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पुराणम्—PURĀNA

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व्यासपूर्णमाङ्कः

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श्रीवेदव्यासाष्टकम्

कलिमलास्तविवेकदिवाकरं समवलोक्य तमोवलितं जगत् ।
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व्यासाष्टकमिदं पुण्यं ब्रह्मानन्देन निर्मितम् ।

यः पठेन्मनुजो नित्यं स भवेच्छास्त्रपारगः ॥९

श्रीपरमहंसस्वामिब्रह्मानन्दविरचितं श्रीवेदव्यासाष्टकं सम्पूर्णम् ॥

चित्रकूटे सुप्रतीकनृपकृता 'राम' नाम्ना विष्णुस्तुतिः

(वराहपुराण, अ० १२; Critical text)

[ततः पुत्रं रथाङ्गाग्निदग्धं श्रुत्वा नृपोत्तमः ।
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सुप्रतीक उवाच

नमामि रामं नरनाथमच्युतं कविं पुराणं त्रिदशारिनाशनम् ।
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भवानेकः पूर्वमासीत् ततश्च त्वत्तो मही सलिलं वह्निरुच्चैः ।
वायुस्तथा खं च मनोऽपि बुद्धिश्चेतो गुणास्तत्प्रभवं च सर्वम् ॥१०
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समस्तविश्वेश्वर विश्वमूर्ते सहस्रबाहो जय देवदेव ।
नमोऽस्तु रामाय महानुभावं ॥११

NOTE ON THE STUTI

Introduction

King Supratika transferred his kingdom to his eldest son, Durjaya, and himself went away to the Citrakūṭa Mountain to perform austerities. Durjaya proved to be a very powerful king and even conquered the heaven. But later on he was killed in a battle. King Supratika came to learn the death of his son and got disgusted with his life and wanted to merge his life-spark in the cosmic divine body of Lord Viṣṇu. He knew that Viṣṇu is known by the name of Rāma on the Citrakūṭa Mountain, so he eulogised Viṣṇu by the name 'Rāma'. Viṣṇu appeared to him and advised him to ask for a boon, whereupon King Supratika desired for merging his mortal body into the divine body of Lord Viṣṇu and instantly got merged in Viṣṇu :

इति स्तुतो देववरः प्रसन्नस्तदा तु राज्ञः सुप्रतीकाय मूर्त्तिम् ।
संदर्शयामास ततोऽभ्युवाच वरं वृणीष्वेति च सुप्रतीक ।
एवं श्रुत्वा वचनं तस्य राजा ससंभ्रमं देववरं प्रणम्य ।
उवाच देवेश्वर मे प्रयच्छ लयं यदास्ते परमं वपुस्ते ॥
इतीरिते राजवरः क्षणेन लयं तथाऽगादसुरघ्नमूर्त्तौ ।
ध्यानेन युक्तः पुरुषं गृणन्तः स्थितस्तस्मिन्नात्मभूतो विमुक्तः ।

Different Names of a Deity associated with Different Places

There is a long Purāṇic as well as Tāntric tradition to associate different names of a Deity with different places of worship, often called the Pīṭhas. E. g.—

1. Brahmā relates to Rudra His 108 names associated with 108 places (*Padma-P.*, Ass. edn., *Sṛṣṭi Kh.*, Adh. 29, Śls. 132-159.)

2. Devī relates Her 108 names associated with 108 *tīrtha-s*—

सर्वलोकेषु यत् किञ्चिद् रहितं न मया विना ।

तथापि येषु स्थानेषु द्रष्टव्या सिद्धिमीप्सुभिः ।

स्मर्तव्या भूतिकामैर्वा तानि वक्ष्यामि तत्त्वतः ।

—(*Matsya-P.*, Adh. 13, Śls. 25-26)

एतदुद्देशतः, प्रोक्तं नामाष्टकशतोत्तरम् ।

अष्टोत्तरं च तीर्थानां शतमेतदुदाहृतम् ॥ (*Ibid.*, Śl. 54)

These śloka-s make it quite clear that different names of a Deity were associated with different *Pīṭha-s* or *Tīrtha-s*, for the benefit of the worshippers to attain *siddhi* and *bhūti* (prosperity).

3. Similarly in the *Vāmana-P.* (Cr. edn., Adh. 63) *Vāmana* (*Viṣṇu*) relates to *Bhāradvāja*, the preceptor, His different names associated with different places.

4. But in the *Varāha-P.* we get only four names of *Viṣṇu* associated with four different places; thus :

(1) In the *Naiṁiṣāraṇya* *Viṣṇu* is said to be known as *Yajña-tanu*, and was eulogised by this name by King *Aśvaśiras*, who after the eulogy got merged in *Yajña-tanu* (*Viṣṇu*)—(*Varāha-P.*, Adh. 5).

(2) In *Puṣkara* *Viṣṇu* is said to be known as *Puṇḍarikākṣa*. He was eulogised by this name by king *Vasu* of *Kāśmīra*, and after *stuti* got merged in *Puṇḍarikākṣa*.—
(*Ibid.*, Adh. 6).

(3) In *Citrakūṭa* *Viṣṇu* is known as *Rāma* (*v. l.* *Rāghava*), and was worshipped and eulogised by the name *Rāma* by King *Supratika* through the present *stuti*, who also after the *stuti*, instantly got merged in *Rāma* (*Viṣṇu*) as already mentioned.—(*Ibid.*, Adh. 12).

(4) In *Prabhāsa* *Viṣṇu* is said to be known as *Daitya-hara*. He was there eulogised by this name by sage *Gauramukha*, who also got merged in *Daitya-hara* *Viṣṇu* after the *stuti*.—(*Ibid.*, Adh. 15).

(This *stuti* of *Viṣṇu* by *Gauramukha* is, in fact, an eulogy of the ten *Avatāras* of *Viṣṇu*).

It should be noted here that in all these four *stuti-s* of *Viṣṇu* by His particular names every eulogiser got merged in *Viṣṇu* after the *stuti* and thus attained *mokṣa*. Hence the importance of such *stuti-s*.

Rāma in the Stuti as the Supreme Brahman

Rāma in the *stuti* uttered by King *Supratika* connotes, generally the *Para-Brahman*, and not the *Dāśarathi Rāma* (or the 'Rāma' incarnation of *Viṣṇu*, as the son of King *Daśaratha*). *Viṣṇu* is also here the name of the Highest (or the transcendent) *Brahman* and not merely the name of one of the gods of the

Trinity. In the *Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra* of the *Mahābhārata*, Viṣṇu occupies the same position. He is there, throughout, conceived as the Highest Conscious Reality, and 'Rāma' is included in His thousand (i. e. innumerable) names (śl. 55). Śaṅkara commenting on 'Rāma' here remarks :—

“नित्यानन्दलक्षणेऽस्मिन् योगिनो रमन्त इति रामः ।”

Compare also the following *mantra* of the *Rāma-pūrva-tāpani-Upaniṣad* :—

रमन्ते योगिनोऽनन्ते नित्यानन्दे चिदात्मनि ।

इति रामपदेनासौ परं ब्रह्माभिधीयते ॥ (6)

Thus Rāma (Para-Brahman) is here conceived as the ultimate eternal source of bliss. In the present *stuti* itself Rāma is spoken of as the source of all bliss partaken and enjoyed by the universe which, therefore, is rooted in the Para-Brahma Rāma :—

भवत्प्रतिष्ठं रमते जगद् यतः स्तुतोऽसि रामेति जगत्प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

(*Stuti*, śl. 5)

In the *Taittirīya-up.* (3.6) Brahman is conceived as Ānanda (Bliss): World is created from Ānanda, sustained by Ānanda and ultimately returns to Ānanda :—

“आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति व्यजानात् । आनन्दाद्भ्येव खल्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते । आनन्देन जातानि जीवन्ति । आनन्दं प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्तीति ।”

Thus the essential nature of Rāma as Para Brahman is Ānanda or Bliss, and from Rāma (Bliss) emerges the universe :—

भवानेकः पूर्वमासीत् ततश्च त्वत्तो मही सलिलं वह्निरुच्चैः ।

वायुस्तथा खं च मनोऽपि बुद्धिश्चेतो गुणास्तत्प्रभवं च सर्वम् ।

(*Stuti*, śl. 10)

Hence Rāma is the *first* (आद्य) and the ultimate (परमं) support and resort of universe, which is pervaded by Rāma and so He only knows the whole universe together with all its Directions, and therefore, the eulogiser says there is no other resort for him than Rāma :—

त्वया ततं विश्वमिदं महात्मन् स्वकाखिलान् वेद दिशश्च सर्वाः ।

कथं त्वामाद्यं परमं तु धाम विहाय चान्यं शरणं ब्रजामि ।

(*Stuti*, śl. 11)

—Anand Swarup Gupta

GLIMPSES FROM ASTROLOGY AND CHIROMANCY
IN THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA PURĀṆA.

By

NILESHVARI Y. DESAI

[भारतीयजीवनदर्शनस्य संस्कृतेषु विकासे पुराणानामप्रतिमः प्रभावो दृश्यते । भारतीयसंस्कृतेः जीवनदर्शनस्य च यानि विविध-रूपाणि दृश्यन्ते एतानि सर्वाणि पुराणेषु सम्यग्वर्णितानि सन्ति । इत्थं पुराणेषु पञ्चप्रथितविषयातिरिक्तमन्यान्यपि नानाविधानि वर्णनानि सन्ति । अस्मिन् निबन्धे श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे निर्दिष्टस्य ज्योतिषशास्त्र-विषयस्य सामुद्रिकशास्त्रवर्णनविषयस्य च निदर्शनं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

The Purāṇas have played a unique role in the development of Indian society and culture. They constitute an important source of the cultural history of India as they throw a flood of light on the various aspects of life and time. They occupy an intermediate position, broadly speaking, between the Vedic age and the period of classical literature.¹

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (= MKP), which is one of the ancient and wellknown Purāṇas, supplies valuable data on various aspects of ancient Indian culture. In the present article an attempt is made to evaluate the references of astrology and chiromancy (*Samudrikavidyā*) which are spread over the Purāṇa.

Astrology:

A good deal of information as regards astrology is found in the Purāṇa mainly lined with the kings and royal families. In royal household there used to be a त्रिकालज्ञ पुरोहित as also other astrologers. For instance:

- (i) A family priest, who knew the three times, i. e. the past, the present and the future, gave king Nariṣyanta's son the name 'Dama', as he could foresee that the prince would be self-restrained in disposition.

1. Pusalker, A. D., *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Introduction p. XVIII.

Cf. दमशीलश्च भविता यतश्चायं नृपात्मजः ॥
 ततस्त्रिकालविज्ञानः स हि तस्य पुरोहितः ।
 दम इत्यकरोन्नाम नरिष्यन्तसुतस्य तु ॥ १३०.३-४।

- (ii) So also, king Dama and his army obtained boons from a त्रिकालज्ञ Brahmin priest while starting for a battle with king Vapusmat :

गृहीत्वा चाशिषो विप्रात्त्रिकालज्ञात्पुरोधसः ॥१३३.११।

- (iii) There is also a reference to king Karandhama consulting astrologers at the time of his son's birth with the words :

“कच्चित्रशस्ते नक्षत्रे शस्तलग्ने सुतो मम ॥
 कच्चिच्चालोकितं जन्म मम पुत्रस्य शोभनैः ।
 ग्रहैः कच्चिन्न दुष्टानां ग्रहाणां दृक्पथं गतम् ॥” ॥११९.३-४।

The astrologers on perceiving the moment (मुहूर्त), the constellation (नक्षत्र) and the conjunction (लग्न) to be excellent at the time of his son's birth, forecast that he would be *great in valour, fortune and strength, and also a great king.*

Cf. “इत्युक्तास्तेन दैवज्ञास्तमूचुर्नृपतिं ततः ।
 शस्ते मुहूर्ते नक्षत्रे लग्ने चैव सुतस्तव ॥
 समुत्पन्नो महावीर्यो महाभागो महौजसः ।
 भविष्यति महाराज महाराजस्तवात्मजः ॥११९.५-६।

Presenting the main outlines of his horoscope and reading his fortune they said :

“अवैक्षतेमं देवानां गुरुः शुक्रश्च सप्तमः ।
 सोमश्चतुर्थस्तनयं तवनेनं समवैक्षत ॥
 उपान्तसंस्थितश्चैव सोमपुत्रोप्यवैक्षत ।
 नावैक्षतेमं सविता न भौमो न शनैश्चरः ।
 तव पुत्रं महाराज धन्योऽयं तनयस्तव ।
 सर्वकल्याणसम्पत्तिसमवेतो भविष्यति ॥ ११९. ७-९।

The King decided to name his son 'अविक्षित' because benignant planets looked upon 'अवैक्षत' his birth as well as because the astrologers repeatedly pronounced the word 'अवैक्षत' while reading his fortune.

Cf. 'इति दैवज्ञवचनं निशम्य वसुधाधिपः ।
 हर्षपूर्णमनाः प्राह निजस्थानगतस्तदा ॥
 अवैक्षतेमं देवानां गुरुः सोमः सितो बुधः ।
 नावैक्षतेनमादित्यो नार्कसूनुर्न भूमिजः ॥
 अवैक्षतेति यत्प्रोक्तं भवद्भिर्बहुशो वचः ।
 अविक्षतेति तेनास्य ख्यातं नाम भविष्यति ॥' ११९.१०-१२।

- (iv) The Kings also consulted their दैवज्ञ पुरोहितs for fixing up an auspicious day for Svayamvara. The following instance connected with prince Avikṣita is worthy of note here. He carried off Vaiśalīnī at her Svayamvara and other kings arrayed themselves against him. The kings had a battle with Avikṣita and conquered and captured him. The Svayamvara was re-opened but the princess would not choose any other husband, and the wedding was postponed. King Viśāla then consulted his दैवज्ञ पुरोहित about some other auspicious day for his daughter's marriage, and the latter advised him saying : "There will be other auspicious days characterised by excellent conjunctures in the near future, when you will be able to perform her wedding. Enough of this day, wherein a great obstacle has presented itself (Chaps. 119-120). This suggests that त्रिकालज्ञ पुरोहितs had a great say in family and other matters in kingly household. Over and above the त्रिकालज्ञ पुरोहितs त्रिकालज्ञ ऋषिs and their शिष्यs, who used to obtain त्रिकालज्ञान from the sages by their favour², also find mention in the Purāṇa, e. g. (i) King Uttama, Svāyambhava Manu's grandson, was guided by a sage in finding out a brahmin's missing wife (66.66-68). He was also told by him about his unhappy married life as being caused by the following adverse planetary influence at the time of his marriage :

'पाणिग्रहणकाले त्वं सूर्यभौमशनैश्चरैः ।
 शुक्रवाचस्पतिभ्यां च तव भार्या विलोकिता ॥

2. A त्रिकालज्ञ ऋषि tells King Uttama :
 "एष वेत्ति जगत्यत्र मत्प्रसादादनागतम् ।
 यथाहं समतीतं च वर्तमानं च सर्वतः ॥ (६६.५७)

तन्मूर्तेर्भवच्चन्द्रस्तस्याः सोमसुतस्तथा ।
परस्परविपक्षौ तौ ततः पार्थिव ते भृशम् ॥ ६८.२६-२७।

i. e. "the Sun, Mars and Saturn looked on the king, and Venus and Jupiter looked on his wife. The Moon was favourable to him and Mercury to the queen. These two groups of planets, being mutually hostile, have been exceedingly adverse to the king."

The evil result of these planets on the married life of the king was to such an extent that though he loved his wife whole heartedly, she was literally hating him from the inmost of her heart. She was actually cold in her behaviour towards the king, and was always avoiding and insulting him. Once it so happened that she insulted him by this sort of behaviour in the presence of assembled kings at a music concert. At this the king felt so much offended that he deserted her in the forest (66.10-18).

The त्रिकालज्ञ ऋषि blessed the king suggesting that he would be reunited with his wife.³ The Brahmin, whom the king favoured by finding out his missing wife, performed the मित्रविन्दा sacrifice⁴ which turned the queen's heart to the King (Chaps 66-69).

3. The sage told the king. :

तद्गच्छ त्वं स्वधर्मेणं परिपालय मेदिनीम् ।
पत्नीसहायः सर्वाश्च कुरु धर्मवतीः क्रियाः ॥ (६८.२८)

4. Vide : मित्रविन्दा महावैशजी । (आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्रम्, द्वितीयाध्याये एकादशे खण्डे ।) The Commentator नारायण defines the word मित्रविन्दा as under : मित्राणि यया विन्दते सा मित्रविन्दा । गुणानामैतत् । महा-वैशजीति नामैव । (आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्रम्, आनन्दाश्रम ग्रन्थमाला, १९१७)

The MKP also states that the मित्रविन्दा sacrifice produces affection between two persons who love not each other, and also creates warmest affection between the husband and the wife. The Brahmin performed the sacrifice seven times repeatedly in order to procure for the king his queen (69.9-14). The sacrifice is also mentioned again twice in the MKP as a pacificatory means against the malign influence of certain evil spirits (48.49,54).

While discussing the results of different planets, सारावली, written by कल्याणवर्मन्, mentions that Venus, Moon, Mars and Mercury stationed either jointly or separately in कलत्रभवन or even glancing at the said भवन while staying in their own house or some other house produce the like evil nature of one's wife.⁵

We have actually seen above as to how king Uttama's married life and his wife's nature were highly influenced by their mutually hostile groups of planets.

The evil character of ऋषि ऋतवाक्'s son has been attributed by त्रिकालज्ञ गर्गमुनि to his birth at the termination of the रेवतीनक्षत्र. He is said to have caused suffering to his parents since he was born at an evil time.⁶

In astrological works the last two ghaṭis of ज्येष्ठा, अश्लेषा, and रेवती and the first two ghaṭis of मूल, मघा and अश्विनी respectively i. e. total four ghaṭis are termed as भगण्ड—

“ज्येष्ठाश्लेषारेवतीनामन्ते च घटिकाद्वयम् ।
आदौ मूलमघाश्विन्या भगण्डं च चतुर्घटी ॥”

According to the MKP the birth of R̥tavāc's son at the end of रेवती नक्षत्र is supposed to have caused ailments to both father and mother :—

Cf. 'यतः प्रभृति जातोऽसौ ततः प्रभृति सोप्यृषिः ।

दीर्घरोगपरामर्शमवाप मुनिपुंगवः ॥

माता तस्य परामार्तिं कुष्ठरोगादिपीडिता ।

जगाम स पिता चास्य चिन्तयामास दुःखितः ॥ (७२.४-५)

In astrological works, however, the child born in गण्डान्तः beginning from रेवती, i. e. रेवती, अश्लेषा and ज्येष्ठा

5. शुक्रेन्दुजीव शशिजैः सकलैस्त्रिभिश्च

द्वाभ्यां कलत्रभवने च तथैककेन ।

एषां ग्रहेऽपि च गणेऽपि च विलोकितो वा

सन्ति स्त्रियो भवनवर्गखगस्वभावाः ॥ (३४.११)

6. रेवत्यन्ते मुनिश्रेष्ठ जातोऽयं तनयस्तव ।

तेन दुःखायते दुष्टे काले यस्मादजायत ॥

न तेष्यचारो नैवास्य मातुर्नायं कुलस्य ते ।

तस्य दौःशील्यहेतुत्वं रेवत्यन्तमुपागतम् ॥ (७२.१८-१९)

is said to be harmful to mother, father and elder brother respectively. Also the child born in any of these three नक्षत्रगण्डान्तः is said to be verily the source of all troubles.

Cf. पोष्णादिगण्डान्तभवो हि मर्त्यः
क्रमेण पित्रोरशुभोऽग्रजस्य ।
तथा तु सत्यं त्रिविधे प्रजातः
सर्वाभिधातं कुरुते मनुष्यः ॥⁹

Furthermore, in confirmity with astrological works like those of Parāśara and Varāmiḥira,⁸ the MKP has also a section called 'Kūrma-Niveśa', containing a list of countries and peoples, together with the corresponding constellations and also the signs of the Zodiac arranged according to the position of the country conceived as Kūrma (tortoise), looking eastward. An astrological application is given to this arrangement and the performance of religious rites enjoined to avoid calamity (Chap. 55).

Chiromancy :

King Hariscandra's son is described to bear the following royal marks :

‘तस्यास्यं चंद्रबिंबाभं सुभ्रु रम्यं समुन्नतम् ।
नीलाः केशाः कुंचिताश्च समा दीर्घास्तरंगिताः ॥
राजीवनेत्रयुगलो बिंबोष्ठपुटसंवृतः ॥
चतुर्दंष्ट्रश्चतुः किष्कु दीर्घास्योदीर्घबाहुकः ॥
चतुर्लंखः करो मत्स्ययवयुक्चैकपर्वतः ।
शिरालुपादौ गंभीरः सूक्ष्मत्वक् त्रिवलीधरः ॥

(C. १८१-१८४)

Thus he is said to possess these kingly signs: “Moon-like face, charming eyebrows, prominent nose, black,

7. Vide वराहमिहिरविरचितम् बृहज्जातकम्,
op. cit., pp. 8-11.
8. Vide Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 1-2.
9. ‘किष्कुद्वयोवितस्तौ च सप्रकोष्ठकरेऽपि च ।’
इतिमेदिनीकोशः ।

curley, even and long hair-locks, lotus-like eyes, bimba-like lips, four large teeth, four forearms those of hands and feet,¹⁰ broad face, long hands, four lines on the forehead, Matsya, Yava and mountsinged hands, veined feet, serenity, tender skin and three lines on the navel.”

There are also other stray references to सामुद्रिकलक्षण in the MKP, e. g. King Hariścandra's nose is described as prominent and tilting in the front :—

Cf. तथास्य नासिका तुंगा अग्रतोऽधोमुखं गता ।
दन्ताश्च मुकुलप्रख्याः ख्यातकीर्तिर्महात्मनः ॥

(८. २०३)

King Uttama's son was named 'Auttama' by the Muni's seeing that his body would be lovely and his disposition also; as also he was born at an excellent time and was also having excellent limbs¹¹.

King Śatrujit's son R̥tudhvaja (18.2), King Durgama (72.36) and Tāmasa Manu (71.48) are all said to be bearing auspicious or royal marks.

The MKP alludes to astrological belief as to the results of goddess Lakṣmi's abode in various parts of the human body, when it states that “Lakṣmī, when residing in the foot of men, bestowes a habitation; on the thigh, clothing, jewels and manifold wealth; in the pudenda, wife; in the bosom, the offspring; in the heart, fulfilment of thoughts; on the neck, desired objects, relatives, wife and also close contact with those who are on journey; in the countenance, sweet food, beauty of speech, unfailling command and poetic genius;

10. It is well-known that the auspicious signs and lines of both hands and feet are considered by a सामुद्रिक to foretell man's future.

11. तस्य दृष्ट्वा वपुः कान्तं भविष्यं शीलमेव च ।
औत्तमश्चेति मुनयो नाम चक्रुः समागताः ॥
जातोऽयमुत्तमे वंशे बालः काले तथोत्तमे ।
उत्तमावयवस्तेन औत्तमोऽयं भविष्यति ॥

(६९. ३७-३८)

on the head, she forsakes the man and hence resorts to another abode.'¹²

Thus from the above detailed account of the references of astrology and chiromancy in the MKP, it may be concluded that the Purāṇa contains varied data on astrology in general and chiromancy in particular, which may be useful in understanding the knowledge and interest of the people in such sciences in ancient days.

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12. 'नृणां पादस्थितालक्ष्मीर्निलयं संप्रयच्छति ।
सक्थनोश्च संस्थिता वस्त्रं रत्नं नानाविधं वसु ॥
कलत्रदा गुह्यसंस्था क्रोडस्थापत्यदायिनी ।
मनोरथान्पूरयति पुरुषाणां हृदि स्थिता ॥
लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीवतां श्रेष्ठा कंठस्था कंठभूषणम् ।
अभीष्टबन्धुदारैश्च तथा श्लेषं प्रवासिभिः ॥
मृष्टाञ्च वाक्यलावण्यमाज्ञामवितथां तथा ।
मुखस्थिता कवित्वं च यच्छत्युदधिसंभवा ॥
शिरोगता संत्यजति ततोऽन्यं याति चाश्रयम् ॥

(१६. १७१-१७५)

THE PURĀNIC CONCEPT OF MONARCHY

BY

TAHSILDAR SINGH

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणेषु प्राप्तस्य राज्ञः स्थितिस्वरूपादिविषयस्य विवेचनं कृतम् । प्रारम्भे समाजस्य स्वाभाविक्याम् अवस्थायां राज्ञोऽभावो आसीत् । लेखकेन कथितं यदेषा स्वाभाविकी अवस्था पाश्चात्य-राजनीतिशास्त्रविदुषां होम्स, लाक इत्यादिमहानुभावानां वर्णनेऽपि प्राप्यते । खकमहोदयो वेदेषूपलब्धस्य राज्ञः स्थितेः पुराणेषूपलब्धस्य वर्णनस्य च समीक्षणं करोति । वेदेषु राज्ञो निर्वाचनपद्धतिः दृश्यते पुराणेषु च दैवी सत्ता राज्ञि दृश्यते । अन्ते राजोपकारकाणां दण्डादीनां विवेचनं कृतम् ।]

The history of Hindu political speculation, similar to that of western world, shows a conflict and a culminating synthesis of several currents and counter-currents of ideas; right from Vedic up to Purānic Age. In the earlier stages of Indian political speculation the sacerdotal influence was very great and politics was intimately connected with religion, for instance the polity described in the Brahmanas. Gradually as the horizon cleared, the ethical and social needs of man claimed greater attention and there came a tendency to look at the problem of polity independently. This took place in the same age which saw the meta-physical speculations relating to the universal phenomena, and the same amount of abstraction was directed towards the solution of socio-ethical problems. The influence of these is found in the speculations about the origin of sovereignty, the need of a king and the concept of a 'state of nature', which existed prior to the establishment of regal authority. Interestingly enough the Indian concept of a 'state of nature' has had its parallel in the modern European political thought, for, as we know, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau all made it the basis of their political theories.

As the conceptions of Hobbes materially differed from those of Locke, even so the two Indian concepts regarding this 'natural condition' differed from each other. Hobbes's theory of a 'state of nature' is almost the same as we find in the 67th chapter of the

Śanti-parva in *Mahābhārata* which regards the condition of man in a natural state, as one of war. The theory of Locke is nearly similar to that of the propounders of the *Dharma* ideal. In chapter 59, again, in formulating the importance of *Danḍa* as the basis of state, Hindu thinkers anticipated many of their brethren of the modern age.

There is a precisely noticeable difference despite this parallelism in development of political theories. While the westerners had a scientific sense, the Indians always wrote by a spiritual propensity and religious bent of mind. In Indian mind, the divine agents remained ever-present and made the deepest impression to give a peculiar turn to Hindu polity. The diversity in social evolution also gave rise to certain principles which have exercised their influence even today. In the present democratic milieu it may seem impossible but not improbable that monarchy was the most common or almost universal system in not only ancient India but in the whole world in olden days. The ancient Brahmanical literature of India is teeming with introductory references of kings, their genealogy and episodes of their lives. The purāṇas also are not an exception. The kingship, its origin and development with all its paraphernalia is very well mentioned in different Purāṇas.

Although the major Purāṇas (*Mahāpurāṇas*) were almost composed within the range of 2nd cent.—10th cent. A. D. it is very much desirable to trace a brief development of Hindu concept of kingship from Vedic period because Purāṇas are considered but the elaborations of Vedas¹ themselves. There are so many references from Vedas and *Brāhmaṇas* taken in Purāṇas. So while trying to study the purāṇic ideologies of kingship the vedas may be taken for granted as the sources of the tradition though there is an explicit modulation later obtained.

According to the two streams of vedic tradition relating to the origin of kingship—i. e. the episodes relating to Manu Vaivaśvat and Pṛthu Vainya², and the story of election of *Indra* as the leader and king of Devas in *Devāsurasanḡrāma* stated in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*³—the origin of king seems to be elective. Some

1. इतिहासपुराणाभ्याम् वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।

2. R.V., I. 36:10 and VIII 19 31

3. A.B., I. 14 देवासुरा वा.....राजानं करवामहा ।

other later works (like *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*) try to propound a contractual theory according to which the king is appointed and paid for his duties as a result of a contract. It was a contract from both sides. The people chose and appointed him as their leader for defeating the enemy, establishing peace and introducing and promoting agriculture and in the form of taxes paid his wages.⁴

Kingship was a human institution elective in nature with contractual engagements. Contrary to this in all the purāṇas the king is accepted as a divinely body or agent for human welfare. It is, however, beyond any doubt that the stories from vedic sources were taken and modified to take a new form conforming to the afresh theory of divine origin suitable for the changed time and circumstances. Hitherto, the king is either incarnation of God (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (1.3.14) and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* agree that Pṛthu was an incarnation of Viṣṇu bearing the sign of *cakra* on his right hand) or a gift by him for the defence of *dharma* which was in danger due to anarchy caused by the absence of a king.⁵ The king is a high deity in human form which should never be disregarded.⁶

Since the Purāṇic age has witnessed an evolution of sense of historical recordings, every purāṇa has a chapter to deal with polity, regal institutions and royal dynasties.⁷ It will be endeavoured here to focus light on the various aspects of kingship, by the references in the different purāṇas. The traces of full-fledged kingship with its seven organs, espionage etc. are clearly visible.

Divine origin of king is accepted unanimously by all purāṇas. According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (14.31) Pṛthu who came to rescue

4. R.V., X. 173.8 and A.V., IV, 22.1

5. अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन्सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् ।
रक्षार्थमथ सर्वस्य राजानामसृजत्प्रभुः ॥
सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कः सोमः स धर्मराट् ।
सः कुबेरः स वरुणः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥

Mānavadharmā Śāstra, VII. 3 & 7.

6. बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।
महती देवता ह्येष नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥

Ibid. VII. 8. and *Manusmṛti*, VII. 445.

7. पुराणे हि कथा दिव्या आदिवंशाश्च धीमताम् ।

the people from anarchy, theft and loot etc. was an incarnation of Viṣṇu himself with a *cakra* on his right hand palm as cognizance. Garuḍa Purāṇa accredits *Brahmā*⁸ with the origin of the king. Manusmṛti⁹ and Mānavadharmā śāstra¹⁰ also follow the same trend of tracing the origin of the king.

The king was considered as one who caused for *dharma* and peaceful, righteous and prosperous life of the people. People did not harm one another due to the fear of king¹¹ because a man is basically of selfish nature who only minds his interests even on the cost of others. The idea of kingship is adopted for the happiness and defence from enemies (repeated in Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas and in the Mahābhārata¹²) and as a result the *Raja* appellation for the king from the root *rañj* (to please), was conferred.

Thus it is clear that the theory of divine origin of kingship, described in the purāṇas was a universal institution set up by the Divine will and involved the incorporation of a deity in the king which implicitly charged the king with the obligation of protection.

8. ततो ब्रह्मात्मसंभूतं पूर्वस्वायम्भुवं प्रभुः ।
आत्मानमेव कृतवान् प्रजापाल्ये मनुं हरः ॥
1. 5. 18.
9. तस्यार्थे सर्वभूतानाम् गोप्तारं धर्ममात्मजम् ।
ब्रह्मतेजोमयं दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमीश्वरः ॥ 7. 14.
10. अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः ॥
Mānavadharmā Śāstra, VII. 3.
11. राजमूलो महःप्राज्ञ धर्मो लोकस्य लक्ष्यते ।
प्रजाराजभयादेव न खादन्ति परस्परम् ॥
राजा ह्येवाखिलं लोकं समुदीर्णं समुत्सुकं ।
प्रसादयति धर्मेण प्रसाद्य च विराजते ॥
Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva, 13. 8-9.
12. ततः स रञ्जयामास धर्मेण पृथिवीं तदा ।
Viṣṇu Purāna, 1. 47. 23
ततो राजेऽति शब्दोऽस्य पृथिव्यां रञ्जनाद्भूत् ।
Ibid., 1. 47. 24.
प्रजानां रञ्जनाच्चैव राजानस्त्वभवन्नृपाः ।
Vāyu Purāna, 1. 57
पित्रापरंजिता तस्य प्रजास्तेनानुरंजिताः ।
ततो राजेऽति नामास्य ह्यनुरागादजायत ॥
Brahmāṇḍa Purāna, 2. 36. 155-56.

Besides the king other important institutions of monarchy also found a reasonable significance in several purāṇas. The first and foremost mentioned thing is the enumeration of the duties of a king after his royal anointment and crowning. In *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (129.20-40) the grand-mother of king Marutta reminds him that princes can enjoy themselves only until they are sprinkled on their heads the water of consecration. It further tells that kings should not be self-indulgent, they do not live in the world for enjoyment but for enduring great pains to the end of protecting the earth and fulfilling their own duty (*dharma*).¹³ It, undoubtedly, causes great pain for him in this world but he enjoys everlasting peace in heaven. The same thing is repeated in *Agni Purāṇa* where the king is compared with a pregnant house-wife. He has to care for the pleasures of his issue, just like the lady cares for her child in the womb,¹⁴ abandoning all his pleasures and joys. This is the instance for maximum help and service of the people. The sinful king who fails to fulfil his duties goes to hell. A sage, cursing a king for failure to protect his injured wife opines that *kṣatriyas* weld arms so that the very name of the afflicted may not be heard (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 114.36).

The queen *Madālasā* instructs her son for the betterment of administration to behave like five deities viz. Indra, Sun, Yama, Moon and wind. As Indra obliges the people by bestowing rains he should oblige the people by granting them remissions; as sun absorbs the water with his rays for eight months only for the reimbursement in the form of rain for the welfare of people, he should collect taxes; as Yama punishes all and sundry with no discrimination he should behave impartially with his people whether his favourite or otherwise; as moon pleases all the human beings he should please his issue; as wind moves silently in the whole world he should appoint his espionage throughout his territory. (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 27. 21-5).

One point is very interesting and worth mentioning that in some early Purāṇas, such as *Harivaṅsa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*,

13. राज्ञां शरीरग्रहणं न भोगाय महीपते ।
क्लेशाय महते पृथ्वी स्वधर्मपरिपालने ॥

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 130. 33.

14. नित्यं राज्ञा तथा भाव्यं गर्भिणी सहधर्मिणी ।
यथा स्वं सुखमुत्सृत्य गर्भस्य सुखमावहेत् ॥

Agni Purāṇa, 222.8.

there is also an indication of limited monarchy, though the divine origin is accepted as such. This is narrated in the story of a cruel and tyrant king, Veṅga, who abused the gods and claimed to be god asking for all the sacrifices and offerings which were presented to gods. He banned all the vedic rituals in his regime. Therefore the sages killed him and enthroned his son Pṛthu selected by Brahmā, as his successor.¹⁵ Brahmā also attended his ceremony of coronation. Anyway, this alludes towards a bigger control of sages (who were impartial having no desires) on the king for the righteous and judicious administration.

For ruling in accordance with the *dharma*, king was supplemented by, and recommended to, work in the tone of four *ntis* (*sāmadāna*, *dāna*, *daṇḍa* and *bheda*), six *guṇas* (*sandhi*, *vigraha*, *āsana*, *yāna*, *samśraya* and *dvaidhibhāva*) as moral and theoretical basis and in the practical form he was provided by the spies, army, ministers and so many other employees forming the whole machinery for the smooth administration subservient to the only king as their supreme head.

Vāyu Purāṇa, Agni Purāṇa, and Ādi Purāṇa enumerate the four methods barely needed for a successful king.¹⁶ These were required for tactful dealings of the friends, enemies and the people of his own state. It seems very likely that out of these the theory of *daṇḍa* was very much in practice. Generally, the word did not convey only its primary meaning but it also meant for the power to punish and even a kind of inmanent power of justice; in the latter meaning it seems more or less identical with the conventional *dharma*. Thus it may provide an allusion to a notion of legal force which was comparable with the monopoly of legitimate force. Manu and Mahābhārata have laid down a great emphasis on the need of *daṇḍa* in the state. Mahābhārata says if there is no king on earth with a stick of punishment, the stronger will roast the weaker as fishes on a spike or will devour them as fishes

15. इत्युक्त्वा मन्त्रपूतैस्तैः कुशैर्मूनिगणा नृपम् ।
निजघ्नुनिहतं पूर्वं भगवन्निन्दनादिना ॥

Vāyu Purāṇa, 1. 13. 19.

16. सामं चोप्रदानं च तथा भेदं च दर्शयन् ।
करोति दण्डपातं च ॥

Vāyu Purāṇa, 22-17

in water.¹⁷ There will prevail *Matsya-nyāya* on the earth. Many scholars have explained this as the theory of coercive authority of the king. There is a reflection of the idea that *daṇḍa* has its origin in man's sin, and is likewise the divine remedy for man's sin (*Vāyu Purāṇa* 49.103). According to *Garuḍa Purāṇa* *daṇḍa* is the only merit of a *kṣatriya* i. e. a ruler¹⁸ which protects the people in an indirect way. *Agni Purāṇa* adds three more methods viz. *upekṣā*, *indrajaḷa* and *māyā* and the list goes to seven.

Ādipurāṇa (5-7) also discusses the seven *aṅgas* of the state which seem to be derived from the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭilya*. The state is complete only when it consists of all the seven elements or organs, namely—*svāmi*, *amātya*, *rāṣṭra* or *janapada*, *durga*, *koṣa*, *daṇḍa* or *bala* and *mītras*. Here *svāmi* is the king, *amātya* is his companion, *janapada* is the country, *durga* is the fortified town, *koṣa* is treasury, *daṇḍa* is army and *mītras* are the allied powers. The *saptāṅga* theory is, although, not discussed categorically in all early purāṇas but the various elements are sporadically and frequently mentioned. The *dūta*, *dharmādhyakṣa*, *vaidya*, *purohita*, *guptācāra* and *mantrins* are well discussed with their essential qualifications.¹⁹ The *Ādi Purāṇa* gives a description of a spy.²⁰

Thus, finally, I want to say that the historical study of purāṇas is very essential to understand the historical development of Indian society. The huge quantity of the political references also require a deep and exhaustive study. I have drawn only the outlines of the evolution of concept of kingship which was taken from early vedic sources and made to fit and suit the new environment by the priests who always tried to capture the throne directly or indirectly on the name of *dharma*. As a result the king was

17. राजा चेन्न भवेत्लोके पृथिव्यां दण्डधारकः ।
जले मत्स्यानिवाभक्ष्यन् दुर्बलं बलवत्तराः ॥

Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva, LXII. 67

18. दण्डस्तथा क्षत्रियस्य.....शस्यते ।

Garuḍa Purāṇa, 1. 49—2

and

शस्त्रेण जीवन् राज्ञो भूतानां अभिरक्षणम् । *Ibid.*, 1. 205.12.

19. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 1. 112. 8-24.

20. चक्षुश्चारो विचारश्च तस्यासीत्कार्यदर्शने ।
चक्षुसी पुनरस्यास्य मण्डने दृश्यदर्शने ॥

Ādipurāṇa, 4. 170.

considered as a divine body. The purāṇas formulated a very interesting hypothesis and theory giving the base for divine origin of the king. We can see its consequent effect in the administrative machinery of imperial Guptas. There was a time in the global history when the divine origin of king was accepted and established by the political thinkers and philosophers. The purāṇas represent the theory and customs of the same era. They provide a reflection of the stages in the evolution of political theories in ancient Indian Society. One of the purāṇas describes metaphorically the status of India (where even gods wished to live)²¹ in purāṇic age which is sufficient to prove the prosperity, happiness and pleasures in the life accrued by the political security and stability.

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21. गायन्ति देवा किल गीतकानि
 धन्यास्तु ते भारतभूमिभागे ।
 स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते
 भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥ *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 1.3.24.

THE DYNAMIC CANON OF THE PURĀṆA-S*

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

[एष निबन्धः पूर्वजर्मनीदेशस्य वाइमारनगरे संपन्ने विश्व-संस्कृतसम्मेलने सञ्चितरूपेण पठितः । अत्र तस्य विस्तृतं रूपं प्रस्तुतम् । अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणसम्बन्धिविविधश्नानां—यथा पञ्चलक्षणं, तत्तत् पुराणेषु निर्दिष्टा तेषां श्लोकसंख्या, मत्स्यपुराणे (अ० ५३) अग्निपुराणे च (अ० २७२) उपलब्धा पुराणानामनुक्रमणी, अष्टादशपुराणानां नामादिकं च—विवेचनं कृतम् । एतेषामाधारेण लेखकेनोहितं यत् पुराणे पुराणप्रमाण्यस्थापनस्य प्रयत्न आसीत् किन्तु विस्तारप्रक्रियायां जातायां अस्य लोपो जातः ।]

1. Instability of the Purāṇa-s

One of the most obvious and wellknown features of the purāṇic literature is, if I may say so, its instability. The purāṇa-s,

* Revised and enlarged edition of the paper “*Purāṇic Attempts to fix a Purāṇic Canon*”, read at the 4th International Conference of Sanskrit Studies, held at Weimar on May 23-30, 1979.

The following are the purāṇic editions used in this article; the references are shortened as they are wellknown.

Agni P.—ASS.

Kūrma P.—All-India Kashirāj Trust (crit. ed.)

Garuḍa P.—Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara.

Devī Bhāgavata P.—Mor Ed.

Nāradya P.—Veṅkaṭeśvara ed.

Padma P.—ASS.

Brahma P.—Mor ed.

Brahmavaivarta P.—ASS.

Brahmāṇḍa P.—Veṅk. ed.

Bhaviṣya P.—Veṅk. ed.

Bhāgavata P.—Gītā Press.

Matsya P.—Mor ed.

Mārkaṇḍeya P.—Vaṅgavāsi.

Liṅga P.—Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara.

Varāha P.—Veṅk. ed.

Vāmana P.—All-India Kashirāj Trust (crit. ed.)

Vāyu P.—Mor ed.

Viṣṇu P.—Gītā Press.

Śiva P.—Veṅk. ed.

Skānda P.—Veṅk. ed.

indeed, throughout their history have been continuously under transformation. For this reason most of the actual printed purāṇic texts are considered by many as 'apocryphal', which in this context means 'not matching with the description of them as available in some purāṇa-s'.¹ It is true, some authors², taking support from the purāṇa-s themselves, have tried to prove that the purāṇic texts have modified only their expressions not their meaning (*artha*), but such a statement is hardly convincing. Texts like those we now have in *Padma*, *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta* or *Bhaviṣya purāṇa-s*—to give only some of the clearest examples—show unmistakable signs of later radical *rifacimenti*. Purāṇic evolution is, anyway, such an evident and universally accepted fact that it need not delay us long.

What instead should attract our attention is the awareness of the purāṇa-s about their own modification and innovation. This awareness is of capital importance because it can become the central objection to the purāṇic claim of being authoritative. Moreover, it is just their being aware of the evolving process that will give to the whole problem of purāṇic canonicity a peculiar feature.

इतिहासपुराणानि भिद्यन्ते कालगौरवात् ।

say concordantly *Līṅga* (I. 39. 61ab) and *Skanda* (VII. 1.2.99ab) *purāṇa-s*. Such a statement shows that the purāṇic authors are aware at least of the numerical increase (भिद्यन्ते) of the purāṇa-s. *Padma purāṇa* (II. 125.39-44) seems to affirm that the same purāṇic text, although keeping faithful to itself, is different in every *yuga*.³ *Bhaviṣya purāṇa* (I. 1.103-105) is even more explicit. It declares that it had 12,000 *śloka-s* which later increased upto 50,000 by means of several stories (*akhyāna-s*), just as *Skanda purāṇa* increased so as to have a hundred thousands *śloka-s*. *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* (138.38-39) admits to have added 100 *śloka-s* to the bulk of the text. The process of inflation, therefore, seems to have been

1. For the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* see A. S. Gupta, The Apocryphal character of the Extant *Brahmavaivarta purāṇa*, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasi*, III (1961), pp. 92-101. For a more general meaning of the term as applicable to the purāṇa-s see, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Purāṇa Apocrypha. A "Manipura-Purāṇa"*, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasi*, VI. 2 (July 1964), pp. 293ff.

2. see गिरधर शर्मा चतुर्वेदी, *पुराण-परिशीलन*, पटना, 1970, p. 11.

3. see also *Skanda P.*, VII. 1.2.100-108.

accepted as a normal procedure. In some circles, perhaps, it was even pursued in accordance with Vyāsa's orders as expressed in *Bhāgavata purāṇa* 2.7.51 :

इदं भागवतं नाम यन्मे भगवतोदितम् ।
संग्रहोऽयं विभूतीनां त्वमेतद् विपुलीकुरु ॥

The purāṇa-s never present themselves as new works, indeed; they claim instead to have already been narrated before, i.e. to be at present simply re-narrated⁴. Very often the purāṇa-s want to be mere embellishments of an old tradition which is already common knowledge. They do not aim at originality but at being simply new 'com-positions' (or *sam-hitā-s*)⁵. And yet they claim also to be saying something new, secret, till now unknown.⁶ This awareness of being under a process of evolution is so vivid in *Bhaviṣya purāṇa* (III.4.1.5f) that it affirms that in *Kaliyuga* the 18 purāṇa-s will become *upapurāṇa-s*, that is, they will keep decaying slowly till they are transformed into *upapurāṇa-s*. The purāṇa-s, therefore, according to this statement, have not yet finished their evolution; they are still in the process of evolving. The same awareness appears also in one of the purāṇic theories explaining the origin of the purāṇa-s. We need not consider it as true from an historical or factual point of view (it is not my purpose to face this problem now). It is here considered only as a witness to the awareness the purāṇa-s have that they are evolving. The theory found, for instance, in *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Matsya purāṇa-s*⁷, describes Vyāsa as the author of a *purāṇa-samhitā* (*mūla-samhitā*), which later increased to four *para-samhitā-s* through his disciples. Each one of such collections had four parts (*catuspāda*). Later from the *samhitā-s* the 18 purāṇa-s were composed having five characteristics (*pañcalakṣaṇa-s*)⁸. For our purpose such a theory

4. Cf. *Matsya P.*, 1.6-7; *Bhaviṣya P.*, III. 2.23.18; 4.1.4ff.; *Linga P.*, II. 55.2ff. etc.

5. Cf. *Kūrma P.*, I. 1.1cd, 5-6; *Devī Bhāgavata P.*, I. 1.2 ff.; *Nāradya P.*, I. 1.16c. etc.

6. Cf. *Nāradya P.*, I. 1.57cd-58ab, 59ab; *Brahmavaivarta P.*, I. 1.31; 29.9-10 etc.

7. *Vāyu P.*, I.4.11ff; I.32.59ff.; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, I.2.34; *Matsya P.*, 53 etc.

8. Cf. S. D. Gyani, Date of Purāṇas, in *New Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, V.6 (Sept., 1942), pp. 131-35; -do-, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī*, I.2 (Feb., 1960) pp. 213-19 and II (July,

contains two important points; the first is the statement of an evolution in quantity, i. e. the purāṇa-s affirm to have passed through different stages, from 1 to 4 to 18. That apparently implies addition of new matter to the old one. The additions may have been fostered by the presupposition, pointed out by Mallik⁹ that the more matter a text contains the more perfect the text is :

यच्च दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तद् दृष्टं स्मृतिभिः किल ॥

उभाभ्यां यत्तु दृष्टं हि तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ।

(Skanda p. V. 1. 22cd-23ab)

and the meaningful variant :

यन्न दृष्टं हि वेदेषु न दृष्टं स्मृतिषु द्विजाः ।

उभयोर्यन्न दृष्टं च तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥

(id. VII. 1.2.92)

The second point is an evolution in the structure itself, i. e. the purāṇa-s took a definite shape for some periods and then they changed into another. So, for instance, the internal structure of *catuṣpāda* evolved to the new shape of *pañcalakṣaṇa*. The purāṇic authors then know that the purāṇa-s have no fixed form but they underwent changes and took different shapes in the past.

It is the normal course for popular texts to undergo changes along their secular history, specially when their transmission takes place mainly orally, as it is the case with purāṇic literature. The purāṇa-s, however, had also an intrinsic reason for evolving as they did. The word 'purāṇa', indeed, seems to contain in itself the source of modification. Ludo Rocher¹⁰ has shown convincingly that the term 'purāṇa' in the Ṛgveda "also involves the present" (p. 10). He writes, "The most salient feature of items described as *purāṇa* in the RV is that they do more than continue to exist in the present; while being 'ancient', they are, at the same time, also 'new, young'.....being purāṇa involves existence from time immemorial together with repeated renewal and rejuvenation" (p. 12). The description given by Ludo Rocher can fit perfectly as a

1960), pp. 68-75; A. S. Gupta, Purāṇas and their Referencing, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī*, VII. 2 (July, 1965), pp. 323-30; V.S. Agrawala, Original Purāṇa Samhita, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī*, VIII. 2 (July, 1966), pp. 232ff.

9. Mallik, *The Philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism*, ?, p. 18.

10. Ludo Rocher, The Meaning of *Purāṇa* in the Ṛgveda, in *WZKS*, Wien, XX, 1977, pp. 6ff.

commentary to *Nirukta* 3.19, which defines purāṇa as पुरा नवं भवति. According to one of the interpretations, this etymology of the *Nirukta* may suggest, for the word 'purāṇa' the meaning of a continuous becoming. The etymologies found in the *Nirukta*, although not in accordance with modern principles, can be accepted as suggested, in similar cases, by J. Filliozat¹¹. *Yakṣa*, of course, is concerned with the vedic meaning of words, his definition, therefore, possibly fits only the 'topic' called purāṇa existing in the vedic times¹². The 18 purāṇa-s, however, seem to have accepted it, with the exclusion of *Brahmaṇḍa* 1.1.173. *Vāyu* (I. 1. 183ab) says :

यस्मात् पुरा ह्यनतीदं पुराणं तेन हि स्मृतम् ।

Nirukta's definition, somewhat modified and made more comprehensible, has been accepted by a part of the tradition in the sense given above¹³, even if Durgā and other commentaries to the *Nirukta*, for instance, interprets पुरा नवं भवति simply as न वर्तमानकाले¹⁴. So, to be an old but continuously renewed matter seems to belong to the very nature of a purāṇa. Accordingly, then, a purāṇa to be faithful to itself should always keep up-to-date modifying its shape along with time. H. P. Shastri says even that "it seems that the idea (itself) of a purāṇa varied in course of time."¹⁵

11. J. Filliozat, L' Indianism, in *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, CCLXI (1973), p. 178.
12. Cf. Ludo Rocher, *op. cit.*; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, pt. II, Poona, 1962, pp. 315ff. etc.
13. Cf. V. Raghavan, The Purāṇas, in *Sanskrit Literature*. Talks broadcasting over All India Radio, selected and edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1961, p. 35, "It is also explained as old but also new *purāpi nava*". J. C. Wadiyar, Purāṇas as the vehicle of India's Philosophy of History, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī*, V. 1 (Jan., 1963), p. 6; Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Purāṇa Vimarśa, Vārāṇasī*, 1965, p. 39; Jvālā Prasād Mīśra, *Aṣṭādaśapurāṇadarpaṇa*, Bombay, 1936, p. 1; Kṛṣṇa Maṇi Tripāṭhī, *Purāṇatattva-mīmāṃsā*, Lucknow, 1961, p. 39 etc.
14. See the Commentaries in Mor. Ed. or Bibliotheka Indica.
15. H. P. Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, Purāṇa Manuscripts, Calcutta, 1928 (Preface), p. LXXVII.

With this in mind we can read a variant of an already quoted śloka :

इतिहासपुराणानि भिद्यन्ते लोकगौरवात् ।

(Skanda p. I. 2. 40. 198cd)

where the variant 'loka' in place of 'kāla' can be understood as the world of bards who sang the purāṇa-s and the world of people who listen to them.¹⁶ Kāla and loka, i. e. different situations of time and people, play a great role in forging the purāṇic literature and making it continuously fluid, variable, unpredictable. And the purāṇic authors, it is convenient to stress once more, are aware that their matter can change, that it actually changes and that it has to change, at least externally, from age to age in order to remain faithful to its real basic meaning.

2. Sacrality of the Purāṇa-s

H. P. Shastri¹⁷ affirms that the purāṇa-s "gradually assumed, from the form of historical to the form of religious works". Whether the purāṇa-s became religious works through an historical development or they had been conceived religiously from their very origin should not bother us much. Hazra's theory, contradicted by P. V. Kane¹⁸ and other scholars, links the purāṇa-s to the *aśvamedha* sacrifice and supports, therefore, the latter supposition. The purāṇa-s actually claim to be religious works.

Nārada purāṇa (I. 125. 39cd) speaks of purāṇa-s as '*dharma-saṃgraha*'¹⁹ and *Bhāgavata* defines itself as '*akhilaśruti-sāra*' (I.2.3ab), '*sarvavedāntasāra*' (XII. 13. 15a, 12ab), '*sarvavedetihāsānām sāram*' (I. 3. 42). "The scriptures, say the *muṇi*-s in the *Bhāgavata* (I. 1. 11ff), are many, therefore draw out by your critical insight their quintessence and declare it to us." The same concept is repeated in *Viṣṇu* (VI. 8.3) and *Śiva* (VII. 1.1.18, 32, 57) *purāṇa*-s.

16. *Vāyu P.*, II.41.45b affirms that the *catuṣpāda* purāṇa is *lokasammata*.

17. H. P. Shastri, *ib.*

18. R. C. Hazra, *The Aśvamedha, the Common Source of Origin of the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahābhārata*, in *ABORI*, Poona, vol. 36 (1956), pp. 190-203, contradicted by P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 865 ff.

19. Cf. also *Brahma P.*, 245.40ab etc.

Several purāṇa-s proclaim that they are equivalent (*sammita*), equal (*sammata-vedasama*) or even superior to the *veda*-s. Such superiority is expressed by saying that the purāṇa-s were in *Brahmā*'s mind even before he spoke out the *veda*-s (here superiority is expressed through priority in time)²⁰, or by stating that the purāṇa-s develop, enlarge the meaning of the *veda*-s (*vedārthaparibhramham*)²¹, by affirming that the *veda*-s are based on the purāṇa-s²² and that to know the *veda*-s without knowing the purāṇa-s is useless or even dangerous,²³ that the purāṇa-s are the *ātma* (the soul) of the *veda*-s²⁴ or even by vindicating their superiority openly, like *Padma purāṇa* I. 61. 64) :

यस्मिन् वेदार्थमाहृत्य हरिणा व्यासरूपिणा ।
पुराणं निर्मितं विप्र तस्मात् तत्परमो भवेत् ॥

or *Narada* p. II. 24. 17 cd.

वेदार्थादधिकं मन्ये पुराणार्थं वरानने ॥

I do not enter into more details as it is known how complex is the relation between the *veda*-s and the purāṇa-s. What matters in this relation is only the picture the purāṇa-s offer of themselves in order to be accepted. In the just mentioned *śloka*, *Hari* in the shape of *Vyāsa* is considered the author of purāṇa-s, in other cases *Brahmā* is introduced as the main agent in the purāṇic composition.²⁵ In both cases our texts claim to have a divine origin. *Narada purāṇa* (II. 82.33cd) affirms to be 'alaukika' while most of the purāṇa-s insistently state that their content is secret, *guhyam*²⁶. They need, therefore, to be disclosed. *Garuḍa purāṇa* (I. 215. 13ef) says that only *Hari* knows the purāṇa-s :

अष्टादशपुराणानि यो वेत्ति हरिरेव हि ॥

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20. see *Matsya P.*, 53.3, 20 etc.
21. see *Vāyu P.*, I. 1.201 etc. About the origin of this saying cf. P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 914 ff. and also Nilameghācārya, धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणानां वेदोपबृंहणत्वम्, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī*, vol. IV.1 (Jan., 1962), pp. 34-54 etc.
22. cf. *Skanda P.*, V 3.1.20 etc.
23. see below p. 126.
24. cf. *Skanda P.*, V. 3.1.22 etc.
25. cf. *Matsya P.*, 53.3 and also *Bhaviṣya P.*, I.2.56f.
26. cf. *Kūrma P.*, I.11.19; 29.13. *Padma P.*, *Pātāla*, 117.223; *Brahma P.*, 30.85; *Brahmavaivarta P.*, I.1.54 etc.

For *Bhaviṣya purāṇa* (III. 4.25.219-220) it is *Śiva* who gives their name to the purāṇa-s in every kalpa. *Matsya* (53.3ab) and other purāṇa-s attribute to Brahmā their origin :

पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।

A good number of purāṇa-s insist that they can be known only through a word that comes from God. *Kūrma purāṇa* (I. 1.122f; see also I. 1.6; II. 46.122...), for instance, tells how *Viṣṇu* narrated the purāṇa the first time when having descended to *rasātala* in the form of *Kūrma*, he was there requested by the ṛṣi-s. *Nārada purāṇa*'s first 91 *adhyāya*-s are narrated by *Sanatkumāra*, but from *adh.* 92, when the *anukramaṇī*-s of all the purāṇas are given, the narrator is Brahmā. *Padma purāṇa* I. 61.66ff, (see also I. 61.70) identifies tout-court the *vipra* and the purāṇa with *Hari*. According to the same text the purāṇa is one, identified with *Viṣṇu* and each one of the 18 purāṇa-s constitutes a limb of *Hari*'s body (I. 62.2-7), so *Brahma purāṇa* is his forehead, *Padma purāṇa* is his heart, *Viṣṇu purāṇa* his right arm, *Śiva purāṇa* his left arm and so on—an image that recalls immediately the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* on the one hand and the several purāṇic descriptions of *Virāṭ* on the other and that depicts plastically the concept the purāṇa-s have of themselves as divine entities, as parts of God himself.

I can note also, although it is not my concern here, that unlike the *veda*-s which are *seen* by the ṛṣi-s, the purāṇa-s are *heard* from the mouth of one of the Gods, who speaks them out. The purāṇa-s, therefore, unlike the *veda*-s can be considered 'revealed'. But this trend would take us too far. Here it is mentioned only to stress that the purāṇa-s are sacred work.

The purāṇa-s affirm their relation with the divine also by describing the effects they produce on their readers. A religious act usually is said to produce its effects subordinately and proportionately to the faith of the agent and this is valid also for the purāṇa-s which insist much on *śraddha* while describing *vrata*-s, *īrthayātrā*-s and other religious actions. To stress, however, that they have also a value by themselves independently of any human effort they affirm :

अश्रद्धयाऽपि शृणुते लभते पुण्यसंचयम् ।

(*Padma* p. I.1.29ab; repeated also in *Nārada* p. I.1.51cd-52ab; *Kūrma* p. II.46.127).

If I may use a term borrowed from Christianity, such *śloka*-s attribute to the reading or listening to the purāṇa-s a kind of power inherent in reading or listening itself 'ex opere operato.' That is equivalent to saying that the purāṇa-s are a sacrament, through which God is at work and which can supply any defect on the human side. Therefore the purāṇa-s can present themselves as a substitute for everything.

यस्मिञ्जाते भवेज्जातं वाङ्मयं सचराचरम् ।

(*Nārada* p. I.92.21cd ; cf. II. 24.16cd-17ab)

They are indeed सर्वशास्त्राणां बीजम्, कारणम् of the *caturvarga* (*Nārada* p. II. 82.31-34), means for *mokṣa*, a *mokṣaśāstra* (*Brahma* p. I.17). *Devī Bhāgavata*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Śiva*, *Bhāgavata* etc. claim openly to have been written in *Kali yuga* to help men to reach *mokṣa*.²⁷

It is on the basis of such sacredness that the purāṇa-s can introduce themselves as *prāmāṇic*. The problem of the authority or *prāmāṇya* of purāṇa-s is quite an important one for our subject because it is from this claim that the purāṇa-s can find the impulse for fixing a canon. I cannot, however, insist much on this point as the evidence we possess is mainly external to purāṇic literature, and therefore not sufficient to justify the attempts of forming a canon inside the purāṇa-s. The purāṇic authors could be impelled to fix a canon only if they had an awareness of their works being authoritative. The commonly-accepted doctrine is that the purāṇa-s are *prāmāṇic* as far as they are in accordance with the *veda*-s. This is expressed by *Śabara* on *Mīmāṃsā sūtra* I.3.5 प्रमाणं स्मृतिः, by *Śarīrika Bhāṣya* I.3.33 समूलमितिहासपुराणम् and many *Nibandha*-s, which often contain in the first pages a section on *prāmāṇyatā*.²⁸ P. V. Kane and B. Upādhyāya explain the meaning of these and similar statements available in Sanskrit literature in relation to the purāṇa-s. *Nyāya darśana* 4.1.62, quoted by *Jvālā Prasād Miśra*, 28 bis affirms that the *Brahmaṇa*-s are *prāmāṇic* in the

27. *Devī Bhāgavata P.*, I.2.28; *Bhaviṣya P.*, I.1.6; *Bhāgavata P.*, I.3.44; *Śiva P.*, I.1.1.9.

28. See also the Introduction by *Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita* to the *Śivarahasyakhaṇḍa*, a part of the *Śaṅkarasāṃhita* of the southern recension of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, in *Oeuvres poetiques de Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita*, I, Text, traduction et notes par Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, Publication de l' Institute Francais d' Indologie, No 36, Pondichery, 1967, pp. 31-34.

28 bis. see *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

case of matters concerning 'yajña', *itihāsa-purāṇa* is *prāmāṇic* in the case of 'lokavṛtta' and *dharmasāstra-s* in the case of 'lokavyavahāra'.

As for the awareness of the purāṇic texts, the purāṇa-s speak of themselves as 'pañcama veda'²⁹. *Skanda purāṇa* (VII. 1. 2. 90 ab) affirms : वेदवन्निश्चलं मन्ये पुराणं वै द्विजोत्तमः. They introduce themselves in the list of the 14 (or 18) *Vidyā-sthāna-s*³⁰ or in the three *mukhya-vidyā-s* as in *Skanda purāṇa* (V. 3. 1. 17-18). *Devi Bhāgavata* (XI. 1. 20-26) affirms that *śruti* and *smṛti* are the eyes of *dharma* while purāṇa is its heart. *Skanda* (V. 3. 1. 15-16) states that *śruti*, *smṛti* and purāṇa-s are the three eyes of the sages. It seems from these images in which *śruti* and purāṇa-s are put at the same level, that the purāṇa-s think that they do not derive their *prāmāṇyatā* from the *veda-s*. A late author of *dharmasāstra* (possibly of XVI cent. A. D.) affirms plainly that the *smṛti-s* (which include the purāṇa-s too) are *prāmāṇic* not because in dependence of the *śruti* but independently : "vastutas tu utsargataḥ sarvasmṛtīnām nirapekṣa prāmāṇyāt"³¹. But we cannot go so far as to accept this statement as fully applicable to the purāṇa-s. The purāṇic texts, indeed, are not so sharp cut. They are more concerned with affirming that they are in the line of tradition. Besides the care in giving the purāṇic *paramparā*, which links them to tradition, some purāṇa-s insist that their content is *yathāśrutam*³², *yathādhītam*³³; that what they say is already available in the purāṇa-s : 'ādipurāṇeṣu' says *Padma purāṇa*³⁴ :

पूर्वं पुराणे यन्मया श्रुतम् ॥

states *Kūrma purāṇa*³⁵. But they affirm also to have been written *yathāsmṛti*³⁶, *yathābuddhi* and *praśnānūsarataḥ*.³⁷ The *veda-s* are

29. See *Skanda P.*, V. 3.1.18 etc.

30. cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, III. 6.30; *Śiva P.*, VII. 1.1.29 etc.

31. See *Vāsudevaśrama Yatidharmaprakāśa*, A Treatise on World Renunciation, Critically Edited with Introduction, annotated Translation and Appendices by Patrick Olivelle, Part one, Text, Vienna, 1976, 36.37-38.

32. *Padma P.*, V. 1.26 cd; *Devi Bhāgavata P.*, I. 3.1 ff.

33. *Bhāgavata P.*, I. 3.45 cd.

34. *Padma P.*, V. 36.14; see *Bhāgavata P.*, IV. 111, 1a, 61b.

35. *Kūrma P.*, II. 37.163 cd; 38.6 ab; see *Brahma P.*, 177.239.

36. *Padma P.*, V. 36.14; *Bhāgavata P.*, I. 3.45 cd.

37. *Śiva P.*, II. 1.1.25.

based (*pratiṣṭhita*) on the purāṇa-s according to the *Skanda* (VII. 1. 2. 90; 2. 3-4) and *Naradīya* (II 24.17ab) *purāṇa-s*.

वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।

Therefore to know the *veda-s* and the *upaniṣad-s*³⁸ but not the purāṇa-s is useless, and even dangerous, as already mentioned (p. 122):

बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद् वेदो मामयं चालयिष्यति ।

(*Skanda* p. VII. 1. 2. 91 ab etc.)

The purāṇa-s are composed in every *Dvāpara* when the *veda-s* are lost, according to *Śiva purāṇa* (VII. 1. 1. 35). In this case, therefore, the purāṇa-s take the place (and the importance?) of the *veda-s* during *Kali yuga*.

The general impression, then, one gets from reading the purāṇic literature is such that there can hardly be any doubt that the purāṇa-s considered themselves as authoritative. Whether on the basis of their conformity with the *veda-s* or independently of them or even against them—as some passages state³⁹—is a matter of secondary importance for our present purpose.

3. Purāṇic Attempts to fix a Purāṇic Canon

I. The purāṇa-s are under two opposite pressures : on the one hand the inner impulse, fully recognized by the purāṇic authors to evolve along with time and people in order to remain true to their fundamental message; on the other hand the purāṇic sacredness which induces them to keep intact their text in order to remain basically faithful to the '*rahasya*' they transmit through the centuries. This latter pressure drives them to establish a canon which by fixing the text assures the readers or listeners that what they are reading or listening to is the true message that comes from time immemorial and alone is conducive to *mokṣa*. These two opposite tendencies intermingle and clash down the centuries with alternative results. When the former prevails, the purāṇa-s undergo changes; when the latter has the upper hand, then a new attempt to establish a canon takes place. The result is a kind of '*dynamic and pluralistic canon*', i. e. a canon that is valid for some time and some persons but not everywhere and that changes under different circumstances; a canon then which is influenced by the

38. *Śiva P.*, VII. 1.1.39; *Skanda P.*, VII. 1.2.93.

39. see ex. g. *Brahmavaivarta P.*. I. 1.45; IV. 133.44 f.

evolutive process of the purāṇic literature. Traces of such different attempts are still recognizable in the actual purāṇa-s.

By *purāṇic canon* I mean the body of purāṇic writings accepted as authentic i. e. really belonging to the purāṇa-s and, therefore, authoritative. Two concepts then play the greatest role in a canon : *authenticity* i. e. conformity to the original and *authority*. Being religious texts, the purāṇa-s base their authority on their conformity to an original strong experience, be it a teaching, a revelation or whatever else. But such conformity is continuously challenged by the purāṇic intrinsic impulse to evolve. The basic problem, therefore, is to establish what kind of authenticity fits the purāṇa-s I think that we have to speak of 'multi-authenticity'. To use a comparison : if an author publishes his work only in one form we shall have a *mono-authenticity* in the sense that only that book or what conforms with it is the real, authentic work. But if an author writes his work and publishes it once and later he passes through new experiences and rewrites that same work in a different way, what will the authentic work of that author be ? Both editions have an equal right to be considered as authentic although different from each other. We are here in the presence of a case of multi-authenticity. The very fact, moreover, of possessing two 'editions' of the same text helps discover the evolution of the author, his personal history. Something similar happens in purāṇic literature. The purāṇa-s have been recited, written and rewritten several times by different authors and they were accepted by the faithful of a particular area and period, therefore they were considered authoritative. So each one of these rewritings for our purpose should be looked upon as original, authentic. At the same time, if we are able to discover and isolate the different purāṇic attempts to fix a canon, we will have a key for establishing at least a relative purāṇic chronology. H. P. Shastri⁴⁰ considers as a criterion by which it is possible to ascertain the age of a purāṇa, its enumeration and description of the *avatāra-s* of Viṣṇu or the development of religious ceremonies and holidays. To these and similar criteria, the particular canon that a purāṇa follows can also be added.

A canon can be either a mere list of works that are accepted as normative and therefore considered as authentic or it can be a

40. H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXXVII, XCI.

complex of rules through which one can establish whether a work should be accepted as authentic and normative or not. In other words a purāṇic canon can be a mere enumeration of books considered as purāṇa-s in a particular age or it can consist of an ensemble of *vidhi*-s prescribing the manner in which a purāṇa has to be written in order to have all the characteristics of a true purāṇa. In this context what is said in *Padma purāṇa* IV. 100. 42-136, specially from śl. 68 onwards, is extremely important.

When did the first attempt of a canon take place? For Yājñavalkya (I.3) a purāṇa was already a *dharmasthāna* i. e. one of the *loci* from which it could draw *śloka*-s to support its statements. From Yājñavalkya onwards we have a continuous series of texts quoted from the purāṇa-s.⁴¹ Whether in Yājñavalkya's times a purāṇic literature was already existent or not is impossible to say. Mitākṣarā's comment identifies the word purāṇa with the eighteen purāṇa-s, but that is far from being certain. It was sure instead, at the time of *Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra* (I. 9.24.6), which quotes from a *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*. To the purāṇa-s happened the same process that is visible in the formation of the 18 upapurāṇa-s : first only a few appeared and then an increase in number and size.⁴² The purāṇic scheme of a single *purāṇa-samhitā* from which all the purāṇa-s would have developed in course of time, true or not, bears witness to an attempt at explaining the process of expansion of purāṇic literature. It should be specified, however, that the expansion spoken of here does not mean mere 'addition' but changing through substitution, addition, reduction etc. It is important to note, anyway, that the first clear mention of purāṇic literature is available in a context in which a purāṇa is quoted as a *vidyāsthāna* or *dharmasthāna*. We have, therefore, to suppose that the necessity of fixing the purāṇic text has been felt since the earliest times. Several centuries later Ballāla Sena (1155-1180 A. D.) at the beginning of his *Dānasāgara* declares that he will not quote from the *Bhaviṣyottara* because it has no *prāmānya*; he will as well not take support from 'āpara' i.e. 'pseudo', as interpretes P.V. Kane⁴³, *Garuḍa*, *Brahma*, *Agni purāṇa*-s,

41. see a collection of tests in Mādhvācārya Śāstrī, *Purāṇa Digdarśana*, Delhi, 1957 (4th ed.), pp. 114-149 and all the *Nibandha*-s.

42. cf. P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 835-37.

43. cf. P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 870.

from the *Viṣṇu* having 23,000 *śloka-s* (which is the one given in the lists of the purāṇa-s) and the *Līṅga purāṇa* having 6,000 *śloka-s*.⁴⁴ The practice of quoting *śloka-s* from purāṇa-s may have induced the authors to style as purāṇic even what was a mere fruit of their mind, but it induced them also to quote only from authentic purāṇa-s, i. e. accepted and recognized by everybody. This, I think, has been the first push toward the creation of a purāṇic canon. A second and even stronger impulse came when the different *sampradāya-s* became self-conscious and began to oppose one another. At the outburst of new religious currents and schools, to the purāṇic literature must have happened what occurred to the *Bhāgavata purāṇa* at the time of Vallabhācārya. Vallabhācārya introduced the *Bhāgavata purāṇa* into the 'Prasthāna-traya' of the Vedantic school, which was composed of the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad Gīta* and the *Brahmasūtra*. Much in the same way the purāṇic authors may have introduced in the 'corpus' of the purāṇic literature their own purāṇic text so that it could be considered equally authoritative. As we do not possess indisputable material on this topic in the purāṇa-s, I do not insist on this point. One thing should, however, be noted. The controversy between, say, *Vaiṣṇava-s* and *Śaiva-s* brought about a change in the text of the purāṇa-s but not in their names. A *Kūrma purāṇa*, for instance, whose name had a relation with *Viṣṇu*, became mainly *Śaiva* without changing its *Vaiṣṇava* qualification of *Kūrma*. That means that at the time of the controversies among *sampradāya-s*, the names of the purāṇa-s had already become canonical. With this background the *paramparā* of the narrators of a purāṇa gains great importance. A purāṇic text which happens to have been substituted for a previous one has to prove its authenticity through an uninterrupted chain of purāṇic authors that links it to one revealing deity. The purāṇic *paramparā*, therefore, has its important role to play in fixing the canonical text. The set of three interlocutors which is visible, as noted by H. P. Shastri⁴⁵, in some particular type of purāṇic narrations, is an example of *paramparā*. The purāṇa-s have been catalogued in several ways, following preconceived theoretical schemes according to the exalted deity

44. *Danasāgara* of Ballāla Sena edited by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, 1952, pp. 3 ff.

45. H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. XC.

or the three *guṇa-s* etc... It would be more realistic to classify them according to the schools or narrators as given in the lists of *parampara-s*.

II. a. Remnants of purāṇic canons established down the centuries are still available in the actual purāṇa-s. The clearest one, even if this also is problematic like all the others, is the definition of purāṇa as '*pañcalakṣaṇa*.' Let me remark, first of all, that there was a time when the actual concept of a purāṇa as *pañcalakṣaṇa* did not exist.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the definition '*pañcalakṣaṇa*' was not considered sufficient by some purāṇa-s which changed it into *daśalakṣaṇa*.⁴⁷ Moreover, even when it was accepted by most of the purāṇa-s, there was no uniformity in understanding its meaning. Stephen H Levitt has shown that in the *Amakośa*, where we come across the expression '*purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa*' for the first time, it does not mean '*sarga, pratisarga* etc...' as usually understood in the purāṇa-s.⁴⁸ Jayamaṅgalā 1.5 also—as noted by Draviḍ Śāstrī⁴⁹—speaks of '*purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa*' interpreting the given characteristics as '*śṛṣṭi, pravṛtti, saṁhāra, dharma, mokṣa*.' Even those purāṇa-s which accept the *pañcalakṣaṇa* '*sarga, pratisarga* etc.', add other topics to them⁵⁰ *Skanda purāṇa* (VII. 1.2) which reproduces many *śloka-s* of *Matsya* 53 with variants, mentions immediately after the usual *śloka* depicting the *sarga, pratisarga* etc. *pañcalakṣaṇa* :

ब्रह्मविष्ण्वर्करुद्राणां माहात्म्यं भुवनस्य च ।
संहारश्च प्रदृश्येत पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥85॥

Matsya (53.65), instead, says :

...ससंहारप्रदानाञ्च पुराणे पञ्चवर्णकम् ॥cd॥

46. Shivadatta Gyaṇī, *op. cit.*

47. *Bhāgavata P.*, II. 10. 1 ff.; XII. 7.8 ff.; *Brahmavaivarta P.*, IV. 133. 6-10; *Bhaviṣya P.*, III. 4.25 219-220.

48. Stephen H. Levitt, A Note on the Compound "Pañcalakṣaṇa" in Amarasimha's Nāmalingānuśāsana, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī*, XVIII. (Jan., 1976), pp. 5-38.

49. सृष्टिप्रवृत्तिमहारधर्ममोक्षप्रयोजनम् ।
ब्रह्मभिर्विधैः प्रोक्तं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

see Rājeśvara Śāstrī Draviḍa, Bhāratīyarājamaṅgalau *Purāṇa-pañcalakṣaṇam*, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī*, IV. 2 (July, 1962), p. 237.

50. see, ex. g. *Kūrma P.*, II. 43.2-3; 44.66 etc.

The *śloka* is somewhat corrupt but indicates a tendency which is evident also in other purāṇa-s, namely to modify the actual topics to be dealt with. In fact, 13 purāṇa-s, at least, report the *sarga*, *pratisarga* etc. *pañcalakṣaṇa*, without following it or at least adding to it several other subjects. It is just this uniform repetition of a definition without an actual correspondence to it in the text that makes postulate a movement in the history of the purāṇic literature which inculcated that a purāṇa had to be furnished with those very characteristics to be considered authentic.⁵¹ Such a movement seems to have been partially successful. Some purāṇa-s, indeed, were possibly even written or at least adapted according to such a definition. *Viṣṇu purāṇa*, for instance, one the purāṇa-s which most closely follow the *pañcalakṣaṇa*, is aware of having been composed according to that definition :

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशमन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव भवतो गदितं मया ॥

(VI. 8.2. cf. also 13)

Skanda purāṇa (VII. 4.44.23-24) remakes the same *śloka* introducing new elements :

कथितो भवता सर्गः प्रतिसर्गस्तथैव च ।
वंशानुवंशचरितं चैव पुराणानामनुक्रमः ॥23॥
मन्वन्तरप्रमाणं च ब्रह्माण्डस्य च विस्तरः ।
ज्योतिश्चक्रस्वरूपं च यथावदनुवर्णितम् ॥24॥

So such a movement seems to have really created a kind of canon to the point that even those purāṇa-s which in fact do not follow at all the five prescribed characteristics repeat invariably that a purāṇa is '*pañcalakṣaṇa*'. From the fidelity or not to the *pañcalakṣaṇa* definition, then, no conclusion should be drawn on the antiquity or authenticity of a purāṇa. Although such a conclusion is against Kirfel and Kane as well as many others' view, yet it has to be taken into consideration. A. S. Gupta accepts it in his introduction to the English translation of the *Vāmana purāṇa*⁵².

Brahmāṇḍa and *Vāyu purāṇa-s* are divided into 4 part. This division (or structure) may appeared archaic to somebody. The

51. cf. Shivadatta Gyani, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

52. *The Vāmana Purāṇa with English Translation*, Edited by A. S. Gupta, Vārāṇasī, 1968, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

catuspāda stage would be a remnant of a purāṇic structure previous to the *pañcalakṣaṇa* stage. The supposition seems to be unfounded. Both *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa* which propose it explain its *raison d'être* : as the *yuga*-s are four including 12 thousand years so a 'perfect or ideal' purāṇa should have 4 parts and 12,000 *śloka*-s. The artificiality of the scheme seems obvious. In fact, only very few purāṇa-s accepted it and even those which follow it have also other divisions. It seems, therefore, that this structure has been super-imposed to a ready well-structured purāṇas.

b. Similarity with the problem of *pañcalakṣaṇa* can be found in examining the *number* and *names* of the purāṇa-s and the *order* in which they are mentioned. One can reasonably suspect that in this case also we are in the presence of remnants of an attempt to fix a purāṇic canon.

There are not less than 27 lists of purāṇa-s spread over 17 purāṇic works⁵³. Except for two cases, namely *Vāyu* and *Padma* IV. 100, all the lists contain 18 purāṇa-s and the word अष्टादशपुराणानि or its equivalent. Such a number seems to be well-established even if *Śiva* (V. 13.41ab) and *Padma* (IV. 111.89) purāṇa-s speak of 'ṣaḍviṃśat' purāṇa-s. Most probably षट्त्रिंशत् (i. e. 18 purāṇa-s and 18 upapurāṇa-s) has become षड्विंशत् through some copying mistakes, due to the close resemblance between त्र and व in *devanāgarī*.⁵⁴ The number 18 is accepted even by *Vāyu purāṇa* althouth it enumerates, in fact, only 16 purāṇa-s, while it is not mentioned in *Padma* IV.100, which lists 22 names. The word अष्टादशपुराणानि of *Vāyu*, then, is most probably a later addition. As there is controversy about the fourth purāṇa, whether it should be *Śiva* or *Vāyu*, Pargiter⁵⁵ includes both of them and so increases the total figure of the

53. In the 20 purāṇa-s examined, some have more than one list, while *Brahma*, *Brahmaṇḍa* and *Vāmana Purāṇa*-s have none.

54. *Padma P*'s "ṣaḍviṃśat" stands surely for "ṣaṭtriṃśat" as this Purāṇa enumerates here the 18 purāṇa-s and the 18 upapurāṇa-s. For the *Śiva Purāṇa* we should await the critical edition before we make any statement. The text says :

षड्विंशतिपुराणानां मध्येऽप्येकं ऋणोति यः । etc.

55. See Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Ed. by Hastings, quoted in A. D. Pusalker, *Studies in Epics and Purāṇas of India*, Bombay, 1963, p. 25.

purāṇa-s to 19. Pusalker⁵⁶, rightly in my opinion, rejects such a number as having no support in the tradition. What strikes us more, specially if we consider the nature of the purāṇic literature, always so fluid and unforeseeable, is that the names are practically identical in all the purāṇa-s and that the order of the 18 purāṇa-s follows fixed definite patterns with minor changes.

It appears from Table I (see at the end of the article) that two lists were in competition : one which put *Bhaviṣya purāṇa* in position 9 (Scheme A) and the other which put it in position 6 (Scheme B). The Scheme C has no fixed pattern. The variant which substitutes *Śiva* (or *Padma*) for *Vāyu* (in Scheme A) is most probably suggested by sectarian considerations. The alterations in *Padma* IV. 111, which modifies the order of 12 to 16 and in *Skanda* V. 2 1 which alters the sequence of 5 to 9 are seemingly justifiable with some disorder in MSS tradition rather than with a fidelity to a particular scheme different from the one of the proposed lists. *Līṅga purāṇa* (Scheme B2) and *Padma* VI. 263 (Scheme A3) concord in shifting *Skanda* from position 13 to 17, while *Skanda* I.2.40 (Scheme A1) and *Bhaviṣya* III. 3 (Scheme C3) insert *Nṛsimha purāṇa* in place of *Līṅga* and *Brahmavaivarta* (or *Nārada*) respectively. Scheme A1 (or A2) has become canonical to the point that modern authors like G. S. Caturvedī, B. Upādhyāya and others give a theoretical justification for it.⁵⁷ I am not aware of any similar attempt in the past. The purāṇa-s, according to these authors, could be only 18 and could not have any other order than the one given in Scheme A1 (or A2). Such an order has an inner logic, according to them, which cannot be disregarded. Things, indeed, have not been so clear in the process of the purāṇic arrangement. Yet it is difficult to deny the fact that a list was accepted by the majority of the purāṇa-s. Even outside the lists, *Kūrma purāṇa* (I.1.21) mentions itself as the 15th purāṇa, *Līṅga* (I.2.3cd) as the 11th, *Mārkaṇḍeya* (138.7) as the 7th, *Vāmana* (95.36a) as the 14th, *Bhaviṣya* (I.1.69) as the 9th, *Śiva* (VII.1.1.45) as the 4th exactly as in Scheme A1.

The above mentioned variants in the lists constitute naturally an objection to the theory of a fixed canon. The difficulty becomes

56. A. D. Pusalker, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

57. G. S. Caturvedī, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-33; Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-89.

more momentous when we consider the scheme C, in which each purāṇa follows its own order. For these purāṇa-s of Scheme C, in fact, the commonly accepted lists A or B had no value at all. *Padma purāṇa* IV.100 dares even to augment the total number of the purāṇas considerably and to change their names, not mentioning *Nārada* nor *Brahmāṇḍa* and inserting upapurāṇa-s, while *Bhaviṣya* III.3.28 omits *Brahmavaivarta* and *Nārada*, and *Vāyu* omits *Viṣṇu* and *Liṅga purāṇa-s*. We have to suppose that in the circles where such lists developed, the canonical lists was not accepted either because such circles were unorthodox or because the list was not yet fixed or at least not yet well-established or because they were unaware of it. The cases of *Devī Bhāgavata* and *Bhaviṣya* II.3.28 show that such purāṇa-s attached more importance to the mnemonic or 'guṇa-s' factors than to the canonical order and that is equivalent to saying that for them the order had no canonical force. Canonical seems to have been the number 18 for both and also the purāṇic names for *Devī Bhāgavata*. The Scheme C hints at an evolutive process of the commonly accepted list. The purāṇa-s developed in number and therefore there was most probably a time when the list was not complete (as in *Vāyu purāṇa*, Scheme C5) or the number and the names were not yet fixed (as in *Padma* IV. 100, Scheme C2 and *Bhaviṣya* III. 3.28, Scheme C3), or the order was not yet accepted (as in *Bhāgavata* XII. 7, Scheme C4). Whatever interpretation we give to these exceptional cases, there is hardly any room for a prudent doubt that the list of 18 purāṇa-s in the order given in Scheme A1 (or A2) had become commonly accepted and assumed, therefore, the force of a canonical list.

c. One way of describing a book and of fixing somehow its text is to determine the number of its śloka-s. Although that is only an external criterion not enough to establish its content, yet it can be used to fix its length. The number of śloka-s has been given carefully in some purāṇa-s to distinguish the authentic ones from the fake. I have already mentioned Ballāla Sena, who does not want to quote from a *Viṣṇu purāṇa* having 23,000 śloka-s or a *Liṅga purāṇa* having 6,000 śloka-s because he considers them aprāmāṇic. Length therefore serves as a criterion for Ballāla Sena for describing a purāṇa and for judging its authenticity. *Kūrma*, *Devī Bhāgavata*, *Skanda*, *Padma* and *Bhaviṣya purāṇa-s* contain in their colophons—the former three at every *adhyaḃya*, the latter two only in some—

the number of *śloka-s* they claim to have. There are moreover not less than nine lists giving the detailed number of *śloka-s* in all the purāṇa-s.

It is enough to compare (see Table II) the numbers given in the lists and the actual *śloka-s* of the purāṇa-s to realize immediately two things of some importance. The first is that if these figures are to be taken seriously, then contrary to what is commonly believed, the purāṇic literature is not increasing but decreasing. In other words, the figures given in the lists would represent a stage when the purāṇic literature was more vast than it is now. If the purāṇic evolution was from less to more, we have to suppose that these numbers were fixed when the purāṇa-s were in their golden age, i. e. in the period of their largest expansion. If their evolution was from more to less—just to give some credit to a purāṇic theory—then the numbers of *śloka-s* were established just when Vyāsa, at the beginning of *Dvāpara*, according to the theory, reduced them to 400,000 i. e. in a privileged moment of their evolution. The sum in fact of all the *śloka-s* as given in the lists is exactly 400,000 (or very close to it) with the exception of that given in *Agni* and *Vāyu purāṇa-s*—two cases to be studied separately and which may refer to different points of evolution.

The second remark that suggest itself spontaneously by comparing the *śloka-s* given in the purāṇa-s and the actual number available in the printed editions is that, while the former have always round numbers, the latter on the contrary contain irregular figures. So, for instance, *Brahma purāṇa* has 13,761 *śloka-s* not 13,000 or 14,000, *Viṣṇu purāṇa* has 6,373 not 6,500 or 6,000 etc... Such rounded off figures seem to be more imaginary than real. They were rounded off so that they could fit the theory. In fact, the actual number of *śloka-s* in the lists sums up to 4 lakhs. Such a sum, therefore, could be the reason for considering 4 lakhs as the number established by Vyāsa. On the other hand, the theory of 4 lakhs may have induced the authors to round off or to change the figures. What matters for our purpose, anyway, is that Table II shows a kind of agreement between the lists. Whether they were all composed and inserted into the purāṇa-s at the same time or whether one was composed and then accepted by the others does not make much difference. There has been a time when such lists were considered authoritative to the point that the

authors report them faithfully, apparently unconcerned with the actual length of the purāṇa-s. One could perhaps object that such lists could be the description of a factual situation. At the time of their composition the purāṇa-s had really that number of śloka-s and the lists reported it faithfully. *Agni purāṇa*, for instance, although at the end claims to have 15,000 śloka-s, in the list gives 12,000 and the actual purāṇa has in fact a number of śloka-s very close to the one given in the list. But there are two considerations against such a supposition. The first is what has already been said, i. e. the numbers appear too artificial, being so accurately rounded off. The second one is that the correspondence between the given number of śloka-s and the actual one was not always really intended. Even in the present printed editions the *Skanda purāṇa*, for instance, repeats in all its colophons एकाशीतिसाहस्र्यां संहितायाम् although it has 98,343 śloka-s or *Padma purāṇa* which says पञ्चपञ्चाशत् साहस्र्यां संहितायाम् although it has only 48,452 śloka-s. It seems, therefore, that for the number of śloka-s we can make the same statement as for the *pañcalakṣaṇa*. There we said that the śloka-s describing the *sarga*, *pratisarga*...*pañcalakṣaṇa* had to be given by the purāṇic authors whether the *pañcalakṣaṇa* was really present in that purāṇa or not. A purāṇa indeed without *sarga*, *pratisarga*...*pañcalakṣaṇa* would not have been accepted in some periods of purāṇic evolution or in some circles. Parallely the purāṇa-s had to have that particular number of śloka-s to be accepted. Whether, in fact, the purāṇa possessed so many śloka-s or not was less important. In this way we are led to consider number as a sign of authenticity. But this sign being peculiar to a particular period cannot be used to draw any conclusion about the authenticity of a purāṇa against another which has no such sign, as sometimes it has been done. Ballāla Sena, for instance, considers the *Viṣṇu purāṇa* having 23,000 śloka-s as *apramāṇic*, yet all the lists give exactly 23,000 śloka-s for the *Viṣṇu purāṇa*. As Ballāla Sena is a relatively recent author we can suppose that the previous canonical number had already changed in his times or it was changing as, in fact, Ballāla Sena has to specify that that purāṇa, perhaps still accepted and used by many, had to be considered as *apramāṇic*. But not always does the witness of an author stand in favour of a change from the number given by the purāṇa to the one given by the author. The purāṇic texts are evolving; it can happen,

therefore, that the witness of an author refers to a purāṇic stage previous to the one actually found in the purāṇa. This indeed seems to be the most common case.

d. The above mentioned theory of the purāṇa-s reduced to 400,000 śloka-s by Vyāsa induces us to examine Vyāsa and Sūta's role in the process of canonization. The name Vyāsa and Sūta represent, as is known, a class of persons rather than individuals bearing those names. In these circumstances it would be possible to accept the theory that describes Vyāsa, i. e. a class of persons, as the author of all the eighteen purāṇa-s.⁵⁸ But very often both these names are identified with two individuals, namely Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and Romahaṛṣaṇa (or some other) respectively. Theories about the origin and growth of purāṇic literature are several and none of them is till now exempt from serious difficulties. According to H. P. Shastri, "it seems that all ancient Purāṇa-s were revised at some time not yet ascertained, with the idea that Vyāsa was the writer of all the eighteen Purāṇa-s and in this revision Sauti, the son of Sūta, one of the disciples of Vyāsa, or Janamjaya has been brought in, in the beginning and at the end. Divest the Purāṇa-s of the interlocution between Sūta and the ṛṣi s and they will appear in proper form".⁵⁹ I have examined the purāṇa-s trying to find out, enlarging somewhat Shastri's theory, how far Vyāsa and his school are introduced as story-tellers. I am not concerned now with two considerations which could complicate considerably the whole problem at present. The first is that the author who introduces Vyāsa or Sūta is different from them. I shall come back to this problem a little further. The second consideration is that the names Vyāsa and Sūta, even in the purāṇa-s do not refer always to the same persons. Vyāsa, for instance, is used also to indicate somebody different from Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, as in *Bhāgavata purāṇa* (I.2.1):

व्यास उवाच । इति सम्प्रश्नसंहृष्टो विप्राणां रौमहर्षणिः ।

प्रतियूज्य वचस्तेषां प्रवक्तुमुपचक्रमे ॥ १ ॥

सूत उवाच । यं प्रव्रजन्तमनुपेतमपेतकृत्यं द्वैपायनो विरहकातर आजुहाव ॥2ab।

58. cf. Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-66; P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 857 ff. etc.

59. H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. LXXXI.

Here the Vyāsa of the beginning does not refer at all to Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, who enters in the next *śloka*. Vyāsa is here somebody who has not even seen or heard Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana as he refers to what Sūta, i.e. in this case Romaharṣaṇa's son, narrates about Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. As my purpose is to find out how far the Vyāsa school is presented as responsible for the purāṇa-s the two above mentioned problems can be kept apart.

Table III (see at the end) gives all the *adhyaṅga*-s and sometimes the *śloka*-s introduced by Vyāsa or one of his direct disciples specially the one surnamed Sūta. I have divided the *khaṇḍa*-s into three parts : the first 25% of the *adhyaṅga*-s, the central part and the last 25%. From this division it becomes apparent how far the Vyāsa school influenced the beginning, the end or the central part of the *khaṇḍa*-s.

If H. P. Shastri's suggestion is accepted, than 21 *khaṇḍa*-s out of 102 of the whole purāṇic literature, i. e. 656 *adhyaṅga*-s out of a total of 6675 will disappear from the purāṇa-s and other 1470 *adhyaṅga*-s will be badly affected or reduced to nothing. One third of the actual purāṇa-s is presented as spoken or directly introduced by Vyāsa and his school. Whether this reduction will give us really the 'proper form' of the purāṇa-s, as H. P. Shastri means, is quite doubtful. First, because there is no reason why it should be considered improper form what happened to be written down later and, secondly, because the rearrangement is not limited to the beginning and the end, as H. P. Shastri thought, but it covers also the central portion of the involved *khaṇḍa*-s. This central part, indeed, is even more affected by the Vyāsa school than the other portions of the *khaṇḍa*-s.⁶⁰ So H. P. Shastri's theory as such, does not apply. Yet his basic intuition proves valid in several cases. *Agni purāṇa*, for instance, is influenced by the

60. The case of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is peculiar. Its main narrator is Śuka who is Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana's son and, therefore, it should be considered fully written by the Vyāsa school. On the other hand at the beginning and at the end of the purāṇa the interlocutors Sūta and Vyāsa are introduced according to the law of purāṇic composition described by H. P. Shastri. I consider then, Śuka of the *Bhāgavata P.* as any other narrator not belonging to Vyāsa's school.

Vyāsa-Sūta layer only in the first and last *adhyāya*, exactly as H. P. Shastri has observed. The same thing can be said for *Revā-khaṇḍa*, *Vāyaviya Saṁhitā* and to some extent also for *Ādi* and *Bhūmi-khaṇḍa-s* of the *Padma purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Viṣṇu purāṇa-s* (the *aṁśa* 6 could then be, in this last purāṇa, even later than the time the Vyāsa school theory influenced the purāṇic literature) etc. The problem being important and delicate, would need deeper research. It is strange how authors like V. S. Agrawala, A. S. Gupta, P. V. Kane, S. D. Gyani who studied the development of the purāṇic literature did not pay attention to H. P. Shastri's suggestion and did not try to verify its reliability.

If it is difficult to find out how far the Vyāsa school really influenced the purāṇic literature, it is easy instead to see in which high consideration Vyāsa is held in the purāṇa-s. Many purāṇa-s, in fact, are concerned with describing their own origin. But although they do not follow the same theory, yet they largely agree in accepting Vyāsa as the author of all the purāṇa-s.

अष्टादशपुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः ।
भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे तदुपबृंहितम् ॥

(*Matsya* p. 53.70)

It is a widely-held Indian tradition that Vyāsa divided the *veda-s* into 4, composed the 18 purāṇa-s and the *Mahābhārata*.⁶¹ Although the authorship of all the purāṇa-s fits in, and is a derivation from, a larger theory that presupposes an extremely great number of purāṇa-s being reduced to 18 only by Vyāsa at every *Dvāpara yuga* yet it seems to have been accepted even by the followers of the other theory which instead supposes that Vyāsa had narrated only one *saṁhitā* to a certain number of disciples who in their turn renarrated to other disciples and so the *saṁhitā-s* increased in numbers.⁶² The result of such a theory is not only

61. विभज्य वेदं च तदर्थजातं चक्रे परामृश्य पुनः पुराणम् ।

तदोयनर्थञ्च विकृष्य चक्रे यो भारतं तत्र मनो ममास्ताम् ॥

Krishnamani Tripathi, *Purāṇa Paryālocanam* (Gavesha-nātmako Bhāgaḥ), Vārāṇasi, 1976, p. 80; see also p. 81.

62. see the two theories and their purāṇic references, in A. S. Gupta, *Purāṇas and their Referencing*, in *Purāṇa*, Vārāṇasi, VII.2 (July, 1965), pp. 323-26.

the common belief among the *paṇḍits* that Vyāsa is the only author of the purāṇa-s but, what interests us more, is that it moulded the purāṇic literature itself to such an extent that it appears really as a product of Vyāsa or his disciples. All the purāṇa-s, indeed, with the exception of *Vāmana purāṇa*, partially, are influenced by it. It is not my purpose to find out whether the Vyāsa-Sūta layer is an addition brought in by way of frame to each purāṇa as suggested by P. H. Shastri or it is a substratum, a remnant of something ancient to which other dialogues have been added or juxtaposed. What is more meaningful for us is to discover a stage when the purāṇa-s claimed to have been written by Vyāsa. Such a claim was widely made. A purāṇa to be considered authentic had to appear as narrated by Vyāsa or one of his disciples. In other words, only the writings or narrations of Vyāsa and his disciples were considered the original and authentic purāṇa-s. Something similar happened also, if I may use once more a christian parallel, to the canon of the New Testament, for which only the writings of the apostles were considered canonical. That gave birth to a plethora of works under the name of one apostle or another. With that the authors expected to be accepted as conveyers of the original message. Quite similar seems to be the purāṇic situation for the authorship of Vyāsa and his school. Such an attempt to unify every kind of story and subject under the aegis of the authorship of Vyāsa constitutes indeed an indisputable attempt to fix a purāṇic canon.

(e) Almost all the purāṇa-s, much in the same way as many other Sanskrit texts, contain in the beginning or at the end a summary of their contents, i. e. an *anukramaṇī*. Moreover, there are four purāṇa-s which besides the *anukramaṇī* of their own topics contain also a summary of all the other purāṇa-s : they are, as is wellknown, *Agni* 272, *Nārada* I, 92-109, *Matsya* 53 and *Skanda* VII. 1.2. 28ff. Each summary has its own characteristics. Their agreement is not necessary for our purpose, as they can represent different stages in the evolution of the purāṇa-s. Yet the very fact that a purāṇa gives the summary of the others seems already to imply that the given content has got some particular value and is worthy of transmission. Both *Nārada* and *Matsya* (= *Skanda* VII. 2.1), as some other purāṇa-s too, while reporting the list of their own contents, insist on the fact that reading the *anukramaṇī* is equal

to reading the whole purāṇa.⁶³ So, when the four above-mentioned purāṇa-s give the summary of all the purāṇic works, they mean to give the equivalent of all the purāṇa-s. It seems logical to suppose that the summarized purāṇa-s are, for those who prepared the *anukramaṇī-s*, the purāṇa-s that are considered authentic. Even more so when we keep in mind that the *anukramaṇī-s* referred to above are given as a guide to the devotee who wants to recite the purāṇa-s as a religious act. These *anukramaṇī-s*, indeed, are not given as the usual ones at the end or at the beginning of the purāṇa, but they are found in the body of the text and as a prescription of 'dāna.' The *anukramaṇī-s*, then, help in identifying the real, acceptable purāṇa-s from the spurious ones. They are a kind of litmus paper of the whole purāṇic literature for the period in which such *anukramaṇī-s* were composed.

If we now compare *Agni* p. 272 with *Matsya* p. 53 (= *Skanda* p. VII. 2.1) we see that although the number of *śloka-s* differs substantially, yet the two *adhyāya-s* have many *śloka-s* in common and agree almost completely in some liturgical prescriptions regarding the time when each purāṇa should be read, the gifts which should be given on that occasion and the fruits one gets from reading, listening to or copying a purāṇa.

Table IV (at the end) shows only two texts, as *Skanda* p. VII. 2.1 is a reproduction of *Matsya* p. 53 and *Nārada* p. (I 92-109) contains a completely different text.

I cannot enter into a detailed scrutiny of this table, but it is not difficult to find out some useful points. Entire *śloka-s*, half or quarters of them are common between the two versions. Sometimes a word is changed in one of the two texts but the meaning remains unaltered. *Agni purāṇa*, contains, so to say, a 'contracted' text. Some of its *śloka-s* would be almost incomprehensible, had we not the longer version of *Matsya* 53 (= *Skanda* VII. 2.1.). One could think of a borrowing of *Agni* from *Matsya*, but the additions found in it and the irregular and really awkward reduction of the *Agni*, text on the one hand and the additions on the other hint at some thing different from a mere borrowing. One could then think of an influence of *Matsya* 53 on *Agni* 272 but the sameness of many *śloka-s*

63. see *Kūrma P.*, II.44 119; *Brahmavaivarta P.*, I.1.67; cf. Giorgio Bonazzoli, A General Introduction to the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*. Its *Anukramaṇikās* and their Significance, in *Purāṇa, Vārāṇasī*, XVII.2 (July, 1975), pp. 118-148

in the two purāṇa-s suggests something more than a mere influence. The only logical and satisfactory supposition seems to be the common dependence of the two purāṇa-s on a third source, most probably not written. These two texts would represent an oral common source readjusted by the two purāṇa-s differently according to their aims and the ability of their authors. They would be witnessing a tradition older than their own composition and carried down orally most probably through *vācaka-s*, *vyāsa-s*, *sūta-s* etc. New would be only the context and the additions : the common *śloka-s* would represent a more ancient tradition, i. e. the source from which both of them descend. If it is so, then the common *śloka-s* constitute more than a mere agreement of two texts. They transmit a previous tradition which fixed at least some liturgical injunctions and a very general summary of all the purāṇa-s. That means that the content of the purāṇa-s had for long been fixed and had become authoritative or canonical. At the same time one can realize how, in fact, the content given for the single purāṇa-s was very general and vague and, therefore, how it could be easily adapted to different places and times.

At this point some questions arise spontaneously : who attempted to fix a canon ? Could it be Dvaipāyana or Romaharṣaṇa or any of the purāṇic narrators as mentioned in the purāṇa-s themselves ? Who could decide that these texts and not others had to be considered canonical ? In the purāṇa-s there is an unnamed author who introduces the purāṇa itself and its interlocutors. He could be styled as the compiler of the actual purāṇa-s. It is logical to think, indeed, that the writer who introduces Sūta or Vyāsa is neither of them but a third one. Now, almost all the purāṇa-s have some introductory *śloka-s* describing the scene in which the purāṇa is narrated. Mostly the arrival of Sūta is presented who comes to see the ṛṣi-s led by Śaunaka while performing a year-long sacrifice in the *Naimiṣa* forest. This or a similar frame of a purāṇa has been provided by some compilers who cannot be identified with any of the purāṇic authors whose names appear in the purāṇa-s. Most probably such compilers are not the common *vācaka-s* or bards because each one of them speaks boldly in the first person :

पुराणं संप्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं विश्वयोनिना ॥

(*Kūrma* p. I. 1. 1cd)

No bard would have shown off his person so openly. They must be some rather important but anonymous authors who are responsible

for the final arrangement of many purāṇa-s. If we compare the first *adhyāya* of *Brahmāṇḍa* p. with the first *adhyāya* of *Vāyu* p. we find that the introductory verses, belonging to an anonymous speaker, follow two different theories about the appearance of the purāṇic literature. *Brahmāṇḍa* affirms that Vyāsa is the first narrator of a *samhita* to the disciples etc. *Vāyu* imagines that the purāṇa-s were pronounced by *Brahmā* and reduced to 18 by Vyāsa. So, the anonymous authors are more than one, possibly living in different epochs and have different opinions. Perhaps they are responsible for the two theories about the beginning of the purāṇa-s. These compilers can also be responsible for the different attempts to fix a purāṇic canon. G. S. Caturvedi⁶⁴ mentions a theory according to which in ancient times there were *pariśads* which examined and approved the Sankrit texts and also the purāṇa-s. The existence of such *pariśads* would explain why we have the same list of purāṇa-s in almost all the texts. G. S. Caturvedi does not support his statement with any text. Perhaps he had in mind *Manu* XII. 108-115 and situations like the one described in *Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa* (II.35 or I.2.35.15ff.) or *Vāyu* (I.61.12ff.) where to explain the beginning of *Carakādhyāyū* some *Brāhmaṇa*-s at the time of *Vaiśampāyana*, i. e. in the period when the purāṇa-s are traditionally supposed to have been written, decide to meet :

मेरुपृष्ठं समासाद्य तैस्तदा त्विति मन्त्रितम् ।

He had also in mind perhaps the gathering which is imagined to have taken place at the beginning of *Kali yuga* to decide about the incoming age. It is difficult anyhow to conclude from these or similar 'sabhā-s' held by kings or *sādhu*-s that these meetings had any power to decide about the authenticity of the purāṇa-s. Different seems to be the case of philosophers who used to check their doctrine in Kāśī. If this were also the case with purāṇa-s, anyway, it would not yet mean that *pariśads* existed to approve or disregard the purāṇic literature. The purāṇa-s were seemingly arranged by some anonymous authors.

From what we have seen we can imagine that this arrangement took place several times down the ages. And each time there has been an attempt to fix for ever that arrangement. The one we have now is only the last of a long series of changings, which contains remnants of all the previous stages. As the purāṇic vitality of growing is almost over we have to suppose that no major changes will take place in the future. The critical editions of the purāṇa-s will also contribute to bringing the evolutive process to an end. More than in other moments of the past, we are now sure that the text we reconstruct is bound to remain the authoritative text for centuries.

64. G. S. Caturvedi, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

TABLE I
Scheme A

A ₁	Padma I 62	Bhg XII. 13	Bhv I. 1,	Bv IV. 123	Mark 138	Viṣṇu III. 6	Varāha 112	Sk I. 2, 40	A ₂
1. Brahma	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	1. Brahma
2. Padma	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	2. Padma
3. Viṣṇu	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	3. Viṣṇu
4. Śiva	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	4. Vāyu
5. Bhāgavata	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	5. Bhāgavata
6. Nāradya	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	6. Nāradya
7. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	7. Mārkaṇḍeya
8. Agni	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	8. Agni
9. Bhaviṣya	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	9. Bhaviṣya
10. Brahmavaivarta	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	10. Brahmavaivarta
11. Liṅga	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	— ²	11. Liṅga
12. Varāha	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	12. Varāha
13. Skanda	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	13. Skanda
14. Vāmana	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	14. Vāmana
15. Kūrma	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	15. Kūrma
16. Matsya	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	16. Matsya
17. Garuḍa	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	17. Garuḍa
18. Brahmāṇḍa	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	18. Brahmāṇḍa

Note: Abbreviations : Nar=Nārada; Bv=Brahmavaivarta; Bhv= 1. Bhv II 1.8.2-3 speaks of 3. Śiva 4. Bhāgavata 5. Matsya in the cohophon 4. The purāṇa-s are then rearranged

<i>Agni</i> 272 <i>Nar.</i> I. 92ff. <i>Matsya</i> 53 <i>Sk</i> VII. 2.28	A ₃	<i>Padma</i> VI. 263 ⁴	A ₄	<i>Sk</i> V. 2.1
× × × ×	1. Brahma	×	1 Brahma	×
× × × ×	2. Padma	×	2. Padma	×
× × × ×	3. Viṣṇu	×	3. Viṣṇu	×
× × × ×	4. Śiva	×	4. Vāyu or Śiva	×
× × × ×	5. Bhāgavata	×	5. Bhaviṣya	×
× × × ×	6. Nāradiya	×	6. Mārkaṇḍeya	×
× × × ×	7. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	7. Agni	×
× ³ × × ×	8. Agni	×	8. Nāradiya	×
× × × ×	9. Bhaviṣya	×	9. Bhāgavata	×
× × × ×	10. Brahmavaivarta	×	10. Brahmavaivarta	×
× × × ×	11. Liṅga	×	11. Liṅga	×
× × × ×	12. Varāha	×	12. Varāha	×
× × × ×	13. Vāmana	×	13. Skanda	×
× × × ×	14. Kūrma	×	14. Vāmana	×
× × × ×	15. Matsya	×	15. Kūrma	×
× × × ×	16. Garuḍa	×	16. Matsya	×
× × × ×	17. Skanda	×	17. Garuḍa	×
× × × ×	18. Brahmāṇḍa	×	18. Brahmāṇḍa	×

Bhaviṣya; *Bhg* = Bhāgavata; *Mark* = Mārkaṇḍeya; *Sk* = Skanda
 6 Bhaviṣya; 2. Nṛsiṃha instead of Liṅga 3. Called *Ādi purāṇa*
 following the division according to the three *guṇa*-s.

TABLE I
Scheme B

B ₁	Kūrma I. 1.	Śiva VII. I. 1.43	Padma VI. 219	B ₂	Līṅga I. 39	Śiva V. 44.120
1. Brahma	×	×	×	1. Brahma	×	×
2. Padma	×	×	×	2. Padma	×	×
3. Viṣṇu	×	×	×	3. Viṣṇu	×	×
4. Śiva	×	×	×	4. Śiva	×	×
5. Bhāgavata	×	×	×	5. Bhāgavata	×	×
6. Bhaviṣya	×	×	×	6. Bhaviṣya	×	×
7. Nāradiya	×	×	×	7. Nāradiya	×	×
8. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	×	×	8. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	×
9. Agni	×	×	×	9. Agni	×	×
10. Brahmavaivarta	×	×	×	10. Brahmavaivarta	×	×
11. Liṅga	×	×	×	11. Liṅga	×	×
12. Varāha	×	×	×	12. Varāha	×	×
13. Skanda	×	×	×	13. Vāmana	×	×
14. Vāmana	×	×	×	14. Kūrma	×	×
15. Kūrma	×	×	×	15. Matsya	×	×
16. Matsya	×	×	×	16. Garuḍa	×	×
17. Garuḍa	×	×	×	17. Skanda	×	×
18. Brahmāṇḍa	×	×	×	18. Brahmāṇḍa	×	×

1. Or Vāyavīya.

2. In this scheme *Padma* (No. 2) is missing. It has been of all the purāṇa-s one number ahead.

B ₃	Padma IV. 111	B ₄	Skanda VII. 2. ²
1. Brahma	×	1. Brahma	×
2. Padma	×	2. Viṣṇu	×
3. Viṣṇu	×	3. Śiva	×
4. Śiva	×	4. Bhāgavata	×
5. Bhāgavata	×	5. Bhaviṣya	×
6. Bhaviṣya	×	6. Nāradiya	×
7. Nāradiya	×	7. Mārkaṇḍeya	×
8. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	8. Agni	×
9. Agni	×	9. Brahmavaivarta	×
10. Brahmavaivarta	×	10. Liṅga	×
11. Liṅga	×	11. Varāha	×
12. Vāmana	×	12. Skanda	×
13. Skanda	×	13. Vāmana	×
14. Matsya	×	14. Kūrma	×
15. Kūrma	×	15. Matsya	×
16. Varāha	×	16. Garuḍa	×
17. Garuḍa	×	17. Vāyaviya	×
18. Brahmāṇḍa	×	18. Brahmāṇḍa	×

replaced with *Vayaviya* at No. 17. This is the cause of the shifting

TABLE I
Scheme C

C ₁	<i>Garuḍa</i> I. 215 ¹	C ₂	<i>Devī Bhg</i> ²	C ₃	<i>Padma</i> IV. 100 ³
1. Brahma	×	1. Matsya	×	1. Brahma	×
2. Padma	×	2. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	2. Padma	×
3. Viṣṇu	×	3. Bhaviṣya	×	3. Viṣṇu	×
4. Śiva	×	4. Bhāgavata	×	4. Mārtanḍa	×
5. Bhāgavata	×	5. Brahma	×	5. Nāradiya	×
6. Bhaviṣya	×	6. Brahmāṇḍa	×	6. Mārkaṇḍeya	×
7. Nāradiya	×	7. Brahma- vaivarta	×	7. Agni	×
8. Skanda	×	8. Vāmana	×	8. Kūrma	×
9. Liṅga	×	9. Vāyaviya	×	9. Vāmana	×
10. Varāha	×	10. Viṣṇu	×	10. Garuḍa	×
11. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	11. Varāha	×	11. Liṅga	×
12. Agni	×	12. Agni	×	12. Skanda	×
13. Brahma- vaivarta	×	13. Nārada	×	13. Matsya	×
14. Kūrma	×	14. Padma	×	14. Nrsimha	×
15. Matsya	×	15. Liṅga	×	15. Kāpila	×
16. Garuḍa	×	16. Garuḍa	×	16. Varāha	×
17. Vāyaviya	×	17. Kūrma	×	17. Brahma- vaivarta	×
18. Brahmāṇḍa	×	18. Skanda	×	18. Śiva	×
				19. Bhāgavata	×
				20. Durgā	×
				21. Bhavisyottara	×
				22. Bhaviṣya	×

1. The list seems to depend on *Kūrma purāṇa*. But note that here *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyaviya* are two separate purāṇa-s while they are considered one in *Kūrma purāṇa*.

2. The order is according to a mnemonic list given in I. 3.2.

3. *Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa* is missing.

C ₄	<i>Bhv</i> III. 3.284	C ₅	<i>Bhg.</i> XII,7	C ₆	<i>Vāyu</i> 104 ^b
1. Viṣṇu	×	1. Brahma	×	1. Matsya	×
2. Skanda	×	2. Padma	×	2. Bhaviṣya	×
3. Padma	×	3. Viṣṇu	×	3. Markaṇḍeya	×
4. Bhāgavata	×	4. Śiva	×	4. Brahma- vaivarta	×
5. Brahma	×	5. Liṅga	×	5. Brahmāṇḍa	×
6. Garuḍa	×	6. Garuḍa	×	6. Bhāgavata	×
7. Matsya	×	7. Nāradya	×	7. Brahma	×
8. Kūrma	×	8. Bhāgavata	×	8. Vāmana	×
9. Nṛsimha	×	9. Agn	×	9. Ādi	×
10. Vāmana	×	10. Skanda	×	10. Anila (= Vāyu)	×
11. Śiva	×	11. Bhaviṣya	×	11. Nāradya	×
12. Vāyu	×	12. Brahma- vaivarta	×	12. Vainateya (= Garuḍa)	×
13. Agni	×	13. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	13. Padma	×
14. Liṅga	×	14. Vāmana	×	14. Kūrma	×
15. Brahmāṇḍa	×	15. Varāha	×	15. Saukara (= Varāha)	×
16. Bhaviṣya	×	16. Matsya	×	16. Skanda	×
17. Mārkaṇḍeya	×	17. Kūrma			
18. Varāha	×	18. Brahmāṇḍa			

4. The list follows the division of the three *Guṇa*-s and gives the author of each purāṇa. *Brahmavaivarta* and *Nāradya* are missing. Both *Śiva* and *Vāyu* are given; see also *Padma* VI.163.

5. *Viṣṇu* and *Liṅga* are missing. *Agni* is called *Ādi*. Some names differ from the usual ones.

TABLE II

	<i>Agni p.</i> 272	<i>Devī Bhāg.</i> I. 3.	<i>Nārada</i> I.92ff	<i>Bṛ</i> IV.133	<i>Bhḡ.</i> XII.13	<i>Matsya</i> 53	<i>Vāyu</i> II.42	<i>Sk. V.I.</i>	<i>Sk. VII.2</i>	<i>Actual purāṇa-s as given in Furāṇa VII. 349.</i>
1. Brahma	25	10	10	10	10	13	10	10	10	13.761 (Ā)
2. Padma	12	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	48.452 (Ā)
3. Viṣṇu	23	23	23	23	23	23	—	23	23	6.373 (G)
4. Śiva (or Vāyu)	14	24.6	24	24	24	24	23	24	24	10.991 (Ā) (Vāyu p.)
5. Bhāgavata	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	14.579 (G)
6. Nāradya	25	25	25	25	25	25	23	25	25	17.549 (V)
7. Mārkaṇḍeya	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6.447 (V)
8. Agni (15 in 383.64)	12	16	15	15.4	15.4	16	10.6 (Ādi p.)	16	16	11.457 (Ā)

9. Bhaviṣya	14	14.5	14	14.5	14.5	14.5	14.5	14.5	14	25.956 (V)
10. Brahmavaiv.	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	20.694 (Ā)
11. Liṅga	11	11	11	11	11	11	—	11	11	9.185 (V)
12. Varāha	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	9.720 (B)
13. Skanda	84	81	81	81.1	81.1	81.1	81	81	81.1	93.343 (V)
14. Vāmana	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	5.815 (V)
15. Kūrma	8	17	17	17	17	18	17	17	17	5.925
16. Matsya	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14.062 (Ā)
17. Garuḍa	8	19	19	19	19	18	19	19	19	8.738 (V)
18. Brahmāṇḍa	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12.2	14.268 (V)
(13 variant)										
Total	340	401.2	399	400	400	403.6	358.1	400.5	400.3	338.295

Note : The numbers are in thousands.

The black figures show irregularity from the common accepted number. In the Skanda purāṇa the figures 81 or 81.1 are both statistically equal.

TABLE III

Vyāsa as the Author of the Purāṇa-s

Note : The first and last part of column III refer approximately to the first and last quaters of each purāṇa i. e. its beginning and its end respectively. The second part of the same column III refers to the central part of the purāṇa. The adh. in column III have as a narrator Vyāsa or one of his school.

I Name of the Purāṇa	II No of adh-s	III Vyāsa School			IV Vyāsa Alone	V Notes
1. Agni (Mor)	383	1	—	383.30 ff		
2. Kūrma (Crit. ed.)						
I Pūrvavibhāga	51	1; 4.1; 9.1; 11.16	17-34	38-51	27-28	
II Uparivibhāga	44	1;5	11-14;16-38	41-44	1; 5; 11-14; 18-30; 32-33	
3. Garuḍa (Jivānanda) I	229	1-3; 18-28; 30; 47-48; 53	57-81; 88; 91-92; 107-115	202; 204- 205; 215- 227		
II (Uttarabhāga)	35	—	—	—		

4. Nāradya						
(Veñk) Pūrvabhāga	125	1-4; 17; 23	45-50; 58- 63; 72; 82- 83; 88; 91-92	125	58-62	
Uttarabhāga	89	2-3; 8-9	28	89		
5. Padma						
(ASS) I Ādikhaṇḍa	62	1-16	—	40-62	51-60	
II Bhūmikhāṇḍa	125	1-38	61	86-125	1; 20.2; 21	In 20, 2 Vyāsa asks.
III Brahmakh.	26	1-26	—	—		
IV Pātālakhaṇḍa	113	1	38; 48; 55	83-101; 112-113	38; 55	
V Sṛṣṭikhāṇḍa	82	1-2	47	—	47	
VI Uttarakhaṇḍa	282	1-3; 53	66; 72; 90; 117-131; 189-94	218-221; 231; 241 247; 251; 282	53	
6. Brahma						
(Mor)	245	1-26; 41	—	177-240 244-45	177-240; 244	Lomahaṛṣaṇa speaks.
7. Brahmavaivarta						
(Ass) I Brahmakh.	30	1-29				In I. 1-29 and II.
II Prakṛtikh.	67	—	22.3; 40.9	—		40.9 he is called
III Gaṇeśakh.	46	6	19; 24	—		Sauti. In the other
IV Kṛṣṇajanmakh.	133	17-19 27-28	47	131-133		cases the name is Sūta.

I Name of the Purāṇa	II No of adh-s	III Vyāsa School		IV Vyāsa	V Notes
8. Brahmāṇḍa					
(Veṅk.) I Pūrvabhāga	38	1-38			
II Madhyamabh.	74	1-9; 12; 15;	—	59-74	
III Uttarabhāga	4	1	3	—	
IV Lalitopākhyāna	40	—	—	—	
9. Bhaviṣya					
(Veṅk.)					
I Brāhmaparva	216	1	142; 144-45; 151	198-201; 205-207	142; 144- 45; 198- 201; 205- 207
II Madhyama- parva	a. 21	1-21			
	b. 21	1-21			
	c. 20	1-20			
III Pratisargaparva	a. 7	1-7			
	b. 34	1-34			23
	c. 32	1-32			
	d. 26	1-26			25-26
IV Uttaraparva	208	1			1

10. Bhāgavata
(Gītā Press)

Suka is the main
narrator; see fn. 60

I Skandha	19	1-19	—	—
II -do-	10	1-4; 8; 10	—	—
III -do-	33	—	19-20	25
IV -do-	31	—	13; 17; 21	—
V -do-	26	—	—	—
VI -do-	19	4	—	14; 18
VII -do-	15	—	—	—
VIII -do-	24	1; 5	—	24
IX -do-	24	1	—	—
X -do-	90	1; 12	—	—
XI -do-	31	—	—	—
XII -do-	13	—	—	6-13

11. Matsya

(Jivānanda)

290	1-59	92; 111-145; 243-73
		148-53; 290
		158-63;
		178-181;
		184-85;
		194; 206

12. Mārkaṇḍeya

(Vaṅgavāsī)

138	1; 4; 8; 10	45	138
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Jaimini, Vyāsa's
disciple, asks

I Name of the Purāṇa		II No of adh-s		III Vyāsa School		IV Vyāsa	V Notes
13. Liṅga (Jivānanda)							
I Pūrvārddham		108	1-26	29; 42	45-108		
II Uttarārddham		55	1-2; 4-9	20-21; 27-28	45-55		
14. Varāha (Veṅk.)							
		217	1	123-152	180-192; 213; 217		
15. Vāmana (Crit. ed.)							
		69	—	—	—		Lomahaṛṣaṇa speaks
		28	1-22				
16. Vāyu (Mor)							
		112	1-10; 12; 21	24-72; 76; 79	84-100; 102-105; 112		
17. Viṣṇu (Gitā Press)							
I aṁśa	22	1	—	—	—	1	Parāśara is the main narrator. No other author of Vyāsa- school in the other aṁśa-s.
V -do-	38	—	—	—	38		

18. Śiva (Veṅk)					
1. Vidyeśvara Samhita	25	1-5	--	11-25	
2. Rudra Samhita					
I. Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa	20	1-5	11; 14	17	
II. Satī Khaṇḍa	43	2; 5; 8;	24	38	
III. Pārvatī Khaṇḍa	54	—	—	—	
IV. Kumāra Khaṇḍa	20	--	13	—	
V. Yuddha Khaṇḍa	59	2; 5; 6; 8;	19; 20; 23; 34;	47; 48; 51;	
		11; 13; 14	39; 42; 43	54; 55; 59	
3. Śatarudra Samhita	42	1-3	24	37-38	37-38
4. Koṭirudra Samhita	43	1-43			
5. Umā Samhita	51	1; 4; 5; 11;	15; 20; 21;	40; 44; 49;	
		12	22; 24; 25;	51	
			28-29		
6. Kailāśa Samhita	23	1-2	10-11; 16	18	2; 18
7. Vāyaviya Samhita					
I.	35	1-5	—	—	
II.	41	—	—	40-41	
<hr/>					
19. Skanda (Mor)					
(A) 1. Maheśvara Khaṇḍa	35	1	11; 21-22	31-32; 35	
2. Kaumārika Khaṇḍa	66	2	—	55; 58-66	
3. Aruṇācala-māhātmya					
a.	13	1	—	13	
b.	24	1	—	17	

I Name of the Purāṇa	II No of adh-s	III Vyāsa School	IV Vyāsa	V Notes
(B) Vaiṣṇava				
Khaṇḍa				
1. Veṅkaṭācala	40	1-4	11-31	39-40
2. Utkala Khaṇḍa	60	1-60		
3. Badarikāśrama māhātmya	8	1-3		
4. Kārtikāmāsa- māhātmya	36	1; 4	11-13	32
5. Mārgaśrīga- māhātmya	17	1; 1-2		
6. Bhāgavata- māhātmya	4	1-4		
7. Vaiśakha- māhātmya	25	1		25
8. Ayodhyā- māhātmya	10	1-6		10
9. Vāsudeva- māhātmya	32	1		32

(C) Brahmakhaṇḍa				
1. Setumāhātmya	52	1-52		
2. Dharmār- aṇyamāh.	40	1-40		
3. Caturmāsyamāh.	32	—	—	—
4. Brahmottara- khaṇḍa	22	1-22		
(D) Kāśīkhaṇḍa	I } 100	1-5	25-26; 45-49	95-100
	II }			
(E) Avanti khaṇḍa	I 83	1-3		
II catuśīti līṅga māhātmya	84	—	—	—
(F) Revā khaṇḍa	236	1-2	97	230-236
(G) Nāgarakhaṇḍa (Veṅk.)	279	1-199	—	212-215; 228- 233; 264-279
(H) Prabhāsakhaṇḍa (Veṅk.)				
I. Prabhāsakṣe- tramāhātmya	365	1-5; 11; 18; 36; 37	130	319
II. Vastrāpaṭha kṣetramāh.	19	—	—	—
III. Arbudakhaṇḍa	63	1; 3-5	—	—
IV. Dvārakā- māhātmya	44	1	—	36; 39; 43-44

I		II		III		IV		V	
Name of the Purāṇa		No of adh-s		Vyāsa School		Vyāsa		Notes	
20. Devī Bhāgavata									
(Mor)	I. Skandha	20	1-20						
	II. do	12	1-12						
	III. do	30	1; 7; 9-10	-			12-30		
	IV. do	25	1-25						
	V. do	35	1-35						
	VI. do	31	1-31						
	VII. do	40	1-40						
	VIII. do	24	1	-			-		
	IX. do	50	-	-			-		
	X. do	13	1-8	-			-		
	XI. do	24	-	-			-		
	XII. do	14	-	-			8-14		
Total		6675	653	334			486		

Note:—21 Khaṇḍa-s, out of 103, i. e. 656 adhyāya-s are completely narrated by Vyāsa or his school = 10%
 —2126 adhyāya-s out of 6675, are influenced by Vyāsa or his school = 33%
 —The Vyāsa school constitutes the 44% of the adhyāya-s in the beginning of the purāṇa, the 33% of the adhyāya-s at the end, the 12% of the adhyāya-s of the middle.

TABLE IV

Note : The text of *Skanda purāna* (Vetk.) VII.1.2.28ff is equal to the one in *Matsya purāna* (Mor ed.), 53. The variants are of minor importance. The texts that are similar both in *Matsya* and in *Agni* are in blacker types. Many more other small similarities can be found by reading the two texts attentively.

Matsya (Mor ed.), 53

Brahma P.

ब्रह्मणाभिहितं पूर्वं यावन्मात्रं मरीचये ॥12 cd॥

ब्राह्मम् त्रिदशसाहस्रं पुराणं परिकीर्त्यते ।

लिखित्वा तच्च यो दद्याज्जलधेनुसमन्वितम् ।

वैशाखपूर्णिमायाञ्च ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥13॥

Padma P.

एतदेव यथा पद्ममभूद्वैरण्मयं जगत् ।

तद् वृत्तान्ताश्रयं तद्वत् पाद्यमित्युच्यते बुधैः ।

पाद्यै तन् पञ्च पञ्चाशत् सहस्राणीह कथ्यते ॥14॥

तत्पुराणञ्च यो दद्यात् सुवर्णकलशान्वितम् ।

ज्येष्ठे मासि तिलैर्युक्तमश्वमेधफलं लभेत् ॥15॥

Viṣṇu P.

वाराहकल्पवृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य पराशरः ।

यत्प्राह धर्मानखिलान् तद्युक्तं वैष्णवं विदुः ॥16॥

तदाषाढे च यो दद्याद् धृतधेनुसमन्वितम् ।

पौर्णमास्यां विपूतात्मा स पदं याति वारुणम् ।

त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं तत्प्रमाणं विदुर्बुधाः ॥17॥

Agni (Mor ed.), 272

ब्रह्मणाभिहितं पूर्वं यावन् मात्रं मरीचये ।

लक्षाद्द्विद्विन्तु तद् ब्राह्मं लिखित्वा सम्प्रदापयेत् ॥1॥

वैशाखां पौर्णमास्याञ्च स्वर्गार्थी जलधेनुमत् ।

पाद्यं द्वादशसाहस्रं ज्येष्ठे दद्याच्च धेनुमत् ॥2॥

वाराहकल्पवृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य पराशरः ।

त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं वैष्णवं प्राह चार्पयेत् ॥3॥

जलधेनुमदाषाढ्यां विष्णोः पदमवाप्नुयात् ॥4 ab॥

Vāyu P.

श्वेतकल्पप्रसङ्गेन धर्मान् वायुरिहान्नवीत् ।

यत्र तद्वायवीयं स्याद् रुद्धमाहात्म्यसंयुतम् ।

चतुर्विंशत् सहस्राणि पुराणं तदिहोच्यते ॥18॥

श्रावण्यां श्रावणे मासि गुडधेनुसमन्वितम् ।

यो दद्याद् वृषसंयुक्तं ब्राह्मणाय कुटुम्बिने ।

शिवलोके स पूतात्मा कल्पमेकं वसेन्नरः ॥19॥

Bhāgavata P.

यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्रीं वर्ण्यते धर्मविस्तरः ।

वृत्रासुरबधोपेतं तद् भागवतमुच्यते ॥20॥

सारस्वतस्य कल्पस्य मध्ये ये स्युर्नरोत्तमाः ।

तद्वृत्तान्तोद्भवं लोके तद्भागवतमुच्यते ॥21॥

लिखित्वा तच्च यो दद्याद्धर्मसिंहसमन्वितम् ।

पौर्णमास्यां प्रौष्ठपद्यां स याति परमां गतिम् ।

अष्टादशसहस्राणि पुराणं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥22॥

Nāradya P.

यत्राह नारदो धर्मान् बृहत्कल्पाश्रयाणि च ।

पञ्चविंशत् सहस्राणि नारदीयं तदुच्यते ॥23॥

तदिदं पञ्चदश्यान्तु दद्याद्धेनुसमन्वितम् ;

परमां सिद्धिमाप्नोति पुनरावृत्तिदुर्लभाम् ॥24॥

चतुर्दशसहस्राणि वायवीयं हरिप्रियम् ॥4 cd॥

श्वेतकल्पप्रसङ्गेन धर्मान् वायुरिहान्नवीत् ।

दद्याल्लिखित्वा तद् विप्रे श्रावण्यां गुडधेनुमत ॥5॥

यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्रीं कीर्त्यते धर्मविस्तरः ।

वृत्रासुरबधोपेतं तद् भागवतमुच्यते ॥6॥

सारस्वतस्य कल्पस्य प्रौष्ठपद्यान्तु तद् ददेत् ।

अष्टादशसहस्राणि हेर्मसिंहसमन्वितम् ॥7॥

यत्राह नारदो धर्मान् बृहत्कल्पाश्रितानिह ।

पञ्चविंशत्सहस्राणि नारदीयं तदुच्यते ॥8॥

सधेनुञ्चाश्विने दद्यात् सिद्धिमात्यन्तिकीं लभेत् 19 ab1

Markandeya P.

यत्राधिकृत्य शकुनीन धर्माधर्मविचारणा ।
व्याख्याता वै मुनिप्रश्ने मुनिभिर्धर्मचारिभिः ॥25॥
मार्कण्डेयेन कथितं तत् सर्वं विस्तरेण तु ।
पुराणं नवसाहस्रं मार्कण्डेयमिहोच्यते ॥26॥
प्रतिलिख्य च यो दद्यात् सौवर्णकरिसंयुतम् ।
कार्त्तिक्यां पुण्डरीकस्य यज्ञस्य फलभागभवेत् ॥27॥

Agni P.

यत्तदीशानकं कल्पं वृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य च ।
वसिष्ठायग्निना प्रोक्तमाग्नेयं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥28॥
लिखित्वा तच्च यो दद्याद्ध्रेमपद्मसमन्वितम् ।
मार्गशीर्ष्या विधानेन तिलधेनुसमन्वितम् ।
तच्च षोडशसाहस्रं सर्वक्रतुफलप्रदम् ॥29॥

Bhaviṣya P.

यत्राधिकृत्य माहात्म्यमादित्यस्य चतुर्मुखः ।
अधोरकल्पवृत्तान्तप्रसङ्गेन जगत्स्थितिम् ।
मनवे कथयामास भूतग्रामस्य लक्षणम् ॥30॥
चतुर्दशसहस्राणि तथा पञ्चशतानि च ।
भविष्यचरितप्रायं भविष्यन्तदिहोच्यते ॥31॥
तत् पौषे मासि यो दद्यात् पौर्णमास्यां विमत्सरः ।
गुडकुम्भसमायुक्तमग्निष्टोमफलं भवेत् ॥32॥

यत्राधिकृत्य शत्रूणां धर्माधर्मविचारणा ॥9 ad॥

कार्त्तिक्यां नवसाहस्रं मार्कण्डेयमथापयेत् ॥10 ab॥

अग्निना यद् वसिष्ठाय प्रोक्तञ्चाग्नेयमेव तत् ॥10 cd॥

लिखित्वा पुस्तकं दद्यान् मार्गशीर्ष्यां स सर्वदः ।

द्वादशैव सहस्राणि सर्वविद्यावबोधनम् ॥11॥

चतुर्दशसहस्राणि भविष्यं सूर्यसम्भवम् ।

भवस्तु मनवे प्राह दद्यात् पौष्यां गुडादिमत् ॥12॥

Brahmavaiivarta P.

रथन्तरस्य कल्पस्य वृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य च ।
सार्वणिना नारदाय कृष्णमाहात्म्यमुत्तमम् ॥33॥
यत्र ब्रह्मवराहस्य चोदन्तं वर्णितं मुहुः ।
तदष्टादशसाहस्रं ब्रह्मवैवर्तमुच्यते ॥34॥
पुराणं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं यो दद्यान्माघमासि च ।
पौर्णिमास्यां शुभदिने ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥35॥

Liṅga P.

यत्राग्निलिङ्गमध्यस्थः प्राह देवो महेश्वरः ।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षार्थमाग्नेयमधिकृत्य च ॥36॥
कल्पान्ते लैङ्गमित्युक्तं पुराणं ब्रह्मणा स्वयम् ।
तदेकादशसाहस्रं फल्गुन्यां यः प्रयच्छति ॥
तिलधेनुसमायुक्तं स याति शिवसाम्यताम् ॥37॥

Varāha P.

महावराहस्य पुनर्माहात्म्यमधिकृत्य च ।
विष्णुनाभिहितं क्षोष्यै तद्वाराहमिहोच्यते ॥38॥
मानवस्य प्रसङ्गेन कल्पस्य मुनिसत्तमाः ।
चतुर्विंशत् सहस्राणि तत् पुराणमिहोच्यते ॥39॥
काञ्चनं गरुडं कृत्वा तिलधेनुसमन्वितम् ।
पौर्णमास्यां मघौ दद्यात् ब्राह्मणाय कुटुम्बिने ।
वराहस्य प्रसादेन पदमाप्नोति वैष्णवम् ॥40॥

सार्वणिना नारदाय ब्रह्मवैवर्तमीरितम् ।
रथान्तरस्य वृत्तान्तमाष्टदशसहस्रकम् ॥13॥

माध्यां दद्याद् वराहस्य चरितं ब्रह्मलोकभाग् ॥14 ab॥

यत्राग्निलिङ्गमध्यस्थो धर्मान् प्राह महेश्वरः ॥14 cd॥
चतुर्दशसहस्राणि वाराहं विष्णुनेरितम् ।
तद् दत्त्वा शिवमाप्नोति फाल्गुन्यां तिलधेनुमत ॥15॥

चतुर्दशसहस्राणि वाराहं विष्णुनेरितम् ।
भूमौ वराहचरितं मानवस्य प्रवृत्तितः ॥16॥
सहेमगरुडञ्चैत्र्यां पदमाप्नोति वैष्णवम् ॥17 ab॥

Skanda P.

यत्र माहेश्वरान् धर्मानधिकृत्य च षण्मुखः ।
 कल्पं तत् पुरुषं वृत्तञ्चरितैरुपबृंहितम् ॥41॥
 स्कन्दं नाम पुराणञ्च ह्येकाशीति निगद्यते ।
 सहस्राणि शतं चैकमिति मर्त्येषु गद्यते ॥42॥
 परिलिख्य च यो दद्याद् धेनुशूलसमन्वितम् ।
 शैवं पदमाप्नोति मीने चोपागते रवौ ॥43॥

Vāmana P.

त्रिविक्रमस्य माहात्म्यमधिकृत्य चतुर्मुखः ।
 त्रिवर्गमभ्यधात्तञ्च वामनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥44॥
 पुराणं दशसाहस्रं कूर्मकल्पानुगं शिवम् ।
 यः शरद्विषुवे दद्याद् वैष्णवं यात्यसौ पदम् ॥45॥

Kūrma P.

यत्र धर्मार्थकामानां मोक्षस्य च रसातले ।
 माहात्म्यं कथयामास कूर्मरूपी जनार्दनः ॥46॥
 इन्द्रद्युम्नप्रसङ्गेन ऋषिभ्यः शक्रसन्निधौ ।
 अष्टादशसहस्राणि लक्ष्मीकल्पानुषङ्गिकम् ॥47॥
 यो दद्यादयने कूर्मं हेमकूर्मसमन्वितम् ।
 गोसहस्रप्रदानस्य फलं सम्प्राप्नुयान्नरः ॥48॥

चतुरशीतिसाहस्रं स्कान्दं स्कन्देरितं सहत् ॥17 cd॥

अधिकृत्य सधर्माञ्च कल्पे तत् पुरुषेऽर्पयेत् ॥18 ab॥

वामनं दशसाहस्रं धौमकल्पे हरेः कथाम् ॥18 cd॥

दद्यात् शरदि विषुवे धर्मार्थादि निबोधनम् ॥19 ab॥

कूर्मञ्चाष्टसहस्रञ्च कूर्मोक्तञ्च रसातले ॥19 cd॥

इन्द्रद्युम्नप्रसङ्गेन दद्यात् तद्धेमकूर्मवत् ॥20 ab॥

Matsya P.

श्रुतीनां यत्र कल्पादौ प्रवृत्यर्थं जनार्दनः ।
मत्स्यरूपेण मनवे नरसिंहोपवर्णितम् ॥49॥
अधिकृत्याऽब्रवीत् सप्तकल्पवृत्तं मुनीश्वराः ।
तन्मात्स्यमिति जानीध्वं सहस्राणि चतुर्दश ॥50॥
विषुवे हेममत्स्येन धेन्वा चैव समन्वितम् ।
यो दद्यात् पृथिवी तेन दत्ता भवति चाखिला ॥51॥

Garuda P.

यदा च गारुडे कल्पे विश्वाण्डात् गरुडोद्भवम् ।
अधिकृत्याऽब्रवीत् कृष्णो गारुडं तदिहोच्यते ॥52॥
तदष्टादशकञ्चैव सहस्राणीह पठ्यते ।
सौवर्णं हंससंयुक्तं यो ददाति पुमानिह ।
स सिद्धिं लभते मुख्यां शिवलोके च संस्थितिम् ॥53॥

Brahmāṇḍa P.

ब्रह्मा ब्रह्माण्डमाहात्म्यमधिकृत्याब्रवीत् पुनः ।
तच्च द्वादशसहस्रं ब्रह्माण्डं द्विशताधिकम् ॥54॥
भविष्याणाञ्च कल्पानां श्रूयते यत्र विस्तरः ।
तद् ब्रह्माण्डपुराणञ्च ब्रह्मणा समुदाहृतम् ॥55॥
यो दद्यात् तद् व्यतीपाते पीतोर्पायुगसंयतम् ।
राजसूयसहस्रस्य फलमाप्नोति मानवः ।
हेमधेन्वा युतं तच्च ब्रह्मलोकफलप्रदम् ॥56॥

त्रयोदशसहस्राणि मात्स्यं कल्पादितोऽब्रवीत् ॥20 cd॥
मत्स्यो हि मनवे दद्याद् विषुवे हेममत्स्यवत् ॥21 ab॥

गारुडञ्चाष्टसाहस्रं विष्णूक्तं तार्क्षकल्पके ॥21 cd॥
विश्वाण्डाद् गरुडोर्पति दद्याद्धेमहंसवत् ॥22 ab॥

ब्रह्मा ब्रह्माण्डमाहात्म्यमधिकृत्याब्रवीत् तु यत् ॥22 cd॥
तच्च द्वादशसाहस्रं ब्रह्माण्डं तद् द्विजेऽर्पयेत् ॥23 ab॥

THE CULT OF JAGANNĀTHA IN THE PURĀNAS

By

GOPINATH MOHAPATRA

[भगवतो जगन्नाथस्य पूजार्चाविवरणं मूर्तिनिर्माणस्थापनादि विषयं च पुराणेषु अन्यग्रन्थेषु च व्यापकरूपेण प्राप्यते। अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन ब्रह्म-नारद-पद्म-स्कन्द-पुराणानामाधारेण कपिलसंहितादिग्रन्थानामाधारेण च जगन्नाथोपासनासम्प्रदायस्य जगन्नाथमूर्ति-निर्माणादिविषयाणां च साङ्गोपाङ्गं विवरणं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

In the age of the purāṇas we see Jagannātha cult has become very popular. The famous and comparatively early Matsya Purāṇa mentions Puruṣottama kṣetra in two places.¹ By this time the presiding deity Puruṣottama, after whom the kṣetra had already become famous as such, had also become popular. This Purāṇa mentions goddess Vimalā in Puruṣottama kṣetra. (VIMALĀ PURUṢOTTAME). This shows that, after the kṣetra assumed importance and was considered as a sacred place, it attracted different religious sects of India and ultimately the śakti-cult was introduced here by the installation of goddess Vimalā in the temple-compound. Thereafter the kṣetra not only was considered as a sacred kṣetra but it became the holiest place for śāktas and śaivites.

According to the conception of trinity as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, Subhadrā was considered as Brahmā, Jagannātha as Viṣṇu and Balabhadra as Maheśvara. Hence Vimalā, the incarnation of Durgā was also considered as the wife of Balabhadra. Therefore the place also attracted the mind of the Śiva-Śakti worshippers at the same time.

After the Matsya Purāṇa, the latter Purāṇas like Viṣṇu, Agnī, Padma, Nārada, Brahma, and Skanda also refer to Jagannātha and the place of his installation.² But it is only in the Agnī,

1. Matsya Purāṇa (A.S.S.), XII. 35, 38.// Gaṅgāyāṃ maṅgalā nāma vimalā puruṣottame-śl. 35.// Gokarṇaṃ gajakarṇaṃ ca tathā ca puruṣottamaḥ. 38.
2. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I. XV. 52; Agnī Purāṇa, 63; Padma Purāṇa, 158. 1-6 and 18; Nārada Purāṇa, 52.41-93; Brahma Purāṇa, 48; Skanda Purāṇa, XX. 35-36.

Padma, Brahma, and Skanda Purāṇas that there is mention of the sanctity of the place, construction of the temple and the part played by king Indradyumna.³ So, now let us analyze one by one.

The Story Element in Different Purāṇas :

Brahma Purāṇa

In the Satya Yuga or the age of truth, there was a pious king named Indradyumna at Avanti. Once he was interested to see the four armed Viṣṇu and started for Puruṣottama Kṣetra. Before his arrival, God himself kept the deity's image buried in the sand on the request of Yama, the death god, as has been depicted in Skanda Purāṇa, Utkala Khaṇḍa. Therefore the king not seeing the image made of azure blue stone (Nīlamanī) wanted to construct a temple in order to install a substitute deity. He collected stones from the Vindhyā mountain by the help of the kings of Kaliṅga, Utkal, and Kośala and in time completed the temple. Then according to the direction, that the God himself conveyed to him through dream for the installation of the deity, he himself went to the seashore and cut a great tree with the axe. Afterwards Viṣṇu and Viśvakarman arrived there and made the four images namely, Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Surdarśana. Then Indradyumna celebrated the installation of the deities.⁴

Although there is some similarity in the story related in Brahma Purāṇa with that of Skanda Purāṇa still there are differences between the two. Skanda Purāṇa is more descriptive than Brahma Purāṇa. The latter makes no reference to Nīlagiri, Nīla Mādhava, Vidyāpati, Viśvāvasu and Mahāvedī. It refers to the deity as the image made of sapphire, instead of referring to it as Nīla Mādhava. Instead of Mahāvedī, the writer speaks of an auspicious place only. The most interesting feature in this Purāṇa is that there is no reference to the worship made by the Śavaras at all. This feature is also there in Nārada Purāṇa.

Therefore there is a scope to presume that in the early stage Nīla Mādhava was an aryan deity and in course of time when the place became densely forested and inaccessible on the part of

3. Padma Purāṇa, Pātāla khaṇḍa, 16-24; Brāhma Purāṇa, 42-45; Skanda Purāṇa, Puruṣottama Māhātmya.

4. Brahma Purāṇa, 42-52.

others, naturally the worship of the deity fell in the hands of the forest dwellers, i.e. the Śavaras. Then by the time of the Brahma and Skanda Purānas again it was found in the hand of the Aryans. But by then the image is lost and as substitute the present images exist. Thus the conception of worshipping the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā became available to us for the first time since the days of Brahma Purāna.

Nārada Purāna

This purāna has not deviated much from the tradition while relating the story. But the difference is that there is no reference to Indradyumna's taking the help of the kings of Kaliūga, Kośala and Utkal while building the temple as told in Brahma Purāna. In Skanda Purāna there is reference to how the king of Utkal, G la, occupied the temple while Indradyumna was in Brahma Loka. But no such reference is found in Nārada Purāna.⁵

Padma Purāna (Pātāla Khaṇḍa)

By following the sacrificial horse Śatrughna arrived at Nīla Parvata where the river Ganges meets the sea. The Bhīllas, an aboriginal tribe, were sitting with their bows and arrows. They were all four armed owing to the contact with the sacred dish of the God Puruṣottama.⁶

Once in ancient time a boy named Pṛthuka while moving hither and thither entered the temple of the God and by taking the sacred dish he was blessed with four arms like the God himself. After some days king Ratnagrīva of Kāñcī arrived there and he also became four-armed by seeing God.

In this Pātāla Khaṇḍa the kṣetra is called Puruṣottama and the deity there is also called Puruṣottama.⁷ This Nīla Parvata was the abode of Puruṣottama.⁸ But the location of Nīla-Parvata at the mouth of the Ganges signifies either that its writer was a Bengali, not familiar with the Puruṣottama Kṣetra, who had merely heard about it; or that there might have been actually a hill called Nīla Parvata at the mouth of the Ganges from where the apauruṣeya Dāru might have come floating on the sea to the shore of Purī.

5. See Nārada Purāna, Indradyumna Upākhyāna.

6. Padma Purāna, (Gurumaṇḍala) 18. 51-3.

7. Ibid., 19. 36-37.

8. Ibid., 21. 6.

Moreover there is no mention of Caturddhā-Mūrti or trinity in this khaṇḍa. But in the Uttara Khaṇḍa of this Purāṇa, there is mention of 'Trinity' and Lord Jagannātha's fame.⁹ In this khaṇḍa Puruṣottama and Jagannātha are depicted as one and the same.¹⁰ The existence of the trinity is further confirmed by the reference in Puruṣottama Māhātmya to the Dvādaśākṣara Mantra, devoted to Balabhadra.¹¹

Above all the story of Pṛthuka and the legend of King Ratna-grīva as the maker of the temple instead of the king Indradyumna, popular in other Purāṇas, shows its bold deparature from tradition.

Skanda Purāṇa (Puruṣottama Māhātmya)

In this Purāṇa the cult of Jagannātha has been depicted in a crystal clear way dispelling the darkness around it. Nowadays it is regarded as the most authentic source about the cult; and therefore very often quoted by scholars. The story is as follows.

By seeing the direct salvation of the people in this kṣetra, Yama, the death god, requested Viṣṇu to disappear from there. Viṣṇu (Nīlamādhava) agreed to do so.

Indradyumna, the king of Avantī once heard of the power of Nīlamādhava and sent his priest Vidyāpati to locate the place of Nīlamādhava. Vidyāpati came to Puruṣottama kṣetra and saw Nīlamādhava worshipped by a Śavara named Viśvāvasu. By the time he was going to his country, there was a storm and Nīlamādhava disappeared under sand mass.

Indrayumna on receiving the message started with all his men for Nīlagiri, but could not see God since he had disappeared before. Then on the advice of Nārada the king constructed a temple for the god and performed a thousand horse sacrifices at the place. In the mean time a great tree appeared floating in the sea. The king brought the tree and made the three images with the help of an old carpenter (God in disguise) who appeared on his own as if by the grace of God.

Then Indradyumna went to Brahmāloka to invite Brahmā to preside over the inauguration of the deity and the temple. In

9. Ibid., Part. V, 132. 38. Jagannāthaṃ Mahātīrthaṃ...
Ibid. V. Kriyāyogasāra, 17. 7-8.

10. Ibid., 51.

11. Ibid., 93.

the mean time many years passed and one king Gāla was worshipping a Mādhava image in that temple claiming the temple to be his own, while Indradyumna was away. However, when Indradyumna arrived at the Kṣetra again, impressed by his spiritual power, Gāla did not protest. In due time Brahmā came from Brahmāloka and inaugurated the temple. Finally Indradyumna went to Brahmāloka entrusting the temple to Gāla

It seems that this Purāṇa introduces some novel features while narrating the story. In Padma Purāṇa while narrating the story, it was found that God Puruṣottama was worshipped by the aboriginal tribe called Bhillas. But in Puruṣottama Māhātmya it was the Śavara Viśvāvasu, who was worshipping the God. It introduces the term 'Antarvedī' in place of 'Vedī' as depicted in Mahābhārata. It also introduces the conception of 'caturddhā-mūrti' (four images) by narrating the process of installation on the Mahāvedī and of the four deities in the temple. Skanda purāṇa introduces for the first time the idea of worshipping the three main deities, each with a separate Mantra or hymn i. e. Puruṣa sūkta for Jagannātha, Dvādaśākṣara Mantra for Balabhadra, and Devī Sūkta for Subhadrā. The specification of the colour and dress of the deities is also another novel feature of this Purāṇa.

In this way Skanda Purāṇa gives us a vivid picture of the cult. After that Kapila Saṁhitā, Barhaspatya Sūtra, Niladri Mahodaya, Tīrtha Chintāmani, Tantrayāmala, Rudrayāmala, etc. describe in more or less the same way as the Skanda Purāṇa¹².

The story in Kapila Saṁhitā

Once Indradyumna, supposedly the fifth head of Brahmā, received a message through dream to go to Nilācala and there to see a sapphire image near the Rohiṇa Kuṇḍa. When he started for Nilācala with his entire army Yama was afraid thinking that if all these people would get salvation only by seeing the God, what would he do after that? Therefore he prayed Viṣṇu and so the God hid the blue image and the Rohiṇa kuṇḍa in Pātāla.

After reaching the place Indrayumna made the four images i. e. Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Sudarśana on the advice

12. Nilādrimahodayam, 1-3.

of Nārada who just came by at that time from heaven. Then the king went to Brahma Loka to invite Brahmā. In his absence another king Gala worshipped the deities. Finally Brahmā came to Nilācala and advised Indradyumna to perform the festivals of Jagannātha such as Snāna yātrā and Gundichā yātrā.¹³

Here we see no reference to Vidyāpati. Nārada did not come with the king; but he just appeared in the needful moment from heaven. There is also no reference to the carpenter, who had constructed the images as depicted in Skanda Purāṇa. The writer has not referred to the horse-sacrifice, goddess Carcikā etc. The king on the way only came across Bhubaneswar. Here we find the reference to Virajā kṣetra i. e. Yāja Pura. It seems that by the time of this work probably the importance of Carcikā had gone down and Virajā kṣetra had become important as Pārvatī kṣetra.¹⁴ By this time four kṣetras were famous in Orissa, namely Kṛṣṇa kṣetra, Pārvatī kṣetra, Arka kṣetra, and Hara kṣetra. They are Purī, Yāja Pur, Konārka, and Bubhaneswar respectively.

There is also reference to Lābukeśvara, Sātaṃgalā, Śvetagaṅgā, and Śvetamādhava in this Saṃhitā.¹⁵ Here the interesting feature is that Vimalā in the Jagannātha temple compound is dedicated as the goddess of learning instead of the form of Durgā. We find no reference to the Sarasvatī temple, but both Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are described as sitting under the feet of Jagannātha who sleeps in the ocean of milk. Here Jagannātha is depicted as Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu Purāṇa also states the importance gained by Puruṣottama kṣetra.¹⁶ However by the 15th century the story of the origin of Jagannātha took a different shape as follows.¹⁷

The story in Sāralā Mahābhārata (15th century).

(Vana Parva and Muṣali Parva)

After Śrī Kṛṣṇa breathed his last, Arjuna tried to burn the corpse with the help of Śavara Jārā who killed Śrī Kṛṣṇa. But every attempt ended in vain and the fire was helpless to burn the

13. Kapilasamhitā, pp. 8-17.

14. Ibid., 'Kṛṣṇārka-pārvatī-harāḥ'.

15. Ibid., p. 19.

16. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali age*, See the introduction.

17. The Sāralā Mahābhārata, Vanaparva and Muṣaliparva.

the deadbody since it was not an ordinary corpse, but Brahman itself. After one full day only the palms, legs and the nose were burnt. At this moment a heavenly sound was heard: 'O, Arjuna, the fire cannot consume the dead body. Please throw it in the sea.' Arjuna did it accordingly and went to Dvārakā.

After some days Jārā Śavara saw a dream about Kṛṣṇa. When he woke up from sleep, he found an image of Viṣṇu beside him. Then he worshipped the very image on the Dhaulī Hill.

On learning of Kṛṣṇa's death, Gāla Mādhava, a vaiṣṇava king of Kāñci, went in quest of Kṛṣṇa's corpse, which had been thrown into the sea. His servant Vasudeva Brāhmaṇa, who came to the south, located the body then being worshipped as an image on the Dhaulī hill. On receiving the news and being advised to transfer the image to Nilācala, Gāla Mādhava did so.

At that time Jārā Śavara was staying at Koṅārka on the seashore to search for the dead body of Kṛṣṇa. Just then Indradyumna, a king in the line of Virāṭa, built a temple at Nilācala, with the help of a Brāhmin named Viśvāvasu. Then for the sake of the image he consulted the Śavara Jārā. At this Jārā prayed to God and God told him in a spiritual voice, 'I will definitely appear at Nilagiri assuming the Bauddha incarnation. This unburnt dead body will be converted into a Dāru (wood)'.

After the message of God was received, Indradyumna and Jārā Śavara both came to Nilagiri and saw the wooden form of God in the Rohiṇa kuṇḍa. Viśvāvasu and the king Indradyumna both took the Dāru out of the kuṇḍa and Jārā Śavara took charge of making the image. Viśvakarmā himself joined Jārā in this work. They cut the Dāru into three pieces.

Thus the image making continued in a closed room for fifteen days. When no more sound was heard they in anxiety opened the door and found the three images only and no Jārā, nor Viśvakarmā therein.

In Muṣali Parva, Sāralā Dās just changed the story a little and added the history of Nilasundara hill. But the outline is more or less the same.

It is evident from the work of Sāralā Dās, that the later Purānas have influenced him a little while he depicts the Śavari-

nārāyaṇa. But he has added many of his original ideas in this work lying aside the Purāṇic thoughts. He has not mentioned the name of Nilamādhava and he has not referred to the disappearance of God. Sārālā Dās has introduced the new idea of the unburnt corpse of Kṛṣṇa, converted into the wooden image and found in the Rohiṇa kuṇḍa instead of the sea.

According to him Kāñcī is situated to the north of Purī or, in other words, Purī is situated to the south of Kāñcī. But from the geographical structure it is not correct at all. Kāñcī is situated in the south of Purī. Hence whatever is mentioned by the writer, cannot be taken always for granted.

In his work we find a new reference to Indradyumna being a king in the line of the king Virāṭa. This is found in no other Purāṇas. Any later work also has not mentioned it. In this work he has also conceived Jagannātha as Buddha.¹⁸ This is really a notable point in this work.

Deulatolā

In the same 15th century¹⁹ Nilāmbara Dāsa wrote a work named 'Deulatolā' (the temple making). Here he has given the story as follows :—

Indradyumna, aware of Nilamādhava in Nilācala situated on the eastern sea sent his messenger Vidyāpati. He came and saw the God and reported to the king accordingly. Indradyumna then marched with his army to Purī and at Carcikā Viśvāvasu surrendered to him. Then there is the description of the disappearance of the God. Indradyumna then observed fast for 21 days. He got a message through his dream that the Dāru was floating in the sea. He brought that Dāru and Viśvakarmā made the images in a closed room. But before the completion of the images the king opened the door at the instigation of his queen Gundikā and found the three images incomplete in forms.

Here the development of story and the mention of Carcikā signify that there is the influence of Puruṣottama Māhātmya on it.

18. See for details my thesis 'A critical introduction to Puruṣottama Māhātmya' at the library of the University of Jabalpur.

19. *Oḍiṣā itihāsa* by Dr. H. K. Mahatab, p. 577.

But the mention of Gundikā as the queen of Indradyumna is a new addition to the work. Sāralā Dās has also mentioned about 'Gundikerā' instead of Gundikā.

Like Nilāmbara Dāsa, Śiśu Kṛṣṇa Dāsa has also written a book named 'Deula Tolā'. Likewise there are some more books known as 'Deula Tolā', books written in the later period; out of which Kṛṣṇa Dāsa's work is more popular in Orissa.

The 'Deulatolā' of Śiśu Kṛṣṇa Dāsa

Vidyāpati, by the order of Indradyumna arrived at a Śavara village in quest of the God. Lalitā, the daughter of the 'Śavara chief' Viśvāvasu fell in love with the Brahmin Vidyāpati. Finally Vidyāpati married Lalitā being forced by 'Viśvāvasu.'

Then by the help of Lalitā and Viśvāvasu, Vidyāpati was able to see the God on Nilāgiri, where he found a crow who became four-armed when it fell in the Rohaṇa Kuṇḍa, from the Kalpa vṛkṣa. However, Vidyāpati reported this matter to the King Indradyumna and the King started for the place with Nārada along with his army. On the way he came across the river Citrotpalā, Cātakeśvara, Ekāmra kṣetra, (Bhubaneswara), Liṅgarājā, Kapoteśvara (near Candana Pura), Kālindī or river Yamunā (near Sakṣigopāl-Bīra Narasiṃha Pura) and so on.

After arriving at Nilācala, the king arrested the Śavara and got the God's image. Then he freed the Śavara by the order of God, which he heard from the heaven. The king constructed a temple 120 cubits of height (equal to that of the present temple) and went to Brahma Loka to Brahmā to preside over the inaugural ceremony. In the mean time the temple was buried under the sand due to a storm and king Gāla discovered it. When Indradyumna came back, there was a conflict between both the kings as they both claimed the temple as their own. Finally Brahmā brought about a compromise and amicably settled the matter.

Then the king came to know through a dream that a Dāru was floating in the sea. He brought the Dāru from there with the help of Vidyāpati and Vasu-Śavara. But no carpenter was able to make the image of the God. Finally an old carpenter named Ananta Mahārāṇā of Dwārakā appeared there and constructed the very images of the Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā staying in a closed room for twenty one days. But

before the stipulated period was over the king Indradyumna in his haste and anxiety opened the door being instigated by his queen Gundikā who apprehended that the old carpenter might have died inside. But when the door was opened, they saw the three incomplete images but no Ananta Mahāraṇa inside.

The king was disturbed and made up his mind to commit suicide. But by that time he heard a voice, "O King, I shall hold the incarnation of Buddha in the age of Kali. The sons of Vasu Śavara will be called as 'Daitā' and they will serve me. The sons of Lalitā will be called as 'Suāra' and they will cook for me. The sons of Vidyāpati will be my Pandās and they will worship me. In return king Indradyumna requested God that he should have no progeny to claim the temple in future. Here the most popular story of Deulatolā ends.

This work of Kṛṣṇa Dāsa seems to be much later than Skanda Purāṇa, although mostly the author has followed the story of Skanda Purāṇa. This book has been stated as the 'Skanda Purāṇa of the 'Kali' age.²⁰ The description of the decoration of Jagannātha and the height of the temple, as mentioned here, put the work as a recent one. The inclusion of the character of Lalitā and the practice of intercaste marriage of Vidyāpati is considered to be a novel feature of this work. Here Vasu Śavara has been identified with the very Śavara who had killed Vasudeva in the Dvāpara age.²¹ This book also mentions Jagannātha as Dāru Brahma, Viśvannātha, Kṛṣṇa, and conceives him as Gaṇeśa by introducing the Gaṇeśa Veśa of Lord Jagannātha.²² Thus Jagannātha as the adorable God of all the sects and creeds stands depicted in this Purāṇa.

In spite of the conceptions continued since the days of the earliest one, the Matsya Purāṇa, to the latest one, the Deula Tolā of Śiśu Kṛṣṇa Dāsa of the eighteenth century that Jagannātha is mainly a Hindu deity and particularly a vaiṣṇavite image, worshipped under certain chance by a Śavara; still some scholars in the present age do not accept the views of the Purāṇas. That is why the cult of Lord Jagannātha has become a most controversial one in the whole of the world.

20. *Deulatolā* by Śiśu Kṛṣṇa Dās, p. 2.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

THE AILADHĀNA-LUDHIANA EQUATION—A
REJOINDER

In the January 1977 issue of the *Purāṇa*¹ Shri Devendra Handa has taken note of our identification of Ailadhāna of Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*² with the present town of Ludhiana in Punjab.³ Handa starts by describing our arguments as brilliant but his mind is assailed by certain doubts which in no time multiply and invalidate all those brilliant arguments. Most of Handa's doubts have already been dealt with in our paper and the rest, we regret to say so, are either born of ignorance or a very casual approach to the subject. All the same it becomes our duty to make an endeavour to satisfy Shri Handa and any other readers who might have taken his note seriously. We are sorry for the inordinately long delay in discharging this obligation. Sh. Handa's note came to our notice long after its publication and our official pre-occupations caused further delay. So when at last we are at it we propose to subject Handa's doubts to a proper scrutiny and show how imaginary they are.

Handa calls our observation (according to him conviction) regarding the nearness to rivers of places with 'dhāna' name-ending fallacious on the plea that a town named Rathadhana is situated near Sonapat with no river in its vicinity. He does not give the pronunciation of the name with diacritical marks but obviously he reads it as Rathadhāna—a name with 'dhāna' ending. In this he is sadly mistaken. This village has a railway station next to Sonapat towards Delhi and the relevant ¼" sheet of the Survey of India⁴ spells it as Rathadhana. Actually the name is Rāṭhadhaṇā which we have confirmed from local people and Acharya Swami Omananda Sarasvati of the Jhajjar-Narela Gurukul⁵ who is very well

1. Vol XIX, No. 1. pp 233-237.

2. See text infra.

3. *Purāṇa*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (July 1975), pp. 106-117.

4. Sheet 53 H. The village is located 28".50' × 77:00'

5. Swami ji has set up museums at Jhajjar & Narela. He is a known indologist and has published several books on the history of Haryana, the latest being हरियाणा के प्राचीन मुद्रांक ।

१०. स गंगां प्राग्बटे तीर्त्वा समायात् कुटकोष्ठिकाम् ।
सबलस्तां स तीर्त्वाय समगाद् धर्मवर्धनम् ॥

Normally big rivers were in ancient times forded in the foot-hills where the bed is narrow. But Bharata crosses the Sutlej in the plains after verifying the depth of water and the force of the current as is evident from the second line of the first verse which says that Bharata got the easy fordability (सुदामात्व) of the river verified by a test-swim and then attempted the crossing with his full force. This is the only construction which can be put on this line as the use of the verb 'avekṣya'¹¹ clearly indicates. In ancient times such an exercise was, in all probability undertaken as a routine precaution in case of big rivers unless rendered unnecessary by readily available information.¹²

The second use of the verb √तृ mentioning the crossing of the Śatadru in the second line of verse 2 is necessary and cannot be objected to. The third in the first line of verse 3 is needed to pinpoint the site of crossing of the river at the point of Ailadhāna and then the progress of the journey towards the smaller mountains. It is not clear on what ground Handa locates Ailadhāna on the northern bank of a river because the text does not justify any such assumption. The use of the words 'प्राप्य च' clearly signifies the lapse of time in reaching the smaller mountains after the crossing of the river at Ailadhāna. After all Vālmīki was not writing a day-to-day chronicle of events or a treatise on physical geography. He was composing a Mahākāvya and describing the journey only very briefly so that we cannot expect him to say that the party covered so many yojanas between the river and the smaller mountains. The idea is adequately conveyed by the use of the words 'प्राप्य च',

That the crossing refers to the river Śatadru only can be easily seen. As already pointed out Handa is unable to name any other rivers to which Vālmīki might have referred. As a matter of

11. अत्र √ईक्ष् means to perceive, observe, take into consideration. See Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Delhi (Reprint) p. iii.

12. Cf. OP Bharadwaj, Vālmīki's Historical Geography of Kurukṣetra, *Haryana Studies*, Vol. X. Nos. 1-2, 1978.

fact we have already shown in the original article that all the expressions used in the first two verses qualify river Śatadru. They have not been used as names of rivers anywhere in Sanskrit literature. Their use as common adjectives can be easily demonstrated. Hrāḍinī has been used as an adjective of Yamunā by Vālmiki himself in ii. 65.6.¹³ The use of Dūrapārā can be cited from the Mahābhārata.¹⁴ It has also been used as an adjective of the Gaṅgā elsewhere.¹⁵ Pratyakṣrotas is used again by Vālmiki in the same sense.¹⁶ It has also been used as an epithet of the Narmadā.¹⁷ For Sudāmā too we can again turn to Vālmiki.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that Sudāmā for Śatadru which Bharata easily crossed at Ailadhāna in the plains matches perfectly with Duṣpratarā¹⁹ for the Gaṅgā at Amśudhāna which had to be forded upstream at Prāgvaṭa. And Taraṅgiṇī simply means a river.²⁰ No further reasoning is therefore required to prove that these four words do not denote any particular rivers but are only common adjectives. The text names only one river in verse 2 which they can qualify and this river is Śatadru or the Sutlej.

In conferring four adjectives on the Śatadru Vālmiki has done no special favour to this important river. The description is fully in keeping with his style. Exactly the same number of adjectives has been given to the Yamunā a little later²¹ when it is called Veginī, Kuliṅgākhyā, Hrāḍinī & Parvatāvṛtā. Further on²² the Gaṅgā also gets three qualifying adjectives Bhāgīrathī, Duṣpratarā & Mahānadī. The Yamunā had to be crossed upstream in

13. See text supra.

14. Ādi, 150,6: असकृच्चापि सन्तीर्य दूरपारं भुजप्लवैः ।

15. See Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 489.

16. Rām. iv, 42,8: तथा केतक खण्डाश्च मार्गध्वं हरिपुंगवाः ।
प्रत्यक्स्रोतोवहाश्चैव नद्यः शीतजलाः शिवाः ॥

17. See Mallinātha's gloss on Śiśupālavadhā (Venkateshwar Press Bombay Ed.) iv.66 :

उभयतस्तटौ दधद्भिः नदैः अम्बुप्रवाहैः प्राक्स्रोतसो नद्यः प्रत्यक्स्रोतसो नदाः नर्मदां विनेत्याहुः ॥

18. Rām. ii. 62.18: ...ययुर्मध्येन वालीकान् सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।

19. See text supra.

20. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

21. See text supra.

22. *ibid.*

the mountains because it was flowing very fast and the use of Veginī with it again contrasts with that of Sudāmā with Śatadru. In the journey of the messengers the river Śaradaṇḍā also has four adjectives namely Prasannodakā, Divyā, Nānāvihagasevitā and Jalākulā²³ while the Ikṣumati is qualified as Pitṛpaitāmahī and Puṇyā.²⁴ In the circumstances the absence of these adjectives with the great Śatadru would have been against the nature and style of Vālmiki. It is therefore the fault of Sh. Handa and not the poet if he is unable to utilise the three uses of the verb √त् and the four adjectives of the river in rendering the passage into proper English. We, on our part, find the following translation quite easy to follow :

“The brave prince Bharata left Rājagṛha on his eastward march. Having verified by a test-crossing that was easily fordable the illustrious descendant of Ikṣvāku crossed the noisy, broad channelled and westerly Sutlej. Crossing it at Ailadhāna and then reaching the foothills.....”

There is nothing unnatural or incongruous in this poetic description unless one looks at it through the eyes of a geographer or an officer of the Public Works Department.

Handa's attack on the reading Lohana or Lodhana given by Firishta for Ludhiana is also unjustified. He declares that 'because of peculiarities of the Arabic and Persian scripts and languages Hindu names as given by Moslem Chroniclers have undergone considerable change'. As examples he cites Alberuni's recording of Māhūra for Mathura²⁵, Ūrdabishau for Urdhvaviṣaya²⁶ & Dirwara for Draviḍa.²⁷ He also quotes instances, again from Albiruni, and from coins where a place-name written in the Arabic/Persian script has been read differently by different scholars. Now if he believes that some Hindu name has undergone considerable change at the hands of Firishta in being spelt as Lohana he gives no reason as to why this old Hindu name could not be

23. ii.62.15.

24. ii.62.17.

25. Edward C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Delhi (Reprint), 1964, p. 316.

26. *ibid.* p. 318.

27. *ibid.* p. 173. Alberuni spells Draviḍa as Dirwara not Draura as stated by Handa.

Ailadhāna and if not Ailadhāna what else it could be. But in the next breath Handa appears to say something entirely opposite of this. "Ludhiana when written in Persian/Arabic script may also be read as Lohana. The difference between the two words written in Persian/Arabic script is so slight that even experts are liable to misread the words.' Here he suggests that Firishta actually wrote the name as Ludhiana but it was misread as Lohana by scholars. But he does not stick to this stand too and the following sentence offers another surprise. "If Firishta has transcribed Ludhiana like 'Lohana' there is nothing wrong, because Lohana in the Persian/Arabic script may easily be confused for Ludhiana also." From what earlier source Firishta has transcribed Ludhiana like Lohana is Handa's secret which he does not divulge. In essence he says that if Firishta wrote Ludhiana it could be read as Lohana and if he wrote Lohana it could be read as Ludhiana. He won't say what he believes Firishta to have actually written. He does not say if anyone has deciphered Firishta's spellings as Ludhiana. And of course he does not take the trouble of looking up any manuscript of Firishta's work before branding his spelling of Lohana as confusing enough to warrant more than one readings. He rejects out of hand the testimony of authorities like Alexander Dow, Col. Briggs and K. S. Lal not on the basis of any evidence but on the basis of a fertile imagination. The confusion in his own mind is evident from the various positions he takes on a point which admits of no doubt.

If we are not wrong Handa considers himself an epigraphist and yet he forgets the large number of disputed readings even in Devanāgarī and Brāhmī manuscripts, inscriptions and coins. The simple fact is that when a word is not scribed clearly it can be easily misread irrespective of the script employed. We are therefore unable to appreciate Handa's stand that even clearly written words in Persian/Arabic script are liable to be misread by careful experts. Nor can we accept Handa's aspersions on the competence of Firishta or his readers and translators. The accuracy and reliability of Firishta's account for medieval Indian history is too well-known to need fresh recognition. In the words of a noted authority²⁸ on this period of Indian history Firishta's "work would compare favourably even with modern historians". His celebrat-

28. K. S. Lal, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. ix.

ed translator also spares no pains to translate and transliterate him most faithfully and accurately. "Of all the languages in the world" remarks Col. Briggs in the preface to his translation²⁹ of Firishta, "the Persian character is perhaps the most difficult to decipher with accuracy and the most liable to orthographical errors.....where a dot above a letter is negative and one below the same letter positive.....The reader of history is rigidly bound to adhere to the letter of the text. It has been my wish to avoid both these errors by giving Firishta to the public in the very words he would probably have used, had he, as a native of the East, written in English. I have ventured to make no alterations but have endeavoured to render obscure passages clear, by explanatory notes". Col. Briggs used an earlier translation of Col. Dow with the utmost care as he specifically says³⁰, "On examining Col. Dow's translation of the History of the Kings of Dehly, I found it so difficult to follow the narrative, owing to the confusion in the proper names of persons and of places, that I had to consult the original throughout and my notes and alterations alone made nearly a volume".

Obviously Col. Briggs was fully conscious of the pitfalls in the decipherment of the Persian script and took special care to check and re-check the names of persons and places in Col. Dow's translation and the original of Firishta. Prof. Lal³¹ also fully satisfied himself of the reading Lohana probably from the manuscript because he does not doubt the reading but blames Firishta for spelling the name wrongly. We find no reason to doubt the accuracy of Briggs and Lal but we were keen to lay hands on some manuscript of Firishta's work. Luckily we found one in the Punjab University library³² at Chandigarh prepared in Persian Nastaliq from Firishta's original and it is highly satisfying to say that it

29. *History Of The Rise Of The Mohammedan Power In India (Till The Year A.D. 1612)*, Translated from The Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, Second Reprint, Calcutta 1966, Vol I, Preface pp. xiii-xvii.

30. *ibid*, p. ix.

31. *op. cit.* p. 81, n. 77.

32. It is Ms number 779, a copy transcribed from Ferishta's Original Ms. on the 5th Shaban, 1218 A. H.

supports the reading Ladhana which is as clearly written as Handa might like to have it. Any possibility of doubt is further ruled out from the fact that Firishta mentions the name not once but at least three times at different places³³, always using the same spellings. There is thus no reason whatsoever to warrant the suggestion that the name should be read as Ludhiana.

As for the examples quoted by him from Alberuni's India no scholar having the slightest knowledge of linguistics will find fault with Alberuni's spelling of Mathura as Māhūra, of Ūrdhvaviṣaya as Ūrdabishau & of Draviḍa as Dirwara. It is surprising that Handa should fail to recognise the current forms of the original Sanskrit names in all these cases and many more noted by Sachau. Even Alberuni's elder contemporary Al Utbi³⁴ spells Mathura as Mahura only slightly differently from him. In Sachau's opinion Alberuni's knowledge of Sanskrit, although not very profound, was wide enough and practical.³⁵ Suniti Kumar Chatterji³⁶ is of the view that he read a lot of Sanskrit by himself after acquiring its elementary knowledge with the help of Indian Pandits like the later European scholars. He quotes from Kapila & Vyāsa, from Varāha Mihira and the Purāṇas, with equal felicity and understanding and with the knowledge of the original language of these Indian writers. "As in contemporary Indian usage, the line of demarcation between the correct Sanskrit of books and the vernacular forms is not strictly maintained by Alberuni. At times he gives Prakritic or vernacular forms in place of, or side with, Sanskrit forms". The number of North-western Indian vernacular words in Alberuni's book, in place of the expected Sanskrit, is indeed so large that we can form some idea of the phonology and phonetic habits of this vernacular. This is the opinion of no less an authority than Prof. Chatterji and it shows how hastily Handa arrives at his conclusions.

Handa agrees that the name-ending Ayana used in Sanskrit place-names was not adopted by the Muslims but he gives a num-

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33. See Briggs, Vol. I. p. 299 and Vol. II. p. 123.
 34. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 316.
 35. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Al-Biruni And Sanskrit, Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 83-100. p. 86.
 36. *Ibid.* p. 87 ff. We are quoting/citing Prof. Chatterji in extenso.

bank of the Sutlej it is a wild and gratuitous presumption. Sunet⁴¹ is situated on the Jagraon road far away from the Grand Trunk Road, about 8 Km. to the west south-west of Ludhiana and 11 Km. from the Sutlej. It is ridiculous to suggest that simply because the Sutlej once flowed near Ludhiana it should also have flowed near Sunet in the past. It is even more absurd to expect Vālmiki to take note of Sunet simply because it was an important town when actually he was naming a place which provided a ford on the Sutlej and stood on the trunk-route going from the east to the north-west. Vālmiki was not giving us a list of important towns of the Punjab and Ailadhāna came to be mentioned only as it fell on Bharata's way from Kekaya to Ayodhyā. All the same this mention is as natural as that of Śalyakaṛṣaṇa⁴² on the Agneyī and Amśudhāna⁴³, Prāgvaṭa⁴⁴ or Hastināpura⁴⁵ on the Gaṅgā. That Sunet was a flourishing and famous town with a glorious past and long history and that as a result of development and expansion of Ludhiana it has now become a suburb of Ludhiana is as irrelevant for our purpose here as most certainly it was for Vālmiki's.

Handa also shirks from a certitudinous statement on the historicity of Purūravā whom he would prefer to remember as a mythical figure, 'pure and simple.' Of course he adduces no evidence to justify the acceptance of his own belief or rejection of the arguments given by us. It is also surprising that any serious student of ancient Indian history should be unable to see that the testimony of Vedic Literature is normally superior to that of the comparatively recent Purāṇic sources. But what we find completely baffling is that Handa should find it convenient in face of all available evidence to reject the historicity of Purūravā when he does not hesitate to accept Manu Svāyambhuva in flesh and blood and even discover an imaginary location for his capital Barhiṣmati.⁴⁶

41. 30° 50' x 75.45'. Vide Survey of India 1/4" sheet No. 44 N.

42. Vide text supra.

43. *ibid.*

44. *ibid.*

45. ii. 62. 13.

46. *Purāṇa*, Vol. xvii, No. 2, (July, 1975), pp. 163-167. For a criticism of Handa's identification of Barhiṣmati see O. P. Bharadwaj, *Purāṇa*, Vol. xviii, No. 1, (Jan, 1976), pp. 101-2.

This brings us to Handa's doubt on the derivation of Ludhiana from Ailadhāna. As a matter of fact it is not clear to us whether Handa objects to the derivation of Ludhiana from Ailadhāna or only of Bhatinda from Vaṭadhāna. As to the former we cannot believe that there can be any objection on philological grounds. We have not derived Ludhiana from Ailadhāna as Handa says but traced the evolution of Ladhana or Lohana from Ailadhāna which is obvious enough. Regarding Ludhiana we have clearly said that the "transformation of Lodhana or Lohana to Ludhiana is a recent phenomenon, apparently facilitated by the misconceived adoption of a connection between the name and the Lodis".⁴⁷

His derivation of Bhatinda from Bhattipind following Jaichandra Vidyalkar has nothing new about it and it is as casual as his identification of Barhiṣṣmat or his discovery of Rathadhana. It can be easily shown that neither the Bhattis nor the word 'piṇḍa' has made any contribution to the name Bhatinda.⁴⁸ The name Bhattipind is unknown to literature. The form Bhatinda is only as old as the gazetteers. Early Moslem historians have spelt it in different forms like Batrinda,⁴⁹ Batrind,⁵⁰ Bithandah,⁵¹ Bitund,⁵² Pathindah,⁵³ Batindah⁵⁴ and

47. See *Purāna*, Vol. xvii, No. 2 (July, 1975), p. 110.

48. It is interesting to note that Alexander Cunningham (A. S. I. R. xxiii. p. 5) derives the name from 'Bha^{ti}-danagara' while Colonel Todd (Rajasthan, Vol II, p. 179), vehemently rejecting any connection of the name with Bhattis, derives it from the Bard or Bhat who supposedly gave his professional title to the abode set up on land received in grant. It is needless to point out that both the derivations run counter to the undisputed antiquity of the town apart from facing philological difficulties.

49. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. viii. p. 91.

50. Ibn Batuta cited in Phulkian States Gaz. Lahore, 1909. p. 189.

51. Lubb-ut-Tawarikh-i-Hind cited in H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1973, p. 1087. n. 2.

52. Phulkian States Gaz. p. 189.

53. H. C. Ray, op. cit.

54. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of *Al Badāoni*, Edited with Eng. Translation by George S. A. Ranking, Delhi (Reprint); 1973, Vol. I. p. 69. n. 2., p. 19. n. 2 and p. 20, n. 1.

Whatinda⁵⁵. Even to-day it is usually pronounced as Bathiṇḍā with 'Ba' instead of 'Bha'. The use of the word 'Piṇḍa' in the sense of a village or habitation does not go back beyond the late medieval period. It may even be later than that. This sense of the word has not been noticed in lexicons like Sanskrit Woerterbuch,⁵⁶ Śabda-Kalpadruma,⁵⁷ Pā-i-a-Sadda-Mahāṇṇavo,⁵⁸ Rhys-Davids & William Stede,⁵⁹ Monier Williams,⁶⁰ V. S. Apte⁶¹ and Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā's Hindi Śabdasaḡara.⁶² Only a modern Panjabi dictionary Guruśabda Ratnākara-Mahānkośa of Kahan Singh Nabha⁶³ gives the sense 'grāma' in the sixth place among the definitions citing Pinda Ahran as an illustration. This sense of the word is so recent that Piṇḍa as a prefix or suffix in place-names has so far undergone no change whatsoever as can be seen from innumerable instances of extant names like Uchchapind, Harsipind, Pind Dadankhan, Pind Gakhra, Pind Gondal and Pind Brahmanan. Use of the word Piṇḍi—the feminine form of Piṇḍa—as a prefix in the same sense is also available in extant place-names like Pindi Bhattian, Pindi Balochan & Pindi Loharan.⁶⁴ Here too the life-span of the usage has been too short to permit any change on account of linguistic evolution.

It is therefore not correct to derive the name-ending 'vind' in Bhikhivind from Piṇḍa. It is probably nothing but a corruption of 'vaṇḍa' meaning 'share' as in Raiwind and Sultanwand etc.⁶⁵. Vaṇḍa too is obviously a recent name-ending and cannot be applied to Bhatinda which is a place of great antiquity.⁶⁶ With the

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55. Mirza Mughal Beg cited in Phulkian States Gaz. p. 190.
 56. Bohtlingk And Roth, St. Petersburg, 1855.
 57. Delhi (Reprint), 1961.
 58. Varanasi, Second Ed., 1963.
 59. Pali-English Dictionary, London, 1921.
 60. op. cit.
 61. Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 3 vols. Poona, 1957.
 62. Ed. Shyam Sunder Das, Varanasi, 1969.
 63. Patiala, 1960. p. 577.
 64. Village-names with Piṇḍa and Piṇḍi have been taken from the Gazetteer of India and Pakistan two vols. New Delhi 1953.
 65. Phulkian States Gaz. p. 189. n. 8.
 66. ibid. p. 188. Also Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 3 & 7.

elimination of the word Piṇḍa as a name-ending in Bhatinda the possibility of the first part being Bhatti automatically goes. In fact the location of Bhattiana or the supposed home of the Bhattis is itself a moot point. It is sometimes placed on the east⁶⁷ and sometimes on the west of the Sutlej.⁶⁸ The derivation revived by Jaichandra Vidyalankar and quoted by Handa was therefore rightly rejected long ago.⁶⁹ So was the association of Bhattis with the name of the town Bhatner⁷⁰ which was according to the native tradition originally Bharatner which is less likely to have been invented.

Bhatinda was known by more than one name in earlier days.⁷¹ It was called Govindgarh as headquarters of the tehsil of the same name. Before that it was named Vikramgarh. In the later part of the tenth century a stone inscription of a King named Śatrughnadeva gives its name as Tribhāṇḍapura which evolved into the name Tiranda & which also might have given currency to its equation with Tabarhindah of Moslem historians by way of त्रिभाण्ड > तरबहण्ड > तबरहिंद. Obviously none of these names can lead us to the original of Bhatinda.

This privilege has to go to Vāṭadhāna for two reasons provided by linguistics and geography. Philologically this derivation is simply a case of metathesis of 'dha' & 'na' which gives Vāṭandhā from which the journey to Bathiṇḍā or Bhatiṇḍā is not at all tedious. That the evolution of Ailadhāna to Ladhana or Ludhiana and of Vāṭadhāna to Bathinda or Bhatinda should fail to proceed on identical lines is not at all unusual in the process of linguistic change. Every student of language knows the elementary fact that phonetic laws are not absolute in the sense of invariable

67. See eg. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. viii, p. 91 and Gazetteer of Hissar Distt. And Loharu State, Lahore, 1915 p. 97.
68. Edward Balfour, *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, New Delhi, 1976, Vol. viii. p. 78 and Yogendra Mishra, *The Hindu Shahis of Afghanistan And The Punjab*, Patna, 1972, p. 100.
69. H. A. Rose, *A Glossary Of The Tribes And Castes Of The Punjab And North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I., Patiala (Reprint), 1970, p. 52. n. 3. Also see Yogendra Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 100-n. 4.
70. Hissar-Loharu Gaz. p. 97. And Yogendra Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 4.
71. See Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 2 And Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. viii, p. 89.

principles at all times like scientific formulae.⁷² They can better be described as tendencies. That is why we often find two similar formations getting caught in different processes of phonetic change and acquiring forms much dissimilar from each other than their originals were. So we have Mahesvara-Mahesh or Mandhata from Māhiṣmatī, Chambal from Carmaṇvatī, Munger from Mudgagiri and Kodagn (Koons) from Kolagiri and Narwar from Nalapura, Aihola from Āryapura & Siddhaur from Siddhapura.⁷³ It is all right for the linguist if the processes of change can be recognised in both formations as following known phonetic principles as is the case with Ailadhāna & Vāṭadhāna. The flexibility in the operation of phonetic laws also explains the phenomenon of Karadhāna. Apparently its very simplicity saved the name from corruption. For that matter even Ailadhāna does not present a case of major phonetic change. But for the chance association of the Lodis with the name it suffered only the elimination of the first vowel 'Ai' to acquire the form Ladhāna during the longest possible span of time in Indian history.

On the geographical situation of Vāṭadhāna I cannot do better than quoting Pargitar.⁷⁴ The country of the Vāṭadhānas "was part of the territory stretching from Pañcanada to the Ganges, over which the hosts assembled on the Kaurava's side spread at the beginning of the great (Mahābhārata) war (Udyoga-P. xviii, 596-601), and it was in the western region (Sabhā-P. xxxi. 1190-1). From these data it may be inferred that the Vāṭadhānas inhabited the country on the east side of the Sutlej, southward from Ferozpur". How closely this location of Vāṭadhāna agrees with the region of Bhatinda⁷⁵ is not difficult to see. These

72. P. D. Gune, *An Introduction To Comparative Philology*, Poona, 1958. p. 64.

73. See Nando Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient And Medieval India*, 3rd ed. Delhi, 1971, Preface, passim. For more interesting examples see V. S. Agrawala's article 'कुछ मध्यकालीन अपभ्रंश नाम' in *Hindi Anuśilana*, Dhirenda Verma number, Vol. 13 (1-2), (Jan.-June 1960) pp. 225-229.

74. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, English Translation with Notes. Delhi Reprint 1969. p. 312.

75. Like Vāṭadhāna Bhatinda was the name of the region also. Cf. Phulkian States Gaz. p. 190.

important considerations easily tilt the balance of probability in favour of the Vāṭadhāna-Bhatinda equation.

The foregoing discussion shows how unfounded Shri Handa's doubts are. In his half-baked criticism of our article Sh. Handa betrays a most casual approach which, further distorted by a peculiar blend of ignorance and imagination completely viciates his appreciation of an identification accepted by unbiased specialists like Dr. Brockington⁷⁶ as "most-convincing".

All the same we must thank Shri Handa for compelling us to strengthen the identification with some more material.

—O. F. Bharadwaja

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76. Dr. J. L. Brockington, Deptt. of Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, in a letter to the author.

BOONS GRANTED TO TRIJAṬĀ

Trijaṭā is an important character in the Rāma story. She is a virtuous old demoness. राक्षसी त्रिजटा वृद्धा (Rāmāyaṇa V. 27.4). In the Mahābhārata she is depicted as one who knows the *Dharma* and speaks pleasant words, धर्मज्ञा प्रियवादिनी । (3.264.4) She was very much impressed by the good conduct of Sītā and always spoke words of consolation when Sītā felt distressed by one or the other act of Rāvaṇa.¹

According to the Mahābhārata (III. 291.41)² Rāma presented gifts and respect to Trijaṭā after his victory over Rāvaṇa

त्रिजटां चार्थमानाभ्यां योजयामास राक्षसीम् ॥

However, in Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa there is no reference of this act.

In the Varāhapurāṇa (ch. 180) there is a reference that Rāma after killing Rāvaṇa granted various boons to Trijaṭā. The passage runs thus :

तथा दाशरथी रामो हत्वा राक्षसमीश्वरम् ।

रावणं सगणं घोरं तुष्टेन सह सीतया ॥66॥

श्रुत्वा भक्तिं च राक्षस्यास्त्रिजटायास्त्रिलोककृत् ।

सीतावाक्यप्रतुष्टेन तस्यै प्रादाद् वरं विभुः ॥67॥

अशुचीनि गृहाण्येव तथा श्राद्धहवीर्षि च ।

क्रोधाविष्टेन दानानि विधिपात्रयुतानि च ॥68॥

पादशौचमनभ्यङ्गं प्रतिश्रयमभोजनम् ।

त्रिजटे त्वत्प्रयच्छामि यच्च श्राद्धमदक्षिणम् ॥69॥

According to it Rāma being pleased by the words of Sītā gave Trijaṭā in boon the merits accruing from these things : (1) impure houses, Śrāddhas and oblations (2) Gifts made with anger even if with due procedure and to an appropriate person, (3) the purification (cleansing) of feet without oiling and (4) providing shelter without food.

1. For detailed description of Trijaṭā see *Rāmakathā* by F. C. Bulke, sections 545 ff.

2. Citraśālā Press Edition.

Further, it is stated that this is described in the *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*. इत्येतद् वै पुराणेषु सेतिहासेषु पठ्यते (Varāha 180.75). However no such reference is traced in the other *Purāṇas* and *Epics*, except the verse found in the *Mahābhārata* त्रिजटां चार्थमानाम्यां योजयामास राक्षसीम् cited above. In the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sarakāṇḍa* a similar reference is found.¹

अथ रामः पुष्पकस्थः सीतया प्रार्थितो मुहुः ॥36
 तद्वाक्यगौरवात् तुष्टस्त्रिजटायै वरान् ददौ ।
 वस्त्रालंकारभूषाभिः पूर्णतुष्टां विधाय च ॥37
 त्रिजटे वचनं मेघ्य शृणु मङ्गलदायकम् ।
 कार्तिके माघवे माघे चैत्रे मासचतुष्टये ॥38
 स्नात्वाग्रे त्रिदिनं स्नानं त्वत्प्रीत्यर्थं नरोत्तमाः ।
 करिष्यन्ति हि तेनैव कृतकृत्या भविष्यसि ॥39
 यैर्नरैस्त्रिदिनं स्नानं न कृतं पौर्णिमोर्ध्वतः ।
 तेषां मासकृतं पुण्यं हर त्वं वचनान्मम ॥40
 अन्यच्चापि शृणुष्व त्वं दीयते यो वरो मया ।
 अशुचीनि गृहाण्येव तथा श्राद्धहवीषि च ॥41
 क्रोधाविष्टेन दत्तानि विधिवत् तत् कृतान्यपि ।
 त्रिजटे तानि तुभ्यं हि शृण्वन्व्यत् त्वं मयोच्यते ॥42
 पादशौचमनभ्यङ्गं तिलहीनं च तर्पणम् ।
 सर्वं तत् त्रिजटे तुभ्यं तथा श्राद्धमदक्षिणम् ॥43
 इति दत्त्वा वरान् रामः—

Here in the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, one extra boon is available i. e. the merits accruing from the first three days baths of the months of Kārtika, Māgha, Caitra and Vaiśākha. If a person does not take bath in the first three days of these four months, the merits of baths of the rest of the month will go to Trijaṭā; of the other boons similar to the Varāha Purāṇa, in place of “shelter without food” of the Varāha Purāṇa the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* says “libation (Tarpaṇa) without sesamum.”

Here it is proper to mention that according to the Varāha Purāṇa (ch. 180) the merits of gifts, Śrāddhas etc. performed without requisite procedure are assigned to three persons—Bali, serpent king Vasuki and Demoness Trijaṭā.

—Ganga Sagar Rai

1. quoted by Acharya Pt. Vishwanath Prasad Mishra in his book गोसाईं तुलसीदास, p. 221.

In Memoriam

LATE DR. V. RAGHAVAN

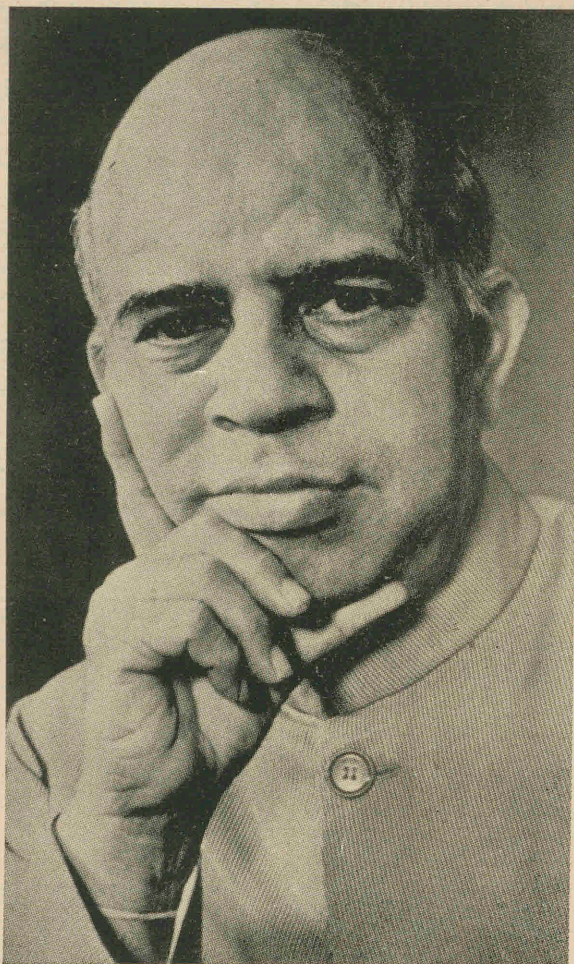
The sad demise of Dr. V. Raghavan, the eminent Sanskrit scholar and Indologist of international fame on the night of 5 April 1979 at his home in Madras at the age of 71 has left a void in the world of Sanskrit learning and Indology not easy to fill up.

Dr. Raghavan's happy and serene disposition and his willingness to help and guide scholars and seekers of knowledge will be remembered by all who had the good fortune to come in contact with him. His versatile scholarship and his keen interest in a variety of academic and cultural activities in the country has won him an eminent position among men of letters.

The All-India Kashiraj Trust is indebted to him for the help and guidance he rendered to it in the editing and publishing of critical editions, translations and studies of the Purāṇas. He was a prominent member of the Purāṇa Publications Committee of the Trust and it was he who started the half-yearly Purāṇam Bulletin of the Trust exclusively devoted to studies and research on the Purāṇas. The first issue of Purāṇam was published from Madras under his able editorship and the journal has been since favourably received both in India and abroad by scholars of Indology.

It was Dr. Raghavan's untiring efforts that produced for the All-India Kashirāj Trust an exhaustive list of manuscripts of Mahāpurāṇas and some Upa-Purāṇas based on which the Trust was able to collect manuscripts for its critical editions of the Purāṇas from different institutions and libraries in India and abroad.

Dr. Raghavan had a brilliant academic career throughout. He was awarded the Ph. D. for his thesis "Bhoja's Sṛṅgaraprakāśika". This work later won for him the Sahitya Akademi award in 1963. As Head of the Department of Sankrit in the Madras University he engaged himself in the preparation of the 'New Catalogus Catalogorum' on the lines of T. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum. About five or six volumes were published before he retired from the University.



Dr. V. Raghavan

During his extensive travels Dr. Raghavan visited Europe, the U. S. S. R., the U. S. A., Nepal, Japan and South-East Asia. He was Secretary of the All-India Oriental Conference from 1951 to 1959 and the General President of its Srinagar (Kashmir) Session in 1961. He was conferred the title of 'Padma-bhuṣaṇa' by the President of India in 1962. He was made a Fellow of the Sangeet Natak Akademi (1964). He was a member of the Sanskrit Commission of India as well as of the Central Sanskrit Board of the Government of India. He was also advisory member of several manuscript libraries and the convener of the Sanskrit Board of the Sahitya Akademi. He was the President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies (IASS) and a prominent figure among the Indologists attending the International Congress of Orientalists and the World Sanskrit Conference.

Dr. Raghavan has published a large number of books and papers and delivered several lectures on different subjects. He had a religious bent of mind and was a true believer in the religious and cultural values enshrined in the scriptures of India.

The All-India Kashiraj Trust has suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Raghavan. We pray to Lord Visvanath that he may be granted eternal peace. May he be among those seers and learned personages whose fame does not die with the cessation of worldly existence. नास्ति येषां यशःकाये जरामरणजं भयम्.

—Ramesh Chanda De

Rudrābhiṣeka

In November, 1978 a Rudrābhiṣeka by 11 Scholars from South India was performed in the Vyāsa mandir of Rāmnagar Fort. The noteworthy aspect of this was that the Rudrābhiṣeka as also the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda Parāyaṇa that preceded it, was done in the Jaṭā way of recitation i.e. The Scholars were given due dakṣiṇā.

Visitors to the Purāṇa Department

Many Scholars visited the Purāṇa Deptt., some of them are as follows :

1. Śrī Vallabha Sharan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India, New Delhi—on 11.1.1979.
2. Dr. Philippe Vouin, Saint Alban, France—on 27.2.1979.
3. Dr. Vagish Shastri, Director Research Institute, Sanskrit Univ., Varanasi—on 27.2.79.
4. Dr. John Mitchiner, Surrey, England—on 8.3.1979.
5. Sri B. K. Ray, Judge, High Court, Orissa—on 21.3.1979. He writes : “The Publications will have certainly tremendous effect on the future of the country.” He was presented with a copy of Purāṇa publications.
6. Dr. Peter Schreiner, University of Tübingen (West Germany) on 20.3.1979. “I had been looking forward to visit the institution, the result of whose labour I have been using in my own work with such great profit.”
7. Śrī Achyuta Patavardhan—on 21.3.1979.
8. Śrī V. P. Tivari, Santikunja, Haridvar, on 21.3.1979.
9. Mr. M. Hand, First Secretary (Comm.), British High Commission, New Delhi—on 24.3.1979.
10. Śrī Kalicarana, Chairman, College of Education, Bhivani, Haryana—on 28.3.1979.
11. Mr. T. Gelblum, School of Oriental and African Studies, London—on 4.4.1979.
12. A group of journalists—on 7.4.1979.
13. Śrī R. K. Sharma, Vice-Chancellor, Sanskrit University, Darbhanga—on 14.6.1979.

रुद्राभिषेकः

गते नवम्बरमासे (१९७८ वर्षे) दक्षिणभारतीयैरेकादशब्राह्मणैः रामनगर-दुर्गस्थे व्यासेश्वरमन्दिरे रुद्राभिषेकः कृतः। अस्य रुद्राभिषेकस्य इदं वैशिष्ट्य-मासीद्यद् रुद्राभिषेकः जटापाठक्रमेण सम्पादितः। अस्मात् प्राक् कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य पारायणमपि जटापाठेन जातम्।

पुराणविभागे आगता विद्वांसः

अस्मिन् अवधौ बहवो विद्वांसः पुराणविभागे आगताः केचन तु अधो-निर्दिष्टाः।

१. श्रीवल्लभशरणमहोदयः, भारतशासनस्य गृहविभागे संयुक्तसचिवः— ११.१.७९ दिनाङ्के।
२. डा० फिलिप वोइनमहोदयः—फ्रान्सदेशस्थ सेण्ट अल्वान, इत्यत्र वास्तव्यः—२७.२.७९ दिनाङ्के।
३. डा० वागीश शास्त्री—सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय अनुसंधान-संचालकः—२७.२.७९ दिनाङ्के।
४. डा० जॉन मिचनरमहोदयः—सुरे, इंग्लैण्डवास्तव्यः—७.३.७९ दिनाङ्के।
५. श्री वी० के राय महोदयः—उत्कल उच्चन्यायालयस्य न्यायाधीशः— २०.३.७९ दिनाङ्के—एष महाभागो लिखति—इमानि प्रकाशनानि देशस्य भविष्ये अवश्यमेव महत्त्वपूर्णं प्रभावं धारयिष्यन्ति। तस्मै पुराणप्रकाशनानि उपहारीकृतानि।
६. डा० पेटर श्वेइनर—पश्चिमजर्मनीदेशस्य टुर्विंगेन विश्वविद्यालयस्थः ३०.३.७९ दिनाङ्के—अहम् इमं संस्थानम् आगन्तुं चिरात् प्रतीक्षकः आसम्। अस्य संस्थानस्य अनुसंधानस्य अहं स्वकृतिषु उपयोगः अत्यन्तलाभेन कुर्वन् आसम्।
श्रीअच्युत पटवर्धन महोदयः—२१.३.१९७९।
७. श्रीकालीचरण—हरियानाप्रदेशस्य भिवानीनगरस्थितस्य शिक्षा-महाविद्यालयस्य अध्यक्षः—२८.३.७९ दिनाङ्के।
९. श्री वी० पी० तिवारी, शान्तिकुञ्ज हरद्वार इत्यत्रस्थः।
१०. श्री० एम० हैण्ड महोदयः—दिल्लीनगरस्थस्य ब्रिटिश उच्चायोगस्य प्रथम सचिवः (वाणिज्यस्य)—२४.३.७९ दिनाङ्के।
११. श्री० टी० गेलब्लम महोदयः—लण्डन नगरस्थस्य प्राच्य-अफ्रीकन अध्ययनविद्यालयस्थः—४.४.७९ दिनाङ्के।
१२. पत्राकाराणां समूहः—७.४.७९ दिनाङ्के।
१३. डा० रामकरणशर्मा महोदयः—दरभंगा नगरस्थस्य कामेश्वरसिंह संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालयस्यकुलपतिः—१४.६.७९ दिनाङ्के।

14. Sri Pt. Badarinath Shukla, Vice-Chancellor, Saṃpūrṇānanda Sanskrit University, Varanasi—on 15.6.1979.

Sanskrit Conference at Weimar

From 23rd to 30th of May, 1979 Giorgio Bonazzoli attended the IV International Conference of Sanskrit Studies held at Weimar in the German Democratic Republic. The Conference was organized by the International Association of Sanskrit Studies. About 250 delegates were present. They elected prof. R. N. Dandekar as the new president of the Association in substitution of prof. V. Raghavan who passed away suddenly just a few weeks before the beginning of the Conference. The main theme of the Conference was 'Sanskrit in the World Culture'. Besides the plenary sessions several sectional groups discussed problems of more specific interest. One section was devoted to Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇa-s. Giorgio Bonazzoli read his paper 'Purāṇic Attempts to fix a Purāṇic Canon'. Before the Conference was over, Prof. L. Sternbach, Secretary of the Association, announced that on the invitation of the Minister for Education and Social Welfare, Govt. of India, the next Conference will be held in India; date and place will be fixed later. The Conference takes place every two years: till now it was held in Delhi, Turin, Paris and Weimar. The magazine 'Indological Taurinensia' printed at Turin (Italy) has already published the proceedings of the previous Conferences.

The Minister of Education and Social Welfare at Rāmnagar

On the 15th of June, 1979 Dr. P. C. Chunder, Minister of Education and Social Welfare, Govt. of India, visited the Fort. He was accompanied by his wife. H. H. Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman of the Trust, informed the Hon. Minister about the activities of the Purāṇa Department. The Minister showed interest and added that he had already read the last issue of the Bulletin Purāṇa. A copy of Vyāsa praśasti was presented to him. A tea-party was also given in honour of the Hon. Minister, in which Dr. Harinarain, Vice-Chancellor of B. H. U., Vārāṇasī Paṇḍit Badarinath Shukla, Vice-Chancellor of the Saṃpūrṇānanda Sanskrit University, Vārāṇasī and other dignitaries were invited. The Hon. Minister, before leaving the Fort, visited the Museum.

१४. पं० बदरीनाथ शुक्ल महोदयः—वाराणस्याः सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत-विश्वविद्यालयस्यकुलपतिः—१५.६.७९ दिनाङ्के

वाइमार नगरे संस्कृत सम्मेलनम्

जर्मनगणतन्त्रस्य (पूर्व जर्मनदेशस्य) वाइमार नगरे मई मासस्य २३ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य ३० दिनांकं यावत् सम्पन्ने अन्तराष्ट्रीयसंस्कृताध्ययनसम्मेलनस्य चतुर्थे अधिवेशने सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्य प्रतिनिधिरूपेण श्री जिआर्जिओ बोनाजोली महोदयः सम्मिलितो बभूव । सम्मेलनस्य आयोजनं संस्कृताध्ययनस्य अन्तरराष्ट्रीय संघटनेन कृतमासीत् । अस्मिन् सम्मेलने प्रायशः २५० प्रतिनिधयः सम्मिलिता आसन् । सम्मेलनस्य अध्यक्षस्य डा० वे० राघवमहोदयस्य निधनं सम्मेलमात् प्राक् कतिपयाहोभिर्जातम् । तस्य स्थाने सम्मेलनारम्भे प्रतिनिधिभिः डा० रामचन्द्रनारायणदाण्डेकरमहाभागः अध्यक्षो निर्वाचितः । सम्मेलनस्य मुख्यो विषय आसीत्—विश्वसभ्यतायां संस्कृतम् । सामान्याधिवेशनातिरिक्तं विभिन्नेषु खण्डसम्मेलनेषु विशिष्टविषयाणां विवेचनं जातम् । एकं खण्डं रामायणमहाभारतपुराणानां कृते निर्दिष्टमासीत् । श्री बोनाजोलीमहोदयस्य निबन्धस्य विषय आसीत्—पौराणिकप्रामाण्यस्यापनार्थं पुराणानां प्रयासः । सम्मेलनस्यावसानात् पूर्वं सम्मेलने सचिवेन डा० लुडविक स्टर्नबाखमहोदयेन सूचितं यद् भारतशासनस्य शिक्षा-सामाजिक कल्याण मन्त्रिणः निमन्त्रणाधारेण सम्मेलनस्य आगामि अधिवेशनं भारते भविष्यति । सम्मेलनस्य स्थानं तिथिश्च पश्चाद् घोषितं भविष्यति । सम्मेलनं वर्षद्वयानन्तरं भवति । अद्यावधि—दिल्ली, टुरिन, पेरिस, वाइमार-नगरेषु अधिवेशनानि सम्पन्नानि । इटली देशस्य टुरिन नगरात् इण्डोलाजिकल टैरीनेन्सिया पत्रिका प्रकाशिता भवति यस्यां पूर्वसम्मेलनानां विवरणं प्रकाशितं जातम् ।

शिक्षा-समाजकल्याण मन्त्रिणः रामनगरे आगमनम्

१५ जून ७९ दिनाङ्के भारतशासनस्य शिक्षा-समाजकल्याणमन्त्री डा० प्रतापचन्द्र चन्द्र महोदयः स्वपत्न्या सह सायंकाले षड्वादनकाले रामनगरदुर्गे आगतः । सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्याध्यक्षैः तत्रभवद्भिर्महाराजैः काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः पुराणविभागस्य कार्यविवरणैः मन्त्रिमहोदयः परिचरितः । मन्त्रिमहोदयः अत्रकार्ये स्वरुचिं प्रदर्शितवान् उक्तवान् च यत् पुराणम् पत्रिकाया विगताङ्कस्तेन पठितः । तस्मै 'व्यासप्रशस्ति' ग्रंथ-स्यैका प्रतिः प्रदत्ता । मन्त्रिमहोदयस्य सम्माने एका अल्पाहारगोष्ठी अपि आयोजिता आसीत् यस्यां काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य कुलपतिः डा० हरिनारायणमहोदयः, सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य कुलपतिः पं० बदरीनाथ शुक्लमहोदयः अन्ये च विशिष्टा जना उपस्थिता आसन् । मन्त्रिमहोदयः गमनात् प्राक् संग्रहालयमपि दृष्टवान् ।

Dedication of a book to the Chairman

The well-known prof. Jean Riviere of Spain has dedicated his book *El Yoga Tantrico* to the Chairman in token of his family's and personal contribution towards patronizing Indian paṇḍits and sādhu-s. The Chairman was good enough to accept the dedication, which has been translated by the author as follows : I dedicate this book to H. H. the Mahārāja of Banaras Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Venerated Protector of the Pandits and Sadhus of Kashi whose affectionate help and friendship allowed me to stay and work in the Holy City." —The author.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

Mahārāja Banaras Vidyāmandir Trust Maṅgalotsava

This year the Maṅgalotsava was celebrated by this Trust under the patronage of Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in the Rāmnagar Fort from 20th to 21st of March 1979. The usual three-day programme had to be reduced to two days only and all the performances foreviewed for the 22nd of March were cancelled. In both days a programme of vocal and instrumental music was performed. The interesting programme was organised, as usual, by the students and the staff of the Music College, B. H. U., Vārāṇasī. The absence of Dr. Lalmani Misra was greatly felt, due to his being hospitalised in the Medical Institute of B. H. U.

Museum

The Museum run by this Trust is located in the Rāmnagar Fort. It attracts hundreds of visitors every day both Indians and foreign. This year Swāmi Tulsidas Ji Maharaja, known as Jaya Gurudev Baba, remained for more than one month on the Rāmnagar side of the Ganges and from 15th till 25th of February, 1979 a great Sāketa Mahāyajña was performed. The result was that the museum was flooded with thousands of visitors. In the month of February about 21,000 tickets were sold, the highest so far in the history of the museum. Among the important visitors who visited the Museum in the last 12 months, the following deserve special notes as they wrote their impressions on the visitors book :

1. Sri O. V. Kuruvilla, Chairman L.I.C.—on 30.8.1978 "I had the pleasure of going through pages of history depicted in the forms of various artistic and material articles."

न्यासाध्यक्षेभ्यः पुस्तकं समर्पितम्

स्पेनदेशीयविश्रुतप्राध्यापकः डा० जीनरोगररिवरिमहोदयः 'एल योग तन्त्रिको' नामकः स्पेनिशभाषायां लिखितः ग्रंथः काशिरेशेभ्यः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयेभ्यः समर्पितवान् । काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः समर्पणं स्वीकृतम् । समर्पणपत्रस्य अनुवाद इत्थं भवति—'अहमिदं पुस्तकं काशिनरेशेभ्यस्तत्रभवदभ्यो महाराजेभ्यो डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयेभ्यः समर्पयामि । इमे महाराजाः काश्याः पण्डितानां साधूनां च समादरणीयसंरक्षकाः सन्ति । एषां स्नेहिलसाहाय्येन मित्रत्वेन च अस्यां पुनीतपुर्यां मम निवासः कार्यं च समभूत् ।

सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासः

मङ्गलोत्सवः

अस्मिन् वर्षे तत्र भवतां काशिराजानां डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानां संरक्षणे १९७९ वर्षस्य मार्चमासस्य २०-२१ दिनाङ्कयोः रामनगरदुर्गे मङ्गलोत्सवः सम्पन्नः । मङ्गलोत्सवस्य कार्यक्रमः केवलं द्वयोः दिनयोरेव जातः तृतीयदिवसस्य २२ मार्च दिनाङ्कस्य कार्यक्रमः स्थगितः । उभयोर्दिनयोः कण्ठसंगीतस्य वाद्यसंगीतस्य च कार्यक्रमो जातः । पूर्वमिव अस्मिन् वर्षेऽपि काशिक-हिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य संगीतमहाविद्यालयस्याध्यापकैः छात्रैश्चातीव रोचकं कलाप्रदर्शनं कृतम् । अस्मिन् वर्षे डा० लालमणिमिश्रमहोदयस्य अनुपस्थितिः दर्शकैर्दुःखेनानुभूता । एष महाभागो रुजा पीडितः चिकित्सालये प्रविष्टो आसीत् ।

संग्रहालयः

अनेन न्यासेन संचालितः संग्रहालयो रामनगरदुर्गे स्थापितो वर्तते । संग्रहालयं द्रष्टुं प्रतिदिनं शतशो वैदेशिका भारतीयाश्च पर्यटका आगच्छन्ति । अस्मिन् वर्षे जयगुरुदेव महाराजः मासं यावत् गङ्गाया रामनगरपार्श्वे सैकते भूमिभागे निवासमकरोत् । १९७९ वर्षस्य फरवरी मासस्य १५-२५ दिनाङ्केषु अनेन महात्मना साकेतमहायज्ञः संपादितः अनेन हेतुना संग्रहालये दर्शकानां संख्या अतीव वृद्धिगता । फरवरी मासे प्रायेण २१००० शुल्कपत्राणि (टिकट) विक्रीतानि । एकस्मिन् मासे एतादृशी दर्शकाणां संख्या कदापि न जाता । विगतेषु द्वादशमासेषु विशिष्टदर्शकाणां नामामि अधोनिर्दिष्टानि । तैः सम्मति-पुस्तिकायां स्वमतान्युल्लिखितानि—

१. श्री ओ०वी० कुरुविल्ल महोदयः—जीवन वीमानिगमस्य अध्यक्षः—
अहं बहूनां कलाकृतीनां युद्धसामग्रीणां च दर्शनेन तैर्निर्दिष्टानाम् इतिहासपृष्ठा-
नामबलोकनस्य आनन्दमनुभूतवान् ।—३०.८.७८

2. Sri B. K. Ray, Judge, High Court, Orissa on 21.3.1979. He writes After seeing the collection in the Museum one is reminded of the ancient glory this country once possessed. One is filled with pride. I hope the attempt of the Mahārāja to keep the ancient tradition alive to the present day is a noble venture which has to be encouraged in all respects."

3. Dr. (Mrs) Grace Morley, Permanent Adviser ICON, Regional Agency in Asia, New Delhi—on 25.3.1979

Hungarian National Bank President Visit the Fort

Dr. M. Timmar, President, National Bank of Hungary and other members of the delegation he led on a visit to India, called on His Highness at the Fort in January 1979 and after breakfast had a round of the Vidya Mandir Museum. The guest evinced great interest especially in the Ivory and Textile Sections of the Museum.

British Broadcasting Corporation Cameramen in Ramnagar

A team of cameramen and technicians from the British Broadcasting Corporation's Television Centre visited the Fort in connection with a documentary on India, entitled "Robinson's travels". All facilities were provided by the Maharaja Banaras Vidya Mandir Trust for the filming of the Fort. An elephant with a silver State-howdah was provided to Mr Robert to ride on. The team filmed an interview of Mr. Robinson with His Highness.

Dhrupad Melā

For the last five years this Trust has been organizing and giving financial help to a Dhrupad Melā with the aim of reviving the interest among a largest number of people for this ancient and unfortunately neglected branch of the traditional music. This year the Dhrupad Melā was organized from the 23rd to 25th of February at Tulsighat under the general supervision of prof. Gangarade of Music College, B. H. U., Vārāṇasi. A great number of young people and students from different countries attended with interest at three-night long Melā. As usual the entrance was free.

Mahārāja Udit Narain Singh Manasā Pracāra Nidhi Navāhna Pārāyaṇa

The navāhna of the Rāmacaritamānasa of Tulsidas was organized under the auspices of this Trust at Chakīā (Distt. Vārāṇasi) from

२. श्री० बी० के रायमहोदयः उत्कलोच्चन्यायालयस्य न्यायाधीशः—संग्रहालये संग्रहीतानां वस्तूनां दर्शनेन दर्शकः भारतस्य प्राचीनगौरवस्य स्मरणं करोति गौरवभरितश्च भवति । अहम् अनुभवामि यत् महाराजानां प्राचीन-परम्पराया रक्षणस्य प्रयासः पवित्रं सर्वथा प्रशंसनीयं च कार्यमस्ति । २१.३.७९ दिनाङ्के ।

३. डा० श्रीमती ग्रेस मोर्ले—एशिया महाद्वीपे क्षेत्रीय आइकोन एजेन्सी इत्यस्य स्थायी परामर्शदात्री—२५.३.७९ दिनाङ्के ।

हङ्गरीदेशस्य राष्ट्रीयकोषगारस्य अध्यक्षस्यागमनम्

हङ्गरीदेशस्य राष्ट्रीय 'बैङ्क' इत्यस्य अध्यक्षः डा० एम० तिमर महोदय-स्तथा भारत भ्रमणे तस्याध्यक्षतायां आगता समितिश्च जनवरी १९७९ मासे तत्र भवतः काशिनरेशान् डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयान् दुर्गे रामनगरे दृष्टवन्तः । अल्पाहारानन्तरं विद्यामन्दिरसंग्रहालयमपि अवलोकितवन्तः । एष महानुभावः संग्रहालये विशेषतो हस्तदन्तप्रभागे वस्त्रप्रभागे च विशेषतः स्वरुचिं प्रदर्शितवान् ।

रामनगरदुर्गे ब्रिटिश ब्राडकार्स्टिंग संस्थानस्थ कलाकाराः

ब्रिटिश ब्राडकार्स्टिंग कारपोरेशन इत्यस्य दूरदर्शनकेन्द्रस्य कलाकाराः भारतविषये 'राबिन्सन्स ट्रेवेल' इत्यभिधस्य विवरणस्य निर्माणार्थं रामनगर दुर्गे आगताः । दुर्गस्य चित्रार्थं महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासेन सर्वं सौविध्यं प्रदत्तम् । श्री रोबर्ट रोबिन्सनमहोदयस्यारोहणार्थं रजत 'हौदा' सुसज्जितः हस्ती अपि प्रस्तुतः आसीत् । महाराजैः सह श्रीरोबर्ट राबिन्स महोदयस्य वार्तालाप-स्यापि चित्रं विवरणं च कलाकारैः संग्रथितम् ।

ध्रुपदमेला

विगतेभ्यः पञ्चवर्षेभ्य एष न्यासः ध्रुपदमेलाया आयोजनार्थमार्थिक-साहाय्यं प्रददाति । एतद् आयोजनं अस्य प्राचीनस्य शास्त्रीयसंगीतस्य पुनरुज्जीवनाय बहुजनेषु प्रचारं करोति । अस्मिन् वर्षे २३-२५ फरवरी १९७९ दिनाङ्केषु ध्रुपदमेलाया आयोजनं तुलसीघट्टे काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य संगीतमहाविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापकस्य डा० के० सी० गङ्गाराडेमहाभागस्य निर्देशने जातम् । तिसृषुपि रात्रिषु विविधदेशीया जनास्त्रात्राश्च अतीवप्रेम्णा संगीतस्यानन्दमनुभूतवन्तः । पूर्ववन्मेलायां किमपि शुल्कं नासीत् ।

महाराज उदितनारायणसिंह मानस प्रचार निधिः

नवाह्नपारायणम्

अनेन न्यासेन चक्रियानगरे अप्रैल २८ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य ६ मई १९७९ दिनाङ्कं यावत् गोस्वामितुलसीदासस्य रामचरितमानसस्य नवाह्नपाठ आयोजितः

April 28th till May 6th, 1979. For all the nine days the Kathā of the Rāmacarita Mānasa was narrated in the Kālī temple of Chakiā. The Pāṭha-Kartā was Śiva Śankar Pandya and the Pravacana-Kartā were Sant Chotelal Vyas, Vidyāratna Manas Govind and Ramananda Das. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh attended the Kathā daily during these nine days.

Essay Competition

An Essay Competition was held for Graduate and Post-Graduate student under the auspices of Mahārāja Udit Narain Singh Manasā Pracāra Nidhi. The subject for the Essay this year was “रामचरित मानस में शिव विवाह का सामंजस्य”

The prizes were distributed at Kamacchā, Thakurvari Mandir, Vārāṇasī, on 18.4.1979. The first prize of Rs. 100 with certificate was given to Śrī Anil Kumar Singh, B. A. (2nd year) B. H. U., Vārāṇasī.

MAHĀRĀJ KĀSHIRĀJ DHARMAKĀRYA NIDHI

1. Mahārāṇi Rāmaratna Kumvari Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā, Fort, Rāmnagar

The Pāṭhaśālā prepares the students for the Sanskrit Examinations upto the Uttara Madhyamā of the Sampūrṇananda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, Vārāṇasī. The Sanskrit education is imparted in the traditional way. The examination result of the Pāṭhaśālā has always been good since its foundation in 1923. This year three students appeared for the Prathamā examination.

2. Mahārāja Balvant Singh Degree College, Gaṅgāpur

This college is affiliated to the Gorakhpur University. It has been organized by the U. P. Government. It imparts education in Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, English, Psychology, Social Sciences, Politics, History, Geography and Pedagogy. This year 79 new students have enrolled themselves in the first year B. A.

3. Rājā Manasā Rāma Law College, Rājātālāb

This college imparts education in Law with a view to prepare lawyers in villages who can legally serve the needy with a sense of service. It was established in 1973 at Rājātālāb as a part of the Mahārāja Balvant Singh College in the form of its Law Department. This year 135 new students enrolled themselves in the first year.

“Hindutva” Magazine

The Mahārāj Kāshirāj Dharmakārya Nidhi gives financial Assistance to Viśva Hindu Dharma Sammelan towards the publication of the magazine “Hindutva”, whose object is to disseminate Hindu Culture.

आसीत् । नवसु दिवसेषु सायंकाले कालीमन्दिरे कथा अपि आयोजिता आसीत् । पाठः शिवशंकर पण्ड्यामहोदयेन कृतः । कथा संतछोटेलाल व्यासमहोदयेन, विद्यारत्नेन मानसकोविदमहोदयेन तथा रामानन्ददासमहोदयेन कथिता । एषु नवसु दिवसेषु महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदया कथां श्रुतवन्तः ।

निबन्धप्रतियोगिता

महाराज उदितनारायणसिंह मानसप्रचारनिधेः संरक्षणे स्नातकछात्राणां कृते स्नातकोत्तरछात्राणां च कृते एका निबन्धप्रतियोगिता आयोजिता आसीत् । अस्मिन् वर्षे निबन्धस्य विषयः आसीत्—रामचरितमानस में शिव विवाह का सामञ्जस्य । विजेतृभ्यः पुरस्कारा वाराणस्या कमच्छास्थिते 'ठाकुरवाड़ी' मन्दिरे १८.४.७९ दिनाङ्के प्रदत्ताः । प्रमाणपत्रेण सह १०० रूप्यकाणां प्रथम पुरस्कारः श्री अनिलकुमारसिंह महोदयाय, बी० ए० (द्वितीय भागः) का० हि० वि० वि० प्रदत्तः ।

महाराज काशिराज धर्मकार्यनिधिः

१. महारानी रामरत्नकुँवरि संस्कृतपाठशाला दुर्गरामनगर

एषा णठशाला सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उत्तरमध्यमाकक्षापर्यन्तं शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति । प्रशिक्षणं परम्परागतपद्धत्या प्रचलति । पाठशालाया परीक्षाफलं अस्याः पाठशालायाः १९२३ ईसवीये वर्षे स्थापनाकालादेव सदैव उत्तमं भवति । अस्मिन् वर्षे प्रथमा परीक्षायां त्रयो विद्यार्थिनः प्रविष्टाः ।

२. महाराज बलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालय गङ्गापुर

उत्तरप्रदेश शासनेन मान्यताप्राप्तः एष महाविद्यालयः गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालयेन संबद्धः । एष महाविद्यालयः संस्कृत-हिन्दी-उर्दू-आंग्लभाषा-मनो-विज्ञान-समाजविज्ञान-राजनीति-इतिहास-भूगोल-शिक्षाशास्त्र-विषयेषु-शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति । अस्मिन् वर्षे बी० ए० प्रथम भाग कक्षायां ७९ नवीनाः छात्राः प्रविष्टाः ।

३. राजा मनसाराम विधिविद्यालय, राजातालाब

अस्य महाविद्यालयस्य स्थापना ग्रामेषु विधिज्ञानां निर्माणार्थं जाता ये प्रार्थिजनानां सेवाभावनया विधिसेवां कुर्युः । अस्य स्थापना १९७३ ईसवीये वर्षे गङ्गापुरस्थस्य महाराजबलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालयस्य अन्तर्गतं विधि—विभागरूपेण कृता । अस्मिन् वर्षे १३५ छात्राणां प्रथमवर्षे प्रविष्टिः जाता ।

'हिन्दुत्व' पत्रिका

महाराज काशिराजधर्म कार्य निधिः 'हिन्दुत्व' पत्रिकायाः प्रकाशनार्थं विश्वहिन्दूधर्म सम्मेलनाय आर्थिकसाहाय्यं प्रददाति । सम्मेलनस्य उद्देश्यं हिन्दु धर्मस्य प्रसारो वर्तते ।

GAYĀ MĀHĀTMYA

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par Claude Jacques.

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GAYĀ MĀHĀTMYA

INTRODUCTION

Places of pilgrimage are innumerable in India, and each one has its own *māhātmya*. Their greatness has been extolled in minor works, which generally do not have any interest other than strictly local, when even they are not plagiarizing some more ancient *māhātmya*. In northern India they are often written in Sanskrit and claim to be connected with a *purāṇa*, that lends then an air of antiquity¹. Nowadays they have almost all been translated or re-adjusted in different vernacular languages. They have been written most likely by brāhmaṇa-s attached to celebrated pilgrimage sites. Such brāhmaṇa-s get special honour from the great sanctity arising from their being born in a *tīrtha*, but they have, besides, a solid reputation for ignorance. These texts have a clear popular character: the naivety of legends and the type of arguments for establishing the superiority of the *tīrtha* testify for it. In spite of a certain external appearance in their composition, they are no works of a single author, except for the *māhātmya*-s of recent origin. They are rather compilations of 'slogans' and common sayings combined with legends and rules on the rites to be observed. Under these conditions, trying to fix the time of a *māhātmya* has no great relevance. Details and additions have grafted along the centuries on a core which is possibly very ancient. Variations in the names of gods could even transform the work, so that only information from different source can give an idea of the history of that holy place and consequently of its *māhātmya*.

Gayā-māhātmya does not escape these rules of the genre and it is hardly more interesting than any other pilgrimage-guide. However, *Gayā* is one of the most anciently attested and celebrated pilgrimage centres in Indian religious history.

1. The *purāṇa*-s contain in fact many *māhātmya*-s, specially *māhātmya*-s of the most renowned pilgrimage sites. Different *māhātmya*-s of the same place can also be found in several *purāṇa*-s. They have been inserted at different periods, which often cannot be fixed; however, they are generally very late.

Beside the here published *Gayā-māhātmya* of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* which is the longest, a certain number of *Gayā-māhātmya-s* in other *purāṇa-s* exists also, as we shall see. A rather considerable mass of Sanskrit texts deal, moreover, with, or allude to, the pilgrimage to Gayā. But curiously enough, in Europe we first paid attention to this holy place not because of these works, but because of Buddhist texts, late Chinese travellers accounts and finally some Europeans who have attested its importance. The European travellers, indeed, have so abundantly described the town that one can realize what interest it has from the Hindu point of view. We shall then examine the Sanskrit texts consacrated to it. It is from this survey that the age of the different passages of *Gayā-māhātmya* can approximately be deduced.

GAYĀ AND ITS PILGRIMAGE NOWADAYS

Before approaching the study of the abundant sources that will enable us to outline a history of this holy place, it is convenient to discuss what this pilgrimage centre is today. Gayā is first of all a big town of 133,700 inhabitants², situated in the state of Bihār, about 80 kilometres to the south of Pāṭṇā, on the Phalgu's left bank, a river whose very large river-bed has only little water during 6 months in the year, from July to December, and disappears before reaching the Ganges. Gayā is usually divided into two parts quite different in their aspect; the old town, formerly called *Antara-Gayā*, built on the terrace overhanging the Phalgu. The *Ghāṭ-s*, a great number of temples and a labyrinth of tortuous and often dirty streets give to this part of the town a very picturesque character. *Sāhab-ganj*, 'the emperor town' extends to the north of the old town as far as Rāma-śilā hill, jutting much more largely out towards the west; it forms a contrast with *Antara-Gayā* owing to its modern aspect and its relatively wide streets, which intersect sharp-cornered. The town of Gayā is surrounded by hills, a certain number of which are considered sacred: so, when we are in Gayā, there is hardly a place from which we do not see some temple. This reminds us that we are in an area considered as one of the most sacred. Pilgrims come here in large number;

2. According to the *Census* of 1951; cf. *Bihar District Gazetteers, Gayā*, by P. C. Roy Chaudhury, Patna, 1957, p. 99. The population of Gayā, which was 80,383 inhabitants in 1891, had fallen to 49,921 in 1911 in consequence of famines and several serious epidemics of cholera and plague.

their annual figure is generally³ estimated at seven lakhs. Almost half of this number 'offers *piṇḍa-s*'⁴ i.e. performs rites for a recently-dead relative, who very often has died during that very year. This would mean an average daily frequency of about 1,000 pilgrims, who have lost a close relative a short time back; that is evidently a considerable number. Most of these pilgrims come from neighbouring regions, but people from all over India also come to Gayā.⁵

The pilgrims who do not offer *piṇḍa* come specially at the time of big concourses that take place during the *Pitṛ-pakṣa*, the second half of such months as *śrāvaṇa* or *māgha*. The other come in any period of the year, including the time of the big and, so to say, collective pilgrimages, but they sometimes prefer periods considered less auspicious, in order to be in a position to perform their rites more quietly and therefore better. The pilgrimage duration of those who come to 'offer *piṇḍa-s*' is very variable. Many a faithful do it in one day or three days, but some have to remain at Gayā eight, fifteen or even more days in order to complete the whole pilgrimage. So a certain number of pilgrimage-types can be distinguished; we shall consider them later. The complete tour consists of 48 places that should be visited. We shall now follow a pilgrimage to these places, thus getting acquainted with the whole of *Gayā-kṣetra*.

The pilgrim arriving at Gayā has first to go to *Phalgu-tīrtha*. This tīrtha is reached from the old town: it is at the bottom of a large staircase, at the end of which there is a large place where several pilgrims at a time can perform their rites. Some steps enable one to reach the river. This place is very important, but the pilgrim who has to make the complete round will perform in it only some preliminary rites. He begins with a *saṅkalpa*, i. e., he

3. According to the *Gayāvāl-s*, priests of Gayā and an *ācārya*.
4. C. P. Vidyarthi, in *The sacred Complex of Hindu Gayā*, Bombay, 1961, p. 33, affirms that more than 80,000 Hindus offer *piṇḍa-s*. Possibly the figure given to us has been somewhat inflated, but the one given here seems to be quite unreal. In fact it is difficult to have an exact figure.
5. The *ācārya* who kindly informed us, Purohit M. Nārāyaṇācārya, has a visiting-card on which it is written: "All facilities will be given to the South Indian Pilgrims to their entire satisfaction". This sentence is translated into Telugu, Kannaḍa, Tamil and Malayalam.

affirms his intention to perform all the rites in their regular succession. After *saṅkalpa* he takes a ritual bath, makes a *tarpaṇa* and offers *pinḍa-s*. He has then to go to the bottom of Preta-śilā hill, a little more than 10 Km to the north-west of Phalgu-tīrtha. It is worth noting that the name of Preta-śilā is given in the *Gayā-māhātmya* not to this hill, but to Rāma-śilā and that at the time when Monier-Williams made his brief enquiry, in 1876,⁶ there was still some confusion. Nowadays, however, the names of these two hills seem to be quite fixed. At the feet of this hill, there is a pond called *Brahma-kunḍa*⁷ where the pilgrim first stops to take a ritual bath and makes a *śrāddha*⁸. This pond is in very good condition; some porticos shelter the pilgrims. These pilgrims can carry out here either only the ceremonies normally performed in this place, or also, I was told, those they should conduct on the hill top, if their physical situation or atmospheric conditions do not allow the climbing. A small temple and a shelter for *sannyāsin* have been built to the west of this temple. A little farther begins the long staircase which leads to the top of Preta-śilā, almost 150 meters above. This staircase is painful to climb, because the steps are very irregular. It is hemmed with steles available in great number at Gayā and its surroundings and which possibly come from the ruins of Bodh-Gayā. They often represent in effect Buddhist images renamed with a brahmanic title. There are also some small votive *stūpas* considered as *liṅga-s*. Half-way up the hill, a small slab on which two feet are engraved and which is called *Brahmapada*, receives the *pūjā* of some devotees, but it does not belong to the normal round of pilgrimage. A little higher, there are two shelters for *sannyāsin-s*. On the hill top rises a small *maṇḍapa*.⁹ There the pilgrims make their *śrāddha*, after which they offer *pinḍa-s* in a kind of small hexagonal pond, whose bottom is the hill rock itself.¹⁰ The local priests show us on this bottom three—almost invisible—yellowish rays, which, they say, are golden

6. cf. *Śrāddha Ceremonies at Gayā in Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. (July 1876) p. 200.

7. cf. plate IV, No. 1.

8. *Śrāddha* is a ceremony for the ancestors, which consists mainly in making and offering *pinḍa-s*. The *śrāddha* of Gayā is described in the *Gayā-Māhātmya*.

9. cf. plate IV, No. 2.

10. cf. plate IV, No. 3.

and made by Brahman. A courtyard, closed on three sides by a portico under which the pilgrims can take shelter, protects the *maṇḍapa* on its western side. On the western side of this portico, and therefore facing east, there is a wall-plugged stele. The personage represented by it was called Brahman in 1959 and, as a proof, a manuscript, the *Veda-s*, was shown in that person's left hand. In 1960, however, another priest said that such a personage was Rāma and Rāma's name is really written in red all round the stele (but it was there already the previous year). In fact, it is an Avalokiteśvara coming doubtlessly from Bodh-Gayā. They seemed to be surprised at the astonishment I showed seeing the change in the personage's name. Another family of priests had been put in charge of the sanctuary and as they were particularly Rāma's devotees, they had changed the divinity's name. In 1959 there were also some kinds of *triśūla* depicted in red¹¹ on the pillars of the *maṇḍapa* and I was said they were signs of Brahman. A year later, they had disappeared daubed with colour. It is anyway interesting to note these changes, even if, in this case, they have, in fact, little importance; they show that not everything is settled in Hinduism. A change of greater importance, moreover, had taken place since Buchanan-Hamilton's visit in 1812. At the south of the sanctuary I have described, a sharp steep rises approximately three metres high. This steep was really named *Preta-śilā*; at its feet the faithful used to offer *piṇḍa-s* in 1812.¹² Brahman's golden imprints had surely been shown to Buchanan-Hamilton, but he observes that the pond surrounding them seems to be quite new and, although these imprints were already venerated, yet the *śrāddha* was still offered on the steep. Today even the name of the big steep has been forgotten. Only some steles, which are present everywhere too, would be a reminder that a cult was practised here. I point out, at last, that Buchanan-Hamilton describes the *maṇḍapa*, under which nowadays *śrāddha-s* are offered

11. These same signs exist on the temple of Maṅgalā-Gaurī; cf. plate XV, No. 1.

12. Buchanan-Hamilton Francis, *An Account of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812*, published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, without date,—2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 129-132. The pilgrimage sites at Gayā are described very scrupulously in this book; we shall often refer to it.

as 'open on all sides'. The portico and the Avlokiteśvara stele then have been put after his visit.

To resort to the next *vedi* one has to retrace one's own steps back on the pleasant road leading to Gayā; in this way Rāma-śilā and Phalgu hills are reached. To the east of this hill, between the road that runs along the river and the river itself, a pond has been dug. It is well-maintained, but its water are very dirty: it is the *Rāma-kunḍa*.¹³ Its consolidated banks afford a resting-place to the pilgrims. To the south of this pond there is a small temple dedicated to Rāmeśvara Natha. When the *Rāma-kunḍa śrāddha* is completed, one goes to the *Rāma-śilā* hill top. The steps leading there are less laborious to climb than the *Preta-śilā*. The hill is also considerably less elevated. The climbing begins with a very large staircase leading rapidly to a Rāma temple on whose side there is one of the residences of *Dhāmin* priests: I shall come to this point. Then proceeding through a middle-sized staircase, one finds two small temples at one's own right. One is called Siddhanātha Maheśvara, containing not a well carved *līṅga*, but a piece of sharp rock in its place. The other one is called Prabhāseśvara, and the *līṅga* it contains is clearly of very recent origin. A little higher there are the *samādhi* of a recently-buried *sādhu* and his successor's residence. The hill top, lastly, has been very well laid out. There is a large terrace where two temples have been built, one consecrated to Sītā-Rāma,¹⁴ the other, the more important, called *Pātaleśvara*. In front of the latter, a *maṇḍapa* shelters a small pond similar to the one we had seen at the top of *Preta-śilā* and where the Brahman's golden traces were visible. Here Rāma's foot-print is shown; it is very clear, since it has recently been made in cement. This foot-print did not exist in 1812, because had Buchanan-Hamilton seen it, he would not have missed mentioning it. The making of this foot-print is remarkable as it is, so to say, against the tradition of Gayā. In effect, the whole *Gayā-māhātmya* insists on the importance of the rock, particularly on the duty one has to offer *pinḍa*-s on Gayā's very soil. Here, on the contrary, the soil has been isolated by means of a cement-layer in order to make a clearer foot-print in

13. cf. plate V, No 1.

14. This temple is recent and probably is not the one pointed out by B. H, which apparently was situated a little higher and seems to have disappeared.

an easier way. Everywhere else the bare rock has been preserved even if this rock did not bear any foot-print, even if it was necessary to stir up the faithful's imagination.

After having performed the usual *śrāddha* rites, the pilgrim descends the hill and, taking the road which goes along the Phalgu, he soon arrives before a building called *Kāka-śilā*.¹⁵ Its structure consists of a raised platform surrounded by a stone-worked colonnade. Perhaps once there was a roof, but nothing is now left. Only a porch-roof of corrugated iron stretches out all along the western side, sheltering the faithful from contingent inclemency. In the centre of the building, there is a large stone-made platform. At the north-western corner of this platform stands the true *Kāka-śilā*¹⁶ on which the pilgrims offer their *piṇḍa*-s at the end of the *śrāddha*.

All the places I have just described are under the direct jurisdiction of *Dhāmin* priests. Those we shall see now are under the jurisdiction of *Gayāvāl*-s. Farther I shall deal with *Gayā*'s different priests who are connected with the pilgrimage.

Between *Rāma-śilā* hill and *Antara-Gayā* there is a pond called *Uttara-mānasa*¹⁷ : it is the seventh place the pilgrims have to visit. An inscription found in the surroundings of this pond claims that it was dug around the years 1070-1080 A. D.¹⁸ It is surrounded by several temples, among which the most important seems to be called *Pitāmaheśvara*.¹⁹ The pond is in relatively good condition in its north-eastern corner only, where the pilgrims perform the rites.

To this northern *Mānasa* is opposed a southern *Mānasa*, the *Dakṣiṇa-mānasa*²⁰ The latter is situated in the very heart of the old city. It is very deep and its waters are very dirty. It is girdled by a kind of embankment. Three *śrāddha*-s are made

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15. or *Kāka-bali*. But this last name is also the name of a *vedī* situated near *Brahmasaras*. We shall see it further, p. 13.
 16. cf. plate V, No. 2.
 17. cf. plate VI, No. 1.
 18. This inscription will be discussed later.
 19. According to the information given on the spot; but *Buchanan-Hamilton* does not mention it. On the other hand, the *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi* places the temples of *Pitāmaheśvara* near *Campaka vana*, south of *Antara-Gayā* on the bank of the *Phalgu*.
 20. cf. plate VI, No. 2.

there at three different *vedī*-s; the first in its north-western corner is called *Udīcī*, the second in the middle of its western corner is called *Kanakhala* and the third in its south-western corner is called *Sūrya-kunḍa*. The *mantra* recited there while bathing are addressed to Sūrya. To the west of this pond, moreover, there is a Sūrya temple where the pilgrims have to go for a *darśana*.

The four *tīrtha*-s we have just mentioned are grouped with a fifth one to form what is called the *Pañca-tīrtha* in the *Gayā-māhātmya*. The last of these *tīrtha*-s is not a peculiar pond, but it is formed by the Phalgu itself and is situated immediately to the south of Phalgu-tīrtha. In the *Gayā-māhātmya*²¹ it is called Phalgu-tīrtha; the priests of Gayā, instead call it *Jihvā-lola*. This name is strange, but no suitable explanation could be given. It is mostly said that it is applied to the ancestors who are in the lower regions and who pull out their tongue to receive the quenching libations of their descendants. It can be noted, besides, that the *asura* Gaya is represented, as usually all the demons, as pulling out his tongue and that this name *Jihvā-lola* perhaps has some relation with this demon pulling out this tongue. The *piṇḍa*-s are prepared under a tree situated on the *ghaṭ*.

It is again on the bank of a pond that the pilgrim will have to go to make his 12th *śrāddha*, about eight km to the south of the old town, in the peninsula formed by the two rivers Nairāñjanā and Mahānadī, called Phalgu after their confluence.²² The pond is called *Mataṅga-vāpī*.²³ To reach it, one will have to ford the river, because there is no bridge, but this is very easy almost throughout the year. In the middle of *borassus* palm-trees, all of a sudden one discovers a sanctuary surrounded by walls inside which there are several temples and a *dharma-śāla*. The temples are dedicated to Mataṅgeśvara, Mataṅgeśvarī, Pitṛtāra-Mahadeva and a fourth one to Śaṅkara. All have a *līṅga*, except that of Mataṅgeśvarī. In this one a kind of altar, embellished with two *triśūla*-s and two lions, sustains ten small *līṅga*-s, three at the forepart and seven raised a little higher. Above all this a stele representing the *Devī* leans against the wall; perhaps it is a recent import. The pond is situated outside the wall of this sanctuary,

21. *Gayā-māhātmya*, VII.15 ff.

22. For the assessment of these names, see below.

23. cf. plate VII, No. 1.

to the south of it. It is on the bank of this pond that the pilgrims make their *śrāddha*.

We then come to *Dharmāraṇya*. It is situated a little less than a kilometre farther south.²⁴ A cluster of *borassus* is preserved there, perhaps to justify the name. *Dharmāraṇya* is situated in the middle of a sandy plain, its enclosure being delimited by a very low wall. There are also several other buildings. To the north-east a Hanumant temple. Almost at the centre of the sacred area, but slightly towards the north, there is the most important structure which has recently been renovated.²⁵ It is a *maṇḍapa* in whose centre there is a large and not very deep well without water in which the pilgrims throw the *piṇḍa-s* after the *śrāddha*. The name of this well does not seem to be well established. *Dharmāraṇya* is, in principle, the place where king Dharma²⁶, according to the *Gayā-māhātmya* performed a great sacrifice and, for that, a post (*yūpa*) and a well (*kūpa*) were needed. Now the well we have just mentioned is called, so I have been told, *Dharma-yūpa*. The pilgrims make their *śrāddha* under the *maṇḍapa*. To the south-east of this building, there is a small temple described as a Jain temple by Buchanan-Hamilton²⁷, containing a stele representing the Jina Pārśva-Nātha. In 1812 Jains used to come to worship it; they do not seem to be coming nowadays. The stele is said to represent Viṣṇu. Before this temple a platform with another well in its centre, completely similar to the preceding one, is called *Dharma-kūpa*. I have been told that the *piṇḍa-s* have to be thrown into it when the ancestor, for whom one has gone there, had died a violent death. The names of these two wells, *yūpa* and *kūpa*, answer evidently the will of recalling Dharma's sacrifice, but these designations are surely recent, as Buchanan-Hamilton mentions only a well, the first one, which could not be called, therefore, *yūpa* at that time. Finally, to the south of *Dharmāraṇya*'s enclosure there is a small temple containing a *liṅga* and a stele representing Gauri-Śaṅkara.

24. Buchanan-Hamilton (I, 127) places this spot to the east of Mataṅga-vāpī. This is not possible, because one should, then, cross the Mahā-nadī.

25. cf. plate VII, No. 2.

26. This Dharma is perhaps Yudhiṣṭhira, or even God Yama.

27. *op. cit.*, I, p. 127.

Two kilometres to the north-west of Dharmāraṇya, there is Bodh-Gayā. There the pilgrim is invited to go and a path leads him directly to it. In the middle of the way, a small house has been transformed into a Buddha temple by some Tibetan monks, but few people seem to stop there. For most part of the year, the Nairāñjanā can be crossed dry-shod. The *vedi* in Bodh-Gayā is called *Mahā-Bodhi-taru*,²⁸ but, in fact, the *piṇḍa*-s are not offered at the *aśvattha*'s foot under which Buddha attained Enlightenment but under another tree. The ownership of the temple and the freedom of cult in its enclosure have given rise, in effect, to a very long lawsuit which ended only very recently. About 1700 A. D., Bodh-Gayā was no longer visited by any Buddhist, and the forest had spread over the place. A *sannyāsin* came, settled down and founded a monastery of Śivaites. Thereafter the Śivaites considered the village, and more particularly the big temple's ruins, as their property. Meanwhile, in 1811, the king of Burma sent several delegates for identifying the place. Since then some incidents have burst out between Buddhists and Śivaite *mahant*-s. The most serious one took place on the 25th of February, 1895 when the Śivaites prevented by force some Buddhists from installing in the temple a statue of the Buddha, offered by some Japanese monks. An action was entered and then many more. The case was concluded, but temporarily, in 1949 only by promulgation of the 'Bodh-Gayā temple Act', which entrusts the administration of the temple and its surroundings to a board of nine persons, a president, four Buddhists and four Hindus, including the *mahant*. This latter has again entered a rehearing which is still in progress to my knowledge.²⁹ The Buddhists have meanwhile secured an undertaking that the Hindus do not make their *śrāddha*-s at the foot of the tree situated to the west of the temple and at whose side one can see the Diamond Throne. They make it at the foot of a tree situated to the north of the temple and whose origin is as follows; at the time of the repairs made by Cunningham at the end of the last century, the *aśvattha*, which had become too old, fell down. A sprout was, then, planted in the same place, and another one to

28. cf. plate VII, No. 1.

29. cf. *Mahābodhi Society of India, Diamond Jubilee Souvenir*, 1891-1951. Calcutta 1952, pp. 177-181 : Buddha Gaya temple question, by Bhikhu Silabhadra.

the north of the temple, so that there was a tree for the followers of each religion.

Near the temple, there are some small Hindu temples. One of them contains golden statues which clearly represent the Buddha. Dressed in some clothes, they are here introduced as representing the 5 Pāṇḍava-s, with Kṛṣṇa, Draupadī, Kuntī and Abhimanyu. This temple is mentioned by Buchanan-Hamilton,³⁰ who tells us that it is very recent. The presence of the Pāṇḍava-s here can be explained through a confusion between the Buddha and Dharma and between Dharma and Yudhiṣṭhira.

After having visited Bodh-Gayā, the pilgrim comes back to Gayā. He goes to the bank of *Brahmasaras*,³¹ a pond perhaps very ancient—a Brahmasaras is already mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It is situated at the southern exit of the town, on the road to Bodh-Gayā; it is dirty and badly maintained. A small post driven in slant-wise is shown in its centre. It is said to be the post which was used during Brahman's great sacrifice. A little north-west of this pond, a small building shelters *Kākabali*, which should not be confused with the place to which sometimes the same name is given but which is near Rāma-śilā.³² There I have seen only a small waterless well into whose bottom some *piṇḍa-s* had been thrown. But Buchanan-Hamilton³³ had seen an excavation in the rock in which the features of a person called Yama had been carved rudely. Without any doubt an edge has been made around this cavity since the beginning of the 19th century.

Between the *śrāddha* on the bank of the Brahmasaras and that of *Kākabali*, the *Gayā-māhātmya*³⁴ enjoins a sprinkling rite on mango trees. I have looked for these mango trees, but they have disappeared, I have been told. The rite, which seemingly is performed very rarely nowadays, is done at the foot of a very curious³⁵ cylindrical building situated near Gopracāra, just where the *Gayā-māhātmya* says it should be done on the mango trees.

30. *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

31. cf. plate VIII, No. 2.

32. cf. *supra*, p. 9.

33. *op. cit.*, p. 126.

34. VII. 40-44.

35. cf. plate IX, No. 1.

The next *śrāddha* is performed on some foot-prints. Actually the more important and venerated are those of Viṣṇu, in the temple of *Viṣṇupāda*.³⁶ They are in an octogonal room, engraved on the very rock and surrounded by a silvery frame. The structure of the temple is recent, it was built in the XVIIIth century. Sometimes it is said that the actual temple was built in place of a more ancient one, but Buchanan-Hamilton does not mention it. In the *mandapa* preceding this holy of holies and at the right of the door leading to it, there is a *cella* containing a *līṅga*. All the other *pada-s* are to the south-east of the temple on a big rock in a gradual slope, sheltered under a roof. The name of *ṣoḍaśa vedī*³⁷ given to this hall should imply that there are 16 foot-prints. In fact, it is said they are 18, but the given number is variable. Buchanan-Hamilton mentions 20 foot-prints, for instance; others say that they are 14, but nobody gives a list of 16 foot-prints. The names of the gods who would have left their imprints are engraved on the pillars supporting the roof. They are the foot-prints of Īśāna (Śiva), Kamalāsana (Brahman), Kārtikeya, Dakṣiṇāgni, Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya, Sūrya, Candra, Gaṇeśa, Sabhya, Avasathya, Dadhi, Kaṇva, Mataṅga, Krauñca, Indra, Agastya and Kaśyapa.³⁸

Near the *ṣoḍaśa vedī* there is the Chotā-Akṣaya-vaṭa. It used to be the last place where a *śrāddha* was performed, in certain cases, since Buchanan-Hamilton's times. It seems that today no cult is ever done here.

It is at the *Rāma-Gayā*³⁹ hill bottom that the 37th *śrāddha* has to be performed. One cannot easily approach this place without fording the river during most part of the year or crossing it by rafts made of bamboo-canes lying on big earthen pitchers playing the role of cable-buoys. There is a temple on the hill-top; it has a red coloured piece of rock representing, it is said, Hanumant. This Hanumant has been established here within living memory by a *sādhu* and it has no connection with the pilgrimage itself of Gayā. The *Rāma-Gayā vedī* is situated at the hill

36. cf. plate IX, No. 2 and plate X, No. 1.

37. cf. plate X, No. 2.

38. The list given by the *Gayā-māhātmya* has only 12 names. They are given in an order which varies according to the texts, but *śloka* VII.61 leaves the possibility of lengthening the list.

39. cf. plate XI, No. 1.

bottom, to the west of a courtyard surrounded by walls, decorated, as it is often the case, with bas-reliefs. In the middle of the courtyard, Buddha's foot-print,⁴⁰ ascribed to Rāma, receive here, evidently, homage of some devotees. The *maṇḍapa*⁴¹ sheltering the *vedī* seems to be ancient. In the middle of this piece, which is not very big, there is a *liṅga* in a kind of pond whose borders are higher than the *liṅga* itself. The Rāma-Gayā *vedī* is in the north-west corner, delimited by a high wall around and a low wall for a quarter of a circle. This building is erected on the rock itself. A passage leads from Rāma-Gayā courtyard to the Phalgu. On the left, there is a small temple where one can see Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. Their statues are recent and of popular workmanship. At the right, a door leads to Bharatāśrama which contains several small temples and a dwelling-place for some *sādhu-s*, who live there permanently. A little below there is another small temple inside which the offering of Rāma's *piṇḍa* to Daśaratha⁴² has been represented. Daśaratha's hand rises from the rock holding a *piṇḍa*, while two other *piṇḍa-s* are on the ground. It is said that just in this very spot Rāma offered his *śrāddha*. The *Gayā-māhātmya* in its legend narrates that Rāma offered a *śrāddha* on Rudra's foot-print and there is no evidence that such foot-print existed. But such problems do not enter in this context.

At the hill-bottom, a small little deeper part of the Phalgu river-bed retains some water even during the dry months : it is the so-called *Sītā-kunḍa*⁴³. During the rainy season it is not distinct from the river itself. In this spot a bath is taken and a *śrāddha* is offered.

The Phalgu is then crossed for offering the next *śrāddha* in *Gayāśiras*⁴⁴ temple. An inscription on the wall indicates that it was built in 1953. The *śrāddha*, therefore, is performed under a completely modern *maṇḍapa-s*, but this notwithstanding, the cult is given to the ancient *vedī*, which is situated on an extension of the modern structure. This *vedī* is a gash in the rock, on one of whose walls some personages are sculptured very coarsely.

40. cf. plate XII, No. 1.

41. cf. plate XI, No. 2.

42. Illustrating the legend narrated in *Gayā-māhātmya* VII. 74-79.

43. cf. plate XII, No. 2.

44. cf. plate IX, Ko. 2.

Following the way, which surrounds the hill, where there are the Viṣṇupāda temple and the Muṇḍapṛṣṭha, one arrives at *Gayā-kūpa*, which would be the well that Brahman used at the time of his great sacrifice. Then the next *śrāddha* is offered, and the *piṇḍa*-s are thrown into a dry and slightly deep well. One has, then, to go to the Muṇḍapṛṣṭha hill, where there are three *vedī*-s : *Muṇḍapṛṣṭha*, *Ādi-Gayā* and *Dhautapada*. In the place called Muṇḍapṛṣṭha, there is a small temple of which I have seen the construction when it was at its beginning in August 1959. Inside, on a kind of stone-worked bench, several steles have been placed, among which the one of Muṇḍa-pṛṣṭhadevī⁴⁵, representing an ascetic Kālī seated on a person, is much damaged. The *Ādi-Gayā vedī* is simply a part of a cropping out rock, which has been covered with a small roof sustained by pillars.⁴⁶ Beyond the *vedī* some nowadays decaying buildings were the local priest's residence. It is interesting to note that Buchanan-Hamilton⁴⁷ did not notice another temple beyond the priest's house, where sometimes *śrāddha*-s are offered. The *vedī* here is analogue to that of *Gayāśiras*.

Dhautapada is to the south of *Ādi-Gayā*. It is a completely modern *maṇḍapa*, and the cult object is a piece of cropping rock, rare at *Gayā*. Nobody could tell me the legend associated with this place or with this name.

Then one goes to *Bhasma-kūṭa* hill, on which only two *śrāddha*-s are normally offered, but where there are numerous holy places. One first arrives at *Bhīma-Gayā*. A hole in the rock would have been made by *Bhīma*'s knee, while falling prostrate to adore *Janārdana*, whose temple is situated on the hill-top. In 1959 there was only a small roof to protect this *vedī*, but in 1960 relatively important works were in progress to build there a temple. A little above, a curious construction shelters goddess *Maṅgalā-Gaurī*⁴⁸, who is the *Devī*'s peculiar form at *Gayā*. On the top, there is the *Janārdana* temple, where no *śrāddha* is offered during the pilgrimage, but where one can come afterwards. The *piṇḍa*-s offered to this god will be useful not to the dead but to

45. cf. plate XIII, No. 2.

46. cf. plate XIII, No. 1.

47. *op. cit.*, I, p 124.

48. cf plate XV, No. 1.

living. This is the only place where *piṇḍa*-s are not offered on the very soil; they are entrusted to the god⁴⁹ so that he may offer them in the name of the person, who will be specified after his or her death. One can even offer a *śrāddha* for oneself.

Descending towards the south one arrives at a rather big building called *Gopracāra*. The rock sheltering this construction is signed with innumerable little holes,⁵⁰ Here it is said that they are the divine cow Dhenu's foot-prints. It is possible that the *Mahābhārata* alludes to this *vedi* in III. 82.77; this would prove its venerable antiquity. *Gopracāra* is the second place where a *śrāddha* on the *Bhasma-kūṭa* is offered.

Then one descends as far as the street which is to be crossed to reach *Gadālola* pond's bank. The pond has little water and is very badly maintained. A post similar to that found in *Brahmasaras*⁵¹ obliquely thrust into its middle, recalls that in this pond *Viṣṇu* washed his mace, after having killed the *asura* *Heti*.⁵² Another *śrāddha* is offered on the bank of this pond.

This very street is again crossed to arrive near the *Akṣaya-vaṭa* where the last *śrāddha* is performed. The *Akṣaya-vaṭa* is situated on a pretty high terrace overhanging the street. The tree is now old and pillars in stone-work sustain its stretching enormous branches. After the *śrāddha*, the pilgrim washes the *Gayāval*'s feet, who took him under his care. He pays him his *honorarium* and eventually obtains the *suphal*, i. e., a word, thanks to which he is sure that his pilgrimage will bear fruit.⁵³

48 *śrāddha*-s therefore, are offered, if the pilgrimage is made in its entirety. But when all these rites are finished, many places will have still to be visited. Their visit is optional and very few pilgrims go to them, because the priests do not foster them. Particularly, most of the places described in chapter 4 of the *Gayā-māhātmya*, we consider ancient, have not been visited.

Once the pilgrimage is over, the *trisandhya*⁵⁴ rite is often performed. At the rising of the sun, one goes to *Gāyatrī-tīrtha* on

49. cf. plate XV, No. 2.

50. cf. plate XIV, No. 1.

51. cf. *supra*.

52. cf. *Gayā-māhātmya*, V. 1 to 12.

53. cf. plate III, Nos 1,2 and 4.

54. *trisandhya* is a usual rite of Hinduism, somewhat comparable with the *Angelus* among the Catholics, but at *Gayā* it has a special importance. This rite is described in *Gayā-māhātmya*, VIII.21-24.

the Phalgu, a little north of Phalgu-tīrtha. A bath is taken in the river while reciting the morning *samdhya* and a *śrāddha* is offered. At noon the mid-day *samdhya* is recited near Sāvitrī-kuṇḍa, at the foot of Brahma-yoni hill, and a *tarpaṇa* is made. At night fall one goes to the bank of *Sarasvati*; so is called a part of the Mahānadi stream, almost as far as its confluence with the Nairāñjanā. There is a temple there, on the peninsula, I have visited. There the evening *samdhya* is recited.

Another important rite which can be performed outside the normal⁵⁵ pilgrimage tour is the 'gift of a cow' on the bank at the Vaitaraṇī. It is a well-known funeral rite⁵⁶, but it assumes particular value at Gayā. Vaitaraṇī, which is the river of the infernal regions in Hindu mythology, is here a pond situated a little north of Brahma-saras.

A word has to be said, at last, about two hills which seem to have had a great importance in other times. One is nowadays called *Sunaravā*. It is left apart in the normal pilgrimage tour, but it is well described in ch. IV of the *Gayā-māhātmya*. The other one is the *Brahma-yoni* hill. Cunningham thinks he can identify it with *Gayāsīsa* venerated by the Buddhists, which is, without any doubt, the same as *Gayāsīras* in the *Mahābhārata*; I shall speak of it later. Nowadays the *Brahma-yoni*⁵⁷, which has given its name to the hill, still attracts visitors. It is a passage among the rocks whose crossing, now made easy, frees man from any further rebirth.

I have just outlined a description of the pilgrimage to Gayā. In fact, very few pilgrims visit all the places. The state of forlornness or half forlornness, in which the places are kept, witnesses indeed this neglect. On the other hand, it has been difficult sometimes to have clearly specified where this or that *vedī* was situated exactly, specially on the Muṇḍapṛṣṭha, a hill, however, so near to Viṣṇupāda temple, centre of the present Gayā. The most popular pilgrimage types are the following: first of all and by far the most popular, the two or three days' pilgrimage to three places; Phalgu-

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55. Some lists include it into the normal pilgrimage tour of 48 *vedī*-s.
 56. cf. Kane, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p. 545. The cow is called Vaitaraṇī.
 57. cf. plate XVI, Nos 1 and 2,

tīrtha, Viṣṇupāda and Akṣayaṇḍī. Some offer only one *śrāddha* at Viṣṇupāda, either because they are in haste, or because they are too poor to afford more. Bengalis offer five *śrāddha-s*; at Phalgu-tīrtha, Preta-śilā, Rāma-Gayā, Viṣṇupāda and Akṣayaṇḍī. Lastly, there are four of 38 or 45 places where *śrāddha-s* are offered. A certain number of *vedī-s* of the complete tour is then suppressed, but it is difficult to specify which ones. In fact the list itself of the 48 places to be visited is fluctuating. In appendix III a comparative table of the different lists I could find will be given.

The priests, the pilgrims should be interested in arriving at Gayā, can be classified under three categories: *gayāvāl*, *dhāmin* and *ācārya*. The *Gayāvāl-s*⁵⁸ are by far the most important. They are the principal recipients of the pilgrimage, as every pilgrim has to pay in the fees they claim at the end of the rites; they turn out to be generally very exacting. A great number of defects are attributed to them, particularly ignorance and rapacity. It is certain that they are completely ignorant, even about things that touch very closely the Gayā pilgrimage. As for their rapacity, I shall only quote here the *Tamil Lexicon*⁵⁹, which under the term *Gayāvāl* gives as definitions: '1. One of the priests class at Gayā; 2. Extortioner; 3. Dishonest, unscrupulous fellow'. It is really hoped that this is excessive; it contains at least a grain of truth. In other times they were owners of the majority of the places at Gayā. It seems that their tendency to be interested only in what can bring something back to them, made them neglect most of the places at Gayā, to preserve eventually only the Viṣṇupāda temple and some close by *vedī-s*. The *Gayāvāl-s* claim to be descendants of the brāhmaṇa-s created by Brahman at the moment of his sacrifice. That would clearly mean that they have been at Gayā since very great antiquity. It is, in fact, very difficult to give a verdict on this subject, the more so because the *dhāmin-s* make the same claim.

58. The *gayāvāl* seem to be of great interest from the point of view of sociology. They have been studied several times particularly in recent times by M. L. P. Vidyarthi, in *The Sacred Complex in Hindu Gayā*. Unfortunately the study is rather poor, because of the lack of a critical attitude on the author's part. The author's main informants have been the *Gayāvāl-s* themselves. This book is an excellent proof of their total ignorance.

59. *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, 1926, p. 734.

During Buchanan-Hamilton's time, the *dhāmin-s* were particularly miserable.⁶⁰ Their status seems to have risen a little since then, without being flourishing. The other name they have of *Pretīya brāhmaṇa-s* shows that they are more particularly concerned with the *preta-s*. Five places belong to them at Gayā: Brahma-kuṇḍa, Pretaśilā, Rāmakuṇḍa, Rāmaśilā and Kākabali. They are also in charge of a certain number of temples which at other times depended on *Gayāvāl-s*, particularly the temple which is situated on the top of the Brahma-yoni hill, as well as the Brahma-yoni itself. They do not seem to be giving a part of the fees to the *Gayāvāl-s*, as at the beginning of the XIX century, but they are, however, very poor. Their ignorance equals that of *Gayāvāl-s*.

The incompetence of these two priestly categories in fact makes indispensable the necessity of the third one: the *ācārya-s*. It is they who direct the pilgrims while making their *śrāddha*. They strictly depend on the *Gayāvāl-s*, to whom they seem to pay in a certain percentage of their fees, although they deny it. They have come to settle themselves in Gayā from every part of India; so my principal informant had come from *Kannaḷa*. Their role is not limited to assisting the pilgrims in their rites, they also welcome the pilgrims at the station and look after their lodging.

This is, rapidly outlined, the actual state of Gayā and its pilgrimage. But its ancient aspect is very different from it. By a very rare chance in India, we possess numerous documents, which enable us to form an idea of what has been the evolution of this sacred territory. This is what we are going to study now.

GAYĀ ACCORDING TO THE BUDDHISTS

The Pāli Canon and its Commentators

The Pāli Canon alludes to the town of Gayā several times and this vouches already a respectable antiquity for it. We shall hardly be able to go so far back in time. Naturally, the Hindu pilgrimage does not concern the Buddhists much, but they are often led to allude to Gayā because in its neighbourhood the prince Siddhārtha attained the awakening and later the Buddha returned there repeatedly. The Pāli Canon consequently gives only names; the commentators, however, help us in giving them a certain content. In Buddha's time Gayā was certainly an important centre

60. *op. cit.*, I, p. 107 and 130-131.

of pilgrimage; in fact it is quoted in a court-list of *tīrtha*-s in a stanza of *Majjhima-nikāya*⁶¹ : 'The Bāhukā, Adhikakkā, Gayā and Sundarikā, Sarasvatī and Prayāgā as well as Bāhumatī...'⁶² and in the last verse of this stanza, the Gayā *tīrtha* is taken as the *tīrtha*-type : 'What will you do once you are at Gayā ? A well is Gayā for you'⁶³. And Buddhaghosa, commenting this passage, writes '... and because Gayā is the most revered in the world.'⁶⁴ Gayā is here the name of the *tīrtha*, that is of the ford in the river today called Phalgu. But the same Buddhaghosa tells us: 'Gayā, it is said, is a village and a *tīrtha* and the term fits both.'⁶⁵

This *tīrtha* saw a big crowd coming every year in the month of Phālguna, for a great festival called Gayā-phaggu according to the month in which it used to take place. The *Thera* sings: 'At dawn, at noon, at evening, three times a day, I have descended into the current water of Gayā on occasion of the Gayā-phaggu'⁶⁶. The commentary on this passage is so translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids. 'At the time the people held a festival every year in the former half of March (Phagguna), and a baptizing at the bathing stage (*tīrthabhīṣeka*), the festival being called the Gayā-lent (Gayā-phaggu)^{67,68}. It is possible that from this festival the river of Gayā derives its name of Phalgu; this is, in any case, what Buddhaghosa thinks. It is certain that this name was first given

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61. The *Majjhima-nikāya*, editor P. V. Bapat, Pāli Publications Board (Bihar Government), 1958, vol. I, p. 52.
 62. bāhukam adhikakkam ca gayam sundarikam api sarassatim payagam ca atho bahumatim nadim
 63. kim kahasī gayam gantvā udapāno'pi te gayā.
 64. Yasmā ca loke gayā samatatarā. *Papañcasūdanī*, Siamese ed., 1920, I, p. 247.
 65. gayā ti gāmo pi tittham pi vucchati, tad ubhayam pi idha vattati. *Paramatīhajotikā*, Siamese ed., II., p. 301, quoted by Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 83, fn. 3.
 66. pāto majjhantikam sāyam tikkhattum divasass' aham otarim udakam sotam gayāya gayaphagguyā
(*Thera-gāthā*, P. T. S., 1930, p. 39, verse 345.)
 67. I do not see why Mrs. Rhyi Davids translates here *Phaggu* as *Lent*, which is not absolutely indispensable and has a meaning which is unacceptable.
 68. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 181, quoted by Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 90, fn. 1.

to the *tirtha*, and that only rather recently the name was applied to the river, since in the *Gayā-māhātmya* Phalgu has mostly the restrict meaning of *tirtha* situated at the feet of Viṣṇupāda temple. Another well-attested point about Gayā in the Pali Canon is the Gayāsīsa or Gayā śīrṣa. We are told that the Buddha gave here several sermons. But nothing shows that in that time it was a particular sacred place as it is now. The Buddha used to climb there with his disciples to contemplate the *tirtha* and the people bathing there. That enabled him to brand better this religion of baths and *tirthika*-s⁶⁹. The commentators do not give many further details. Buddhaghosa says that this mountain was situated not far from Gayā's built-up area and that there was a space at the top being enough to accomodate 1,000 monks⁷⁰. The commentator of *Udana*,⁷¹ as well as Buddhaghosa,⁷² say that this mountain derives its name from its similarity to an elephant's head (*gaja + śīrṣa*) and this is, in fact, the most probable etymology. There are several other examples in India of mountains deriving their names from their similarity to an animal. What is certain is that this Gayāśīrṣa or Gayāśīras is nowadays a place situated below Viṣṇupāda temple. It does not, therefore, correspond at all to the description of the Buddhists. Cunningham thought that this mountain could be identified with the actual Brahmayoni, and in fact the hill of Gayā's immediate surroundings best corresponds to what we know⁷³. But this hill is situated at approximately two

69. *Tirthika* is usually translated as 'heretic', but this translation is not proper at all. Hindus are no "heretics" of Buddhism; *Tirthika*-s are those who bathe in the *tirtha*-s and believe in their purifying power.

70. *gayāsīseti gayāgāmassa hi avidūre.....yattha bhikkusahassa okāso pahoti. Sāratthappakāsini*, Siamese ed., III, p. 7.

71. Quoted by Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 86, fn. 1.

72. Barua quotes the Siamese edition in the following way. (*op. cit.*, p. 90, fn. 2) : *gayā'ti ekā pokkharāṇi' pi, atthi nadīpi, Gayāsīsanāmako hatthi kumbhasadiso pitthipāsāno.* (according to *Sāratthappakāsini*, Siamese ed., III, p. 7). But in fact we read: *gayā ti ekā pokkharāṇi' pi, atthi nadi' pi. gayāsīsanamako atthi kumbhasadiso pitthipāsāno'pi.* We could not check whether the edition of the PTS gives *Hatthikumbhasadiso* or *atthi kumbhasadiso*. It seems that Barua is right as for the meaning, but surely he has not found this reading in the Siamese edition.

73. cf. plate XVI, No. 1.

miles from the river as the crow flies, and in these conditions it is doubtful whether the Buddha could clearly see the *tīrthika*-s. It is possible that the river has changed its course, and this would make things more probable. Another difficulty comes from the fact that no commentator speaks of Gayāśiras as a sacred place, but it is as such attested to in the *Mahābhārata*. It was supposedly not mentioned because it was no subject of the author. We cannot think in fact that in Buddhaghosa's time the Gayāśiras was not considered sacred by the Hindu-s.

In the Pāli Canon⁷⁴ *yakkha*-s come also into the picture, Suciloma and Khara, living in a *ṭaṅkitamañca* at Gayā. Buddhaghosa explains this rather obscure term. It was a kind of dolmen, a construction made of four flat stones situated vertically on which another flat stone was laid.⁷⁵ *Ṭaṅkita* suggests that these stones were adorned with bas-reliefs. Barua⁷⁶ would make us identify this construction with the Brahmayūpa mentioned by the Mahābhārata on the Brahmasaras's banks.⁷⁷ But the description given by Buddhaghosa is so accurate that this *ṭaṅkitamañca* cannot in any way be identified with a yūpa. On the other hand, Buddhaghosa does not say that this construction was situated on the pond's bank. He simply says that it was near Gayā's built-up area. And as Barua identifies Brahmasaras with the actual Brahmakuṇḍa which is situated at about 19 Km from the ancient built-up area of Gayā, one realizes that Barua hypotheses are hardly correct. Here we are obliged to declare our inability to exactly locate the *yakkhas'* shelter. It has completely disappeared and it seems to have never been pointed out by Hindu authors, unless we suppose that one of these *yakkha*-s is the ancestor of the *asura* Gaya, who will have later a great success.

So we have the essentials of what Gayā was in Buddha's time: a village on the bank of an important *tīrtha*, where the course of the faithful was particularly remarkable in the month of Phālguna. Near this village a hill whose form suggested the name

74. *Sucilomasutta*, in *Saṃyuttanikāya*, Pāli Publication Board, 1959, p. 208, and *Suttanipāta* (*Khuddakanikāya*, vol. I, Pāli Pub. Board, 1959 p. 308).

75. *Sāratthappakasīnī*, Siamese ed., I, p. 353.

76. *op cit*, p. 88.

77. For the identification of this pond, see further.

of 'elephant's head'⁷⁸; near the village also a dolmen, shelter of two *yakṣa*-s to whom a certain cult was possibly given. The cult places had surely been increased in number in Buddhaghosa's time, as he gives the following description of Gayā⁷⁹ : 'Gayā', there is a pond, a river and a rocky top resembling an elephant's head called Gayāsīsa'. It the first time that this pond appears in a Buddhist text. Elsewhere⁸⁰, Buddhaghosa tells us that it is called Maṇḍalavāpi. A *Maṇḍala-mahāhrada* is pointed out in the *Garuḍa purāṇa* (83.42) in a place which is situated between the town of Gayā and the Gayāsīras. But nowadays nothing is found under this name and it may be possible that the two should be identified. Anyway, the ponds are numerous in this locality, and it is very difficult to say which one had this name in Buddhaghosa's time. Barua thinks that it should be the same as Brahmasaras of *Mahābhārata*. This is possible, provided that it is not situated where Barua wants, because Brahmasaras is the only pond near Gayā spoken of by the *Mahābhārata* and Buddhaghosa.

The great epic points out more places at Gayā that the Pāli text. No wonder, the Pāli canon, in fact, as well as its commentators, have spoken of certain points of Gayā only to the extent they were related to the Buddha. The other ones did not have any interest for them. The Chinese pilgrims will do the same.

The Chinese Pilgrims on Gayā

Fa-hien and Hiuan-tsang are the only two Chinese pilgrims who have spoken of Gayā in their travel accounts but they have done it accessorially and briefly. They are, nevertheless, of the greatest importance for the history of Gayā, as they constitute a sure historical landmark. Fa-hien devotes to the town only a few words.⁸¹ 'This city (Gayā) is desolate and completely deserted.' So, around 410 A. D. the town of Gayā is but a remembrance. No

78. Bareau has kindly informed us that in the modern books, the Chinese and the Japanese know this mountain only under the name of Mount 'Elephant' Head'.

79. cf. above We translate following the reading of Barua, although affirming that it is not available in the Siamese edition.

80. *Papañcasud mī*, Siamese ed., I, p. 245 (and not p. 145, as Barua says by lapsus, *op. cit.*, p. 87, fn. 3).

81. *A Record of the Buddhist Countries*, by Fa-hsien. The Chinese Buddhist Association, Peking, 1957. p. 66.

reason is given. We shall see further the most probable hypothesis. A little more than two centuries later—since Hiuan-tsang did his journey from 627 (or 629) to 645 A. D.—Gayā is described by the Chinese pilgrim⁸² in the following words: ‘Going to the south west of the *sangharama* of Silabhadra about 40 or 50 li⁸³, and crossing the Nairanjana river⁸⁴, we come to the town of Gayā. This town is naturally strong (*situated amid crags or precipices*). It has but few inhabitants, there are about 1,000 families only, they are the offsprings of a Rishi. The king does not regard them as vassals and the people everywhere highly respect them.

To the north of the town 30 li, or so there is a pure fountain of water. The tradition handed down in India is that is called ‘holy water’; all who bathe or drink thereof are cleansed from whatever defilement of sin they have.

To the south-west of the town 5 or 6 li we come to Mouth Gaya (Kiaye), with its sombre valley, streams and steep and dangerous crags. In India the name commonly given to this is the divine (spiritual) mountain.’

We have so, thanks to Hiuan-tsang, a little picture of the city of Gayā in the middle of the VII century A. D. As the author adds again that, on the mountain Gayā, the Buddha pronounced several sūtra-s, it is easy to identify this mountain with the Gayā-śiras, i. e. with the actual Brahma-yoni. As it is sure that at this time this hill was sacred for the Hindus, we are little astonished to learn from the Chinese pilgrim that at its top there was a ‘*stūpa*’ about 100 feet high, which was built by ‘Aśoka-rāja’. We have to think that then, as nowadays, tolerance was conspicuous at Gayā

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82. *Chinese Accounts of India*, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel Beal, Calcutta, vol. III, 1958, p. 343.
83. According to Vivien de Saint-Martin (*Memoire analytique sur la carte de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Inde*, Paris, 1958, p. 8), the *li*, in the times of Hiuan-Tsang, was 329 mts., i. e., about 3 in every kilometre.
84. Here it represents what is now called the Phalgu. Hiuan-tsang calls it Nairāñjanā, as it is this river that flows at Bodh-Gayā. He considers it as it were the main river. The Nairāñjanā joins the Mahānadī at about 6 Km south of Gayā. What is nowadays called the Phalgu is often called Mahānadī in the Sanskrit texts, Phalgu being properly peaking the *tīrtha* of Gaya.

and that the faithful of the two confessions were not at all annoyed if they had to climb the same hill for a different worship.

According to the name 'mount Gayā' we realize that the town itself of Gayā was situated on the terrace overhanging the Phalgu, where today there is the Viṣṇupāda temple and what is called the ancient town of Gayā. As for the fountain situated at 30 li (i. e. about 10 km.) from Gayā it is almost surely the actual Brahmakuṇḍa, perhaps what is called *brāhmaṇas tīrtham* in the *Māhābhārata*.⁸⁵ It was surely a pilgrimage centre in Hiuan-tsang's time, though the pilgrim does not say expressly that the town of Gayā was a *tīrtha*. The presence, pointed out by him, of numerous *brāhmaṇa*-s in the town could easily show that it was holy. In fact, he says that there were a few inhabitants at Gayā, about one thousand of *brāhmaṇa* families. If this town had been an ordinary town, a thousand *brāhmaṇa* families would mean a big town, but it is not so. Their number then should be explained by the particular sanctity of the place. The great respect shown to them by the people and the king can equally come from the fact that they are *Brāhmaṇa*-s of a *tīrthā*. It is far more difficult to say whether they are ancestors of the actual *Gayāvāl*-s. It is possible but they claim to be disciples of Madhvācārya and to have come from southern India. If they are right, they would have ousted the *brāhmaṇa*-s spoken of by Hiuan-tsang.

In any case, we see that the town had settled out again with a new life in the VII century A. D., and Hiuan-tsang does not seem to have heard that it had been dead. Can we account for this temporary eclipse? It seems we can. In fact, already in Fa-hiens's⁸⁶ account and then in that of Hiuan-tsang⁸⁷ begins to appear the legend of the mountain Prāgbodhi, which was inhabited by a demon. This mountain was shaken when the Buddha while searching for the place where he could await the Awakening began its ascension. Now the Chinese pilgrims are, to our knowledge, the first ones to narrate this legend. The Pali Canon and the commentators do not make the least allusion to it. Yet had it existed, Buddhaghosa, native of Magadha, would have surely

85. see further.

86. *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

87. *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344.

known it. On the other hand, Gayā is situated in a region of earthquakes; the last one, in January 1934, was particularly violent in a region in the north of Pāṭnā, at a hundred miles or so from Gayā.⁸⁸ One can suppose, therefore, without too much rashness that Gayā was violently shaken in the IV century A. D. probably a little before the passing of Fa-hien. This earthquake would have given origin to the legend of the mountain Prāgbodhi from the Buddhist side and to the legend of *asura* Gaya as narrated in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* from the Hindu side. An earthquake could surely have destroyed the town to such an extent as to be completely abandoned for some time, especially because epidemics may have appeared and made the town unhealthy. But Gayā's ancient fame was such that the town could later on grow up again.

GAYĀ ACCORDING TO THE HINDUS

The first historical outlines could be given only through Buddhist data, as it is known that very few facts from Sanskrit works are dated exactly. But this should not make us forget that they are insufficient. It is now convenient, then, that we turn to the mass of Hindu texts dated or not as they serve to place the Buddhist ones in their time. Before the *Purāṇa*-s, the *Mahābhārata* consecrates many *śloka*-s to Gayā and gives a sufficient description of that holy place. Later, from the XIIth century A. D. some compilers begin to discourse upon the pilgrimages and help us follow their evolution; theirs, in fact, are the most precious documents. At last, some sparse facts will further specify or confirm other points of pilgrimage history.

A certain number of *Purāṇa*-s contain a *Gaya-mahātmya*. But that from *Vāyu-purāṇa* is the most important quantitatively. It has, in fact, 500 *śloka*-s approximately, distributed into 8 *adhya*-s. It is also the most read and, to my knowledge, the only one of which there are separate editions. Everybody agrees on the other hand in saying that it forms a whole, which has been integrated into the *Vāyu-purāṇa* only later. This is a problem that we shall study farther. It is not useless, I think, to give now a summary of

88. It was felt at Gayā. An ascetic who lives in a small hermitage near *Ākaśa-Gaṅgā* (on the eastern side of the *Sunara*) said to us that the earthquake of 1934 had practically dried up this source which was previously very abundant.

this *māhatmya*, even before we introduce the different passages of *Mahābhārata*, which anyway are clearly earlier than this *māhatmya*.

After a short introduction, Sanatkumāra, who tells Nārada the *Māhatmya* in the first *adhyaḥya* makes a very short summary of the *Asura* Gaya legend. Then he gives a certain number of facts on the pilgrimage, such as particularly auspicious dates, conditions under which the pilgrimage is to be undertaken etc. These facts contain, moreover, a great deal of publicity.

The second *adhyaḥya* narrates the *asura* Gaya legend. The *asura* applied himself to such a *tapas* that the gods were frightened. They went to meet Brahman, then Śiva, then Viṣṇu, who approached the *asura* to grant him a boon. The only boon he asked for was that his body might be rendered extremely pure and that, therefore, every being should be released at his sight. In a short time, then, the three worlds became empty. The gods, led by Yama, again unsatisfied, went to complain to Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu advised Brahman to perform a great sacrifice on the *Asura* Gaya's body. Brahman descended on earth and Gaya agrees to give his body, but, at the moment of sacrifice, he began to tremble. Brahman asks Dharma to go and look for the 'Rock'⁸⁹ which is near him. The gods settle themselves on this 'Rock', but without success. The *Asura* was trembling restlessly. Brahman approaches Viṣṇu, who gives him two of his incarnations, Janārdana and Puṇḍarikākṣa and then he himself comes under the Gadādhara form. It seems that Viṣṇu makes use of his club⁹⁰; anyway the *asura* does not move any longer and Viṣṇu grants him again another boon : the whole territory that forms his body will be called Gayā, and the men who resort to it will be saved. Brahman ends his sacrifice and in order to thank the Brāhmaṇa-s who assisted him, he gives them the Gayā territory, where he creates divine houses, golden mountains full of food, rivers of milk, ghee etc...while leaving them, however, he requests them never to ask for fees. Sometime later, the king Dharma has a great sacrifice performed. Brāhmaṇa-s came rushing through greediness for fees and Brahman cursed them, taking back all the riches he had given them. But as

89. The legend of this 'Rock' will be narrated in the two following chapters.

90. It is not very clear. Perhaps it can be deduced from II. 52. On the other hand the club cannot be justified otherwise.

they repented, Brahman empowered them to live out of the profits from the *tirtha* and tells them that the pilgrims honouring them will be saved.

Sanatkumāra continues to tell Nārada the legend of the 'Rock' in the third *adhyāya*. We are informed that Dharma⁹¹ had a perfect daughter Dharmavratā, and that he advised her to do a *tapas*, to find a husband. In fact, Marīci, Brahman's son, passes near her, asks for her hand, marries her and takes her to his hermitage. One day Marīci asks Dharmavratā to massage his feet. She complies but while she was massaging Marīci fell asleep and Brahman arrived. She went to greet the god; meanwhile Marīci woke and not seeing his wife, he cursed her, condemning her to be a rock. Dharmavratā got angry too and cursed her husband in her turn, saying to him that he will be later cursed by Mahādeva. Both, then, engaged in a hard *tapas*, and the gods being frightened, fled to Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu descended near Dharmavratā to grant her a boon. As she could not be freed from her husband's curse, she asks and obtains the boon to be a particularly purifying rock.

The fourth *adhyāya* contains the end of the legend, followed by the *māhātmya* of the rock. Once the gods have departed, men approach the Rock and all are freed. The three worlds are empty and the gods angry. They go to Viṣṇu who tells Yama-Dharma to take the Rock to his house, till the day when he comes out of it in order to put on the *asura* Gayā's head. Then follows a full pilgrimage guide for the pilgrimage to be done on the Rock. One has to walk successively on one's foot, one's back, one right and left hand, one's right hand again, then on one's right foot and one's belly. But there are two versions of the *Gayā-māhātmya* for this pilgrimage and the order followed is not the same in both of them.⁹²

In *adhyāya* five, Sanatkumāra explains how Viṣṇu's club originated, and narrates the *asura* Heti's legend who was killed by the club. Then follows the list of Gayā's mountains and rivers, which are Viṣṇu's invisible form, then the list of god's foot-prints, which are Viṣṇu's visible and invisible forms. At the end a list of statues, which are Viṣṇu's visible forms. This *adhyāya* ends with two *stotra-s* to Viṣṇu, one recited by Brahman, the other by Śiva.

91. It cannot at all be specified who this Dharma is.

92. The second version is given in Appendix II.

Adhyāya six explains the way of performing a *śrāddha* of Gayā and specifies the places where it is to be made first.

Adhyāya seven explains the Gayā pilgrimage and describes the tour of the holy places. On occasion it narrates some miracles that took place at the time of a *śrāddha*.

Adhyāya eight contains very different subjects. We are first of all told the king Gaya's legend, who had a great sacrifice done at Gayā and who gave brāhmaṇa-s countless fees. This sacrifice is already described in the *Mahābhārata*; I shall come back to it later. The sacrifice offers, on the other hand, a striking similarity to the sacrifice of Brahman, narrated in *adhyāya* two. Then the king Viśāla legend follows, who came to Gayā to perform a *śrāddha* in order to get issues. Another legend and the description of some places then follow. The story of Marīci's curse by Śiva is also narrated according to the words pronounced against her husband by Dharmavratā in adh. 3.29. Some more holy places of Gayā are also mentioned, hints regarding some legends are made and then the conclusion of the work is given. This consists in celebrating the very recitation of the *Gayā-māhātmya*.

Let us note, first of all, the multiplicity of legends of the following type : some extraordinary happenings, Viṣṇu descends to establish order and to grant a boon asked by the one who upsets the order, this boon being that Gayā be made pure and all the faithful going there be saved. On this model we have *asura* Gaya legend (twice because the boon is granted twice), Dharmavratā legend, Marīci legend (in *adhyāya* eight), Brahman's praise of Viṣṇu and the boon that follows. It will be noticed also that there are three great sacrifices, that of Brahman and that of Dharma in *adhyāya* two and that of king Gaya in *adhyāya* eight. This seems to show that all these legends have been elaborated in one work trying to adapt them as best as it could be done. The study of other *māhātmya*-s or similar documents concerning Gayā will only confirm us in this opinion.

GAYĀ IN THE EPICS

Mahābhārata

Gayā is very often mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. I shall mention here, however, only the interesting descriptions of the places of pilgrimage, i. e., specially those available in the *Tirtha-*

yātrā-parvan of the *Vana-parvan*. Let's note incidentally that Gayā is one of the pilgrimage centres abundantly described in the great Epic; this confirms that since its epoch, Gayā has been a very important pilgrimage centre.

The *tīrtha-yātrā-parvan* describes three pilgrimage tours : Pulastya, first, enumerates to Bhīṣma the different *tīrtha-s* and tells him the merits one gains by visiting them. Dhaumya, then, makes a list of *tīrtha-s* of the four corners of India. At last, from ch. 91, the Pāṇḍava-s themselves start on a tour of pilgrimage sites. Everytime Gayā enters, in ch. 82 (Śl. 71-89), 85 (Śl. 6-10) and 93 (Śl. 9-27).

Ch. 85 consecrated to the *tīrtha-s* of Eastern India could not devote to Gayā a long account. This notwithstanding Gayā's great *tīrtha-s* are mentioned : Brahmasaras, Mahānadī, Gayāśiras and Akṣayavata⁹³. To this small list is added strangely also Kauśikī, of which it cannot be said whether it is a river or a pond. Indeed although it is sometimes mentioned elsewhere⁹⁴, no specification is ever added to its name and it seems to be completely forgotten nowadays in the list of *tīrtha-s* found at Gayā.

Ch. 82 and 93 supply far more important elements and, what is interesting, each one of them considers the pilgrimage centre under different perspective. While ch. 82 is mainly descriptive, ch. 93 is much more anecdotal, 'historic', if I can say so. In fact this chapter, after having made us guess by simply giving the names of its important *tīrtha-s* that by them Gayā is meant—the very name of Gayā is not mentioned—tells us that Agastya has come after Dharma Vaivasvata and that Mahādeva is there permanently, and that during a *cāturmāsya* sacrifice the Pāṇḍava-s have performed, the Brāhmaṇa Śamaṭha tells them the story of king Gaya's great sacrifice. This sacrifice is also described in *Drona-parvan*, ch. 66 and it is hinted at in several places in the *Mahābhārata*. It is this same sacrifice which is narrated at the beginning of ch. VIII of the *Gayā-māhātmya*. But there some *śloka-s* have been added so that this legend may be linked, very wrongly

93. This tree is never mentioned in the Buddhist texts : that can be explained by the importance the tree of Bodhi-Gayā had.

94. Particularly, *Va. P.*, 108.81: *GP*, 13. 42, 49; *Viṣṇu P.*, 87. 13.

indeed, with that of the *asura*. King Gaya asks of Viṣṇu—of whom there is no mention in these passages of the *Mahābhārata* and this is remarkable⁹⁵—that the brāhmaṇa-s, cursed by Brahman for having been too eager in earning, may be freed from this curse, without thinking that the mentioned brāhmaṇa-s had already been pardoned by Brahman since when they had repented and that this request was consequently pointless. It is curious also to note that with the exception of this chapter, where Gayā is not explicitly mentioned, but easily identified, the other passages of the *Mahābhārata*, where hint is made to king Gaya's great sacrifice, never mention the town of Gayā. This fact leads us to think—but not to affirm, how could we?—that the king Gayā and the town of Gayā have been put in relation only due to the analogy of the two names. That would explain the modest place given to the king in the *Gayā-māhātmya*.

Ch. 82 is more descriptive, as I have said. It is of the utmost interest to have this list of *tīrtha*-s, whose names are identifiable with those of the modern Gayā. But as for the exact location of these places, it is a very delicate problem. Barua⁹⁶ thought he could, from reading this chapter 82, draw a certain number of conclusions which seem to me very hasty. He thinks he can identify the Dharmārāṇya and the Brahmasaras of the Epic with the region of Pretaśilā and Brahmakuṇḍa of the *Gayā-māhātmya*, and the Dharmaprastha⁹⁷ with the actual Dharmārāṇya. It is curious in fact to see the Brahmasaras and the Dharmārāṇya gathered in one place (*tato brahmasaro gacched dharmarāṇyopaśobhitam*). Today these two places are some five kilometres distant. But why do we want to displace them? In the *Mahābhārata* the important place is no doubt the Brahmasaras; Dharmārāṇya is not a *vedī* perhaps. There is all the evidence to think that the Brahmasaras of the *Mahābhārata* is the same as that of the *Gayā-māhātmya* and the one that today can be seen at the southern exit of Gayā, or at least that it was situated in this very place. This would be also the pool pointed out by Buddhaghosa. Nothing prevents us from thinking that this Brahmasaras was situated near or into a grove consecrated to Dharma.

95. P. V. Kane thinks that nothing can be deduced from this argument *a silentio*. We shall discuss it farther.

96. *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81.

97. Following the edition of Suktankar it is better to adopt *Dharmapṛstha*, much more common in the manuscripts.

NĀRADA PURĀNA : A CRITICAL STUDY

(Thesis approved for the Ph. D. Degree
of Poona University)

BY

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Respectfully Dedicated
To
MY MOST REVERED GURU
THE LATE Dr. A. D. PUSALKER
WITH PRANĀMS

FOREWORD

As one associated with the *Purāna* Department of the All-India Kasi-Raj Trust and its plans to promote research studies in the vast field of Puranic literature, I am pleased to note that more and more dissertations have been coming out on the critical study of single *Purānas*. I had an occasion to examine and evaluate this study of the *Nārada Purāna* and then, when it had been taken up for publication by the All-India Kasi-Raj Trust, edit it. The author, Dr. K. Damodaran Nambiar, had produced a voluminous Thesis and it had to be reduced in size. As presented now, the study shows an exhaustive coverage, discussing the textual problems, the status of the *Purāna* and its relations with other *Purānas*, its date, and a historical and critical account of its contents.

Two *Purāna*-titles are known, the *Nāradiya* and *Bṛhan-Nāradiya* and there is no uniformity either in the *Purānas* themselves or among modern scholars as to the one or the other being a *Purāna* or an *Upapurāna*. As shown by the author, the two are not actually separate and the contents of the so-called *Bṛhan-Nāradiya* is included in the *Nāradiya*. At the same time, we are faced with the problem of a text of the *Nāradiya* which answers to the characteristics of the *Nāradiya* as given in some of the *Purānas* themselves and also which contained passages quoted by the writers of *Smṛti-Nibandhas*, not found in the current printed *Nāradiya*. Only a critical edition—which forms part of the main programme of the Trust—can contribute to the further clarification of this problem.

The author is correct in his approach to the question of dating a Puranic text (p. 218). Only specific parts of a Puranic text can be dated but the date of the *Purāna* as a whole can be broadly indicated as lying between two limits. In the present case, following some scholars who have already dealt with this question, the author takes the existing text as having been compiled some time between 700 and 1000 A. D. The *Nāradiya* in the present text is certainly later than Śāṅkara and the *Bhāgavata* and earlier than the 12 th Century when, *Smṛti*-commentators and authors of *Smṛti Nibandhas* quote verses found in it. There is of course the possibility

of particular sections being even a little later. The great elaboration of the subject of *Vratas* and *Tirthas* would also point in the same direction. The elaboration of *Radhā*, her associates, worship, *Mantras*, hymn of Her thousand Names, Her incarnations, and the philosophical interpretation of the concept of *Rādhā*, also point in the same direction.

The *Nāradiya* belongs roughly to the same period (11th-12th Centuries) when the *Purāna* was made a compendium of knowledge of different branches of Sanskrit literature, as all this knowledge was taken from wellknown classics in the concerned branches of knowledge. This gives also a clue to the date of the *Purāna*. In this respect, the portion relating to *Jyotiṣa* is a special feature of the *Nāradiya*. The analysis and treatment of the *Jyotiṣa* material by Dr. Nambiar form a special feature of this Thesis also. Himself a qualified astrologer, Dr. Nambiar has brought to bear his special equipment on his treatment of this subject (pp. 72-118). In his short history of *Jyotiṣ-Śāstra* given here, he has shown that the *Nāradiya* draws its material from the *Sūryasiddhānta*, *Līlavati*, *Bṛhājātaka* and the *Nāradiya Saṁhita*.

The annotated lists of *Vratas* and *Tirthas* given by the author form a useful addition to what of Mm. Kane as given in *HDS*.

The analysis of the religious and philosophical portions shows that the basic and the original text of the *Nāradiya*—which was the *Mahāpurāna*—was non-sectarian, giving equal prominence to *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva*, *Śakti* and the *Nirguṇa Brahman*.

Dr. Nambiar's treatment of all the numerous subjects of the *Nāradiya* is historical, critical and comprehensive. He should be congratulated on producing this study. It is my hope that he will undertake a critical edition of the *Nāradiya* for the AIKR Trust.

7-3-79
Madras.

V. Raghavan

PREFACE

Of the many sources throwing light on the ancient Indian way of life, the Purāṇas may be said to be the best. They have proved to be virtually inexhaustible. No doubt scholars like Wilson, Pargiter and Dikshitar have studied the Purāṇas minutely to unearth information about ancient Indians, but they have not been able to exhaust the material available in the Purāṇas. There is still much to be topped.

This thesis begins with an analytical study of the Nārada Purāṇa followed by a comparative study of the stories of our text with those given in the epics and the Purāṇas. A study of the Five Characteristics, of the Nārada Purāṇa reveals that the text satisfies the requirements of the Daśalakṣaṇa theory, but not those of the Pañcalakṣaṇa theory. Here supplementary matters like the description of the terrestrial globe, the contents of the 18 Purāṇas and the description of the six Vedāṅgas are also discussed. While discussing the origin, development and importance of the Purāṇas all the 18 Purāṇas have been analysed; the points of difference between the contents of the existing Purāṇas with those described in the Nārada Purāṇa have been indicated. The Vedāṅgas have been described with a statement of their historical development and importance. Apart from this, in connection with Jyotiśśāstra I have attempted to trace the history from the early period to the time of Bhāskarācārya II (12th century A. D.) through the help of manuscripts and literary works and the Purāṇas. To collect material on Jyotiśśāstra I toured South India for about six months and visited places like Pazhoor Padippura, the libraries at Trivandrum, Tripunithura and Madras (Adyar, Connemara and University Libraries). A short summary of the material relating to Jyotiśśāstra available in the 18 Purāṇas is also given in the Chapter III of the first part. Besides, the Nāradiya chapter on Gaṇita is compared with the Līlavatī and the Sūryasiddhānta and the chapters on Jātaka and Saṁhitā with the Bṛhājātaka and the Nārada Saṁhitā respectively. A list of astrological terms with their meanings is also given.

In the following chapters dealing with different aspects of culture, each particular topic is studied with reference to its origin

and development from the earlier times to the period of the Purāṇas and then the data from the Nārada Purāṇa are given. The chapter on religion is divided under four heads, viz., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śāktism, and Tāntrism. The origin and development of each sect are discussed in detail. In 'Philosophy' a brief account of the six orthodox systems of philosophy is discussed with the material available in the text. Bhakti is dealt with separately. The origin and development of Varṇa and Āśramas are described in the next chapter, which is followed by topics like Dāna, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka and Śrāddha. In the next chapter, divided into six sections, the composition of the text and its title, the relation between the Bṛhannāradiya and the Nāradiya, authorship and literary and linguistic peculiarities, date and chronology of its various chapters of the Nāradiya and its special features are discussed.

There are eight Appendices, viz., (I) Vratas, (II) Flora and Fauna, (III) Food and Drinks, (IV) Music and Dancing, (V) Dress and Ornaments, (VI) War and Weapons, (VII) Tīrthas—the holy places and (VIII) Bibliography.

I have used both the terms Nārada and Nāradiya to denote the Nārada Purāṇa, and the terms Nārada Saṁhitā and Nāradiya Saṁhitā for the Nāradiya Saṁhitā. I may add that for the compilation of my thesis I have utilised the Nāradiya Mahāpurāṇa text, first edition (Śaka 1827 = 1905 A. D.) of the Venkaṭeśvara Press. While preparing the Bibliography, I have not given the names of all the works studied but have given only the works actually referred to in my thesis in order to avoid a voluminous compilation.

As I looked up most of the references in Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, these have been included in the foot notes in addition to those to Kane's book. In dealing with the chapters on Social Organization and Vratas, I have followed Kane's treatment of these topics.

The present volume is the thesis for which the Ph. D. degree was awarded by the University of Poona, in 1969.

But for the valuable guidance and unstinted co-operation of the late Dr. A. D. Pusalker, the then director of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, by whose advice I took up the

subject "Nārada Purāṇa : A Critical Study", during a period of eight years, this thesis would not have been completed. In spite of his heavy work and responsibilities, he took the trouble of going through my thesis without any hesitation at all stages. I am indeed deeply indebted to him and shall ever remain grateful to him for his inspiring guidance and the keen interest he had shown in my thesis.

May I also take this opportunity to express my grateful thanks to Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Hon. Secretary, B. O. R. I. and the late Professor V. M. Bedekar, B. O. R. I. Poona, and also the late Professor H. D. Valankar, University of Bombay, for their kind co-operation.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not pay my humble homage to my revered Guru, the late Shri Subrahmanya (Suppan) Jyolsyar, Toppil Madham, Thayamkulankara, Cherpu, Kerala, under whom I had the rare privilege of starting my Gurukulavāsa studies. I am also indebted to my revered Guru, the late Shri P. K. Sankaran Jyolsyar, Pazhoor Padippura (a renowned historical place for Jyotiśśāstra), Piravam, Kerala, who gave me further impetus in my studies. Herewith I would like to pay homage to all my Gurus who have imparted knowledge to me in various branches.

I wish to place on record my sincere thanks to all the scholars with whose valuable works I am greatly benefited, all the members of the staff of the institutions like Libraries of the Universities of Kerala, Madras, Bombay, and Poona and the Sanskrit College, Tripunithura, Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, Sree Keralavarma College and Town Hall, Trichur, the Asiatic Society, Bombay, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, the Bombay Keraleeya Samaj, Kaivalyadham, Lonavla, and the Adyar Manuscript Library, Adyar, Madras.

I thank the Government of Maharashtra for giving me a three-year scholarship and the Government of India for their Railway Concession and other facilities for my South India tour.

I convey my hearty thanks to the entire staff of the B. O. R. I., and that of the Poona University, and to those who have offered help in various ways to complete this thesis, particularly to Dr. G. K. Pai, Director, Sukṛtindra Oriental Research Institute,

Cochin, and Dr. N. Pandya, Librarian, Bhavan's Library, Bombay. Once again, I thank the University of Poona for granting me permission to publish this thesis in the present revised form.

Last, but not the least, I express, in particular, my deep sense of gratitude to the late Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras, for showing special interest in bringing out this thesis in the present book-form and for taking great pains to edit this in an excellent manner, and also for blessing this publication with a foreword.

Finally, I convey my cordial thanks to the authorities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, for taking the responsibility of bringing this work to light in a book-form. Thanks are also due to all the employees of the Press of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, for the excellent composing, printing and get-up of the book.

Benny's Cot, Bhau Daji Road,
Matunga, Bombay—400 019.

K. Damodaran Nambiar

ABBREVIATION

A. Ār.	Aitareya Āraṇyaka.
ABORI.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
A. Br.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,
AC.	Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra,
AD.	Sanskrit English Dictionary, by V. S. Apte.
Ādi.	Ādi Purāṇa.
ADS.	Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra.
AEV.	Aspects of Early Vtṣṇuism, by J. Gonda.
AG.	Ancient Geography of India, by A. Cunningham.
Ag.	Agni Purāṇa.
Ag—A study.	Agni Purāṇa—A study, by S. Gyani.
AIHT.	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F. E. Pargiter.
AIK.	Age of Imperial Kanauj, by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker.
AIRT.	Aspects of Indian Religious Thought, by S. B. Das Gupta.
AIU.	Age of Imperial Unity, by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker.
Āp. Gṛ.	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra.
Arth.	Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.
Āś. Gṛ.	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
Atri.	Atri Smṛti.
AV.	Atharvaveda.
AV. J.	Atharvavedāṅga Jyotiṣa.
AWAI.	Art of War in Ancient India, by P.C. Chakravarti.
AWI.	The Art of War in Ancient India, by G. T. Date.
B.	Brahma Purāṇa.
Baij. Gṛ.	Baijavāpa Gṛhya.
Bār. S.	Bārhaspatya Sūtra.
BDCRI.	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.
Bd. P.	Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa.
BDS.	Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
B. Gṛ.	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.

B. Gr. S.	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Śeṣasūtra.
Bh.	Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
Bh. G.	Bhagavad Gītā.
Bhv.	Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.
Bhv. U.	Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa.
BJ.	Bhāratīya Jyotiṣ Kā Itihās (Hindi), by Nemichandra.
BJI.	Bhāratīya Jyotiṣ Kā Itihās (Hindi), by Gorakh Prasad.
Brn.	Bṛhannāradiya Purāṇa.
BOR I.	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Br.	Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa.
BRMIC.	Bulletin of Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta.
Brs.	Bṛhat Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira.
Bṛ. Up.	Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad.
Brv.	Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa.
BS.	Brahma Sūtra.
BSS.	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
CDHM.	A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature, by J. Dowson.
CHI.	The Cambridge History of India, by E. J. Rapson.
Chi.	Cultural Heritage of India.
CHMP.	Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa, by S. G. Kantawala.
CHVP.	Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, by D. R. Patil.
CU.	Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
Dakṣa.	Dakṣa Smṛti.
D. Bh.	Devibhāgavata Purāṇa
DCSM.	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Govt. Collection, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V., Calcutta.
Devī.	Devī Purāṇa.
DPP.	Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa by W. Kirfel.
Devala.	Devala Smṛti.
EI.	Epic India, by C. V. Vaidya.
EM.	Epic Mythology by Hopkins.
ERE.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Ed. by Hastings.

- ETSI. The Evolution of Theistic Sects in Ancient India up to the Time of Śaṅkarācārya by S. Chattopadhyaya.
- FD, Food and Drinks in Ancient India, by Om Prakash.
- G. Garuḍa Purāṇa.
- Gaṇ. Gaṇeśa Purāṇa.
- Gāthā. Gāthā Saptasatī.
- G. Br. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
- GD. Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, by N. L. Dey.
- GDS. Gautama Dharma Sūtra.
- GEDM. Geographical and Ethnic Data in the Matsya Purāṇa, by 'S. G. Kantawala, "Purāṇa" Vol. V. no. 2.
- Gobhila. Gobhila Smṛti.
- G. Gr. Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra.
- GWI. The Great Women of India, Ed. by Swami Madhavananda and R. C. Majumdar.
- HC. Harṣa Carita.
- HD. History of Dharmasāstra, by P. V. Kane.
- HGA1. Historical Geography of Ancient India, by B. C. Law.
- HHM. History of Hindu Mathematics, by Datta and Singh.
- H1A. History of Indian Astronomy (Marathi), by Dikshit.
- HIL. History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz. Translated by Mrs. Shilavati Ketkar.
- HIP. History of Indian Philosophy, by S. N. Das Gupta.
- HP. Hindu Polytheism, by Alain Danielou.
- HRCM. Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners, by P. Thomas.
- HSL. A History of the Samskrta Literature, by V. Varadachari.
- HSL-Mac. A History of Sanskrit literature, by A. A. Macdonell.
- HSO. Hindu Social Organisation, by Pandharinath Prabhu.
- HV. Harivamśa.

IBJ.	India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, by B. C. Law.
IC.	Indian Culture.
ICCS.	Indian Costume, by G. S. Ghurye.
IGI.	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
Index.	Index to the Native and Scientific names and other Eastern Economic Plants and Products.
Ind. Verb.	Index Verborum to the published texts of the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, prepared by R. Shama Sastry.
IP.	India as known to Pāṇini, by V. S. Agrawala.
ITP.	India in the Time of Patañjali, by B. N. Puri.
Jai. Up. Br.	Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa.
JAOS.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBBRAS.	Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
JPS.	Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-Sūtra.
JU.	Jñbālopaniṣad.
K.	Kūrma Purāṇa.
Kād.	Kādambarī.
Kālikā.	Kālikā Purāṇa.
Kaṭha Up.	Kaṭhopeniṣad.
Kau. Br.	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.
KS.	Kāthaka Samhitā.
KŚS.	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
K. Up.	Kena Upaniṣad.
Kum.	Kumāra Sambhava.
L.	Liṅga Purāṇa.
M	Matsya Purāṇa.
M—A Study.	Matsya Purāṇa—A study, by V. S. Agrawala.
Mālatī.	Mālatīmādhava.
Manu.	Manusmṛti.
Mār.	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata (Critical edition).
Mbh (B).	Mahābhārata (Bombay Edition).
Mbh (C).	Mahābhārata (Calcutta Edition).
MD.	Sanskrit English Dictionary by Monier Williams.
Megh.	Meghadūta.
MIC.	Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation, by John Marshall.

Mṛccha.	Mṛcchakaṭika.
MS.	Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.
MSAI.	Military System in Ancient India, by B. K. Majumdar.
MU.	Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad.
Mv. Gr.	Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra.
N.	Nārada Purāṇa.
NC.	Na'ṣadhīya Carita.
Niti.	Niti-prakāśikā.
NmP.	Nilamata Purāṇa.
NP.	Nārada Pañcarātra.
Nṛ.	Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa.
NS.	Nārada Saṁhitā.
OIP.	Outlines of Indian Philosophy by Hiriyanā.
ORLI.	An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, by J. N. Farquhar.
P.	Padma Purāṇa.
Pañ. Br.	Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.
Pāṇ.	Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.
Parāśara.	Parāśara Smṛti.
Pār. Gṛ.	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra.
Pat.	Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.
PB.	Prabuddha Bhārata.
PC.	Purāṇic Chronology, by D. R. Mankad.
PCK.	Prācīna Caritra Koṣ (Marathi).
PCK (Hindi).	„ „ „ (Hindi).
PD.	Aṣṭādaśapurāṇa Darpaṇa.
PI.	Purāṇa Index, by V. R. R. Dikshitar.
PR.	Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, by R. C. Hazra.
PS.	Paśupata Sūtras, Ed. by Anantakrishna Sastri.
PSAH.	Positive Sciences of Ancient Hindus, by Sir Brijendranath Seal.
PT.	Principles of Tantra, by Arthur Avalon.
Purāṇa	Purāṇa Bulletin of the All India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi.
PV.	Purāṇa Vimarśa (Hindi), by Baldeva Upādhyāya.
PVS.	Purāṇa Viśaya Samanukramaṇikā, Ed. by Vishvabandhu.
Raghu.	Raghuvaṁśa.

RK.	Rām Kathā (Hindi), by Rev. Father Camil Bulcke.
Rām.	Rāmāyaṇa.
RC.	Ṛgvedic Culture, by A. C. Das.
RV.	Ṛgveda.
RV. J.	Ṛgvedāṅga Jyotiṣa.
Śākuntala.	Abhijñāna Śākuntala.
Sām. Br.	Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa.
Śaṅkha.	Śaṅkha Smṛti.
Śātātapa.	Śātātapa Smṛti.
Saura.	Saura Purāṇa.
SAVP.	Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa by V. R. R. Dikshitar.
SBE.	Sacred Books of the East, Ed. by F. Max Muller.
Ś. Br.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SC.	History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India, by V. S. Pathak.
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Śiva.	Śiva Purāṇa.
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Vā.	Vāyu Purāṇa.
VA.	Vedic Age, Ed. by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker.
Vām.	Vāmana Purāṇa.
Var.	Varāha Purāṇa.
VDP.	Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa.
VDS.	Viṣṇu Dharma-sūtra.
Ved. S.	Vedānta Sūtra.
Vi.	Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
V. Ind.	Vedic Index of Names and Subjects.
V. J.	Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.
Vj. S.	Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā.
VM.	Vedic Mythology.
VŚ.	Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, by R. G. Bhandarkar.
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Vsp.	Vanaspatī.
Vi-Wilson.	The Vishṇu Purāṇa, by H. H. Wilson.
Vyāsa.	Vyāsa Smṛti.
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WD.	Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, by G. Watt.
Yaj.	Yajurveda.
Yājña.	Yājñavalkya Smṛti.
YS.	Yoga Sūtra of Patañjali.

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4	18	Jyotiśaśāstra	Jyotiśśāstra
7	9	Circumembulation	Circumambulation
15	3	He was great	He was a great
16	29	his wife One day	his wife. One day
28	8	Gopes	Gopīs
35	10	Kāla	Kalā
42	14	Āmitabhas	Amitabhas
61	30	Archika	Ārcika
61	15-16		(a) Sikśā
62	11	Āhvarakas	Āṭkarakas
62	16	Āhkarakas	Āṭkarakas
63	1	(Mauda)	(Manda)
63	3	Kaṇṭha	Kaṇṭha
63	3	Śirasri	Śiras
63	19	Grāmerāgas	Grāmarāgas
64	4	Ślekṣṇa	Ślakṣṇa
64	9	Some	Sama
66	beginning		(b) Kalpa
66	8	Toward	to ward
69	29	Karmanṇi	Karmaṇi
75	24	Jyotiśśāstra	Jyotiśśāstra
77	10	much	such
81	13	firt	first
96	16	XXXIII	XXIII
97	12	Karaṇaprahāśa	Karaṇaprahāśa
101	8	Bhāgavatar	Bhāgavata
124	27	forther	further
128	5	-sambhūts	-sambhūta
128	19	Kadalīvan	Kadalīvana
128	20	Mh	Mt.
129	19	chield	child
133	20	Jaimni	Jaimini
139	4	uneerthed	uneearthed
146	29	V K	Vak
147	11	Purāṇa. Kalikā	Purāṇa Kalikā

148	25	sid	aid
153	22	'Om'	'Om'
154	32	Phe	Pha
158	12	Ari-sadhya	Arisādhya
160	19	Yantras	"Yantras
162	17	home	homa
166	4	man	men
174	28	knowns	knows
177	6	Kauñjara Kaurma	Kauñjara, Kaurma
180	9	Pewer	Power
180	12	nirguṇa.	nirguna
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180	last line	Pūjanakti	Pūjasakti
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			Social Organisation
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		PURANA	PURANA
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194	11	Devala that	Devala "that
197	14	enas agha	enas, agha
208	24	shipping	sipping
222	24	be long	belong
225	27	tury	tury".
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242	28	Kuṇḍa Lalitā	Kuṇḍa, Lalitā
255	4-5	kinds fruits	kinds of fruits
258	last	fast	fast,
261	14	mud The	mud. The
263	16	vamānikhya	vamānikya
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270	4	and.	and
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350	1	attack	attach

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