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लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,  
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् न्यासं च निबध्नन्ति

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The Late Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

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ON THE SAD DEMISE OF DR. V. S. AGRAWALA

सर्वभारतीय काशिराज न्यास का न्यासीमण्डल डा० वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल के असामयिक निधन पर पूर्ण शोक प्रकट करता है एवं उनके दुःखी परिवार के प्रति अपनी सहानुभूति एवं समवेदना प्रेषित करता है ।

डा० अग्रवाल आरम्भ से ही काशिराज न्यास की 'पुराण-समिति' के सदस्य रहे । आपके सहयोग तथा निरीक्षण से पुराण-विभाग के कार्य-संचालन में पूरी सहायता प्राप्त होती रही । 'पुराणम्' पत्रिका के संपादक-मण्डल में भी आप आरम्भ से ही रहे तथा इस पत्रिका के आरम्भ के कई अङ्कों का आपने स्वयं संपादन भी किया, और इस के प्रायः सभी अङ्कों में आपने विद्वत्तापूर्ण निबन्ध प्रदान किये । वामन-पुराण के संपादन-कार्य में भी आपने समय-समय पर पथ-निर्देशन किया, तथा अखिल भारतीय प्राच्यविद्या सम्मेलन के गौहाटी अधिवेशन में अपने अध्यक्षीय भाषण में न्यास के पुराण-कार्य का प्रशंसा पूर्वक उल्लेख किया ।

डा० अग्रवाल के निधन से भारत का एक बड़ा विद्वान् हमारे बीच से उठ गया है, जिससे विद्वन्मण्डल और विशेषतः काशिराज न्यास की बहुत बड़ी क्षति हुई है जिसका पूरा होना अतीव दुष्कर है ।

काशिराजन्यास उनके प्रति अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करता है, एवं उनकी दिवंगत आत्मा की शान्ति के निमित्त ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करता है ।

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## ब्रह्मकृता योगनिद्रा-स्तुतिः

( देवीमाहात्म्यम्, १, ५४-६७ )

[ स नाभिकमले विष्णोः स्थितो ब्रह्मा प्रजापतिः ।  
दृष्ट्वा तावसुरौ चोग्रौ प्रमुत्तं च जनादनम् ॥ ५१ ॥  
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निद्रां भगवतीं विष्णोरतुलां तेजसः प्रभुः ॥ ५३ ॥ ]

### ब्रह्मोवाच

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 बोधश्च क्रियतामस्य हन्तुमेतौ महासुरौ ॥ ६७ ॥

[This *stuti* of the Goddess Yoganidrā has been taken here from the 'Devī-Māhātmya'—'Glorification of the Great Goddess'—edited with translation and annotation by the late Dr. V. S. Agrawala (who was on the editorial Board of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin), and published by the All-India Kashiraj Trust in 1963. The *Stuti* is composed in a very lucid and fluent style and 'with perfect mastery over a language of varied symbolism fluctuating between the Vedic and the Purāṇic styles.' Its easy language creates no difficulty for the reader in understanding the sense. But several of its statements require explanation to bring out their esoteric meaning. Below are given important extracts from Dr. Agrawala's annotations on this *stuti*.]

1.53. भगवती निद्रा—“The stotra of Brahmā (1.53-67) is a unique exposition of the principle of rest (निद्रा or रात्रि), that is, the Divine creator at rest when all forces have been withdrawn into his own person. Here a clear statement of the two states, the manifest and the unmanifest, is clearly formulated and both are said to be rooted in the same Absolute Divinity. One has to understand the several epithets given to निद्रा, sometimes to her

latent form, at other to her manifest form as cosmos. The stotra is comprised of many Vedic and Purāṇic motifs."

1.54. स्वरात्मिका "Svara generally a vowel sound, also stands for Vāk both in her transcendent and manifest form. The great Goddess in the Vedas is essentially identified with Vāk as in the वागामृणी सूक्त (RV. 10. 125).

त्रिधा मात्रात्मिका -- The three sounds अ + उ + म् which make up the Omkāra and which are the symbols of the cosmic triads, for example जाग्रत्, स्वप्न, सुषुप्ति or the three states of consciousness, represent the three mātrās of *Praṇava*. The reference is to the doctrine in the Māṇḍūkya Upanishad."

1.55. अर्धमात्रा — "The half mātrā of the sound is that which is eternal and beyond utterance. This is also referred to as अमात्रा, i. e. without measure, अव्यवहार्या, शिवा, अद्वैता (Māṇḍūkya Up. 12.)"

1.58. महाविद्या etc. — "These epithets can be understood only with reference to their Vedic background. According to the Veda the creation is an emanation from a transcendent reality called अज, अव्यय or स्वयंभू which existed alone in the beginning..... From this undifferentiated centre proceeds the creation as a five-jointed branch. The first portion is स्वयंभू himself. The second is परमेष्ठी, the third सूर्य, the fourth चन्द्रमा and the fifth one पृथिवी. Of the five स्वयंभू and परमेष्ठी form one group and सूर्य, चन्द्रमा and पृथिवी the second group. The first group is unmanifest and the second manifest. स्वयंभू is the father-principle and परमेष्ठी the mother principle. स्वयंभू is the source or centre and परमेष्ठी is its extension or Mahimā called the Universal..... These two are the universal parents on the plane of unmanifested creation. Of the second group सूर्य is the father and पृथिवी the mother. These are also the parents of the visible creation symbolised as द्यावा-पृथिवी. At each level of these five there is a form of the Goddess—because she is power or female counterpart of the Deva.

In this verse the *Śakti* (power) of स्वयंभू is called महाविद्या the supreme knowledge.

The second epithet महामाया refers to परमेष्ठी or the Universal in which the creative potentialities are first measured out as Māyā or Mātā and then the whole scheme of creativity is determined as formless manifestation. It is the stage of the Universal, i. e. an amorphous condition full of great potentiality and dynamism, but all the energies are darting and conflicting in an irregular fashion, striving to evolve an order out of a prevailing chaos that is the form of महामाया who as representative of the Devas helps the cosmic order in the face of the destructive forces over whom she ultimately triumphs.....

The third epithet महामेधा refers to the region of सूर्य. The principle of Medhā is the same as Vijñāna, intelligence or consciousness as manifested on the plane of सूर्य who represents the universal mind.....

The fourth epithet is महास्मृति, the principle of Memory which is essential for the functioning of Medhā. This belongs to the sphere of चन्द्रमा or अन्तरिक्ष.

The fifth epithet is महामोहा, i. e. the power of Delusion, forgetfulness, error, confusion (bhrānti)—all of which are associated with पृथिवी or matter which intercepts light and results in darkness.....

महादेवी महासुरी—Here are two epithets applied simultaneously to the Great Goddess... This is an instance of the many paradoxes found in the Vedas and the Purāṇas. The power which is centrifugal, i. e. flows out from the centre, disintegrates and disrupts is called Āsuric, but that which builds the regulating force of the centre is Daivī or Divine. In the Universal both exist together. Originally there is chaos everywhere, although there is inexhaustible reserve of energy, but that is manifesting as destructive fury, being unharnessed, undirected and unmeasured. That is its Āsuric form and the Goddess is called महासुरी... But since the Devas exist in the womb or the centre of the great Asura principle as the dynamic archetypal representatives of Svayambhū, they must ultimately assert themselves and evolve a rhythm in the midst of chaos. This is the principle of the

महादेवी whose form is the essence of all the Devas like a towering pillar of fire.....”

1.59. कालरात्रि, महारात्रि, मोहरात्रि—“...Rātri represents the principle of Darkness (Tamas) which is the larger substratum of Light or Creation. Wherever there is light the opposite principle of darkness also supervenes there. Darkness in the region of स्वयंभू is called महारात्रि, in that of परमेष्ठी it is called मोहरात्रि, and in the region of सूर्यं it is कालरात्रि. The principle of Tamas or darkness in the region of चन्द्र and पृथिवी is referred to as दारुगरात्रि...Light is enveloped in the womb of Darkness. And so much of these five Piṇḍas or creative modalities is associated with an envelop that is essential to it as its finalising principle and is called its Rātri, and Rātri is the mother or womb which produces the Day... The word Rātri literally means the giver or producer from the root रा to give. In the R̥gveda Rātri is spoken of as the source into which the whole cosmos is withdrawn—‘जगतो निवेशिनी’ (Rv. 1.35.1).

स्वयंभू is called Tamas as the undifferentiated source or primeval centre of creation which is beyond all measurement and predication. Its next emanation is परमेष्ठी or the Universal which is also called Tamas, since on that level the Asuras or the unregulated forces predominate.

Both स्वयंभू and परमेष्ठी thus represent the two Rātris or Dark-nesses called महारात्रि and मोहरात्रि. The third stage is reached in सूर्यं where relative time starts the distinction of day and night. It is therefore called कालरात्रि...”

1.62. परापराणां परमा—“...The transcendent is called परा and the immanent world of Matter अवरा or अपरा. The One Reality is split into two, viz. the world of spirit and of Matter; the former is Parārdha and the latter Avarārdha. There is the relative conception of the higher and the lower at several successive levels each preceding one spoken as the cause of the next to it and thus a chain of succession of cause and effect is formed. Here the Great Goddess is conceived of as standing highest in this chain of causation. She is the transcendent supreme source from which all causes, howsoever subtle and basic they be, originate.”

1.63. सदसद्—“The existent and the non-existent, the former referring to Prāṇa or Spirit and the latter to Bhūta or Matter... Here it is stated that the Goddess comprehends both Sat and Asat and therefore she is rightly spoken of as अखिलात्मिका, the All embracing. As such she is beyond all categories contrasted as Sat and Asat, and therefore cannot be properly extolled with the help of word”.

1.64. निद्रा—“At the time of dissolution Vishṇu enters the state of sleep, withdrawing all the worlds into his centre of rest. This implies a suspension of the creative activity of the Time principle. Here the idea is that it is the Great Goddess who induces this state of sleep or rest for Nārāyaṇa. When the periodic sleep of Vishṇu comes to an end, the impelling force of the time principle which gives the pendulum its return movement is also the Great Goddess. It is she who creates the three Guṇas and gives manifest form to Vishṇu, Brahmā and Śiva”.

THE LEGEND OF THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN  
IN THE EPICS AND THE PURĀNAS;  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

By

V. M. BEDEKAR

[ अस्मिन् निबन्धे समुद्रमन्थनाख्यानस्य तुलनात्मकं विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम् । सागरमन्थनस्याख्यानम् इतिहासपुराणेषु बहुलतया वर्णितं वर्तते । कैश्चिद् विद्वद्भिः वेदेऽपि अस्याख्यानस्य मूलमूहितम् । किं तु लेखकमहोदयस्य मतेन नास्ति तत्र सद्भावोऽस्य आख्यानस्य । एतदाख्यानं महाभारते रामायणे मत्स्य-विष्णु-ब्रह्माण्ड-पद्म-भागवत-अग्नि-स्कन्दपुराणेषु चोपलभ्यते । प्रस्तुतलेखे उक्तस्थलेषु-पलब्धस्यास्याख्यानस्य तुलनात्मकमध्ययनम् षड्विभागेषु विभज्य प्रस्तुतम् । ते च विभागाः यथा—(i) आख्यानस्यावसरः (ii) सागरमन्थनस्योद्देश्यम् (iii) अमृतमन्थनस्य समारम्भः (iv) समुद्रमन्थनम् (v) समुद्रमन्थनत उद्भूताः पदार्थाः (vi) अमृतस्य देवैभ्यः प्रापणो विष्णोरुद्योग इति । प्रत्येकविभागान्तर्गतं विभिन्न-ग्रन्थेषु उपलब्धस्य अस्याख्यानस्य पृथक्-पृथक् विवरणं दत्त्वा तद्विभागान्ते टिप्पण्यां तत्तद्ग्रन्थस्थाख्यानानां साम्यवैषम्ययोः प्रदर्शनं कृतम् । निबन्धस्यान्तिमे भागे लेखकमहोदयेन केचन निष्कर्षाः प्रस्तुताः । अत्र रत्नानां संख्याविषये विभिन्नग्रन्थेषुतेषां संख्यावैभिन्य-विषयेऽपि च विवेचनं कृतम् । केषु ग्रन्थेषु रत्नानां संख्या सप्त, केषु द्वादश, केषु त्रिंशत् इत्यादि । विभिन्नकालेषु विशिष्टरत्नानां कल्पना विभिन्नसम्प्रदायविद्विः कृतेति प्रतीयते । यथा कालकूटविषयोऽल्लेखः केषुचिद् ग्रंथेषु न विद्यते अतः प्रतीयते यत् शैवैः तन्मन्थनं कल्पितम् । वैष्णवानाम् प्रभावस्तु समग्रे एव आख्याने वर्तते । शाक्तानां प्रभावोऽपि यत्र-तत्र दृश्यते, यथा विष्णुब्रह्माण्डपुराणयोः देवा लक्ष्मीं स्तुवन्ति । ]

The Legend of the churning of the ocean and of entities or 'jewels' emerging therefrom appears to be very popular in post-Vedic Sanskrit Literature. The legend is not found in Vedic

Literature.<sup>1</sup> It is found in the two Epics—the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the Purāṇa literature. In the present article, it is proposed to make a comparative study of the legend as it occurs in the following works :

(1) The *Mahābhārata* (Mbh). [The critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona].

(2) The *Rāmāyaṇa* (R) [The *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* critical edition, published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda].

(3) The *Matsya-Purāṇa* (M) [Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay].

(4) The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (Vi) [Edited and published by T. R. Vyasacharya, printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1914].

(5) The *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* (Br.) [Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay].

(6) The *Padma-Purāṇa* (P) [edited by V. N. Mandalik, Anandashrama, Poona].

(7) The *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* (Bhāg) [published by the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay].

(8) The *Āgneya-Mahāpurāṇa* (A) [Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay].

(9) The *Skanda-mahā-purāṇa* (SK). [Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay].

It is found that the legend, as it is told from work to work, differs in many respects in its several parts. For instance, there is no unanimity with regard to the number of entities which emerged from the ocean, or with regard to the sequence in which

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1. G. Dumézil seeks to establish, despite the silence of the Veda, the existence of an Indo-European myth of the winning of the drink of immortality by means of the churning of the ocean. Geldner has suggested that references to the legend of the churning of the ocean are to be found in the *Rgveda* V-2-3 and I-163-3. Regarding the views of Dumézil and Geldner and their assessment, see A. B. Keith, 'The Religion and the Philosophy of the Veda' Vol. 32 (Harvard Oriental Series). Appendix D, pp. 623-624.



they emerged. In order to high-light the differences in the legend as it develops from one part to another, the story is divided for the purpose of present study into the following *six* sections: (I) The occasion for the story of (the churning of the ocean for Amṛta) Amṛta-manthana (AM). (II) The motive of the AM. (III) Preparations for the AM. (IV) The churning of the Ocean for AM. (V) Emergence of Amṛta and of other entities. (VI) Viṣṇu's intervention in the fight for Amṛta, to the advantage of the gods. This plan of division would, it is hoped, facilitate the study of the points of similarity and difference, as the legend develops from one part to another. Besides, with a view to bringing out the significant points, if any, during this comparative study, there are inserted in between within rectangular brackets notes by the present writer.

It will be noticed that in the following sections giving the development of the legend from one work to another, the Padma Purāṇa (P) has been referred to twice. It is because the P gives two different accounts of the legend in two different places viz. in its Sṛṣṭikhanda and Uttarakhanda respectively. These two passages from P are therefore given a separate place in the following sections. P(Sṛṣṭikhanda) and P(Uttarkhanda) are abbreviated to P (S) and P (U) respectively and are referred to as such in the sequel.

### I. THE OCCASION FOR THE STORY OF AM

*Mbh.* 1. 15. 1-4

While narrating the story of the two sisters Kadrū and Vinatā as a part of the Āstika legend, Sūta said to Śaunaka: "The two sisters beheld from near the divine horse Uccaiḥśravas—the best of the horses which arose while the Amṛta was being churned out." Thereupon, Śaunaka asked Sūta to tell him how and where the Amṛta was churned out during which process was born the illustrious horse.<sup>2</sup> Sūta then takes this occasion to tell the story of AM.

2. कथं तदमृतं देवैर्मथितं क्व च शंस मे ।  
यत्र जज्ञे महावीर्यः सोऽश्वराजो महाद्युतिः ॥

—*Mbh.* 1.15.4.

R 1.44. 8-13 ; 1.45. 1-6 ; 1.46.10

Rāma seeing the city of Viśālā on the bank of the Gangā, asked Viśvāmitra to tell him the previous history of that city.<sup>8</sup> Viśvāmitra told Rāma that the site where the city of Viśālā stood had been formerly the scene of great austerities practised by Diti the wife of Mārīca. As a part of the story as to why Diti practised austerities, Viśvāmitra tells Rāma the episode of AM in which the sons of Aditi got the Amṛta and killed the sons of Diti who grieving over the loss of her sons, practised penance in order to get a son who would conquer Indra and the three worlds.

M 249. 1-3

The sages, hearing from Sūta about the greatness of Nārāyaṇa, asked him to tell them how gods attained immortality.<sup>4</sup> Sūta begins with saying that it was the two Gods Nārāyaṇa and Mahādeva who had helped the gods to attain immortality and proceeds towards the story of the AM.

Vi. 1. 9. 1-75.

Parāśara introduces the story of AM in answer to Maitreya's question as to how Viṣṇu came by Śrī or Lakṣmī. Parāśara says :

“Once the Sage Durvāsas got a garland of celestial Santānaka flowers from a Vidyādhari, and gave it to Indra whom he

3. (रामः)\*\*\*पप्रच्छ प्राञ्जलिभूत्वा विशालामुत्तमां पुरीम् ॥ 10  
(मुनिपुंगवः) आख्यातुं तत् समारम्भे विशालस्य पुरातनम् ॥ 12  
अस्मिन्देशे हि यद्वृत्तं शृणु तत्त्वेन राघव ॥ 13

—R.I. 44.

4. ऋषय ऊचुः—

नारायणस्य माहात्म्यं श्रुत्वा सूत यथाक्रमम् ।  
न तृप्तिर्जायतेस्माकमतः पुनरिहोच्यताम् ॥ 1  
कथं देवा गताः पूर्वममरत्वं विचक्षणाः ।  
तपसा कर्मणा वापि प्रसादात्कस्य तेजसा ॥ 2  
सूत उवाच—  
यत्र नारायणो देवो महादेवश्च शूलधृक् ।  
तत्रामरत्वे सर्वेषां सहायौ तत्र तौ स्मृतौ ॥ 3

—M, 249.

happened to see on his way. Indra placed the garland on the head of his elephant Airāvata. The Airāvata threw down the garland. Durvāsas, enraged at this insult, cursed Indra to the effect that the latter would be deprived of his kingdom of the three worlds. Indra and the gods, thus deprived of their glory went along with Brahmā to Viṣṇu to pray to him for restoring them to their former splendour".<sup>5</sup>

5. तामादायात्मनो मूर्ध्नि स्रजमुन्मत्तरूपधृक् ।  
 कृत्वा स विप्रो मैत्रेय परिबभ्राम मेदिनीम् ॥ 6  
 स ददर्श तमायान्तमुन्मत्तरावते स्थितम् ।  
 ... .. शचीपतिम् ॥ 7  
 तामात्मनः स शिरसः स्रजमुन्मत्तपट्टपदाम् ।  
 श्रादायामरराजाय चिक्षेपोन्मत्तवन्मुनिः ॥ 8  
 शुहीत्वामरराजेन स्रगौरावतमूर्धनि ।  
 न्यस्ता रराज कैलासशिखरे जाह्नवी यथा ॥ 9  
 मदान्धकारिताक्षोऽसौ गन्धाकृष्टेन वारणः ।  
 करेणाघ्राय चिक्षेप तां स्रजं धरणीतले ॥ 10  
 ततश्चुकोप भगवान् दुर्वासा मुनिसत्तमः ।  
 मैत्रेय देवराजानं क्रुद्धश्चेदमुवाच ह ॥ 11  
 दुर्वासा उवाच—  
 ऐश्वर्यमददुष्टात्मन्नतिस्तब्धोऽसि वासव ।  
 श्रियो धाम स्रजं यस्त्वं महत्तां नाभिवन्दसि ॥ 12  
 .... ..  
 महत्ता भवता ममला यस्मात्क्षिता महीतले ।  
 तस्मात्प्रणष्टलक्ष्मीकं त्रैलोक्यं ते भविष्यति ॥ 16  
 ... ..  
 महेन्द्रो वारणलकन्धादवतीर्थं त्वरान्वितः ।  
 प्रसादयामास मुनिं दुर्वाससमकल्मषम् ॥ 18  
 ... ..  
 ततः प्रभृति निःश्रीकं सस्रक्कं भुवनत्रयम् ।  
 ... .. ॥ 26  
 विजितास्त्रिदशा दैत्यैरिन्द्राद्याः शरणं ययुः ।  
 पितामहं महाभागं हुताशनपुरोगमाः ॥ 34  
 यथावत्कथितो देवैर्ब्रह्मा प्राह ततः सुरान् ।  
 परावरेणं शरणं ब्रजध्वमसुरार्दनम् ॥ 35  
 ... ..  
 एवमुक्त्वा सुरान् सर्वान् ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः ।  
 क्षीरोदस्योत्तरं तीरं तैरेव सहितो ययौ ॥ 38  
 ... ..

P (S) 5. 4. 1-27

Bhīṣma asks Pulastya to tell him about the birth of Kamalā or Lākṣmī from the milk-ocean. In reply, Pulastya tells the story of the churning of the ocean. He tells the episode of Durvāsas (cf. Vi-above) in which gods being deprived of their glory and power by the curse of Durvāsas, approached Viṣṇu to pray to him for restoring them to their former glory.

[Note 1 : This part of the story in P. concerning the Durvāsas episode is similar in substance and wording to that in Vi. For similarity in wording, compare P(S) 5.4.9-26 with Vi. 1.9.6-75. The version in P. appears to be a summary of that in Vi.]

P (U) 6. 259. 1-39

Rudra says to Pārvatī : "I shall tell you about the greatness of Viṣṇu in his incarnation of the Tortoise".<sup>6</sup> Then he tells the episode of the curse of Durvāsas. Through the curse, Śrī or Lakṣmī, the embodiment of splendour and beauty disappeared from the world. Gods deprived of their glory approached along with Brahmā Lord Viṣṇu to pray to him for restoring to them their glory.

Br. 4. 9. 31-47

Indra molested Śaṅkara—Śaṅkara sent Durvāsas to curse Indra, as a result of which Indra and the gods lost their strength and glory<sup>7</sup> and were defeated by the demons in battle. Thereupon,

प्रगम्य प्रणताः सर्वे संक्षोभस्तिमितेक्षणाः ।  
 तुष्टुवुः पुण्डरीकाक्षं पितामहपुरोगमाः ॥ 68  
 ....  
 एवं संस्तूयमानस्तु प्रणतैरमरैर्हरिः ।  
 प्रसन्नदृष्टिर्भगवानिदमाह स विश्वकृत् ॥ 75

—1.975

6. यत्कौर्म वैभवं विष्णोः सर्वलोकनमस्कृतम् ।  
 तद्वक्ष्यामि प्रिये सम्यक् शृणुष्वैकाग्रचेतसा ॥ 1  
 ... ..  
 ततः श्रीजंगतां धात्री क्षणादन्तर्दधे स्वयम्... ॥ 10

—6.259

7. एतावन्तमिमं कालं त्रिलोकीं परिपालयन् ।  
 (भवान्) ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तत्वात्कैलासाद्रिमपीडयत् ॥

gods headed by Brahmadeva approached Viṣṇu for advice and help.

*Bhāg.* 8. 5. 9-14

Śuka, while narrating the great achievements of Hari or Viṣṇu, says to King Parīkṣit<sup>8</sup> : "Lord Viṣṇu incarnated himself as Ajita the son of Vairāja and his wife Sambhūti. In this incarnation as Ajita, the Lord got the ocean churned and secured ambrosia for the gods..." The king, thereupon, requests Śuka to narrate in more detail this particular feat of Viṣṇu. Śuka, in answer, relates the story of AM.

A. 3.

Agni said to Vasiṣṭha : "I shall now tell you about Viṣṇu's incarnation of the Tortoise."<sup>9</sup> Thus is introduced the story of the churning of the milk-ocean.

सर्वज्ञेन शिवेनाथ प्रेषितो भगवान्मुनिः ।  
दुर्वासिास्त्वन्मदभ्रंशं कर्तुकामः शशाप ह ॥  
.....अधुना पश्य निःश्रीकं त्रैलोक्यं समजायत ॥.....  
इत्थं कथयतोरेव बृहस्पतिमहेन्द्रयोः ।  
मलकाद्या महादैत्याः स्वर्गलोकं बबाधिरे ॥  
.....  
अथ ब्रह्मादयो देवा भगवन्तं जनादनम् ।  
तुष्टुबुर्वाग्वरिष्ठाभिः सर्वलोकमहेश्वरम् ॥

—4-9-30-47

8. शुकः—

तत्रापि देवः संभूत्यां वैराजस्याभवत्सुतः ।  
अजितो नाम भगवानंशेन जगतः पतिः ॥ 9  
पयोधि येन निर्मथ्य सुराणां साधिता मुधा ।  
..... ॥ 10

राजा—

यथा भगवता ब्रह्मान् मथितः क्षीरसागरः ।  
..... ॥ 11  
यथामृतं सुरैः प्राप्तं किं चान्यदभवत्ततः ।  
एतद् भगवतः कर्म वदस्व परमाद्भुतम् ॥ 12

9. वक्ष्ये कूर्मावतारं च संश्रुतं पापनाशनम् ।  
..... ॥ 1

A.1

SK. 1. 1. 8. 128 to 1. 1. 9. 1-31

The Sage Lomaśa says to the Sages that he would tell them how Śiva came to drink poison<sup>10</sup> and narrates the story which led to the churning of the ocean for ambrosia. He introduces the story as follows : Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, felt insulted at the insolent behaviour of Indra and left Indra. The gods were defeated by the demons. Consequently, the goddess Śrī, and the 'jewels' like Airāvata, the elephant and Uccaiṣravas, the horse fell into the ocean and left the gods who, thus, were deprived of their glory. Then the gods headed by Brahmā approached Viṣṇu for advice and help.<sup>11</sup>

[Note 2 : To sum up :

Mbh. introduces the story to explain the birth of the horse Uccaiṣravas and R. to explain how and why the demons were defeated. M, Bhāg, P(U), A introduce the story to bring out the greatness of Viṣṇu. Vi, P(S), Br. introduce the story to explain the disappearance of Lakṣmī and her eventual restoration. SK introduces the story to explain why Śiva drank poison.]

10. कथं गरं भक्षितवान् शिवो लोकमहेश्वरः ।  
तत्सर्वं श्रूयतां विप्राः यथावत् कथयामि वः ॥

--1-1-8-128

11. आगतोऽसौ महाभागो बृहस्पतिरुदारधीः ।  
शक्रं प्रमत्तं ज्ञात्वाथ मदाद्राज्यस्य दुर्मतिम् ॥  
तिरोधानमनुप्राप्तो बृहस्पती रुषान्वितः ।  
देवाः पराजिता दैत्यैः ..... ॥  
शक्रोऽपि जातो निःश्रीको देवैस्त्यक्तस्ततो भृशम् ।  
देवी तिरोधानगता बभूव कमलेक्षणा ॥  
ऐरावतो महानागस्तथैवोच्चैःश्रवा ह्यः ।  
एवमादीनि रत्नानि अनेकानि बहून्पि ॥  
पुण्यभाङ्गि च तान्येन पतितानि च सागरे ।  
तथेति गत्वा ते सर्वे शक्राद्या लोकपालकाः ॥  
ब्रह्माणं च पुरस्कृत्य तटं क्षीराणवस्य च ।  
प्राप्योपविश्य ते सर्वे हरिं स्तोतुं प्रचक्रमुः ॥

1.1.9.3-28

## II. The Motive of the AM

*Mbh.* 1. 15. 5—13

Gods actuated by the object of obtaining Amṛta (ambrosia), which would make them immortal, got together on mount Meru to hold consultations regarding the plan of action that would lead them to the realization of their aim. While the gods were thinking and deliberating, God Nārāyaṇa proposed to the gods through Brahman (Brahmadeva) as follows: "Let the gods and the demons together churn the ocean. There will appear Amṛta when the ocean is thus churned."<sup>12</sup>

*R.* 1. 44. 14-16

The great sons of Diti and Aditi thought among themselves:<sup>13</sup> "How shall we be deathless, ageless and without disease?" They hit upon the idea of churning the milky ocean and getting the elixir out of it.

*M.* 249. 4-16

Sūta proceeds:

Śukrācārya acquitted the Saṃjīvanī Vidyā (the art of bringing the dead to life) from Śaṅkara and used it in the battle

12. (मेरोः) तस्य पृष्ठमुपाकृत्य बहुरत्नाचितं शुभम् । 9  
ते मन्त्रयितुमारब्धास्तत्रासीना दिवोकसः ।  
अमृतार्थे समागम्य तपोनियमसंस्थिताः ॥ 10  
तत्र नारायणो देवो ब्रह्माण्मिदमब्रवीत् ।  
चिन्तयत्सु सुरेष्वेवं मन्त्रयत्सु च सर्वशः ॥ 11  
देवैरसुरसंघैश्च मथ्यतां कलयोदधिः ।  
भविष्यत्यमृतं तत्र मथ्यमाने महोदधौ ॥ 12

—*Mbh.* 1. 15

13. पूर्वं कृतयुगे राम दितेः पुत्रा महाबलाः ।  
अदितेश्च महाभागा वीर्यवन्तः सुधार्मिकाः ॥ 14  
ततस्तेषां नरश्रेष्ठ बुद्धिरासीन्महात्मनाम् ।  
अमरा निर्जराश्चैव कथं स्याम निरामयाः ॥ 15  
तेषां चिन्तयतां राम बुद्धिरासीद्विपश्चिताम् ।  
क्षीरोदमथनं कृत्वा रसं प्राप्स्याम तत्र वै ॥ 16

—*R.* 1. 44

between the demons and the gods to revive the demons who were killed. Indra and other gods, seeing that the gods were being killed by hundreds while the demons, though killed, were being revived, got dejected.<sup>14</sup> Brahmā suggesting a remedy said to the gods assembled on mount Meru<sup>15</sup> : "Make friends with the demons. Work out the plan of securing Amṛta. Churn out the ocean. Make Bali, the king of the demons, the head or leader for some time." Thus gods were motivated by the desire to get Amṛta which would enable them to meet the challenge of the demons.

Vi. 1. 9. 74-81

When the gods implored Viṣṇu to strengthen them with his own power, Viṣṇu said to them : "I shall add to your strength, if you do what I shall tell you to do. Churn the milk-ocean along with the demons. With the *ambrosia* which will emerge during the process of churning, you will get not only strength but also immortality."<sup>16</sup>

14. पुरा देवासुरे युद्धे हताश्च शतशः सुराः ।  
 पुनः सञ्जीवनीं विद्यां प्रयोज्य भृगुनन्दनः ॥ 4  
 तस्य तुष्टेन देवेन शङ्करेण महात्मना ।  
 मृतसञ्जीवनी नाम विद्या दत्ता महाप्रभा ॥ 5-3  
 तत्र देवैर्हन्तान्दैत्याञ्छुक्रो विद्याबलेन च ।  
 उत्थापयति दैत्येन्द्रांस्त्रीलयैव विचक्षणः ॥ 10  
 एवंविधेन शक्रस्तु\*\*\*विषण्णवदनाः सर्वे बभूवुः\*\*\* ।  
 तेषु विषण्णेषु भगवान् कमलोद्भव आह\*\*\* ॥ 11-12
15. देवाः शृणुत मद्वाक्यम् । दानवैः सार्धं सख्यमत्र प्रवर्तताम् ॥ 13  
 क्रियताममृतोद्योगो मथ्यतां क्षीरवारिधिः ।\*\*\* 14  
 दानवेन्द्रो बलिः स्वामी स्तोककालं निवेश्यताम् ॥ 15

—M. 249

16. त्वं प्रसादं प्रसन्नात्मन् प्रपन्नानां कुरुष्व नः ।  
 तेजसा नाथ सर्वेषां स्वशक्त्याऽऽप्यायनं कुरु ॥ 74  
 श्रीभगवानुवाच—  
 तेजसो भवतां देवाः करिष्याभ्युपवृंहणम् ।  
 वदाम्यहं यत्क्रियतां भवद्भिस्तदिदं सुराः ॥ 76  
 आनीय सहिता दैत्यैः क्षीराब्धौ सकलोपधीः ।  
 मथ्यताममृतं देवाः सहाये मथ्यवस्थिते ॥ 77-78



P(s)5. 4. 28-33

In response to the appeal of the gods, Viṣṇu asks them to churn the ocean, in cooperation with the demons and assures them all help.

[Note 3: This part of P. agrees with the corresponding part of Vi. in wording and substance].

P(u)6. 259. 40-43

(Rudra continues his narration to Pārvatī :)

Viṣṇu said<sup>17</sup> to the gods that it was on account of the disappearance of Ramā or Lakṣmī that they had lost their vigour and strength. Therefore he asked them to churn the milk-ocean in cooperation with the demons, for getting back Lakṣmī who will emerge out of the ocean. He assured them his own help and disappeared.

Br. 4. 9. 48-54

With a view to restoring the gods back to their power and glory, Viṣṇu advised them to make truce with the demons and churn the ocean for ambrosia, in cooperation with them. He assured them that the ambrosia which would be produced from the churned ocean would make them strong and immortal.<sup>18</sup>

मथ्यमाने च तत्राब्धौ यत्समुत्पत्स्यतेऽमृतम् ।  
तत्पानाद् बलिनो यूयममराश्च भविष्यथ ॥ 80

—1.9

17. श्रीभगवानुवाच—

अत्रिसूनोर्मुनेः शापादन्तर्धानं रमा गता ।  
कटाक्षदर्शनात्तस्या जगदैश्वर्यसंयुतम् ॥ 40  
क्रुद्धं मन्यन् देवा दैत्यगन्धर्वदानवैः ॥ 42  
उत्पद्यते च सा लक्ष्मीर्जगत्संरक्षणाय वै ।  
तथा दृष्ट्वा महाभागा भविष्यथ न संशयः ॥ 43

—6,259.

18. समस्तदानवाश्चापि वक्तव्याः सान्त्वपूर्वकम् ।  
सामान्यमेव युष्माकमस्माकं च फलं त्विति ॥ 52

He also said that he would see to it that the demons did not get the ambrosia in spite of their labours.

Bhāg. 8. 5-15—8. 6-26

Śuka said to the King<sup>19</sup>: “The gods, shorn of their strength and vigour by the curse of Durvāsas, were vanquished in battle by the demons. The gods, thereupon, headed by Brahmadeva approached Ajita (Viṣṇu) to seek his help in their distress. In response to the prayer which Brahmā addressed on behalf of the gods, Hari appeared before them with all his glory. Brahmā, again sang a hymn of praise to him. The Lord then replied: “Go and conclude a truce with the demons. Set about the task of producing ambrosia which will bring about immortality. I shall help you in your churning of the ocean”.

मथ्यमाने तु दुग्धाब्धौ या समुत्पद्यते सुधा ।  
तत्पानाद्बलिनो युयममर्त्याश्च भविष्यथ ॥ 53  
यथा दैत्याश्च पीयूषं नैतत्प्राप्स्यन्ति किञ्चन ।  
केवलं क्लेशवन्तश्च करिष्यामि तथा ह्यहम् ॥ 54

—4.9.

19. यदा युद्धेऽसुरैर्देवा बाध्यमानाः क्षितायुधैः ।  
गतासवो निपतिता नोत्तिष्ठेरन् स्म भूयशः ॥ 15  
यदा दुर्वाससः शापात्सेन्द्रा लोकास्त्रयो नृप ।  
निःश्रीकाश्चाभवन्स्तत्र नेगुरिज्यादिकाः क्रियाः ॥ 16  
निशाभ्यैतत्सुरगणा महेन्द्रवरुणादयः ।  
...ततो ब्रह्मसभां जग्मुर्मोरोर्मूर्धनि सर्वशः ॥ 17-18  
( ब्रह्मा उवाच )

तस्माद्ब्रजामः शरणं जगद्गुरुं...स नो धास्यति शं सुरप्रियः ॥ 23  
इत्याभाष्य सुरान् वेधाः सहदेवैररिन्दम ।  
अजितस्य पदं साक्षाज्जगाम तमसः परम् ॥ 24

—8.5

यात् दानवदैतेयैस्तावत्सन्धिविधीयताम् । 19  
अमृतोत्पादने यत्नः क्रियतामविलम्बितम् ।  
यस्य पीतस्य वै जन्तुमुंत्युग्रस्तोऽमरो भवेत् ॥ 21  
सहायेन मया देवा निमंथध्वम् अतन्द्रिताः ॥ 23

—8.6

## A. 3.1-5

Agni said :<sup>20</sup> "The gods were deprived of their vigour and strength on account of the curse of Durvāsas and were defeated by the demons. They, therefore, approached Viṣṇu for succour. Viṣṇu advised them to make truce with the demons and churn the ocean for ambrosia with their cooperation. Viṣṇu also assured them that he would see that they, not the demons, would get Amṛta.

## SK. 1.1.9.32-63

Viṣṇu asked<sup>21</sup> Indra to make peace with the demons. Indra, accordingly, went to Bali the king of the demons and after

20. पुरा देवासुरे युद्धे दैत्यैर्देवाः पराजिताः ॥  
 ... .. ॥ 1  
 दुर्वाससश्च शापेन निःश्रीकाश्चाभवंस्तदा ।  
 स्तुत्वा क्षीराब्धिं विष्णुमुचुः पालय चासुरात् ॥ 2  
 ब्रह्मादिकान् हरिः प्राह सन्धिं कुर्वन्नु चासुरैः ।  
 क्षीराब्धिमथनार्थं हि अमृतार्थं श्रियेऽसुराः ॥ 3  
 युष्मानमृतभाजोऽथ करिष्यामि न दानवान् ॥ ... 4

--A. 3

21. श्रीभगवान् उवाच—  
 गुरोरवज्ञया सर्वं नश्यतीति किमद्भुतम् ।—32  
 तेन वै कारणेनेन्द्र मदीयं वचनं कुरु ।  
 कार्यहेतोस्त्वया कार्यो दैत्यैः सह समागमः ॥ 35  
 एवं भगवतादिष्टः शक्रः परमबुद्धिमान् ।  
 अमरावतीं ययौ हित्वा सुतलं दैवतैः सह ॥ 36  
 एकदा तु सभामध्ये आसीनो देवराट् स्वयम् ।  
 उवाच प्रहसन् वाक्यं बलिमुद्दिश्य नीतिमान् ॥ 56  
 गज्जादीनि बहून्येव रत्नानि विविधानि च ।  
 गतानि तत्क्षणादेव सागरे पतितानि वै ॥  
 प्रयत्नो हि प्रकृतं व्यो ह्यस्माभिस्त्वरयान्वितैः ।  
 तेषां चोद्धरणो दैत्य रत्नानामिह सागरात् ।  
 तर्हि निमंथनं कार्यं भवता कार्यसिद्धये ।  
 बलिः प्रवर्तितस्तेन शक्रेण सुरसूदनः ॥  
 उवाच शक्रं त्वरितः केनेदं मथनं भवेत् ।  
 तदा नभोगता वाणी मेघगम्भीरनिःस्वना ॥  
 उवाच देवा दैत्याश्च मन्थध्वं क्षीरसागरम् ।  
 भवतां बलवृद्धिश्च भविष्यति न संशयः ॥ 57-62

--1.1.9

( Selected )

conciliating him, said : “Our best ‘jewels’ have disappeared into the ocean. Let us churn the ocean to recover them.” Then Bali asked Indra as to how to set about churning the ocean. At that moment, a disembodied voice from the sky exclaimed : “Oh gods and demons ! churn the milk-ocean. It will increase your strength.” Thereupon the gods and the demons undertook to churn the ocean, with the object of gaining strength and vigour.

[Note 4 : All texts except P (U) and SK are agreed that the motive behind the churning of the ocean is the desire to obtain the drink which would confer strength and immortality. P (U), says that the motive is the desire to get back Lakṣmī who had disappeared, which however, allegorically means the same thing as Lakṣmī is the goddess of strength, vigour and glory. SK adds that the motive is also the desire to recover the ‘jewels’ which had disappeared into the ocean.]

### III. Preparations for the AM

Mbh. 1.16.1-13

The gods wanted the Mandara mountain to use it as a churning-stick for churning the ocean. But they could not lift the Mandara from its place<sup>22</sup>. They requested Viṣṇu and

22. (मन्दरं पर्वतवरं) तमुद्धतुं न शक्ता वै सर्वे देवगणास्तदा ।

विष्णुमासीनमभ्येत्य ब्रह्माणं चेदमब्रुवन् ॥ 4

भवन्तावत्र कुरुतां बुद्धिं नैःश्रेयसीं पराम् ।

मन्दरोद्धरणे यत्नः क्रियतां च हिताय नः ॥ 5

तथेति चाब्रवीद्विष्णुः ब्रह्मणा सह भागं व ।

ततोऽनन्तः समुत्थाय ब्रह्मणा परिचोदितः ।

नारायणेन चाप्युत्तस्तस्मिन् कर्मणि वीर्यवान् ॥ 6

अथ पर्वतराजानं तमनन्तो महाबलः ।

उज्जहार बलाद्ब्रह्मन् सवनं सवनौकसम् ॥ 7

ततस्तेन सुराः सार्धं समुद्रमुपतस्थिरे ।

तमूचुरमृताथाय निर्माथिष्यामहे जलम् ॥ 8

... ..

ऊचुश्च कूर्मराजानमकूपारं सुरासुराः ।

गिरिरधिष्ठानमस्य भवान् भवितुमर्हति ॥ 10

Brahman (masculine) to help to lift the mountain for them. Viṣṇu and Brahman agreed to their request. They asked Ananta (the Śeṣa) to lift the Mandara. Ananta lifted the mountain along with its wood and the occupants of the woods and took it to the ocean. The gods accompanied Ananta to the ocean and said to him (the ocean): "We are going to churn your waters for the sake of Amṛta (ambrosia)." The gods and the demons requested the lord of the tortoises to allow them to use his back as the restingplace for the churning-stick of the Mandara mountain. The tortoise consented<sup>23</sup> and offered its back for the purpose. Indra squeezed with an instrument the point of the Mandara so as to hold it in place on the back of the tortoise. Making Mandara a churning-stick and Vāsuki a churning-string, the gods and the demons began to churn the ocean with the object of attaining Amṛta. One end viz. the head of Vāsuki, the churning-string, was held by the demons, while gods stood by the side of the other end which was the tail.

R. 1, 44. 17

The gods and demons having resolved upon the churning of the ocean, made a churning-string of Vāsuki and a churning-staff of Mandara mountain. They then proceeded to churn the ocean.<sup>24</sup>

23. कूर्मेण तु तथेत्युक्त्वा पृष्ठमस्य समर्पितम् ।  
 तस्य शैलस्य चाग्रं वै यन्त्रेणोन्द्रोऽभ्यपीडयत् ॥ 11  
 मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा तथा नेत्रं च वासुकिम् ।  
 देवा मथितुमारब्धाः समुद्रं निधिमम्भसाम् ।  
 अमुतार्थिनस्ततो ब्रह्मन् सहिता दैत्यदानवाः ॥ 12  
 एकमन्तमुपाश्लिष्टा नागराज्ञौ महासुराः ।  
 विबुधाः सहिताः सर्वे यतः पुच्छं ततः स्थिताः ॥ 13

Mbh. 1-16

24. ततो निश्चित्य मथनं योक्त्रं कृत्वा च वासुकिम् ।  
 मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा समन्धुरभितौजसः ॥ 17

—R. 1.44

M. 249. 17--54

As asked by Brahman, the gods<sup>26</sup> approached the king of the demons and sought his cooperation. The king of the demons

25. तच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं देवा जग्मुर्दानवमन्दिरम् ।  
 अलं विरोधेन वयं भृत्यास्तव बलेऽधुना ॥ 17  
 क्रियताममृतोद्योगो त्रियतां शेषनेत्रकम् ।  
 त्वया चोत्पादिते दैत्य अमृतेऽमृतमन्थने ॥ 18  
 भविष्यामोऽमराः सर्वे त्वत्प्रसादान्न संशयः ।  
 एवमुक्तस्तदा देवैः परितुष्टः स दानवः ॥ 19  
 यथा वदत हे देवास्तथा कार्यं मयाधुना ॥ 20  
 ... ..  
 एवमुक्त्वा स दैत्येन्द्रो देवैः सह ययौ तदा ।  
 मन्दरं प्रार्थयामास सहायत्वे धराधरम् ॥ 23  
 मन्था भव तवास्माकमधुनामृतमन्थने । 24  
 ... ..  
 तत उत्पाद्य तं शैलं तत्क्षणात्क्षीरसागरे ।  
 चिक्षेप लीलया नागः कूर्मश्रावः स्थितस्तदा ॥ 30  
 निराधारं यदा शैलं न शेकुर्देवदानवाः ।  
 मन्दरभ्रामगं कर्तुं क्षीरोदमथने तदा ॥ 31  
 नारायणनिवासं ते जग्मुर्बलसमन्विताः । 32  
 तत्रापश्यन्त तं देवं सितपद्मप्रभं शुभम् । 33  
 ... ..  
 सब्यबाहूपधानं तं तुष्टुवुर्देवदानवाः ।  
 कृताञ्जलिपुटाः सर्वे प्रणताः सर्वतोदिशम् ॥ 36  
 ... ..  
 अस्माकममरत्वाय धियतां धियतामयम् ।  
 मन्दरः सर्वशैलानामयुतायुतविस्तृतः ॥ 43  
 ... ..  
 यथामृतत्वं देवेश तथा नः कुरु माधव ।  
 त्वया विना न तच्छक्यमस्माभिः कैटभादन ॥ 48  
 ... ..  
 (इत्युक्तो भगवान् विष्णुः) जगाम देवैः सहितो यत्रासौ मन्दराचलः ।  
 वेष्टितो भोगिभोगेन धृतश्रामरदानवैः ॥ 50  
 विषभीतास्ततो देवा यतः पुच्छं ततः स्थिताः ।  
 मुखतो दैत्यसङ्घास्तु सैहिकेयपुरस्सराः ॥ 51  
 दधारामृतमन्थानं मन्दरं चारुकन्दरम् ।  
 नारायणः स भगवान् भुजयुग्मद्वयेन तु ॥ 53  
 ततो देवासुरैः सर्वैर्जयशब्दपुरस्सरम् ।  
 दिव्यं वर्षशतं साग्रं मथितः क्षीरसागरः ॥ 54

offered his cooperation most willingly and went with the gods to the Mandara mountain to request him to serve as a churning-staff. Mandara offered to be the churning-staff, if an appropriate and adequate base for him to rest upon and an sufficiently long and strong churning-string to coil round him were made available. The tortoise and the serpent Śeṣa came forth to do the respective jobs. But Śeṣa in his arrogance moved the Mandara mountain so violently that it could not rest on the back of the tortoise. The Mandara mountain, thus with no base to rest upon, could not be properly whirled by the gods and the demons for churning the ocean. To rescue themselves from this difficult situation, the gods and the demons approached Nārāyaṇa and prayed to him for help. Thereupon, Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu went with the gods and the demons to the place where the Mandara mountain stood, coiled round by the coils of Śeṣa. The gods, afraid of the venom of the serpent, stood on the side of the serpent's tail and the demons headed by Rāhu stood on the side of the serpent's mouth. Nārāyaṇa, then, supported with the prop of his four arms the Mandara mountain which was the churning-staff and the gods and the demons churned the milky ocean.

*Vi.* 1. 9. 82—88

The gods in league with the demons exerted themselves for getting the ambrosia. They brought plants and herbs and threw them into the milk ocean. They made Mandara into a churning staff and Vāsuki into a churning rope and commenced churning

26. सर्वं एव तदा सुराः । सन्धानमसुरैः कृत्वा यत्नवन्तोऽमृतेऽभवन् ॥ 82

नानौषधीः समानीय देवदैतेयदानवाः ।

क्षिप्त्वा क्षीराब्धिपयसि शरदभ्रामलत्विषि ॥ 83

मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा नेत्रं कृत्वा च वासुकिम् ।

ततो मथितुमारब्धा मैत्रेय तरसामृतम् ॥ 84

विवुधाः सहिताः सर्वे यतः पुच्छं ततः कृताः ।

कृष्णेन वासुकेदैत्याः पूर्वकाये निवेशिताः ॥ 85

... ..

क्षीराब्धिमध्ये भगवान् कूर्मरूपी स्वयं हरिः ।

मन्थनाद्रेरधिष्ठानं भ्रमतोऽभ्रुन्महामुने ॥ 88

the ocean. The demons took their position by the side of the head of the serpent while the gods posted themselves by the side of its tail. Viṣṇu assumed the form of the tortoise and provided the resting place for the churning staff of the Mandara.

P(9) 5. 4-34-42

[Note 5 : This part of P. agrees with the corresponding part of Vi in substance and almost in wording.]

P(w) 6. 260.1-4

(Śaṅkara continues his narration to Pārvatī.)

The gods and the demons lifted up the Mandara mountain and immersed it into the ocean. Lord Nārāyaṇa assumed the form of a tortoise and supported the mountain on his back. He also held the peak of the mountain erect by his hand. The gods and the demons wound the serpent king around the Mandara mountain and began to churn.

Br. 4. 9. 55-57

The gods made truce<sup>38</sup> with the demons. They with the demons collected lots of herbs and plants and threw them into the

27. ततः सुरगणाः सर्वे दानवाद्या महाबलाः ।  
 उत्पाद्य मन्दरं शैलं चिक्षिपुः पयसां निधौ ॥ 1  
 ततो नारायणः श्रीमान् भगवान् भूतभावनः ।  
 कूर्मरूपेण तं शैलं दधारामितविक्रमः ॥ 2  
 ... अधारयद् गिरिवरं स पृष्ठे जगदीश्वरः... ॥ 3  
 तत्रैकेन भुजेनैव शिखरं सर्वगोऽव्ययः ।  
 ततो देवासुराः सर्वे ममन्थुः क्षीरसागरम् ॥ 4  
 सर्पराजेन संवेष्ट्य घर्घरं मन्दराचलम्... ॥ 5

28. संधानं त्वतुलैर्दैत्यैः कृतवन्तरत्वा सुराः ।  
 नानाविधौषधिगणं समानीय सुरासुराः ॥ 55  
 क्षीराब्धिपयसि क्षिप्त्वा चन्द्रमोऽधिकनिर्मलम् ।  
 मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा कृत्वा योक्त्रं तु वासुकिम् ॥  
 प्रारेभिरे प्रयत्नेन मंथितुं यादसां पतिम् ॥ 56  
 वासुकेः पुच्छभागे तु सहिताः सर्वदेवताः ।  
 शिरोभागे तु दैतेया नियुक्तास्तत्र शौरिणा ॥ 57

—6. 260

—4-9.



milk-ocean. They made a churning staff of the Mandara mountain and a churning rope of Vāsuki, the great serpent. On the advice of Viṣṇu they stood on the side of the serpent's tail while the demons took up their position on the side of the serpent's head.

*Bhāg.* 8. 6. 27 to 8. 7. 13

Then the gods headed by Mahendra, approached Bali, the king of the demons, and sought his cooperation for the AM. Bali agreed and the gods and the demons making friends entered into an agreement in the task of securing ambrosia. They, then, uplifted the Mandara mountain and tried to carry it to the ocean. But overwhelmed under its weight, they sank on the ground underneath. Viṣṇu came to their succour, he placed the Mandara mountain on the eagle and came to the ocean. The gods invited Vāsuki to serve as the churning rope and wound him around the churning staff of the Mandara. The gods held the tail and the demons the mouth of the serpent. When they both pulled and whirled the mountain, it sank into the water for want of support from underneath. Again Viṣṇu assumed the form of the tortoise for providing support to the mountain and saved the situation.<sup>29</sup>

29. ते वैरोचनिमासीनं गुप्तं चासुरयुथपैः ।

श्रिया परमया जुष्टं जिताशेषमुपागमत् ॥ 29

महेन्द्रः श्लुङ्गया वाचा सान्त्वयित्वा महामतिः ।

अभ्यभाषत तत्सर्वं शिक्षितं पुरुषोत्तमात् ॥ 30

ततो देवासुराः कृत्वा संविदं कृतसौहृदाः ।

उद्यमं परमं चक्रुरमृतार्थं परंतप ॥ 32

ततस्ते मन्दरगिरिमोजसोत्पाद्य दुर्मदाः ... ।

अपारयन्तस्तं वोढुं विवशा विजहुः पथि ॥ 33-34

...

तांस्तथा भग्नमनसो भग्नबाहूरुक्न्धरान् ।

विज्ञाय भगवांस्तत्र बभूव गरुडध्वजः ॥ 36

...

गिरिं चारोप्य गरुडे हस्तेनैकेन लीलया ।

आरुह्य प्रययावर्द्धि सुरासुरगणैर्वृतः ॥ 38

—8. 6

ते नागराजमामन्व्य फलभागेन वासुकिम् ।

परिवीर्यं गिरौ तस्मिन्नेत्रमर्द्धि मुदान्विता ॥ ( 1 )

मथ्यमानेऽर्णवे सोऽद्विरनाधारो ह्यपोऽविशत् ॥ 6

विलोक्य विघ्नेशविर्द्धि तदेश्वरो दुरन्तवीर्याऽवितथाभिसन्धिः ।

कृत्वा वपुः काच्छपमद्भुतं महत् प्रविश्य तोयं गिरिमुजहार ॥ 8

—8.7

## A. 3. 5—6

Agni said : “Viṣṇu told the gods to make the Mandara mountain the churning-staff and Vāsuki, the serpent the churning-rope. The gods did as they were told and arrived with the demons at the milk-ocean.<sup>30</sup>

## SK. 1. 1. 9. 64—89

The gods and the demons went to the Mandara mountain to request him to be of service to them by serving as the churning-staff. Mandara said : “I can not move. Lift me up.” The gods and the demons tried to lift and carry it but could not do so. They therefore, sought the help of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu put the mountain on his Garuḍa-vehicle and took it to the ocean and put it into the waters. The gods and the demons made Vāsuki into a churning-string and began to churn. But the mountain sank under water. Viṣṇu, however, supported it on his own form of the tortoise.<sup>31</sup>

[Note 6 : The preparations for the churning of the ocean concern mainly with securing Mandara (the churning-stick), Kūrma (the support for the churning-rod) and the serpent (as the churning-rope). All texts agree on Mandara, though there are a few differences regarding the transporting of Mandara. According to Bhāg and Sk Viṣṇu brought it to the ocean on the back of his Garuḍa; in the Mbh., it is Ananta who lifted it and brought to the ocean. Regarding the support for the Mandara, it is Kūrma, the incarnation of Viṣṇu, according to Vi, Bhāg, P (s), P (u) and Sk. In the Mbh and M it is merely the king of tortoises-Kūrmarāja (not the incarnation of Viṣṇu); in M, it is said that the Kūrma which appeared to quite beneath the burden was helped by Viṣṇu who propped up the Mandara by

30. मन्यां मन्दरं कृत्वा नेत्रं कृत्वा तु वासुकिम् ।

क्षीराब्धिं मत्सहायेन निर्मश्वमतन्द्रिताः ॥ 5

विष्णुक्ताः संविदं कृत्वा दैत्यैः क्षीराब्धिमागताः ।

... .. ॥ 6

--A. 3.

31. परमात्मा तदा विष्णुराधारो मन्दरस्य च ।

दोर्भिश्चतुभिः संशुभ्य ममन्याब्धिं सुखावहम् ॥ 8

his hand. Regarding the serpent, all texts except M agree that it is Vāsuki. M says that it is Śeṣa.]

IV. The Churning of the Ocean for AM

*Mbh.* 1. 16. 14--32

While the snake Vāsuki was being pulled vigorously by the gods, there issued forth from its mouth repeatedly gases mixed with smoke and flames.<sup>32</sup> These columns of smoke turned into masses of clouds and rained over the gods who were afflicted by the toils and torments while churning the ocean. The ocean which was being churned with the Mandara by the gods and the demons produced a roaring sound like the thunder of the clouds.<sup>33</sup> while the Mandara mountain was being whirled, big trees rubbing against one another tumbled down with the birds perching on them from the mountain-top. Various kinds of exuding gums of big trees as also many juices of herbs and plants flowed into the waters of the ocean. On account of the foamy milk like water mixed with those juices which had the potency of Amṛta and also on account of the liquid extract of gold (mixed with the waters), gods attained immortality.<sup>34</sup> The milky water of the

32. वासुकेरथ नागस्य सहस्राक्षिप्यतः सुरैः ।  
 सधूमाः सार्चिषो वाता निष्पेतुरसकृन्मुखात् ॥ 15  
 ते धूमसंधाः संभूता मेघसंधा सविद्युतः ।  
 अभ्यवर्षन्सुरगणाञ्छ्रमसंतापकशितान् ॥ 16
33. बभूवात्र महाघोषो महामेघरवोपमः ।  
 उदधेर्मथ्यमानस्य मन्दरेण सुरासुरैः ॥ 18  
 ... ..  
 तस्मिञ्च भ्राम्यमाणोऽद्रौ संघृष्यन्तः परस्परम् ।  
 न्यपतन्पतगोपेताः पर्वताग्रान्महाद्रुमाः ॥ 21  
 ... ..  
 ततो नानाविधास्तत्र सुस्रुवुः सागराम्भसि ।  
 महाद्रुमाणां निर्यासा बहवश्चौषधीरसाः ॥ 25
34. तेषाममृतवीर्याणां रसानां पयसैव च ।  
 अमरत्वं सुरा जग्मुः काञ्चनस्य च निःस्रवान् ॥ 26  
 अथ तस्य समुद्रस्य तज्जातमुदकं पयः ।  
 रसोत्तमैर्विमिश्रं च ततः क्षीरादभूद्घृतम् ॥ 27

Mbh 1-16.

sea got mixed with the quintessential juices and from such milky fluid came forth (like clarified butter) refined extracts. The gods said to Brahman: "Except Nārāyaṇa, we gods and demons are extremely tired, we have been churning the ocean long since; yet Amṛta is not produced." Thereupon Brahman urged Viṣṇu to grant strength to the gods and others. Viṣṇu agreed and replied: "I grant strength to all those who have been engaged in this work. Let this pitcher (of the ocean) be agitated, let this churn-staff of Mandara be whirled round by all."

Hearing the speech of Nārāyaṇa, they felt strengthened and all of them together again churned and made the waters of the ocean exceedingly agitated.<sup>35</sup>

M. 249. 55-68

The gods and demons were tired by this labour of churning. The gods, who were almost broken, were inspired by Brahman with encouraging words to continue the churning. While the mountain with its animals and trees was being whirled round during churning, the milky waters of the ocean got mixed with sap of broken trees and plants and with the fat of dead animals, and the churned mixture gave forth an exhilarating drink (called Vāruṇī). The gods and the demons drank this drink, and feeling strong, set themselves again to churning the ocean with added vigour.

ततो ब्रह्माणमासीनं देवा वरदमवृवन् ।

श्रान्ताःस्म सुभृशं ब्रह्मज्ञोद्भवत्यमृतं च तत् ॥ 28

ऋते नारायणं देवं दैत्यानागोत्तमास्तथा ।

चिरारब्धमिदं चापि सागरस्यापि मन्थनम् ॥ 29

ततो नारायणं देवं ब्रह्मा वचनमब्रवीत् ।

विघ्नस्वैषां बलं विष्णो भवानत्र परायणम् ॥ 30

विष्णुस्वाच—

बलं ददामि सर्वेषां कर्मतद्ये समास्थिताः ।

क्षोभ्यतां कलशः सर्वमन्दरः परिवर्त्यताम् ॥ 31

35. नारायणवचः श्रुत्वा बलिनस्ते महोदधेः ।

तत्त्वयः सहिता भुयश्चक्रिरे भृशमाकुलम् ॥ 32

M. 249. 69-82 and 250. 1

For the account in the story contained in this passage, see above Mbh 1. 16. 18-31.

[Note 7 : The stanzas in this passage are almost verbatim the same as those in Mbh 1. 16. 18-31]

[Note 8 : M, it will be noticed, has two versions of the actual churning of the ocean. According to M 249. 55-68, Vāruṇī is produced in very initial stage, to invigorate the gods and the demons. In M 249. 69-82 which follows the above description, the account is the same as that in Mbh. From the agreement of the second version with the Mbh one can conclude that the passage M 249.55-68 giving the first version must be interpolated.]

Vi. 1. 9. 89-91

While the gods and the demons holding the churning-rope of Vāsuki, churned the ocean, Viṣṇu assumed two forms ; one of them joined the gods and helped them in pulling the churning-rope,

36. ततः श्रान्तास्तु ते सर्वे देवा दैत्यपुरस्सराः...॥ 55

...

...

...

ब्रह्मप्रोत्साहिता देवा ममन्थुः पुनरम्बुधिम् ।

आम्यमारो ततःशैले योजनायुतशेखरे ॥ 58

निपेतुर्हस्तियुथानि वराहशरभादयः ।

श्रापदायुतलक्षाणि तथा पुष्पफला द्रुमाः ॥ 59

ततः फलानां वीर्येण पुष्पौषधिरसेन च ।

क्षीरमम्बुधिर्जं सर्वं दधिरूपमजायत ॥ 60

ततस्तु सर्वजीवेषु चूर्णितेषु सहस्रशः ।

तदम्बुमेदसोत्सर्गाद् वारुणी समपद्यत ॥ 61

वारुणी गन्धमाघ्राथ मुमुदुर्देवदानवाः ।

तदास्वादेन बलिनो देवदैत्यादयोऽभवत् ॥ 62

...

...

...

--M. 249,

37. रूपेणान्येन देवानां मध्ये चक्रगदाधरः ।

चक्रपं नागराजानं दैत्यमध्येऽपरेण च ॥ 89

तेजसा नागराजानं तथाऽऽध्यायितवान् हरिः ।

अन्येन तेजसा देवानुपवृंहितवान् प्रभुः ॥ 91

--109

while the other joined the demons. Viṣṇu increased the strength and vigour of the serpent king Vāsuki and also of the gods.

*P(s)* 5-4. 43

Viṣṇu increased the strength of the gods by his power.

[Note 9 : This part of P appears to be an abbreviation of the corresponding part in Vi. In fact, P 5. 4. 43 (the present verse) agrees in wording with Vi 1-9-91 cd. to 92 ab.]

*P(u)* 6-260.5--9

While the ocean was being churned for the production of Lakṣmī, the great sages fasted, observed religions observances and recited the hymn to Lakṣmī (Śrīsūkta).

*Br.* 4-9-58--64

While churning the ocean, the demons were scorched by the burning fumes of the serpent's breath, whereas the gods were, by Viṣṇu's favour, refreshed by gentle winds. Viṣṇu, assuming the form of the tortoise, supported on his back the whirling Mandara mountain. Viṣṇu also increased the strength and vigour of the gods to enable them to withstand the strain of churning.

38. मथ्यमानेऽयं दुग्धाब्धौ दैवतैः सुमहाबलैः ॥ 5  
उत्पादनार्थं लक्ष्म्याश्च सर्वं एते महर्षयः ।  
उपोष्य नियमं कृत्वा जेषुः श्रीसूक्तमेव च ॥ 6  
ध्यात्वा समर्चयामासुर्द्विजाश्रयाः मुनिसत्तमाः ।  
ततस्तस्मिन् मुहुर्ते तु मथ्यमाने महाम्बुधौ ॥ 7
39. बलवन्तोऽपि ते दैत्यास्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासपावकैः ।  
निदंघ्रवपुषः सर्वे निस्तेजस्कास्तदाभवन् ॥ 58  
पुच्छदेशे तु कर्षन्तो मुहुराप्यायिताः सुराः ।  
अनुकूलेन वातेन विष्णुना प्रेरितेन तु ॥ 59  
आदिकूर्माकृतिः श्रीमान्मध्ये क्षीरपयोनिधेः ।  
भ्रमतो मन्दराद्रेस्तु तस्याधिष्ठानतामगात् ॥ 60  
... ..  
उपबृंहितवान् देवान् येन ते बलशालिनः ।  
तेजसा पुनरन्येन बलात्कारसहेन सः ॥ 63

*Bhāg.* 8. 7. 14—17

During the churning, the demons, who pulled the churnig-rope of the serpent from the side of its mouth, were scorched and burned by the scalding vaporous venom, whereas the gods, who pulled from the tail, escaped this painful fate through the grace of Lord Viṣṇu who changed these hot vapours into rain clouds discharging refreshing showers. The gods and the demons churned and churned for a long time, still no ambrosia emerged. Then Lord Ajita Viṣṇu himself set his victorious hands at the churning.<sup>40</sup>

A. 3. 6—8

Agni continued : “The gods took their position on the side of the serpent’s tail and began to churn the ocean. Their distress caused by the scorching breath of the serpent was removed by Viṣṇu. While the ocean was being churned, the mountain sank down into water for want of support. Thereupon Viṣṇu assumed the form of the tortoise and held the mountain erect.”<sup>41</sup>

*SK.* 1. 1. 9

While the gods and the demons vigorously churned the ocean, the hard back of the tortoise and the hard part of the mountain resting on it rubbed against each other giving rise to submarine fire.<sup>42</sup>

40. अहीन्द्रसाहस्रकठोरहृद्मुखश्चासिग्निधूमाहतवर्चसोऽसुराः ।

पौलोमकालेयबलीत्वलादयो द्वाग्निदग्धाः सरला इवाभवन् ॥ 14

देवांश्च तच्छ्वासशिखाहृतप्रभान् धूम्राम्बरस्रग्वरकञ्चुकानान् ।

समभ्यवर्षन् भगवद्वशा घना वदुः समुद्रोर्म्युपगूढवायवः ॥ 15

मथ्यमानात्तथा सिन्धोर्देवासुरवर्षैः ।

यदा सुधा न जायेत निमंमन्थाजितः स्वयम् ॥ 16

— 8-7

41. ततो मथितुमारब्धा यतः पुच्छं ततः सुराः ॥ ....6

फणिनिःश्वाससंतप्ता हरिणाप्यायिताः सुराः ।

मथ्यमानेऽर्णवे सोऽद्विरनाधारो ह्यपोऽविशत् ॥ 7

कूर्मरूपं समास्थाय दद्रे विष्णुश्च मन्दरम् ॥ 8

—A-3

42. तदा सुरासुराः सर्वे ममन्थुः क्षीरसागरम् ।

एकीभूत्वा बलेनैवमतिमात्रं बलोत्कटाः ॥ 10

पृष्ठकण्ठोरुजान्वन्तः कमठस्य महात्मनः ।

तदासौ पर्वतश्रेष्ठो वज्रसारमयो दृढः ॥

उभयोर्घर्षणादेव वडवाग्निः समुत्थितः ॥ 11

—1.1.9

[Note 10 : Mbh, M (one version), Bhāg, Br and A agree in effect, that it was Viṣṇu who put vigour and strength into the gods and the demons who had been exhausted. According to Vi and P (s), Viṣṇu assumed two forms and joined the gods and the demons in his respective form in the work of churning. According to Br and A, Viṣṇu assumed the form of Kūrma at this stage to support the Mandara which was about to sink. According to P (u), as the ocean was being churned to get Lakṣmī, the great sages fasted and recited Śrīsūkta, the hymn to Śrī. The Sk notes the fact that fire was produced by the friction of the back of the tortoise against the hard bottom of the mountain.]

## V

## Emergence of Amṛta and its predecessors

*Mbh.* 1. 17. 33—37

From the ocean being churned by the gods and demons, there emerged the following<sup>43</sup> : (1) The brilliant moon (Soma) of pleasing splendour ; (2) Śrī clad in white ; (3) the divine Surā ; (4) The white horse ; these first four products went over to the gods. (5) the divine jewel Kaustubha radiating rays, which was worn by Nārāyaṇa ; (6) Dhanyantari god in human form holding in his hand a white bowl which contained (7) Amṛta.

- 43- ततः शतसहस्रांशुः समान इव सागरात् ।  
 प्रसन्नभाः समुत्पन्नाः सोमः शीतांशुरुज्ज्वलः ॥ 33  
 श्रीरनन्तरमुत्पन्ना घृतात्पाण्डुरवासिनी ।  
 सुरा देवी समुत्पन्ना तुरगः पाण्डुरस्तथा ॥ 34  
 क्रौस्तुभश्च मणिर्दिव्य उत्पन्नोऽमृतसंभवः ।  
 मरीचिविकचः श्रीमान् नारायणउरोगतः ॥ 35  
 श्रीः सुरा चैव सोमश्च तुरगश्च मनोजवः ।  
 यतो देवास्ततो जग्मुरादित्यपथमाश्रिताः ॥ 36  
 धन्वन्तरिस्ततो देवो वपुष्मानुदतिष्ठत ।  
 श्वेतं कमण्डलुं विभ्रदमृतं यत्र तिष्ठति ॥ 37



R. 1. 44. 18—24

The following arose from the ocean while it was being churned, in the order given below<sup>44</sup> :

(1) Dhanvantari (2) the lively and glorious damsels (Apsarasah.). They were the common belongings of all the gods and the demons. (3) Surā or Vāruṇī, the daughter of Varuṇa. Surā was taken over by the gods (Surāḥ). The demons who were denied this Surā were called Asurāḥ. (4) Uccaiḥśravas, the best of the horses. (5) Kaustubha, the best jewel. (6) Amṛta, the best.

*M.*

From the ocean, there emerged the following :

(a) 250.2—4

[Note 11 : These stanzas are verbatim the same as *Mbh.* 1.17.33—35, above]

(1) The brilliant Moon, (2) Śrī clad in white, (3) the divine Surā (wine), (4) the white horse, (5) the divine jewel Kaustubha.

(b) 250.5 ab

(6) The Pārijāta tree beautiful with clusters of fullblown flowers.<sup>45</sup>

44. अथ धन्वन्तरिर्नाम अप्सराश्च सुवचंसः ।  
अप्सु निमंथनादेव रसात्तस्माद्भ्रमस्त्रियः ।  
उत्पेतुर्मानुजश्रेष्ठ तस्मादप्सरसोऽभवन् ॥ 18  
...  
न ताः स्म प्रतिगृह्णन्ति सर्वे ते देवदेवानवाः ।  
अप्रतिग्रहणाच्चैव तेन साधारणाः स्मृताः ॥ 20  
वरुणस्य ततः कन्या वारुणी रघुनन्दन ।  
उत्पपात महाभागा मागंसाणा परिग्रहम् ॥ 21  
दितेः पुत्रा न तां राम जगृहुर्वरुणात्मजाम् ।  
अदितेस्तु सुता वीर जगृहुस्तामनिन्दिताम् ॥ 22  
असुरास्तेन दैतेयाः सुरास्तेनादितेः सुताः ॥... 23  
उच्चैःश्रवा ह्यश्रेष्ठो मणिरत्नं च कौस्तुभम् ।  
उदतिष्ठन्नश्रेष्ठ तथैवामृतमुत्तमम् ॥ 24

45. पारिजातस्तु विकचकुसुमस्तवकाञ्चितः । 5 ab

R. 1.44

(c) 250.5 cd-61

(7) The virulent poison Kālakūṭa. With the rise of this poison, the air was full of venomous vapours and fumes which made all creatures, gods and demons—almost unconscious.<sup>46</sup> In that sick condition, the gods and demons led by Brahman and Viṣṇu approached Śaṅkara and offered prayers to him with a hymn of praise. They supplicated to him for saving them from the horrors of poison. Śaṅkara complied with their request and went to the ocean where the poison lay raging in all its fury. He drank off the poison which made his throat dark in complexion setting it off as a beautiful adornment of his fair-complexioned

46. अनन्तरमपश्यंस्ते धूममम्बरसंनिभम् । 5 cd

तमाघ्राय सुराः सर्वे मूर्च्छिताः परिलम्बिताः । ... ॥ 6

...

केचिद्विलोक्यैव गता ह्यभावं निःसंज्ञतां चाप्यपरे प्रपन्नाः ।

वेमुमुंक्षेभ्योऽपि च फेनमन्ये केचित्त्ववासा विषमामवस्थाम् ॥ 17

...

ततो भीताः सुरासुराः । ब्रह्मविष्णु पुरस्कृत्य गतास्ते शंकरान्तिकम् ॥ 24

...

तत्र देवासुरैः सर्वैर्जानुभिर्वरणि गतः (?) ।

...

ब्रह्माण्णमग्रतः कृत्वा इदं स्तोत्रमुदाहृतम् ॥ 27

...

तच्छ्रुत्वा भगवानाह भगनेत्रान्तकृद्भवः ।

भक्षयिष्याम्यहं घोरं कालकूटं महाविषम् ॥ 51-52

...

ततोऽज्रजद् द्रुतगतिना ककुब्धिना हरोऽम्बरे पवनगतिजंगत्पतिः । ... 4

आसाद्य दुग्धसिन्धुं तं कालकूटं विषं यतः ।

ततो देवो महादेवो विलोक्य विषमं विषम् ॥ 55

छायास्थानकमास्थाय सोऽपिबत् वामपाणिना ।

पीयमाने विषे तस्मिस्ततो देवा महासुराः ॥ 56

...

स्तुवन्तश्चैव देवेशं प्रसन्नाश्राभवंस्तदा ।

कण्ठदेशे ततः प्राप्ते विषे देवमयाब्रुवन् ॥ 58

शोभते देव कण्ठस्ते गात्रे कुन्दनिभप्रभे ।

भृङ्गमालानिभं कण्ठेऽप्यत्रैवास्तु विषं तव ॥

इत्युक्तः शंकरोदेवस्तथा प्राह पुरान्तकत् ॥ 9-60

person. After the threat of Kālakūṭa had thus been removed, the hosts of gods resumed the churning of the ocean.

(d) 251. 1-5 ab

While the ocean was being churned again, there emerged the following :

(8) Dhanvantari, the father of Āyurveda, (9) Madirā, (Intoxicating Drink), (10) Amṛta (ambrosia), (11) Surabhi (the Celestial Cow), (12) The Gajendra (Celestial Elephant) which was taken over by Indra, (13) Chatra (Royal Umbrella) which was taken over by Varuṇa, (14) Kuṇḍale (The two ear ornaments) which were taken over by Śacīpati (Indra). Śrī (Kamalā) and Kaustubha—Nos. 2 and 5 in the list of products—were taken over by Viṣṇu, while the celestial horse No. 4 and Dhanvantari No. 8 were taken by the Sun. Pārijātā No. 6 of the products was taken over by Vāyu.<sup>47</sup>

(e) 251.5 cd-6 ab

[Note 12 : These lines are verbatim the same as in *Mbh* 1. 17. 37]

There emerged Dhanvantari god in human form holding in his hand a white bowl which contained Amṛta.

According to the *Mbh* version which *M* verbatim follows in (a) above and in this (e), Dhanvantari and Amṛta would be emergents serially Nos. 6 and 7.

[Note 13 : The passage from *M* describing the emergent products from the ocean is divided into five parts from (a) to (e)

- 
47. मथ्यमाने पुनस्तस्मिञ्जलधौ समदृश्यत ।  
 • धन्वन्तरिः स भगवानायुर्वेदप्रजापतिः ॥ 1  
 मदिरा चायताक्षी च \*\*\* ।  
 ततोऽमृतं च सुरभिः सर्वभूतभयापहा ॥ 2  
 जग्राह कमलां विष्णुः कौस्तुभं च महामणिम् ।  
 गजेन्द्रं च सहस्राक्षो ह्यरत्नं च भास्करः ॥ 3  
 धन्वन्तरिं च जग्राह लोकारोग्यप्रवर्तकम् ।  
 छत्रं जग्राह वरुणः कुण्डले च शचीपतिः ॥ 4  
 पारिजाततरुं वायुर्जग्राह मुदितस्तथा\*\*\* ॥ 5

in order to bring out clearly the similarities and dissimilarities which *M* shows in comparison with *Mbh* in respect of the number of products and the order in which they were produced. It appears from a close scrutiny of these parts that parts (a) and (e) of *M* agree verbatim with the *Mbh* and that from the criterion of this agreed version of the *M* and *Mbh* parts (b), (c) and (d) are interpolated between (a) and (e). Passages (b) and (c) add Pārijātā and Kālakūṭa respectively and (c) besides introduces the praise of Śiva. Passage (d) tries to complete the number of products to the later conventional number 14 in a haphazard way. The diaskeuast who interpolated this passage (d) appears to have forgotten that Madirā which he has introduced as product No. 9 is redundant in view of Surā product No. 3 already given in (a)—as a result of which the total number of products would be 13 and not 14.]

*Vi.* 1. 9. 92—105

While the milk ocean was being churned, the following emerged forth<sup>48</sup>: (i) The Cow named Surabhi, the source which

48. मथ्यमाने ततस्तस्मिन् क्षीराब्धौ देवदानवैः ।  
हविर्धामाभवत् पूर्वं सुरभिः सुरपूजिता ॥ 92  
...  
किमेतदिति सिद्धानां दिवि चिन्तयतां ततः ।  
बभूव वारुणी देवी मदाघूर्णितलोचना ॥ 94  
कृतावर्तात् ततस्तस्मात् क्षीरोदाद्वासयञ्जगत् ।  
गन्धेन पारिजातोऽभूद्देवस्त्रीनन्दनस्तरुः ॥ 95  
रूपौदार्यगुणोपेतस्तथा चाप्सरसां गणः ।  
क्षीरोदधेः समुत्पन्नो मैत्रेय परमाद्भुतः ॥ 96  
ततः शीतांशुरभवजगृहे तं महेश्वरः ।  
जगृहृश्च विषं नागाः क्षीरोदाब्धिसमुत्थितम् ॥ 97  
ततो धन्वन्तरिर्देवः श्वेताम्बरधरः स्वयम् ।  
बिभ्रत्कमण्डलुं पूर्णममृतस्य समुत्थितः ॥ 98  
...  
ततः स्फुरत्कान्तिमती विकासिकमले स्थिता ।  
श्रीर्देवी पयसस्तस्माद्बुद्धता धृतपङ्कजा ॥ 100  
...  
दिव्यमाख्याम्बरधरा स्नाता भूषणभूषिता ।  
पश्यतां सर्वदेवानां ययौ वक्षःस्थलं हरेः ॥ 105—109

supplied the offerings of milk products at the sacrifices. (ii) Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine, with eyes rolling in intoxication. (iii) The Pārijāta tree. (iv) The host of celestial nymphs. (v) The Moon which was taken over by Śaṅkara. (vi) Poison which was taken over by the serpents. (vii-viii) The god Dhanvantari bearing in his hand a bowl of ambrosia. (ix) The goddess Śrī who betook herself to the chest of Viṣṇu.

P(s) 5.4.44-71

While the ocean was being churned, the following emerged : (1) The cow Surabhi, the source which supplied the offerings of milk-products at the sacrifices. (Havirdhānī), (2) Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine, with eyes rolling in intoxication. She was rejected by the gods and accepted by the demons. (3) Pārijāta tree. (4) The host of celestial nymphs, accepted in common by the gods and the demons. (5) The moon which was accepted by Śaṅkara to adorn his matted hair. (6) The poison, named Kālakūṭa which was drunk by Śaṅkara to rescue the gods and the demons. (7) Dhanvantari holding in his hand (8) a bowl of ambrosia. (9) The horse. (10) Airāvata Elephant. (11) The goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī. Brahmadeva asked Vāsudeva to accept her, and Lakṣmī went over to Hari.

[Note 14 : This passage from P agrees in contents and wording with the corresponding passage from the Vi with the following differences : (i) The emergents no. 9 and 10 i.e. the horse and Airāvata do not appear in Vi. where the number of emergents is 9 and not 11. (ii) The details regarding the procedure of disposal or assignment of Vāruṇī, Moon, Poison, and Lakṣmī vary in the two versions.]

Br. 4.9.65-82

The following emerged from the ocean which was being churned.<sup>49</sup> (1) The celestial cow Surabhi. (2) The Goddess

49. आविर्बभूव पुरतः सुरभिः सुरपूजिता ।  
उत्थिता वारुणी देवी मदाल्लोलविलोचना ।  
जगद्गुणैव तां दैत्या असुराश्चाभवन्स्ततः ।

Vāruṇī (Celestial Liquor) or Surā. The demons did not accept her, therefore they were called *Asura*. The gods, on the other hand, accepted her and were called *Sura* (3) The great tree Pārijāta which filled the surroundings with fragrance. (4) The hosts of celestial nymphs (5) The moon which was taken over by Śaṅkara. (6) Poison which was taken over by Nāgas or serpents. (7) The jewel *Kaustubha* which was taken by Viṣṇu. (8) A herb called Vijayā which was taken over by Bhairava. (9) The god Dhanvantari bearing in his hands (10) a bowl of Amṛta or ambrosia. (11) Śrī or Lakṣmī, who went over to Viṣṇu. (12) Tulasī which was borne by Viṣṇu.

*Bhag. 8.7.18 to 8.8.36 [64 stanzas]*

From the milk-ocean being churned by the gods and the demons, with the helping hand of Lord Viṣṇu, there emerged the

जगृहस्तां मुदा देवाः सूचिताः परमेष्ठिना ।  
 सुराग्रहणतोऽप्येते सुरशब्देन कीर्तिताः ॥  
 मथ्यमाने ततो भूयः पारिजातो महाद्रुमः ।  
 आविरासीत्सुगन्धेन परितो वासयञ्जगत् ॥  
 अत्यर्थमुन्दराकारा धीराश्चाप्सरसां गणाः ।  
 ततः शीतांशुषुदभूत् तं जग्राह महेश्वरः ।  
 विषजातं तदुत्पन्नं जगृहुर्नागजातयः ॥  
 कौस्तुभाख्यं ततो रत्नमाददे तज्जनादंनः ।  
 ततः स्वपत्रगन्धेन मदयन्ती महौषधीः ।  
 विजया नाम संजज्ञे भैरवस्तामुपाददे ॥  
 ततो दिव्याम्बरधरो देवो धन्वन्तरिः स्वयम् ॥  
 उपस्थितः करे विभ्रदमृताढ्यं कमण्डलुम् ॥  
 ततो विक्रासिताम्भोजवासिनी वरदायिनी ।  
 उत्थिता पद्महस्ता श्रीस्तस्मात् क्षीरमहागंवात् ॥  
 तुलसो च समुत्पन्नां पराध्यमैक्यजां हरेः ।  
 पद्ममालां ददौ तस्यै सूर्तिमान् क्षीरसागरः ॥  
 ययौ वक्षःस्थलं विष्णोः सर्वेषां पश्यतां रमा ॥  
 तुलसी तु धृता तेन विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ॥

following:<sup>60</sup> (1) The virulent poison named Hālāhala—to escape from the dreadful poison, the gods and the people sought refuge

50. निमंथ्यमानादुदधेरभूद्विषं महोर्ष्वणं हालहलाह्वमग्रतः । ... ॥18

भीताः प्रजा दुद्रुवुरङ्ग सेश्वरा अरक्ष्यमाणाः शरणं सदाशिवम् ॥19

विलोक्य तं देववरं त्रिलोक्या भवाय देव्याभिमतं मुनीनाम् ।

आसीनभद्रावपवगंहितोस्तपो जुषागं स्तुतिभिः प्ररोमुः ॥20

...

...

...

तद्वीक्ष्य व्यसनं तासां कृपया भृशपीडितः । ... ॥36

...

...

...

ततः करतलीकृत्य व्यापि हालाहलं विषम् ।

अभक्षयन्महादेवः कृपया भूतभावनः ॥42

तस्यापि दशंयामास स्ववीर्यं जलकम्पनः ।

यच्चकार गले नीलं तच्च साधोर्विभूषणम् ॥43

पीते गरे वृषाङ्केण प्रीतारस्तेऽमरदानवाः ।

ममन्युस्तरसा सिन्धुं हविर्धानी ततोऽभवत् ॥ 1

तामग्निहोत्रीमुषयो जगृह्वन्हावादिनः ।

यज्ञस्य देवयानस्य मेध्याय हविषे नृप ॥ 2

तत उच्चैःश्रवा नाम ह्योऽभूच्चन्द्रपाण्डुरः ।

तरिम्बलिः स्पृहां चक्रे नेन्द्र ईश्वरशिक्षया ॥ 3

तत ऐरावतो नाम वारणेन्द्रो विनिगंत ।

दन्तैश्चतुर्भिः श्वेताद्रेहैरन्भगवतो महीम् ॥ 4

कौस्तुभाख्यमभूदत्तं पद्मरागो महोदधेः ।

तस्मिन् हरिः स्पृहां चक्रे वक्षोलंकरणे मणौ ॥ 5

ततोऽभवत्पारिजातः सुरलोकविभूषणम् ।

पूरयत्यर्थिनो योऽर्थैः शश्वद्भुवि यथा भवात् ॥ 6

ततश्चाप्सरसो जाता निष्ककण्ठ्यः सुवाससः ।

रमण्यः स्वर्गिणां वरुणु गतिलीलावलोकनैः ॥ 7

ततश्चाविरभूत्साक्षाच्छ्री रमा भगवत्परा ।

रञ्जयन्ती दिशः कान्त्या विद्युत्सौदामनी यथा ॥ 8

...

...

...

वने वरं सर्वगुणैरपेक्षितं रमा मुकुन्दं निरपेक्षमीप्सितम् ॥23

...

...

...

अथासीद् वारुणी देवी कन्या कमललोचना ।

असुरा जगृहस्तां वै हरेरनुमतेन ते ॥30

अथोदधेर्मथ्यमानात्काश्यपैरमृताधिभिः ।

उदतिष्ठन्महाराज पुरुषः परमाद्भुतः ॥31

with Śiva. Pleased by a hymn of praise which was addressed to him, Śiva was moved by compassion. He drank the poison which, however, left its searing blue mark on his throat—(2) Havirdhānī i.e. the cow who provided materials for oblations at the sacrifice. The cow was taken over by the sages. (3) The moon white horse Uccaiḥśravas. Bali, the demon king wanted to have it. (4) The four-tusked elephant Airāvata. (5) The ruby named Kaustubha which was desired by Hari. (6) The Pārijāta tree which fulfilled the wishes of its seekers.

*Bhāg. 8.8.*

(7) The celestial nymphs-Apsarasas who entertained the gods of heaven with their graceful gait and glances. (8) Śrī or Ramā or Lakṣmī who like lightning illumined the surroundings—she chose Viṣṇu as her permanent abode—(9) Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine who was taken over by the demons. (10) Dhanvantari the handsome, resplendent youth who saw the Āyurveda, the science of health. He was a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu. (11) A bowl full of Ambrosia (Amṛta) which Dhanvantari bore in his hands. The demons covetously snatched away the bowl of ambrosia to the consternation of the gods.

*A. 3.8--11*

(Agni said:) The following emerged out of the ocean.<sup>51</sup>

(1) The poison named Halāhala. It was gulped by Śaṅkara down

... ..  
 अमृतापूर्णकलशं विभ्रद् वलयभूषितः ।  
 स वै भगवतः साक्षाद् विष्णोरंशांशसंभवः ॥३४  
 धन्वन्तरिरिति ख्यातः आयुर्वेद दृगिज्यभाक् ।  
 तमालोक्यासुराः सर्वे कलशं चामृताभृतम् ॥३५  
 लिप्यन्तः सर्वं वस्तूनि कलशं तरसाहरन् ।  
 नीयमानेऽमुस्तेस्मिन् कलशेऽमृतभाजने ॥३१  
 विषण्णमनसो देवा हरिं शरणमाययुः ।  
 ... .. ॥३६

—8.8.

51. क्षीराभ्येसंथ्यमानाच्च विषं हालाहलं ह्यभूत् ॥ 8  
 हरेण धारितं कण्ठे नीलकण्ठस्ततोऽभवत् ।  
 ततोऽभूद्धारुणी देवी पारिजातश्च कौस्तुभः ॥ 9



his throat which, in consequence, became blue. (2) Vārūṇī, the goddess of wine (3) Pārijāta (4) Kaustubha (5) The cows (6) The celestial nymphs (7) The Goddess Lakṣmī who went over to Viṣṇu. (8) Dhanvantari, the incarnation of Viṣṇu who promulgated the Āyurveda, holding in his hand (9) a bowl of Amṛta or ambrosia.

P(u) 6. 260. 10—52

[ Śaṅkara continues his narration ]

While the ocean was being churned, the following emerged<sup>52</sup> :  
(1) The Poison named Kālakūṭa. Śaṅkara said to Pārvatī :

गावश्चाप्सरसो दिव्या लक्ष्मीर्देवी हर्षि गता ।  
..... ॥ 10

ततो धन्वन्तरिर्विष्णुरायुर्वेदप्रवर्तकः ।  
विभ्रत्कमण्डलुं पूर्णममृतेन समुत्थितः ॥ 11

52. उदभूत् प्रथमं तत्र कालकूटं महाविषम् ।  
... दृष्ट्वा प्रदुदुबुः सर्वे भयार्ता देवदानवाः ॥ 10-11

तान्निवार्यान्नवं वाक्यमहं तत्र शुभेक्षणे ।  
भो भो देवगणाः सर्वे न भेतव्यं विषं प्रति ॥ 12

अहमाहारयिष्यामि कालकूटं महाविषम् ।  
..... ॥ 13

ध्यात्वा नारायणं देवं... नामत्रयं महामन्त्रं जपन् भक्त्या समन्वितः ।  
तद्विषं पीतवान् घोरमाद्यं सर्वभयंकरम् ॥ ...

विषं तदभवज्जीर्णं लोकसंहारकारकम् । 15-17-18

अच्युतानन्द गोविन्द इति नामत्रयं हरेः ।  
यो जपेत्...तस्य मृत्युभयं नास्ति ॥ 19-20

ज्येष्ठा देवी समुत्पन्ना रक्तस्रग्वाधसावृता ॥  
... तामब्रुवन्स्तथा देवीं सर्वदेवगणा भृशम् ॥ 23-24

( देवा ऊचुः )—येषां गृहान्तरे नित्यं कलहः संप्रवर्तते ।

तत्ते स्थानं प्रयच्छामो वसु तत्राशुभान्विता ॥ 25

ततश्च वारुणी देवी समुत्पन्ना शुभानवे ।

अनन्तो नागराजोऽथ तां जग्माह सुलोचनाम् ॥ 35

ततस्तत्र समुत्पन्ना सर्वाभरणभूषिता ।

वैनतेयस्य भार्याऽभूत्सर्वलक्षणशोभिता ॥ 36

“When the gods were frightened at the virulent poison, I assured them that I would drink it up. I recited the three names of Viṣṇu (and drank up the poison and assimilated it into my digestion.” (2) The great evil, inauspicious deity who had put on red garment and garland. She was the darling of Kali. (3) Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine who was taken over by Ananta the king of the Nāgas. (4) A woman adorned with all ornaments; She was the wife of Vainteya. (5) The hosts of celestial nymphs (6-7-8-9-10) Airāvata, the elephant, Uccaiḥśravas, the horse, Dhanvantari, Pārijāta and Surabhi—all these were taken over by Indra. (11) Mahā Lakṣmī called also Nārāyaṇī who had her abode in the heart of Nārāyaṇa. (12) The coolrayed moon who became the lord of the constellations. (13) Soma or Amṛta (ambrosia). (14) The holy Tulasī who became the wife of Hari.

[Note 15: The thirteenth product is here called *Soma* which appears to have been equated with Amṛta. For, in verse 68 of this passage, the Tulasī plant is said as emanating from or after Amṛta (ambrosia) the preceding product.<sup>53</sup> Amṛta is also called *Soma* in Mahābhārata passage a number of times.<sup>54</sup> The

ततोऽप्सरोगणा दिव्या गन्धर्वाश्च महौजसः ।

जज्ञिरे रूपसंपन्नाः सोमसूर्याग्निवचंसः ॥37

ऐरावतस्ततो जज्ञे तथैवोच्चैःश्रवा हयः ।

धनवन्तरिः पारिजातः सुरभिः सर्वकामधुक् ॥38

एतान् सर्वान् सहस्राक्षो जग्राह प्रीतमानसः ।

.... 39

उत्पन्ना श्रीमंहालक्ष्मीः सर्वलोकेश्वरी शुभा ।

....दहशुस्तां महादेवीं सर्वलोकहितैषिणीम् ॥—41&46

नारायणीं जगद्धात्रीं नारायणहृदालयाम् ॥

.... 47

अनन्तरं शीतरश्मिरुदभूत्क्षीरसागरे ।

सुधामयूखवान् सोमो मातुर्भ्राता सुखावहः ॥51

नक्षत्राधिपतिश्चाभूच्चन्द्रो वै लोकमातुलः ।

ततो जाया हरेः पुण्या तुलसी लोकपावनी ॥52

53. अमृतादुत्थिता देवी तुलसी कोमला शुभा ॥6.260.68

54. *Mbh.* 1.30.7, 8, 13, 18, 19.

verse in the above passage of P containing the word *Soma* occurs between verses which refer explicitly to the moon. By this juxtaposition, the author may be ingeniously hinting at the classical meaning of *Soma* i.e. the moon having rays which are as satisfying as *Sudhā* or *Amṛta*.]

SK. 1.1.9. 97-113 to 1.1.10. 1-87 to 1.1.11. 1-79 to 1.1.12. 1-3

While the gods and the demons churned the ocean, the following products emerged : (1) The poison *Hālāhala*. It was drunk by *Śiva*. While he drunk the poison, he exhorted the gods to give due respect to *Geṇeśa*. (2) The moon. The gods asked *Garga* who was expert in astrology about the power of the moon. *Garga* told them that the moon was powerful and would lead them to success. (3) celestial cow *Surabhi* along with other cows. All these cows were given to the sages by the gods and the demons. (4-5-6) the celestial trees *Pārijāta*, *Cūta* (Mango tree), and *Santānaka*. (7) The best jewel named *Kaustubha* (8) The best of the horses *Uccaiṣravas* (9) The elephant *Airāvata* with other elephants (10) *Madirā* wine (11-12-13-14-15) Plants named *Vijayā* *Bhrngī*, *Laśunagr̥njana*, *Dhattūra*, and *Puškara*. (16) *Lakṣmī* who went over to *Viṣṇu* or *Nārāyaṇa* (17) The youth *Dhanvantari* the best of physicians who conquered death (18) The bowl of *Amṛta* or ambrosia which *Dhanvantari* carried in his hands.<sup>56</sup>

55. अतिनिर्मथनाजातं क्षीराब्धेश्च हलाहलम् ॥ 97

—1.1.9

मथ्यमाने तदाब्धौ च निगंतश्चन्द्र अग्रतः । 26

नमश्चक्रुश्च ते सर्वे ससुरासुरदानवाः ।

तदा गर्गं पृच्छमाना बलं चन्द्रस्य तत्त्वतः ॥ 34

गर्गोक्तास्तदा देवाः सर्वेषां बलमद्य वै...।

तस्मान्चन्द्रबलं श्रेष्ठं भवतां कार्यसिद्धये ॥ 35-37

निगंता सुरभिः साक्षाद्देवानां कार्यसिद्धये ।

...अनीता जलमध्याच्च संवृता गोशतैरपि ॥ 40-43

तैः स्वीकृतास्ता ऋषिभिः सुमङ्गलै-

मंहात्मभिः पुण्यतमैः सुरेभ्यः ॥ 48

मथ्यमानात्तदा तस्मादुदधेश्च तथाभवत् ।

करुपवृक्षः पारिजातः चूतः संतानकस्तथा ॥ 49-50

[Note 16 : At the end of this section, there is attached a tabular statement of entities which are said to have emerged out of the ocean according to respective works. It is hoped that the table will help to show in one glance the number and the comparative position of entities according to each work.

A close look at the table reveals some interesting similarities. The Mbh, R, and M show similarities in the matter of the emergence of entities and their sequence : Entities 1 to 5 in M agree with entities 1 to 5 in Mbh ; 3, 4, 5 of Mbh agree with 3, 4, 5 of R. Again entities 1 to 6 under Vi, P (s) and Br are identical and agree in making Surabhi the first emergent entity ; so also entities 1 to 8 in Vi agree with entities 1 to 8 in P (s). On account of these similarities, Mbh, R and M may be said to fall in one kindred group and Vi, P (s) and Br fall into another. These striking similarities may, perhaps, point to a probability that each group had its own respective common source or tradition from which it took over the account of this legend. The rest of the texts i. e. Bhāg, A, P (U) and SK agree in making Kālakūṭa the poison as the first emergent entity. A reference from the Vāyu-Purāṇa (Vā) (Ānandashrama edition) may be mentioned in this context :

निर्मथ्यमानादुदधेरभवत्सूर्यवचंसम् ।

रत्नानामुत्तमं रत्नं कौस्तुभाख्यं महाप्रभम् ॥ 51

मथ्यमानात्ततस्तस्मादुच्चैःश्रवाः समद्भुतम् ।

बभूव अश्वो रत्नानां पुनश्चैरावतो गजः ॥ 54

निर्मथ्यमानादुदधेर्निगंतानि बहून्यथ ॥ 56

मदिरा विजया भृङ्गी तथा लघुनगुञ्जनाः ।

अतीव उन्मादकरो धत्तुरः पुष्करस्तथा ॥ 57

निर्मथ्यमानादुदधेस्तशसीत् सा दिव्यलक्ष्मीभुवनैकनाथा... ॥ 59

... ..  
लक्ष्म्या वृता महाविष्णुलक्ष्मीस्तेनैव संवृता ॥ 75

उदधेर्मथ्यमानान्च निगंतः सुमहायशाः ।

धन्वन्तरिरिति ख्यातो युवा मृत्युञ्जयः परः ॥ 2

पाणिभ्यां पूर्णकलशं सुधायाः परिगृह्य वै ।

यावत्सर्वे सुराः सर्वे निरीक्षन्ते मनोहरम् ॥ 3

—1-1-11

—1-1-12

The *Vā* refers to the story of the churning of the ocean in two different contexts. In one passage<sup>56</sup> (54.49) which is devoted to the panegyric of Śiva, it is said that the first product to emerge out of the ocean was the poison. Śiva drunk the virulent poison as a result of which his throat became blue and he was called *Nīlakaṇṭha*. There is no reference to other products of the ocean in this passage. In the other passage<sup>57</sup> (92.9-10) which purports to narrate the birth of *Dhanvantari* it is said that the first of all the products which emerged out of the ocean was *Dhanvantari*. It may be recalled that the *R* also mentions *Dhanvantari* as the first emergent entity.

Ten texts excluding *Vā*, are chosen for study in this article. The maximum number of times an entity can occur is, therefore, ten. The entities *Dhanvantari*, *Amṛta*<sup>58</sup> and *Surā* occur in all the texts i. e. 10 times each; *Śrī* occurs 9 times; *Pārijāta*, *Surabhī* and *Kālakūṭa* occur 8 times each. *Soma*, *Uccaiṣravas*, *Kaustabha* and *Apsarasaḥ* each of these occurs 7 times, and *Airāvata* occurs five times. These twelve entities appear to be more important; The rest of the entities in the table seem unimportant, their mention being made according to the predilection of that (respective) particular text

It would be interesting to see how these entities are disposed of by the respective texts: (1) *Soma* was taken over by the gods (*Mbh*), by *Śaṅkara* (*Vi*, *P* (*s*) and *Br.*) (2) *Śrī* went over to the gods

56. मथ्यमानेऽमृते पूर्वं क्षीरोदे सुरदानवैः ।

अग्रे समुत्थितं तस्मिन्निषं कालानलप्रभम् ॥४९

धृतं कण्ठे विषं घोरं नीलकण्ठस्ततो ह्यहम् ॥९४

--Va-54

57. धन्वन्तरेः संभवोऽयं श्रूयतामिह वै द्विजाः ।

स संभूतः समुद्रान्ते मथ्यमानेऽमृते पुरा ॥ ९

उत्पन्नः सकलात्पूर्वं सर्वतश्च श्रियावृतः ।

.... ॥ 100

--Va-92

58. This statement is based on the interpretation of *Soma* as *Amṛta*, the 13th entity emerging out of the ocean according to *P* (*u*), see above [Note] under *P* (*u*).

(Mbh) to Viṣṇu (all the rest of the texts). (3) Surā was taken over by gods (Mbh, R, Br)<sup>59</sup> by Ananta, the Nāga King (P(u)) and by demons (P(s)). (4) The horse Uccaiḥśravas was taken by gods (Mbh), by Sun (M). (5) Kaustubha was taken over by Nārayaṇa (Mbh, M, Br, Bhāg), (6) Dhanvantari was a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu (Bhāg) ; he was taken over by Indra (P(u)). (7) Surabhi was taken over by Indra (P(u)). (8) Poison (Viṣa) was taken over by the Nāgas (Vi, Br, P(u)), by Śiva (M, Bhāg, P(s), A, SK). (9) Airāvata was taken over by Indra (P(u), M). (10) Pārijāta was taken over by Indra (P(u), M), by Vāyu (M). (11) Apsarasasḥ were taken over in common by the gods and the demons. (12) Amṛta was given to gods.]

#### ENTITIES WHICH EMERGED OUT OF THE OCEAN :

Their number and sequence as found in the Epics and the Purāṇas

Entities	Mbh	R	M	Vi	P(s)	Br	Bhag	A	P(u)	Sk
1 Soma	1		1	5	5	5			12	2
2 Śrī	2		2	9	11	11	8	7	11	16
3 Surā or Madirā	3	3	3 & 9	2	2	2	9	2	3	10
4 Uccaiḥśravas	4	4	4		9		3		7	8
5 Kaustubha	5	5	5			7	5	4		7
6 Dhanvantari	6	1	8	7	7	9	10	8	8	17
7 Amṛta	7	6	10	8	8	10	11	9	13	18
8 Apsarasasḥ		2		4	4	4	7	6	5	
9 Pārijāta			6	3	3	3	6	3	9	4
10 Kālakūṭa			7	6	6	6	1	1	1	1

59. Only R and Br play on the words Sura and Asura : those who accepted Surā were called Sura and those who rejected Surā were called Asura.

11 Surabhi	11	1	1	1	2	5	10	3
12 Aīrāvata	12		10		4		6	9
13 Chatra	13							
14 Kuṇḍale	14							
15 Vijayā					8			11
16 Tulasī					12		14	
17 Kalipriyā							2	
18 Vainateya-bhāryā							4	
19 Cūta								5
20 Santānaka								6
21 Bhṛūgī								12
22 Laśuna								13
23 Dhattūra								14
24 Puṣkara								15

N. B.—The figure opposite the entity in the column under each work indicates the place of that entity in the sequence in which the entities arose according to that particular work, e. g., the figure 10 opposite serial No. 7 Amṛta in the column under M indicates that the place of Amṛta is the 10 in the sequence of entities which are described to have arisen out of the ocean in M.

## VI

Viṣṇu's or Nārāyaṇa's intervention in the fight for Amṛta ; to the advantage of the gods

*Mbh.* 1.16.38-40 ; 17.1-30

After the emergence of Amṛta there was a great scramble for its possession among the gods and the demons.<sup>60</sup> The demons

60. एतदत्यद्भुतं दृष्ट्वा दानवानां समुत्थितः ।

अमृतार्थे महान्नादो ममेदमिति जल्पताम् ॥३८

shouted loudly each saying 'it is mine;' and seized the bowl of Amṛta. Nārāyaṇa quelled this pandemonium which raged over the Amṛta by employing his miraculous power. He assumed the form of a wonderfully charming woman and approached the demons. The demons fascinated by her beauty handed over the bowl of Amṛta to that woman. Nārāyaṇa thus got hold of the Amṛta. In the confusion that ensued, the gods managed to get the Amṛta from Nārāyaṇa, while the gods were drinking the Amṛta, the demon<sup>61</sup> Rāhu intruded into the company of gods and drank the Amṛta. While the mouthful had reached his throat,<sup>62</sup> the fact of this demon-infiltrator was divulged to the

ततो नारायणो मायामास्थितो मोहिनीं प्रभुः ।

स्त्रीरूपमद्भुतं कृत्वा दानवानभिसंश्रितः ॥ 39

ततस्तदमृतं तस्यै ददुस्ते मूढचेतसः ।

स्त्रियै दानवदैतेयाः सर्वे तद्गतमानसाः ॥ 40

--Mbh 1-16

61. ततस्तदमृतं देवो विष्णुरादाय वीर्यवान् ।

जहार दानवेन्द्रेभ्यो नरेण सहितः प्रभुः ॥ 2

ततो देवगणाः सर्वे पपुस्तदमृतं तदा ।

विष्णोः सकाशात्संप्राप्य संभ्रमे तुमुले सति ॥ 3

ततः पिबत्सु तत्कालं देवेष्वमृतमीप्सितम् ।

राहुर्विबुधरूपेण दानवः प्रापिबत्तदा ॥ 4

--Mbh 1.17

62. तस्य कण्ठमनुप्राप्ते दानवस्यामृते तदा ।

आख्यातं चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां सुराणां हितकाम्यया ॥ 5

ततो भगवता तस्य शिरश्छिन्नमलंकृतम् ।

चक्रायुधेन चक्रेण पिबतोऽमृतमोज्जसा ॥ 6

...

ततो वैरविनिबन्धः कृतो राहुमुखेन वै ।

शाश्वतश्चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां शसत्यद्यापि चैव तौ ॥ 8

...

ततः प्रवृत्तः संग्रामः समीपे लवणाम्भसः ।

सुराणामसुराणां च सर्वघोरतरो महान् ॥ 10

...

एवं सुतुमुले युद्धे वर्तमाने भयावहे ।

नरनारायणौ देवौ समाजसमतुराहवम् ॥ 18



gods by the sun and the moon. Immediately Viṣṇu cut off the head of Rāhu. The head of Rāhu on that account bears an eternal enmity towards the sun and the moon and still swallows both of them during the time of the eclipses.

Deprived of the Amṛta, the demons waged a fierce battle with the gods. While the terrific battle raged, the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa joined the conflict. Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu wrought havoc among the ranks of the demons. His discus like a ghoulish friend drank the blood of demons. Nara with his bow showered volleys of arrows on the demons and put them to rout. The demons ran for refuge into the earth underground and into the sea. The gods thus attained final victory. The Mandara mountain was restored to its former place with great honour. The bowl of Amṛta was kept by the gods for protection under the custody of Kiriṭin.

*R. 1.44.25-27*

For the sake of Amṛta, grim fight raged between the gods and the demons, leading to the destruction of whole families.

तत्र दिव्यं धनुर्दृष्ट्वा नरस्य भगवानपि ।  
चिन्तयामास वै चक्रं विष्णुर्दानवसूदनम् ॥ 19

... ..

दहत्कचिज्ज्वलन इवावलेलिहत् प्रसह्य तानसुरगणान् न्यकृन्तत ।  
प्रवेरितं वियति मुहुः क्षितौ तदा पपौ रणे रुधिरमथो पिशाचवत् ॥ 23

... ..

- नरस्ततो वरकनकाग्रभूषणैर्महेषुभिर्गङ्गनपथं समावृणोत् ;  
विदारयन् गिरिक्षिखराणि पत्रिभिर्महाभयेऽसुरगणविग्रहे तदा ॥ 27  
ततो मही लवणजलं च सागरं महासुराः प्रविविशुरर्दिताः सुरैः । 28  
... ..

ततः सुरैर्विजयमवाप्य मन्दरः स्वमेव देशं गमितः सुपूजितः । 29  
... ..

ततोऽमृतं सुनिहितमेव चक्रिरे सुराः परां मुदमभिगम्य पुष्कलाम् ।  
ददौ च तं निधिममृतस्य रक्षितुं किरीटिने बलभिदथामरैः सह ॥ 30

The sons of Diti were killed and Indra got the kingdom of the gods.<sup>63</sup>

*M. 251.6 cd.36*

These verses about 30 in number agree almost verbatim with Mbh 1.16.38-40 and 17.1-30 referred to above under this section. The account of the part played by Nārāyaṇa and Nara in the fight between the gods and the demons as narrated above under Mbh, completely agrees with and is identical with, that in M.

*Vi. 1. 9. 106—116 ff.*

Distressed at the fact that Lakṣmī had deserted them and had gone over to Viṣṇu, the demons snatched away the bowl of ambrosia from the hands of Dhanvantari. But Viṣṇu assuming the form of a nymph intervened, infatuated the demons, took away from them the ambrosia and distributed it among the gods. Gods, thus strengthened, defeated the demons and Indra became the sovereign of the heaven. Indra praised to Lakṣmī who granted him the favour that she would never leave the gods<sup>64</sup>

63. अथ तस्य कृते राम महानासीत्कुलक्षयः ।

अदितेस्तु ततः पुत्रा दितेः पुत्रानमृदयत् ॥ 25

...

निहत्य दितिपुत्रांस्तु राज्यं प्राप्य पुरंदरः ।

शशास मुदितो लोकानर्षिसंधान् सचारणान् ॥ 27

--R. 1. 44

64. उद्वेगं परमं जग्मुर्देव्या विष्णुपराङ्मुखाः ।

त्यक्ता लक्ष्म्या महाभाग विप्रचित्तिपुरोगमाः ॥ 107

ततस्ते जग्मुर्देव्या धन्वन्तरिकरस्थितम् ।

कमण्डलुं महावीर्या यत्रास्तेऽमृतमुत्तमम् ॥ 108

मायया मोहयित्वा तान् विष्णुः स्त्रीरूपसंस्थितः ।

दानवेभ्यस्तदादाय देवेभ्यः प्रददौ प्रभुः ॥ 109

ततः पपुः सुरगणाः शक्राद्यास्तत्तदामृतम् ।

उद्यतायुधनिस्त्रिशा देव्यास्तांश्च समभ्ययुः ॥ 110

पीतेऽमृते च बलिभिर्देवैर्देत्यचमूस्तदा ।

वध्यमाना दिशो भेजे पातालं च विवेश वै ॥ 111

...

सिंहासनगतः शक्रः संप्राप्य त्रिदिवं पुनः ।

देवराज्ये स्थितो देवीं तुष्ट्वावाञ्जकरां ततः ॥ 116

...

श्रीरुवाच—त्रैलोक्यं त्रिदशश्रेष्ठ न संत्यक्ष्यामि वाक्वच ।

दत्तो वरो मयायं ते स्तोत्राराधनतुष्ट्या ॥ 138

*P(s)* 5. 4. 72--88

The demons snatched away the bowl of ambrosia. Viṣṇu assumed the form of a nymph and intervened, to the benefit of the gods. The gods, strengthened by ambrosia, defeated the demons.

[Note 17 : Up to this point in the account, i. e. from 72 to 82 the versions in the P and Vi agree in contents and considerably in also wording.]

Brahmadeva then asks the gods to worship both Viṣṇu and Śaṅkara.—The narrator, Pulastya, then rounds off by saying : 'Thus Lakṣmī was born from the milk-ocean.

*P(u)* 6. 260. 53-71

The churning of the ocean was concluded. The gods praised Lakṣmī with a hymn composed in her honour and requested her never to forsake the three worlds. The gods praised also Viṣṇu and requested him to espouse Lakṣmī. They also worshipped the feet of Lakṣmī with an offering of Tulasī.<sup>65</sup>

*Br.* 4. 10. 1-25

The demon snatched the bowl of ambrosia from the hands of Dhanvantari, which led to their quarrel and strife with the gods. At that moment, Viṣṇu propitiated the goddess Lalitā who was not really separate from him. The goddess appeared on the scene with all her charms and asked the demons to give her the bowl of ambrosia for distribution among them and the gods. The demons accepted her offer. She then began to distribute it among

65. स्तुत्वा नामसहस्रेण जेषुः श्रीसूक्तसंहिताः ।

.... .. 1155

प्रसीद कमले देवि सर्वलोकेश्वरप्रिये ।

...त्रैलोक्यं न त्वया देवि त्याज्यं हि परमो वरः ॥ 58-59

....

ततः प्रतुष्टुवुर्देवा नमस्कृत्वा जनादनम् ।

...गृहाण देवीं सर्वेश महिषीं तव वल्लभाम् ॥ 63-64

...अमृतादुत्थिता देवी तुलसी कोमला शुभा ॥

...तया श्रीपादयुगलमर्चयायासुरञ्जसा । 68-69

the gods. Rāhu who had infiltrated into the ranks of the gods was detected by the sun and the moon and was beheaded by the goddess by means of the ladle with which she was distributing the ambrosia. She finished the contents of the bowl among the gods and after placing the empty bowl before the demons, disappeared. The demons fought with the gods but they were vanquished by the superior power of the gods.<sup>66</sup>

*Bhāg.* 8. 8. 37 to 8. 11. 48 [9 + 29 + 57 + 48 = 143] stanzas

Pandemonium prevailed among the demons themselves for the grabbing of ambrosia.<sup>67</sup> The gods approached Viṣṇu for

66. ततो जगृहिरे दैत्या धन्वंतरिकरस्थितम् ।  
 परमामृतसाराढ्यं कलशं कनकोद्भवम् ॥  
 अथासुराणां देवानामन्योन्यं कलहोऽभवत् ।  
 एतस्मिन्नन्तरे विष्णुः सर्वलोकैकरक्षकः ॥  
 सम्यगाराधयामास ललितां स्वैक्यरूपिणीम् ।  
 सर्वसंमोहिनी सा तु साक्षाच्छृङ्गारनायिका ॥  
 मन्दस्मितेन दैतेयान्मोहयन्ती जगाद् ह ।  
 सर्वेषां सममेवाद्य दास्याम्यमृतमद्भुतम् ॥  
 मम हस्ते प्रदातव्यं सुधापात्रमनुत्तमम् ।  
 इति तस्या वचः श्रुत्वा दैत्यास्तद्वाक्यमोहिताः ।  
 पोयूषकलशं तस्यै ददुस्ते मुग्धचेतसः ॥  
 सा तत्पात्रं समादाय जगन्मोहनरूपिणी ॥  
 सुरागामसुराणां च पृथक्पंक्तिं चकार ह ।  
 सुधां तां देवतापंक्तौ पूर्वं दध्या तदादिशत् ॥  
 दिशन्ती क्रमशस्तत्र चन्द्रभास्करसूचितम् ।  
 दर्वाकरेण चिच्छेद सैहिकेयं तु मध्यगम् ॥  
 एवं क्रमेण तत्सर्वं विबुधेभ्यो वितीर्य सा ।  
 असुराणां पुरः पात्रं सा निनाय तिरोदधे ॥

—4.10.1-25.

67. मियः कलिरभूत्तेषां तदर्थे तर्पंचेतसाम् ।  
 अहं पूर्वमहं पूर्वं न त्वं न त्वमिति प्रभो ॥  
 एतस्मिन्नन्तरे विष्णुः सर्वोपायविदीश्वरः ।  
 योषिद्रूपमनिर्देश्यं दधार परमाद्भुतम् ॥ 38

—88.

succour. Viṣṇu assumed the form of a charming woman and appeared on the scene. The demons fascinated by the ravishing beauty of the woman gave the bowl of ambrosia to her and asked her to distribute the ambrosia among all. The demons agreed to the stipulation proposed by the woman that the quantum of

का त्वं कञ्जपलाशाक्षि कुतो वा किं चिकीर्षसि ।

कस्यासि वद वामोर मथन्तीव मनांसि नः ॥ 3

तूनं त्वं स्पर्धमानानामेकवस्तुनि मानिनि ।

...विभजस्व यथान्यायं नैव भेदो यथा भवेत् ॥ 6-7

ततो गृहीत्वाऽमृतभाजनं हरिर्वभाष ईषत्स्मितशोभया गिरा ।

यद्यभ्युपेत क्व च साध्वसाधुवा कृतं मया वो विभजे सुधामिमाम् ॥ 12

इत्यभिव्याहृतं तस्या आकर्ष्यासुरपुङ्गवाः ।

अप्रमाणविदस्तस्यास्तत्तथेत्यन्वमंसत ॥ 13

...असुराणां सुधादानं सर्पाणामिव दुर्नयम् ।

मत्वा जातिनृशंसानां न तां व्यभजदच्युतः ॥ 19

करूपयित्वा पृथक्पङ्क्तिरुभयेषां जगत्पतिः ।

...दैत्यान् गृहीतकलशो वञ्चयन्नुपसंचरैः ॥ 20-21

देवलिङ्गप्रतिच्छन्नः स्वभानुर्देवसंसदि ।

प्रविष्टः सोममपिवञ्चन्द्रार्काभ्यां च सूचितः ॥ 24

चक्रेण क्षुरधारेण जहार पिवतः शिरः ।

हरिस्तस्य कबन्धस्तु सुधया पावितोऽपत्तत् ॥ 25

शिरस्त्वमरतां नीतमजो ग्रहमचोकलुपत् ।

यस्तु पर्वणि चन्द्राकौ अभिधावति वैरधीः ॥ 26

--8, 9.

इति दानवदैतेया नाविन्दन्नमृतं नृप ।

...अमृष्यमाणा उत्पेतुर्देवान्प्रत्युद्यतायुधाः ॥ 1-3

... ..

तत्र दैवासुरो नाम रणः परमदारुणः ।

रोधस्युदन्वतो राजंस्तुमुलो रोमहर्षणः ॥ 5

.... ..

एवं दैत्यैर्महामायैरलक्ष्यगतिभीषणैः ।

सृज्यमानासु मायासु विषेदुः सुरसैनिकाः ॥ 52

न तत्प्रतिविधिं यत्र विदुरिन्द्रादयो नृप ।

ध्यातः प्रादुरभूत्तत्र भगवान्विश्वभावनः ॥ 53

--8, 10

her distribution should not be questioned. The gods and the demons were made to sit in two separate rows. The woman i. e. Viṣṇu, thinking that the demons being like serpents, granting of ambrosia to them would be dangerous, managed to distribute the ambrosia only among the gods. Rāhu, who infiltrated among the ranks of gods, was beheaded by Viṣṇu who got this information from the moon and the sun. The head of Rāhu which was immortal because of the touch of Ambrosia, bore eternal enmity with the sun and the moon and eclipsed them on the *parvan* days (the last days of the fortnights). The demons seeing that they were defrauded of ambrosia and that gods were its beneficiaries got wild and attacked the gods. A fierce battle raged between the hosts of gods and demons. The demons employed miraculous powers (*māyā*) and proved superior to the gods. The gods who first quailed before them, were helped and strengthened by Viṣṇu, ultimately the gods were victorious and the vanquished demon king Bali took shelter in the western mountain.

#### A. 3. 12-16

The demon<sup>68</sup> snatched the bowl of Amṛta from the hands of Dhanvantari and giving half of its contents to the gods ; set

अथो सुराः प्रत्युपलब्धचेतसः परस्य पुंसः परयानुकम्पया ।

जघ्नुर्भृशं शक्रसमीरणादयस्तांस्तान् रणे धैरभिसंहताः पुरा ॥ 1

...

अन्येऽप्येवं प्रतिद्वन्द्वान् वाय्वग्निवरुणादयः ।

सूदयामासुरस्त्रीवैशृगान्केसरिणो यथा ॥ 42

...

येऽवशिष्टा रणे तस्मिन् नारदानुमतेन ते ।

बलिं विपन्नमादाय अस्तं गिरिमुपागमन् ॥ 46

—8. 11.

68. अमृतं तत्कराद्दैत्याः सुरेभ्योऽर्धं प्रदाय च ।

गृहीत्वा जग्मुर्जम्भाद्याः विष्णुः स्त्रीरूपधृक् ततः ॥ 12

तां हृष्ट्वा रूपसंपन्नां दैत्याः प्रोचुर्विमोहिताः ।

भव भार्याऽमृतं गृह्य पाययास्मान् वरानने ॥ 13

तथेत्युक्त्वा हरिस्तेभ्यो गृहीत्वापाययत् सुरान् ।

चन्द्ररूपधरो राहुः पिवंश्चाकेंन्दुनापितः ॥ 14

हरिणाप्यरिणा च्छिन्नं तदा राहोः शिरः पृथक् ।

कृपयामरतां नीतं वरदं हरिमब्रवीत् ॥ 15

राहुर्मतस्तु चन्द्रार्को प्राप्य ते ग्रहणं ग्रहः ।

तस्मिन् काले च यद्दानं दास्यन्ते स्यात्तदक्षयम् ॥ 16

—A. 3.

out to depart, when Viṣṇu appeared in the form of a woman. The demons, enticed by her charms, delivered the Amṛta into her hands. Viṣṇu managed to give it to the gods. Rāhu who infiltrated into the ranks of the gods was detected and was beheaded by Viṣṇu. The head of Rāhu, which had become immortal by drinking Amṛta, continues to eclipse the sun and the moon.

*SK. 1. 1. 12. 4-74 to 1. 1. 13.23*

The demons snatched the bowl of ambrosia from the hands of Dhanyantari and went to Pātāla, the nether world. They would not share it with the gods. The gods, therefore, approached Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu for help in this predicament. Viṣṇu assured them that he would secure the ambrosia for them. He then assumed the form of an enticing woman (Mohinī) and appeared before the demons. The demons gave the bowl of ambrosia to Mohinī and agreed to be guided by her in the matter of its distribution. While the demons sat in a row ready to receive each one's share the gods arrived on the scene. Mohinī said to the demons: "These guests have arrived. It is our duty to serve the guests first". The demons agreed. Mohinī, then, distributed the ambrosia among the gods pouring it lavishly to each of them. Rāhu and Ketu, the demons, infiltrated into the ranks of the gods. Rāhu, who was detected while drinking the ambrosia was beheaded by Viṣṇu. His head flew into the sky, while the trunk of his body fell on the earth. Ketu flew into the sky, gave his share of ambrosia to the moon and disappeared. Mohinī disappeared after distributing the ambrosia. The demons, angry at being deprived of the ambrosia, attacked the gods. But they were defeated by the gods.<sup>69</sup>

69. कलशं सुधया पूर्णं गृहीत्वा ते समुत्सुकाः ।  
 दैत्याः पातालमाजग्मुस्तदा देवा भ्रमान्विताः ॥ 7  
 अनुजग्मुः सुखंनद्धा योद्धुकामाश्च तैः सह ।  
 तदा देवान्समालोक्य बलिरेवमभाषत ॥ 8  
 शीघ्रमेव प्रगन्तव्यं भवद्भिश्च सुरोत्तमैः ॥  
 एवं निर्भत्सितास्तेन बलिना सुरसत्तमाः ॥

[Note 18 : Mbh, M, Bhāg, A, P(s), Br, and SK agree in saying that Viṣṇu assumed the form of a charming woman and distributed

यथागतेन मार्गेण जग्मुर्नारायणं प्रभुम् ॥  
 आश्वासिता वचोभिश्च नानानुनयकोविदैः ।  
 मा त्रासं कुरुतात्रार्थं आनयिष्यामि तां सुधाम् ॥  
 एवमाभाष्य भगवान्मुकुन्दोऽनाथसंश्रयः ॥  
 मोहिनीरूपमास्थाय दैत्यानामग्रतोऽभवत् ॥  
 ( दैत्याः ) दृष्ट्वा योषां तदा दैवात्सर्वभूतमनोरमाम् ।  
 विस्मयेन समाविष्टा बभूवुस्तृपितेक्षणाः ॥  
 तां संमान्य तदा दैत्यराजो बलिरुवाच ह ।  
 अद्यामृतं च सर्वेषां विभजस्व यथातथम् ॥  
 त्वया दत्तं च गृह्णीमः सत्यं सत्यं वदामि ते ॥  
 एवमुक्ता तदा देवी मोहिनी सर्वमङ्गला ।  
 करस्थेन तदा देवी कलशेन विराजिता ।  
 शुशुभे परया कान्त्या जगन्मङ्गलमङ्गला ॥  
 परिवेषधराः सर्वे सुरास्ते ह्यसुरान्तिकम् ।  
 आगतास्तत्क्षणादेव यत्र ते ह्यसुरोत्तमाः ॥  
 तान् दृष्ट्वा मोहिनी सद्य उवाच प्रमदोत्तमा ।  
 एते ह्यतिथयो ज्ञया धर्मसर्वस्वसाधनाः ॥  
 आदौ ह्यभ्यागताः पूज्या इति वै वैदिकी श्रुतिः ।  
 बलिनोक्ता तदा देवी यत्ते मनसि रोचते ।  
 एवं संमानिता तेन बलिना भावितात्मना ।  
 परिवेषणकार्यार्थं कलशं गृह्य सत्वरा ॥  
 तदा तु देवी परिवेषयन्ती सा मोहिनी देवगणाय साक्षात् ।  
 ववर्ष देवेषु सुधारसं पुनः पुनः सुधाहाररसामृतं यथा ॥  
 सर्वे दैत्या आसनस्थास्तदानीं चिन्तान्विताः क्षुधया पीडिताश्च ॥  
 तदा राहुश्च केतुश्च द्वावेतौ दैत्यपुंगवौ ।  
 उपविष्टौ तदा पङ्क्त्यां देवानाममृताथिनौ ॥  
 यदामृतं पातुकामो राहुः परमदुर्जयः ।  
 तदा तस्य शिरश्च्छिन्नं राहोर्दुर्विग्रहस्य च ॥  
 केतुश्च धूमरूपोऽसावाकाशे विलयं गतः ।  
 सुधां समर्प्य चन्द्राय तिरोधानगतोऽभवत् ॥

--1. 1. 12. 9-70 ( selected )

तेषां घोरमभूद्युद्धं देवानां दानवैः सह ।  
 एवं भग्नं दानवानां च सैन्यं दृष्ट्वा देवा गर्जमानाः समन्तात् ।  
 दृष्ट्वाः सर्वे संमिलित्वा तदानीं लब्ध्वा युद्धे ते जयं श्लाघयन्ते ॥

--1. 1. 13. 18-23 ( select )



the ambrosia among the gods, beheading Rāhu who had infiltrated among the ranks of the god's; according to Br, the charming woman is the goddess Lalitā whom Viṣṇu propitiates, praying to her to intervene in the fight between gods and demons to snatch the bowl of ambrosia. Br adds that Lalitā was not separate from Viṣṇu. Nara joins Nārāyaṇa in defeating the demons, according to Mbh and M. Vi does not refer to the Rāhu episode, though it refers to other details such as Viṣṇu assuming the form of a charming woman. P (u) does not refer to the pandemonium to which other works have alluded as raging for the sake of ambrosia. It only says that at the conclusion of the churning of the ocean, the gods praised Lakṣmī with a hymn and requested her never to forsake them.]

#### *General Remarks*

We have given above the analysis of the legend of the churning of the ocean in its successive stages, as it has been developed in the Epics and the Purāṇas. During analysis, we have also briefly indicated in the Notes (which have been inserted at the several stages in the development of the story) striking points of similarity and difference noticed in the accounts in each work. Now it is proposed to offer a few general remarks summing up the general impressions and indicating the general trends, if any, noticeable in the different presentations of the legend in the Epics and Purāṇic works :

(i) All texts more or less appear to agree on the motive behind the churning of the ocean. The churning of the ocean seems to have been undertaken for getting the Drink of Immortality or for recovery of lost vigour, strength and glory (Lakṣmī).

(ii) The number of entities produced from the ocean and their sequence varies from work to work. Mbh. records 7 entities and R. records 6. It is not possible to state definitely what may have been the earliest number and sequence of these entities. But it is probable that the Mbh provides the earliest pattern of the legend and of the number and sequence of the entities. 'Poison' is absent in the Mbh and R. It may be a reasonable

conjecture to say that the earliest list of 7 entities in the Mbh grew in course of time in the period of the Purāṇas to 12 with the addition of 5 entities viz. Kālakūṭa, Apsarasaṅgh, Pārijāta, Surabhi and Airāvata. These twelve entities are of frequent occurrence in the Purāṇas and may be said to be the standard or the pattern of the number of the entities.

That these latter 5 get added later on to the early 7 gets corroboration from the manuscriptological evidence discovered in the critical editions of the Epics. In the critical edition of the Mbh, the authoritatively constituted text (1. 17. 33-37) records only 7 entities. But in the critical apparatus below (pp. 123-124 of Mbh. 1) there are recorded spurious passages from some Mss. which make up the number 12 by adding 5 more entities mentioned above to the 7 of the authoritative text. So also, in the critical edition of R, the authoritatively constituted text records 6 entities. But in the critical apparatus which gives spurious passage from some Mss. (on page 257 of R 1 44) and also in the Appendix I No. 8, the number is increased to 9 by adding poison, Soma, and Lakṣmī. About the spurious passage which adds 'poison' to the list, one of the commentators of R frankly says that the passage has been interpolated here from some Purāṇa and does not form a genuine part of the R.<sup>70</sup>

Thus it appears that the number 12 of the entities may have been reached during the course of the development of Purāṇa literature. Unfortunately, the critical editions of Purāṇas referred to in this article have not been yet prepared and published. It is not, therefore, possible to ascertain how the number of entities grew gradually to 12 in the Purāṇa literature itself.

(iii) As has been remarked above in the note at end of section V, there appear to be two patterns for the emergence of entities and their sequence : one pattern common to Mbh, R and

70. अत्र ममन्थुरमृतौजस इत्यनन्तरं हालाहलोत्पत्यादिप्रतिपादकं पुराणान्तरस्थमत्र प्रक्षिप्यान्यस्तद् व्याचकार । नास्माभिः प्राचीनशुद्धपुस्तकेषु ते श्लोकाः दृश्यन्ते ।

-C K ( Comentary of Katka )

p. 255, R. 1.44.17.

M and the another pattern common to Vi, P(s), and Br. Unlike the Mbh and R, there are no critical editions available of M., Vi, P(s) and Br, and hence it can not be ascertained which passages in these Purāṇic texts are genuine or interpolated. But from the similarity of patterns discoverable in the tabular statement, it may be conjectured that in the matter of the emergence of entities and their sequence, M in some of its earlier parts may be indebted to the Mbh, while P(s) and Br may be indebted to Vi.

(iv) It will be found from the tabular statement given above that the Purāṇas M, Br, P(u), and SK increase between them the number of entities to 24 by adding 12 more entities to the standard 12 of frequent occurrence. Of these additional 12 entities two are Chatra (umbrella) and Kuṇḍale (ear-pendants), insignia of nobility or royalty or royal splendour; eight are plants and trees dear to some divinities and hence considered sacred; while two i. e. Kalipriyā and Vainateya-bhāryā appear to be popular mother goddess. It appears that the additions were made by the respective Purāṇas according to their predilection for Viṣṇu, Śiva or some mother goddess.

(v) The first R entities according to the table are of frequent occurrence and may be said to constitute the standard or normal number of entities which emerged out of the ocean. There is one Sanskrit Stanza<sup>71</sup> which appears to have been popular, as it has been included by popular tradition among the benedictory verses sung on the occasion of marriage ceremony to invoke benediction on the couple to be married. The source of the stanza is not known. In that stanza, the fourteen 'jewels' which emerged out of the ocean are invoked to bestow benediction on the bride and the bridegroom. These fourteen 'jewels' include the first twelve entities referred to above as the standard or normal number occurring frequently in the Purāṇas. The remaining two out of the fourteen 'jewels' are the bow of Hari (the Śārṅga bow) and

71. लक्ष्मीः कौस्तुभपारिजातकसुरा धन्वन्तरिश्रन्द्रमाः  
गावः कामदुघा सुरेश्वरगजो रम्भादिदेवाङ्गनाः ।  
अश्वः सतमुखो विषं हरिधनुः शङ्खोऽमृतं चाम्बुधेः  
रत्नानीह चतुर्दश प्रतिदिनं कुर्वन्तु वो मङ्गलम् ॥

Śaṅkha (conch). It is remarkable that none of these two occurs among the entities in the Epic and Purāṇic works studied in this article.

(vi) The legend of the churning of the ocean shows in its different versions the impact of different religious sects and systems. It is mainly dominated by the Vaiṣṇavite element. It is Viṣṇu who becomes the beneficiary of the two entities—Śrī and Kaustubha. It is Viṣṇu again who rescues the gods out of their difficulties and makes them the sole beneficiaries of ambrosia. This sway of the Vaiṣṇavite element is complete until the stage in the development of the legend is reached when the entity of 'Poison' appears on the scene.

With the emergence of 'Poison' Kālakūṭa, the Śaivite element enters into the legend and claims a place of honour along with the Vaiṣṇavite. It is Śiva who saves the gods from disaster by himself drinking the poison. Even under this development of the legend viz. the introduction of 'poison' as an entity into the story, there appears a stage or a phase when the Śaivite element has not yet entered into the legend. For instance, the Vi, Br and P(u) state that it was the Nāgas which took over the poison. But in the rest of the texts which refer to the emergence of poison, it is Śiva who gains a place of honour. But it is worth noting that in these passages, the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite elements do not come into conflict. Śiva and Viṣṇu appear to work in harmony, one bowing to the other and vice versa. In M Viṣṇu requests Śiva. In Bhāg the gods request Śiva to save them from the ill effects of poison. In P(u), Śiva has respect for Viṣṇu and recites the latter's names before drinking poison. In SK, Śiva insists that Gaṇeśa should be respected by the gods. In P(s) Brahmadeva asks the gods to worship both Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Some Purāṇic texts evince the impact of the worship of Devī or Mother Goddess. In Vi and P(u) at the conclusion of the churning of the ocean, gods pray to Lakṣmī for her eternal grace and beseech her never to desert them. In the Br, it is said that the Goddess Lalitā, who was in reality not separate from

Viṣṇu, was propitiated by Viṣṇu and was requested by him to intervene in the quarrel between the gods and the demons and distribute ambrosia among the gods. Lakṣmī and Lalitā represent the beneficent aspect of the Mother Goddess. In P(u), the dreadful aspect of the Mother Goddess is implied when it is said that the Goddess Kalipriyā (the beloved of Kali), the inauspicious deity emerging out of the ocean, wearing red garlands and garments should visit the house of quarrelsome people.

# नारदपुराणान्तर्गतानि विशिष्टधर्मशास्त्रवचनानि

अनन्तशास्त्री फडके

[The Purāṇas extensively contain *Dharmaśāstra* material which is quoted in the later *nibandha* texts. Here in this article, the learned author has compiled such maxims from the Bṛhannārādīya Purāṇa which are generally not found quoted in the Digests on the *Dharmaśāstra*. In these verses of the Bṛhannārādīya-Purāṇa certain rites are recommended to be performed and injunctions are made for the performance of certain deeds. Expiatory rites have been also recommended for those deeds which are done against the injunctions of the *Dharmaśāstra*. Here in these verses we meet with certain rites and rules of conduct which do not conform with those mentioned in the Digests. In such cases the writer has tried to reconcile the both. He has also commented upon those verses whose meaning is doubtful or obscure.]

नारदपुराणे धर्मशास्त्राणां प्रसिद्धा अंशा उपलभ्यन्ते तथा केचनानतिप्रसिद्धा अपि अंशा विद्यन्ते, ये प्रायः संप्रति विद्यमानेषु स्मृत्यादिग्रन्थेषु नोपलभ्यन्ते । एतेषामेव संग्रहोऽत्र लेखे कृतः, वचनानां क्रमोऽध्यायक्रममनुसृत्यैव स्थापितः, न तु समानविषयमनुसृत्येति ।

१. पूर्वमीमांसापद्धत्या धर्मशास्त्रविचारकाः प्रायः पुराणविषयेषु केषुचिदर्थ-वादत्वं कल्पयन्ति, तत्कल्पनं महतेऽश्रेयसे कल्पते, तथाहि—

पुराणेष्वर्थवादत्वं ये वदन्ति नराधमाः ।

तैरर्जितानि पुण्यानि क्षयं यान्ति द्विजोत्तमाः ॥

समस्तकर्मनिर्मूलसाधनानि नराधमः ।

पुराणान्यर्थवादेन ब्रुवन्नरकमश्नुते ॥ पू. १, ५७-५८

२. सद्धर्मवक्तुश्चरणसंपृष्टां गङ्गोद्भवां तुलस्या मूलस्थितां च मृत्तिकां शिरसि धारणेन विष्णुपदप्राप्तिः—

सद्धर्मवक्तुः पदसंभवां मृदं गङ्गोद्भवां चैव तथा तुलस्याः ।

मूलोद्भवां भक्तियुतो मनुष्यो घृत्वा शिरस्येति पदं च विष्णोः ॥ पू. ६.२२

अत्र एतीति लैटः प्रयोगस्तेन विधिः संभवति एवं सर्वत्र ।

३. गंगायाः स्मरणे पापनाशः, दर्शने हरिलोकप्राप्तिः पाने सारूप्यमुक्तिलाभः—

अहो गंगा महाभागा स्मृता पापप्रणाशिनी ।

हरिलोकप्रदा दृष्टा पीता सारूप्यदायिनी ॥ पू. ६।६७

३. अदृष्टक्रतुभी रजस्वलाभिश्च पत्युर्मरणे सहगमनं न कर्तव्यम्—

और्वक्रुषिः बाहुपत्नीं कथयति—

बालापत्याश्च गर्भिण्यो ह्यदृष्टक्रतवस्तथा ।

रजस्वला राजसुते ! नरोहन्ति चितां शुभे ॥ पू. ७।५२

४. पौत्रसत्वेऽपि तं पुत्रत्वेन परिगृह्णीयात्, अन्यथा यज्ञेऽधिकारो नास्ति—

यज्ञेष्वनधिकारत्वाद्पुत्राणामितिस्मृतेः ।

पौत्रं तमंशुमन्तं हि पुत्रत्वे कृतवान् प्रभुः ॥ पू. ८।११८ प्रभुः-सगरः

५. प्रायश्चित्त-चिकित्सा-ज्यौतिष-धर्मनिर्णयः शास्त्राधारेण वक्तव्योऽन्यथा ब्रह्म-घातदोषः—

प्रायश्चित्तं चिकित्सां च ज्यौतिषं धर्मनिर्णयम् ।

विना शास्त्रेण यो ब्रूयात्तमाहुर्ब्रह्मघातकम् ॥ पू. १२।६४

६. हरेश्चम्पकपुष्पैर्हरस्यार्कपुष्पैः पूजने तत्तत्सालोक्यप्राप्तिः—

• हरिं तु चाम्पकैः पुष्पैर्कपुष्पैश्च शङ्करम् ।

समभ्यर्च्य महाराज तत्तत्सालोक्यमाप्नुयात् ॥ पू. १३।६२

७. शिवलिङ्गाङ्कितमहिषोत्सर्गं यातनालोकाभावः—

धर्मराजो भगीरथं प्रति कथयति—

शिवलिङ्गाङ्कितं कृत्वा महिषं यः समुत्सृजेत् ।

न तस्य यातनालोको भवेन्नृपतिसत्तम ॥ पू. १३।९४

नृपतिसत्तम-भगीरथ !

८. शालिग्रामशिला-लिङ्गदाने च मोक्षप्राप्तिः, तच्च महादानम्—

शालिग्रामशिलादानं महादानं प्रकीर्तितम् ।

यद्दत्त्वा मोक्षमाप्नोति लिङ्गदानं तथा स्मृतम् ॥ पू. १३।१०३

९. देव्यादिषु प्रदक्षिणासङ्ख्या—

देव्याः प्रदक्षिणामेकां सप्त सूर्यस्य भूमिप । भूमिप-भगीरथ !

तिस्रो विनायकस्यापि चतस्रो विष्णुमन्दिरे ॥ पू. १३।१३८

१०. शिवप्रदक्षिणा सव्येन करणे स्वर्गे स्थिरत्वम् ।

शिवं प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा सव्येनैव विधानतः ।

नरो न च्यवते स्वर्गाच्छङ्करस्य प्रसादतः ॥ पू. १३।१४०

प्रचलितप्रदक्षिणाक्रमकरणे स्थानाद्यभावे कदाचिदेतत्करणेन विरोधपरिहारः  
संभवेत् ।

११. ब्राह्मणस्य गोमांसादिभक्षणादिकरणे प्रायश्चित्तम्—

अगम्यागमने विप्रो मद्यगोमांसभक्षणे ।

तप्तकृच्छ्रपरिक्षिप्तो मौर्वीहीमेन शुद्ध्यति ॥ पू. १४।२९

मौर्वी-यया च धनुषो गुणः क्रियते ।

एतदज्ञानादिना कृते प्रायश्चित्तं स्यात् ।

१२. गवादिवत्सानां रोधबन्धनादौ ( तत्प्रयुक्तमरणे ) दोषो नास्ति—

वत्सानां कण्ठबन्धेन क्रियया भेषजेन तु ।

सायं संगोषनार्थं च त्वदोषो रोधबन्धयोः ॥ पू. १४।४९

१३. स्त्रीभिः पत्यौ सत्त्वे शिरसो वपनं न कार्यं किन्तु प्रसङ्गे द्वयङ्गुलच्छेदः—

सर्वान्केशान् समुद्धृत्य छेदयेदङ्गुलद्वयम् ।

एवमेव तु नारीणां मुण्डनं शिरसः स्मृतम् ।

न स्त्रिया वपनं कार्यं न च वीरासनं स्मृतम् ॥ पू. १४।५०-५१

कचिद् दाक्षिणात्येषु सर्वशिरोवपनं स्त्रीषु दृश्यते पत्यौ सत्त्वे

तिरुपत्यादिदेवस्थानेषु ।



१४. पितृणां स्थानमाकाशं दक्षिणा दिक् च—

पितृणां स्थानमाकाशं दक्षिणा दिक् तथैव च । पू. १४।८९

स्वर्णस्तेयसमपापानि—

पितृयज्ञपरित्यागो धर्मकार्यविलोपनम् ।

यतीनां निन्दनं चैव स्वर्णस्तेयसमं स्मृतम् ॥

भक्ष्याणां चापहरणं धान्यानां हरणं तथा ।

रुद्राक्षहरणं चैव स्वर्णस्तेयसमं स्मृतम् ॥ पू. १५।३९-४०

प्रसिद्धानि सुवर्णस्तेयसमानानि-याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ—

अश्वरत्नमनुष्यस्त्रीभूधेनुहरणं तथा ।

निक्षेपस्य च सर्वं हि सुवर्णस्तेयसंमितम् ॥

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे २३०

१५. सर्वपापेषु प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते परं तु बौद्धालयगमने प्रायश्चित्ताभावः—

बौद्धालयं विशेषस्तु महापद्मपि वै द्विजः ।

न तस्य निष्कृतिर्दृष्टा प्रायश्चित्तशतैरपि ।

बौद्धाः पाषण्डिनः प्रोक्ता यतो वेदविनिन्दकाः ।

तस्माद् द्विजस्तान्नेक्षेत यतो धर्मब्रह्मिष्कृताः ॥

ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतोऽपि द्विजो बौद्धालयं विशेषत् ।

ज्ञात्वा चेन्निष्कृतिर्नास्ति शास्त्राणामिति निश्चयः ॥ पू. १५।५१-५३

१६. सादरं महन्निन्दाश्रवणे पापं तेन यमलोके महती यातना भवति—

यः शृणोति महन्निन्दां सादरं तत्फलं शृणु ।

तेषां कर्णेषु दाप्यन्ते तसायःकीलसंचयाः ॥

ततश्च तेषु छिद्रेषु तैलमयुष्णमुल्लवणम् ।

पूर्यते च ततश्चापि कुम्भीपाकं प्रपद्यते ॥ पू. १५।७७-७८

महायातनादिफलश्रवणेन महन्निन्दां न कुर्यादिति विधिः कल्प्यते ।

१७. स्त्रीशूद्रसमीपे वेदाध्ययने यमलोके यातनाबाहुल्यम्—

स्त्रीशूद्राणां समीपे तु ये वेदाध्ययने रताः ।

तेषां पापफलं वक्ष्ये शृणुष्व सुसमाहितः ॥

अधः शीर्षोर्ध्वपादाश्च कीलिता स्तम्भकद्वये ॥ पू. १५।१०१-१०२

अत्रापि यातनाश्रवणेन निषेधः कल्पनीयः ।

१८. समर्थः सन्नन्याचाररतमनिराकुर्वन् तत्पापभाग् नरकगामो च भवति—

अन्याचाररतं दृष्ट्वा यः शक्तो न निवारयेत् ।

तत्पापं समवाप्नोति नरकं तावुभावपि ॥ पू. १५।११४

अन्याचाररतः स्वस्याविहितकर्मकर्ता, तावुभौ=अन्याचारकर्ता तदनिवारकश्च ।

१९. न्यूनातिरिक्तपूरकाणि हरिकीर्तनेन समानि गङ्गा तुलस्यादीनि—

न्यूनातिरिक्तकृत्यानां संपूर्तिकरणाय च ।

गङ्गा च तुलसी चैव सत्सङ्गो हरिकीर्तनम् ॥

अनसूया बर्हिंसा च सर्वेऽप्येते हि पापहाः ॥ पू. १५।१३६

२०. स्वधर्मपालनाविरोधेन परमेश्वरभक्तिः कार्याऽन्यथा साऽकृतैव भवति—

तस्माच्छृणुष्व भूपाल संसारविजिगीषुणा ।

स्वकर्मणोऽविरोधेन भक्तिः कार्या जनार्दने ॥

यः स्वधर्मं परित्यज्य भक्तिमात्रेण जीवति ।

न तस्य तुष्यते विष्णुराचारेणैव तुष्यते ॥

सर्वागमानामाचारः प्रथमः परिकल्पते ।

आचारप्रभवो धर्मो धर्मस्य प्रभुरच्युतः ॥

तस्मात्कार्या हरैर्भक्तिः स्वधर्मस्याविरोधिनी ।

सदाचारविहीनानां धर्मा अप्यसुखप्रदाः ॥

स्वधर्महीना भक्तिश्चाप्यकृतैव प्रकीर्तिता ।

तस्माद्धर्मपरो भूत्वा पूजयस्व जनार्दनम् ॥ पू. १५।१५२-१५७

भूपाल=भगीरथ ! एवमत्याश्रमिणां जीवन्मुक्तभक्तानां व्यवहारं दृष्ट्वा कर्मणां वैयर्थ्यं प्रतिपादयन्तः सांप्रतिक्रमं भक्ताभासा निरस्ताः ।

२१. व्रतदिने निषिद्धदर्शनेषु भिषजादिषु काव्यकर्तुरपि दर्शनं निषिद्धम्—

भिषजं काव्यकर्तारं देवद्विजविरोधिनम् ।

परान्नलोलुपं चैव परस्त्रीनिरतं तथा ॥

व्रतोपवासनिरतो वाङ्मात्रेणापि नाच्येत् ॥ पू. २३।२७-२८

२२. महत्यप्यापत्काले शूद्रवृत्त्यालम्बनं नैव कार्यमन्यथा चाण्डालताप्राप्तिः—

नाश्रयेच्छूद्रवृत्तिं तु अत्यापद्यपि वै द्विजः ।

यद्याश्रयेद् द्विजो मूढस्तदा चाण्डालतां व्रजेत् ॥ पू० २४।३२

२३. जातकर्मणि केनापि प्रकारेण वृद्धिश्राद्धमन्त्रेण न करणीयं करणे चाण्डाल-  
समता—

हेम्ना वा रजतेनापि वृद्धिश्राद्धं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

अन्नेन कारयेद्यस्तु स चाण्डालसमो भवेत् ॥ पू० २५।६

२४. विषमाक्षरं नाम नामकर्मसंस्कारे न स्थापयेत्—

अस्पष्टमर्थहीनं च ह्यतिगुर्वक्षरान्वितम् ।

न दद्यात्तम विप्रेन्द्र तथा च विषमाक्षरम् ॥ पू० २५।७

“द्वयक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा” इति गृह्यसूत्रेण “माङ्गल्यं ब्राह्मणस्य” “शर्मवद्  
ब्राह्मणस्य” “स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यममक्रूरम्” इति मनुना च नारदीयं समन्वैति  
परंतु कुल्लूकभट्टटीकायामुदाहरणप्रदर्शने “यथा यशोदादेवोति” कथनं  
कथंचित्कन्यापुत्रयोः सम-विषमाक्षरादिकं प्रकल्प्य समन्वैतुं शक्यम् ।

२५. द्विजानामुपनयने मुख्यकालातिक्रमे व्रात्यस्तोमक्रतुतो भिन्नं प्रायश्चित्तम्—

द्विजोपनयने विप्र मुख्यकालव्यतिक्रमे ।

द्वादशाब्दं चरेत्कृच्छ्रं पश्चाच्चान्द्रायणं तथा ॥

सान्तपनद्वयं चैव कृत्वा कर्म समारभेत् ।

अन्यथा पतितं विद्यात्कर्तापि ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ पू० २५।१५-१६

• अन्यत्र स्मृत्यादौ गौणकालेऽतिक्रान्ते व्रात्यपदभाजो व्रात्यस्तोमक्रतुं विना  
संस्कारार्हा न भवन्तीति प्रतिपादितम् । यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः “आषोडशाद्  
द्विर्विंशाच्चतुर्विंशाच्च वत्सरात् । ब्रह्मक्षत्रविंशां काल औपनायनिकःपरः ॥  
( परः-गौणः ) सावित्रीपतिता व्रात्या व्रात्यस्तोमाहते क्रतोः” ॥ इत्याह ।

२६. सभादिषु प्रत्येकं नमस्कारो वर्ज्यः—

सभायां यज्ञशालायां देवतायतनेष्वपि ।

प्रत्येकं तु नमस्कारो हन्ति पुण्यं पुराकृतम् ॥ पू० २५।४२

अत्र पुराकृतपुण्यनाशश्रवणात्सर्वानुद्दिश्यैकं नमस्कारं कुर्यादिति निवि-  
कल्पनीयः ।

२७. मुख्यसापिण्ड्यपरित्यागे गुरुस्त्रीगमनदोषः—

मातृतः पञ्चमीं धीमान् पितृतः सप्तमीं तथा ।

द्विजः समुद्रहेत्कन्यामन्यथा गुरुतल्पगः ॥ २६।४

अस्य वचनस्यार्थसंगमनं कथं चित् “समुद्रहेत्” इत्यत्र “समुद्धरेत्”  
इति पाठं प्रकल्प्य मातृतो मातुः सन्ताने पञ्चमीकन्यापर्यन्तं समुद्धरेत्  
नाम कन्यास्त्यक्त्वा, पितृतः—पितृसन्ताने सप्तमीकन्यापर्यन्तं कन्याः  
समुद्धरेद्-त्यक्त्वा विवाहो योग्यः । यथाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—“पञ्चमात्सप्तमा-  
दूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतस्तथा” ५३ इति ।

अथवा वसिष्ठवचनस्य “पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मातृतः पितृतस्तथा” इत्यस्य  
यथा अर्वाङ्निषेधार्थं न पुनस्तत्प्राप्त्यर्थमित्यर्थो मिताक्षरायां कृतस्तथा  
करणीयः ।

२८. आर्द्रास्थ्यादि स्पर्शे सचैलं स्नानम्—

आर्द्रास्थि च तथोच्छिष्टं शूद्रं च पतितं तथा ।

सर्पं च भषणं स्पृष्ट्वा सवासास्नानमाचरेत् ॥

स्पृष्ट्वा देवलकं चैव सवासा जलमाविशेत् ॥ पू० २५।३०-३१

देवलकं-देवार्चकं ( कदाचिच्छिवलिङ्गपूजकं शिवनिर्माल्यादिग्राहकं महाराष्ट्र-  
देशे गुरवपदवाच्यम् ) एवं शूद्रपदं च सच्छूद्रभिन्नशूद्रपरं बोध्यम् ।

२९. ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रादि श्राद्धं निषिद्धम्—

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं च तुलसीं श्राद्धे नेच्छन्ति केचन ॥ २६।४४

महाराष्ट्रदेशे तुलसीं विना श्राद्धं न संपद्यते, अत एव केचिदित्युक्तम् ।

३०. पञ्च प्राणाय स्वाहेत्याद्या आहुतीर्मुखे दत्त्वाऽऽचमनं कृत्वा भोजनं कार्यम्—

प्राणाद्याहुतीर्दत्त्वाऽऽचम्य भोजनमाचरेत् ॥ पू. २७।८२

संप्रति उपस्तरणरूपाचमनं कृत्वा प्राणाद्याहुतीर्दत्त्वा नेत्रे जलेन संस्पृश्या  
भोजनं समाचरन्ति ।

३०. श्राद्धदिवसात्प्राग् ( पूर्वदिनस्य ) निशि विप्रनिमन्त्रणम्—

क्षयाहपूर्वदिवसे स्नात्वा चैकाशनो भवेत् ।

अधःशायी ब्रह्मचारी निशि विप्रान् निमन्त्रयेत् ॥ पू. २८।२

३१. गायककाव्यकर्त्रादिकाः श्राद्धे निषिद्धाः, तत्र काव्यकर्तृनिषेधोऽन्यत्राप-  
सिद्धः—

गायकाः काव्यकर्तारो भिषक्शास्त्रोपजीविनः । पू. २८।१७

३३. सर्वथा श्राद्धे वेदविद्विप्रप्राप्त्यभावे भ्रात्रादीन् श्राद्धे नियुञ्जीत न तु  
मूर्खम्—

ब्राह्मणानामभावे तु भ्रातरं पुत्रमेव च ।

आत्मानं वा नियुञ्जीत न विप्रं वेदवर्जितम् ॥ पू. २८।३४

अत्रात्मनो योजना कथञ्चिद् “आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः”  
इतिवत् उपाधिनाऽऽत्मानं विभज्य संपादयितुं शक्यते ।

३४. श्राद्धे विभक्तिविचारे विशेषः—

अक्षय्यासनयोः षष्ठी द्वितीयाऽऽवाहने स्मृता । पू. २८।३७

सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धपाठः पद्धतिश्चैतादृशी “संकल्पासनयोः षष्ठी द्वितीयाऽऽवाहने  
तथा”

३५. मकरसंक्रमणे परास्त्रिशद्घटिकाः पूर्वाश्रत्वारिंशच्च घटिकाः पुण्यकालः—

माकरं संक्रमणं प्राहुरुत्तरायणसंज्ञकम् ।

परास्त्रिशच्च घटिकाश्चत्वारिंशच्च पूर्ववत् ॥ पू. २९।२५

प्रसिद्धग्रन्थेषु “मकरे विशती परे” इति सिद्धान्तः ।

३६. कलामात्रस्थितद्वादश्यां पारणानुरोधेन विद्वापि दशमी तिथिरुपोषणार्हा—

द्वादश्यां तु कलायां वा यदि लभ्येत पारणा ।

तदानीं दशमी विद्वाप्युपोष्यैकादशी तिथिः ॥ पू. २९।४४

३७. परनाशाय पूजादिकरणं स्वनाशायैव कल्पते—

अन्यश्रेयोविनाशार्थं येऽर्चयन्ति जनार्दनम् ।

सा पूजैव महाभाग पूजकानाशु हन्ति वै ॥ पू. ३७।७

३८. स्थण्डिलाद्युल्लेखनं समिधा याज्ञे स्मार्ते कर्मणि क्रियतेऽत्र सुवेण कुशेन  
वोक्तम्—

सुवेण च कुशेनापि कुर्यादुल्लेखनं बुधः ॥ पू. ५११८

३९. प्रायो ब्रह्माथर्ववेदी भवति परन्वत्र स्वशाखीयो लिखितः—

ब्रह्माचार्यौ स्वशाखौ हि कर्तव्यौ यज्ञकर्मणि ।

ऋत्विजां नियमो नास्ति यथाशाखं समर्चयेत् ॥ पू. ५१२५

४०. सामगानप्रारम्भे प्रणवव्याहृतिसावित्रीणामुच्चारणमावश्यकम्—

प्रणवं प्राक् प्रयुञ्जीत व्याहृतीस्तदनन्तरम् ।

सावित्रीं चानुवचनं ततो वै गानमाचरेत् ॥ पू. ५११८३

संप्रति तु ॐ स्थानीयं हूँ ( मा ) इति समुच्चार्य सामगानं समाचरन्ति ।

४१. मातृयागं ( गौर्यादिमातृपूजनं ) विना स्वतन्त्रतया ग्रहयागं न कुर्यात्—

अकृत्वा मातृयागं तु यो ग्रहार्चां समारभेत् ।

कुप्यन्ति मातरस्तस्य प्रत्यूहं कुर्वते तथा ॥ पू. ५११९५

यत्र मातृयागग्रहयागयोरुभयोरपि विधानं तत्रेति योजनीयम् । ग्रहयागस्य

याज्ञवल्क्येन “श्रीकामः शान्तिकामो वा ग्रहयज्ञं समाचरेत्” ( २९५ )

इति स्वातन्त्र्येण विधानात् ।

४२. देवपूजा त्वनेकप्रकारा तस्या भेदास्त्वातुरीप्रभृतयः—

पूजा पञ्चविधा तत्र कथिता नारदाखिलैः ॥ पू. ६७।१२४

आतुरी सौतिकी त्रासी साधनाभाविनी तथा ।

दौर्बोधी च क्रमादासां लक्षणानि शृणुष्व मे ॥

१ आतुरी रोगादियुक्तो न स्नायान्न जपेन्न च पूजयेत् ।

विलोक्य पूजां देवस्य मूर्तिं वा सूर्यमण्डलम् ॥

प्रणम्याथ स्मरन्मंत्रमर्पयेत्कुसुमाञ्जलिम् ।

रोगे निवृत्ते स्नात्वाथ नत्वा संपूजयेद् गुरुम् ॥ पू. ६७।१७

त्वत्प्रसादाज्जगन्नाथ जगत्पूज्य दयानिधे । पू. ६७।१२८

पूजाविच्छेददोषो मे मास्त्विति प्रार्थयेच्च तम् ॥

- द्विजानपि च संपूज्य यथाशक्त्या प्रतोष्य च ।  
 तेभ्यश्चाशिषमादाय देवं प्राग्वत्ततोऽर्चयेत् ॥  
 आतुरी कथिता ह्येषा सौतिक्यथ निगद्यते ।  
 २ सौतिकी सूतकं द्विविधं प्रोक्तं जाताख्यं मृतसंज्ञकम् ॥  
 तत्र स्नात्वा मानसीं तु कृत्वा सन्ध्यां समाहितः ।  
 मनसैव यजेद्देवं मनसैव जपेन्मनुम् ।  
 निवृत्ते सूतके प्राग्वत्संपूज्य च गुरुं द्विजान् ॥  
 तेभ्यश्चाशिषमादाय ततो नित्यक्रमं चरेत् ।  
 एषा तु सौतिकी प्रोक्ता त्रासी चाथ निगद्यते ॥  
 ३ त्रासी दुष्टेभ्यस्त्रासमापन्नो यथा लब्धोपचारकैः ।  
 मानसैर्वा यजेद्देवं त्रासी सा परिकीर्तिता ॥  
 ४ साधना- पूजा-साधनवस्तूनामसामर्थ्ये तु सर्वतः ।  
 भाविनी पुष्पैः पत्रैः फलैर्वापि मनसा वा यजेद्विभुम् ।  
 साधनाभाविनी ह्येषा दौर्बोधीं शृणु नारद ।  
 ५ दौर्बोधी स्त्रियो वृद्धास्तथा बाला मूर्खास्तैस्तु यथाक्रमम् ।  
 यथाज्ञानकृता सा तु दौर्बोधीति प्रकीर्तिता ॥  
 एवं यथा कथञ्चित्तु पूजां कुर्याद्धि साधकः ।  
 देवपूजाविहीनो यः स गच्छेन्नरकं भ्रुवम् ॥ पू० ६७।१३७
४३. प्रायस्तान्त्रिका मन्त्राः पित्रा शिष्यादिभ्यो दीयन्ते न तु स्वपुत्राय परन्वत्र  
 तान्त्रिकमन्त्रविषये स्वपुत्राय दानं विहितम्—  
 मनवोऽमी सदा गोप्या न प्रकाश्या यतस्ततः ।  
 परीक्षिताय शिष्याय देया वा निजसूनवे ॥ पू० ७५।१०५
४४. यस्य यत्प्रियं वस्तु तत्तस्मै समर्पयेत्, कस्मै किं प्रियं तत्प्रतिपादितम्—  
 दीपप्रियः कार्तवीर्यो मार्तण्डो नतिवल्लभः ।  
 स्तुतिप्रियो महाविष्णुर्गणेशस्तर्पणप्रियः ॥  
 दुर्गार्चनप्रिया नूनमभिषेकप्रियः शिवः ।  
 तस्मात्तेषां प्रतोषाय विदध्यात्तदादरात् ॥ पू० ७६।१५-११६

४५. शिवपूजा तिलमिश्रैरक्षतैः केवलैश्च वा कर्तव्या—

सुधेतेन तस्य मध्ये महेशं लिङ्गाकारं पीठयुक्तं प्रपूज्य ।

एवं कृत्वा साधकास्ते तु सर्वे दत्त्वा दत्त्वा पञ्चगन्धाष्टगन्धम् ।

पुष्पैः पत्रैः श्रीतिलैरक्षतैश्च तिलोन्मिश्रैः केवलैश्च प्रपूज्या ॥

पू० ७९।४७-४८

४६. फाल्गुनपूर्णिमायां होलिकापूजनदाहप्रसङ्गेऽमंगलशब्दोच्चारणादिप्रकारो-  
ऽन्यत्र स्फुटोल्लिखितोऽप्यत्र नास्ति किन्तु गीतमङ्गलैर्दाहो विहितः, अयं च  
संवत्सरदाहशब्देन लोके प्रसिद्धः, केषांचिन्मते कामदाहपदेनापि प्रसिध्यति—

फाल्गुने पूर्णिमायां तु होलिकापूजनं मतम् ।

संचयं सर्वकाष्ठानामुपलानां च कारयेत् ॥

तत्राग्निं विधिवद्दत्त्वा रक्षोघ्नैर्मन्त्रविस्तरैः ।

असृक्षाभयसंत्रस्तैः कृता त्वं होलि बालिशैः ॥

अतस्त्वां पूजयिष्यामि भूते भूतिप्रदा भव ।

इति मन्त्रेण संदीप्य काष्ठादिक्षेपणैस्ततः ॥

परिक्रम्योत्सवः कार्यो गीतवादित्रनिःस्वनैः ।

होलिका राक्षसी चेयं प्रहादभयदायिनी ॥

अतस्त्वां प्रदहन्येवं काष्ठाद्यैर्गीतमङ्गलैः ।

संवत्सरस्य दाहोऽयं कामदाहो मतान्तरे ॥

इति जानीहि विप्रेन्द्र लोके स्थितिरनेकधा ॥ पू० १२४।७६-८१

लोकेस्थितिरनेकधा कथनेन होलिकोत्सवस्य नैकविधत्वमनेकनामसत्ता च  
बोध्यते ।

४७. भाद्रपदामावास्यायां तिलक्षेत्रसमुद्भवदर्भान् संचिच्छानाद्यं स्थापने ० ते  
दर्भाः सर्वदा यावद्वर्षमुपयोगिनो भवन्ति—

भाद्रदर्शेऽपराह्णे तु तिलक्षेत्रसमुद्भवान् ।

विरिञ्चिमनुनामन्यं हुंफट्छिन्नान्कुशान् द्विज ।

सर्वदा सर्वकार्येषु योजयेदेकदाऽपरान् ॥ पू० १२४।८६-८७

अत्र भागेऽपरस्मिन् भागे च निषेधेन, लेटकल्पनेन च बहुप्रकारकाणि

अन्यत्र प्रायोऽप्रसिद्धानि धर्मबोधकवचनान्युचयितुं शक्येरन् । परन्त्वयं



प्रयत्नः सर्वमान्यो भविष्यति न वेति विषये चेतः संदेग्धि । किञ्च स्वायत्ते शब्दत्रयो कुत्रचिद् भगवान् व्यासो विधिलिङं प्रयुङ्क्ते । कुत्र चिल्लटं कुत्रचिद् भूतकालबोधकलिटादिलकारान् । कुत्रचिन्निषेधं च लिखति । अतः स्यात्तस्य सर्वादरणीयस्य महतो विदुषो लोकोपकारं कर्तुमेव घृत-शरीरस्याभिप्रायविशेषः । अतः क्वचित्तादृशः प्रयत्नः ( अ० ६ श्लो० २२ तथा अ० १५ श्लो० ७७-७८, १०१-१०२ ) कृतः परन्वेत-त्करणमपि सर्वथानुचितमेव, अर्थवादतुल्यमेवैतादृशं किमपि कल्पनीयम् । अर्थवादकल्पनाकरणे महदश्रेयः प्राप्नोति कल्पकमिति प्रारम्भे एवोक्तम् । एवं च पुराणेषु विशेषतो नारदपुराणे यद्वाक्येन यद्व्यदर्थजातं बोध्यते तत्तथैवेति स्वीकरणीयमेव कल्याणाय कल्पेतेति सुनिश्चितम् ।

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### बृहन्नारदमहापुराणस्योत्तरभागः

१. ज्ञाताज्ञातपातकयोरार्द्रशुष्के संज्ञे अत्रैवोपलभ्येते, प्रायोऽन्यत्र न स्तः—

अज्ञातं पातकं शुष्कं ज्ञातं चार्द्रमुदाहृतम् ॥ उ. १।५

२. आगमेषु विरुद्धेषु ब्राह्मणेषु च विवदमानेषु द्वादश्यैवोपोष्या—

बह्वागमविरोधेषु ब्राह्मणेषु विवादिषु ।

उपोष्या द्वादशी पुण्या त्रयोदश्यां तु पारणम् ॥ उ. २।३०

३. बालादिभिरैकादशीदिने नोपवासः कर्तव्य इति व्यवस्थां निराकृत्य तैरपि

उपवासः कर्तव्य इति व्यवस्था रुक्मांगदेन स्वराज्ये स्थापिता—

बालो युवा वा वृद्धो वा गुर्विणी वा कुमारिका ।

सरोगो विक्रलो वापि न शक्नोति ह्युपोषितुम् ॥

इत्येवं जल्पितं यैस्तु तान्निरस्य समंततः ।

वचोभिस्तु पुराणोक्तैर्वासैर्वहुभिस्त्वहम् ॥ अहम्-रुक्माङ्गदः ।

संबोधयित्वा बहुशः प्रजानां सुखहेतवे ।

निगृह्य तान् हरिदिने निराहारान् करोमि च ॥

शास्त्रदृष्ट्या तु विदुषो मूर्खान् दण्डनपूर्वकम् ।

शासयित्वा कृताः सर्वे निराहारा हरेर्दिने ॥ उ. ९।४-१८

४. सर्वत्र जीवघातकाः पञ्चविधाः प्रोक्ताः, अत्र षट्प्रकारा जीवघातकानाम्—

षड्विधं नृपते प्रोक्तं विद्वद्भिर्जीवघातनम् ।

अनुमोदयिता पूर्वं द्वितीयो घातकः स्मृतः ॥

विश्वासकस्तृतीयोऽपि चतुर्थो भक्षकः स्मृतः ।

पञ्चमः पाचकः प्रोक्तः षष्ठो भूपात्र विग्रही ॥ उ. १०।८-९

५. चाण्डालेषु कुमारिकासंभवोप्येकः परिगणितः—

अनूढा कन्यका राजन् यदि गर्भं विभर्ति हि ।

प्रसूयति दिवाकीर्तिं सर्ववर्णविगर्हितम् ॥ २

चाण्डालयो नयस्ति सः पुराणे कवयो विदुः ।

कुमारीसंभवा ह्येका सगोत्रापि द्वितीयका ।

ब्राह्मण्यां शूद्रजनिता तृतीया नृपपुंगव ! ॥ उ. १३।४ रुक्मांगद !

६. एकस्यां भार्यायां सत्त्वे द्वितीयापरिणये ज्येष्ठायै द्विगुणं द्रव्यदानमभिलषितं वा देयम्—

यो भार्यामुद्वहन् भर्ता द्वितीयामपरामपि ।

ज्येष्ठायै द्विगुणं तस्या दद्याच्चैवान्यथा ऋणी ॥

अनुज्ञाप्य यदा भर्ता ज्येष्ठामन्यां समुद्वहेत् ।

तदा ज्येष्ठाभिलषितं देयमाहुः पुराविदः ॥ उ. १८।३०-३२

७. पितुः पुत्रोद्वाहाकरणे नरकगमनम्, गुणहीनस्यापि पुत्रस्य विवाहः कार्य एव—

यः पुत्रस्य पितोद्वाहं न करोतीह मन्दधीः ।

स मज्जेन्नरके घोरे ह्यप्रतिष्ठे युगायुतम् ।

... ..

पुत्रस्य गुणयुक्तस्य निर्गुणस्यापि भूसुर ॥

पित्रा कारयितव्यो हि विवाहो धर्ममिच्छता ॥ उ. २१।१०-१३

८. कार्तिके मांसभक्षणे चाण्डालत्वम्—

चाण्डालो जायते देवि कार्तिके मांसभक्षणात् ॥ उ. २२।५८

९. कार्तिके विनोत्तरायणलग्नशुद्धी विवाहः कर्तव्यः, एवं वर्ष-  
व्रतसमाप्तिश्च—

संवत्सरव्रतानां हि समाप्तिः कार्तिके स्मृता ।

विवाहा यत्र दृश्यन्ते विष्णोर्नाभिसरोरुहे ॥

दिनानि यत्र चत्वारि यथैकं वरवर्णिनि ! । मोहिनि !

विनोत्तरायणे काले लग्नशुद्धिं विनापि च ॥

दृश्यन्ते यत्र सम्बन्धाः पुत्रपौत्रविवर्धनाः ॥ उ. २२।६३-६५

१०. केन कृत्येन कस्यां कस्यां तिथौ पातकं भवत्यत्र विचारविशेषः—

त्रैलोक्यघातिनः पापं मैथुने शशिनः क्षये ।

नरस्य संचरेत्पापं भूतायां क्षौरकर्मणि ॥

भोजने वासरे विष्णोस्तैले षष्ठ्यां व्यवस्थिते ॥

लवणे तु तृतीयायां सप्तम्यां पिशिते शुभे !

आज्येषु पौर्णमास्यां वै सुरायां रविसंक्रमे ॥ २३।६८-७०

एतच्च प्रायः कार्तिके मासे इति प्रतिभाति, उपक्रमे तस्यैव प्रचलितत्वात् ।

११. द्वादश्यां ( एकादश्यां ) केन भोक्तव्यं केन नेतिविषये रुक्मांगदमोहिनी-

विवाद एकादशीकर्तव्यनिर्णयविषये विचारणीयोऽस्ति—

एकभुक्तेन नक्तेन तथैवायाचितेन च ।

उपवासेन राजेन्द्र द्वादशीं न हि लङ्घयेत् ॥

गुर्विणीनां गृहस्थानां क्षीणानां रोगिणां तथा ।

शिश्नां बलिगात्राणां न युक्तं समुपोषणम् ॥

यज्ञभोगोद्यतानां च संप्रामक्षितसेविनाम् ।

पतिव्रतानां राजेन्द्र न युक्तं समुपोषणम् ॥

एतन्मे गौतमः प्राह स्थिताया मन्दराचले ॥

ते गृहस्था द्विजा ज्ञेया येषामग्निपरिग्रहः ।

राजानस्ते तु विज्ञेया ये प्रजापालने स्थिताः ॥

गुर्विणी ह्यष्टमासीया शिशवश्चाष्टवत्सराः ।  
 अतिलङ्घनिनः क्षीणा वल्गिगात्रास्तु वार्धकाः ॥  
 ये विवाहादिमाङ्गल्यकर्मव्यग्रा महोत्सवाः ।  
 निवृत्ताश्च प्रवृत्तेभ्यो यज्ञानां चोद्यता हि ते ॥  
 त्रिविधेन पुराणेन ( प्रकारेण ) भर्तुर्या स्त्री हिते रता ।  
 पतिव्रता तु सा ज्ञेया योनिस्संरक्षणा तथा ॥ उ. २४।७५-८२

रुक्मांगदः— यच्चया व्याहृतं वाक्यं ममेदं गौतमेरितम् ।  
 अमतेन पुराणानां व्याहृतं यद्विद्विज्जन्मना ॥  
 क्षुद्रशास्त्रोपदेशेन लोलुपेन वरानने ।  
 पुराणे निर्णयो ह्येष विद्वद्भिः समुदाहृतः ॥  
 न शंखेन पिबेत्तोयं न हन्यात्कूर्मसूकरौ ।  
 एकादश्यां न भोक्तव्यं पक्षयोरुभयोरपि ॥  
 पुरोडाशोऽपि वामोरु संप्राप्ते हरिवासरे ।  
 अमक्ष्येण समः प्रोक्तः किं पुनश्चाशनक्रिया ॥ उ. २५।२-६  
 चतुष्पदेभ्योऽपि जनैर्नात्र देयं हरेर्दिने ।  
 उत्तराशास्थितैर्विप्रविष्णुधर्मपरायणैः ॥ उ. २५।१६

१२. काश्यामशुभकर्मवच्छुभकर्मापि नश्यति यतो मरणान्मुक्तिप्राप्ते :—

विनश्यन्तीह कर्माणि शुभान्यप्यशुभानि च ।  
 भूतभव्यभविष्याणि ज्ञानाज्ञानकृतानि च ॥ उ. २९।७१

१३. एकासने स्त्री ( कन्या ) पुरुषयोः स्थित्या भर्तृभार्यात्वसिद्धिः—

येनैकासनगा नारो भवेद्भर्ता स एव हि ।  
 नान्य इत्थं पुराणेषु श्रूयते ह्यागमेष्वपि ॥

१४. प्रायोऽत्र द्वादशी उपोष्येत्यनेकत्र प्रोक्तम्, एकादशीसमुपोष्येत्यपि क्वचित्—

श्रूयते हि पुराणेषु गाथाः सुभ्रु समीरिताः ।  
 द्वादशीं प्रति संबद्धाः स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदायिकाः ॥  
 न त्यजेद् द्वादशीं पुण्यां पक्षयोरुभयोरपि ॥ उ. ३२।९-१४

१५. पित्रादिप्रयोजनसिद्धयै मरणं मृतस्य श्रेष्ठलोकप्रापकम्—

पितुरर्थे हता ये तु मातुरर्थे हतास्तथा ।

गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा प्रमदार्थे महीपते ॥

भूम्यर्थे पार्थिवार्थे वा देवतार्थे तथैव च ।

बालार्थे विकलार्थे च यान्ति लोकान् सुभास्वरान् ॥ उ. ३३।६२-६४

१६. धर्माङ्गदः पितरं स्वमांगदं प्रति—

धर्मार्थं तनयं हन्याद् भार्या वापि महीपते ।

श्रूयते वेदवाक्येषु पुत्रं हन्यान्मखस्थितः ॥

अश्वमेधे मखवरे न दोषो जायते नृप ॥ उ. ३३।६६

१७. कार्यस्य संपादने अफलेऽपि प्राप्ते स्वामिना भृत्याय वेतनं देयं तुष्टिफलं तु न देयम्—

सिद्धौ वाप्यथवासिद्धौ कर्मकृतस्याद्वृथा न हि ।

भर्तव्यो भृत्यवर्गश्च भूभुजा धर्ममिच्छता ।

सद्भावे घटमानस्य यदि कर्म न सिद्ध्यति ॥

देयं वेतनमात्रं तु न च तुष्टिफलं भवेत् ।

यो न तस्मै प्रपच्छेत जीवनं जीवनाय वै ।

गोवधं समवाप्नोति स नरो नात्र संशयः ॥ उ. ३५।३५-३८

१८. भृत्येनापि कार्यसिद्धौ वेतनं ग्राह्यमन्यथा नरकप्राप्तिः—

असाधिते तु यः कार्ये नरो गृह्णाति वेतनम् ।

स्वामिनं तु परित्यज्य प्रयाति नरकं ध्रुवम् ॥ उ. ३५।४८

भृत्ये कार्यकरणसंलग्ने दैवात्कार्यं न सिद्ध्यति तदा स्वामिप्रदत्तं

जीवनं ग्राह्यम्, परन्तु कार्यमङ्गीकृत्यापि यो भृत्यः कार्यं न साधयति

जीवनं तु गृह्णाति स नरकगामी ।

१९. मनुष्याणां स्वामिन्कार्याकरणानामधोगतिविषये किं वक्तव्यं देवा अप्यधोगति-

भाजो भवन्ति—

न साधयन्ति ये कार्यं स्वामिनां तु दिवोकसः ।

भृत्या वेतनभोक्तारो जायन्ते भूतले हयाः ॥ उ. ३५।४९

२०. अज्ञानाद् हरिवासरे भुज्यतामित्युक्ते जातपापस्य प्राणायामशतकरणं प्रायश्चित्तम्—

अज्ञानाद् व्याहृते वाक्ये भुज्यतां हरिवासरे ।

तस्यापि शुद्धिर्गदिता प्राणायामशतेन हि ॥ उ. ३५।६६

२१. पतिव्रतास्त्रीकरणीयभर्तृसेवाप्रकारः—

वेदैः शुश्रूषणं भर्तुः स्त्रीणां धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः ।

यद् ब्रवीति पतिः किञ्चित् तत्कार्यमविशङ्कया ॥

शुक्लं शुक्लमिति ब्रूयात्कृष्णं कृष्णेति चामराः ।

शुश्रूषा सा हि विज्ञेया न शुश्रूषा हि सेवनम् ॥ उ. ३५।७३-७४

२२. महति कार्ये संपादनीये जपेष्टेन कनिष्ठस्य कृतः प्रणामो न दोषाय भवति—

कार्ये महति संप्राप्ते ह्यसाध्ये भुवनत्रये ।

न दूषितं भवेद् भूप यविष्टस्याभिवादनम् ॥ उ. ३६।३२

२३. दशम्या निशीथ एकादश्या वेधो देवकृतैकादशीविषयः, सूर्योदये वेधोऽसुराणां कृते—

वेधो निशीथे देवानामुपकाराय मोहिनि ।

सूर्योदयेऽसुराणां च हरिणा परिकल्पितः ॥ उ. ३७।२

२४. वैष्णवानां कृतेऽष्टमहाद्वादशिकास्तासूपवासः—

महाद्वादशिका ह्यष्टौ याः स्मृता वैष्णवागमे ।

तास्तु ह्येकादशीभिन्ना उपोष्यन्ते च वैष्णवैः ॥

एकादशीव्रतं भिन्नं वैष्णवानां महात्मनाम् ।

नित्यं पक्षद्वये प्रोक्तं विधिना त्रिदिनात्मके ॥

सायं प्रातस्त्यजेद्भुक्तिं क्रमात्पूर्वापराह्वयोः ।

एकादशी यदा भिन्ना उपोष्या हि परेऽहनि ॥

द्वादश्यां हि व्रतं कार्यं निरम्बु समुपोषणम् ॥ उ. ३७।२-६

२५. लङ्घनं कर्तुमेकादशीदिनेऽसमर्थानां कृते ब्राह्मद्रव्यविधानं तत्परिमाणं च—

लङ्घने त्वसमर्थानां जलं शाकं फलं पयः ।

नैवेद्यं वा हरः प्रोक्तं स्वाहारात्पादसंमितम् ॥

सकामाः सूर्योदये दशम्या वेधे विद्वैकादशीं त्यजन्ति, निष्कामा मध्यरात्रे दशमीविद्धां त्यजन्ति—

स्मार्ताः सूर्योदये विद्धां त्यजन्त्येकादशीं सति । मोहिनि !

निष्कामा मध्यरात्रे च विद्धां मुञ्चन्ति याम्यथा ॥ दशम्या उ. १३७।७८

२६. गङ्गायास्तिथ्यादिदिनभेदप्रकारेण भूम्यादि स्थितिः—

पक्षादौ कृष्णपक्षे तु भूमौ संनिहिता भवेत् ।

यावत्पुण्या ह्यमावास्था दिनानि दश मोहिनि ॥

शुक्लप्रतिपदादेश्च दिनानि दश सङ्ख्यया ।

पाताले संनिधानं तु कुरुते स्वयमेव हि ॥

आरभ्य शुक्लैकादश्या दिनानि दश यानि तु ।

पञ्चम्यन्तानि सा स्वर्गे भवे संनिहिता तदा ॥ उ. ३८।१७-१९

२७. गंगांभो विष्णुस्वरूपमेव, अन्यत्र विष्णुषादौदकरूपम् विष्णुषादसंभावं च—

योऽसौ सर्वगतो विष्णुश्चिस्वरूपी जनार्दनः ।

स एव द्रवरूपेण गङ्गाम्भो नात्र संशयः ॥ उ. ३८।२३

२८. अन्यत्र कृतं पापं गंगातीरे विनश्यति गंगातीरजं पापं गंगास्नानेन नश्यति—

अन्यस्थानकृतं पापं गंगातीरे विनश्यति ।

गंगातीरे कृतं पापं गंगास्नानेन नश्यति ॥ उ. ३९।३५

२९. चतुर्दश्यष्टम्योर्वाराणस्यां गंगा सद्यो मुक्तिदा—

वाराणस्यां विशेषेण गंगा सद्यस्तु मुक्तिदा ।

प्रतिमासं चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां चैव सर्वदा ॥ उ. ३९।४३

३०. गंगायां प्रातः स्नानापेक्षया शिवसंनिधौ सायंकाले कृतं स्नानमनन्तं फलं ददाति—

प्रातः स्नानाद्दशगुणं पुण्यं मध्यन्दिने स्मृतम् ।

सायंकाले शतगुणमनन्तं शिवसंनिधौ ॥ उ. ३९।४४-४५

अत्र सर्वत्र प्रातः स्नानं कृत्वैव मध्यदिनादिस्नानकर्तुः फलमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

३१. गृहे स्नानप्रसङ्गे गंगानामोच्चारणे नाकगमनं वरुणेनोक्तम्—

यो गृहे स्वे स्थितोऽपि त्वां स्नाने संकीर्तयिष्यति ।

सोऽपि यास्यति नाकं वै इत्याह वरुणश्च ताम् ॥ तां गगां,

उ. ३९।४८

३२. गंगातीरे माघमासे नक्तभोजनस्य विशेषफलं नक्तभोजनकर्तुर्नियमाश्च—

देवैस्तु भुक्तं पूर्वाह्ने मध्याह्ने ऋषिभिस्तथा ।

अपराह्ने च पितृभिः शर्वर्यां गुह्यकादिभिः ॥ उ. ४३।९

सर्वा वेला अतिक्रम्य नक्तभोजनमुत्तमम् ।

उपवासाद्द्वरं भैक्ष्यं भैक्ष्याद्द्वरमयाचितम् ॥

अयाचिताद्वरं नक्तं तस्मान्नक्तं समाचरेत् ॥

हविष्यभोजनं स्नानं सत्यमाहारलाघवम् ।

अग्निकार्यमधःशय्यां नक्ताशी षट् समाचरेत् ॥ उ. ४३।१०-१३

३३. जगन्नाथरथयात्रावद्गंगारथयात्रापि पापकर्तृणां दुर्लभदर्शना—

रथयात्रादिने तस्मिन् विभवे सति कारयेत् ।

रथारूढप्रतिकृतिं गंगायास्तूत्तरामुखा (खी) म् ।

भ्रमन्त्या दर्शनं लोके दुर्लभं पापकर्मणाम् ॥ उ. ४३।५७

३४. गंगाविष्णुशंभूमादिषु भेदो न कर्तव्यः—

यथा शिवस्तथा विष्णुर्यथा विष्णुस्तथा ह्युमा ।

उमा यथा तथा गंगा चात्र भेदो न विद्यते ॥

विष्णुरुद्रान्तरं यश्च गंगागौर्यन्तरं तथा ।

लक्ष्मीगौर्यन्तरं यश्च प्रव्रूते मूढधीस्तु सः ॥ उ. ४३।९२-९३

३५. पौराणिकी चतुर्विधा मुक्तिः ब्रह्मज्ञानसदृशं गयाश्राद्धादि—

ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाश्राद्धं गोगृहे मरणं तथा ।

वासः पुंसां कुरुक्षेत्रे मुक्तिरेषा चतुर्विधा ॥ उ. ४४।२०



३६. काशीमरणवद्गयाश्राद्धादि मुक्तौ प्रयोजकमिति प्रतिभाति । अथवा मुक्ति-  
रूपमेव पुराणवचनेष्वर्थावादरीत्या भिन्नार्थकरणे महादोषश्रुतेः । गयाश्राद्धे  
क्षेत्रिणे बीजिने च पित्रे पिण्डदानप्रसङ्गे आदौ क्षेत्रिणे ततो बीजिनेऽयं क्रमः  
स्वरिणीजो ददौ चादौ क्षेत्रिणे बीजिने ततः ॥ उ. ४६।३६

३७. गयायां स्वात्मानमुद्दिश्यपि पिण्डो देयः स च स्वमरणानन्तरं स्वात्मानं  
प्राप्नोति—

एष पिण्डो मया दत्तस्तव हस्ते जनार्दन ।

गयाश्राद्धे त्वया देयो मह्यं पिण्डो मृते मयि ॥ उ. ४७।६३

३८. एवं जीवद्भ्यो गयायां पिण्डदाने तेभ्यस्तेभ्यो मरणानन्तरं सपिण्डो  
जनार्दनेन दीयते—

तुभ्यं पिण्डो मया दत्तो यमुद्दिश्य जनार्दन ।

देहि देव गयाशीर्षे तस्मै तस्मै मृते ततः ॥ उ. ४७।६४

३९. काश्यां पञ्चनदे माघमासे एकदिनस्नानकरणेन प्रयागे माघमासीयस्नानफलम्—  
प्रयागे माघमासे तु सम्यक्स्नानस्य यत्फलम् ।  
तत्फलं स्याद्दिनैकेन काश्यां पञ्चनदे ध्रुवम् ॥ उ. ५०।१९

४०. काशीस्थत्रिस्रोतः प्रभृति नदीत्रयदर्शनेन ब्रह्महत्यानिवृत्तिर्भवति—  
तिस्रो नद्यस्तु तत्रत्या वहन्ति च शुभोदकाः ।

तासां स्थानादिकम्—

एका तु तत्र त्रिस्रोता तथा मन्दाकिनी परा ।

मत्स्योदरी तृतीया च एतास्तिस्रस्तु पुण्यदाः ॥

मन्दाकिनी तत्र पुण्या मध्यमेश्वरसंस्थिता ।

संस्थिता त्रिस्रोतिका च अविमुक्तेति पुण्यदा ॥

मत्स्योदरी तु ॐकारे पुण्यदा सर्वदैव हि ॥ उ. ५०।२८-३१

संप्रति विद्यमानान्येतानि तीर्थानि पूर्वं नदीस्वरूपाणि समासन् ।

४१. के तीर्थयात्राया अधिकारिणः, के च नाधिकारिणः, तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गे कथं  
वर्तितव्यम्—

या तीर्थयात्रा कथिता मुनीन्द्रैः कृता प्रयुक्ता ह्यनुमोदिता च ।  
तां ब्रह्मचारी विधिवत्करोति सुसंयुतो गुरुणा संनियुक्तः ॥  
सर्वस्वनाशेऽप्यथवाल्पपक्षे स ब्राह्मणानग्रत एव कृत्वा ।  
यत्ताधिकारेऽप्यथ वा निवृत्ते विप्रस्तु तीर्थानि परिश्रमेच्च ॥  
तीर्थेष्वलं यज्ञफलं हि यस्मात्प्रोक्तं मुनीन्द्रैरमलस्वभावैः ।  
यस्येष्टियज्ञेष्वधिकारितास्ति वरं गृहं गृहधर्माश्च सर्वे ॥  
एवं गृहस्थाश्रमसंस्थितस्य तीर्थे गतिः पूर्वतरैर्निषिद्धा ।  
सर्वाणि तीर्थान्यपि चाग्निहोत्रतुर्यानि नैवेति वदन्ति केचित् ॥  
यो यः कश्चितीर्थयात्रां तु गच्छेत्सुसंयतः स च पूर्वं गृहेषु ।  
कृतावासः शुचिरप्रमत्तः संपूजयेद्भक्तिमग्नौ गणेशम् ॥  
देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव साधून् धीमान् विप्रो वित्तशक्त्या प्रयत्नात् ।  
प्रत्यागतश्चापि पुनस्तथैव देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च ॥

उ. ६२।२०-२५ ।

४२. यानमारुह्य तीर्थयात्रा न कर्तव्या—

ऐश्वर्याल्लोभमोहाद्वा गच्छेद्यानेन यो नरः ।  
निष्फलं तस्य तत्तीर्थं तस्माद्यानं विवर्जयेत् ॥  
गोयाने गोवधः प्रोक्तो हययाने तु निष्फलम् ॥  
नरयाने तदर्द्धं स्यात्पद्भ्यां तच्च चतुर्गुणम् ॥ उ. ६२।३३-३४  
नरयानमारुह्य गमने विध्युक्तफलमर्द्धं प्राप्यते, पद्भ्यां गमने तु  
चतुर्गुणं फलम् ।

४३. तीर्थयात्रायां विशेषसमये दण्डच्छत्रोपानद्युक्तो यात्रां कुर्यात्—

वर्षातपादिके छत्री दण्डी शर्करकण्टके ।

शरीरत्राणकामोऽसौ सोपानत्कः सदा व्रजेत् ॥ उ. ६२।३५

४४. तीर्थे पिण्डद्रव्यम्—सक्तुभिः पिण्डदानं च संयावैः पायसेन वा ।

बदरामलकैर्वापि पिण्याकैर्वा सुलोचने ! ॥ मोहिनि !

श्राद्धं तु तत्र कर्तव्यमर्चावाहनवर्जितम् ॥ उ. ६२।३९-४०

अन्यत्रार्चानिषेधो नास्ति । “अर्घ्यमावाहनं चैव”

इत्यनेनार्घ्यस्य निषेधात्

४५. गंगायमुनयोः समानार्हत्वं केवलज्येष्ठभावेन गंगा सर्वत्र पूज्यते—

गंगा च यमुना चैव उभे तुल्यफले स्मृते ।

केवलं ज्येष्ठभावेन गंगा सर्वत्र पूज्यते ॥ उ. ६२।१६७

४६. अरुणोदये स्थिता दशमी एकादशीं विध्यति परन्तु स वेधः श्रौतान्  
प्रति विद्यते-अन्यच्च वेधादिकं समानम्, निशीथवेधो वीरवैष्णवान् प्रति  
समस्ति—

स्मार्तान् सूर्योदयं प्राप्य श्रौतानप्यरुणोदयम् ।

निशीथं वैष्णवान्विप्राः प्राप्य दूषयते व्रतान् ॥

मोहिनी वेधरहितामुपोष्यैकादशीं नरः ॥

द्वादश्यां विष्णुमभ्यर्च्य वैकुण्ठं यात्यसंशयम् ॥ उ. ८२।२३-२४

THE SHORTER KŪRMA-VIBHĀGA TEXTS OF  
THE PURĀNAS

BY

C. A. LEWIS

[ पुराणेषु ग्रन्थेषु च ग्रन्थेषु भारतवर्षीयभूगोलवर्णनप्रसङ्गे भारत-  
वर्षस्य कूर्मरूपेण कल्पना—भारतवर्षस्य विभिन्नप्रदेशानामवस्थितिः  
कूर्मस्यास्य विभिन्नाङ्गेषु निर्दिष्टा वर्तते । अयं कूर्मस्तु प्राक्शिरा वर्तते ।  
तस्य मध्यभागे मध्यदेशस्यावस्थितिः, अग्रिमदक्षिणपादे पूर्वदक्षिणदेशस्य,  
दक्षिणपार्श्वे दक्षिणदेशस्य, पश्चाद्दक्षिणपादे दक्षिणपश्चिमदेशस्य, पुच्छ-  
भागे पश्चिमदेशस्य, पश्चाद्दक्षिणपादे पश्चिमोत्तरदेशस्य, वामपार्श्वे उत्तर-  
देशस्य अग्रिमवामपादे पूर्वोत्तरदेशस्य च अवस्थितिः वर्णिता वर्तते । कूर्म-  
विभागवर्णनं द्विविधं वर्तते—लघुविभागः बृहद्विभागश्च । लघुविभागः  
अथर्वपरिशिष्टे, गरुडपुराणे, विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे चोपलभ्यते । बृहद-  
विभागस्तु बृहत्संहितायां मार्कण्डेयपुराणे पराशरतन्त्रे चोपलभ्यते । अत्र  
लघुविभागस्यैव विवेचनं कृतम् । अथर्वपरिशिष्टस्य वर्णनं पुराणैः सह  
किञ्चिद् वैभिन्यं भजते । अस्मिन् कूर्मविभागवर्णने दृश्यते यत् दक्षिण-  
देशीयेषु जनपदेषु विन्ध्यवासिनामेव वर्णनमस्ति । अतः तस्मिन् काले  
विन्ध्यात् परं वर्तमानानां देशानां परिचयो नासीदार्याणामिति मतम्  
लेखकमहोदयस्य वर्तते । अत्र कूर्मविभागे निर्दिष्टानां जनपदानां जातीनां च  
प्रमाणपुरस्सरं अवस्थितिः आलोचिता, एतत्प्रकरणात्मकस्य पुराणांशस्य  
पाठविषयेऽपि विमर्शः कृतो वर्तते । ]

The conception of Bhāratavarṣa as a tortoise, in which the various countries are said to rest on specific parts of its body, is a well-known theme of ancient Indian geography. Each of the different parts of the animal, whose head faced towards the Bay of Bengal, and whose centre comprised Madhyadeśa, represented a different direction of which there were nine altogether. These may be listed as follows :

1. The middle = Madhyadeśa.
2. The head = East.
3. The right forefoot = South-East.
4. The right side = South.

5. The right hind foot = South-West.
6. The tail = West.
7. The left hind foot = North-West.
8. The left side = North.
9. The left forefoot = North-East.

The Kūrma-vibhāga texts occur in two types of list, the longer and the shorter; the former are to be found in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira, the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and the *Parāśaratantra*, while the latter occur in the *Parīśiṣṭa* to the *Atharvaveda*, the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, and the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*. In the present article it is proposed only to deal with the shorter Kūrma-vibhāga texts. Though the *Parīśiṣṭa* texts follows the same framework as the shorter purāṇic lists, there is clearly no connection between the two. Moreover its *Madhyadeśa* is placed somewhat further to the south than is the case of the purāṇic texts and hence corresponds much more closely to the true geographical centre of India. Again while the *Parīśiṣṭa* extends its *Madhyadeśa* considerably eastwards to include *Kāśī*, *Kosala*, *Mithilā* etc., the purāṇic texts specifically exclude them from *Madhyadeśa* by making them parts of its eastern division.

The most interesting aspect of the shorter purāṇic texts, with which this article will now exclusively deal, is the fact that they mention as "southern" tribes, peoples who actually lived in the *Vindhyas*. Hence the inference would be that the conception of tortoise geography originated at a time when the Aryans had little or no acquaintance with the far south of India. To them the *Vindhyas* represented the southernmost region of which they had any detailed knowledge and so their southern list is really a *Vindhya* list. If one accepts this theory, then the tortoise shape does not seem as absurd as it is generally thought. If the *Vindhyas* represented the southernmost point of knowledge the Aryans had of *Bhāratavarṣa*, then the whole area north of them may be perhaps roughly compared to the shape of a tortoise.

Let us now proceed to a detailed analysis of these texts. That of the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* will be employed, while the variants of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* will be added. Any textual difficulty

that might arise, will be discussed, and then the peoples mentioned in the lists briefly identified to prove the correctness of their location within the region.

Pāñcālāḥ Kuravo Matsyā Yaudheyāḥ saPaṭaccarāḥ /  
Kuntayaḥ Śūrasenās ca madhyadeśajanāḥ smṛtāḥ //

The Vdh. P. has exactly the same text except due to a copyist's error it has Vaṭaccarāḥ for Paṭaccarāḥ. This text is interesting in that the Yaudheyas, Paṭaccaras, and Kuntis are not mentioned in the longer Kūrma-vibhāga text as peoples of Madhyadeśa, though the Yaudheyas are mentioned as a northern people by the latter (BS. XIV. 28 ; Mār. P. 58, 47). The interesting hypothesis raised by this change of location will be discussed below where their identification with modern localities will be established to confirm their location in Madhyadeśa.

- Pāñcāla. This was divided into two divisions by the Bhāgīrathī (Ganges). The capital of north Pāñcāla was Ahichattra (mod. Ramnagar) and of south Pāñcāla Kāmpilya (mod. Kampil). Its territory corresponded to mod. Farukhabad district.
- Kuru. Ancient Kurukṣetra, the home of Brahmanical civilisation. Situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and the Dṛṣadvatī on the south, it accordingly corresponds to modern Thanesar.
- Matsya. Modern Jaipur. Capital Vairāṭanagara (mod. Bairat, 100 miles S-W of Delhi and 40 miles N. of Jaipur).
- Yaudheya. The inclusion of this tribe in Madhyadeśa is most interesting, as the longer Kūrma-vibhāga texts place them in the northern region. The Purāṇas do not include them in their Bhuvanakośa texts. According to numismatic evidence a mint of their coins inscribed "Yaudheyānāḥ Bahudhānyake" and dated to the second century B. C. has been found near Rohitaka (mod. Rohtak). (I. H. Q. XXVII (1951), p. 197 ff). Bahudhānyaka may therefore be identified with the Harijāna district of the Punjab. Their

descendants may be traced in the modern Johiya Rajputs on the banks of the Sutlej.

Pañaccara. They have also been mentioned as a tribe of Madhyadeśa by the Bhuvanakośa texts of the Purānas. Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 150) identifies it with a portion of Banda district, but Agrawala's suggestion (India as known to Pāṇini, p. 62) that it should be equated with modern Pataudi seems far more likely in view of its association in the present text with the Yaudheyas.

Kunti. According to the Mahābhārata (3.292.25) they are to be located on the bank of a small river called the Aśvanadī or Aśvarathanadī, which flows into the Carmanvatī (mod. Chambal). This position is confirmed by the account of Sahadeva's digvijaya (M.B. 2. 28. 6), in which it is stated that Sahadeva overcame the Kuntibhojas before reaching the banks of the Carmanvatī.

Śūrasena. Capital Mathurā, mod. Maholi, five miles S.W of modern Mathurā.

V ṣadhvajajanāḥ padmāḥ sūtamāgadhacedayaḥ /  
Kāśayaś ca videhās ca pūrvasyāṃ Kośalās tathā //

The Vdh. P. has panna for padma; suhma for sūta, and aūjana for jana. A comparative study of the longer Kūrmavibhāga texts show the correct readings to be Aūjana, Padma, and Suhma. Kirfel (Bhāratavarsha, p. 24), who does not appear to notice the connection between the shorter and longer texts, wrongly retains jana for Aūjana. As a result of the comparison of the two lists, the text may accordingly be restored as follows :

Vṛṣadhvajāūjanāḥ padmāḥ suhmamāgadhacedayaḥ /  
Kāśayaś ca videhās ca pūrvasyāṃ kośalās tathā //

It only remains now to identify these tribes and confirm their location in Pūrvadeśa.

Aūjana. A mountain of the same name is mentioned in the gaṇapāṭha to Pāṇini (V. 3. 117). Both Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 8) and Law (Geog. Dict. p. 65) identify it

- with the Suleiman range in the Punjab, but this identification cannot be valid in the present instance.
- Vṛṣadhvaja.** I have been unable to trace any identification for this name and would be grateful for any suggestion which may be proposed.
- Padma.** Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 123) mentions a Padmagiri, which he equates with Sravana Belgola, a town in Hassan district, Mysore. This cannot possibly be the same as the Padma of the present texts for its location is too far south. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Indian Culture. v. 8 (1941) p. 57) mentions a river Padmā as one of the boundaries of Gauḍa, and with this the Padmas may be connected.
- Suhma.** Mod. Hooghly, Howrah and Burdwan districts of Bengal, as well as parts of Midnapur.
- Māgadha.** Patna and Gaya districts. Capitals Girivraja (Rajgir) and later Pāṭliputra (Patna).
- Cedi.** The longer Kūrma-vibhāga locates them in the south-east. Its capital (Śuktimatī) on the river of the same name (mod. Ken. MB.3.23.47; 1.57.32) may be located near Banda. It roughly comprised the modern Bundelkhand region S-E of the Jumna from its junction with the Chambal (I.H.Q.27 (1951) p. 250).
- Kāśī.** Modern Benares.
- Videha.** Modern Tirhut district with its capital Mithilā at Janakpur in Nepal.
- Kośala.** Evidently Uttara-Kośala, whose capital was Śrāvastī (modern Sahet-Mahet in Oudh).

Kaliṅga-vaṅga-puṇḍrāṅgā vidarbhā mūlkās tathā /  
Vindhyanānilayāḥ proktāḥ pūrvadakṣiṇataḥ... //

The Vdh. P. has an identical text, and the tribes are so well-known in Indian geographical literature as scarcely to merit identification. The Aṅgas,



Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas are frequently associated together in the Mahābhārata, a point that indicates their close geographical and ethnic association in the minds of the Aryans.

Kalinga. Modern Orissa.

Vaṅga. One of the most important tribes in eastern India, as is shown by the fact that their name came to denote the whole province of Bengal. In epic and purāṇic texts they occupied the eastern section of the province towards the Ganges delta. Pargiter (J.A.S.B. 1897 p. 85) located them in the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, and parts of Rajshahi and Faridpur.

Puṇḍra. Modern Dinajpur, Rungpur and Bogra districts. Its capital, Puṇḍravardhana, is identified by Cunningham (Ancient Geog. of India (1871 ed.) p. 480) with modern Mahasthana, 7 miles north of Bogra.

Aṅga. Modern Bhagalpur district extending northwards to the Kosī river. Capital : Campā.

Vaidarbha. Modern Berar. Capitals Kuṇḍina (mod. Kundinypura on the Wardha in Amraoti district) and later Bhojakaṭa (mod. Bhojapura, 6 miles S-E of Bhiḷsa).

Mūlaka. In the Vāyupurāṇa (88.177-8) this tribe is closely associated with the well-known Aśmakas. The present text however is very interesting as it sharply distinguishes between the two, locating the Mūlakas in the south-east and the Aśmakas in the south. According to Buddhist tradition the Godāvarī formed the boundary between them (Law, Geography of early Buddhism p. 21).

Pulindāśmaka-jīmūta-navarāṣṭranivāsinaḥ /  
Karṇāṭa-kāmbhoja-ghāṭā dakṣiṇāpathavāsinaḥ //

The Vdh. P. in place of Karṇāṭa-kāmbhoja-ghāṭā reads Karṇātakā bhojakaṭā, which is clearly the correct text as

Kāamboja is well known as the name of a northern tribe and would be completely out of place here. This passage presents a most interesting example of how textual corruption can occur. The final ka suffix of Karṇātakā has somehow been transferred to being a prefix of the following name which becomes Kāamboja and at once suggests the well known Kāambojas. The final part of the word Kaṭa is changed to Ghāṭā and is made the name of a "separate" people. Of the names enumerated only one, Karṇāta, is included in the same division by the longer Kūrmavibhāga texts. None of the other names are even mentioned, though with the exception of the Jīmūtas all are well known. The reason for their omission lies perhaps in the fact that in the early period of tortoise geography they had a special importance as "frontier" tribes; when however the Aryan knowledge of south India increased, they may have lost their significance and so been dropped from the list.

It remains now to identify these tribes and confirm their location in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

- Pulinda.** The antiquity of this tribe is attested by their mention in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII.18.2), which locates them in the Vindhya along with the Śābaras and Āndhras. According to Law (Geog. Dict. of India. p. 184), their capital, Pulindanagar is to be located near Bhilsa. Ptolemy (VII.1.64) refers to them as Polindoi Agriophagoi.
- Aśmaka.** Located by the Suttaṇipāta (P.T.S. p. 190) on the bank of the Godavari immediately south of Paṭiṭṭhāna (Skt. Pratiṣṭhāna, mod. Paithan).
- Jīmūta.** This tribe, so far as I am aware, has not been identified.
- Navarāṣṭra.** This tribe is definitely located near the bank of the Chambal by the digvijaya of Sahadeva in the Mahābhārata (MB. 2.28.6). Dey's identification of it with the Neogramma of Ptolemy (VII. 1.61) is inaccurate as the later city is situated on the Indus (mod. Naushari).

Karṇāṭaka. Modern Kanarese speaking area centred around Mysore.

Bhojakaṭa. According to the purāṇic tradition the Bhojas were a branch of Yādavas who founded the kingdom of Vidarbha. Bhojakaṭa is mentioned in the Chammak copperplate inscription of Pravarasena III and may thus be regarded as including the Elichpur district of Berar and the area of Chammak four miles to its south-west. It has also been identified with Bhatkulī in Amroati district. (C. L. I. III, no. 55 ; line 18 ; I. A. 1923, p. 262).

Ambaṣṭha-Draviḍa-Lāṭāh Kāmbhoja-Strīmukhāh Śakāh /  
Ānartavāsinaś caiva jñeyā dakṣiṇapaścime //

The Vdh. P. has an identical list except that it substitutes Nāga for Lāṭa and Ananta for Ānarta. Both these forms can be dismissed as copyists' errors. It accordingly remains to identify briefly these names and confirm their location in the south-western division.

Ambaṣṭha. This tribe is clearly to be identified with those of the Mahābhārata, where they are associated with the Śibis and Trigartas (MB. 2.29.6. ; 2.48.14 ; 6.18.13 etc.). They are well known in classical writers as one of the tribes conquered by Alexander the Great and are located by them on the lower Akesines (mod. Chenab). They are the Sabarcae of Curtius (IX, 8), the Sambastai of Diodorus (17, 102), and the Abastanoi of Arrian (Anab. VI. 15).

Drāviḍa. This well-known name appears out of place here. In the Mahābhārata and the Purānas it is generally associated with the tribes of the extreme south. Kern however, considers that a branch originally existed in Baluchistan and accordingly identifies them with the Brahui tribe who are said to belong to Dravidian stock. It is possible that their inclusion in the present division is due to "editing" on the part of copyists. Rājaśekhara (Kāvya-mimāṃsā

p. 93) mentions a country called Travana in the western region and associates it with Surāṣṭra. Such a name, if little known, as would seem likely as I have been unable to trace it elsewhere, may well have been "corrected" by copyists as Drāviḍa.

Lāṭa.

This name is identical with the Larike of Ptolemy (VII. 1. 4.) and is usually identified with central Gujarat around Baroach between the Mahī and Tāptī rivers. Larike is generally regarded as a Greek transcription of a Prakrit from Lāṭika (Lassen. Ind. Alt. (2. ed.) I. p. 137), which is derived from Sanskrit Rāṣṭrika, a form that occurs in Aśoka's edicts.

Kāamboja.

Though a janapada of considerable importance and antiquity, being mentioned in the Nirukta of Yāska, its exact location has been the subject of much controversy among scholars. According to Ray Chaudhuri (L'iconographie Bouddhique p. 134), who relies on the evidence of the Karṇaparva of the Mahābhārata (7. 4. 4.), Rājapura (mod. Rajauri) is contiguous to Kāamboja. Accordingly he locates it in the present Chitral and Hazara districts. This view is however refuted by Jayacandra (Bhāratabhūmi aur uske nivāsī pp. 297-305), who identifies Kāamboja with modern Kafiristan on the evidence of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī (IV. 163 ff.), which states that Lalitāditya of Kashmir (625-732 A. D.), on entering the northern district, defeated the Kāambojas, and then marched against the Bhauttas. As the location of the latter in Baltistan is certain, Kāamboja is to be located in Kafiristan.

Strīmukha.

This tribe must be identical with the Nārīmukhas of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (XIV, 17) and the Vanitāmukhas of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (58,30). According to Alberuni (ed. Sachau, 1. p. 302) they are to be identified with the Turks.

Śaka.- Modern Seistan.

Anarta. Modern Kathiawar or northern Gujarat, though there is some controversy as to their actual position. Some locate them in the region of Kuśasthalī (mod. Dwarka), while others place them in the vicinity of Ānarttapura, later called Ānandapura (mod. Vadnagar).

Strīrājyāḥ Saindhavā Mlecchā Nāstikā Yavanās tathā /  
paścimena ca vijñeyā Mathurā Naiṣadhaiḥ saha //

The Vdh. P. reads the same text except in place of Mathurā Naiṣadhaiḥ, it has patumān auṣadhaiḥ, which is clearly corrupt. Mathurā is an extremely good example of how names were corrupted and subsequently "corrected" to other names. The original reading for Mathurā, which can only be placed in the Madhyadeśa region, was almost certainly Ramaṭha; this by an orthographical confusion was changed to Maṭhura, and this form induced another later editor to substitute the well-known Mathurā. It remains to identify these tribes and establish their location in the western division.

Strīrājya. This tribe is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a N-W people along with the Taṅgaṇas (MB. 3.48.21). It is also mentioned by Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (2.5.27; 2.6.43), whose commentator paraphrases it as Strīpurī and locates it west of Vrajavanta or Vangarakta, information that does not help us as the identity of the latter place is also unknown. According to Dey it is to be identified in the area of Garhwal and Kumaun.

Saindhava. According to Alberuni (ed. Sachau I, p. 260), the upper course of the Indus above its junction with the Chenab was called Sindhu. Hence the Saindhavas may be located on its banks.

Nāstika. This name is clearly identical with the people described in the corresponding section of the Parāśara as "tyaktadharmā".

- Yavana.** Possibly a general reference to the Graeco-Dactrian of N-W India.
- Ramaṭha.** A low and barbarous tribe according to the Mahābhārata (MB. 12.65.14). Ptolemy refers to them as Rhamnai. Levi (J. A. 1915 p. 112) would locate them near Ghazni on the evidence of the Mahābhārata (3.48.21) and the Mahāmāyūrī (line 99).
- Naiṣadha.** This tribe is clearly out of place here as it has been mentioned in the Purāṇas as a Vindhya country and has been located by the longer Kūrmavibhāga in the S-E. It is perhaps an error for Niṣāda, a branch of which is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (3.130.4.), which states that the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared was the gateway to the country of the Niṣādas.

Māṇḍavyāś ca Tuṣārāś ca Mūlikāś ca Mūṣāḥ Khaśāḥ /  
Mahākeśā Mahānādā deśās tūttarapaścime //

The Vdh. P. has the same text except that it reads Mukha for Mūṣa and correctly Mahānāsa for Mahānāda. Mūlika cannot possibly be the correct reading here as it is to be located on the Godāvarī; it may however be easily amended to Cūlika, which has been placed in the N-W by the longer Kūrmavibhāga texts. With regard to the form Mūṣa or Mukha, this may be combined with the preceding as ca to produce the form Aśvamukha, which the longer texts place in the North. Thus Mūlikāś ca Mukha may be amended to Cūlikāśvamukha.

It now remains to identify briefly the above mentioned tribes.

- Māṇḍavya.** This name occurs not less than three times in the longer Kūrmavibhāga texts, where it is mentioned in the Madhyadeśa, Northern and North West lists. The Māṇḍavyas in the central region are variously located at Modern Mandawar, eight miles north of Bijnor (J.U.P.H.S. XV pt. II (1942) p. 43) and at Mandor near Jodhpur on the evidence of inscriptions (E.I. XVIII, p. 95 cf. The Jodhpur Inscription of

Pratihāra Bauka verse 10 "māṇḍavyapuradurge's-min") The Māṇḍavyas of the North and North-West have not been identified however.

Tuṣāra. According to Stein (Rājataranṅinī I, p. 136) they are to be located in the Upper Oxus valley.

Cūlika. According to the Matsya-purāṇa (121.45) the Vakṣu (Oxus) flowed through their territory.

Khaśa. Modern Khakkhas to the west of Nepal.

The Aśvamukhas, Mahākeśas and Mahānāsas cannot be precisely identified. In the case of ill-known tribes with whom the Aryans would have little contact, one may expect differentiation to be made among them on the basis of physical characteristics.

Garuḍa P. Lampakās Tananāgās ca Madra-Gāndhāra-bāhlikāḥ /  
Himācalālayā mlecchā udīcīm diśam āśritāḥ //

Vdh. P. Lampagās Tālanāgās ca Maru-Gāndhāra-Jāhutāḥ /  
Himavannilayā mlecchā hy udīcīm diśam āśritāḥ //

There is somewhat more variation between the two texts than has previously been the case. The inaccuracy of Maru in the Vdh.P. text is proved not only by the corresponding text of the Garuḍa P. but also by the internal evidence of the Vdh.P. itself. At the end of its list of peoples, it gives the name of the country which is considered to represent the region as a whole. For the N-W region Madra is given. There is also a discrepancy between the Bāhlikas of the Garuḍa P. and the Jāhutas of the Vdh.P. The latter name appears to be a corruption of Jāguḍa, which is similarly located in the north by the Bhuvanakośa texts. Bāhlika is a well-known name, but here is perhaps the result of a copyist's effort to correct a corrupted portion of the text. The Tālanāgas are identical with the Talagāṇas of the purāṇas, which similarly locate them in the northern division along with the Lampakas. Dey wrongly divides the text as Lampāka-Stana-Nāga and identifies the middle name with Kustana i. e. Khotan in East Turkestan, thereby inventing a country that does not exist.

Lampaka. The Lambatai of Ptolemy (VII. 1. 42) who locates them near the sources of the Koa (Kabul) river,

- Their name is preserved in modern Lamghan, a small territory on the north bank of the Koa (Kabul) river.
- Talagāṇa. The location of this tribe is uncertain, but it must be somewhere near Lamghan in view of its close juxtaposition with Lampaka in both the Bhuvana-kośa and Kūrmavibhāga texts.
- Madra. The capital of the Madras was Śākala, first identified by Cunningham (A. G. I. 1871 ed., p. 180) with Sanglawala Tiba in the Jhang district of the Punjab, but subsequently proved by Fleet to be Sialkot.
- Gāndhāra. A country of considerable antiquity, being known from Vedic times (RV. I 126.7). The Greeks knew it as Gandaridai or Gandarites (Ptolemy, VII. 1. 44; Herodotus 3. 91). It is to be identified with the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts.
- Jāguḍa. According to the Matsyapūrāṇa (121.45) the Indus flowed through its territory. Levi (J.A. 1915, p.114) would identify it with modern Ghazni.
- Garuḍa P. Trigarta-Nīla-Kolābha-Brahmaputrāḥ sa-Taṅkanāḥ /  
Abhiṣāhāḥ sa-Kāśmīrā udakpūrveṇa kīrtitāḥ //
- Vdh. P. Trigarta-Mīna-Kaulūta-Brahmaputrāḥ sa-Tīgaṇāḥ /  
Abhisārās ca Kāśmīrās codakpūrveṇa kīrtitāḥ //

The two texts serve to correct each other's mistakes. Garuḍa P. Tankana corrects VdhP. Tīgana, while the latter's Kaulūta corrects the former's Kolābha. Both wrongly have Brahmaputra, which, as the corresponding section of the longer Kūrmavibhāga text shows, must be corrected to Brahmapura. The choice between Garuḍa P. Nīla and Vdh.P. Mīna is uncertain. If Nīla is accepted as the correct reading, it would probably be identical with the Nīlaparvata of the Uttara Kurus, which is identified with the Kuemlum range in Tibet. A comparison of the longer and shorter Kūrmavibhāga texts however suggests that both Nīla and Mīna may be corrupt and that the correct reading should be Cīna.

Trigarta. Modern Jalandhar district between the Ravi and Sutlej.



Cīna. If this reading is adopted, the Cīnas may be identified with the tribes of Chinese origin who lived on

the northern slopes of the Himalayas.

Kaulūta. The inhabitants of the district of Kulu in the upper valley of the river Beas.

Brahmapura. According to Watters (On Yuan Chang I. p. 329) this name is to be equated with the Po-lo-lih-mo-pulo of Hiuen Tsiang, whose evidence indicates that it must be placed in the region of Kumaon and Garhwal. Cunningham (A.G.I. (1871ed.) p. 355) identifies it more specifically with the area between the Alakananda and Karnali rivers.

Taṅkana. The Tanganoi of Ptolemy, they may be located in the mountainous regions extending from the Ramganga to the Upper Sarayu.

Abhīsāra. The Abhīsāras were a well known tribe to the Greek historians and the Mahābhārata, where they are frequently associated with the Dārvas (MB. 6. 10. 52; 2. 24. 18 etc.). At the time of Alexander's invasion they allied themselves with the Pauravas against the Greeks. Their exact location is however disputed. McCrindle (Alexander's Invasion, p. 69) places them at Hazara, but Stein (Rājatarāṅgiṇī I p. 32) identifies them with the tract of hills between the Jhelum and Chenab including the state of Rājapurī (mod. Rajauri).

Kāśmīra. Modern Kashmir.

• With the survey of the peoples of the North-East Division completed, our examination of the shorter Kūrma-vibhāga texts of the purānas comes to an end. On the whole they are somewhat disappointing as a source for ancient Indian geography, as the majority of names are already well known from other sources. However, as no systematic examination of them has occurred elsewhere, so far as the author has been able to discover, it may not be without profit that their contents should have been tabulated.

## ŚAIVISM IN THE PĀTĀLA KHAṆḌA OF THE PADMA-PURĀṆA

By

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

[ पुराणेषु शैवतत्त्वानामपि वर्णनं प्राप्यते । अत्र पद्मपुराणान्तर्गत-  
पातालखण्डे प्रतिपादितस्य शैवतत्त्वस्य विवेचनं प्रस्तूयते । पातालखण्डस्य  
पूर्वार्धे रामचरित्रस्य उत्तरार्धे च शैवतत्त्वस्य विशेषतः शिवलिङ्गस्य  
वर्णनं विद्यते । लेखकमहोदयेन अत्र स्थापितं यत् रामचरित्रवर्णनात्मकः  
पूर्वार्ध एव प्राचीनो मूलभागो विद्यते । शिवतत्त्ववर्णनात्मक उत्तर-  
भागस्तु परवर्तिनि काले शैवमतानुयायिभिः संयोजित इति । उत्तर-  
भागे शिवपूजा लिङ्गार्चनादिवर्णनं च विद्यते । अत्र शैवैः सप्रयासमिदं  
स्थापयितुं चेष्टितं यत् शिव एव प्रधानो देवः । विष्णोरवतारभूतेन  
रामेण स्वयं विष्णुनाच कृता शिवपूजाऽत्र वर्णिता वर्तते येन शैवैः  
विष्णोरप्रधानत्वं द्योतयितुं चेष्टितम् । ]

The fact cannot be denied that the philosophy of Śaivism was developed from the Śatarudriya portion of the Yajurveda. The propagators of Śaivism gathered momentum thereon and gradually they were credited with a number of works of their own which were the best channels to spread out their views and belief. A large number of purāṇas which were regarded as the Rājasika-purāṇas are said to have been cropped up from the pens of those Śaiva-philosophers. Their philosophy attained complexity gradually and in the later purāṇas especially in the Skanda and the Śiva-purāṇas their unhesitating zeal to propagate their philosophy without any critical acumen is found. The Padma-purāṇa which is admittedly a Vaiṣṇava-mahāpurāṇa betrays here and there its acknowledgement to the Śiva tattva and Śaiva philosophy. This Padma-purāṇa, as we have it now, is a voluminous work consisting of extensive parts called Khaṇḍas, which are five in number in the Bengal recension, viz. Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa, Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa, Svarga-Khaṇḍa, Pātāla-Khaṇḍa and Uttara-Khaṇḍa. In the South Indian (or rather Devanāgarī)

recension, which has been published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press and others, this work is found to have six Khaṇḍas.<sup>1</sup> It was originally a Brahmaite one, i. e. the contribution of the Brahmā sects but later on the two other major sects, the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava took this up right earnestly tried to pass it as their own by means of additions and omissions. The name of one of the part of the Padma-purāṇa is Pātāla-khaṇḍa. We would like to deal with in this paper the aspects of Śaiva philosophy as found in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa.

It is now known that the original portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa was the contribution of the Rāmaites. On an examination it is found that the original portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Rāmaites describes primarily the later portion of Rāma's story which begins from his victory at Laṅkā and return from there to Ayodhyā after placing Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne and extends upto the end of his Aśvamedha sacrifice on (if we take the evidence of the Bengal manuscripts of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa) upto the end of his life. In one place<sup>2</sup> it speaks of the six divisions of the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. Bāla, Āraṇyaka, Kiṣkindhā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara and gives a very brief summary of the contents of each Kāṇḍa. It is to be noted here that although it does not mention the name of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, its summary of contents of the Bāla-kāṇḍa from Daśaratha's Putreṣṭi sacrifice down to Rāma's advent to citrakūṭa with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, his refusal to go back to them even though entreated by Bharata and his abode at Nandigrāma includes the contents of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa also. The information about the number of ślokas of the Rāmāyaṇa is also given in it.<sup>3</sup> Thus, we see that this portion was purely Ramaite. But such copies of Rāma and their portrayal in it do not constitute the essence of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. On the other hand as is the case with most of the Purāṇas, this Rāmaite influence on the Pātāla-khaṇḍa did

1. See my article "The Antiquity and origin of the Padma-purāṇa and its early character and position in the Purāṇic literature". Our Heritage (Bulletin of the Post Graduate training and Research Departement—Sanskrit College, Calcutta) Vol. II, Pt. 1, pp. 175-189.
2. Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 66, 163-168.
3. "Caturviṃsatisahasram ṣaṭ kāṇḍa paricihnitam" Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 66, 183a.

not find favour with the supporters of the other sect who in their spirit of adherence to their particular sect, tried to replace the whole of the latter half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa by fanciful glorifications of Liṅga and Śiva who were, according to them, much superior to Rāma who often bowed down to the Great Omniscient and Omnipotent Lord Śiva. It is interesting to note that the first half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa (which ended in ch. 68 from the beginning of the Anss. edition of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-P.) was left untouched by the staunch Śiva worshippers who perhaps did not venture to replace it on account of its growing popularity among the people. It is also possible that the original portions (by which we mean those portions which were written by the Rāmaites) actually ended with the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma (Ch. 68) or with the passing of Rāma to heaven.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the Liṅga-worshippers may not have altered the portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa following chap. 68 but added some new chapters of their own interest to the then recognised Pātāla-khaṇḍa as its latter half. It is evident that if a portion ends with Rāma's passing to heaven, it is self-contained and complete and needs no further additions, that this portion was spurious and superfluous is further proved by the Bengal manuscripts which do not contain a single line of these. In their zeal to propagate their view-points the Liṅga worshippers wrote some chapters and added these to the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in such a hopeless way that the spuriousness of these latter chapters is clearly manifest. The following lines of this latter half show the complete dissociation of this half with the first half of the Rāmaites. It says that once Śaṅkara came to Ayodhyā to meet Rāma. The latter, after due reception and worship of Śaṅkara, asked Him to tell him about some Māhātmyas. He said "The method of worshipping a liṅga; the glorifications of the same; praise of (uttering) the name of Maheśa and of worshipping, saluting and seeing him; praise of giving water, offering incense, lamps,

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

scents, etc., glorification of flowers; sanctifying narration of various anecdotes and historic tales; (discourses on) Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mokṣa, and the ways of attaining them:—all these I wish to hear from you O! Greatest of the great sages and one of celebrated vow”<sup>5</sup>. But besides these, this half deals with many other topics of interest such as bhaṣma-māhātmya etc. which have been introduced here and there in this half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. Here the sole endeavour of the liṅga-worshippers is confined to showing greatness of Śiva—His greater power than that of Rāma or Viṣṇu. It will be a matter of no mean interest to refer to some relevant verses to show how Rāma or Viṣṇu was much below the status of Śiva. While praising Śiva highly, Viṣṇu say “O Lord: I have devoutly worshipped you for a thousand years, daily with a thousand lotuses still you have not shown your feet to me.”<sup>6</sup> While Śiva and Viṣṇu were engaged in mirthful water sport many a times Viṣṇu was drowned by Śiva who jumped up on the shoulders of Viṣṇu, caught his hands and made him sink<sup>7</sup>. It has been said that once while worshipping Śiva, Hari had offered his eyes to Him for want of flowers.<sup>8</sup> Once in the body of

5. ‘liṅgārcana prakāraṃ ca liṅga māhātmyameva ca /  
maheśanāma māhātmyaṃ pūjāmāhātmyameva ca //  
namaskār asyamāhātmyaṃ dṛṣṭimāhātmyameva ca /  
jaladānasya māhātmyaṃ dhūpadānasya sattama //  
dīpagandhādīdānasya puṣpamāhātmyameva ca /  
nā-nā-khyānetihāsānāṃ kathāṃ pāpa-praṇāśinīm //  
dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣāṃśca tadupāyāṃśca svrata /  
tatsarvaṃ śrotumicchāmi tvatto munivarottama //

Ibid. 100. 23-26.

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

6. Ibid. 110, 187  
‘mayā varṣasahasraṃ tu sahasrābjais-tathānvaham /  
bhaktyā saṃpūjito’ pīṣa pado na darśitas-tvayā’ //
7. Ibid. 110. 151b-152.  
‘atrāntare hareḥ skandhamāruroha maheśvaraḥ /  
haryuttamāṅgaṃ bāhubhyaṃ gṛhītvā sa nyamajjayat //  
unmajjayitvā ca punaḥ punaścāpi punaḥ punaḥ /
8. Ibid. 106. 34b. ‘puṣpābhāve harinetram’.

Rāma there appeared a shadow of Maheśa—four armed and three-eyed.<sup>9</sup> After beautifully eulogising Śiva, Śrīviṣṇu fell down at the feet of Him.<sup>10</sup> Once Pārvatī rebuked Śiva. Hearing His blame, Viṣṇu who was present there was about to put an end to his life by tearing away his head with his nails as he did not like to live at a place where Śiva was decried; but he was prevented from doing so by Śiva himself.<sup>11</sup> In Ch. 112 vs. 181, Rāma glorifies Śiva in great respect. He recites fiftyseven names of Śiva (the name 'Subhacarita' has been mentioned twice) in address and bows down to Him saying 'namaste' 'namaste'. It has been said that as Rāma was not conversant with the Purāṇas, he had invited Śiva to teach him the purāṇas but it is interesting to note that although Śiva has approached Rāma for an instruction of the Purāṇas still Rāma asks Him to tell him something about Liṅgārcanaprakāra etc.<sup>12</sup> and the mähātmyas of the Purāṇas although related, have been only of secondary importance. The Liṅga worshippers were so anxious to propagate their sectarian doctrines that they could not resist themselves from saying that it is Maheśvara, who is the speaker of the Padma-purāṇa and in it the characteristics of the Pramathas have been described.<sup>13</sup> Thus, they tried to convince the people that the whole of the Padma-purāṇa was originally a contribution of the Śaivaites. It is true that here and there stray references to the worship of Hari are not wanting<sup>14</sup> but these are very few and far between and deserve no serious attention.<sup>15</sup>

9. Ibid. 101. 111.

prativimbamatho gātre rāmasya samadīśyata /  
dīṣṭvaiva vimvitaṃ śambhuṃ caturvāhuṃ trilocanam //

10. Ibid. 101. 232b ityudīrya mahāvīṣṇuḥ śivapād papāta ha for the glorification, see Ibid. 101. 191-232.

11. Ibid. 110. 267-270.

12. See, f. n. 6.

13. Pātāla-khaṇḍa 109.22.

purāṇaṃ padmam . . maheśvareṇa kathitaṃ pramathākṛtivarṇanam//

14. See, c. g. Ibid., 110. 390.

'dhyānameva kṛte śreṣṭhaṃ tretāyāṃ yajñameva ca/  
dvāpare cārcaṇaṃ tiṣye dānaṃ ca harikīrtanam//

See also Ibid. 110. 430a etc.

15. Paper accepted in the All India Philosophical Congress, Ahmadabad, 1958.

# PRAYĀGAMĀHĀTMYA—A STUDY

By

S. G. KANTAWALA

[ प्रयागवर्णनं तन्माहात्म्यवर्णनञ्च बहुषु पुराणेषु ग्रन्थेषु ग्रन्थेषु चोपलभ्यते । प्रयागविषये विद्वद्भिः काले-काले निबन्धा अपि लिखिताः । अत्र अस्मिन् निबन्धे मुख्यतः मत्स्यपुराणस्य आधारेण प्रयागविषयको विमर्शः कृतः । प्रयागस्तु तीर्थराजनाम्ना प्रथितोऽस्ति । तीर्थानां महत्त्वं प्राचीनभूगोलदृष्ट्या सांस्कृतिकदृष्ट्या च वर्तते । पुराणेषु वर्ण्यते यत् सर्वाणि तीर्थानि प्रयागे वसन्ति । अत्र प्रयागस्य महत्त्वं प्रस्तुतम् । प्रयागस्तु त्रिषु वरेण्येषु तीर्थेषु (त्रिस्थलीषु) अन्यतमो वर्तते अन्ये द्वे गयावाराणस्यौ । गंगायामुनयोर्मध्यवर्तिनी भूमिः पृथिव्या जघनमुच्यते । अत्र प्रयागस्य महत्त्वं प्रदर्श्य तीर्थयात्राया उपयोगित्वमपि प्रदर्शितम् । प्रयागसम्बन्धे एषा कथाऽपि वर्तते यत् प्रलयादनन्तरं यज्ञमयो विष्णुः प्रयागे वसति । प्रयागे च स्वतो मरणस्य अपि विधानं वर्तते । यद्यपि प्रयागादन्यत्र स्वतो मरणस्य निषेधो वर्तते किन्तु प्रयागे एतादृशस्य मरणस्य विधानं तद्द्वारा मुक्तेः प्रापणमपि च वर्ण्यते । प्रयागे श्राद्धस्यापि महत्त्वं निर्दिष्टं वर्तते तथा तीर्थयात्राया-मुपवासविधिरपि वर्णिता वर्तते । अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे लेखकमहोदयेन केषाञ्चित् दार्शनिकविषयाणामपि महत्त्वं प्रदर्शितम् । अत्र प्रयागे केषाञ्चित् तीर्थानां साम्प्रतिकस्थितिरपि अवधारिता ]

## Introductory :

The *tīrthamāhātmyas* are very important and useful for not only reconstructing the cultural history of India in general but also for that of local history in particular, but such a study is to be done with great care and caution. Moreover, it is useful from the point of view of the study of place-names of sub-tīrthas in and around the *tīrtha* under consideration. From these points of view the *Prayāgamāhātmya* sheds a flood of light on the religious practices etc. and mentions several sub-tīrthas which also commanded veneration of pilgrims who visited them. The *Prayāgamāhātmya* is broadcast in several *Purāṇas* and other

works.<sup>1</sup> In this paper it is proposed to discuss it as found in the Matsyapurāṇa (= MP), especially because it (MP) is one of the older works of Purāṇic literature<sup>2</sup> and this tract on the Prayāga-māhātmya gains further in weightage, as Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa (1100–1130 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> an outstanding digest-writer quotes mostly from the MP in his treatment of the Prayāga-māhātmya.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, as Dr. V.S. Agrawala observes, “we know that Mathurā, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī were five great centres in the Gupta age, the first three of which were also far-famed religious centres in addition to their commercial and political importance. With reference to the Prayāga-māhātmya the topographical details given here are of importance”.<sup>5</sup>

The MP devotes ten chapters i.e. 103–112<sup>6</sup> covering 261 stanzas in honour of the glory and greatness of Prayāga. According to the MP the Prayāgamāhātmya was narrated originally by Brahmā to the renowned sage Mārkaṇḍeya (104.1 ; 108.1 ; 109.1) who narrated it in turn to disconsolate Yudhiṣṭhira, while the latter pondered over the sad demise of Suyodhana and others in the epoch-making Bhārata war and the consequent restoration of the lost empire (103.1ff). In the MP Nandikeśvara narrates it, as it was done by Mārkaṇḍeya to Yudhiṣṭhira (103.1 ab).

#### DERIVATION OF THE WORD PRAYĀGA

The word *Prayāga* is derived from pra-yaj. The MP appears to emphasise on the prefix pra-, when it states that “it predominates over all places on account of (its) supernatural power or efficacy”. The explanation of the componental part-yāga (yaj) appears to be given, when it states that gods and sovereign-

1. *Vide* Kane P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, pp. 596-597.
2. Winternitz M.A. History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 575.
3. Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, p. X.
4. Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru, ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (GOS., Vol. XCVIII, 1942), pp. 136-153. Dr. R.C. Hazra assigns the chapters on the Prayāgamāhātmya to 850-1250 A. D. (Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p.177)
5. Agrawala V.S., Matsyapurāṇa—A Study, p. 181.
6. This is “a compact Text” according to Dr. V.S. Agrawala, *Ibid*, p.181.
- 6a. प्रभवान् सवन्तीर्थेभ्यः प्रभवत्यधिकं विभो । MP. 110.11 ab



rulers adore it with sacrifices and hence it is *sanctum sanctorum*<sup>7</sup>. The MP designates Prayāga as *Prajāpatikṣetra*<sup>8</sup> (extending from Prayāga-Pratiṣṭhāna to Vāsukihrada, (104.5), because Prajāpati is said to have performed a sacrifice<sup>9</sup>—and is said to remember it daily (109.16). It is called the *Tīrtharāja*<sup>10</sup>.

#### EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES :

The area of Prayāgamaṇḍala is five *yojanas*<sup>11</sup> and it extends from Pratiṣṭhāna to Vāsukihrada, two Nāgas Kambala and Aśvatara and Naga Bahumūlaka.<sup>12</sup>

#### EULOGY OF PRAYĀGA :

Prayāga is one of the three *kṣetras par excellence*, the other two being Vārāṇasī and Gayā (*tristhalā*). It is said to abound in so many numerous holy places that Mārkaṇḍeya declares his inability to enumerate one and all (104.7) and this remark tends to suggest that various spots, viz. shrines, trees, etc. of this holy city were looked upon as a *tīrtha*.<sup>13</sup> With a view to enhancing the sanctity

7. यजन्ते ऋतुभिर्देवास्तथा चक्रधरा नृपाः ।

ततः पुण्यतमं नास्ति त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत ॥ MP. 110.10.

8. MP. 111. 14 ; 114.4. cf. Kūmapurāṇa 1. 36. 20 ; Nāradiyapurāṇa, Uttara. 63. 127-128.

9. यत्राजयत भूतात्मा पूर्वमेव पितामहः ।

प्रयागमिति विख्यातं तस्माद् भरतसत्तम ॥ Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3. 85. 14 ; For other derivations *vide* Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, p. 598.

10. MP 109. 15-16. Cf. प्रकृष्टत्वात्प्रयागोऽसौ प्राधान्याद् राजशब्दवान् । Brahma-purāṇa quoted in *tristhalīcetu* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (1513-1580 A.D.) (Ass. ed. p. 13) as quoted by Kane P.V., *Op. cit.*, p. 598, fn. 1356. Cf. Skanda-purāṇa Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 7.45., Padmapurāṇa 6.23. 27-35. Incidentally, it may be noted that the word *Prayāga* is used in the neuter or the masculine gender according to the gender of the word with which it is associated ; e.e. प्रजापतेरिदं क्षेत्रं प्रयागमिति विश्रुतं । MP. 114.14 ab स तीर्थराजो जयति प्रयागः । Padmapurāṇa 6. 23. 27.

11. MP. 108.9 ab ; 111.8 ab ; cf. Padmapurāṇa 1. 45. 8 ; Kūmapurāṇa 2. 35. 4.

12. MP. 104.5 ; Padmapurāṇa 1. 39. 69-70, 41. 4-5 ; Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3. 83. 72 ; Agnipurāṇa 111.5 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 588-599.

13. On the antiquity and semantic vicissitudes of the word *tīrtha* *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 554 ff.

of the city the *Purāṇakāra* waxes in hyperbolic description by stating that Prayāga is under the special protection of Indra, whereas Hari and other gods are said to be the guardians of the *maṇḍala* (104.9) which is larger in extent and less holy than the former. The MP further states that till the time of the universal cataclysm Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva along with other gods, *gandharvas*, *siddhas*, great sages, seven islands, oceans, mountains and other divine or semidivine beings cherish to sojourn in this appealing city which is defiant of the universal destruction. Over and above these celebrated denizens *Vedas* and *yajñas* dwell in person in this city which stands on the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. the daughter of the Sun (*Tapanasya sutā* 110.5) (106.17ff., 110.9; 111.4ff.)<sup>14</sup> The superiority of Prayāga over other places is brought out by remarking that its very remembering, hearing of its glory, its sight, recitation of its name and an application of clay thereof to one's body liberate one from all sins.<sup>15</sup> Not only this, but also the very remembering of Prayāga at the time of death either at home or in one's own land or in a foreign country brings about one's transportation from this mundane world to the Brahmaloка (105.18). It is said that a regular bathing for a period of one month coupled with a continent life at the confluence of the two mighty rivers<sup>15a</sup> washes away all sins (108.14). The direction of the Purāṇa about a bath for a period of three months thrice a day in the *Trivenī* even to a betrayer of trust brings out the faith in the purging influence of the waters and reflects the horror of the betrayer (108.15). Moreover, the Purāṇa refers to the living institution of *Māgha-snāna* when it states that a bath taken thrice especially in the month of Māgha bears a reward equivalent to a gift of a hundred thousand cows (107.8). It is in the month of Māgha that the ten thousand tīrthas and crores of rivers are said to be present in the Ganges (112.16); possibly this is one of the

14. Cf. Kūrmapurāṇa 1.36. 23-26; Padmapurāṇa 1. 41. 6-10.

15. MP. 104.12; 105.1=107.1; 106.1, 20; cf. Kūrmapurāṇa 1. 36. 27; Agnipurāṇa 111. 6-7; Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3. 83. 75. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the Narmadā sanctified a person by her *darśana* (MP. 186. 11).

15a. For the *Gaṅgā-Yamunā-Saṅgama* vide MP 104. 16-17; 105. 3-4; 14, 17ff. Vide also Agrawala V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 181.

factors that makes a bath in the month of Māgha especially purifying and merit-giving. "The *Melā* in this month (i.e. Māgha) and once every sixth and twelfth year is an old institution of which we have evidence in Yuwan chwang in the 7th century".<sup>16</sup> The miraculous virtues of bath tend to glorify the greatness of Prayāga.

This is the only holy place where the miserable, the poor and those with a fixed determination can hope to get liberation (105.2) and this may also tend to suggest the magrico-mystical effect of this place. Prayāga is said to be the holiest place in triple worlds and the region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā is said to be the *jaghana* of the earth.<sup>17</sup> In this connection MM. Dr. P. V. Kane observes that "the idea appears to be that the holy places are the children of the earth".<sup>18</sup>

#### RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

##### I. *Institution of Sacrifice and Tīrthayātrā* :

In ancient India sacrifice was not only the centre of human activity, but also the end-all and be-all of all activities. It was the means to heaven and liberation.<sup>19</sup> It was not possible for all to perform costly sacrifices like the Aśvamedha. It is also quite well-known that the Vedic rites were tabooed to Śūdras and women, who were thus deprived of the spiritual benefits accruing therefrom and hence stood in need of a substitute which could satiate their earnest longings in this domain.

From another point of view also there arose a need for a substitute which found an expression in the *tīrthayātrā*. The Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa enjoins that in event of his incapacity to perform sacrifices a Brāhmin must

16. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxxii ; on the *Māgha-melā* see Nevil H. R., Allahabad Gazetteer, Volume XXIII (1928), pp. 69ff.

17. MP. 106.19 ; cf. Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3.83.71 ; Padmapurāṇa 1.39.69 : 1.43.19 ; Agnipurāṇa 111.4 ; Kūrmapurāṇa 1.37.12.

18. Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 600, fn. 1362.

19. ययाति विश्वा दुरिता तरेम

सुतर्माणमधि नावं रुहेम ॥ Rv. 8.42.3 cd.

cf. also यज्ञो वै सुतर्मा नौः (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 1.13) On Rv. 8.42.3

visit holy places<sup>20</sup>. The MP accepts the fact for the performance of a sacrifice, guidance and help of expert priests, several implements and many other auxiliary things, which are necessary for the performance of the sacrifice, involve a very serious financial implication and hence the sacrifice was within the reach of kings and affluent people only. It is therefore that ~~the MP~~ recommends a pilgrimage to holy places to the pauper as a substitute of a sacrifice. It also declares that the pilgrimage surpasses even in some respects the rewards accruing from sacrificial performance.<sup>21</sup> Thus the Purāṇa boldly advocates the superiority of the theory of *Tīrthayātrā* over that of sacrifice. Thus we see that such Purāṇic injunctions filled up a significant gap in the religious and cultural life of the people.

## II. *Mythology* :

Viṣṇu who is a minor deity in the ṚV assumes a prominent position in the Brāhmaṇa period<sup>22</sup> and is even identified with sacrifice.<sup>23</sup> This equational imagery appears to be reflected, when Viṣṇu is described as *Yajamānaḥ* (106.13) and as such Viṣṇu is said to reside in Prayāga, the middle *Vedī* of Brahmā<sup>24</sup> after the universal destruction.

20. यज्ञाधिकारेऽप्यथवा निवृत्ते विप्रस्तु तीर्थानि परित्रजेत् ।

तीर्थेण्वलं यज्ञफले हि यस्मात् प्रोक्तं मुनीन्द्रैरमलस्वभावं ॥

Quoted in the तीर्थविवेचनकाण्ड p.9 Vide also तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति pp. 5-6; तीर्थप्रकाश (a part of वीरमित्रोदय) of मित्रमिश्र p. 19.

21. MP. 112.12-15. MP 112.12 *ab*=Mbh. cr. ed. 3.60.34 *ab* which reads वेदेष्विह for देवैश्चापि of the MP. B 2 [i.e. ms. if Shantiniketan Vishvabharati Library. No 781 dated Śaka 1183 c. a. A. D. 1201] read देवेभ्यः. MP. 112.12 *cd*=Mbh. cr. ed. 3.80.35 *ab* which reads ते for हि of the MP. MP. 112.13=Mbh. Cr. 3.8.37 which reads युधां वीर for युधिष्ठिर of the MP. MP. 112.15=Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3.80.38 which read यज्ञैः for यज्ञेभ्यः of the MP. Cf. Padm. Purāṇa 1.11.14-17; Viṣṇudharmottara 3.23. 4-5.

22. Cf. अग्निर्वै देवानामवमो विष्णुः परमः । Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I.1

23. Cf. विष्णुर्वै यज्ञः । Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I.15

24. Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, p. 597. The other two *vedīs* are Kurukṣetra and Gayā (*ibid.*, p. 597).

III. *Suicide* :

“To live till death releases one is regarded as an unflinching means of obtaining salvation in most major *tīrthas*”<sup>25</sup> and naturally people got a fascination not only to pass their last days, but even to put an end to their life in holy places like Prayāga, ~~Vārāṅśī~~ etc. Suicide is condemned all over the world and India is no exception to it, the ancient Indian law-givers reprobated in general the practice of religious suicide at holy places. But this bar with post-mortuary penalties was waived off under certain circumstances.<sup>26</sup> As mentioned above, Prayāga is a renowned centre of religious suicide. In this connection the following stanza from the MP deserves to be noted :—

*na vedavacanāt tāta na lokavacanāt tathā |*

*matir utkramanīyā te prayāgagamanam prati || 106.22.*

i.e. “One should not suppress a wish of going to Prayāga on account of *devavacana* or *lokavacana*”. This stanza recurs in many Purāṇas and the Mbh. with variants,<sup>27</sup> the important of them being *vedavacanāt* for *devavacanāt* and *Prayāgagamanam* for *Prayāgamaranam*. The edition of the MP with the Prakrit *ṭkā* by Janārdanācārya and Anantācārya (*Adhyāya* 105, stanza 22, Vol. I, p. 674) and

25. Rangaswami Aiyangar K.V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxii.

26. For details *vide* Kane P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, pp. 924-928; Vol. III, pp. 939, 948-949. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *ibid.*, pp. lxiii ff.

27. न वेदवचनात्तात न लोकवचनादपि ।

मतिरुत्क्रमणीया ते प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥ Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3.83.78.

Cf. Nāradiya, उत्तर० 63.129; पद्म आदि 39.76 reads न देव. The अग्नि 111.8 reads मतिरुत्क्रमणीयान्ते प्रयागे मरणं प्रति । The पद्म आदि 43.22 reads प्रयागमनं प्रति. The कूर्म 1.37.14 i<sup>8</sup> न मातृवचनात्तात न...दपि । मति...प्रयागमनं प्रति ॥ The पद्म० आदि० 33.64 reads न लोकवचनात् पित्रोर्न चैव गुरुवादतः । मतिर्न क्रमणीया स्यादविमुक्तगतिं प्रति ।

(Kane P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, p. 606, fn. 1374). With reference to this MM. Dr. Kane observes, “This entirely changes the meaning and avers that if one has a desire to go to Kāśī, one should not heed the words of ones parents or of people (dissuading him from going)” *Ibid.*, p. 606, fn. 1374.

the one by Jivananda (Adhyāya 104, stanza 22, p. 366) also read the same as the Anandashram Sanskrit Series (=ASS.). Dr. Ram Pratap Tripathi ( मत्स्यमहापुराण p. 247) also appears to accept the ASS. reading in the translation. As mentioned above this stanza occurs also in the Mbh. (*vide* fn. 27); some of its mss. *viz.* B 1.3, T2 G2 read देववचन. B (m as in text)s reads गमनं for मरणम्<sup>28</sup>. It is significant to note that this stanza as quoted in the Tīrtha vivecana kāṇḍa of Lakṣmidhara Bhaṭṭa's Kṛtyakalpataru (p. 143) (wherein it is ascribed to the MP) reads *Vedavacanāt* for *devavacanāt* and *Prayāgamaraṇam* for *Prayāgaganam*. Of course, the final reading will be decided in the critical edition of the MP. With the reading as found in the Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍa, the MP appears to sanction and commend suicide at Prayāga in eloquent terms.<sup>29</sup> Elsewhere i.e. in MP 108. 26 it is said that a *prāṇaparityāga* in the Yamunā leads to an acquisition of the *paramapada*. The Dharmasāstra literature and the purāṇas sanction *prāṇaparityāga* under various circumstances,<sup>30</sup> out of which the following are referred to in the MP in the context of suicide at Prayāga<sup>31</sup> :—

(a) *Suicide by Kārṣāgni*<sup>32</sup> :

If a person, who is free from all diseases and also from any deficiency of limbs and is in full possession of five senses, embraces

28. Mbh. Cr. ed. 3.83.78, fn. on p. 307.

29. For the interpretation of the words *devavacana* and *lokavacana* occurring in the stanza under question *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 606.

30. For details *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 604 ff.

31. For Suicide at Prayāga *vide* Chattopadhyaya K. C., Journal of the U. P. Historical Society Vol. X. pp. 6 as referred to by Kane P. V. *op. cit.*, p. 608, fn. 1383 and the Mbh. cr. ed. Aranyaka parvan, p. 307 fn.

32. The other readings for कर्षाग्नि in 107. 9 are पञ्चाग्नि in *ga* (which is also the lection in the Padmapurāṇa I. 44-9). कर्षाग्नि in *gha* and काष्ठाग्नि in *na*. *En passant* it may be mentioned that MM. Dr. P. V. Kane remarks that कर्षाग्नि is short for करीषाग्नि (the reading of the नारदीय उत्तर 63. 154) for metrical reasons. *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 605. fn. 1372.

his death in the cowdung-fire at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā, he is honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores in the body.<sup>33</sup> It is significant to note that these Purānic statements are also supported by historical events. The Ahisad inscription of Ādityasena of Magadha states that his fifth ancestor plunged himself in the slow burning cowdung fire as it in waters.<sup>34</sup> This mode of suicide is also referred to in the Ain-i-Akbari.<sup>35</sup>

(b) *Suicide by jalapraveśa* :

A Suicide by *jalapraveśa* at the confluence of the two mighty rivers, the Ganges and the Yamunā at the time of the lunar eclipse is promised the Somaloka (107.13). This is also referred to in the Ain-i-Akbari.<sup>36</sup> There are historical instances of suicide by this process in Karṇadeva of Cedi<sup>36</sup> (1042 A. D.), Dhanga Candella<sup>37</sup> (1000 A. D.) and the Cālukya king Someśvara Āhavamalla (1065 A. D.) who committed suicide in the Tuṅga-bhadra<sup>38</sup>. Gāngeyadeva (1040 A. D.) alongwith his hundred wives committed suicide in Prayāga.<sup>39</sup>

(c) *Suicide by other modes* :

(i) A person can commit a suicide by hanging his head down and with legs up and by drinking the flames of fire. Such

33. MP 107.9ff. Cf. Kūmapurāṇa 1. 38. 3-4. Nāradyapurāṇa, *Uttara*, 63. 154. Badaoni testifies to the practice of suicide at Prayāga. (The History of India as told by its Historians by sir H. M. Elliot, V, p. 513 as referred to by Nevill H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 166).

34. शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो धने ।

अम्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः स पुष्पपूजितः ॥ Gupta inscrip.

No. 42 p. 203 (of the text) as quoted by P. V. Kane, *op. cit.* p. 605, fn. 1372.

35. Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Goldwin (1800). Vol. 1, p. 531, as referred to by Kane P. V. *op. cit.*, p. 695, fn. 1373.

36. As referred to by Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V. *Op. cit.*, Introduction p. Lxxxii.

37. Epigraphia Indica, I. 140 as referred to by P.V. Kane, History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 925

38. Epigraphia Carnatica II, Sk. 136. as referred to by P. V. Kane, History of Dharmasāstra, vol. II, pt. II, p. 926.

39. Epigraphia Indica, XII. 205 at p. 211 as referred to by P.V. Kane History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 925, fn. 2135.

a suicide is promised a stay in heaven and on his return therefrom he is to be re-born as an *agnihotrin* (107. 15-16).

(ii) A person can also commit a suicide by lopping off various limbs of his body and offering their pieces to birds. Such suicide is promised a stay in the *Somaloka* for a period of hundred thousand years and on his return therefrom he is to ~~be reborn~~ as a righteous king (107.17-18). This practice is referred to by Hiuen Tsang (c. 629-645 A. D.<sup>40</sup>).

In connection with the religious suicide it is to be noted that such a suicide had not to undergo any post-mortuary penalty, but on the contrary he secured a place in celestial regions e.g. Somaloka etc. with fabulous pleasures, e.g. all types of heavenly pleasures in the good company of manes, sages and *gandharvas*. Moreover, on the expiry of the religious merit he was re-born on the earth as a lord of Jambūdvīpa etc. (107. 11 ff). *En passant* it may be mentioned that *prāṇaparitīyāga* is in general extolled at *tīrthas*<sup>41</sup>. Such enticing temptations which were held out might have accentuated the cases of suicide at holy places. But gradually there arose even a repulsive feeling to suicide either at Prayāga or Vārāṇasī<sup>42</sup>.

#### IV. *Worship of the dead* :

With the ancestor-worship which forges a permanent bond between the dead and the living and which is found even in primitive societies, is closely associated the institution of *śrāddha*. Amongst the several *Śrāddha-devas* river-sides and *tīrthas* find a place.<sup>43</sup> It is, then, but natural that Prayāga, being one of the foremost holy places, be strongly recommended as one of the right places for the offering of *śrāddha* (105.14).

40. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, pp. 232-234  
The *Kūrmapurāṇa* (l. 38. 3-12) mentions these four modes of suicide.

41. Kantawala S.G., मत्स्यपुराणान्तर्गत नर्मदासाहात्म्यमां स्थणनामो व्याख्यान-  
(स याजु साहित्यमाला) pp. 176, 178.

42. For details *vide* Kane P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV  
pp. 608 ff.

43. For *Śrāddhadēśas*, Kane P. V., *vide op. cit.*, pp. 377-378, 616-617.



One of the important aspects of the cult of manes is the group bound by mutual ties of offering and receiving the oblations and in this connection various strata of views are met with in this section of the Prayāgamāhātmya. The group of the three comprised of the father, grandfather and great grandfather,<sup>44</sup> is alluded to and this group received the *piṇḍas*, whereas the further ascendants i. e. the fourth, fifth and the sixth ones, received the *lepa* and hence were designated as *lepabhāgins* or *lepabhāk-s*<sup>45</sup> and the seventh one is the ego. At another place the *sapta-puruṣa-sāpiṇḍya* is alluded by the phrase *āsaptamaṁ kulam* (108.26ab). Elsewhere in this tract (106.28 ; 103.5) there is reference to the ten ascendants and ten descendants (cf. *daśa pūrvān daśa parān*). In 109.2 it is declared that a bath at Somatīrtha will effect the liberation of hundred pitṛs (cf. also 101.30). This may possibly be interpreted to be a distant reminiscence of community-worship which by the time of the Atharvaveda had changed from that of the community to that of the family.<sup>46</sup>

#### V. Fasting and other rules :

Fasting and continence follow as a corollary to *śrāddha*. From the point of view of the bodily discipline it brings about mental purification which in turn enables one to acquire celestial regions or a reward of a *śrauta* sacrifice. It is pointed out that if a fast is observed in Prayāga by a person sound in health and with perfect continence, he gets a reward of the horse-sacrifice at every step (108. 3-5). Such statements can be interpreted as an *arthavāda* emphasizing the need and utility of a fast at holy places. Another interpretation may also be suggested from the religio-legal point of view ; the *tīrthayātrā* is one of the means of reducing

44. तारिताः पितरस्तेन नरकात्प्रपितामहाः ।

पितरस्तारिताः सर्वे तथैव च पितामहाः ॥ MP. 110.13cd.

The term '*pitarah*' which is in plural will include an ancestor of any degree. Note also the mention of the specific kinship terms for the second and the third degrees of ascendants.

45. Vide Kantawala S. G., the Cult of Manes as depicted in the Matsya-purāṇa, Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. VI, No. 1, (September, 1956), p. 28.

46. Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 28.

or mitigating the consequences of sin.<sup>47</sup> The Viṣṇudharmaśūtra (35.6) decrees that those quality of *mahāpātakas*<sup>48</sup> may be immunized by the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice or by visiting all sacred places on the earth. Elsewhere (184.18) the MP. states that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or Mandara is nullified, when one visits Avimukta (Benares). A person taking a bath at Benares is promised a reward of ten horse-sacrifices (183.71). Such statements of benefits may also be interpreted as a forceful attractive method of stating that a fast or a bath is a penalty for a *mahāpātaka*.<sup>49</sup>

#### VI. *Philosophical Gleaning* :

In India religion and philosophy go generally together. Every religious faith in India has tried, generally to equate its godhead, e.g. Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc. with Brahman. The omnipresence of the Lord is an acknowledged fact in Indian religion and philosophy.<sup>50</sup> The MP also sings that Brahman is present in all beings (109.13, 111.5) and a step further in this lofty notion can find also an expression in the belief that gods are present in trees or "the great trees are the homes of spirits or are incarnated gods<sup>51</sup>." And the MP states actually that the *Akṣayavaṭa* is Śiva himself (111.10). This equational deification of the *Akṣayavaṭa* reflects on the dendrolatrical aspect of religion.<sup>52</sup> Even now-a-days ladies worship the *vaṭavṛkṣa* (*Ficus indica*) on the full-moon-day of the month of Jyeṣṭha. In the Upaniṣads Brahman combines the triple function of origination, maintenance and destruction of the universe. In the later mythology Brahmā is associated with the function of creation, Viṣṇu with that of maintenance and Śiva with that of destruction. The MP associates these deities with these functions (111.3-4). The original

47. For different means *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.

48. On *mahāpātakas* *vide* Kane P.V. *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.

49. A similar view is also expressed by K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (*op. cit.*, Introduction p. xlviii).

50. Cf. ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वम् *Īsopaniṣad* I.

51. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxxvi.

52. For tree-worship in ancient India *vide* Karmarkar A. P., *the Religions of India*, Vol. I, pp. 189ff.

functional triune unity is echoed in the MP, when it declares that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are the three parts (*bhāgāḥ*, v. l. *devāḥ* in *ga* for *bhāgāḥ* in the ASS. edition.) of one *corpus* (3.16).<sup>53</sup>

The Indian thinkers have advocated various means for the realisation of the Absolute and the MP refers to the following ones in this tract:—*vrata*, *dāna*, *tapas*, *tīrtha*, sacrifices with due fees and gifts, *yoga* (*vide* also 109.9ff.), *sāṃkhya*, *sadācāra*, *japa*, *homa*, fast, bath and even suicide (106.27, 107.3, 9ff; 110.19; 112.7).<sup>54</sup> These means enable an aspirant to have a realisation of the Lord which in turn leads to the attainment of the *parama gatī* (111.5). The MP declares emphatically that the above-said means are of no significance as compared to a stay in Prayāga (110.19-20), which transports directly an aspirant to a particular celestial region which he deserves e. g. Rudraloka (112.9) etc.<sup>55</sup> 5ff; 107.5ff, 39)<sup>56</sup>, till his *karmans* last and then he is re-born in a wealthy family or as a lord of Jambūdvīpa (105.7, 11; 105.37, 45; 107.6).<sup>57</sup> It is also interesting to note a cautionary remark that those who steal elephants, horses, cows, oxen, jewels, gold etc. and offer them as gifts are denied the heavenly regions and are doomed to hell,<sup>58</sup> where others to repair to are the despisers of cow, fire, scriptures, gold, water, women and parents (109.20ff.). *En passant* this reflects on some evil element and practice in the society.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL DATA

The chapters on the Prayāgamāhātmya furnish us with topographical data. The *tīrthas* mentioned are arranged here in an alphabetical order for ready reference:—

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53. *Vide* Kantawala S. G., Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa, p. 177.
  54. *Vide* also Kantawala S. G., *ibid.*, pp. 219ff for the treatment of means to realisation.
  55. Cf. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxi.
  56. For pleasure in the paradise *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 157ff,
  57. On the doctrine of transmigration in the MP *vide* Kantawala S. G. *Ibid.*, pp. 228ff.
  58. On the concept of hell, *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 154ff.

1. *Agnitīrtha* : It is on the southern bank of the Yamunā.<sup>59</sup> And it is to be visited on the second day during the *bahirvedī parikramā* of Prayāga (Tīrthāṅka=TK, p. 118).

2. *Akṣayavaṭa* : The Lord Śiva is said to protect it (104.10), nay, he is said to transform himself into this *vaṭa* (111.10). A suicide at the root of this tree leads one to the Rudraloka (106.11). In the Fort there is the Pātālpur temple and the Akṣayavaṭa is shown here (TK, p. 117). H. R. Nevill observes that (in the court) "there was a large tree from which devotees used to throw themselves down in order to die on the sacred spot<sup>60</sup>." The twelve Ādityas who are *Rudrasaṁsṛtāḥ* do not burn the *vaṭamūla* even though they burn the whole universe (106.11-12).<sup>61</sup>

3. *Bhogavatī* : It is to be visited after paying visit to Koṭitīrtha. It is situated to the north of Vāsuki<sup>62</sup>. Now there are twelve Mādhavas in Prayāga and one of them is Asimādhava who is near Nāgavāsuki (TK, p. 117). In the Bakshimohulla there is a temple of Nāgavāsuki on the bank of the Ganges (TK, p. 117) and it is to be visited during the *antarvedī parikramā* of Prayāga (Tk, p. 118). It appears that Bhogavatī may be located somewhere in the vicinity of Nāgavāsuki. It may be mentioned that the Tīrtha vivecana Kāṇḍa states: *tatra Bhogavatī nama Vāsukes tīrtham uttamam* (p. 153).

4. *Daśāśvamedhika* : The tīrthakāṇḍa reads it as *Daśāśva medhika* (pp. 145, 153).<sup>62a</sup> It is mentioned after Bhogavatī.<sup>63</sup> This

59. MP 108.27 : *Vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 615.

60. Nevill H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 156.

61. On the Akṣayavaṭa, *Vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614; Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxxii, Gode P. K., The History of Akṣayavaṭa (Undecaying Banyan tree) at Prayāga and Gayā, as revealed by some Sanskrit texts between 1st century A. D. & 1900, ABORI, Vols. XXXVII, pts. I-II, pp. 82-92, Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 298. Mārkaṇḍeya also practised penance at the Akṣayavaṭa; cf.

प्रयागमासाद्य पुनः स्नात्वा तीर्थे गरीयसि ।

मार्कण्डेयो महतिजास्तेपे वटतले तपः ॥—नरसिंहपुराणम् 10.4 (Published by Gopal Narayana & Co. Bombay 1911)

62. MP. 106.46; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

62a. The MP 22.10 also reads *Daśāśvamedhika*.

63. MP. 106.46; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

Daśāśvamedha may be identified with a *ghat* of this name. Incidentally it may be mentioned that a *ghat* of this name is found at several holy places.<sup>64</sup>

5. Hāmsaprapatanatīrtha : The Tīrtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa reads it as *Hāmsapratapana* ( p. 143 ). It is mentioned after Kambalāśvatara Nāgas and is situated to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna and to the east of the Bhāgīrathī<sup>65</sup>. A bath at this *tīrtha* enables one to acquire a reward of the Aśvamedha sacrifice and a residence in heaven for times immemorial. Dr. V. S. Agrawala remarks that "there is still a Hāmsakūpa at Jhusi to make the Hāmsaprapatanatīrtha<sup>66</sup>". According to the information as given in the TK ( p. 118 ) there is also a temple called Hāmsatīrtha near the Hāmsakūpa.

6. Kambalāśvatara Nāgas :—The *Kambalāśvatara Nāgas* form one of the points of the Prajāpati-kṣetra<sup>67</sup>. This site is situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā (106.27).

7. Koṭitīrtha : It is mentioned after Sandhyāvaṭa. A suicide here is rewarded with a stay in heaven for a period of crores of years and after the expiry of the religious merit he is re-born as a wealthy person<sup>68</sup>. The reference to *Koṭivarṣasahasra* ( cf. *Koṭivarṣasahasrāṇām svargaloke mahīyate* ) (106. 44) may probably be an explanation of the place-name. It is on the Ganges two miles from Baladevaji. There is a temple of Śiva here and a festival is held in the month of Śrāvaṇa. It is the present Shivakuṭī<sup>69</sup>.

8. Mānasatīrtha : It is situated on the Northern bank of the Ganges<sup>70</sup>. It is said that if a fast is observed here for three

64. Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 318-319.

65. MP. 106.32 ; *vide* Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

66. Agrawala V. S., *Matsyapurāṇa—A Study*, p. 183, also *vide ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

67. Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 373 ; on *Kambala* *vide* *Dikshitar V. R. R.*, *Purāṇa Index*, Vol. I, p. 318 ; on *Aśvatara* *vide ibid.*, p. 125 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 599 ; Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

68. MP. 106. 44-45 ; *vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

69. TK. p. 117. *En passant* it may be mentioned that in the MP one comes across more than one *Koṭitīrtha*. For discussion and identification thereof *vide* Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 346-347.

70. MP. 107. 2 ; *vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 615.

nights, all the desires are fulfilled and one acquires a reward of *godāna*, *bhūdāna* and *hiranyadāna* by remembering this holy place (107. 2-3). It is to be visited, after having visited Paḍilā Mahādeva, on the seventh day of the *bahirvedī parīkramā* and pilgrims sojourn here at night (TK. 118).

9. Nāgabahumūlaka : It forms one of the points of boundaries of Prajāpatikṣetra.<sup>71</sup>

10. Narakatīrtha : It is on the west bank of the Yamunā and is sacred to Dharma.<sup>72</sup> MM. Dr. P. V. Kane proposes to read Anaraka.<sup>73</sup> The Tīrtha vivecana Kāṇḍa reads : *pascime Dharmarājasya tīrtham tu navakam smṛtam* | (p. 149).

11. Nirañjanatīrtha : It is sacred to Āditya (cf. *Ādityasya mahātmanah tīrtham nirañjanam nāma*—| (108.29). The Tīrtha vivecana Kāṇḍa reads : *tīrtham Nirujakam nāma* (p. 149) and notes *Nirudakam* as its variant in P.<sup>74</sup> It is on the northern bank of the Yamunā. Gods are said to perform the *sandhyā* here thrice a day (108. 29ff.), It is to be visited during the course of the *antarvedī parīkramā* (Tk. p. 118).

12. Pratiṣṭhāna : It is the modern Jhusi<sup>75</sup>.

13. Ṛṇapramocanatīrtha : It is on the northern bank of the Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga<sup>76</sup>. It is said that, one, who observes a fast for one night after taking a bath, is liberated from all debts and he obtains the *svargaloka*. And he is debtless over. This appears to explain the place-name :

*ekarātroṣitah snātvā ṛṇaiḥ sarvaiḥ pramucyate |  
svargalokam avāpnoti anṛṇś ca sadā bhavet || 107. 21.*

This Tīrtha is the same as Ṛṇamocanatīrtha and is to be visited during the *antarvedī parīkramā* (TK. p. 118).

14. Samudrakūpa : "The name Samunrakūpa is of cultural significance"<sup>77</sup> It is situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges

71. Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 371.

72. MP 106.27. For details *vide* Kantawala S. G. *op. cit.*, p. 3366.

73. Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 615 ; *vide* also *ibid.*, p. 615, fn. 1399.

74. Tīrtha vivecana Kāṇḍa., p. 149, fn. 4.

75. *Vide* Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 374 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

76. MP. 107.20 ; *vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 615.

77. Agrawala V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 182.

78. Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 599 ; *cf.* also MP. 106. 30.

(106. 30). It is on the way to Daraganj via Pī pā ke pula (TK. 117). To the opposite of the confluence there is a mound known as Samudrakūpa (T. K. p. 118). According to the TK (p. 118) it is to be visited on the ninth day during *bahirvedī parikramā* of Prayāga. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane holds that it is the same as Pratiṣṭhāna<sup>78</sup>. Dr. V. S. Agrawala observes that "to the east of the conjoint stream of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā after their confluence, towards modern Jhusi (ancient Pratiṣṭhāna) a pilgrim finds himself at the spot called Trailokya, and there the Sarva-Samudra well is situated. सामुद्र of the Matsya is named सर्वसामुद्र here (i. e. कूर्म, पूर्वार्धं ३७.२२) which should be the same as "सप्तसामुद्र"<sup>79</sup>.

15. Sandhyāvaṭa : It is mentioned after Urvaśīramaṇa. An observance of continence and a fast here enables one to achieve the Brahmaloaka.<sup>80</sup> There is a Sandhyāvaṭa near the eastern gate of the Hamsatīrtha temple (Tk. p. 118) and is to be visited on the ninth day during the *bahirvedī parikramā* of Prayāga. (Tk. p. 118).

16. Somatīrtha : It is temptingly said that it is a destroyer of *mahāpātaka* and a bath here effects a liberation of *puruṣānām śatam* (109-2). It is to be visited during the *bahirvedī parikramā* (Tk. p. 118).

17. Urvaśīramaṇa : MM. Dr. P. V. Kane<sup>81</sup> and Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa<sup>82</sup> read *Urvaśīpulina* for Urvaśīramaṇa. It is mentioned after Hamsaprapatanatīrtha. It appears whitish with swans.<sup>83</sup> Dr. V. S. Agrawala observes that it is "the place where king Purūravas and Urvaśī had enjoyed themselves. This seems

79. Agrawala V. S., the Seven-Sea-Gift in the Matsyapurāṇa, Purāṇa, Vol. I. No. 2 (February 1960), p. 209; Matsyapurāṇa—A Study, p. 192.

80. MP. 106.43; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

81. Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 614-615.

82. Tīrtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa, p. 144.

83. उवंशीरमणे पुण्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे । MP. 106.34ab.

Dr. Ram Pratap Tripathi translates MP. 106.34 ab thus

उवंशीरमण नाम से विख्यात विस्तृत हंसपाण्डुर नामक तीर्थं...मत्स्यमहापुराण  
हिन्दी अनुवाद । p. 248.

to be the vast stretch of white sandy area east of Jhusi (उवंशीरमणे पुण्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे), where king Purūravas had his palace and gardens outside the city of Pratiṣṭhāna (बाह्योद्यान).<sup>84</sup> The place-name appears to be explained, when it is said that by a suicide<sup>85</sup> here one would see Urvaśī daily in heaven and after his return therefrom he would get hundred Urvaśī-like girls (106.36-37).

18. Vāsukihrada : It is one of the points of boundaries of Prajāpatikṣetra (104.5). It is the modern Vāsuki Nāga near Daraganj.<sup>86</sup>

19. Veṇīmādhava : It is referred to in 111.9. It is to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna (111.9). There is one Śrī-Veṇī-Mādhava in Daraganj (Tk. p. 117).

Over and above these holy spots Prayāga is said to abound in numerous holy places (110.12ff) out of which Sindhusāgara may be mentioned. Can it be the one which is to be visited during the *antarvedī parīkramā* near Kakarahaghat (Tk. p. 118) ? The MP refers also to the three *agnikunḍas* and five *kunḍas* in the Ganges.<sup>87</sup>

84. Agrawala V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 183 ; *vide* also Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 400.

85. A suicide at Urvaśīramaṇa is also promised to enjoy pleasures in the *Svargaloka* in the company of the pitṛs. (MP. 106.35).

86. Agrawala V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 181.

87. MP. 110.4, 13 ; *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 599, fn. 1361.

N. B. : The unspecified references as usual refer to the MP. thus 104.5=MP. 104.5.



## XANDRAMES OF THE CLASSICAL ACCOUNTS AND HIS PURANIC COUNTERPART\*

By

K. D. SETHNA

[ पुराणपत्रिकायाः VIII. 1, 2 अंकयोः मुद्रिते "मेगस्थनीजः 'पोराणिक-वंशकालक्रमश्च" इति लेखस्य भागद्वये लेखकमहोदयेन प्रतिपादितमासीत् यद् गुप्त-वंशीयः चन्द्रगुप्तप्रथम एव ग्रीकलेखकैरुक्तः 'सैंड्रोकोटस्' नामा नृपः । अस्मिन् परिशिष्टरूपलेखे इदं प्रतिपाद्यते यत् अलैक्जेंडरकालीनः ग्रीकलेखकीर्निदिष्टो जेंड्रेमेस' (Xandrames) नामको भारतीयो नृपतिः वायुपुराणे प्रोक्तो नागवंशीयो राजा चन्द्रांश एव । आधुनिकैः ऐतिहासिकैः मन्यते यद् जेंड्रेमेस-नामा नृपः नन्दराजां मध्ये कश्चिद् नन्द एवासीत् । इदं मतं लेखकमहोदयेनात्र निराकृतम् । ]

When Alexander the Great reached the river Hyphasis<sup>1</sup> (Vipāsā, modern Beās) he heard from the Indian prince Phegelas (Bhagalā) the news, which the renowned Porus (Paurava) confirmed, that on the eastern bank of the Ganges there was waiting for him Xandrames, king of the Gangaridai<sup>1</sup> and the Prasii, with an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 4,000 elephants. The news struck terror in the hearts of the tired Macedonians and they forced their leader to call a retreat.

If, as we have argued, the Purāṇas point to Chandragupta I, founder of the Imperial Guptas, instead of to Chandragupta Maurya as being Sandrocottus to whose court Megasthenes was sent in c. 305 B. C. as ambassador by Seleucus Nicator, the question must inevitably arise : "Who, according to the Purāṇas, was Xandrames, whom the Classical accounts put in time a little before Sandrocottus became king of Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra) ?"

Modern historians identify Xandrames with a king of the Nanda dynasty preceding the Mauryas. Failure to discover his

\* A supplementary note to Parts I and II of '*Megasthenes and the Problem of Indian Chronology as Based on the Purāṇas*', published in *Purāṇa*, January and July 1966.

1. Sometimes misspelled "Gandaridai", once "Gandaritai" and often mentioned as "Gangaridan" and "Gangarides".

counterpart as a predecessor of the Guptas is likely to be construed as a serious defect in the traditional Purāṇic chronology and as a sign that the current theory is correct.

We may admit that the failure would be a defect but we should also remark that it could help in no way at all the plea for Chandragupta Maurya. What evidence worth crediting—from any source, Purāṇic or other has ever been put forth to identify Xandrames with any Nanda ?

### The All-Round Weakness of the Current Theory

The name “Xandrames” is indubitably the Greek form of some Sanskrit appellation like “Chandramās”. No Nanda bears in the Purāṇas a name echoing it. The founder is known as Mahāpadma and one of his eight sons is mentioned as Sumālya or Sumātya or Sukalpa.<sup>1</sup> In Buddhist tradition we do not hear of a father and eight sons but of nine Nanda brothers, all of whose names are given in the *Mahābodhivaṃśā* (1) Ugrasena, (2) Paṇḍuka, (3) Paṇḍugati, (4) Bhūtapāla, (5) Rāshṭrapāla, (6) Govishāṇaka, (7) Daśasiddhaka, (8) Kaivarta and (9) Dhana.<sup>2</sup> Here too, there is nothing answering to “Xandrames.” But R. C. Raychaudhuri,<sup>3</sup> reminding us that Curtius, unlike Diodorus, speaks of Agrammes and not Xandrames, has ingeniously proposed that the Sanskrit patronymic “Augrasainya”, derivable from Ugrasena and meaning “Son of Ugrasena”, is the Indian original of the name preserved by the Greeks. But it is difficult to see how Ugrasena who is explicitly called the eldest amongst the Nanda brothers can give rise to a term which clearly makes him the father of the rest of them. “Augrasainya” is a sheer misnomer in the context in which alone the name “Ugrasena” occurs. Besides, in its second part it has not the least correspondence to Agrammes.

What perhaps goes most against it is the baselessness of the belief underlying its formation—namely, that, in R. K. Mookerji's

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1. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (London, 1913), p. 26, with fn. 24.
  2. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (Bombay, 1953), p. 31.
  3. *The Political History of Ancient India* (3rd ed.), p. 15.

words,<sup>1</sup> "the form Agrammes is modified into Xandrames by Diodorus". Actually, Curtius who uses "Agrammes" belongs to the 1st century A. D., whereas Diodorus wrote in the 1st century B.C. Chronologically, there can be no doubt that "Agrammes" is a corruption of "Xandrames", possibly through an intermediate version like "Andrames" analogous to Plutarch's "Androcottus"<sup>2</sup> in the 1st century A. D. for Strabo's "Sandrocottus"<sup>3</sup> in the 1st century B.C. Moreover, a corruption cannot have—as "Xandrames" does—so plainly Indian a ring, while the original has none. Hence we have to ignore Agrammes and take only Xandrames into consideration. But then no Nanda can have any standing.

The sole remaining argument is sought to be founded on some details in the reports by both Diodorus and Curtius. The former (VII. XCIII)<sup>4</sup> says of his Xandrames: "...the king of the Gandaridai was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber. This man—the king's father—was of a comely person, and of him the queen had become enamoured. The old king having been treacherously murdered by his wife, the succession had devolved on him who now reigned." Curtius (IX. II)<sup>5</sup> reports essentially the same story but with one or two variations in the details: "...the present king was not merely a man originally of no distinction but even of the very meanest condition. His father was in fact a barber scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affection of the queen and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign and then, under pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king who was detested and held cheap by his subjects as

1. *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times* (Madras, 1943), p. 32.

2. *Life of Alexander*, Ch. LXII.

3. *The Classical Accounts of India*, edited by R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta, 1960), pp. 262, 270, 272.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

he rather took after his father than conduct himself as the occupant of the throne.”

Our historians draw upon Jain tradition in their attempt at a parallel for the Nandas. In the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* (p. 693) we have a Nanda described as begotten of a barber. Hemachandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* (VI. 232) makes him the son of a barber by a courtesan. Struck by the barber-story, our historians forget a central discrepancy. Even in Jain tradition there are nine Nandas and, as in the Purāṇas, they are a father and eight sons. Now, it is only the first, the father, who is called the son of a barber. Yet it is not he who can be deemed Xandrames. The ninth Nanda immediately preceding Chandragupta Maurya is our man. He is nowhere spoken of as a barber's son or stigmatised as belonging to a barber-family. Thus once more the Nandas are out.

The Purāṇic evidence on them, it should be obvious, is pretty unhelpful. Else there would be little inducement to resort to Buddhist or Jain tradition. The Purāṇas' see Mahāpadma as the son of the Śuṅga king Mahānandin by a Śūdrā woman. Here it is the mother instead of the father who is of mean origin. And there is no question of the queen conspiring with a lover and murdering her husband and bringing to the throne her son by that lover. Mahāpadma comes to the throne rightfully and normally.

The only point of agreement with the classical accounts of Xandrames is, in a very general sense, “mean origin.” Jain tradition also agrees with them. But Mookerji<sup>2</sup> notes how glaringly Buddhist records are here at variance: “Buddhist tradition does not impute any base origin to the Nandas and thus runs counter to the Brahminical and Jain traditions.” We may add that neither of the last two is uniform in its voice. While the Purāṇas label the Nandas as Śūdras, the famous Indian drama *Mudrā-rākṣasa* (VI.6), by which many scholars set considerable store, regards the Nandas as *prathitakulajāh*, “of illustrious birth”, or *uehchhairavijanam*, “of high birth”. And even in the Jain *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* (VIII. 320), which makes a

1. Pargiter, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

barber breed the first Nanda on a courtesan, the daughter of the Nanda king preceding Chandragupta Maurya claims after her father's deposition a certain right from him possible only to a Kshatriya princess and the claim is conceded.

This leads us to suspect that the single feature in which Jain tradition broadly approaches the Greek accounts—namely, the barber-birth—is not meant to be taken literally. Perhaps the very fact of its exclusive occurrence in this tradition implies that it is not literally meant. And, when the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* itself is internally inconsistent, we may endorse B. M. Barua's remarks<sup>1</sup>: "The barber story is almost proverbial in the ancient royal tradition of India. When a reigning monarch was found stingy in the payment of rewards or in making gifts, he was taken to be a barber's son."

Even the mean and avaricious disposition of the Nandas is not unequivocally asserted in our literature. The Buddhist *Mahāvaiśaṭkā* which speaks of the last of them being "addicted to hoarding treasure" says that towards the time when he was dethroned "he, instead of any more hoarding wealth, was bent upon spending it in charities which he organised through the machinery of an institution called *Dānaśālā* administered by a Saṅgha whose President was to be a Brahman."<sup>2</sup>

The Buddhist *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*<sup>3</sup> has the same charities but they are set in an entirely different story. This book knows of no nine Nandas. It has only one single Nanda who gained the throne from the position of a prime minister, as though by a magical process, and who was a pious and sagacious man, a Buddhist who was yet a patron of Brahmans. This character is as far as can be from the Greeks' Xandrames.

The Nanda, known as Yoga-Nanda, who in the Kāshmiri tradition<sup>4</sup> is himself overcome by a magical spell practised by

1. *Aśoka and His Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1946), I, p. 47.

2. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-4.

3. Barua, *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

4. As preserved in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Brihatkathāmañjarī*, two Sanskrit works usually dated to the 11th century A. D.

Chāṇakya against him and is supplanted on the throne by Chāṇakya's protégé Chandragupta Maurya, has also no resemblance to Xandrames, except that he is stated to be of the lowest caste, a Śūdra. There is too much ambiguity about him to permit any appreciable comparison.

None of our historians accept the Kāshmiri tradition, believing they have found better substance elsewhere. But this tradition has one notable point. In addition to Yoga-Nanda a Pūrva-Nanda is mentioned. So there are two instead of the usual nine Nandas or the one Nanda of the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa. Although, as Mookerjee<sup>1</sup> remarks, the relation between the two is not specified and we are not told even what Pūrva-Nanda's status is, nowhere except here—however vaguely—do we have, as in the Classical accounts, just two figures of the same family. The stories which our historians prefer have, all of them, the ninth and not the second family-member to match with Xandrames. The Kāshmiri tradition, while having no appearance of *rapport* in its story with the Classical accounts, serves yet by this stray similarity in number to show up an extra inadequacy in the proposed Nanda-parallel.

Thus there is not a single element in this parallel that does not break down. Both at the centre and at the periphery the alleged correspondence fails to hold together. And the very search for likenesses in the Nanda-legends appears a superfluity when we open the Purāṇas to seek out Xandrames in the period between the fall of the Āndhras (Sātavāhanas) and the rise of the Guptas. For, there he stands in striking relief with a most recognisable physiognomy.

### The Clear-cut Pre-Gupta Xandrames in the Purāṇas

The greatest initial recommendation here is that this figure whose historicity is not doubted by modern historians bears a name which is the only one in the entire history of India to approximate to the name whose echo to "Xandrames" has been

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1. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

widely noted : "Chandramās." Pargiter<sup>1</sup> gives us, in a list of Nāga kings, from the Vāyu Purāṇa, of the post-Āndhra and pre-Gupta epoch the phrase :

*Sadāchandras tu Chandrāmśo dvitīyo Nakhavāms tathā.*

In the third word we have surely a name sounding very much like "Xandrames". The complete phrase is rendered by Pargiter :<sup>2</sup> "Sadāchandra, and Chandrāmśa who will be a second Nakhavant." He<sup>3</sup> cites in a footnote a variant from another copy of the Vāyu for the qualifying words. The variant runs : *Nakhapāna-jah*, meaning for Pargiter "Nakhapāna's offspring".<sup>4</sup> He sees in "Nakhavām" or "Nakhapāna" the Purāṇic version of "Nahapāna", the name of the Śaka ruler belonging to the Kshaharāta family whom Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi of the Āndhra dynasty destroyed. Modern scholars concur with him here, but not with his distinction between Sadāchandra and Chandrāmśa. They rightly find in *tu* a sign of identity : if *cha* had been used the names would have applied to different persons. So they<sup>5</sup> speak of "Sadāchandra, surnamed Chandrāmśa, who is described as a second Nakhavat." But never having questioned the current hypothesis about Sandrocottus, they have never connected Chandrāmśa with Xandrames.

The qualifying words about Chandrāmśa can themselves be a very important prop to the identification with Xandrames if we reject Pargiter's gloss and disjoin the words from Nahapāna the Śaka king. First, we must get the central term right : the Purāṇic term is not "Nakhavant" or "Nakhavat", it is "Nakhavān" and Pargiter<sup>6</sup> himself in the introductory note to the passage uses this very form. Now, it is extremely suggestive that a description of one whose name and Purāṇic chronological position lead us to identify him with Xandrames whose father was a barber should have the term "Nakha" in it.<sup>7</sup> "Nakha" means "nail" and in

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 49, fn. 11.

4. *Ibid.*, fn. 24.

5. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 169.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

7. I owe this observation to Dr. M. Venkataraman of Madurai University.

India a barber has to deal with nailcutting no less than with hair-cutting and actually one of the synonyms for "barber" is *Nakhakutṭa* ("nail-cutter").<sup>1</sup> In "Nakhavān", therefore, we are invited, as it were, to read the barber-idea. But it is apparently fused with another notion. The word signifies "one who has nails" and with "Nakhakutṭa" in our mind we may interpret "having" in a double sense so that the name would imply "one who at the same time possesses nails to cut with and has nails in his possession by cutting them"—that is to say, a nail-cutter who wounds and tears his customer ; or, if we wish to reflect in brief the pun which appears to be in the Sanskrit *vān* in this context, we may say "a barbed barber". Such a *śleṣha* or *double entendre*, accompanied by the adjective *dvitīyo*, "second", is just what would be appropriate in the case of Chandrāmśa if he were Xandrames, since Xandrames, according to Curtius, "took after his father", the barber who, as we are told, had killed his royal patron and, patron's children too.

But it is not only because Xandrames was like his father in character and manner that Chandrāmśa is affined to him : it is also by Xandrames's being the very next in number to his father in this respect that the Nāga king's affinity can be affirmed. *Dvītyo*, "second", is a most pertinent expression. Both Xandrames and Chandrāmśa, unlike Dhana-Nanda of our historians, come immediately after their fathers : they are both "second" in the family and not ninth. The rank common to them drives their equation home with a definitive accuracy.

In the variant *Nakhapāna-jah*, which Pargiter renders by "Nakhapāna's offspring", we have the same suggestion of immediate succession. And, by exposing the absurdity of relating Chandrāmśa to the Śaka Nahapāna as son to father, it clinches our interpretation. The barber-idea is even more evident here for, one of the meanings of *pāna*<sup>2</sup> is "protection" and *Nakhapāna* would connote "Nail-protection". But to get the full appositeness out of this word we must glance at the grammatical side of it. *Pāna* has the

1. *M. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 524,*

2. *Ibid., p. 613.*



neuter gender : as it is, we cannot apply it to a man. It is a word like *śhāsana*, meaning "mastery" or "subdual", which also being neuter cannot go into a personal name unless there is *ḥ* after it as in the well-known name of Indra, *Pākaśhāsanaḥ*, which that god carries as the subduer of or master over the demon Pāka. So the one whose offspring is Chandrāmśa must bear the name *Nakhapānaḥ*. Our text does not contradict such an assumption, since the only instance in which his name appears is the word *Nakhapāna-jah* and, when there is already *ḥ* at the end of a word, Sanskrit grammar will not allow another in the midst of the expression. The absence of *ḥ* after *pāna* is just what we should expect if the original name were *Nakhapānaḥ* to personify "nail-protection."

The purpose of employing this term instead of *Nakhakutṭa* would seem to be the demarcation of the barber in question from others of his profession : here was a barber who rose to a special post in the household where he worked and thus deserved a distinguishing appellation. And this compound appellation may be taken in an ironic double sense to yield the idea of protecting nails by means of nails. The aptness of the double sense will at once be seen if we remember Diodorus and Curtius. The father of Xandrames or Agrammes was really the nailed protector of nails, for he clove his way through everything to the supreme authority while doing his barber's job. In his relation to the sons of his sovereign he is actually spoken of by Curtius as setting up the "pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children" while planning to "put the young princes to death". In the word "guardian" we have actually the echo of the Purāṇic *pānaḥ*, "protector" : he continued to protect the princes' nails as their "guardian" when all the time digging his own, as it were, deep into their lives.

### The Exact Chronological Position

Chandrāmśa's chronological position too is just where it should be—if he were Xandrames—in the post-Āndhra and pre-Gupta interval. He is in a group of rulers whom the Purāṇas mention after naming Vindhyaśakti.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand we are

1. Pargiter, *op. cit.* pp. 72-3.

told of the Nāgas of Vidiśā, along with some other monarchs, and on the other hand we get Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra and Pravīra's four sons. Then we are informed of the cessation of the Vindhya family and provided with a list of various subsequent rulers and dynasties who are not distinguished in terms of time and whose beginnings must therefore be taken as simultaneous. Among them are the Guptas.

Chandrāmśa stands with the Nāgas of Vidiśā. About them Pargiter's text<sup>1</sup> runs: "Bhogin, son of the Nāga king Śeṣa, will be king, conqueror of his enemies' cities a king who will exalt the Nāga family. Sadāchandra, and Chandrāmśa who will be a second Nakhavant, then Dhanadharman, and Vaṅgara is remembered as the fourth. Then Bhūtinanda will reign in the Vaidiśa kingdom."

As Śeṣa enters only as the father of Bhogin and is not directly put forth as a king of this period, it is with Bhogin we must start, setting him in time on a level with Vindhyaśakti in the post-Āndhra epoch. Sadāchandra being the same as Chandrāmśa, we have three kings following Bhogin's name. But since here Chandrāmśa is called the second barber, a first one has to be put before him on a level with Bhogin. Evidently this barber did not sit on the throne and thus remains excluded from the list of kings. The kings after Bhogin are only three. And yet there is the curious fact that Vaṅgara, mentioned next to Dhanadharman who is placed beside Chandrāmśa, "is remembered as the fourth". However, the puzzle remains as long as we think of "the fourth" in terms of kingship. Taking our cue from the word "second" in connection with Chandrāmśa, we can clear the mystery by regarding Vaṅgara as the fourth "Nakhavān." Then, with Dhanadharman as the understood third, we have a quartet of "barbers, the last three of whom we may count either as successive or as contemporary, either as a continuing three-generationed family of "barbers" after the first or three sons following a father. If we accept the latter case, the eldest son Chandrāmśa would rule in the seat of Bhogin's govern-

1. *Ibid.*

ment, the others in minor localities under him. All the three sons would constitute the next generation after Bhogin (and after the first "barber")—that is, on a time-parity with Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra. The second generation after Bhogin—that is, on a level of time with Pravīra's four sons—would be Bhūtinanda. As nothing is said of his end we may presume that during his reign the Vindhyakas would pass away and the Guptas arise.

If Bhūtinanda belonged practically to the same generation as Chandragupta I, Chandrāmśa would precede the latter in time precisely as Xandrames preceded Sandrocottus, and be a powerful monarch in the Indian interior in the middle of 326 B. C. when Alexander halted at the Beās and when, as we know from both Plutarch (LXII)<sup>1</sup> and Justin (XV.iv)<sup>2</sup> Sandrocottus was not yet king. And the fact that Chandrāmśa's father, the first "Nakhavān" is not enumerated as a king identifies further his circumstances with those of Xandrames and supports the chronological position we have assigned him.

#### A Possible Objection on Grounds of Geography and its Answer

We are likely to be sharply pulled up here and told: "Don't you know that Xandrames was king of the Prasii no less than of the Gangaridai? The Gangaridai have been shown to be the people of the Ganges-delta in Lower Bengal and the Prasii to be the *Prāchya*, Easterners, and especially the people of Magadha with their imperial capital at Pāṭaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks. How, then, can a Nāga king of Vidiśā have been Xandrames? And what of the war waged by Sandrocottus against Xandrames to win Palibothra from him? You do not even bring Chandragupta I into conflict with Chandrāmśa. And, if you did, there would still be no Pāṭaliputra to be won, there would be nothing except the Vaidiśā a kingdom to be wrested. All this should cancel your equation of Xandrames with Chandrāmśa."

We can cast grave doubt upon every one of the propositions advanced and as good as nullify their arguments.

1. *The Classical Accounts...*, p. 199.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

First, it is not so much with the Prasii as with the Gangaridai that Xandrames is associated. Except once in Diodorus,<sup>1</sup> the order of the two is not the Prasii and the Gangaridai but the other way round.<sup>2</sup> And in Diodorus himself we soon find Xandrames called simply "the king of the Gandaridai".<sup>3</sup> And, thrice after this, Diodorus speaks of Alexander wanting to make an "expedition against the Gandaridai".<sup>4</sup> In another context too he uses the very same expression.<sup>5</sup> The Prasii are nowhere on the scene. And nowhere is Xandrames associated with Palibothra. Sandrocottus is openly linked with the Prasii and described as king of Palibothra.<sup>6</sup> The contrast is glaring. Xandrames is eminently the ruler of the Gangaridai and, if the Prasii are to be linked with him, a small and peripheral part of them may be put under his sway, leaving out the great bulk of them and especially their central part in and about Palibothra. Plutarch<sup>7</sup> who, unlike Diodorus and Curtius, does not mention Xandrames by name goes even so far as to mention "kings" of the Gangaridai and the Prasii. This may suggest that Xandrames was not the sole opponent of Alexander and, although king of only the Gangaridai, was in command of the Prasii just by being the chief of a coalition against the Macedonian. As such, he was virtually the king of all the Indian interior that was banded to resist the invasion. But it is highly questionable whether in any genuine or literal sense he can be regarded as the monarch of Magadha with his capital at Pāṭaliputra.

Nor do we read anywhere of Sandrocottus going to war with Xandrames. In fact, the way he became king of Palibothra and the Prasii is never explicitly mentioned. A passage in Justin,<sup>8</sup> where from a non-king he becomes a king, is directly concerned

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 198.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-3.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 262. Also, I. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the great*, p. 408.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

8. *Ibid.*, 172-3.

only with his collecting an army and defeating the prefects left by Alexander and replacing them in the region of the Indus. In between there is a reference to instigating the Indians to "overthrow the existing government" or soliciting them to "support his new sovereignty"<sup>1</sup> but the context should suggest only the existing Greek government and the replacement of this old sovereignty by Sandrocottus's new one in the provinces of the prefects. As Mookerji<sup>2</sup> clear-headedly realises, whatever conquests of the Indian interior were achieved by Sandrocottus came afterwards. And we have no specific account of them : they are just assumed as a *fait accompli* by the time Seleucus crosses the Indus : that is to say, by 305 B. C. All we are told is that Sandrocottus was in possession of India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness abroad. It would be sheer wishful thinking on our part to bring in Xandrames and a war with him over Magadha, resulting in conquest of and coronation at Pāṭaliputra.

As to the location of Xandrames's Gangaridai, the general solution of the problem is supplied by Diodorus (VII. XCI),<sup>3</sup> He tells us that the Younger Porus into whose kingdom Alexander had moved after crossing the river (obviously the Acesines, Asikūī, modern Chenāb) next to the Hydaspes (Vitastā, modern Jhelum) in the eastward direction had fled farther east "to the nation of the Gandaridai". Surely, the Younger Porus did not flee to the Ganges-delta or even to the territory just beyond the Ganges. Diodorus brings Alexander up to the "Hypanis" (Hyphasis) and Porus is still uncaught. All we can say is : Porus had gone across this tributary of the Indus into the valley of the Gangetic river-system. E. R. Bevan<sup>4</sup> comments : "To the Gandaridai, says Diodorus. The people of the Ganges-region are probably meant."

"The people of the Ganges-region"—here Bevan appears to go to the heart of the matter. The very name "Gangaridai"

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1. This variant is noted in *An Advanced History of India*, by R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and K. Datta (London, 1946), p. 99.
  2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-3.
  3. *The Classical Accounts...*, p. 170.
  4. *The Cambridge History of India* (1935), I, p. 370.

relates the "nation" concerned to the Ganges, and it would be strange that this "nation" should then be limited to the delta of the river rather than spread out to all the lands through which, together with its tributaries, it flowed.

It is a misconception that Megasthenes makes Lower Bengal the home of the Gangaridai. Diodorus (II. 37)<sup>1</sup> reports from him that the Ganges' final run to the ocean forms "the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses the greatest number of elephants and the largest in size," and this "overwhelming number" he gives as 4,000. Nothing is said here about the other boundaries; we are not told that they confine the Gangaridai's home to the Ganges-delta. Taken along with the information about the Younger Porus's flight and the passage (VI. XCIII)<sup>2</sup> where we learn of Xandrames waiting on the eastern bank of the Ganges for Alexander, Diodorus's report creates the definite impression that the Gangaridai extended from the Beās eastward right across Madhyadeśa (the Middle Country) through the land of the Prāchyas into the delta of the Ganges. Although the Prāchyas, with their capital Pāṭaliputra, are themselves in the Ganges-region, the Gangaridai are to be distinguished from the Prasii as those people of this region in connection with whose king we never hear of Pāṭaliputra. The people of the heart of Magadha have, for political purposes, to be set apart from the Gangaridai.

Pliny (VI. 22),<sup>3</sup> dealing with the Ganges-delta, does not contradict Diodorus. He says that the "Gangaridae-Calingae" lived there: *i. e.* the particular section of the Gangaridai, which belonged to the widely diffused Calinga people. The other branches of the Calingae he (*ibid*) calls the Modogalingae and (VI. 21)<sup>4</sup> the Maccocalingae, the latter forming also a section of the many-tribed Brachmanae. The idea that the Gangaridai as a whole are to be located in Lower Bengal is due to a passage in

1. *The Classical Accounts* . . p. 234.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 350, note 8a. A discussion in some detail of the correct and the incorrect readings of Pliny is in J. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 137-8, fn.

4. *The Classical Account*..., p. 341.

Solinus (52.7)<sup>1</sup> being taken in isolation instead of in collation with Diodorus and Pliny. Solinus has no mention of the Calingae. But the moment we look at his military figures for his Gangaridae we notice that they are exactly the same as Pliny's. And, when we compare his number of elephants with that which Diodorus gives, we are shocked at his 700 as against the other's 4,000. Obviously, Diodorus is talking of the entire Gangaridai group, with the Ganges-delta merely their eastern boundary, whereas Solinus is talking of no more than a small section of it.

In view of those 700 elephants we cannot even regard the Ganges-delta as the central seat of the Gangaridai, leave aside its being their exclusive home. Can the central seat of a nation possessing the most numerous and the biggest elephants have only a piffling 700 when even small tribes like the Megallae<sup>2</sup> almost equal it with 500 and the Andarae<sup>3</sup> can actually boast of 1,000 and the Horatae<sup>4</sup> own 1,600 ?

No, we cannot without self-contradiction attach importance of any kind to the Ganges-delta. And, if Ptolemy (VII. 1. 81)<sup>5</sup> the geographer (C. 130 A. D.) locates the Gangaridai there, we must assume him to have gone astray because of some passage like Solinus's and to have missed the true sense of Megasthenes. Scholars have picked out several errors in his book : we may well take this to be one more.

The error should also be apparent as soon as we cast about for the full Indian original of the name "Gangaridai". If a single specific tribe is denoted, we should be able to find an ancient Indian one of much prowess and fame. None with any corresponding sound has been lighted upon. The term is evidently a general designation. We may suggest that it answers to a compound Prakrit expression which may have been in colloquial use at the time : *Gaṅgārat̥ṭha*, meaning "the Ganges-kingdom". A *rat̥ṭha* (Sanskrit *Rāshṭra*), according to the *Manusmṛiti* (ix, 226,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

251 ; vii, 134), was made up of different countries, *deśas*, or provinces called *janapadas* or *vishayas*, held together under a *rājā*. Thus the Gangaridai could very appositely be a collection or confederacy of provinces situated in the Ganges-region, ruled over by King Xandrames in 326 B. C. effectively in some places, loosely in others. By their very nature, they could not be confined to the Ganges-delta. And, if they had at all a central seat of power, though not of origin since they came from no single province, it must have been where, far from that delta, Xandrames was waiting for Alexander, all the military resources of his manifold *raṭṭha* mobilised to make the huge forces of men and chariots and animals the Classical historians have enumerated.

And, when the Gangaridai rather than the Prasii are repeatedly said or suggested to be Alexander's enemy under Xandrames, this king of the Indian interior must be placed principally west of Magadha, at least west of Magadha's capital Pāṭaliputra. There can be no objection to his having had like Chandrāmśa, Vidiśā as his seat of government.

### The Precise Geographical Situation

However, to make Chandrāmśa's geographical situation precisely like that of Xandrames we have to show that, like Xandrames, he may have ruled over fairly extensive territory from a governmental seat at Vidiśā.

The Purāṇas, telling us of the time after the Vindhyakas have passed away, make the Nāgas flourish at other centres too, Kāntipurī, Mathurā, Padmāvati.<sup>1</sup> The prevalence of Nāga rule over considerable portions of Northern India in both the pre-Gupta and the Gupta periods is also attested by epigraphic and numismatic finds.<sup>2</sup> It seems the Nāgas who are specified in the Purāṇas as rulers of one or another centre were really master over more than one centre and that the object of mentioning this or that centre was to denote the home or the principal city of each Nāga. Thus, "some coins bearing the name of Mahārāja Gaṇendra or Gaṇapa have been discovered

1. *Ibid.*,

2. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 169.



at Padmāvati and also at Vidiśā and Mathurā” which shows that this king of Padmāvati may have expanded his influence over the rest of the Nāga centres. Again, the Vākāṭaka records which mention Mahārāja Bhāvanāga, whose daughter married a son of Pravīra’s and who thus was a contemporary of Chandrāmśa describes him as belonging to the family of the Bharaśivas “who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of the Bhāgīrathī that had been obtained by their valour”: the implication is “that their home was away from the Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) but that they extended their power as far as the valley of that river”.<sup>3</sup> Another king, Vīrasena, who has left numismatic and epigraphic traces, is believed to have been a Nāga with his capital at Mathurā and with sovereignty over also Bulandshahr, Etah and Farrukhābād Districts as well as parts of the Punjab.<sup>3</sup> The Nāgas, whether centred at Vidiśā, Kāntipurī, Mathurā or Padmāvati, can be considered prominent rulers of the Gangaridai the people along the course of the Ganges—and Chandrāmśa the Nāga of Vidiśā may be equated on geographical grounds with Xandrames.

### The Nāgas and the Guptas

In the Gangetic valley west of Magadha the Nāgas are known to have been the immediate predecessors of the Guptas. Two of the Āryāvarta kings whom Samudragupta claims to have “extirpated” were Nāgas: Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena who appear to have been a couple out of the nine Nāga kings said by the Purāṇas to have ruled at Padmāvati.<sup>4</sup> Even during the reign of the Gupta dynasty the Nāgas continued in the province over which Xandrames ruled. Samudragupta’s son, Chandragupta II, married Kuberanāgā who was a Nāga princess. “A Nāga chief named Śarvanāga was appointed *viśhayapati* (provincial governor) and was ruling the Antarvedī district (between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā and between Prayāga and Haradvāra) under Skandagupta...”<sup>5</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, p. 170.2. *Ibid.*, p. 169.3. *Ibid.*, p. 171.4. *Ibid.*, p. 170.5. *Ibid.*,

Everything favours our giving to the extraordinarily close resemblance between "Chandrāṁśa" and "Xandrames" the utmost value it deserves on its own merits. The problem of Xandrames of the Classical accounts may be regarded as solved not only by the Purāṇas themselves but also by all other available evidence in conformity with the Purāṇic identification of Sandrocottus with Chandragupta I.

### Sandrocottus and Pāṭaliputra

Arrived at this conclusion we may close with some remarks on Sandrocottus's acquisition of Pāṭaliputra. We have already noted that the Classical accounts do not permit us to look at Xandrames as king of Palibothra or to conceive Sandrocottus as fighting him. And this posture of events gains support from what we know of Gupta history and of Pāṭaliputra between the fall of the Āndhras and the rise of the Guptas. In D. R. Bhandarkar's considered opinion,<sup>1</sup> it is clear not only from the tradition of the clan of the Lichchhavis but also from one of the Nepal inscriptions published by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji<sup>2</sup> that the Lichchhavis were ruling at Pāṭaliputra in this period. R. K. Mookerji<sup>3</sup> too favours this view. Now, with regard to Chandragupta I, there are two facts facing us: (1) according to the Purāṇas the territories which the first Guptas enjoyed, as if their rightful heartland, included Magadha and therefore Pāṭaliputra; (2) Chandragupta married the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī, whose image and name regularly appear on his coins as if to justify by his association with her his right to his new title Mahārājādhirāja ("Supreme King of Great Kings") which none of his ancestors had borne. From this pair of facts we may reasonably infer that Chandragupta came into possession of Pāṭaliputra by marrying the Lichchhavi Kumāradevī. No previous sovereign like Xandrames enters the picture of the Guptas' founder becoming king of Pāṭaliputra.

1. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921. p. 10.

2. *The Indian Antiquary*, IX, p. 7.

3. *The Gupta Empire*, p. 8.

### Sandrocottus and Xandrames

However, as Sandrocottus who was overlord of the Gangetic valley, Chandragupta I has to be taken as conquering the territory owned by Xandrames and replacing whoever was master of Vidiśā at the time the founder of the Imperial Guptas established himself as the chief power in the Indian interior. Soon after mounting the throne of Pāṭaliputra he must have replaced the sovereignty of Chandrāmśa's successor, Bhūtinanda, in the valley of the Ganges.

With this deduction we may end on an irony of history. Although Xandrames cannot be identified with any member of the Nanda dynasty founded by Mahāpadma and so Sandrocottus cannot be brought into contemporaneity with the last of the Nandas known to the Purāṇas, we still have a Purāṇic Nanda-sounding king confronting him in the dominion over which Xandrames had presided : Bhūtinanda.

#### POSTSCRIPT

In view of what we have said above about the Lichchavis' sway over Pāṭaliputra after the Āndhras and before the Guptas, we shall have partly to revise our Purāṇic treatment of Arrian's three republics in Part II of our series on Megasthenes and Indian Chronology. The Lichchavis were a republican clan. So one of Arrian's republics would fall between the passing of the Āndhras and the advent of the Guptas. This will necessitate certain readjustments in our historical vision. These readjustments, together with some other reconsiderations, we may set forth in a back-glance essay when we have completed our whole series.

## भारतवर्ष-महिमा

उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।  
वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः ॥ १ ॥  
नवयोजनसाहस्रो विस्तारोऽस्य महामुने ।  
कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम् ॥ २ ॥  
अतः सम्प्राप्यते स्वर्गो मुक्तिमस्मात् प्रयान्ति वै ।  
तिर्यक्त्वं नरकं चापि यान्त्यतः पुरुषा मुने ॥ ४ ॥  
इतः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यं चान्तश्च गम्यते ।  
न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां कर्म भूमौ विधीयते ॥ ५ ॥  
तपस्तप्यन्ति मुनयो जुह्वते चात्र यज्विनः ।  
दानानि चात्र दीयन्ते परलोकार्थमादरात् ॥ २० ॥  
अत्रापि भारतं श्रेष्ठं जम्बूद्वीपे महामुने ।  
यतो हि कर्मभूरेषा ह्यतोऽन्या भोगभूमयः ॥ २२ ॥  
अत्र जन्म सहस्राणां सहस्रैरपि सत्तम ।  
कदाचिच्छभते जन्तुर्मानुष्यं पुण्यसंचयात् ॥ २३ ॥  
गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि  
धन्यास्तु ते भारत भूमिभागे ।  
स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते  
भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥ २४ ॥  
( विष्णुपुराण, अंश २, अ० ३ )

# CONSTITUTION OF THE VĀMANA PURĀṆA TEXT

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[ अत्र काशिराजपुराणविभागे वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संशोधितसंस्करणं निर्मायते । अस्य संस्करणस्य निर्माणकाले वामनपुराणस्य ग्रन्थपरिमाणविषयकाः पाठविषयकाश्च केचन प्रश्ना उपस्थिताः । ते प्रश्ना अत्र लेखे विचारिताः । पाठनिर्धारणाय च कतिचिन्नियमा निश्चिता व्याख्याता उदाहृताश्च ।

वामनपुराणस्य काश्मीरीयकोशेषु वैकटेश्वरप्रेसमुद्रितवामनपुराणग्रन्थस्य २३-३१ अध्याया न विद्यन्ते, बंगीयकोशेषु दक्षिणात्यकोशेषु च २३-४६ अध्याया न विद्यन्ते, उत्तरभारतीयदेवनागरीकोशेषु पुनः वैकटेश्वरसंस्करणस्य सर्वे एव अध्याया वर्तन्ते । अतोऽत्र प्रश्न उपस्थितः—वामनपुराणग्रन्थस्य वास्तविकं परिमाणं किमासीदिति । नारदीयपुराणे वामनपुराणं भागद्वयात्मकं दशसहस्रश्लोकात्मकं च उच्यते । तत्र पूर्वभागस्य परिमाणं षट्सहस्रश्लोकात्मकं मन्यते, तच्च परिमाणं वैकटेश्वरग्रन्थे उत्तरभारतीयदेवनागरीकोशेषु च विद्यते । लेखेऽस्मिन् इमानि तथ्यान्याधारीकृत्य वामनपुराणग्रन्थपरिमाणविषयको विमर्शः कृतः ।

वामनपुराणकोशेषु बहुविधाः पाठभेदा वर्तन्ते, वैकटेश्वरमुद्रितपाठस्य केचन श्लोका कोशेषु न विद्यन्ते, केचिच्च अतिरिक्ताः श्लोका अपि तत्र तत्र कोशेषु विद्यन्ते । तेषां पाठभेदानां मध्ये के पाठाः स्वीकरणीया कया च पद्धत्या इत्यपि प्रश्नोऽत्रोपस्थीयते । आधुनिके पाठसमीक्षाविज्ञाने पाठनिश्चित्यै केचन सिद्धान्ताः स्वीकृताः सन्ति । वामनपुराणपाठनिर्धारणायपि तादृशाः केचन नियमा निश्चिताः । अस्मिन् लेखे एतादृशा एकविंशतिनियमा व्याख्याता वामनपुराणश्लोकैरुदाहृताश्च । उदाहृतान् श्लोकांश्चाश्रित्य पाठनिर्धारणविधिरपि प्रदर्शितः, निर्धारितपाठाश्च बहुधा महाभारतादिग्रन्थानां पाठैः समर्थिताः । ]

The All-India Kashiraj Trust has undertaken the onerous but essential and important task of preparing the critical editions of the Purāṇas through its Purāṇa-Department. The work of the Vāmana-Purāṇa edition has nearly been completed. The text has been constituted on certain principles of textual criticism adopted

for the purpose. But in the course of the constitution of the text several textual problems also arose. It is proposed to discuss here these problems and the principles of text-constitution adopted for settling the text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

#### A. TEXTUAL PROBLEMS OF THE VĀMANA PURĀṆA

##### 1. Extent of the Vāmana Purāṇa text :

The first problem of the textual reconstruction of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, which confronts us, is concerning the extent of its text. Its vulgate text, as represented by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition, consists of 95 Adhyāyas and 5,815 ślokaś. The position of the collated manuscripts in this respect is, however, as follows :

(a) All the collated Kashmirian manuscripts (1 Śāradā MS and three Kāśmīrī MSS, which are closely allied with the Śāradā MS) omit all the nine Adhyāyas (23 to 31) of the Veṅkaṭeśvara<sup>1</sup>, which contain the first *Vāmana-carita* narrated by Sūta Lomahaṅga to the Ṛṣiś, but included in the सरो माहात्म्य extending from Adh. 22 to Adh. 49. This first Vāmana-carita is, therefore, the secondary Vāmana-carita version as compared with the main Vāmana-carita version of the Vām. P., narrated to Nārada by Pulastya, the main narrator of the Vām.-P., and given in the last chapters from Adh. 73 to 95, in the form of the वामनप्रादुर्भाव and त्रिविक्रमचरित. The recently acquired Śāradā MS, from the B.H.U. Library, dated Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1522), also omits these nine Adhyāyas (23-31).

(b) All the three collated Bengali MSS, (one from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the other two from the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta), and the two South Indian MSS, (one Devanāgarī MS, from the Adyar Library, Madras, and one Nandī-Nāgarī MS, from the Srīṅgerī Maṭha, Mysore) omit the whole intervening interlocution between the Sūta and the Ṛṣiś,

1. The Vāmana-Purāṇa references are given here from its Veṅkaṭeśvara-Press edn., Bombay, Śaka 1851 (A. D. 1929). If the name of a Purāṇa is not mentioned in the reference Vām.-P. should be taken there as referred to. For the editions of the Purāṇas and other works referred to in this article see *Appendix*.

beginning from 22.47 and going up to the end of Adh. 49. It is to be noted here that no Grantha or Malayalam MSS of the Vāmana-Purāṇa exist in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore, Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and the Keral University Library, Trivandrum. But we have received from the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore, some details of its four Devanāgarī MSS, D. 10419, D. 10421, D. 10422 and D. 10423, of which the last Adhyāya corresponds to Adh. 95 of the Venkṭ. edn., and is respectively numbered as पञ्चषष्टितमोऽध्यायः, सप्तषष्टितमोऽध्यायः, पञ्चषष्टितमोऽध्यायः and सप्तषष्टितमोऽध्यायः, which shows that these four MSS, also omit all the 27 Adhyāyas (23-49) containing the interlocution between the Sūta and the Ṛṣis. Moreover, a recently acquired Telugu MS from Mysore also agrees with these Tanjore MSS both in the extent and in the name of the last Adh. as 'विष्णुपूज्ययोग्यवस्तुकथनम्'.

This interlocution of the Sūta and the Ṛṣis (from 22. 47 to Adh. 49), whole of which is found omitted in both the Bengali and the South Indian collated MSS, comprises the following topics :—

(1) *Adhs. 23-31.* The first or the secondary Vāmana-carita, which is mostly similar to the Vāmana-carita of the Matsya Purāṇa (244-246), and of the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, Bhaviṣya-Parvan; and seems to be adapted from these.

(2) *Adhs. 32-42.* The description and Māhātmya of the tīrthas of Kurukṣetra, which is almost similar to the Māhātmya of Kurukṣetra and its tīrthas given in the Āraṇyaka-parvan, Adhs. 81 ff., and the Śalya-Parvan, Adhs. 37ff., of the Mahābhārata (cr. edn.).

As already mentioned above, this Māhātmya is related by Sūta to the Ṛṣis in the Vām.-P. but in the Mbh., Āraṇyaka Parvan, it is related by Pulastya to Bhīṣma, where Pulastya addresses Bhīṣma as नरव्याघ्र (81. 23a), राजन् (81. 21c), धर्मज्ञ (81. 46a) etc., which addresses are quite appropriate for Bhīṣma. But in many and sometimes in the majority of the collated MSS, of the Vām.-P. too we find the same readings नरव्याघ्र (35. 2c), राजन्

(34. 42c), and घमंज (35. 42a) as addresses used for the Ṛṣis by Sūta, which shows that these chapters of the Vām.-P., might have been based on the Mbb. The Padma Purāṇa, Ādi.-Kh., Adhs. 26 ff., has also this Māhātmya, which is almost similar to the Māhātmya of the Mbh. There, Nārada is speaking to Yudhiṣṭhira, and hence the above addresses (नरव्याघ्र etc.) are also appropriate there. Some of the ślokas of these chapters of the Vām.-P., are also similar to the ślokas of the Kurukṣetra Māhātmya of the Nāradiya Purāṇa (NP) II. 64, 65 or adapted from them. Hence it seems that in adding these chapters (32-42) in the Vām. P., the compiler might have utilised both the Mahābhārata and the Nāradiya Purāṇa.

(3) Adhs. 43-49. These contain the description and the Māhātmya of the *Siva-liṅga*-s established around the *Sthāṇu-tīrtha*, which is a part of the *Prthūdaka-tīrtha*; related by Sanatkumāra to Mārkaṇḍeya. These chapters have not yet been traced in the Mahābhārata or in the other Purāṇas. But in connection with the Māhātmya of Prthūdaka-tīrtha the Mahābhārata (III. 81. 127) says : 'गीतं सनत्कुमारेण व्यासेन च महात्मनाः' Does it show that these chapters might have been contained in the Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā of the Skanda Purāṇa ?

All these 27 chapters in no way form an essential part of the main theme, the description and Māhātmya of Kurukṣetra and its Prthūdaka-tīrtha, related by Hari to the gods, where they (the gods) are advised to worship the *Pitṛ-s* for obtaining their mind-born daughter, Menā, as Himavān's wife. The main theme rather breaks by these intervening chapters (23-49) and the thread is again taken up in chap. 50. But all these chapters are given in all the Devanāgarī MSS of Northern India, and also in the collated Telugu MS नं 1 of the South.

The Kashmirian MSS, like the Devanāgarī MSS of Northern India, introduce after 22.46 the interlocution between the Sūta and the Ṛṣis; and in the Kashmirian MSS also one of the questions, which the Ṛṣis put to the Sūta, is about the birth of Vāmana ( 'उत्पत्तिं वामनस्य च' 22.48c). This query of the Ṛṣis is given in all the Northern Devanāgarī MSS and in the Telugu MS,



and also in all the Kashmirian MSS as noted above. But while the Devanāgarī and the Telugu MSS, give the first Vāmanacarita also, in reply to this query, the Kashmirian MSS, while containing the query about the birth of Vāmana, omit this Vāmana-carita. So this omission of the Vāmana-carita by the Kashmirian MSS, seems to be a deliberate one, keeping in view of the main Vāmanacarita of the Vām.-P., which is given in all the manuscripts of the Vām.-P., without exception.

Now the position about the extent of the text of the Vām.-P. comes to this:—Either we have to retain the whole of the interlocution of the Sūta and the Ṛṣis, as has been done in the Northern Devanāgarī MSS, and the collated Southern Telugu MS, or we have to omit the whole of it from 22.47 upto the end of Adh. 49, as has been done in the collated Bengali and the South-Indian MSS, other than the Telugu. But unless we collate or consult some Grantha or Malayalam MSS also, which are not yet available as already noted above, we cannot be sure about the real extent of the Southern text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. Moreover, quotations from these chapters are given in some of the old *Nibandha-s* (Dharmaśāstra-Digests) e. g. *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* (Tīrtha-Kāṇḍa) of Lakṣmīdhara, which is perhaps the oldest available *Nibandha*, belonging to the 12th century A. D. The Tīrtha-Khaṇḍa of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri is not yet available. Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, a South Indian Nibandhakāra, also quotes some ślokas from Adh. 34 of the Vām.-P. in the *Āhnikaprakaraṇa* of his *Smṛti-muktā-phala*. So, nothing can yet be said with certainty about the exact nature of the extent of the Vām.-P. text in South-India. Under such circumstances it would not be safe to exclude these 27 Adhyāyas from the constituted text of the Vām.-P. simply on the basis of the scanty evidence available from Bengal and the South. And as already discussed above, only the first *Vāmana-carita* cannot be omitted on somewhat misleading evidence of the Kashmirian MSS. So we have to retain the whole portion containing the interlocution of the Sūta and the Ṛṣis.

Moreover, interlocution between the Sūta and the Ṛṣis in

the Vāmana-Purāṇa seems to be referred to by the Nāradiya-Purāṇa also as follows :—

इत्येतद् वामनं नाम पुराणं सुविचित्रकम् ।  
 पुलस्त्येन समाख्यातं नारदाय महात्मना ॥  
 ततो नारदतः प्राप्तं व्यासेन सुमहात्मना ।  
 व्यासात्तु लब्धवाञ्छैतत् तच्छिष्यो रोमहर्षणः ॥  
 स चाख्यास्यति विप्रेभ्यो नैमिषेभ्य एव च ।  
 एव परम्पराप्राप्तं पुराणं वामनं शुभम् ॥ (NP. I.105.17-19).

Hence it may be assumed that there also existed some text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa which was narrated by Sūta Romaharṣaṇa to the Ṛṣis of the Naimiṣeya forest, and the above mentioned 27 Adhs. are remnant of that text of the Vām.-P., which somehow might have crept in the existing text of the Vām.-P. which is narrated by Pulastya to Nārada, thus filling in the lacuna created by some lost portion of this Pulastya-Nārada Vām.-P. Many of the ślokas of this lost portion are found quoted in the various Nibāṇḍhas.

The Purāṇas have always served as the real encyclopaedia of the Hindu religion, and as such they have been revised from time to time, adding and incorporating in them whatever new or additional material could be available to the compilers and revisers of the Purāṇas in a particular period and place. The compilers or the redactors of the Purāṇas always retained and interpreted the old, but they were never averse to the new, rather they welcomed the new currents of thoughts and thus kept the Purāṇas upto-date and really useful for the Hindu society. In this way their extent has increased from two lacs to four lacs of ślokas.<sup>2</sup> And on account of these timely additions of the new material the Purāṇas have been more popular and have been more widely read and recited than even the Epics. Such timely additions made by the compilers or the redactors should, therefore, be considered as the great merit of the Purāṇas, and should be treated as the valuable literary treasure worthy to be preserved, and should not

2. For the extent of a Purāṇa see *Appendix*. Also cf. my article 'Purāṇas and their Referencing' in *Purāṇa*, VII. 2.

be discarded, unless there are very strong grounds for their exclusion ; or unless they are proved as interpolated by the whims of some scribes or readers and reciters.

The real extent of the Vāmana-Purāṇa is said to be of ten thousand ślokaś ('दशसाहस्रसंख्यकम्' NP. I. 105.1). According to the Nārādīya Purāṇa it had also the उत्तरभाग called the बृहद्द्वामनपुराण which consisted of the four Saṁhitās, viz. Māheśvarī, Bhāgavatī, Gaurī and Gāṇeśvarī, of one thousand ślokaś each. But this Uttarabhāga, known as the Bṛhad-Vāmana-Purāṇa, has not yet come to light, though quotations from the Bṛhad-Vāmana are found in some of the *Dharmaśāstra Nibandhas* (e. g. Vīramitrodaya-Pūjāprakāśa, and Ācāraratna-Devapūjā-prakaraṇa) and also in some works on the Kṛṣṇa-bhakti (such as of Jīvagosvāmin and Rūpagosvāmin).

So we have to be satisfied with the remaining extant *Pūrva-bhāga* only which should have traditionally an extent of about 6,000 ślokaś. A large number of such Vāmana-Purāṇa ślokaś are found quoted in the Nibandhas, as are not available in the printed texts and the available manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. But unless we get sufficient manuscript-evidence for them, they cannot be included in the constituted text ; they can be given in the appendix only.

## 2. Lacunae in the extant Vāmana-Purāṇa Text

During the course of the transmission of the text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa some portions of it seem to have been irretrievably lost ; e. g. :—

(1) The names of the rivers rising from the two Kula-parvatas, *Mahendra* and *Suktimat*, are missing in the printed Venkṭ. edn., as well as in all the manuscripts of the Vāmana Purāṇa. In the *Bhuvana-kośa* chapters of the Purāṇas seven *Kula-parvatas*

3. Cf. इत्येष पूर्वभागोऽस्य पुराणस्य तवोदितः ।

शृण्वतोऽस्योत्तरं भागं बृहद्द्वामनसंज्ञकम् ॥

माहेश्वरी भागवती गौरी गारोश्वरी तयो ।

चतस्रः संहिताश्चात्र पृथक्साहस्रसंख्यया ॥ (Np. I. 105. 13-14).

(mountain ranges) of Bhāratavarṣa and the rivers rising from each of them are mentioned. In the Vāmana Purāṇa, too, seven *Kula-parvatas* are mentioned as follows :—

महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः श(शु)क्तिमानृक्षपर्वतः ॥

विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तत्र कुलपर्वताः । (13-14-15)

But the rivers rising only from the five *Kula-parvatas*—*Pāriyātra*, *Rkṣa*, *Vindhya*, *Sahya* and *Śuktimat*—are mentioned (13. 23-33), and even here also rivers actually rising from the *Malaya*<sup>4</sup> are wrongly mentioned as rising from the *Śuktimat*<sup>5</sup> :—

कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णा वञ्जुला<sup>6</sup> चोत्पलावती ॥

शुनी चैव सुदामा च श(शु)क्तिमत्प्रभवास् त्विमाः । (13-32-33)

(v. 1. सिनी for शुनी; सुधामा, सदामा for सुदामा)

Thus actually the text containing the names of the rivers rising from the *Śuktimat* and the *Mahendra* is missing in the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

(2) Among the rivers rising from the Himavat (13. 20cd-23 ab) the names of the two important great rivers, *Gaṅgā* and *Sindhu*, are found missing, but they are mentioned in other Purāṇas, e. g. *Matsya* (114.20), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57.16) and *Vāyu* (45.94).

(3) The first two pādas of 40.24 of the Vāmana-Purāṇa are missing in all the collated manuscripts and also in the Veṅk. edn., and so here the construction and the sense are loose, as will be clear from the following :—

ततः सरस्वती शप्ता विश्वामित्रेण धीमता ।

अवहृच्छोणितोन्मिश्रं तोयं संवत्सरं तदा ॥ २२

अथर्षयश्च देवाश्च गन्धर्वाप्सरसस्तदा ।

सरस्वतीं तदा दृष्ट्वा बभूवुर्भृशदुःखिताः ॥ २३

तस्मिंस्तीर्थवरे रम्ये शोणितं समुपावहत् ॥ २४

Here the Ś 1.24 has its last two pādas only. The first two

4. For the rivers rising from the *Malaya* see *Appendix*.

5. For the rivers rising from the *Śuktimat* see *Appendix*.

6. But in the *Matsya* (114. 29b) and *Vāyu* (45. 103b) the river *Vañjula* is mentioned as rising from the *Sahya*.

pādas have been lost. But the Mahābhārata (IX. 42.1 ab) supplies this lost text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa' :—

ततः सरस्वती शप्ता विश्वामित्रेण धीमता ।  
अवहच्छोणितोन्मिश्रं तोयं संवत्सरं तदा ॥ ( 41.37 )

अथर्षयश्च देवाश्च गन्धर्वाप्सरसस्तथा ।  
सरस्वतीं तदा दृष्ट्वा बभूवुर्भृशदुःखिताः ॥ ( 41.38 )

एवं वसिष्ठापवाहो लोके ख्यातो जनाधिप ।

अगच्छच्च पुनर्मागं स्वयमेव सरितां वरा ॥ ( 41.39 )

(Adh. 41 ends here)

### वैशम्पायन उवाच

सा शप्ता तेन क्रुद्धेन विश्वामित्रेण धीमता ।

तस्मिंस्तीर्थवरे शुभ्रे शोणितं समुपावहत् ॥ ( 42.1 )

Here the texts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata are almost similar, but the first two pādas of 42.1 of the Mbh. are not found in the Vām.-P. which are necessary to complete the sense of the last two pādas of śl. 24 ( Adh. 40 ) of the Vām.-P. In the Mahābhārata the name of the तीर्थवर, referred to in the third pāda of its 42.1 above and also in the third pāda of śl. 24 (Adh. 40) of Vām.-P. (as quoted above), rightly and immediately precedes as वसिष्ठापवाह (in 41.39 ab), but it is also missing in the Vām.-P. here.

(4) In the first Vāmana-carita of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, 28.17 reads as follows :—

दैत्यानामपि सर्वेषां गर्भस्थे मधुसूदने ।

बभूव तेजसो हानियंथोक्तं परमात्मना ( v. 1 परमेष्ठिना ) ॥

But in this Vāmana-carita of the Vām.-P., there is no such previous mention by God Viṣṇu. Matsya-Purāṇa, however, supplies this lacuna as follows :—

गर्भस्थे मयि पुत्राणां तव योऽभिभविष्यति ।

तेजसस्तस्य हानिं च करिष्ये मा व्यथां कृथाः ॥ ( 244-48 )

And then the similar text as in the Vām.-P., ( 28.17 ) :

दैत्यानामथ सर्वेषां गर्भस्थे मधुसूदने ।

बभूव तेजसो हानियंथोक्तं परमेष्ठिना ॥ ( 244 52 )

So the Matsya-Purāṇa text is complete in this respect.

7. In some places the Vām.-P. also supplies a lost text of the Mahābhārata, and in some other places it gives a better reading than the Mbh. See Appendix.

In the second Vāmana-carita of the Vāmana-Purāṇa also we have the complete text :—

तवोदरे ह्यहं दाक्षे संभविष्यामि वै यदा ।  
तदा निस्तेजसो दैत्याः संभविष्यन्त्यसंशयम् ॥ (76-48)

And then :—

देवमातुः स्थिते देवे उदरे वामनाकृतौ ।  
निस्तेजसोऽसुरा जाता यथोक्तं विश्वयोनिना ॥ (77-1)

There are other similar lacunas in the Vāmana-Purāṇa text. All of them cannot be discussed here for want of space.

### 3. Some unaccountable and inexplicable readings

Some readings given in the majority and sometimes in all the manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa are not accountable or explainable. A few such readings are given below :—

- (1). ततो गच्छेदनरकं तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् ।  
यत्र पूर्वं (वै) स्थितो ब्रह्मा दक्षिणे च महेश्वरः ॥ २२  
रुद्रपत्नी पश्चिमतः पद्मनाभोत्तरे स्थितः ।  
मध्ये ह्यनरकं तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यस्यापि दुर्लभम् ॥ २३  
यस्मिन् स्नातास्तु पुरुषाः प्रमुच्यन्ते च पातकैः । ( 41 22-24 )

Here in 22d the reading दक्षिणे is given in one MS ( दे 7 ) only, all other MSS read here 'ऋषीणां' which does not fit here. How this reading came here in all the other MSS is not perhaps accountable unless we are able to trace these two ślokas in other Purāṇas. In the Mahābhārata ( Āraṇyaka Parvan ) also we have the description of the अनरकतीर्थं, and these same four Deities are also associated with it, but the directions are not mentioned there<sup>8</sup>.

8. Cf. Mbh. III. 81. 146-150 :

ततो गच्छेदनरकं तीर्थंसेवी नराधिप ।  
तत्र स्नात्वा नरो राजन् न दुर्गंतिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ 146  
तत्र ब्रह्मा स्वयं नित्यं देवैः सह महीपते ।  
अन्वास्यते नरश्रेष्ठ नारायणपुरोगमैः ॥ 147  
सार्धिध्यं चैव राजेन्द्र रुद्रपत्न्याः कुरुद्वह ।  
अधिगम्य च तां देवीं न दुर्गंतिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ 148  
तत्रैव च महाराज विश्वेश्वरमुमापत्तिम् ।  
अधिगम्य महादेवं मुच्यते सर्वकिस्विपैः ॥ 149  
नारायणं चाधिगम्य पद्मनाभमर्दिदमम् ।  
शोभमानो महाराज विष्णुलोकं प्रपद्यते ॥ 150

( 2 ) प्राजापत्यं नेत्रयुग्मे रूपधारि ( ररिणि ) प्रतिष्ठितम् । ( 80.8 ab )

Here in connection with the नक्षत्रपुरुषव्रत *Nakṣatras* (constellations) are mentioned as constituting the various limbs of Hari who has been conceived here as the नक्षत्रपुरुष ( *Puruṣa* in the form of the *Nakṣatras* ). The reading प्राजापत्यं is contained in most of the MSS and the Groups. Prajāpati is the lord of the Rohiṇī Nakṣatra, as is also clear from 5.32 of the Vām.-P. given in connection with the description of the कालरूपी aspect of Śiva, as follows :—

आग्नेयांशस् त्रयो ब्रह्मन् प्राजापत्यं कवेर्गुहम् ।  
सौम्याद्धं वृषनामेदं वदनं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ ( 5 32 )

Here प्राजापत्य is clearly the constellation Rohiṇī as it occurs between आग्नेय ( *Kṛttikā* ) and सौम्य ( *Mṛgasīrṣa* ), the three forming the *Vṛṣa Rāśi*. So in the above text ( 80.8ab ) *Rohiṇī* ( *Prājāpatya* ) is mentioned as residing in or constituting the eyes of the *Nakṣatra-Puruṣa*. But in 80.3ab *Rohiṇī* is said to be the thighs of Hari or the *Nakṣatra-Puruṣa* 'जङ्घे द्वे रोहिणीस्थिते'. Here रोहिणी is the reading in all the MSS. *Rohiṇī* ( or प्राजापत्य ), therefore, cannot again be mentioned as the eyes of Hari. But here, the two South-Indian MSS and the Kashmirian MS from Jammu ( का 1 ) help us. The two Southern MSS read :—'मृगशोषं नयनयो रूपधारिणि तिष्ठति' and the Jammu MS also reads :—'मृगशिरोऽक्षिणी'. And this reading मृगशिरो ( or मृगशिरस् ) is also confirmed by 80.24c.—'मृगोत्तमाङ्गे नयने [ पूज्ये ] ; the *Matsya-Purāna* also corroborates it as follows :—

'मृगोत्तमाङ्गे नयनेऽभिपूज्ये नमोऽस्तु ते राम विघूर्णिताक्ष' ( *Mt.-P.* 54.)

The *Vārāhī-Saṁhitā* ( a work on Astronomy ) in connection with the description of the *Nakṣatra-Puruṣa*, also confirms this reading as—'नासिका मघा मृगशिरो नेत्रे'.

Thus, in 80.8ab ( quoted above ) प्राजापत्यं is clearly the wrong and unsupported reading. How the majority of the MSS came to have this reading here is really a mystery, which cannot perhaps be solved, unless we find in some old work of Astronomy or Vedic literature mention of *Prajāpati* as the lord of *Mṛgasīras* constellation !

- (3). दीपप्रधानान् नरकानन्धतामिस्रसंज्ञकान् ।  
 तीर्त्वा स भायंया राजा ( ज्यामघः ) विष्णुलोकमगात् ततः ॥  
 तमेव चाद्यापि बले मार्गं ज्यामघकारितम् ।  
 ब्रजन्ति नरशादूला विष्णुलोकं जिगीषवः ॥ (95, 62-63)

Here in 62c all the MSS read ब्रह्मन् (as vocative) in place of the reading राजा. But here Prahlāda is speaking to Bali, as is clear from 63a, so this address ब्रह्मन् for Bali is out of place, Bali has never been addressed as ब्रह्मन्. How all the MSS give this reading is not clear, unless these ślokas are traced elsewhere in the form of the interlocution between some different interlocutors.

There are some other problems also concerning the text-reconstruction of the Vāmana-Purāṇa; e.g. some readings have become so corrupt<sup>9</sup> in the MSS, that their sense has become quite vague or unintelligible. Similarly some descriptions and narrations in the Vāmana-Purāṇa need to be traced in other Purāṇas also so that their correct text may be constituted. There are also some mutually contradictory readings of a text in the MSS; e.g. वेदनीबुद्धिमुक्तः, वेदनाबुद्धियुक्तः (in 5.43), वन्दनं नीतिशास्त्राणां, निन्दनं नीतिशास्त्राणां (in 11.16), etc. But in this limited space it is not possible to deal with all such problems.

#### B. PRINCIPLES ADOPTED FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF THE TEXT

For the purpose of the constitution of the text the following manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa have been collated:—

##### Kashmirian MSS

शा 1 = Śārādā MS, Q. 21. 224, No. 327709, from the Banaras Hindu University Library, Varanasi. First and the last folio missing.

का रा = MS No. 4012 (Steine Catalogue), from Śrī Raghunātha Sanskrit Library, Jammu (Kashmir). Script Kāśmīrī (or Kashmirian Devanāgarī). With Sanskrit commentary by Pt. Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa, written in the time of Maharaja Ranvir Singh of Kashmir (some 100 years ago).

9. How some readings become corrupt in course of transmission is illustrated in the Appendix.



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का 1 = MS, No. 3571 (Steine), from Śrī Laghunātha Sanskrit Library, Jammu. Script Kāśmīrī.

का 2 = MS, No. 227/425 (Mirikar Collections), from the B.I.S.M. Poona. Script Kāśmīrī (or Devanāgarī?). Dated Saṃvat Śrī Vikramāditya Śākaḥ 1785 (A.D. 1728).

(A recently acquired Śāradā MS from the B.H.U. Library, Varanasi, No. 330188, dated Śāka 1444 (A.D. 1522), has not yet been collated. It is being studied and compared with the already collated का 1. It generally agrees with का 1).

### Bengali MSS

ब 1 = MS No. 3533-17-B-3, from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, (H.P. Śāstrī's Catalogue Vol. V, No. 3989). Śāka 1729 (A.D. 1807).

ब 2 = MS No. 216, from the Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, Some folios missing.

ब 3 = MS No 2086, Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. Very much worn out, hence illegible in some places. Text upto 91. 34 of the Venkṭ. Edn.

### Devanāgarī MSS of Northern India

दे 1 = No. 54/153, from the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra, Fort Ramnagar.

दे 2 = No. 14.351, from the British Museum, London.

दे 3 = No. 1447, from the Pennsylvania University (U. S. A.). Śāka 1679 (A.D. 1757).

दे 4 = No. 78 of 1882-83, from the B.O.R.I., Poona. Saṃvat 1714 (A. D. 1657).

दे 5 = No. 19 of 1873-74, B. O. R. I., Poona. Saṃvat 1839 (A. D. 1782). स्वस्ति श्री महाराजाधिराजा । श्री श्री ५ रावल जी श्री मूलराजी व ( वा ? ) चनार्थ । श्री बीकानेरमध्ये ॥ (From the Post-Colophon).

दे 6 = MS Wilson 127, Bodleian Library, Oxford. (Only Bhuvana-Kośa Chapters collated).

दे 7 = E. 3584, India Office Library, London. *Saṃvat* 1862 (A. D. 1805).

दे 8 = E. 3585, India Office Library, London. (only *Bhuvana Kośa* Chapters collated).

दे 10 = Keith 6815, India Office Library, London. *Saṃvat* 1773, *Saka* 1639 (A. D. 1717), might be of earlier date, cf. संवत् १७ ॥ ७३ ॥ वर्षं शक्रे ॥ १६ ॥ ३०६ ॥ प्रवर्तमाने पौषसितद्वादश्यां भृगादि, काशीरामेणात्मपठनार्थं परोपकृतये च मूल्येन गृहीतमिदं वामनपुराणं ॥ ६ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ॥ (Post-Colophon).

दे 11 = No. 54/184, Sarasvati Bhaṇḍāra, Fort Ramnagar, Fairly written. Ślokas numbered.

### South Indian MSS

ते 1 = No. D. 2263, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Script Telugu. Incomplete, first 12 folios missing, extent from 6.47 to Adh. 94 of Venkt. edn.

दे 9 = No. 8B5 (Catalogue No.), (P. M. 2463), Adyar Library, Madras. Number of Adhs. 67, the last Adh. (67) corresponds with the last Adh. (95) of the Venkt. edn. *Granthas* 4750.

न 1 = Palm-leaf MS from the Śringerī Maṭha, Mysore (South India). Characters Nandī-nāgarī. Extent and number of the Adhyāyas like दे 9.

Besides these, some MSS have also been consulted and their readings and other details have been compared to some extent with the allied collated MSS; *viz.*,

MS No. 4418 of the Gujarāta Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad. It agrees with का 1 noted above.

MS G. 844-58-B. 8 (H. P. Sastri's catalogue, Vol. V, No. 3990). Characters modern Kāśmīrī. It generally agrees with का 2.

MS No. C-433, from the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Characters Nāgarī. It seems to be a transcript of some Telugu MS of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, and agrees with our ते 1; both these MSS Adhs. 84-88 of the Venkt. edn. are omitted,

Five Devanāgarī, MSS B. 1983/D. 10419-B. 1587/D. 10423, all belonging to the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore. The details of the last Adhyāyas of these MSS were kindly supplied by the Library. In extent of the text they (except D. 10420) generally agree with our दे 9 and न 1, as already noted before in Sec. A., and they name their last Adh. (= Adh. 95 of Venkt. edn.) as विष्णुपूज्ययोग्यवस्तुकथनं.

A recently acquired Telugu MS from the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, agrees, in extent and the name of the last Adh., with the above mentioned Tanjore MSS.

Vāmana-Purāna ślokas quoted in the various *Nibandhas* have also been collected, and ślokas and topics of the Vām.-P. have been traced in other Purānas and also in the Mahābhārata. This testimonia has also helped in settling some readings of the Vāmana-Purāna, but the main basis for the constitution of the text has been the evidence of the above noted manuscript material.

According to their general agreement in readings, omissions, additions etc. the above mentioned collated MSS have been arranged in the following Groups:—

Group I = Kashmirian Group : शौ 1 कारा. का 1.2.

(दे 5 also often agrees in readings with this Group).

Group II = Bengali Group : ब 1. 2. 3.

Group III = Devanāgarī MSS and the Telugu MS with which they generally agree : दे 1. 2. 3. 10. ते 1. (दे 10 sometimes agrees with GI.)

Group IV = दे 4. 7. 11. (These MSS sometimes agree with G II. दे 4. 7 often agree with each other. दे 11 sometimes agrees with दे 1 even in corruptions and mistakes.)

Group V = South Indian MSS other than the Telugu ते 1. दे 9. न 1.

In constituting the text one of the primary considerations has been that the constituted text should have at least some sense ; Nīla-Kanṭha in his Commentary of the Mbh. (III. 83) remarks, 'पाठक्रमादर्थक्रमो बलीयान्' and hence 'पाठादर्थो बलीयान्'. It should be

assumed that the ancient authors, compilers or the redactors of the Purāṇas composed, compiled and redacted the texts that must have had some sense, though the sense of some of these texts might have become obscure or vague during the course of their transmission owing to the corruptions or whimsical changes in such texts due to the scribal carelessness or ignorance.

Keeping this main consideration of a proper sense in view, the probably genuine or the oldest text has been constituted on the following principles :—

1. The evidence of the majority of the MSS, is generally accepted.

2. The evidence of the majority of the Groups or the Versions is accepted, even if the total number of MSS of these Groups or Versions may be in minority as compared to the number of the remaining MSS.

3. The reading common to the geographically distant Groups or Versions is preferred. E.g. :—

(1) In 'उत्तरेण कुरोवंपः' (13.5a) कुरवंपः is the reading in G I and G V only, but it has been adopted on account of the more geographical distance of these two Groups.

(2) In 'सतीमेनां' (21.18c) सती मेनां is the reading in G I and MS न 1. So it is adopted. Some MSS have सुतां for सती, which, however, seems to be an emended reading.

(3) In 'एष विघ्नसहस्राणि देवादीनां हनिष्यति' (54.73 cd) करिष्यति is the reading for हनिष्यति in G I and V, and it is also a more suitable reading here in this context. It is, therefore, adopted.

4. In constituting the text of a Śloka or a group of Ślokas, the readings of one Group or MS are, as far as possible, not mixed up with the reading of other Groups or MSS.

5. If the different Groups or MSS contain diverse readings in a text, then the evidence of that Group or MS is accepted which gives a correct or more suitable reading; e. g. in 57.91 all the Bengali Group only gives a correct reading, and so it is adopted. [See below 7. (5)].

Here it may be noted that the Kashmirian Group often gives a correct or more suitable reading. It also supplies some missing texts—[See below 16, (1), (2)]. The B.H. U. Śārādā MS No. 330188, referred to below, is dated Śaka 1444 (A. D. 1522), and is thus the oldest MS available till now. It agrees with our collated MS ३A1.

6. Sometimes a correct text is preserved only in one MS or in a very few MSS irrespective of the age of the MS or MSS; In that case, naturally, this text or reading is adopted. E. g. :—

(1) दृष्ट्याग्निना तथैवान्ये देवाद्याः प्रलयं गताः ॥ (5.9cd).

Here दृष्ट्या is the reading given in most of the MSS, which is clearly wrong and has no sense here. The correct reading दृष्ट्यग्निना is given in न 1 only, and it is also confirmed by the reading दृशोऽग्निना given in दे 4. So दृष्ट्यग्निना is adopted.

(2) युष्माकं चाप्रसादेन दुष्कृतेन च कर्मणा ॥

पक्षोऽयं वर्धतेऽस्माकं यतश्च ब्रह्मराक्षसाः । (40.34-35)

Here चाप्रसादेन is the reading given only in दे 7; all other MSS read च प्रसादेन which has no appropriate sense here, and seems to be an emended reading. In the Mbh. (cr. edn., IX. 42. 16a), too, चाप्रसादेन is the reading adopted, though it is marked by a wavy line.

(3) यत्र पूर्वं (वे ?) स्थितो ब्रह्मा दक्षिणे च महेश्वरः ॥

रुद्रपत्नी पश्चिमतः पद्मनाभोत्तरे स्थितः ।

मध्ये ह्यनरकं तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यस्यापि दुर्लभम् ॥ (41.22cd-23)

Here दक्षिणे is the reading in दे 7 only, all other MSS have ऋषीणां for दक्षिणे. But दक्षिणे is the correct reading here, for other three gods are associated with the remaining three directions. So the reading of दे 7 ( दक्षिणे ) is adopted. The reading ऋषीणां is unaccountable and has no sense in this context.<sup>10</sup>

(4) तामसस्य मनोः पुत्रो दन्तध्वज इति श्रुतः ।

स पुत्रार्थो जुहावाशौ स्वमांसं रुधिरं तथा ॥

10. See also A. 3. (1) of this article, and fn. 8 above.

अस्थीनि रत्नकेशांश्च स्नायुमजायकृद्घनम् ।

शुकं च चित्रको राजा (दन्तध्वजः) सुतार्थी चेति नः श्रुतम् ॥

(72.57-58)

Here चित्रको, चित्रशो, बिन्दुशो etc. are the readings given in all the MSS except न 1 which reads चित्रगौ (locative of चित्रगु which means चित्रभानु or अग्नि ; गो = भानु or रक्षि ). This reading ( चित्रगौ ) of न 1 seems to be the only correct reading here. So it is adopted.

7. If the reading of a certain MSS is confirmed by some preceding or following text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, then that reading is adopted inspite of the majority-evidence going against it. E. g. :—

(1) वसवोऽष्टौ हरं दृष्ट्वा ससुपुर्वेगतो मुने ।

सा तु जाता सरिच्छ्रेष्ठा सीता नाम सरस्वती ॥ (5. 2)

ससुपुः, ससुजुः etc. are the readings given in the majority of the MSS, but दे 9 gives the reading सुसुवुः which seems to be the only correct and proper reading here, as it is confirmed by the second half of this śloka itself.

(2) तद्भूतं (v l. भानुभी) राक्षसपुरं तन्नष्टं च यथेच्छया ॥ (15. 38 cd)

Here नष्टं is the reading in several MSS, (ब 1-3. दे 1. 2. 10), meaning that the city of Sukeśin was destroyed by the rays (भानुभिः) of the Sun ; but दृष्टं is the reading in several other MSS, which is confirmed by the next śloka (39) :—

स (पुरः) भानुना तदा दृष्टः क्रोधाध्मातेन चक्षुषा ।

निपपाताम्बराद् भ्रष्टः क्षीणपुण्य इव ग्रहः ॥ (15. 39)

Here the reading दृष्टः is given in all the MSS, and these readings दृष्टः and निपपात here refer to the city (पुरः) of Sukeśin, as is clear from the following ślokas 40, 43, 59, and 61 of this Adh. ; the word पुर has been used in masculine by MSS in 15. 8. So in the above text (15. 38 cd) the reading दृष्टं is more appropriate than नष्टं.

(3) ततो विनाकृता देवाः सेनानाथेन शंभुना ।

दानवेन्द्रेण विक्रम्य निशुम्भेन पराजिताः ॥ (21. 12)

.....

किं जिताः स्थ (स्था ?) सुरेन्द्रेण निशुम्भेन दुरात्मना । (15 ab)

.....

सा शंकरात् सतेजोशं जनयिष्यति यं सुतम् ।

स हनिष्यति दैत्येन्द्रं शुम्भं च सपदानुगम् ॥ (20)

Here in 21. 12d महिषेण is the reading for निशुम्भेन in several MSS; in 15 b some MSS read निशुम्भेन, some (दे 2. 4. ते 1) read शुम्भेन, but seven MSS of different versions read महिषेण; in 20 d महिषं is the reading for शुम्भं in most MSS. Between these two readings—निशुम्भ (or शुम्भ) and महिष—the reading महिष is, however, supported by 51. 7 c (पुत्रं महिषहन्तारं, all MSS) and 51. 18 d (महिषत्रो भविष्यति, all MSS) and also by Adh. 58 in which the battle between Skanda and Mahiṣa is narrated.

It seems that there were two different demons of the same name *Mahiṣa*, the one was the son of the demon Rambha from a *mahiṣī* or she-buffalo (cf. 17. 51 ff), who was the associate of the demons Śumbha, Niśumbha, Raktabija etc., and was killed by Goddess Kātyāyanī (cf. Adhs. 19-20; and 55. 1-18); while the other Mahiṣa was the brother of the demon Tāraka (cf. 58. 85), and an associate of the demons Andhaka, Tāraka, Bāna (Bali's son) etc. (58. 45ff.), who was killed by Skanda (58. 87ff.). The two *Mahiṣas* have been confused, and निशुम्भेन (or शुम्भेन) is the resultant wrong reading in Adh. 21; the scribes who substituted the wrong reading निशुम्भेन (or शुम्भेन) for the right reading महिषेण might have thought that because Mahiṣa had already been described in the previous Adh. (20) as killed by Kātyāyanī, he could not again possibly be mentioned in Adh. 21 as a participant in a later war with Skanda.

(4) वैशाखे च यदाऽष्टम्यां मङ्गलस्य दिनं भवेत् ॥

तदा स्नानं तत्र कृत्वा मुक्तो भवति पातकैः ॥ (41.24-25)

Here यदा षष्ठ्यां (for यदाऽष्टम्यां) is the reading in the Kashmirian MSS only; besides these, दे 1. 4. 11. also read यदा षष्ठी. The reading of the Kashmirian MSS (षष्ठ्यां for अष्टम्यां) is supported by the further text of 41.28 cd.—अन्यत्रापि यदा षष्ठी मङ्गलेन भविष्यति—

where षष्ठी is the reading in all the MSS. So षष्ठी is the correct reading.

(5) When Skanda was anointed by the gods as the General of their armies to fight with the demons Tāraka, Mahiṣa, etc., he was given various Gaṇa-s or attendants by the Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Parvatas such as Hīmavān and Vindhya, Sarasvatīs (i. e. Nadīs), Kuṭilā, Kṛttikā-s, Ṛṣis, and also by the Tīrthas such as Pṛthūdaka, Cakra-tīrtha, Gayāśiras, Kanakhala, Puṣkara, Mānasa and Auśanasa (vide 57. 60-91). Now 57.91ab reads as follows :—

रुद्रमौशनसः प्रादात् ततोऽन्यान् मातरो ददुः ।

Here अन्यान् is the reading in the Veṅkṭ. edn. and also in several MSS ; 91b then will mean, according to this reading, that 'the Mātṛ-s then (ततो), gave [to Skanda] the others (i. e. the other Gaṇa-s) ; or 'the Mātṛ-s gave [to Skanda] others than these (ततोऽन्यान्)'. In the Kashmirian MSS and in दे 4. न 1 the reading is 'ततो मातरो ददुः' where अन्या (= अन्याः) seems to be corrupt and has no clear sense in this context. In the Bengali MSS ब 1-3, however, we have the reading 'ततोऽन्ये मातरो ददुः', which means—'then the others (i. e. the other Tīrthas) gave [to Skanda] the Mātṛ-s<sup>11</sup> or the female attendants. The following text (57.91 ed.-102ab), in which the other Tīrthas such as Soma-tīrtha, Prabhāsa, Indra-tīrtha, Udapāna, Sapta-sārasvata, Nāga-tīrtha, Kurukṣetra etc. are mentioned as giving various Mātṛ-s (female attendants) to Skanda, supports this reading of the Bengali MSS.

Hence the reading of the ब MSS only—'ततोऽन्ये मातरो ददुः'—is correct and appropriate here.

(6) At the time of the departure of Skanda to fight with Mahiṣa and other demons, Hari pronounced *svastyayana* (benediction)

11. The word 'मातरो' here is an object of the verb 'ददुः', the nominative form (*Prathamā*) has been used here in 'मातरो' for the accusative form (*Dvitiyā*). For further discussion and illustration see fn. 2 below.



on him for his well-being and victory (58. 14-25). Śloka 18 of this *svastyayana* runs as follows :—

मरीचिरत्रिः पुलहः पुलस्त्यः ऋतुर्वसिष्ठो भृगुरङ्गिराश्च ।

मृगाङ्कजस्ते कृस्ताद्विमङ्गलं महर्षयः सप्त दिवि स्थिताश्च ये ॥ (58.18)

Here in 18c 'मृकण्डुजः' is the reading for 'मृगाङ्कजः' in the Kashmirian MSS. Now 'मृगाङ्कजः' means the planet Mercury (बुध) as he is regarded the son of Mrgāṅka or the moon. But the name of a planet is out of place here among the names of the Ṛṣis. Moreover, in this context, the planet Mercury or Budha has already been mentioned earlier in Śl. 17 as follows :—

दिवाकरः स्वस्तिकरोऽस्तु ते सदा सोमः सभौमः सबुधो गुरुश्च ।

काव्यः सदा स्वस्तिकरोऽस्तु तुभ्यं शनैश्चरः स्वस्त्ययनं करोतु ॥

Budha (मृगाङ्कज), therefore, cannot again be repeated here. So 'मृकण्डुजः' (Sage Mārkaṇḍeya), the reading of the Kashmirian MSS, is more appropriate here.

8. When the reading of a MS or of several MSS is also supported by some external source or testimonia, then that reading is adopted. E.g. :—

(1) नमो नमस्तेऽच्युत चक्रपाणे नमोऽस्तु ते वामनमीनमूर्त्ते । (3.22ab)

Hara praises Viṣṇu in 3.14-23. In 3.22ab as quoted above वामनमीनमूर्त्तं (न 1), माधवमीनमूर्त्तं (दे 9), and माधवमीनमूर्त्ते (का 2 ब 1-2 दे 4) are the variants for वामनमीनमूर्त्ते. The reading माधवमीनमूर्त्ते, however, is supported by the Nāradiya Purāṇa also as follows :—

श्वेतगङ्गां नरः स्नात्वा यः पश्येच्छ्वेतमाधवम् ।

मत्स्याख्यं माधवं चैव श्वेतद्वीपं स गच्छति ॥13

श्वेतमाधवमालोक्य समीपे मत्स्यमाधवम् ॥14ab

...

...

...

...

आधाय तरुणं रूपं माधवं मत्स्यमाधवम् ।

प्रणम्य प्रयतो भूत्वा सर्वान् कष्टान् विमुञ्चति ॥16

(NP., II. 56)

So this reading माधवमीनमूर्त्ते is preferred to the other readings, and is, therefore, adopted.

- (2) वीरभद्राय चिक्षेप चक्रं क्रोधात् खगध्वजः ॥  
 तमापतन्तं शतसूर्यकरूपं सुदर्शनं प्रेक्ष्य गरुश्वरस्तु ।  
 शूलं परित्यज्य जगार चक्रं यथा मधुं मीनवपुः सुरेन्द्रः ॥(4.48cd-49)

Here in the MSS शा 1 कारा. का 1 'यथा मयो वीर (घोर, कारा.) वपुः सुरेन्द्रम्' is the variant for 'यथा मधुं मीनवपुः सुरेन्द्रः'. But these are the two contradictory readings. The reading 'यथा मधुं मीनवपुः सुरेन्द्रः' however, has some support in the Skanda Purāṇa (V. iii. 9. 36-38) as follows :—

स विवेश महाराज भूतलं ससुरोत्तमः ।  
 दानवान्तकरो देवः सर्वदैवतपूजितः ॥36  
 मीनरूपधरो देवो लोडयामास चार्णवम् ।  
 वेदांश्च ददृशे तत्र पाताले निहितान् प्रभुः ॥  
 तौ च दैत्यौ महावीर्यौ दृष्टवान् मधुसूदनः ।  
 महावेगौ महाबाहू सूदयामास तेजसा ॥  
 (तौ च दैत्यौ = मधुकैटभौ ; cf. *ibid* 33 cd).

But no source has yet been available in support of the reading 'यथा मयो वीरवपुः सुरेन्द्रम्'.

- (3) नागदन्तास्थिशृङ्गाणां तत्क्षणाच्छुद्धिरिष्यते । (14.64ab)

Chapter 14 of the Vām.-P. deals with the ways and means of purifying various articles of daily use. This *Dharmaśāstra* topic is also included in several other Purāṇas, such as the Mārkaṇḍeya and the Vāyu. In the above half śloka the purification of ivory, bone and horn is mentioned. Here तत्क्षणात् is the reading in most of the MSS of the Vām. P. and in the two MSS of the Mārkaṇḍeya also, which have been collated up till now. This reading, however, carries no sense, for it only means that these articles are purified *immediately*. But two MSS ब 2.3 read तक्षणात्, meaning there by that these articles are purified by scratching or abrading; (✓ तक्ष). This reading तक्षणात् is confirmed by the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti, Ācārādhyāya, Śl 185—'तक्षणं दारुशृङ्गास्थानां' and the *Mitākṣarā* explains it as 'तक्षणं तावन्मात्रावयवापनयनम्'. The Vāyu-Purāṇa (78.52) makes this reading certain by using the synonym अवलेखनम् for तक्षण—'तथा चर्मास्थिदारुणां शृङ्गाणां चावलेखनम्'.

Thus the reading तक्षणात् is proved to be a correct one, and is, therefore, adopted inspite of the majority MSS evidence going against it. In fact, 'तत्क्षणात्' seems to be a wrong emendation of the *lactio difficilior* 'तक्षणात्'

(4) In 13.25 of the Vāmana-Purāṇa the names and the positions of the nine divisions or *Varṣa-s* of Jambu-Dvīpa are given. The nine *Varṣa-s* of the Jambu-Dvīpa are:— 1. Ilāvṛta, 2. Bhadrāśva, 3. Hiraṇvān, 4. Kimpuruṣa, 5. Bhārata, 6. Hiraivarṣa, 7. Ketumāla, 8. Ramyaka, and 9. Kuru-varṣa.

Now in the MSS of the Vām.-P. a confusion exists between the positions of the two *Varṣa-s*, viz. Hiraṇvān and Kimpuruṣa. The text of the Venkṭ. edn. is as follows:—

पूर्वदक्षिणतो वर्षो हिरण्मान् राक्षसेश्वर । 11 (13. 3cd)

पूर्वमुत्तरतो रम्यो वर्षः किंपुरुषः स्मृतः ॥ (13. 5cd)

[v. 7. -3c) to be given and discussed below. -3d) हिरण्मान् (most MSS), हिरण्यो (G I or Kashmirian MSS) for हिरण्मान्. -3e) पूर्व उत्तरतो (G III or दे 1. 2. 3. 10. ते 1), पूर्वोत्तरे (G V or the two South-Indian MSS), उत्तरपूर्वतो (व 1. 2) for पूर्वमुत्तरतो.]

In 3c, only the two MSS दे 4. 7 read पूर्व उत्तरतो वर्षो (दे 4 पूर्व-उत्तरतश्चापि) for पूर्वदक्षिणतो वर्षो, all the remaining MSS have the same text as that of the Venkṭ given above. In 5cd one MS कारा. gives somewhat defferent reading as 'भारतादुत्तरे वर्ष किंपौरुषं मनोरमम्', and the ten MSS (शा 1. का 1. 2 व 3 दे 4—8. 11) omit 5cd altogether, so that the text containing the name and position of Kimpuruṣa-Varṣa is missing in these ten MSS, except in दे 4 which gives after 3cd an additional half-śloka—'पूर्वदक्षिणतश्चापि किंनरो वर्ष उच्यते ।'

So, according to these readings the positions of the two *Varṣa-s* may be summed up as follows:—

*Hiraṇvān (or Hiraṇya) Varṣa:*

Situated { in East-South (according to all MSS except दे 4. 7)  
in East-North (according to दे 4. 7 only).

*Kim̐puruṣa (or Kim̐nara) Varṣa :*

Situated { in East-North (or North-East) (Most MSS)  
 in East-South (according to दे 4 only)  
 to the North of Bhārata (कारा. only).

Thus, there is the confusion between the positions of these two *Varṣa-s*. In order to ascertain their right positions and then to decide the correct reading we have to depend on the evidence of the other Purāṇas. Several Purāṇas contain the chapters on the *Bhugola* or *Bhuvana-Kośa*, and in those chapters the position of each of the nine *Varṣa-s* of Jambu-dvīpa is also given<sup>12</sup>.

The right position of each of these two *Varṣa-s*—Hiraṇvān and Kim̐puruṣa—can be ascertained only when studied in relation to the different positions of the other *Varṣa-s* also. Fortunately, the Purāṇas, containing the *Bhuvana-kośa* chapters, are almost unanimous as regards the position of the nine *Varṣa-s* of Jambu-dvīpa. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (II. 1. 15-32; 2. 11-15) gives the following account of these nine *Varṣa-s* :—

“The first ruler of Jambu-dvīpa was Āgnīdhra, who was the son of Priyavrata and grandson of Manu Svāyambhuva. Āgnīdhra had nine sons, *viz.* 1. Nābhi, 2. Kim̐puruṣa, 3. Harivarṣa, 4. Ilāvṛta, 5. Ramya, 6. Hiraṇvān, 7. Kuru, 8. Bhadrāśva and 9. Ketumāla. There were also the nine Divisions or *Varṣa-s* of Jambu-dvīpa which were known by the names of their *Varṣa-parvatas*, i. e. the *Parvata-s* or Mountains which separated these nine *Varṣa-s* from each other. Āgnīdhra gave each of these nine *Varṣa-s* to each of his nine sons as follows :—

1. *Hima-Varṣa* (i. e. the *Varṣa* containing the Himavān mountain) to Nābhī, whose grandson was Bharata, after whose name this *Varṣa* began to be known as *Bhārata-Varṣa*. ;
2. *Hemakūṭa-Varṣa* to Kim̐puruṣa, and so this *Varṣa* was also known as *Kim̐puruṣa-Varṣa* ;
3. *Naiśadha-Varṣa* (i. e. the *Varṣa* containing the . Niśadha *Varṣa-Parvata*) to Harivarṣa, and so it was also known as *Harivarṣa-Varṣa* ;

12. For the references to *Bhuvana-Kośa* chapters of the Purāṇas and the position of the nine *Varṣa-s* of Jambu-Dvīpa see *Appendix*.

4. The Varṣa containing the Meru in the middle was given to Ilāvṛta, and hence it was known as *Ilāvṛta-Varṣa*.
5. The Varṣa containing the *Nīla* Varṣa-parvata was given to Rāmya, and was known as *Rāmyaka-Varṣa*.
6. *Śveta-Varṣa* (containing the Śveta Varṣa-parvata) was given to Hiraṇvān, and hence was also known as *Hiraṇvān*-or *Hiraṇmaya-Varṣa* ;
7. The Varṣa situated in the North of the *Śṛiṅgavān Varṣa-Parvata* was given to Kuru, and hence was known as *Kuru-Varṣa* or *Uttara-Kuru-s* ;
8. The Varṣa situated *to the East of the Meru* was given to Bhadrāśva, and hence was known as *Bhadrāśva-Varṣa* ;
9. The *Gandhamādana-Varṣa* (situated *to the West of the Meru*) was given to Ketumāla and hence was known as *Ketumāla-Varṣa*."

It is now clear that *Kimpurusa-Varṣa* contains the *Hemakūṭa* Varṣa-parvata, and is, therefore, associated with it. Similarly, *Hiraṇvān-Varṣa* contains the *Śveta* Varṣa-parvata and is, therefore, associated with it. The same account of these Varṣas and Varṣa-parvatas are given by the other Purāṇas also which contain the Bhuvanakośa chapters.

Now the positions of the *Varṣa-parvatas* are mentioned in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa as follows :—

हिमवान् हेमकूटश्च निषधश्चास्य दक्षिणे ।

नीलः श्वेतश्च शृङ्गी च उत्तरे वर्षपर्वताः ॥ (II. 2. 10)

( अस्य = मेरोः ; *ibid.* śl. 7-9).

The Garuḍa Purāṇa (54.8) also mentions the same positions of these Varṣa-parvatas, and in the same words as the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Other Purāṇas also corroborate these positions.

So *Kimpurusa-Varṣa* which is associated with the Hemakūṭa is situated to the *South of Meru*, or to the *South East* (East-South) as given in the MS. ३ 4 of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. And similarly, *Hiraṇvān-Varṣa* (v.l. *Hiraṇmaya-Varṣa*, Viṣṇu P. II.2.13 ; *Hiraṇya-Varṣa*, Kashmirian MSS of the Vāmana-Purāṇa), is situated to

the *North of the Meru*, or to the *North-East* as given in the two MSS दे 4. 7.

Thus, the reading of दे 4.7 is correct as regards the position of Hiraṇvān-Varṣa; similarly the reading of दे 4 is correct regarding the position of Kimpuruṣa-Varṣa.

According to the readings of दे 4. 7 (for the position of Hiraṇvat or Hiraṇya Varṣa), and the reading of दे 4 (for the position of Kinnara or Kimpuruṣa Varṣa) the positions of these nine Varṣas of Jambū-Dvīpa in the order of the Directions from the Meru, then, would be as follows :

1. In the Middle (of the Jambū Dvīpa)—Ilāvṛta-Varṣa (with the Meru)<sup>13</sup>;
2. In the East (of the Meru)—Bhadraśva-Varṣa (with the Mālyavat)<sup>14</sup>;
3. In the East-North—Hiraṇvat-Varṣa (with the Śveta-Varṣa Parvata) ;
4. In the East-South — Kimpuruṣa-Varṣa (with the Hemakūṭa) ;
5. In the South—Bhārata-Varṣa (with the Himavat) ;
6. In the South-West—Harivarṣa-Varṣa (with the Niṣadha)
7. In the West—Ketumāla-Varṣa (with the Gandhamādana)<sup>15</sup>;
8. In the West-North—Ramyaka-Varṣa (with the Nīla) ;
9. In the North—Kuru-Varṣa (also called Uttarāḥ

13. The Varṣa-Parvatas as associated separately with each Varṣa are given here within brackets, and according to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (II. 1. 18-23, 32), Garuḍa-Purāṇa (54. 6-8) etc. The Vāmana-Purāṇa however, does not mention in this connection the Meru and the other Varṣa-Parvatas.

14-15. For the association of the Mālyavat and the Gandhamādana mountains respectively with Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla cf. Vāyu. P. (33. 44-45) :—

वर्षं माल्यवतं चापि भद्राश्वाय न्यवेदयत् ।

गन्धमादनवर्षं तु केतुमाले न्यवेदयत् ॥

Kuravaḥ<sup>16</sup> according to the Viṣṇu and some other Purāṇas) (with Śṛṅgavat).

Thus, according to the reading of दे 4. the description of the positions of these nine Varṣa-s ends with the North, as in the other Purāṇas. Those MSS of the Vām-P. (including दे 7) which omit the mention of Kimnara-Varṣa, also end this description with the North. But in the MSS which mention Kimnara-Varṣa as situated in the North-East this description ends with the North-East and not with the North.

The readings of दे 4. 7 regarding the position of Hiraṇvat-Varṣa and of दे 4 regarding the position of Kimnara or Kimpuruṣa-Varṣa are, therefore, correct, while the readings of the remaining MSS for the position of these two Varṣa-s—mentioning Hiraṇvat as situated in the East-South and Kimpuruṣa in the North-East—are not corroborated by the other Purāṇas.<sup>17</sup>

9. Sometimes an originally correct reading becomes corrupt during transmission, and then later on this corrupt reading is also wrongly emended; or the correct reading itself, if it happens to be a *lacio difficilior*, is wrongly emended. In that case the original correct reading is settled (a) by the help of some other

16. Cf., for example, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, II. 2, 14—'उत्तराः कुरवश्चैव यथा वै भारतं तथा.'

17. The Garuḍa-Purāṇa, however, gives the following positions of these two Varṣa-s:—

पूर्वदक्षिणतो वर्षो हिरण्वान् वृषभध्वज ॥

ततः किं पुरुषो वर्षो मेरोदक्षिणतः स्मृतः

भारतो दक्षिणे प्रोक्तो हरिदक्षिणपश्चिमे ॥ (G.P., 55.1-2)

The Garuḍa Purāṇa text (55. 1 cd) for the position of 'हिरण्वान्' Varṣa tallies with the text of the majority of the Vāmana-Purāṇa MSS. But this text of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa is wrong, for, the position of the श्वेत Varṣa-Parvata with which the Garuḍa Purāṇa associates हिरण्वान् (in 54. 11) is given in the north of the Meru in the GP itself (54. 8 cf): 'नीलः श्वेतश्च शृङ्गी च उत्तरे वर्षपर्वताः'. The position of the 'किंपुरुष' Varṣa is given in the South, which nearly agrees with the reading of दे 4 of the Vam. P. in this respect.

preceding or following ślokas, or (b) by the help of some other external evidence, or (c) by the context and sense. E.g. :—

(1) आरुह्य बलभीं तास्तु समुदैक्षन्त सर्वशः ॥ (65.115cd)

Here 'बलभीं' is the reading in several MSS; in some MSS, however, the *Anusvāra* has disappeared and the reading, therefore, has become 'बलभीतास्तु' which has been emended in some other MSS, however, as 'बहुभीतास्तु'. But cf. Śl. 119—

इत्येवमुक्त्वा वचनं बलभ्या अवतीर्य च ।

समासन्ताऽग्रतः शम्भोर्गायन्ती गीतकाञ्छुभान् ॥ (65.119)

The reading 'बलभीं तास्तु' in 115c is, therefore, confirmed, and the other readings 'बलभीतास्तु', बहुभीतास्तु are corrupt or wrongly emended.

(2) शातद्रवा ललित्याश्च पारावतसमूषकाः (13.39 ab)

These are the peoples or Janapadas of the Uttarāpatha. In the Kashmirian MSS we have the reading 'शीतद्रवाः' for 'शातद्रवाः'. But in the Märk.-P. (57.37a) the reading is 'शतद्रुजाः'. So, in 39a above 'शातद्रवाः' ( शतद्रु+अण् ) is the correct reading ; 'शीतद्रवाः' is a wrong emendation and is, therefore, corrupt.

(3) ततः सीतावनं गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशनः ॥ (35.44 cd)

The Venkṭ. reading 'सीतावनं' is contained in दे 1.2. ते 1 also, but in some MSS the reading is 'सीतवनं' and in some other MSS ( दे 47) it is 'शीतवनं'. It is clear here that the reading 'सीतावनं' got corrupted as 'सीतवनं' and then again this latter reading was emended as 'शीतवनं'.

Or, reverse may be the case. The original reading might have been the 'शीतवनं', which was corrupted as 'सीतवनं', and then 'सीतवनं' was emended as 'सीतावनं'. In the cri. edn. of the Mbh. (III. 81. .) we have also the reading 'शीतवनं'. The Venkṭ. edn. in 34.5 cd also reads 'पुण्यं शीतवनं नाम सर्वकल्मषनाशनम्'. This reading 'शीतवनं' here (in 34.5 cd of the Venkṭ. edn.) is contained in शा 1. चा 1.2. दे 4.10 also, but दे 2.3 read 'सीतवनं' and दे 1.7.11 read सीतावनं.



Several MSS of the Vām.-P. viz. शा 1 का 1.2 दे 1.5.11, read in 35.44c 'शिववनं' for 'सीतावनं'. But the reading 'शिववनं' is not found in the MSS of the Mbh.

- (4) पूर्वं गयेन क्षितिपेन यत्र इष्टोऽश्वमेधः शतशः सुदक्षिणः ।  
मनुष्यमेधोऽपि सहस्रकृत्वस्तथा पुरा दुर्जयनः सुरारिभिः ॥ (76.15)

Here 'नरेन्द्रसूयः' (= राजसूयः ) is the reading in दे 11 and ब 3 for 'मनुष्यमेधः', which gets corrupted or wrongly emended as 'नरेन्द्रसूयः' (in Kashmirian MSS and दे 5), and 'नरेन्द्रसूनुः'. etc.

- (5) हनौ पुनर्वंसुश्रोक्तो नासा मैत्रमुदाहृतम् ॥ (80.7 cd)

Here the मैत्र *Nakṣatra* is mentioned as the nose of the *Nakṣatra-Puruṣa* Viṣṇu. Mitra is the lord of the constellation Anurādhā ; so here Anurādhā has been supposed as the nose of the Nakṣatra-Puruṣa. It is the reading in several MSS also. But 80.5a reads as 'ऊह ( उरः ? ) संस्था चानुराधा' and again in 80.17 c we have 'अनुराधासु वक्षोऽथ' and in the Matsya-P. also 'अनुराधासु उग्रप्रलमेव पूज्यम्' (Adh. 54). So the reading 'मैत्र' above is wrong. But in some MSS we have the reading 'पैत्र' for 'मैत्र'. *Pitr*-s are the lords of the constellation Maghā, and in 80.24 a we have 'मघासु नासिका पूज्या'. So the constellation *Maghā* is the nose of the Nakṣatra-Puruṣa, and 'पैत्र' is the correct reading in 83.7 d above, which was easily corrupted paleographically as 'मैत्र'.

10. Older or less familiar readings are preferred. E. g. :—

- (1) त्रैलोक्यराज्यमाच्छिद्य बलेरिन्द्राय यो ददौ (1.1)

Here 'आच्छिद्य' is the reading in the MSS of G III and GV, 'आकृष्य' in the MSS of the Kashmirian group and आक्षिप्य' is the reading in का 2. दे 4.5.7. The reading 'आक्षिप्य' in the sense of 'taking off' or 'taking away' seems to be older or less familiar than आच्छिद्य or आकृष्य ; Monier Williams refers the use of आक्षिप् in this sense to Mahābhārata. So this reading आक्षिप्य is preferred here.

- (2) ब्रह्महत्याऽस्मि संप्राप्ता मां प्रतीच्छ त्रिलोचन ॥ (4.4 cd)

Here in 4c 'ब्रह्मवध्या' is a variant in Several MSS. This

reading is preferred to 'ब्रह्महत्या' which is a more familiar reading, compare also :

दुस्तरा परवध्याऽपि स्ववध्याऽप्यतिदुस्तरा ॥ (17.49 cd)

Where all the MSS read परवध्या and स्ववध्या.

(3) 'नाभिस्थानं शुभाकारं' (1.99 a)

Here the reading 'नाभिस्थानं' is contained in दे 1-4. 9. 10 also. But the MSS शा 1. का 1. 2. ब 1. 2. दे 1 read 'नाहस्थानं' (meaning the place where the lower garment is tied from (√नह्). The reading 'नाहस्थानं' being less familiar, besides being contained in different versions, is, therefore, preferable.

11. *Grammatical aberrations* abound in the Epics and the Purāṇas. They are sometimes due to their archaism, sometimes to the influence of Prākṛta, but mostly they are due to some metrical exigencies, for, grammatical correctness has often been sacrificed for the correctness of metre. But such grammatical aberrations are often found changed to their regular Pāṇinian forms in several MSS; and sometimes they are even wrongly emended in some other MSS; *hiatus* between two vowels is also generally removed by the insertion of such particles as तु, च, हि etc.; similarly, cases of *double-sandhi-s* are found emended by change of construction or in some other ways.<sup>18</sup> *Hiatus*, *double sandhi-s* and other *grammatical aberrations* are, therefore, older than such emendations.

In the constitution of the text, therefore, *hiatus* should be preferred to *vowel-sandhi-s* or to the insertion of particles (तु, च, हि etc.), and the irregular *double-sandhi-s* to the regular Pāṇinian *Sandhi-s*; similarly, other grammatical aberrations, if not proved to be the scribal mistakes, should be preferred to their regular Pāṇinian forms. E. g. :—

(1) *Hiatus* :

तैर्विमिश्रा जनपदा म्लेच्छाश्चायाश्च भागशः ॥ (13.19 cd)

18. For the detailed discussion of hiatus, double *Sandhi-s* and other grammatical aberrations see my article 'पुराणेष्वपानिनीयप्रयोगाः' in *Purāṇa*, IV. 2 (July, 1962), pp. 277-296.

The Venkṭ-reading 'म्लेच्छाश्चायश्च' is also contained in some of the MSS, but some MSS have the reading 'म्लेच्छा चायश्च'; while the MS दे 4 reads 'म्लेच्छा आयाश्च'. Now it is clear that this reading of दे 4 containing the *hiatus* must be the original one, for an attempt seems to be made later on to remove the hiatus by inserting the particle 'च', and thus the reading 'म्लेच्छा आयाश्च' became 'म्लेच्छा चायश्च'. But this emended reading 'म्लेच्छा चायश्च' is wrong according to the rules of the *Sandhi*-s, so it was further emended to become 'म्लेच्छाश्चायश्च'.

Thus म्लेच्छा आयाश्च > म्लेच्छा चायश्च > म्लेच्छाश्चायश्च must have been the process. Hence the original reading was 'म्लेच्छा आयाश्च', which contained the *hiatus*, although the *sandhi* was regular according to the grammatical rules of Pāṇini.

(2) *Double-Sandhi* :

जलोपरि महीयं हि नौरिवास्ते सरिज्जले ।

तस्योपरि च देवेशो ब्रह्मा शैलेन्द्रमुत्तमम् ॥

कर्णिकाकारमत्युच्चं स्थापयामास सत्तमः । (11.31-32 ab)

The reading in दे 4 is 'तस्या (मह्याः) उपरि', while in दे 7 it is 'तस्यामुपरि' for 'तस्योपरि' in 31 c. Both these readings are the results of a later attempt to emend the *double-sandhi* existing in 'तस्योपरि' which is the reading in most of the MSS also. This reading can be analysed as follows :

तस्योपरि < तस्या उपरि < तस्याः उपरि.

Thus, the reading 'तस्योपरि' containing a *double-sandhi* in तस्या उपरि is older and is therefore preferable. The reading 'तस्योपरि' is probably due to the metrical exigency.

(3) *Grammatical aberrations* (other than those of *sandhi*-s) :

(a) *Linga-vyatyaya* (Reversion of gender) :

(i) ततो गतायां शरदि प्रबुद्धे चैव केशवे । (2.7 ab)

All the MSS here read 'व्यतीते शरदि' for 'गतायां शरदि'. The word 'शरद्' (Autumn) in Sanskrit is feminine, so the reading

'व्यतीते शरदि' in masculine is a case of *liṅga-vyatyaya*, and may be original or older reading.

(ii) 'व्रजत्सु योषित्सु चतुष्पथेषु' (3.32a)

Here 'व्रजत्सु' is also a case of *liṅga-vyatyaya*, which is perhaps resorted to owing to the *anuprāsa* in the combination 'व्रजत्सु योषित्सु' दे 4.7 emend it as 'यान्तीषु योषित्सु'.

(iii) स एष नूनं तपतां वरिष्ठ ऋतध्वजो नात्र विचारणास्ति ॥ 65.117 cd)

The reading in most of the MSS and in the majority of the versions is 'विचारमस्ति' for 'विचारणास्ति'. The word 'विचार' (masculine) is used here as neuter, and so is emended as 'विचारणा'. The reading 'विचारमस्ति' is therefore, preferable.

(iv) 'पञ्चमं मुखमब्रवीत्' (2. 32d)

Here most of the MSS read 'पञ्चमोऽय मुखोऽब्रवीत्', which is preferable.

(b) *Vacana-vyatyaya* (Reversion of number)

मयापूर्वं मयापूर्वं विवदन्तौ परस्परम् ।

अगम्योच्चुर्महेषाय ब्रह्मणे माधवाय च ॥ (58.106)

The reading 'ऊचुः' in plural is used here for the two persons (Indra and Skanda) as the reading 'विवदन्तौ' shows. It is given in most of the MSS. The reading 'ऊचुः' here is due to the metrical exigency only and is preferable.

(c) *Vibhakti-vyatyaya* (Reversion of case)

(i) दृषद्वत्यां नरः स्नात्वा तर्पयित्वा च देवताः ।

अग्निष्टोमातिरात्रस्य फलं विन्दति मानवः ॥ (36.48)

The reading in many MSS is 'अग्निष्टोमातिरात्राभ्यां' in 48 c, in which *trītyā* or *caturthī* (instrumental or dative) has been used for the *ṣaṣṭhī* (or the genitive case). This reading is also similar to and thus corroborated by Mbh. III. 81.73. Compare also :—

ततः पारिप्लवं गच्छेत् तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् ।

अग्निष्टोमातिरात्राभ्यां फलं प्राप्नोति भारत ॥ (Mbh. III. 81.10)

Compare also the following śloka of the Mbh :—

गमनादेव राजेन्द्र दीर्घसत्रमरिदम ।

राजसूयाश्वमेधाभ्यां फलं प्राप्नोति भारत ॥ (III. 80.117)

Here also *trīṭyā* or *caturthī* has been used for *ṣaṣṭhī*, as is indicated by the following text of the Mbh :—

गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुद्वह ।

फलं प्राप्नोति च तदा राजसूयाश्वमेधयोः ॥ (III. 81. 6 v. 1.)

Here, we have the usual *ṣaṣṭhī* in 6 d.

(ii) शक्रस्याहृत्य च गजं याम्यं च महिषं बलात् ॥ (55. 13 cd)

Here most of the MSS read as :—

शक्रस्याहृत्य (v. 1. °कृष्य) च गजो याम्यश्च महिषो बलात् ।

where *prathamā* (nominative) has been used for *dvitīyā* (accusative), which is perhaps due to the influence of Prakṛta in which the forms of nominative and accusative are generally the same; e. g. compare the reading 'निधयः संदिदेश सः' (78.36 a) which is given in most of the MSS.<sup>19</sup>

(iii) 'जग्मुर्दृष्ट्वा रथेभ्यस्ते' (65. 106 a)

Here, all the MSS except दे 7.9 give the above reading in which *caturthī* (dative) has been used for *trīṭyā* (instrumental) as is clear by the reading 'रथेस्ते हि' given in दे 7.9. This reading of दे 7.9 is an emendation of the reading *rथेभ्यस्*.

(iv) ततः शकुनिना पाणिगृहीतो यक्षकन्यया ॥ (65. 162 cd)

*yakṣakanyayā* is also the reading in most of the MSS. Here *trīṭyā* is used for *ṣaṣṭhī*. This reading is also due to the metrical exigency.

(d) *Other Grammatical Aberrations* :

(i) 'सास्य मां प्राह किं कुर्मो' (55.38 a)

The reading in many MSS and versions ( दे 1. 3, 10. ब 1-3, न 1) is 'कुर्मि' for 'कुर्मो'; in शा 1. का 1. 2 and दे 4 the reading is करोमि, while in दे 7 it is 'कुर्या'. The reading 'कुर्मि' is older or archaic, and is, therefore, preferable to the other readings which are perhaps its emendations.

(ii) 'हसन्ती सुरथं प्राह' (65. 116c)

The readings in many MSS is 'सुरथं हसती प्राह' which contains a grammatical aberration in 'हसती' (= हसन्ती). This reading is due

19. For further illustrations see *Appendix*.

to the metrical exigency ; i. e. for avoiding a long 5th syllable in this *pāda* of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, which should always be short according to the metrical rules ('पञ्चमं लघु सर्वत्र'). It has been emended by changing the construction as 'हसन्ती सुरथं प्राह'.

(iii) पूर्वं गयेन क्षितिपेन यत्र इष्टोऽश्वमेधः शतशः सुदक्षिणः । (76. 15ab)

The reading 'इष्टो' is contained in several MSS also, but 'यष्टो' is the reading in the majority of the Groups—in दे 5. 7. 11. शा 1. का 1. 2. ब 1. 3. न 1. How the reading 'यष्टो' occurs in so many MSS and versions is not certain. Is the reading 'इष्टः' an emended form of 'यष्टो', or is 'यष्टो' a corrupt form of 'इष्टो' or is the reading 'यष्टो' adopted for avoiding the *haitus* in 'यत्र इष्टो' ?

(iv) कृताञ्जलिपुटो भूत्वा हरः स्तोत्रमुदीरयत् ॥ (3. 13).

Here 'हरः स्तोत्रमुदीरयत्' is the reading in the majority of the MSS. The reading 'उदीरयत्' is grammatically irregular. According to the rule of the Pāṇini-grammar it should have the *āgama* आद् and the form should be then उदीरयत् as given in the reading of the Venkt, and some of the MSS. But the reading 'उदीरयत्' being irregular and also being contained in the majority of the MSS is older, and 'उदीरयत्' is an emended reading.

Readings having grammatical aberrations occur in large number in the Vāmana-Purāṇa as in the Epics and the other Purāṇas. The above are only a few illustrations to show how such older irregular uses were being regularised in the MSS by the scribes or the readers.

12. Sometimes some MSS, and even the majority of MSS, contain grammatically wrong readings which are generally due to the ignorance of the scribes, and, therefore, are not really old grammatical aberrations or archaic forms. Such grammatically incorrect readings are adopted in their grammatically correct forms. E. g. :—

(1) धनिष्ठार्धं शतभिषा प्रोष्ठपादांशकत्रयम् । (5. 41ab)

The reading प्रोष्ठपाद meaning here the प्रोष्ठपदा (or भाद्रपदा) Nakṣata is wrong. According to the rule of Pāṇini 'जि प्रोष्ठपदानाम्' (VII. 3. 18)

the *vrddhi* in the *uttara-pada* (second member of the compound 'प्रौष्ठपद') is correct only when the word 'प्रौष्ठपद' means 'born under the Nakṣatra प्रौष्ठपद. So in the sense of the Nakṣatra प्रौष्ठपद (or प्रौष्ठपद and also प्रौष्ठपद्य, if we add अण् or ष्यञ् here in *svārtha*) प्रौष्ठपद is the only correct form. MSS give here various readings such as प्रौष्ठपद्य, प्रौष्ठपद्य, प्रौष्ठपद (दे 10 only). प्रौष्ठपाद, प्रौष्ठपाद. Out of these readings the correct reading 'प्रौष्ठपद' is acceptable.

(2) ब्रह्मचर्यं सदा सत्यं जपं ज्ञानं च राक्षस ।  
नियमो धर्मवेदित्वमार्षो धर्मः प्रचक्षते ॥ (11. 22)

Here 'प्रचक्षते' is the reading in almost all the MSS also. But it is grammatically wrong ; the correct form should be in passive as 'प्रचक्ष्यते'. This correct reading 'प्रचक्ष्यते' is given only in two MSS दे 1. 10. The correct form 'प्रचक्ष्यते' is adopted.

(3) According to the rule an अनुस्वार when occurring in the middle of a *pada* should invariably be changed into the परसवर्ण, but in most of the MSS, except the Śāradā MSS, अनुस्वार is not changed into the परसवर्ण. Similarly according to the *Sūtra-s* 'रपाभ्यां नो णःसमानपदे' (VIII. 4.1) etc. ञ् should be changed to ण्, and according to the *Sūtra-s* (VIII. 3.57 etc) स् should be changed to ष्. But in the MSS owing to the scribal whims these changes are not regular and uniformly made, consequently such forms as 'क्षोभनाय' (All MSS) occur. The Rules of *Sandhi-s* according to the *Sūtra-s* 'स्तोश्चुनाश्चुः' (VIII. 4.40), 'लोलि' (VIII. 4.60), 'नश्छुव्यप्रशान्' (VIII. 3.7), 'छे च' (VI. 1.73) etc., also are often subjected to the scribal ignorance, carelessness or whims. And such readings, therefore, as 'ब्रह्मन् शैलशृंगे' (Vām.-P. 8.3ca), 'भगवान् लोलः' (3.40c), 'भगवान् जातः' (2.19c) etc. occur in the MSS. In such cases grammatically correct readings only are adopted either from the MSS or by emendation.

13. In the case of the texts of the prose-formulas, containing उवाच, ऊचतुः, ऊचुः, also MSS are not uniform. Some give as 'पुलस्त्य उवाच,' some 'पुलस्त्य उ०' and some as 'पुलस्त्यः' (generally Śāradā MSS). Even a particular MS also does not always observe the uniformity in this respect. Sometimes wrong readings as

'देवा उवाच' are given. In the constituted text, however, the uniformity is followed in this respect, and 'पुलस्त्य उवाच' 'देवा ऊचुः' etc. are given.

14. In course of time MSS often simplify an original difficult reading by rightly or wrongly changing its form or by substituting an easier synonym for it. A difficult reading (*lectio difficilior*), therefore, is held to be older, and hence it is preferable according to the recognised principles of textual criticism. E.g. :—

(1) कृत्वोपवासमष्टम्यां नवम्यां स्नानमाचरेत् ।  
मासि मार्गशिरे स्नानं रुद्रार्चा दधिजा स्मृता ॥ (16.39)

The mode of Rudra-worship to be performed in each month is described in this chapter. The general procedure is—(a) उपवास on the *Aṣṭamī* (b) स्नान with गोमूत्र, गोमय, गोदुग्ध, गोहविस् etc., on the *Navamī*, (c) Rudra-worship with some herbs or flowers, (d) धूप or incense, (e) नैवेद्य, (f) दक्षिणा and lastly (g) नमस्कार to a particular form or aspect of God Rudra, such as *Virūpākṣa*, *Hiranyākṣa*, *Sthānu* etc. Separate names or forms of Rudra are prescribed for each of the twelve months; similarly separate articles or *dravya*-s to be used for performing these various *aṅga*-s of रुद्रार्चा in each month are prescribed (16.30-65).

Here, in the śloka 16.39 (quoted above) this reading of 39cd—'मासि मार्गशिरे स्नानं रुद्रार्चा दधिजा स्मृता'—is given only in the Venkṭ. ean. But here the article with which the स्नानं is to be performed is not mentioned; then the अर्चा or worship of Rudra is to be performed with some herb or flower, and not with दधि or curd which should be used for the स्नान as other similar articles—गोमूत्र (32b), गोमय (35a), पयस् (i. e. गोदुग्ध or cow-milk) (37a)—have been prescribed for the स्नान in the months of भाद्रपद, आश्वयुज् and कार्तिक respectively. So the Venkṭ. text of 39cd is clearly wrong. Now in the MSS ब 3 and न 1 we have the following reading in its place:—

'मासि मार्गशिरे स्नानं दध्नार्चा भद्रया स्मृता ।'

The reading 'स्नानं दध्ना' is given in the majority of the MSS, and so it is correct and also quite appropriate, but 'भद्रया' is the reading in ब 3 and न 1 (भद्रया, न 1) only, which means that the अर्चा



is to be performed with 'भद्रा'. The word 'भद्रा' in this context is a synonym for the names of several herbs as *Kṛṣṇā, anantā, aparājitā, rāsnā*, etc. ('...भद्रा विष्ट्री नभः सरिति कटुफले । कृष्णाऽनन्तारास्तासु, Hemacandra; Anekārtha-Saṁgraha; also cf. M. W. Dictionary under the word 'भद्रा'). Any of these herbs is quite appropriate for the worship (अर्चा) of Rudra, and so the reading 'अर्चा भद्रया स्मृता' also seems to be a correct one: The reading 'भद्रया' has several variants in the MSS, such as रुद्रया, रुद्रिया, रुद्रजा, क्षुद्रया, तत्रया etc., which are the results of the efforts on the part of the scribes to simplyfy the *lactio difficilior* 'भद्रया'. In the variant 'क्षुद्रया' (given in का 1.2 only) 'क्षुद्रा' is also the name of several herbs, but भद्रा is more preferable, and it is mentioned in two distinct versions also.

(2) श्रुत्वा तद्वचनं स्कन्दो मयूरं प्रोज्झय तत्क्षणात् ।

प्रदक्षिणं पादचारी कर्तुं तूर्णतरोऽभ्यगात् ॥ (58.103)

The reading 'प्रोज्झय' means 'त्यक्त्वा' or leaving, discarding etc. Many MSS read प्रोह्य in its place. It is a difficult reading, but it seems to be the correct reading. It is formed from प्र+√ऊह् and means 'pushing away' etc. (See M. W. Dictionary). It was not easily intelligible, and so it was changed to प्रोक्ष्य, प्रेक्ष्य etc. in the MSS.

(3) मुद्गरे वितथे जाते पाशमादाय वेगवान् ।

प्रचिक्षेप नराश्याय तं च चिच्छेद धर्मजः ॥ (८.22)

Here प्रासमाविध्य is the reading in ब 2 दे 4.7.9 न 1. The word 'आविध्य' here means 'swinging' (आ+√व्यध् = 'to throw', 'to fling', 'to swing'—M. W. Dictionary. The use of 'आ+√व्यध्' in the sense of 'to swing' is referred to the Mahābh.). Compare also:—

तं पाशमाविध्य गदां प्रगृह्य चिक्षेप दैत्यः स जलेश्वराय ॥ (10.42cd)

So the reading 'आविध्य' being a *lactio difficilior* is preferable here in 8.22 also.

15. In the domain of knowledge ideas often develop gradually, and knowledge generally becomes more and more improved and detailed in course of time. So the text containing less improved or less detailed ideas may be an earlier one, and

hence it is preferable to that which contains more improved or detailed ideas : E.g. :—

ब्रह्मा मुरारिस्त्रिपुरान्तकारी भानुः शशी भूमिसुतो बुधश्च ।  
गुरुश्च शुक्रः सह भानुजेन कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ (14.23)

Here, in the Kashmirian MSS and also in दे 1.3.10 'शनिराहु-केतवः' is the reading for 'सह भानुजेन'. This reading 'शनिराहुकेतवः' seems to be a later improvement. The reading 'सह भानुजेन' is therefore, preferable.

16. As far as possible break of symmetry (*prakrama-bhaṅga*) is avoided in settling a text. E.g.—

पृथ्वी सगन्धा सरसास्तथाऽऽपः सस्पर्शावागुज्वलनः सुतेजाः ।  
नमः सशब्दं महता सहैव यच्छन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ (14.26)

Here in the reading 'सुतेजाः' (qualifying ज्वलनः ) there is a break of symmetry, as all the other qualities (*Guṇas*) of the remaining *Mahābhūtās* are compounded with सह (which becomes 'स-' in a compound). But in many MSS we have the reading 'सतेजाः' also, which is in symmetry with the other readings 'सगन्धा' 'सरसाः' 'सस्पर्शः' and 'सशब्दं' and also with 'महता सहैव'. So the reading 'सतेजाः' is more suitable here than 'सुतेजाः'.

17. Sometimes a text is omitted only in a few MSS, but the omission is justified by the preceding or the following text. In such case that omission is adhered to. E.g. :—

नाशयामास सा (= कात्यायनी) यत्र दानवं महिषासुरम् ।  
नमरं रक्तबीजं च तथाऽन्यान् सुरकण्टकान् ॥ 38

नारद उवाच

कञ्चासौ महिषो नाम रक्तबीजादयश्च के ।  
काऽसौ कात्यायनी नाम या जघ्ने महिषासुरम् ॥ 39  
नमरं रक्तबीजं च तथाऽन्यान् सुरकण्टकान् ।

कञ्चासौ महिषो नाम कास्ते जातश्च कस्य सः ॥ 40

कञ्चासौ रक्तबीजाख्यो नमरः कस्य चात्मजः ।

एतद्विस्तरतस्तात यथावद् वक्तुमर्हसि ॥ 41

(Adh. 17)

Here the half śloka 39 ab is omitted in some MSS ( व 3 दे 9 न 1 ). The omission is justified by the following text of 39 cd-41, which is more in conformity with śl. 38. The text of 39 ab, here, is obviously superfluous.

18. Sometimes the MSS of a certain Group only supplies a missing text. In that case the additional text given in these MSS, supplying the lacuna, is adopted. E. g. :—

( 1 ) अभोज्याः सूतिकाः पण्डो मार्जाराखू च कुक्कुटाः ।

पतितापविद्वनग्नाश्रण्डालाद्याधमाश्र ये ॥ ( 14.82 )

Here a list of those persons is given whose food is prohibited to be taken. Among these 'Mārjāra' (literally meaning 'a cat') and an 'Ākhu' (literally meaning 'a mouse') are also included. The reading 'मार्जाराखू च' is given in the Venkt. edn. only. Most of the MSS read 'मार्जाराखुश्च' which is grammatically wrong. These *abhojya* persons are defined in the same order in Ślokas 84-92. After the definition of *Mārjāra* in Śl. 86 *Ākhu* is defined in Śl 87, and then immediately after it, *Kukkūṭa* is defined in Śl 88 in the Venkt. edn. as well as in all the MSS except those of the Kashmirian Group (G 1). The Kashmirian MSS give the following additional śloka between the definitions of *Ākhu* and *Kukkūṭa* :—

यः परेषां हि सर्माणि निवृन्तन्निव भाषते ।

नित्यं परगुणद्वेषी स श्वान इति कथ्यते ॥

Now on the basis of this additional text of G 1 MSS we can reconstruct the text 'मार्जाराखुश्च कुक्कुटाः' (14.82b), as 'मार्जाराखुश्च-कुक्कुटाः'. Here the original reading—श्च—was wrongly written as श्व<sup>20</sup> and thus the text has become corrupt in almost all the MSS. But the definition of 'श्च' or 'श्वान' is missing in the printed text as well as in the MSS. Only the Kashmirian MSS have supplied this missing or lost text, which also leads to the construction of the correct text in Śl. 14.82b as shown above by suggesting the substitution of 'श्च' for 'श्व'.

20. In MSS, and specially in Devanāgarī MSS, च and व are often found wrongly written for व and च respectively.

(2) In Adh. 56 of the Vām.-P. the battle between Goddess Kātyāyanī and two Assura-s, Śumbha and Niśumbha, and their great Army-Commander, Raktabīja, is narrated. When Raktabīja with his large army attacked Goddess Caṇḍikā (Kātyāyanī) she roared the lion's roar and then from the different parts of her body the various *Mātr*-s (or *Śakti*-s) were produced. The following *Mātr*-s or various forms of the Goddess are described or mentioned in the Venkṭ-edn. śl 3-12 and in the MSS of the Vāmana-Purāṇa :

1. ब्रह्मराणी from the mouth of the Goddess, 2. माहेश्वरी, 3. कौमारी (the *Śakti* of Kumāra or Skanda), 4. वैष्णवी from her two arms, 5. वाराही from her back, 6. नारसिंही from her heart and 7. शिवा or शिवदूती from her body. The text of 56. 20 cd-22 ab of the Venkṭ edn. reads as follows :—

महाजलक्षेपहतप्रभावान् ब्राह्मी तथाऽन्यानसुरांश्चकार ॥ 20 c d

माहेश्वरी शूलविदारितोरसश्चकार दग्धांश्च परांश्च वैष्णवी ।

शक्त्या कुमारी कुलिशेन चण्डी(?)तुण्डेन चक्रेण वराहरूपिणी ॥ 1

नखैर्विभिन्नानपि नारसिंही अट्टाट्टहासैरपि रुद्रदूती । 22 a b

In 21c all the MSS read 'चैन्द्री' for the Venkṭ-reading 'चण्डी'. So according to the MSS the 'ऐन्द्री' is also included among the *Mātr*-s mentioned here. Now compare the similar text of the Devī-Māhātmya (9. 37cd-40) of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa :—

असुरांस्तांस्तथा काली शिवदूती तथाऽपरान् ॥ 37 cd

कौमारीशक्तिर्निभिन्नाः केचिन्नेशुमंहासुराः ।

ब्रह्मराणीमन्त्रपूतेन तोयेनान्ये निराकृताः ॥ 38

माहेश्वरीत्रिघूलेन भिन्नाः पेतुस्तथाऽपरे ।

वाराहीतुण्डघातेन केचिच्चूर्णीकृता भुवि ॥ 39

खण्डं खण्डं च चक्रेण वैष्णव्या दानवाः कृताः ।

वज्रेण चैन्द्रीहस्ताग्रविमुक्तेन तथाऽपरे ॥ 40

(Devī-Māhātmya, Ādh. 9)

Here in 40c 'वज्रेण चैन्द्री-' is equal to the reading 'कुलिशेन चैन्द्री' (MSS) in 21c of the Vām.-P. above. Thus, the MSS-reading 'चैन्द्री' is fully confirmed. But in the description of the birth of

the *Mātr-s* in 56.3-12a b of the Vām.P. no mention of the birth of 'ऐन्द्री' is made either in the Venkṭ.edn. or in the MSS. So the text containing the mention of the birth of 'ऐन्द्री' seems to be lost. But fortunately we have here the following additional text after Śl. 56.8ab in all the Kashmirian MSS (G I) :—

वज्राङ्कुशोद्यतकरा नानाजलंकारभूषिताः ।  
जाता गजेन्द्रपृष्ठस्था माहेन्द्री स्तनमण्डलात् ॥

So, according to this additional text in the Kashmirian MSS the *Mātr* माहेन्द्री (i.e. ऐन्द्री) was born from the *stana-maṇḍala* ('breast-orb') or the rounded breast of Goddess Caṇḍikā. Thus, the lost text mentioning the birth of the *Mātr* ऐन्द्री has been supplied by the Kashmirian MSS only, and it is adopted.

( 3 ) घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः क्रौञ्चो दध्यो(?)दो द्विगुणस्ततः ॥ 37 c d  
समुद्राद् द्विगुणः शाकः शाकाद् दुग्धाब्धिरुत्तमः । 38 a b  
(Vām.-P., Adh. 11)

Here, in 38a 'समुद्राद्' is the reading in all the MSS, which leads to the supposition that there might also have been the reading 'समुद्रः' (?) immediately preceding the reading समुद्राद्, so that this reading 'समुद्राद्' in 38a might have some propriety here.

Now, in all the Kashmirian MSS (G I) and also in दे 2 we have the following text in place of the above text of Śl. 37cd

घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः क्रौञ्चद्वीपो निशाचर ।  
ततोऽपि द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः समुद्रो दधिसंज्ञितः ॥

This additional or the amplified text 'ततोऽपि द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः समुद्रो दधिसंज्ञितः' of the Kashmirian and दे 2 MSS for the shorter text 'दध्योदो द्विगुणस्ततः' of the remaining MSS, immediately preceding the text 'समुद्राद् द्विगुणः शाकः' (in 38a), supplies a lacuna and corroborates the reading 'समुद्राद्' (in 38a) as quite appropriate.

19. Sometimes a text is found displaced in all the MSS, and so its sense does not fit there. In such case that displaced text is restored to its proper place required by the sense and context, according to the principle 'पाठक्रमादर्थक्रमो बलीयान्'.<sup>21</sup>

21. Cf. Nilakaṇṭha--"तथा च पाठक्रमादर्थक्रमस्य बलवत्त्वात् 'पृथिव्यां नैमिषं पुण्यमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम्' इत्यतः परं 'ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे' इत्ययं ग्रन्थो द्रष्टव्यः ।" (Comm. on Mbh. Vana-Parva, 83, 203ff.)

Compare the following text (11.31-42) :—

योजनानां प्रमाणेन पञ्चाशत्कोटिरायता ।

जलोपरि महीयं हि नौरिवास्ते सरिजले ॥ 31

.....

स्थानानि द्वीपसंज्ञानि कृतवांश्च प्रजापतिः ।

तत्र मध्ये च कृतवाञ्जम्बूद्वीपमिति श्रुतम् ॥ 33

तल्लक्षं योजनानां च प्रमाणेन निर्णयते ।

ततो जलनिधिः क्षारो बाह्यतो द्विगुणः स्थितः ॥ 34

तस्यापि द्विगुणः प्लक्षो बाह्यतः संप्रतिष्ठितः ।

ततस् त्विधुरसोदश्च बाह्यतो वलयाकृतिः ॥ 35

द्विगुणः शात्मलिद्वीपो द्विगुणोऽस्य महोदधिः ( वेः ? ) ।

सुरोदो द्विगुणस्तस्य तस्माच्च द्विगुणः कुशाः ॥ 36

घृतोदो द्विगुणश्चैव कुशाद्वीपात् प्रकीर्तितः ।

घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः क्रौञ्चो दध्यो(?)दो द्विगुणस्ततः ॥ 37\*

समुद्राद् द्विगुणः शाकः शाकाद् दुग्धाब्धिस्ततः ।

द्विगुणो संस्थितो यत्र शेषपर्यङ्गो हरिः ॥ 38

तस्माच्च पुष्करद्वीपः स्वादूदस्तदनन्तरम् ।

एते च द्विगुणाः सर्वे परस्परमवस्थिताः ॥ 39

चत्वारिंशदिमाः कोट्यो लक्षाश्च नवतिः स्मृताः ।

योजनानां राक्षसेन्द्र पञ्च चाति सुविस्तृताः ॥ 40

जम्बूद्वीपात् समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः ।

कोट्यश्चतस्रो लक्षाणां द्वौ पञ्चाशच्च राक्षस ॥ 41

पुष्करद्वीपमानोऽयं तावानन्ते महोदधिः ।

लक्षमण्डकटाहेन समन्तादभिपूरितम् ॥ 42

Here, the names, position and the extent of the seven Dvīpa-s and the seven Samudra-s which surround them are given. The extent of the Earth, as mentioned in Śl. 31 above, is *fifty crores* of yojana-s. The Earth is divided into seven great Divisions called the Dvīpa-s which are named as जम्बूद्वीप, प्लक्षद्वीप, शात्मलिद्वीप, कुशाद्वीप, क्रौञ्चद्वीप, शाकद्वीप, and पुष्करद्वीप. Each of these seven Dvīpa-s

[\* For 37cd the MSS of GI read :—

घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः क्रौञ्चद्वीपो निशाचर ।

ततोऽपि द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः समुद्रो दधिसंज्ञितः ॥

See 18.(3) of this article above]

is surrounded (as given above in Śl. 33 ff.) by a circular Ocean as follows :—

1. जम्बुद्वीप by क्षारजलनिधि (Ocean of salt)
2. प्लक्षद्वीप by इक्षुरसोद (Ocean of syrup)
3. शाल्मलिद्वीप by सुरोद (Ocean of *surā* or wine)
4. कुशद्वीप by घृतोद (Ocean of clarified butter)
5. क्रौञ्चद्वीप by दधिसमुद्र (Ocean of curd)
6. शाकद्वीप by दुग्धाब्धि (Ocean of milk)
7. पुष्करद्वीप by स्वादूद (Ocean of fresh water).

Thus, these seven Dvīpa-s are separated from each other by seven distinct concentric circumambient Oceans.

The extent of each Ocean (except of the स्वादूद ) is mentioned here, in the Vāmana-Purāṇa, as double of the extent of the Dvīpa surrounded by that Ocean ; and similarly, the extent of each Dvīpa (except that of the पुष्करद्वीप ) is double of the extent of the Ocean surrounded by that Dvīpa.<sup>22</sup> The extent of the पुष्करद्वीप, however, is not mentioned as double of the extent of the दुग्धाब्धि (or क्षीराब्धि) which is surround by it (the पुष्करद्वीप), but it is, as given in Śl 41cd above, *four crores and fifty two lacs* of *yojana-s.*<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the extent of the स्वादूद is not also double the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप which is surrounded by this Ocean, but it (the स्वादूद) is of the same extent as the पुष्करद्वीप. The size

22. According to the other Purāṇas, however, the extent of each Ocean is of the same size as that of the Dvīpa which it surrounds, but the extent of a Dvīpa is double the size of the Ocean which that Dvīpa surrounds, and thus the latter Dvīpa is double the extent of the former Dvīpa, and similarly the latter Samudra is double the extent of the former Samudra ; cf. Viṣṇu. P. II. 4. 87 :—

एवं द्वीपाः समुद्रैश्च सप्त सप्तभिरावृताः ।

द्वीपश्चैव समुद्रश्च समानौ द्विगुणौ परौ ॥

23. Here also the Vāmana-Purāṇa differs from the other Purāṇas, since according to the other Purāṇas, the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप is also double the extent of the क्षीराब्धि which it surrounds, and hence double the extent of the former Dvīpa, शाकद्वीप (Viṣṇu. P. II. 4. 71-72). But the extent of the स्वादूद which surrounds the पुष्करद्वीप is mentioned in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa also as equal to the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप (*ibid.*, Śl. 86).

of the जम्बुद्वीप, the first Dvīpa in the enumerated order, is *one lac* of yojana-s and the extent of the last-mentioned अण्डकटाह (which is also regarded as a Dvīpa by the Kathā-sarīt-sāgara—MW.) is also *one lac* of yojana-s, the same extent as that of the first Dvīpa, the Jambu-Dvīpa. And the total extent of all the seven Dvīpa-s and the seven Samudra-s plus the extent of Aṇḍa-Kaṭāha (Shell of the Mundane Egg) should be equal to the extent of the Earth, which is *fifty crores* of yojana-s.

The above statement may be more clearly presented as follows :—

Dvīpa-s and Samudra-s	Extent in Yojana-s	
1. जम्बुद्वीप	1 lac	1,00,000
—क्षारसमुद्र	2 lacs	2,00,000
2. प्लक्षद्वीप	4 lacs	4,00,000
—इक्षुरसोद	8 lacs	8,00,000
3. शास्मलिद्वीप	16 lacs	16,00,000
—सुरोद	32 lacs	32,00,000
4. कुशद्वीप	64 lacs	64,00,000
—घृतोद	128 lacs	1,28,00,000
5. क्रौञ्चद्वीप	256 lacs	2,56,00,000
—दधिसमुद्र	512 lacs	5,12,00,000
6. शाकद्वीप	1024 lacs	10,24,00,000
—दुग्धाब्धि	2048 lacs	20,48,00,000
Total	4095 lacs	40,95,00,000

Thus, the total extent of the first six Dvīpa-s and Samudra-s, from जम्बुद्वीप to दुग्धाब्धि or क्षीराब्धि (Ocean of Milk), comes to *forty-crores and ninety-five lacs* of Yojanas, which exactly tallies with their total extent given in Śl. 40-41ab above, as follows :—

चत्वारिंशदिमाः कोट्यो लक्षाश्च नवतिः स्मृताः ।

योजनानां राक्षसेन्द्र पञ्च चात्तिमुविस्तृताः ॥ 40

जम्बूद्वीपात् समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः । 41 ab

Now, add to this the extent of the remaining seventh Dvīpa ( पुष्करद्वीप ), and of the remaining seventh Samudra ( स्वाहूद ) and also the extent of the अण्डकटाह surrounding the last Ocean स्वाहूद, as given in Śl. 41cd-42 above, which is as follows :—



कोट्यश्रतस्रो लक्षाणां द्वौ पञ्चाशच्च राक्षस ॥ 41 cd  
 पुष्करद्वीपमानोऽयं तावानन्ते महोदधिः ।  
 लक्षमण्डकटाहेन समन्तादभिपूरितम् ॥ 42

(That is, the extent of पुष्करद्वीप is *four crores and fifty-two lacs* of Yojanas, and of the *same* extent is the last Ocean स्वादूद, and the space of *one lac* of Yojana-s is filled all round by the अण्डकटाह).

Then the total extent of all the seven Dvīpa-s and Samudra-s together with the extent of the *Aṇḍa-Kaṭāha* comes to *fifty crores* of yojana-s, as shown below :—

Total extent of the first six Dvīpa-s and Samudra-s ( from जम्बुद्वीप to क्षीरब्धि )	40,95,00,000	Yojana-s
Extent of पुष्करद्वीप	4,52,00,000	„
Extent of स्वादूद	4,52,00,000	„
Extent covered by अण्डकटाह	1,00,000	„
Grand Total	50,00,00,000	Yojana-s

Thus, this total extent, *fifty-crores* of yojana s, comes to be the same as the total expanse of the Earth, which is also mentioned as *fifty crore* yojana-s 'पञ्चाशत्कोटिरायता' (Śl. 31).

According to this calculation, therefore, the text in śl. 41cd-42 ab which gives the extent of पुष्कर द्वीप and स्वादूद is quite correct. But the text in 39cd—'एते च द्विगुणाः सर्वे परस्परमवस्थिताः' must also refer to the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप and of the स्वादूद, for both are mentioned here in the immediately preceding text of 39 ab as 'तस्माच्च पुष्करद्वीपः स्वादूदस्तदनन्तरम्'. But, in fact, the text of the line 39 cd—'एते च द्विगुणाः सर्वे परस्परमवस्थिताः'—refers to the extent of the first six Dvīpa-s and the first six Samudra-s only, as is clear from the line 41 ab—'जम्बुद्वीपात् समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः'.

The text of the line 39 ab, therefore, occurs in a wrong place. Its proper place should actually be after the line 41 ab, as the next two lines 41 cd and 42 ab mention the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप and its surrounding Ocean स्वादूद. Line 39 ab therefore, should be restored to its place, i. e. after 41 ab.

The constituted text of the ślokas from 37 cd to 42 cd of the Venkṭ. text, then, would be as follows :—

घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः क्रौञ्चद्वीपो निशाचर ।  
 ततोऽपि द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः समुद्रो दधिसंज्ञितः ॥ 37  
 समुद्राद् द्विगुणः शाकः शाकाद् दुग्धाब्धिरुत्तमः ।  
 द्विगुणो संस्थितो यत्र शेषपर्यङ्कगो हरिः ॥ 38  
 चत्वारिंशदिमाः कोट्यो लक्षाश्च नवतिः स्मृताः ।  
 योजनानां राक्षसेन्द्र पञ्च चाति सुविस्तृताः ॥ 39  
 जम्बूद्वीपात् समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः ।  
 तस्माच्च पुष्करद्वीपः स्वाद्दस्तदनन्तरम् ॥ 40  
 कोट्यश्चतस्रो लक्षाणां द्विपञ्चाशच्च राक्षस ।  
 पुष्करद्वीपमानोऽयं तावदेव तथोदधिः ।  
 लक्षमण्डकटाहेन समन्तादभिपूरितम् ॥ 41

[\* The reading 'तावदेव तथोदधिः' is given in MSS शा1 कारा. का 1. 2 दे 2 ; दे 7 reads 'तावदन्तं तथोदधिः ; दे 4 reads तावानन्तस्तथोदधिः ]

20. Sometimes a reading, even if it occurs in all the MSS, has to be emended, so that the text containing that reading may give a correct and appropriate sense. (The emendation is indicated in the constituted text by an *underline* below the emended reading).

Compare the following text of the Vām.-P., Adh. 11 (already quoted above) :—

तस्यापि द्विगुणः प्लक्षो बाह्यतः संप्रतिष्ठितः ।  
 तत्सुत्विक्षुरसोदश्च बाह्यतो वलयाकृतिः ॥ 35 ॥  
 द्विगुणः शात्मलिद्वीपो द्विगुणोऽस्य महोदधिः ।  
 सुरोदो द्विगुणस्तस्य तस्माच्च द्विगुणः कुशः ॥ 35 ॥

[Here, the reading 'महोदधिः' is given in all the MSS also.]

The sense of this text is quite confusing. It may mean :—

Either

"The Dvīpa प्लक्ष is double of that (i. e. of the क्षारजलनिधि, referred to in 34 cd), and is situated on the outside. Then the इक्षुरसोद is also [situated] outside in a circular form"—śl. 35.  
 'The शात्मलिद्वीप is double [of the extent of इक्षुरसोद]. The महोदधि (which ?) is double of this (*asya*) (i. e. of the शात्मलिद्वीप).

The सुरोद is double of that (*tasya*) (i.e. of the महोदधि ?), and the कुशद्वीप is double of that (सुरोद)—śl. 36.

Or

“The इक्षुरसोद situated outside in a circular form is double (द्विगुणः, 36a) [of the प्लक्षद्वीप]. śl. 35cd. The शास्मलिद्वीप is double (द्विगुण, 36b) of this (*asya*) (i. e. of the इक्षुरसोद). The *Mahodadhi* सुरोद is double of that (*tasya*) (i. e. of the शास्मलिद्वीप), and कुशद्वीप is also double of that (*tasmāt*, i. e. from सुरोद)”.

Here as we see the *first* sense is confusing. The *second* sense is some-what more reasonable. But the defect in this latter sense also lies in the fact that the word *Mahodadhi* (महोदधिः) will have to be construed with the following word सुरोद as its ‘case-in-apposition’; but this breaks the symmetry, as no such qualifying word has yet been used for the names of the other Oceans, mentioned before सुरोद, as their ‘case-in-apposition’. Moreover, the word ‘महोदधिः’ if construed with ‘सुरोदः’ will become quite redundant or superfluous. Hence the text is defective in every respect. But if we emend the word ‘महोदधिः’ as ‘महोदधेः’ (*saṣṭhī* or genitive), the sense of the whole text will be quite clear and appropriate.

There are also some other readings which have also to be emended.

21. There are certain readings which may be considered as *less than certain*. Such readings may be of any of the following three categories :—

(A) Readings which have almost equal manuscript evidence; any of them may be adopted, therefore, in the constituted text in the absence of any deciding factor.

(B) A reading which, even if it is contained in the majority or even in all the MSS, does not give an appropriate and correct sense, but against which no internal or external evidence is available, and which, in the absence of some such sound grounds, cannot also be emended.

(C) A reading which is contained in only a single MS or only in a few MSS, but which gives a suitable and correct sense,

while the other readings, though contained in a larger number of MSS or Groups, do not have any proper sense; such reading is considered as *less than certain*, if it cannot be ascertained whether this reading is genuine or an emended one; if it is proved to be an emended reading then it is discarded.

All such *less-than-certain* readings, when adopted in the constituted text, are marked with a wavy line (~~~~~).

A few illustrations of such readings are given below :—

(A)—

(1) साधुवादं तदा चक्रुर्द्वैत्यदानवयूथपाः ॥ (10.22 cd)

Here साधुवादं ददुहंष्टा[:] is also the reading for 'साधुवादं तदा चक्रुः'. But both of these two readings have nearly equal manuscript-evidence. So, any of them may be adopted in the constituted text, if there is not any deciding factor in favour of any one of them.

(2) जलेशं ताडयामास मुद्गरैर्वज्रसन्निभैः ॥ (10. 26cd)

Here the MSS contain several different readings, in the transposed order, for 'वज्रसन्निभैः', such as कुठारै ( कुठारै, शा 1 का 2 )रपि मुद्गरैः (का 1), कुणपैरपि (ब 1. 2), कणपैरपि (ब 3 दे 9), and 'परिघैरपि' (न 1). The reading 'वज्रसन्निभैः' is given only in the Devanāgarī MSS of GI.

कुठार, कुणप, कणप, परिघ are all weapons of war, and any of them may be meant here. There is no deciding factor of sense, context, etc. in favour of any one of them. So any reading which is adopted will be considered as *less than certain*.

(3) रैभ्यो मरीचिश्च्यवनो रिभुश्च कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ (16. 17)

The reading 'रिभुः' is also contained in ते 1 and in several Devanāgarī MSS. But it is wrongly spelt here. Its correct form is 'ऋभुः' as is given in दे 4, for sometimes ऋ is found wrongly written as रि in manuscripts. Other readings are 'तुशंगः' (दे 11), त्रिशंकुः (दे 7), निषङ्गुः (शा 1. का 1. 2), 'रुषद्गुः' (ब 1. 3); etc. Any of these reading may fit here.

(B)—

(1) एष क्रमस्ते गदितो नभादौ स्वपतां मुने ।

स्वपत्सु तत्र देवेषु प्रावृट्कालः समाययौ ॥ ( 16.17 )

The reading 'समाययौ' in past-perfect is not perhaps correct, for the context does not require the past tense here. But it is given in all the MSS except दे 4 which reads 'समात्रजेत्' (perhaps an emended reading). So if the reading समाययौ is to be adopted on the basis of the manuscript-evidence, ~~it will be~~ considered as *less than certain*.

(2) गोरोचनायुक्तगुडेन चैव देवं समालम्य च पूजयेत् ।

प्रीयस्व दीनोऽस्मि भवांस्त्वमीश मच्छोकनाशं प्रकुरुष्व योग्यम् ॥ (16. 46)

The reading 'प्रीयस्व दीनोऽस्मि भवन्तमीश' is given for 'प्रीयस्व दीनोऽस्मि भवांस्त्वमीश' in almost all the MSS. But the reading 'भवन्तम्' here is not justified by sense or context. And if there is no other evidence or ground against it, it is, then, to be adopted in the constituted text on the ground of the manuscript-evidence. It is not yet certain how this reading 'भवन्तम्' occurs here. It needs support from some external source also, which is not yet available. So the reading remains *less than certain*.

(C) —

(1) धान्येषु शालिद्विपदेषु विप्रश्चतुष्पदे गौश्च यथा मृगेन्द्रः (12.50 ab)

The reading 'चतुष्पदे गौश्च यथा मृगेन्द्रः' does not give any proper sense. The other readings are 'चतुष्पदेष्वेव यथा मृगेन्द्रः' and 'चतुष्पदे गौः श्वपदां मृगेन्द्रः'. The latter reading ('चतुष्पदे गौः श्वपदां मृगेन्द्रः') is contained in the MS दे 2 only, and it has an appropriate sense also, and therefore is decidedly a better reading. But it is not certain whether this reading is genuine or emended. So it is *less than certain*.

(2) तत्र स्नात्वा च संपूज्य ह्यर्दिति देवमातरम् ।

पुत्रं जनयते शूरं सर्वदोषविवर्जितम् ॥ (34-13)

Here almost all the MSS except दे 7 read 'पीत्वा च' for 'संपूज्य' in P3a above, दे 7 reads 'दृष्ट्वा च'. Now, the reading 'पीत्वा च' has no sense here. The reading दृष्ट्वा च as given in दे 7 is quite appropriate, but it is just possible that it may be an emended reading here. So if the reading 'दृष्ट्वा च' is adopted on the ground of its suitability, it will be a *less-than-certain* reading.

We have discussed and illustrated here the several principles adopted for the constitution of the Vāmana-Purāṇa text. But the application of these and the like principles to the settlement of a text requires patience, right judgement and hard labour on the part of the editor; and even then it cannot be said with certainty that the text settled and adopted is the only correct or the proper one, for it may not suit the sense of what is right and what is wrong, of the critical reader. But the Critical Apparatus appended to a Critical Text provides an ample scope to the critical reader for the exercise of his own free judgement and choice.

### APPENDIX

[The footnotes which were not so essential as to be necessarily given in the respective pages, or which were too long to be accomodated there, are given in this Appendix.]

#### 1. EDITIONS OF THE WORKS REFERRED TO

##### *Purāṇas—*

Agnī-Purāṇa	—	Ānandāśram, Poona
Bhāgavata-Purāṇa	—	Gītā Press, Gorakhpur
Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa	—	Veṅktśvara Press, Bombay
Garuḍa-Purāṇa	—	Pandita-Pustakālaya, Kāśī
Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa	—	Mor edn. Calcutta
Matsya-Purāṇa	—	Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series, Poona
Nāradiya-Purāṇa	—	Veṅkt. Press, Bombay
Padma-Purāṇa	—	Ānandāśram S. S., Poona
Skanda-Purāṇa	—	Veṅkt. Press, Bombay
Vāmana Purāṇa	—	Veṅkt. Press, Bombay
Vāyu-Purāṇa	—	Mor, Calcutta
Viṣṇu-Purāṇa	—	Gītā Press, Gorakhpur

##### *Other works*

Mahābhārata	—	Critical edition, Poona
Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata (with Nilakaṇṭha's com- mentary)	—	Chitraśālā-Press, Poon
Harivaṃśa	—	Chitraśālā Press, Poona

Vārāhī-Saṁhitā

Yājñavalkya-Smṛti  
(with Mitākṣarā and  
Vira-mitrodaya com-  
mentaries

— Chaukhamba, Banaras

## 2. EXTENT OF A PURĀNA-TEXT

According to the Vāyu-Purāna the extent of a Purāna-text is 12,000 ślokas ('एवं द्वादशसाहस्रं पुराणं कवयो विदुः' 32. 66 cd). The Bhaviṣya also says—सर्वाण्येव पुराणानि संज्ञेयानि नरर्षभ । द्वादशैव सहस्राणि प्रोक्तानीह मनीषिभिः ॥' (I. 1. 103). If this is so, then the total extent of all the 18 Purānas was formerly about *two lacs* of ślokas, which later on went on increasing, as the Bhaviṣya further remarks—पुनर्वृद्धिं गतानीह आख्यायानैर्विविधैर्नृप' (*ibid* 104) and thus came to be of the *four lacs* of ślokes—चतुर्लक्षमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनाद्भुतकर्मणा' (Matsya 53. 57).

## 4. RIVERS RISING FROM THE MALAYA

कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी पुष्पजा ह्यल्पलावती ।

मलयप्रसूता नद्यस्ताः सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः ॥ (Matsya, 114. 30)

Cf. also Vāyu (45.105), Mārkaṇḍeya (57.27), etc., where these same four rivers, with some variants, are mentioned as rising from the Malaya; only पुष्पजा (v.l. पुष्कला, पृथुला) is mentioned in place of the वञ्जुला of the Vām.-P., but see fn. 6.

The Vām.-P. has added two more rivers to this list—शुनी and सुदामा; but in the Matsya the शुनी (v.l. सिनी) is mentioned as rising from the Ṛṣyavanta (or Ṛkṣa-), and the सुदामा is not found mentioned elsewhere.

## 5. RIVERS RISING FROM THE ŚUKTIMAT

काशिका सुकुमारी च मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी ।

कृपा च पाशिनी चैव शुक्तिमन्तात्मजास्तु ताः ॥ (Matsya, 114.32)

(v.l. ऋषिका for काशिका; पलाशिनी for पाशिनी).

These same six rivers are mentioned as rising from the Śuktimat in the Vāyu (45.106) and Mārka. (57.29f) also; but for काशिका Vāyu reads ऋषिका and the Mārka. reads ऋषिकुल्या, while for पाशिनी both read पलाशिनी.

7. MAHĀBHĀRATA LACUNA SUPPLIED AND TEXT IMPROVED  
BY VĀMANA

It is not only the Mahābhārata which supplies some missing text of the Vāmana, but the Vāmana also, as if in turn, supplies sometimes a missing text of the Mahābhārata. E.g. :—

*Mahābhārata*—

ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मणः स्थानमुत्तमम् ।  
ब्रह्मोदुम्बरमित्येव प्रकाशं भुवि भारत ॥ 58  
तत्र सप्तषिकुण्डेषु स्नातस्य कुरुपुङ्गव ।  
केदारे चैव राजेन्द्र कपिष्ठलमहात्मनः ॥ 59  
ब्रह्माणमभिगम्याथ शुचिः प्रयतमानसः ।  
सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा ब्रह्मलोकं प्रपद्यते ॥ 60 (III. 81)

Here the text of 59 ab is perhaps incomplete in sense and construction ; the Padma-Purāṇa (Ādi. Kh., Adh. 26?) also has the same text as the Mbh. But compare the Vām.-P. :—

*Vāmana-Purāṇa*—

ततो गच्छेच्च विप्रेन्द्रा ब्रह्मणः स्थानमुत्तमम् ।  
ब्रह्मोदुम्बरमित्येवं सर्वलोकेषु विश्रुतम् ॥ 7  
तत्र ब्रह्मर्षि (v. l. सप्तर्षि) कुण्डेषु स्नातस्य द्विजसत्तमाः ।  
सप्तर्षीणां प्रसादेन सप्तसोमफलं लभेत् (भवेत् ?) ॥ 8 (Adh. 36)

Here we see that the line 36.8cd completes the text of the preceding line 8ab, which is the same as III. 81.59ab of the Mbh, as quoted above.

Compare also the Nārādīya-P. II. 65.62ab.—

तत्र ब्रह्मर्षिकुण्डेषु स्नातः सोमफलं लभेत् ।

In a few places the Vām.-P. also improves the text of the Mbh ; e. g. :—

अभिगम्य स्थलीं तस्य (= व्यासस्य) गोसहस्रफलं लभेत् ॥

(Mbh. III. 81.82cd)

अभिगम्य स्थलीं तस्य पुत्रशोकं न विन्दति ॥

(Vām. P., 36.61cd)



If we read with these lines of the Mbh. and the Vām.-P. the preceding lines of both the works, narrating how at this place (व्यासस्थली) Vyāsa was overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of his son, and then consoled by the gods, we will at once know that the reading of the Vām.-P. 'पुत्रशोकं न विन्दति' is better than that of the Mbh. 'गोसहस्रफलं लभेत्' (no variants.).

9. CORRUPTION OF TEXT DURING TRANSMISSION ILLUSTRATED

ततो विनशनं गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशनः ।

गच्छत्यन्तर्हिता यत्र मेरुपृष्ठे सरस्वती ॥ (Vana-Parva, 82.11)

The Sarasvatī did not disappear at the Meru, nor is the place *Vinaśana* on the Meru. So the reading 'मेरुपृष्ठे' is wrong. The Agni-Purāṇa (109.13) also reads 'मेरुपृष्ठे' in this context. The original reading was 'मरुपृष्ठे' (in the desert), as is given in the Critical Edition of the Mbh. (III. 80. 118 d), although some of its MSS, even of different versions, read 'मेरुपृष्ठे'.

12. BHUVANA-KOŚA CHAPTERS IN PURĀṆAS AND THE POSITIONS OF THE NINE VARṢA-S OF JAMBU-DVĪPA.

The Bhuvana-Kośa Chapters are contained also in several other Purāṇas; such as Agni, Bhāgawata, Brahma, Brahmaṇḍa, Kūrma, Liṅga, Padma, Śiva, and Devī Bhāg. These chapters state the positions of the nine *Varṣa*-s of Jambu-Dvīpa as situated in different Directions, and also their association with the different *Varṣa*- (or *Maryādā*-) *Parvata*-s.

The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa statement is very clear, which is as follows :—

यस्मिन् नववर्षाणि नवयोजनसहस्रायामानि... ॥ उत्तरोत्तरेणोलाकृतं नीलः श्वेतः  
शृङ्गवानिति त्रयो रम्यकहिरण्मयकुरूणां वर्षाणां मर्यादागिरयः प्रागायता उभयतः  
क्षारोदावधयो... ॥ एवं दक्षिणेनेलाकृतं निषधो हेमकूटो हिमालय इति प्रागायता यथा  
नीलादयोऽयुतयोजनोत्सेधा हरिवर्ष-किंपुरुष-भारतानां यथासंख्यम् ॥ तथैवेलावृतमपरेण  
पूर्वेण च माल्यवद्-गन्धमादनौ (गन्धमादनमाल्यवन्तौ?) आनीलनिषधायतौ... ..  
केतुमालभद्राश्वयोः सीमानं विदधाते ॥ (Bhāg.-P., V. 16. 8-10)

## 19. USE OF प्रथमा FOR द्वितीया FURTHER ILLUSTRATED.

- (1) ततोऽजनयस्त्रिभिर्नैवैदुःसमं समवैक्षत । (5. 25 ab)
- (2) सप्त सारस्वतः प्रादान्मातरश्चतुरोऽद्भुताः । (57. 92 cd)
- (3) एतानि भूतानि गणांश्च मातरो दृष्ट्वा महात्मा विनतातवूजः । *ibid.* 102cd)
- (4) देवानां मातरो दृष्ट्वा देवपत्न्यस्तथैव च ।

स्कन्धं शुक्रं महाराज ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ॥

(Matsya, Jivānanda edn., 194. 7)

As already stated, this use of प्रथमा for द्वितीया is perhaps due to the influence of Prākṛta. See for detailed discussion my article referred to in fn. 18 of this article.

# A CONSIDERATION OF MAHISĀGĀRA SAṄGAMA TIRTHĀ

BY

R. N. MEHTA

[ पुराणपत्रिकायाः IV. 1 ; V. 2 अङ्कयोः 'महीसागरसंगम'  
तीर्थस्य विषये विमर्शः आसीत् । अस्मिन् लघुनिबन्धे तत्सम्बन्धे पुनः  
विवेचनं कृतम् । संलग्नचित्रे तत्समीपवर्तिस्थानानां प्रदर्शनं च वर्तते । ]

In a discussion about *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* two opinions were expressed by V.M. Bedekar and D.C. Sircar in the *Purāṇam* Vol. IV No. 1 p. 197 ff.<sup>1</sup> and *Purāṇam* Vol. V. No. 2 p. 352 ff.<sup>2</sup> respectively. V.M. Bedekar expressed the opinion that *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* is "at the meeting-place of the earth and the sea." This opinion was aptly refuted by D.C. Sircar in the second paper. Here he showed that *Mahīsāgārsaṅgama* is the confluence of the *Mahī* and the sea. This opinion is very well corroborated by the *Skanda Purāṇa* in its *kumārikā khaṇḍa*, which is cited by Shri Bedekar. The relevant part of the *Skanda Purāṇa* is an interesting work of about the 17th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> In chapter 39 describing the *Barkarēśvara* it is clearly mentioned that the girl with goat-face intends to go to *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* and goes to *Stambhatīrtha* (39-69-94).

This indicates that the place where the goat died and where the temple of *Barkarēśvara* exists is very near the

1. Bedekar V.M.; *The Legend of Chirakārin in the Skanda Mahāpurāṇa and the Mahābhārata: A Comparative study*, *Purāṇam* Vol. IV. No. 1 p. 107.
2. Sircar D.C. *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama*, *Purāṇam* Vol. V. No. 2 p. 352.
3. Bedekar V.M., *Op. cit.*, feels that this is later than 700 A. D. but the present author has discussed the date of this part of *Skanda purāṇa* in *Kaumārikākhaṇḍa*, *A study*, journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vol X IV, No. 1, P. 39 ff, where it is pointed out that the work belongs probably to the 17th cent. A.D.

*Mahīsāgarasaṅgama*. The present day position of the said temple of *Barikareśvara* is in the same situation (Fig. 1).

The other evidence comes from chapter 52 where *Koṭṭīrtha* is mentioned. This *Koṭṭīrtha* is a cremation ground near a *Siva* temple to the north of *Nāgara*, which is situated at a distance of about 5 Kilometers to the north of Cambay (Fig. 1).

The local custom of throwing the post-cremation materials in the *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* is clearly noted in the *Kaumārikā Khaṇḍa* as :—

Asya tīre Dehadāho Yasya Kasya Prajāyate ।  
Asthikṣepo Yasya Bhaven Mahīsāgarasaṅgame. ॥

52.54

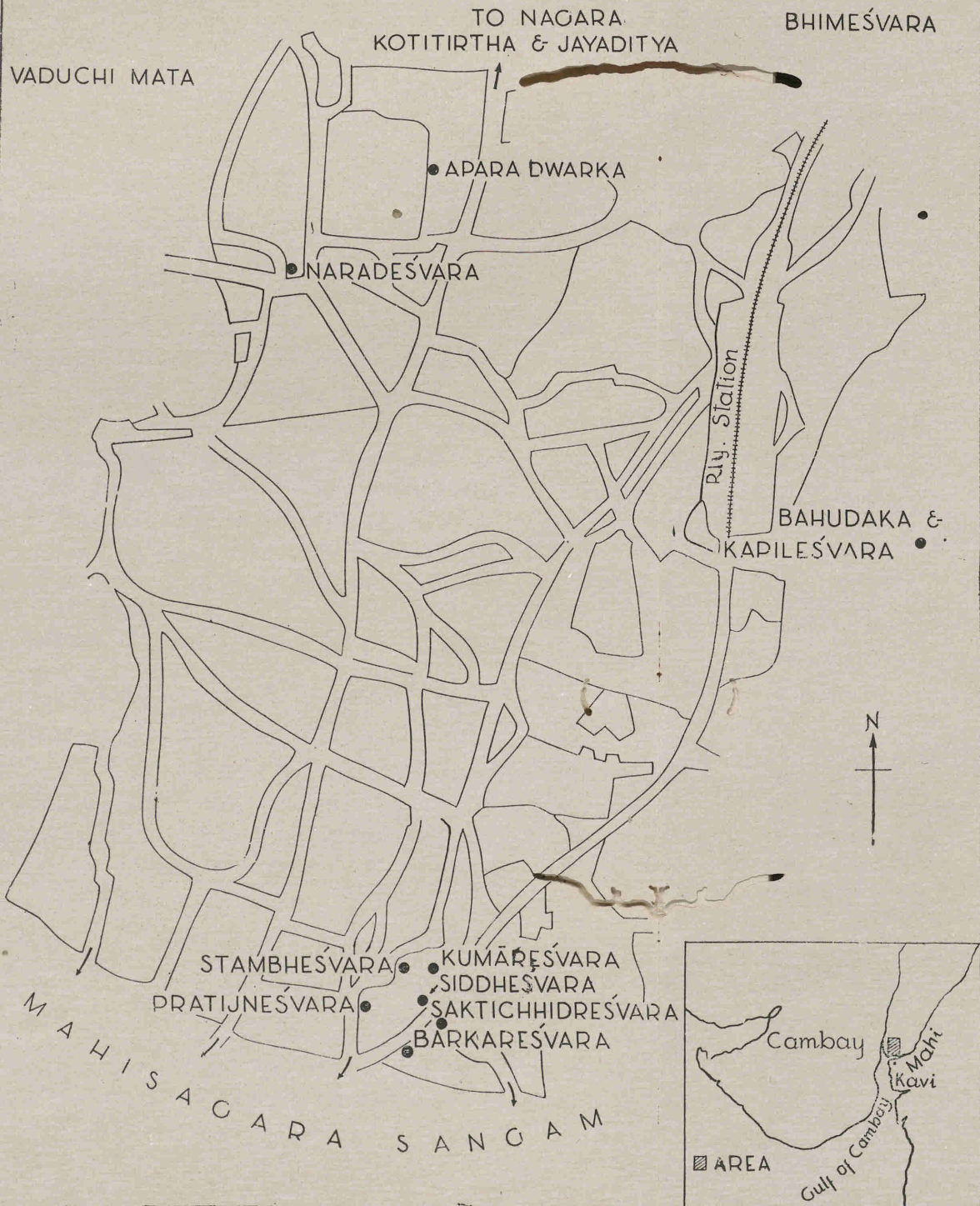
These two references from the text clearly indicate that the *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* is the confluence of the Mahī with the gulf of Cambay as rightly inferred by D.C. Sircar.

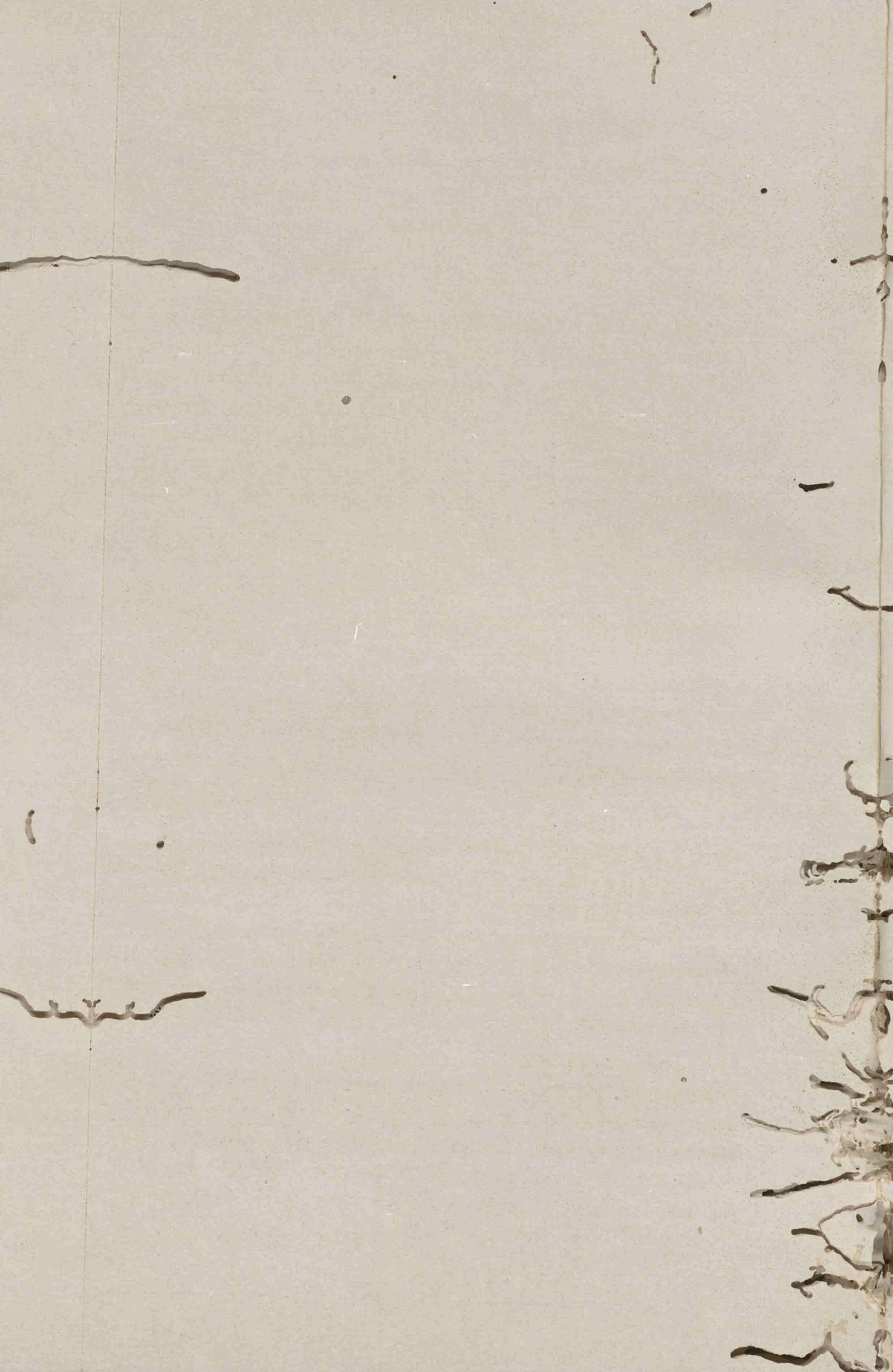
Incidentally it may be noted that most of the tīrthas mentioned in the *Kaumārikākhaṇḍa* are situated in and around Cambay as could be seen from the attached map of the area (Fig. 1)

The author of this *Tīrtha Māhātmya* is *Nārada* according to *Skanda purāṇa*. It is interesting to note that *Nāradiya* Brahmins exist in and around Cambay till this date and claim to be a section of the Audīcyā Brahmins<sup>4</sup>. It may be very likely that some *Nāradiya* Brahmin might be responsible for the writing of this part of the *Skanda purāṇa*. Such authorship is not unknown. The *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* a part of the *Shandapurāṇa* is most probably written by a *Nāgara* Brahmin. The *Mallapurāṇa* was also written by an Audīcyā Brahmin as is clearly known from it<sup>5</sup>.

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4. Mehta R.N. *Kumarikā-khaṇḍa*, Ane *Khambhāt*, Svādhyaya (Gujarati) Vol. 11 No. 4 Page 460 ff.
5. Sandesra B.J. & Mehta R.N. *Mallapurāṇam*, G. O. series No. 144 p.7.

# TIRTHAS AROUND CAMBAY





IN MEMORIAM

DR. VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala left this world of mortals on the night of 26-27 July last. In his death India has lost a great versatile scholar of international fame, a profound and veteran Indologist having a unique command over the various branches of Indian learning, a real interpreter and a true lover of ancient Indian art and culture, and a great and noble soul ever striving to lead a life of perfect simplicity and high morality.

Dr. Agrawala's regard for the Vedas and the Purāṇas, the two high pillars of the great Hindu religion and the ancient Indian culture, was immense. Even in his student-life he had a great inclination for the study of these two important *Bhāratīya Vidyās*. In his career as a Curator, Superintendent or Director of various Archaeological Museums of India (*viz.* Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura, 1929-40; State Museum, Lucknow, 1941-1946, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi, 1946-1949; National Museum of India, 1949-1951), he wrote several studies on the Vedas and the Purāṇas. But in his later life as a Professor of Art and Architecture in the College of Indology of the Banaras Hindu University, he devoted almost all his spare time to the study and interpretation of this important and sacred literature of India. With his profound faith in the words of the ancient Vedic and Purāṇic Ṛṣis, accompanied with his deep critical insight of most modern type, he worked day and night on this sacred mission of his life with an unabated zeal, and that too in spite of his weak and shattered health.

Dr. Agrawala's almost new symbolical approach to the Vedic interpretation has unfolded many a new truths hidden in the depth of the Vedic thoughts. He held that the symbolical approach "is the open sesame to Vedic exegesis. It opens a new door and puts us in possession of an unprecedented richness of meanings", for, to put in his own words, 'symbols are the language

of metaphysics as words are of philosophy ; lexical meanings of words are, therefore, inadequate for the understanding of the Vedas ; it is essentially the language of the symbols that unlocks the real significance of Vedic thoughts." And because the Purāṇas are held as an amplification, *Upabr̥h̥hana*, of the Vedas, and as 'Vedas hold the key to the Purāṇas', the correct interpretation of the Vedas leads to the correct interpretation of the Purāṇas also. So, side by side with his work of symbolic interpretation of the Vedas he took up to write several Purāṇic studies also, unfolding the real essence of the Purāṇic conception of various deities, interpreting the various *ākhyānas* and the religious material contained in the Purāṇas, and bringing out the rich cultural material forming an important part of the vast Purāṇic literature. For him the Vedas were really the most ancient works on the *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā* or cosmology and cosmogony, which also formed the main topic of the Purāṇas. This idea of the Vedic *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā* pervades all his works of Vedic and Purāṇic studies.

This unique contribution of Dr. Agrawala to Vedic symbolism and Purāṇic interpretation has been highly appreciated at least in the West, and many Western Indologists regard him as their *Guru* in this field. Here in India also, a time will come when his works on Vedic symbolism and Purāṇa-Vidyā will begin to be studied and appreciated more and more. In fact, as Ruskin said, in order to understand and appreciate an author we have also to feel with him.

His contribution to Indian art is of no less value. He interpreted and brought out the religious and spiritual conception of the ancient Indian artists, on which their aesthetic sense had worked to produce the works of inspiring art of exquisite beauty and of permanent value. His approach to Indian art was a real Indian approach, according to which Indian art is not to be studied from a purely aesthetic point of view, but its esoteric and spiritual meanings are also to be studied and unfolded. According to him 'the permanent spiritual values of life had been cast into



an aesthetic mould that we call art'. And he always held it his sacred duty to interpret and unfold these permanent spiritual values of Indian art.

To the All-India Kashiraj Trust his death is an irreparable loss. He had been intimately connected with its Purāṇa-Department and Purāṇa-activities from the very beginning. In fact, it was he who had prompted the Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, who himself is a great lover and scholar of the Purāṇas, to organise the work on the Purāṇas, a great desideratum of the time, and the Purāṇa-Department was the result. Under his advice a Purāṇa-Committee was formed, and he continued to be an important member of this Committee, till his death snatched him from us.

In January 1960 he was entrusted by His Highness the work of editing the '*Purāṇa*' Bulletin, Vol. I. No. 2 issue of which was to be published on the Vasanta Pañcamī day (in the beginning of February, 1960). Dr. Agrawala undertook to bring out the Bulletin in time. Hardly a month's time was at his disposal. He at once started to write to the scholars of different places for the contribution of the articles to the *Purāṇa*. At his request a sufficient number of articles came. He worked day and night for the Bulletin, writing his own articles for it, scrutinising the articles sent by the other scholars, and editing them. It was a Herculean task, indeed, to publish this Journal in such a short time. But he was always true to his words. The hard and continuous work which he had to put up to publish this Bulletin in such a short time did not depress his spirits. I had to assist him in this difficult task, and so I had to stay with him at his own residence in the B. H. U. During this time I had a chance to study him closely. To me he appeared as a great saint and *tapasvin*. It was a real miracle when on the appointed date, the Vasanta Pañcamī day, he placed a printed copy of the '*Purāṇa*' in the hands of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh Ji. He remained on the Editorial Board of the *Purāṇa* Bulletin up to the end of his life. He contributed learned articles

and notes to nearly all the issues of the *Purāṇa* ; except when he was confined to bed.

During my stay with him, I used to accompany him on his early morning walk, and found him full of inspiration for the symbolic interpretation of the esoteric meaning of various Vedic and Purāṇic statements. During this morning walk he often used to halt suddenly and begin to explain the hidden meaning of the Vedic and Purāṇic *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā*, which in his opinion, was the main topic of the Vedas. Later on I found out that the Purāṇas also hold the Vedas as the works on the *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā* (cf. Skanda Purāṇa, Avanti-khaṇḍa, Revā-khaṇḍa, 9.40, and also Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa, Badrikāśrama-Māhātmya. 9.10.).

When in March-April 1960 he was confined to bed in the B.H.U. Hospital, I always found him there lying calmly and studying the text of the Ṛgveda. But when in his last days he was again admitted to the B. H. U. Hospital, he often lay unconscious. But whenever he gained his consciousness and I happened to be there at that time, he would always inquire of me if the Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā Number (July Issue) of the *Purāṇa* Bulletin was published. Often he was absorbed there in deep meditation with folding hands. If a Sanskrit Pandit came there to visit him, he would request that Paṇḍita to recite some *stotras*, and he would listen to them with deep reverence and with his eyes closed.

He had a high regard for H. H. Maharaja Vibhuti Narain Singh Ji and for his work for the Purāṇas. On 28.7.62 he woke up at night at about 3 A.M. and wrote in my presence a letter to His highness containing the following touching words :—

‘आप जैसा आवश्यक समझें मेरा उपयोग कर सकते हैं। स्वास्थ्य की वृत्तमूलन मर्यादा के भीतर मैं आज्ञा का पालन करूंगा। अर्थ की छाया से विरहित मेरा भास्वर मन आपको अर्पित है। क्योंकि आपने पुराणों का यह बड़ा कार्य उठाया है।’

He always co-operated with the Purāṇa work of the Kashiraj Trust. Besides contributing his learned articles to the *Purāṇa* Bulletin, he also prepared for the Trust several studies on the Purāṇas, viz. *The Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, and the

*Glorification of the Great Goddess* or the *Devī-Māhātmya*. He guided the work of the Critical Edition of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. In his Presidential address at the Gauhati Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, he referred to and appreciated the *Purāṇa*-work of the Kashiraj Trust.

Throughout his scholarly life he strived to preserve and follow the *paths of light* made by the ancient Vedic sages, and thus he actually carried out the sacred injunction of the Veda—  
'ज्योतिष्मतः पथो रक्ष धिया कृतात्'. (RV. 10, 53.6) .

We bow and offer our *namaskāra* to the great departed soul in the following words of the *Īśa-Upaniṣad* :—

भूयिष्ठां ते नम उक्तिं विधेम.

—A. S. GUPTA.

## ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(JULY-DECEMBER, 1966)

### CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE PURĀNAS

#### *Vāmana Purāṇa :*

Besides the collation of the twenty manuscripts of the Vāmana Purāṇa, as already noted in the previous review, a newly acquired Kashmirian manuscript belonging to Shri Raghunath Sanskrit Library, Jammu (Kashmir), is now being collated. It contains a Sanskrit commentary by Pt. Ramacandra Bhaṭṭa, a Kashmirian Pandit in the times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir about a hundred years ago. This commentary is also being noted separately, and is intended to be published along with the English and Hindi translations of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. We have also procured another Śāradā Ms. from the Banaras Hindu University Library, which is dated as Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1522) the oldest dated manuscript procured up till now by us. It is also being utilised. An Oriyā manuscript of the Vāmana Purāṇa has also been procured from Sri Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa). But it deals with Kṛṣṇa, Gopīs and Bṛndāvana. It is being studied to find out if it is a part of the Bṛhad Vāmana Purāṇa.

From amongst the south Indian manuscripts of the Vāmana Purāṇa we have been able to procure only three manuscripts— one Telugu, one Nandināgarī and one Devanāgarī. These have been collated. But it is rather strange that inspite of our best efforts we have not been able to trace any available Grantha or Malayalam manuscript of the Vāmana Purāṇa. The Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, the Govt. Oriented Mss. Library, Madras, and the Keral University Library, Trivendrum, all have informed us that they do not have any Grantha or Malayalam manuscript of the Vāmana Purāṇa. So we have to go without them.

## काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

( जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९६६ )

### पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

#### वामनपुराणकार्यम्

यथा पूर्वकार्यविवरणे सूचितं यद् वामनपुराणस्य विंशत्या हस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादकार्यं पूर्वं कृतमासीत् । इदानीं तु रघुनन्दनपुस्तकालय, जम्मू ( काश्मीर ) तः प्राप्तस्य एकस्य नवीनहस्तलेखस्य पाठसंवादः प्रचलति । अस्मिन् हस्तलेखे काश्मीरनरेशश्रीरणवीरसिंहसमकालीनस्य रामचन्द्रभट्टनाम्नः काश्मीरीयपण्डितस्य, टीकाऽपि वर्तते । एषा टीका वामनपुराणस्य हिन्दी-आंग्लभाषानुवादे प्रकाशयितुम् इष्यते । काशीहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयतः एकः अपरः शारदालिप्यां लिखितः हस्तलेखोऽपि अस्माभिः लब्धः । अस्य लेखनकालः १४४४ शकसंवत् ( ई० सन् १५२२ ) वर्तते । अयं हस्तलेखः अस्माभिः संवादितेषु सर्वेषु हस्तलेखेषु प्राचीनतमोस्ति । अस्यापि उपयोगः करिष्यते । वामनपुराणनामभाक् एकः उत्कललिप्यां लिखितः हस्तलेखोऽपि अस्माभिः प्राप्तः । परं तु अस्मिन् हस्तलेखे कृष्ण-गोपी-राधा-वृन्दावनादिविषयाः वर्णिताः प्रतीयन्ते । एष हस्तलेखः अनुसंधीयते यत् संभवतः बृहद्वामनाभिधपुराणस्य कश्चित् अंशो भवेत् ।

दक्षिणभारतीयहस्तलेखेषु अस्माभिः त्रय एव कोशा उपलब्धाः—एकः तेलगुलिपिकोशः, एकः नन्दिनागरीलिपिकोशः, अन्यश्च देवनागरीलिप्याम् । इदं तु आश्चर्यं यदस्माकं प्रयत्नानन्तरमपि ग्रन्थलिप्यां, मलयालमलिप्यां वा लिखितः कोऽपि हस्तलेखः न प्राप्तः । तञ्जोरस्य सरस्वतीमहलपुस्तकालयः मद्रासस्थो राजकीयप्राच्यहस्तलेखपुस्तकालयः, केरलविश्वविद्यालयपुस्तकालयः—इत्येतेषाम-धिकारिभिः सूचितं यत् तत्र मलयालमलिप्यां ग्रन्थलिप्यां वा वामनपुराणस्य हस्तलेखो न वर्तते । अतोऽस्माभिः तस्याभावे एव कार्यं क्रियते ।

In connection with the critical edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa Shri Anand Swarup Gupta went to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in October and discussed some points with Dr. P. L. Vaidya and Dr. R. N. Dandekar, who were very helpful and hospitable and gave some suggestions regarding the critical apparatus. The Kashiraj Trust is thankful to them for their kind and valuable co-operation.

The matter of the critical edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa is now being sent to the Press, and by God's grace we expect to bring it out by the time of the session of the International Congress of Orientalists to be held in August 1967 in U. S. A.

*Kūrma Purāṇa :—*

The Collation of the three Devanāgarī manuscripts of the Kūrma Purāṇa—one from India Office, one from B. O. R. I. Poona, and one from V.V.R.I. Hoshiarpur—have been completed, and are now being checked and compared. We have obtained one Devanāgarī Manuscript from the Adyar Libray. It is now being collated. We are also trying to get one Bengali manuscript from Serampur (West Bengal).

OTHER WORK ON THE PURĀṆAS

*English Translation of the Vāmana Purāṇas*

The constituted text of the Vāmana Purāṇa is being translated into English by Prof. Satyansu Mohan Mukhopadhyaya of Varanasi on behalf of the Kashiraj Trust. The work will be completed in a few months.

*Hindi Translation of the Vāmana Purāṇa :*

The Kashiraj Trust has got the Vāmana Purāṇa translated into Hindi by Pt. Gopal Chandra Shastri of Varanasi. The translation has been completed and is now being revised.

वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य सम्बन्धे श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः अक्टूबरमासे पुण्यपत्तनस्थभाण्डारकर-ओरियण्टल-रिसर्च-इन्स्टीच्यूट नाम्नीं संस्थां गतः । तत्र डा० पी० एल० वैद्यमहोदयैः, डा० आर० एन० दाण्डेकर-महोदयैः च सह विचारविमर्शं कृतवान् । तैः महाभागैः अतीवसौमनस्यं प्रदर्शितम् । तैः पाठसमीक्षाविवरण ( Critical Apparatus ) विषये केचित्परामर्शाः दत्ताः । काशिराजन्यासः तान् प्रति तेषां सहयोगाय कृतज्ञो वर्तते ।

वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं ( Critical Edition ) मुद्रणार्थं मुद्राणालये प्रदीयमानं वर्तते । ईश्वरानुकम्पया आशास्महे यदिदं संस्करणम् अगस्त १९६७ मध्ये अमरीकादेशे संभाव्यमानस्य अन्तरराष्ट्रीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्यावसरे प्रकाशितं भविष्यति ।

### कूर्मपुराण-कार्यम्

कूर्मपुराणस्य त्रयो हस्तलेखाः संवादिताः—एकः इण्डियाआफिस, लाइब्रेरी, लण्डन इत्यस्य अपरः 'भाण्डारकरओरियण्टलरिसर्चइन्स्टीच्यूट' संस्थायाः तृतीयश्च विश्वेश्वरानन्दशोधसंस्थान होशियारपुर, इत्यस्य । एषां हस्तलेखानां परीक्षा तुलना च संप्रति क्रियते । अब्दयार लाइब्रेरीतः एकः देवनागरी हस्तलेखोऽपि प्राप्तः । अस्य पाठसंवादः प्रचलति । सीरामपुर(पश्चिमबंगाल) तः एकस्य वंगीयहस्तलेखस्य प्राप्तये प्रयत्नः प्रचलति ।

### पुराणसम्बन्धीनि इतरकार्याणि

#### वामनपुराणस्य आंग्लभाषानुवादः

काशिराजन्यासाय वामनपुराणस्य आंग्लभाषानुवादः काशीवास्तव्येन प्रो० सत्यांशुमोहनमुखोपाध्यायमहोदयेन क्रियते । कतिपयमासेषु एष पूर्णो भविष्यति ।

#### वामनपुराणस्य हिन्दीभाषानुवादः

वामनपुराणस्य हिन्दीभाषानुवादः काशिराजन्यासाय काशीवास्तव्येन श्री गोपालचन्द्रशास्त्रिणा कृतः । अनुवादः पूर्णो जातः संप्रति पुनरीक्षणे वर्तते ।

*Collection of Vāmana Purāṇa quotations from the Nibandha-granthis :*

Vāmana Purāṇa quotations have been collected, during the period under review, from the following Nibandhas and Smṛti-ṭikās :—

दानसागर, कृत्यकल्पतरु, हेमाद्रि-चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, तीर्थचिन्तामणि, वीरमित्रोदय (all the available Khaṇḍas), स्मृतितत्त्व, यात्रातत्त्व, नित्याचारप्रदीप, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, समयमयूख, आचारमयूख, श्राद्धमयूख, दानमयूख, विधानपारिजात, कृत्य-रत्नाकर, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, बुद्धिकौमुदी, वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, कालविवेक, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिमुक्ताफल, मदनपारिजात, नृसिंहप्रसाद, तीर्थसार, कालतत्त्वविवेचन, ब्रह्माचारशिरोमणि, पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि, कालसार. आचारादर्श, आचाररत्न, जयसिंह-कल्पद्रुम, पराशरमाधवटीका and विद्वन्मनोहराटीका of पराशरस्मृति, and अपराकंठीका of याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

*Searching of the Vāmana Purāṇa topics and parallel ślokas in other Purāṇas :*

The Vāmana Purāṇa topics have been searched in all the Mahāpurāṇas, the Śiva Purāṇa and the Devī-Bhāgavata. The parallel ślokas of the Vāmana Purāṇa have also been traced in all the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, Śiva Purāṇa and the Devī Bhāgavata. The Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa will also be taken now for this purpose.

*The edition of the Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa :*

Ten Chapters of the Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa have already been published in the previous issues of the Purāṇa Bulletin. Dr. Raghavan has sent six further chapters of the Svalpa Matsya for publication in the 'Purāṇa'. He has now also acquired a London manuscript of the Svalpa Matsya, which is also being utilised for the Svalpa Matsya edition, besides the Assamese manuscript.

*Publications of the Kashiraj Trust*

During this period the following works have been published :

1. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa-Viṣaya-Sūcī (The Subject-Index of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa) by Pt. Madhvacharya Adya of the Purāṇa



## निबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः वामनपुराणोद्धरणानां संग्रहः

अस्मिन् समये अधोनिर्दिष्टनिबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः स्मृतिग्रन्थेभ्यश्च वामनपुराणस्योद्धरणानां संकलनं कृतम्—

दानसागर, कृत्यकल्पतरु, हेमाद्रि-चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, तीर्थचिन्तामणि, वीरमित्रोदय ( उपलब्धानि सर्वाणि संस्करणानि ) स्मृतितत्त्व, नित्याचारप्रदीप, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, समयमयूख, आचारमयूख, श्राद्धमयूख, दानमयूख, विधानपारिजात, कृत्यरत्नाकर, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, शुद्धिकौमुदी, वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, कालविवेक, स्मृतिमुक्ताफल, मदनपारिजात, नृसिंहप्रसाद, तीर्थसार, कालतत्त्व-विवेचन, शूद्राचारशिरोमणि, कालसार, आचारादर्श, आचाररत्न, जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम, इत्येते निबन्धग्रन्थाः तथा पराशरमाधवाख्या विद्वन्मनोहरारख्या च टीके पराशरस्मृतेः, याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतेः अपरार्क टीका च ।

वामनपुराणस्य समानविषयाणां समान श्लोकानां च अन्यपुराणेषु अन्वेषणम्—

वामनपुराणस्य विषयाणां अष्टादशमहापुराणेषु शिवपुराणे, देवीभागवतपुराणे च अन्वेषणं कृतम् । समानश्लोकानामपि अष्टादशमहापुराणेषु शिवपुराणे देवीभागवते च अन्वेषणं कृतम् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे तेषाम् अन्वेषणं क्रियते ।

## स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य संस्करणम्

स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य दश अध्यायानां प्रकाशनं 'पुराण' पत्रिकायाः गताङ्केषु जातम् । डा० राघवन्महोदयैः पुराणपत्रिकायां प्रकाशनार्थं अन्येऽपि षडध्यायाः प्रेषिताः । इदानीं तैर्महोदयैः स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य एको हस्तलेखः लण्डननगर-तोऽधिगतः । असमदेशीयहस्तलेखातिरिक्तं अस्य हस्तलेखस्यापि सम्पादने उपयोगं ते कुर्वन्ति ।

## काशिराजन्यासस्य प्रकाशनानि

अस्मिन्काले अधोनिर्दिष्टाः ग्रन्थाः प्रकाशिताः

१. विष्णुपुराणविषयसूची—श्रीमध्वाचार्य आद्येन निर्मिता । एषा पुराणपत्रिकायां

Department. It is a reprint of the Viṣaya-Sūcī published in 'Purāṇa' Vol. VIII. 1. Scholars are requested to send their valuable suggestions.

2. A new Abridged Version of the Br̥haspati-Samhitā of the Garuḍa Purāṇa By Dr. L. Sternbach. It is also a reprint in the book-form of his article published in the 'Purāṇa' VIII. 2. It is a critical edition of the Manuscript-Add. 1040 of the University Library, Cambridge. This edition contains a learned introduction, critical apparatus and the critical text of the above manuscript, which is an abridged version of the Nīti-Adhyāyas of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

#### VEDA PĀRĀYAṆA

In the month of last Āṣāḍha (June-July) the recitation by memory of the whole of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda Samhitā (Taittirīya Śākhā) was arranged during the whole of the bright half of this month (19th June-2nd July) in the Vyāsa temple of the Ramnagar Fort. The reciter was Pt. Narayana Ramchandra Datar of Varanasi. At the conclusion of the Pārāyaṇa the reciter was awarded a certificate of merit and a gold-bracelet by H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh.

#### PURĀṆA-GOṢṬHĪ

After the Pārāyaṇa a Purāṇa-goṣṭhī was also arranged in the Śivala Palace of Varanasi. Many local Scholars and Pandits participated. A report containing the brief review of the Purāṇa-work of the Kashiraj Trust was read. Some Ślokas of the Vāmana Purāṇa were discussed with a view to elicit their correct text and explanation. Dr. Surendra Nath Shastri, Vice-Chancellor of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University suggested that the Kashiraj Trust should republish those printed editions of the Purāṇas which are now out of print. The idea was appreciated, and the Chairman of the Goṣṭhī, H.H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, promised to consider the scheme.

#### PURĀṆA-PĀṬHA AND PRAVACANA

In the month of Kārtika from November 9 to 15 the Nāradiya Purāṇa was recited in the Padmanābha temple of

(VIII. 1) प्रकाशितायाः विष्णुपुराणविषयसूच्या पुनर्मुद्रणरूपास्ति । विद्वांसः स्वस्वसम्मतिप्रदानार्थं प्रार्थयन्ते ।

२. गरुणपुराणस्य बृहस्पतिसंहिताया एको नवीनः संक्षिप्त पाठः—अयमपि पुराणपत्रिका (८।२) तः पुनर्मुद्रणं वर्तते । अयम् कैम्ब्रिजविश्वविद्यालयस्य १०४० संख्यात्मकस्य हस्तलेखस्य समीक्षितसंस्करणमस्ति । अस्मिन् ग्रंथे हस्तलेखस्य विद्वत्तापूर्णा भूमिका, पाठविवरणं, समीक्षात्मकः पाठश्च वर्तते । अयं हस्तलेखः गरुणपुराणस्य 'नीति' अध्यायानां संक्षिप्तं रूपं वर्तते ।

### वेदपारायणम्

गते आषाढमासे ( जून-जुलाई ) रामनगरदुर्गस्थितस्य व्यासमन्दिरे सम्पूर्ण-कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य ( तैत्तिरीयशाखायाः ) कण्ठाग्रं पारायणं सम्पूर्णं शुक्लपक्षे (१९ जून-२ जुलाई) सम्पादितम् । पारायणं तु वाराणसेयेन पं० नारायणरामचन्द्र-दातारमहोदयेन कृतम् । पारायणसमाप्तौ पाठकर्त्रे तत्र भवद्भिः ; काशीनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः एकं स्वर्णकङ्कणम् प्रमाणपत्रं च प्रदत्तम् ।

### पुराणगोष्ठी

पारायणसमाप्त्यवसरे वाराणस्यां काशिराजन्यासस्य शिवालाप्रासादे एका पुराणगोष्ठी आयोजिता आसीत् यस्यांस्थानीया अनेके विद्वांस उपस्थिता आसन् । काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणसंबन्धि कार्यविवरणम् गोष्ठ्यां पठितम् । वामनपुराणस्य केषाञ्चित् श्लोकानामपि पाठनिर्णयार्थम् अर्थसौकर्याय च विमर्शः जातः । वाराणसेय-संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उपकुलपतिना डा० सुरेन्द्रनाथशास्त्रिणा प्रस्तावितम् यत् काशिराजन्यासेन तेषां पुराणानां प्रकाशनं करणीयं येषां संस्करणानि अनुपलब्धानि जातानि । गोष्ठ्या अध्यक्षैस्तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः योजनां विचारयितुं स्वीकृतम् ।

### पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

कार्तिकमासे ९ नवम्बरतः १५ नवम्बरं यावत् रामनगरस्थितस्य पद्मनाभ-

Ramnagar. The discourses on it were given by Pt. Prem Vallabha Tripathi, Professor of Dharmasāstra in the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University.

#### OTHER ACTIVITIES

##### *Vāmana-Jayantī*

On भाद्र शुक्ल द्वादशी (26 Sept. 1966) the Vāmana Jayanti was celebrated in the Purāṇa Dept. The Pūjā was performed and the prasāda was distributed. His Highness Maharaja Kashinaresh, Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghbir Singh, and Shri Jagdish Munshi also participated.

##### *All India Oriental Conference*

The XXII Session of the All India Oriental Conference was held at Aligarh under the auspices of the Aligarh Muslim University on Oct. 27-29 on behalf of the Kashiraj Trust Shri Anand Swarup Gupta attended this Session, and read his following two papers in the classical Section.

1. Nature of Textual Criticism in Sankrit Literature.
2. Problems of the Textual Reconstruction of the Vāmana Purāṇa.

He also contacted some scholars and acquainted them with the nature and progress of the Purāṇa-work of the Trust.

The General President, Dr. A. N. Upadhye, referred to and appreciated the Purāṇa-work of the Kashiraj Trust in his Presidential speech.

##### *Distinguished Guests and Visitors*

The following were the guests of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singhji in the Nadesar House during the period :-

1. Shri Jagjiwan Ram, Minister for Labour, Govt. of India. (3. 7. 66).
2. Dr. R. K. Sharma, Ministry of Education, Govt. of India. (31. 7. 66 ; 30. 12. 66).
3. Prof. W. P. Lehman. (20. 8. 66).
4. Shri Morar Ji Desai. (29. 8. 66).

मन्दिरे नारदीयपुराणस्य पाठः प्रवचनं च कृतम् । अस्य प्रवचनं च श्रीप्रेमवल्लभ-  
त्रिपाठिना कृतम् ।

### अन्यकार्याणि

#### वामनजयन्ती

भाद्रशुक्लद्वादश्यां ( २६ सितम्बर १९६६ ) पुराणविभागे वामनजयन्ती  
आयोजिताऽऽसीत् । वामनभगवतः पूजानन्तरं प्रसादवितरणं जातम् । तत्र भवान्  
काशिनरेशः, महाराजकुमार डा० रघुवीरसिंहः तथा श्रीजगदीश मुंशी महोदया  
उपस्थिता आसन् ।

#### अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनम्—

अक्टूबरमासस्य २७-२९ दिनाङ्केषु अलीगढ़विश्वविद्यालयस्य तत्त्वावधाने  
अखिलभारतीय प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य द्वाविंशतितमं अधिवेशनं संयोजितम् ।  
काशिराजन्यासस्य प्रतिनिधिरूपेण श्रीआनन्दस्वरूप गुप्तः अधिवेशने उपस्थितः  
आसीत् तेन इमौ निबन्धौ पठितौ—

(१) संस्कृतसाहित्ये पाठसमीक्षास्वरूपम्

(२) वामनपुराणस्य पाठसंपादनस्य समस्या

तेन कैश्चिद् विद्वद्भिः सह संपर्कश्च स्थापितः । ते पुराणकार्यविषये  
अवगताश्च कृताः । अधिवेशनाध्यक्षैः श्री ए० एन० उपाध्येमहोदयैः स्वीये  
अध्यक्षीयभाषणे न्यासस्य पुराणकार्यस्य उल्लेखः प्रशंसनं च कृतम् ।

#### विशिष्टा अतिथयः

अस्मिन् समये अधोनिर्दिष्टाः सज्जनाः तत्र भवतः काशिनरेशस्य नदेसर  
भवने अतिथय आसन्—

१. केन्द्रीय श्रममन्त्री श्रीजगजीवनरामः ( ३-७-६६ )
२. शिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य डा० आर० के० शर्मा (३१-७-६६, ३०-१२-६६)
३. प्रो० डब्ल्यू० पी० लेहमान् (२०-८-६६)
४. श्रीमोरारजी देसाई ( २९-८-६६ )

5. Shri Kantilal Desai. (29-8. 66).
6. Dr. L. Sternbach, U.N.O. (9. 9. 66).
7. The Vice Air Marshal, Delhi. (18. 9. 66).
8. Shri Algu Rai Shastri. (22. 9. 66).
9. Shri Jagdish Munshi. (25. 9. 66).
10. M. K. Dr. Raghbir Singh. (25. 9. 66).
11. Shri Bhagavati Prasad Sinha, Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Nepal. (Nov. 1966).
12. Shri Dharmendra B. Singh, Judge, Supreme Court, Nepal.

The following scholars visited the Purāṇā-Department of the Kashiraj Trust and appreciated its Purāṇa-work :—

1. Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department, Madras University, and Member of our Purāṇa committee.
2. Dr. R. K. Sharma, Asstt. Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education, Government of India, and Member of our Purāṇa-Committee.
3. Prof. S. K. Dave, Prof. of Sanskrit, S. J. Arts & Commerce College, Siddhpur (Gujaret).
4. Diwan Bahadur Shri Kameshwar Naryan Singh, Vidyā-lankār, Narhan (Bihar).
5. Dr. L. Sternbach, Hon. Prof. of Dharmasāstra and Ancient Indian Culture, Senior Officer, United Nations, New York (8. 9. 66).
6. M. K. Dr. Raghbir Singh, Sitamau, Malwa, Member of the Kashiraj Trust. (26. 9. 66)
7. Shri Jagdish Munshi, Advocace, Bombay. (26. 9. 66).
8. M. M. Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur.
9. Dr. S. N. Shastri, V. C. Varanaseya Sanskrit Visva-vidyalaya, Varanasi. 30. 12. 66).

The Trust is grateful to all these scholars for their interest in its Purāṇa-work.

५. श्रीकान्तिलाल देसाई ( २९-८-६६ )
६. डा० लुडविग स्टर्नबाख् ( ९-९-६६ )
७. वायस एयरमार्शल, दिल्ली, ( १८-९-६६ )
८. श्री अलगूराय शास्त्री ( २२-९-६६ )
९. श्री जगदीशमुन्शी ( २५-९-६६ )
१०. महाराजकुमार डा० रघुवीरसिंहः ( २५-९-६६ )
११. नेपालराज्यस्य मुख्यन्यायाधीशः श्रीभगवती प्रसाद सिन्हा
१२. नेपालराज्यस्य सर्वोच्चन्यायालयस्य न्यायाधीशः श्रीधर्मेन्द्र बी० सिंहः

अधोनिर्दिष्टा विद्वांसः पुराणविभागं दृष्टवन्तः तस्य पुराणकार्यस्य प्रशंसां च कृतवन्तः ।

१. मद्रपुरीयविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षः डा० वे० राघवन् महोदयः
२. केन्द्रीय शिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य अधिकारी डा० रामकरण शर्मा महोदयः
३. सिद्धपुर (गुजरात) वास्तव्यः प्रो० एस० के० दवे महोदयः
४. बिहार प्रान्तस्य 'नरहन' निवासी दीवानबहादुर श्रीकामेश्वरनारायणसिंह महोदयः
५. 'युनाइटेड नेसन्स' इत्यस्य डा० स्टर्नबाख्महोदयः
६. महाराजकुमार श्री डा० रघुवीरसिंह महोदयः
७. बम्बई नगरस्य वाकीलः श्रीजगदीशमुन्शी महोदयः
८. महामहोपाध्याय डा० वी० वी० मिराशी महोदयः
९. वाराणसेय संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उपकुलपतिः डा० सुरेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री महोदयः

न्यासः एतेभ्यः विद्वद्भ्यः तेषां पुराणकार्ये रुचिप्रदर्शनाय स्वकृतज्ञतां ज्ञापयति ।

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