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लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,  
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् न्यासं च निबध्नन्ति

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## पुराणम्—PURANA

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## अन्धककृता गौरीस्तुतिः

(वामन पु०, पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणम्, अ० ४४)

[अन्धकोऽपि तदा गौरीं भक्तिनम्रो महामुने ।

स्तुतिं चक्रे महापुण्यां पापघ्नीं श्रुतिसम्मिताम् ॥६१॥]

अन्धक उवाच ।

ॐ नमस्ये भवानीं भूतभव्यप्रियां लोकधात्रीं  
जनित्रीं स्कन्दमातरं महादेवप्रियां धारिणीं  
स्यन्दिनीं चेतनां त्रैलोक्यमातरं धरित्रीं देवमातरम्  
अथेज्यां श्रुतिं स्मृतिं दयां लज्जां कान्तिमध्याम्  
असूयां मतिं सदापावनीं दैत्यसैन्यक्षयकरीं [ 5 ]

महामायां वैजयन्तीं शुभां कालरात्रिं  
गोविन्दभगिनीं शैलराजपुत्रीं सर्वदेवार्चितां  
सर्वभूतार्चितां विद्यां सरस्वतीं त्रिनयनमहिर्षीं  
नमस्यामि मृडानीं शरण्यां शरणमुपागतोऽहं  
नमो नमस्ते ॥ [10]

### पाठान्तराणि (Variants)

[वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणनिर्माणार्थं विंशतिः हस्तलेखाः संवादिताः ।  
तेषां विवरणं तत्रैव प्रदत्तम् । तेभ्यः संगृह्य पाठान्तराणि प्रदीयन्तेऽत्र तत्तत्पाठान्तरवतां  
हस्तलेखानाम् ग्राह्यं च संख्या अग्रे कोष्ठे प्रदीयते]

संकेताः—

कारा. = रामचन्द्रभट्टकया युतः काश्मीर-हस्तलेखः ।

L. = Line, गद्यपंक्तिः ।

→ इति चिह्नं गृहीतपाठं संकेतयति ।

○ इति चिह्नं 'नास्ति' इति सूचयति ।

श्लो० ६१. -a) तदा गौर्यां [ : ] (१); -d) शोभनां (→पापघ्नीं) (१); श्रुति-  
सम्मताम् (४), श्रुतिचोदिताम् (१).

- L.1. नमस्तेऽस्तु (४), नमस्ये त्वां (३, काश्मीर-हस्तलेखाः); भूतभव्यभवप्रियां (२), °भवत्प्रियां (१), भूतभव्यदधिभुवं भवप्रियां (१, कारा.) (→भूतभव्यप्रियां); लोकमात्रीं महीशानीं (→लोकधात्रीं) (१, काश्मीर-हस्तलेखः).
- L.2. जनयित्रीं (२), जननीं (१) (→जनित्रीं); धरिणीं (२), धरणीं (१), वागीं धरिणीं (१), अन्नकारिणीं (१) (→धारिणीं).
- L.3. स्यन्दिनी (२, बंगहस्तलेखौ), स्कन्दिनीं (४, काश्मीर-हस्तलेखाः) (→स्यन्दिनीं).
- L.4. अथेष्टां ज्यां (३ काश्मीर-हस्तलेखाः), अतीष्टां ज्यां (कारा.); कान्तिम् (१) (→कान्तिमग्नां).
- L.5. अनसूयां (३--२ काश्मीर-हस्तलेखौ १ नन्दीनागरीहस्तलेखः), कामसूयां (१); सतीं (२, वङ्ग ह० ले०) (→मति); सनातनीं (२), शुभां पार्वतीं (२, दक्षिण ह० ले०) (→सदा पावनीं); °क्षयंकरीं (६), °भयंकरीं (१); °जयंकरीं (१).
- L.6. मायामयीं (१, बंगहस्तलेखः), मायामयीं समायां (२, बंगहस्तलेखौ), महामायां सुमायां (३ ह० ले०), महामायां समायां, महामायां महासेनां (१, दक्षिण ह० ले०) (→महामायां); जयां वैजयन्तीं (→वैजयन्तीं) (दक्षिण ह० ले०); सुशुभां (४, काश्मीर ह० ले०).
- L.9. °णमुपयातो (४, देवनागरी ह० ले०), °णमुपजा (या?) तो (१, बंगहस्तलेखः)
- L.10. ॐ नमो नमस्ते (७).

### पाठसमीक्षात्मिका व्याख्यात्मिकाश्च टिप्पण्यः

(Textual and Explanatory Notes)

श्लो० ६१. गौरीं—गौरीं स्तुति चक्रे = गौर्याः स्तुति चक्रे । 'गौर्याः' इति पाठस्तु केवलम् एकस्मिन्नेव हस्तलेखे वर्तते, संशोधितश्च स प्रतीयते । अतः 'गौरीं' इत्येव पाठोऽत्र ग्राह्यः; षष्ठीस्थाने द्वितीयाप्रयोगः, यद्वा गौरी-मित्यत्र 'चक्रे' क्रियायां गौरां कर्मणि मन्तव्यम् ।

L.1. भूतभव्यप्रियां—'भूतभव्येत्यनेन 'भवत्' (वर्तमानम्) इत्यप्यत्रोपलक्षितम्, यथा कठोपनिषदि 'ईशानं भूतभव्यस्य' इत्यंशस्य 'कालत्रयस्य' इति व्याख्यानं कृतं शाङ्करभाष्ये । वामनपुराणे अन्यत्रापि (६४.१२d) 'भूतभव्यवित्' इति वर्तते ।

L.2. जनित्रीं—द्वयोर्हस्तलेखयोः 'जनयित्री' इति पाठः; एकस्मिन् 'जननी' इति च पाठः; शेषेषु सर्वत्र 'जनित्री' (अन्तर्भावित्यर्थः) इति; 'जनिता' (= जनयिता) 'जनित्री' (= जनयित्री) प्रयोगौ मन्त्रे (वेदसंहितायाम्) एवोपलभ्येते, यथा 'यो नः पिता जनिता' (ऋ. वे. १०. ८२. ३),

‘जनिता मन्त्रे’ (प्राणिनि ६. ४. २३); अत एव वामनपुराणेऽत्र  
‘जनित्री’ इति पाठो वैदिक एव, स एव च प्राचीनतरः प्रतीयते; ‘जनयित्री’  
इति संशोधितः पाठः । वामने अन्यत्रापि (२१. ३७d) ‘जगतो जनित्री’  
इति पाठः ।

- L.3. स्यन्दिनी—सर्वत्र प्रवाहिणीं, व्यापिनोमिति यावत् । काश्मीर-हस्तलेखेषु ‘स्कन्दिनी’  
इति पाठः । अस्य व्याख्या कारा, पुस्तके ‘स्कन्दिनीं कुमारस्य शक्ति  
कौमारीं, स्कन्दिनीमभक्तानां शोषयित्रीं भक्तानां ज्ञानदायिनीं च ।’

चेतनां—‘चेतयित्रीं बुद्धिं चिति ।’ (कारा.)

धरित्रीं—‘सर्वाधारां भूमिम्’ (कारा.)

- L.4. इज्यां—ईष्टि; ‘व्रजयजो भावे क्यप्’ (पा. ३. ३. ६८)

- L.5. असूयां—इत्येव पाठो बहुषु पुस्तकेषु वर्तते, केवलं द्वयोः काश्मीर-हस्तलेखयोः  
एकस्मिन् दक्षिणात्यहस्तलेखे च ‘अतसूयां’ इति पाठो वर्तते । स च  
संशोधितः प्रतीयते । यद्यपि असूया शब्दस्य ‘दोषारोपो गुणोष्कपि’  
इत्यर्थः प्रसिद्धः, परन्त्वत्र स्तुतिप्रसङ्गे ‘न सूयते’ इति निर्वाचनेन असूया-  
मित्यस्य अजामित्यर्थो बोद्धव्यः ।

- L.6. महामायां—‘ब्रह्मादीनामीश्वराणामपि मोहिनी अघटनघटनपटुतरा महामाया’  
(कारा.)

वैजयन्ती—‘विशिष्टजययुक्तां; विजयन्ती सर्वोत्कर्षयुक्ता, विजयन्त्येव वैजयन्ती,  
पताकावत् सर्वोर्ध्वमार्गस्या विद्यात्मिका’ (कारा.)

- L.7. गोविन्दभगिनीं—‘तन्दजावतारे’ (कारा.)

- L.8. विद्यां—(१) धर्मस्य वेदनाद् विद्या, विद् ज्ञाने परमात्मभावस्यावबोधकत्वात् ;

(२) अपरमार्थस्य मायीयप्रपञ्चस्य निराकरणाद्वा विद्या, विद् हिंसायाम् ;

(३) ‘सर्वज्ञता तृप्तिरनादिबोधः स्वतन्त्रता नित्यमलुप्तशक्तिः ।

अनन्तशक्तिश्च विभोविधिज्ञाः षडाहुरङ्गानि महेश्वरस्य ॥’

इत्यभियुक्तोक्तसार्वज्ञ्यादिषड्गुणलाभाद्वा विद्या, यदुक्तं शैवतन्त्रे—

‘वेदनाऽनादिधर्मस्य परमार्थत्वबोधना ।

वर्जनाऽपरमार्थत्वे तस्माद्विद्येति सोच्यते ।

विन्दते ह्यत्र युगपत् सार्वज्ञ्यादिगुणान्परात् ।’ इत्यादि ।

(कारा.)

- सरस्वतीं—‘ज्ञानविग्रहां पररसानन्दात्मिकां च ।’ (कारा.)

वामनपुराणेऽन्यत्र (२०. ३६d; २१. ३६b) कात्यायन्यपि सरस्वती-

त्यभिहिता; विष्णुपुराणे च (१. ६. ११६) लक्ष्मी 'मिथा श्रद्धा सरस्वती'  
इति स्तुता ।

त्रिनयनमहिषीं—'त्रिनयनस्य इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्मकाग्निरवीन्दुरूपनयनत्रितययुक्तस्य  
महिषी पट्टराज्ञी । अनेन त्रिनेत्राद्यात्मकं समानधर्मत्वमस्याः शिवेन  
सह द्योतितम् ।' (कारा.)

L.9. नमस्यामि—'नमोवरिवश्चित्रदुः क्यङ्, परस्मैपदमार्घम्' (कारा.) । वस्तुतस्तु  
अत्र 'क्यञ्' प्रत्ययः, न क्यङ्, (पा. ३. १. १६) । अतएव परस्मैपद-  
मात्मनेपदम् च—नमस्ये, नमस्यामि—उभयमेवात्र साधु ।

मृडानीं—मृडस्यानन्दात्मकस्य शिवस्य पत्नीम् ।

आङ्गलभाषायामनुवादः (English Translation)

O great sage (Nārada), the Asura Andhaka also, humble with devotion, then uttered the eulogy of the Goddess Gaurī (Pārvatī)—the eulogy which is very sacred, which destroys sins and which resembles a Vaidika eulogy—as follows :—

Om, I bow to Bhavānī (Consort of Bhava or Śiva) who is dear [to the worlds] in past, present and future, who sustains the worlds, who produces the worlds, who is the Mother of Skanda, the consort of Mahādeva, the supporter [of the universe], all-pervading, the Consciousness, the Mother of the three worlds, the supporter, the Mother of the gods, the Sacrifice, the Śruti (Veda), the Smṛti, the compassion, the modesty, best lustre, the unborn, the Intellect, the ever-purifying, the destroyer of the armies of the Daityas, the Great Illusion, the ever-victorious, the auspicious, the Night of all-destroying time (or the Night of destruction at the end of the world), the Sister of Govinda or Viṣṇu (in the form of the daughter of Nanda), the Daughter of the king of the mountains, worshipped by all the gods, worshipped by all creatures, the Knowledge, the Sarasvatī, the Queen of the three-eyed God Mahādeva.

I bow to the gracious Goddess who is the consort of the blessing God Śiva, and who is the best afforder of shelter ; to Her I approach for protection and shelter. Homage, homage to Thee.



अन्धककृता पार्वतीस्तुतिः पद्यरूपेण कूर्मपुराणेऽपि वर्तते, यथा—

नमामि देववल्लभामनादिमद्रिजामिमाम् ।  
 यतः प्रधानपूरुषौ निहन्ति याऽखिलं जगत् ॥  
 विभाति या शिवासने शिवेन साकमव्यया ।  
 हिरण्येऽतिनिर्मले नमामि तां हिमाद्रिजाम् ॥  
 यदन्तराऽखिलं जगज्जगन्ति यान्ति संक्षयम् ।  
 नमामि यत्र तामुमामशेषदोषवर्जिताम् ॥  
 न जायते न होयते न वर्द्धते च तामुमाम् ।  
 नमामि तां गुणातिगां गिरीशपुत्रिकामिमाम् ॥  
 क्षमस्व देवि शैलजे कृतं मया विमोहितम् ।  
 सुरासुरैर्नमस्कृतं नमामि ते पदाम्बुजम् ॥  
 [ इत्थं भगवती देवी भक्तिनम्रेण पार्वती ।  
 संस्तुता दैत्यपतिना पुत्रस्वे जगृहेऽन्धकम् ॥ ]

( कूर्मपु०, १. १६. २१६-२१९ )

—आनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः

## पुराणपाठनिर्धारणरीतिविषयको विमर्शः

विश्वनाथशास्त्री दातार

[The writer here presents a method of text-reconstruction, which, in his opinion, should be adopted in reconstituting the text of the Purāṇas. He suggests that the different text-traditions, specially with regard to the order and number of the adhyāyas and the ślokas, prevalent and preserved in different *Sampradāyas* (religious schools) and used for *pārāyaṇa* (reciting) etc., should be adhered to in text-reconstruction. The writer is not in favour of making one single reconstituted text by mixing together the different textual traditions. In his opinion, the order and number of the adhyāyas and the ślokas of a particular textual tradition should be adopted; and only the scribal mistakes should be corrected. He illustrates the point from the Suśruta, the well-known medical treatise of ancient India, and its commentary by Ḍalhaṇa, where the commentator accepts as authentic the different readings for herbs etc. on the authority of the various Ayurvedic Ācāryas.

With this theory in view, he also criticises the principles which have been adopted for constituting the text of the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa recently published by the Kashiraj Trust. These principles have been discussed in the Introduction of this Edition, and also have been published in the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin, IX. 1 (January, 1967), pp. 141-194. A Sanskrit summary of these principles was supplied to the writer for his views.]

“नमामि धर्मविज्ञानवैराग्यैश्वर्यशालिने ।

निधये वाग्विशुद्धीनामक्षपादाय तायिने ॥”

सर्वस्याप्यन्धतमसि महीयसि निमग्नस्य जगतो गर्तसम्पातात्सङ्गोपनं कर्तु-  
मान्धयं निःसारयितुं चक्षुःस्थानीयाः सूक्ष्मार्थप्रकाशिका विद्या एव विद्योतन्ते ।  
आसां प्रकाशो वास्तविकोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां फलपर्यवसायितयाऽवसीयते इति  
यद्भाष्यते भाषाविद्भिस्तत्र कारणं तासां पूर्वपरम्परायातत्वे सति निर्दुष्टत्वमेव ।  
सा चेयं परम्परा क्वचिदपि प्राथम्येन तत्रैव विश्रान्ता भवितुमर्हति यत्र धर्मविज्ञान-  
वैराग्यैश्वर्यचतुष्टयसम्प्रतिपत्तिरविप्रतिपन्ना भवेत्, इति मङ्गलपद्यव्याख्याने  
श्रीमद्भिरुदयनाचार्यैः प्रकाशितं चकास्ति ।

“नमामीत्यादि । धर्मो निवर्तकः, विज्ञानं शरीरादिविविक्तात्मसाक्षात्कारः ;  
वैराग्यं रागाभावः, ऐश्वर्यं भूतेन्द्रियजयस्तच्छालिने । अत एव निधये वाग्विशुद्धीनां ।  
अधर्महेतुको ह्यविवेकः । अविवेकहेतुकमवैराग्यम् । अवैराग्यमूलमनैश्वर्यम् ।  
तन्मूलाश्च वचसामविशुद्धयः । तिस्रः खल्वेताः । तत्र प्रथमा निरभिधेयता ।  
द्वितीया विपरीताभिधेयता । ता एताः कथं भूतेन्द्रियजयिनो महामुनेर्भविष्यन्ति ?  
अजितभूतस्य हि विवक्षोस्तथाभूतप्रयत्नानिष्पत्तेर्निरभिधेयवाग्भवति । अजितेन्द्रियस्य  
विपर्यासविप्रलिप्साहेतुको विपरीतार्थो वचनसन्दर्भः । अजितमनसश्च प्रमादोन्मा-  
दनवतो निष्प्रयोजनः । एताश्च वचसामशुद्धीः छलजातिनिग्रहस्थानेषु सूत्रकार  
एव प्रपञ्चयति । सोऽयं न तथेति भवति वाग्विशुद्धीनां निधिः । अत एव तायी  
तत्त्वाध्यवसायसंरक्षणक्षमसम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकः ।” इति

एतस्यैव विस्तारस्य संक्षेपः सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुद्यां वाचस्पतिमिश्रैः सत्त्वपरिभाषया  
कृतः । तथा हि—

“अध्यवसायो बुद्धिर्धर्मो ज्ञानं विराग ऐश्वर्यम् ।

सात्त्विकमेतद्रूपं तामसमस्माद्विपर्यस्तम् ॥” इत्यत्र —

इति चत्वारः सात्त्विका बुद्धिधर्माः । तामसास्तु तद्विपरीता बुद्धिधर्माः,  
अधर्माज्ञानावैराग्यानैश्वर्याभिधानाश्चत्वार इत्यर्थः ।” इति ।

यदि चैता विद्यास्तद्रसिका न विद्युः तर्हि वस्तुतया विदितार्थाः स्वस्य  
वेत्तृत्वं, अस्तित्वं, विचारकत्वं, लाभभावत्वं वा कथमिव चिराय रक्षितुं ते समर्थाः

स्युः ? अत एव विद्यानामुपयोगित्वं कथमिवेति शास्त्रविदः संवदन्ते इति अर्थशास्त्रोक्तेनैव वचनेन ध्वन्यते । तथा हि :—“चतस्र एव विद्या” ? इति कौटिल्यः । तामिर्धर्मार्थौ यद्विद्यात्तद्विद्यानां विद्यात्वं ।” “स्वमतमाह— चतस्र इति । यूथोपवर्णितपूर्वाचार्यमनसम्भवेपि परस्परं विसदृशव्यापारत्वाद्वि- सदृशस्वरूपत्वाद्विसदृशफलत्वाच्चतस्र एव । तत्र विसदृशव्यापारं दर्शनाह— तामिरिति । विचारज्ञानलाभसत्तापादनार्थमिः । यदस्मात्कारणात् । धर्मार्थौ— विचार्यज्ञेयलभ्यस्थिरतया राजा विद्यात् जानीयात् । तद्विद्यानां विद्यात्वम् । यत आन्वीक्षिकीविचारणार्था विन्तेऽनेनेति । त्रयी धर्माधर्मज्ञानार्था विद्यादनयेति । वार्ता लाभार्था विदत्यनयेति । दण्डनीतिः सत्तापादनार्था विद्यतेऽनया रक्षणयो- गादिति । सर्वस्माद्विदेः “संज्ञायां समजनिषद्” इति क्यप् ।” इति । ( कौ०- अ०, जयमङ्गला २ अ० ) ।

साक्षात्परम्परया वा लोकोपयोगिन्यो विद्याश्चतस्रोऽष्टादश चतुर्दश वेति संख्यया विभक्ता विभज्य फलानि लोकस्थितये प्रसुन्वन्ति । यथा—

“आन्वीक्षिक्यात्मविज्ञानं धर्माधर्मौ त्रयीस्थितौ ।

अर्थानर्थौ तु वार्तायां दण्डनीत्यां नयेतरौ ॥” इत्यादि ।

त्रय्यन्तर्गतत्वेनान्तर्भवन्तीष्वपि अङ्गमीमांसादिविद्यासु चतुर्दशसंख्येयानां मीमांसादिविद्यानामुपयोगोऽपि पार्थक्येन निर्दिष्टः । “तत्राङ्गानि षट्, शिक्षाकरूपो व्याकरणं छन्दोविचिर्तिर्निरुक्तं ज्योतिषं चेति । वेदाश्चत्वारोऽथर्ववेदेन सह ; स चाभिचारकर्मज्ञानादिफलः । मीमांसा वेदार्थव्याख्या । न्यायविस्तरो न्यायशास्त्रं सांख्यदि । धर्मशास्त्रं मानवादि । पुराणमशेषलोकोत्पत्तिसंहारादिज्ञानफलम् । इति ( का० नी० ज० २-१३ ) ।

एवंरीत्या फलवतीषु उक्तविद्यासु वेदविद्यैव ऋग्यजुःसामाथर्वाख्या गुरुपरम्परयाऽध्ययनपरम्परां प्राप्ता अखण्डानुपूर्वीका अद्याप्युपलभ्यते । परमिदं सौभाग्यं इतराभिर्विद्याभिर्नानुभूतम् । तासां परम्परा विच्छिन्ना, आनुपूर्वीभेद-श्चातीव समृद्धः तत्र तत्र, ईदृक्परम्पराविच्छेदसम्भावनयैव किल तैस्तैर्विद्याव-द्धिर्महता प्रयत्नेन तासां तासां लेखरूपेण सङ्ग्रहणं कृतम् । यदि च तेषां सङ्ग्रहमवलोक्य तत्तद्विद्यानां पुरातनवास्तविकानुपूर्वीं निर्णेतुं कश्चन प्रयतेत तर्हि

असन्दिग्धानि स्थलानि विहायापरत्र वास्तविकपुरातनानुपूर्वीनिर्णयाय कृतः परिश्रमो विफलतामिव गच्छति, निर्णायकसद्युक्त्यभावादिति दृश्यते । विशेषतः प्रचलितानि भागवतादिपुराणानि पार्श्वीकृत्याप्रचलितानां वामनपुराणादिपुराणग्रन्थानां स्थितिस्तु अतिशोचनीयतां गता वर्तते । एतद्विषये प्राचीनलेखा एव तत्तद्देशीयाः पुराणस्यानुपूर्वीनिर्णायकाः सन्दिग्धस्थले सन्ति । परन्तु तत्रैव सन्दिग्धता उदिता वर्तते । यथा—अध्यायानां संख्या, न्यूनाधिकता, आनुपूर्वी-भेदश्चेत्यादि । अतस्तत्रोपलब्धेषु पाठभेदेषु प्राचीनत्वं संवादित्वं च कथं भवतीति विमृश्यते ।

अद्यैव काठिन्यमानुपूर्वीणामध्यायानां वा निर्णयाय सम्पन्नमिति न, अपितु पुरापि विच्छिन्नानुपूर्वीकाणां ग्रन्थानां निर्णयाय विद्वद्भ्रैः कृतभूरिपरिश्रमैः कृतो महान् प्रयत्नो भगीरथेन गङ्गास्यन्दनाय कृतस्य महतःपरिश्रमस्य साधर्म्यमभजत् । कदाचिद् दृष्टसम्बन्धिनीषु पुराणविद्यासु परोक्षं फलं कथमिव साध्वसाधु वेत्यादि अस्मिन्नलोके उपदिश्य झटित्यस्माभिर्न निर्णेतुं शक्यते । तथापि अष्टादशसंख्यायामन्तर्गतस्य आयुर्वेदस्यापीयमेव स्थितिः पुराणस्थितिरिव बौद्धसाम्राज्ययुगे प्रसृताऽभूत् । आयुर्वेदान्तर्गतः सुश्रुतग्रन्थोऽपि समग्रतया तदानीमनुपलब्ध इव बभूव । परं येन विदुषा स ग्रन्थः समग्राङ्गो लोकस्य पुरतः प्राकाश्यं नीतः तस्योपकृतिर्न लोके विस्मर्तुमर्हा । नापि वा तदीया संशोधनरीतिरुपेक्षार्हा । अतः सैव रीतिः पुराणपाठशोधनविषयेऽपि यदि स्वीकृता भवेत्तर्हि तत्राप्रामाण्य-शङ्काया अवसरो न भवेत् । भवेच्चास्मासु गुरुवृन्दैः सङ्गृहीतस्य मतस्यानुयायित्वमपि । यद्यपि पूर्वजैः कृतानां अदृष्टनिबन्धिनीषु विद्यास्वानुपूर्वीनिर्णयानां रीतिरप्युदाहर्तुमौचित्यमावहेत्तथापि तत्संशोधनरीतौ कदाचिद् गजनिमीलिकाऽप्याशङ्केत । परमायुर्वेदग्रन्थे सा कथं सोढा स्यात् । स्वल्पेनापचारेणापि रोगिणो मृतिः, अप्रामाण्यं ग्रन्थस्याविश्वास्यता चायुर्वेदस्य तत्कालमेवापद्येत । अतोऽतीव सावधानता तत्रावश्यकी । आयुर्वेदग्रन्थेष्वन्तर्गतस्य सुश्रुतस्य प्रतिसंस्करणं नागार्जुनश्चकार । तदानीं मूलग्रन्थस्य सर्वाप्यानपूर्वीं दैवदुर्विपाकात्प्रायो विप्रकीर्णाऽभूदिति उल्लेखकृतटीकासन्दर्भादवगम्यते । कृतेऽपि संशोधने प्राचीनाचार्यैः समाहृतः पाठभेदो व्याख्याभेदो वा यदा दृष्टिपथं समायातस्तदा उल्लेखस्य जिह्वा

तस्य षाठभेदस्य व्याख्याभेदस्य वा अप्रामाण्यं वक्तुं जिह्मेति इति तदीयलेखादेवाभ्युद्यते । यथोक्तं सुश्रुते चिकित्सास्थाने ४ अध्याये ३२ सूत्रे—

“प्रतीवापश्चात्र हिङ्ग्वादिभिः पिप्पल्यादिभिर्वा” इत्यस्य व्याख्यायां केचित्प्रतीवापं पिप्पल्यादिं मन्यन्ते । हिङ्ग्वादिमपरे । हिङ्ग्वादिं पिप्पल्यादिं चापरे” इति ।

एतेषु व्याख्यानेषु कतरद् व्याख्यानं प्रमाणमिति जिज्ञासायाः समाधानं डल्हणेन “एतत्रत्रयमपि प्रमाणं पूर्वेषामाचार्याणां सम्मतत्वात् ।” इति षड्क्त्वा कृतम् । तथैव यत्राचार्याणां न सम्मतिस्तथाविधव्याख्यानं तु प्रामादिकमेवेत्यपि निरणायि तेनैव । तद्यथा—चिकित्सास्थाने १४ अ० १० सूत्रव्याख्याने—

“अत इत्यादि । ससाहं माहिषं मूत्रं क्षीरेण कृतोदकान्नकार्यः, केचिदत्र माहिषमेव क्षीरमाहुः । अपरे पुनर्महिषस्याग्निमान्द्यादिकरणाद्गव्यमेवाहुः । गूढपदभङ्गटिप्पणे ईदृशं व्याख्यानम् माहिषं मूत्रं क्षीरेण गव्येन पिबेत् । प्रमाद-व्याख्यानमिदं यस्माज्जेज्जटाचार्यादीनामनुमतं न भवतीति ।”

क्रियद्वक्तव्यम्—चिकित्सास्थान एव पूर्वाचार्यगृहीतत्वादसौ असौश्रुतोऽपि षाठः डल्हणेन षठितो व्याख्यातश्च । न परं स्वकपोलकल्पनां भजते इत्युक्तम् । तद्यथा—चि० २६ अ० ३८ श्लोके टिप्पण्याम् ।

लाक्षामनोह्वगजरोध्रतालं पतङ्गरक्ता कनकाभिधानाः ।

सौराष्ट्रिका पाण्डुवटस्य पत्रं कालीयकं पद्मकपक्षमध्यम् ॥

गोरोचनाकुंकुमगैरिकानि निशाद्वयं पारदचन्दने च ।

क्षौद्रौत्थमज्जाज्यवसापर्यासि सस्वादुवर्गामयवर्णकानि ॥

क्षीरद्रुमाणां क्वथनेन पिष्ट्वा सम्पाचितं ताग्रमये कटाहे ।

अभ्यङ्गयोगेन निषेव्यमाणं व्यङ्गे समस्तान् पिडकोश्च सर्पिः ॥

वक्त्रे ऽवृद्धामतिनीलिकां च तूर्णं निहन्यात्तिलकालकांश्च ।

वलीविमुक्तं दृढपीनगण्डं कुर्याच्च वक्त्रं कमलानुकारि ॥ ४ ॥

मनोहा मनःशिला, गजं नागकेसरं, तालं हरितालं, पतङ्गं हरिचन्दनभेदः, रक्ता मंजिष्ठा, कनकाभिधाना सुवर्णक्षीरिकेति प्रसिद्धा, सौराष्ट्रिका तुवरमृत्तिका,

कालीयकं पीतचन्दनं, पद्मकं पद्मकाष्ठं, पद्ममध्यं—पद्मवराटकं, पारदः शम्भुरेतः, चन्दने चैकं रक्तमपरं सितं, क्षौद्रोत्थं मधूच्छिष्टं, वसामज्जासर्पिष्कानि कल्कभागोनैव, पयो दुग्धं तच्च घृतसमं देयम्, स्वादुवर्गः काकोल्यादिः, आमयः कुष्ठं, वर्णकः कम्पिलकः, कङ्गुष्ठकमपरे, अन्ये सुवर्णमाहुः, आरग्वधकल्कमपरे, क्षीरद्रुमाणं क्वथनेनेति वटादीनां त्रिगुणेन क्वथेन अथवा चतुर्गुणेनेत्यर्थः । अयं पाठोऽसौ-श्रुतोऽपि जेज्जटेनोक्तत्वादस्मद्बुद्धैः पठितत्वान्मयापि पठितः” इति ।

अत एव शास्त्रस्य प्रामाण्यं कया युक्त्या निर्धारणीयमिति सन्देहं निराचि-  
कोर्षुश्चरकाचार्यः परिगणितासु युक्तिषु आसपूजितत्वमप्येकं हेतुमभिधाति ।  
तद्यथा रोगभिषग्जतीयविमाने—

“बुद्धिमानात्मनः कार्यगुरुलाघवं कर्मफलमनुबन्धं देशकालौ च विदित्वा  
युक्तिदर्शनाद् भिषग्वुभूषुः शास्त्रमेवादितः परीक्षेत । विविधानि शास्त्राणि भिषगां  
प्रचरन्ति लोके, तत्र यन्मन्येत सुमहद् यशस्विधीरपुरुषासेवितमर्थबहुलमाप्तजनस्य  
पूजितं त्रिविधशिष्यबुद्धिहितमपगतपुनरुक्तदोषमार्षं सुप्रणीतसूत्रभाष्यसङ्ग्रहकर्म  
स्वाधारमनवपतितशब्दमकष्टशब्दं पुष्कलाभिधानं क्रमागतार्थतत्त्वनिश्चयप्रधानं  
सङ्गतार्थमसङ्कुलप्रकरणमाशुप्रबोधकं लक्षणवच्चोदाहरणवच्च तदभिप्रपद्येत शास्त्रम् ।  
शास्त्रं ह्येवंविधममल इवादित्यस्तमो विधूय प्रकाशयति सर्वम्” ॥ ३ ॥

“इहाध्ययनविध्यादिषु कर्तव्येषु यादृक्शास्त्रमध्येयं तदेवायुर्वेदार्थिपुरुषमुपदर्श्य  
दर्शयन्नाह—बुद्धिमानित्यादि । कार्यं कर्तव्यं तस्य गौरवं च बहुप्रयाससाध्यत्वेन,  
लाघवं वा स्वरूपप्रयाससाध्यत्वेनेति कार्यगुरुलाघवम् । कर्मफलमिति कार्यफलम् ।  
एतच्च तादात्विकं फलमीप्सितम् । अनुबन्धमिति—कार्यस्यैवायतीयं फलम् ।  
देशकालाविति—कर्तव्यकार्यानुगुणौ देशकालावित्यर्थः । एतत्सर्वं विदित्वा ।  
युक्तिदर्शनादुपपत्तिदर्शनात् । यदि भिषक् भवितुमिच्छुः स्यात् तदा शास्त्रं  
तावदादितः परीक्षेत । एवं मन्यते—य आयुर्वेदाध्ययनलक्षणे कार्ये स्वशक्त्यपेक्षया  
गौरवं मन्यते स च प्रवर्तते, यश्चायुर्वेदफलेनारोग्यादिना अर्था न भवति स च  
तथा । यश्चानुपादेयायुर्वेदज्ञाने देशे स्थितः स च तथा । यस्य च वपुषो  
वार्धक्यलक्षणः कालः, स चायुर्वेदाध्ययनान्तगमनाशक्तत्वादेव यथोक्तानुपपत्तिदर्शना  
द्विषग् भवितुं नेच्छति । अतो न तान् प्रति आयुर्वेदशास्त्रपरीक्षामप्युपदिशामः ।

यस्तु यथोक्तविपरीतधर्मयोगी, स चायुर्वेदाध्ययनोपादानाद्भिषग् बुभूषुः शास्त्रं परीक्षेत । विविधानीत्यनुगुणवन्ति । सुमहद्यशस्वि च धीरपुरुषसंसेवितं च । किं वा सुमहद्यशस्विधीरपुरुषैरासेवितमिति विग्रहः । आप्तजनपूजितमिति—बहुविधैरासैर्यथार्हमनुमत्म् । उत्कृष्टमध्यारूपबुद्धिमन्तस्त्रिविधाः शिष्याः । अपगतपुनरुक्तमिति—कर्तव्ये यद्दोषपाठं करोति, तेनाधिकरणवशप्राप्तं यत्करोति, तत्पुनरुक्तमदोषं भवति । वचनं हि :—

“अधिकरणवशाद्दीर्घाद्गुणदोषप्राप्तितोऽर्थसम्बन्धात् ।

स्तुत्यर्थं संशयतः शिष्यधियां चाभिवृद्ध्यर्थम् ॥

अल्पतोऽन्तरितत्वाद्द्विशेषणेष्वपि च तन्त्रकृद्भिस्तु ।

यत्तन्त्रे स्यात्पुनरुक्तं नेष्यते तद्विभाव्य विवरणम् ।” इति ॥

स्वाधारमिति—शोभनाभिधेयम् । अनवषतितमिति—अग्राम्यशब्दम् । अकृष्टशब्दमिति—अकृच्छ्रोच्चार्यशब्दम् । किं वा प्रसिद्धाभिधेयशब्दम् । पुष्कलाभिधानमिति—सम्यगर्थसमर्पकवाक्यम् । क्रमागतार्थमिति—परिपाठ्यागतार्थम् । सङ्गतार्थमिति—प्रतिपादितार्थम् । असङ्कुलप्रकाशमिति—अमिश्रीभूतकरणम् । लक्षणवदिति—आयुर्वेदप्रधानार्थहेतुलिङ्गौषधस्यासाधारणधर्मकथनम् । किं वा प्रशस्तशास्त्रलक्षणवत् । उदाहरणवदिति—दृष्टान्तवत् ॥३॥ इति ।”

धीरपुरुषासेवितमाप्तपूजितमिति च विशेषणद्वयमन्यैर्विशेषणैः सह शास्त्रपरीक्षायां हेतुत्वेन निर्दिष्टं तत्र कारणमिदमेव यत् भ्रमप्रमादविप्रलिप्साकरणापाठवरूपदोषचतुष्टयसम्भावना मा भवत्विति । एतद्दोषत्वे तु न्यायाधीशस्थापि वाक्यमप्रमाणं भवति, किमुतान्यस्य ? तद्यथा—केवलं पेशवामहोदयैर्निर्दिष्टे आदेशे “घा” इति स्थाने केनचिद्भूतेन “मा” इति योजनं कृतम् । तावन्मात्रेणानर्थो जातः । इति ।

अतो यद्देशे यत् तत्तद्देशे वर्तमानै राजभिराचार्यैः महद्भिः पण्डितैः पारायणादौ पूजादौ च अत्यन्तं श्रद्धया एकीभूय यदानुपूर्वसम्बद्धं पुस्तकं पूजितमाप्तैः, तथा धीरैः सेवितं वा तद्देशे तत्पाठः तथैव साधुरिति मन्तव्यम् । तत्र परिवर्तनम् अस्माभिः कृतं चरकनिर्दिष्टोक्तशास्त्रपरीक्षाविपरीतत्वादनर्थवहं भवेत् । अतः तत्पाठस्तत्रत्यः स एव साधुर्मन्तव्यः । उक्तविशेषणद्वयस्याप्रसङ्गे तु



अर्थस्य प्राधान्यात् शब्दस्याङ्गत्वान्न्यायोचितरीत्या लेखकप्रमादनिरासायाक्षराणि विपरिवर्तयितुं शक्यन्ते ।

अत्र परम्परायाः लुप्तत्वात् अनैक्यमतदोषदुष्टत्वात् सन्दिग्धत्वाच्च तानि तानि स्थलानि प्रक्षिप्तानि भवेयुरिति तावन्तमंशं परिहाय तत्र तत्र ग्रन्थेषु तावानेव पाठो निर्धारणीयः, यत्र विषये सर्वेषामैकमत्यं भवेत् । अवशिष्टांशस्तु अनेकपाठान्तर-गौरवादिदोषबाहुल्येन ग्रन्थाद्बहिष्करणीयः इति केचिन्मन्यन्ते । तदप्यसत् । यद्येवं मन्येत तर्हि ग्रन्थस्यैव न्यूनत्वं, असङ्गतिः, अनौदार्यं, अमाधुर्यं, अक्रमः, अपरि-पूर्णत्वं, अस्पष्टत्वं चापद्येत । सर्वपाठानामेकत्र सम्मेलने च असङ्गतत्वादुपेक्षणीयत्वं च भवेत् । तद्यथा मुक्तावल्यां—कारिकावल्यां “यत्समवेतं कार्यं भवति ज्ञेयं तु समवायिजनकं तत् । तत्रासन्नं जनकं द्वितीयमाभ्यां परं तृतीयं स्यात्” इति, तथा संसर्गान्योन्यभेदतः इति च तत्प्रकरणे पठन्ति । केचन तु “यत्समवेतं कार्यं भवति ज्ञेयं...तदत्र समवायि” एवं पठन्ति । अनयोर्मतभेदेन पाठस्य निरासः सर्वेषां पाठानां संग्रहो वा इत्युभयमपि उक्तं दोषं ग्रन्थे आपद्येत । अर्थात् समवायिकारणाभावनिरूपणस्यैव विलयः स्यात् । अथ कदाचिदध्ययनाध्यापन-प्रणाली तेषां तेषां पाठानां आकांक्षानुसारेण तत्र तत्र संयोजने हेतुरुच्येत तथापि अर्थशास्त्रे—“सुवर्णमाषकाः चतस्रः... । आढकमम्भसो स्तुतिः,” इति पाठो वर्तते अपरत्र तु “जलाढकस्य यावता कालेन स्तुतिः, कूर्चिका सेना” इति यथाक्रमं पाठान्तरो वर्तते । तत्र किं निर्णयमर्थशास्त्रं तु गुरुपरम्परायां यथावत् अध्ययन-प्राप्तं नास्ति । एवं चानयोः पाठयोर्निर्धारणं बहिष्करं चाभेदमपि उक्तदोषप्रसङ्गात् सन्दिग्धं भवेत् । तस्मात् आप्तजनपूजितत्वमेव चरकोक्तदिशा पाठनिर्धारणे हेतु-र्वाच्यः । तथैव पाठापसारे च आप्तपूजितत्वाद्यभाव एव हेतुः भवति इत्य-कामेन वक्तव्यं भवति अनेकेषु पाठभेदेषु हेतुत्वेन तत्तदाप्तजनपूजितत्वे उपलब्धे देशसम्प्रदायभेदेन तत्र तत्र तथाविध एकः पाठः साधुः इति निर्णेतव्यम् ।

एतावत्पर्यन्तं कृतेन विवेचनेनेदं सिद्धयति, उल्हणादिभिराचार्यैश्चक्रपाणिदत्त-प्रभृतिभिश्च बौद्धादिसर्वाचार्यसम्मतैः पूर्वाचार्यपूजित एव पाठः प्रामाणिकत्वेन स्वीकृतः अद्यापि चिकित्सायाः कस्मिन्नप्यंशेऽयथार्थतां न व्याकरोत् इति । एवं रीत्या सर्वैराचार्यैः स्वीकृते विभिन्ने विभिन्ने चिकित्साविभागे पराप्येका दृष्टिः

संक्रमितव्या वर्तते । यत्—रोगचिकित्साप्रसङ्गे विभिन्नया प्रणाल्या चिकित्सा-  
पद्धतिराचार्यैरभिहितेति कृत्वा अर्धजरतीयन्यायेन चरकोक्तां सुश्रुतोक्तां आङ्ग्लोक्तां  
च समुदायीकृत्य अथवा चरके सुश्रुते वा पाठान्तरेणाविकल्पेन वा उक्तास्तास्ताः  
सर्वा अपि औषधीः एकत्र सम्मेल्य कृता चिकित्सा रोगिणो रोगमपसारयेदेव इति  
न निर्णेतुं शक्यते । अत एकसमये तत्तत्पाठानुसारिणी एकमतानुयायिन्येव  
चिकित्सा समंजसा सर्वसम्मतपि भवतीति नायं विषयः सर्वैर्ज्ञातत्वादुदाहरणमपेक्षते ।  
तथापि पूजने अधस्तान्निर्दिष्टसीताराममूर्तिरेव अत्रोदाहरणं बोध्यम् । एवं च  
यो न्यायो दृष्टं न विघटयति, आयुर्वेदिकग्रन्थनिर्धारणे च समर्थो भवति, स एव  
न्यायः पुराणपाठनिर्धारणाय यदि स्वीक्रियते, तर्हि कथमिवादृष्टं विघटयेदवि-  
घटयेदेव वा ।

“विद्यानां तु यथास्वमाचार्यप्रमाण्याद्विनयो नियमश्च, इति कौटिल्यसूत्रमप्य-  
मुमर्थं द्रढयति । व्यावहरन्ति चोपासका अप्यमुमेवार्थम् । तद्यथा—“विद्यैवाक्षरा-  
भ्यासेन परिणता विद्येत्युच्यते । अर्थतः परिज्ञाता सती सैव श्रुतमित्यभिधीयते ।  
अर्थाद् वाण्यर्थभेदेन विद्यायाः द्वैविध्यं भवति । यथा—

“वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिषत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥” इति कालिदाससूक्त्यनुसारिणी—

“गिरा अर्थं जल वीचि सम । कहिअत भिन्न न भिन्न ।”

इति सन्ततुलसीदासव्याख्यानस्य दर्शनेन उक्तं विद्यायाः द्वैविध्यं सीताराम-  
स्वरूपतामापन्नं भवति । तत्र वाणीरूपिणी सीता, अर्थरूपो राम इति विवेकः ।  
एवं ज्ञाते सीतारामयोरुपासनापि विद्योपासनैव । मूर्तिनिष्ठं सर्वसाधारण्येन सर्वेषा-  
मुपास्यरूपं शास्त्रेषु वर्णितानुसारेणैकसजातीयं सदपि तत्तत्जातीयानां कृतेऽपि  
क्वचिद्विलक्षणाकृतिस्तत्तन्मूर्तेः सम्भवत्येव । तदभिव्यञ्जको यथा वेषभूषादिसन्निवेश-  
विशेषः । एवं रीत्या एकस्यामेव मूर्तेः साजात्यं वैजात्यं च शास्त्रानुबन्धस्वरूपं उपास-  
कानां प्रीतिमापादयति । परन्तु विभिन्नजातीयैरपेक्षिताः स्वाभाविकास्सन्निवेशविशेषा  
एकस्यामेव मूर्तेः तत्तदवयवेषु केनचिच्छिल्पिना यदि संस्थाप्यते तर्हि सा मूर्तिः  
कस्मा अपि तत्तत्जातीयाय न रोचते । रुच्यभावादनीचित्यप्रसङ्गात् । तद्यथा—  
वङ्गदेशीयानां द्रविडदेशीयानां महाराष्ट्रदेशीयानां दृष्ट्या मुकुटवस्त्रपरिधानादिसन्नि-

वेशौचित्यं तत्र तत्रैव स्फुटतरं भवति । तद् भवतीति कृत्वा सर्वविधमुकुटवस्त्र-परिधानादिसन्निवेशे तु सर्वेषां कृते औचित्यं न बोधयति इति सर्वविदितम् । तथैव विद्योपासका अपि एकैकगुरुपरम्परायां अधीतविद्या एकस्मिन्नेव ग्रन्थे विभिन्नपरम्परागतानां पाठानामेकत्र सन्निवेशने विजातीयामिलषितसन्निवेशविशेष-साङ्कर्येण निर्मितां मूर्तिमिव ग्रन्थरूपिणीं विद्यामूर्तिं तथाविधां नाभिलषन्ति । नापि चापरां सीतारामयोर्विजातीयसन्निवेशविशिष्टां मूर्तिं तत्सदृशीं विद्यामूर्तिं वा ग्रन्थात्मिकामवमन्यते । तस्याप्याचार्यसम्मतत्वात्पूज्यत्वाच्च ।

अतः आयुर्वेदग्रन्थसंशोधनरीत्या उपास्यमूर्तिनिर्माणपद्धत्या च पूजितेषु सम्प्रदायेषु अन्यतमसम्प्रदायमनुसृत्य प्राधान्येन मूले तदीयपाठं सन्निवेश्य परिचयार्थमन्येषामपि पाठानां स्थानान्तरे संयोजनं विधायापरसम्प्रदायानुयायिनामपि प्रीतिभाक्त्वं पुराणपाठस्य भवितुर्महति । इति ।

सामान्यतया हेतुसदाचारौ अनुसृत्य दुष्टादुष्टोभयसाधारण्येन पाठनिर्धारण-रीतिमुपन्यस्य वामनपुराणपाठनिर्धारणनियमविषयेऽपि प्रस्तूयते ।

१, ५, २, ५, ३ नियमाः आदिमाः ये निर्धारिताः तत्रापि राजभिः आचार्यैः सभ्यैः पारायणादौ यः पाठः समुद्धृतोऽनाकुलः स तेषां तदनुयायिनां सुकृतिनां कृते तथैव मन्तव्यः, न तत्र शोधनस्यापेक्षा । केवलम् अदूरत्वमेव पाठनिर्धारणे नियामकं भवेत्तर्हि पंजाबदेशे सर्वेऽपि सजालादिवेशोणात्मानं भूषयन्ति अथवा अधिकतरदूरवर्तिनः हेटादिना विदग्धत्वं ख्यापयन्ति इति अस्माभिरपि स्वोयमूर्तौ तत्सन्निवेशः कर्तव्यतयाऽऽपद्येत । अतस्तन्निराकरणाय धीरपुरुषासेवितत्वम् आप्त-पूजितत्वमेव च चरकोक्तं नियामकं वक्तव्यम् । सत्येवं समीपतरवर्तिनोऽपि ग्रन्थपाठाः प्रमाणत्वेन उक्तहेतूपलब्धौ परिचेतुं शक्यन्ते ।

४ नियमेऽपि आचार्यैर्विद्वद्भिः वा स्वस्वनिबन्धेषु यथाविधः पाठः समाहतः स एवादरणीयः ।

५ यद्यपि अनिश्चयो भासते तथापि चरकोक्तरीत्या विद्वत्समाहतत्वात् स एव ग्राह्यः । लक्षणादिवृत्तिमाश्रित्य तद्व्याख्यानं यथा प्रकृते सम्बद्धं भवेत् तथा कर्तव्यम् । अत एव “पुत्रेति तन्मयतया” इति भागवतीये पद्ये “दूराद्धूते” इत्यनेन पुत्रेत्यत्र प्लुतत्वप्रसक्तावपि व्यासस्य तदानीं कण्ठरोधात् पुत्रेति प्लुतत्वा-भावात् गुण इत्युक्तमाचार्यैः ।

६ अत्रापि अन्यतमवर्गस्येत्युक्त्यपेक्षया यत्र यथा वर्तते तत्र तथैव स्वीकर्तव्यमिति विवेक्तव्यम् ।

७ अत्रापि सम्पादकीयरीतिं हेतुत्वेनोररीकृत्य इत्यनुक्त्वा विद्वदासेवितत्त्वरीतिं हेतुत्वेन स्वीकृत्य पाठनिर्धारणे अस्मासु प्रतिभूत्वं न भवेत् ।

८ गुरुपरम्परया युक्तिपथप्रदर्शनं शिष्येषु भवतु इति पाठवैषम्यं भवति । तत्र सा तु विषमता तथैव स्वीकार्या तावद्यावता अन्यादृशपाठो विद्वदादृतो नोपलभ्यते । अर्थस्तु अर्थक्रमो बलीयानिति न्यायेन पाठकमं परित्यज्य ससङ्गतो योजनीयः । अत एव पयोव्रतनिरूपणप्रसङ्गे भागवते पाठपरिवर्तनं केनापि आप्तपूजितत्वात् न कृतम् । अर्थस्तु योजितः ।

९ अयं तु नियमः स्वीकार्यः । लेखकप्रमादो यत्र भासते स तु संशोध्य एव । परमाप्तपूजितत्वं न विस्मर्तव्यम् । अत एव दशमस्कन्धे कौरवबलराम-विवादप्रसङ्गे जिजीषव इति अपहाय जिजीविषव इति गीताप्रेसद्वारा कृतं संशोधनं न विदुषां प्रीतिकरं भवति ।

१० “भानुः शशी भूमिसुतो बुधश्च गुरुश्च शुक्रः सह भानुजेन” । तथा “शनिराहुकेतवः” इति विकल्पे उभावपि पाठौ विद्वत्समादृतौ स्तः, तर्हि अन्यतरस्य पूर्वस्यैव पाठस्य निर्धारणमस्माभिः कथं कर्तव्यम् । गुरुजनानामनादरप्रसङ्गात् ।

११ संस्कृतवाङ्मये तत्र तत्र श्रुतेन शिष्याणां भाग्यवशात् सरलेन कठिनेन वा शब्देन निरूपणमपि कृतं भवेत् । यथा देवीभागवते भूगोलवर्णनं एकमेव सदपि विभिन्नया श्रेण्या कृतं, महानयं संस्कृतशब्दसागरः । कवयः किं न ब्रूयुः । सबलप्रमाणोपलब्धिमन्तरा सम्भावनामात्रेण पाठनिर्धारणचेष्टा अस्माभिरल्पज्ञैः कृता न शोभामावहेत् ।

१२ अत्रापि विद्वदादृतत्वात्पाणिनीयोऽपि प्रयोगः साधुरेव ।

१३ लेखकप्रमादे तु अस्माभिरपि पाठान्तरनिर्धारणं विद्वदादृतत्वाविरोधेन स्वीक्रियते ।

१४ अत्रापि उक्तैव रीतिरनुसन्वेया ।

१५ अत्र तु विद्वदादृतत्वस्योपेक्षा भासते । सा यदि नास्ति तर्हि न विदुषामसन्तोषः । इति ।

THE STORY OF SOMAKA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA  
(3:127-128) AND ITS METAMORPHOSIS IN THE  
SKĀNDA MAHĀPURĀṆA (3.1-15)

BY

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[ महाभारतीयसोमकाख्यानस्य स्कान्दमहापुराणे धर्मसखचरितस्य चात्र तुलनात्मकं विवेचनमैतिहासिकदृष्ट्या प्रस्तूयते । सोमको नृपतिः स्वपुरोहित-सम्मत्यां स्वीयपुत्रं जन्तुं नरमेवयज्ञे बलिं दत्त्वा, धर्मसखश्च हनुमत्कुण्डे स्नात्वा पुत्र्येष्टियज्ञानुष्ठानद्वारा, शतं पुत्रानलभेताम् । धर्मसखस्य च प्रथमः पुत्रः सुचन्द्रो यज्ञेन मृतः अतीधिकस्तिष्ठति । द्वावपि नृपती एकपुत्रत्वेन भृशं दुःखितौ आस्ताम्, शतं पत्नीभ्यो शतपुत्राणां कृते चिन्तितौ यज्ञमतनुताम्, सफलौ चाभवताम् । महाभारते प्रधानयाज्ञिकपुरोहितः प्रेरकत्वेन महतीं नारकीं यातनामन्वभवत्, सोमकोऽपि तदवलोक्य पीडितो जात इत्यपि संकेतितो वर्तते । एवं श्रीलेखकमहाशयोञ्च स्वटिप्पणीसहितमाख्यानद्वयं यथावत् प्रस्तूय, कथानकयोः विकासक्रमं प्रसंगपरि-स्थितिवर्गनादिविश्लेषणपुरःसरं सम्यक् परीक्षितवान् । उभयोः वर्णनसाम्यवैषम्य-प्रदर्शनपूर्वकं सयुक्तिकं सप्रमाणमैकात्म्यमुपस्थापयति, सप्तदशसमानवाक्यान्युदाहृत्य शब्दगतं वैचारिकं च सामञ्जस्यं प्रमाणयति । परस्परं द्वयोश्चरितयोः पूर्वापरपरी-क्षणो महाभारतीयाख्यानस्य आधारभूतमौलिकता, पूर्ववर्तिता, मानवीयमहत्त्व-प्रख्यापकता च निर्धारिताऽस्ति । तस्य पौराणिकं संस्करणं तु तत्परवर्ति तदनुवाद-मात्रं कालान्तरे परिस्थित्यनुकूलं यथार्थं संशोधितरूपमिति प्रतीयते । तीर्थमाहात्म्य-वर्णनेनापि पुराणीयकथायाः परवर्तित्वं सिध्यति । मत्स्यवायुपुराणयोरपि संक्षिप्तपरिचयात्मकसंकेतो महाभारतीयाया एव कथायाः, तस्या एव निर्देशः श्रीरवीन्द्रनाथटैगोरमहोदयैरपि कृत इति निबन्धकृदभिमतं मतम् । ]

There occurs in the Mahābhārata<sup>1</sup> (*Mbh.* 3.127-128) a story of king Somaka who had only one son and who wanted to have a hundred sons. On the advice of his priest, he offered in a sacrifice his only son in order to get a hundred sons. In the Skānda Mahāpurāṇa<sup>2</sup> (*Sk.* 3.1:15) there is a story of king Dharmasakha who had only one son and who wanted to get a

1. Mahābhārata, critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona.

2. Skānda mahāpurāṇa, Sri Venkateshvara Press Edition, Bombay (1909).

hundred sons. On the advice of his priests he took bath in a sacred pool called Hanumat-Kuṇḍa and performed a sacrifice on its banks in order to secure a hundred sons. A comparative study of the two stories, which is presented below, will help, it is hoped, to bring out the similarities and differences in the story and their significance.

In order to facilitate the study of the similarities and differences, the story is divided into, and presented in, the following three parts: I. The occasion for the narration of the story. II. The tribulations of the royal parents having only one son. III. The rite which enabled the king to get a hundred sons. At the end of every part, there follows a note (within rectangular brackets) summing up the striking similarities and differences.

I. *The Occasion for the narration of the story.*

*Mbh* 3.125.23 ; 3.127.1

The sage Lomaśa described to Yudhiṣṭhira the importance of a holy place on the Yamunā where king Somaka lived and performed sacrifice. Yudhiṣṭhira asked the sage about the details of Somaka's achievements. In reply, Lomaśa narrated the story of Somaka.

*Sk.* 3.1.15.1—9

Sūta, while describing to the sages the importance of a sacred pool named Hanūmat-kuṇḍa, referred to a story of king Dharmasakha who, as a result of his ablutions in the sacred pool, had got a hundred sons. Requested by the sages for more details about the life of Dharmasakha, Sūta narrated the story.

[*Note I*: The occasion for and the purpose of the narration of the stories appear to be similar in both the works, viz. high-lighting the importance of two holy places (*tīrthas*) associated with the lives of two kings of antiquity—king Somaka in the *Mbh.* and king Dharmasakha in the *Sk.*]

II. *The tribulation of the royal parents having only one son*

*Mbh.* 3.127, 2–21 ; 3.128.1

(Lomaśa narrated the story :)

"There was a king named Somaka. He had a hundred wives. But for a long time he had no son from any of them. At long last, in his old age, he got one son named Jantu. All the hundred mothers surrounded Jantu and attended upon him, denying themselves all other pleasures. Once an ant bit Jantu on the hip and the child screamed with pain. All the mothers surrounded him and yelled and shrieked with agony. A terrible noise filled the air. The king, who was sitting with his council of ministers and priests, heard the shrieks of agony from the inner apartments. He sent an attendant to inquire what all that was about. On knowing the true state of things, he went to his son and consoled him. He, again, sat with his council of ministers and priests and said to them : 'Oh ! It is a torment to have only one son. It is better to have no son than to have only one son. I carefully collected and married a hundred wives, with the desire of getting sons. But they have no child. With great difficulty, somehow, this one son Jantu was born from one among all the hundred. My youth is past. This one son has been the breath of mine and of my wives. Is there any rite small, big or difficult, by which I can have a hundred sons.' The sacrificial priest replied that there existed a rite which would get him a hundred sons : 'I shall tell you about it, if you are ready and able to carry it out', he added. Somaka replied : "Let the rite be good or evil. Take it as already done !"

*Sk.* 3.1.15.10-43 (Sūta narrated the story to the sages).

"There lived a King named Dharma-Sakha who had a hundred wives. He had, however, no son. For getting a son, he performed sacrifices, gave away gifts of gold equal to a man's weight, distributed food unsparingly and recited *mantras* or spells which claimed to confer progeny. At long last, in his old age, he begot a son named Sucandra from his seniormost queen. All the other mothers together brought the child up, without malice or jealousy. Once when the son slept in his cradle a scorpion bit him on his leg. Suffering from the stinging pain, the child

wept bitterly. The mothers surrounded him and screamed with pain. A tumultuous noise filled the air. The King who was sitting with his council of ministers and priests heard the shrieks of distress. He sent an attendant to inquire about the cause. Knowing from the attendant that the son was stung by a scorpion, the king along with men who knew spells against scorpion-bite went to the inner apartment and got the son treated with medicines. When the son felt better, the King filled with anxiety again went back to the council chamber and conferred with his ministers and priests. He said to them. 'To have only one son is a torture. It is better to have no son than having one son. I married a hundred wives. My youth is now past. This one son has been the breath of mine and of my wives. Therefore, tell me how I can get many sons. If there be any such rite, small or big or difficult, I assure you, I shall carry it out. Whatever you may ask me to do in order to get a hundred sons' take it as already done. I swear by it'.

[*Note 2*: It will be seen that the development of the story up to this point is essentially identical in the *Mbh.* and the *Sk.* There are only a few, slight and nominal differences: In the *Mbh.*, the King and his son are named Somaka and Jantu respectively; in the *Sk.* they are named Dharmasakha and Sucandra respectively. In the *Mbh.* it is the ant that bites the child on the hip; in the *Sk.*, it is the scorpion that bites the child on the leg. With regard to this difference, it may be remarked that the *Mbh.* version of the bite contributes to greater literary and aesthetic effect than that in the *Sk.* The ant-bite rather than the scorpion-bite is more appropriate and conducive to the heightening of sentimentality that is intended by the story to be built around the only child. Leaving aside these differences, the development of the story is essentially identical. There are found in seventeen places close similarities in idea, word and phrase. They are listed below:

<i>Mbh.</i> 3.127	<i>Sk.</i> 3.1.15
कदाचित्तस्य वृद्धस्य यत्मानस्य यत्नतः ।	कदाचित्तस्य वृद्धस्य यत्मानस्य भूपतेः ।



परिवार्यं जन्तुं सहिताः स शब्दस्तुमुलोऽभवत् ॥	परिवार्यात्मजं विप्राः स ध्वनिःसंकुलोऽभवत् ॥
7cd	24ab
तमार्तनादं सहसा सुश्राव स महीपतिः ।	अर्तध्वनिं स सुश्राव राजा धर्मसखस्तवा ।
8ab	24cd
अमात्यपरिषन्मध्ये उपविष्टः सहृद्विजैः ॥	उपविष्टः सभामध्ये सहामात्यपुरोहितः ॥
8cd	25ab
त्वरमाणः स चोत्थाय सोमकः सह मन्त्रिभिः ।	त्वरमाणः समुत्थाय सामात्यः सपुरोहितः ।
प्रविश्यान्तःपुरं पुत्रमाश्रास्यदरिदमः ॥10	प्रविश्यान्तःपुरं सार्द्धं मान्त्रिकैर्विषहारिभिः ॥31
निष्कम्यान्तःपुरान्नुतः ।	निष्कम्यान्तःपुराद्राजा ॥33c
ऋत्विजैः सहितो राजन्सहामात्य उपाविशत् ॥	ऋत्विक्पुरोहितामात्यैस्तां सभां समुपाविशत् ॥
11bcd	34ab
धिगस्त्विहैकपुत्रत्वमपुत्रत्वं वरं भवेत् ।	दुःखायैवैकपुत्रत्वं भवति ब्राह्मणोत्तमाः ॥35cd
नित्यातुस्त्वाद् भूतानां शोक एवैकपुत्रता ॥12	एकपुत्रत्वतो नृणां वरा चैव ह्यपुत्रता ।
	नित्यं व्यपाययुक्तत्वाद्द्वरमेव ह्यपुत्रता ॥ 36
इदं भार्याशतं ।	अहं भार्याशतं विप्रा उदवोढं विचिन्त्य तु ॥ 36cd
पुत्रार्थिना मया वोढम् ॥13 ic	
वयश्च समतीतं मे सभार्यस्य द्विजोत्तम ।	वयश्च समतिक्रान्तं सपत्नीकस्य मे द्विजाः ॥
आसां प्राणाः समायत्ता मम चात्रैकपुत्रके ॥	प्राणा मम च भार्याणामस्मिन्पुत्रे व्यवस्थिताः ॥
15	37
महता लघुना वापि कर्मणा दुष्करेण वा ॥	महता लघुना वापि कर्मणा दुष्करेण वा ।
16 cd.	41 ab.
कृतमेव हि तद्विद्धि भगवान्प्रब्रवीतु मे ॥	कृतमेव हि तद्विद्धि शपेऽहं सुकृतैर्मम ॥
18 cd.	42 cd.
अस्ति वै तादृशं कर्म येन पुत्रशतं भवेत् ।	अस्ति चेदीदृशं कर्म येन पुत्रशतं भवेत् ।
17 ab.	43 ab.

The abovementioned similarities in idea, word and phrase between the *Mbh.* and *Sk.* are too many to be accidental. They can be explained only as being the result of influence of one version on another—in my view which I shall adumbrate in the concluding part of this article, of the influence of the *Mbh.* version on the *Sk.*]

### III. The rite which enabled the king to get a hundred sons.

*Mbh.* 3. 127.19-21 ; 3. 128.1-17.

(Lomaśa continued the story of Somaka)

“Seeing that Somaka was ready to act upon his advice, the priest advised him to perform a sacrifice. He said : In a sacrifice

in which I shall act as the priest, you should offer your son Jantu into the sacrificial fire. When his mothers will inhale the smoke and fumes of his fat burning in the sacrificial fire, they will bear sons for you. Jantu will be again reborn from his mother and will bear a golden mark on the upper part of his left side.' Hearing what he was required to do, Somaka said that he would carry out what the priest had told him.

"The priest officiated as the sacrificial priest at the sacrifice in which Somaka was to offer his son Jantu as an oblation into the fire. The mothers, moved with pity, screamed with grief, pulling back Jantu by the right hand, while the priest pulled him forth by the left hand. At last the priest dragged away the son from the mothers, killed him according to the scriptural injunctions and made an offering of his fat into the fire. While the fat was burning in the fire, the mothers inhaled its smoke and fumes and fell down overpowered with grief on the ground. All the queens conceived and bore a hundred sons in ten months. Jantu was again reborn from his former mother, the eldest among them all, bearing a golden mark on the upper part of his left side. Afterwards, in course of time, the priest and the preceptor of Somaka died and went to the other world. After some time, king Somaka also departed from this world and went to the next world. There he saw his priest in hell suffering terrible tortures and asked him why he was made to undergo the torments of hell. The priest replied. "I made you perform that sacrifice. This is the fruit of that deed." Hearing these words of his preceptor, the king said to Dharmarāja, the god who dispensed rewards and punishments of the deeds : 'I shall enter this place. Set free my priest. This revered man is being tortured in hell on my account.' Dharmarāja replied : 'No one suffers or enjoys the fruits of another's deeds.' These are the (different) fruits of your deeds, O most generous king.' The king answered : "I do not desire the blessed worlds without my learned preceptor. Our deeds are identical. So let the fruits of our good or bad deeds be identical.' Dharmarāja allowed him to stay with his priest in hell, until afterwards

he with their good deeds attained along with him to happier worlds."

*Sk.* 3.1.15, 44—70.

(Sūta continued the story)

"Thus asked by the king, the chief priest with other priests told him about the rite or course of action which would confer on him a hundred sons. They said: 'There is a very sacred mountain called the Gandhamādāna which stands as a bridge across the southern sea. There is on that mountain a sacred pool called the Hanumat-kunḍa. You should take bath in that pool and perform a Putryeṣṭi ('a sacrifice to get sons') on its banks.' The king accordingly went to the Gandhamādāna and had ablutions every day in the Hanumat-kunḍa for one month. Then at the advent of the spring-month Caitra, he performed the Putryeṣṭi under the guidance of his priests. At the conclusion of the sacrifice the priest gave the remnants of the sacrificial offerings to the queens who ate them. The king returned to his capital. At the end of the 10th month, the hundred queens gave birth to hundred sons. There were in all one hundred and one sons, with the previous son Sucandra who was the eldest of them. After the sons had attained manhood, the king divided his kingdom among them and went to the Hanumatkunḍa to practice penance on its banks. After a long time he departed this world peacefully."

[*Note 3*—It will be seen that the story in the *Mbh.* at this point takes altogether a different turn in the *Sk.* and has undergone considerable metamorphosis. In the *Mbh.* the rite prescribed by the priest for getting more sons is the rite of human sacrifice at which the young prince is immolated as an offering. In the *Sk.*, a sacrifice is no doubt, prescribed by the priests for getting a hundred sons, but it is a sacrifice which involves no slaughter of livings. The human sacrifice, according to the *Mbh.* story, entailed a grievous sin which the priest, as the main initiator, had to expiate by suffering the tortures of hell, after his death. The king, in the *Mbh.* story, is considered a mere instrument wherewith the priest got the sacrifice performed and is not therefore held a direct participant in the sin. In the *Sk.* the sacrifice, prescribed by the

priests, being throughout a meritorious act does not involve any question of sin and therefore does not lead to any aftermath or punishment in hell as in the *Mbh.* The human sacrifice in the *Mbh.* has, by itself, got poterey of conferring a hundred sons on the performer of the sacrifice ; in the *Sk.*, on the other hand, it is the contiguity of the Hanumat-kunḍa with its sacred waters which confers on the sacrifice the poterey of bestowing a hundred sons on the performer of the sacrifice. In the *Mbh.*, the first son having been sacrificed, the king has in the end total of one hundred sons ; in the *Sk.*, on the other hand, the king, along with the first son, has in the end a total of one hundred and one sons.]

#### REFERENCES TO THE STORY OF SOMAKA IN OTHER PURĀṆAS

The story of Somaka and his son Jantu is referred to though very briefly, in the Matsya (*M*) and Vāyu (*V*) Purāṇas.<sup>1</sup> The *M* gives the past genealogy of King Somaka as follows : Divodāsa-Mitrayu-Maitreya-Caidyavara-Sudāsa-Somaka.<sup>2</sup> After giving the genealogy, the *M* further says : "Somaka had a son named Jantu ; after Jantu was killed, there were born a hundred sons of Somaka."<sup>3</sup> The *V* gives a shorter genealogy : Cyavana-Sudāsa-Somaka.<sup>4</sup> The *V* further says : Somaka had a son called Jantu ; after Jantu was killed, there were born a hundred sons of Somaka."<sup>5</sup>

Though the *M* and *V* do not give in detail the rite by which Jantu was killed and Somaka was enabled to get hundred sons, even the laconic references to Jantu in these works appear to suggest that the redactors of these portions of the *M* and *V* may have before them the story and its version appearing in the *Mbh.* From these references one may be led to infer that the *Mbh.* version of the story of Somaka is older than the one appearing in *Sk.*

1. The editions used are those of the Gurumandala Series published by Nandlal Mor.
2. M. 5, 13-15
3. सोमकस्य सुतो जन्तुर्हते तस्मिन् शतं बभौ ।  
पुत्रागामजमीढस्य सोमकस्य महात्मनः ॥ M. 50.16
4. V. 99, 208
5. सोमकस्य सुतो जन्तुर्हते तस्मिन् शतं विभो ।  
पुत्रागामजमीढस्य सोमकत्वे महात्मनः ॥ V. 99. 209-210

Besides these references in *M* and *V*, there are also other considerations which can lead to the conclusion that the story and its version in the *Mbh.* are older than those in the *Sk.* These considerations are set forth under General Remarks below.

#### *General Remarks*

The two stories in the *Mbh.* and *Sk.* respectively appear to have one common motif, viz. that a king having only one son, wants to have and at last succeeds in having, a hundred sons.

Still, of the two stories and their versions, the story and its version in the *Mbh.* seems to be the older one. The custom of offering human sacrifice as part of fecundity or fertility rite dates back to very early times in human history. The *Mbh.* story and its version, which have preserved this very old magico-religious rite, must, therefore, be older than those in the *Sk.* The story and its version in the *Sk.* belong to a later period when the idea of human sacrifice was felt to be revolting and repellant to human conscience. The story was retold in the *Sk.* the human sacrifice having been substituted by a sacrifice performed with non-living oblations.

The idea of glorifying the sanctity of the holy places appears to be common to both the stories in the *Mbh.* and the *Sk.* The *Mbh.* story glorifies the holy place on the bank of the Yamunā; the *Sk.* story glorifies the *Hanumat-kunḍa*. But even here a remarkable difference is discernible in the view points of the two stories. In the *Mbh.* story, it is the life of Somaka with its achievements which has added to the holiness of the place on the bank of the Yamunā. In the *Sk.* story, on the other hand, it is the sanctity of the Hanumat kunḍa with its sacred waters which has conferred efficacy on the king's sacrifice and has thus, contributed to the fructification of his desires. Thus while in the *Mbh.* human life and its achievements are considered supreme, contributing as they do, to the holiness of a sacred place, in the *Sk.* on the other hand, it is the holy places which are considered supreme, their sacredness making human achievement possible and fruitful. It appears that even on this score, the *Mbh.* story belongs to an early period when it was considered that human

achievement lent sacredness to a sacred place, while the *Sk.* story belongs to a later period when the sacredness of sacred places was glorified at the expense of human achievement, it being superstitiously considered that it is the sanctity of a sacred place which bestows efficacy on human achievement.

It will be seen that the *Mbh.* story of Somaka has undergone a profound metamorphosis in the *Sk.* adapted and suited to the ideas and tastes of the time and clime of the redactor or redactors who gave shape to the story as preserved in the *Sk.* Such adaptation of striking old stories to the spirit of contemporary times is not unusual in literature. In our own times, this story of Somaka in the *Mbh.* has itself been retold in a dramatic form by Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore was a great humanist and his was 'the Religion of man.' Readers of his dramatic poem '*Naraka-vāsa*'<sup>1</sup> in which he has retold and readapted the original *Mbh.* story will, doubtless, testify to the rich vibrant humanistic feelings and sentiments which the story breathes forth under the magic touch of his genius.

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1. See 'Sañcayitā (Vishvabhāratī) (an anthology in Bengali of Tagore's poems) pp. 386-395.

## LOCATION OF THE NAIMIṢA FOREST

By

V. V. MIRASHI

[ प्रस्तुतलेखे नैमिषारण्यस्यावस्थितिविषये संक्षिप्तः परिचय उपवर्णितो-  
स्ति, तस्य स्थितिविषये नैकविधानि मतान्युदाहृतानि समालोचितानि च ।  
वेदितहासपुराणादिषूपलभ्यमाना निर्देशा अपि धिवेचनपुरःसरं समाहृताः,  
आधुनिका विचारा अपि विचारार्थं प्रस्तुताः । नैमिषारण्यस्यावस्थानं क्वचिदुत्तर-  
प्रदेशे सुलतानपुरमण्डलान्तर्गतमेव लेखकमहोदयैः निश्चीयते । अत्र  
विशेषतः रामायणे ( उत्तरकाण्डे ) निर्दिष्टः श्रीरामकृतोऽश्वमेधयज्ञः, तद्वर्णन-  
परं धीरनागविरचितं कुन्दमालानामकं नाटकं प्रमाणत्वेन गृहीतं वर्तते ।  
तत्साक्ष्याधारेण वाल्मीकेराश्रमादनतिदूरे नैमिषं भवितुमर्हति । आश्रमश्च  
दक्षिणतमसांगंगासंगमपार्श्वे स्थित आसीत् । तत् उत्तरस्यां दिशि अयोध्यातश्च  
दक्षिणाभिमुखे क्वचित् विशतिक्रोशाभ्यन्तरं सम्भाव्यते । तेन निसरनाम्ना प्रसिद्धं  
स्थानं तु न साम्यमर्हति अतिदूरस्थत्वादाश्रमतः । महाभारतेऽपि ( अरण्य ८५,  
२-५, ९३, १ ) पाण्डवाः काम्यकवनात् ( कामन ) पूर्वदिशि प्रयाता न  
तूत्तरदिशि यत्र निसरस्थानं मध्ये समापतेत् । क्रमश्च तत्र नैमिषं, प्रयागः, गया  
इति भवति । तथा हि गयासमीपे पूर्वस्यामेव कुत्रचित् नैमिषारण्यं भवितुं  
शक्यते । अतः सुलतानपुरक्षेत्रे एव तस्य स्थितिः सम्भाव्यत इति निबन्धकृतां  
मतम् । ]

Several references to the Naimiṣa forest occur in the Vedic works, the Epics and the Purāṇas. In the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* of the Black Yajurveda (X, 6) we read 'Naimiṣyā vai sattram-āsata' (the resident of Naimiṣa performed a sacrifice). The people of this forest called Naimiṣiya or Naimiṣya are also mentioned in the *pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (25, 6, 4) and the *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa* (26, 5). The *Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* mentions a great sacrifice performed in the Naimiṣa forest. The last recension of the Mahābhārata was compiled in the Naimiṣāraṇya.

लोकहर्षणपुत्र उग्रश्रवाः सौतिः पौराणिको नैमिषारण्ये शौनकस्य कुलपते-  
र्द्वादशवार्षिके सत्रे—

सुखासीनानभ्यगच्छद्ब्रह्मर्षीन् संशितव्रतान् ।

विनयावनतो भूत्वा कदाचित् सूतनन्दनः ॥

तमाश्रममनुप्राप्तं नैमिषारण्यवासिनाम् ।

चित्राः श्रोतुं कथास्तत्र परिवब्रुस्तपस्विनः ॥

The Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma was performed in the Naimiṣa forest on the bank of the Gomatī.

स तेषां द्विजमुख्यानां वाक्यमद्भुतदर्शनम् ।

अश्वमेधाश्रितं श्रुत्वा भृशं प्रीतोऽभवत्तदा ॥

विज्ञाय कर्म तत्तेषां रामो लक्ष्मणमब्रवीत् ।

× × ×

तथैव तालवचनास्तथैव नटनर्त्तकाः ।

यज्ञवाटश्च सुमहान् गोमत्या नैमिषे वने ॥<sup>1</sup>

There are numerous references to the Naimiṣa forest in the Purāṇas, which describe how Sūta narrated various legends to Śaunaka in that forest. Nārada is said to have been honoured by the sages when he visited the Naimiṣāraṇya.<sup>2</sup> The Padmapurāṇa mentions the twelve-year sacrifice which was performed in the Naimiṣa forest.<sup>3</sup>

The Naimiṣa was also regarded as a sacred region. The Mahābhārata states that it contained several *tīrthas* or holy places.<sup>4</sup> The name of the forest is said to have been derived from the fact that the *nemi* (circumference) of the *dharmachakra* was shattered there. This is, of course, a fanciful derivation.

Though there are thus numerous references to the Naimiṣāraṇya there are very few which state its location. We have seen above that the Rāmāyaṇa mentions that it was situated on the Gomatī. This is also supported by the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (I, 2, 9). The Vāyupurāṇa (I, 14-15), however, states that the great *sattra* of the sages of the Naimiṣāraṇya was in Kurukṣetra on the Dṛiṣadvatī. The same Purāṇa, however, states elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> that it was on the Gomatī. Dr. Kane tries to reconcile the two varying statements by supposing that Gomatī is only an adjective.<sup>6</sup>

1. Rāmāyaṇa (N. S. P. ed.), Uttarakāṇḍa, 91, 8-9 ; 15.

2. Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, 77-78.

3. *Ibid.*, VI, 219, 1-12.

4. *Aranyakaparvan* (Cr. ed.), 3, 3.

5. Vāyupurāṇa, 2, 9.

6. *History of Dharmasāstra*, IV, p. 783 (List of Tīrthas).



He means by this that the *Sattra* was really performed on the *Dṛiṣadvatī*, but the river is called *Gomatī* because it abounded in cows. This is hardly convincing and is opposed to the clear statements in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa* cited above.

The *Naimiṣāranya* is identified with *Nimsar* on the *Gomatī*, a railway station of that name on the North-eastern Railway, 20 miles from *Sitāpur* and 45 miles north-east of *Lucknow*.<sup>7</sup> The similarity in the two place-names lends colour to the identification. Besides, this place is situated on the *Gomatī* as stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and some *Purāṇas*. So this identification is generally accepted.

There are, however, some considerations which throw doubt on this identification. In the *Mahābhārata*, *Āraṇyakaparvan* (85, 2-5) *Dhaumya* mentions it to *Yudhiṣṭhira*, while enumerating the *tīrthas* in the eastern direction<sup>8</sup> :—

पूर्वं प्राचीं दिशं राजन् राजर्षिगणसेविताम् ।  
 रम्यां ते कथयिष्यामि युधिष्ठिर यथास्मृति ॥  
 तस्यां देवर्षिजुष्टायां नैमिषं नाम भारत ।  
 यत्र तीर्थानि देवानां सुपुण्यानि पृथक् पृथक् ॥  
 यत्र सा गोमती पुण्या रम्या देवर्षिसेविता ।  
 यज्ञभूमिश्च देवानां शमित्रं च विवस्वतः ॥

*Dhaumya* says further that in the same direction there lies the holy *tīrtha* *Gayā* which he describes as follows<sup>9</sup> :—

तस्यां गिरिवरः पुण्यो गयो राजर्षिसत्कृतः ।  
 शिवं ब्रह्मसरो यत्र सेवितं त्रिदशर्षिभिः ॥  
 महानदी च तत्रैव तथा गयशिरोऽनघ ।  
 यत्रासौ कीर्त्यते विप्रैरक्षय्यकरणो वटः ॥  
 यत्र दत्तं पितृभ्योऽन्नमक्षय्यं भवति प्रभो ॥

7. Nando Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 135.

8. *Āraṇyakaparvan*, 85, 3-5.

9. *Loc. cit.*, 6-9.

सा च पुण्यजला यत्र फल्गुनामा महानदी ।  
 बहुमूलफला चापि कौशिकी भरतर्षभ ॥  
 विश्वामित्रोऽभ्यगाद्यत्र ब्राह्मणत्वं तपोधनः ।

In this passage Dhaumya mentions the holy hill called Gayā, the place called Gayaśiras, where offerings made to the *pītris* become inexhaustible, the great and holy river Phalgu and the akṣaya-vaṭa, which leave no doubt that the holy tīrtha Gayā is meant. The Naimiṣa forest was thus situated in the east and lay not very far from Gayā.

This situation of the Naimiṣāraṇya is also supported by another passage of the Great Epic. In the Āraṇyakaparvan, 93, 1 f. the *tīrtha-yātrā* of the Pāṇḍavas is described. During their exile they were living first in the Kāmyaka-vana. The epic describes this place as situated on the Sarasvatī in the Maru country.<sup>10</sup> Cunningham identified Kāmyaka with Kāmōda near Kurukṣetra. But it is more likely to be modern Kāman, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in the former State of Bharatpur. I have shown that its ancient name Kāmyaka occurs in a stone inscription of the 10th century A. D., which I have edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*.<sup>11</sup> From the Kāmyakavana the Pāṇḍavas proceeded in the east and reached the Naimiṣāraṇya in due course :

ते तथा सहिता वीरा वसन्तस्तत्र तत्र ह ।  
 क्रमेण पृथिवीपाल नैमिषारण्यमागताः ॥  
 ततस्तीर्थेषु पुण्येषु गोमत्याः पाण्डवा नृप ।  
 कृताभिषेकाः प्रददुर्गाश्च वित्तं च भारत ॥  
 तेन देवान् पितृन्विप्रांस्तर्पयित्वा पुनः पुनः ।  
 कन्यातीर्थेऽश्वतीर्थे च गवां तीर्थे च कौरवाः ॥

10. *Āraṇyakaparvan*, 6, 3—

ततः सरस्वतीकूले समेषु महधन्वसु ।

काम्यकं नाम ददृशुर्वनं मुनिजनप्रियम् ॥

11. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 335.

बालकोट्यां वृषप्रस्थे गिरावुष्य च पाण्डवाः ।

बाहुदायां महीपाल चक्रुः सर्वेऽभिषेचनम् ॥

प्रयागे देवयजने देवानां पृथिवीपते ।

ऊषुराप्लुत्य गात्राणि तपश्चातस्थुरुत्तमम् ॥

गङ्गायमुनयोश्चैव संगमे सत्यसङ्गराः ।

विपाप्मानो महात्मानो विप्रेभ्यः प्रददुर्वसु ॥

तपस्विजनजुष्टां च ततो वेदीं प्रजापतेः ।

जग्मुः पाण्डुसुता राजन् ब्राह्मणैः सह भारत ॥

तत्र ते न्यवसन् वीरास्तपश्चातस्थुरुत्तमम् ।

सन्तर्पयन्तः सततं वन्येन हविषा द्विजान् ॥

ततो महीधरं जग्मुर्धर्मज्ञैनाभिसत्कृतम् ।

राजर्षिणा पुण्यकृता गयेनानुपमद्युते ॥

सरो गयाशिरो यत्र पुण्या चैव महानदी ।

महर्षिजुष्टं सुपुण्यं तत्तीर्थं ब्रह्मसरोत्तमम् ॥

This passage describes in order the Naimiṣāraṇya, Prayāga and Gayā. This shows that the Naimiṣāraṇya was situated in the same direction as and not very far from Prayāga and Gayā.

Neither of these two passages from the *Mahābhārata* would suit the identification of the Naimiṣāraṇya with Nimsar, which lies 45 miles north-west of Lucknow ; for it is not in the vicinity of Prayāga and Gayā. Besides, if the Pāṇḍavas had to reach Nimsar from their habitation in the Kāmyakavana (modern Kāman), they would have proceeded to the north and not to the east as stated in the *Mahābhārata*. The Naimiṣāraṇya cannot, therefore, be located near Nimsar, notwithstanding the similarity in the two place-names.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa (canto 92 f.) tells us that Rāma performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the Naimiṣāraṇya. He asked Lakṣmaṇa to invite Sugrīva and other princes for the sacrifice and to put up a large number of tents in the Naimiṣa forest on the bank of the Gomatī for their reception. At his

invitation the sage Vālmīki also came to the Naimiṣāranya to attend the sacrifice, accompanied by his disciples including Kuśa and Lava. A few huts were put up in a part of the forest for their residence.<sup>12</sup>

नैमिषे वसतस्तस्य सर्व एव नराधिपाः ।

आनिन्युरुषहारांश्च तान् रामः प्रत्यपूजयत् ॥

× × ×

उपकार्या महार्हाश्च पार्थिवानां महात्मनाम् ।

सानुगानां नरश्रेष्ठो व्यादिदेश महाबलः ॥

× × ×

वर्तमाने तथाभूते यज्ञे च परमाद्भुते ।

सशिष्य आजगामाशु वाल्मीकिर्भगवानृषिः ॥

स दृष्ट्वा दिव्यसंकाशं यज्ञमद्भुतदर्शनम् ।

एकान्त ऋषिसंघातश्चकार उटजाञ्छुभान् ॥

This description of the Aśvamedha in the *Rāmāyana* shows that it was performed in a place not very far from both Ayodhyā and the hermitage of Vālmīki. This is also corroborated by the description in the *Kundamālā*, a Sanskrit play of Dhīranāga, who probably flourished in the 9th or 10th century A. D. We are told in the second Act of this play that a messenger of Rāma had come to the hermitage of Vālmīki. It was therefore announced that the great sacrifice Aśvamedha was going to be performed (in the Naimiṣa forest) *not far from that place* (i. e. the hermitage of Vālmīki). All were therefore asked to repair to the sacrificial place without delay.<sup>13</sup>

(नेपथ्ये)

भो भो आश्रमवासिनो जनाः । शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः--इतो नातिदूरं  
महाक्रतुरश्वमेधः प्रवर्तते संभृतानि यज्ञोपकरणानि सन्निपातिताश्च नानादेशाश्रम-  
वासिनो वसिष्ठत्रेयप्रभृतयो महामुनयः । केवलं भगवतो वाल्मीकेरागमनमुदी-

12. Uttarakāṇḍa, 92, 4, 8 ; 93, 1-2.

13. Kundamālā (ed. by K. K. Dutta), p. 32.

क्षमाणो नाद्यापि यज्ञदीक्षां प्रविशति महाराजः । आगतश्च वाल्मीकितपोवनवासिना  
मुपनिमन्त्रणार्थं रामदूतः । तस्मान्नैव परिलम्बितव्यम् । तीर्थोदकानि, समिधः,  
परिपूर्णरूपान् दर्भाङ्कुरानविहतान् परिगृह्य सद्यः अग्रे भवन्तु मुनयो मुनिकन्यकाश्च  
कुर्वन्तु मङ्गलवलीनुटजाङ्गनेषु ॥

In the next (III) Act we learn that the delicate Sītā had reached by evening the site of the sacrifice together with her young sons Kuśa and Lava.<sup>14</sup> We are not told how many days it took them to reach the place of the sacrifice, but from the trend of the description they could not have been many. In a verse of the fourth Act we are told that the kings of the Ikṣvāku family retire to the Naimiṣa forest in the evening of their life after entrusting the cares of the family to their sons.<sup>15</sup> From all these descriptions it seems clear that the Naimiṣa forest lay not very far from both Ayodhyā and the hermitage of Vālmīki.

But where was the hermitage of Vālmīki? It is usually located at Biṭhur, 14 miles from Cawnpur,<sup>16</sup> but I have shown elsewhere that this location is not correct.<sup>17</sup> According to the Rāmāyaṇa (1. 2, 3), it was situated on the bank of the Tamasā and lay not far from the Gaṅgā.<sup>18</sup> There are two rivers of the name Tamasā flowing in the Uttar-Pradesh, one of which joins the Gaṅgā from the north and the other from the south. I have shown elsewhere<sup>19</sup> in detail that the Tamasā on which Vālmīki's

14. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

15. See

आनाकमेकधनुषा भुवनं विजित्य

पुण्यैर्दिवः क्रतुशतैर्विरचथ्य मार्गम् ।

इक्ष्वाकवः सुतनिवेशितराज्यभारा

निःश्रेयसाय वनमेतदुपाश्रयन्तः ॥ *Kundamālā* IV, 5.

16. Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary*, p. 20.

17. See my article on this in *Studies in Indology*, Vol. 1. (second ed.).

18. See

स मुहूर्त्तं गते तस्मिन्देवलोकं मुनिस्तदा ।

जगाम तमसातीरं जाह्नव्यास्त्वविदूरतः ।

Rāmāyaṇa 1. 2. 3.

19. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I (Second ed.).

hermitage was situated is the southern Tamasā, now called Tons, 'which rises in the former Mahiyar State, on the south of Nagaudh and, running through the north part of Rewah flows into the Ganges about eighteen miles to the south-east of Allahabad.<sup>20</sup> The site of the hermitage of Vālmīki was near the confluence of this Tamasā and the Gaṅgā. The Naimiṣāraṇya, where the Aśvamedha sacrifice was being performed, may have been situated almost due north of this place on the bank of the Gomatī, which flows about 60 miles on the north as the crow flies. This forest was probably included in the modern Sultanpur district. Its distance from Ayodhyā may have been about 40 miles. If the Naimiṣāraṇya is identified with Nimsar, 40 miles north-west of Lucknow, its distance from the hermitage of Vālmīki would be more than 160 miles as the crow flies. Such a long distance is not in consonance with the description in the Epics and the Kundamālā as shown above.

As the Naimiṣāraṇya was about 40 miles from Ayodhyā it is not unlikely that the kings of Ayodhyā retired to it in the last period of their life and Rāma performed his Aśvamedha sacrifice there. There is, of course, now no place in this district known to me, the name of which bears resemblance to Naimiṣāraṇya. This is not surprising in view of the long period of time which separates the Vedic and Epic periods from the modern age.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that the Naimiṣāraṇya was not identical with modern Nimsar, 45 miles north-west from Lucknow, but was probably situated on the Gomatī somewhere in the Sultanpur district of Uttar Pradesh.<sup>21</sup>

20. Fleet, C. I. I, Vol. III., p. 126.

21. After this article was sent for publication, Shri A. S. Gupta has kindly informed me that the two sacrifices mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa* were not identical. The Sacrifice performed in the Naimiṣa forest on the bank of the Gomatī (referred to in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, II, 7 f.) belonged to the reign of Purūravas, at which Vāyu was the speaker, which that performed on the Driṣadvatī (not in the Naimiṣa forest) (referred to in the *Vāyupurāṇa* 1, 14-15) was in the time of king Asīma Kṛṣṇa and then Sūta Lomahaṅga was the speaker. This has removed the discrepancy pointed out by Dr. Kane and further strengthened the identification suggested in the present article,

# MEGASTHENES AND THE INDIAN CHRONOLOGY AS BASED ON THE PURĀNAS

BY

K. D. SETHNA

IV

[लेखांशोऽयं मेगस्थनीजवचनैः सह भारतीयपौराणिकेतिहासस्य सामञ्जस्य-  
स्थापनद्वारा रहस्योद्घाटनपरोऽनुसन्धानात्मकः पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तक्रमप्राप्तवशात्  
'मेगस्थनीजः पौराणिकवंशकालक्रमश्च' इत्यस्य लेखस्योपसंहारकश्चतुर्थोऽंशो  
भवति । प्रथमद्वितीयांशौ पुराणपत्रिकाया अष्टमभागस्य प्रथमद्वितीयांकयोः  
क्रमेण मुद्रितौ, तृतीयश्च परिशिष्टांशः चन्द्रांशनृपतिना सह जैण्डूमस्य साम्य-  
प्रतिपादनपरो नवमभागस्य प्रथमेऽङ्के प्रकाशित आसीत् । भारतीयेतिहास एव  
पुराणेषूपवर्णितः राज्ञां संख्याकालनिर्णयः सर्वथा समीचीन इति लेखकेन विदुषा  
स्वाभिमतं सप्रमाणमूहापोहपूर्वकं प्रतिपादितम्, प्रकारान्तरेणाधुनिकैतिहासिकानां  
मान्यतां दूषयितुं पक्षविपक्षपोषकानि विविधतत्त्वानि चोपस्थाप्य समालोचितानि ।  
न केवलं मेगस्थनीजवचनानि तत्प्रमाणयितुं प्रवृत्तानि, अपि तु तर्कबलेन सामान्या-  
वबोधेन च तदेवावधारयितुं शक्यते, तच्च प्रसिद्धवैज्ञानिकाल्बेखनीमहोदयानां  
विज्ञप्तिसम्मतमेव । एवमनेकधा समर्थनं पौराणिकमतस्योपलभ्यते । एतेन  
बृहत्संहितासहितः पुराणसम्प्रदायोऽप्रतिष्ठित इति मतं ए. एल. बाशममहानुभाव-  
नामसंगतमिति साधितं भवति । पौराणिकेतिहासकालक्रमे शकसंवत्सरः  
(551 B.C.) अपेक्ष्यते । चतुर्थशताब्द्यां च मगधशासकानां प्रथमो गुप्तसाम्राज्य-  
संस्थापकः पौराणिकेतिहासतत्त्वैः संकेतितः मेगस्थनीजनिर्दिष्टः ख्रीष्टपूर्वं ३०२  
वर्षे निश्चितः सैण्डोकोट्टसाह्यः कश्चिच्चन्द्रगुप्त एवासीत् । स चान्तिमो मगध-  
शासको न भवितुमर्हति । भारतीयराजवंशक्रमः मेगस्थनीजवचनानामाधारेण  
पिलनी, एरियन, सोलिनसादिभिः एलेक्जैण्डर-सैण्डोकोट्टसाह्यां प्राक् षट्सहस्र-  
सम्बत्सरतोऽपि पूर्वमेव प्रतिष्ठापितः । १५३ राज्ञां गणनायां प्रथमः पृथुः  
डायोनिससनाम्नोऽभिन्न इति स्थितम् । एवं कलियुगप्रारम्भकालः (3102  
B. C.), महाभारतयुद्धम् (3138 B.C.), युधिष्ठिरस्य प्रयाणकालः (3077  
B. C.) गुप्तकालः (325 B. C.) इत्यादि च कल्हण-वराहमिहिरप्रभृतीनां  
मतानि समालोच्य पुराणसाक्ष्येण प्रसंगतो निर्धार्यते ।]

We have brought together the chronological testimony of  
Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Pāṭaliputra

in c. 302 B. C., and India's own chronology, as based on the extant Purāṇas, of her ancient history. We have found the two in explicit or implicit accord, supplementing each other's information and mutually illuminating a few obscurities. This is only natural, since none except Purāṇic pundits could have been in a position to give chronological material to Megasthenes. But the startling consequence of our detailed inquiry from many angles is: Sandrocottus, at whose court Megasthenes lived and whose accession we have been led to put in 325 B. C. must have been Chandragupta I, founder of the Imperial Guptas, whom the surviving elements of the Purāṇic chronology would assign to the later half of the 4th century B. C., and not Chandragupta Maurya who is placed there by modern historians.

Extremely important as is the testimony of Megasthenes, the very contemporary of Sandrocottus, we may yet grant that our conclusion stirs a regular hornet's nest or problems and it is necessary to look from the standpoint of logic and common sense at the Purāṇic historical time-scheme, which he confirms, for the Guptas.

But before we do so we may glance at the present dating of Chandragupta I and ask whether it has any immediately rational force.

### The Problem of the Gupta Era

What is today termed the Gupta Era (Sanskrit Gupta-Kāla) is indeed remote from 325 B.C.: it starts from 320 A. D. as the accession date of Chandragupta I. But, if we ask for a direct and definite reason for commencing the Imperial Gupta dynasty from 320 A. D., all we are informed is: "One can gather from the famous Arab traveller and scientist Albērunī (1030 A. D.) that the Gupta Era started 241 years after the Śaka Era of 78 A. D. The completion of 241 years from 78 A. D. would give us the running year 320 A. D."

Actually the words of Albērunī,<sup>1</sup> introducing the interval of 241 years, read: "As regards the Gupta-Kāla, people say that the

1. Sachau, *Albērunī's India*, II, p. 7.



Guptas were wicked, powerful people, and that when they ceased to exist this date was used as the epoch of an era." Obviously, Albērunī implies that the Gupta Era of 320 A. D. was started to celebrate not the beginning but the close of a dynasty which had come to be disliked.

Of course, we can try to make out that Albērunī was handing down a capital confusion because the word "kāla" in Sanskrit indicates both "era" and "death" or "destruction". But this would be unjustified ingenuity; for, it is not impossible that an era should begin at the end of either a dynasty or a person's life. Frequently, in both epigraphy and literature the Śaka Era of 78 A. D. has itself been looked upon as marking the end of the Śakas or of a Śaka king.<sup>1</sup> Albērunī<sup>2</sup> himself looks upon it in the same way, as presumably did all his contemporaries. And they may be right: we are not certain yet as to who founded this era or why. It is not called "Śaka" until nearly 500 years after its foundation. Our historians suppose the two Śaka lines of Western India—the Kshaharāta and the Kārdamaka—to have been the cause of its name by using it, although themselves never calling it "Śaka". The credit of founding it is usually given to Kaṇishka, and his own successors are said to have also followed it; but Kaṇishka and his successors were not Śakas: they were Kushāṇas, whom Indian books call Tushāras, Tukhāras or Turushkas. Hence the reason for the name remains dubious on the hypotheses of modern historians.

Most of the eight Govindapāla records of the 12th century A. D. and two inscriptions of Aśokachalla and one of Jayasena—all from Bengal—are dated from the cessation or destruction of a reign.<sup>3</sup> Even the terminal character of Albērunī's Gupta Era is suggested by a certain epigraphic phrase. In the Gokkak plates

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1. E. g. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, p. 144; VII, Appendix, No. 150, p. 27. For full discussion see Satya Shrava, *The Śakas in India*, pp. 44-47.
  2. *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
  3. Radhagovinda Basak, "Govindapāla Records Re-examined", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 3rd Session, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 528-36.

of Dejja Mahārāja<sup>1</sup> are seen the words : “*āguṣṭāyikānām kālah*”. They mean an era which goes up to the Gupta family. If such a turn of expression connoted, as it might, an era from the start of the Gupta dynasty, it would be highly artificial in a post-Gupta record, whereas if it connoted, as it certainly could, an era from the end of this dynasty, one which goes up to the termination of the Guptas, commencing where the total number of them is complete, it would be in that record a pointed manner of speaking.

If we take Albērunī at his word and give a straightforward interpretation to the only explicit reference in all literature to the establishment of the Gupta Era of 320 A. D. and to its relation with the Gupta dynasty, we must date the founder of the Imperial Guptas, as well as the original era initiated by him and followed by his successors, a number of centuries before 320 A. D. But, going backward, where can we stop except at Sandrocottus for our non-Mauryan Chandragupta ? As far as Chandragupta I is concerned, Albērunī rules out the modern chronology and thereby supports the ancient Indian or Purāṇic.

### A Reductio Ad Absurdum

Nor is Albērunī the sole helping factor. There is yet another, and this is indeed formidable. It takes its stand firmly on what we have called logic and common sense. Paradoxically, it arises from the most fundamental criticism modern historians make of the old chronology.<sup>2</sup>

Their criticism may be summed up : “Round about 400 A. D. astronomers realised the need to have a specific reckoning with a definite initial occasion. They found the required occasion in what a backward computation by them gave as a conjunction in 3102 B. C. of the sun, the moon and the five then-known planets at the first point of the Zodiacal sign Mēsha (Aries). The reckoning thus devised was subsequently identified with the

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, pp. 289-92.

2. Cf. J. B. Fleet, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, pp 476 ff; also his article “Hindu Chronology” in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (13th Ed.), XIII, p. 497.

Kaliyuga of which the Purāṇas speak. The identification is first found, though without the actual name, in the astronomer Āryabhaṭa in 499 A. D. By then the Purāṇic pundits must have adjusted India's traditional history to the new date, fixed the time for the Kaliyuga's close companion, the Bhārata War, and constructed a whole long chronology. The acceptance of the new date must have become universal by 634 A. D., for in that year we have the public use of it in the Aihole inscription dating itself in the Kaliyuga Era side by side with the Śaka Era and referring also to the Bhārata War. But, as the former Era is not a real historical one, the entire system of dates the Purāṇic pundits deduced from it and from the Bhārata War for events is arbitrary. All the ages they have assigned to the various dynasties of the past have no historical value."

In our second article we have touched on the question whether 3102 B. C. was a date new-fangled after about 400 A. D. or part of an old tradition. Even in the days of Megasthenes Indian history had a hoary antiquity for the Indian mind. Pliny (VI. xxi), Arrian (*Indica*, I. ix) and Solinus (52.5), basing themselves on Megasthenes, have reported the Indians as saying that the line of kings in India—before Alexander and Sandrocottus—went back by more than 6000 years. In such a chronological scheme the Kaliyuga, 36 years after the birth of Arjuna's grandson Parīkshit during the year of the Bhārata War, could easily start in an age pretty remote from the days of Megasthenes and, by the Purāṇic dynasty-lengths, must start in 3102 B. C. if the Imperial Guptas commenced in 325 B. C. So there is a *prima facie* case for believing that the date favoured by the astronomers existed much earlier than c. 400 A. D.

But that is not our concern at the moment. Our concern is to study an amazing implication of the modern criticism of the old chronology.

If the old chronology was cooked up some time after 400 A. D. and was already in public use by 634 A. D., then according to the chronology of modern historians the Purāṇic pundits who did the cooking-up lived face to face with the

Imperial Guptas, whose period is counted from 320 to 570 A. D. But we have seen that the Indian time-scheme, the work of those very pundits, must begin the Imperial Guptas between 350 and 300 B.C. or, if we accept Megasthenes's light on that time-scheme, in 325 B. C. Hence we have the ridiculous situation that the pundits put contemporary kings more than 600 years before their own time !

Surely, there is a limit even to the lack of the historical sense we may attribute to Indian chronologists. Critics of the Purāṇic time-scheme definitely overshoot the mark by asking us to believe that any Indian living day after day under a particular king could be made enough to push the same monarch back in history by over six centuries. Here is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the modern criticism.

### An Unescapable Predicament

What we have to conclude is clear :

Since the Indian chronology, using the Kaliyuga Era and closely connecting it with the Bhārata War in a fairly ancient time, was undoubtedly in vogue in the centuries immediately preceding 634 A. D., the Imperial Guptas could never have ruled during them.

If they cannot be placed in this period, they must have ended, as Albērunī reports, by 320 A. D.

If they ended thus, their dynasty with Chandragupta I at its head must have started in the age of Megasthenes when there was the dynasty-founder Sandrocottus who was some Chandra-gupta.

And only by the Imperial-Gupta dynasty's starting in this age could the Purāṇic pundits of the period 400-634 A. D. or of any other following the age of Megasthenes be contemporary with the kings who would belong to that period.

Consequently, whether or not the Bhārata War was fought in 3138 B. C. and the Kaliyuga opened in 3102 B. C. and any pre-Gupta dynasty flourished precisely in the epoch calculated for

it from these two dates, the commencement which the Indian chronology has to make of the Imperial Guptas with Chandragupta I in 325 B. C., the year of the coronation of Sandrocottus, must be absolutely correct.

All these conclusions must drive our modern historians into an unescapable predicament. And the predicament is all the worse because, unlike the argument for 320 A. D. for the start of the Gupta Era on the strength of a reference to Albērūnī, they have an impressively strong-looking case for putting Chandragupta Maurya's grandson Aśoka in the middle of the 3rd century B. C. and hence the grandfather himself in the age of Megasthenes. There are those five "Yona" kings in Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII, whose names have been adjudged to correspond with those of five post-Alexandrine Greek monarchs. And there is also the version in Greek along with one in Aramaic in the Aśokan inscription recently discovered on a rock at Kandahār. The predicament becomes a dilemma: on the one side the compelling logic, the clear common sense of the conclusions we have drawn-on the other the rocklike-seeming evidence of some epigraphs. How will the modern historians take this dilemmatic bull by the horns? It is high time they confronted it squarely instead of dismissing as pure moonshine everything in India's structure of dates for her own distant past.

### **The Argument from "Inconsistency"**

What can we anticipate the modern historians as urging in direct discredit of the Purāṇic horn of the dilemma? At the very outset they are likely to argue:

"You have mentioned the Purāṇic dating of the Bhārata War to 3138 B. C., 36 years before the Kaliyuga. But do you not know that it is misleading to speak of India's own chronology as if it were of one piece? The Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. does refer to the Kaliyuga, but it also identifies the end of the Bhārata War with it. As this War lasted for 18 days, the Aihole inscription evidently dates it to 3102 and not 3138 B. C. There we have the first discrepancy, though a small one. There

is another, a huge one. In the period before the Aihole inscription the astronomer Varāhamihira (c. 550 A. D.), claiming to expound the older astronomer Vṛiddha Garga, touches on the Indian notion about the constellation Sapta Ṛishi and its stay of 100 years in each of the 27 Nakshatras. Varāhamihira (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIII. 1-4) says, in Kern's translation:<sup>1</sup> 'I shall tell you, according to the theory of Vṛiddha Garga, the course of the Seven Seers by whom the northern region is, as it were, protected...The Seven Ṛishis were in Maghā when King Yudhishtira ruled the earth, and the period of that king is 2526 years before the Śaka Era...'

"In 1148 A.D. the Kāshmiri historian Kalhaṇa (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I. 51, 55-56) pointed out how this statement supported him in rejecting the belief that the Bhārata War (in which Yudhishtira had participated) occurred at the close of the Dvāparayuga preceding the Kaliyuga. He calculated backward from the Śaka Era of 78 A. D. and interpreted Varāhamihira to mean that Yudhishtira's period was 2526 years before 78 A. D. i. e., 2448 B. C., which is 654 years after the advent of the Kaliyuga in 3102 B. C. Kalhaṇa's reasoning is faultless. So we have a Varāhamihira-reckoning against the Purāṇic as well as the Aihole inscription's, with as much claim to antiquity.

"Now, the Purāṇas provide several numbers of years to be counted from the Bhārata War to the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda: 1500, 1115, 1050, 1015. From that coronation to the start of the Āndhra dynasty they count 836 years, and the total time-length of this dynasty is variously given as 300, 411, 412, 456, 460 years. If we add up 1500, 836 and 411, we get 2747 years from 2448 B. C. to reach the end of the Āndhras. The end is thus in 299 A. D. Then, with the Purāṇic suggestion of a fairly short interval between it and the rise of the Guptas, we can justifiably have the Guptas rising in 320 A. D. as in the modern chronology.

"Thus even the Indian chronology bears us out. The inconsistency between the Purāṇic version (no less than the Aihole inscription's) and the version of Varāhamihira not only deprives

<sup>1</sup> A. Cunningham, *The Book of Indian Eras*, 1883, p. 9.

the former of sole authority in the ancient field but also upholds the modern historical view so far as the Guptas are involved. Since in dealing with the Indian view it is the Guptas you are centrally interested in, your plea for identifying Sandrocottus with Chandragupta I, by force of the Indian chronology in concurrence with Megasthenes's testimony, is undermined, our usual identification of him with Chandragupta Maurya is left intact and our dating of the Guptas confirmed. Indian chronology itself frees us from the necessity of facing any dilemma."

### The Fallacies of the Argument

The argument is fallacious in every way. But even otherwise it is not of much help. The alleged inconsistency between the Purānas and Varāhamihira does not abolish the situation that, according to the modern chronology, the Purānic pundits set contemporary Gupta kings over 600 years earlier. It can only create the double situation that two schools of Indian chronologists living under the Guptas differed by over 600 years about the existence of those very kings. Confusion would be worse confounded: that is all.

Now for the fallacies. To take a minor point first: there is no call to read a discrepancy, however negligible, between the Purānic reckoning and the Aihole inscription's. In 634 A. D., when already the *Mahābhārata* in its final form was part of the Indian consciousness, it is not to be commonly expected that anybody should forget that by 3102 B. C. Yudhisṭhira had been king of Hastināpura for quite a number of years and that the actual fighting of the Bhārata War had ended before his accession. The words of the inscription—"after the Bhārata War"—which are put on a par with those that refer to the beginning of the Kaliyuga should tend to prompt in us an understanding of them not in a literal but in a broad manner.

And it is indeed easy for us to understand them so. We may take the War to have ended with the last of the occurrences connected with it. Three can serve as its *finale* in general. One is the death of Kṛishṇa, about whom A. D. Pusalker<sup>1</sup> writes: "It

1. *Studies in the Epics and Purānas of India* (Bombay, 1955), p. 73.

was mainly and solely due to the important part played by Kṛṣṇa in the great war that the Pāṇḍavas emerged victorious." The other two were the result of Kṛishṇa's death: the abdication, in favour of his grand-nephew Parīkshit, by Yudhishtīra of the throne of Hastināpura which he had won from the Kurus by that war, and Yudhishtīra's departure on a world-pilgrimage along with his brothers who had been his comrades-in-arms in the field of Kurukshetra. Thus, at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, all who had been involved in the Bhārata War either died or disappeared from the scene of its consequences and the curtain was rung down on the whole sanguinary drama and its epilogue. Whatever was directly linked with it came to a close in 3102 B. C.

J. B. Fleet<sup>1</sup> interprets the expression—"after the Bhārata War"—in essentially the mode we have suggested, except that he omits Kṛishṇa's death because he does not date it to the same year as Yudhishtīra's abdication, enthroning Parīkshit in his place, and the world-pilgrimage of all the Pāṇḍava-brothers—two events which to him are "the final occurrence in the story of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus" in connection with the Bhārata War.

Fleet adds that most probably the astronomer Āryabhaṭa had in mind the same occurrence when he mentioned Bhārata Thursday as the last day of the Age which preceded the "Fourth Yuga" (=the Kali). Fleet quotes Āryabhaṭa's commentator Parameśvara as explicitly relating Āryabhaṭa's words to this occurrence.

Understood along Fleet's lines, though without his omission of Kṛishṇa's death, the Aihole inscription does not differ from the Purāṇic school.

Coming next to Varāhamihira, we may again ask whether the *Bṛihatsamhitā* could really fly in the face of the *Mahābhārata*. Our question is all the more pertinent when we know that Varāhamihira is not only a savant in his own rights but also an astronomer aware of Āryabhaṭa who implies the Purāṇic sequence of the Bhārata War and the Kaliyuga. However, assuming that he

1. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, pp. 677-79.



does reject this sequence, do we have the right to apply any Purāṇic time-indications like 1500,836 and 411 years if the starting-point is so wide asunder from the Purāṇic? Does Kalhaṇa, who believes that Varāhamihira disagrees with tradition, dispose his history in such a fashion as to allow us to fix Chandragupta I in 320 A. D.?

In *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* I. 52-53 he gives Śaka 1070 as his own date—that is, (78 A. D. + 1070 =) 1148 A. D.—and count 2330 years from Gonanda III of Kāshmir to himself. Thus Gonanda III is dated to (2330-1148 =) 1182 B. C. Now, between Gonanda II and Gonanda III Kalhaṇa puts a long line of kings including familiar names like Aśoka, Jalaukā, Hushka (= Huvishka) Jushka (= Vajeshka), Kaṇishka'. The last-named comes, for modern historians, in 78 A. D. But, for Kalhaṇa, basing himself on Varāhamihira, he is beyond 1182 B. C., and Kalhaṇa further says that Kaṇishka is 150 years after Buddha. So Buddha too is pushed up far beyond his commonly calculated time. We may "pooh-pooh" all this; but we may with equal justification "pooh-pooh" the idea that old Indian annalists following Varāhamihira could ever countenance placing the founder of the Imperial Guptas in 320 A. D. No Indian chronology allows the Gupta Era's beginning in that year or the identification of Sandrocottus with Chandragupta Maurya.

Thirdly, we may take up the point: Is Kalhaṇa correct in his dealings with Varāhamihira's statement? At once we can pick a central hole. Kalhaṇa never bothers to refer back to Vṛiddha Garga whom Varāhamihira mentions and whose "theory" leads him to speak of Yudhisṭhira and of the asterism Maghā for the Seven Ṛishis. Bhaṭṭōtpala, the astronomer who lived several centuries after Varāhamihira and, by the modern chronology, nearly 200 years before Kalhaṇa, has given us, while interpreting Varāhamihira in his commentary *Chintāmaṇi*, the exact words of Garga. They<sup>1</sup> run: "At the junction of the Kali and Dvāpara ages, the virtuous sages who delight in protecting the people stood at the asterism over which the Pitṛis preside (that is, Maghā)."

1. As quoted in Colebrooke's *Essays*, II, p. 313.

From these words Varāhamihira's meaning should be unmistakable. If, according to Garga, the Seven Ṛishis were in Maghā at the junction of the Kali and Dvāpara ages and if, according to Varāhamihira who is expounding Garga, Yudhishṭhira ruled when the Seven Ṛishis were in Maghā, then, according to Varāhamihira, Yudhishṭhira ruled within the same 100 years during which the junction of the Kali and Dvāpara ages occurred. Varāhamihira could never have meant that Yudhishṭhira ruled 654 years after Kaliyuga's advent in 3102 B. C. Here is a simple syllogism which cannot be denied.

And what it provokes us to inquire is : May not the Śaka Era, which Varāhamihira declares to be 2526 years after the "period" of Yudhishṭhira, be other than the one of 78 A. D. ? The Śaka Era of the Aihole inscription has to be referred to 78 A. D. because this inscription is of King Pulakeśin II, the conqueror of King Harsha whom the Chinese scholar Hiuen-Tsang mentions as his patron in the book of his travels in India during 630-643 A. D. : the specified Śaka year 556 counted from 78 A.D. brings us to 634 A. D., which falls within Hiuen-Tsang's sojourn. We have no comparable outside-check for Varāhamihira's Śaka Era. And a Śaka Era different from the usual one is nothing incredible in itself. A. K. Narain<sup>1</sup> cites an old Śaka Era of 155 B. C., which is "widely accepted". A still older one is also quite on the cards. It would have to be at the end of 2526 years from the point at which Yudhishṭhir's "period" may be said to terminate. In the *Mahābhārata*<sup>2</sup> Yudhishṭhira dies in the 25th year after abdicating at the death of Kṛishṇa from which the Kaliyuga begins. The 25th year of the Kaliyuga is  $(3102 - 25 =) 3077$  B.C., a date very much in tune with the reference to the Seven Ṛishis' cycle, for in that cycle each asterism is entered in the year 77 of each century. If Yudhishṭhira's period terminated with his death, in 3077 B. C., a Śaka Era is suggested for  $(3077 - 2526 =) 551$  B.C.

Most interestingly, such antiquity for the new Śaka Era which we have deduced is just what is needed both by the Purāṇic

1. *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 143-44.

2. *Mahāprasthānika Parvan*, I.

time-scheme and by Indian tradition in general. The latter counts Varāhamihira among the "nine jewels" of the court of the king whom it names Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī and considers to have installed the Era of 57 B. C. popularly known as Vikrama Saṁvat.<sup>1</sup> Varāhamihira himself declares the date of his own earliest work *Pañchasiddhāntikā* (l. 8-10) to be Śaka 427; and Amarāja,<sup>2</sup> evidently with the same date in mind, gives for Varāhamihira's death a Śaka reference—the year 509—which is 82 years after it. We thus get, if we calculate the Śaka years from 551 B. C., Varāhamihira's working life between 124 and 42 B. C., a span making him a contemporary of the traditional Vikramāditya. Such a span also explains why, while alluding to the Eras of Kali and Śaka, he fails to allude to the Era of 57 B. C. If he died in 42 B. C., he may not have composed any work in the 15 years of his life after that Era had been instituted, whereas if he lived in the 6th century A. D. his omission of it is rather odd, to say the least.

True, this Era is not associated with the name "Vikrama" earlier than the 8th century A. D. But modern historians can hardly excuse Varāhamihira's omission on that plea. They hold that 57 B. C. was originally known as the Kṛita Era and then as the Mālava Era.<sup>3</sup> In their opinion the present designation was coined some time after Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty called himself Vikramāditya and, on extirpating the Śakas of Western India, chose Ujjayinī as a secondary capital and became famous in later tradition as Vikramāditya Śakāri.<sup>4</sup> The Kṛita Era, if identical with our Vikrama Saṁvat, is recorded in an inscription as early as the year 282, which is equal to 125 A. D.<sup>5</sup> The Mālava Era, on the same assumption, first appears inscriptively in the year 461 that is, 404 A. D.<sup>6</sup> Chandragupta II is

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1. We may remark, in passing, that there is also more than one Era of Vikrama: we have the Chālukya-Vikrama-Kāla of 1076 A. D.
  2. S. B. Dikshit, *Bhāratiya Jyotiḥ-Śāstra* (Poona, 1931), I, p. 211.
  3. D. C. Sircar, "The Vikrama Saṁvat", *Vikrama Volume* (Ujjain, 1948), p. 582.
  4. *Ibid.*, p. 584.
  5. *Ibid.*, p. 580.
  6. *Ibid.*

currently dated 376-414 A. D.<sup>1</sup> Varāhamihira, coming in c. 550 A. D. and himself associated with Ujjayinī, could have used any of the three names. That he did not should serve as a bit of a poser to modern historians.<sup>2</sup>

The Purāṇic time-scheme requires the Śaka Era of 551 B. C. because it has to put, in more or less proximity to the reign of Chandragupta I in the 4th century B. C., three kings who were connected with the Śakas: (1) Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who was the 23rd out of the 30 members of the dynasty Āndhra Sātavāhana, shortly preceding the Guptas, and who is known from both epigraphy and numismatics to have destroyed the Śaka Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta family; (2) the son of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, who styles himself overlord of the Śakas in the Allāhābād Pillar inscription; and (3) the already-mentioned Chandragupta II, Samudragupta's son, who proves himself their conqueror by replacing their coins by his own. The last-named can serve also to show how 551 B. C. is precisely right for the start of an Era of the Western Śakas. It is in the closing part of his reign that he issued his coins in place of theirs. If his reign by the modern chronology is—as we have noted—376-414 A. D., it is the period 56-94 years after the usual Gupta Era 320 A. D. When we put Chandragupta I in 325 B. C., these years yield 269-231 B. C. for his grandson's reign. Now, D. C. Sircar<sup>3</sup> informs us that the Śakas of Western India "are known to have used a continuous reckoning from year 41 to year 310".

1. *Ibid.*, p. 584.

2. Of course, to set Varāhamihira in the 1st century B. C. would fix Āryabhaṭa, whom he mentions, to a still earlier epoch and creates another chronological problem. But such problems we must expect once we start antedating somewhere and they have to be grappled with at some time. At the moment they need not be our "headache". Only two points we may make. First, Āryabhaṭa knows merely the Kali calculation: by that token he should be prior both to the Era of 57 B. C. and whatever Śaka Eras we may discover. Secondly, if the tradition of India's hoary antiquity—a tradition likely to include the dates of the Kaliyuga and the Bhārata War—was already there in the age of Megasthenes, Āryabhaṭa as the first astronomer to imply these dates cannot be later than that age.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 579.

Thus by our Śaka Era their coins were replaced by their conqueror's soon after (551-310=) 241 B. C. that is, in the last few years preceding the close of his reign in 231 B. C. All in all, Purāṇically what can be more natural than a Śaka Era of 551 B. C. ?<sup>1</sup>

Even within the general framework of Indian history such an Era appears to fit in excellently on the whole. The earliest date recorded by the Western Śakas is, as we have just marked, 41. So, by our computation, they do not go back beyond (551-41=) 510 B. C. This date not only falls, as it should, inside the reign of the Achaemenid emperor Darius I (522-486 B. C.) who annexed a portion of India to Persia a little before 518-515 B. C., the time of his inscriptions at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam where he lists *Hi(n)du* as a province of his empire. The date also comes, as even more it should, later than the time of the annexation. Again, among the kinds of Śakas listed in Darius's inscriptions, we have the Śaka Haumavarga, who "have been identified by [F. W.] Thomas with the Scythian settlers of Drangiana in the Helmund valley, which afterwards came to be known as Sakastān..."<sup>2</sup> Since the Helmund valley is eastern Irān, there were Śakas almost next door to India in the reign of Darius I. Soon after his passage into the Indus valley immediately before 518-515 B. C., they could have moved with their Era into India and made their first inscription here in 510 B. C. Their initial establishment would be in Sind, which was certainly in the hands of the Achaemenid emperor when he sent, as Herodotus (IV. 44) reports, the navigator Skylax (in 509 B. C.) with a company to explore the Indus down to the sea.

1. We may observe that in relation to the conquest of the Śakas by Chandragupta II, our 551 B. C. gives a better result than 78 A. D. Historians tell us that the earliest possible date of the conqueror's new coins is the year 90 of the Gupta Era, 4 years before his death. By our Gupta Era this means 335 B. C., 6 years after the last coins of the Śakas. By the modern chronology the Śaka coins ended in (78+310=) 388 A. D. and the 90th Gupta year is 410 A. D. Thus the coins of Chandragupta II come 22 years after. The big gap is rather incredible.
2. D. C. Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bombay, 1953), p. 120.

And that the Western Śakas ruled over regions in Sind in addition to Mālwā, Gujarat, Kāthiawar and western Rājputānā is cogently inferred by Sircar<sup>1</sup> from the archaeological data available.

Then there is the title these Śakas use for themselves: "Kshatrapa" or "Mahākshatrapa". The former is pseudo-Sanskrit corresponding to the Old-Persian "Kshathrapāvan", meaning "Province-guardian", of which the English version through the Greek is "Satrap", denoting a provincial governor. It indicates the Śakas' subordinate position. Prefixed with "Mahā", it would show increase in power and is perhaps equal, in the Śakas' eyes, to the term "Rājan" which too they use. Our historians take the Western Śakas to be feudatories of the Kushāṇas. But the Kushāṇas never refer to any member of the Kshaharāta-Kārdamaka families nor have they any cognizance of the term "Kshatrapa". The Western Satrapa, on their side, do not mention who their overlord was. But we read in Herodotus (III. 94) that *Hi(n)du* was called the twentieth satrapy of Darius I. The Western Śakas can figure most appositely as the Achaemenid emperor's Satraps.<sup>2</sup>

However, we are digressing. Going back to our proper theme, we may assert: whatever else may be demonstrable or no, our syllogism apropos of Varāhamihira will never allow anyone to separate from the Kaliyuga of 3102 B. C. Yudhisṭhira and the Bhārata War.

Indian chronology is not inconsistent at all. It is of one piece—the Purāṇic school and the *Bṛihatsamhitā* standing together in spite of Kalhaṇa. Kalhaṇa's reasoning is faultless on his own premisses; but his ignorance falsifies Varāhamihira completely.

### The Argument from Purāṇic Geography

Our historians may next offer the argument:

"Look at the geography of the Purāṇas. Around Mount Meru there is a ring of land, Jambudvīpa, divided from the next

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 181, 182, 184.

2. D. R. Mankad has some very pertinent observations on the Western Śakas and Darius I in his *Purāṇic Chronology* (Anand, 1951), pp. 184-87.

continent, Plakshadvīpa, by an ocean of salt. Plakshadvīpa in turn forms a concentric circle round Jambudvīpa and so on to make a total of seven continents, each circular and divided from its neighbours by an ocean of different composition. After Jambudvīpa's ocean of salt we have oceans of treacle, wine, ghee, milk, curds and fresh water respectively. A. L. Basham,<sup>1</sup> writing of this geography, comments ; 'This brilliantly imaginative picture of the world, which aroused the scorn of Lord Macaulay, seems to have been implicitly believed in by later Hindu theologians, and even the astronomers could not emancipate themselves from it, but adapted it to their spherical earth by making Meru the earth's axis, and the continents zones on the earth's surface.' If such an absurd fantasy for the familiar earth can be entertained by Indians on the authority of the Purāṇas, why should we take seriously the Purāṇic horn of your dilemma ?"

#### No Analogy Possible

The answer is not difficult to give. As the astronomers refrained from accepting the Purāṇic geography in a literal manner but attempted an adaptation of it to the earth which they actually knew or scientifically envisaged, their example is irrelevant. The theologians' implicit belief in it shows that this geography had a religiously suggestive, not a scientifically descriptive, significance. And here we may note a few things Basham<sup>2</sup> himself tells us. Mentioning an alternative geographical scheme set up by the theologians in which "the modest spherical earth of the astronomers" gives place to an earth described "as a flat disk of enormous size", he writes : "Around Meru were four continents (*dvīpa*), separated from the central peak by oceans and named according to the great trees which stood on their shores opposite Meru. The southern continent, on which human beings dwell, had a *jambu* (rose-apple) as its distinctive tree, and it was therefore called *Jambudvīpa*..."

There is the clear clue that only on Jambudvīpa do human beings dwell. Thus Jambudvīpa alone is our physical world :

1. *The Wonder that was India* (New York, 1954), p. 489.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 488, 489.

the term "earth" applied to the flat disk of enormous size including three other "continents" must mean a total cosmos of supra-physical no less than physical existence. Even Basham remarks apropos of the Purāṇic geography: "The seven continents cannot in any way have been related to actual portions of the earth's surface, though some modern students have tried to identify them with parts of Asia..." And, whenever accepted literally by either the common people or those theologians who were lacking in deeper religious understanding, the continents outside the ocean of salt were not the actual earth they knew but unknown territories in regard to which the fantasy never clashed with fact. Facts were never preposterously blinked, though they must have been surrounded in addition with a legendary or mythical aura. So there is no comparison possible with the suggestion that the Purāṇic pundits put contemporary kings more than 600 years before their own time.

And, if we wish to realise the truth about the Purāṇic "fantasy", we may listen to Sri Aurobindo<sup>1</sup> who tells us that an immense and complex body of psycho-spiritual experience, supported by visual images, is embedded in the Purāṇas, though more loosely than in the Tantras and cast out in a less strenuous sequence. Sri Aurobindo goes on to say: "This method is after all simply a prolongation, in another form and with a temperamental change, of the method of the Vedas. The Purāṇas construct a system of physical images and observances each with its psychical significance. Thus the sacredness of the confluence of the three rivers, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Saraswatī, is a figure of an inner confluence and points to a crucial experience in a psychological process of Yoga and it has too other significances, as is common in the economy of this kind of symbolism. The so-called fantastic geography of the Purāṇas, as we are expressly told in the Purāṇas themselves, is a rich poetic figure, a symbolic geography of the inner psychical universe. The cosmogony expressed sometimes in terms proper to the physical universe has, as in the

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1. *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, The Sri Aurobindo Library, New York City, 1953, p. 354.



Veda, a spiritual and psychological meaning and basis..." Even the description of Jambudvīpa, the human continent, is bound to have some symbolic elements and to mingle with the outward aspect an inward vision of the physical.

Thus no analogy is possible from Purāṇic geography and we cannot certify the Purāṇic pundits lunatic enough to look at the king under whom they lived and to say that he had flourished over six centuries prior to them.

### **The Task Before Modern Historians**

The Purāṇic horn of the dilemma remains yet unblunted. Will our historians have anything else to urge against it ?

It will not suffice to harp on the great merits of their own time-scheme and ask if any holes can be picked in it. Of course, anybody choosing the old chronology for the Guptas will have to look for defects and reinterpret a lot of things, at the centre of which sit the Aśokan edicts apparently as firm in their time-indications as the rocks on which they are inscribed. But the business of systematic fault-finding and reinterpretation can be undertaken only after our historians have tried to tackle the Purāṇic horn and admitted that they cannot broach anything in direct discredit of it. The true task before them is either to blunt this horn convincingly or else, with the acknowledgment that they have no right to be cocksure of the current chronology, invite a launching out on the sole course left open - a quest for an altogether new explanation of the Aśokan evidence, so that this evidence may not be at loggerheads with the accord we can discover between Megasthenes and the Purāṇas about the equation of Sandrocottus to the first of the Imperial Guptas instead of Aśoka's grandfather, the first of Mauryas.

# ON COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE VIṢṆU AND BHĀGAVATA PURĀNAS

By

S. N. Roy

[ अत्र लेखे श्रीकृष्णचरितमधिकृत्य विष्णुपुराणभागवतपुराणयोः ऐतिहासिकं पूर्वापरत्वं प्रमाणपुरःसरं विचार्यते । विष्णुपुराणमपेक्ष्य भागवतं प्राचीनमिति प्रमाणयितुं प्रवृत्तो लेखकमहोदयोऽत्र विष्णुपुराणस्य च अर्वाचीनतां बाह्याभ्यन्तरसाक्षाधारेण प्रमाणयति । विन्टरनित्जहाजराप्रभृतिप्राच्यपाश्चात्य-विदुषां मतानि दूषयित्वा, तैरुद्भाविताः युक्तीश्च निराकृत्य स्वसिद्धान्तमुपस्थापयति । कृष्णस्य विष्ण्वतारप्रसंगे तद्विषयप्रतिपादनपराः सारभूताः केचिदंशा अत्र गृहीताः तुलनात्मकदृष्ट्या सम्भवतया विचारिताश्च सन्ति । विष्णुपुराणे कृष्णः विष्णोः पूर्वाशावतार अंशांशावतार इति प्राप्यते, 'कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयमिति भागवतेऽपि (१-३-२८) । भागवतापेक्षया विष्णुपुराणे अधिकतरं विस्तृतं विकसिततरं च प्रतिपादनमेतस्य सम्प्राप्यते । यतो हि अंशांशावतारपरं वर्गनं भागवते नास्ति । बलरामकृष्णौ विष्णोरेवांशौ इति विष्णुपुराणे अंशांशावतारकथनेन ज्ञायते । शेषरूपो बलरामो भागवते वर्णितः । फलतः परवर्ती विचार एष हिन्दुतायाम् । वैष्णवोपपुराणानां साक्ष्येणापि इदमेव प्राप्यते । सत्यभामाप्रैरणया कृष्णेन पारिजातानयनं विकसितसम्प्रदायगतप्रवृत्तिद्योतकमेव । श्रीकृष्णस्य बारोण सह युद्धमपि साम्प्रदायिकस्थिरतावशादेव वैष्णवानां प्राबल्यं प्रदर्शयति । नैवं भागवते समुपलभ्यते । अतः विष्णुपुराणस्याध्याया इमे भागवतमपेक्ष्य परवर्तिनः । एवमपरा अपि कथाः—कंसवधः, जरासंधवधः, यवनराजपराजयादिकम् । श्रीलेखकमहानुभावेन बाह्यशिलालेखादिना पुराणीयवर्णनस्य सामञ्जस्यं स्थापितं, गल्पबाहुल्येऽपि पुराणवर्णने ऐतिहासिकसत्यता समुपलभ्यते । तोरमाणकाल एव विष्णुपुराणस्य कृष्णचरितस्य रचनाकालो भवितुमर्हति । विष्णुपुराणे विशेषघटनानां वर्णनेनैतत् निर्धार्यते यत् एरणवालियर शिलालेखयोः तोरमाणस्य हूगराजः तस्य पुत्रस्य मिहिरकुलस्य च परिचयः विष्णुपुराणीयवनाक्रमणप्रसंगेन संवदति । विष्णुपुराणे नन्दप्रभृतिगोपैः इन्द्रपूजापरित्यागः विस्तरेण वर्णितोऽस्ति । अत्र वार्तायाः व्याख्यापराः श्लोकाः विष्णुपुराणस्य परवर्तित्वमेव साधयन्ति । सी० वी० वैद्यमहानुभावेन निर्धारितः विष्णुपुराणस्य कालः "नवमशताब्दीतः पूर्वतरो नैव भवितुमर्हती"ति निबन्धकृदत्र सिद्धान्ततः स्वीकरोति । ]

It is proposed here to make a chronological analysis of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and Bhāgavata with regard to the Śrīkṛṣṇa-legend and see as to which of these two texts has preserved the earlier form. As the legend is basically the same in both of them, we shall take for our purpose only those details which present points of differences and have some bearing on their comparative chronology. This will help us, to a certain extent, in ascertaining an approximate date of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa whose book five is entirely devoted to Śrīkṛṣṇa, the well-known Vaiṣṇava incarnation of Hindu religion and mythology.<sup>1</sup> The view still current among the scholars is that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa points to its compilation in a period earlier than the Bhāgavata. This suggestion was given by Winternitz, who pointed out in a general way that the biography of Śrīkṛṣṇa is treated in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa very concisely, which seems to have been copied by the compiler of the Bhāgavata because the latter describes it in a much larger form.<sup>2</sup> Hazra, who proceeded to prove that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is an earlier work accepted this conclusion simply to support his own view-point.<sup>3</sup> Neither Winternitz nor Hazra gave sufficient reasons to show as to why the Bhāgavata and not the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa should be regarded as borrower. The analysis of Winter-

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1. The Bhāgavata has, on the other hand two books (ten and eleven) composed on Śrīkṛṣṇa-legend.
  2. History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 555. This cannot be treated as a valid ground to prove earliness of a certain text. The Agni-Purāṇa and Padma-Purāṇa depict the story of Śrīkṛṣṇa very briefly. But these texts are accepted to be the late works of the Purāṇa literature. Moreover, as we shall have an occasion to discuss in this article, stories connected with Śrīkṛṣṇa are not always concisely described in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Some of these, while only referred to in the Bhāgavata have detailed account in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.
  3. Hazra, Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp. 22 & 55. The only point which Hazra has put forward in addition to that of Winternitz is that the degree of divinity assigned to Śrīkṛṣṇa in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is lesser than what we find in the Bhāgavata which establishes his full identification with Viṣṇu. As we shall subsequently notice the problem should be approached by a comprehensive analysis of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's passages regarding Śrīkṛṣṇa described as Viṣṇu's incarnation.

nitz was only a cursory survey of the passages of these two texts. Hazra, on the other hand, quoted a few verses concerned with the incarnation of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa and discussed their early and late nature without taking into account a number of other verses relating to the same topic. Wilson's notes on the verses of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa with their parallels in the Bhāgavata are no doubt instructive but not sufficient for ascertaining the chronological bearing at least of those which are significant for comparative analysis.

## (1)

An interesting piece of evidence in the present context is supplied by the passages of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata describing Śrīkr̥ṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa usually establishes full identification between Śrīkr̥ṣṇa and Viṣṇu.<sup>1</sup> In a few of its verses, however, the former is spoken of as the Amśāvātāra of the latter.<sup>2</sup> There are yet others which relate that Śrīkr̥ṣṇa was Amśāvātāra of Viṣṇu.<sup>3</sup> In this connection it is specifically narrated that out of the two hairs of Viṣṇu black and white the former took human form in the womb of Devakī.<sup>4</sup> This is an account of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's passages expressing Śrīkr̥ṣṇa's divinity in them. It would be seen that the above references of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa contain such features as are more comprehensive and advanced than the Bhāgavata. The text of the Bhāgavata also describes Śrīkr̥ṣṇa as an indiscriminate form of Viṣṇu. The fact of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa being Amśāvātāra is likewise

1. e.g. in V. XX. 105. Śrīkr̥ṣṇa has been called Viṣṇu whose mortal form was intended for the benefit of the world. In its meaning the present passage of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is not much different from the Bhāgavata i. 3. 28 ( कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम् ). The passage of the Bhāgavata according to Dr. Hazra establishes lateness of this text than the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, in which only a small part of Viṣṇu is said to have appeared in form of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa.
2. Viṣṇu-P. V. 22. 13 and V. 23. 26.
3. Viṣṇu-P. V. 1. 3, 4 and 72, Wilson holds that it is a still farther diminution of Kr̥ṣṇa's dignity.....but this is to be understood only of his form or condition as man, not of his power, as it is suffered no diminution. Tr. of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (II edition), p. 395, Fn. 3.
4. Ibid. V. 1. 59, 60 ff.

expressed in it.<sup>1</sup> But it does not have any passage referring to Śrīkṛṣṇa as the Amśa-Amśāvatāra of Viṣṇu. In this respect the Viṣṇu-Purāna relates how Viṣṇu decided to part with two Amśas of him. One of these was born as Balarāma out of the womb of Rohiṇī and the next as Śrīkṛṣṇa out of Devakī. In a subsequent chapter it explicitly mentions that Śrīkṛṣṇa, after the purpose of incarnation was achieved, returned to heaven along with the other Amśa (in the form of Balarāma) of Viṣṇu.<sup>2</sup> It appears, therefore, that the term Amśa-Amśāvatāra signifies two incarnations of Viṣṇu side by side—one in form of Śrīkṛṣṇa and other in that of Balarāma. The Bhāgavata gives similar details in so far as the main elements of the story are concerned. But the treatment of its passages regarding Balarāma is not the same. He has been described in the text as the human form of Śeṣa while Śrīkṛṣṇa is said to be the Amśa of Viṣṇu.<sup>3</sup> Passages of Viṣṇu-Purāna, here, point out preservation of earlier and widely circulated tradition on one hand and new addition to it on the other. This is supported by the fact that while its references regarding Balarāma as the Amśa of Viṣṇu do not figure in such texts as the Harivamśa and the Padma-Purāna, they occur prominently in the Vaiṣṇavite Upa-Purānas. In the Harivamśa it has been expressed that Balarāma, the elder brother of Śrīkṛṣṇa was born as the Amśa of Soma.<sup>4</sup> The Padma-Purāna relates that he was the Amśa of Ananta.<sup>5</sup> In view of the passages of these texts it seems that the conception of the Viṣṇu-Purāna regarding Balarāma was not current in the early phases of Hindu religion. The suggestion of Hazra that the Viṣṇu-Purāna is earlier than the Bhāgavata because it treats of

1. Bhāgavata, V. 2, 9 and 16. See Wilson, *Ibid*, p. 395, F. N. 2 and Hazra, *Ibid*, p. 22. Other references of the Viṣṇu-Purāna, however, require fuller analysis for the comparative chronology of these Purāna-texts.

2. Viṣṇu-P. V. 37. 4.

3. Bhāgavata, V. 2. 5, 8 and 9; Verse 5 associates him with Ananta but in verse 9 his association with Śeṣa is clearly mentioned. These two terms are however synonymous, vide Amarakośa, 1. 8-4.

4. Harivamśa, Viṣṇu-Parva, 2. 31.

5. Padma-P. Uttarakhaṇḍa, CCLXXII. 27.

Śrīkr̥ṣṇa as an exceedingly small portion of Viṣṇu, while the latter seeks full identification of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa with Viṣṇu has much of logic in it.<sup>1</sup> But as we have seen such conclusion is borne out neither by the scrutiny of majority of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's passages nor supported by the external evidences afforded by the texts giving the details of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa's divinity in no less degree than the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. It would be still erroneous to hold that the conception of Amśa-Amśāvatāra implying Balarāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu besides Śrīkr̥ṣṇa reveals the fancy of the compiler. For the Vaiṣṇavite Upa-Purāṇas have passages of similar nature<sup>2</sup>, which points to the prevalence of this conception in a period comparatively later than the date of the Bhāgavata.

( 2 )

Chapter XXX of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa describes how Śrīkr̥ṣṇa, excited by Satyabhāmā, attempted to take away Pārijāta from Indra's garden in order to plant it in his own garden thus fulfilling the heartiest desire of his wife. The legend is very briefly given in the Bhāgavata. There are only two verses composed in this connection. It is related that the Pārijāta was really taken away and planted in the garden of Satyabhāmā by Śrīkr̥ṣṇa.<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the early form of the story in which Satyabhāmā's weakness as a human being is more explicit. She wanted on one hand to wreck vengeance on Śacī, wife of Indra, who did not honour Satyabhāmā with the divine flower considering her to be a mortal being and on the other to supersede Rukmiṇī and other co-wives of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa in beauty and ornamentation. But the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa seems to have reformed the original story by adding that the flower in dispute was later on returned to Indra by Śrīkr̥ṣṇa on the incentive of Satyabhāmā who could not bear to see

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1. He has, however, analysed only one reference of Viṣṇu-P. which narrates how a hair of Viṣṇu was born as Kr̥ṣṇa. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
  2. E. g. Viṣṇudharma-p. LXXVI. 127. treats Balarāma as the second Amśa of Viṣṇu. Narasiṃha-p. gives the list of eleven incarnations of Viṣṇu and includes Balarāma in it. XXXVI. 7-9.
  3. Bhāgavata X. 259, 38, 39.

that it should be removed from the divine company.<sup>1</sup> Thus in the verses of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa an attempt has been made to elevate the position of Satyabhāmā—a tendency which gradually developed into that phase of Vaiṣṇavism when the mistress of the cow-herd assuming her name as Rādhā became an object of worship among the Vaiṣṇavas.<sup>2</sup>

(3)

In Chapters XXXII and XXXIII, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa narrates war of Śrīkṛṣṇa fought against the demon called Bāṇa. It is stated that Bāṇa was actually aided by Śaṁkara and Skanda. Wilson rightly remarks that the legend indicates a serious rivalry between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. In order to be precise on this point we may check the passage of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa by comparing it with its counterform depicted in the Bhāgavata. Both these texts aim at narrating the pride, arrogance and prowess of the demon who was a devotee of Śaṁkara. Side by side there also occurs in them a subsidiary legend describing love-affairs of Bāṇa's daughter Uṣā with Aniruddha. The latter has the nature of accidental occurrence. This fact is indicated in the introductory verses which are in form of query put to the narrator. These verses while implying the subject-matter of the Chapter concern themselves with the war in which the demon was assisted by Śaṁkara. When we come to the verses occurring immediately after the above ones it appears that while the Bhāgavata has maintained their relevance, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa has failed to do so. The former opens the reply with the life and career of Bāṇa and narrates the love-story of Uṣā only at a subsequent stage ; the

1. Viṣṇu-P. V. 30. 70 ff.

The Harivaṁśa gives a long description of this legend (Viṣṇu-parva Chapters LXIV-LXXXI) adding a number of minor details to it. The Padma-Purāṇa describes it very briefly (Chapter CCLXXXVI). But these texts have its kernel similar to the Bhāgavata in so far as they allude to the taking away of the Pārijāta on the earth by Śrīkṛṣṇa for the satisfaction of Satyabhāmā.

2. According to Sri R. G. Bhandarkar this ultimately led to the debasement of Vaiṣṇavism.

latter, on the other hand, makes the subsidiary legend its starting point assuming an incongruous appearance. The whole of Chapter XXXII is devoted to the romantic deeds of the demon's daughter in such a manner that the introductory verses seem to be out of place and the main legend which is described in the next chapter becomes subordinated to it. This could not have been possible unless this text was recompiled in the succeeding periods, resulting in the dislocation of the verses from their original position, which is undisturbed in the Bhāgavata. We may consider here Wilson's note on the verses of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, that there seems to have been a serious rivalry between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas.<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is no doubt brought out by the text of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. But in the Bhāgavata there are verses which indicate the possibility of the otherwise circumstance, despite their reference to the fact that Bāṇa was assisted by Śaṁkara. The verses of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa leave the impression that the war which owed its origin to the arrogance and ambition of the demon became virtually a terrible battle between Śrīkṛṣṇa and Śaṁkara the two leading deities respectively of the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite camps of the Hindu religion. It was a sectarian contest in which, as the text of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa tends to suggest, the Vaiṣṇava sect established its superiority. In the Bhāgavata, on the other hand, the battle appears to be nothing more than the act of punishing a demon by Śrīkṛṣṇa whose incarnation was meant for the purpose of lessening the burden of the earth caused by the existence of the demons born in human forms. For the present purpose we analyse a few verses of the two texts reflecting upon the above idea. It is related in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa that Bāṇa before coming into clash with Śrīkṛṣṇa propitiated Śaṁkara. When the deity made the forecast of the war and said that it would be delightful to the evil spirits, the demon was pleased by that promise and preferred

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1. He has also noticed the similarity of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and Bhāgavata with regard to the occurrence of this story. But a number of the verses drawing clear distinction between the two texts and having significant bearing on the point of sectarian rivalry have not been taken into account. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's Translation P. 469. Fn.



his thanks to the granter of the boon.<sup>1</sup> The Bhāgavata gives a similar detail in as much as the kernel of the story is concerned. But in their broader aspect its verses give a different idea. It is narrated in them that Śaṁkara was enraged when the demon expressed his desire. Remarking upon his idiocy he replied that Bāṇa was going to fight with a person who was not different from Śaṁkara himself. He added that as a consequence of the war Bāṇa's pride would be shattered.<sup>2</sup> It is thus clear<sup>3</sup> that while the verses of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa denote trends of sectarian hostilities, the Bhāgavata speaks of a harmonious tendency. In view of these details, these Chapters of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa may be dated later than the Bhāgavata.

( 4 )

Some other legends of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata regarding Śrīkrṣṇa having similar kernel but showing some serious disagreements in details may also be discussed for the purpose of chronology. It is narrated in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa that after slaying Kaṁsa, Śrīkrṣṇa paid homage to Devakī, who was present there on the occasion<sup>4</sup>. According to the narrative of the Bhāgavata, she was at that time in prison and was released by Śrīkrṣṇa after the latter had slain Kaṁsa<sup>5</sup>. A very formidable adversary of Śrīkrṣṇa mentioned in both the texts is Jarāsandha. It has been narrated that he was defeated by Śrīkrṣṇa more than once. But

1. Viṣṇu-P. V. 33. 1-4.

2. Bhāgavata X. 62. 8-10.

3. This has been of considerable help in ascertaining the early and late compilation of the Purāṇic passages. Occurrence of sectarian trends generally points to a latter date than the passages which are free from sectarianism. Thus H. P. Śāstrī suggests an early date for the Vāmana-Purāṇa which does not contain sectarian passages (Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. A. S. B. Vol. V. pp. CLXXXII-CLXXXIII). Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, according to Hazra, was compiled later than the original text of Vāyu-Purāṇa because the former has sectarian passages smacking of Vaiṣṇavism (Hazra, Ibid, p. 13).

4. Viṣṇu-P. V. 20, 93. The details of Harivaṁśa are similar. Viṣṇu-Parva XXX. 90 and so has the Padma-Purāṇa, Uttara Khaṇḍa, CCLXXII. 383. ff.

5. Bhāgavata, X. 44. 50.

while the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa gives some significant details in a very concise form, the Bhāgavata narrates them vividly making pointed reference to enemy's vast army and treasure greater part of which is stated to have been taken over by Śrīkrṣṇa<sup>1</sup>. The Bhāgavata also mentions that the Sūtas, Māgadhas and Vandis were reciting songs in praise of Śrīkrṣṇa after he had defeated that great enemy<sup>2</sup>. Another legend which is worth-mentioning here is that of Yavana-king who invaded Mathurā protected by Śrīkrṣṇa. It is narrated that this invasion took place at a time when Śrīkrṣṇa was still facing the onslaughts of Jarāsandha<sup>3</sup>. In order to get rid of the adverse circumstances he retired to the sea where he constructed a strong fort. He took the inhabitants of Mathurā to this fort for their security. To this extent the story runs parallel in both the texts. Some of their dissimilar and uncommon descriptions may be indicated here. According to the Bhāgavata the Yavana invader instigated by Nārada appeared in the battle all of a sudden<sup>4</sup>. It does not give any specific name to the Yavana-leader. Use of the term Mleccha as a substitute for Yavana in this context, which is not found in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is also interesting<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa gives the Parentage and early life of the invader. It is mentioned that there was a Yavana-king, who had no issue. He propitiated sage Gārgya, who appeased Lord Śaṁkara as a result of which a son was born to him. The Yavana-king after leaving the throne in favour of his son who came to be known as Kāla-Yavana retired to forest.<sup>6</sup> The Bhāgavata is silent about these incidents. But it specifically mentions the hardships and physical exertions of Śrīkrṣṇa who was fighting two wars simultaneously. To achieve his mission by protecting

1. Bhāgavata., X. 50. 41-43.

2. उपगीयमानविजयः सूतमागधवन्दिभिः । ibid. X. 50. 37.

3. Ibid. X. 50. 44.

4. Ibid. X. 50. 44.

5. Ibid. 10. 52. 5.

This is significant because while the Bhitari Pillar Inscription mentions the enemy of the Gupta emperor as Hūna, the Junagadha Inscriptions calls them Mleccha, see Ray Chaudary. P.H.A.I. P. 578.

6. Viṣṇu-P. V. 23. 4-5.

his people who were so dear to him he walked on foot for many yojanas and in order to take rest he had to remain on a hillock.<sup>1</sup>

It may be seen from the above that although the Purāṇic descriptions are mostly legendary and apparently there is less of historical fact in them, yet we may seek some sort of their affinity to a few well-documented historical incidents. As we have seen, one great achievement of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa was killing of Kāṁsa and the subsequent liberation of Devakī. Among the known historical records such allusion is made in the Bhītarī Pillar Inscription, which compares the act of the monarch with that of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa. The inscription hints at the liberation of the mother after enemy's death and as such it is nearer in its meaning to the version of the Bhāgavata. As the latter incident is not told in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa in its similar context, there must have been a considerable gap between the period of Skandgupta and the text of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. The Bhāgavata, on the other hand, cannot be separated much from the date of the inscription. The account of the Bhāgavata further comes nearer to the Bhītarī-Pillar Inscription in respect of its reference to the vast army and treasure of the enemy and to the songs of praise recited by the hands enhancing the glories of the victor.<sup>2</sup>

So far as the Yavana-invasion is concerned the Bhāgavata shows its similarities with the Bhītarī-Pillar Inscription's account of Hūṇa-invasion. Its reference to the sudden attack of the Yavana as a result of which Śrīkr̥ṣṇa was fighting two wars simultaneously is not much different from the Bhītarī-Inscription which also records that Skandagupta had to face internal and external threats in the same continuation.<sup>3</sup> Śrīkr̥ṣṇa's walking on foot and his taking rest on a hillock does not appear to be different from the Inscription's account of Skandgupta's taking rest on the bare ground at the critical time when he had engaged himself in

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1. Bhāgavata, X. 52.

2. Line 1-5 of the Inscription.

3. This is expressed in lines 10 and 15 of the Inscription. Whether the enemies mentioned in line 11 were internal or external is not very clear. For details see Raychaudhury, *ibid.*, pp. 578 ff.

restoring the fallen fortunes of his family.<sup>1</sup> The description of the inscription that Skandagupta showed mercy to the conquered people in times of distress also finds its parallel in the Bhāgavata which applies term Mahākāruṇika to Śrīkr̥ṣṇa and narrates how he had forgiven one who had kidnapped Gopa Nanda.<sup>2</sup>

It is noteworthy that while the Bhāgavata shows resemblance to the Bhītarī-Pillar Inscription, a few of the details of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa are found neither in the Bhāgavata nor in the Bhītarī-Pillar Inscription. As shown above it mentions that as a result of the favour of Lord Śaṁkara, the Yavana-king begot a son, who came to be known as Kālayavana. It is not improbable that the two Yavanas mentioned in the text are the same as the Hūṇa-king Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula mentioned respectively in the Eraṇa and Gwalior inscriptions. Mihirakula is known to have been a devotee of Śaṁkara. This is clearly shown by his coins on which runs the legend 'Jayati Mihirakula' and 'Jayati Vṛṣadhvaja'<sup>3</sup> Śrīkr̥ṣṇa's construction of the fortress of Dvārakā<sup>4</sup> in which he took his people to take shelter is very close to an incident described by Hiuen Tsang regarding the Hūṇa invasion in India. It is recorded that when Bālāditya found himself unable to defend his territories, he left the capital along with the million of the royal subjects and retired to some island.<sup>5</sup> The only difference (which should not be taken so literally) between the Purāṇic account and the above record is that according to the latter this island was situated near the bay of Bengal. Śrīkr̥ṣṇa's retirement to ocean for the protection of his people is clearly expressed in the Purāṇic passage which describes that he asked the ocean for a piece of land in order to fortify the area in which he wanted to shift his people.<sup>6</sup> Another tradition which relates that the Hūṇa-king could not take a city on account of

1. Line 14 of the Inscription. Bhāgavata, X. 23, 7, 8, 14.

2. Line 10 of the Inscription and Bhāgavata X. 52. 8.

3. J. A. S. B. 1894. pp. 202 ff.

4. Viṣṇu-P. V. 23. 13

5. The Records, 1 p. 169. This is often quoted by the scholars in the context of the Hūṇa-invasion. For example, see B. P. Sinha, Decline and Fall of the kingdom of Magadha, pp. 106 ff.

6. Viṣṇu-P., V. 23. 14.

its being fortified by moats of water<sup>1</sup> also tends to support the identification of Mihirakula with the Kālayavana of the passages of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.

In view of the above analysis it may be assumed that the Yavana-invasion mentioned in the Purāṇic passages on Śrīkrṣṇa is a legendary form of the Hūṇa-invasion. It is also clear that while the account of the Bhāgavata is nearer in its essential aspects to the Bhītārī-Pillar Inscription, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa has its description of a later period. It cannot, therefore, be dated earlier than the 6th century A. D. which is commonly considered to be the period of Mihirakula, son and successor of Toramāṇa.

(V)

In Chapters X and XI, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa narrates how Śrīkrṣṇa dissuaded Nanda and other Gopas from worshipping Indra. He asked them to worship their animals and the mountains. Indra felt offended at the loss of his offerings. Therefore, he caused heavy rains in order to deluge Gokula. Seeing this Śrīkrṣṇa held up the mountain called Govardhana and provided shelter to the people and the cattle. With slight variations at a few places this story also occurs in the Bhāgavata. The legend of holding up Govardhana mountain for the protection of the Gopas and their cattle must have been widely popular until the 7th century A.D. because Śīsupāla Vadha, a work of the period includes it in achievements of Śrīkrṣṇa.<sup>2</sup>

Main interest of the above episode lies in some of its verses which, in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, are described in a greater detail than the Bhāgavata. These verses make pointed reference to Vārtā which is stated to include agriculture, trade and cattle-rearing. They further describe that agriculture is profession of cultivators (Karṣakas), trade of the merchants (Vipaṇijīvis) and cattle-rearing of the cowherds.<sup>3</sup> This seems to be an improvement on the early

1. I. A. XXXIV pp. 73 ff. B. P. Sinha, *Ibid*, p. 106.

2. Śīsupāla Vadha, XV. 37.

3. कर्षकाणां कृषिवृत्तिः पण्यं विपणिजीविनाम् ।

अस्माकं गौः परा वृत्तिवार्त्ता भेदैरियं त्रिभिः ॥ Viṣṇu-P. V. 10. 29.

definition of Vārtā. K. V. R. Aiyangar on the basis of various early and late texts concludes that the scope of Vārtā in the later period extended.<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that in a previous section the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa in close consonance with the early definition of Vārtā mentions that agriculture, trade and cattle-rearing form the profession of a Vaiśya.<sup>2</sup> No allusion has been made here to the three groups of people. This evidently points to the composition of the verses under discussion in a period when the original definition of Vārtā had been modified and its factors were associated with three distinct classes. Reference of the passage to agriculture being pursued by the Karṣakas needs careful analysis. In early texts the term Karṣaka sometimes occurs in association with Śūdra.<sup>3</sup> It is suggested that in such passages the term does not necessarily imply that the Śūdras were peasants.<sup>4</sup> More reasonably R. S. Sharma suggests that it is indicative of the landless Śūdras being enrolled as temporary peasant.<sup>5</sup> Although the early texts are not so clear about the term 'Karṣaka', yet in the late Smṛti-texts and their commentaries 'Karṣaṇa' is included in the professional pursuits of a Śūdra.<sup>6</sup> This indicates that the verses of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa supplying the above details should not have been in the original text which is intact elsewhere.

Another evidence showing lateness of the passage of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is the absence of the above idea in the Bhāgavata,

1. Aiyangar has however drawn attention to the elaboration in the contents of Vārtā, which is evidenced by various Sanskrit texts of the later period, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought*, pp. 14-15. Emergence of various groups in the economic life of Ancient India and consequent modification in the definition of Vārtā also speaks of its elaboration.
2. The text also refers in a general way to the term Vārtā in I. 9. 119 and II. 4. 14.
3. E. g. in *Arthaśāstra* I. 109 and II. 1.
4. The point has been discussed in detail by Dr. R. S. Sharma in *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 144.
5. R. S. Sharma, *ibid*, p. 147.
6. शूद्रधर्मो द्विजातिशुश्रूषापपवर्जनं... कर्षणं...  
Devala in *Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya*. I. 120.  
Quoted by P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II,

which in its similar episode gives the well known definition of Vārtā without any reference to the groups of people associated with it separately.<sup>1</sup> The usual belief that the Bhāgavata is indebted to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa for most of its legends is thus held in doubt. On the other hand, the Harivamśa gives an identical definition of Vārtā, referring to the three groups of people and associating with each the three factors of Vārtā separately.<sup>2</sup> The implication of the verses of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa thus seems to have been an actual practice of its period. They cannot be regarded as an accidental occurrence due to the poetic fancy of the compiler.

### Conclusion

From what has been stated in the pages of the present paper it appears that the Bhāgavata for its passages related to Śrīkrṣṇa-legend is to be dated earlier than the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Scholars, right from the days when the historical value of the Purāṇa-literature was realised have never been unanimous about the date of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Among those who held that it is a late work mention can be made of C. V. Vaidya. On the basis of the Kaiṁkīla-Yavanas mentioned in the historical account he suggested that the text cannot be dated earlier than the 9th cent. A. D.<sup>3</sup> His conclusion was not acceptable to Hazra<sup>4</sup> and others who were inclined to believe that the work is earlier than the Bhāgavata and Harivamśa. But the later elements contained in its book five devoted to Śrīkrṣṇa-legend clearly show that this Purāṇa cannot be dated earlier than the date assigned to it by Vaidya.

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1. Bhāgavata, X. 24. 21.

2. Harivamśa, Viṣṇu-Parva, XVI. 3.

3. History of Medieval Hindu India, pp. 350 ff, J. B. B. R. A. S. pp. 155 ff.

4. Hazra, Ibid, pp. 20 ff.

# THE SARASVATI PURĀṆA

BY

SURESHCHANDRA KANAIYALAL DAVE

[ अष्टादशसर्गात्मकं २८६० श्लोकात्मकं सरस्वतीपुराणमधिकृत्य निबद्धे-  
ऽस्मिन् लेखे प्रयोतुपरिचयः, पुराणरचनाकालः, प्रतिपाद्यविषयविवेचनं च  
सम्यक्तया विचार्यते । अनुषंगतः गुजरातप्रदेशे लिखिता ग्रंथा अपि निर्दिष्टाः  
सन्ति, पुराणान्तरहस्तलेखैः सह सरस्वतीपुराणस्यापि हस्तलेखाः पूनायाः भण्डार-  
करप्राच्यविद्यासंस्थायां सुरक्षिता विद्यन्ते । सप्तदशहस्तलेखाश्रोपलभ्यन्ते  
पुराणस्यैतस्य । स्थानीयकृतिवशादस्मिन् गुजरातप्रदेशस्य धार्मिक-राजनीतिक-  
सामाजिक-भौगोलिकचित्राणि प्राप्यन्ते । धर्माभिहरिचरस्य प्रयोता पाटनराजस्य  
महाशासकमहाराजसिद्धराजजयसिंहस्य कश्चित्सभापण्डित एव भवितुमर्हति, यतो  
हि अस्याैव नृपतेः महिमाऽत्र गीयते, एतन्निर्मितसहस्रलिगसरसः वैशिष्ट्यादि  
कीर्त्यते । समकालीनस्य 'द्वयाश्रय' महाकाव्यस्य प्रभावोऽत्र परिलक्ष्यते । तीर्थादि-  
वर्णने पुराणोत्तराणां प्रभावश्च, विशेषेण स्कन्दपुराणस्य, द्रष्टुं शक्यते । एवं  
बहुधा बाह्याभ्यन्तरप्रमाणबलेनास्य रचनाकालो द्वादशशताब्द्यां निर्धार्यते । यद्यपि  
सिद्धराजनृपतेः वैभवं प्रख्यापयति पुराणमेतत्, तथापि मुख्यतः देवासुरसंग्रामः,  
तारापहरणम्, देवशस्त्रनिर्माणाय दधीचेः स्वशरीरदानम्, पिप्पलादकथा आदि  
वर्ण्यते । सरस्वत्यास्तटवर्तिनः तीर्थविशेषाः भूतेस्वररुद्रकोटिप्रभृतयोऽत्र  
विशेषेणोपवर्णिताः सन्ति । सरस्वतीनदीस्वरूपपरिचयोऽपि सूच्यते । तिस्रः  
सरस्वत्यः कुरुक्षेत्रे, पुष्करे, प्रभासे च भवन्ति, परंतु इदं प्रतिभाति यदेकैव नदी  
हिमवतः प्रभवति, क्वचिदन्तर्लीना भवन्ती, पुनरुद्भवन्ती च क्वचित्, भिन्नतां  
याति । प्रभाससरस्वतीवर्णनमत्र प्रतीयते । एषा हि नातिदीर्घा कोटीश्वरा-  
त्प्रादुर्भूय आनुपर्वतसंलग्नाम्बिकापर्वतमालासु प्रवहन्ती कच्छदेशं प्राप्य शत्रुमर्दने  
प्रभासे पश्चिमोदधिभगिच्छति । विष्णुना प्रेरिता पिप्पलापिनं समुद्रेऽपवाहितु-  
मनुमता सरस्वती एव सानुमीयते । अद्यापि बहूनि स्थानानि ऐतिहासिकानि  
परिचेतुं शक्यन्त इति श्रीलेखकमहोदयोऽभिमन्यते । ]

The Purāṇa means 'Old tale'. The Purāṇas deal with ancient traditions about Rishis and Kings; their genealogies and famous deeds. Instructions upon all kinds of subjects are given prominent place in the Purāṇas. They describe fully the region where they are composed. The vivid picture of the society at



the time of composition of the particular Purāṇa is beautifully narrated in them. It is a well established truth that the Purāṇas existed before Āpastamba's time. His sūtra is estimated by Bühler as not later than the third century B. C. and possibly 150-200 years earlier.<sup>1</sup> Therefore they must have been existed at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century B. C. In the present Purāṇas much have been added as the time passed on. Therefore it is very difficult to find out the exact date of any particular chapter of any Purāṇa or Upa-Purāṇa. Late Dr. V. S. Agrawal, Dr. R. C. Hazra, Dr. Pusalker and many other oriental and western scholars have flooded sufficient light on the Purāṇas.

As in other parts of the country, in Gujarat also, the Purāṇic tradition is fairly old. Some of the portions of the Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara Khaṇḍa, and Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, seem to have been composed or written here, as they describe fairly the detailed historical and sociological events happened in various parts of Gujarat. The Matsya Purāṇa is also said to be written in Gujarat on the bank of the river Narmadā.<sup>2</sup> No other Mahā or Upa-Purāṇas are said to be composed here. But the Gujarat has given the series of various Tīrtha Māhātmyas and the books called Purāṇas describing the history of some higher castes. Some of them are, Dharmāraṇya of Modha Brāhmins, The Vāyu Purāṇa of Vāyadā Vaiśyas, The Vālkhilya Purāṇa of the Jhārolā Brahmins and Vaiśyas, and the Malla Purāṇa of the Malla Brāhmins. All these Purāṇas are printed and the MSS of the most of them are still with some local persons. Copies of the MSS of the Dharmāraṇya, the Malla Purāṇa, the Vālkhilya Purāṇa and the Sarasvatī Purāṇa are also preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Except the Sarasvatī Purāṇa Sargas 15 and 16, none of them is critically edited. All of them give mostly the history of the particular caste, its spread, the sociological structure, the codes of law, and the description of the places where important events have

1. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, Introduction PP. 2 ff.

2. For details see, *Narmadā Mahātmya of the Matsya Purāṇa*.

happened. The rivers, mountains and the other parts of the region which have much local importance are given due place in the so called Purāṇas. In short, a local touch is a speciality of these Purāṇic works. The date of all these local Purāṇas is very late. None of them is composed before tenth or eleventh century A. D. Therefore historical, geographical and sociological survey of the various parts of Gujarat from eleventh century onwards can be viewed from them.

The Sarasvatī Purāṇa is a local Purāṇa of the Gujarat. It has 2890 verses and 18 sargas. Seven Mss of this Purāṇa are available.<sup>1</sup> Only sargas 15 and 16 are critically edited and translated in Gujarati by Shri Kanaiyalal. B. Dave under the patronage of Shri Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay in 1940. As the name suggests, it describes the tīrthas on the bank of it, as well as the brief historical sketch of the Gujarat through which it flows. It was composed during the reign of king Siddharāja Jaysimha of Anahillapur Pātan of Gujarat. It is very difficult to fix the exact date of this Purāṇa. Some internal as well as external evidences help us to fix the date. The author has made much use of Purāṇic materials to emphasise the importance of the tīrthas. There are so many verses in this Purāṇa which are found in the Skanda and other Purāṇas. The date of the Skanda is fixed as the sixth century A. D. so this is the lowest limit. This Purāṇa gives in details some of the glorious deeds of the king Siddhraj of Pātan.<sup>2</sup> He was learned, generous, and brave king of Gujarat. He invited many scholars to his Court. He was Śaiva by religion and he had a desire to build many temples and other monuments all over Gujarat. He built a great

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1. (a) Four Mss are preserved in BORI, Poona.

viz. No. 8. 1872-73

No. 231. 1880-81

No. 124. 1881-82

No. 429--Known as Viśrāmbag Copy.

(b) One Ms. from the collection of Shri Puṇya Vijaya Maharāja,  
Deposited at L. D. Research Institute, Ahmedabad.

(c) One Ms. from the collection of Shri Rājeba Śāstri of Pātan.

(d) One Ms. from Sri M. M. Ayāchi, Patan.

2. The Sarasvatī Purāṇa, Sarga 15.

lake Sahaśra-linga at Patan. It was filled in with the waters of the river Sarasvatī through a big canal. It was a very big lake having one thousand Śaiva temples, one hundred and eight Devī temples and the shrines of ten incarnations of the Lord Viṣṇu on the bank of it.<sup>1</sup> It was a unique construction of the time. When he conquered Mālvā, as the sign of his victory, he constructed "a pillar of glorification" on the bank of this lake. The glorious deeds of the king and some description of the lake were carved on it. Muslim invasions on Gujarat resulted in the destruction of this lake and other monuments constructed by the king. Some of the fragments of the fame-poem carved on this stone-pillar were recently found from a Śiva temple at Patan. This shows that it was a poem of 87-88 verses<sup>2</sup>. The lake was in existence up to the 14th century A.D. The Sarasvatī Purāṇa has fairly described this lake in two Sargas—fifteenth and sixteenth. During the reign of Siddharāja, Hemchandra, a learned jain poet of his court composed "Dvayāśraya Mahākāvya", describing the history of Gujarat from the reign of Mūlarāja to that of Kumārpāla. The same poet has written a book viz "Siddhahaima"—a book on grammar. It is proved that the 'Siddhahaima' was composed in 1195 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, this Mahākāvya must have been composed after that period. (i.e. after 1195 A.D.). It seems that the Dvayāśraya Mahākāvya and the Sarasvatī Purāṇa were composed in the same century as they agree in some points and both of them have some similarities. Both of them describe fully the king Siddharāja and his reign. According to them Siddharāja was an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. He was great, generous, religious minded and brave king. He brought in his control Barbaraka who was a descendant of the demon Khara<sup>4</sup>. He con-

1. Ibid Sarga 16.

2. Shri K. B. Dave. 'The Sarasvatī Purāṇa' (Gujarati Translation) Introduction. PP. 131 ff.

3. Shri Himansu Vijay Muni 'The date of Siddhahaima'—an article published in Gujarati Monthly Buddhiprakasha. April, 1932.

4. cf. सरस्वतीपुराणे, सर्ग १५.

धर्मे प्रह्वीयमारो तु प्रवृत्ते तु कलौ युगे ।

पुनर्यथावतीर्णोऽसौ विष्णुस्तत्कथयामि ते ॥ १५, ८० ॥

structed a big lake Sahaśralinga at Pātan. Many Śiva temples and Jain shrines were erected under his patronage. It is rather difficult to trace out the exact date of the former composition, but Shri K.B. Dave who edited Sargas 15th & 16th of this Purāṇa opines that the Dvayāśraya Mahākāvya was composed first and the Sarasvatī Purāṇa is much indebted to this book<sup>1</sup>. The Dvayāśraya is a later composition of Hemchandra, therefore, the Sarasvatī Purāṇa might have been composed in the twelfth century A.D. The king Siddharāja would have requested one of his court poets to prepare such a Purāṇic work glorifying his glorious deeds, as well as the monument lake Sahaśralinga of his capital town Pātana. The name of the author is not found from this work. A court-poet viz. Keshava Vyāsa is highly respected in this Purāṇa so it is guessed that either he himself may be the author or he may be closely related to the author.

The Sarasvatī Purāṇa glorifies the tīrthas situated on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. The Sarasvatī is a great river flowing rapidly from the Himalayas to the Arabian Sea. The Purāṇic description of this river shows that it rose from the Himalayas, got lost in the Rajasthan, appeared from mount Abu, flowed through Gujarat and again disappeared in the desert of kutch, re-appeared in the forest of Girnar in Saurashtra and met the western sea near Prabhāsa. Some legends have been fabricated in the Purāṇas to

नष्टं नष्टं पुनर्धर्मं यः समुद्धरते सदा ।

स एष मानुषे लोके सम्भूतः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ सर्ग १५. ८५ ॥

एष बर्बरकं जित्वा भूतेशं भयदं नृगाम् ।

महालयस्य पुरतः स्ववशे स्थापयिष्यति ॥ सर्ग १५. ८८ ॥

सर्वे वर्णाः स्वधर्मस्थाः नाकालमरणं नृगाम् ।

न च व्याधिभयं घोरं तस्मिन् शासति मेदिनीम् ॥ सर्ग १५. ९८ ॥

cf. Also °द्वयाश्रय काव्य. सर्ग ११. verses 17-21.

एषोऽरिकीर्तिहत्याकृत्स्वप्रतापाग्निचित्यया ।

दानवर्ष्यं जगच्छस्यं सुरकार्यं करिष्यति ॥२१॥

For more details cf. also Dvayāśraya Mahākāvya. Sarga 13. verses 14-107.

1. Shri K. B. Dave. Ibid. Introduction. PP. 126 ff.

establish the oneness and truth of the geographical facts of the three rivers known as the same name Sarasvatī in different parts of India. The details of the legends also put forward the idea of the transformation of the goddess Sarasvatī into the river.<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇas consider the Sarasvatī having its source from the Himalayas, but various descriptions of the three phases of the Sarasvatī viz. The Kurukshetra Sarasvatī, the Puṣkara Sarasvatī and the Prabhāsa Sarasvatī prove that these three rivers are different and they have not their sources in the Himalayas.<sup>2</sup> To prove the oneness of the Sarasvatī, the idea that it flows underground at some places, appears most conspicuously at three places is laid down. These three places are considered as most sacred.<sup>3</sup>

In this Purāṇa, the Tīrthas of the Sarasvatī as a whole are described but it mostly deals with the Prabhāsa Sarasvatī which is a very small river rising itself from the celebrated shrine of Koṭeśvara on the Ambikā hills near mount Ābu and runs towards the desert of Kutch through north Gujarat. The details and stories showing the importance of various places of pilgrimages are mainly based on the Purāṇas, especially the Skanda Purāṇa. This Purāṇa does not justify the name 'Purāṇa' as it does not possess any traditional special qualities of the Purāṇas. It is found that the Mahātmyas and the other books describing the Purāṇic folk-lore are given the title 'Purāṇa' only to attach an importance to it in the society. This Purāṇa is not a part of any of the Purāṇas but it itself is an independant book. The Puṣpikā or the end of the Adhyāyas mention 'इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयोक्ते सरस्वतीपुराणे', but it is not at all found in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. The narration by sage Mārkaṇḍeya seems to be the only reason for such words at the end. The main narrator is Mārkaṇḍeya.

1. Sri Anand Swarup Gupta: "Sarsvatī as the river Goddess in the Purāṇas" Proceedings and transactions, Oriental conference, Gauhati. For details see also, The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, Prakriti khaṇḍa Adhs. 6-7 : Brahma Purāṇa Adh. 101, The Vāmana Purāṇa Adh. 32 ff ; The Padma Purāṇa Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa 18-27 ; The Skanda Purāṇa Prabhāsa khaṇḍa. Adhs. 31-35.

2. Anand Swarup Gupta. Ibid, pp. 78 ff.

3. Cf. The Padma Purāṇa, V. 18-233.

He answers the questions put by Sumati. It is very difficult to identify both Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati. They talk of Devāsursanḡrāma. The story of kidnapping of Tārā, the wife of Br̥haspati is described in the first sarga. At the end of the battle the Gods go to the sage Dadhīchi to entrust their weapons. The sage wanted to go for practicing penance, so he drunk the power of the weapons which he accepted from them. But when the Gods wanted their weapons back, they went to him again and asked him to return the weapons. As it was not possible as he had drunk the power, he gave up his life asking them to prepare new weapons.<sup>1</sup> With this main story, the story of the birth of Pippalāda, the story of obtaining of discus by Viṣṇu are interwoven. Pippalāda, the son of the sage Dadhīchī, knowing the death of his father asked his mother the reason of it. His mother told him the reason, he got angry, went to Badarikāśrama for penance. He brought out the fire from his thighs to burn the Gods.<sup>2</sup> The Gods were afraid when they knew this. They requested Viṣṇu to help them. He delusioned the fire and asked him to go to the sea where he can get enough water to eat. The fire Vaḡavānala desired to be taken to the sea by a virgin, therefore Brahmā asked Sarasvatī to take him to the sea. Her friends the Ganges and the Yamunā consoled her to come to help when desired. Thus the Sarasvatī got herself ready to help the Gods. The places where she prayed for help are the places of her disappearing in the earth. Many places of pilgrimages came to exist at the places through which she flowed. All these sacred places are mentioned one by one with various new stories from the other Purāṇas. These stories glorify them and show their religious importance and the power of wiping out the sins. These places are Bhūtīśvara.<sup>3</sup>

1. For details see the सरस्वतीपुराण. सर्ग २-५.

2. सरस्वतीपुराण सर्ग ५. ८-१०६.

3. पुनः प्रवृत्तास्तस्माद् उद्भेदाद् पत्रिमामुखी ।  
भूतीश्वरं समायाता सिद्धो यत्र महामुनिः ॥

Rudrakoṭī<sup>1</sup>, Kurukshetra, Vairāṭanagara, Gopāyana mountain, Puṣkara, the kharjura forest (where the Sarasvatī is called Naṅdā), Markata Tīrtha, Arāṣaṇa, Golāngula, Mātrīrtha, Anaraka Tīrtha, Mokṣeśvara, Andaveśvara, Prāchi Mādhava Tīrtha near Śristhala, Mahālaya Tīrtha, Piṅḍatāraka, Vāḷkhilyāśrama, Vāḷkhilyeśvara Ekdvāra, Vateśvara, Mundiśvara<sup>2</sup>, Pilupaṇa<sup>3</sup> tīrtha, Jāleśvara Tīrtha,<sup>4</sup> Kāka Tīrtha, Dwārkā kshetra, Govatsatīrtha<sup>5</sup>, Lohayasti and Jhilla<sup>6</sup> Tīrtha. The river disappears after this place and reappears at Śatrumardana<sup>7</sup> near Prabhāsa and enters sea. Some of the sacred places mentioned in this Purāṇa can be very easily identified even to-day, and they are local Tīrthas of Gujarat. But some of them have disappeared and it is not known where they were situated.

Apart from its religious descriptions of the various sacred places, the author has also given place to some political descriptions. The introduction of the life and works of the great king Siddharāja is the main purpose of this Purāṇa. The poet lived in

1. भूतीश्वरसमीपस्थं संप्लाप्य सुमनोहरं ।  
देशमार्गं जनोपेतं कृत्वायाता ततः परं ॥  
तस्य दक्षिणदिकसंस्थं रुद्रकोट्युपलक्षितं ।  
श्रीकण्ठदेशविख्यातं गता सर्वौषधियुतं ॥ सर्ग ६.१-२.
2. मुण्डीश्वरसमीपस्थं, सरस्वत्यां महोदयम् ।  
नाम्ना यत्प्राङ्मुखं तीर्थं, सर्वत्र भुवि विश्रुतम् ॥ सर्ग १५.१.
3. पिलुपर्णिकसंज्ञं तु, तीर्थमन्यत्पुरः स्थितम् ।  
सरस्वतीतीरगतं, ऋषिणा सेवितं महत् ॥  
जीर्णानि पिलुपत्राणि, सोऽङ्गनंस्तत्र स्थितः सदा ।  
पिलुपर्णोति तस्येह, नाम तद्गुणगौरवात् ॥ सर्ग १५.५६-७.
4. जालेश्वरस्तु तत्रैव, स्वयं देवो व्यवस्थितः ।  
यस्य दर्शनमात्रेण, सर्वपापक्षयो भवेत् ॥ सर्ग १५.५६.
5. पिलुपर्णिकतीर्थात्सा, प्रणष्टा ब्रह्मगः सुता ।  
द्वारकायां च गोवत्से, पुनर्दर्शनमागता ॥ सर्ग १५.६१.
6. ऋणं प्राप्य पुनर्देवी समुद्भूता मनोरमा ।  
झिल्लं नाम परं तीर्थं शम्भुना यत्र झिल्लितं ॥ सर्ग १७.४६.
7. ततोऽप्यन्तर्हिता भूत्वा सम्प्राप्ता सुमनोरमं ।  
शत्रुमर्दनसंज्ञं तु क्षेत्रं सिद्धनिषेवितम् ॥ सर्ग १७.१३२.

his court and so naturally, he would like to glorify the king of the place where he lived. The poet is very pious and loves the river, honours her and praises her with deep sense of gratitude in the following verses.<sup>1</sup> He shows his earnest desire to stay on the bank of the river to get Mokṣa (eternal bliss).

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1. सरस्वतीवाससमा कुतो रतिः सरस्वतीवाससमा कुतो गुणाः ।  
 सरस्वतीं प्राप्य दिवं गता जनाः सदा स्मरिष्यन्ति नदीं सरस्वतीम् ॥  
 सरस्वती सर्वनदीषु पुण्या सरस्वती लोकगुभावहा सदा ।  
 सरस्वतीं प्राप्य जनाः सुदुष्कृतं सदा शोचन्ति परत्र चेह च ॥

सर्ग १८.३८-३९.

Cf. also.

The Mahābhārata, Śalya Parva, Adh. 34.

The Skanda Purāṇa Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, 35.122 & 36.58.



A NEW TREATISE ON THE NATURE AND SOURCES  
OF THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA

BY

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

[ धर्मशास्त्रविषयमवलम्ब्य सुप्रसिद्धलेखकैः श्रीरावर्टलिगतमहोदयैः  
फ्रेंचभाषायां प्रणीतस्य पुस्तकस्य समीक्षात्मकः परिचयोऽस्मिन् निबन्धे  
प्रस्तूयते । भारतीयधर्मशास्त्रस्य स्वरूपमत्र बहुधा सूक्ष्मदृष्ट्या विवेचितं  
वर्तते । विषयप्रतिपादनमतिरिच्य साधनसामग्र्योसंग्रहपूर्वकं सूचिकाऽपि  
संकलितास्ति । धर्मसूत्र-स्मृति-पुराण-धर्मनिबन्ध-टीकादिशास्त्रीयग्रन्था-  
नामाधारतया, विषयगम्भीरतया, सुसम्बद्धसुघटितवर्णनपरतया सर्वथा  
शैलीनिर्दोषतया सुतर्कोपोद्बलितमिदं पुस्तकं परिपूर्णमद्वितीयं सर्वाति-  
शायीति निबन्धकृतां मतम् । धर्मपदार्थस्य व्याख्याऽत्र विशेषेण प्रस्तुता ।  
धर्मपदेन स्वकर्तव्यपरिपालनं विहितसाधनानुकूलं ज्ञायते । धर्मस्य  
लोकरीत्या, व्यवहारेण, नियमेन, राजानुशासनेन सह सम्बन्धः सम्यक्तया  
विचारितो वर्तते । धर्मस्य व्यापकत्वाद् अधार्मिका व्यवहाराः नास्तिकाः  
शास्त्रविरोधिनोऽपि समाजे प्रचलिताः सह्यन्त एव । राजाऽपि धर्मं न  
निर्माति, केवलं धर्मं रक्षति, धर्मानुकूलम् अनुशासनं च करोति । राजनिर्णयो  
धर्मतां न याति, धर्मोऽन्तिमो निर्णायकः रीतिव्यवहारादीनभिभवति । धर्मा-  
विरुद्धानां तु धर्मताऽस्त्येव । धर्मस्य मूलस्रोतांसि वेदपुराणादि, परिस्थिति-  
विशेषे व्यवहारः, ऋषिनियमाः, प्रमाणपुरुषा वा प्रमाणत्वेन गृह्यन्ते ।  
एवं जिज्ञासूनां पथप्रदर्शकत्वेन विषयेऽभिरुचिमुत्पादयितुं तत्राभिनिवेष्टुं  
वा प्रभवतीदं पुस्तकम् । सेनगुप्त कारोप्रभृतिमहोदयानां कृतीनां स्थानीयतां  
तथापि न याति । परन्तु नैतावता महत्त्वमस्य मात्रयाऽपि हीयते ।  
यत उद्धरणनिर्देशादिना संवद्धितमेतत् राजनयज्ञानां कृते पठनीयतां याति,  
धर्मप्रधानपुराणानां तात्पर्यजिज्ञासूनां नवीनानां कृते तु विशेषेण विषया-  
वगाहनाय महदुपयोगि । अत्र श्रीलिगतमहोदयस्य शास्त्रपरिचयं,  
विषयपरिज्ञानं, ज्ञानपरिपक्वतां, श्रमातिरेकं, समालोचकदृष्टिं चोपलभ्य  
पाठकानां स्वभावतः पक्षपातोऽस्मिन् पुस्तके भवति । निबन्धकारोऽपि  
पुस्तके प्रतिपादितविषयागामध्यायक्रमेण विश्लेषणात्मकं विमर्शं प्रस्तूय  
स्वीयवैदुष्यं विषयावगाहित्वं विषयेरुचिविशेषं च प्रदर्शयति । एतेनापि  
पुस्तकनिर्मातुः मौलिकान्वेषकत्वेन वैशिष्ट्यमेव द्योत्यते । ]

M. Robert Lingat is known to readers of the *Revue asiatique* as a writer on questions of jurisprudence and legal history of Indian and South East Asia. His book on Matrimonial Régimes in South East Asia already showed his interest in the dharmasāstra for he had developed the belief that the Buddhist countries of that part of greater India owed more than the savor of their institutions to contact with Indian jurisprudence. M. Lingat has also written in the A. B. O. R. I. and occasionally in other oriental journals. He now publishes *Les Sources du Droit dans le Système Traditionnel de l'Inde* (Paris and The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1967). The volume is no. 32 in the series *Le Monde d'Outremer Passé et Présent*, and also no. 20 in the collection called *Les Systèmes de Droit Contemporain*. It has 300 pp. of text, an excellent select bibliography of Sanskrit books and other sources on the subject, and a careful and helpful index besides. This is the best book that has ever been written on the nature and sources of dharmasāstra, and far outstrips all efforts in any other language. Its compactness, and, for more remarkable, its consistency, make it a perfect guide for the beginner, for the tyro, whether Indian or foreign, who wishes to have a balanced and concise introduction to the world's oldest and most fully elaborated legal system. Needless to say, it is equally valuable for those who wish to assess the motives and success of the authors of the greater Purāṇas who concerned themselves actively with dharma.

The present writer is convinced that sooner or later an English translation will be called for (though it will not be child's play to make); and meanwhile here is a short account of its contents and an appreciation of its merits. In a short article called 'A new approach to Dharmasāstra' published in the *Year Book of Legal Studies* (Govt. of Madras), vols. vi and vii, 1962-3, pp. 68-83, the present writer drew attention to the five different approaches to the subject which had theretofore been noticed, the argumentative, the apologetic, the constructive, the historical, and the defeatist. The faults or shortcomings of all these approaches are avoided in this work of M. Lingat, and this in itself is a considerable achievement.

His achievement is the more remarkable because he has little personal contact with India itself. It seems as if his lifetime's study of Siam and Indo-China, living amongst a people much less westernized, less cerebral, less defensive than the Indian, has been better suited to an academic investigation of the śāstra than would have been a personal involvement with the troubles of the sub-continent itself, and possibly a subjection to Indian preoccupations with the question whether the śāstra can play any, and if any, what part in the intellectual revivification of the post-Independence world. M. Lingat, of course, reads English easily, and has had access to Indian and foreign publications on his chosen subject; more important he has set himself the task of acquainting himself with Sanskrit. He must have made some progress in that language whilst still in South East Asia; but he studied with the late Louis Renou, and in every case where some critical question arises within his thesis he has consulted, and sets down accurately, the Sanskrit text which has to be relied upon. In some instances where valuable illustration for his proposition was not then available in any European language he has gone to the original, undaunted by its mīmāṃsā or other esoteric difficulty, and leaves upon the reader's mind no doubt but that the original has been mastered. In addition M. Lingat has had available the advice and inspiration of M. Louis Dumont, whose highly individual contributions to Indian sociology stem from an appreciation of modern life as well as more strictly indological materials. Louis Dumont believes in students of India being equipped with Indian Culture, and in this he found ready acquiescence in M. Lingat. The point of view is not widely shared, because sociologists who do not know Sanskrit, and whose minds are not quite up to the task of mastering that language, all too readily preach the doctrine that what is to be found in books cannot be of any help to one whose subject-matter is life as it is lived today. It is fortunate that there are specimens to be found of quite another approach to Indian studies.

M. Lingat makes in his preface a generous acknowledgement to P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, without which none of us could get very far. But it is noticeable that he does not rely

upon Kane for his approach or his style. He is no imitator of Kane, who in fact has supplied him with instances and hints, but not the spirit which has made this book much more of an advertisement for Hindu law than are Kane's encyclopedic productions, which can daunt the newcomer and tend to be too apologetic in tone for the modern taste.

In the preface M. Lingat makes it clear that he is dealing with dharma, for he understands this to mean "duty", which is not the same thing as "law". There is no word in Sanskrit which quite corresponds to "law". Yet "law" is elaborated through the concept of dharma : and this is the kernel of the whole book. Dharma itself was not law, nor was law dharma, yet in providing for the administration of law the Indian scholars utilized the broader and much more flexible concept of dharma. M. Lingat admits that he uses primarily the commentaries and the treatises for his analytical purposes : for these actually show the movement from dharma to law, and enable the broad lines of the system to be identified. Lingat does not try to find out the meaning of the texts prior to the moment when they began to be used for the construction of law : a wise, as well as modest, piece of self-limitation. The book seeks to show how rules of dharma came to be given the force of a legal sanction : and thus the author copes with the central problem, which defeated Sir Henry Maine and numerous subsequent scholars who tended to give either too little or too much importance to the written text of the śāstra. Needless to say the point of view established in this book does not accord with what the Anglo-Indian courts achieved, and to which, unhappily, the courts of modern India are (subject to the "Hindu Code") in large measure still bound. M. Lingat seeks to enter into sympathy with the orthodox scholars of the pre-Muslim period, and to see their problems and their achievement through their eyes, and, if the present writer may say so, he has been remarkably successful in so doing.

The First Part consists of six chapters in the following order under the general heading "Dharma" : (1) the sources of dharma, (2) the dharmasūtras, (3) Indian society and rules of law in the

dharmasūtras, (4) the dharmaśāstras commencing with the Manusmṛti, (5) other dharmaśāstras, (6) the commentaries and digests. He finishes this part with some reflections on the chronology of the dharmaśāstras. After discussing the nature of dharma and adharma, and noticing the privileged position of the ascetic (quoting the Mitāksharā on Yājñ. I, 8) M. Lingat passes to consider the relations between dharma (the 'good'), artha (the 'useful') and kāma (the 'pleasant'), and takes in turn as sources of dharma the Veda (which he understands in a very large sense). Tradition (which he rightly says is the meaning of smṛti) in which must be included various sciences and not merely the smṛti devoted to dharma, and good custom. Smṛti he says (p. 27) has two senses, the etymological sense, memorial tradition, and the special sense of literature handed down in the dharmasūtras and dharmaśāstras. That is why we have expressions such as "the smṛti of those who know the Veda" which is the same as Āpastamba's phrase "the agreement of those who know dharma".

M. Lingat's understanding of sadācāra is particularly interesting. It is the usage of specially qualified persons handed down from antiquity, and it is the task of a pariṣad to determine whether any particular practice conforms to sadācāra. It is important to realise that the Brahmins who might form a pariṣad were never organized into a college. The logical and moral value of the teaching of the Brahmins was the only criterion of its validity. He adds that it is problem that the dharmasūtras and the earlier śāstras only gathered up the traditional rules of pariṣads (p. 31). That is why smṛti can be called *pāraśada*. The Mīmāṃsā put an end to custom as a continuing source of smṛti. The commentators began to be shut up inside a system of interpretation of written rules. The discussion of the dharmasūtras is chiefly descriptive, and reveals the author's acquaintance with those works and also the secondary literature devoted to them. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra is properly treated in a section to itself. Its dependence upon Manu, Yājñavalkya and even the Bhagavad-gītā is noted. The third chapter of this part deals with Indian society. It is rightly remarked that no importance can be given to any guesses as to the dates of the sūtras. The relatively small

space devoted by them to matters of litigation shows the standpoint from which dharma was then evaluated—it was not yet primarily a source of law, as we know it: it had wider and perhaps more important functions. The theory of the four varṇas is an important example of the didactic approach of the writers. M. Lingat briefly explains what the varṇa-duties amounted to. Even in the time of the sūtras themselves the jātīs, the real castes, existed in a form which could only with an effort be made to correspond to the four-fold theory. The complicated notions of the origins of mixed castes already show a high degree of sophistication and abstraction from fact.

M. Lingat gives adequate space to the views of Sénart on the subject of caste, and it is an important feature of this book that it makes available in a conveniently short space the opinions of several French authors who tend to be given less attention by British-Indian writers on Indian law and institutions than they deserve. He refers for example to Dumézil (p. 52), whom not everyone takes very seriously, on Indo-European reminiscence on the subject of hierarchically-organized societies. In M. Lingat's view the sūtras' method of dealing with caste was not so much ingenious as inevitable (p. 53). The sūtras' barrier between the dvijas and the śūdras seems to have had variable limits, but was complete. But the theories of Jātyutkarṣa and jātyapakarṣa which went a long way towards moderating the severity of the doctrine were already in vigour well before Manu (X, 64-65) and Yājñavalkya (I, 96). The theory of the four stages of life comes to be treated next. The sūtras present this as a finished doctrine, the stages are successive, as they fail to be at later stages of the śāstra. On the stage of the forest-hermit M. Lingat says (p. 66), 'The speculative and religious nature of the Hindu and the particular point of view from which our authors considered social organisation have alone given to this stage of life a character not to be found elsewhere. There is no theoretical construction here, but perhaps a religious transposition, a sublimation of ancient barbaric custom.' As for the fourth āsrama it is certainly the result of a defensive attitude on the part of our Brahmins *vis à vis*

ascetics who competed with them in religious contexts. Baudhāyana says (II, 6, 11, 28) the two last āśramas were invented by an Asura.

The legal provisions of the sūtras are mainly in the field of ācāra, and breaches of the prescriptions lead to sin, which if not expiated by penance will certainly lead to present or future punishment. The distinction between those sins which bring about a loss of caste and those which merely defile is already present. The ceremony for exclusion from caste is given in significant detail (Gaut. XX. 2-7, Vas. XV. 11-14). M. Lingat gives considerable attention, now, to what is meant by penance. There can be no doubt but that the degree of sophistication and juridical nicety given in such ancient times with regard to sin and the awarding of a penance was not excelled when the śāstra later came to develop a criminal law, and indeed (one may add) many of the requirements of the latter are simply borrowings, acknowledged or unacknowledged, from the law relating to penance. But one must remember that sin and penance are not "law" in the sense which is used in this book. It is precisely the movement from dharma to law which is its theme.

Though Brahmins were more concerned with purity and observance than the rest of the population they were the spiritual directors of the public at large because of their prestige and authority; this gave to their activities a very wide field because the notion of dharma was not confined to purity, observances, and the like. A summary is given of the family law items which appear as aspects of the dharma of the householder. The details are sufficient to enlighten the newcomer appropriately, and the author commences his discussion of the somewhat fictional doctrines of marriage by saying, 'When they integrated the usages of their epoch into ācāra they made out of them something very different from customary law...a religious value was attached to them and the quality of sin was attached to failure to comply' (p. 74). 'Their hesitations, their contradictions too, show the obstacles which they had to surmount or negotiate in order to attempt to make the rule they wished to see adopted triumph.'

The discussions of the "forms of marriage" cannot be understood unless one realises (p. 76) the effort which the authors made to eliminate practices of which they disapproved: society certainly did *not* accept their propositions as a matter of course. The divergences between the rules relating to substitute sons illustrate the jurists' difficulties.

In the law of partition there were evidently very different usages; the śāstra approved of partition, but that did not mean that partition was obligatory, and Gautama's ideas on the subject do not merely reproduce what was in use in his time.

M. Lingat notes in passing (p. 80) that penance being for the reform of the individual, the concept of punishment is not exhaustively taken up. It seems also certain that the sūtras did not provide for an wrongdoer's being compelled to recompense his victim: the sūtras are concerned with the sin and the offence against society. The authors give themselves the task of providing purification from sins, reestablishing the spiritual order broken by the misdeed. Reparation, punishment, as such belong to the temporal order, which, at the time of the sūtras, is not the direct concern of the Brahmins. No doubt the king is obliged to see to it that penances are performed, and if punishment is added it is to complete the penance (Āp. II, 5, 10, 12-16, and 11, 1) (p. 82). Criminals punished by the king are purified and go to Heaven: Vas. XIX. 45 (cf. Manu VIII. 318). The religious and secular law thus interpenetrate each other, a clear distinction between the two realms was not attempted (p. 84). No one can believe for a moment that the ancient Indian king waited for penance to be prescribed before he exercised his right to punish. In the sūtras the Brahmins are beginning to advise him how he should act.

When one turns to the law of evidence the question arises why written records are not referred to, title deeds, while ordeals are dealt with at length. The answer is the same: the customary law could take care of temporal methods of proof, including title deeds, but only the Brahmins could administer ordeals. At length



Brahmins are brought to occupy themselves with vyavahāra, and their provisions are written, as it were, on the margin of dharma. The Brahmins could not *impose* their ideas. They could proclaim, and for this purpose they made a choice from amongst the customs in vigour. They borrow from usage, but in their own way and without hope or intention of enforcing any law as such.

In chapter four of the first part M. Lingat deals with Manu, and his many and shrewd comments must be summarized here for want of space. Dharma has become an independent discipline and it embraces vyavahāra, law properly so called. There were Vedic scholars evidently who specialised in dharma in this wide scope. After a careful and full analysis of the Manusmṛti's contents the origin of the book is discussed, and on the whole M. Lingat agrees with Kane against Bühler as to the possible existence of an earlier Mānava-dharma-sūtra. But Manu could have sprung from an earlier form like a sūtra (p. 107). But the smṛti obviously did not keep to a traditional plan like that of the existing sūtras. Manu is the most ancient of the śāstras. Yājñavalkya and Nārada are much better in point of definition and detail. The reason is that Manu was produced when the interest in juridical questions was fully awakened but their study had not yet reached such a state of perfection as the later smṛtis testify to (p. 110). The connection with the Mahābhārata is close and not yet entirely accounted for.

In the fifth chapter Yājñavalkya and Nārada are dealt with (and it is noted how these travelled eastwards and are cited in Champā, etc.) and other smṛtis are mentioned more summarily. M. Lingat quotes (p. 121) Auguste Barth's enthusiastic appreciation of Nārada in 1876 and Rodolphe Dareste's question whether Nārada cannot have had any knowledge of the Roman legal mind and its work (1889) : Lingat's own comment is that whether one accepts these rather uncritical reactions or not they serve to prove the scientific quality of Nārada, which is undoubtedly the case. After reading these chapters the newcomer will be fully apprised of the principal smṛtis of *legal* value, although perhaps he needs to be told the role played at so many important places in the later

literature of the minor smṛtis which have never been garnered into collections (as distinct from the spurious late smṛtis which have), and of purāṇas and other late material treated as scriptural by the great jurists.

The sixth chapter deals with commentaries and digests. A contrast with Byzantium and the work of Justinian is made justly at p. 129, namely that at a time when Roman Law came to a stop so far as creativity and originality were concerned the later phase of dharmasāstra flowered and developed in an increasing flow of doctrinal works. A reference is made to an old Javanese legal work which seems to have been based upon the *Manvarthavivṛtti* of Nārāyaṇa (see journal of the Greater India Society. vol. 15, 1956, pp. 111 ff.). Lingat lists and describes the principal commentaries and digests. It is very good to see that at the end of the chapter he pays a suitable tribute to the *Dharmakośha* of Lakshman Sastri Joshi, which is not merely an aid to students of the dharmasāstra but also an exposition of the *sāstra* in its own right, the more remarkable for its having been produced as a private venture in the period immediately prior to the Second World War.

At p. 152, having explained perfectly why all attempts strictly to date smṛtis are in vain (nearly all the criteria siezed upon by previous scholars are fugitive or misconceived) M. Lingat draws attention to something that many scholars in India will not know, namely that K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's praiseworthy attempts to reconstruct the Bṛhaspati-smṛti were vitiated by a naive or unsettled conception of the critical skill required to choose between variant readings, and that that smṛti cannot be used nowadays without the notes and emendations of Louis Renou, unhappily divided between *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 6 (1962), p. 82-102, and *Studes Védiques et Pāṇinéennes*, vol. 11 (Paris, 1963).

Part II of the book is called "From Dharma to Law", and is the book's real contribution to knowledge, though, naturally, it could not have been presented without the first part. After stating the problem he devotes the first chapter (rightly) to Interpretation, which he illustrates finely, and quite sufficiently for those who do not have the time to read K. L. Sarkar or Kane's

material in vol. 5 of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*. The second chapter deals with the relationship between dharma and custom, and the third, which perhaps is the most useful of all, the relationship between dharma and the royal order or ordinance.

At p. 156 M. Lingat makes the significant remark, 'the rule of dharma keeps its character even when it brings legal consequences in its train. Its authority resides essentially in the Hindu's faith in a divine governance of the world the law of which is expressed by the rule in question.' The difficulties which the British (but perhaps not the French ?) experienced in trying to administer such a system are briefly but searchingly explored (pp. 156-9). The conflict between Nelson and Innes (which the present writer has examined in C. H. Philips' volume on *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*) is carefully set out, and it is agreeable to see that basically M. Lingat agrees with Nelson. The dharmaśāstra was not a legal system in the Anglo-American sense of the term, and though it is difficult to imagine what else could have been done, seeing the size of British India (in contrast with French India), and seeing the great difficulty in obtaining reliable and faithful evidence of custom (most people have no idea what their customs are until someone tells them what to say!), the objections to the Anglo-Hindu law raised by the indefatigable Nelson were justified. At pp. 160-162 M. Lingat reproduces the ideas of A. Barth on the subject, which of course are to be found in Barth's *Oeuvres*, which almost certainly are not available in India, or at any rate not widely available, even granted that Indologists can read French. What Barth grasped was that the judicial officer contemplated by the dharmaśāstra was not a judge in our sense at all, but a special kind of arbitrator who could decide whether in any particular case one should apply customary usage, the law of the ṛṣis, the practice of ancestors, (or some fourth position), according to the circumstances of and policies attracted by the litigation. Such a situation as the British created, where custom would have no scope unless proved strictly in derogation from the śāstra, was a parody of the Hindu system. But it is difficult to see what else could have been attempted once the decision had been taken to eschew indirect rule,

Dealing with interpretation M. Lingat commences by pointing out what the Arthaśāstra meant : it was a science of kingship, and certainly its existence was presupposed by the dharmaśāstra writers, who occasionally quote from it or refer to it. Incidentally whether Kauṭilya actually was cited in Jīmūtavāhana's *Vyavahāramātṛkā* may still be open to doubt (cf. p. 167, n. i). The dharmaśāstra authors wrote in the assumption that what the king was actually doing was to be determined by a complex of factors, and that their advice, based upon interpretation of texts, would provide only one item in the argumentation which must precede a legal decision. M. Lingat gives a very adequate account of Jaimini and what his sūtras were intended to do. He corrects the statement often encountered in Mayne and elsewhere that Mīmāṃsā is mostly a collection of maxims of common sense. In fact this is to confuse laukika-nyāya with the true mīmāṃsā, which provides tools for the construction of Vedic and so also smṛti texts. M. Lingat takes illustrations from the *Mitāksharā* and the *Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi* to show (p. 172) that a mīmāṃsā maxim can be used to strengthen reasoning reached from opposite angles and with opposite results ; in neither case does it really determine what the answer will be. Many of the rules are of semantic value, and thus similar to canons of interpretation found the world over. Instances are given where mīmāṃsā is in fact the only overt source of a decision, and one admires the author's handling of this obscure and sometimes barely intelligible science. M. Lingat frankly says that often the mīmāṃsā tags are very far from their correct source, like Latin tags used out of context. But the importance of the technique is not to be minimised. The difference between vidhis of various categories is explained at pp. 173-4. A careful discussion is given to a famous instance in adoption in which mīmāṃsā figured in Anglo-Indian jurisprudence throughout the nineteenth century.

M. Lingat explains the distinction between *dr̥ṣṭārtha* and *adr̥ṣṭārtha* rules (p. 177) by indicating the analogy with the distinctions between dharma, artha and kāma : but whether this is correct remains to be demonstrated more closely. The topic of

conflict of texts is taken up in the third section of the first chapter. Here we are in the midst of genuine śāstric discussion, and the section is, more than any other, likely to be conducive to the study of the śāstra by comparative lawyers. Incidentally M. Lingat would correct the translation of a verse of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa appearing in the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi so ably and conscientiously translated by Ludo Rocher (himself now a professor at Philadelphia). The puzzling topic of acquisition by adverse possession, which Vijñāneśvara handles so curiously and so unsuitably (to the modern mind) is explained at length (from p. 182), and fully illustrates the contention that dharma, on its way to providing "law", maintains a more faithful concern for its own integrity than for the convenience of the public at large. All deficiencies, in that regard could be made good by customary practices of which the jurists took account silently, but with which they were reluctant to contaminate their doctrinal works. M. Lingat shows that there was a preconceived notion of justice which led Vijñāneśvara through the maze of texts and predetermined the manner in which he would dispose of anything which tended to show that property could be lost by possession alone. A contrast between his views and those of his more immediate colleagues proves that such doctrines cannot have provided an invariable rule of law in any area or period. That texts could, and indeed should, be interpreted so as to accord with actual practice is, however, acknowledged by Nīlakaṇṭha on Manu IX. 210 (here p. 189). Mādhava's treatment of marriage with close relations in South India and elsewhere is another example of techniques of interpretation, where the jurist attempts to make a widespread custom respectable notwithstanding plain texts to the contrary, and M. Lingat sets out the passage at length at pp. 190 ff. He could hardly have chosen a better example. As he says, even where custom is not alluded to the manner in which the argument is conducted is frequently predetermined by the customs of which the jurist himself approves. Naturally if his doctrines would prevent important local communities from believing themselves to be orthodox Hindus his work would disappear.

The second chapter of the second Part deals with dharma and custom. M. Lingat starts by commenting that the customary rule is in principle indifferent to religious consequences of an act (p. 197). Kātyāyana accepts that usage may well be *adharmya*, and yet it is *caritra* and thus entitled to some protection from the king. A. S. Altekar's conception of *caritra* is commented upon at p. 199. He is wrong to suppose that dharma ever rested upon traditions or conventions accepted by the populace at large. Such errors are frequently encountered in Indian writers, who have been brought up to think of the *dharmaśāstra* as essentially a legal system. In fact dharma was independent of agreement or usage, and a parallel sanction to it. Practice does not become dharma because it is customary but because it is understood as such by those who know dharma or it is prescribed by the Veda. Public opinion is of no importance except in so far as it has a bearing upon one or other of these conditions. Indeed, the motives which move the public are inconsistent, as often as not, with the driving force behind dharma.

Of course customs can be rooted too deep for the jurist to ignore them, and this accounts for Manu's tolerance of usages of which he himself plainly disapproves (p. 204). The theory of the *yugas* does not show that the authors of the *dharmaśāstras* thought morality altered from time to time, but rather that varying conditions alter the extent to which the requirements of dharma can be met, and alter the emphasis which may in practice be placed upon its prescriptions. The use of the concept of consensus, custom, had this valuable result that diversity of interpretation was possible, without which law itself could not have developed out of dharma in such a large and heterogeneous country as India (p. 211). There follows a careful discussion of the concept of the *Kali-varjyas* : he agrees with Kane that it puts an end to the notion of the Unchanging East. Whether after all the theory has really introduced a variable element into the nature of dharma itself is very doubtful. Did dharma ever have so inelastic a character that the *Kali-varjya* theory should have profoundly modified it? The effect of the theory was to detach

the changes, which were certainly observed, from human origins, and to retain the notion that dharma was not dependent upon public opinion, or custom, for its character or sanction. Groups which continued to practice the forbidden acts merely announced thereby their fall in the hierarchy of orthodoxy. Thus the interdictions were really a device for declassifying certain elements in the population, which adhered to practices which the more advanced elements had allowed to fall into dissuetude. It was in any case a purely negative device, and introduced nothing new.

Meanwhile custom was given a special sanction by dharma lest the result should be social chaos and civil strife. This was not an evaluation of custom as such. If one followed a custom contrary to dharma he might not be punished by his social group, but he was a sinner from the point of view of the religion. There were exceptions, recognized by Bṛhaspati (II, 31; ed. Aiyangar, L, 130), in which neither penance nor punishment were allowable. Custom there could paralyze dharma completely. The religious sanction was removed. But this of course could never make the aberrant act itself dharma. This was serious, however, because a determined group could nullify dharma in their regard, whereas the Kali-varjya theory depended upon general considerations. Perhaps this is why Nilakanṭha for example allows those who practice bad customs to escape punishment by way of penance, and not penance as such. Jurists themselves found it difficult to understand how it was that groups practising adharma could be immunised against the spiritual dangers they incurred and could retain prestige and high-caste rating notwithstanding their unorthodoxy (p. 225). But the customs in question were not legitimised, as it were, only tolerated.

The influence dharma exerted upon customs was like the reception of the Roman law in areas of Europe previously governed by customary laws. When communities became Hindus they had one point in common with the Hindus in general. From this point a gradual enlargement brought them nearer and nearer into touch with orthodox usages. Participation in dharma meant fulfilment of duties. Hindu civilization tended to dissolve the

shocking un-Hindu customs which they practised. The power of custom weakened as the standing in the structure of caste and purity rose. An insensible irradiation of all ranks of society was the actual function of the written law. Dharma was always on the winning side : one might say was imperialistic *vis à vis* the adharmic customs (p. 228).

The subject of the relationship between dharma and the royal legislative or regulative power is highly controversial. In the third chapter M. Lingat contradicts ideas of the present writer, he denies any legislative force to royal edicts which, as he rightly says, had no place in the sources of dharma. As a source of *law*, on the other hand, the king's order had a place. The king might cause adharmic customs to be discontinued. He could positively contribute to the forward march of dharma, but he could not in any negative way hamper the activity of dharma, for the king's sphere, like custom, was different from that of dharma. This is why the śāstra never hesitates to dictate to the king and to threaten him with otherworldly penalties. Kṣatra is a territorial power, not sovereignty in the modern sense (p. 237). It is a property in respect of the soil. The Kṣatriya has the right to take taxation and to punish offenders. The latter is shown in the dharma texts as a quasi-divine prerogative.

There is no analogy between the relationship between Brahmin and Kṣatriya in India and the doctrine of the Two Swords in mediæval European thought. Ritual and penance are the realms in which the Brahmin is supreme. But he is also supreme in the field of determination of the scope of royal activity. Nothing in the arthaśāstra tends in fact to delimit the scope of dharma, which itself sets the bounds and the tone of the royal jurisdiction. 'Temporal power alone has the capacity to act, but it is a blind force which needs to be directed before its exercise can be efficacious' (p. 242). This is why the king is master of all except the Brahmins (Gaut. XI. i).

The king's wishes cannot be substituted for the divine commands relative to conduct (p. 250). Vyavasthās to be found in inscriptions, above all in the South of India, have only a



limited significance, and are to be seen against the background of the uneasy relationship between dharma and custom which we have already studied (p. 253). The king acts not as legislator (though this may be doubted at times, according to one's understanding of the word "legislation") but as administrator.

Kings could, and did, have works on dharma compiled for the guidance of their countries: there was no question of the author's introducing new matter at the royal patrons' options. If one, such as Pratāpa Rudra, thought his digest would supersede earlier works he was disappointed.

The scope of royal jurisdiction to enforce penances awarded by priests or Brahmins (p. 258) itself argues the subordinate capacity of the ruler. The king has no power to determine a penance. There are traces of the king's having once had a kind of sacral power, whereby his punishment could operate as a penance, but these are exceptional (p. 262). The whole subject of criminal justice (section 4) shows how free was the scope of the king where merely secular considerations, the protection of the public, were involved. Here dharma provided him with no superfluous advice. Discussing the topic of civil litigation M. Lingat goes into the question of the meaning of Manu VIII. 24, which requires the king to understand both artha and anartha, as well as dharma and adharma. All the sources make it clear that a valid judgment requires consideration of all four of these. It is the king's duty to modify or moderate the rigour of dharma with the requirements of the occasion, the needs, perhaps, of equity or mercy. That this will sometimes produce a result contrary to law is not so significant as the fact that flexibility and social stability will be better served (p. 280).

The decisions of the king cannot have the value of precedents and no case-law could develop. This is a natural result of the absence of any concept that kings could make dharma.

In his Conclusion M. Lingat draws together threads, of particular interest to those who wish to compare modern laws in South and South East Asia with their ancient forerunner. First of all the concept of "legality" must be abandoned, and we must

take up in its place that of "authority". Dharma was a matter of "authority", whether or not it was ever transmuted into law in an individual case. The rules of *dharma* were securely based in Hindu traditions and aspirations : otherwise they would never have led to any factual result at all. Where custom could not be overcome it remained mistress of the scene. But even so custom's victory did not diminish the authority of dharma. Definitive authority belonged only to dharmic rules. The king's reading of dharma had no more value, and no less, than that of any other scholar (provided he had the qualifications to interpret the *dharmaśāstra*). The king's sentences have no future, they are mere isolated events in the legal life of the country.

The written text of the law floats above everything. It is vain and presumptuous to draw from it any picture of any substantive law actually in force in any area at any period. That was not its role. The continuous development of the *śāstra* is to be found, not in India, where the British put an end to it, but in further India, in Burma and Indo-China. Orthodox Hindu ideas there had a prolonged life.

This short summary or survey has not been able to give any impression of the wealth of citation, or the labour which the author must have expended on this well-matured and closely reasoned book. No doubt it is not a guide to Indian society in all its richness and variety. It does not purport to be. It is not a guide, either, to the substantive rules which the *śāstra* laid down : this can be discovered from Kane, or from N. C. Sen-Gupta or elsewhere. But as an introduction to the Indian science of jurisprudence it is, as we have indicated above, unrivalled, and it should lead to a revival of interest in the subject on the continent of Europe and elsewhere at a time when one feared that, in comparison with the much less well documented and less interesting laws of the ancient Near East, the system native to India was about to be consigned to oblivion.

## वृद्धवाक्यप्रशंसा

ये वृद्धवाक्यानि समाचरन्ति  
श्रुत्वा दुरुक्तान्यपि पूर्वतस्तु ।  
स्निग्धानि पश्चान्नवनीतशुद्धा  
मोदन्ति ते नात्र विचारमस्ति ॥  
आपद्भुजङ्गदष्टस्य मन्त्रहीनस्य सर्वदा ।  
वृद्धवाक्यौषधा नूनं कुर्वन्ति किल निर्विषम् ॥  
वृद्धवाक्यामृतं पीत्वा तदुक्तमनुमान्य च ।  
या तृप्तिर्जायते पुंसां सोमपाने कुतस्तथा ॥  
आपत्तौ पतितानां येषां वृद्धा न सन्ति शास्तारः ।  
ते शोच्या बन्धूनां जीवन्तोऽपीह मृततुल्याः ॥  
आपद्ग्राहगृहीतानां वृद्धाः सन्ति न षण्डिताः ।  
येषां मोक्षयितारो वै तेषां शान्तिर्न विद्यते ॥  
आपज्जलनिमग्नानां हियतां व्यसनोर्मिभिः ।  
वृद्धवाक्यैर्विना नूनं नैवोत्तारं कथंचन ॥

## ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(July-December, 1967)

### Critical Edition of the Vāmana-Purāṇa

The detailed account of the work done in connection with the preparing of the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa has been given in the previous reviews in this Bulletin. The text has been constituted mainly on the basis of the collation of 21 MSS.— 4 Kashmirian, 3 Bengalī, 11 Devanāgarī, 1 Nandī-Nāgarī and 2 Telugu MSS. Besides these, 13 MSS. were also consulted for ascertaining various readings, extent of the text and order of the Adhyāyas, etc. Help was also taken from the quotations of the Vāmana Purāṇa ślokas found in large number in the Dharma-śāstra Nibandhas and some of the Smṛti-ṭīkāś. Parallel topics and ślokas of the Vāmana Purāṇa were also searched in the other Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, which also helped in settling the text.

The constituted text with the Critical Apparatus and with an Introduction was published in July last in one Volume consisting of more than 800 pages, as the I Part of the Critical Edition. The XXVII Session of the International Congress of Orientalists was to be held at Ann Arbor, Michigan (U. S. A.) from August 13 to 19. So in the first week of August this Volume of the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa was sent there through Dr. Rai Govind Chandra who went there as a delegate from Varanasi. The Volume was presented at the Session of the Congress by our Trustee, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the National Professor of India, and was appreciated by the Congress which passed the following resolution on it :—

“This Congress commends to the Government of India at the Centre and in the States as well as to all the scholars interested in Indian studies the very useful work being done by the Kashiraj Trust under the able guidance of His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras in bringing out critical edition of the Purāṇas. Of this Series the Vāmana Purāṇa ably edited by Sri

## काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

( जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९६७ )

### वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणम्

वामनपुराणस्य समीक्षितसंस्करणसम्बन्धि विवरणं विस्तरेणास्याः पत्रिकायाः पूर्वेषु कार्यविवरणेषु प्रदत्तासीत् । पाठसमीक्षा प्रामुख्येन एकविंशतिहस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादमाधृत्य कृताऽस्ति—तत्र ४ काश्मीरीयाः, ३ वंगीयाः, ११ देवनागरीयाः, १ नन्दिनागरीयाः, २ तेलगूहस्तलेखौ । एतदतिरिच्यापि १३ हस्तलेखाः पाठभेदनिर्धारणप्रसङ्गे श्लोकसंख्या-अध्यायक्रमादिनिर्णयाय परीक्षिता आसन् । तथा च धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध-स्मृतिटोकासूपलभ्यमानानां बहूनां वामनपुराणश्लोकोद्धरणानामपि यथावदुपयोगः कृत आसीत् । पुराणान्तरेषु महाभारतेऽपि वामनपुराणश्लोकानां विषयाणां च साम्यमन्वेषितम्, येन पाठनिर्धारणे सौविध्यमधिगतम् ।

वामनपुराणस्याष्टशतपृष्ठानां गृहीतसमीक्षितपाठात्मकः प्रथमो भागः पाठसमीक्षाविवरणसहितः भूमिकासहितश्च विगतजुलाईमासे प्रकाशित आसीत् । अमेरिकायां मिचिगन, अन् अर्वारनामके प्रदेशे अन्ताराष्ट्रीये प्राच्यविदुषां षड्विंशतितमेऽधिवेशने जायमाने सति अगस्तमासस्य प्रथमे सप्ताहे डा० रायगोविन्दचन्द्रद्वारा (यः वाराणसीतः प्रतिनिधित्वेन तत्र गत आसीत्) वामनपुराणस्य समीक्षितसंस्करणस्यैष भागस्तत्र प्रेषित आसीत्, पुस्तकमिदमधिवेशने न्यासमण्डलस्य सदस्येन राष्ट्रीयध्यापकेन श्री एस० के० चटर्जिमहाभागेनोपस्थापितमासीत् । सभया च तत्सम्बन्धे प्रशंशात्मकोऽधोलिखितः प्रस्तावः पारितः 'परिषदियं भारतीयकेन्द्रशासनं, राज्यशासनानि, तथा च भारतीयविद्यासु अभिनिविष्टान् विदुषः प्रति प्रशंसां ख्यापयति यत् काशीनरेशमहाराजाधिराजस्य सुयोग्यनिर्देशने पुराणानां समीक्षितसंस्करणानां प्रकाशनं काशिराजन्यासस्यातिमात्रमुपयोगिकार्यं वर्तते । तत्र क्रमे श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तमहाशयेन योग्यतया सम्पादितं वामनपुराणमद्य डा० सुनीतिकुमारचटर्जिमहोदयेन न्याससदस्येनात्र उपस्थाप्यते, यच्च डा० रायगोविन्दचन्द्रमहाभागेन न्याससदस्येन वाराणसीतो विशेषत आनीतम् ।'

Anand Swarup Gupta is being presented today by the Trustee, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, which has been specially brought by Dr. Rai Govind Chandra, a member of the Trust, from Varanasi”.

For this appreciation the Trust expresses its sincere thanks to the International Congress of Orientalists and will try to live up to the expectations of the Congress. It is also grateful to Dr. Rai Govind Chandra and Dr. Chatterji for their help and co-operation.

### English and Hindi Translation of the Vāmana Purāṇa

The English and Hindi translations of the Critical Text of the Vāmana Purāṇa are being printed in separate Volumes with the Critical Text. These translations will also contain a special study on the Vāmana Purāṇa, and also Appendices containing proper names of mountains, rivers, oceans, countries, tīrthas, persons etc; while the Critical Edition will contain Appendices on the necessary textual material and śloka-Index.

### Work on the other Purāṇas

At present all our staff of the Purāṇa Deptt. is engaged in the work of completing and publishing the II Part of the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa consisting of several Appendices and the Śloka-Index etc. But, as already noted in the previous reviews, we have finished the collation work of the Matsya Purāṇa MSS., and four MSS. of the Kūrma Purāṇa have also been collated. Now the work of reconstructing the text of the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the collation of other MSS. of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* are in progress.

### The Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa

Eighteen chapters of the Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa have already been published in several instalments in the ‘Purāṇa’ Bulletin. Seven More Chapters are being published in the present issue of the ‘Purāṇa’, Further chapters will be published in the future issues of the ‘Purāṇa’.

### Veda Pārāyaṇa

During the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha, from 8th to 21st July, 1967 the *Pārāyaṇa by memory* of the Śukla-

एतत्संस्तुतिकृते अन्ताराष्ट्रीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनं प्रति वयं कृतज्ञाः स्म आशास्महे च प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्याशानुरूपं कार्यं कुर्मः । वयं श्रीरायगोविन्दचन्द्रं, श्रीचटर्जि-महानुभावं प्रति च तेषां सहायतायै सहयोगाय च हार्दिकं धन्यवादं वितरामः ।

### वामनपुराणस्यांग्ल-हिन्दी-भाषयोरनुवादकार्यम्

वामनपुराणस्य समीक्षितपाठस्य आंग्लभाषानुवादः हिन्दीभाषानुवादश्च पृथग् भागयोः समीक्षितपाठसहितौ मुद्रितौ जायेते, अनयोः अनुवादसंस्करणयोः वामनपुराणसंबन्धिविशेषाध्ययनं पर्वतनदीसमुद्रदेशव्यवस्थादीनां नामसूची श्लोक-सूची इत्यादिसंबलितानि परिशिष्टानि भविष्यन्ति । पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणे च पाठसंबन्धीनि परिशिष्टानि भविष्यन्ति यत्र कतिपयाः उपयोगिताः परिशिष्टाः श्लोकसूचीसंबलिताः दीयन्ते ।

### अन्यपुराणसम्बन्धि कार्यविवरणम्

सम्प्रति अस्मदीयकार्यालये नियुक्ताः सर्वे विद्वांसः समीक्षितवामनपुराणस्य द्वितीयभागस्य नैकपरिशिष्ट-श्लोकसूचीयुतस्य प्रकाशनकार्यपरिसमाप्तौ पूर्णतो व्यापृताः सन्ति । तथापि यथा पूर्वकार्यविवरणेषु सूचितमासीत्, अस्माभिः मत्स्यपुराणहस्तलेखानां सर्वं संवादकार्यं समापितम्, संवादिताश्च कूर्मपुराणस्य चत्वारः हस्तलेखाः । इदानीं हि मत्स्यपुराणस्य पाठनिर्धारणकार्यम्, कूर्मपुराणस्य हस्तलेखानां च संवादकार्यं प्रचलति ।

### स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणम्

‘पुराणम्’ पत्रिकाया अनेकेष्वंकेषु स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य अष्टादश अध्यायाः पूर्वमेव प्रकाशिताः सन्ति । वर्तमानाङ्के च अन्ये सप्त अध्यायाः प्रकाश्यन्ते । अन्ये च अध्यायाः ‘पुराणम्’ पत्रिकाया अग्रिमेष्वंकेषु प्रकाशयिष्यन्ते ।

### वेदपारायणम्

आषाढशुक्लपक्षे ( ८-२१ जुलाई ) स्मृत्याधारेण शुक्लयजुर्वेदस्य काण्वशाखायाः पारायणं काशिराजन्यासस्य शिवालाप्रासादे आयोजितमासीत् । पारायणकर्त्ता

Yajurveda-Kāṇvaśākhā was arranged in the Trust temple of the Śivalā Palace. The reciter was Pt. Balkrishna Petkar Ghanapathi. After the completion of the Pārāyaṇa the reciter was awarded by His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh a certificate of merit besides the usual *dakṣiṇā*.

### Purāṇa-Goṣṭhī

On the 20th July, 1967, i.e. a day before the conclusion of the Veda-Pārāyaṇa on the sacred *Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā*, the annual Purāṇa-Goṣṭhī was arranged by the Trust in the Śivalā Palace. The Goṣṭhī was presided by His Highness Kāsi-Nareśa Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, and was attended by a number of local Paṇḍits and scholars of Purāṇa, such as Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Pt. Hariram Śukla, Pt. Baldeva Upadhyaya, Pt. Badrinath Śukla, all from the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University, Dr. S. Bhattacharya, Indology College, B. H. U., Shri Raghunath Singh, Ex-M. P., and others. After the *maṅgalācaraṇa* the work of the Purāṇa Department was reviewed by Shri A. S. Gupta, and then the printed copy of the constituted Text of the Vāmana Purāṇa was placed before the scholars, on which a useful discussion followed, and the work was appreciated. In the end the Chairman thanked the scholars for their co-operation. After the thanks to the Chair the Goṣṭhī was concluded, and the *prasāda* was distributed. On this occasion the six-monthly *dakṣiṇā* to Pt. Krishna Murti, who has memorised the whole of the Sāmaveda with all its Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, was also given.

### Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravacana

During the period under review the *Saundarya-Laharī* was recited for a week in the month of Aṣāḍha in the Ratna Bāg temple, and the Pravacana (discourse) on it was given by Pt. Thakur Prasad Dvivedi of Ramnagar. In the month of Kārtika (November) the *Nārādīya Purāṇa* was recited and the discourse on it was given by Pt. Vishvanath Shastri Datarā of the Sāṅga Veda Vidyālaya, Varanasi.

### Austrian Honour for Dr. V. Raghavan

We are glad to note that the Noble Order of St. Martin



च पं० बालकृष्ण पेतकर आसीत् । पारायणसमाप्तौ पारायणकर्त्रे तत्रभवता महाराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयेन नियमितदक्षिणातिरिक्तमेकं रत्नकङ्कणं प्रशंसापत्रं च समर्पितम् ।

### पुराणगोष्ठी

न्यासपूर्णमायाः शुभावसरे वेदपारायणस्य समाप्तेः पूर्वस्मिन् दिने ( २० जुलाई १९६७ ) वार्षिकी पुराणगोष्ठी न्यासेन शिवालाप्रासादे काशीनरेश-महाराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहाभागानामध्यक्षतायाम् आयोजिताऽऽसीत् । अस्यां स्थानीयाः पण्डिताः, पौरणिका विद्वांसश्चोपस्थिता अभवन् । एतेषु वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य पं० राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविडः, पं० हरिराम शुक्लः, पं० बलदेव उपाध्यायः, पं० बदरीनाथशुक्लः, तथा काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य भारतीमहाविद्यालयतः डा० सिद्धेश्वरभट्टाचार्यः तथा च श्रीरघुनार्थसिंहः भूतपूर्वः संसत्सदस्यः अपरे चोपस्थिता आसन् । मङ्गलाचरणानन्तरं श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तमहोदयेन पुराणविभागस्य कार्यविवरणं प्रस्तुतम् । ततः समीक्षितपाठस्य वामनपुराणस्य एका मुद्रिता प्रतिविदुषां समक्षं उपस्थापिता, तदुपरि उपयोगिविमर्शः संजातः, ग्रन्थस्य प्रशंसा च जाता । अवसाने श्रीअध्यक्षमहोदयः विदुषः प्रति तेषां सहयोगाय धन्यवादान् व्यतरत् । अध्यक्षमहोदयं प्रति धन्यवादानन्तरं गोष्ठी समाप्तिमगमत् प्रसादवितरणं च जातम् । अस्मिन्नवसरे पं० कृष्णमूर्तिमहोदयाय, येन उपनिषद्ब्राह्मणैः सह समग्रः सामवेदः कण्ठीकृतः, षाण्मासिकी दक्षिणाऽपि प्रदत्ताऽऽसीत् ।

### पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

अस्मिन् कार्यावधौ रत्नबागमन्दिरे गत आषाढमासे सप्तदिनानि यावत्सौन्दर्य-लहरीस्तवस्य पाठो जातः, एतदुपरि च प्रवचनं रामनगरवासिना पं० ठाकुरप्रसाद-द्विवेदिना कृतम् । गते कार्तिक-( नवम्बर ) मासे नारदीयपुराणस्य पाठोऽभवत् । तथा प्रवचनमेतदुपरि प्रदत्तमासीत् श्री पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्रिदातारमहोदयैः वाराणसेयसाङ्गवेदविद्यालयीयैः ।

डा० राघवन्महोदयस्य आस्ट्रियन् सम्मानम्  
व्यमतिप्रसन्नाः स्मो यदास्ट्रियादेशस्य सेन्ट मार्टिन इत्यस्य नौबुल आर्डर

of Austria has conferred on Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, and a member of our Purāṇa-Committee, its Honorary Membership and its gold medal decoration for distinction in Arts and Sciences. Already two other International learned Societies had elected Dr. Raghavan as Honorary member, the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, and the French School of Far East (Ecole Francais de-Extreme. Orient, Paris). We offer our congratulations to Dr. Raghavan.

### Our New Trustee.

We welcome our new Trustee, Shri Raghunath Singh, M.A., LL.B., Ex. M. P. of Varanasi, who has been nominated by the Government of India as the Trustee of the All-India Kashiraj Trust in the vacancy caused by the sad demise of our former Trustee, Dr. Pannalal. Shri Raghunath Singh is an Indologist, and we hope that we shall be benefitted by his co-operation and advice.

### Scholars who visited the Purāṇa Department.

During this period the following scholars visited our Purāṇa Department and acquainted themselves with its work :

1. Sri Haribhau Upadhyaya, Padmabhusana, formerly Minister of Education, Rajasthan (4. 9. 67).

He had a discussion on some problems of the Vāmana Purāṇa, and appreciated its Critical Edition. A copy of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin was presented to him.

2. Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. (23. 10. 1967),

He is a contributor to our 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. He appreciated the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa in the words : "It is indeed a creditable performance on the part of the Purāṇa Department."

इत्यनेन ( Noble order of St. Martin of Austria ) मद्रासविश्व-  
विद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षाय अस्मत्पुराणसमितेः सदस्याय डा० राघवन्-  
महोदयाय स्वोयसम्मानितसदस्यपदं, स्वर्णपदकञ्चैकं कलाविज्ञानक्षेत्रेषु विशेष-  
योग्यतानिमित्तं ससम्मानं प्रदत्तम् । अतः पूर्वमपि द्वावितरावन्ताराष्ट्रीयविद्वत्सङ्घौ  
श्रीराघवन्महोदयं सम्मानितसदस्यपदे निर्वाचितवन्तौ । तौ द्वौ संघौ स्तः—वियनास्थ  
विज्ञानस्य आस्ट्रियन् अकादमी संस्था तथा च सुदूरपूर्वस्य फ्रेञ्च विद्यालयः  
[ Ecole Francais de-Extereme, orient, Paris ] । वयं डा०  
राघवन्महोदयस्याभिनन्दनं कुर्मः ।

### अस्माकं नवीनतमो न्याससदस्यः

वाराणस्याः भूतपूर्वसंसत्सदस्यस्य श्रीरघुनाथसिंहस्य एम० ए०, एल-  
एल० बी० महानुभावस्य न्यासस्य नवीनतमसदस्यत्वेन स्वागतं ब्रूमः । असौ हि  
भारतीयशासनद्वारा सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य भूतपूर्वसदस्यस्य स्वर्गीय-  
श्रीपन्नालालमहानुभावस्य देहावसानेन तत्स्थाने नामाङ्कितो जातः । प्राच्यविद्या-  
विशारदः श्रीरघुनाथसिंहमहोदयः स्वपरामर्शसहयोगादिना अस्माकं हितं साधयि-  
ष्यतीत्याशास्महे ।

### पुराणविभागं द्रष्टुमागता विद्वांसः

अस्मिन् कार्यावधौ अधो निर्दिष्टाः विद्वांसः अस्माकं पुराणविभागं दृष्टवन्तः,  
अस्य कार्यस्य परिचयं च प्राप्तवन्तः ।

१—श्री हरिभाऊ उपाध्यायः, पद्मभूषणः, भूतपूर्वः शिक्षामन्त्री राजस्थान-  
प्रदेशस्य (४।९।१९६७) ।

एतेन हि वामनपुराणस्य काश्चित् समस्याः विवेचिताः, अस्य समीक्षितं  
संस्करणं प्रशंसितञ्च । 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाः प्रतिरेका अस्मै प्रदत्ता ।

२—डा० ए० डी० पुसाल्करः (क्यूरेटर-भण्डारकर ओरियण्टल-रिसर्च-  
इन्स्टीट्यूट, पूना ) (२३।१०।१९६७) ।

एष अस्माकं 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया लेखकोऽस्ति । असौ हि वामनपुराणस्य  
समीक्षितं संस्करणमधोलिखितैः शब्दैः प्रशंसितवान्—पुराणविभागस्यैतत् प्रशस्यं  
सम्पादनमस्तीति ।

3. Prof. Dr. Madeleine Biardeau, Directeur d'Etudes, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne, Paris. (9. 12. 67).

She was much impressed with the work which the Purāṇa Department is doing in the field of Purāṇic studies. She discussed certain problems of the Critical edition of Purāṇas in General and of the Vāmana Purāṇa in particular, and was glad to note that these problems have been faced here. She writes in the Visitors' Book :—"The long discussion I had with Shri A. S. Gupta was for me quite illuminating and I could see that the difficult problems which one encounters in critically editing the Purāṇas have been faced and given a solution. There may not be any ideal critical edition of the Purāṇas possible, but in the present conditions of Purāṇic traditions, all attempts to save them and make them permanently available are welcome."

She has also promised to contribute an article to the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin, on the Critical Edition of the Purāṇas.

4. Prof. Dr. S. B. Sastri, Vidyānkara University of Ceylon, Kelaniya-Ceylon. (28. 12. 67).

5. Dr. L. Sternbach, LL. D., Professor of Dharmasāstra and Indian Culture, New York. (31. 12. 67).

He is a contributor to the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin, and also a member of our Purāṇa committee.

We are grateful to all these scholars for their co-operation and interest in our Purāṇa-work.

### Distinguished Guests

His Excellency W. Gopallawa, Governor-General of Ceylon, was the guest of His Highness Maharaja of Banaras, the Chairman of the Kashiraj Trust, and was presented a copy of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin when he visited Fort Ramnagar on 26.10.67.

३—प्रोफेसर डा. मडेलिन बिआर्डीयू, डाइरेक्टर ड'इट्यूड्स इकोले प्रतीक डेस होन्टेस इटूडेस, सोरबोने पेरिस (९।१२।६७) ।

एषा हि पुराणानामध्ययनक्रमे पुराणविभागेन सम्पाद्यमानेन कार्येण भृशं प्रभावितासीत् । सामान्यतः पुराणानां, वामनपुराणस्य च विशेषतः समीक्षित-संस्करणसम्बन्धिनीनां समस्यानां तथा विमर्शः कृतः, तथा इदं ज्ञात्वा प्रमुदिता जाता यत्—तादृश्यः समस्या अस्मिन् विभागे विमृश्यन्त इति । लिखति च— श्री ए. एस. गुप्तमहानुभावेन सह यन्मया विस्तृतो विचारः कृतः स तु मत्कृते सर्वथा रोचकः, दृष्टं चास्माभिर्यत् कठिनतराः समस्या याः पुराणानां समीक्षात्मके सम्पादने समापतन्ति, ता अत्रोद्भाविताः समाहिताश्च । यद्यपि पुराणानामादर्श-भूतं समीक्षितं संस्करणमसम्भावि, किन्तु पुराणपरम्परायाः वर्तमानावस्थायां तेषां संरक्षणे, निरन्तरं तेषामुपलब्धौ च क्रियमाणाः प्रयासाः सर्वथा प्रशंसनीयाः ।

तथा च 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायां प्रकाशनार्थं पुराणानां समीक्षात्मकं संस्करण-मवलम्ब्य निबन्धं लिखितुमपि वचनं दत्तम् ।

४—प्रोफेसर डा. एस. बी. शास्त्री विद्यालङ्कारः यूनिवर्सिटी आफ सीलोन, केलनीय, सीलोन (२८।१२।६७) ।

५—डा. एल. स्टर्नबाख एल-एल. डी. प्रोफेसर आफ धर्मशास्त्र ऐण्ड इण्डियन कल्चर, न्यूयार्क (३१।१२।६७) ।

अयं महानुभावः पुराणपत्रिकाया एको लेखकोऽस्मदीयपुराणसमितेः सदस्यश्चास्ति ।

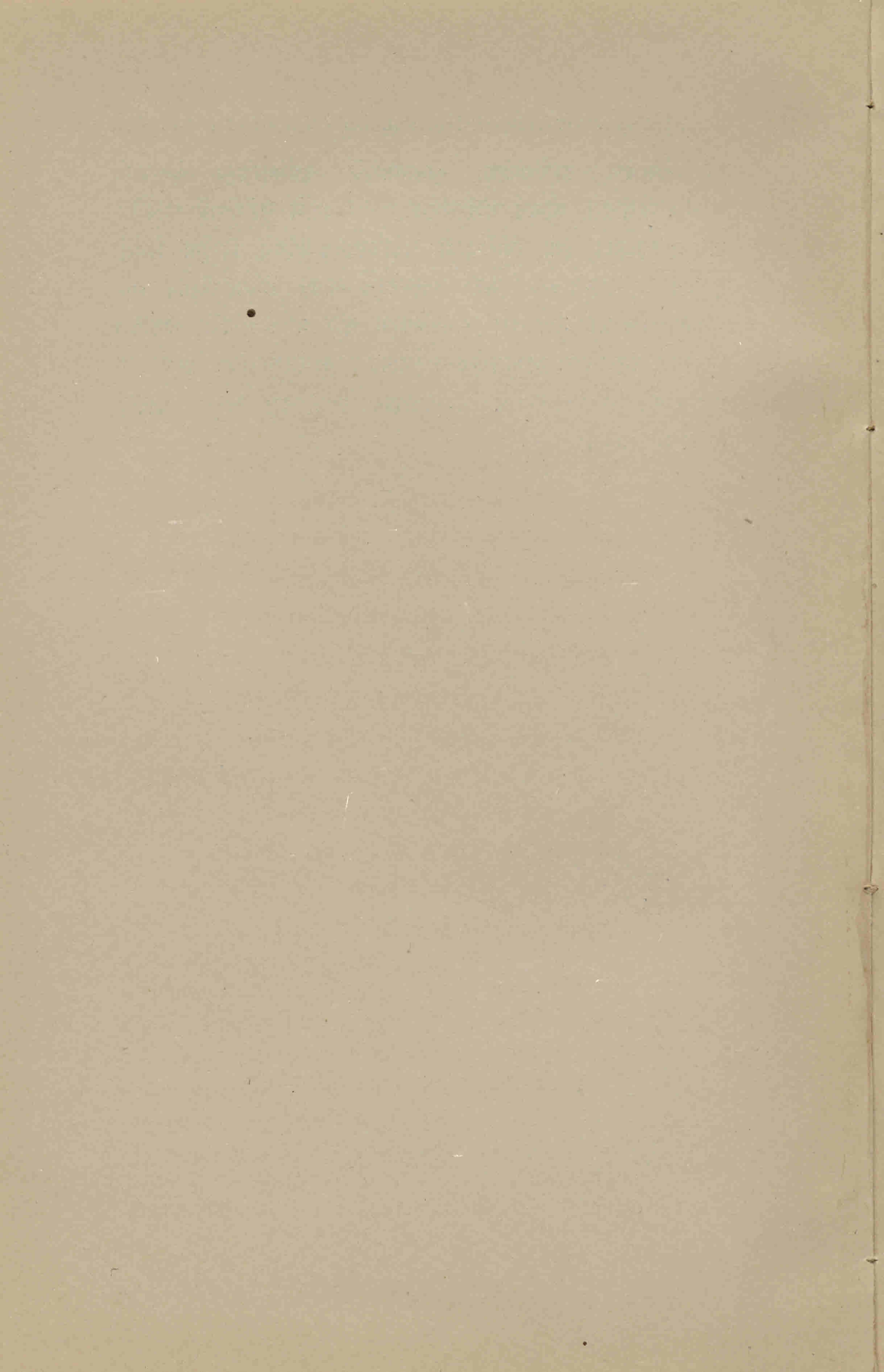
एतान् सर्वान् विदुषः प्रति, तेषां सहयोगाय, पुराणकार्येषु रुचये च वयं कृतज्ञाः स्मः ।

### विशिष्टा अतिथयः

लंकादेशस्य 'गवर्नर-जेनरल' इति पदे प्रतिष्ठितः श्री डब्ल्यू० गोपल्लव महोदयः काशिराजन्यासस्याध्यक्षस्य तत्रभवतः काशीनरेशस्य अतिथिः आसीत् । यदा २६।१०।६७ दिनाङ्के सः दुर्गे आगत आसीत् तस्मै पुराणपत्रिकायाः एका प्रतिः प्रदत्ता ।

His Majesty the King of Laos during his visit to Varanasi stayed at the Nadesar Palace as the guest of His Highness. His Majesty evinced great interest in the Purāṇa work that is being done here, and had a long discussion on the Rāma-story as current in Laos. His Majesty was presented a copy of the critical edition of the Rāmacarita-mānasa and also a copy of Purāṇa Bulletin in Ramnagar Fort on 6.12.67. It is hoped that with His Majesty's patronage the Trust will be able to attract scholars in Laos to the study of the Purāṇas and Indian culture in general.

तत्रभवान् लाओसनरेशः स्वभारतभ्रमणे काशिनरेशस्य नदेसरभवने अतिथिः आसीत् । श्रीमान् लाओसनरेशः अत्र क्रियमाणे पुराणकार्ये स्वविशेष-रुचिं प्रदर्शितवान् तथा लाओसदेशे प्रचलितरामकथाविषये विस्तृतः विमर्शः कृतवान् । ६।१२।६७ दिनाङ्के रामनगरदुर्गे श्रीमते लाओसनरेशाय राम-चरितमानसस्य एका प्रतिः तथा पुराणपत्रिकायाः एका प्रतिः समर्पिता आसीत् । आशास्महे यत् श्रीमतः लाओसनरेशस्य सहायतया काशिराजन्यासः पुराणानाम-ध्ययनविषये भारतीयसंस्कृतेश्च अध्ययनविषये लाओसदेशे विदुषः आकर्षितुं समर्थो भविष्यति ।





मत्स्य उवाच—

संसाग्निष्टोमयज्ञस्य यत्फलं परिकीर्तितम् । •  
 तत्फलं चोत्तमे माने तदर्धं चैव मध्यमे ॥ १ ॥  
 तदर्धं च कनिष्ठे स्यात् तत्कनिष्ठे तदर्धकम् ।  
 इदानीं मध्यमविधिं वक्ष्ये शास्त्रानुसारतः ॥  
 पूर्वस्मिन्नेव दिवसे रात्रौ मध्यावसानके<sup>२</sup> ॥ २ ॥  
 समुद्धृत्य घटं स्थाप्य पूजयेद् गणनायकम् ।  
 वरुणं चापरे कुम्भे अपरे यज्ञनायकम् ॥ ३ ॥  
 नारायणं च ब्रह्माणं शिवं संपूजयेत्क्रमात् ।  
 अंबुदैवतेन मन्त्रेण यूपं संस्थापयेत्ततः ॥ ४ ॥  
 'ओपोहिष्ठे'ति तिसृभिः 'शन्नो देवीः' तथैव च ।  
 'उरुँ हि राजे'ति पुनः 'गन्धद्वारे'ति गन्धकम् ॥ ५ ॥  
 'अंशुना' ते'ति तैलं 'त्वा' गन्धर्वे'ति च गन्धकम् ।  
 'श्रीश्च ते'ति च कुसुमं 'काण्डान्'<sup>३</sup> मन्त्रेण यत्नतः ॥ ६ ॥  
 दूर्वाक्षतं ततो दत्त्वा 'मयि'<sup>४</sup> गृह्णामी'ति मन्त्रणम् ।  
 'आप्यायस्वे'<sup>५</sup>ति च ऋचा पवित्रं च निवेदयेत् ॥ ७ ॥  
 'या फलिनी'ति च फलं 'विश्वानि'<sup>६</sup> देवा' ईरयन् ।  
 निर्मुञ्चनं ततः कुर्याद्रक्तगन्धेन लेपयेत् ॥ ८ ॥

१. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २.२१.१-४. २. स्व. म. मध्यममानके  
 ३. 'दधिक्रावृणो' इति मन्त्रः । 'अब्जिङ्गाः' इति याजुषमन्त्ररत्नाकरे निर्दिष्टः ।  
 ४. ऋ. वे. १०.६.१. ५. ऋ. वे. १०.६.४.  
 ६. तै. सं. १.४.४५.१. ७. श्रीसूक्तम् — तवमो ऋक्  
 ८. तै. सं. १.२.६. ९. वा. सं. १२. ६८.  
 १०. वा. सं. ३१. २२. ११. वा. सं. १३. २०.  
 १२. वा. सं. १३. १. १३. वा. सं. १२. ११२.  
 १४. ऋ. वे. १०.६७.१५ 'याः फलिनी'रिति वर्तते । १५. ऋ. वे. ५.८२.५.

काष्ठपट्टे च शय्यायां स्थापयेत् सितवाससा ।  
 वेष्टयेत् सूत्रयुग्मेन <sup>१६</sup> निशाक्तेन च वेष्टयेत् ॥९॥  
 अधिवास्य <sup>१७</sup> तडागादीनाचार्यादींश्च सर्वशः ।  
 संपूज्य गन्धपुष्पाद्यैः शिष्यैः भृत्यैः सुरक्षितः <sup>१८</sup> ॥१०॥  
 दिवसेऽपि च विप्रांश्च षञ्चविंशतिसंख्यया ।  
 तिलतैलैश्च पिण्याकैर्मातुलङ्गफलैरपि ॥११॥  
 कषायैर्माषिचूर्णैश्च स्नापयेत् शतधारया ।  
<sup>१९</sup> ततः प्रभाते विमले <sup>२०</sup> नित्यं निर्वर्त्य यत्नतः <sup>२१</sup> ॥१२॥  
<sup>२२</sup> नान्दीमुखान् पितृगणान् प्रातरेव समर्चयेत् ।  
 मातुश्च पुरतः कृत्वा गणानामपि तत्परम् ॥१३॥  
<sup>२३</sup> अलंकृत्य यथाशक्तिराचार्यादीन् नरोत्तमः <sup>२४</sup> ।  
<sup>२५</sup> वृणुयात्पश्चिमे भागे मण्डपस्य समीपतः ॥१४॥  
 प्रदद्यादर्हणं सम्यक् सम्यक् पात्रान्निवेदयेत् ।  
 विनार्हणं कृते पात्रे नरकं प्रतिपद्यते <sup>२६</sup> ॥१५॥  
<sup>२७</sup> ततस्तु तूर्यघोषेण <sup>२८</sup> पुरस्कृत्य द्विजोत्तमान् ।  
 स्वाहाकारं ततो जप्त्वा <sup>२९</sup> प्रविशेद्यागमण्डपम् ॥१६॥

१६. 'निशा':—हरिद्रा १७. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २. २१. ८b, ९a.  
 १८. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ९a धूपैर्दीपैः सुशोभनैः ।  
 १९. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २. २१. ९b.  
 २०. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ९b प्रभातसमये ।  
 २१. ल. 'शास्त्रतः' भविष्येऽपि ।  
 २२. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २. २१. ९.  
 २३. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २. २१. १०b, ११a.  
 २४. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. १०b <sup>०</sup>दींश्चरेद्बुधः ।  
 २५. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ११a शृणु<sup>०</sup> ।  
 २६. ल. नरके परिपच्यते । २७. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २. २१. १६.  
 २८. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. १६a. ततस्तूर्यादिघोषेण ।  
 २९. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. १६b. यजमानः सपत्नीकः ।

‘सुत्रामाणे’<sup>३०</sup>ति मन्त्रेण मण्डपं परिवेष्टयेत् ।

निशाक्तैर्नैव सूत्रेण <sup>३१</sup>तत्रिगुणात्मकेन वै ॥१७॥

पंचगव्याक्ततोयैश्च प(म)ण्डपं प्रोक्षयेत्ततः ।

‘गृहीत्वा(?)ही’<sup>३२</sup>ति च ऋचा तत आवाहयेत्पुनः ॥१८॥

‘सुत्रामाणे’ति मन्त्रस्य नारायण ऋषिस्त्रिण्डुप् छन्दः सोमो देवता  
सोमपाके विनियोगः ॥

<sup>३३</sup>मण्डप त्वमसि <sup>३४</sup>विष्णोर्द्वारिकारूपमास्थितः ।

तेन त्वावाहयाम्यद्य <sup>३५</sup>स्वर्गप्राप्तिं कुरुष्व मे ॥१९॥

प्रविश्य मण्डपं पश्चात् प्रोक्षयेत् पुनरेव तु ।

स्वमन्त्रैर्ब्राह्मिणान् स्थाप्य(?)विकिरान् विकिरेत्ततः ॥२०॥

<sup>३६</sup>त्रैलोक्ये यानि भूतानि स्थावराणि चराणि च ।

ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवैः साध <sup>३७</sup>रक्षां कुर्वन्तु तानि वै ॥२१॥

हस्तं दत्त्वा वेदिकायां वेदिमावाहयेत्ततः ।

वेदिः(दि)त्वं स्वर्गसोपानं षट्पुरेण समन्विते ॥

तेन चावाहयाम्यद्य मम स्वर्गाय वै भव ॥२२॥

<sup>३८</sup>वेद्या वेदी <sup>३९</sup>ति मन्त्रं च पठन् वेदीं <sup>४०</sup>प्रणम्य च ।

संपूज्य गन्धपुष्पाद्यैर्मन्त्रमेतमुदीरयेत् <sup>४१</sup> ॥२३॥

३०. ऋ. वे. १०. ६३. १०. ३१. ल. दृढं त्रि<sup>०</sup>  
 ३२. ल. गृहमेहि; अथर्ववेद १९. ३१. १३b. ‘गृहमेधि गृहपति मा कृणु’ इत्ययं  
 मन्त्रोऽपि स्यात् ।  
 ३३. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २. २१. ३७.  
 ३४. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ३७a. मण्डलं चैव विष्णुर्वै ।  
 ३५. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ३७b. तेन त्वां पूजयाम्यद्य ।  
 ३६. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २. २१. ३३  
 ३७. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ३३b. शिवाः सर्वे ।  
 ३८. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २. २१. ३४-३५. ३९. वा. सं. १९. १७.  
 ४०. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ३४a. मन्त्रेण पठेद्देदि ।  
 ४१. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ३४b. परिसं मन्त्रमुदाहरेत् ; स्व. म. मन्त्रमिस<sup>०</sup> ।

याजनं यजमानं च श्रेयसा सद्यो योजय<sup>४२</sup> ।

इदमर्घमिदं पाद्यं धूपोऽयं प्रतिगृह्यताम् ॥२४॥

‘वेद्या वेदो’ति मन्त्रस्य गर्ग<sup>४३</sup> ऋषिर्हरिर्देवता सौत्रामण्यवभृथे विनियोगः ॥

मण्डपाभ्यन्तरे चैव द्वारस्योभयतस्ततः ।

मध्ये प्रवि(वे)शयेद्देवमेवं पूर्वादितः क्रमात् ॥२५॥

<sup>४४</sup>पल्लवे मृत्तिकायुक्ते सुवर्णस्य च तोरणम् ।

अर्धपादैस्तदर्धेन विप्राढ्ये(?)पादनिर्मिते<sup>४५</sup> ॥२६॥

कृत्वाङ्गुलप्रमाणेन मृत्पिण्डोपरि धापयेत् ।

<sup>४६</sup>मन्दरं पूजयेत्तत्र ‘स्योना पृथिवी’<sup>४७</sup>ति वै ऋचा ॥२७॥

‘<sup>४८</sup>स्योना पृथिवी’ति मन्त्रस्य सुमन्तुं<sup>४९</sup> ऋषिर्जगतीच्छन्दः हरो देवता  
मन्दरप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

पर्वतोपरि सर्वत्र विश्वक्सेनं<sup>५०</sup> समर्चयेत् ।

‘यम पुरुषे’<sup>५१</sup>ति ऋचा गन्धाद्यैः कुसुमादिभिः ॥२८॥

<sup>५२</sup>दक्षिणे तोरणे पश्चाद् गन्धमादनसंज्ञकम् ।

प्रादेशे राजिलोहस्य<sup>५३</sup> (?) अथवा कांस्यनिर्मितम् ॥

<sup>५४</sup>नैऋतेऽर्कप्रमाणेन ‘कदाचन’<sup>५५</sup> ऋचा यजेत् ॥२९॥

४२. ल. श्रेय आसाद्य योजयः भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ३५a. श्रेयसा तत्र याजकः ।
४३. ल. गन्धर्व<sup>०</sup> । ४४. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ३६-४०.
४५. ल. निराह्येपादनिर्मिते ? । ४६. ल. मण्डपं ।
४७. ऋ. वे. १. २२. १५. ४८. भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ४०. अनन्तरम् ।
४९. ल. स्वमन्त्रः; भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ४०. अनन्तरम् सुमन्त<sup>०</sup> ।
५०. ल. विश्ववेलं । ५१. ऋगियं तोपलब्धा ।
५२. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ४१.
५३. ल. प्रादेशे वाजिलोहस्य; भविष्य-मध्यम<sup>०</sup> २. २१. ४१b प्रादेशामात्रलोहं तु ।
५४. ल. नैऋतार्क<sup>०</sup> । ५५. ऋ. वे. ८. ५१. ७.

‘<sup>५६</sup>कदाचने’ति मन्त्रस्य सूर्य ऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः सूर्यो देवता गन्धमादन-  
प्रीतये विनियोगः ॥

तथा पश्चिमदिग्भागे राजतं तोरणं भवेत् ।

पूर्वार्धमाने घटिते पादार्धघटिते तथा ॥३०॥

विपुलं गन्धपुष्पाद्यैर्यज्जाग्रते<sup>५७</sup> ऋचा पुनः ।

मृत्पिण्डे करपयेत्तत्र अभावे पिष्टकोपरि ॥३१॥

‘यज्जाग्रते’ति मन्त्रस्य हारीत ऋषिः पङ्क्तिच्छन्दः हरिर्देवता विपुलप्रीतये  
विनियोगः ॥

पूजयेत्पार्श्वक्रमले धातारं च विधातारम् ।

जयं च विजयं चैव दक्षिणेन विशेषतः ॥३२॥

भद्रं पश्चात् सुभद्रं च उत्तरे कमलद्वये ।

भूतिं चैव सुभूतिं च स्वैः स्वैर्मन्त्रैः समर्चयेत् ॥

‘श्रीश्च त’ इति मन्त्रस्य कर्दम ऋषिः पङ्क्तिश्छन्दः लक्ष्मीर्देवता धातृप्रीतये  
विनियोगः ॥

‘<sup>५८</sup>हिरण्यवर्णे’ति मन्त्रस्य हिरण्य ऋषिः पङ्क्तिच्छन्द इन्द्रो देवता विधातृप्रीतये  
विनियोगः ॥

‘<sup>५९</sup>अम्बे अम्बिके<sup>६०</sup>’ इति मन्त्रस्य नलिन ऋषिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः शम्भुर्देवता  
जयप्रीतये विनियोगः ॥

‘मनो देही’ति मन्त्रस्य गायत्र्या विश्वामित्र ऋषिर्बृहतीच्छन्दः सविता देवता  
विजयप्रीतये विनियोगः ॥

‘<sup>६१</sup>अम्बिके’ति मन्त्रस्य नीलकण्ठ ऋषिर्बृहतीच्छन्दः कपर्दी देवता भद्रप्रीतये  
विनियोगः ॥

५६. भविष्य-मध्यमं २. २१. ४१ अनन्तरम् ।

५७. वा. सं. ३४. १.

५८. श्रीसूक्तम्-आद्या ऋक् ।

५९. भविष्य-मध्यमं २. २१. ४४a.

६०. सा. सं. २३. १८.

‘यज्जाग्रत’ इति मन्त्रस्य हारीत ऋषिः पंक्तिच्छन्दः हरिर्देवता सुभद्रप्रीतये  
विनियोगः ॥

‘मनो देही’ति मन्त्रस्य जम्मक ऋषिर्बृहतीच्छन्दः निऋतिर्देवता भूतिप्रीतये  
विनियोगः ॥

‘<sup>६१</sup>कर्मि(?)रसो’ति मन्त्रस्य विवस्वन्त ऋषिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः षण्मुखो देवता  
विभूतिप्रीतये विनियोगः ॥

<sup>६२</sup>सामान्यार्घं विधायथ भूतशुद्धिं प्रकरुष्येत् ।

पीठपूजादिकं कृत्वा वरुणं मध्यतो यजेत् ॥ ३४ ॥

इन्द्रादयः पूर्वपत्रे कर्णिकायाश्च पत्रके ।

ब्रह्माणं चाप्यनन्तं च स्वैः स्वैर्मन्त्रैरनुक्रमात् ॥ ३५ ॥

बलिभिः पायसैश्चापि गन्धपुष्पादिभिर्यजेत् ।

दक्षिणे पृथिवीं देवीं महादेवं तथोत्तरे ॥

भूतानि परितश्चैव वेतालादींश्च शक्तिः ॥ ३६ ॥

ग्रहांश्चैव तु पत्राग्रे अग्रतः कलसं न्यसेत् ।

<sup>६३</sup>वर्द्धन्यङ्गुलकं<sup>६४</sup> न्यस्य मुष्टिपादे षडङ्गुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥

अष्टोत्तरसहस्रं तु प्रस्तुते सूत्रभूषिते ।

स वारद्वयकं न्यस्य निशाक्ततण्डुलान्वितम् ॥ ३८ ॥

सूत्रिकं(?) कारयेद् यत्नाद् वर्द्धनीं तत्र पूजयेत् ।

अस्त्रमन्त्रेण विधिवज्जलं संपूजयेत्ततः ॥ ३९ ॥

नागांश्चैव तथा पत्रे ध्यानमन्त्रेण मन्त्रवित् ।

नागेभ्यश्च बलिं दद्याद् प्रजपेत् शतरुद्रियम्<sup>६५</sup> ॥ ४० ॥

६१. वा. सं. ६. २८. ‘कार्षिरसि’ इति वर्तते ।

६२. हृदयतां भविष्य-मध्यमं २. २१. ४६-४८ ।

६३. स्व. म. वर्द्धवं । ६४. स्व. म. °लका° ।

६५. ‘नमस्ते रुद्रमन्यव’ इति रुद्राध्यायप्रश्नः तै. सं. ४. ५; ‘शतरुद्रियम्’ इति  
वेदे पाठः :—‘शतरुद्रियं जुहोति भागधेयेनैव’ इति तैत्तिरीये ।

वरुणार्थं चरुं कृत्वा पायसान्नैः शताहुतीः ।  
 दिगीशानां घृतेनैव एकैकामाहुतिं हुमेत्(?)<sup>६६</sup> ॥४१॥  
 अन्नेन तिलयुक्तेन यावकेन घृतेन वै ।  
 पायसैः समिधा पश्चात् पृथिव्या आहुतित्रयम् ॥४२॥  
 स्थालीपाकविधानेन एकैकामाहुतिं हुमेत्(?) ।  
 वरुणं प्रथमं हृत्वा रुद्रं सर्वमनन्तरम् ॥४३॥  
 तथा पशुपतिं चोग्रमीशानं तु तथा भवम् ।  
 ईशानमग्निमिन्द्रं च सोमं च पृथिवीमपि ॥४४॥  
 ब्रह्मकामविरूपाक्षान् तथा वास्तुपतेः पृथक् ।  
 पुनराहुतितुर्यं च <sup>६७</sup> 'वास्तोःपति' ऋचा यजन् ॥४५॥  
 ततः स्विष्टकृतं हुत्वा वसुधारां च पातयेत् ।  
 शय्यायां स्थापयेद् यूषं स्नापयेद्विधिना ततः ॥४६॥  
 वरुणं राजतं कृत्वा स्वर्णपुष्करिणीमपि ।  
 विवाहोत्सवमार्गेण विवाहं कारयेदथ ॥४७॥  
 आरोपयेत्तथा यूषं वर्द्धनीकलसोदकैः ।  
 अरिष्टं मार्जयेत् पश्चात् क्रमेण स्नापयेत्ततः ॥४८॥  
 बलिं दद्याद्विधानेन तोयं समुसृजेत्(?) ततः ।  
 वरुणं पुष्प(ष्क)रिण्याश्च तोयेषु परिनिक्षिपेत् ॥४९॥  
 अभिषेकोक्तमार्गेण सिञ्चयेद्यजमानकम् ।  
 दक्षिणां विधिवद्दद्यात् तडागं <sup>६८</sup> त्रिःप्रदक्षिणम् ॥  
 कृत्वा विप्रान् पुरस्कृत्य प्रविशेन्नजमन्दिरम् ॥५०॥  
 इति स्वल्पमतस्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे प्रतिष्ठाविधा-  
 वेकोनविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

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६६. श्रापः प्रयोगः 'जुहुयात्' इत्यर्थः ।  
 ६७. ऋ. वे. ७. ५४. १. 'वास्तोष्पते' इति वर्तते; तैत्तिरीयेऽपि 'वास्तोष्पतेः  
 प्रतिजानीहि' इत्येव । ६८. स्व. म. ७७ ।

श्रीमत्स्य उवाच—

गणेशं पूजयेत् कुम्भे<sup>१</sup> तथा चैव नवग्रहान् ।  
पृथिवीं चैव तत्रैव स्वैः स्वैर्मन्त्रैर्यथाक्रमम् ॥ १ ॥  
मण्डले वरुणं चैव दिगीशांश्च<sup>२</sup> दलेऽर्चयेत् ।  
विष्णुं शिवं तथा दुर्गां विश्वकर्माणमेव च ॥ २ ॥  
मण्डपे चार्कहस्ते तु ध्वजतोरणवर्जिते ।  
एकैककलसे विप्रा घात्रादीन् प्रतिपूजयेत् ॥ ३ ॥  
घातारं च विघातारं जयं विजयमेव च ।  
कुर्याद्धोमं यथोक्तेन बर्द्धनीकलसेषु च ॥ ४ ॥  
वरुणं पूजयेत्तत्र तथा यूपं निवेशयेत् ।  
पूर्ववच्च विधानेन रौप्यस्य वरुणं तथा ॥ ५ ॥  
नागांश्च विन्यसेत् पश्चात् दक्षिणां<sup>३</sup> विनिवेदयेत् ।  
पूर्णाहुतिं ततो दत्त्वा स्थालीपाकं विना हुमेत् ॥ ६ ॥  
इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे पुष्करिणी-  
प्रतिष्ठायां विंशोऽध्यायः ॥

१. ल. पृष्ठे । २. ल. दिगीशानां दले । ३. ल. एकैके ।

४. दक्षिणाश्च ।

५. अष्टमायस्यास्य अल्पपरिमाणात् पुष्करिणीप्रतिष्ठेति पुष्पिकाबलाच्च तडाग-  
प्रतिष्ठाविषयकस्य ग्रन्थस्य पातः स्यादिति संभाव्यते ।



मत्स्य उवाच—

आरामस्य प्रतिष्ठां च वक्ष्ये शास्त्रानुसारतः ।  
 पूर्वस्मिन्नेव कथिते दिवसे यागमारमेत् ॥ १ ॥  
 जापकं खङ्गधारं च सेत्वारामे विवर्जयेत् ।  
 मण्डपे कूपयागे च पुष्करिण्यां कनिष्ठके ॥ २ ॥  
 ध्वजदानं मन्दराणां स्थापनं परिवर्जयेत् ।  
 कुम्भत्रये गणेशं च ब्रह्माणं च ग्रहानपि ॥ ३ ॥  
 आरामसेतुकूपादौ रात्रौ यूपाधिवासनम् ।  
 फलकाञ्चनपीठं च स्थापयेद्देवताधिया ॥ ४ ॥  
 स्वस्तिं ततो वाचयित्वा गणेशादीन् प्रपूज्य च ।  
 कलशे तु तथा सोमं विष्णुं चापि प्रजापतिम् ॥ ५ ॥  
 संपूज्य गन्धपुष्पाद्यैस्ततः संकल्पयेद् बुधः ।  
 द्रुपदादिवेति मन्त्रेण <sup>२</sup> आपो हिष्टेति ऋक्त्रिभिः ॥  
 तोयैः संस्नापयेत् पश्चात् यूपब्रह्मेति संपठन् ॥ ६ ॥

यूपब्रह्मेति मन्त्रस्य वामन ऋषिरनुष्टुप्छन्दः शची देवता यूपाभिमन्त्रणे  
 विनियोगः ॥

पञ्चधा शोधयेद् भूमिं कुशान्तरग(?)पूर्वकम् ।

<sup>३</sup> धन्वनागेति संजप्य शय्यां कृत्वा तथोपरि ॥ ७ ॥

धन्वनागेति मन्त्रस्य मधुच्छन्द ऋषिः पंक्तिच्छन्दः भवानी देवता यूपस्थापने  
 विनियोगः ॥

१. वा. सं. २०, २०; का. सं. २२. ५.

२. वा. सं. ११, ५०; का. सं. १२, ५१.

३. वा. सं. २६, ३६.

<sup>४</sup>त्वां गन्धर्वेति च ऋचा गन्धतैलं निवेदयेत् ।  
<sup>५</sup>अंशुना तेति च पुनः <sup>६</sup>श्रीश्च तेति च पुष्पकम् ॥८॥  
<sup>७</sup>धूर्वसीति ददेद्धूपं <sup>८</sup>अग्निज्योतीति दीपकम् ।  
 अक्षत्रमीमदन्निति दद्याद् दूर्वाक्षतं ततः ॥९॥  
<sup>९</sup>विश्वानीति च निर्मुञ्च्य <sup>१०</sup>काण्डादिति च दूर्वया ।  
<sup>११</sup>सिन्धोरिवेति सिन्दूरं <sup>१२</sup>समिद्धोऽञ्जनेति चाञ्जनम् ॥१०॥  
<sup>१३</sup>त्रिपादूर्द्धमिति ऋचा दद्यादलक्तकं बुधः ।  
<sup>१४</sup>या फलिनीति च फलं <sup>१५</sup>रूपेणेति च दर्षणम् ॥११॥  
<sup>१६</sup>नमोऽस्तु सर्पेभ्य इति पूजयेत्तदनन्तरम् ।  
<sup>१७</sup>अब्दैवतेन मन्त्रेण गायत्र्याभ्युक्षयेत्ततः ॥१२॥  
<sup>१८</sup>शत्रो देवीति तत् <sup>१९</sup>पश्चादंशुनातेति तैलकम् ।  
<sup>२०</sup>त्वां गन्धर्वेति गन्धं च <sup>२१</sup>श्रीश्च तेति च पुष्पकम् ॥१३॥  
<sup>२२</sup>मनोन्वहो(?)ति धूपं स्यात् दीपं <sup>२३</sup>कार्षिरीति च ।  
 इमन्देवीति मन्त्रेण सिन्दूरालक्तकैरपि ॥१४॥  
 सेतुयागे तु दिवसे स्थापयेत् कलशद्वयम् ।  
 गणेशं पृथिवीं चैव पूजयित्वा हरिं स्मरेत् ॥१५॥

४. वा. सं. १२, ६८.      ५. वा. सं. २०, २७.  
 ६. वा. सं. ३१, २२.      ७. 'धूरसि' इति वा सं. १, ८.  
 ८. वा. सं. ३, ६.      ९. वा. सं. ३, ५१.      १०. वा. सं. ३०, ३.  
 ११. वा. सं. १३, २०.      १२. वा. सं. १७, ६५.      १३. वा. सं. २६, १.  
 १४. ऋ. १०, ६०, ४.      १५. वा. सं. १२, ८६.  
 १६. वा. सं. ७, ४५.      १७. वा. सं. १३, ६.  
 १८. [ 'दधिक्रावृणो अकार्ष' इत्ययं मन्त्रः 'अबिलङ्गा' इति याजुषमन्त्ररत्नाकरे  
 निर्देशः कृतः । स एव अब्दैवतो मन्त्रः स्यात् ].  
 १९. वा. सं. ३६, १२.      २०. वा. सं. २०, २७.  
 २१. वा. सं. १२, ६८.      २२. वा. सं. ३१, २२.  
 २३. वा. सं. ३, ५३. 'मनोन्वाह्वामहे' इत्ययं मन्त्रः स्यात् ।  
 २४. वा. सं. ६, २८.

<sup>२५</sup>मधुवातेति मन्त्रेण मधुधारां च पातयेत् ।  
क्षीरेण स्नापयेत् सेतुं मधुना गोमयेन च ॥१६॥  
गन्धद्वारेति तैलं च <sup>२६</sup>यूसा ... चन्दनम् ।  
श्रीश्च तेति कुसुमं शेषमन्यत् समापयेत् <sup>२७</sup> ॥१७॥  
कूपे चे(चै)व ततो विप्राः कूपस्योत्तरपूर्वके ।  
रक्तचन्दनयोगेन कुर्यात् पद्मं सुलक्षणम् ॥१८॥  
तत्र संपूज्य वरुणं सोमं चैव गणेश्वरम् ।  
तत्र कुम्भे च सम्पूज्य शेषमन्यत् समापयेत् <sup>२९</sup> ॥१९॥  
मण्डले तु विशेषोऽयं <sup>३०</sup> कुम्भे कृत्वा गणेश्वरम् ।  
पीते तु चन्दनैर्लेख्यः सूर्यो विष्णुर्हुताशनः ॥२०॥  
पूजयेत् परया भक्त्या यावद् वै सूर्यदर्शनम् ।  
तावत् कृत्वा ततो विप्राः शेषमन्यत् समापयेत् ॥२१॥  
अश्वत्थस्य विधानं च प्रातरेव विधीयते ।  
तद्विष्णोरिति मन्त्रेण वारिणा स्नापयेत्ततः ॥२२॥  
क्षीरेण गुह्यधाराभिः स्नापयेदुक्ततण्डुलान् ।  
पञ्चावयवरूपेण पञ्च त्रीर्हीश्च रोपययेत् ॥२३॥  
<sup>३०</sup>तन्मूले तु तृणं कुम्भं स्थापयेत् कलशत्रयम् ।  
गणेशं च तथा विष्णुं शिवं चापि तथार्चयेत् ॥२४॥  
एवं वटप्रतिष्ठायां धातक्याः चम्पकस्य च ।  
किंशुकस्य च बिल्वस्य तद्विशेषं शृणु द्विज ॥२५॥  
मञ्चं कृत्वा चोत्तरतो तथा <sup>३१</sup>मध्यन्दिने रवौ ।  
कलशं स्थापयेत्तत्र यजेद् देवं शचीपतिम् ॥२६॥

२५. वा. सं. १३, २७.

२६. ल. पूमातेति च चन्दनम् ।

२७, २८, २९. अत्र पादो लुप्तः, ल. कोश उपलभ्यते ।

३०. अत्र ग्रन्थपातः, ल. कोशे पूर्णः पादो दृश्यते । त्रिणं = तृणम् ।

३१. अत्र ग्रन्थपातः, ल. कोशे तु पूर्णः पादः ।

ब्रह्माणं च शिवं चैव पूजयेद् भक्तितत्परः ।

निशाक्तसूत्रैःसंवेष्ट्य नवधा ईशानादितः<sup>३२</sup> ॥२७॥

पातयेन्मधुघारां च स्नापयेत् शुभजैः(?)जलैः<sup>३३</sup> ।

गन्धवर्जिततैलेन स्नेहादिविनर दिना(?)<sup>३४</sup> ॥२८॥

इति स्वरूपमत्स्यपुराणे षट्षादकार्यासाहस्रे प्रतिष्ठाविधौ एकविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

३२. ल. ईशमादितः ।

३३. इदं पदं ल. कोश एव दृश्यते ।

३४. अत्र प्रायो लुप्तः श्लोकार्धः; ल. कोशे पूर्णो दृश्यते ।

श्रीमत्स्य उवाच—

\*वेद्युपरि तथैशान्यां गणनाथं समर्चयेत् ।  
 मध्यकुम्भे ग्रहांश्चैव ब्रह्माणं च दिगीश्वरान् ॥ १ ॥  
 द्वारदेशे तु पूर्वादौ ब्रह्माणं चाप्यनन्तकम् ।  
 तन्मध्ये वारुणं कुम्भं स्वैः स्वैर्मन्त्रैरनुक्रमात् ॥ २ ॥  
 पद्ममध्ये वासुदेवं सोमं दक्षिणपार्श्वके ।  
 इन्द्रं जयं तथाकाशं वारुणं चाग्निमेव च ॥ ३ ॥  
 ईशानं तत्पुरुषाख्यां च वायुं च दश देवताः ।  
 शचीं पद्मां विशालाक्षीं मर्दिनीं कमलां शिवाम् ॥ ४ ॥  
 तथा देवीं च मायां च मातङ्गीमपि शक्तयः ।  
 वामभागे महादेवं त्र्यम्बकं मन्त्रमीरयन् ॥ ५ ॥  
 ततोऽग्निस्थापनं कृत्वा महादेवाय चाष्टकम् ।  
 ग्रहाणां चोक्तसमिधा दिगीशानां नवैः तिलैः ॥ ६ ॥  
 घृतेनैकाहुतिं दद्याद् वह्निजिह्वां तथैव च(?) ।  
 तथाज्येन तिलैः सम्यक् एकैकामाहुतिं हुमेत् ॥ ७ ॥  
 कराली धूमिनी श्वेता लोहिता कनकप्रभा ।  
 अतिरिक्त्वा पद्मरागां वह्निजिह्वाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ८ ॥

\* दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि अं० ३. २२. २-३, १३b, १४a.

१. ल. कोषादुद्धृतोऽयं पादः ।

२. ल. कोशात्पूरितः पादः ।

३. स्व. म. पदद्वयमेवास्मिन् श्लोके दृश्यते, लुप्तप्रायोऽयं श्लोकः ल. कोशादुद्धृतः ।

४. 'त्रिर्यवकं यजामहे' इति ऋचम् ।

५. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि अं० ३. २२. १८b, १९a.

६. ल. यवैः

७. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि अं० ३. २२. १९b-२१a

(२०b) तासां मन्त्राः क्रमेणैव सादिवासांतबिन्दवः ।

यकारस्थाश्च विज्ञेया अष्टस्वरविभूषिताः ॥

तेषां मन्त्राः क्रमेणैव सादि सप्त सविन्दवः ।  
 सर्वा इमास्ता विज्ञेया षष्ठस्वरविभूषिताः ॥ ९ ॥  
 घृतमध्वाज्यमिश्रैश्च पायसैश्च पृथक् पृथक् ।  
 विनैवैकं तदग्न्यादि(?) एकैकामाहुतिं हुमेत् ॥ १० ॥  
 पञ्चाङ्गरुद्रं संजप्य उत्सृजेत्तदनन्तरम् ।  
 विधाय यूपगते च वृक्षाणां वास्तुदक्षिणे ॥ ११ ॥  
 कर्णवेधं ततः कार्यः (यं) सुवर्णस्य शलाकया ।  
 गर्भाधानादिकं कृत्वा पादैके स्वर्णनिर्मिते<sup>६</sup> ॥ १२ ॥  
 ताम्रसृष्ट्या<sup>१०</sup> ब्राह्मणस्य क्षत्रियस्य सुवर्णकम् ।  
 वैश्यस्य रौप्यसम्भूतं कांस्यं शूद्रस्य शस्यते ॥ १३ ॥  
 लाजोदकं मधुमिश्रं शाल्यन्नमथ यावकम् ।  
 क्षारैश्च प्रोक्षणं कृत्वा इमं मन्त्रमुदाहरेत् ॥ १४ ॥  
<sup>११</sup> वृक्षाग्रात् पतितस्यापि आरोहात् पतितस्य वा ।  
 मरणे चास्थिभङ्गे च कर्ता पापैर्न लिप्यते ॥ १५ ॥  
 कदलीवृक्षयुक्तेन कदल्याः क्रमुकेन (?)<sup>१२</sup> वा ।  
<sup>१३</sup> अथ पौतिकया सार्धं विवाहं कारयेत्ततः ॥ १६ ॥  
 यौतुकं च तथा धान्यं गामेकां च समुत्सृजेत् ।  
 वायनादिद्वादशैव दद्याद् वैवाहिके विधौ ॥ १७ ॥  
 अभिषेकान्तरे विप्राः प्रदद्याद्दक्षिणां शुभाम् ।  
 आशीर्वादं ततो ब्राह्मं<sup>१४</sup> दद्यात् पूर्णाहुतिं बुधः ॥ १८ ॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे

आरामप्रतिष्ठायां द्वाविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

८. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि अं० ३. २२. २१b-२२a.  
 ९. अयं लुप्तः पादः ल. कोशाद्बुद्धतः ।  
 १०. स्व. म. पदमिदं लुप्तम् ।  
 ११. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि अं० ३. १. ३१ ।  
 १२. क्रमुकेन इति स्यात् । १३. स्व. म. अथापैतिकया । १४. ल. विप्राः ।

श्रीमत्स्य उवाच—

सेतुयागे वराहारख्यं पुरुषं<sup>१</sup> मध्यमण्डपे<sup>२</sup> ।  
 तत्रैव वासुदेवाख्यं पृथिव्या सह सत्तमाः ॥ १ ॥  
 वामतो विश्वकर्माणमग्रे दुर्गां सरस्वतीम् ।  
 शिवं नारायणं चैव स्वैः स्वैर्मन्त्रैरनुक्रमात् ॥ २ ॥  
<sup>३</sup>बलिमन्ते च होमं वै कृत्वा चापि विधानतः<sup>४</sup> ।  
 सेतुमुत्सृजते पश्चादिति मन्त्रमुदाहरन्<sup>५</sup> ॥ ३ ॥  
 पिच्छिले पतितानां च उर्वन्तेना(?) ज्जभङ्गतः ।  
 प्रतिष्ठिते धर्मसेतौ धर्म एव<sup>६</sup> न पातकम् ॥ ४ ॥  
 सेतौ रम्ये प्रबद्धे च<sup>७</sup> श्रद्धया परया तथा ।  
 ये चात्र प्राणिनः<sup>८</sup> सन्ति रक्षां कुर्वन्ति सेतवः ॥ ५ ॥  
 वेदागमेन यत् पुण्यं कथितं सेतुबन्धने ।  
<sup>९</sup>तत् पुण्यं तु मया देव पथे बहिः समर्पितम् (?) ॥ ६ ॥  
 गर्तं कृत्वा शिलाबद्धं पञ्चरत्नं तु प्रोथयेत्<sup>१०</sup> ।  
 संस्थाप्य च ततो यूषं कदलीं तत्र रोपयेत्<sup>११</sup> ॥ ७ ॥

१. ल. पूजयेत् । २. ल. ०ले । ३. ल. बलिनान्ते ।

४. स्व. म. अन्त्यं पदमिदं लुप्तम्.

५. श्लो० ३०-त-८ : भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि, ३. १. ४१-४८ दृश्यन्ताम्.

समुत्सृज्य ततस्सेतुमिमं मन्त्रं पठेत् ततः ( ३. १. ४४ a-b ) । इतः पूर्वं  
 मन्त्रनिर्देशो दृश्यते ( ४१-४२ ) : विश्वस्त्रिति ऋचा तं च बलिं च मधु पिष्टकम् ।  
 दद्याजपेच्च कौष्माण्डं सूक्तं पीरुपमेव च ॥

६. भविष्य. उच्छ्रितेनाङ्गसङ्गतः । ७. भविष्य. धर्मो मे श्यात् ।

८. भविष्य. सेतोरस्य प्रबन्धस्य । ९. ल. चार्द्रप्राणिनः ।

१०. भविष्ये. अर्धमिदं नास्ति । ११. ल. प्रापयेत् ।

१२. ल. इतः परमिदमर्धमधिकं दृश्यते—

धान्यगुच्छं कन्दलीं च संवदन्तं च रोपयेत् ।

पूजयेद् द्विजदाम्पत्यं धेनुं दद्यात्तु दक्षिणाम् ।  
अभिषेकान्तरे पूर्णां दत्त्वा पश्चाद् गृहं व्रजेत् ॥ ८ ॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे<sup>१३</sup>  
सेतुपतिष्ठायां त्रयोविंशोऽध्यायः ।



श्रीमत्स्य उवाच—

गोप्रचारे यजेद्विष्णुं तद् वक्ष्यामीह सत्तमाः ।

ब्रह्माणं च वराहं च पृथिवीं सूर्यमेव च ॥ १ ॥

सोमं पश्चान्महादेवं ग्रहांश्च दिक्पतीस्तथा ।

कृत्वा यथोक्तमार्गेण बलिदानं ततः परम् ॥ २ ॥

उत्सृज्य वाक्यपूर्वेण शैल्यूपं निवेशयेत् ।

यूपं निवेशयन् तत्र पश्चाङ्गं रुद्रकं जपेत् ॥ ३ ॥

चतुःसीमा विधायथ गोमूत्रस्य च धारया ।

सम्बेष्ट्याङ्गारकेणात्र खर्परं प्रोथयेत्ततः ॥ ४ ॥

शिवलोका(क?)स्थिता गावः सर्वदैव प्रपूजिताः ।

गोभ्य एषा मया भूमिः सम्प्रदत्ता शुभार्थिना ॥ ५ ॥

सस्यपूर्णां च तन्मध्ये गावं चापि प्रचारयेत् ।

अशून्यां दापयेद् भूमिं शून्ये शून्यफलं भवेत् ॥ ६ ॥

असक्ते चापि घासञ्च सिद्धयन्नमपि स्थापयेत् ।

गोप्रचारे यथाशक्ति मोक्तव्यं हितहेतुना ॥ ७ ॥

अतः परं महान् धर्मो लोके नास्ति हि कश्चन ।

दिने दिने ब्रह्मभोज्यं सुरभोज्यं शताधिकम् ॥ ८ ॥

१. दृश्यतां भविष्यं मध्यमं ३. २. १-२.

२. ल. छेत्रेशाञ्च । 'क्षेत्रेशं च' इति स्यात् ।

३. स्व. म. अत्र प्रायःश्लोको लुप्तः । ल., भविष्यं आधारद्वयेन उद्धृतः ।

४. भविष्यं मध्यमं ३. २. १२d. सर्वदैवसु । ५. ल. गोत्र.

६. ल. एषां । ७. ल. सुतार्थिना ।

८. स्व. म. लुप्तमिदमर्थे ल. कोशादुद्धृतम् । ९. ल. नोक्तव्यम् ।

१०. स्व. म. अत्र ग्रन्थपातः 'भोज्यं सुरभोज्यं' इत्ययं भागः ल. कोशात् ।

तस्माद् दत्त्वा गोप्रचारं मुक्तो स्वर्गाच्च हीयते ।

<sup>११</sup>स्वर्गं नयति गोचर्म सम्यग् दत्तं सदक्षिणम् ॥ ९ ॥

यावत्तुल्यानि<sup>१२</sup> तद्भूमौ सन्ति धान्यानि<sup>१३</sup> संख्यया ।

तावद् वर्षसहस्राणि विष्णुलोके महीयते ॥१०॥

<sup>१४</sup>गवां शतं वृषश्चैको यत्र तिष्ठत्ययन्त्रितः ।

तद्गोचर्मेति विख्यातं दत्तं सर्वाघनाशनम् ॥

दक्षिणान्ते ददेत् पूर्णां दत्त्वा विप्रांश्च भोजयेत्<sup>१५</sup> ॥११॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे गोप्रचार-

प्रतिष्ठायां चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥

११. दृश्यतां भविष्यं मध्यमं ३. २. २०-२१.

१२. भविष्यं मध्यमं ३. २. २०८. 'तृणानि' इति पाठः समीचीनो भाति ।

१३. भविष्यं मध्यमं ३. २. २०८. सप्तसंख्यानि ।

१४. दृश्यतां पूर्वं दशमेऽध्याये ६३-४ श्लोकाः, तथा च तत्र अधः टिप्पण्यां दर्शितानि प्रमाणानि गोचर्मशब्दस्य परिमाणविशेषवाचकत्वे । तत्र दत्तात् परिमाणविशेषादस्य एवात्र दत्तः । अयमेव भविष्यं मध्यमपर्वणि अपि दृश्यते ।

१५. ल. इतः परमधर्मिदमधिकं दृश्यते : --

गृहं गत्वा चर्चयेत्तद्धमीं कलत्राश्चापि (त्रान्यपि ?) भोजयेत् ।

श्रीमत्स्य उवाच—

<sup>१</sup>मण्डपे पूजयेत् सूर्यं वासुदेवसमन्वितम् ।

कर्णिकायां यजेत् सूर्यं वामे सूर्यं(?)विशेषतः ॥ १ ॥

<sup>२</sup>हुमेत्तिलगुडाभ्यां च अष्टावष्टौ पृथक् पृथक् ।

'देहि मे' इति मन्त्रेण संन्यस्य मण्डपोपरि ॥ २ ॥

कलशं सूर्यसङ्काशं पञ्चमं(?) मध्यतो दिशि ।

पूरयेत् पंच ब्रीहींश्च <sup>३</sup>मध्यकुम्भेऽपि धान्यकम् ॥ ३ ॥

<sup>४</sup>पूर्णकुम्भेन योजयेत्तण्डुलैर्वापि चोत्तरे ।

<sup>५</sup>समुत्सृज्य जपेत् पश्चात् सौरं सूक्तं च वैष्णवम् ॥ ४ ॥

वटपत्रे तु संलिख्य दिक्पतीनां च नामकम् ।

चित्रं कृत्वा तु संस्थाप्य ततो बद्धाञ्जलिः पठेत् ॥ ५ ॥

<sup>६</sup>वज्रहस्तो महेन्द्रस्त्वं वातवृष्ट्यादितः प्रभो ।

अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ ६ ॥

प्रलयानलसङ्काशं त्रैलोक्यदहनक्षम ।

अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ ७ ॥

अग्ने त्वं सर्वभूतानामन्तश्चरसि पावक ।

<sup>७</sup>अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ ८ ॥

सशस्त्रो राक्षसेन्द्रस्त्वं खड्गपाणिर्महाबलः ।

वारिराट् पाशहस्तोऽसि वरुणो मकरालयः ॥

<sup>८</sup>अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ ९ ॥

१. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यम. ३. २. २७-२८. २. होमस्तिल<sup>०</sup> भविष्य.

३. स्व. म. कुंभमध्ये । ४. ल. पूर्णकुम्भे लाजाजलैः ।

५. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यम ३. २. २६ । ६. भविष्य-मध्यम ३. २. ३१ ।

७. भविष्य-मध्यम ३. २. ३३-४ । ८. भविष्य-मध्यम ३. २. ३४-८ ।

वायुराट् ध्वजहस्तोऽसि पवनो मृगवाहनः ।  
 अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ १० ॥  
 धनाध्यक्षो गदाहस्तो पिङ्गाक्षो नरवाहनः ।  
 अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ ११ ॥  
 अनादिदेवो देवानां कर्ता हर्ता महेश्वरः ।  
 अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ १२ ॥  
 अनन्तो नागराजोऽसि मूर्ध्ना धारयसि धराम् ।  
 अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ १३ ॥  
 कमण्डलुधरो देवो ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मविदां वर ।  
 अनाथं मण्डपं त्वं हि धर्मतस्त्रातुमर्हसि ॥ १४ ॥  
 चतुर्णामपि वर्णानां स्थित्यर्थं मृगवक्षीणाम् ।  
 प्रीतये वासुदेवस्य एतन्मण्डपमुत्सृजे ॥ १५ ॥  
 भग्ने स्तम्भे तृणे जीर्णे पुनः स्तम्भप्रदापने ।  
 छादने च तथैवास्य प्रतिष्ठा स्यात् सदाक्षया ॥ १६ ॥  
 वातातपादिदोषेण म्रियन्ते यदि जन्तवः ।  
 प्रतिष्ठायां कृतायां तु धर्मो हि नास्य पातकम् ॥ १७ ॥  
 मानुषाः पशवो ये च निवसन्तीह मण्डपे ।  
 स्वस्थेवास्तु सदा तेषां त्वत्प्रसादात् किल प्रभो ॥ १८ ॥  
 स्थालीषाके च जुहुयादष्टोत्तरशताहुतीः ।  
 वासुदेवाय देवाय अन्येषां तिलयावकैः ॥ १९ ॥  
 अष्टावष्टोत्तरशतं जुहुयाद्देशिकोत्तमः ।  
 रक्तमूत्रैस्त्रिगुणितैर्मण्डपं सप्तधा नवः (नवैः ?) ॥ २० ॥

६. भविष्य-मध्यम ३. २. ३६-४२ ।

१०. ल. नरः ।

<sup>११</sup> सूत्रामाणेति मन्त्रेण वेष्टयेद् गृहमीरयन् ।

सुवर्णं रजतं धेनुमाचार्याय निवेदयेत् ॥२१॥

<sup>१२</sup> उपानहौ तथा छत्रं शय्यां च विधिवद्देत् ।

मण्डपे भोजयेद्विप्रान् तेषां दद्यात् यथेप्सितान् ॥२२॥

दीनेभ्यश्च पृथग् दद्याद् गृहं विप्रपुरःसरः ।

प्रविशेत्तूर्यघोषेण प्रकुर्याच्च गृहार्चनम् ॥२३॥

एवं प्रपायां विप्रेन्द्र विशेषो वरुणं यजेत् ।

वासुदेवेन सहितमेवमन्यच्च दापयेत् ॥२४॥<sup>१३</sup>

कूपप्रतिष्ठायागे तु दिक्पतीन् कलशे यजेत् ।

ब्रह्माणं चाप्यनन्तं च द्वारदेशे च पश्चिमे ॥२५॥

<sup>१४</sup> षताका विन्यसेत्तत्र ता वक्ष्यामि यथाक्रमम् ।

वज्रिणी मृगिणी कृष्णा पीता चैवाथ वारुणी ॥२६॥

शीघ्रा गौरी उमा चैव पीता शुक्ला च कीर्तिता ।

कुम्भेषु पूजयेद्देवान् ग्रहेशं प्रथमं बुधः ॥

ग्रहांश्च मध्यकलशे ब्रह्माणं तदनन्तरम् ॥२७॥

वेदिकायाश्च पूर्वार्धे कुर्यात् क्रतुचतुष्टयम् ।

नारायणं तथा पूर्वे दक्षिणे विष्णुमेव च ॥२८॥

पश्चिमे तु प्रनाध्यक्षमुत्तरे तु शिवं यजेत् ।

वरुणं कलशे न्यस्य पूजयेद् ध्यानपूर्वकम् ॥२९॥

तिलं मुद्गं च श्रपयेत् क्षीरेण च विधानवित् ।

जुहुयाद्धर्ममार्गेण वरुणाय शताहुतीः ॥३०॥

११. भविष्य. मध्यम. ३. २. ४३.

१२. ,, ,, ३. २. ४४-६.

१३. ल. ॥गोप्रचारः॥ इत्यधिकम् ।

१४. भविष्य. म. ३. २. ५०-५३.

मधुराक्तैः पिष्टकैश्च दिगीशानां पृथक् पृथक् ।  
अन्येषां पायसान्नेन नागान् कूपेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥३१॥

कूपस्य पूर्वभागे तु द्विहस्तान्तरतस्ततः ।  
यूपं निवेशयेत्त्र मण्डपस्य तथोत्तरे ॥३२॥

त्रिहस्तान्तरितः कुर्यात्त्र सेतौ तु मध्यतः ।  
प्रपायां दक्षिणे दद्यादारामस्य च मध्यके ॥३३॥

संस्थाप्य व्रीहीन् वाप्यां तु कूपे गङ्गाजलं न्यसेत् ।  
सूत्रैः प्रवेष्टयेद् यत्नाद् कूपं च वरुणस्य च ॥३४॥

विवाहोक्तेन मार्गेण विवाहं च समापयेत् ।  
समाप्य नित्यं विधिवदाचार्याय च दक्षिणाम् ॥३५॥

धेनुं च लोहपात्रं च धान्यरत्नं निवेदयेत् ।  
वायनं द्वादशं भोज्यं पूर्णं कृत्वा गृहं व्रजेत् ॥३६॥

इति स्वरूपमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे कूपप्रतिष्ठायां पञ्चविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

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