युध्यमाना वर्णितास्तेषु षञ्च आर्याः, पञ्च च अनार्या राजान  
आसन् । तेषु च अनार्येषु राजसु द्वयोर्नामनी ‘त्रिषाणिनः’, ‘शिवास’श्चेति  
श्रूयते । अतः खलु एतस्मादवगम्यते यत् तदा अनार्या राजान एव शिवभक्ताः,  
शिवस्य विषाणेन, नाम्ना चाभिहिता आसन्, न त्वार्याः । तेन च शिवस्य  
अनार्यसेव्यत्वमेवायाति । अपि च वामनपुराणे चतुःषष्टितमेऽध्याये शिवस्य ‘रुद्राः’  
‘स्कन्दाः’ ‘नैगमेयाः’ ‘पाशुपताः’ ‘वृषध्वजिन’श्चेत्येवंविधा बहवो गणा वर्णिताः ।  
शिवस्य तु सर्वगणाधिपेश्वरत्वं दर्शितम् । ततश्च एतस्माद् गणवर्णनादवदात्तमेतद्  
यत् पुरा हिमालयोद्देशे बहूनि गणराज्यानि आसन् । गणेशाधिपश्च तत्र शिवो

रराज । परं तदार्याणां मध्ये खलु राजतन्त्रशासनमेव लब्धपदमवर्तत । तेन हि कारणेन राजतन्त्राधिपालदक्षस्य यज्ञे गणेशाधिपालस्य शिवस्य न निमन्त्रणमभूत् । किन्तु शिवेन बलात् गणानां गौरवं राजतन्त्रप्रतिष्ठानेऽपि प्रतिष्ठापितम् । अतः खलु दक्षयज्ञे गणतन्त्र-राजतन्त्राधिकारिणोर्मध्ये विद्वेषं, युद्धं, सन्धिं, शिवस्य अनार्योपास्यत्वं च स्पष्टं दर्शयतीति सिध्यति । किञ्च पुराणादिपाठादवगम्यते यत् शिवः खलु सुतरां दैत्यैः राक्षसैरनार्यैश्च सेव्यमान आसीत् ।

पुनस्तावत् शिवपूजायां लिङ्गार्चनस्यैव प्राधान्यं दरीदृश्यते । इदं हि लिङ्गार्चनं वेदविद्विष्टमस्ति । लिङ्गोपासकाश्च यज्ञवाटगमनेऽप्यधिकारं नालभन्त, अहन्यन्त च देवेन्द्रेण । तथा हि श्रूयते ऋग्वेदे—“मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुरु ऋतं नः ।” इति ( ७, २१, ५ ), “ध्वञ्छिश्नदेवाँ अभिवर्षसाभूत् ।” इति च ( १०, ९९, ३ ) ।

एवञ्च—सिन्धुप्रदेशे महेन्द्रदड़ोस्थाने भूमिखननादिना यल्लिङ्गादिकं प्राप्तं तस्मादपि शिवस्य, शिवलिङ्गस्य, शिवलिङ्गपूजनस्य च अनार्यत्वमेवावगम्यते ।

इत्थमन्यान्यपि बहूनि कारणानि सन्ति । अथास्मात् सर्वस्मात् कारणात् शिवस्य अनार्यदेवत्वं, वैदिकरुद्रभिन्नत्वं च सुसिद्धमेवास्तीति मतमेव सुश्लिष्टं प्रतिभाति—इति ।

अथात्र विरुद्धवादिना एवमुक्ते सति, तं प्रति इत्थं प्रत्युत्तरं दीयतेऽस्माभिः ।

अयि भोः, जानात्येव भवान्—

“नैष स्थाणोरपराधो यद्येनमन्धो न पश्यति, पुरुषापराधः स भवति ।” (निरुक्तम् १, १६) अतो यद्दुरुक्तं भवता तत्र शास्त्रं नापराध्यति । किन्तु भवतः शास्त्रतत्त्वानभिज्ञत्वमेव कारणं प्रतीयते । किं भवता न श्रुताः इमे मन्त्राः ?

यथा—

“मायेत् सा ते यानि युद्धान्याहुर्नाद्य शत्रुं न नु पुरा विवित्से ।” इति ।

( ऋग्वेदः, १०, ५४, २ )

अत्र मन्त्रोऽयं दर्शयति यत् इन्द्रस्य वृत्रेण सह यद् युद्धं वर्णितं तत्तु रूपकमात्रम् । इन्द्रस्य न शत्रुवर्तते, न वा भविष्यति । अतः खलु वेदेषु



विहितस्य वर्णनस्य न सर्वत्र वाचिकत्वं ग्राह्यम्, रूपकत्वमपि तस्य वर्तत इति सिध्यति । इत्थमेव रुद्रविषयेऽपि मन्तव्यम् ।

एवञ्च—“एक एव रुद्रो न द्वितीयोऽवतस्थे । इति,

( तैत्तरीयसंहिता, १, ८, ६, १ )

“सहस्राणि सहस्रशो ये रुद्रा अधिभूम्याम् ।”

( तैत्तरीयसंहिता, ४, ५, ११, ५ )

इति च श्रूयते । यथा रुद्रस्य स्वमहिम्ना सहस्रमूर्तिस्वीकारात् एतस्य मन्त्र-  
द्वयस्य नास्ति परस्परविरोधस्तथैव अन्यत्रापि रुद्रविषये अनया दिशा विरोधस्य  
परिहारो भवत्येव ।

अपि च—“वाजिनीवती सूर्यस्य योषा ।” इति

( ऋग्वेदः, ७, ७५, ५ )

“मातुर्दिधिषुमन्नवं स्वसुर्जारः शृणोतु नः ।”

( ऋग्वेदः, ६, ५५, ५ ) ।

इति च श्रुतौ भगवती उषा देवी तत्त्वत एकस्यैव देवस्य माता, स्वसा, पत्नी चेति  
श्रूयते । परं महाभागात् कर्मपृथक्त्वाच्च एकस्या एव देवताया नानासम्बन्ध-  
कल्पनसम्भवात् नास्ति काचिदसङ्गतिः इत्थं रुद्रमधिकृत्यापि ज्ञेयम् । अम्बिकां प्रति  
कर्मपृथक्त्वात् तस्य सम्बन्धद्वयं न विरुद्धमस्ति । अतो नात्र कश्चिद् यथार्थतो  
विरोधः ।

यत्तु पुनर्भवता दर्शितम्—दक्षेण शिवस्य रुद्रत्वं न स्वीकृतम्, न वा शिवो  
यज्ञे निमन्त्रितः, न च यज्ञभागो दत्तः, तत्तु भवतो ग्रन्थैकदेशदर्शित्वमेव सुतरां  
प्रतिपादयति । कुतः ? आकर्ष्यताम् । यदि सर्वेषु ग्रन्थेषु दक्षयज्ञस्य यद् यद्  
वर्णनं दत्तं तत् सर्वम् आदितोऽन्तं यावत् सुष्ठु विचार्यते, सम्यगवबुध्यते च तर्हि  
एतदवश्यमेवाङ्गीकर्तव्यं भवति यत् शिवस्य तदा रुद्रत्वं, महादेवत्वं च विद्यत  
एव । विशिष्टो यज्ञभागोऽपि तस्मै दत्तः । का कथान्यस्य, दक्षेणापि भगवतः  
शिवस्य सहस्रनाममहास्तुतिर्विहिता, लिङ्गपूजनं च कृतम् । किमन्यत्, वेदेषु  
यद् गुह्यतमं तदेव शैवमते प्रकाशं नीतम् । शैवमतं खलु षडङ्गसहिताद् वेदादु-  
द्भूतम् । अयं शैवधर्मस्तावत् सिद्धान्तानुगतः, सनातनः, सरलः, स्वरूपसमयसाध्यः

सर्वजनगम्यो विश्वजनीनश्च वर्तते । इदमेव प्रसिद्धं पाशुपतं मतमस्ति । तथा  
चोक्तं श्रीमहाभारते—

“वेदाः साङ्गोपनिषदः पुराणाध्यात्मनिश्चयाः ।

यदत्र परमं गुह्यं स वै देवो महेश्वरः ॥”

( द्रोणपर्व, २०२, १०६ )

वेदात् षडङ्गादुद्धृत्य सांख्य-योगाच्च युक्तितः ।

अपूर्वं सर्वतो भद्रं सर्वतो मुखमव्ययम् ।

मया पाशुपतं दक्ष शुभमुत्पादितं पुरा ॥” इति च

( शान्तिपर्व, २८४, १६२-१६५ )

अन्यच्च—शैवमते तावद् ध्यानयोगस्य सारो वर्तते । योगस्य परं  
माहात्म्यमत्र सुष्ठु प्रकटीकृतम् । “योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः ।” ( पातञ्जलयोग-  
दर्शनम्, १, २ ) “योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्” । ( श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, २, ५० )  
“समत्वं योग उच्यते” । ( श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, २, ४८ ) इत्यादिकं सर्वमत्र  
सम्यक् प्रतिपादितं दर्शितञ्च ।

अथ पुनर्लिङ्गपूजामधिकृत्य शिश्नदेवादिपदमृगवेदादुद्धृत्य यद् भवता  
दुर्व्याख्यानं दत्तं तदपि सम्प्रदायागतस्य मन्त्रार्थस्यानधिगतत्वमेव भवतः  
प्रकटीकरोति । यतः खलु शिश्नदेवशब्दात् लिङ्गपूजके नास्ति तात्पर्यम् । किन्तु  
शिश्नेन दीव्यति क्रीडतीत्यर्थाद्ब्रह्मचर्यमिन्द्रियपरायणं वा जनं श्रुतिरियं बोधयति ।  
ततश्च ये खलु अब्रह्मचारिणः, इन्द्रियभोगनिरताश्च तेषां यज्ञशालागमनं निषिद्धम् ।  
तथा कृते, हताश्च ते भवन्ति । अतो नास्ति कश्चिद् विरोधः । एवञ्च लिङ्ग-  
पूजनस्य वर्णनं वेदव्यासेनापि श्रीमहाभारते कृतम् । लिङ्गस्य च गूढार्थत्वमाकाश-  
रूपत्वञ्च भङ्ग्या प्रदर्शितम् । तथा चोक्तं तेन—

“ऋषयश्चैव देवाश्च गन्धर्वाप्सरसस्तथा ।

लिङ्गमस्यार्चयन्ति स्म तच्चाप्यूर्ध्वं समास्थितम् ॥”

( द्रोणपर्व, २०२, १२६ )

इत्थं श्रीशिवस्य लिङ्गमूर्तेरहस्यमतिगहनमेवास्ति । लिङ्गति गच्छति प्राप्नोति,  
जानाति, व्याप्नोति वेति लिङ्गशब्दस्यार्थः सम्प्रदायात् श्रूयते । तत्त्वतस्तावत्

पृथिवी लिङ्गपीठिका, आकाशश्च लिङ्गम् । अस्मादेव सर्वं जायते, अत्रैव सर्वमवतिष्ठते, विलीयते च । अत एव लिङ्गस्य लिङ्गत्वं सुसिद्धम् ।

अत्र स्कन्दपुराणम्, प्राणतोषणीतन्त्रधृत-पञ्चमकाण्डस्थ-लिङ्गशब्दव्युत्प-  
त्यादिकञ्च—

आकाशं लिङ्गमित्याहुः पृथिवी तस्य पीठिका ।

आलयः सर्वदेवानां लयनालिङ्गमुच्यते ॥”

अयमेवार्थो वेदशास्त्रेऽपि भङ्ग्यन्तरेण प्रतिपादितः । तथाहि तत्र द्यौष्पितेति, पृथिवी च मातेति वर्णितम् ।

श्रूयते च—

—“उरुव्यचसा महिनी असश्चता,

पिता माता च भुवनानि रक्षतः ।” इति,

( ऋग्वेदः, १, १६०, २ )

“द्यौष्पितः पृथिवी मातरभ्रुगङ्गे भ्रातर्वसवो मृडता नः ।” इति च ।

( ऋग्वेदः, ६, ५१, ५ )

अतः स्पष्टमिदं यत् पृथिव्या आकाशस्य च मातापितृत्वेन ध्यानमुपासनञ्च नितरां प्राचीनमस्ति । न केवलं प्राचीनेष्वार्येषु, अपि च प्रतीच्येष्वपि जनेषु द्यावापृथिव्यो माता-पितृत्वेन ध्यानस्य सम्यक् निदर्शनमुपलभ्यते । इयमेव ध्यानभङ्गी लिङ्गपीठिकायां लिङ्गे च दृश्यते । अत्र लिङ्गपीठिका खलु शक्तिरूपिणी जगतो माता, लिङ्गं च श्रीशिवो जगतः पिता विद्यते । इदमेव तत्त्वं लिङ्गपीठिकया लिङ्गेन च प्रकटीकृतम् । अतो नास्ति किञ्चिदत्र दुष्टं विद्विष्टं वा ।

अपि च लिङ्गस्य शास्त्रसिद्धौ विशिष्टोऽर्थोऽपि विद्यते । अस्य स्वरूपं ज्योतिर्लिङ्गात् सम्यगवगम्यते । ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं खलु नभःस्पृशं, बृहत्तमस्तम्भ इव प्रतीयमानं, ज्योतिषामपि ज्योतिर्विद्यते । जगति प्रसिद्धैः सिद्धैः पुरुषैः पूर्वं साधनबलाद् द्वादशशु क्षेत्रेषु दृष्टमिदं ज्योतिः । साम्प्रतं तु तज्ज्योतिर्न सर्वैः साधारणैर्दृश्यते । तथापि तज्ज्योतिर्लिङ्गस्थानमपि सिद्धक्षेत्रं ज्योतिर्लिङ्गमित्युच्यते ।

इदमेव ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं परमात्मेति वर्ण्यते । अस्य ज्योतीरूपस्य परमात्मनो वर्णनं वेदे स्मृतौ च दरीदृश्यते । तथाहि—

“अङ्गुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषो ज्योतिरिवाधूमकः” ( २, १, १३ )

इति काठकश्रुत्या,

“तच्छुभ्रं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिः” ( २, २, ९ )

इति मुण्डकश्रुत्या,

“आदित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात्” ( ३, ८ )

इति श्वेताश्वतरश्रुत्या,

ज्योतिषामपि तज्ज्योतिस्तमसः परमुच्यते ।

ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं ज्ञानगम्यं हृदि सर्वस्य विष्टितम् ॥”

( श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, १३, १७ )

इति स्मृत्या च परं ज्योतिः खलु परमात्मनो रूपं सम्यक् प्रतिपादितम् । एतदेव कविना कालिदासेन कुमारसंभवे

“स हि देवः परं ज्योतिस्तमसः पारे व्यवस्थितम्” ( २, ५८ )

इत्युदात्तवर्णनया साधु समाकलितम् ।

अतएव दृश्यते यत् तमसः परस्तात् परं ज्योतिरेव परमात्मा विभाति, स एव पुनर्ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं शिवत्वेन ध्यातव्यः । तथाहि उक्तञ्च शिवपुराणे—

“ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तदोत्पन्नमावयोर्मध्य अद्भुतम् ।

ज्वालामालासहस्राढ्यं कालानलचयोपम् ॥

क्षयवृद्धिविनिर्मुक्तमादिमध्यान्तवर्जितम् ।

अनौपम्यमनिर्दिष्टमव्यक्तं विश्वसम्भवम्” ॥

( १, २, ६३-६४ )

“अलिङ्गं लिङ्गतां यातं ध्यानमार्गेऽप्यगोचरम्” ।

( १, ३, ६ )

अस्य ज्योतिर्लिङ्गस्य द्वादशभेदा वर्णिताः । तत्र 'वाराणस्याञ्च विश्वेशः' इत्येकं प्रख्यातं स्थानं साम्प्रतमपि सुतरां प्रसिद्धिं भजते । इत्थं शिवस्य लिङ्गरूपेण ज्योतिर्मयस्य परमात्मत्वमेव सुतरां सिध्यति ।

अथ भगवतः शिवस्य महिमा तत्त्वतो वाचामगोचर एवास्ति । भगवान् शिवः, भगवती शिवा च जगतां पितरौ स्तः । उक्तं च कविना कालिदासेन—

“जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ।”

(रघुवंशम्, १, १)

गोतं च श्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्येणापि—

“जगज्जनन्यै जगदेकपित्रे नमः शिवायै च नमः शिवाय ।”

(हरगौर्यष्टकं स्तोत्रम्)

किञ्च भक्तिदृष्ट्या एवं सत्यपि, भगवानेष यथार्थतो न स्त्री न वा पुमानस्ति । श्रूयते च श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि ( ५, १० )—

“नैव स्त्री न पुमानेष न चैवायं नपुंसकः ।”

किन्तु साधकानां हितार्थाय अरूपोऽपि देवो रूपं धारयति । स खलु एक एव न द्वितीयोऽवतिष्ठते । परन्तु महाभाग्यात् कर्मपृथक्त्वाच्च “एकं सद् विषा बहुधा वदन्ति ।” (ऋग्वेदः, १, १६४, ४६) । साधकानां रुचीनां वैचित्र्याच्च मूर्तिभेदो भवति । तेन च ब्रह्म-विष्णु-शिवादिषु वस्तुतो नास्ति कश्चिद् भेदः । अपि च शिवस्य परा शक्तिः शिवादभिन्ना विद्यते । उक्तं च सूत्रसंहितायां कौलमार्गरहस्यधृतायाम्—

“सा शिवा परमा देवी शिवाभिन्ना शिवंकरी ।”

अयं भगवान् शिवो महाकाल इति समुपवर्ण्यते । अतोऽस्य महाशक्ति-र्महाकालीति गीयते । शिवः शक्त्या विवर्जितः स्पन्दितुमपि न प्रभवति, शक्तां च याति । तथा चोक्तमानन्दलहरी-स्तोत्रे श्रीमच्छङ्करपादेन—

“शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुं न चेदेवं देवो न खलु कुशलः स्पन्दितुमपि ।”

उक्तं च देवीभागवते—

“शिवोऽपि शवतां याति कुण्डलिन्या विवर्जितः ।”

अतः “शिव एव शक्तिः, शक्तिरेव च शिवः ।” इति पर्यवस्यति । अयं भगवान् शिवः, सर्वस्वरूपः सर्वस्थः, सर्वव्यापकश्च वर्तते । श्रूयते च श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि ( ३, १५ )—

“सर्वाननशिरोग्रीवः सर्वभूतगुहाशयः ।

सर्वव्यापी स भगवान् तस्मात् सर्वगतः शिवः ॥”

उक्तं च शिवपुराणे—

ज्ञाता ज्ञानं तथा ज्ञेयं सर्वं शिवमिदं जगत् । ( १, ७६, २ )

सर्वः शिवः शिवः सर्वं नात्र भेदोऽस्ति कश्चन । ( १, ७८, १७ )

अथ तत्त्वस्यास्य विज्ञानेन साधकोऽपि शिवतामुपैति ।

किमन्यत्—

सर्वम् “सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्” सम्पद्यते । ( रवीन्द्रनाथः )

“यदा तमस्तन्न दिवा न रात्रिर्न सन् न चासच्छिव एव केवलः ।”

( श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद् ४, १८ )

परन्तु यस्य देवे परा भक्तिः शरणागतिश्च तस्य परमेशः प्रसीदति, प्रकाशते च । अतो भगवतः शिवस्य सत्यस्वरूपज्ञानाय परा भक्तिः शरणागतिश्च परमं शरणमस्माकं प्रतिभाति ।

RESEARCHES ON THE PURĀṆA REALIZED BY  
THE "ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST" IN BANARAS\*

By

JUAN ROGER RIVIERE

[ भारतीयवाङ्मये पुराणानां महत्त्वं सर्वविदितम् । महाभारतमिव रामायणमिव च पुराणान्यपि प्रसिद्धानि । अतएव पुराणानामध्ययनम् आवश्यकमुपयोगि च विद्यते । लेखेऽस्मिन् विदुषा लेखकेन अष्टादशपुराणानां स्वरूपं परिमाणं च दर्शयित्वा तेषां निर्माणतिथि-विषयेऽपि ऊहितम् । पुराणानां रचनाकालविषये पर्याप्तं मतवैभिन्यं वर्तते तस्य निर्देशोऽप्यत्र कृतः । लेखकमहोदयेन अन्ततः तत्रभवद्भिः काश्चिनरेशैः सञ्चालितेन काश्चिराजन्त्यासेन क्रियमाणस्य पुराणकार्यस्य विषये सन्तोषः प्रकटितः, स्वदेशीया विद्वांसश्च काश्चिराजन्त्यासेन सम्पाद्यमानपुराणकार्ये सहयोगाय अभ्यर्थिताः । ]

Together with the epic poems of Indian literature, "Mahābhārata" and "Rāmāyaṇa", there appears the important group of the "Purāṇas", sacred books of Hinduism compiled with religious aims. Tradition admits the existence of 18 "Purāṇa" whose characteristics are: 1. "Brahma P.": is 'Ādi', "the first one", descriptions of sacred places (late text). 2. "Padma P.": "lotus", the lotus on which Brahmā sits during the creation. The longest one, '600 adhyāya', 48,000 'śloka'. Details of the cult to Viṣṇu. Reference to Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and several legends. 3. "Viṣṇu P.": Very Viṣṇuistic character. Six sections. Glorification of Kṛṣṇa, cosmogonic descriptions. Ancient text. Archaic form (IIIrd, IVth cents). 4. "Vāyu P.": 11,000 'śloka'. 112 'adhyāyas'. Śivaistic text. One of the oldest Sanskrit works (Vth cent.). Several legends. 5. "Bhāgavata P.": of Bhagavān, or Viṣṇu worshippers: Quite late text. Devotional text, of

\*English translation by the Author himself of his article "Investigaciones sobre los Purāṇa por el All-India Kashiraj Trust de Benares" published in the 'Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas' Año 1, 1965, published A.E.O. Limite, 5-Madrid (3).

'bhakti' (Xth cent.). 18.000 'śloka' in twelve 'skandha'. Story dealing with Viṣṇu incarnations, with cosmogony, cosmology, story of Kṛṣṇa. 6. "Nārada P.": Viṣṇuistic. 'Bhakti' and ritual practices. 7. Mārkaṇḍeya P., IIIrd century. Rites-legends, fights of the Goddess 'Durgā', against 'Asuras'. 8. "Agni P.": 11,500 'śloka'; half viṣṇuistic and half Śivaistic technical encyclopaedia. 9. "Bhaviṣya P.": Cult to Gaṇeśa. Kṛṣṇa. 11. "Linga P.": Purely Śivaistic text. Tantrism. 12. Varāha P.": Incarnation of Viṣṇu as a wild boar. Viṣṇuistic handbook. 13. "Skanda P.": 80.000 śloka. Six books, the longest one, recent. 14. Vāmana P.": Incarnation of Viṣṇu as a dwarf. 15. "Kūrma P.": Incarnation of Viṣṇu as a turtle. Viṣṇuistic, cult. 16. "Matsya P.": Incarnation of Viṣṇu as a fish, Śivaistic and Viṣṇuistic. 17. "Garuḍa P.": 9.000 śloka, Viṣṇuistic, encyclopaedia of Hinduism, science of death and reincarnation. Recent. 18. "Brahmāṇḍa P.": 'Advaita's' doctrine, worship of Rāma, tantrism, XVth cent.).

"Among the eighteen main "Purāṇas"—as A. Barth says—there is not a single one dated, they all speak of each other, and the epoch when they were written comprises, perhaps, twelve centuries." The Arab traveller al-Birūnī knew already in the XIth century those which we know nowadays: 18; but the creation of new texts went on.

Hindus attribute the composition of the Purāṇa to Vyāsa, "the compiler", legendary author of the "Mahābhārata". They are considered as sacred books of second rate, meant for middle classes, and kept inside the sūta caste, bards and not brahmans, but who knew Sanskrit. They collect legends belonging to the popular inheritance. To the old mythical and cosmogonic background, they added now ritual descriptions and then historical recollections, hymns and even full poems in the honour of a god or a goddess, all accompanied by a short exposition of 'sāṃkhya' philosophy. and even more frequently by a 'yoga' essay. It is a literature which no learned Hindu ignores nowadays, although he may have not read the Veda. The "Purāṇa" are for Hinduism the same that the



Bible for protestant countries—pious families read some versicles every day.

“Padma P.”, second in the list, is a literature much more important than the “Mahābhārata”, and contains 50,000 śloka; ‘Skanda P.’, (Skanda—son of ‘Śiva’), had 80,000 śloka. The extensive field has not been yet cleared enough.

F. E. Pargiter has worked very seriously looking for historical certainties in the lists of kings. His inferences have suffered many discussions. One of the most important and oldest “Purāṇa” is the “Mārkaṇḍeya”, attributed to the sage of the same name, who in the “Mahābhārata” tells the story of ‘Sāvitrī’. In it he tells his disciple about the creation of the world, the different epochs and genealogies. As it happens in all this part, the supreme gods are still Indra and Brahmā, or, what could come from an earlier antiquity—the Vedic divinities; it is supposed that these chapters were written before the cult to ‘Viṣṇu’ or ‘Śiva’ was formed. This would mean the beginning of our era, if not before; probably around the years in which the XII book of the “Mahābhārata” was being drawn up.

The most famous book, favourite of the ‘Bhāgavata’-worshippers of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, is the great “Bhāgavata-Purāṇa” (18,000 stanzas in twelve books, or skandha). It has been known in Europe since the XVIIIth century. Eugenic Burnouf translated it into the French language. According to Pargiter, this “Purāṇa” was not written earlier than the VIIIth century, and contains much more recent parts in which Colebrooke, Burnouf and Wilson have seen a work of the XIIIth. But, by then, the “Bhāgavata” was already a sacred book.

Its subject is the same of the six books forming the “Viṣṇu-Purāṇa”, text of the ‘Viṣṇuistic’. ‘Rāmānuja’, “Lord of the ascetics”, a mystic and theologian who founded in the XIIth century the Viṣṇuistic sect, considers the “Purāṇa” as an authority in the field of ‘bhakti’ questions,

Other “Purāṇas” are partially ‘Viṣṇuistic’ and partially ‘Śivaistic’. Sometimes the supreme god is now ‘Śiva’ and then

'Viṣṇu'; so, the account of 'Viṣṇu' taking the shape of a turtle in the "Kūrma-Purāṇa" and in the "Garuḍa-Purāṇa". It is sometimes thought of a primitive "Purāṇa" (Kirfel) in an old original text with the prejudices of certain schools arranging the text. It is an immense dialogue, in a didactic and almost encyclopedic text.

The Buddhist Amarasimha (between the VIth and VIIIth cents.) author of the excellent lexicon called "Amarakośa", fixes the notion of "Purāṇa". A true text shall deal with five subjects : the creation of the world, its periodical destruction and the new creation of the world after everyone of its destructions ; the genealogy of gods and mythical sages ; the periods of time, "manvatarā", each one ruled by a new 'Manu', the first man ; finally, the genealogy of the gods belonging to the solar dynasty and to the lunar dynasty. This condition is rarely observed. Most of the "Purāṇa" are devoted to the cult of 'Viṣṇu' or of 'Śiva', and to that of Śakti, personification of the power of the god.

The date of the "Purāṇa", is still going through many discussions ; Colebrooke establishes this date in the XIIIth century A.D. Wilson assumes diverse dates : VIIth-IXth centuries A. D. finally, XIIth-XVIth, what is contradictory with the opinion of al-Birūnī, who, in 1030 scheduled eighteen "Purāṇa". For his part, Bühler, following the names of kings given, dates the end of these "Purāṇa" in the Gupta period (320-490). Pargiter speaks of the II d century A. D. with the kingdom Āndhra (236 A. D.). S. M. Edwards, considered as an authority in this subject, says that they begin in the IVth century before Christ. Jackson places them not later than the IVth century before Christ. Macdonell considers that they are as old as the "Mahābhārata", and that they are a development of the "Veda".

The first quotations are found in the "Atharvaveda" (II. 40. 420) and in the "Upaniṣad".

The importance of the "Purāṇa" for the better and more accurate knowledge of the history and the religious evolution of India is enormous ; the dynastic lists in these texts

have a true value, as shown by Pargiter, and they look very old. The systematical study of these texts, their analysis, their translations, are progressively more and more indispensable for Indology.

Now, we have to thank H. H. the Mahārāja of Banaras, who conducts the "All-India Kashiraj Trust." and who, in 1955, considered very precisely the course to be taken by the activities of the Trust towards the scientific study of the "Purāṇa". The aims of this Center established in the Palace of H. H. Mahārāja Sri Vibhuti Narain Singh in Fort Ramnagar, are a concordance of proper and place-names, tables of subjects and contents, dictionary of special purāṇic terminology, critical publications of texts (to begin with the "Matsya P."). Twice a year, and from 1959 onwards it publishes a "Purāṇa" bulletin which contains very interesting studies with a great scientific value. In 1960 I had the pleasure and honour to visit this Center and to study there the important book collections of the library; the work is splendid, and I recommend to the Spanish Indologists of our Association of Orientalists to have this collection of "Purāṇa" bulletin which has a first rate research value, and where several foreign Indologists are collaborating.

MEGASTHENES AND THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN  
CHRONOLOGY AS BASED ON THE PURĀṆAS

BY

K. D. SETHNA

[ निबन्धोऽयं पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तः । अस्य प्रथमो भागः 'पुराण'  
पत्रिकायाः पूर्वस्मिन् ( जनवरी, १९६६ ) अङ्के प्रकाशितः । अत्रापि  
यवनराजदूतमेगस्थनीजवचनानि पुराणवचनानि चानुसृत्य यवनराज-  
दूतोक्तस्य डायोनिसस् ( Dionysus ) नाम्नो राज्ञः आदिराज-  
पृथुना सैण्ड्रोकोट्टस् ( Sandrocottus ) नाम्नो राज्ञश्च गुप्तवंशोयेन  
चन्द्रगुप्तप्रथमेन अभिन्नतां स्थापनाय अन्यान्यपि प्रमाणानि प्रदत्तानि ।  
गुप्तवंशीय चन्द्रगुप्तप्रथमस्य च राज्यारोहणकालः ३२५-३२४ ई० पू०  
निर्धारितः । इमं कालमाश्रित्यैव च भारतीयेतिहासस्य पुनर्निर्माण-  
मावश्यकमिति लेखकमहोदयेन विज्ञापितम् । ]

II

“Dionysus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From the days of Dionysus to Alexander the Great, 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional. From the time of Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians reckoned 6452 years, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period, to the number of 153 or 154. But among these a republic was thrice established, one extending to ... years, another to 300 and another to 120. The Indians also tell us that Dionysus was earlier than Heracles by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked.

This is how we may read the chronological clue from Megasthenes as a result of our scrutiny of the three versions that have come down to us in the reports of Pliny, Solinus and Arrian. The 6452 years, which we have conjectured from Arrian's 6042 in the light of the fact that Sandrocottus was not yet king even when he met Alexander some months after the latter's first entry

into India, are naturally uncertain to some extent, since we still do not know the exact date of his coronation. But we may very well be correct ; for, scholars have suggested 325 B. C. almost as often as 324 B. C. that is to say, about a year later than Alexander's invasion.

As Megasthenes could have received his chronological matter from none else than the Purāṇic puṇḍits of his age, we have compared some of his statements with the information contained in our present Purāṇas or with whatever those puṇḍits may be expected to have gathered from other traditional sources. We have found :

1. Dionysus is the Greek equivalent of the semi-legendary Pṛithu Vainya, the first consecrated monarch, a recipient of divine honours who may have been called *Rājā daiivyena sahasā* ("King with God-force"), signifying to the Greek ear "King Dionysus", and who initiated a new epoch in India by his achievements and combined himself certain associations of the deities Soma and Shiva, associations corresponding to those of Dionysus in religious myth or ritual practice or popular cult.

2. Sandrocottus, at whose court in Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra) Megasthenes lived from c. 302 B. C. for a few years, is Chandragupta I, founder of the Imperial Guptas, between whom and Pṛithu there are in the Purāṇas 153 or 154 kings.

3. Heracles is the Greek equivalent of Kṛishṇa, here strictly speaking Hari-Kṛishṇa, who belonged to the Yādava family and who, misunderstood in the primary meaning of "Yādava" as "son of Yadu", would stand in the 15th generation after Pṛithu because Yadu, one of the sons of Yayāti, marks the 14th generation in the Purāṇic series.

#### WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

What now remains to be done is to find the precise starting-point of the Indian chronology conveyed to Megasthenes, as well as ascertain the missing number of years for the first "republic". Also, the two discoveries, along with the very fact of three "republics" have to be brought into line with the chronological

materials in the Purāṇas and with the traditional Indian chronology applied to them. This will enable us to see whether more evidence is available from Megasthenes to resolve the rivalry between Chandragupta Maurya and Chandragupta I for identification with Sandrocottus.

Before we proceed, we may remind ourselves of three Purāṇic traditional dates :

1. 3102 B. C., the advent of the Kaliyuga with Kṛishṇa's death.
2. 3138 B. C., the year of the Bhārata War and Parīkshit's birth.
3. 3177 B. C., the year in which the Sapta Ṛishi, the Seven Ṛishis, the stars of the constellation Great Bear, are said to have entered the Nakshatra ( lunar asterism ) Maghā in the course of a cycle of 27 centuries supposed to be running through the 27 lunar asterisms of the ecliptic by a stay of 100 years in each of them

#### FROM THE DAYS OF DIONYSUS TO ALEXANDER

We must begin our task of reaching the starting-point of Indian chronology in the age of Megasthenes by deciding the date from which to count backward to Dionysus the 6451 years and 3 month, a date connected with Alexander.

Obviously, we are concerned here with the question, "When exactly did Alexander invade India and stand as Victor on Indian soil ?" As India Proper is east of the Indus we have to know the year, month and day of Alexander's crossing of this river. The year is 326 B. C. And the consensus of historians is that the crossing occurred in the beginning of spring. But what were the month and the day ?

For a satisfactory answer we should take note of all the information provided by the classical accounts of Alexander's campaign.

#### THE DATE OF ALEXANDER'S INVASION

The opinion that the invasion took place at the beginning of spring in 326 B. C. is derived from a passage in Strabo (XV.17) founded on Aristobulus, a companion of Alexander's. Strabo says about Alexander and his men: "They remained in the mountainous

country belonging to the Aspasioi and to the Assakenos during the winter. In the Beginning of spring they descended to the plains and the great city of Taxila, whence they went on to the Hydaspes and the land of Poros."<sup>1</sup>

But evidently the notion of the beginning of spring is general rather than precise: it does not connote the very first day of the season, for that day cannot equally apply to the Indus-crossing and the arrival at Taxila. Vincent Smith<sup>2</sup> tells us that the arrival must have been 3 days later. So Aristobulus must mean a span of several days constituting the initial portion of spring. This is confirmed by another passage in Strabo (XV. i. 61, 62) based again on Aristobulus. Here he speaks of this historian's meeting with two Indian ascetics at Taxila and, referring to climatic condition, observes that "spring had just begun".<sup>3</sup>

Is there a way to know how small or large we should make Aristobulus's span of several days, and how exactly in its place the Indus-crossing? Aristobulus himself supplies no clue. As with the Indus-crossing and the arrival at Taxila, his whole first statement crams together, in quick and uninterrupted sequence, many occurrences which actually stand fairly apart. Smith,<sup>4</sup> following Arrian (V. 8), Diodorus (XVII. 87) and Curtius (VIII. 12, 13), speaks of Alexander's "stay in his comfortable quarters at Taxila for a sufficient time to rest his army". Then the march to the Hydaspes took, by Smith's calculation,<sup>5</sup> probably a fortnight. On the western bank of the Hydaspes there was waiting and watching and foraging, while Porus deployed his army on the eastern bank. Smith<sup>6</sup> supposes 6 or 7 weeks of preliminaries and preparations such as described by Arrian (V. 9, 10): at least a month may be supposed. Aristobulus slurs over all these time-gaps.

He slurs similarly over intervals prior to the Indus-crossing. Quoting Curtius (VII.2), Smith<sup>7</sup> writes that, having left the mountainous country, Alexander "arrived at the Indus after the sixteenth encampment"—that is, at the end of 16 days of marching "through the forests down to the bridgehead at Ohind". On the authority of Diodorus (XVIII. 86) and Arrian (V. 3), Smith<sup>8</sup>

1- Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India* (London, 1924), p. 64, fn. 2.

2, *Ibid.*, p. 63. 3. J. Mc Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (1896), pp. 389-90. 4. *op. cit.*, p. 66. 5. *Ibid.*, p. 67. 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 90. 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

mentions 20 days' rest and recreation for the army at the bridge-head. This means that the Indus was crossed  $(16 + 30) = 46$  days after the men had started leaving the mountainous country.

In what season should we put these days? Aristobulus has said that Alexander's men "remained" in that country "during the winter". So the 16 days of downward march before touching the plains and the 30 by the Indus before its crossing cannot be "during the winter". We should thus be led to take Aristobulus's "beginning of spring" in a very broad sense: the Indus was crossed 46 days after winter had ended and 49 days of spring had elapsed before Taxila was reached. But to say even after the 49th day that "spring had just begun" is to make nonsense of that expression. Even to designate the 46th as "the beginning of spring" is nonsensical. If the expression is to stand, we must take in rather a broad sense Aristobulus's mention of winter also. Some of the 46 days before the Indus-crossing should be put into that season. But we cannot push there much more than half the number. So, approximately, the Indus-crossing will take place after the first 23 days of spring and the arrival of Taxila after the first 26 days. Since Arrian (V. 4) informs us that the river was crossed early one morning, we may roughly put the passage in the dawn of the 24th spring-day.

When exactly in the year would this day fall? It is surprising that Smith<sup>1</sup> should write: "The passage of the Indus must be dated in February or at the latest in March." Apparently he is going by that particular Indian Calendar which divides the year into 6 seasons, each of 2 months. Originally, by this Calendar, *Vasanta* or spring commenced in late February, 2 months after *Śisira* or dew-time which commenced in late December, strictly speaking at the winter solstice of December 21. But if Smith goes by this Calendar, what becomes of Aristobulus's phrase? About 27 days out of a season of 2 months will carry us pretty close to the middle of it and clean beyond the beginning in even the broadest sense. The conclusion is inevitable that Aristobulus,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 64, fn. 2.



in Strabo's report, was not writing in terms of the Calendar of 6 seasons.

And, indeed, would it not be odd that he should? When we know that the Greeks were writing for Greek readers, then, unless they give warning about a change of meaning in the terms intelligible to such readers, we have to assume for "spring" or for any other season the meaning commonly attached to it in the Greek Calendar. The proof is to hand in Strabo himself. He (XV.1.20) says: "India is watered by the summer rains, and the plains are overflowed." Arrian (V. IX) is clear-cut on the point when he speaks of "the time of the year when the sun is wont to turn towards the summer solstice" and adds: "At this season incessant and heavy rain falls in India." The summer solstice comes on June 21. But the scheme of 6 seasons has *Grīshma* (heat) from late April to late June and then *Varshā* (rain) from June 21 for 2 months. Its summer is *Grīshma*: it has no regular rains during that season. The Greek historians leave little doubt that, when they do not provide us with a clear sign of a different sense, their "summer" covers with its start the Indian monsoon and that this start is on the solstice of June 21. Here is an index to the usual Greek division of the year into 4 seasons, each of 3 months, in which spring begins on the vernal equinox, March 21, and runs up to the summer solstice.

Hence, from all points of view, the first 27 days or so of spring which we have shown to be Aristobulu's "beginning" must extend from March 21 (inclusive) to nearly April 16 (inclusive). Then *c.* April 16 will mark the arrival at Taxila and *c.* April 13 the Indus-crossing.

*C.* April 13 is the date of Alexander's invasion of India and the end-point from which we have to count backward by 6451 years and 3 months to reach the starting-point of Indian chronology.

#### THE STARTING-POINT OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

Adding 6451 years and 3 months to *c.* April 13, 326 B. C., we go backward to *c.* January 13, 6777 B.C. But if the 3 months

are not meant to be taken quite literally, the starting-point of Indian chronology in the age of Megasthenes was a date somewhere in January 6777 B.C.

what is striking about this year is the two end-digits. Immediately we are reminded of the Sapta Ṛishi cycle. The Seven Ṛishis enter each asterism in the year 77 of century, just as in the Purāṇic-traditional chronology they entered Maghā in 3177 B. C. It would seem that Megasthenes's 6777 B. C. was related to this cycle and that its being the starting-point of Indian chronology implied for this cycle in his day a starting-point in January 6777 B. C., coinciding with the first year of the intermediate period between Dionysus and Sandrocottus the year in which the reign of the former came to an end and that of his successor, the first king out of the 153, commenced.

If we attend to some of the Vedic associations of *Sapta*, the very use by the Greeks of the name "Dionysus" facilitates our bringing in the Sapta Ṛishi cycle. "The number seven," writes Sri Aurobindo<sup>1</sup>, "plays an exceedingly important part in the Vedic system, as in most very ancient schools of thought." It is also applied to those beings, at once human and divine, called Aṅgirasas, whose parable or legend is "on the whole the most important of all the Vedic myths."<sup>2</sup> The Aṅgirasas are called *sapta rishayah*, the Seven Ṛishis or Seers.<sup>3</sup> "The Aṅgirasa Ṛishis are ordinarily described as seven in number: they are *sapta viprah*, the seven sages who have come down to us in the Purāṇic tradition<sup>4</sup> and are enthroned by Indian astronomy in the constellation of the Great Bear"<sup>5</sup> They are, as described in Hymn VI. 75-9, "the Fathers who dwell in the sweetness (the world of bliss), who establish the wide birth..."<sup>6</sup> Expressive of this world of bliss is the Soma-wine, the heavenly effluence of the god Soma. "The drinking of the Soma-wine as the means of strength, victory and

1. *On the Veda* (Pondicherry, 1956), p. 111.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

4. "Not that the names given them by the Purāṇas need be those which the Vedic tradition would have given them." (Sri Aurobindo's footnote)

5. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

attainment is one of the pervading figures in the Veda... The Aṅgirasas also conquer in the strength of the Soma."<sup>1</sup> "They are *brāhmaṇāso pitaraḥ soṃyāsaḥ...ritāvriḍhaḥ* (VI. 75-10), the fathers who are full of the Soma and have the word and are therefore increasers of the Truth."<sup>2</sup> The relation of Dionysus, the Greek god of wine, to the Vedic deity Soma, lord of the wine of delight (*ānanda*) and immortality (*amṛita*), pouring himself into gods and men, the deity who is also deep-hidden in the growths of the earth, waiting to be released as a rapture-flow for men and gods—the relation of Dionysus to Soma is obvious. Through Soma, Dionysus can be more easily linked with the seven Ṛishis and with the astronomical time-calculation known as their cycle.

We may even suggest that the same Vedic association of the Seven Aṅgirasas with Soma is related to the name which Arrian (*Indica*, I, VIII) gives of Dionysus's successor who was "the most conversant with Bacchic matters": Spatembas. This name can be thought of as a Greek hearing of the possible Sanskrit compound "*Saptāmbhas*", meaning "Seven-watered". Now, the Ṛigveda (VII. 42.1) speaks of the Aṅgirasas as being not only with "the divine Word, the cry of Heaven..., and of its lightnings thundering out from the Word", but also with "the divine waters...that are set flowing by that heavenly lightning..., and with the cutflowing of the divine waters the outpressing of the immortalising Soma..."<sup>3</sup> These divine waters "are usually designated in the figured Vedic language as the seven Mothers or the seven fostering Cows, *sapta dhenavaḥ*."<sup>4</sup> And "this Soma-wine is the sweetness that comes flowing from the streams of the upper hidden world, it is that which flows in the seven waters..."<sup>5</sup> Thus the Seven Ṛishis, Soma and the seven waters or rivers all go together and Spatembas as *Saptāmbhas* fits naturally and perfectly into the picture. Through the idea of the Soma-bearing seven waters that are associated with the Aṅgirasas, the successor of Dionysus can also be linked with the cycle of the *Sapta Ṛishi*.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 209-10. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 210. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 146  
5. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

Against a Vedic background we may even see a subtle identification of the stars of the Great Bear with the wine-carrying waters : for the expressions *sapta mātaraḥ* and *sapta-dhenavaḥ* ("the seven mothers" and "the seven fostering cows") are applied in the R̥gveda indifferently to Rays and to Rivers.<sup>1</sup> Spatembas (=Saptāmbhas) would appear to have a rapport still more close than Dionysus with the Sapta R̥ishi. Perhaps the Purāṇic puṇḍits in the age of Megasthenes held that it was he who, seeing the link of the Sapta R̥ishi with his predecessor, established their cycle as starting with the end of his predecessor's reign and the beginning of his own.

In any case, we may well hazard to put the start of the cycle in January 6777 B. C. But the moment we do so we suggest a contact between Megasthenes's starting-point of Indian chronology and the chronological statements in Indian tradition. And the question arises : "Initiating the cycle in 6777 B. C. with an appropriate asterism, would we reach in the course of the cycle's repetitions the Maghā-century 3177-3077 B. C. within which Indian Purāṇic tradition places the Kaliyuga's commencement (3102 B. C.) and the Bhārata War (3138 B. C.) with Parīkshit's birth during its career?" If that century could be reached, there would be convincing proof that Megasthenes's 6777 B. C. was in direct relation to those two dates and that those dates were parts of the traditional Indian chronology as far back as c. 302 B.C.

The crucial point to settle is : "What asterism out of the 27 should be considered the first one in 6777 B. C.?" But before we can settle it we must decide whether the Seven R̥ishis were understood as traversing the asterisms in a forward or in a retrograde motion. Modern scholars have reported two schools of reckoning. Colonel Wilford<sup>2</sup> remarked in 1805 that the direction was supposed to be retrograde. But A. Cunningham<sup>3</sup> in 1883 took it to be forward. What was it in ancient times ?

1. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

2. "The Kings of Magadha" in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 9.

3. *The Book of Indian Eras*.

## THE DIRECTION OF THE SEVEN RISHIS' CYCLE

If we look at the cycle in the light of the Vedic Aṅgirasas, we would take a hint from the verse : "Forward let the Aṅgirasas travel, priests of the Word, forward go the cry of heaven, forward move the fostering Cows that diffuse their waters .." (VIII. 42-1).<sup>1</sup> Apropos of the Purāṇas we have to answer by studying a verse which is found in both the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas and which is the sole one naming another asterism in relation to Maghā. It runs in F. E. Pargiter's translation :<sup>2</sup> "When the Great Bear will pass from Maghās to Pūrva Āṣāḍhā, then, starting from Nanda, this Kali Age will attain its magnitude." Who exactly is this Nanda and how long after Parīkshīt does he come and at what remove from Maghā is Pūrva Āṣāḍhā ?

Let us glance at the sequence of the 27 asterisms, commencing with Aśvinī as at present : (1) Aśvinī (2) Bharanī (3) Kṛttikā (4) Rōhiṇī (5) Mṛigaśīrā (6) Ārdrā (7) Punarvasu (8) Pushya (9) Āślēshā (10) Maghā (11) Pūrva Phalgunī (12) Uttara Phalgunī (13) Hasta (14) Chitrā (15) Svātī (16) Viśākhā (17) Anurādhā (18) Jyeshthā (19) Mūla (20) Pūrva Āṣāḍhā (21) Uttara Āṣāḍhā (22) Śravaṇā (23) Dhanishthā (formerly Śravi-shthā) (24) Śatabhishā (25) Pūrva Bhādrapadā (26) Uttara Bhādrapadā (27) Revatī.

If we go forward from Maghā to Pūrva Āṣāḍhā we pass from the 10th to the 20th asterism, a space of 1000 years from the beginning of the one to the beginning of the other. By a retrograde motion we do the same after 1700 years. Now, where does Nanda occur in Purāṇic history ?

In the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata themselves,<sup>3</sup> the name Nanda is used for Mahāpadma, who is called Mahānanda in the Brahmāṇḍa,<sup>4</sup> and ranked as the first of nine Nandas in all the Purāṇic lists. Also, the period from Parīkshīt's birth to the coronation of this Nanda, which is given in some Purāṇas as either

1. Sri Aurobindo's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

2. *The Purāṇic Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (London, 1913), p. 75.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 69, fn. 15.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 58, fns. 14, 15.

1500 or 1050 years<sup>1</sup> or else 1115<sup>2</sup> is 1015 in certain versions of the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata.<sup>3</sup> So the Pūrva Āshāḍhā century meant by these versions must be the one running from 1000 to 1100 years after the commencement of the Maghā century. But that is exactly how that century would run in a forward sequence of the asterisms. Clearly, then, the motion of the Seven Ṛishis in these Purāṇas from Maghā to Pūrva Āshāḍhā is in a forward and not in a retrograde direction.

#### THE FIRST ASTERISM FOR 6777 B. C.

Now the ground is cleared for us to inquire what asterism should be the first in 6777 B. C. for the Sapta Ṛishi cycle in a forward motion. As we saw, the list of asterisms at present opens with Aśvinī. But Whitney<sup>4</sup> informs us that the opening with Aśvinī was introduced in about 490 A. D. when the vernal equinox took place in the first point of this asterism. And G. R. Kaye<sup>5</sup> rightly tells us: "The early lists all began with Kṛittikā." Shall we make Kṛittikā our initial asterism?

But did the early lists put Kṛittikā first because of a linking of it, as of Aśvinī, with an astronomical phenomenon serving to begin the New Year? And did Kṛittikā always stand first before Aśvinī took the lead? What Kaye himself has to tell us in full is: "The early lists all began with Kṛittikā, but the *Mahābhārata* puts Śravaṇā first, the *Jyotiṣha Vedāṅga* begins with Śravishṭhā, the *Sūrya Prajñapti* with Abhijit, the *Sūrya Siddhānta* with Aśvinī. But here Aśvinī is definitely equated with the vernal equinox, while Abhijit, Śravaṇā and Śravishṭhā, which are continuous, are equated with the winter solstice." As Abhijit stands between Uttara Āshāḍhā and Śravaṇā in a system of 28 instead of 27 asterisms, Uttara Āshāḍhā would replace it in the system with which we are dealing apropos of the Seven Ṛishis. So we

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 74.

2. Anand Swarup Gupta, "The Problem of Interpretation of the Purāṇas," *Purāṇa*, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1964, p. 67.

3. Pargiter, *Op. cit.*, p. 74, fn. 10.

4. *Sūrya Siddhānta*, VIII, 9, p. 211.

5. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 50, p. 47.

learn that when the winter solstice occurred successively in Uttara Āshādhā, Śravaṇā and Śravishṭhā, the list successively opened with these asterisms. But when we look further into the the *Jyotisha Vedāṅga*, which is admittedly the earliest astronomical treatise in our possession, we find light thrown on the initial position of Kṛittikā in the early lists. For, although Śravishṭhā (under its old name Dhanishṭhā) leads the asterism-list, the list of the deities presiding over the various asterisms gives the prime place to Agni, the presiding deity of Kṛittikā.<sup>1</sup> A distinction between the ritualistic or religious primacy and the astronomical is brought out here. Kṛittikā as a list-header is suggested to have a religious and not an astronomical import. And this suggestion is confirmed in the famous statement of Garga quoted by B. G. Tilak<sup>2</sup> and, from Tilak, by Kaye. "Kṛittikā is first for purposes of ritual, Śravishṭhā for the purpose of the calendar."

It is easy to understand the religious primacy accorded to Kṛittikā. As the centre of all ancient ritual was the sacrificial fire, the physical manifestation of the god Agni, and as Agni was the presiding deity of Kṛittikā, this asterism stood the most prominently in the mind of the Brāhmaṇas. But it can have no astronomical significance except when it could be associated either with the winter solstice or with vernal equinox,, the two points at which the New Year used to be started in different ages.

Thus, to accept Kṛittikā for starting the Sapta Rishi cycle in 6777 B. C. merely because it heads all the early lists would be a mistake. The asterism we want is one in which the winter solstice or the vernal equinox occurred in that year and which on account of that occurrence would open the list.

In view of the extreme antiquity of the year concerned we may simplify our search by attending to expert opinion. According to J. B. Fleet,<sup>3</sup> originally the year started at the winter solstice, with Śisīra as the first season beginning then. P. C.

1. B. G. Tilak, *Orion* (Bombay, 1893), p. 41.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

3. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (13th Ed.), Vol. XIII, p. 493.

Sengupta<sup>1</sup> assures us that the Vedic year began with the winter solstice and the spring came to be reckoned as the first season in a new system of computation. We may add from Sengupta<sup>2</sup> a few other indications. The oldest astronomical reference he discovers is to the winter solstice happening on the full-moon day of the month Phālguna in the year c. 4550 B.C. He has also said : “The Vedic year-long sacrifices were begun in the earliest times on the day following the winter solstice... Winter was thus first season of the year... The Indian years, before the time of Āryabhaṭa I, were generally begun from the winter solstice day, but after his time gradually the years came to be reckoned from the vernal equinoctial day.”

To find, however, our asterism we must understand the peculiarity of “the precession of the equinoxes”. The equinox-vernal or autumnal-moves through the asterisms in the reverse order and the last point of an asterism is reached first and the first point last : conversely, the asterism, in which the equinox takes place immediately before it occurs in another, is the one which in the normal order comes after it. This seeming anomaly is caused, as Newton explained, by the action or attraction of the planets, the sun and the moon on the earth’s protuberant equatorial ring, so that daily the equinoctial points reach the meridian a little sooner than they otherwise would.<sup>3</sup> The movement of the points is called “precession”. The point of the winter solstice lies exactly halfway between those of the autumnal and the vernal equinoxes, that of the summer solstice *vice versa*.<sup>4</sup> So the seeming anomaly applies to the solstitial points as well. The rate at which the equinoctial and solstitial points shift from asterism to asterism can be known by dividing by 27, which is the number of the asterisms, the time required by these points to

1. “Hindu Astronomy” in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, (Calcutta, 1937) Old Series, Vol. III, p. 345.

2. *Ancient Indian Chronology* (Calcutta, 1947), pp. xviii, 169 ; p. 156 ; p. 166 ; p. xx.

3. *The New American Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1945), p. 1116, “precession of the Equinoxes”.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1265, “Solstice”.



perform one complete circuit of the heavens. The points perform this circuit, called a period of precession, in 25,868 years.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the passage from asterisms to asterism, in connection with either the equinoxes or the solstices, occurs at the average rate of  $(25,868 \div 27 =) 958 \frac{2}{27}$  years.

To calculate where the winter solstice was in 6767 B. C., we need to start from a definite datum about its occurrence at some time or other. J. C. Ray,<sup>2</sup> working from the accepted identification of Dhanishṭhā (or Śravishṭhā) with the star Beta Delphini, has calculated that the winter solstice occurred in the first point of Dhanishṭhā in 1372 B. C. and in the first point of Śravaṇā in 405 B. C., though the earliest year in which the new moon happened on the day of the winter solstice so as to make Śravaṇā observable as the star of this solstice was 401 B. C. From this it is easy to calculate that the winter solstice began to be in Dhanishṭhā—that is, at the last point of the asterism in  $(1372 + 958 =) 2330$  B. C. A table based on the average rate of precession can show us at a glance the asterisms of the winter solstice in the ages before 2330 B. C. :

From 3288 to 2330 B. C. :	Śatabhishā
„ 4246 „ 3288 B. C. :	Pūrva Bhādrapadā
„ 5204 „ 4246 B. C. :	Uttara Bhādrapadā
„ 6162 „ 5204 B. C. :	Revatī
„ 7220 „ 6162 B. C. :	Aśvinī

Now, 6777 B. C. fell between the last two dates. Hence in that year, as throughout the period from 7220 to 6162 B. C., Aśvinī would head the asterism list. If the Sapta Ṛishi cycle was thought to have commenced in 6777 B. C., Aśvinī could be considered its first asterism.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 1116.

2. Paper entitled "The First Point of Aśvinī" (1934) quoted by V. S. Agrawala in *India as Known to Pāṇini* (Lucknow, 1953), pp. 461-62, but misinterpreted by him owing to neglect of the reverse order of precession.

MEGASTHENES'S STARTING-POINT AND THE PURĀNIC MAGHĀ  
Starting with Aśvinī in 6777 B. C., let us see where the Maghā century would come according to a forward movement of the Seven Rishis through the asterisms at the rate of an asterism per century.

Maghā is the 10th asterism when Aśvinī is the 1st. So from the beginning of its century to the beginning of Aśvinī we have 900 years. The Seven Rishis, in the period before Alexander and Sandrocottus, would enter Maghā once in  $(6777-900=)$  5877 B. C. and a second time, after 2700 years more, in  $(5877-2700=)$  3177 B. C. and a third time in  $(3177-2700=)$  477 B. C.

The middle date is a most remarkable result. For, the century from 3177 to 3077 B. C. which it gives as the one during which the Seven Rishis stayed in Maghā is precisely the century holding within it, according to the traditional Indian chronology, those two events the birth of Parīkshit during the Bhārata War and the advent of the Kaliyuga—which the Purāṇas declare to have occurred in the 100 years of the Seven Rishis' stay in Maghā.

The conclusion appears inevitable that the chronology communicated to Megasthenes as starting from 6777 B. C. not only employs the Sapta Rishi cycle known to the Purāṇas but is also related, through this cycle, both to the Purāṇic associations of Maghā and to the dates traditionally going with those associations: 3102 and 3138 B. C. The implication of such a conclusion is that the Purāṇic puṇḍits who were the informants of Megasthenes had already these dates, together with 3177 B. C., as important points of reference. In other words, the Purāṇas are linked to these traditional dates through a common background which is a chronology starting from 6777 B. C. and employing, like them, the cycle of the Seven Rishis and having, like tradition, for important points of reference 3138 and 3102 B. C.

A strong hint that this chronology was cognisant of these dates is contained in some words of Megasthenes himself. Does he not mention Heracles no less than Dionysus and does he not mention his very epoch and has not scholarship identified his

Heracles with Kṛiṣṇa who played a central part in the Bhārata War of 3138 B. C. and died in 3102 B. C. ?

The liaison between Megasthenes's starting-point and the Purāṇic Maghā, which from 3177 B. C. starts the century holding those traditional dates, has a most critical bearing on Indian history. But we shall touch on this bearing at the end. At the moment let us add a few remarks to render more definite to our minds the place of the starting-point in the January of 6777 B. C., and then pass on to consider the three "republics".

We have two facts to remember in arriving at greater definiteness : it is the Sapta ṛiṣi cycle that is concerned and it is the winter solstice of December 21 that begins the ancient year. The years of the cycle are lunar<sup>1</sup> and get adjusted to the solar by the general arrangement of intercalated and suppressed months. The lunar year begins after either the first new-moon conjunction or the first full-moon conjunction subsequent to the entrance of the sun into the Zodiacal sign with which the year commences.<sup>2</sup> At present the former conjunction is used in Southern India, the latter in Northern.<sup>3</sup> About the India known to Megasthenes, Curtius (VIII. 9) has preserved the information that the Indians "mark the divisions of time by the course of the moon not like most nations when the planet shows a full face but when she begins to appear horned". About still more ancient India Sengupta<sup>4</sup> says : "The months were begun either from a full moon or a new moon." The Sapta ṛiṣi cycle as observed in Kashmīr and thereabouts (from c. 800 A. D.) has its lunar months ending with the full-moon.<sup>5</sup> But, as Jean Filliozat<sup>6</sup> reminds us, they must originally have ended with the new-moon, for their reckoning was from Śudi 1 which is the start of the bright fortnight. What the still older Sapta ṛiṣi cycle did we have no knowledge about. According to our inference that it commenced in January 6777 B. C., it would seem to mark the beginning of the first month of the lunar year connected with the

1. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (13th Ed.), Vol. XIII, p. 493.

2. *Ibid.*      3. *Ibid.*      4. *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

5. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XIII, p. 499.

6. *L'Inde Classique* (Paris, 1953), Vol. II, Appendix, p. 736.

winter solstice of December 21, 6778 B. C. And, since there is a gap of about 15 days between the new-moon and the full-moon, one of the two in relation to that solstice must fall in the opening half of January. If an astronomer could calculate which of the two did so, we should know the very day, the first day of the lunar year, from which ancient Indian chronology as formulated in c. 302 B. C. was taken to start.

### THE THREE "REPUBLICS" AND THE PURĀNIC CHRONOLOGY

Now for the "republics". Do the Purāṇas contain any suggestions that there were 3 gaps in their dynastic series and do they indicate the time-lengths of these gaps.

We may begin with some penetrating comments by D. R. Mankad.<sup>1</sup> He says : "It is, of course, evident that what Arrian calls a republic may mean a kingless period ; and a kingless period would mean a period without a king, but, in the case of an imperial seat like Magadha, an absence of Imperial Dynasty." In other words, a "republic" can cover rule by either freebooters or foreigners.

Mankad goes on to refer to what has become famous as the Yuga-Purāṇa. It is the historical chapter of the *Gārgīsamhitā*. "Scholars," says A. K. Narain,<sup>2</sup> "are almost unanimous in regarding the Yuga-Purāṇa as the earliest among the extant works of Purāṇa type, and as exhibiting an independent tradition." It would be no wonder if Megasthenes received information from it. And the Yuga-Purāṇa speaks of breaks in the dynastic series of Magadha.

Mankad<sup>3</sup> writes : "Usually, our Purāṇas say that the Śuṅgas came immediately after the Mauryas... The Yuga-Purāṇa... is unequivocal in saying that there was a period of foreign rule between the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas." Mankad next cites the analysis he has made of the edition published by himself, perhaps the best edition so far, of this old document. From this analysis

1. *Purāṇic Chronology* (Anand, 1951), p. 85.

2. *The Indo-Greeks*.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

we see that the Kāṇvas who in the other Purāṇas immediately succeed the Śuṅgas came also after an intervening period in which foreigners overran the country.

Hence we have actually two "republics". But their time-lengths are not mentioned. The converse is the case with a gap we may detect in the period earlier than the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas. There is the glaring discrepancy among the time-lengths the various Purāṇas give from the birth of Parīkshit to the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda. We have already noted the different numbers of years : 1500, 1115, 1050, 1015. The discrepancies between the largest number and the three smaller ones may be taken to point to a gap somewhere in the king-series. Then we shall have a "republic," of 385, 450 or 485 years, whose unwelcome existence the Purāṇas have covered up by an increase in the individual reignspans and the dynastic durations, although a memory of it lingers in the shorter versions of the interval.

Understood as a break in the king-series, the 385, 450 or 485 years provide us with Megasthenes's missing number and complete his statement, while his two other numbers supply a chronological substance to the Yuga-Purāṇa's history. In the matter of the 3 republics, he and the Purāṇas correspond in a complementary manner.

#### MEGASTHENES'S CHRONOLOGY AND THE IDENTITY OF SANDROCOTTUS

Our job of tallying chronologically the Greek evidence and the Indian is complete. But the practically perfect comparison which we have found possible calls for a revolution in our historical ideas.

Not only have we to carry to c. 302 B. C. the cognisance of the dates for the Kaliyuga's advent and for the Bhārata War—3102 and 3138 B. C. respectively—and thus give the lie to the conception dear to modern historians that they were astronomically fabricated after 400 A. D. We have also to see that in the light of this cognisance we come face with the Purāṇic time-indications about the various dynasties by reference to the birth of Parīkshit

during the Bhārata War in 3138 B. C. As we have already noted, these time-indications at even their longest stretch bring Chandragupta Maurya not later than the 16th century B. C. And all chronological clues from the Purāṇas, including the references to the 24th and 27th centuries of the Seven ṛishis after Maghā in indicating the length of the Andhra dynasty, combine to put Chandragupta I, founder of the Imperial Guptas, in the age of Alexander the Great.

Again, if the last 2 republics out of the 3 enumerated by Megasthenes answer to a couple of breaks of the Purāṇic dynasties *after* the Mauryas, then Megasthenes's Sandrocottus cannot be Chandragupta Maurya but another Chandragupta much later. This Chandragupta can only be the founder of the Imperial Guptas.

So the results, to which we come by commencing Indian chronology in the first half of January 6777 B. C. and by taking into account 3 republics, bear out the result to which we came by identifying Dionysus with Prithu Vainya and counting 153 or 154 kings after him down to the coronation of Sandrocottus. In a triple fashion Megasthenes, contemporary of Sandrocottus, supports the Purāṇic equation for this King of the Prasii whose coronation took place in *c.* 325 or 324 B. C.

This, of course, does not automatically mean that all the Purāṇic dates are correct for the several dynasties preceding the Imperial Guptas. All would depend on whether the Bhārata War, years before the Kaliyuga's advent, was fought or not in 3238 B. C. The Purāṇic puṇḍits, accepting this date, have built up their chronology so as to lead from this date down to Chandragupta I in the time of Megasthenes. But the fact remains that they took their stand on the founder of the Guptas as the contemporary terminus of their chronology. The coronation of that king in *c.* 325 or 324 B. C. is an event we cannot question on the evidence of Megasthenes. Consequently, the whole of Indian history has to be reorientated on the basis of this new date established by Megasthenes for the rise of the Imperial Guptas.

ON THE DATE OF VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA'S ACCOUNT  
OF BHARATA AND BHUVANAKOŚA

By

S. N. ROY

[निबन्धेऽस्मिन् विदुषा लेखकेन विष्णुपुराणस्य द्वितीयांशे उप-  
लब्धस्य भरतचरित्रस्य भुवनकोशस्य च कालनिर्धारणं कृतम् । यद्यपि  
विष्णुपुराणं प्राचीनं पुराणं विद्यते तथापि कालक्रमेणास्मिन् सम्प्रदाये  
क्वचित् स्वसम्प्रदायस्य नवीनांशा अपि समावेशिताः । अत्र  
प्रमाणपुरस्सरं प्रदर्शितं यत् विष्णुपुराणस्य भरतचरिते भुवनकोशे च  
वैष्णवैः स्वसम्प्रदायप्रचारार्थं नवीनांशाः संयोजिताः येनेतर-  
पुराणेषूपलब्धानां तेषामंशानामपेक्षया विष्णुपुराणांशस्य नवीनत्वमव-  
भाति, लेखकमहोदस्य मतानुसारेण विष्णुपुराणे उपवर्णितस्य भरता-  
ख्यानस्य भुवनकोशस्य च परिष्करणं ख्रिष्टियनवमशताब्दनन्तरं  
जातम् । अस्मात् कालात् प्रागेव भागवतपुराणमपि उपनिबद्धमासीत् ।  
इदं परिष्करणं केवलं सिद्धान्तसमावेशार्थमेव कृतम् । अस्मिन्  
परिष्करणकार्ये केचन नवीना अपि अध्याया रचिताः । क्वचित् नवीनाः  
श्लोकाः अपि विरच्य प्राचीनश्लोकेषु समावेशिताः । नवीनांशसमावेश-  
कारणमिदमनुमीयते यत् विष्णुपुराणं हि प्राचीनं पुराणम् सम्प्रदाय-  
विदामनुसारेण तस्मिन् नवीना विषया यदि समाविष्टा भवेयुः तर्हि  
तत्प्रतिपादितविषयाणामपि प्राचीनत्वं प्रामाणिकत्वं च सुतरां भवेदिति ।]

It is proposed here to analyse Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's account of the legendary king Bharata<sup>1</sup> and *Bhuvanakośa*, which constitutes the major part of the section two of the text. In its general treatment the account does not contain any such element as may point to its lateness or affect its originality. Nevertheless, it seems necessary to examine it from a broader angle considering fully its bearing in the present form which could not have been possibly the objective when it was compiled in the original bulk of the Purāṇa. By this method an attempt will be made to see how

1. It is noteworthy that in the Purāṇas, Bharata figures as the grandson of Nābhi and son of Ṛṣabha. The popular story describing Bharata as the son of Śakuntalā and Duśyanta is not available in the Purāṇas. For a clear and vivid analysis of this point see, Agrawala, *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, Eka Sāṃskritika Adhyāyana*, p. 138.

far the text has maintained its early character and due to which motive changes were introduced in it. In order to be precise on the point, corresponding passages of other Purāṇa-texts will also be taken into account as far as they can be useful in presenting a correct picture of the topic.

A significant clue to ascertain the date of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's account on Bharata is afforded by the general make-up and form of chapter one. For a comprehensive analysis, we may proceed to find out the period of its possible early form and of the extant one. The former may be determined by a comparative study of the similar description available in other early Purāṇa-texts and the latter by scrutinizing the additional and distinct elements contained in it. The chapter aims at giving the description of king Priyavrata and other various kings who flourished after him in the dynasty. In its essential aspects the account finds parallel in other early Purāṇa-texts e. g. in the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas<sup>1</sup> and evinces full evidence of its early character because of conforming to the well-known Purāṇic definition. The common ground presented by all these Purāṇas is their repeated mention of resorting by these kings to Vānaprastha-stage of life after nominating their successors. This shows that the account of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa as also of other Purāṇas belongs to the period when Smārta-order was playing a dominant role and the Purāṇa-texts were being shaped according to the well-established modes and ideals. It cannot be placed, therefore, later than the 4th century A. D., which is supposed to be the date of the Smṛti-matters in the Purāṇas.<sup>2</sup> To this extent the chronological bearing of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is shared by other early Purāṇa-texts. What appears from a closer scrutiny is that the extant passage of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa attaches importance not so much

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1. Vāyu-P. Chapter XXXIII: Brahmāṇḍa-P. Anuṣāṅga Pāda II, Chapter XIV: Mārkaṇḍeya-P. Chapter L.
  2. According to Hazra as a result of incorporation of Smṛti-matters 'The Purāṇas came gradually to loose their original character and turn into important codes of Hindu rites and customs'...Purāṇic Records, P. 6.



to the Vamśa-account as to the elevation of Śālagrāma,<sup>1</sup> which is not found in other three texts. The data of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's passage can be dragged down, in view of this, to about 700 A. D., which is accepted to be the period of incorporation of holy places in the Purāṇic passages.<sup>2</sup> Herein we have also an evidence of sectarian trend from which the early forms of Purāṇa-literature are supposed to have been free. That Śālagrāma was raised to the status of a holy place by the sectaries of the Vaiṣṇava faith at a late stage is clearly shown by the passages of Vaiṣṇavite Upa-Purāṇas<sup>3</sup> in a number of which allusions are made to the retirement of the people to this place for the observance of religious and charitable activities. It is quite likely that at a time when Vaiṣṇavite works were being compiled, incorporating prominently sectarian matters into them, the passage of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa was re-compiled by the same authors in order to give their religious beliefs and ideals the stamp of antiquity.

Later tampering with the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's account is also proved by the analysis of a few verses of this text not found in the corresponding account of other three Purāṇas. Thus in verse thirty-five of the chapter noticed above a plea is made to give Bharata's narrative in immediate succession.<sup>4</sup> But the narrative of Bharata

1. Viṣṇu.P. II. 1. 24 and 34.

2. Hazra, *Ibid*, chronological table of the Purāṇic Chapter p. 177 ff; other popular elements also cannot be dated earlier than the beginning of the 9th Century A. D., *Ibid*, p. 242.

3. Thus the Narasiṃha-Purāṇa includes Śālagrāma into the list of the holy places Sacred to Viṣṇu (Chapters 65-66). It also narrates how a Brāhmaṇa named Puṇḍarika, without entering the Second Stage of life, settled at Śālagrāma and became attendant of Viṣṇu (Chapter 64). Viṣṇu-Dharma-Purāṇa describes that a Kṣatriya who became a Rākṣasa in his next life made an attack in his new form on two Brāhmaṇas and went to Śālagrāma for practising austerities (Chapters 69-70). Brhannāradiya-Purāṇa relates the severe austerities of Mṛkaṇḍu at Śālagrāma according to Viṣṇu's instructions. (Chapters 4-5). For all these evidences I have been benefitted by the brilliant work of Dr. Hazra on 'Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas Vo. I, in which the contents of the above texts are vividly discussed.

4. अजायत च विप्रोऽसौ योगिनां प्रवरे कुले ।  
मैत्रेय तस्य चरितं कथयिष्यामि ते पुनः ॥

in the Purāṇa actually occurs at a considerable gap caused by the intervention of no less than eleven chapters devoted altogether to different topics besides the last eight verses of the present chapter itself. That the verse has an abrupt appearance without having much relevance in the present is clearly vouched by the passages of Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas whose account conforms to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa in other many respects, but they do not have any verse similar to the one in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa either in form or meaning breaking-up the regular flow of the story. It seems logical to assume that the compiler of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, while arranging the separate chapters devoted to Bharata's account revised the original single chapter in order to connect with it the additional portion of the text. Circumstance of a similar nature is indicated also by verses thirty and thirty-one related to Ṛṣabha, the immediate predecessor of Bharata. It is described in them that after resigning from kingship in favour of his son, Ṛṣabha practised severe penances by putting pebbles into his mouth, remained naked and ultimately achieved 'Vīrādhvāna'. An attempt has been made to equate 'Vīrādhvāna' with 'Mahāprasthāna' with the instructive remark that king's practice of penance is in identical to the manner in which the Digambara Jainas used to emancipate themselves<sup>1</sup>. The account of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, therefore, can not be earlier than the 5th century A. D. which is the supposed date of addition of Jaina and Buddhist passages to the Purāṇa-literature<sup>2</sup>. This conclusion becomes more explicit when it is observed that the account of Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas is quite proportionate, their treatment with regard to Ṛṣabha and Bharata is as concise as to the other kings of the dynasty. It appears that the original form of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's chapter was revised by the Vaiṣṇava sectaries who are known to have absorbed into their faith some popular trends of the heresy in their zeal to expand its limit. That the original character of the Chapter is preserved only in kernel while its general form

1. Wilson, English Translation of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Equation of Vīrādhvāna with Mahāprasthāna is indicated also in the commentary of Śrīdhara.

2. Pargiter, A. I. H. T. p. 80.

belongs to a late period is fully evidenced by verse thirty-two. Considering the aim, implication and place of occurrence of the verse, it appears that the arrangement of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's chapter lacks in coherence and consistency, which is otherwise undisturbed in other three Purāṇas. The verse runs as 'ततश्च भारतं वर्षमेतल्लोकेषु गीयते । भरताय यतः पित्रा दत्तं प्रतिष्ठता वनम् ।' i. e. 'this country was named as Bhāratavarṣa from the time it was relinquished to Bharata by his father, on his retiring to the forest.' It would be seen that 'भारतं वर्ष' of the verse was intended to refer to 'हिमाह्वं वर्ष' of the verse twenty-seven. But the sense is disturbed due to the intervening four verses including those whose formation at a late stage we have presently discussed. On the other hand, other three texts do not have any intervening verse and the 'हिमाह्वं वर्ष' is directly connected with the 'भारतं वर्ष' in one and the same verse,<sup>1</sup> which appears to be the early form of what is not intact in the text of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.

A satisfactory analysis of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's passages can not possibly be presented without examining them in relation to the Bhāgavata. Most of the texts are common in both the Purāṇas and the general supposition is that one has borrowed from the other. It has been propounded that the Bhāgavata is dependent on the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa with which it agrees literally and has in its passages a more developed treatment of the concise accounts of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Among various instances pointing to this conclusion, Bharata's story has also been cited besides those of Śrīkrṣṇa, Vena, Pṛthu, Dhruva and Prahlāda.<sup>2</sup> The point,

1. हिमाह्वं दक्षिणं वर्षं भरताय न्यवेदयत् ।

तस्मात्तु भारतं वर्षं तस्य नाम्ना विदुर्बुधाः ॥

Vāyu-P. XXXIII. 52

Brahmāṇḍa-P. II. 14. 61 cd, 62 ab

हिमाह्वं दक्षिणं वर्षं भरताय पिता ददौ ।

तस्मात्तु भारतं वर्षं तस्य नाम्ना महात्मनः ॥

Mārkaṇḍeya-P. LI. 41 cd, 42 ab.

2. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. I. p. 555.

Pargiter, Ibid. p. 80.

Hazra, Ibid, p. 22.

which has to be taken into account in the context of the present paper, is whether the available form of Bharata's account in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is earlier than the Bhāgavata or not. It is obvious that the text of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa gives two forms of Bharata's story depicting them in one and the same section ; Once in connection with other many kings of the dynasty to which he belonged and again in the Chapters arranged at a considerable gap and written exclusively on Bharata. It may well be argued that the two accounts which are so separated from each other and the intervening chapters do not concern themselves with Bharata could not have been compiled in one planning and by one author. It is also evident that the former account because of its general treatment with other three early texts is earlier than the latter. The only possible conclusion, which emerges out of this analysis is that the early account of Bharata is preserved in Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas and that the passages of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa on the present topic are misappropriated and adulterated to an extent that the logic to treat this text as the source of Bhāgavata remains unsupported. It would further be seen that in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa separate chapters are devoted only to Bharata. But the account in the Bhāgavata shows a compact and coherent arrangement in so far as it has devoted separate chapters also to other many kings of the dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The early Purāṇic arrangement describing each king in one single chapter seems to have been improved in it proportionately in various chapters. It has kept itself free from what appears as sectarian tinge in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa in a context where, as the account preserved in other early three texts tends to show, such allusion was hardly required. What appears to be of special note in the corresponding passage of Bhāgavata is that the word Śālagrāma is used in it not to denote the name of any particular place but as an adjective of the hermitage of Pulaha where Bharata retired. That the term Śālagrāma carries the above sense is clearly indicated in the commentary of Śrīdhara

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1. Chapter 1 (account of Priyavrata), Chapter 2 (account of Agnīdhra), Chapter 3 (account of Nābhi), Chapters 4-6 (account of Ṛṣabha) and Chapters 7-15 (account of Bharata and his successors); Bhāgavata, Skandha 5.

on the passage, which explains it as the spot which is marked by Śāla-tree.<sup>1</sup> The term has, however, been taken in the commentary of Vanśīdhara Śarmā in the sense of Śālagrāma-tīrtha<sup>2</sup> probably supplementing it by the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's passage. This may indicate that the account of Bhāgavata points to that period when the term Śālagrāma standing for a holy place was either not popularized or not coined at all. The motive behind the additional chapters of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa seems to have been sectarian publicity by bringing into light one more Vaiṣṇavite center noted for its religious observances.

The possibility of sectarian role in the formation of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's passages is also brought out by the general Vaisnavite atmosphere breathed in them here and there. In this connection we may mention the Vaiṣṇavite Upa-Purāṇa Kriyāyogasāra which exhibits a similar trend in so far as the general form of the text is concerned. It describes the daily duties which a Vaiṣṇava devotee should perform and lays pointed emphasis on sectarian Mantras and their results<sup>3</sup>. Corresponding very closely to this description the verses of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa also relate the daily duties of Bharata for the performance of his religious rites and narrates further that except for the name of Hari and the Mantra, यज्ञेश्च्युत गोविन्द माधव' . . . 'नमोऽस्तु ते, he did not utter anything even in his dreams. Dr. Hazra, who gives a comprehensive and critical treatment of Kriyāyogasāra analysing its various other details, concludes that it is an independent work but most probably at a later date it was attached to the Padma-Purāṇa for the sake of authority<sup>4</sup>. The remark of Dr. Hazra may be treated as instructive

1. इत्येवं निगूढनिर्वेदो विसृज्य मृगीं मातरं पुनर्भगवत्क्षेत्रमुपशमशीलमुनिगण-  
दयितं शालग्रामं पुलस्त्यपुलहाश्रमं कालञ्जरात्प्रत्याजगाम ।

Ibid, V. 8. 31.

शालवृक्षोपलक्षितं पुलस्त्यपुलहाश्रमं प्रत्याजगाम . . . . .

Śrīdhara on the above : See also English Translation of Bhāgavata by S. Subbarau, Vol. I. 37.

2. शालग्रामं तदारुख्यं क्षेत्रम् ।

3. Kriyāyogasāra, Chapters 11-14,

Hazra, Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas, Vol. I, PP. 271 and 274.

4. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, II. 13. 4-10.

5. Hazra, Ibid, pp. 268-269.

for ascertaining the trend which was responsible behind the compilation of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's additional chapters regarding Bharata. Taken separately these Chapters can not stand on the same level in view of the vast volume of Kriyāyoga-sāra. But the probability of the fact can not be denied that the account was at first independently composed in the form of Bharata-Ākhyāna or Bharata-Carita and was, later on, added to the original and authoritative text of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa for the sake of its publicity.

The above analysis leads us to the following conclusion : The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, conforming well to the original purāṇa-definition, have preserved in them the early account of Bharata's narrative. The Bhāgavata has simply expanded that 'early account' and because of its concentration mainly on the story as such its adherence to the early character of a Purāṇa is established beyond doubt. Its indebtedness is no doubt proved to the texts of Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas but not to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, whose earliness regarding Bharata's account is held in doubt because of its inserted verses and additional chapters smacking of a sectarian trend.

An inquiry into the contents, general form and arrangement of other chapters of the section, in which the story of Bharata occurs, also shows that the text was revised along sectarian lines after its original bulk was complete. The chapters proposed for the present analysis are second, third and fourth all of which are related to Bhuvanakośa. Although one cannot entertain doubts regarding their early character, because other early Purāṇas also have similar topics in their corresponding chapters, yet taken in entirety the text detracts from original status either due to addition of late verses or due to the transformation of the older ones. Actual state of affairs fully emerges when the counter-part of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's description found in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas is also put to scrutiny. While giving his brilliant notes on the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's account, Professor Wilson had already pointed out that main features of Bhuvanakośa in the Purāṇa's are same, but they sharply differ in so far as

their minor details are concerned<sup>1</sup>. As a matter of fact the separate and independent status of an individual Purāṇa-text could not properly be maintained in the absence of its distinct elements. The variations are also due to the 'deliberate technique'<sup>2</sup> which demanded retainment of the original matter but adding to it new conceptions. What appears from a closer scrutiny of the Bhuvanakośa-passages is that the separate entity of an individual text is maintained not so much by the new incorporations related to the main topic as by the religious fancies besmeared with the early account. Such passages, if they are studied independent of the early matters compiled in the original form of the text, appear to be the incorporations by opposite or even by rival sectarian groups and their adherence to the age-old purāṇic tradition is affected to a considerable degree.

Among the passages brought forward by a comparative analysis and bringing out the above conclusion, mention can specially be made of those related to Śākadvīpa. In close consonance with the relevance and spirit of the present paper, we purposely leave the geographical features forming the main topic of the account and concentrate on its religious part. The text of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa relates that Śākadvīpa is inhabited by the Vaṅgas, the Māgadhas, the Manasas and the Mādagas whom it identifies respectively with the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras<sup>3</sup>. It further adds that these tribes worship god Viṣṇu in the form of Sūrya<sup>4</sup>. But the Vāyu-Purāṇa does not specify the name of any particular deity. In a very general form its verse mentions that there is a great tree of Śāka in this island and this tree is worshipped by the inhabitants. The verse of Vāyu-Purāṇa has its identical counterform in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa<sup>5</sup>, which might give some idea regarding the purāṇic account in the form it

1. Wilson, Ibid.

2. Agrawal, Matsya Purāṇa-A Study, P. III ( preface )

3. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, II. 4. 68 ff

4. शाकद्वीपे तु तैर्विष्णुः सूर्यरूपधरो मुने ।  
यथोक्तैरिज्यते सम्यक्कर्मभिर्नियतात्मभिः ।

Ibid. II. 4. 70.

5. Vāyu-Purāṇa, II. 87, Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa II. 19. 94.

existed earlier and the changes which were made at a subsequent stage. In order to ascertain the actuality of circumstance, reference of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa to the worship of sun by the people of Śākadvīpa may be considered from another angle. It is a well-evidenced fact that the solar worship in India took a new turn after the priests of Śākadvīpa introduced their mode of worshipping sun, image-worship of this god being unknown in India before their advent. It is interesting to observe that the account of the only available Upapurāṇic solar text Śāmba-Purāṇa has the mode of sun worship in the line introduced by the Śākadvīpīya priests as its sole nerve-centre. Quite naturally other Purāṇa-texts, compiled in early times, were interfered to a lesser or larger degree so that the more popular method of sun-worship might not appear alien to the Indian devotees. Thus Hazra's analysis indicates that the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa and Brahma-Purāṇa are largely drawn upon the Śāmba-Purāṇa and their passages at most places are moulded accordingly<sup>1</sup>. The verses of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa reveal the possibility of yet another trend in the history of Hindu religion. It appears, thus, that the passage of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa testifies not so much to the development of solar-cult as to the further growth of the Vaiṣṇava faith absorbing the Śākadvīpīya deity into the supreme Vaiṣṇava deity, consequent upon which the non-Indian appearance of the worship of sun could be removed to a considerable extent.

It may be indicated that although the Vāyu-Purāṇa has preserved its early character in the above context, yet its description regarding Śākadvīpa taken as a whole is not free from sectarianism. Thus in connection with the rivers of this island it gives a number of names some of which like Śivajalā, Satī, Nandā, Pārvatī and the general epithet of Śvodakāḥ given to all of them,<sup>2</sup> may specially be taken into account here. None of these names occurs in the corresponding list of Brāhmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, which is supposed to have been one with the Vāyu-Purāṇa before the 4th century A. D. For the general epithet of these rivers it reads

1. Hazra, *Ibid*, pp. 57, 83.

2. Vāyu-Purāṇa, II, 90-93.



Śītatoyavahā<sup>1</sup> in place of Śīvodakāh of the Vāyu-Purāṇa. This shows that the description of Vāyu-Purāṇa was pure and simple when it was one with the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa and that the Sectarian colouring was given to its text at a much later stage when the latter was carved as a separate text out of the original Vāyu-Proktaṃ Purāṇam. Coming to the list of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, we find that its account with regard to the rivers<sup>2</sup> of Śākadvīpa is similar to that of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and no attempt has been made to revise their names for bringing about a Vaiṣṇavite appearance of the text. It would be logical to assume, therefore, that neither in the Vāyu Purāṇa nor in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa a consistent plan was followed by the later redactor and changes were introduced in their passages wherever it was appealing to the fancy. It seems significant to point out that the Śīva-Purāṇa also alludes to the Śākadvīpa in its Bhuvanakośa-portion. But the list of rivers occurring in its text is the same as that of the Viṣṇu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. It is mute about the Śaivite names, which are mentioned so prominently in the Vāyu-Purāṇa. The original character of its passages regarding the Śākadvīpa may further be observed in view of the fact that it refers to the worship of Sun<sup>3</sup> by the inhabitants without any attempt to identify it with either of the two major deities. In the same spirit Agni-Purāṇa also relates that the priests of Śākadvīpa worship the form (image ?) of Sun.<sup>4</sup> This shows that the matters of early Purāṇa-texts are not always preserved in their original form and that the hold of the later religious conceptions could be possible not so much by their addition to the late Purāṇas as to the earlier ones.

Later mingling in the original account of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is also proved by its verses associated with the plakṣadvīpa. It is related in them that the inhabitants of this island are devoted to the worship of Hari<sup>5</sup>, which may well be taken for the name Viṣṇu. In its similar account the Vāyu-Purāṇa brings out the

1. Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, II. 19. 95-97.
2. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, II. 4. 64-66.
3. Śīva-Purāṇa, Umā-Samhitā. XVIII. 55-58.
4. Agni-Purāṇa CIXX. 21.
5. Viṣṇu-purāṇa, II. 4.19.

worship of Śiva by these people. The name applied to the deity is Sthāṇu<sup>1</sup>. The sectarian trend of both the texts and the possible form of the original account can be ascertained by the verses of Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa which do not point to any particular deity and state that the inhabitant of plakṣadvīpa worship the plakṣa-tree<sup>2</sup>. The fact that the objective before the compiler, who tempered with the text of Viṣṇu-purāṇa, was purely sectarian is sufficiently demonstrated by a comparison of its reference to the religious leanings of the people of Bhadrāśva-country with the similar passages of Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Liṅga and Kūrma Purāṇas. The account of Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa is identical to Viṣṇu-purāṇa in so far as it also describes that the people of Bhadrāśva are devoted to Aśvaśiras, a form of Janārdana<sup>3</sup>. Presenting a sharp colour of contrast the Vāyu-purāṇa relates that the residents of the Bhadrāśva-country worship Śaṁkara and Gaurī<sup>4</sup>. The sectarian outlook of the text of Liṅga-purāṇa is nearer to the Vāyu-purāṇa as it emphasises that the life of the Bhadrāśva-people is exhilarated by Śiva. In this connection the text of Kūrma-purāṇa seems undisturbed. Its verse related to the people of Bhadrāśva agrees literally with the Liṅga purāṇa except for the later part in which instead of mentioning the favour of Śiva or of any other deity, it simply mentions that the people of this country live on grains<sup>5</sup>. This may be regarded as another proof of early character of the purāṇic account, in which no attempt had originally been made to give it a sectarian appearance.

Another testimony to the interference with the text of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is afforded by the terms Viṣṇu-Pada and Viṣṇu-Pāda both of which occur in the same section but in two different chapters, the former in the passages on Bhuvanakośa and the latter on astronomy ; and are described as the source of the holy

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1. Vāyu-purāṇa, II; 27.
  2. Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa, 2. 19. 30.
  3. Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, LV. 10, The reading of Viṣṇu-purāṇa is, however, Hayaśiras. Viṣṇu-purāṇa II. 50.
  4. Vāyu-purāṇa LII. 38.
  5. Liṅga-purāṇa LII. 14.
  6. Kūrma-purāṇa XLVII. 2.

river Gaṅgā.<sup>1</sup> The consistency of the original matters, as a result of this, has been much affected revealing the high probability of re-compilation of the Purāṇa after the first form was already written. The striking feature of the two chapters is that, except for the difference indicated in the forms of the two terms, their description with regard to Gaṅgā and its tributaries is practically the same. The genuineness of the Chapters as such is beyond doubt because the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, though not giving identical descriptions regarding the Gaṅgā, have similar chapters. Apart from the simple considerations that the description of rivers should occur only in Bhuvanakośa-portion, the above possibility is also brought out by the verses of Vāyu-Purāṇa. Like the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, it gives vivid description of positions and inter-relation of the planets and stars laying prominent emphasis on the position of Dhruva. It also refers to Viṣṇu-Pada as a particular space in the sky. In this connection its verses correspond to those of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa<sup>2</sup> literally. But while the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa goes a step further specifying that Viṣṇu-Pada is the source of Gaṅgā, the Vāyu-Purāṇa does not have any verse to that effect. Source of Gaṅgā and its tributaries are suitably described in the Bhuvanakośa only. Arrangement of an identical nature is found also in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa.<sup>3</sup> These evidences, thus, indicate that the description of the river Gaṅgā occurred in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa only in its Bhuvankośa-portion and that its incorporation in the Chapter on astronomy is the result of a later attempt. The following analysis might bring out the peculiar circumstance under which the text of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa was subjected to revision. As regards the two terms Viṣṇu-Pada and Viṣṇu-Pāda the former comes from an early date. It figures as early as in the Ṛgveda which describes the high Viṣṇu-Pada as the store-house of honey. With this Viṣṇu-Pada the compilers of the Purāṇas naturally associated the source of river Gaṅgā whose water was considered by the Hindus so very beneficial both

1. Viṣṇu-purāṇa, II. 2. 33 and II. 8. 103.

2. Compare Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, II. 8. 89-98 with Vāyu-Purāṇa, II, 214-221.

3. Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, II. 21. 165-176.

4. Ṛgveda, I. 154. 5.

from physical as well spiritual points of views. Out of regard for the Vedic tradition these compilers, whose very motive was to expand the Vedic notions, at first retained the Vedic term and did not make any change in its form. This conclusion is very explicitly brought out by the Bhāgavata which consists of Chapters both on Geography<sup>1</sup> and astronomy<sup>2</sup> in one and the same section. But the description of river Gaṅgā occurs only in its geographical chapters. In close conformity to the possible early form of the whole topic the term used for the source of Gaṅgā in it is Viṣṇu-Pada.<sup>3</sup> It appears, therefore that Viṣṇu-Pada was converted into Viṣṇu-Pāda not earlier than the date of the Bhāgavata. It is further evident that in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the term Viṣṇu-Pada occurred in both its geographical as well as astronomical chapters. In the former it signified source of the holy river but in the latter its bearing was purely astronomical. Conversion of Viṣṇu-Pada into Viṣṇu-Pāda affected the early character of this text and in order to retain it the description of source of river Gaṅgā had to be given once again conveniently in a very close chapter in which question of major change was not involved.

*General conclusion* : From what has been analysed above, it appears that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's account related both to king Bharata and Bhuvanakośa was revised in one and the same period sometime after the 9th century A. D. when Bhāgavata had already been compiled. The reason behind this revision was purely sectarian resulting into the formation of new chapters on the one hand and insertion of new verses in the original chapters, conforming to the religious bias of the added ones, on the other. An identical trend in the revision or insertion of passages and chapters of other sections of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is also proved<sup>4</sup> and it becomes clear that the Vaiṣṇava sectaries interfered with the text on a comprehensive

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1. Bhāgavata, V. 17.

2. Ibid, V. 22.

3. Ibid V. 17. 1-8 (term Viṣṇu-Pada occurs in V. 17. 1).

4. An analysis of such sections has been made by the writer of the present paper in Purāṇam Vol. VII. pt. 2 and Uttara-Bhāratī (being published).

scale. It also shows that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is an early work<sup>1</sup> and the trends of the later periods could well be incorporated into it in order that they might appear as authoritative as the early concepts and receive due recognition in the changed circumstances.

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1. Mr. Pargiter (Ibid, p. 80) proceeded to prove that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is a unitary work and not a collectoin of materials of various times. On this ground he tried to sow the lateness of the text.

# PRASTHALAS IN THE EPICS AND THE PURĀNAS

BY

JAGAN NATH AGRAWAL

[ निबन्धेऽस्मिन् लेखकमहोदयेन प्रस्थलजनपदस्य स्थितिविषयको विमर्शः कृतः । ग्रीकलेखकैः अस्य ऐक्यं 'पटल' इत्यनेन सह स्थापितं, लेविसमहोदयेन 'पटियाला' इत्यनेन ऐक्यं स्थापितम् । अत्र लेखकमहोदयेन नानाप्रमाणैः स्थापितं यत् प्रस्थलास्तु त्रिगर्तानामेव भेदा आसन् । तेषामवस्थितिः पञ्जाबप्रान्तस्य साम्प्रतिक कांगडा-होशियारपुर-जालन्धर-मण्डलेषु आसीत् । ]

In his paper entitled the 'Geographical Text of the Purānas'<sup>1</sup>, Dr. C. A. Lewis has identified Prasthalas with modern Patiala District of the Panjab.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Lewis, has rightly rejected the identification with the Patala of the Greek writers, or the Indus Delta, suggested by Dr. B. C. Law. But he has himself fallen into an error either on account of the opinion of some earlier writers or because of the phonetic similarity between Prasthalā and Patiala. So far as the present writer is aware Pargiter was the first to suggest "that Prasthalas must have been the district between Ferozpur, Patiala and Sirsa"<sup>3</sup>, but at the same time he was conscious of an incongruity involved in this identification, for he remarked, "If this position be right, the Prasthalas do not fall into the group of northern peoples named in the text and the correct reading cannot be Prasthalas"<sup>4</sup>. However, not only the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, but also the Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu and Matsya have the reading Prasthalā and place it amongst the northern people. So also does the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>5</sup>

It may be stated at the very outset, that inspite of the phonetic resemblance there is no real link between Prasthalas and Patiala, for there was no town or country known as Patiala, before the XVIII century. The royal house of Patiala is descended from Chaudhri Phul, who died in 1652 A. D. His second

1. Purāṇam, IV, 112-45.

2. Ibid. 135.

3. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (English translation by Pargiter), 321.

4. Ibid. 321.

5. IV, 43,11.

son Rāmā, carved out for himself 'a small semi-independent territory'—the petty principality of Hodiānā. Rāmā died in 1714 A. D. His third son Ālhā Singh, got possession of this principality of Hodiānā in 1729 A. D. and added to it some more territory by conquest. It was Ālhā Singh who 'founded the Patiala town and State' between 1762-65.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact Patiala is really Patti-i-Ālhā—a word formed according to the rules of the Persian grammar, meaning the Patti of Ālhā Singh. Patti is a common Panjabi word for village, or settlement. For instance, we have such names as Bohan Patti in Hoshiarpur, or simply Patti in Amritsar District. It is therefore clear that there was no Patiala before 1762. The principality which Ālhā Singh had inherited, was known as Hodiānā.

For the correct identification of Prasthalas, a comparative study of the passages where it occurs, can be very helpful. In the text of the Purāṇic list of peoples, edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Prasthalas occurs in the following verse :—

क्षत्रयोऽथ भरद्वाजाः प्रस्थलाश्च दसेरकाः ।

लम्पकास्तल (१) गानाश्च चूलिका जगुडैः सह ॥<sup>7</sup>

Here some of the names are clearly those of the northern people. For example Lampakās, are the people of Lamghan.<sup>8</sup> The Jaguḍās are the people through whose country the Indus flows.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, in the Rāmāyaṇa also the Prasthalas are included amongst the people of the northern and Southern Panjab :—

तत्र म्लेच्छान्पुलिन्दान्श्च शूरसेनांस्तथैव च ।

प्रस्थलान् भरतांश्चैव कुरुंश्च सह मदकैः ॥ IV, 43 ॥

It is significant that, neither in the Purāṇas nor in the epics,<sup>10</sup> the Trigartas are grouped with the Prasthalas. Is it

6. R. C. Temple, IA, XVII (1889), 323.

7. IHQ, XXI (1945), 304.

8. cf. Cunningham, Ancient Geogr. I, 17, 27.

9. Pargiter, op. cit, 322. He has quoted the description of the Matsya-purāṇa.

10. In the Mahābhārata, Sabhā P. the Trigartas are mentioned twice, but there is no mention of Prasthalas in these verses. Cf. II, 27, 18, & II, 52, 14 (Gorakhpur Ed.).

because the Prasthalas were included within the larger unit—the Trigartas ?

The passages of the Mahābhārata, which mention Prasthalas are more helpful. The Prasthalas find mention in the Great Epic in connection with king Suśarmā who was an ally of the Kauravas. During the great war when Bhīṣma took command and arranged the Kaurava forces in the Krauñca Vyūha, the left wing was assigned to Suśarmā :—

स्वसेनया च सहितः सुशर्मा प्रस्थलाधिपः ।

वामपक्षं समाश्रित्य दंशितः समवस्थितः ॥

vi, 75, 20.

Again in the Droṇa Parvan, Suśarmā is designated as a king of Trigarta and overlord of Prasthalā.

मालवास्तुण्डिकेराश्च रथानामयुतैस्त्रिभिः ।

सुशर्मा च नरव्याघ्रस्त्रिगर्तः प्रस्थलाधिपः ॥

vii, 17, 19.

A more decisive piece of evidence is provided by the following verse from the Karṇa Parvan—

प्रस्थला मद्रगान्धारा आरट्टा नामतः खशाः ।

वसातिसिन्धुसौवीरा इति प्रायोऽतिकुत्सिताः ॥

viii, 44, 47.

Here Prasthalas have been grouped with the people who were regarded as degraded, impure and despicable on account of their obnoxious customs and censurable manners. In his tirade against the Madrās, Karṇa, heaps a lot of abuse on the Gāndhāras, Āraṭṭās etc. and the Prasthlās are included amongst the victims of this invective.<sup>11</sup> However, it is highly doubtful, if the region extending from Patiala to Sirsa which is contiguous to the sacred

11. The people of the Madhyadeśa began to regard these regions as impure because they had passed into the hands of foreign conquerors, such as Greeks, Śakas & Kuṣānas. Dr. V. S. Agrawal, has thrown most welcome light on this problem, in his erudite presidential address, delivered at the All India Oriental Conference, Gauhati (1965).



land of Brahmāvarta could have been the object of such a virulent and calumnious attack by Karṇa. As a matter of fact even to this day, this region answers to the description of the ideal home of the Aryans described by Manu :—

कृष्णसारस्तु चरति मृगो यत्र स्वभावतः ।  
स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियो देशो म्लेच्छदेशस्त्वतः परः ॥

One can see black antelopes moving fearlessly in the rural areas of Patiala and Sirsa and the Palāśa trees in plenty which were so much in demand for the daily fire-sacrifices.

Pargiter, himself was conscious of a contradiction in the identification proposed by him, as he concluded with the remark “If this position be right the Prasthalas do not fall into the group of northern peoples named in the text”.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover between the land of the Trigartas and the Patiala region there intervened another State—that of the Yaudheyas whose important city of Sunetra<sup>13</sup> lay only at a distance of four to five miles to the South of the river Sutelej. In the Mahābhārata itself the Yaudheyas have been grouped with the Trigartas. cf.

काश्मीराश्च कुमाराश्च घोरकाः हंसकायनाः ।  
शिवित्रिगर्तयौधेया राजन्या भद्रकेकया ॥<sup>14</sup>

Again

अथ प्रहस्य बीभत्सुर्ललिस्थान् मालवानपि ।  
मावेल्लकास्त्रिगर्ताश्च यौधेयांश्चार्दयच्छरैः ॥<sup>15</sup>

Therefore it will not be proper to locate the Prasthalas between the Sutelej and the Sarasvatī. i.e. the region of Ferozepur, Patiala and Sirsa.

Pargiter was substantially correct when he said, that, “Prasthalas was a country closely connected with Trigarta, for

12. Op. cit., 321 f. n.

13. Modern Sunet, 3 miles from Ludhiana.

14. Sabhā Parvan, 52, 14.

15. Droṇa Parvan, 19, 16

Suśarman king of Trigarta, is also called lord of Prasthalā."<sup>16</sup> But he erred slightly in defining Trigarta as comprising "the territory from Amballa and Pattiala to R. Bias."<sup>17</sup> The Districts of Ambala, Patiala and Ferozepore are all situated to the south of the river Sutlej and as pointed out above must have formed part of the territory of the Yaudheyas. Further, from all available accounts, Trigartta is known to have included the territory between the Sutlej, Beas and upper courses of the Ravi, i.e. the present day Districts of Jalandhara, Hoshiarpur and Kangra only. Ambala and Patiala are never known to have formed part of Trigarta. Hemacandra in his *Abhiddhāna-cintāmaṇi*, equates Trigarta with Jalandhara—जालन्धरास्त्रिगर्ताः स्युः According to a glossator of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Trigartta means Nagarkoṭṭa,<sup>18</sup> i.e. Kangra.

The issue is almost clinched by the following reference in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira :

चन्द्रभागां वितस्तां चैरावतीं च पिवन्ति ये ।

पुष्करावतकैकेया गान्धारप्रस्थलास्तथा ॥ xvi, 26

Evidently, the Prasthalas, according to this verse make use of the waters of the Beas and Ravi, and have therefore to be located in that part of Trigarta, which now forms the District of Kangra.

We may therefore conclude that Prasthalas cannot be identified with the region comprised by Ferozepore, Patiala and Sirsa. In all probability, the Prasthalas were a clan of the Trigartas' as suggested by Sorensen,<sup>19</sup> and lived somewhere in the territory now represented by the Districts of Kangra, Hoshiarpur and Jullundur, in the Panjab.

16. Op. cit. 321 f.n.

17. *ibid.* 321, f.n.

18. See, Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Eng. trans.) Vol. I, pp. 80-81, f.n. on III, 100.

19. Index to the names in the *Mahābhārata*.

A NEW ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE  
BRHASPATI-SAMHITĀ OF THE GARUDA-PURĀṆA

BY

LUDWIK STERNBACH

[ अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन 'नीतिचाणक्ये त्रिसर्ग,' इत्याख्यस्य ग्रंथस्य सम्पादनं कृतम् । अयं ग्रन्थो नाद्यावधि मुद्रितः । अस्यैका हस्तलेखप्रतिः कैम्ब्रिजविश्वविद्यालयस्य पुस्तकालये वर्तते या लेखकेन अस्मिन्निबन्धे CRCa II इति निर्दिष्टा । अस्य हस्तलेखस्य प्राधान्यतो गरुडपुराणस्य नीतिश्लोकैः सह तुलनां कृत्वा पाठसम्पादनमत्र कृतम् तत्पूर्वञ्च अस्य हस्तलेखस्य विषये तत्पाठविषये च विमर्शः कृतः । अस्य ग्रंथस्य सर्वे श्लोका गरुडपुराणस्य बृहस्पतिसंहितायां समुपलभ्यन्ते । लेखक-महोदयानुसारम् अयं ग्रन्थः बृहस्पतिसंहितायाः संक्षिप्तं संस्करणमस्ति अथवा बृहस्पतिसंहितायाः नीतिवाक्यानि संकलय्य स्वतन्त्ररूपेण लिखितः । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य पाठतुलनायै लेखकेन चाणक्यनीतेः अनेके हस्तलेखा अपि आलो-डिता । पाठान्तरप्रदर्शनाय विभिन्नपाठानां—बृहस्पतिसंहिता-चाणक्यनीति-नीतिचाणक्य-अन्येषामपि केचिद्ग्रन्थपाठानां—सारणी प्रदत्ता । त्रिसर्ग-चाणक्यस्य बृहस्पतिसंहितायाश्च श्लोकानामपि पृथक्-पृथक् सारण्यां संख्या प्रदत्ता ययेदं ज्ञायते यत् अष्टपञ्चाशच्छ्लोकात्मकस्य त्रिसर्गचाणक्यस्य सप्त-पञ्चाशत् श्लोका बृहस्पतिसंहितायां सन्ति । ]

**Manuscript Add. 1040 in the University Library in Cambridge.**

1. There is in the University Library in Cambridge a MS called Cāṇakya or Nīti-Cāṇakya, or Cāṇakya-trisarga; it bears No. MS Add. 1040. The MS contains an introductory verse and 57 maxims. It has never been published before.<sup>1</sup>

2. The MS, which will be called here CRCa II, has 29 paper leaves, 26 cm. long and 11 1/2 cm. in width. The text is written in ink in devanāgarī. Each leaf contains one verse only, with the exception of leaf 3b which has verses six and seven on

1. The first description of it was given by this author in his Cāṇakyanī-ti-text tradition, Viśveśvarānand Indological Series 27, 28, Hoshiarpur 1963, 1964, Vol. I. 2, pp. lxxi-lxxxiii.

one page. Each verse is set in the middle of the page ; the commentary is written over and beneath the text. Each verse is indented ; depending on its length each verse is set in two or three lines and usually ends with छ. The commentary has two to three lines over the verse and two to three lines beneath the verse and usually also ends with छ.

Leaves are marked on both sides of the text ; syllables नी-चा (standing for नीतिचाणक्य) and the numbers of the leaves are marked on the top of the left margin and the word गुरु and the numbers of the leaves are marked at the bottom of the right margin.

The MS begins with श्रीगणेशाय नमः, both in the text and in the commentary. The MS ends on the first half of leaf 29 (29b is blank) with the words इति-श्री-चानके त्रिसर्गा समाप्तं । शुभम्.<sup>1</sup>

The MS is not dated, it seems to be a not old MS ; it was probably written in the nineteenth century. Despite my requests, I did not receive any satisfactory reply from the University Library in Cambridge as to when and in what way it was received in the Library. The stamp on the MS visible on the photocopy. shows that it was received in the Library on 21 November 1874.

3. The MS. is a strange MS. Most of its verses are also found in most texts of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version<sup>2</sup>, but it does not have the characteristics common to all the other texts belonging to the CR version with one most important exception : almost all the verses in the MS are identical with those found in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa.<sup>3</sup> For this reason this author considered it in his Cāṇakya-nīti-śākhā-sampradāyaḥ as belonging to the CR version ; this belief was corroborated by the fact that the colophon makes reference to Cāṇakya (Cānaka). Yet, this MS is not divided into *adhyāya-s* nor does it contain the usual introductory or closing stanzas, but begins with the first two stanzas of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa

1. See Notes to the colophon.

2. See L. Sternbach, Various Versions of Cāṇakya's Compendia, in *Akten des XXIV Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses*, München, 1957, pp. 544-6.

3. Cf. fn. 1 on p. 1.

omitted in other CR texts. The first of these two stanzas served as an introduction to the Bṛhaspati-samĥitĀ of the Garuḍa-purĀṇa and announced the content of the following *adhyāya-s* dealing with "science of ethics and expediency."<sup>1</sup>

### The Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Garuḍa-purĀṇa

4. In his previous studies "The Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Bṛhaspati-samĥitĀ of the Garuḍa-purĀṇa" in the *Annal of 'he Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*<sup>2</sup> and "Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in PurĀṇa-s" in the *PurĀṇa*<sup>3</sup> this author came to the conclusion that the Bṛhaspati-samĥitĀ of the Garuḍa-purĀṇa is almost identical with the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version. He was able to prove that seventy per cent of the Bṛhaspati-samĥitĀ maxims of the Garuḍa-purĀṇa are identical with CR.

The Garuḍa-purĀṇa is an encyclopaedic work and is not original in its entirety. It has already been proved beyond any doubt that the Garuḍa-purĀṇa contains abstracts from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṃśa<sup>4</sup>, a synopsis of the Dharmasāstra by Parāśara,<sup>5</sup> but what is more important it contains nearly five hundred stanzas that were taken from the first and third books of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti. V. N. Mandlik in his introduction to the Vyavahāra-Mayūkha and H. Losch in his *Die Yājñavalkya Smṛti verglichen mit den Parallelen des Agni-und Garuḍa PurĀṇa* analysed the Garuḍa-purĀṇa from this point of view and came to the conclusion that almost the whole of the first book of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti was included in the first book of the Garuḍa-purĀṇa in chapters 93 to 101 and that a great part of the third book of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti was included in the first book chapters 166 and 102 to 105 of the Garuḍa-purĀṇa.<sup>6</sup> In addition the whole

1. "Now I shall discourse on the science of Ethics and Expediency; a perusal whereof may benefit kings and commoners alike and enable them to secure long lives, and good names on earth, and exalted stations in heaven after death". (N. M. Dutt's translation).

2. ABORI xxxviii, pp. 58-110.

3. *PurĀṇa*, VI. I, pp 113-146.

4. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, I. 389, 479; A. A. Macdonnel, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* p. 300; and others.

5. I. ch. 107.

6. Cf. V. N. Mandlik, p. LVII sqq. and H. Losch pp. 49, 50.

Viṣṇudharmottara was added as an annex to the Garuḍa-purāṇa and forms now an integral part of this Purāṇa. Also the Nāradaīya (*uttara* chap. 44-7) is contained in chapters 82 to 86 of the Garuḍa-purāṇa.<sup>1</sup>

5. The Garuḍa-purāṇa did not include these works or parts of them indiscriminately or carelessly. It included, for instance, the Yājñavalkya Smṛti material approximately in the order followed in the Smṛti itself; the Garuḍa-purāṇa did not observe the order of the *prakaraṇa-s* extant in the third book of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti; it often gave only a summary of the stanzas and omitted and changed the order of words and phrases of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti; it, finally, added verses of its own.<sup>2</sup> Since the Garuḍa-purāṇa was a popular work read by, and recited for, the benefit of little educated people, it often introduced changes to suit their understanding; it, therefore, struck its independent path, although it contains many abstracts from other works.<sup>3</sup>

6. Similarly as the incorporation of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti or of other sources by the Garuḍa-purāṇa was not a careless process, so the incorporation of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version in the Garuḍa-purāṇa was also not a careless process.

In dealing with the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, the author of the Garuḍa-purāṇa gave sometimes the summary of stanzas only, changed the order of words or phraseology, added verses of its own, and so on. The author, or the compiler, of the Garuḍa-purāṇa acted similarly when incorporating the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version. In this way he, sometimes, was providing only the summary of stanzas, not modifying its meaning, or modifying it very slightly only.<sup>4</sup>

7. The differences between the various texts belonging to the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version are sometimes great; the longest text of this version is quite different from the Bṛhaspati-

1. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra IV, 649.

2. P. V. Kane, *idem* I, 174-5. For many examples collected by P. V. Kane, see *idem* I, 174-6.

3. *Idem* I, 176.

4. Examples are given in ABORI XXXVI, p. 1

samĪhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, while such texts as the Tibetan text of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra (CRT) and the present text (CRCa II) stand much closer to the Garuḍa-purāṇa than the other texts of this version.

8. This author was able to identify eight texts of C as belonging to the CR version<sup>1</sup>, of which the CRT text is the only text of collections of Cāṇakya's maxims, the date of which is known; that text could not have been composed later than in the tenth century A.D., since Rin-chen-bzañ po of zhu hen, who was born in 955 A. D., has translated it into Tibetan and included it in the Tibetan Tanjur. This author came to the conclusion that the CRT text stands nearest to the Bṛhaspati-samĪhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, since it is the only CR text in which the sixth *adhyāya* is identical with the 113th *adhyāya* of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, while other texts of the CR version overlap in the fifth *adhyāya* with the 113th *adhyāya* of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, and since the CRT text follows more closely the Bṛhaspati-samĪhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa than any other text of the CR version, in particular, in its fifth *adhyāya*<sup>2</sup>.

9. This author expressed some doubts whether the CRT text is in reality another text of the CR version, or another text of the Bṛhaspati-SamĪhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. He thought that the beginning of CRT (1. 1-3 and 1.9 which contains the four introductory stanzas of the CR version and the endings of the *adhyāya*s which mention the name of Cāṇakya) might have been added later, since similar texts were known to exist in India under the name of Cāṇakya in order to add to the text "the glory" of Cāṇakya's name<sup>3</sup>.

### The CRCa II MS and the Bṛhaspati-SamĪhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa

10. As far as the CRCa II MS is concerned this author has even much less doubts than in the case of the CRT text; he thinks that this MS is either an abridged version of the Bṛhaspati-

1. See Cr I. 2 (pp. lx to lxxiii).

2. L. Sternbach, The Tibetan Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstram, *Annals of the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute*, XLII, pp. 99-122.

3. *ibid.* p. 122.

saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa or an individual collection of maxims extracted from the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa and only *in majorem gloriam* attributed to Cāṇakya.

11. In order to prove this point a critical edition of the CRCa II text proper was prepared and included in Annex II to this study<sup>1</sup> as well as in tabular form the texts with notes (i) of the CRCa II MS ; (ii) of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa (GP) ; (iii) of the ur-text (reconstructed) of the appropriate Cāṇakya verses (Cr)<sup>2</sup> ; and (iv) of other texts in which the same verse appears with variants of some more important C texts other than the “ur-text”.<sup>3</sup>

12. The comparison of the three basic texts (CRCa II, GP and Cr) and, in some cases, of other texts in which the appropriate CRCa II verse appeared, seems to prove that the CRCa II text is nothing else than another text of the Bṛhaspati-Saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. The following table shows that all but one verse of the CRCa II text appear in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa and the only verse of CRCa II which is not found in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa (i. e. verse 51) has a counterpart in GP 1.114,67. This verse does not occur in any other text of the CR version. All texts of this version, though they contain many verses identical or almost identical with GP, contain also some verses of their own, very often borrowed from other versions of collections of Cāṇakya’s maxims, or from various sources of Sanskrit literature, or from the floating mass of oral tradition, but this is not the case with the CRCa II MS, of which all verses appear in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa.

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1. The commentary was omitted ; a critical edition of the commentary will appear later.
  2. Vol. II of the author’s Cāṇakya-nīti-sākhā-sampradāya now in the press in the Viśveśvaranand Indological Series contains an attempt to give an ur-text of the various Cāṇakya’s stanzas ; that is the text reconstructed.
  3. The variants in this column refer to variants from C reconstructed.



CRC <sub>a</sub> II	GP	CRT	CR	CV	Cv	CN	CS	CL	Other primary Sources
1	1.108,1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	1.108,2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	1.108,3	1. 6	1. 8	...	...	×	...	...	...
4	1.108,12	1. 7	1.17	...	...	×	1. 6	...	...
5	1.108,14	1.11	1.19	...	...	×	...	...	H, BhS
6	1.108,15	1.12-3	1.21	...	...	×	...	...	...
7	1.108,23	1.19	×	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	1.108,24	1.21	...	...	...	×	...	...	...
9	1.108,25	1.22	1.40	1. 5	1. 5	41	...	...	H, (Subh°, Cr).
10	1.109,1	2. 1	2. 1	1. 6	1. 6	27	...	...	Mn, MBh, P, H, VC, Vet, Śuk, (Subh°, Gr)
11	1.109,3	2. 3	2. 6	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	1.109,4	2. 4	2. 9	...	1. 8	30	...	...	P, H (Subh°, Gr.)
13	1.109,5	2. 5	2.10	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	1.109,10	2.10	2.16	6.11	6. 1	31	...	...	P, H, (Subh°, Gr.)
15	1.109,15	2.15	2.22	7. 1	5.11	32	...	...	H, Vet, Śuk, MKS (Subh°, Gr.),
16	1.109,40	2.27	2.48	...	7. 8	×	...	...	MBh, P, H, BhŚ, VC, MKS, NPR, (Subh°, Gr°).
17	1.110,1	3. 1	3. 1	1.13	1.14	61	...	...	P, H, (Subh°)
18	1.111,12	...	...	12.14	...	3	...	...	P. H, Vet (Subh° Gr.)

CRC <sub>a</sub> II	GP	CRT	CR	CV	Cv	CN	CS	CL	Other primary Sources
19	1.113,41	6.14	6.32	...	...	...	...	...	MBh (Gr).
20	1.109,45	...	1.41	...	...	...	...	...	H, (Subh <sup>o</sup> )
21	1.111,17	...	4.12	7.15	6. 8	x	...	...	MBh, R,P,H, VC, Śuk (Subh <sup>o</sup> , Gr).
22	1.111,24	4. 8	4.18	...	...	...	...	...	(Subh <sup>o</sup> ).
23	1.111,33	4.17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24	1.111,3	...	5.35	...	...	x	...	...	...
25	1.113,8	6. 4	5.39	...	6.15	x	...	...	H (Subh <sup>o</sup> , Gr).
26	1.113,10	6. 6	...	cf.5.9	...	cf. x	...	...	MBh (Subh <sup>o</sup> , Gr).
27	1.113,12	(6.7cd/ab)	(6. 1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
28	1.113,18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MBh
29	1.113,19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MBh
30	1.113,22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P (PT)
31	1.113,23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32	1.113,24	...	6.17	...	...	...	...	...	...
33	1.113,27	...	6.20	...	...	...	...	...	R
34	1.113,27-8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35	1.113,29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MBh (Gr)
36	1.113,30	...	6.22	...	...	...	...	...	...
37	1.113,50	...	6.44	...	...	...	...	...	MBh (Subh <sup>o</sup> , Gr)
38	1.113,53-4	...	6.47	13.14	...	x	...	...	MBh, P, PdP (Subh, Gr.)

39	1.113,48	...	6.41	...	...	×	...	...	MBh H,NPR, GhN (Subh, <sup>o</sup> Gr.)
40	1.113,49	6.17	6.42	...	...	...	...	...	MBh, P (PT).
41	1.113,43	6.16	6.38	...	...	...	...	...	...
42	1.113,44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
43	1.113,45	...	"O"	...	...	...	...	...	...
44	1.113,46	...	"P"	...	...	...	...	...	MBh, (Subn <sup>o</sup> )
45	1.114,20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46	1.113,39	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47	1.113,40	...	6.31	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	1.111,19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
49	1.114,2	7. 2	7. 2	...	...	×	...	...	P, H, BhP (Subh <sup>o</sup> )
50	1.114,60	...	7.62	...	...	...	...	...	Śuk, VC (Subh <sup>o</sup> ),
51	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52	1.114,69 <sup>1</sup>	...	7.72 <sup>1</sup>	...	...	...	...	...	MBh, R, P (Subh <sup>o</sup> , Gr).
53	1.114,62	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	MBh (Subh <sup>o</sup> ),
54	1.114,40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55	1.114,41	...	7.39	...	...	...	...	...	...
56	1.114,44	...	7.41	...	...	×	...	...	...
57	1,114,38	7.21	7.37	...	...	...	...	...	...
58	1.114,39	7.22	7.38	...	...	...	...	...	...

1. Cf. 1.114,67 cf. 7.7

13. Another argument confirming the assumption that the CRCa II MS is another text of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa or an extract of it, seems to be the fact that the CRCa II text is the only MS of the CR version which contains the only existing introductory stanza of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa (1.108,1) and does not contain any of the introductory stanzas of the CR version found in all other texts of the CR version (CR reconstructed 1.1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 15), nor the closing stanza of the CR version.<sup>1</sup>

14. The CRCa II MS reproduces also some stanzas from the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa which were not quoted in any of the CR texts or any of the other text of the others Cāṇakya's version, (Some of these texts could not even be found in any other known primary source of Sanskrit literature<sup>2</sup> and, therefore, it seems unlikely that they could have been borrowed from any other source than the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa). These fourteen verses are : CRCa II 1, 2, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 42, 45, 46, 48, 53 and 54.<sup>3</sup>

15. The fact that the CRCa II MS has borrowed directly from the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa seems to be evident from the comparison of the texts, as it appears in CRCa II, in the GP, in Cr and in other texts of Sanskrit literature, as shown in the tabular presentation included in annex I. It shows that the text of CRCa II is the nearest to the GP text.

16. The CRCa II text was compared with the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa as it appears in two main texts, the GP and GPy.<sup>4</sup> The GP text is also identical with the text of the GP published recently in the Kāśī Saṁskṛta Granthamālā. No. 165 ; the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1964, while the text of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa published in Purāṇic Anthology (पुराण-काव्य-स्तोत्र-सुधा) by A P. Karmakar, Mira Publishing House Thalakwadi, Belgaum, 1955,

1. See Cr I. 2, p. lviii-lix.

2. They are printed in italics.

3. Verse CRCa II 51 is not mentioned here.

4. See abbreviations.

follows the GPy text and even sometimes corrects some errors in the GPy text.<sup>1</sup> The GPy text is, generally, superior to the GP text.<sup>2</sup> The CRCa II text, whenever there is a difference between the GP and GPy texts, follows rather the better text, i. e. the GPy text than the GP text.<sup>3</sup>

### Analysis of the CRCa II text

17. The analysis of Annex I shows that verses 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56 and 58 (that is 36 verses out of 57 verses) follow the text of the Brhaspati-samhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa closely (and not any other text where they also appear); verses 4, 5, 9, 15, 20, 21, 50 and 57 follow the GP text and the Cr text; and verses 8, 14, 30 and 35 follow partly the GP text and partly the Cr text; verse 16 follows the GP, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa texts; and verses 38 and 40 follow the GP and the Mahābhārata texts. Only one verse, viz. verse 18 follows rather the Cr text than the GP text, and verse 26, and partly verse 29, follow rather the text of the Mahābhārata than the GP text. On the other hand verses 44, 52 and 53 follow the GP text and not the Mahābhārata text in which they also occur.

This analysis shows that 48 out of 57 verses of CRCa II are identical or almost identical with the GP text, while only 3 verses are rather identical with other texts than GP. The other six verses contain new readings.<sup>4</sup>

18. The fact that the appropriate CRCa II verses follow the GP text (or any other text) does not mean, however, that the CRCa II text follows to the letter the text from which it borrowed. It contains some variants, in particular synonymous words for those used in these Cāṇakya's texts. Most of these

1. E. g. in 1.113, 51 फलानि instead of फलाणि.

2. E. g. the GP text omitted *ed* from GPy 1.113, 27; the text of GPy 1.113, 33 is also better.

3. Verses CRCa II 3, 24, 27, 28, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 45; differently CRCa II 22, 39.

4. Verses 8, 17, 18, 31, 46 and 47.

variants were accepted in the text reconstructed found in Annex I,<sup>1</sup> while some which were not an improvement of the text or did not make sense were not accepted.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the variants found in the CRCa II text were of no importance at all, e. g. the use of तु instead of च or हि, while some others were interesting and even some improved the text.<sup>3</sup>

19. Many deviations from the original text were not variants but errors made by the scribe or changes made by him due to his sloppiness<sup>4</sup> or poor knowledge of Sanskrit.<sup>5</sup> The scribe who copied the text, probably from another MS, although had a nice handwriting and some artistic feeling, which is evidenced by the setting up of the pages,<sup>6</sup> probably did not understand always the sense of the verse or did not care very much how the text was written ; too many mistakes in the text seem to prove this point.

20. Some peculiarities in the language used by the scribe were noticed.

The scribe used almost exclusively the *anusvāra*, instead of "n" (न, ण, ज or ड), e. g. भवंति (verse 21), or पंडित (verses 14, 21), or वंचन (verse 15), or भुंक्ते (verse 28) ; र instead of ल, e. g. चरक्य (verse 12) instead of चलक्य (this word can however be written in both ways); न instead of ण, e. g. प्रमान instead of प्रमाण (verse 23); and very often inserted य् before the vowel, e. g. wrote त्यज्येत् instead of त्यजेत् (verse 13 *cd*) though in other places (even in the same verse) wrote त्यजेत् (verse 13 *ac*); or क्षय instead of क्षय (verse 25) ; or भ्यग्यक्षयेन instead of भग्यक्षयेन (verse 27) ; or भोग्येन instead of भोगेन (verse 27) ; but wrote आरण instead of आरण्य (verse 5.)

1. In particular in verses 1, 3 (some), 6 (some), 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24 (some), 31 (some), 37, 42, 50 and 54. See Notes.

2. In particular in verse 3 (some), 4, 6 (some), 23, 24 (some), 25, 30, 31 (some), 34, 36, 39, 40, 46 and 49. See Notes.

3. E. g. in verse 50. See Notes.

4. E. g. deviations in verses 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41 (7 *akṣara-s*), 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 57 (*कस्य* repeated twice) and 58.

5. E. g. verses 8, 15, 30, 36 and 45.

6. Verses indented in the middle of the page surrounded by the commentary.

21. Although this author is convinced that the CRCa II text is either an abridged version of the Bṛhaspati-samhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa or an extract of the Bṛhaspati-samhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, and not as the colophon would indicate, a text of a collection of Cāṇakya, maxims (belonging to the CR version), this question must remain unresolved as long as the basic text or the ur-text of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, and in particular of its Bṛhaspati-samhitā, is not found.

### ANNEX I.

#### TABULAR PRESENTATION OF THE CRCa II, GP, Cr AND OTHER TEXTS.

The following abbreviations were used in this Annex :

ABay A.	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil. Kl.
ABORI.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AKM.	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
BhP.	Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa.....publié par M. Eugène Burnouf...Paris, 1884, 1898.
BhPr.	Bhojaprabandha of Ballāla...Pāṇḍuraṅga jivājī ...Bombay, śake 1854. Also : Bhojaprabandha of Ballāladeva of Banaras. Edited ...by Jagdishlal Shastri...Motilal Banarsidass.....Patna, 1955.
BhŚ.	Śataktrayādi-subhāṣitasāṅgraha of Bhartṛhari ...by D.D. Kośambi. Siṅghī Jaina Grantha māla 23, Bombay, 1948.
BrDh.	Brāhmadharma in Pratnakarmanandinī, Benares.
C.	Cāṇakya.
ChSS.	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

- CKI. J. Klatt, De trecentis Cāṇakyaē poetae indici sententis, Halis Saxonum.
- CL. Laghu-Cāṇakya version.
- CLA. CL : Rāja-niti of Cāṇakya-muni, Agra, 1920.
- CLB. CL : E. Bartoli. Un secondo codice fiorentino inedito di Cāṇakya (parts 2 and following) in Rivista Indo-greco-italica di Filologia, vol. 3. fasc. 3-4. pp. 151-66 (first *adhyāya*). Also E. Bartoli. il codice napolitano di Cāṇakya, in Rivista Indo-greco-italica di Filologia, vol. 4. fasc. 3-4. pp. 129-33 ; and vol. 5, fasc. 3-4, pp. 115-9 (second to eight *adhyāya*).
- CM. Cāṇakya, Recension de cinq recueils de stances morales (Cāṇakya-nīti-śataka, Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra, Laghu-cāṇakya-rāja-niti-śāstra, Vṛddha-cāṇakya-rāja-niti-śāstra, Cāṇakya-śloka) par E. Monseur. Paris, 1887.
- CN. Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version.
- CNr. Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (reconstructed). See Cr.
- CNa. Abbreviation for the following texts CNNA, CNNSS, CNŚB, CNŚCV. CNŚJ, CNŚIC, CNSS.
- CNb. Abbreviation for the following texts : CNH, CNJV, CNR, CNTC.
- CNB. CN : Bṛhat-Cāṇakya-ślokāḥ, with Utkala Padyā-nuvāda by Śrī Arjuna Mahārānaṅka... Utkal Press. Calcutta. 1919.
- CNF. CN : Cāṇakyam, Codice indiano edito dal Dre Emilio Bartoli. Napoli, 1911.
- CNG. CN : Recension of Cāṇakya used by Galanos for his 'Εκ διαφορῶν ποιητῶν by George Melville



- Bolling. In Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield, New Heaven, 1920.
- CNH. CN : Cāṇakya-śataka. In Kāvya-saṅgraha..... by Dr. Jahn Haerberlin...Calcutta, 1847. Pp. 312-22.
- CNHV CN : MS.No. H. 250 in Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
- CNI I CN : MS. No. 1518a (Eggeling 3990) in the Library of the India Office London.
- CNI II CN : MS. Keith 7204 (Tagore 40b) in the Library of the India Office, London.
- CNJV, CN : Cāṇakyaśatakam. Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyā-sāgara. Calcutta, 1926. The same text is reprinted in at least seventy-eight editions. in particular in KSH 312 and KSG 2,385.
- CNL. CN : MS. No. A 447 in the Universitätsbibliothek of the Karl Marx Universität Leipzig.
- CNM. CN : Rājanīti of Cāṇakya-muni. No place : no date.
- CNMN CN ; Cāṇikya-mūni-kṛtaṁ (sic ! )-nīti-sāra. Allahabad, 1880.
- CNN. CN ; Bartoli, Un secondo codice fiorentino inedito di Cāṇakya. (See CLB first part).
- CNNA. CN ; Cāṇakya-nītiḥ...Sarasvatī Press, Allahabad, 1892.
- CNNM. CN ; Cāṇakya-nīti-mālā. Ed. by Śrī Upendra Mohana Caudhuri Kavībhūṣaṇa. Bengal Art Printing Press, Calcutta, 1354.
- CNNS. CN ; Cāṇakya. In Neeti sunkhulun...with English Translation by Maharaj K. Krishen Bahador...Serampore Press, 1831. Pp. 1-22.
- CNNSA. CN ; Chāṇakya-nīti-sāra-saṅgraha. Ed. by P. Ādityarāma Bhattāchārya, 2nd, ed. Vedic Press. Allahabad, 1890.

- CNP I CN ; MS. No. 17072-3(A) in the Université de Paris. Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
- CNP II CN ; MS. No. 17072-1 (B) in the Université de Paris. Institut Civilisation Indienne.
- CNPh. CN ; MS. No. 1566 in the University of Pennsylvania Library. Philadelphia. Pa.
- CNPN. CN ; MS. Sanskrit 684 (Cabaton 684) in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris.
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- CnT V. CnT ; MS. No. 5120, as quoted in CKr. as TjE.
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- CVr.** Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version (reconstructed) See Cr.
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CRCa II : 1 ; GP : 1.108, 1 ; C reconstructed : 1652 ; CRT : —  
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नीतिसारं प्रवक्ष्यामि  
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आयुरारोग्यदायकं

नीतिसारं प्रवक्ष्यामि  
अर्थशास्त्रादिसंश्रितम्  
राजादिभ्यो हितं पुण्यम्  
आयुः स्वर्गादिदायकम्

नीतिसारं प्रवक्ष्यामि  
अर्थशास्त्रादिसंश्रितम्  
राजादिभ्यो हितं पुण्यम्  
आयुः स्वर्गादिदायकम्



CRCa II : 2 ; GP : 1.108, 2 ; C reconstructed : 2032 ; CRT : —

Other sources : IS 6771 ; ŚKDr *ad* नीतिसार.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
सद्भिः संगं प्रकुर्वीत सिद्धिकामः सदा नरः नासद्भिरिहलोकाय परलोकाय वाहितः	सद्भिः सङ्गं प्रकुर्वीत सिद्धिकामः सदा नरः नासद्भिरिहलोकाय परलोकाय वाहितम्	सद्भिः सङ्गं प्रकुर्वीत सिद्धिकामः सदा नरः नासद्भिरिहलोकाय परलोकाय वाहितम्	नासद्भिरिहलोकाय IS ; चाहितम् 19

CRCa II : 3 ; GP : 1.108, 3 ; C reconstructed : 915 ; CRT : 1.6  
 Other sources : CRr 1.8 (CRP 1.8, CRB 1.8, CRBh I 1.8, CRBh II 1.8, CRC 1.8).  
 CNG 7, CNP II 137, CPS 3.8, CM 145.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
वर्जयेज्जडसंवादं	वर्जयेत्क्षुद्रसंवादं	वर्जयेत्क्षुद्रसंवादम्	क्षुद्रविवादम् CRT ; क्षुद्रसंवादनम् CRr ; क्षुद्रसंवासम् CNPII
अदृष्टस्य च दर्शनं	दृष्टस्य चैव दर्शनम् अदृश्यस्य तु (GPy)	अदृश्यस्य च दर्शनम्	अनिष्टस्य CNP II, CNG
विरागं सह मित्रेण संप्रीतिशत्रुभाविनां	विरोधं सह मित्रेण संप्रीति शत्रुसेविना	विवादं सह मित्रेण प्रीतिं च सह शत्रुभिः	विरोधं CRT ; मित्रैश्च CRB ; संप्रीति CRT ; दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् CNP II, CNG

Other sources :  
 CRr 1.8 (CRP 1.8, CRB 1.8, CRBh I 1.8, CRBh II 1.8, CRC 1.8).  
 CNG 7, CNP II 137, CPS 3.8, CM 145.

CRCa II : 4 *cb/ad* ; GP : 1.108, 12 ; C reconstructed : 169 ; CRT : 1.7  
 Other sources : CRr 1.17 (CRP 1.18, CRB 1.16, CRBh I 1.18, CRBh II 1.18, CRC 1.18) ;  
 CSr 1.6 (CSBD 6, CSB I. 6, CSJ 1.6, CSC I 1.6, CSC II 6, CSB II 6, CSLd 1.6)  
 CNP II 116, CNI I 20 *ba/ed*, CNG 12, CPS 4.10. (Cf CNr 56).  
 IS 1183, Subh 117.

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CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
उत्तमैः सह सांगत्यं	उत्तमैः सह साङ्गत्यं	उत्तमैः सह सांगत्यं	उत्तमैः CRBh I; <u>गुणिभिः</u> (०भिः; भीः ०भिः) CSr सह संपर्कः ( ०र्कः ०क ) CSr; साह CNI I. <u>सङ्गं च</u> CRr; <u>सांकथा</u> CP; CNII, Subh.
पण्डितैः सह संकथा	पण्डितैः सह सत्कथाम्	पण्डितैः सह संकथाम्	<u>पण्डितै</u> or <u>पण्डित्रै</u> CS (var) ; <u>संकथा</u> CS (var), Subh; <u>सकथा</u> CS (var); <u>सत्कथाः</u> ( सक० CS [var] )CR ( var ).
अलुब्धैः सह मित्रत्वं	अलुब्धैः सह मित्रत्वं	अलुब्धैः सह मित्रत्वं	<u>अनुब्धै</u> CRBh I ; <u>कुलिभिः</u> ( ०लीभी ; ०भिः ) [ अ० ] CS; <u>मित्रस्त्वं</u> CS ( var ).
कुर्वाणो नैव सीदति	कुर्वाणो नावसीदति	कुर्वाणो नावसीदति	<u>न च</u> SuBh; ०सीदती CS(var.); CNII

CRCa II : 5 ; GP : 1.108, 14 ; C reconstructed : 649 ; CRT : 1.11

Other sources : CRr 1.19 (CRP 1.20, CRB 1.18, CRBh I 1.20, CRBh II 1.20 CRC 1.20 ; CNF 43, CNN45, CNPh 91, CN1 I 133, CNG 13, CNT IV 154, CNM 152, CNMN 118, CPS4.11; H (HJ 3.101, HM 3.98, HP 3.96, HN 3.96, HK 3.98, HH 88.14-5. HC 117.13-4), BhŚ 598 ; ŚP 1307, VS 2705, SuM 23.42, ŚRHt 192.54, NV ad 27.9 (ascribed to C) and ad 29.76 (ascribed Śukra), SRBh 156.152, SRK 281.8, IS 3988, TP 432, SA 37.5, SHV f. 92 b 22, SK 6.198, SL f 46 a, JSV 99.1 SKG 1.5, LN(P) 79, DhN(P) 107, NKy(B) 109, Slt(OJ) 51.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
परोपि हितवान् बंधुर्	परोऽपि हितवान् बन्धुर्	परोऽपि हितवान् बन्धुर्	हि हितो H (var) ; अपि हितः CNN ; हितवाद् CRBh II, GPy ; बन्धु (०न्धुः CNM), CRBh I, CNPh, CNM
बंधुरप्यहितः परः	बन्धुरप्यहितः परः	बन्धुरप्यहितः परः	अहितपरः CNPh, NV ad 29; स्वयम् [प०] CNN ; बन्धुं चाहितवान्परःCNII ;
नहितो देहजो व्याधिर्	अहितो देहजो व्याधिर्	अहितो देहजो व्याधिर्	अहिता CRBh I ; देहजा CRBh I ; व्याधितो लोके [दे०] CNI I ; व्यधिः ( ०धि ) CNBh, CNM.
हितमारणमौषधं	हितमारण्यमौषधम्	हितमारण्यमौषधम्	अरणम CNN ; क्षेत्रजम् [आर०] CNG ; आरोण्यम् CPS.

CRCa II : 6 ; GP : 1.108, 15 ; C reconstructed : 1043 ; CRT : 1.12 *ab* and 1.13 *cd*

Other sources : CRr 1.21 (CRP I 1.21, CRBh II 1.22, CRC 1.22)

CNI I 234, CNG 14, CnT II 25.2, CnT VII. 7, CPS 5.12, (cf. CVr 2.4, Cvr 2.4, CSr 2.7  
IS 6836, TP 477, NT 37.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
स बन्धुर्यो हिते <u>रक्तः</u>	स बन्धुर्यो हिते <u>युक्तः</u>	स बन्धुर्यो हिते <u>युङ्क्ते</u>	<u>सं</u> CRBh I; <u>या</u> CRBh I; <u>ये</u> CNI I; <u>हितं</u> CRC, CRT, CPS; <u>हितेषु</u> ( <u>हिते</u> ° NT) स्यात् CNG, NT, TP; <u>युक्ते</u> CRBh I; <u>रस</u> CNI I
स पिता यस्तु पोषकः	स पिता यस्तु पोषकः	स पिता यस्तु पोषकः	<u>यत्र</u> CRC; <u>यस्य</u> CRBh I; <u>पुत्र</u> CRT, CPS
<u>स</u> मित्रं यत्र <u>विश्वासः</u>	<u>तन्</u> मित्रं यत्र <u>विश्वासः</u>	<u>तन्</u> मित्रं यत्र <u>सद्भावः</u>	<u>स सखा यत्र विश्वासः</u> CNG, TP, NT; <u>यस्तु</u> CRBh II; <u>विश्वासः</u> CRT, CNI I
स देशो यत्र <u>जीव्यते</u>	स देशो यत्र <u>जीव्यते</u>	स देशो यत्र <u>जीवति</u>	<u>जीव्यते</u> CRT; <u>जीयति</u> CRBh I; <u>निर्वृतिः</u> CRC, CPS; <u>सा भार्या यत्र</u> <u>निर्वृतिः</u> CNSap, NT, TP

CRCa II : 7 ; GP : 1.108, 23 ; C reconstructed : 1850 ; CRT : 1.19  
 Other sources : CRC 1.39

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
<u>यस्य भार्याश्रितान्यत्र</u>	<u>यस्य भार्याश्रितान्यत्र</u>	<u>या तु भार्या सदा दुष्टा</u>	या तु भार्या सदा <u>रुष्टा</u> CRT; यस्य CRC, CPS
परवेशमाभिः कांक्षिणो <u>कुक्रिया</u> त्यक्तलज्जा च सा जरा न जरा जरा	परवेशमाभिकांक्षिणो <u>कुक्रिया</u> त्यक्तलज्जा च सा जरा न जरा जरा	परवेशमाभिकांक्षिणो <u>कुचेला</u> त्यक्तलज्जा च सा जरा न जरा जरा	<u>भिगामिनी</u> CRC, CPS

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CRCa II : 8 ; GP : 1.108, 24 ; C reconstructed : 1849 ; CRT : 1.21  
Other sources : CNI I 156, CnT II 16.7, CNT III 7 b 3

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CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
यस्य भार्या गुणज्ञा च भर्तारमनुगामिनी अल्पाहारेण संतुष्टा सा श्रिया न श्रिया श्रिया	यस्य भार्या गुणज्ञा च भर्तारमनुगामिनी अल्पाल्पेन तु सन्तुष्टा सा प्रिया न प्रिया प्रिया	या तु भार्या गुणज्ञा च भर्तारमनुगामिनी अल्पाल्पेन तु संतुष्टा सा रमा न रमा रमा	यस्य CNI I भर्तारमनुवर्तिनी CNI I अस्ति नास्ति सदा तुष्टा CNI I सा श्रि न श्रिया श्रियः CNI I (sic!)

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CRCa II : 9 ; GP : 1.108, 25 ; C reconstructed : 477 ; CRT : 1.22

Other sources : CRr 1.40 (CRP 1.43, CRB 1.38, CRBh I 1.44, CRBh II 1.45, CRC 1.45) ; CVr 1.5 ; Cvr 1.5 (Cv§ 1.5, CvA 1.5, CvW 1.5, CvP IV 1.5, CvP V 1.5, CvGt 1.4, CvTb 1.5, CvH 1.5, CvI 1.5, CvL I 1.5, CvL II 1.5, CvLd 1.5) ; CN 41 (CN<sub>a</sub> 41, CNb 43, CNŚA 41, CNŚM 37, CNNSA 36, CNŚ 41, CNSR 41, CNŚI 43, CNŚC 43, CNŚIK 41, CNŚIV 42, CNŚK 40, CNŚL105, CNŚPK 35, CNŚT 38, CNNM 35, CNS 47, CNW 7, CNF 8, CNPN 3, CNL 3, CNPh 3, CNP II 162, CNI I 111, CNG 18, CNT IV 156, CNSap 7, CNI II 4), CnT II 1.6.

H (HJ 2.120, HS 2.115, HM 2.121, HP 2. 107, HN 2.106, HK 2.119, HH 61.7—8, HC 80.17-8), cf. PtsK 1.235 *cd*.

SRBh 155.111, SRHt 192.58, SRK 223.21, VP 9.5, IS 2891, Subh 174.

LN(P) 126, DhN(P) 179, NKy(B) 154.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
दुष्टा भार्या शठं मित्रं	दुष्टा भार्या शठं मित्रं	दुष्टा भार्या शठं मित्रं	यित्ते CVLd
भृत्याश्चोत्तरदायकाः	भृत्याश्चोत्तरदायकः	भृत्यश्चोत्तरदायकः	भृत्याश्चान्तरसायका SRHt °हंकारसंयुतः IS (add.); °दायकाः CNSap, Cv (var.) HS, HH. °दायकाम् IS; °का CvS.
ससर्पे च गृहे वासो मृत्युरेव न संशयः	ससर्पे च गृहे वासो मृत्युरेव न संशयः (भृत्युरेव GPYI printing error)	ससर्पे च गृहे वासो मृत्युरेव न संशयः	सर्पयुक्ते गृहे वासो PTKS <u>वासी</u> CVLD; मृत्युरैव CRP



CRCa II : 10; GP : 1.109, 1; C reconstructed : 142; CRT : 2.1

Other sources : CR 2.1 (CRP 2.1, CRB 2.1, CRBh I 2.1, CRBh II 2.1, CRC 2.1); CVr 1.6; Cvr 1.6 (CvS 1.6, CvA 1.6, CvW 1.7, CvP IV 1.6, CvP V 1.6, CvGt 1.6, CvTb 1.6, CvH 1.6, CvI 1.6, CvL I 1.6, CvL II 1.6, CvLd 1.6), CNr 27 (CNa 27, CNb 29, CNŚA 27, CNNSA 23, CNSA 11, CNSR A 11, CNŚLK 27, CNŚPK 24, CNŚT 25, CNNM 68, CNS 12, CNW 8, CNF 45, CNPN 7, CNI II 21, CNPh 4, CNI I 95, CNG 19, CNT IV 195, CNSap 8), CPS 19.51.

Mn 7.213, MBh (MBh (Bh) 5.37, 17 and *ad* 1.146, 26 [1614\*.1-2], MBh (R) 5.38, 18 and 1.160, 27, MBh (C) 5.1315 and 1.6169), P (Pts 1.356 and 3.86), H (Hj) 1.43, HS 1.36, HM 1.41, HP 1.31, [cf. 3.122a], HN 1.31, HK 1.42, [cf. 3.126a], HH 12.15-6, HC 17.1-2), VC (VCsr 12.1, VCjr 20.1), Vet 19.16, Śts 321, 12-13, MKS 106, HDh 14. cf. BhPr 198)

VRR 413.2-3, RRK 31.16-7, KK 142.12 Shh., Dh 3.1978, SRBh 161.348, IS 958  
NM(T) 3.5.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts
आपदर्थे धनं रक्षेद्	आपदर्थे धनं रक्षेद्	आपदर्थे धनं रक्षेद्	आपदर्थे CRr (but CRT as here), CN, MBh (Bh). MnJ, MnL HP, HN, HK, VCsr (VJEND in VCsr as here), Śto, BhPr, HDh VRR, SRBh; रक्ष्यं CR (but CRT as here). रक्ष्या VRR
दारान् रक्षेद्धनैरपि	दारान् रक्षेद्धनैरपि	दारान् रक्षेद्धनैरपि	

आत्मानं सर्वतो रक्षेद्

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्

आत्या तु सर्वतो रक्ष्यो CRr (also CRT); सर्वतो VRR, M, in MnJ ; सर्वदा MnJh (notes), G in MnJ ; तु तथा Nd in MnJ, MnJh (notes)

दारैरपि धनैरपि

दारैरपि धनैरपि

दारैरपि धनैरपि

रक्षेत्पुत्रदार HN ; पश्चदारै IS ; अपीति RRK

CRCa II : 11 ; GP : 1.109, 3 ; C reconstructed : 9I1 ; CRT : 2.3  
 17 Other sources : CRr 2.6 (CRB 2.7, CRBh II 2.5, CRC 2.5), CNG 281, CPS 33.24.  
 VS 3163, SRHt 228.8, SRBh 66.20

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
वरं हि नरके वासो न च दुश्चरिते गृहे	वरं हि नरके वासो न तु दुश्चरिते गृहे	वरं हि नरके वासो न तु दुश्चरिते गृहे	च CRT, CRC, CPS ; दुर्विहिते SRHt
नरकात्क्षीयते पापं कुगृहान्न (°हाच्च) निवर्त्तते	नरकात्क्षीयते पापं कुगृहान्न निवर्त्तते	नरकात्क्षीयते पापं कुगृहात्परिवर्धते	कुगृहाद् भिवर्धते SRHt (CRT as C reconstructed)

CRCa II : 12 ; GP : 1.109, 4 ; C reconstructed : 365 ; CRT : 2.4  
 Other sources : CRr 2.9 (CRP 2.10, CRB 2.10, CRBh I 2.10, CRC 2.10), Cvr 1.8, (Cv§ 1.8, CvA1.8, CvW 1.9, CvP V 1.8, CvGt 1.8, CvTb 1.7, CvH 1.8, CvI 1.8, CvL I 9, CvL II 1.8, CvLd 1.8), CNr 30 (CNa 30, CNb 32, CNŚA 30, CNŚM 27, CNNSA 26, CNŚ 1.8, CNSR 108, CNŚI 98, CNŚC 98, CNŚIK 30, CNŚIV 31, CNŚK 31, CNŚL 18, CNŚPK 27, CNŚT 28, CNNM 27, CNS 35, CNW 53, CNF 12, CNPN 6, CNI II 23, CNPh 8, CNI I 203, CNG 21), CnT II 2.1, CnT III 1.13, CnT IV 14, CPS 41.44.  
 P (PP 1.77), H (HJ 1.107, HS 1.97, HM 1.101, HP 1.75, HN 1.77, HK 1.103, HH 22.1-2, HC 29.16-7).  
 ŚP 1463, SRBh 154.35, IS 2264, Subh 172 ab.  
 LN(P) 159, DhN(P) 83, NKy(B) 152

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts
चरत्येकेन पादेन तिष्ठेच्चैकेन पण्डितः	चलत्येकेन पादेन तिष्ठत्येकेन बुद्धिमान्	चलत्येकेन पादेन तिष्ठत्येकेन बुद्धिमान्	तसत्येकेन CvL II ; एकैः CNI I ; पण्डितः CRP, CRB, CRBh I, Cv, CNII (CRTबुद्धिमान्), PP, ŚP, SRBh ; ध्यानतः Subh.
नापरीक्ष्ये परस्थानं	न परीक्ष्य परं स्थानं	नासमीक्ष्य परं स्थानं	नापरीक्ष्य CRr ; नासमीक्ष्य Cv (but न स० CvP V ; °मीक्ष CvI ; °मीक्ष्या CvGt ; समीक्ष्य च प० CvTb) ; नास- मीक्ष्य CNr (but मासमीक्ष or °क्ष्य CNŚJ, CNSS, CNLC, CNST, CNSI, CNŚCV, CNŚB, CNSS CNŚIK, CNŚPK, CNPN ; आस- मीक्ष्य CNW ; नासमीक्ष्य CNPh ; परस्थानं CNNSA
पूर्वप्राप्तं तु न त्यजेत्	पूर्वमायतनं त्यजेत्	पूर्वमायतनं त्यजेत्	

CRCa II : 13 ; GP : 1.109, 5 ; C reconstructed : 432 ; CRT : 2.5

Other sources : CRr2. 10 (CRP 2.6, CRB 2.11, CRBh I 2.6). (Cf. Cvr 4.14, CSr 1.75, CRP 2.12, CRBh I 2.12, CRBh II 2.9, CRC 2.11, CRT 5.13, CNF 67, CNG 81, CNPh 34, CNSap 41, CNI I 93 and 269, CNI II 44, CnT II 6.9, CnT III 4.16, CnT VI 71, CPS 38.36, CKI 40 ; and CVr 3.10, Cvr 1.7, CNr29, CRr 2.3, CNSap 9, CnT II 1.12, CnT III 1.12, CnT VI 13, CPS 78.67.

MBh (Bh) 1.107, 32 ; 2.55, 10 ; 5.37, 16 and 5.126, 48, PT 1.118, PTem 1.107, PS 1.105, PN 2.83, Pts 1.355 3.84, PtsK 3.81, PRE 1.117, HJ 1.159, MK 76, VCjr 28.3, Śts 21.4-5, GP 1.109, 2, KSS 10.60, 152, KṣB 8.64-72).

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
<u>त्यजेद् देशमसद्वृत्तं</u> <u>वासं सोपद्रवं त्यजेत्</u>	<u>त्यजेद् देशमत्यद्वृत्तं</u> <u>वासं सोपद्रवं त्यजेत्</u>	<u>त्यजेद् देशमवृत्तिकं</u> <u>सवृत्तिकं समाविशेत्</u>	<u>असद्वृत्त</u> CRT <u>वासं सोपद्रवं त्यजेत्</u> CRT ; <u>वृत्तिकं समु-</u> <u>पाश्चयेत्</u> CRP, CRBh I
<u>त्यजेत्कृपणराजानं</u>	<u>त्यजेत्कृपणराजानं</u>	<u>त्यजेत्कृपणभूपालं</u>	<u>त्यजेद् राजनं ( राजा च</u> CRBh I) ; <u>कृपणं</u> CRP, CRBh I. <u>राजानं</u> CRT.
<u>मित्रं मायामयं त्यजेत्</u>	<u>मित्रं मायामयं त्यजेत्</u>	<u>मित्रं मायामयं त्यजेत्</u>	<u>शत्रोः सम्माननं त्यजेत्</u> CRB.

CRCa II : 14 ; GP : 1.109, 10 ; C reconstructed : 890 ; CRT : 2.10

Other sources : CRr 2.16 (CRP 2.17, CRB 2.17, CRBh I 2.17, CRBh II 2.14, CRC 2.20), CVr 6.11, Crr 6.1

(Cv§ 6.1, CvA 6.1, CvW 6.1, CvP IV 6.1, CvP V 6.1, CvGt 6.1, CvTb 6.1, CvH 6.1, CvL I 6.1, CvL II 6.1, CvLd 6.1, CNr 31, (CNa 31, CNb 33, CNŚA 31, CNŚM 28, CNNSA 27, CNŚ A 22, CNSR A 22, CNŚIK 31, CNŚIV 32, CNŚK 34, CNŚL 17, CNŚPK A 4, CNŚT 29, CNNM 69 and 105, CNS 82, CNL 6, CNI II 28, CNP I 60, CNPh 9, CNI I 254, CNG 22, CNT IV 60, CNM 60, CNMN 51), CnT II 8.5, CnT III 6.1, CnT VI 91, CPS 172.105.

P (PS 1.26 ; cf. PP 4.61, Pts 4.109 and 114), H (HJ 4.108, HS 4.102, HS 4.104, HP 4.107, HN 4.107, HK 4.109, HH 116.18-9, HC 156.20-1), cf. MBh (R) 1.142 48-9 ; 3, 194, 7 ; 5, 38, 73-4, Navaratna 1.

SRBh 155.97, IS 5860.

LN (P) 78, DhN (P) 98, NKy (B) 108, NM (T) 3.7.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed	Other texts :
<u>लुब्धमर्थप्रदानेन</u>	<u>लुब्धमर्थप्रदानेन</u>	<u>लुब्धमर्थेन गृहीयात्</u>	<u>अर्थप्रदानेन</u> CRr (CRT) <u>अर्थेन</u> <u>गृहीयात्</u> CVr, Cvr, CNr, P, H, SRBh, IS.
<u>तब्धमंजलिकर्मणा</u>	<u>श्लाघ्यमञ्जलिकर्मणा</u>	<u>स्तब्धमञ्जलिकर्मणा</u>	<u>स्तब्धम्</u> CRr ( <u>श्लाघ्यम्</u> CRT; <u>क्रुद्धम्</u> CRC), CVr, Cvr; ( <u>क्रूरम्</u> CvLd); <u>क्रुद्धम्</u> CNr ( <u>स्तब्धम्</u> CNI I, CNG, CNL, CNI II.; <u>साधुम्</u> CNPh; <u>साधुम्</u> CNM ) ; <u>कर्मण</u> CRBh II

इत्तरेखा न पानेन वा ( ? ) मूर्खा छन्दानुवृत्त्या च

मूर्खं छन्दाऽनुवृत्तेन

कुप्रदानेन पंडितं

याथातथ्येन पण्डितम्  
( GPy ) ०ध्ये० GP

तथा तथ्येन पण्डित

मूर्खं CV ( var. ), CvTb, CNSS.  
छन्दानुवृत्तेन CRr ( ०वृत्त्या CRT;  
०वृत्त्यः ०वृत्त्य ); छन्दोऽनुवृत्तेन CVr  
( ०न्दानुरोधेन CV( var. ), HK;  
०वृत्त्या च CV ( var ), PS, SRBh);  
छन्दोऽनुवृत्तेन Cvr ( छन्दा च वृत्त्या च  
CvTb, CvLI; छन्दानुवृत्त्या च CvS,  
CvH, CvGt; चत अनुवृत्ति CvA );  
छन्दोऽनुवृत्तेन CNr ( ०न्दा०; वृत्त्या च;  
वृत्तेन )

वशीकुर्वन्ति CRr ( यथातथ्येन CRT);  
याथाथ्येन च CVr, Cvr ( ०थ्ये० );  
तथा तथ्येन CNr ( यथा; सत्येन;  
थत्वेन ), H, PS, तत्त्वर्थेन SRBh.

CRCa II : 15 ; GP : 1.109, 15 ; C reconstructed : 87 ; CRT : 2.15

Other sources : CRr 2.22 (CRP 2.22, CRB 2.23, CRBh I 2.22, CRBh II 2.19, CRC 2,25, CRCa I 2 21), CVr 7.1 ; Cvr 5.11 (Cv§ 5.11, CvA 5.11, CvW 5.11, CvP IV 5.11, CvP 5.11, CvGt 5.10, CvH 5.11, CvL I 5.11, CvL II 5.11, CvLd 5.11), CNr 32 (CNa 32, CNb 34, CNSA 32, CNSM 29, CNNSA 28, CNS 32, CNSR 32, CNSI 33, CNSC 33, CNSIK 32, CNSIV 33, CNSK 33, CNSL 19, CNSPK 28, CNST 30, CNNM 28, CNS 5, CNI II 51, CNPh 12, CNi I 88, CNG 77, CNT IV 133, CNM 128, CNMN 95, CnT II 7.11, CnT III 5.11, CnT VI 85 CnT V 22, CPS 179.11.  
H (HJ 1.138, HS 1.122, HM 1.127, HP 1.98, HN 1.99, HK 1.130, HM 29.9-10, HC 35. 13-4), Vet 1 26, Śts 40.10-1 and 63.7-8, MKS 82  
ŚP 1458, SRHt 19.148, ŚB 2.618, SRBh 153. 28, 1S 583, VP 9.94  
LN(P) 28, DhN(P) 52

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed	Other texts :
अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं	अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं	अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं	अर्थनार्थं ŚFs ( var. ) मान- ( ०नः ) - स्थैर्यं Vet ( var. ) ; इत्यादि [ म० ] Śts ( var. ).
गृहे दुश्चरितानि च	गृहे दुश्चरितानि च	गृहे दुश्चरितानि च	गृहं CRP, CRBh I, CvLd; ग्रहे CvGt; गृहिणीच० CV ( var. ).
वंचनं चापमानं च	वञ्चनञ्चापमानञ्च	वञ्चनं चापमानं च	मानं चैवावमानं ( चैपा० ) च CRr ( but CRT as GP ) ; नीचवाक्यं



चापमान CV ( var. ), CIS; मानं  
चैवपमान च CNM; गृञ्जनं Vet(var.);  
गृञ्जनं HP, HS (var.), Śts (var.);  
गृञ्जनञ्च Śts ( var. ); वृञ्जनश्  
CNNA; वृञ्जनाञ्च CN ( var. );  
अमानं IS; चापमानश्च CNPh; चाव-  
मानं च CNG.  
बुद्धिमान्न न काशयेत् CV ( var. );  
मतिमाने CV ( var. ); प्रकारयेत्  
Śts ( var ).

मतिमान् प्रकाशयेत्

मतिमान्न प्रकाशयेत्

मतिमान्न प्रकाशयेत्

CRCa II . 16 ; GP : 1.109,40 ; C reconstructed : 577 ; CRT : 2.27

Other sources : CRr 2.48 (CRP 2.48, CRB 2.51, CRBh I 2.48, CRCa I 2.41), Cvr 7.8 (Cv§ 7.10, CvA 7.10, CvW 7.8, CvP IV 7.7, CvP V 7.6, CvGt 7.4, CvTb 7.12, CvH 7.9, CvL I 7.10, CvL II 7.10, *ad/cb*, CvLd 7.6), CNF 41, CNI I 172, CNP I 13, CNT IV 12, CNM 12, CNMN 12, CnT II 16.9, CnT III 7b and 53,17, CPS 377.15.

MBh (MBh (Bh) *ad* 1.113,7 [1189\* 1-2], 5.40, 6; 13, 38, 16; MBh (R) 5.39, 7 and 13.38, 25, MBh (C) 5.1538 and 13.2226), P(PP 1.106, Pts 1.137, PtsK 1.153), H(HJ) 2.114, HS 2.111, HM 2.115, HP 2.103, HN 2.102, HK 2.113, HH 60. 4-5, HC 79.9-10), VCSr VI 10, MKS 156, BhŚ 571, NPR 1 14, 99, (cf. R 5.54, 28-9). ŚP 1498, SRHt 78.7, SRBh 154.60, VP 9.86, IS 3547, Subh 218, SRH 54.7, SHV f. 97b 18, SS 35.10, SSD 2f 158b, Jain Subhāṣitāvalī as quoted in BhŚ 409, SKG f. 46. SS(OJ) 437.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
नाग्निस्तृप्यति काष्ठानां	नाग्निस्तृप्यति काष्ठानां	नाग्निस्तृप्यति काष्ठानां	तृप्यति HS (var.); काष्ठेन Cv(var.), CNI I, CNM, CNMN ; काष्ठोर्ध्वैर् ( °ष्टौ° ) Cv ( var. ) ; काष्ठेषु MKS
<u>न जलानां महोद्धि</u>	<u>नापगानां महोद्धिः</u>	<u>नापगानां महोद्धिः</u>	नापगानि महोद्धौ Cv ( var. ) ; नापगाभिर् Cv (var.), CNII, VC (var.). नापिगभिर् CNM, CNMN. महोद्धि

नांतकः सर्वभूतानां

नान्तकः सर्वभूतानां

नान्तकः सर्वभूतानां

न पुंसां वामलोचना

न पुंसां वामलोचना

न पुंसां वामलोचना

सर्वभूतैश्च Cv ( var. ), VC ( var. );  
सर्वभूतेभ्यो CNM, CNMN.नाशा वृष्यति संपदाम् NPR; पुंभिर्  
Cv ( var. ), CNM, CNMN, V C  
( var. ); नामलोचना CNI I;  
लोचनाः CR ( var. ), Cv ( var. ),  
MBh ( var ), PP, HJ, HS, HN,  
HC, VCsr, BhŚ, SRHt; लोचन  
Cv ( var. ); लोचनम् CR ( var. )

CRCa II : 17 ; GP : 1.110, 1 ; C reconstructed : 860 ; CRT : 3.1

Other sources : CRr 3.1 (CRP 3.1, CRB 3.1, CRBh I 3.1, CRBh II 3.1, CRC 3.1, CRCa I 3.1) CVr 1.13, Cvr 1.14, (Cv§ 1.14, CvA 1.13, CvW 1.15, CvP IV 1.13, CvP V 1.13, CvGt 1.14, CvTb 1.14, CvH 1.14 CvL I 1.13, CvL II 1.14, CvLd 1.14), CNr 61 (CNa 61, CNb 63, CNŚA 61, CNŚM 50, CNNSA 48, CNŚ 61, CNSR 61, CNŚI 61, CNŚC 61, CNŚIK 61, CNŚIV 62, CNŚK 49, CNŚL 46, CNŚT 51, CNNM 46, CNS 78, CNF 78, CNPh 77, CNSap 19, CNI I 202), CnT II 2.4, CaT III 1.16, CnT VI 17, CPs 22.59. P (PP 2.143, Pts 2.137, PtsK 2.144, PM 2.55, PD 302.41), H (H) 1.227, HS 1.205. HM 1.210, HP 1 171, HN 1.172, HK 1.212, HH 38.20.1, HC 57.16-7) Smṛititattva of Raghunandana 1.251, 24-5, SRBh 162.394, SRHt 194.80, ŚKDr *ad* नीतिसार, IS 5600, Subh 218, Sskr 59.

CRCa II :

GP :

C reconstructed :

Other texts :

यो ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य  
अध्रुवाणि त सेवयेत्  
(Per तु)

यो ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य  
अध्रुवाणि निषेवते

यो ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य  
ह्यध्रुवं परिसेवते

के | यो ] CvP IV,  
ह्यध्रुवाणि निषेवते CRr ( but त्वध्रु०  
CRP, CRCa I ; स्वध्रु० CRBh I ;  
च सेवते CRC, CRT ) ; अध्रु० CVr,  
अध्रुवाणि निषेवते Cvr ( but  
चाध्रु० Cv§ ; अध्रुवाण्येव सेवते CvTb ;  
निषेवति CvH ; च सेवते CL II ) ; अध्रुवं  
परिषेवते CNr ( but अध्रुवाणि च

ध्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति  
अध्रुवं नष्टमेव हि

ध्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति  
अध्रुवं नष्टमेव च

ध्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति  
ह्यध्रुवं नष्टमेव च

सेवते or सेव्यते CNr ( var ); च  
सेव्यते HS ( var. ); च सेवेते SRHt  
तस्य ध्रुवाणि नश्यन्ति PD  
ह्यध्रुवं CRr ( but ) स्वध्रुवं CRBh I ;  
अध्रुवैर CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP,  
( CRCa I ); अध्रुवं CVr ; अध्रुवं Cvr  
( but चाध्रु० CvS ) ; अध्रुवं CNr  
( but चाध्रु० CNSL, CNSR );  
नष्टचेतसः CRBh I, CRBh II,  
CRP, CRCa I ; च विनश्यति CvPV ;  
नष्टं नैव CvP IV ; प्राप्तमेव CNI I ;  
हि CRr ( but CRT च ), CVr  
( var. ), CvA, CvL I, CNr  
( var. ), H with the exception  
of HN.

CRCa II : 18 ; GP : 1.111, 12 ; C reconstructed : 772 ; CRT : —

Other sources : CRr— ; CVr 12.14 ; CNr 3 (CNa 3, CNb 5, CNŠA 3, CNŠM 3, CNNSA 3, CNŠ 3, CNSR 3, CNŠI 3, CNŠC 3, CNŠIK 3, CNŠIV 3, CNŠK 4, CNŠL 10, CNŠPK 6, CNŠT 3, CNNM 3, CNS 73, CNF 27, CNN 28, CNPh 72, CNP II 145, CNI I 25, CNG 218), CnT II 19.6, CnT VII 52.1, CPS 296.19.

P (PT 3.63, PTEM 3.49, PS 3.39, PN 3.52, PP 1.390, Pts 1.402, PtsK 1.450, PRE 3.53, PM 1.173), H (HJ 1.13, HS 1.12, HM 1.13, HP 4.132, HN 4.132, HK 1.14 and 4.134, HH 8.17-8, HC 11.15-6 and 159.12-3), Vet 16.12, cf. PdP, Sṛṣṭi Kh. 19.359.

BrDh 2.11,8 (95\*), SRBh 159.254, SuM 29.8, SuB 5.5, IS 4805, Sskr 53, Subh 178, TP 383, NT 6  
DhN (P) 53, Vyās (C) 48.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
<u>मातृवत्परदारांश्च</u>	<u>मातृवत्परदारेषु</u>	<u>मातृवत्परदारांश्च</u>	<u>परदारेषु</u> CN ( but CNG <u>रांश्च</u> ), CV ( var. ), H, PN, Vet; <u>रस्तु</u> PT, PRE; <u>रेपि</u> IS; <u>परद्रव्याणि</u> ( <u>णी</u> ) HP ( var. ); <u>परद्रव्येषु</u> IS.
<u>परद्रव्याणि लोष्टवत्</u>	<u>परद्रव्येषु लोष्टवत्</u>	<u>परद्रव्याणि लोष्टवत्</u>	<u>परद्रव्येषु</u> CNr ( but CNI I, CNG <u>व्याणि</u> ) CV ( var ) H ( with the exception of HC); <u>परद्रवेषु</u> HC <u>लोष्टवत्</u> CN ( var. ), PP, HJ, HS;

आत्मावत्सर्वभूतानि  
( instead of अत्म० )

आत्मवत्सर्वभूतेषु

आत्मवत्सर्वभूतानि

यः पश्यति स धर्मवित्

यः पश्यति स पण्डितः

यः पश्यति स पश्यति

HN, HK 4. 134, HH, HC;  
लोष्टवत् CV ( var. ), HK 4. 134;  
त्येष्टवत् CV ( var. ),

सर्वभूतेषु CN ( but CNG अतानि )  
CV ( var. ), CPS, H ( but HP  
अतानि ); सर्वभूतानां PRE ( var. );  
सर्वसत्त्वानि SuB.

यः पश्यन्ते ( विक्षन्ते PP ) धर्मबुद्धयः  
Vet ( var. ), PP; पश्यति CN  
( var. ). पण्डितः CN ( but CNG,  
CNI I पश्यति ) CV ( var. )  
CPS, PP, H ( but HS पश्यति );  
वैष्णवः CN ( var. ), SuB; बुद्धिमान्  
Vet ( var. )

CRCa II : 19 ; GP : 1.113, 41 (42) ; C reconstructed : 551 ; CRT : 6.14  
 Other sources : CRr 6.32 (CRP 6.33, CRB 6.37, CRBh I 6.34, CRC 6.46, CRCa I 6.30)  
 MBh (MBh (Bh) 5.33, 26, MBh (R) 5, 32, 31, MBh (C) 5.996)  
 IS 3529  
 SS (OJ) 312

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
<u>न प्रहृषति सम्मानैर्</u>	<u>न प्रहृष्यति सम्माने</u>	<u>न प्रहृष्यति संमाने</u>	न हृष्यत्यात्मसंमाने MBh ( but Southern Recension and SS ( OJ ) as Cr ; प्रहृषति CRCa I ; संमानैर् CRC, etc.
<u>तपिमानेन कुप्यति</u>	<u>नावमानेन कुप्यति</u>	<u>नावमानेन कुप्यति</u>	नावयानैः प्रकुप्यति CRr ( but CRT as GP ; प्रकप्यते CRP, CPS ) ; तप्यते MBh.
<u>न क्रोध परुषं ब्रूयाद्</u>	<u>न क्रुद्धः परुषं ब्रूयाद्</u> क्र० ( GPy )	<u>गाङ्गो हृद इवाक्षोभ्यो</u>	गाङ्गो हृद इवाक्षोभ्यो CR ( but ) ; गाङ्गोदकमिवाक्ष्यो CRC, CPS ; न क्रुद्धं परुषं ब्रूयाद् [ for ब्रूयाद् ] CRT ; इच्छा० CRBh I ; ०क्षोभो CRCa I.
<u>एतत्साधोस्तु लक्षणं</u>	<u>एतत्साधोस्तु लक्षणम्</u>	<u>यः स पण्डित उच्यते</u>	यः स पण्डित उच्यते CRr ( but CRT as GP ; सः CRC etc ).



CRCa II : 20 ; GP 1.109, 45 ; C reconstructed : 535, CRT : —  
 Other sources : CRr 1.41 (CRP 1.44, CRB 1.39, CRBh I 1.45, CRBh II 1.46, CRC 1.49), CPS 9.26  
 H (HJ 2.115, HS 2.112, HM 2.116, HP 2.104, HN 2.103, HK 2.114, HH 60.6-7, HC 79.11-2)  
 VS 2773, SRBh 349.39, IS 3283

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
न दानेन च मानेन नार्जवेन न सेवया न शस्त्रेण न शास्त्रेण सर्वदा विषमा स्त्रियः	न दानेन न मानेन नार्जवेन न सेवया न शास्त्रेण न शस्त्रेण सर्वथा विषमाः स्त्रियः	न दानेन न मानेन नार्जवेन न सेवया न शस्त्रेण न शास्त्रेण सर्वथा विषमाः स्त्रियः	न शा° न श° CPS वि० स० स्त्रि० tr. HJ, HC ; सर्वस्था किमपि स्त्रि० HN ; विषमः किमपि स्त्रि० HP, HK (var.) ; गृह्यन्ते [स०] VS.

CRCa II : 21 ; GP : 1.111,17 C reconstructed : 844 ; CRT : —

Other sources : CRr 4.12 (CRP 4.12, CRB 4.12, CRBh I 4.12, CRBh II 4.11, CRC 4.12, CRCa I 4.8), CVr 7.15, Cvr 6.8 (Cv§ 6.7, CvA 6.7, CvW 6.8, CvP IV 6.8 CvP V 6.6, CvTb 6.8, CvGt 6.9 and 6.13, CvL I 6.7, CvL II 6.8, CvLd 6.6), CNP I 51, CNP II 76, CNI I 67, CNG 238, CNT IV 50, CnT II 10.11, CnT III 7.21, CnT V 35, CnT I 19, CPS 172.103.

MBh (MBh (Bh) 12.8, 19, MBh (R) 12.8, 19, MBh (C) 12.219-20), R (R (B) 6.83, 35, R (G) 6.62, 32), P (PT 2.32, PS 2. 31, PN 1.28, Pt. 1.3, PtsK 1.3, PRE 2.3, PM 1.3) H (HJ 1 134, HS 1.118, HM 1.124, HP 1.95, HN 1.96, HK 1.127, HH 25.24-5, HC 35. 3-4), Vsr 12.5, Śuk (Śts 25.11-26.1, Śts 325.34-5), cf. KṣB 16. 442, VS 2816, SKDrad मित्रं, SRBh 65.6, SuM 4.3, SRK 44.7, IS 5409, Subh 185

NM (T) 6.7, SRN (T) 49, LN (P) 167, NKy (B) 41

CRCa II:	GP:	C reconstructed:	Other texts:
यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि	यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि	यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि	यस्यार्थस् ( ०र्थः IS ) CRBh I, CRBh II, PS (var.), VC, Śts.
यस्यार्थास्तस्य बांधवाः	यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः	यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः	यस्यार्थस् CRBh I, CRBh II, PS ( var. ), VC, Śts ; यस्यार्थाः HM, HP, HN, HH, PS, PT, Pts, PRE, Śuk, VC ( var. ), R ; बान्धवः CV ( var. ) ; हिंस्त्रियः CvGt 6. 13; चाङ्गना [वा०] CvGt 6.9.

यस्यार्थाः स पुमा लोके

यस्यार्थाः स पुमान् लोके

यस्यार्थाः स पुमाँल्लोके

यस्यार्थाः स च पंडितः

यस्यार्थाः स च पण्डितः

यस्यार्थाः स च पण्डितः

यस्यार्थस् CRCa I; यस्यार्थः CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP, CV (var.), CNP I, CNP II, PS (var.); यस्यार्था CNI I, HJ, HS HK, VC तस्य माङ्गल्यं [ स पु० ] CvGt 6.9; पुमान् (० माम्) CV (var.), Cv (var.), Śto, ŚKDr; पुमाँल् CV (var.); मूपान् Śto (var.); लोकि CV (var.); लोको Cv (var.). अर्थस्ते हि (or तु) Cv (var.); यस्यार्थस् (०र्थः) CR (var.), CNP I, CNP II, PS (var.), VC, Śto; यस्यार्थो CNI I; यस्यार्थाः (०थास्) R (var.), MBh (var.); सोऽपि (स च) CRBh I, CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP, CRCa I; हि CRr, HM HC, ŚKDr; तु HJ बहुश्रुतः [ च प० ] CNI I; जीवति [ प० ] CV, Cv (but CvW, CvP

IV, CvP P, CvTb, CvL II, as  
Cr), CNI I, Štđs (var.);

CRCa II : 22 ; GP : 1.111, 24 ; C reconstructed : 522 ; CRT : 4.8

Other sources : CRr 4.18 (CRP 4.19, CRB 4.23, CRBh I 4.19, CRBh II 4.21, CRC 4.33, CRCa I 4.13), CPS 87.13  
SuM 28.4

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
धीराः कष्टमनुप्राप्य	धीराः कष्टमनुप्राप्त्वा ( GPy ) ( प्य GP )	धीराः कष्टमनुप्राप्ता	कृच्छ्रमपि ( ०च्छ्र० ; अणि ) प्राप्ता ( ०प्य CR [ var. ], CPS, SuM; ०प्ता ) CRr ( but CRT, as in Cr )
न भवन्ति विषादिनः प्रविश्य वदनं राहोः किं नोदेति पुनः शशी	न भवन्ति विषादिनः प्रविश्य वदनं राहोः किं नोदेति पुनः शशी	न भवन्ति विषादिनः प्रविश्य वदनं राहोः किं नोदेति पुनः शशी	भ० न वि० tr, CRBh II वदने SuM; रादीः ( siel ) CRBh I नोदीति CRBh II ; नादेति CRCa I

CRCa II : 23 ; GP 1.111, 33 ; C reconstructed : 1272 ; CRT : 4.17 ;  
 Other sources : CPS 379.22

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
उद्योगेन कृतं कार्य्यं सिद्धिर्यस्य न विद्यतेः देवं तस्य प्रमानं हि कर्तव्यं पौरुषं त्यजेत्	उद्योगेन कृते कार्य्ये सिद्धिर्यस्य न विद्यते देवं तस्य प्रमाणं हि कर्तव्यं पौरुषं सदा	उद्योगेन कृते कार्य्ये सिद्धिर्यस्य न विद्यते देवं तस्य प्रमाणं हि कर्तव्यं पौरुषं सदा	उद्योगेन कृते राज्ये CRT पुण्यं [ दै० ] CRT न दोषः पौरुषे कृते. CRT

CRCa II : 24 ; GP : 1.113, 3 ; C reconstructed : 632 ; CRT : —  
 Other sources : CRr 5,35 (5.36 [wrongly marked 5.26], CRB 5.38, CRBh I 5.36, CRBh II 5.38, CRC 5.38,  
 CRCa I 5.37), CnT II 26.17, CnT VII 49, CPS 120.34.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
पण्डितैश्च विनीतैश्च धर्मज्ञैः सत्यवादिभिः बंधने <u>स्थापि नास्तिस्वेत्</u>	पण्डितैश्च विनीतैश्च धर्मज्ञैः सत्यवादिभिः बन्धन <u>स्थोपि तिष्ठेत्</u>	पण्डितैश्च विनीतैश्च धर्मज्ञैः सत्यवादिभिः बन्धने <u>ऽपि वसेत्सार्धं</u>	विनीतैश्च CRP धर्मज्ञैः CRP; सत्तवादिभिः CRP बन्धने <u>नि</u> (०नेन CRBh II,) CRBh I, CRF, CRBh II; वसत् CRBh II ; चरेत् CRBh I. <u>राज्यं</u> CRCa I ; <u>राज्ञ</u> CRBh II ; <u>खलः</u> CRBh I ; <u>सहः</u> CRBh I
न तु <u>राज्यं</u> खलैः सह	न तु <u>राज्ये</u> खलैः सह ०ज्यं ( GPy )	न तु <u>राज्ये</u> खलैः सह	

CRCa II : 25 ; GP : 1.113, 8 ; C reconstructed : 15 ; CRT : 6.4

Other sources : CRr 5.39 (CRP 5.40, CRB 5.44, CRBh I 5.40, CRC 5.44) Cvr 6.15 (CvS 6.14, CvA 6.14, CvP V 6.12, CvL I 6.14, CvL II 6.15, CvLd 6.12), CNŠK 75, CPS 125.48, (cf. Cvr 2.13, Cvr 2.16 CSr 1.33, CNG 96, CnT II 3.12, CnT III 2.16, CnT VI 38, CPS 28.12), H HJ 2.9, HS 2.9, HM 2.12, HP 2.10, HN 2.10, HK 2.10, HN 41.13-4, HC 55.7-8)  
 ŚP 650, VS 2684, SRHt 187.2, SRBh 154.143, IS 115 (cf. IS 6594)  
 NM (T) 4.2 *ab*+4,4 *cd*, (cf. SN (P) 60).

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
अञ्जनस्य क्षयं दृष्ट्वा वल्मीकस्य तु संचयं	अञ्जनस्य क्षयं दृष्ट्वा वल्मीकस्य तु सञ्चयम्	अञ्जनस्य क्षयं दृष्ट्वा वल्मीकस्य च संचयम्	अञ्जनस्य CRB; ददा CvP V ; तु CRBh I, CRP, CvTb, CvP; V, HS, HH; वर्धनम् ( ऽध० ) [ सं० ] CvL I, CvTb CvP V. नवन्ध्यं Cv ( var ). ऽकर्मसु CvTb, CvL I, HS, HM, HP, HN, HK, HH, SRHt, SRBh; ऽकर्मणा CPS, HS (var.).
अवन्ध्यं दिवसं कुर्याद् दानामध्ययनं तथा	अवन्ध्यं दिवसं कुर्याद् दानाध्ययनकर्मसु	अवन्ध्यं दिवसं कुर्याद् दानाध्ययनकर्मभिः	

CRCa II : 26 ; GP : 1.123, 10 ; C reconstructed : 2025 and 930 ; (Cf. 1958). CRT : 6.6.  
 Other sources ; (CVr 5.9, CNP I 32, CNP II 236, CNT IV 31, CNM 31, CNMN 31, CuT II 16.12, CnT III 52 b 8,  
 CPS 121.37, CNŚC. 82, CNŚI 82, CNŚ 82, CNŚIV 83).  
 MBh (MBh (Bh) 5.34, 37 MBh (R) 5.33, 38, MBh (C) 5.1132)  
 SRHt 195.94, IS 6742 (cf. 6074)  
 SS (OJ) 168

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
सत्येन रक्षते धर्म	सत्येन रक्ष्यते धर्मो	सत्येन रक्ष्यते धर्मो	चित्तेन CV, CNPI, CNTIV, CNM, CNMN, CnTII, CnT III, CPS, वृत्तेन CNŚC, CNŚI, CNS, CNŚIV; चित्तेन (CNPII) रक्षते CNM; धर्म CNM; CMNM; धर्म CNP II
विद्या योगेन रक्षति मृजया रक्षते रूपं	विद्या योगेन रक्ष्यते मृजया रक्ष्यते पात्रं	विद्या योगेन रक्ष्यते मृजया रक्ष्यते रूपं	(मृदुना रक्ष्यते भूपः CV; मदन रक्षते रूपं CNP II; सुनीत्या रक्षते राजा CNŚC, CNŚI, CNŚ, CNŚIV. (सस्त्रियया रक्ष्यते गृहम् CV, सद्गृहि- ण्या तथा कुलम् CNŚC, CNŚI, CNŚ, CNŚIV; शीलनं CNP II; वृत्तेन MBh (but in D as in Cv, GP ); रक्षते CNM.
कुलं शीलेन रक्षति	कुलं शीलेन रक्ष्यते	कुलं शीलेन रक्ष्यते	



CRCa II : 27, GP : 1.113,12 ; C reconstructed : 1755 ; CRT : (cf. 6.7 *cd/ab*)  
 Other sources : (Cf. CRr 6.1 *cd/ab* [CRP 6.1, CRB 6.1, CRBh I 6.1, CRBh II 6.1, CRC 6.1, CRCa I 6.1, CPS 134.1, CRBh II 6.5] (Cf. SS (OJ) 182)

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
भाग्यक्षयेन क्षीयंते	भाग्यक्षयेषु क्षीयन्ते	भाग्यक्षयेषु क्षीयन्ते	भाग्यक्षयेण CRT, CRr ; भोगेन क्षीयते भाग्यं CPS
नोपभोगेन संपदः पूर्वजन्मनि सत्यात्रे	नोपभोगेन सम्पदः पूर्वाज्जितानि सन्त्यत्र (GPy) पूर्वाजिते हि सुकृते	नोपभोगेन संपदः पूर्वाजिते हि सुकृते	न तु दानेन CPS (दध्वं दानमनिशं CRT, CRr, CPS)
सुकृतं चैव दुःकृतं	सुकृतानि च दुष्कृतम् (GPy) न नश्यन्ति कदाचन	न नश्यन्ति कदाचन	(माऽभूवन् (भूतCRr) कृपणा जनाः CRT, CRC, CPS)

CRCa II : 28; GP : 1.113, 18; C reconstructed : 1862; CRT : —

Other sources : MBh (MBh (Bh) 12.174, 10, MBh (R) 12.181, 10 and 12, 322, 10, MBh (C) 12.6754 and 12.12147).  
IS 5533

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed ;	Other texts :
येन येन यथा यद्यत्	येन येन यथा यद्यत् (GPy) येन येन यथा यद्यत् यद्यत् (GP)		
पुरा कर्म सुनिश्चितं	पुरा कर्म सुनिश्चितम्	पुरा कर्म सुनिश्चितम्	कर्मसु निश्चितं MBh (R) 12.322, 10; समाचितम् MBC (with the excep- tion of MBh (R), MBh (C) 12. 675 ; समीहितम् MBh (R) 12.181, 10, MBh (C) 12.6754.
तत्तदेवान्तरा भुङ्क्ते	तत्तदेवान्तरा भुङ्क्ते	तत्तदेवान्तरा भुङ्क्ते	तत्तदेव नरो (०वोत्तरं) MBe (R) 12.322 10, MBe (C) 12.12147); भुङ्क्ते MBh.
स्वयमाहितमात्मनः	स्वयमाहितमात्मनः	स्वयमाहितमात्मनः	नित्यं विहितमात्मना MBh.

CRCa II : 29; GP : 1.113, 19; C reconstructed : 1225; CRT :—

Other sources : MBh (MBh (Bh) 12.174, 14; MBh (R) 12.181, 14 and 12.322, 14, MBh (C) 12.6758 ond 12.12151  
IS 895

20

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
आत्मना विहितं दुःखं आत्मना विहितं सुखं गर्भशय्यामुपादाय भुञ्जते पूर्वदेहिकं	आत्मना विहितं दुःखम् आत्मना विहितं सुखम् गर्भशय्यामुपादाय भुञ्क्ते वै पौर्व देहिकम्	आत्मना विहितं दुःखम् आत्मना विहितं सुखम् गर्भशय्यामुपादाय भुञ्जते पौर्वदेहिकम्	भजते पूर्व MBh (R) 12.322, 14, MBh (C) 12.12151

CRCa II 30; GP 1.113, 22; C reconstructed : 1837; CRT :—  
Other sources : P (PT 2.136, PTem 2.118).

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed	Other texts :
यस्मिन्वयसि यत्पापं यदि वा न दिवा निशि यन्मुहूर्त्ते क्षणे वापि तत्तथा तदनन्यथा	यस्मिन्वयसि यत्काले य दिवा यच्च वा निशि यन्मुहूर्त्ते क्षणे वापि तत्तथा न तदन्यथा	यस्मिन्वयसि यत्काले यद्दिवा यच्च वा निशि यन्मुहूर्त्ते क्षणे वापि तत्तथा न तदन्यथा	यदेवा चाथवा PT

CRCa II 31; GP: 1.113, 23; C reconstructed: 1415; CRT:—  
 Other sources:—

CRCa II:	GP:	CR reconstructed:	Other C texts:
<u>स्तवंतु चांतरिक्षं वा</u> <u>प्रविशंतु महीतलं</u> <u>धावंतु च दिशः सर्वा</u> <u>नादत्तमुपलभ्यते</u>	<u>गच्छन्ति चान्तरीक्षे वा</u> <u>प्रविशन्ति महीतले</u> <u>धारयन्ति दिशः सर्वा</u> <u>नादत्तमुपलभ्यते</u>	<u>गच्छन्ति चान्तरीक्षे वा</u> <u>प्रविशन्ति महीतले</u> <u>धारयन्ति दिशः सर्वा</u> <u>नादत्तमुपलभ्यते</u>	

CRCa II: 32; GP: 1.113, 24; C reconstructed 673; CRT:—

Other sources: CRr 6.17 (CRP 6.18, CRB 6.21, CRBh I 6.20 *ab* (*cd* missing), CRBh II 6.15, CRC 6.22, CRC I 6.18), CPS 138.10

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
पुराधीता च या विद्या पुरा दत्तं च यद्धनं पुरा कृतानि कर्माणि अग्रे धावति धावति	पुराधीता च या विद्या पुरा दत्तञ्च यद्धनम् पुरा कृतानि कर्माणि अग्रे धावन्ति धावतः	पुराधीता च या विद्या पुरा दत्तं च यद्धनम् पुरा कृतं च यत्कर्म ह्यग्रे धावन्ति धावतः	पुराधीतश्च CRCa I  धावति धावति CR

CRCa II: 33; GP: 1.113, 27; C reconstructed: 550; CRT:—  
 Other sources: CRr 6.20 (CRP 6.21, CRB 6.24, CRBh I 6.22, CRBh II 6.18, CRC 6.31, CRCa I 6.20), CPS  
 145.29.  
 R (R (Baroda) 2.614\*, R (G) 2.27, 3, R (Lahore) 3.27, 3)  
 IS 3338.

CRCa II:	GP:	C reconstructed:	Other texts:
<u>न पितुः कर्मणा पुत्रः</u> <u>पिता वा पुत्रकर्मणा</u>	<u>न पितुः कर्मणा पुत्रः</u> <u>पिता वा पुत्रकर्मणा</u>	<u>न पितुः कर्मणा पुत्रो</u> <u>न पिता पुत्रकर्मणा</u>	<u>पुत्रः R</u> <u>पिता वा R (bup D<sub>1</sub>D<sub>2</sub> in R (Ba- roda) न पिता)</u>
<u>स्वयं कृतेन गच्छंतं</u>	<u>स्वयं कृतेन गच्छन्ति (GP<sub>Y</sub>)</u> <u>कर्मजन्यशरीरेषु (GP)</u>	<u>स्वकृतेनैव संपत्ति</u>	<u>सुखमप्नोति दुःखं वा R.</u> <u>सुकृतेनैव CRCa I</u>
<u>स्वयं वद्धाः स्वकर्मभिः</u>	<u>स्वयं वद्धाः स्वकर्मणा (GP<sub>Y</sub>)</u> <u>रोगाः शरीरमानसाः (GP)</u>	<u>विपत्ति चोपभुञ्जते</u>	<u>दुःकृतेवोपभुञ्जते CRBh I; स्वं तु कर्मा-</u> <u>भिजायते R; चैव भुञ्जते CRBh II;</u> <u>वोपलभ्यते CRP; नापभुञ्जते CRCa I.</u>

CRCa II 34 ; GP 1.113, 27 *cd*/28*ab* (GPy 1.113,28) ; C reconstructed : 1340 ; CRT :—

Other sources :—

CRCa II 34 :

GP :

CR reconstructed :

Other texts :

कर्मवाणाः शरीरेषु

रोगाः शारीरमानसाः

शरा इव पतन्तीह

विमुक्ता दृढधन्विभिः

कर्मजन्यशरीरेषु

रोगाः शारीरमानसाः

शरा इव पतन्तीह

विमुक्ता दृढधन्विभिः (GPy)

दृढधन्विन् (GP)

कर्मजन्यशरीरेषु

रोगाः शारीरमानसाः

शरा इव पतन्तीह

विमुक्ता दृढधन्विभिः



CRCa II 35; GP 1.113, 29 (GPY 1.113, 30); C reconstructed 1738; CRT :—

Other sources : MBh (MBh (Bh) 12.174, 15, MBh (R) 12.181, 15 and 12.322, 15, MBh (C) 12.6759 and 12.12152).  
IS 4447.

SS (OJ) 361, Ślt (OJ) 35.

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed	Other texts :
<p>बालो युवा च वृद्धश्च यत्करोति शुभाशुभं तस्यां तस्यामवस्थायां भुक्ते जन्मनि जन्मनि</p>	<p>बालो युवा च वृद्धश्च युः करोति शुभाशुभम् तस्यां तस्यामवस्थायां भुङ्क्ते जन्मनि जन्मनि</p>	<p>बालो युवा च वृद्धश्च यत्करोति शुभाशुभम् तस्यां तस्यामवस्थायां भुङ्क्ते जन्मनि जन्मनि</p>	<p>वा [ च ] MBh (R) 12.322, 15.  तत्फलं प्रतिपद्यते MBh (R) 12.181, 15; MBh (C) 12.6759 भुङ्क्ते MBh 13.322.15 (printing error)</p>

CRCa II: 36 ; GP: 1.113, 30 ; GPy 1.113, 31) ; C reconstructed : 57 ; CRT :—  
 Other sources : CRr 6.22 (CRP 6.23, CRB 6.26, CRBh I 6.24, CRBh II 6.20, CRC 6.30), CPS 146.31.

CRCa II:	GP:	C reconstructed:	Other texts:
अनिच्छमानोपि नरो विदेशे पर्वते गृहे स्वकर्मपोतवातेन	अनिच्छमानोऽपि नरो विदेशस्थोऽपि मानवः स्वकर्मपोतवातेन	अनिच्छन्नपि चित्तेन विदेशस्थोऽपि मानवः स्वकर्मोत्पातवातेन	सुकर्मो° CRBh II; स्वकर्मो° CRP; स्वकर्मोपा° CPS तत्र CRBh I, CRP
नीयते यत्र तत्फलं	नीयते यत्र तत् फलम्	नीयते यत्र तत् फलम्	

CRCa II : 37 GP : 1.113, 50 *ed/ef* (GPy 1.113, 51 *ed/ef*); C reconstructed : 11; CRT :—  
 Other sources: CRr 6.44 (CRP 6.46, CRB 6.51, CRBh I 6.47, CRBh II 6, 48, CRC 6.90, CRCa I 6.39),  
 CPS 150.47.  
 MBh (MBh(Bh) 12.174,12 and 13.7.23 (not yet issued); MBh (R) 12.181, 12.12;322, 12 and 13.7,23-4;  
 MBh (C) 12.6756, 12.12149 and 13.366-7).  
 VS 3082, SRHt 49.6, SRK 77.11, IS 92.  
 SS(OJ)360

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
अचोद्यमानानि यथा	अचोद्यमानानि यथा (GPy) आचोद्यमानानि तथा (GP)	अचोद्यमानानि यथा	अचोच्यमानानि CRC, CRBh II
पुष्पाणि च फलानि च	पुष्पाणि च फलाणि च (GPy) फलानि (GP)	पुष्पाणि च फलानि च	पुष्पाणिन्यु CRP
संस्कारं नातिवर्त्तते	स्वकालं नातिवर्त्तन्ते	स्वकालं नातिवर्त्तन्ते	स्वयं (यथा CRBh II) स्वकाले (कालेन CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP) पच्यन्ते (पश्यति CRBh II) CRr, CPS; स्वं कालं MBh (C), MBh (R) in Śānti parvan, SRK, VS, SRHt, SRK. तथा (तद्वत् CRBh I, CRP, CRCa I) कर्माणि देहिनाम् (०नः CRBh II) CRr, CPS, VS, SRHt.
तथा कर्म पुराकृतं	तथा कर्म पुराकृतम् (GPy) यथा (GP)	तथा कर्म पुराकृतम्	

CRCa II: 38; GP: 1.113, 53 *cd-54 ab*; (GPy 1.113,54 *cd-55 ab*); C reconstructed: 806; CRT:—

Other sources: CRr 6.47 (CRP 6.49 [mistakenly marked 6.5], CRB 6.55, CRBh I 6.50, CRBh II 6.51, CRC 6.94, CRCa I 6.41), CVr 13.14, CNP II 247, CNG 233, CNT IV 261, CnT II 20.9, CnT III 53.8, CPS 316.29.

MBh (MBh(Bh) 12,174,16; 13, not yet issued; MBh (R) 12.181, 16; 13,322, 16 and 13.7, 22-3; MBh (C) 12.6760; 12.12153 and 13.365), P (PT 2.106, PTem 2.95, PP 2. 135, Pts 2.125, PtsK 2.132, PT<sub>2</sub> 2.95, PM 2.46), PdP, Bhūmikh 81.47.

VS 3081, SRHt 49.5, SRBh 91.12, SuM 8.31, SRK 76.3, IS 5114 Subh 243.

SS(OJ) 359.

CRCa II:	GP:	C reconstructed:	Other texts:
यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु वत्सा विंदन्ति मातरं	यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु वत्सो विन्दन्ति मातरम्	यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु वत्सो विन्दन्ति मातरम्	धनु० CRP; सहस्रेण CPS गच्छति CV, CPS; प्राप्नोति SRK; धवति CNP II; मातुरं PP (. var. ); मतरमः CV (. var. )
एवं पूर्वकृतं कर्म	एवं पूर्वकृतं कर्म	तथा पूर्वकृतं कर्म	एवं CRP, MBh ( R ) 13,7 ,23, PP; यथा PtsK; यच्च कृतं CVr, CPS; पूर्व कृतं SuM; पुरकृतं PtsK ;

कर्त्तारमनुगच्छति

कर्त्तारमनुतिष्ठति

कर्त्तारमनुगच्छति

कर्त्तृसहस्रेषु PT, PTem ; कर्मसहस्रेषु  
PT<sub>2</sub> ; शुभाशुभं PdP ;  
कर्त्तारं कर्म विन्दति PT, PTem, PT<sub>2</sub> ;  
अनुविन्दति CRr ( but ते CRCaI ;  
गच्छति CRBh II, CPS, CVr ;  
अभिगच्छति SuM ( var. )

CRCa II : 39; GP : 1.113, 48; (GPy 1.113, 49); C reconstructed : 590; CRT :—

Other sources : CRr 6.41 (CRP 6.43, CRB 6.48, CRBh I 6.44, CRBh II 6.44, CRC 6.87, CRCa I 6.37), CNG 232, CPS 157.64. (cf. CRCa II 40).

MBh (MBh(Bh) 13. [not yet issued]; MBh (R) 13.163, 11, MBh (C) 13.7607), H(HJ)2.15, HS 2.16, HM 2.17, HK 2.17, HH 42.8-9, HC 56, 7-8), NPR 1.3, 20, GhN 19. (cf. BhP 7.2, 40, VCsr 14.9).

SRBh 160.301, 15 3595, (cf. American Journal of Philosophy 26.26). (Cf. SS(OJ) 383).

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
नाप्राप्तकालो म्रियते	नाप्राप्तकालो म्रियते ( GP ) <u>नाकाले</u> म्रियते <u>जन्तु</u> (GPy)	नाप्राप्तकालो म्रियते	<u>न</u> प्रा० CRC, CPS; <u>नाकाले</u> म्रियते ( <u>मृ०</u> HH ) <u>जन्तुर्</u> ( <u>कश्चिद्</u> IS ) H, GhN
विद्धः शरशतैरपि कुशाग्रेण तु <u>संवीत्तः</u>	विद्धः शरशतैरपि कुशाग्रेण तु <u>संसृष्टः</u>	विद्धः शरशतैरपि कुशाग्रेणापि <u>संसृष्टः</u>	<u>कुशकण्टकविद्धोऽपि</u> GhN; <u>स्पृष्टः</u> <u>कुशाग्रमत्रेण</u> IS ( add, ); <u>तृणाग्रेणापि</u> MBh, CNG; <u>कुशाग्रेणैव</u> HJ, HS, HH, HC; NPR <u>संविद्धः</u> CRBh II
प्राप्तकालो न जीवति	प्राप्तकालो न जीवति	प्राप्तकालो न जीवति	

CRCa II : 40 ; GP : 1.11, 49 ; (GPy 1.113, 50) ; C reconstructed : 881 ; CRT : 6.17 *ab/cd*.

Other sources : CRr 6.42 (CRP 6.44, CRB 6.49, CRPh I 6.45 *ad (bc omitted)*, CRBh II 6.46, CRC 6.88, CRCa I 6.38), CPS 151.45. (Cf. CRCa II. 39).

MBh (MBh(Bh) 12.219, 22 ; MBh(R) 12.226, 22, MBh (C) 12.8209-10), P(PT 2.120, PTem 2.109).  
IS 5831.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
लब्धव्यमेव लभते गन्तव्यमेव गच्छति	लब्धव्यान्येव लभते गन्तव्यान्येव गच्छति ०न्येन (GPy ; Printing error)	लब्धव्यान्येव लभते गन्तव्यान्येव गच्छति	लब्धव्यान्येव MBh (R), MBh(C),
प्राप्तव्यमेव प्राप्नोति दुःखं चापि सुखं तथा	प्राप्तव्यान्येव प्राप्नोति दुःखानि च सुखानि च	प्राप्तव्यान्येव प्राप्नोति दुःखानि च सुखानि च	चाप्नोति MBh ( R ), MBh (C),

CRCa II 41; GP 1. 113, 43; (GPy 1. 113, 44); C reconstructed : 555; CRT : 6.16.  
 Other sources : CRr 6.38 (CRP 6.40, CRB 6.44, CRBh I 6.41, CRC 6.55, CRCa I 6.36), CPS 151.48.  
 (Cf. CRr 6.39).

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
न मन्त्रवर्षीर्येण	न मन्त्रवलवीर्येण	न मन्त्रवलवीर्येण	न मन्त्रेण ( ०न्त्रै० CRP ) न वीर्येण CRr ( but CRT as GP )
प्रज्ञया पौरुषेण च अल्पत्वं लभते मर्त्यस्	प्रज्ञया पौरुषेण च अल्पत्वं लभते मर्त्यस् (GPy) लभ्यते मर्त्यस् GP	प्रज्ञया पौरुषेण च अलभ्यं लभते जन्तुस्	न धिया CRr ( but CRT as GP ) लभ्यते CRCaI; कश्चित् CRT
तत्र का परिदेवना	तत्र का परिदेवना (GPy) परिवेदना (GP)	तत्र का परिदेवना	



CRCa II 42; GP 1.113, 44; (GPy 1.113, 45); C reconstructed : 1181; CRT :—			
Other sources :—			
CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
अयाचितो मया लब्ध	अयाचितो मया लब्धस् ( GPy ) लब्धो ( GP )	अयाचितो मया लब्धस्	
अपेक्षित पुनर्गतः	तत्प्रेषितः पुनर्गतः ( GPy ) मत्प्रेषितः ( GP )	अपेक्षितः पुनर्गतः	
अत्रागतस्तत्र गतस् तत्र का परिदेवता	यत्रागतस्तत्र गतस् तत्र का परिदेवना ( GPy ) परिवेदना ( GP )	यत्रागतस्तत्र गतस् तत्र का परिदेवना	

CRCa II 43; GP 1.113, 45; (GPy 1.113, 46); C reconstructed : 202; CRT :—  
 Other sources : CRr “O” (CRC 6.66), (cf. CVr 10.15, CPS 279.19)  
 (cf. IS 1376, Subh 95).

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
एकवृक्षे यथा रात्रौ	एकवृक्षे यदा रात्रौ (GPy) सदा (GP)	एकवृक्षे यथा रात्रौ	
नानापक्षिसमागतः प्रभाते तु दिशा यांति	नानापक्षिसमागमः प्रभातेऽन्यदिशं यान्ति (GP) प्रातर्दश दिशो यान्ति (GPy)	नानापक्षिसमागमः प्रातर्दशदिशो यान्ति	( प्रतिर्दशदिशो यान्ति or प्रभाते दिक्षु दशसु ( CVr )
तत्र का परिदेवना	का तत्र परिदेवना (GPy) परिचेदना (GP)	तद्वद् भूतसमागमः	( का तत्र परिदेवना CVr )

CRCa II 44; GP 1.113, 46; (GPy 1.113, 47); C reconstructed : 203; CRT : (Cf. 6.17e for a only)

Other sources : CRr "P" (CRC 6.60, CRBh II 6.41), CPS 161.75.

MBh (MBh (Bh) 11.2, 7\*; 9-10 and 11. App. I. 29-30; MBh (R) 11.2, 10 and 11.9, 16; MBh (C) 11.55 and 11.261.

ŚP 4136.

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CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
एकसार्थप्रयातो यः	एकस्वार्थप्रयातानां	एकसार्थप्रयातानां	एकतार्थं CRBh II, MBh, ŚP; ०प्रयत्नानां CRC, CPS; ०प्रयत्नेषु CRT ; ०प्रवृत्तानां ŚP
सर्वथा तत्र गामिता	सर्वेषान्तत्र गामिनाम् (GP) गामिणाम् (GPy)	सर्वेषां तत्र गामिनाम्	
एककस्त्याजितो याति	यस्त्वेकस्त्वरितो याति (GP) यद्यो कस्त्वरितो याति (GPy)	एकश्च त्वरितं याति	यस्य कालः प्रयात्यग्रे MBh; यस्त्वेकस्त्व- रितो ŚP, एकश्चेत् CRC, CPS
तत्र का परिदेवता	का तत्र परिदेवना (GPy) परिवेदना (GP)	तत्र का परिदेवना	का तत्र ŚP

CRCa II 45; GP 1.114, 20; C reconstructed : 1730; CRT:—

Other sources :—

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
फलार्थी फलित् वृक्षं यक्षिद्याद्दुर्मतिर्नरः नोच्छिद्यात्तस्य तन्मूलं	फलार्थी फलिनं वृक्षं यश्छिन्द्याद्दुर्मतिर्नरः नच्छिन्द्यात्तस्य तन्मूलं (GPy) निष्कलं तस्य वै कार्यं (GP)	फलार्थी फलिनं वृक्षं यच्छिन्द्याद्दुर्मतिर्नरः नच्छिन्द्यात्तस्य तन्मूलं	For GP and GPy see <i>d</i>
महातं दोषमाप्नुयात्	महतो दोषमाप्नुयात् (GPy) तन्मूलं दोषमाप्नुयात् (GP)	महान्तं दोषमाप्नुयात्	For GP and GPy see <i>c</i>

CRCa II 46; GP 1.113,39, (GPy 1.113, 40); C reconstructed : 1805; CRT :—

Other sources :—

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
मृदो भारसहस्रेण उदकानां शतैरपि न शुध्यति दुराचारो भावोपहतचेतनः	मृत्तिकानां सहस्रेण उदकानां शतेन च न शुध्यति दुराचारो भावोपहतचेतनः	भृदो भारसहस्रेण उदकानां शतैरपि न शुध्यति दुराचारो भावोपहतचेतनः	

CRCa II 47; GP 1.113, 40; (GPy 1.113, 41); C reconstructed : 843; CRT :—

Other sources : CRr 6.31 (CRP 6.32, CRB 6.36, CRBh I 6.33, CRBh II 6.30, CRC 6.45, CRCa I 6.29), CPS 165.84.

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतं	यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम्	यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम्	<u>मनोवाक् चैव संयुतं</u> CRBh II; <u>सुसंयते</u> CRBh I
विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च <u>सदर्थफलमाप्नुयात्</u>	विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च <u>स तीर्थफलमश्नुते</u>	विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते	<u>अप्नुते</u> CPS

CRCa II 48; GP 1.111, 19; C reconstructed : 1156; CRT :—

Other sources :—

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
अधो हि राजा भवति यस्तु शास्त्रविवर्जितः	अन्धो हि राजा भवति यस्तु शास्त्रविवर्जितः (GP) विवर्जितः (GP <sub>Y</sub> , printing error)	अन्धो हि राजा भवति यस्तु शास्त्रविवर्जितः	
अध पश्यति चारेण शास्त्रहीनो न पश्यति	अन्धः पश्यति चारेण शास्त्रहीनो न पश्यति	अन्धः पश्यति चारेण शास्त्रहीनो न पश्यति	

CRCa II : 49 ; GP : 1.114, 2 ; C reconstructed 1003 ; (cf. 150, 1724) CRT : 7.2

Other sources : CRr 7.2, (CRP 7.2 CRB 7.2, CRBh I 7.2 CRBh II 7.2, CRC 7.2, CRCa I 7.2), CNG 134, CPS 177.4. (Cf. CvL I 8.33 ; Cvr 8.13)

P (PT 2.170 and 4.7, PTem 2.152, PS 2.83 and 4.3, PN 1.79 and 4.3, PP 2.195, Pt 2.179, PtsK 2.194 [cf. 2.59], PRE 2.95 and 4.7, PM 2.73), H (HJ 1.225, HS 1.203, HM 1.208, HP 1.169, HN 1.170, HK 1.210, HH 38.2-3, HC 50. 18-9), BbPr 148.

SP 1473, VS 2700, JS 427.8, SRHt 108.6, SRBh 88.14 and 390.526, SRK 55.9, Subhāṣitahārāvalī ascribes to Bahila (in VS notes), IS 6527, VP 4.11

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
शोकरोगभयत्राणं	शोकत्राणं भयत्राणं	शोकारातिभयत्राणं	प्राप्ते भये परित्राणं (भयत्राणं CvL I ; आपदं च प० PtsK 2. 59) CvL I, Pts, PtsK, आर्तानामार्तिसंबन्धं ( दीर्घारातिभयत्राणं CvS, CvA, CvLI ; आर्तिनाम् CvP IV ; अर्धनाम् CvTb ; बन्ध CvP IV) Cvr ; शोकारति° CR (var.), H (var), PT, PP, PRE, JS ; तिभयसं त्राणं HP ; भयत्राण CRB, CRBh I, CRP, CRCa I ;



प्रीतिविश्वासभाजनं	प्रीतिविश्वासभाजनम्	प्रीतिविश्रम्भभाजनं	°भयत्रां <u>स</u> CREh II, P (var), HS, HP, JS
केन रत्नमिदं सृष्टं	केन रत्नमिदं सृष्टं	केन रत्नमिदं सृष्टं	प्रीतिविश्रामकारणम् Cvr (but CvTb as GP); शोकसंतापभेषजं PtsK 2.59; °विश्रम्भकाजनम् or °रणम् PS (var) (but PS, PT, PRE, BhPr, H VS, JS as Cr) <u>कोश</u> CRBh II; <u>किन</u> CvL I; <u>स्वयं</u> CRJ; <u>केनामृतम्</u> CNG, PtsK 2.59; <u>त्रोणि</u> CvP Iv; <u>सर्वसृष्टं</u> (°र्व) PP (var.); <u>सृष्टममृतं</u> PS (var); <u>स्यृष्टं</u> PP (var); <u>श्रेष्टं</u> CvL I <u>मित्र इत्यं</u> ° PS (var.)
मित्रमित्यक्षरद्वयं	मित्रमित्यक्षरद्वयम्	मित्रमित्यक्षरद्वयम्	

CRCa II : 50 ; GP : 1.114, 60 ; C reconstructed : 393 ; CRT :—  
 Other sources : (CRr 7.62 (CRP 7.68, CRB 7.68, CRBh I 7.67, CRC 7.78), CPS 192.48  
 Śto 321. 15-6, VCbr 4.0, 10 (OaMSs)  
 VS 3367.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
जायमानो हरेदारान् वर्द्धमानो हरेद्वनं म्रियमाणो हरेद्वहान्	जायमानो हरेदारान् वर्द्धमानो हरेद्वनम् म्रियमाणो हरेत्प्राणान्	जायमानो हरेदारान् वर्धमानो हरेद्वनम् म्रियमाणो हरेत्प्राणान्	भार्या [ दारान् ] Śto, SV हरेच्छ्रियम् CRC हेत्प्राणान् Śto ( var. ) ( scribe's error ). पुत्रसमे CRBh I
नास्ति पुत्रसमो रिपुः	नास्ति पुत्रसमो रिपुः	नास्ति पुत्रसमो रिपुः	

CRCa II 51 ; GP :—(cf. 1.114, 67); C reconstructed : 2195 ; CRT :—  
Other sources :—(cf. CRr 7.79, CPS 184.25, GP 1.114, 67, VS 2978).

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CRCa II :

GP :

CR reconstructed :

Other texts :

य स्तेयी कुरुते<sup>1</sup> दानं  
स दाता निरयं वसेत्  
तद्दानफलमाप्नोति  
धनस्वाभ्योव निश्चितं

Cf. GP 1. 114. 67:

अपहृत्य परस्वं हि  
यस्तु दानं प्रयच्छति  
स दाता नरकं याति  
यस्यार्थस्तस्य तत्फलम्

Cf. CRr 7. 70 (Cr69 ):

अपहृत्य परस्यार्थं  
तेन धर्मं करोति यः ।  
स दाता नरकं याति  
यस्यार्थस्तस्य तत्फलम्

I. Almost completely illegible.

CRCa II : 52 ; GP : 1.114, 69 ; C reconstructed : 722 ; CRT :—

Other sources : CR<sub>r</sub> 7.72 (CRP 7.78, CRB 7.78, CRBh I 7.77, CRBh II 7.40, CRC 7.89), CPS 185.29.

MBh (MBh(Bh) 12.263, 11 ; *ad* 12.166, 25 [446\* ; 28-9] ; *ad* 12.167, 20 [449\* ; 32-3] ; cf. 5. 105, 10) v.l. ; R (R (Baroda) 4.33, 12 ; R(B) 4.34, 12 ; R(R) 4.34, 12, R(G) 4.34, 18-9) v.l. ; P<sub>1</sub> (PP 1.248 and 4.10, Pts 3.157 and 4.10, PtsK 4.11, PM 1.95).

ŚP 704 (ascribed to a Dharmasāstra ; not quoted in Dh), VS 2988, ŚKDr *ad* निष्कृतिः (ascribed to Prāyaścittatva, but not found there), IS 2198.

SS (OJ) 328

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
ब्रह्मघ्ने च सुरापे च	ब्रह्मघ्ने च सुरापे च	ब्रह्मघ्ने च सुरापे च	ब्रह्मस्वहरणे चोरे MBh ( Bh ) <i>ad</i> 12, 166, 25 ; ब्रह्मघ्ने चैव मित्रघ्ने ŚKDr ; गोघ्ने चैव R ( B ) ( but R ( Baroda ) as im GP ) ब्राह्मणे CRBh II
<u>चौरै भग्नव्रते तथा</u>	<u>चौरै भग्नव्रते तथा</u>	<u>स्तेने च गुरुतल्पगे</u>	<u>चोरे ( or चौरै ) भग्नव्रते तथा</u> MBh, R, P, SP, SV (but गोघ्ने R (R) ; क्लीबे PP 1.248 ; भ्रष्टव्रते MBh (Bh) 449* ; शठे Pp 1.248, Pts 3.

निष्कृतिर्विहिता साहि

निष्कृतिर्विहिता सद्भिः

निष्कृतिर्विद्यते राजन्

कृतघ्नस्य न निःकृतिः

कृतघ्ने नास्ति निष्कृतिः

कृतघ्ने नास्ति निष्कृतिः

157(;PtsK): ब्रह्मघ्ने गुरुतल्पगे MBh  
446\*स्तेनैव CRBh I; चौरे च  
CRBh II  
निष्कृतिर्विहिता सद्भिः ( राजन् MBh  
449\*; VS; लोके SP ) MBh, R,  
P, SP VS, SKDr; सर्वत्र [ नि० ]  
SKDr; तस्य [ रा० ] CRBh I;  
तत्र CRP; तात CRBh II  
निष्ठन्ति: IS.

CRCa II: 53; GP: 1.114, 62; C reconstructed: 1283; CRT:—  
 Other sources: MBh (MBh(Bh) 5.33, 47 and 12.154, 34; MBh(R) 5.32, 52 and 12.160, 34; MBh (C) 5.1018 and 12.595),  
 SRHt 233.7, JS 445.1, SuM 10.18, IS 1351

CRCa II:	GP:	C reconstructed:	Other texts:
एकः क्षमावतो दोषो	एकः क्षमावतां दोषो	एकः क्षमावतो दोषो	एक एव दमे दोषो MBh, Śānti-parvan; एक MBh ( R ) 5. 32, 52 समावतो SuM
द्वितीयो नोपपद्यते	द्वितीयो नोपपद्यते	द्वितीयो नोपपद्यते	नोपलभ्यते MBh ( R ), MBh ( C ); न कदाचन SuM.
यदेन क्षमया युक्तम् अशक्तं मन्यते जनः	यदेन क्षमया युक्तम् अशक्तं मन्यते जनः	यदेन क्षमया युक्तम् अशक्तं मन्यते जनः	

CRCa II: 54; GP 1.114, 40; C reconstructed; 1736; CRT:—

Other sources:—

CRCa II:	GP:	CR reconstructed:	Other texts:
<p>बाला<u>तप</u> प्रेतधूमः  <u>स्त्री वृद्वा पञ्चलं</u> दधि  <u>आयुक्ता</u>मो न सेवेत                      तथा संमार्जनीरजः</p>	<p>बाला<u>तपः</u> प्रेतधूमः  <u>स्त्री वृद्धा तरुणं</u> दधि  <u>आयुक्ता</u>मो न सेवेत                      तथा सम्मार्जनीरजः</p>	<p>बाला<u>तपः</u> प्रेतधूमः  <u>स्त्री वृद्धा तरुणं</u> दधि  <u>आयुक्ता</u>मो न सेवेत                      तथा सम्मार्जनीरजः</p>	

CRCa II 55; GP 1.114, 41; C reconstructed : 330; CRT :—  
 Other sources : CRr 7.39 (CRP 7.41, CRB 7.42, CRBh I 7.40, CRBh II 7.29, CRC 7.50, CRCa I 7.36),  
 CPS 197.60.

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
गजाश्वरथधान्यानां गवां चैव वरः शुभं अशुभं चैव जानीयात् खरोष्ट्रोजाविकेषु च	गजाश्वरथधान्यानां गवाञ्चैव रजः शुभम् अशुभञ्च विजानीयात् खरोष्ट्राजाविकेषु च	गजाश्वरथधान्यानां गवामपि रजः शुभम् अशुभं तु विजानीयात् खरोष्ट्रमहिषीरजः	अजाश्व० CRP रज CRBhI; वरोष्ट्रमहिषाविजं (०वजं CROa I) CRBh I, CRP, CRCa I; खरोष्ट्र- महिषविजं CRBh II



CRCa II 56; GP 1.114,44 C reconstructed : 1001; CRT :—

Other sources : CRr 7.41 (CRP 7.43, CRB 7.45, CRBh I 7.43, CRC 7.53, CRCa I 7.39), CnT II 16.10, CnT III 7 b 6, CPS 198.63.

CRCa II :	GP :	CR reconstructed :	Other texts :
<u>शूर्पवातनखाग्रेषु</u> <u>भ्रानं वस्त्रघटोदकम्</u>	<u>शूर्पवातो नखाग्राम्बु</u> <u>स्नानवस्त्रघटोदकम् (GPy)</u> <u>स्नानवस्त्रमृजोदकम् (GP)</u>	<u>शूर्पवातो नखाग्राम्बु</u> <u>स्नानवस्त्रच्युतोदकम्</u>	<u>शूर्पवात० CRC ; शूर्पवातं CPS ;</u>
<u>मार्जनीरेणु केशांबु</u>	<u>मार्जनीरेणुकेशाम्बु (GPy)</u> <u>मार्जनीरेणुः केशाम्बु (GP)</u>	<u>केशाम्बु शिवनिर्माल्यं</u>	<u>शिवनिर्माल्यं केशाम्बु CR</u>
<u>हन्ति पुण्यं पुराकृत</u>	<u>हन्ति पुण्यं पुराकृतम्</u>	<u>पुण्यं हिंसन्ति पूर्वजम्</u>	<u>पुण्यं हन्ति पुराकृतम् CRC, CPS</u>

CRCa II : 57 ; GP : 1.114, 38 ; C reconstructed : 828 ; CRT : 7.21

Other sources : CRr 7.37 (CRP 7.39, CRB 7.40, CRBh I 7.38, CRBh II 7.25, CRC 7.48, CRCa I 7.35),  
CPS 194.53, Cf. CRCa II 58.

CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
यस्य <u>कस्य कस्य</u> तु पुष्पस्य	यस्य <u>तस्य</u> तु पुष्पस्य	यस्य <u>तस्य</u> तु पुष्पस्य	येन येन हि पुष्पेण CRr ( but येन केन [ येति CRBh I ] CRC, CRBh I ; यस्य तस्य तु पुष्पस्य CRP, CRT ).
पाण्डरस्य विशेषतः	पाण्डरस्य विशेषतः	पाण्डरस्य विशेषतः	पाण्डुरेण विशेषतः CRr ( but CRT as GP ).
शिरसा धार्यमानस्य	शिरसा धार्यमाणस्य	शिरसा धार्यमाणस्य	शिरसा ( अस्य CPS ) धार्यमाणेन CRr ( but ँमाणस्य CRT ) ; ँमाने CRBh II.
अलक्ष्मीपरिहृन्त्यते	अलक्ष्मीः प्रतिहृन्त्यते	ह्यलक्ष्मीः प्रतिहृन्त्यते	त्वलक्ष्मीः CRBh II ; अलक्ष्मीः CRT ; प्रत्यहृन्त्यते CRCa I.

CRCa II : 58; GP : 1.114, 39; C reconstructed : 459; CRT : 7.22.

Other sources : CRr 7.38 (CRP 7.40, CRB 7.41, CRBh I 7.39, CRBh II 7.28, CRC 7.49, CRCa I 7.35 *vis*), CPS 197.59. Cf. CRCa II 57.

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CRCa II :	GP :	C reconstructed :	Other texts :
दीपस्य पश्चिमा <u>द्धा</u> या	दीपस्य पश्चिमा <u>च्छा</u> या(GPy) पश्चिमा <u>द्धा</u> या (GP)	दीपस्य पश्चिमा <u>च्छा</u> या	पश्चि <u>म</u> CRC, CPS ; पश्चि <u>मा</u> च् CRT; पश्चि <u>मा</u> श् <u>द्धा</u> याश् <u>र्</u> CB, CRCa I.
द्धाया शय्यासनस्य च रजकस्य <u>तु</u> यत्तीर्थम्	द्धाया शय्याशनस्य च रजकस्य <u>तु</u> यत्तीर्थम्	द्धाया शय्यासनस्य च रजकस्य <u>च</u> यत्तीर्थ	च <u>CRr</u> ( but CRBh II, CR T तु ) ; <u>क्षेत्रम्</u> [ ती० ] CRC, CPS.
अलक्ष्मीस्तत्र तिष्ठति	अलक्ष्मीस्तत्र तिष्ठति	अलक्ष्मीस्तत्र तिष्ठति	

### Notes.

*Verse 1.* Introductory stanza. The verse occurs in CRCa II and GP only. The verse of CRCa II follows the GP text but has two changes in *b* and in *d*.

*b* different in GP and Cr.

*d* different in GP and Cr. आरोग्य instead of स्वर्गादि°; GP and Cr better but the change in CRCa II is admissible.

*Verse 2.* The verse occurs in CRCa II and GP only; it is also quoted in ŚKDr. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text. *d* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*cd* contain changes made by O. Böhtlingk; none of them occurs in any of the known texts.

*Verse 3.* The verse occurs also in the CR version and in individual texts of the CN version. The verse of CRCa II follows rather the GP text (GP<sub>Y</sub> text) than the Cr text but with some changes.

*a* The CRCa II has “जड” instead of “क्षुद्र”

*b* The CRCa II has अदृष्टस्य च identical with GP<sub>Y</sub> but different than GP and Cr. GP<sub>Y</sub> has अदृश्यस्य; अदृष्टस्य and अदृश्यस्य are correct. GP<sub>Y</sub> has तु instead of च; च appears also in Cr. Cr has instead अरिष्टस्य Reconstructed as in GP<sub>Y</sub>.

*c* CRCa II has विरागं (indifference); GP and CRT have विरोधं (quarrel) and Cr has विवादं (dispute).

*d* different in GP; Cr is different also; also individual texts of C are different.

*Verse 4.* The verse occurs also in the CR, CS versions and in individual texts of the CN version. The verse in CRCa II follows both, the GP and the Cr texts; both are almost identical.

*bd* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text (or errors) which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe. Other C texts have some variants not always appropriate.

*Verse 5.* The verse occurs also in the CR version and in individual texts of the CN version, the Hitopadeśa Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s, in some Subhāṣita-Saṁgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India". The verse in CRCa II follows both the GP and the Cr texts; both are identical.

*cd* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 6.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, individual texts of the CN version and in some Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP and the CR text; changes in the CR text and other texts are not very great.

*a* CRCa II uses रक्तः instead of युक्तः which is synonymous.

*c* CRCa II uses स instead of तन् which occurs in GP and CR.

*Verse 7.* The verse occurs in GP, CRCa II, CRT and CRC only. The CRCa II verse follows GP. Cr is somewhat different; CRT follows the latter text.

*b* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verses 6 and 7* are the only verses in the CRCa II MS which are copied on one page. The similar verse 8 is however, on a separate page.

*Verse 8.* The verse occurs also in individual texts of the CN version.

*a* follows GP and not Cr.

*c* CRCa II has अल्पाऽहरेण while GP and Cr have अल्पाऽल्पेन तु which is better.

*d* in all texts is different in its wording but not in its sense. Cr has सा रमा न रमा रमा; GP has सा प्रिया न प्रिया प्रिया; CRCa II has the rarely used सा श्रिया न श्रिया श्रिया (similarly but corrupt in CNI I). GP's and Cr's texts are better than the CRCa II text; it is possible

that the deviations from the GP text are due to the sloppiness of the scribe and his poor knowledge of Sanskrit, particularly since प्रिया and श्रिया is similar in sound and the letters प्रि and श्रि, because of their exterior similarity, could have been confused ; it is possible that the scribe of the CRCa II recopied his MS from another one.

*Verse 9.* The verse occurs also in the CR, CV, Cv, CN versions, the Hitopadeśa, Subhāṣita-Saṁgrah-s and the literature of "Greater India"; it is a well-known maxim. The verse in CRCa II follows both, the GP and the Cr texts ; both are identical. *b* of CRCa II has a small change from the GP text ; it also appears in some texts of the Hitopadeśa. The text of GP is better known.

*Verse 10.* The verse occurs also in CR, CV, Cv, CN versions, the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, *Nibandha-s*, the Mahābhārata, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, the Śukasaptati, the Mādhavānalakathā, Halāyuddha's Dharmaviveka, Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India"; it is a well-known maxim. The verse in CRCa II follows GP and is identical with the Mānava-dharmaśāstra and the Mahābhārata texts. *c* of CRCa II has सर्वतो instead of सततं ; this is the only variant. The variant is admissible; it appears also in Cr including CRT, and in various texts of the Mānava-dharmaśāstra and in some *Nibandha-s*

*Verse 11.* The verse occurs also in the CR, version, in some individual texts of the CN version and in subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text of CR.

*b* of CRCa II has a small unimportant change from the GP and Cr texts; it also appears in CRT and some other texts of CR.

*d* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 12.* The verse occurs also in the CR, Cv, CN versions, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India". The verse in CRCa II follows rather the GP text than the Cr text.

*a* The scribe has चर० instead of चल० ; both are acceptable.

*b* of CRCa II used for बुद्धिमान् the synonymous word पण्डितः ; the same change appears also in same texts of the CR, Cv and CN versions, the Pañcatantra and the Subhāṣita-samgraha-s.

*c* ( other than mentioned above ), *c* and partly *d* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Vers 13.* The verse in the form found in CRCa II, GP and CRT appears only in the CR version. A similar verse is found in the Cv, CS, CV, CN versions, the Mahābhārata, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa and the Śukasaptati. The verse in CRCa II follows closely the GP text and not the Cr text, however the CRT text in *a* and *c* is identical with GP and not with Cr; in *c* CRCa II, GP and CRT have ०राजानं; while Cr has the synonymous word ०भूपालं .

*bd* of CRCa have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe ; they have त्यजेत् instead of त्यजेत्, but in *ac* have त्यजेत् (°द).

*Verse 14.* The verse occurs also in the CR, CV, Cv, CN versions, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, Subhāṣita-samgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India". A similar verse is also found in the Mahābhārata. It is based on the combination of verse GP 1. 109, 10 *ab* and 11 *cd*.

*a* of CRCa II follows the GP text and not the Cr text ; CRT also follows the GP text.

*b* of CRCa II follows the Cr text and not the GP text ; CRT follows the GP text. GP has श्लाघ्य° (so also CRT), while CRCa II and Cr have स्तब्ध° which is better.

*c* of CRCa II is different from both, the GP and Cr texts ; it is partly corrupt.

*d* of CRCa II is different from the Cr, GP and CRT texts,

*cd* is reconstructed on the basis of GP 1. 109, 11 *cd*.

*Verse 15.* The verse occurs also in the CR, CV, Cv, CN versions, the Hitopadeśa, the Śukasaptati, the Vetālapañcavimśa-

tiḱā, the Mādhavānalakathā, Subhāṣita-samgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India." The CRCa II verse is identical in GP and Cr; some variants occur in the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, the Śukasaptati and some text of C.

*d* of CRCa II has only one deviation from the GP text which is due to the sloppiness of the scribe or his poor knowledge of Sanskrit.

*Verse 16.* The verse occurs also in the CR, Cv versions, in individual texts of CN versions, the Mahābhārata, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Vikramacarita, the Mādhavānalakathā, Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s, the Nāradapañcarātra, Subhāṣita-samgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India"; it is a well-known maxim. The verse in CRCa II follows GP, Cr, the Mahābhārata, or the Rāmāyaṇa.

*b* of CRCa II has the only variat in this text; it has न जलानां instead of नापगानां; the new variant is acceptable

Other texts have some variants registered in the last column.

*Verse 17.* The verse occurs also in the CR, CV, Cv, CN versions, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Smṛtitattva of Raghunandana and some Subhāṣita-samgraha-s; it is well-known maxim. The verse in CRCa II follows GP. CRT follows GP closely.

*b* of CRCa II is different from GP and Cr but a similar wording is found in other texts of the C versions; the present text was reconstructed accordingly.

*d* of CRCa II has a small and unimportant variant from GP and Cr.

*Verse 18.* This verse, although it is well known maxim, does not appear in the CR version, nor in CRT; it occurs, however, in the CV, CN versions, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, Subhāṣita-samgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India". The verse in CRCa II follows rather the Cr text than the GP text, in particular in *ab*.



*c* of CRCa II has some deviations from the Cr text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*d* Most texts, including Cr have पश्यति, CRCa II has धर्मवित् (knowing his duties), a variant not found in other texts ; and GP has पण्डित ; other texts have बुद्धिमान् or even वैष्णव ; (CN [var.], SuB) this shows Viṣṇuistic influence.

*Verse 19.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, in the Mahābhārata, and in the literature "Greater India," but *ab* only. The verse in CRCa II follows GP.

*abc* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*cd* of CRCa II are different in Cr and MBh, but are identical in GP. CRT also follows GP. The Southern Recension of MBh is nearer to the GP text.

*Verse 20.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, the Hitopadeśa and Subhāṣita-saṅgraha-s. It is a very beautiful verse due to the skillfull choice of words sounding similarly but having different meanings, vis. शस्त्र (knife) and शाल्त्र (scripture) ; दानेन (offerings) and यानेन (marks of respect, or jealous anger). The verse of CRCa II follows, generally, both GP and the Cr texts ; both are identical. The CRCa II text is almost identical with GP.

*a* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*e* of CRCa II changes the order of the words ; similarly Cr ; this change is of no importance.

*d* of CRCa II changes सर्वथा (in GP and Cr) into सर्वदा ; this change of no importance is admissible ; other deviations from the GP text are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 21.* The verse occurs also in the CR, CV, Cv versions, in individual texts of CN, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Vikramacarita, the Śukasaptati, Subhāṣita-saṅgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India" ; it is a well known maxim. The CRCa II is identical with GP, C, the

Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and other texts ; it follows both, the GP and the Cr texts.

*c* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP and Cr texts which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 22.* The verse occurs also in the CR version and in one Subhāṣita-saṁgraha. The verse in CRCa II follows closely the GP text.

*a* There is in GPy and Cr a very small deviation from GP and CRCa II.

*Verse 23.* This verse occurs only in CRCa II, GP, CRT and CPS. The verse in CRCa II follows GP. CRT is different in *d* ; it also changes in *a* कार्ये into राज्ये and in *e* दैवं into पुण्यं.

*abc* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP. text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*d* of CRCa II changes सदा into त्यजेत् ; the text of GP is better.

*Verse 24.* The verse occurs also in the CR version and in individual texts of CN. The verse in CRCa II is identical with the GPy text with the exception of *e* which is partly different from the CRCa II text ; the CRCa II text is identical with GP but it has some deviations which are due to the scribes sloppiness.

*d* GPy, CRCa II and CRCa I have राज्यं ; GP and Cr have राज्ये ; CRBh II has राज्ञ.

*Verse 25.* The verse occurs also in the CR, Cv version, in some individual texts of CN, the Hitopadeśa, Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and in the literature of "Greater India". A similar verse occurs also in the CV, Cv, CS versions and individual texts of CN. The verse of CRCa II follows rather the GP text than the Cr text ; the changes are, however, very small. Some changes, unknown to other texts, were made in *d* but they are not very happy ; the text as it appears in GP, appears also in most texts i. e. the Hitopadeśa, individual texts of the Cv version and in Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s ; other deviations of CRCa II from the GP text are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 26.* The verse occurs also in the CV version and in individual texts of CN, but the wording of the maxim is often different ; the verse occurs also in the Mahābhārata, in Subhāṣita-saṅgraha-s and in the literature of "Greater India". The verse in CRCa II follows the Mahābhārata text and not the GP text. CRCa II has in *e*, similarly as the Mahābhārata, रूपं instead of पात्रं ; the MBh text is better. The Mahābhārata has in *d* वृत्तेन while CRCa II, GP, Cr have the synonymous शीलेन, but one Northern text of the Mahābhārata (D<sub>1</sub>) has also शीलेन.

*abcd* of CRCa II have some deviations from GP or MBh which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 27.* The verse occurs only in GP, but a similar verse occurs in the CR, version including CRT, and in the literature of "Greater India". The verse in CRCa II follows rather the GPy text than the GP text but with some changes which are not always very happy ones. The GP text is in *d* and partly in *e* different from the GPy text.

*abcd* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GPy text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 28.* The verse occurs also in the Mahābhārata, but the CRCa II text follows the GPy text (and not the GP text which has one small and unimportant variant in *a*; it also appears in MBh) nor the Mahābhārata text (which is partly different in *d*).

*e* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 29.* The verse occurs also in the Mahābhārata. The CRCa II text follows the text of the Mahābhārata, as it appears in the Roy's and Calcutta editions, but not as it appears in the Bhandarkar edition ; it follows it, however with some errors.

*ad* of CRCa II have some deviations from the MBh text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 30.* The verse occurs also in the Pañcatantra, but only in the Tantrākhyāyikā version. The CRCa II verse contains some variants from GP and Cr.

*a* of CRCa II has पापं instead of काले ; this change does not make sense.

*b* of CRCa II has two changes ; the first is a deviation from the GP text due to the scribe's poor knowledge of Sanskrit ; the other one is unnecessary.

*d* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 31.* The verse occurs only in GP and in the CRCa II text. The latter text contains some unusual readings, particularly in *a*.

*abcd* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe and his poor knowledge of Sanskrit. The use of the imperative mood in all the three verbs of *a b c* and the accusitive in अन्तरिक्षं, महीतलम् and दिशः is more suitable. स्तवन्तु in *a* is probably a corruption of स्रवन्तु due to the similarity of स्त° and स्र°.

*Verse 32.* The verse occurs also in the CR version. The verse in CRCa II follows closely the GP text. In order to avoid the hyatus between *c* and *d* ह्य् which does not appear in CRCa II and GP, but appears in Cr., was added to the present text.

*d* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 33.* The verse occurs also in the CR version and in Rāmāyaṇa. *cd* of the Rāmāyaṇa text and *cd* of Cr (both are not identical) are different from the GP and CRCa II texts. The verse in CRCa II follows the GPy text. The GP text is wrong ; it omits *cd* and combines 1.113, 27 with 1.113, 28.

*cd* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GPy text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 34.* The verse occurs only in GP and the CRCa II text. The verse in CRCa II follows rather the GPy text than the GP text ; it is partly different in *d*.

*a* of CRCa II has the only change from the GP text ; it is, however, not a happy one.

*Verse 35.* The verse occurs also in the Mahābhārata and in the literature of "Greater India". The verse in CRCa II follows both the GP and the Cr texts; both are almost identical. *b* of CRCa II is identical with Cr. and not with GP

*d* of CRCa II has a deviation from the GP and the Cr texts which is due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 36.* The verse occurs also in the CR version. The verse in CRCa II follows rather the GP text than the Cr text.

*a* of CRCa II is identical with the GP text and not with the Cr text.

*b* of CRCa II has some changes from GP and Cr.

*c* of CRCa II has a deviation from the GP text which is due to the sloppiness of the scribe or his poor knowledge of Sanskrit.

*Verse 37.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, the Mahābhārata, Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India". The verse in CRCa II follows the GPy text and not the GP text which is different from GPy in *abd*.

*b* of CRCa II has संस्कारं instead of स्वकालं or स्वं कालं. Although this change does not improve the text, it is acceptable.

*c* of CRCa II has a deviation from the GP text which is due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 38.* The verse occurs also in the CR, CV versions, individual texts of CN, the Mahābhārata, the Pañcatantra, the Padma-purāṇa, Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India"; it is a well known maxim. The CRCa II verse follows the CR text, the Mahābhārata, as it appears in the Roy's edition, but in *d* it follows the Cr and the Mahābhārata text, *bc* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*d* of CRCa II has a deviation from the Cr and MBh texts which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 39.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, individual texts of CN, the Mahābhārata, the Hitopadeśa, the Nāradapañcarātra, Ghaṭakarpara's Nītisāra, Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s

and the literature of 'Greater India'. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text (and not the GPy text) which is different in *a*. The same text is also found in the Hitopadeśa and Ghaṭakara-para's Nītisāra, but not in the Mahābhārata.

*e* of CRCa II has a different wording from that found in GP and Cr; the change is not a happy one.

*Verse 40.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, the Mahābhārata, and the Pañcatantra (but in the Tantrākhyāyikā version only). The verse in CRCa II follows the GP and the Mahābhārata texts.

*abd* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text.

*d* of CRCa II has some minor changes from GP, Cr and MBh.

*Verse 41.* The verse occurs also in the CR version. The CRCa II verse follows the GPy text and not the GP text which in *cd* has some minor variants. Cr (including CRT) has a minor variant in *e*.

*acd* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe. *a* has only seven *aksara-s*.

*Verse 42.* The verse occurs only in GP and in the CRCa II text. The CRCa II verse follows rather the GPy text than the GP text which in *ad* has some unimportant variants.

*b* of CRCa II has a small unimportant variant from GP which, are acceptable.

*acd* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 43.* The verse occurs also in the CR version. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text (GP in *e* and GPy in *ad*) and not the Cr text which in *d* is different; it follows, however, Cr in *a*.

*b* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*d* follows GPy with the first two words transferred. The text of CRCa II suits better the style of the preceding verses.

*Verse 44.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, the Mahābhārata and Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text (GPy in *bd* and GP in *c*) and not the Cr text or the Mahābhārata which, though different in *c* from each other, are also different from GP in *c*.

*a* of CRCa II has two changes, the first is identical with the Cr and MBh texts and was incorporated in the present text ; the second is a deviation from the GP text due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*b* of CRCa II has सर्वथा instead of सर्वेषां.

*bed* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text, some of which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*d* The text of CRCa II suits better the style of the preceding verses.

*Verse 45.* The verse occurs only in GP and the CRCa II text. The verse in CRCa II follows the GPy text and not the GP text, which differs in *cd*.

*abcd* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text some of which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe and his poor knowledge of Sanskrit.

*Verse 46.* The verse occurs only in GP and the CRCa II text. The verse in CRCa II follows to a certain extent the GP text.

*a* of CRCa II has मृदीभार instead of मृत्तिकानां. मृदो भार° is a better reading.

*b* of CRCa II has some small changes, all of which are acceptable.

*c* of CRCa II has a deviation from the GP text which is due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 47.* The verse occurs also in the CR version. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text but with some change in *d* ; by this change CRCa II changes the meaning of the whole maxim ; it is doubtful that that was the intention of the author or scribe of the CRCa II text.

*Verse 48.* The verse occurs only in GP and in the CRCa II text. The verse in CRCa II follows closely the GP text.

*a* of CRCa II have some errors in these two *pāda*-s ; they are due to the sloppiness of the scribe or his poor knowledge of Sanskrit.

*Verse 49.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, individual texts of CN, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Bhojaprabandha and Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s ; it is a well known maxim. Different texts of this maxims have different wordings. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text but with a change in *a*.

*a* of CRCa II has शोकरोग° ; GP has शोकत्राणं ; Cr, the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa and the Bhojaprabandha have शोकाराति° ; this text is the best one.

*b* of CRCa II and GP have विश्वास°, while Cr, the Hitopadeśa and others have the synonymous विश्रम्भ°.

*Verse 50.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, the Śukasaptati, the Vikramacarita and in Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s. The verse in CRCa II follows both, the GP and the Cr texts ; both are identical. The CRCa II text has only in *c* one change ; it has दहान् instead of प्राणान् ; this change was not noticed in any other texts, of Sanskrit literature ; it is an improvement over the other texts, since it suits better *a* which has दारान्.

*b* of CRCa II has two errors which are due to the scribe's poor knowledge of Sanskrit.

*Verse 51.* This is the only verse of CRCa II which is not found in GP ; it also does not appear in any other known Sanskrit source ; it was probably included in the CRCa II text as a counterpart of a similar verse in GP (1.114, 67).

*Verse 52.* The verse occurs also in the CR version, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Pañcatantra, Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and the literature of "Greater India". The verse of CRCa II follows the GP text and not the Cr text nor the Mahābhārata and other texts in which this maxim also appears ; however in *c* the CRCa II text is nearer to the GP, MBh (in some



instances only), the Rāmāyaṇa and the Pañcatantra than the Cr text.

*c* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 53.* The verse occurs also in the Mahābhārata and in some Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s. The verse in CRCa II follows the text of GP text and not the text of the Mahābhārata which in the Śāntiparvan is different from GP.

*c* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 54.* The verse occurs only in GP and in the CRCa II text. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text, but has a change in *b* where it has पच्छलं instead of तरुणं. It should have been पिच्छलं.

*abc* of CRCa II has some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 55.* The verse occurs also in the CR version. The verse in CRCa II follows the GP text and not the Cr. text.

*b* of CRCa II has वरं instead of रजः; this change does not make sense.

*bed* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text, some of which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 56.* The verse occurs also in the CR version and in some individual texts of CN. The verse in CRCa II follows rather the GP text (GP<sub>y</sub> and not GP) than the Cr text, which is different in *cd*.

*ab* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe.

*Verse 57.* The verse occurs also in the CR version. The verse in CRCa II follows both, the GP and the Cr texts; both are identical.

*ad* of CRCa II have some deviations from the GP text which are due to the sloppiness of the scribe. In *a कस्य* was mistakenly repeated twice.

*Verse 58.* The verse occurs also in the CR version. The verse in CRCa II follows rather the GP text than the Cr text which has a very minor variant in *a*. CRT also follows GP.

*a* of CRCa II has a small error due to the sloppiness of the scribe. *Colophon.* CRCa II has wrongly चानके instead of चाणक्ये.

It is not clear why the MS has added त्रिसर्गा.

The photocopy of the MS, on the basis of which this study was prepared, is not always very clear; despite my request addressed to the University Library in Cambridge to decipher from the MS the colophon (which is not clear on the photocopy) I did not receive a satisfactory answer; instead I received another photocopy but of the first page (*sic*!). Between त्रि० and ०सर्गा four *akṣara-s* are insterted over the line which could not be deciphered by me from the unclear photocopy.

ANNEX II

CRITICAL EDITION

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

नीतिसारं प्रवक्ष्यामि सर्वशास्त्रार्थनिश्चितम् ।  
राजादिभ्यो हितं पुण्यमायुरारोग्यदायकम् ॥ १ ॥  
सद्भिः सङ्गं प्रकुर्वीत सिद्धिकामः सदा नरः ।  
नासद्भिरिहलोकाय परलोकाय चाहितम् ॥ २ ॥  
वर्जयेज्जडसंवादमदृश्यस्य च दर्शनम् ।  
विरागं सह मित्रेण संप्रीतिं शत्रुभाविना ॥ ३ ॥  
उत्तमैः सह साङ्गत्यं पण्डितैः सह सत्कथाम् ।  
अलुब्धैः सह मित्रत्वं कुर्वाणो नैवसीदति ॥ ४ ॥  
परोऽपि हितवान् बन्धुर्वन्धुरप्यहितः परः ।  
अहितो देहजो व्याधिर्हितमारण्यमौषधम् ॥ ५ ॥  
स बन्धुर्यो हिते रक्तः स पिता यस्तु पोषकः ।  
तन् मित्रं यत्र विधासः स देशो यत्र जीव्यते ॥ ६ ॥  
यस्य भार्याश्रितान्यत्र परवेश्माभिकाङ्क्षिणी ।  
कुक्रिया त्यक्तलज्जा च सा जरा न जरा जरा ॥ ७ ॥  
यस्य भार्या गुणज्ञा च भर्तारमनुगामिनी ।  
अल्पाल्पेन तु संतुष्टा सा प्रिया न प्रिया प्रिया ॥ ८ ॥  
दुष्टा भार्या शठं मित्रं भृत्याश्चोत्तरदायकाः ।  
ससर्पे च गृहे वासो मृत्युरेव न संशयः ॥ ९ ॥  
आपदर्थे धनं रक्षेदारान् रक्षेद्धनैरपि ।  
आत्मानं सर्वतो रक्षेदारैरपि धनैरपि ॥ १० ॥

वरं हि नरके वासो न च दुश्चरिते गृहे ।  
 नरकात्क्षीयते पापं कुगृहाच्च निवर्त्तते ॥ ११ ॥  
 चरत्येकेन पादेन तिष्ठत्येकेन पण्डितः ।  
 नाप्ररीक्ष्य परं स्थानं पूर्वमायतनं त्यजेत् ॥ १२ ॥  
 त्यजेद्देशमसद्वृत्तं वासं सोपद्रवं त्यजेत् ।  
 त्यजेत्कृपणराजानं मित्रं मायामयं त्यजेत् ॥ १३ ॥  
 लुब्धमर्थेन गृहीयात् स्तब्धमञ्जलिकर्मणा ।  
 इतरं खाद्यपानेन मानदानेन पण्डितम् ॥ १४ ॥  
 अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं गृहे दुश्चरितानि च ।  
 वञ्चनं चापमानं च मतिमात्रं प्रकाशयेत् ॥ १५ ॥  
 नाग्निस्तृप्यति काष्ठानां न जलानां महोदधिः ।  
 नान्तकः सर्वभूतानां न पुंसां वामलोचना ॥ १६ ॥  
 यो ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य अध्रुवाणि तु सेवयेत् ।  
 ध्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति अध्रुवं नष्टमेव हि ॥ १७ ॥  
 मातृवत्परदारान्श्च परद्रव्याणि लोष्टवत् ।  
 आत्मवत्सर्वभूतानि यः पश्यति स धर्मवित् ॥ १८ ॥  
 न प्रहृष्यति सम्मानैर्नावमानेन कुप्यति ।  
 न क्रुद्धः परुषं ब्रूयदेतत्साधोस्तु लक्षणम् ॥ १९ ॥  
 न दानेन न मानेन नार्जवेन न सेवया ।  
 न शस्त्रेण न शास्त्रेण सर्वदा विपमाः स्त्रियः ॥ २० ॥  
 यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः ।  
 यस्यार्थाः स पुमाँल्लोके यस्यार्थाः स च पण्डितः ॥ २१ ॥  
 धीराः कष्टमनुप्राप्य न भवन्ति विपादिनः ।  
 प्रविश्य वदनं राहोः किं नोदेति पुनः शशी ॥ २२ ॥

उद्योगेन कृते कार्ये सिद्धिर्यस्य न विद्यते ।

॥ २३ ॥ द्वैवं तस्य प्रमाणं हि कर्तव्यं पौरुषं सदा ॥ २३ ॥

पण्डितैश्च विनीतैश्च धर्मज्ञैः सत्यवादिभिः ।

बन्धनस्थोऽपि तिष्ठेत् न तु राज्यं खलैः सह ॥ २४ ॥

अज्ञानस्य क्षयं दृष्ट्वा बलमीकस्य तु संचयम् ।

अवन्ध्यं दिवसं कुर्याद्दानाध्ययनकर्मसु ॥ २५ ॥

सत्येन रक्ष्यते धर्मो विद्या योगेन रक्ष्यते ।

मृजया रक्ष्यते रूपं कुलं शीलेन रक्ष्यते ॥ २६ ॥

॥ भाग्यक्षयेण क्षीयन्ते नोपभोगेन संपदः ।

पूर्वार्जितानि सन्न्यत्र सुकृतानि च दुष्कृतम् ॥ २७ ॥

॥ येन येन यथा यद्यत् पुरा कर्म सुनिश्चितम् ।

तत्तदेवान्तरा भुङ्क्ते स्वयमाहितमात्मनः ॥ २८ ॥

आत्मना विहितं दुःखमात्मना विहितं सुखम् ।

गर्भशय्यामुपादाय भुज्यते पूर्वदेहिकम् ॥ २९ ॥

यस्मिन् वयसि यत्काले यद्दिवा यच्च वा निशि ।

यन्मुहूर्त्ते क्षणे वापि तत्तथा न तदन्यथा ॥ ३० ॥

प्लवन्तु चान्तरीक्षं वा प्रविशन्तु महीतलम् ।

धारयन्तु दिशः सर्वा नादत्तमुपलभ्यते ॥ ३१ ॥

पुराधीता च या विद्या पुरा दत्तं च यद्धनम् ।

पुरा कृतानि कर्माणि ह्यग्रे धावन्ति धावतः ॥ ३२ ॥

॥ न पितुः कर्मणा पुत्रः पिता वा पुत्रकर्मणा ।

स्वयं कृतेन गच्छन्ति स्वयं बद्धयः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ ३३ ॥

कर्मवाणाः शरीरेषु रोगाः शारीरमानसाः ।

शरा इव पतन्तीह विमुक्ता दृढधन्विभिः ॥ ३४ ॥

बालो युवा च वृद्धश्च यत्करोति शुभाशुभम् ।  
 तस्यां तस्यामवस्थायां भुङ्क्ते जन्मनि जन्मनि ॥ ३५ ॥  
 अनिच्छमानोऽपि नरो विदेशे पर्वते गृहे ।  
 स्वकर्मपोतवातेन नीयते यत्र तत् फलम् ॥ ३६ ॥  
 अचोद्यमानानि यथा पुष्पाणि च फलानि च ।  
 संस्कारं नातिवर्तन्ते तथा कर्म पुरा कृतम् ॥ ३७ ॥  
 यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु वत्सो विन्दति मातरम् ।  
 एवं पूर्वकृतं कर्म कर्तारमनुगच्छति ॥ ३८ ॥  
 नाप्राप्तकालो म्रियते विद्धः शरशतैरपि ।  
 कुशाग्रेण तु संस्पृष्टः प्राप्तकालो न जीवति ॥ ३९ ॥  
 लब्धव्यमेव लभते गन्तव्यमेव गच्छति ।  
 प्राप्तव्यमेव प्राप्नोति दुःखचापि सुखं तथा ॥ ४० ॥  
 न मन्त्रबलवीर्येण प्रज्ञया पौरुषेण च ।  
 अलभ्यं लभते मर्त्यस्तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ ४१ ॥  
 अयाचितो मया लब्धो अपेक्षितः पुनर्गतः ।  
 यत्रागतस्तत्र गतस्तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ ४२ ॥  
 एकवृक्षे यथा रात्रौ नानापक्षिसमागमः ।  
 प्रभाते तु दिशा यान्ति तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ ४३ ॥  
 एकसार्थप्रयातानां सर्वथा तत्र गामिनाम् ।  
 एककस्त्याजितो याति तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ ४४ ॥  
 फलार्थी फलिनं वृक्षं यच्छिन्त्याद्दुर्मतिर्नरः ।  
 नच्छिन्त्यात्तस्य तन्मूलं महान्तं दोषमाप्नुयात् ॥ ४५ ॥  
 मृदो भारसहस्रेण उदकानां शतैरपि ।  
 न शुध्यति दुराचारो भावोपहतचेतनः ॥ ४६ ॥  
 यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम् ।  
 विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमाप्नुयात् ॥ ४७ ॥

अन्धो हि राजा भवति यस्तु शास्त्रविवर्जितः ।  
 अन्धः पश्यति चारेण शास्त्रहीनो न पश्यति ॥ ४८ ॥  
 शोकारातिभयत्राणं प्रीतिविश्वासभाजनम् ।  
 केन रत्नमिदं सृष्टं मित्रमित्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥ ४९ ॥  
 जायमानो हरेद्वारान् वर्द्धमानो हरेद्धनम् ।  
 म्रियमाणो हरेद्देहान् नास्ति पुत्रसमो रिपुः ॥ ५० ॥  
 यः स्तेयी कुरुते दानं स दाता निरयं वसेत् ।  
 तद्दानफलमाप्नोति धनस्वाम्येव निश्चितम् ॥ ५१ ॥  
 ब्रह्मघ्ने च सुरापे च चौरै भग्नव्रते तथा ।  
 निष्कृतिर्विहिता सद्भिः कृतघ्नस्य न निष्कृतिः ॥ ५२ ॥  
 एकः क्षमावतो दोषो द्वितीयो नोपपद्यते ।  
 यदेनं क्षमया युक्तमशक्तं मन्यते जनः ॥ ५३ ॥  
 बालातपः प्रेतधूमः स्त्री वृद्धा पिच्छलं दधि ।  
 आयुष्कामो न सेवेत तथा संमार्जनी-रजः ॥ ५४ ॥  
 गजाश्वरथधान्यानां गवां चैव रजः शुभम् ।  
 अशुभं चैव जानीयात् खरोप्राजाविकेषु च ॥ ५५ ॥  
 शूर्पवातो नखाग्राम्बु स्नानवस्त्रघटोदकम् ।  
 मार्जनीरेणु केशाम्बु हन्ति पुण्यं पुराकृतम् ॥ ५६ ॥  
 यस्य कस्य तु पुष्पस्य पाण्डरस्य विशेषतः ।  
 शिरसा धार्यमाणस्य अलक्ष्मीः प्रतिहन्यते ॥ ५७ ॥  
 दीपस्य पश्चिमा च्छाया छाया शय्यासनस्य च ।  
 रजकस्य तु यत्तीर्थमलक्ष्मीस्तत्र तिष्ठति ॥ ५८ ॥

॥ इति श्रीचाणक्ये त्रिसर्गा ( ? ) समाप्तम् ॥

## ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(January—June, 1966).

### Critical editions of the Purānas

#### (a) Vāmana-Purāna.

As already reported previously, twenty manuscripts of the Vāmana Purāna have been collated so far. Efforts were made to procure a Telugu Ms. from Mysore. Dr. K. L. Shrimali, the former Education Minister of India and now the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore, has been requested to help us in procuring this manuscript.

Efforts are also being made to procure some manuscripts of the *Vṛddha Vāmana Purāna* from the State Library, Bharatpur and the Punjab University Library, Lahore, Pakistan.

The constitution of the text of the Vāmana Purāna and the preparing of the critical apparatus are both in progress. The topics and the ślokas of the Vāmana Purāna are also being searched in other Purānas so that this work may help the constitution of the Vāmana text. Up till now Śiva, Kūrma, Mārkaṇḍeya, Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu Purānas have been consulted.

Necessary estimates of printing the critical edition of the Vāmana-Purāna have been submitted to the Central Sanskrit Board, together with a few printed specimen pages.

The Hindi translation of the Vāmana Purāna has been completed and the English translation has now been taken up.

#### (b) Kūrma-Purāna.

The work of preparing the critical edition of the Kūrma Purāna has also been undertaken. Various manuscripts of the Kūrma Purāna have been selected for collation and efforts are being made to procure them. One Devanāgarī manuscript from the India Office Library, has already been collated. The collation of the other two manuscripts, the Devanāgarī manuscript No. 41



## काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

( जनवरी १९६६-जून १९६६ )

### पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

#### ( अ ) वामनपुराणकार्यम्

यथा पूर्वं सूचितम् अद्यावधि वामनपुराणस्य विंशतिः हस्तलेखाः संवादिताः । मैसूरनगरतः तेलगूलिप्यां लिखितस्य एकस्य हस्तलेखस्याप्तये प्रयत्नः क्रियते । भारतदेशस्य भूतपूर्वः शिक्षामंत्री साम्प्रतं मैसूरविश्वविद्यालयस्य उपकुलपतिः डा० के. एल. श्रीमाली अस्य लेखस्य प्राप्तये साहाय्यप्रदानाय प्रार्थितः ।

वृद्धवामनपुराणस्य केषाञ्चित् हस्तलेखानां 'स्टेट लाइब्रेरी भरतपुर' सकाशात् तथा पञ्जाब लाइब्रेरी लाहौरतः प्राप्तयेऽपि प्रयत्नः क्रियते ।

पाठनिर्णयकार्यं तथा समीक्षात्मकपाठविवरणलेखनकाय संपद्यमानं वर्तते । वामनपुराणस्य पाठनिर्णये साहाय्यार्थं वामनपुराणस्य अन्यपुराणेषु वर्तमाना विषया अनुसंधीयमाना वर्तन्ते । अद्यावधि शिव-कूर्म-मार्कण्डेय-ब्रह्माण्डपुराणानि पर्यालोचितानि । समानश्लोकानामन्यग्रन्थेषु अनुसंधानमपि प्रचलति ।

समीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य संभावितप्रकाशनव्ययं आदर्शमुद्रितपृष्ठैः सह केन्द्रियसंस्कृतपरिषदः समीपे प्रेषितम् ।

वामनपुराणस्य हिन्दीभाषानुवादः कृतः, आंग्लभाषानुवादकार्यं प्रारब्धम् वर्तते ।

#### ( आ ) कूर्मपुराणकार्यम्

कूर्मपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसम्पादनकार्यमपि प्रारब्धम् । पाठसंवादाय बहवो हस्तलेखा निर्धारिताः, तेषां प्राप्तये च प्रयत्नः क्रियते । इण्डिया आफिस लाइब्रेरी संस्थायाः सकाशात् प्राप्तः एको देवनागरीलिपिहस्तलेखः संवादितः अन्यावपि द्वौ हस्तलेखौ एकः 'भण्डारकर ओरियण्टल रिसर्च इन्स्टीच्यूट, पूना' इत्यस्य अपरश्च 'वी. वी. आर. इन्स्टीच्यूट, होशियारपुर' इत्यस्य च संवाद्यमानौ स्तः ।

of 1881-82, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona and the other of the V. V. R. I. Hoshiarpur, are being collated.

We have also acquired a photostat copy of a Kūrma Purāṇa Manuscript, No. 1039, from the Harvard University, U. S. A. and the Trust is thankful to the authorities for sending it to us.

### (c) Varāha Purāṇa.

The critical edition of the Varāha Purāṇa has also been planned and its Ādhāra Pāṭha from the Venkateśvara edition is being written. The Trust has thus undertaken first the work of preparing the critical editions of those Purāṇas which are named after the avatāras of Viṣṇu.

### Other works on the Purāṇas.

The Subject-Index of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa was published in the last January issue of the 'Purāṇa' bulletin as its supplement consisting of 91 pages. Now this supplement is also made available in separate book form for the convenience of scholars.

Scholars are requested to send their opinions and suggestions which will help us in preparing other Purāṇa-subject-indexes.

### 'Purāṇa' Bulletin.

The January issue (VIII. 1) of the 'Purāṇa' contained two supplements in addition to the articles and reviews. One of the supplements was the *critical edition of the Svalpa-Matsya purāṇa* ( Adhs. 5-10 ), and the other was the subject-index of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The present July issue ( Vol. VIII, No. 2 ) also contains the critical edition of a very important manuscript of the Cāṇakya Nīti deposited in the Cambridge University. This manuscript is a summary of the Nīti chapters ( Adhs. 108-115 ) of the Garuḍa Purāṇa. This critical edition with an introduction and a useful critical apparatus has been prepared by Dr. L. Sternbach of New York.

### Veda Pārāyaṇa.

In the bright half of the last Māgha (January-February) from January 22 to February 5 the Pārāyaṇa (recitation of the whole

अमेरिकादेशस्य हारवर्ड विश्वविद्यालयतः १०३९ संख्याकस्य देवनागरी-हस्तलेखस्य 'फोटो' कापी प्राप्ता । काशिराजन्यासः अस्य प्रेषणाय तदधिकारिभ्यः कृतज्ञो वर्तते ।

### ( इ ) वराहपुराणकार्यम्

वराहपुराणस्य समीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य योजनापि स्वीकृता । वेंकटेश्वर-मुद्रायन्त्रे मुद्रितस्य ग्रन्थस्य आधारपाठो लिख्यते । इत्थं न्यासः तेषां पुराणानां समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं प्रथमं प्रस्तुतं करिष्यति येषां नामानि विष्णोरवतारानाधारीकृत्य वर्तते ।

### पुराणसंबन्धीनि अन्यकार्याणि

विष्णुपुराणस्य विषयानुक्रमणी 'पुराण' पत्रिकायाः गत जनवरी अङ्के ९१ पृष्ठात्मकपरिशिष्टरूपेण प्रकाशिता आसीत् । इदं परिशिष्टं सम्प्रति विदुषामुपयोगाय पृथक् ग्रन्थरूपेणापि प्रकाशितम् । विद्वांस एतद्विषये सम्मतिप्रदानाय निर्देशप्रदानाय च प्रार्थ्यन्ते येन अन्येषां पुराणानां विषयानुक्रमणीनां निर्माणे सौकर्यं भवेत् ।

### 'पुराण' पत्रिका

'पुराण' पत्रिकाया गत जनवरी अङ्के लेखाद्यातिरिक्तं परिशिष्टद्वयमपि प्रकाशितमासीत् । एकं परिशिष्टं स्वरूपमस्तस्यपुराणस्य (अध्यायाः ५-१०) समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणमासीत् । अपरं विष्णुपुराणस्य विषयानुक्रमणी आसीत् । वर्तमाने 'जुलाई' अङ्के अपि कैम्ब्रिज विश्वविद्यालये रक्षितस्य 'चाणक्यनीति' नाम हस्तलेखस्य समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं प्रकाश्यते । एष हस्तलेखः गरुडपुराणस्य 'नीति' अध्यायानां (१०८-११५) सारः संक्षिप्तपाठो वा विद्यते । उपयोगिना पाठविवरणेन भूमिकया च सहितमिदं संस्करणं न्यूयार्क ( अमेरिका ) निवासिना डा० एल. स्टर्नबाखमहोदयेन सम्पादितमस्ति ।

### वेदपारायणम्

गतमाघमासीये शुक्लपक्षे ( जनवरी-फरवरी ) जनवरी २२तः फरवरी ५

text) of the Śākala Śākhā of the Ṛgveda by memory was arranged by the Kashiraj Trust in the Vyāseśvara temple of the Ramnagar Fort. This *Pārāyaṇa* was done by the Vedic scholar, Pt. Dinakar Madhava Pharake Sharma of Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra. A certificate of merit, a gold Kaṅkaṇa and the usual dakṣiṇā was given to the reciter at the successful conclusion of the *Pārāyaṇa*.

### Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravacana.

The pāṭha and pravacana of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* was arranged in the month of Māgha from January 22 to 31 in the Sumeru Mandir (Durga Temple). The discourses on it were given by Pt. Visvanath Shastri Datar.

In the month of phālguna the pāṭha and pravacana of the *Vāmana Purāṇa* was arranged from February 8 to 18 in the Śiva Temple. The discourses on this Purāṇa were given by Pt. Badari nath Shukla, Professor of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University.

In the month of Chaitra the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* was recited from March 23 to 31 at Janakpur temple and the discourses on it were given by Pt. Ramlaksmāna Acharya of Varanasi.

In the month of Āṣāḍha the pāṭha and pravacana of the *Saundarya Laharī* was done in the Bālā Tripurā Sundarī Temple.

### Distinguished Guests and Visitors

The following dignatories were the guests of His Highness Maharaja Kashināresh in the Nadesar House :—

1. Air Vice Marshal S. N. Goyal—on 7. 1. 66.
2. His Excellency Dr. Sampurnanand Ji,  
Governor of Rajasthan 29. 1. 66.
3. His Excellency Sri Bishwanath Das  
Governor of U. P.—on 13. 2. 66.
4. Hon'ble Sri Jagjivan Ram—18. 2. 66.  
Minister of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation  
Government of India.

यावत् ऋग्वेदस्य शाकलशाखायाः कण्ठाग्रं पारायणम् रामनगरदुर्गस्य व्यासेश्वरमन्दिरे संजातम् । पारायणमिदं काशिराजन्यासेनायोजितमासीत् । इदं पारायणं महाराष्ट्रस्य रत्नगिरिजनपदनिवासिना वैदिकविदुषा पं० दिनकरमाधवफडके महोदयेन कृतम् । पारायणसमाप्तौ पारायणकर्त्रे यथानियमं दक्षिणासहितं प्रशस्तिपत्रं, स्वर्णकङ्कणम् च प्रदत्तम् ।

### पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

गतमाघमासस्य शुक्लपक्षे २२ जनवरीतः ५ फरवरी यावत् मार्कण्डेय-पुराणस्य पाठः प्रवचनञ्च सुमेरु ( दुर्गा ) मन्दिरे सम्पन्नम् । मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य प्रवचनं पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्रीदातारमहोदयेन कृतम् ।

फाल्गुनमासे ( फरवरी ८-१८ यावत् ) वामनपुराणस्य पाठः प्रवचनञ्च शिवमन्दिरे कृतम् । वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापकेन पं० बदरी-नाथशुक्लमहोदयेन तस्य प्रवचनं कृतम् ।

चैत्रमासे मार्च २३-३१ कालं यावत् जनकपुरमन्दिरे अध्यात्मरामायणस्य पारायणं प्रवचनं चाभूत् । काशीवास्तव्येन पं० रामलक्ष्मणाचार्यमहोदयेन एत-द्विषयकं प्रवचनं कृतम् ।

आषाढमासे बालात्रिपुरसुन्दरीमन्दिरे सौन्दर्यलहर्याः पाठः प्रवचनं च सम्पन्नम् ।

### विशिष्टा अतिथयः

अधोनिर्दिष्टाः सज्जनाः तत्रभवतः काशीनरेशस्य नदेसरभवने अतिथयः आसन्

१. एयरवाइस मार्शल एस. एन. गोयलः—७-१-६६ तिथ्याम् ।
२. राजस्थानराज्यपालः डा० सम्पूर्णानन्दः २९-१-६६ तिथ्याम् ।
३. उत्तरप्रदेशराज्यपालः श्रीविश्वनाथदासः—१३-२-६६ तिथ्याम् ।
४. भारतदेशस्य श्रममंत्री श्री जगजीवनरामः—१८-२-६६ तिथ्याम् ।

## 5. General Ne Win

Chairman Council of Ministers Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, Rangoon 3. 3. 66.

## 6. His Excellency John Freeman

High Commissioner for U. K. in India on 16. 3. 66.

The following scholars visited our Purāṇa Department during this period, and appreciated its work :

1. Prof. Jagannath Agrawal of the Punjab University, Chandigarh, President of the Numismatic Society of India—on 3. 1. 66.
2. Dr. S.N. Roy of the Allahabad University, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology—on 8. 1. 66.
3. M. M. Dr. Datto Vamana Potdar, former Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board—on 8. 2. 66.

He remarks :—

काशीनरेश द्वारा पुराणप्रकाशनकार्य चल रहा है। इसे देखकर मेरा चित्त अतीव प्रमोदित हुआ है। पुराणग्रन्थों की शुद्धप्रतियाँ सिद्ध करना भारतीय संस्कृति के अभ्यासकों के लिए अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य है। .....इसके लिए अब प्रमाण पद्धति निश्चित हो चुकी है। इस कार्यालय में उसी पद्धति का अनुसरण होता देखकर मेरा संतोष और भी बढ़ गया है। इस महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य में पण्डित, शासक, ग्रन्थपाल सब लोग सम्पूर्ण सहकार और साहाय्य देगें यह मेरी आशा है।”

4. Prof. T. Burrow, Prof. of Sanskrit, Oxford University—on 15. 2. 66.

He appreciated the work of our Purāṇa Department in the following words :—

“I was much impressed by the scale of the work undertaken and by the care and competence with which it is being executed. Critical editions of the Purāṇas have long been a desideratum, and those which are being prepared here will begin to appear shortly. The undertaking constitutes one of the most important contribution to Indology being made at the present time.”

५. बर्मामन्त्रिपरिषदः अध्यक्षः श्री नेविनमहोदयः—८-३-६६

६. इग्लैण्डदेशस्य भारतस्थितः हार्डिंकमिशनर श्री जान फ्रीमैन महोदयः—१६-३-६६ ।

अस्मिन् काले अधोनिर्दिष्टा विद्वांसः पुराणविभागं दृष्टवन्तः, तस्य कार्यं च प्रशंसितवन्तः ।

१. पञ्जाब विश्वविद्यालयप्राध्यापको भारतीयमुद्राशास्त्रपरिषदः अध्यक्षश्च प्रो० जगन्नाथ अग्रवालः—३-१-६६ दिनांके ।

२. प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राचीन भारतीय-इतिहास-संस्कृति विभागस्य प्राध्यापकः डा० सिद्धेश्वरीनारायणरायः ८-१-६६ दिनांके ।

३. केन्द्रीय संस्कृतपरिषदो भूतपूर्वोऽध्यक्षो महामहोपाध्यायः डा० दत्तोवामनपोतदारमहोदयः—८-२-६६ दिनांके ।

पोतदारमहोदयैः निम्नोक्तैर्हिन्दीभाषावचनैरस्माकं पुराणकार्यमभिनन्दितम्—

काशीनरेश द्वारा पुराणप्रकाशनकार्यं चल रहा है । इसे देखकर मेरा चित्त अतीव प्रमोदित हुआ है । पुराण ग्रन्थों की शुद्धप्रतियां सिद्ध करना भारतीय संस्कृति के अभ्यासकों के लिए अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य है । . . . इसके लिए अब प्रमाण पद्धति निश्चित हो चुकी है । इस कार्यालय में उसी पद्धति का अनुसरण होता देखकर मेरा संतोष और भी बढ़ गया है । इस महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य में पण्डित, शासक, ग्रन्थपाल सब लोग संपूर्ण सहकार और साहाय्य देगें यह मेरी आशा है ।”

४. आक्सफोर्ड विश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतप्राध्यापकः डा० टी० बरो महोदयः—१५. २. ६६ तिथ्याम् ।

अनेन महाशयेनापि पुराणविभागस्य कार्यमित्थं प्रशंसितम्—

अहमत्र संपाद्यमानस्य कार्यस्य मात्रया कार्यकौशलेन च प्रभावितोस्मि । पुराणानां समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं चिरकालेनाभीष्टमासीत् । अस्यां संस्थायां यानि पुराणानि सम्पाद्यमानानि वर्तन्ते तानि शीघ्रमेव प्रकाशं गमिष्यन्ति । इमानि कार्याणि वर्तमानसमये भारती-विद्यायै महत्त्वपूर्णानि सन्ति ।

5. Prof. G. Vallin of the Nancy University, France  
—on 19. 2. 66.
6. Dr. V. Raghavan, Head of the Sanskrit Department,  
Madras University, and Member of the Central Sanskrit  
Board—on 28-29 June.

We are also thankful to Prof. Otto Wolff of Germany for his very informative article on the All-India Kashiraj Trust and its activities, viz. "*Varanasi und der All India Kashiraj Trust*" *Ein neues religionswissenschaftliches Forschungs Zentrum in Benares, Indien* (Varanasi and the All-India kashiraj Trust—A new religious scientific centre in Benares, India) published in the *Zeitschrift fur Religions und Geistesgeschichte* (Journal for Religious and spiritual History'), Vol. XVII, Book 2, 1965, published by E. J. Brill Ltd., Cologne.

We are also thankful to Prof. Roger Riviere of Madrid University, Spain, for his article, *investigaciones Sobre los Purāna por el "All India Kashiraj Trust" de Benares* published in the *Boletin de la Asociacion Espanola de Orientalistas. Año 1, 1965*. An English translation of this article made by the Author himself is published in the present issue of the 'Purāna'.

#### Other Activities

Shri Anand Swarup Gupta attended the All-India Numismatic Conference held in the Indology College of the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi in the first week of January, 1965 and contacted the scholars.

A Vedic *Agniṣṭomīya Soma Yāga* was performed in the Sivala Palace in the last week of April with the great and noble aim of procuring the peace and welfare of the world through the agency of the divine grace. Such a Vedic *Yajña* had not been performed in Kashi within the last fifty years or so. A large number of Vedic scholars and Karmakāṇḍins from the various parts of India participated. The *Yajña* was performed strictly according to the Vedic injunctions.

The Kashiraj Trust contributed Rs. 500/- besides allowing the use of the premises of the Sivala Palace for the performance of the *Yajña* for a full week.



५. फ्रान्सदेशीयः नैसीविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापकः जी० वलिनमहोदयः  
—१९-२-६६ दिनांके ।

६. मद्रासविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षः केन्द्रीय संस्कृतपरिषदः  
सदस्यश्च डा० वे० राघवन्महोदयः—२८-२९ जून

वयं जर्मनदेशीयविदुषे प्रो० आट्टो ओल्फ महोदयाय अपि कृतज्ञाःस्मः, येन काशिराजन्याससम्बन्धे तस्य कार्यसम्बन्धे च 'वाराणसी उन्ड डेर आल इण्डिया काशिराजट्रस्ट' नामकः तथ्यपूर्णः स्वनिबन्धः एकस्यां जर्मनभाषापत्रिकायां प्रकाशितः ।

वयं स्पेनदेशीय माड्रिड विश्वविद्यालय-प्राध्यापकाय श्रीरिवरिमहोदयाय अपि कृतज्ञाः स्मः येन काशिराजन्याससंबन्धे एको निबन्धः स्पेनिशभाषायां एकस्यां स्पेनिशपत्रिकायां प्रकाशितः । अस्य लेखस्य स्वयं लेखकमहोदयेन कृतः आंग्लभाषानुवादः अस्मिन्नङ्के अन्यत्र प्रकाशितः ।

### इतरकार्याणि

जनवरीमासस्य प्रथमसप्ताहे श्री आनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः हिन्दु विश्वविद्यालयस्य भारतीमहाविद्यालये सम्पन्ने अखिलभारतीयमुद्राशास्त्रसम्मेलने सम्मिलितोऽभूत् विद्वद्धिः सम्पर्कं च स्थापितवान् ।

अप्रैलमासस्य अन्तिमे सप्ताहे न्यासस्य शिवालाप्रासादे ईश्वरानुग्रहद्वारा जगतः शान्ति-मङ्गलप्राप्तये अग्निष्टोमीयसोमयागः सम्पादितः । एतादृशो यागः वाराणसीनगरे पञ्चाशत् वर्षकालाद् नाभूत् । अस्मिन् यज्ञे भारतदेशस्य विभिन्न-भागैर्भ्यो बहवः वैदिकविद्वांसः कर्मकाण्डिनः पण्डिताश्च समागता आसन् । यज्ञः पूर्णतः वैदिकविधिना सम्पादितः ।

काशिराजन्यासेन एतदर्थं शिवालाप्रासादभूमेः उपयोगसौकर्यातिरिक्तं पञ्च-शतानि रूप्यकाणि प्रदत्तानि ।

PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

'PURĀṆA' BULLETIN, Vols. I to VIII (1959-1966), with the supplement containing Subject-wise as well as Author-wise Index of the first five volumes. Price : each volume Rs. 12 or £ 1 ; Supplement Rs. 1.25 or 2 shillings. Supplement supplied free to the subscribers.

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