

Vol. XXIV, No. 1 ]

[ January, 1982

पुराणम्  
PURĀṆA

(Half-yearly Bulletin of the Purāṇa-Department)

*With the financial Assistance from the Ministry of Education,*

*Government of India*

VASANTA PAÑCAMĪ NUMBER

आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम्

SILVER JUBILEE NUMBER



ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST  
FORT, RAMNAGAR, VARANASI

Annual Subs.—Inland Rs. 50/-

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## सम्पादक-मण्डल

- डा० रामकरण शर्मा  
उपशिक्षापारामर्शदाता, शिक्षामन्त्रालय तथा निदेशक, केन्द्रीय संस्कृत  
संस्थान, नयी दिल्ली
- डा० रामचन्द्र नारायण दाण्डेकर  
भण्डारकर प्राच्यशोधसंस्थान, पुणे
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## पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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## विष्णुकृतं सावित्रीस्तोत्रम्

नमोऽस्तु ते महादेवि भूर्भुवः स्वस्-त्रयीमयि ।  
सावित्रि दुर्गतरिणि त्वं वाणी सप्तधा मता ॥ ११५

सर्वाणि स्तुतिशास्त्राणि लक्षणानि तथैव च ।  
भविष्या सर्वशास्त्राणां त्वं तु देवि नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ११६

श्वेता त्वं श्वेतरूपाऽसि शशाङ्केन समानना ।  
शशिरश्मिप्रकाशेन हरिणोरसि राजसे ।

दिव्यकुण्डलपूर्णाभ्यां श्रवणाभ्यां विभूषिता ॥ ११७  
त्वं सिद्धिस्त्वं तथा ऋद्धिः कीर्तिः श्रीः सन्ततिर्मतिः ।

सन्ध्या रात्रिः प्रभातस्त्वं कालरात्रिस्त्वमेव च ॥ ११८  
कर्षुकाणां यथा सीता भूतानां धारिणी तथा ।

[एवं स्तुवन्तं सावित्री विष्णुं प्रोवाच सुव्रता ॥ ११९]

( स्कन्दपु. प्रभासखण्ड १६५।११५-११९; वङ्गवासिसंस्क०, वेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्क०;  
उभयत्र समानः पाठः ) ।



## NOTES

Once Brahmā began to perform a sacrifice. As Sāvitrī, his wife, was busy with her household duties, she delayed in coming to the sacrificial ground. Consequently Brahmā asked Indra to find a girl whom he could marry in order to perform the sacrifice. Accordingly Indra brought Gāyatrī, a cowherd girl (*gopālakanyā*) and Brahmā married her.

Having come to know about the second marriage of her husband, Sāvitrī became highly enraged and cursed the gods, namely Indra, Rudra, Agni and others. Viṣṇu tried to propitiate Sāvitrī by uttering the aforesaid eulogy. She, being pleased, bestowed on Viṣṇu the boon that he would be unconquerable and also dear to his parents in all his incarnations (अवतारे सदा वत्स पितृमातृसुवत्सलः, 120).

It is wellknown that Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī have been variously depicted in the Purāṇas and allied literature. They are regarded not only as identical but also as friends. In some places they are mentioned as the wives of Brahmā and in a few places as his daughters. A somewhat similar relation of Sāvitrī to Sarasvatī is also found in the Purāṇas.<sup>1</sup> We refrain here from disclosing the esoteric meanings of these Purāṇic statements.

Brief explanations of the important expressions in this *stotra* are given below. (As the sentences are easily understandable full translations of the verses are not given here).

भूर्भुवःस्वस्-त्रयीमयि (vocative case)—It may be explained in two ways: (1) Sāvitrī is identical with the group (of three) consisting of भूस्, भुवस् and स्वर्; and (2) Sāvitrī is identical with भूस्, भुवस्, स्वर् as well as with त्रयी. The first interpretation has its basis in such Vedic statements as भूर्भुवस्स्वरिति या त्रयी विद्या (Jai. Up. Br. 2. 9. 7) and एवमेवैता (i. e. भूर्भुवस्स्वः) व्याहृतयस् त्रयै विद्यायै संश्लेषिण्यः (Kau. Br. 6. 12). There are a number of interpretations of these three expressions (called *vyāhrtis*). They are usually taken as representing

1. Vide the paper 'Conception of Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas' by Shri Ananda Swarup Gupta (Purāṇa IV. I) for various conceptions of Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī and Sarasvatī.

the three regions, namely the earth ( पृथिवी ), atmosphere (अन्तरिक्ष) and heaven ( दिव् ); cp. एता वै (i. e. भूर्भुवस्स्वः) व्याहृतय इमे लोकाः (Tai. Br. 2.24.3).

In the second interpretation *trayī* (a group having three parts) stands for *trayī vidyā* i. e. the lore concerning the three kinds of *mantras*, namely ऋ, yajus and *sāman*. Usually *trayī* refers to that part of the Veda which deals with the sacrificial acts (*karmakāṇḍa*) as distinct from the Upaniṣadic part which deals with *jñānakāṇḍa*; vide Śrīdhara's comment on Bhāgavata 10.8.45 ( त्रयया चोपनिषद्भिश्च ) which clearly points out the distinction between the contents of the *trayī* and of the Upaniṣads. *Trayī* is also used in the sense of the four Vedas in authoritative works.

दुर्गतरिणि (vocative case)—Both *tariṇī* and *taraṇī* mean a raft or a boat. 'You are like the boat to cross difficulties or calamities (i. e. the sorrowful world)'. *Durga* has been taken here as a noun; it may be taken as an adjective also (the noun *saṁsāra* being understood). Expressions having a similar sense<sup>2</sup> are often found to have been used in connection with deities and spiritual teachers.

सप्तधा वाणी—The sevenfold division of speech seems to be an established idea of ancient sages as it is found in the *Asyavāmīya* hymn of the *Ṛg-Veda*—गायत्रेण प्रतिमिमीते अकं...अक्षरेण मिमते सप्त वाणीः (1.164.24). According to *Sāyaṇa* they are the seven metres.<sup>3</sup> One may take the seven *śvaras* (namely *śadja*, etc.) as the seven forms of speech.

स्तुतिशास्त्राणि—*Sāvitrī* is said to be identical with all *stutiśāstras*. Since there is no *śāstra* (treatise) dealing with eulogies, the word seems to be a corrupt form of the original reading. We are inclined to read the word as *स्तुतिशास्त्राणि*—a reading which is in conformity with the context. *Stutis* (i. e. *stotras*) and *śāstras* are wellknown in the field of Vedic sacrificial acts. A *śāstra* is defined as प्रगीतमन्त्रसाध्या स्तुतिः (a laud that is sung to a melody) and a *stotra* as अप्रगीतमन्त्रसाध्या स्तुतिः (a laud that is only recited); vide *Pūrvamīmāṁsā*

2. Cp. भवसागरनौका, भवार्णवतरणि, भवाब्धिपोत, etc.

3. Cp. तामाभृन्त्या व्यदधुः पुरुत्रा तां सप्त रेभा अभि सं नवन्ते (RV. 10.71. 3)—'They brought speech (vāc), dealt her forth in many places; seven singers make her tone resound in contrast.'



sūtras 2.1.13, 10.4.49, 7.2.17 with commentaries).<sup>4</sup> Since a *śastra* belongs to a *stotra* and always follows a *stotra*, the word *śastra* seems to have been used after the word *stuti* (i. e. *stotra*). It is quite likely that ignorant scribes changed the word *śastra* to the wellknown word *śāstra*<sup>5</sup>

लक्षणानि—the word लक्षण in its usual senses of characteristic, sign, defining attribute, etc. does not yield a good sense. On account of its placing with words expressive of Vedic matter, it is justified to take this word as referring to the *lakṣaṇa*-works (i. e. works bearing the word *lakṣaṇa* in their names) dealing with Vedic subjects. A list of such works are found in the Atharvaparīṣiṣṭa. Besides these we have independent works of a similar nature, such as *Mātrālakṣaṇa* etc. *Sāvitrī* is identified here with the *lakṣaṇa* works i. e. with the subjects dealt with in these works.

त्वं सर्वशास्त्राणां भविष्या—The word भविष्य (ending in ष) is found in Purāṇic literature in the place of the strictly grammatical form भविष्यत्. As भविष्यत् literally means 'to be about to become or come to pass', we may take it here in the sense of 'the goal to be acquired' (with the help of the *śāstras*) or 'the thing to be proved, established or expounded' (by the *śāstras*). Most probably the reading is corrupt and we may correct it to भाष्याणि सर्वशास्त्राणाम्, 'you are the scholia of all *śāstras*'.

श्वेता त्वं श्वेतरूपासि—Since *Sāvitrī* is identical with *Sarasvatī*, she is considered as having white complexion.

शशाङ्केन समानना—The expression समानना (a compound word) in connection with शशाङ्केन is grammatically indefensible, though such compounds are often met with in the Purāṇas and the poetical works. One would prefer to read शशाङ्कसदृशानना (one whose face resembles the moon).

4. स्तोत्रं नाम सामसंज्ञकगानयुतमन्त्रपाठेन स्तुतिः; शस्त्रं नाम केवलैः पठ्यमानमन्त्रैः संपाद्यमाना स्तुतिः. Śastras are recited by the hotṛ priest and his assistants. The ṛc used in a śastra is called śasyā (Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on Br. Up. 3.1.7).
5. Bhāgavata-p. 3.12.37 (second half), evidently reads शस्त्रम् though we find शास्त्रम् in a few editions of this Purāṇa.



शशिरश्मिप्रकाशेन हरिणोरसि राजसे—‘You shine on the breast of the deer with the help of the light of the moon’. The significance of this sentence is not quite clear. हरिणोरस् may be the same as मृगाङ्क, the moon. To mention Sāvitrī’s existence on the moon does not serve any purpose. Moreover, there is no reason for stating शशिरश्मिप्रकाश as a means for Sāvitrī’s shining (राजसे) on the moon. Even if we take हरिणोरसि in the sense of ‘on the mark of the deer as found in the moon’, yet no better sense is expressed. A conjecture may be hazarded that since the *mṛgāṅka* (deer mark) is believed to be the shadow of the earth,<sup>6</sup> it must have been supposed as devoid of light and as such it was necessary to mention शशिरश्मिप्रकाश in order to make the act of shining (राजसे) possible.

Most probably हरिणोरसि is a corrupt reading. May we correct it to हारेणोरसि ? In this reading no difficulty arises. A necklace (*hāra*) may aptly be described as शशिरश्मिप्रकाश (one which shines like the rays of the moon).

कुण्डल—An ear-ring (कुण्डले कर्णविष्टने सुवतुले, Śāntanavī on *Saptaśatī* 2.24).

Sāvitrī is said to be identical with *siddhi*, *ṛddhi*, etc. It is a figurative statement. In fact, she (i. e. her grace) is the means of acquiring *siddhi* etc. Such figurative statements are always found in eulogies.

सिद्धि, perfection; ऋद्धि, increase, abundance or wealth; कीर्ति, renown or precisely renown on account of righteousness; sometimes *kīrti* is said to be that renown which is unknown to oneself (आत्मपरोक्षं हि विश्रुतत्वं कीर्तिः, Śāṅkara on *Chān. Up.* 3.13.4).

श्री, prosperity, fortune, majesty; सन्तति, offspring, race, lineage; it also means ‘continuous flow’, i. e. the unending flow of the mundane existence; मति reflection, ratiocination : मतिर्मननं तर्को मन्तव्यविषये आदरः (Śāṅkara on *Chān. Up.* 7.18.1).

सन्ध्या—Usually the juncture of the three divisions of the day (i. e. morning, noon and evening) is called *sandhyā*. Sāvitrī is figuratively identified with these periods. The religious act performed

6. मृगाकारा भूच्छाया अङ्केऽस्य (The comm. *Trikāṇḍacintāmaṇi* on the word मृगाङ्क, *Amarakośa* 1.3.14).

at the aforesaid three divisions is also called *sandhyā*, and *Sāvitrī* may be considered as identical with this act. The word may be directly applied to *Sāvitrī* if it is derived as सन्धौ उपास्या (to be worshipped in *sandhyā*).

कालरात्रि—A dark night. Usually it is taken in the sense of 'the night of destruction at the end of the world'; vide the commentaries on *Saptaśatī* 1.59.<sup>7</sup> It also means 'the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Kārttika* associated with the fifteenth day of a lunar month' (अमावस्यायुक्तभूतचतुर्दशी).

कर्षुकाणां यथा सीता भूतानां धारिणी तथा—'As a *sītā* is the *dhāriṇī* of the *karṣukas* so you are the *dhāriṇī* of the *bhūtas*'. *Karṣuka* must be derived from *karṣū* with the suffix *ka* (स्वार्थिक क). The long *ū* in *karṣū* is shortened by केषणः (Pā. 7.4.13). The only meaning of *karṣū* that may be conceived here is *vārtā*, which must be taken in the restricted sense of *kṛṣi* only and not in the senses of the tending or or rearing of cattle (*paśupālana*) and trade (*vāṇijya*) as has been stated by the comm. *Trikāṇḍacintāmaṇi* on *Amara* 3.3.222. *Sītā* is the track or line of a ploughshare, or a ploughed land; it also means the forepart of a plough (हलाग्र). *Dhāriṇī*—one that sustains, preserves or supports. भूतऽ are either the living beings or the five elements. Thus the significance of the simile becomes clear. Most probably कर्षुक is a scribal error for कर्षक, ploughman, cultivator.

—Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

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7. कालरात्रिरिति । दैनन्दिनप्रलयरूपा (गुप्तवती); कालो मरणं तदुपलक्षिता रात्रिः कल्पान्तरात्रिरित्यर्थः (चतुर्धारी); कालरात्रिः जगत्संहारकारिणी यामभङ्गिनी (यमभगिनी) यत्र प्रलीयते जगत् सा कालरात्रिः (शान्तनवी); कालरात्रिरिति ब्रह्मलयोपलक्षिता (नागोजीभट्टी).



THE DEVI-MĀHĀTMYA IN GREEK : D. GALANOS'  
TRANSLATION\*

By

SIEGFRIED A. SCHULZ

[डेमेट्रियस् गैलेनोस्-नामा कश्चिद् ग्रीसदेशीयः १७९३ ख्रीष्टीयाब्दे वाराणस्याम् उवास; तस्य तात्कालिक-काशीनरेशेन सह संबन्धो जातः । मुन्शी-शीतलसिंहेन अनुरुद्धः सन् स हितोपदेश-भागवतादीन् संस्कृतग्रन्थान् ग्रीकभाषयानूदितवान् ।

देवीमाहात्म्यस्य ( सप्तशतीत्यपरनामधेयस्य ) ग्रीकभाषयानुवादोऽप्य-  
नेन कृतः । अनुवादे ५७८ संख्यकानि पद्यानि सन्ति । टायपलडोस्-महोदयेन  
१८५३ ख्रीष्टीयाब्दे एथेन्स्-नगरीतः टिप्पण्यादीन् संयोज्य ग्रन्थस्यास्य  
प्रकाशनं कृतम् । गैलेनोस्-कृत-ग्रन्थादि-विषयानधिकृत्य टायपलडोस्-महोदयेन  
बहु विचारितम् ।

गैलेनोस्-कृतेन सप्तशत्यनुवादेन सह मूलग्रन्थो न संयुक्तो वर्तते,  
अतः कीदृशाः सप्तशतीपाठास्तेन दृष्टा इति न प्रत्यक्षतो ज्ञातुं शक्यते ।  
ग्रीकानुवाददर्शनेन बहुत्र गैलेनोस्-दृष्टाः सप्तशतीश्लोकपाठा अनुमातुं शक्यन्ते ।  
सप्तशतीपाठविषये विचारं कुर्वता लेखकेन स्वामिजगदीश्वरानन्दसम्पादित-  
सप्तशतीग्रन्थस्य डा० वासुदेवशरणाग्रवालसम्पादितसप्तशतीग्रन्थस्य च  
साहाय्यं गृहीतम् ।

लेखकेनेदं दर्शितं यद् ग्रीकानुवादे मूलग्रन्थस्य केचन शब्दाः शब्दांशा  
वा त्यक्ताः; केषाञ्चन शब्दानां तादृशा अर्थाः दर्शिता ये विशेषतो  
लक्षणीया विचाराहंश्च; केषाञ्चन शब्दानामर्था न प्रदत्ताः; क्वचित्  
सामान्यार्थकाः शब्दा विशेषार्थकाः स्वीकृताः; क्वचित्च विशेषार्थकाः शब्दाः  
सामान्यार्थकाः । केषुचित् संस्करणेषु पठिताः केचन श्लोका अनुवादकेन  
न गृहीताः । यद्यपि एवंविधा विभिन्नतावलोक्यते, तथापि भेदोऽयम-  
किञ्चित्करः । ग्रीकभाषास्वभावहेतुकान्यपि कानिचन प्रयोगवैचित्र्याणि  
दृश्यन्ते ।

अनुवादक-प्रयुक्तां ग्रीकभाषाम् अधिकृत्य निबन्धान्ते विचारः कृतो  
निबन्धलेखकेन ।]

\* We apologize for not reproducing diacritical marks in the transliteration of Greek words [Ed.]



A native of Athens (Greece) and resident of Vārāṇasī from about 1793 until his death in 1833, Demetrios Galanos (b. 1760)<sup>1</sup> was closely linked to the Banaras Raj through his friendship with Munshi Sital Singh<sup>2</sup> who may have inspired him to translate some of the important Sanskrit works. In Galanos' "Last Will and Testament" a passage reads, "I also will and desire that out of the eight hundred Rupees now in the hands of Moonshey Seetul Singh, four hundred be paid to any person or persons duly Authorized to receive the same for a piece of ground in the Church yard for my burial..." and the *Indikon Metaphraseon Prodrornos D. Galanou* (i. e. "Forerunner of D. Galanos' Indian Translation"), Athens, 1845 contains an epitaph allegedly composed in Hindustani by Munshi Sital Singh, "a wise Brahmin (!), friend and teacher" which reads in translation (from Greek): "Woe, a hundred times! Demetrios Galanos has gone away from this world to the eternal monads. Woe me! weeping and wailing have I said it. I am out of myself. Ah, he has gone away, the Plato of this century!" (p. XXX)

While we do not, at present, know much about Galanos' life-

1. For more details see: S. A. Schulz, "A Greek in India: Galanos" *Bharati* (B. H. U., College of Indology) 9, II (1965/66) 81-102; id.: "Demetrios Galanos (1760-1833): A Greek Indologist" *Journal of the Am. Oriental Soc.* 89.2 (1969) 339-356; id.: "Demetrios Galanos, a Greek Scholar in India" *German Scholars on India*, vol. II (New Delhi 1976) 251-263.
2. Comparatively little is known about Munshi Sital Singh. Sketchy details regarding Sital Singh appear in the *History of Benares Raj* (in Persian) on pp. 342 and 543 (Lucknow, no date). Born in 1776 (?) he entered the services of Raja Udit Narain Singh as a "musaheb" about 1816, was an accomplished linguist, administrator, a master in the knowledge of "Hikmat" and a great poet who wrote under the name "Bekhud". H. H. Wilson in *Religious Sects of the Hindus* (published posthumously in 1861) reprint, ed. E. R. Rose (Calc. 1952) p. 4, says, "... I have derived from the groundwork of the whole account [i.e. the "Sketch of the Religious Sects...." in *Asiatic Researches* 1828 and 1832] from two works (in Persian), one by Mathura Nath, a librarian of the Hindu College [Varanasi] and the other ... was compiled by Sital Singh, Munshi to the Raja of Banaras". He died on December 18, 1854,

style and the circle of friends whom he frequented,<sup>3</sup> he cannot be called a philosopher in the sense of Plato when we judge Galanos according to the writings which were bequeathed to and are kept at the National Library of Greece at Athens.<sup>4</sup> There he appears as an extraordinarily well-educated man who was not only familiar with the writings pertaining to the Greek-Orthodox faith and the Christian Church,<sup>5</sup> but also with the ancient classical world, as well as with a number of foreign languages.

Unfortunately, there are very few original Sanskrit texts in the Galanos collection of manuscripts, the bulk of which consists of Greek translations of a variety of Sanskrit works, and of materials

3. According to Bishop Heber (*Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces*, 3 vols. (London, 1828) Galanos "was a partner in a Greek house in Calcutta, but is now [i.e. 1824] said to have retired from business ... [He] is a well-informed and well-mannered man ... living on his means, whatever they are, and professing to study Sanskrit ... [I] was much struck by the singularity and mystery of his character and situation. He is a very good scholar in the ancient language of his country, and speaks good English, French, and Italian. His manners are those of a gentleman, and he lives like a person at his ease. He has little intercourse with the English, but is on very friendly terms with the principal Hindoo families ... So few Europeans, however, who can help it, reside in India, that it seems strange that any man should prefer it as a residence, without some stronger motive than a fondness for Sanscrit literature, more particularly since he does not appear to meditate any work on the subject". (I, 436).
4. In Galanos' last will all his "Sanskrit Books, Writings, translations and Meninski's Dictionary in three volumes" were given and bequeathed "to the principal Academy at Athens". Gennadios in a 43-page reprint of the Greek periodical *Hellenismos*, Feb.—April 1930, maintains that the Galanos materials went first to London and reached Greece only in 1837, four years after G.'s death. The manuscripts were assigned the official numbers 1836-55. *Doyrga* is the third part of Ms. No. 1842. Cf. *JAOS*, 89.2 (1969) 339-347 for detailed description. A very cursory description appeared in *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana* XXVI (1912), 179-81 by P. E. Pavolini.
5. Galanos' training was that of a future priest of the Greek-Orthodox faith. He attended the Seminary attached to the monastery of St. John Theologos on the island of Patmos. For more details see *ibid.* pp. 348 ff.



for Sanskrit-Greek dictionaries. When evaluating D. Galanos' *Devīmāhātmya* translation, this writer had to rely on the Sanskrit texts provided by two modern Indian scholars of great repute.<sup>6</sup>

The Greek title of our book is (in transliteration) : *Doyrga Metaphrastheisa ek toy Brachmanikoy para Demetrioy Galanoy, Athenaioy* (i. e. : Durgā, transl. from the Brahmanic language by Demetrios Galanos, an Athenian) now published for the first time in Greek and enriched by introductory remarks and observations, at the expense and under the care of George K. Typaldos, Inspector of the Public and University Library; Athens, 1853. The publisher dedicated this seventh (and last) volume of Galanos translations to His Majesty, Otto I, King of Greece.

### 1. Typaldos' observations and notes (pp. 5—39)

At the very outset of his notes, Typaldos announces that, in spite of his earlier promise (in vol. VI, p. 4 : *Hitopadeśa*, 1851) he would not be able to publish the Bhāgavata purāṇa translation by Galanos, since many chapters had either not been translated or were lost in transit, and since the cost of publishing this book—estimated at 5,000 drachmas—“would tax me beyond my means.”<sup>7</sup>

Typaldos mentions several times the short description and survey given by Eugene Burnouf in *Journal Asiatique* IV (1824), 24; 51 : “Analyse et extrait du Devi Mahatmyam, fragment du Marcandeya Purana,” and Ludwig Poley's Latin translation of the

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6. a) V. S. Agrawala, देवीमाहात्म्यम् The Glorification of the Great Goddess, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Ramnagar (Varanasi) 1963.
  - b) Svāmī Jagadīśvarānanda, *The Devīmāhātmyam or Śrī Durgā-Saptasatī*, Sri Ramakrishna Math (Madras, 1955). In both versions, Sanskrit texts and English translations vary remarkably little except that the S.J. edition stretches the counting of ślokas to 700, while Ag.'s edition shows 577 (Gal. has 578 Greek stanzas).
  7. Vol. III. 5 (henceforth abbreviated as *Gal*). E. Burnouf (1801-52) published only parts I-III of the *Bh. -P. ou histoire poetique de Krichna* (Paris 1840-47); M. Haugvete-Besnault and P. Roussel completed the French translation much later (Paris, 1884 and 1898).



same which appeared 1831 in Berlin.<sup>8</sup> The Greek editor also refers the reader to the introductory remarks in previous Galanos books, which contain general information, culled from the works of 19th century European Indologists and "litterateurs."<sup>9</sup>

There are also these learned references : to Holy Scripture; to the early Christian writers and Fathers of the Church, (Eusebius,

8. The note in Ag.'s "Preface" (p. I) is misleading. L. Poley; although it matters little, was a German scholar whom Bopp, in a letter written on March 31, 1832 to Burnouf's father, recommended as "un ancien eleve" Of. E. Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und Indischen Altertumskunde* I (Strassburg, 1917) 94 f. Poley's book was published in Berlin. The Roman numbers should read MDCCCXXXI (i. e. 1831).
9. E. g. a) Friedrich Adelung's *Bibliotheca Sanscrita, Literaturs der Sanskritsprache* (St. Petersburg, 2/1837). Adelung's book—he cheerfully admitted that he did not know Sanskrit—abounds with egregious mistakes, but contains some useful information, culled from the works of the great philologists; b) the French *Mythologie des Indous* arranged by the canoness Lady de Polier from authentic manuscripts brought from India by the late Colonel de Polier (a native of Lausanne, Switzerland, who was for years in the services of the East India Company), Paris, 1809; c) *Catalogue des manuscrits sanscrits de la bibliotheque imperiale* "With notes on the content of most of the works, etc." (Paris 1807) by A. Hamilton and L. Langles (pp. 54—61 about the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa d.). Strangely enough, also Louis-Mathieu Langles (1763—1824) had, apart from Persian, no deeper knowledge of Oriental languages (Windisch., *op cit.* p. 205); d) Christian Lassen (1800—1876) who encouraged Typaldos to publish Galanos' works and whose extraordinary *Indische Alterthumskunde* 4 vols. (1847—62) took into account and digested all the important writings on Indological subjects; e) the Rev. Gaspere Gorresio (1808—91), a student of Burnouf's and renowned for his *Rāmāyaṇa* edition and Italian translation, based on a Bengali recension : *Ramayana Poema Indiano di Valmici, Testo Sanscrito secondo i Codici Manoscritti della Scuola Gaudana*, 12 vols. (Paris, 1843—1970). Cf. Windisch, *op. cit.* pp. 145f. Also Angelo de Gubernatis (1840—1913) *Materiaux pour servir a l'Histoire des Etudes Orientales en Italie* (Turin, 1876). De Gubernatis's *Piccolo Enciclopedia Indiana* (Turin, 1967) is dedicated "A Gaspere G., primo editore, primo traduttore in Europa del poema il Ramayana". On p. 19 of Gub.'s *Cenni sopra alcuni Indtanisti viventi* (Florence, 1872) Galanos and the notorious Captain Kaiphala (cp. *JAOS* 89, 2 [1969] pp. 340, 350 ff.) are mentioned.

St. Augustine, John Chrysostomus, John of Damascus, Basil, Athanasius, Theodoretos, Origin, Clement of Alexandria); to the "founder" of Neo-Platonism, Plotinus (205—270 A. D.); to the *Apollodori Bibliotheca*, the great storehouse of mythological material, theogonies, and Greek chronicles (a book wrongly attributed to Apollodoris of Athens, 2nd cent. B. C.); to Philostratos, the Greek Sophist from the island of Lemnos who allegedly wrote the romantic life story of Apollonius of Tyana, an ascetic and miracle worker of the 1st cent. A. D.; to Hesiod's *Theogony* which is an account of the origin of the (Greek) world and the birth of the gods; to the Greek historian Herodotus; to Plutarch (born around 50 A. D.), the famous story-teller and sketcher of characters; to the mythical Orpheus (who supposedly lived before Homer) and "his" *Argonautica*, an epic poem dealing with the expedition of the Argonauts; to the *Historical Library* (40 volumes) by Diodorus Siculus, a Sicilian historian, contemporary of Julius Caesar, and widely-travelled in Asia, Africa and Europe; to Lucianus, a Greek satirist born in Syria (2nd cent. A.D.), known for his merciless exposure of human foibles, and most certainly not a favorite of the earlier Christians whose saints and traditions he mocked.<sup>10</sup> Typaldos also refers to Homer (*Od.* II, 545; *Il.* XIX, 87—94) and to Plato's dialogues, "Timaeus" (on the mythical island of Atlantis) and "Phaedrus", Socrates' devoted pupil. There is also mentioned a verse from Euripides' drama *Melannipe*—T. does not say whether from *Mel. Captive* or *Mel. Sapiens*—"Just as heaven and earth were one form, before they were ripped asunder. They built everything and sent forth to the light : trees, winged creatures, wild animals which the brine nourishes, and the race of the mortals." Frequently, T. also refers to the cosmogony of the ancient Persians as described in the *Zend-Avesta*, the study of which had been initiated at his time in Western Europe. (He quotes from a book by Roun-Dehesh (p. 19), to which this

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10. Typaldos cites Lucian's treatise "On the Syrian Goddess" where the peculiar cult of pillar climbing is described. That cult "may have influenced the holy Syrian stylite monks, who lived for years on lofty pillars". Cf. H. A. Musurillo, *The Fathers of the Primitive Church* (New York 1966) p. 108.



writer has no access.<sup>11</sup>) Twice he quotes from Dupuis' *Religion Universelle*<sup>12</sup>; the half title of its German translation (Stuttgart, 1839) describes the work as presenting "the historical development of superstition and the control exercised by priests in all nations at all times", while an English translation (New York, 1849) characterizes Dupuis' book as an "explanation of an apocalyptic work of the initiated in the mysteries of the light, or sun, adored under the symbol of the lamb of spring, or the celestial ram...."

There is also a somewhat cryptic note (p. 13, repeated p. 14) on "Stephanos ho Gobaros" with reference to Photius' *Bibliothèque* (Codex 232, p. 289; Berlin edition.)<sup>13</sup>

11. The book is not mentioned in J. Darmesteter's very thorough "Introduction" of *The Zend-Avesta* (Oxford, 1895 : *Sacred Books of the East*) Critical bibliography pp. XIII—LXXXIX.
12. Charles Francois Dupuis (1742—1809); the full title of the seven volumes+atlas is *Origine de tous les cultes, ou, Religion universelle* Paris, 1795, with many later editions. *La Biographie Universelle ou Dictionnaire Historique* (Paris, 1834) vol. IV, 455 condemns that work (in transl. :) "as being one of the most impious productions in recent times, worthy of being relegated to oblivion, because of its indigestible erudition which reigns there, and because of the vague incoherence, the arbitrariness and absurdity of its system". Volumes III, IV and V deal with Sun worship, Religious Mysteries, and Mythology. However, Typaldos quotes from vol. I (on "Religions"), II ("Early Astronomy") and III ("Sun Worship").
13. Photius (about 820—891 A. D.), twice Patriarch of Constantinople, then relegated to a monastery, is the author of the *Bibliothèque*, also known as "Myriobiblon". *i. e.* "thousands of books" in which he gives excerpts and contents of and critical comments on books of his era; some of these books are not preserved and known only through Photius' encyclopedic work. Also Stephanus Gobarus' rather obscure book is described there. Photius calls it insignificant and put together only to impress the reader : in regard to Galanos' translation Typaldos' reference to St. G. is irrelevant. He was a Monophysite monk (about 550 A. D.) who like Cyril of Alexandria, the founder of this schismatic and heretical movement within the Eastern Orthodox Church, held that because of the preponderance of the divine nature over the human in Jesus Christ, the latter possessed only one (*mone*) *i. e.* divine nature (*physis*). Cf. : A. von Harnack, "The 'sic et non' of St. G". *Harvard Theological Review* 16, (1923), 205-234; (with compl. translation).

## 2. Galanos' Greek Translation : "Doyrga"

As mentioned previously, the Galanos manuscripts kept at Athens Library do not contain the Sanskrit text from which Galanos translated into Greek. Any inferences as to the text he used can be made only from the wording in the Greek translation. For the purposes of this study, the Greek version has been compared with V. S. Agrawala's देवीमाहात्म्यम् "The Glorification of the Great Goddess" (Rāmnagar Vārāṇasī, 1963) and Svāmī Jagadīśvarānanda's *The Devī-Māhātmyam or Śrī Durgā-Śaptaśatī* (Mylapore-Madras, 1955), Sanskrit texts and English translations <sup>14</sup>

**Chapter I.** Galanos' Greek version omits the customary greetings to Caṇḍikā and does not mention the circumstances in which Mārkaṇḍeya addresses his disciple, or explain the names of persons and of the various family lineages (transliteration of स्वारोचिषः, चैत्रः, सुरथः, कोलाविध्वंसिनः : *Svarokissas, Saitra, Soyratas, Kolavidvansai*).

The King Suratha, now deprived of his realm, sees the hermitage of the Saint Vasīṣṭha (not of the twice-born Medhas) who from now on is referred to only as "the Saint" (*ho hosios*), even though the Sanskrit text calls him at times मुनि. The brave chief-elephant's name सदा मद is omitted, and the merchant who appears on the scene is simply called (in transliteration) : *Vaisseas* after he has introduced himself as (trsl. : ) *Sammades*, also *Samaddes*. In verse 37 (Ag. I, 36; S.J. I. 49) Galanos translates पशुपक्षिमृगादयः as 'four-legged animals, reptiles and fowl' and leaves out the honorific term "O Tiger among men" in the following verse. Instead of "Knower of Brahman" (Ag. I. 46; S.J. I. 62) Galanos translates "O foremost among recognisers of God." "Prajāpati Brahmā" is translated as *demiourgos* (Creator, Progenitor), and "Janārdana" simply as Viṣṇu. Brahmā's song of praise (Gal. I. 54-68; Ag. 54-67; S.J. 73-87) starts out as "I praise you, divine Nidrā" which is explained in a note : "Yoganidrā is called the sweet and deep sleep and the Goddess as the Guardian of sleep" and a subsequent note adds, "and she is thus also understood to be Matter (*Hyle*) itself." The names स्वाहा and स्वधा appear in Greek transliteration, but वषट्कारः

14. Henceforth abbr. as (Ag.+verse), (S.J.), (Gal.).



as "sacrifice", स्वरात्मिका as "every one of the vowel elements", सुधा as 'ambrosia', and "you are the eternal syllable OM and the three-fold verse meter" (Gal. 55). "You are every one of the consonant elements, which cannot be pronounced without the vowels. You are Sāvitrī herself, you the great Goddess and Mother." (Gal. 56) This verse was apparently greatly simplified and has become much more lucid than S.J.'s version I. 74: "You are half a mātrā, though eternal. You are verily that which cannot be uttered specifically" or Ag. I. 55: "The eternal half-mātrā is also thyself, which being of universal connotation is difficult to be expressed through utterance."—Agrawala ignores the mention of Sāvitrī and the supreme जननी in his Sanskrit text. Gal. 58 has for संहृतिरूपान्त ("the totality of the world form is thyself" Ag. 57) simply *o pantomorphe*, "O you one of all forms." While Gal. 59 (Ag. 58, S.J. 77) translates all appellatives into Greek (great Wisdom, Matter, Intellect, Remembrance, Madness (*i. e. paranoia*), Great Goddess and "great strength of the gods" (instead of "asurī"), the following verse, after the mention of "the Power behind Everthing," the Power bringing together the three qualities—on which Galanos (or the editor) does not elaborate—the Greek author mentions Devī's other appellatives in their Sanskrit forms: the terrible *Kalatre* (obvious misprint for Kālarātri), *Mahārātre* and *Moharātre* (Gal. 60). Also without any explanation, there is in Gal. 61: "You are Sre (Śrī), you are the ruler (*kyria* for ईश्वरी)" followed by Greek descriptions: "You are modesty, you are the intellectual and perceptive power, you are diffidence, encouragement (*rhosis*), joy, pleasure, and forbearance." Verse 63 of the Galanos translation is again greatly simplified: "You are the most beautiful of all; you are better than everything perceptible and intelligent; you are the great *Kyria*." Also verse 66 (Ag. 65; S.J. 84) varies from the two English versions: "Who would be able, O Goddess, to praise you, the very same matter from which we have our body; myself, Viṣṇu and Śiva." The two *asuras* (Maddou and Kaitabba) are called "giants" (Gal. 67, 68).

In Gal. 69 (Ag. 68; S.J. 89) the translation for देवी तामसी—Ag. calls her the Goddess Tāmasī (Darkness)—is "Goddess of Sleep"; for वेधस् "creator" Galanos uses Brahmā. In the following verses जनार्दन is *pantokrator*<sup>15</sup> *i. e.* ("omnipotent") Viṣṇu and

15. This is a non-classical word, denoting exclusively (the Christian) God Almighty.

भगवान् हरि is “God Viṣṇu” who, in Galanos’ words “boxed and wrestled” (I. 73) with the “giants.” Instead of the epithet केशव Galanos uses Viṣṇu again. Both Ag. I. 76a प्रीतौ स्वस् तव युद्धेन श्लाघ्यस्त्वं-मृत्युरावयोः and Gal. I. 77 translate this verse approximately the same: “We are pleased with the battle you have given us, and death from you is praiseworthy to us,” while S.J. omits it completely.

**Chapter II.** Like the modern translators, Galanos uses Indra’s name instead of “Destroyer of castles” (पुरन्दरः) and calls the Asuras “anti-divine giants.” In the Galanos description of Mahiṣa’s new authority usurped from the Gods, there is a mixture of Greek mythological names (*Helios* = Sūrya, *Pyr* = Agni, *Aer* = Vāyu, *Selene* = Candra) and Sanskrit names like Indra and Varuṇa. (Gal. II. 5; Ag. II. 5; S.J. II. 6). When the gods become angry a great fire issues forth from their mouths (Gal. II. 9-17) while in Ag.’s translation it is “fierce heat” and in S.J.’s version (II, 9-19) “a great light.” In the course of enumeration of body parts produced by the light or fire, Galanos apparently has overlooked that Devī’s fingers stem from the light of the Vasus; (Gal. II. 15). प्राजापत्येन तेजसा is translated “Out of the fire of the Brahmin creators and patriarchs,” while पावक denotes Agni here (II. 16). In the following verse, शिवा is the Goddess (Thea). Agrawala’s explanatory and transitional sentence (II. 19a) : ततो देवा ददुस्तस्यै स्वानि स्वान्यायुधानि च “Then the gods gave her each his own weapon” is omitted by Gal. (and also in S.J.’s version). Instead of using the appellatives पिनाकधृक् = “Pinakawielder” (Ag. 19) Galanos simply calls the god “Śiva” and instead of Kṛṣṇa uses Viṣṇu (Gal. II. 19). Indra, first called “lord of the devas” and then सहस्राक्ष “the one with a thousand eyes,” is simply mentioned by his main name (Gal. II. 21); (also S.J. II. 22 ignores the second epithet). Yama’s “dead dealing rod” कालदण्ड is simply called “Kāla’s rod” without any further explanation, as are Brahmā’s gifts “Akṣamālā” and “Kamaṇḍalu,” the string of beads and the water-rot, objects with rather ominous connotations. (Gal. II. 22). In II, 24 Galanos has the milky ocean, the galaxy, give the Goddess only a string of pearls and two non-aging and non-decaying garments; he does not mention : a divine crest-jewel, a pair of ear-rings, bracelets, a brilliant half-moon ornament, armllets for all arms, a pair of shining anklets, a matchless necklace



and excellent rings for all fingers. (Ag. II. 24-26; SJ. II. 25-29) Galanos leaves that to Viśvakarman (II, 25-6) who in the subsequent verse furnishes her with the shining axe and other weapons. The mountain हिमवान् is called "Himaos" (II. 29) and षनाधिप "the Lord of Wealth" simply Kubera.

The boisterous laugh of the Goddess is translated by the onomatopoeic word *kaghasma*, "loud, derisive laughter" (II. 31). मुनयः the sages, or Ṛṣis, are called "Saintly Brahmins" (II. 34). Instead of "three worlds" for त्रैलोक्य Gal. (II, 35) uses *Pan* (= "Universe"), but two verses below (II. 37) he uses (for लोकत्रय) "the threefold Cosmos," which is filled with her splendour; although the text describes how the Goddess accomplishes it (by scraping the sky with her pointed diadem, by bending the earth with her foot-step and by shaking the netherworld with the twang of her bowstring—Galanos' order is different) the Greek text is not very clear on this. II. 40 mentions the fourfold army commanded by "Samaras" (= Cāmara), but does not explain that "four-fold" means comprised of cavalry, charioteers, elephant-soldiers and foot-soldiers, a fact which would have been of some interest to Galanos' European contemporaries. The weapons Galanos mentions are mostly of Homeric vintage; only one (II. 47: *rhomphaia* = a scimitar used by the Turks and Arabs) is a foreign (Thracian?) word, introduced by Plutarch and then designating Goliath's sword in Biblical Greek. In II. 58 the trident (*triaiina*) usually associated with Neptune is mentioned.

A major divergence from SJ.'s Sanskrit-English versions (II. 60) and from Ag.'s English translation (II. 59) is found in Galanos' verse II. 59; while the latter translates: "Other giants, enemies of the gods, when rushing toward the Goddess like falcons toward the bird (in translit. Greek: "*hos hierakes ep' ornin....*") gave up their ghosts on the field of battle, their entire bodies riddled with many arrows." SJ.'s translation of शल्यानुकारिणः "resembling porcupines" appears correct, but Ag.'s Sanskrit version has इयेनानुकारिणः resembling falcons" which is obviously an error, since he translates the word as "resembling porcupines".

**Chapter III.** At the beginning of the third chapter, there is one of the rare notes Galanos provided. III. 2 reads: '[The great Titan]

rained showers of arrows on the Goddess, just as the cloud showers rain on Meru” which is explained : “Golden is Mount Meru (spelled ‘Meroe’), golden also the Goddess; the cloud is black, and black also the Titan.”

The Goddess’ awe-inspiring roar हुंकार (Gal., Ag. III. 11) is in Galanos’ translation a rather disappointing “A”,<sup>16</sup> yet it breaks the spear hurled at her. Two verses later, the lion is depicted as “boxing and wrestling on the elephant’s midhead.” As in 10 (Ag. III. 10; SJ. III. 11) where Cāmara’s epithet त्रिदशार्दन “tormenter of the thirty-three (gods)” is omitted, Galanos also leaves out the proper name Parameśvarī (III. 18, Ag. *ibid.*; SJ. III. 19) and calls her “that three-eyed great lady,” using the trident.

**Chapter IV.** In chapter IV. 3 Galanos adds to the names of gods mentioned in Ag. IV. 3 and SJ. IV. 4 (Bhagavān Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Hara) Śeṣa—the serpent king who is also referred to as “ananta”—; instead of Hara, Galanos uses the more familiar form Śiva, and he has the goddess asked to concentrate her mind on “the salvation (*soteria*) of this cosmos,” a rather Christian concept which finds an echo in Galanos’ translation of मुक्तिहेतु as “reason for immortality” (*aitia...tes athanasias*) and “those in quest of immortality” in IV. 8 (Ag. IV. 8; SJ. IV. 9). The sixth verse was greatly simplified by Galanos : “You are the beginning, and the boundless and unalterable matter. Even though you have three qualities, you are nevertheless without quality and without passion; and you are incomprehensible even to Viṣṇu and Śiva. You are the support of all, and the practical and material cause of all beings.” When compared with the original Sanskrit text and the somewhat confusing Ag. (IV. 6) and SJ. (VI. 7) renditions, the Galanos version is almost a Western interpretation.

In addition to what was said above in regard to “salvation” and “immortality [of the soul]” there are, in Gal. IV. 8-9 (same in Ag.; SJ. 9-10) two more Judaeo-Christian concepts which, it would seem, appear by design: “*Sophia*” for विद्या and “*logos*” for शब्द. Both terms could have been expressed in many other ways (*e. g.* vidyā = *to eidenai, episteme, gnosis phronesis, sophrosyne*; śabda = *lexis,*

16. An exclamation expressing pity, envy, contempt...also in reproofs and warnings (Liddle & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* I, 1).



*rhema, mythos*). Sophia, first recognized as an attribute of God, was later identified with the Spirit of God.<sup>17</sup> As to logos, we need mention only the opening verse of the gospel according to St. John: "In the beginning was the Word (logos), and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

To give an example of Galanos' Greek rendition a few verses of chapter IV are translated here almost *verbatim* :

8. You, O Goddess, are that divine and supreme Wisdom (*Sophia*) which is the cause of immortality and so hard to attain. You become accessible to those holy Brahmins desirous of immortality, through hardy (Spartan-like) training and asceticism, to those who mortify their senses and concentrate their minds on things divine and live their lives without passions.

9. You are the Word (*Logos*) itself, you are the source of the pure Ṛg—and Yajurvedas and of the Sāmaveda which is praised as being melodious and clear-toned (*ligyros*). You are the ineffable (*thespesia*) Triad of the Vedas. You are the entire organization and guidance in the conflict and life of the Cosmos. You are the deliverer from the terrors of the Cosmos.

10. You, O Goddess, are Sarasvatī herself. (omitted here : "by whom the essence of all scriptures is compre-

17. It would be tempting to suggest that G. might reflect here on Philo's (of Alexandria, a Jewish Hellenist 25 B. C.—40 A. D.) writings in whose allegorical commentary on the Old Testamental *Genesis*, biblical figures become virtues personified (in the sense of the "prakṛtis"). Logos the nature of which is Sophia, very much in concert with the concept of the Stoics, becomes the saviour and guides those who engage in Spartan-like training (Gal. : skleragogia), asceticism—like the munis or G.'s "holy Brahmins"—and in ecstasy, to God. See : *Paulys Realencyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft* XX, 1 (1941), 1–50. Unfortunately Philo's works are not listed in I. Sakkeliou's 'The Patmian Library' (Athens, 1890; also Charles Diehl "Le trésor et la bibliothèque de Patmos au commencement du 13e siècle", *Byzant. Zeitschrift* I (1892), 488–525 does not mention Philo. (The island of Patmos where G. had his ecclesiastic training would have been the most likely place for him to learn about Philo who never was a favorite of Christian theologians.)

hended"). You are the only boat across the endless ocean of this Cosmos. You are Śrī who lives in the heart of Viṣṇu (instead of : "Kaiṭabha's foe"). You are Gaurī who is half of Śiva's (instead of "moon-crested") body.

11. It was so strange that, although the Titan (instead of : Asura Mahiṣa) saw your face which was cheerful and resplendent and beaming like the translucent moon, like pure gold, that, nevertheless, the Titan swayed by anger would have wanted to strike it.
12. But it was even stranger that the Titan did not take flight immediately when he saw your face then, full of wrath, with lowered eyebrows, and red like the just now rising moon. For, who is able to breathe life when he has seen the enraged god of death ?
13. May you be gracious, O Goddess : for when you are cheerful, you create life at once. But when angry, you destroy whole nations and tribes. This has become known already from the fact that the immense army of the giant Mahiṣa perished.

Galanos' translation of IV. 19 is different from Ag. 's, and agrees with S.J. 's (IV. 20) : "The eyes of the Titans were not blinded by the sparkling lustre" of the various weapons borne by Durgā.... "since they also beheld your immortal face on the forehead of which there lies also the immortal half-moon" (giving out cool rays). In IV. 20 Agrawala leaves about half of the Sanskrit text untranslated; S.J.'s full version (IV. 21) is also translated by Galanos : ("For it is your intention, O Goddess, to make the works of the evil-doers undone). Your beautiful form is inconceivable (*akatanoeitos*) and incomparable (*asygkritos*). Your power is the destruction of the Titans. But you also show pity towards enemies."

"Nandana's grove" (Ag. IV. 27; S.J. 29) is simply translated as "the paradise of Indra" (Gal. IV. 27), and also the various names of the Goddess are again simplified : (31) Maheśvarī is expressed as "Great Ruler" (*megale Despoina*), (32) Ambikā who is called "the one with a resplendent face" (*o aglaoprosope*) is omitted. (33) Bhadrakālī is "the beautiful Goddess" (*kale thea*). There is a slight



divergence in the last two Galanos verses of chapter IV, when compared with Ag.'s and SJ.'s versions. "Now, listen, how again in the body of Gaurī she became the benefactress of the gods by the deaths of Śumbha and Niśumbha, the chiefs of the evil Titans, and through the salvation of the human race and of the gods. For I will tell you everything how this came about."

**Chapter V.** In chapter V, there is a slight difference in the distribution of verses and Galanos' count does not coincide with that of Agrawala's edition. The last verse (Gal. 5; Ag. 6; SJ. 7) contains an interesting translation of Viṣṇumāyā = "the material and creative power of Viṣṇu" (*ten hyliken kai poiетiken dynamin toy Visnoy*) which they praised. (Ag. translates प्रतुष्टुवुः as the goods "stood before her!") In the following verse "Reverence to the great and good Goddess! Reverence forever to the brilliant matter (*tei aglaai Hylei*)...." the latter expression is Galanos' translation of प्रकृत्यै भद्रायै, what SJ. V. 9 calls, "the primordial cause and sustaining power". Dhātrī, in the following verse, is ingeniously translated by Galanos as *Tithene* ("nurse" in Homer's *Iliad* 6, 389; rarely "mother") which is formed from the same Indo-European root\* *dhe*. The Greek version of Ag. V, 9 and SJ. 11 is somewhat shorter: "We do reverence to the one who is welfare herself and prosperity as well as perfection of those who worship her, who is the force of the Titans and the good fortune of Kings."<sup>18</sup>

A note from the editor (p. 29) states that verse V. 9 (= Ag. 10, SJ. 12) is missing in G.'s manuscript. This verse<sup>19</sup> is the fourth in the sequence of altogether thirty-six verses in which the gods proclaim and extol the virtues and qualities, practical and spiritual, of the Great Goddess. In general, Galanos follows the sequence; except that he omits one verse (Ag. V. 27; SJ. 59-61) where it is said that the Goddess "abides in all beings in the form of activity

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18. Perhaps a mistake in the Greek translation, which should read: "to the *nairṛti* (i. e. misfortune) and *lakṣmī*" (i. e. good fortune) of Kings. The Greek text has an explanatory note: "Sarvane is a paronym for Sarva's wife, i. e. Viṣṇu's".
19. To Durgā who guides us in difficult situations, who is the essence and procreator of all things, who is knowledge (Ag. : Fame) who is blue-black as well as smoke-like (in complexion).

(वृत्तिरूपेण)”. He also uses three expressions for “all beings”<sup>20</sup>. Galanos also leaves out शान्तिरूपेण (Ag. V. 23; SJ. 47-49) “in the form of peace”, but adds a new quality in V. 27 (*eysplagchnia* = goodness of heart).

Footnotes in the following narrative of the Ṛṣi (Greek: *Hosios*) explain that the gods did not know that the woman who came here to bathe in the waters of the Ganges was not an ordinary woman, but the Goddess Pārvatī herself. Galanos also points out that the poet “etymologizes” the word *Kossa*, (कोश) meaning “*thylax*” = sheath, box, frame, from which “*Kausiki*” is formed. Kubera’s treasure महापद्म is circumscribed as “this great and inexhaustible treasure” (Gal. V. 48; Ag. 49; SJ. 96). Prajāpati’s chariot in the following verse is described as having formerly belonged to the “progenitor and patriarch Dakṣa” (who is not always identical with Prajāpati). In V. 50 (Ag. 51; SJ. 98) Galanos names “the spearhead of death”, *i. e.* Utkrantidā, and adds *thanatephoros* “carrying death” and specifies सलिलराजस्य as “*Hydromedontos Varouna*” (of the water-king Varuṇa). In the following verse, Agni’s garments are purified by fire, which is different from Ag. 52, where they do not catch fire. Sugrīva (Gal. 53; Ag. 54; SJ. 101) is called “*apostolos*”, although there are Greek words with less Christian connotations (*e. g.* *pompos*, *metaggelos*). Galanos mentions “*Outsaisrava*” (Uccaiḥśravas in V. 60; Ag. 61; SJ. 110), but in the following verse only the Gandharvas appear by name; the Nāgas are called only “subterranean snakes.”

**Chapter VI.-VII.** There are hardly any differences in the translations of Chapter VI by Galanos and by Ag. and SJ., except for the infinitely greater empathy shown in Galanos’ satirical portrayal of the teasing Goddess and her reported pronouncements, starting with V. 66 (Ag. 67; SJ. 117) until the enemies “beheld her, the smiling<sup>21</sup> Goddess, sitting upon the

20. Gal. V. 11 : *en hapasi tois oysi*; “beings”, called *hyle* (“matter”). 12—20 : (*en*)... *hapasi tois empsychois*; “with a soul” called *aisthesis* (“perception”). 21—31 : (*en*)... *hapasi tois anthropois*; “human beings”.

21. Galanos uses rare verb forms as they appear in similar situations in the *Iliad* I, 490 (where Leto smilingly “*meidiosan*” punishes Artemis) and in Aristophanes’ comedies. Cf. Horace’s *Satires* I, 1, 24 : *Quamquam ridentem dicere verum* = “To tell the truth, yet with a smile”. Also cp. *Od.* XX, 301 about “*Sardonic smile*”.



Lion on the towering golden peak of the King of the Himalayan mountain". (Gal. VII. 2; Ag. 2; S.J. 3). When she finally becomes angry and takes on the form terrible to behold, which is called *Kale*, there is a note by Galanos: "*Kale*, i. e. Black is the symbol of death." Another note in VII. 17 (Ag. 17; S.J. 18) tells the reader that (the numerous disks disappearing in Kālī's mouth looked like numerous solar orbs disappearing into the midst of a cloud) "the cloud is black; and black is also Kālī's body". Kālī, holding Caṇḍa's head and Muṇḍa's body in her hands, goes to Kausikī (Gal. VII. 22), not to Caṇḍikā (Ag. 22; S.J. 23); also in VIII. 10 (Ag. 10; S.J. 11) Kausikī appears instead of Caṇḍikā.

**Chapter VIII.** When the battle begins in earnest, the so-called "superior devas"—Brahmā, Śīva, Viṣṇu, Indra and (Ag. VIII, 12: Kārttikeya; S.J. 13 : Guha) Skanda (Gal. 11)—offer their śaktis (in Galanos' translation: *dynamis*=strength) to the Goddess Kausikī (in Ag. and S.J. : Caṇḍikā). "The strength of Brahmā or, as it is called : Brahmānī, came seated on a divine chariot harnessed to swans, and held in her hands the Akṣasūtra and the Kamaṇḍalu." (Gal. VIII. 14). There are notes which explain that "Aksasoutra is the name of string of pearls (*Kombologion*) and Kamandalou is the waterjar (*prochoe*); they are the characteristic signs of Brahmā; his vehicle is the swan, his chariot yoked to swans." Also to the next verses, (Gal. VIII. 16-18; Ag. 15-17; S.J. 15-17) describing in detail the "dynamis" of Śīva, Kumāra and Viṣṇu, notes are affixed which repeat the content of the self-explanatory verses : "The vehicle of Śīva is the bull (*tayros*); the adornments on her wrists worn like bracelets, and on her neck like a collar are snakes, and the half-moon on her forehead; her weapon is the trident".—"Skanda (s) who is the God of war, is also called Koumara (s); his vehicle is the peacock (*taos*), his weapon is the spear." And Vaiṣṇavī, the "dynamis" of Viṣṇu is seated on the Garuḍa, which is explained : "Viṣṇu's vehicle is the Garouda (s)." <sup>22</sup> वाराही and नारसिंही (VIII. 18; 19) are circumscribed each as "*dynamis*" of Viṣṇu, having then assumed the incomparable

22. It is difficult to believe that Galanos would have written such insignificant repetitive notes. The *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* in Gal. II. 22 (Ag., S.J. 23) were not explained. It is impossible at present to check the Athenian manuscript, but it may be safely assumed that the editor provided at least these particular notes.

(*aneikaston*) bodily form of a boar, and that of a lion-man, scattering the stars by the violent shaking of the mane. Aindrī does not sit on the lord of elephants, hers is white or shining, and Kausikī emitted a bark, like (really : *meta*=with) many other hyenas or jackals (*kynolykos*). Śiva, whose dark-coloured matted locks are not mentioned by Galanos (VIII. 23) is asked by the Goddess to go as her envoy (*presbys*) to the Asuras. Thus दूत, in the case of the Asura Sugrīva (Gal. VI. 53; Ag. 54; SJ. 102) is translated as “*apostolos*”= messenger, or in an ironic allusion to the Christian sense : “someone to bring the good spell”, while “*presbys*” means ‘an elder preferred to power and dignity.’ In VIII. 38-39, 44, 49 (Ag. *ibid.*; SJ. 39-40, 45, 50) Galanos circumscribes the मातृगण as “army formation of the Goddesses” (*tagmata ton Theainon*) and the name of Raktabīja which appears there, is explained in a note : “Raktabejas=blood seed; this is the way the poet gives the etymology of the word.” Like Agrawala, Galanos abstains from ridiculing the fearridden devas which it would seem is clearly intended here : .....चण्डिका प्राहसत्स्वरा (Ag. 52; SJ. 53).<sup>23</sup> He has Kausikī, raising the din of war (*polemokolonos*) and seeing the despondent Gods, tell Kālī to open her mouth wide....(Gal. 52). The very last verse of the tenth chapter, where the erstwhile frightened gods now derive great pleasure from the fall of bloodless Raktabīja, attests once more to a very disdainful portrayal of them and of their mātrkāś which are only their extensions : they dance, driven to frenzy by the blood (which by the way is not there, since all of it has been swallowed by Cāmuṇḍā). Galanos significantly chooses the passive perfect participle of the verb *bakcheyo* (to express मदोद्धत; “puffed up with pride, haughty”<sup>24</sup>), an allusion to the secret mysteries of Dionysos in ancient Athens, known in Rome as Bacchanalia. Although these rites have much in common with Tantric practices, Galano’s choice of “*bebakcheymenos toi haimati*” (like Bacchus driven to frenzy by blood) is certainly

23. Ag. VIII. 52 : “Seeing the gods dejected, Caṇḍikā exclaimed impetuously and spoke to Kālī....” But she actually laughed at them. It would seem that तान् विषण्णान् सुरान् is also a rather contemptuous and disdainful expression.

24. C. Cappeller, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Strassburg, 1891) p. 392.



not complimentary, but attests to his insight into shared mythological relationship.<sup>25</sup>

**Chapter IX.** The "*okta selenos aspīs toy Soymbba*" (not of Niśumbha as in Ag. 10; SJ. 12) is described in a note as "moonfaced ornaments made of bronze or gold, fixed on the shield." But two verses later (IX. 12) Galanos has Niśumbha (not identified as Dānava) attack the Goddess again who crushes his dart with the blow of her fist (*pegmes*)<sup>26</sup>. Galanos indicates that Niśumbha falls because he has become unconscious (*ek leipothymias*) in IX. 15 [where the Sanskrit text and the English translation just say that "he fell to ground." (Ag. 15; SJ. 17) Here only in verse 27 (SJ. 29) does the reader realize that, when Niśumbha regains consciousness]. The Goddess' clanging of the bell "destroys the braveness and pride of the entire army of the Titans", (Gal. 18), and in the following verse "the lion emitted a roar louder than that of a rutting (or maddened) elephant, and this sound filled heaven and earth and all (instead of "ten") directions". Ag. 's and SJ'.s English renditions (IX. 19, 21 resp.) are more precise, at least according to their Sanskrit texts: "there the lion's roar made the elephants give up their violent rut". When Kālī strikes the earth with both her hands, the noise she makes drowns out all the "previous sounds" which are specified in a note: "that made by the conch, by the sounds of the bow string, of the bell, and those made by the lion's roaring." (Gal. 20) This note seems somewhat superfluous, particularly when the term Śivadūti (IX. 21; Ag. *ibid.*; SJ. 23) is not explained. We remember that the Goddess sent Śiva as her *dūta* to the Asuras (VIII. 23; SJ. 24) whence her name which is first used in VIII. 37; SJ. 38. (She laughs violently, the Asuras fall and are devoured by her.)

25. Dionysos, also known as Bacchus, Bromios, Iacchus, was a son of Zeus, and visited, according to the legend, Asia and Africa. For details, cp. *Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology* (New York, 1960) pp. 178—182. Originally, only female initiates had access to these fertility rites, at which human and later on merely animal sacrifices were offered. There were, reportedly, sexual orgies and debaucheries. Nonnos, a Greek poet and resident of Egypt (5th cent. A. D.) wrote a long, highly polished epic about these practices, *Dionysiaca* (ed. Kochly, Leipzig, 1858) which is one of our chief sources of knowledge.

26. Obviously a printer's mistake for *pygme* "fist" (ei, oi, eta, iota and ypsilon are all pronounced as long i in Modern Greek).

“Śivadūti” appears in verses IX. 21 (S.J. 23); 35, 39, (S.J. 37, 41) and XI. 19 (S.J. 21) always in situations where the epithet would not suggest the origin of the name. It would seem that Galanos intended to spell out the might of Kausikī (Ambikā) and the indignities to which the gods were subjected when, in IX, 22 (Ag. *ibid.*, S.J. 24) he translates : “Kausikī” forcefully shouted : ‘stop, stop, you evildoer !...the gods staying in the heavens, screamed : ‘Victory victory to you’.<sup>27</sup> Gal. 28 has “the leader of the Titans, having become ten thousand-armed” (instead of the Danuja-Lord [S.J. 30], son of Diti envelop the Goddess Kausikī with “just as many disks,” and calls the tormentor or “afflictor” of the gods (Ag. 31, S.J. 31) simply “anti-god” (*antitheos*). The sanctified water sprinkled by Brahmāṇi with the recitation of mantras (*met’ epoides*) caused others to be chased away (Gal. 36), or Ag. 35 : to be “finished”.

**Chapter X.** Śumbha’s slain brother is simply characterized as *homopnoun* (“of kindred spirit”) (Gal. X. 1). When accused of fighting with the strength of others, Devī, ignoring the trembling (Aryan) gods, says that these (goddesses) are “forms of myself” मद्रिभूतयः, Greek : *aporrhoiai* = “flowing off, afflux, emanations”) while all the gods and the Titans or Asuras are looking on, a terrible fight begins. The Goddess by simply uttering the हुंकार again translated by “A” (Gal. X. 9)—easily (*eymaros*) destroys the missiles. There is a note in regard to Śumbha’s “shield which shone like the ray-throwing sun : Golden was the shield like the red (and gold) sun.” (Gal. 13) When the Goddess is lifted high up by the Asura, she fights even there निराधारा (Ag. 18, S.J. 22) “without any support”, evidently meaning : no gods (who restricted themselves to cheering only) or māṭṛkās assisted her. But Galanos (X. 18) adds “*podon*” “without the support of her feet,” *i. e.* floating, and this awesome battle “fills

27. The first verb, *anekraxe* “she cried out, lifted up her voice” as in Old Testament, Judges 7, 20, said of warriors ready to attack”...and they cried : The Sword of the Lord...” For the shouting of the gods, Galanos used *ekraygasan* “they barked, croaked”, when used of man, as in the Greek version St. John 18, 40 : [When Pilate asked the Jewish rabble if they wanted him to release Jesus] “Then *cried they all again*, saying, Not this man, but Barabbas”. Galano’s choice of words was quite conscious; he could have used expressions far more current, like *boao*, *anaboao*, *anaphoneo*, *phtheggomai*, *anorthiazo* (most of these expressions contain an element of pleading for help).



the gods in the sky and the holy Brahmins [instead of 'Siddhas and Munis'] with astonishment.

The last two Galanos verses show a slight divergence in the sequence of manifestations of joy over the slaying of the Asura leader. They read in translation :

26. The heavenly (creatures) then  
breathed calmly. The sun became  
bright and beautiful (*kalliphegges*).  
The fire burned peacefully (*hesychos*).  
The cries for help (*boai*) from all  
parts of the world had ceased.
27. When this one (i. e. Titan) had  
been removed, the Gods all together  
rejoiced greatly from their hearts.  
The Gandharvas sang sweetly. Others  
of them sounded musical instruments,  
and the Apsaras danced.

**Chapter XI.** While the Sanskrit text mentions the Kātyāyanī form of Devī, Galanos simplifies the name again and calls her "that Goddess". For the first time, the god Agni is described in a note, which does not sound authentic : "Agnis is called the God of Fire, and the fire itself. He is also the chief deity (*ephoros*) and the organ of the voice (*phonetikoy*)". (p. 55). Instead of "Mother of the universe" (Ag. XI. 2; S.J. 3) Galanos has the unusual expression *Pantanassa* ("Ruler of All")<sup>28</sup> who is also the "ruler of all things animate and inanimate" (*empsychon, apsychon*). Instead of "invulnerable" (Ag. 3; S.J. 4)<sup>29</sup> Galanos (3) has "unsurpassed in strength" (*anhypereblete ten dynamin*) and "by you all this is being nourished and its thirst quenched". XI. 4 again has "*megale Hyle*" ("important matter") for मया, and *paranoia* is being brought to the entire world "by this

28. "Anassa", somewhat rare in Epic poetry (Od.3,380; 6,175), more common in (lyrical) poetry; is usually reserved for prayers to the Goddess Athena. Following Patristic usage, Galanos employs here the analytic form : *hileos eso, Pantanassa*. ("Be gracious, Queen") instead of Homeric "*anass' hilethi*" (perfect imperative form of *hilemi*.)

29. Ag. XI, 3b : "By thee, who existeth in the form of water, all this Universe is filled. O thou invulnerable in the valour.

your *Hyle*, O Goddess. When you become well disposed, you are the reason for redemption". The Greek word "*lytrosis*" is almost exclusively used in Christian writings : "salvation, ransoming, redemption". Gal. XI. 5 (Ag. *ibid.*, SJ.6) seems to be based on a somewhat different Sanskrit version. In translation it reads :

XI. 5 You, O Goddess, are the very image of knowledge and science.

You are the every one of the beautiful and august women in the Cosmos. Of you alone O Goddess, the universe is full. You are every word (*logos*) in the Veda, and in other books, [every word] which is fitting for the composition of a song in praise. What then could there be a song in praise of you ?

6. Since you are a Goddess, about whose secret the entire world has been informed (*diathryllomene*) that you are everything, and that you have given (us) heaven and immortality (*athanasia* = मुक्ति) what fitting words could there be to proclaim you by hymns ?

Also in verse 7, the expression "heaven and immortality" is used by Galanos to translate स्वर्गापवर्गं, while Ag. 6, 7 uses "svarga/heaven and final emancipation from existence"; SJ. 7, 8 translates "enjoyment" (for svarga) and "liberation" (for both mukti and apavarga). Verse XI. 8 in Greek is far less precise than the Sanskrit text (as presented by Ag., and SJ. X, 9) :

8. O Nārāyaṇī, the protectress of change in everything in the sense of time, and the power behind the destruction of the universe, reverence is to be paid to you.

Also XI. 9 seems to be somewhat simplified :

9. O, better than all good (people), illustrious accomplisher of all desires, the refuge to be wished for, three-eyed (for Tryambakā) Gaurī, reverence etc.

SJ. XI. 11 translates गुणाश्रये गुणामये as "You are the substratum and embodiment of the three guṇas", Galanos' (XI. 10) translation : "You holder of virtues, triad of qualities," is closer to Ag. (*ibid.*) "abode of good qualities, who consists of good qualities". Galanos' "triad" is a half-hearted attempt at an interpretation, but a note to that effect is again lacking. (Cp. Ag., p. 214. In XI. 12 there is no indication that "the water which you sprinkle



from the pitcher” is anything special (*i. e.* dipped in Kuśa grass) but a note for XI. 14 (Ag. *ibid.*, SJ. 15) explains, that “Kaumārī is the force (*dynamis*) of Kumāra who is Skanda (s). His vehicle is the peacock, his standard the rooster. According to mythology a certain Titan in the form of a rooster was pierced by Skanda’s spear, who holding high the spear with the pierced rooster strutted jubilantly in a procession”. A more useful note, but rather terse for the Greek reader is the identification of one of the chief leaders of the Daityas mentioned in XI. 17 : the note says simply : “*hiranya-kaśipu*”. Like SJ. (XI. 21), Galanos leaves out “O Cāmuṇḍā, who grindest shaven heads”, a sentence added by Ag. XI. 20 (probably because muṇḍa means ‘bald’). In the following verse where Lakṣmī is being praised as, among other virtues, being nourishment (पुष्टि : *rhostike dynamis* = fortifying power), Mahārātri and Svadhā remain untranslated, but महासविद्या (Ag. 21; SJ. 22 : ‘Great Illusion’) is expressed as “great ignorance”, and in verse 22 the sequence of the Goddess’ qualities is : “O Intelligence, O Sarasvatī, O Chosen one, O Triad of Qualities, O Everlasting One”, and an incomplete enumeration when compared to the Ag. and SJ. texts (22, 23 resp.). In the case of Gal. XI. 23 where the Sanskrit text used by Ag. contains an additional verse, Galanos’ translation follows SJ. (24) :

23. O Goddess, ruler over everything, you are everything and almighty, save us from dangers.....

Also in the following verse where Ag. XI. 25 has पातु नः सर्व-भीतिभ्यः “May [thy countenance] guard us from all created things!” while SJ. 25 has सर्वभूतेभ्यः from all fears”.<sup>30</sup> Galanos (24) shows “from all danger”, as he does in XI. 25 where the triad should protect us from danger. The bell of the next verse “should protect us from evil, as the mother would (protect) her children” (26). The Goddess has kept her name Kātyāyanī (24), but for

30. भीति means “fear, danger” भूत = “being”. Confusion reigns supreme here : First Ag. translates भीति as “created thing” and SJ. translates भूत as “fear”, *i. e.*, both are wrong in their translations. Then, in the following verse where in both Sanskrit texts भीति appears, they both use “fear” correctly.

Bhadrakālī (27; Ag. 26; S.J. 26) Galanos uses the Greek adjectival form *O deimalea* "O fearsome one". Gal. 28 adds to "those who set their hopes on you, become a refuge for others" refuge and salvation (*soteria*) for others, also in 33. There are significant changes and simplification in the Greek version of verse XI. 30 "In regard to the Vedas, to scientific knowledge (*episteme*), to cognition (*gnosis*) of essence, and to every practical aspect of the law, who but you makes the universe steer into trouble (*prospatheia*) as if into absolutely dark chaos".<sup>31</sup> This Greek verse has an accompanying note which paraphrases and elucidates the original translation : "This implies the recitation of the Vedas, as well as the act of acquiring knowledge, scientific knowledge, the cognition of essence, all the practical aspects of law, of sacrifice, fasting and prayer. Nevertheless, the universe (*kosmos*), because of your Māyā (*Hyle*) is made to stray into upheaval, as if into the darkest labyrinth". If this explanatory note was indeed written by Galanos, which cannot be ascertained, his original Sanskrit text must have been at variance with that of Ag. and S.J., since the Galanos translation, even when read with the note, is different, if not incomplete.

In Verse 33, the Greek simplifies calamities "which have sprung from the maturing of portents" (Ag., S.J. 34) to "calamities which have arisen because of the sins". In response to the Goddess' promise of a boon, the gods ask, in the translated Greek version (XI, 36) : "O Queen of all, effect the removal of all evils from the three worlds and, in the same manner, the destruction of all our enemies".<sup>32</sup>

The time predicted by the Goddess, in which the two Asuras, Śumbha and Niśumbha, will be born, the twenty-eighth Yuga, is translated by Galanos (XI. 37) as : "Towards the end of the twenty-eighth *Tetraktys* of the *Aeons*, in the dynasty of Manu, which

31. Cp. S.J. 31 : "Who is there except you in the sciences, in the scriptures, and in the Vedic sayings that light the lamp of discrimination ? (Still) you cause this universe to whirl about again and again within the dense darkness of the depths of attachment."

32. Ag. XI, 37 : "...we ask for the pacification of all the afflictions of the three worlds."



is to be called Vaivasvata".<sup>33</sup> In Verse XI. 44 (Ag. 45; SJ. 48) which is frequently cited as proof and "one very clear example of plant theophany" in the cult of the (pre-Aryan) Indian goddess, Durgā,<sup>34</sup> Galanos translates the name Śākambharī into Greek *Lachanotrophos* = "bearer of vegetables", but the name of the Asura who causes the drought and is slain by the Goddess is not Durgama (Ag. 46; SJ. 49), but in transliteration *Doyrgas*; she will then be known as Goddess (*Thea*) *Doyrga*. She will kill the Rākṣasas (*daimonas*) to ensure the safety of the saints and ascetics (instead of "Munis" : XI. 46) and will then be known as the Terrible Goddess (*Bhīmā-Devī* = *Phrikte Thea*); to kill the evil-doer, the Titan Aruṇa, she will "metamorphose" herself into a swarm of bees (*eis esmon Bombylion*) and be then known as *Bombylia* (आमरी), and the note explains, unnecessarily again : "which is a swarm of bees". In the last verse (XI. 50) Galanos leaves out "then I shall become incarnate again"; "Thus, whenever terrible things are wrought by the Titans (instead of the Dānavas) then I shall effect the destruction of the bitterest enemies".

**Chapter XII.** माहात्म्यमुत्तमम् (Ag. 3; SJ. 4) is translated as *ex-hairetos Megalourgia* (Gal. 3 : "choice achievement, or magnificence") likewise in the following verses, e.g. 6 : where it is called "the dwelling place of good fortune" परं स्वस्त्ययनं महत् (Ag. 6; SJ. 7). Verse 7 (Ag. *ibid.*; SJ. 8) is more specific than the Sanskrit text, which speaks only of "the threefold natural calamities". The Greek text when translated says : "This *Megalourgia* stops all the bad things, which arise from the great plague (*loime*) and the terrible things (which come) from God, from man, and from the body". A note is added which says : "The bad things stemming from the body are the diseases; from man : murder, captivity, robbery; from God : floods, droughts, dearth, firestorms, and sundry things". In

33. *Tetraktys*, a term coined by Pythagoras is the "name for the sum of the first four numbers, i. e. 10 (= 1 + 2 + 3 + 4)"; also "the four terms (6:3:9:10) of the proportion corresponding to the chief musical intervals". (See Liddell & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon II*, 1781.) The reason why Galanos chose this obscure term is unknown, unless obfuscation—in conjunction with the term "aeons"—was the very purpose of his choice of words.

34. M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Meridian Book No. 155 (Cleveland, N. Y. 1963), p. 280.

verse XII. 8 Galanos does not translate आयतने मम (Ag. *ibid.*, S.J. 9) as "in my shrine" but rather "In whose house this is recited continuously, as is proper .... I will always be present there". Also the next verse differs slightly: (Gal. 9) All of this must be chanted and heard, in accordance with the proper rites...." To verse 10, where the Goddess indicates that she will accept sacrifices offered not only by the initiated, but also by non-initiates, there is a note added: "Even when a person does it imperfectly because he does not know (how to do it) I shall accept it" (p. 63). While Ag. XII. 11 and S.J. 12 mention only the great annual worship during the Śarad season, Galanos has it "in the late autumn as well as in spring" (*Katā to phihinoporon kai kata to ear*). A new word appears here (XII, 13, 14, 15, 18; XIII. 1) for माहात्म्य *Megaleiotes* "grandness, splendour, majesty." The propitiatory ceremony शान्तिकर्मन् (Ag. XII. 15; S.J. 16) is translated by *en pasei teletei* "in the entire ceremony".<sup>35</sup> बालग्रहान्निभूतानां—of children "seized by child-grabbing evil spirits" is translated into Greek "of children possessed by Harpies and Vampires" (*harpyiokatochon kai lamiokatochon brephon*).<sup>36</sup> A note added to this sentence, says that, according to mythology, certain female demons, who were Putanā, Dākinī, and Śākinī seize

35. In modern Greek, the word *he telete* means "ceremony, festival". In ancient Greek it usually refers to the Dionysian mysteries, *i. e.* the initiation rite. (Liddle & Scott, *Greek-English Lex.* II, 1770 f.)

36. *Harpyiai* were originally the goddesses of the devastating storms, symbolizing the sudden and total disappearance of men. Later they were represented as half-birds, half-maidens, and as spirits of mischief. The so-called Harpy-Monument dated about 500 B. C., now in the British Museum, shows Harpies carrying off the daughters of Pandareus (Homer, *Od.* XX. 78 ff).

*Lamiai* are legendary vampires represented as having the head and breast of a woman and the body of a snake. They were fond of young persons' blood, and used disguises to attract their victims. When they had sated their appetites, their form was hideous; their faces glowed like fire; their bodies were smeared with blood; and their feet appeared of iron or of lead. They were thought to be roaming through Africa and Thessaly where they way-laid unwary travellers. The *Lamiai* figured prominently in the nursery-legends of antiquity and were objects of terror to the young. Aristophanes (444-388 B. C.) mentions the *Lamiai* in his satire *The Wasps* (line 1177) a play dealing with the Athenian passion for lawsuits.



children from their births up to the age of five, and drink their blood" (p 65).

Gal. XII. 18 reads in translation :

This very grandeur of mine, when invoked becomes the force which removes all evils, which turns away the evil spirits, as well as [such things] which are responsible for the intercession [demanded of me].

While Ag. XII. 19 and SJ. 20f translate the Sanskrit passage as "This entire Māhātmya (or glorification) of mine draws a person very near to me...." Galanos' translation stresses a different aspect: XII. 19f "Just as much joy and pleasure as I derive when the whole work is chanted for me in the proper manner, I also derive from sacrifices offered to me, from flowers, from waters (*hydasi* for अर्घ्यं), from gay spectacles, all kinds of luxuries and sweet wines, offered every day in the course of a whole year". A note explains "gay spectacles" as being "choruses and musical instruments". "Luxuries (*tryphemata*) are magnificent banquets (*lamprai klinai*) as well as beautiful garments (*ta aglaa amphia*) and sweet wines (*glykasmata*)" i.e., all ingredients of and for the orgiastic Dionysiac festival. The "choros" is its chief element; Galanos' choice of rather rare words like *klinai* for banquet, *amphia* for garments is no mere coincidence.

When the Ṛṣi (Hosios) relates how भगवती चण्डिका चण्डविक्रमा disappears before the very eyes of the gods, Galanos (XII. 29) calls her *he obrimoergos ekeine Thea* "that Goddess doing strong deeds, but the word *obrimoergos* does it always in a bad sense, doing deeds of violence or wrong, especially against the gods".<sup>37</sup> Perhaps this somewhat pejorative characterization of the Goddess' deeds was not intentional.

The remaining daityas went away to Pātāla (Ag. XIII 31; SJ. 35), but Galanos marches those "Titans" to the Tartarus, as

37. Liddell & Scott, II, 1196 : *Iliad* V, 403 is cited where a variant reading exists for the word *obrimoergos*, Aristarchus' *aisyloergos* which means "doing unseemly, evil, godless things". *Op. cit.* I, 43; II, V, 403 reads in translation: "Rash man, perpetrator of violence, who does not account for his evil deeds, yet he knows well that his arrows he has angered the Gods who hold Olympus". (Said of Diomedes, Tydeus' son.)

Zeus threatened to do with the Greek gods<sup>38</sup>. In keeping with the stylistic preference for active-voice constructions, Galanos translates verse 33 (Ag. 33; SJ. 37 : “By her, this universe is deluded” मोह्यते) : “Because of this Goddess all (people) in the universe lose their wits (*paranousin*). Yet she herself creates all this (universe) when entreated and pleased (*aitetheisa te kai hestheisa*) she gives divine knowledge, and prosperity”. The special term ब्रह्माण्ड *i. e.* Brahmā’s egg, is not explained, but given the feminine gender for unknown reasons : *he Brachmanda* which is “full of this Goddess Kālī who also becomes the All-destroyer at the end of the world (*en tei synteleiai toy aionos*, XII. 34). In verse 36, Galanos retains the antithesis Lakṣmī and Alakṣmī; a footnote explains : *eydaimonia* for the first, and *kakodaimonia* (misfortune) for the second name. In the last verse, Galanos translates as “a virtuous inclination to do good works” (*klisin agathen* for : मतिं धर्मं गतिं शुभाम् ).

**Chapter XIII.** “The Māyā of Viṣṇu” is again translated as *he hylike dynamis* “the material force”, an expression used elsewhere and परमेश्वरी as “grand queen” (*megale despoina*), who gives man luxuries (*tryphas*), heaven and immortality (*aīhanasia* for what Ag. calls Mokṣa). [Gal. XIII. 1-3; Ag. *ibid.*; SJ. 1-5) The Ṛṣi, described as वसिष्ठऋषिः (Ag. 4; SJ. 6) is called “the all-blessed and the most self-disciplined saint” (*paneydaimon and egkratestatos*).<sup>39</sup> King and merchant then perform “austerities (*askesis* for तपस्), to have a view of the Goddess and they recite privately (*mystikos*) the hymns in the Veda directed to the Goddess (Gal. 7). The *Devīsūkta* (Ag. 6; SJ. 9) is not mentioned by its title. Their offerings, in Galanos’ version, consist of flowers, incense and fire; water is not included. The world-supporting Caṇḍikā, referred to as the “cosmos-nourishing (*kosmothrepteira*) Goddess”, appears to them, not in a visible (प्रत्यक्ष) form, (Ag. 9; SJ. 12), but bodily (*somatikos*, Gal. 10).

38. In book VIII of the *Iliad*, Zeus warns that “I shall take and hurl [any disobedient god] into murky Tartarus, far, far away, where there is the deepest abyss beneath the earth; the gates are made of iron and the threshold of bronze; it is as far beneath Hades as heaven is above earth. Then you will realize, whether and in what way I am the mightiest of all gods. (*Il. VIII, 13-16*).

39. *Paneydaimon* is a Byzantine honorary title, also used for the city of Constantinople as the centre of the Eastern Church.



The merchant, probably in anticipation of his profound wish, is called कुलनन्दन (Ag. 10; SJ. 14), but Galanos omits "the delight of your family", and calls him Vaiśya (*Baisse*, 11). The King asked for an unchangeable (*ametaptotos*) kingdom. The wise merchant, who "had contempt (*katagnous*) for all the things in the world, asks for knowledge of essence (*gnosin ton onton*),<sup>40</sup> which puts away the clinging of the soul to the body and its passions and self-conceit (*prospatheia* and *oiesis*).

In XIII. 15 and 18, Galanos provides the Greek equivalent of God Vivasvat and Sūrya : *Helios*, and the merchant is promised (not as in SJ. 15 : "Supreme knowledge shall be yours, for your self-realization.") "that *gnosis* will be yours for the enjoyment of immortality (*athanasia*)".

#### Conclusion :

As in the case of his other translations, published and unpublished, Galanos did not make an express attempt at explaining or interpreting the *Devīmāhātmyam*. He simplified the text a little : he ignored the various appellatives of Hindu deities which point to events in their past or to particular qualities—something that might have confused his uninitiated Greek readers even further—and called them by their principal names. *E. g.* Śiva instead of "wielder of the Pinaka", the Goddess' various Sanskrit names are represented in the Greek as "Mother", "Goddess and Queen" (*Thea kai Kyria*); for Caṇḍikā he writes "Terrifying Queen" (II. 24 : *phobera Kyria*); instead of "Lord of the Thousand Eyes", Galanos simply writes "Indra" (II, 21) and for the terms munis, siddhas, ṛṣis, maharṣis he has only "holy Brahmins", the Asuras are called "Giants" or "Titans," Varuṇa and Agni "the God of the atmosphere" (*Aer*) and "The God of Fire" (*Pyr*).

When compared with the English versions of the *Devīmāhātmyam* by Agrawala and Svāmī Jagadīśvarānanda, the Greek trans-

40. Implying higher, esoteric knowledge as in I Ep. Corinth. 8, 7; 10 : "However, there is that knowledge not in every man...." *gnosis* is a multifaceted word in Orthodox theology. SJ. XIII. 18 : "Then the wise merchant also, whose mind was full of dispassion for the world, chose that knowledge which removes the attachment (in the form of) 'mine' and 'I.'" The term *prospatheia* is also used for "mamatva" (I. 11) and "moha" (I. 39).

lation by Galanos shows a few divergences, but on the whole the content is the same, as can be expected. What is so radically different is the stylistic finesse which the Greek text manifests, composed by an accomplished master of his native tongue.

There may not be many biographical data on which to base a valid characterization of this Greek exile in Vārāṇasī<sup>41</sup>, but a close scrutiny of the Greek text at hand reveals a man of extra-ordinary erudition, reflection and sensitivity. These qualities, of which Ty-paldos, the editor, was very much aware, seem to have prompted him to write the long-winded introduction, about thirty-five pages which, unfortunately, has little to do with Galano's *Devīmāhātmyam* translation.

The Greek used by him is essentially the traditional idiom in which the (Greek) Fathers of the Church wrote their voluminous treatises, and in which Galanos had received his theological training, i. e. "Patristic Greek". But this translation reveals also his background in the knowledge of antiquity and mastery of the early (Epic) and classical idioms (prose and poetry). There are many rare grammatical forms and words—mostly from Homer's epics—and it is in the Galanos' judicious and balanced choice of words that the attentive reader can sense some of the author's reflections and intentions.

There are learned allusions to the Judeo-Christian traditions which were already mentioned in our analysis of individual passages in the text: Logos, Sophia; *soteria* "salvation", *lytrosis* "redemption", *athanasia* "immortality" for *mukti*, *eysplagchnia* "goodness of heart", *Pantokrator* "Omnipotent", *Kyria* and *Despoina* for the Lady and Goddess, *apostolos* "messenger" versus *presbys* "envoy", *anti-theos* "anti-god", *askesis* "austerities" *hesychos* "peacefully", *mystikos* "mystically, in secret", *gnosis ton onton* "knowledge of essence". But there is no indication whatever that Galanos thought of the Goddess Kālī in terms of the mother of Jesus, Mary, who is often

41. On the tombstone of a friend who had lived in Galanos' house and was buried near Galanos' grave-site he had the following inscribed:

Sacred to the memory of Peter Federoff, a Native of Russia who died in the Prime of his Life on the 4th Jany. 1825 HO XENOS D. GALANOS HO ATHENAIOS TO XENO PETRO TO ROSSO. (Xenos meaning foreigner, in the sense of exile.)



depicted as a dark-complexioned, almost black-faced woman in traditional Byzantine art. After all, Mary, though also mystifying, does not have any of the terrifying aspects of the Goddess which are necessary to eradicate the evils in the world. In Christian theology, Mary is not the mover; she is considered only Mediatrix and Corredemptrix.

But a close examination of the Greek vocabulary also reveals the metaphysical aspects which Galanos perceived in this hymn in praise of the Great Goddess. His Greek translations for Mahāmāyā are *Megale Hyle*, for māyā *hyle*<sup>42</sup>, for śakti *dynamis* and for rūpa *eidōs*; all these words are technical terms for the basic principles Aristotle employs when he analyzes the nature and purpose, as well as realization of the world. For the genesis of any creature "matter" (*hyle*), "actuality" (*energeia*), and "form" (*eidōs*) are necessary. "Matter" merely possesses the "potential" (*dynamis*), but the "form" alone is the decisive instrument, the formative principle which leads to the realization (*entelecheia*) of the "potential" which inherently possesses this possibility: the realization of felicity (*eudaimonia*) or infelicity (*kakodaimonia*).

In Gal. IX. 22 (cp. note 27) we noted how the Goddess "shouted forcefully" (*anekraxē* like a determined warrior) while the gods, defeated, bewildered, "screamed" (*ekraygasan*, like the

42. The word *hyle* originally means: forest, woodland; also brushwood, undergrowth, firewood, timber; the stuff of which a thing is made, (probably wooden) material. Aristotle was the first to use *hyle* as a philosophical term, defined as "that which is fit to underlie origin and decay" (*to hypokeimenon geneseos kai phthoras dektikon*; Aristotle *De Generatione et Corruptione*, 320 a 2) or "that from which (something) originates": *to ex hoy gignetai* (*id. Metaphysica*, 1032 a 17). It is a passive entity or substance with inherent qualities or potentials which must be awakened and guided by an outside agency of actuality (*energeia*) and form (*eidōs*). Depending on the (good or bad) quality of the outside agency, *hyle* is thus the source of chance and defect since it is subject to unpredictable outside interference with its proper intrinsic finality. In a felicitous case, the passive matter, awakened and moved by the purest form, the divine spirit (*nous*) gradually loses its original nature and finally takes on the ideal form of its erstwhile agency. See Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Greek and Engl., Loeb's Classical Library (Cambr., Mass.; London 1947) (Book XII, pp. 123-175; also Aristotle, *De la Generation et de la Corruption*, *texte établi et traduit*. par Charles Mugler (Paris, 1966).

Jewish rabble demanding Christ's death). And quite often it is not clear whether the Goddess' derisive laughter (*kagchasma*) and haughty sneers are directed only toward the doomed Asuras, and not also toward the gods who are depicted in this hymn as a pitiful lot (V. 3). The Asuras will not even allow them to enjoy the customary sacrificial offerings. Dejected and helpless they pray to *Megale Hyle*<sup>43</sup>, the great creator and conqueror of *Māyā*—at times referred to as *paranoia*—and place at Her disposal their potentials (*śakti=dynamis*), their characteristic weapons, ornaments and qualities, all of which they inherently possess, but cannot use. The gods now constitute an amorphous dark mass or matter (*hyle*) praying and waiting to be rescued from this all-pervasive chaos “by the material and creative force of Viṣṇu” (V. 5). Their concentration, given expression to by the appearance of a blazing light filling the entire space with brightness (II. 11) produces at first the abstract form, then the invincible concrete form of the Goddess. She personifies “the great force behind the gods” (*megale dynamis ton theon*), *energeia* and *eidos*, the active formative principles, the manifestations of which are enumerated in Gal. V. 13-34<sup>44</sup> : She is the eternal immovable mover *Hyle* and *energeia* (actuality) at the same time, the force of the Cosmos (*physis toy Pantos*), the great reason (*megale synesis*); She is the constructive force (*systatike dynamis*) which first awakens, then

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- 43 Ironically, Aristotle's favorite examples for his formula (that form is the essential element in the realization of the potential capacity of matter) are man and woman. The male is the active, formative principle, while the female is the passive matter. This concept originates in observation of the biological functions, where the female ovum waits to be activated by the male sperm. The embryo is the form of the ovum, but it is also the matter from which the child form emerges; the child is the matter from which man emerges as the ultimate form. Similarly, the Goddess “incomprehensible even to Viṣṇu and Śiva” IV. 6), is matter (*hyle*), actuality (*energeia*), and form (*eidos*) at the same time.
44. The Goddess is present in all animate beings or people in the following categories : in the form (*en eidei*) of intellect, sleep, hunger, body, force, thirst, tolerance, in matters (*en onomati*) pertaining to the species, in the form of modesty, gaiety, faith, loveliness, good fortune, memory, compassion, contentment, in matters of motherhood, in the form of forgetfulness or error (*lethes*).



moulds and shapes amorphous material of which she is part to a specific figure and purpose, thus restoring order in the Cosmos, and thereby re-instating the defeated gods to their former positions—under the Goddess' guidance; they become, according to the Aristotelian scheme, an integrated and now purposeful part of Her. This scheme underlies the aim and purpose of the Sanskrit hymn as well, as can be ascertained from the advice given to the king and the merchant: "If you are in trouble, turn your prayers and devotion to Me!" And also Aristotle's theory of cyclic change (*Metaphysics*, ch. XII, VI) fits perfectly with the Goddess' prediction that there will be other upheavals (Ag., XI, 38-51). At the end of the struggle—once briefly in Gal., Ag. III. 41, and X. 25-27; XI. 1—when peace and the Goddess prevail, there are reminiscences of Aristotle's siderial "harmony" (*De Mundo*, VI 399, a, 12 f.): "They all together, singing in symphony and moving round the heaven in their measured dance, unite in one harmony whose cause is one (God) and whose end is one (cosmos): it is this harmony which entitles the All to be called "order and not disorder".

The present writer is of course not prepared to avow that the *Devīmāhātmyam* is the work of an ingenious thinker, poet and mythographer solely inspired by Aristotle's theorems and ideas; That is the impression which a close reading of Galanos' Greek translation, however implicitly, conveys. But there are other considerations (textual criticism, evaluation and analysis of our text by means of principles found in the various darśanas of Indian philosophy, problematic historical constellations, etc.) with which this very limited article cannot deal.

As was noted in the detailed analysis of the thirteen chapters, there are many words and grammatical forms taken from the Greek Epic and Classical works, a fact which is evidence of Galanos' knowledge of Greek mythology, and which prompted Typaldos to write his multifaceted introduction. But apart from the use of words like *Gigantes* and *Titanes* (for the Asuras) Galanos' *Doyrga* does not contain any direct reference either to the "Battle of the Giants" (*gigantomachia*) which is often confused with the "Battle of the Titans" (*titanomachia*)<sup>45</sup>, or to the Minoan culture and civilization (mainly on the island of Crete) where in ancient times, religion

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45. The Giants had sprung from the drops of blood of the mutilated (castrated) Uranos (i. e. Heaven). Gaia (i. e. Earth) was the mother of these human monsters who had

centered upon a goddess, or group of goddesses, whose attribute was a double axe (*labrys*), with male deities in a subordinate role.

Since Galanos did not indulge in any speculation on the origin and ultimate meaning of the *Devīmāhātmyam*, the present writer who has endeavoured to offer a philological analysis of Galanos' *Doirga* translation will also abstain from any such attempt. But he may be permitted to mention the names of two men whose comments and translations he found very interesting and enlightening :

(1) Cavali Vankata Ramasswami, who published one of the earliest English translations of the *Devīmāhātmyam* under the title: *The Supta-sati or Chundi-pat, being a portion of the Marcundeya Purana*. Transl. from the Sanskrit into English with explanatory notes. Calcutta, 1823. (Re-edited, Bombay, 1868) This book may have been in the possession of Galanos when he translated the Sanskrit hymn into Greek.

(2) Heinrich Zimmer, *The King and the Corpse, Tales of the Soul's Conquest of Evil* (Bollingen Series XI; New York 1948) pp. 239-306 with translations from the Kālikā Purāṇa : "Four Episodes from the Romance of the Goddess".

id. : *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (Bollingen Series VI; New York, 1946) pp. 189-221 : "The Goddess".

id. : *Maya, der indische Mythos* (Zurich, 1952) with an abridged German prose translation of the *Devīmāhātmyam*, pp. 409-421.

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legs like serpents and feet formed of reptiles' heads. They attacked the gods assembled on Mount Olympus. A prophecy had predicted that only a human could rescue the gods. Heracles or (Latin) Hercules was their saviour. When he was unable to slay one of the giants' leader, the goddess Athene revealed to Hercules that the giant was invulnerable as long as he stood on the soil which had given him birth. (Cp. Ag. I. 76 where the Asuras tell Viṣṇu : "...you may slay us in a place where the earth is not covered by the flood".) At the end, gods are victorious.

According to the ancient mythographers. Hesiod and Apollodorus (both mentioned in Typaldos' introduction to *Doirga*) the Titans were of the same origin as the Giants and fought against the Olympian deities. When Titans were overcome, they were hurled down into an abyss below Tartarus where the *Hekatoncheires* ("Hundred-handed") guarded them.

Also divine and semi-divine beings like Prometheus, the Sun and the Moon (*Helios, Selene* : Gal., Ag. I and 2; II. 5) all descendants of the Titans, are called *Titanes*.



## THE WORDS त्र्यम्बक AND अम्बिका—THEIR DERIVATION AND INTERPRETATION

By

R. C. HAZRA

[ऋक्संहिताया अर्वाक्कालिकेषु वैदिकग्रन्थेषु 'त्र्यम्बक-अम्बिका'-शब्दौ रुद्र-रुद्रभगिन्योर्वाचकरूपेण विशेषणरूपेण वा प्रयुक्तौ दृश्येते; पुराणादिष्वपीमौ अनयोरर्थयोरुपलभ्येते । शब्दयोरनयोरर्थे व्युत्पत्तौ च व्याख्यातुं णामैकमत्यं नास्ति । निबन्धेऽस्मिन् लेखकेन शब्दयोरनयोरर्थव्युत्पत्तौ अधिकृत्य बहुभि-रुदाहरणैर्विचारणा कृता, प्राचीनव्याख्यातृमतेषु दोषाश्च उद्भाविताः । विषयेऽस्मिन् कीथ्-ग्रीफिथ्-आदि-पाश्चात्यविदुषां मतानि उद्धृतानि समीक्षितानि च । विचारप्रसंगे लेखकेन मैत्रायणीसंहितागतवाक्यविशेषस्य (१/१०/२०) शतपथब्राह्मणगतवाक्यविशेषस्य (२/६/२/९) च सदोषता स्फुटं प्रादर्शितः; अम्बिकया सह रुद्रस्य यः संबन्धो वेदेऽभिहितः, तद्विषये पुष्कला चर्चाऽपि कृता ।

त्र्यम्बकशब्दार्थनिर्णयप्रसंगे लेखकेन अम्ब-अम्बि-अम्बक-अम्बिकेत्यादीनां शब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिमधिकृत्य बहु विचारितम् । लेखकमते अम्बशब्द-स्यार्थः—गर्जकः, नादकृद्, घोषकारीति; तथैव अम्बकस्यार्थः—यः स्वभावतः शब्दं नादं गर्जनं वा करोति, कारयति वा । एवं यो दीर्घरावं गर्जनं वा करोति सोऽम्बीत्युच्यते ।

त्र्यम्बकशब्दान्तर्गत-'त्रि'-शब्देन त्रयो लोकाः (पृथिवी, अन्तरिक्षं द्यौश्च) गृह्यन्ते । अतस् त्र्यम्बकशब्दस्य द्वावर्थौ निष्पन्नौ—(१) यः त्रिषु लोकेषु नदति, गर्जति, रौति वा; (२) यः लोकान् नादयति, गर्जयति, रावयति वा ।

इमावर्थौ ऋक्संहितादिसम्मतौ—इति लेखकेन प्रदर्शितम् । पितृवाची 'अम्बक'शब्दः स्त्रियामम्बिका भवतीति मतं लेखकेन प्रत्याख्यातम्; नादकारि-वाचिनः 'अम्बक'शब्दस्य स्त्रीलिङ्गे 'अम्बिका'ति रूपं भवतीति प्रोक्तम् । शरद्-ऋतुः खलु रुद्रस्य स्वसा, याम्बिकेत्युच्यते—इति निबन्धान्ते व्यक्तं प्रतिपादितम् ।]

These two extremely puzzling words are often found used as names or epithets respectively of Rudra (or Rudra-Siva) and his 'sister' or 'wife', mostly in the post-*Rg Veda* Vedic works as well as in the extant Epics, Purāṇas etc; and, as will be evident from the following pages, there is great difference of opinion among ancient

authorities as regards the formation and meanings of these words, particularly the former one. But, as these derivations and interpretations are not beyond serious objections, we have found it necessary to examine their formations critically and, thus, to see whether we can find out their original and correct meanings.

(a) त्र्यम्बक

This is a hitherto obscure word occurring only once in the Ṛg-Veda, in the following verse (7.59.12) :

त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पुष्टिवर्धनम् ।  
उर्वरुकर्मिव बन्धनान्मृत्योर्मुक्षीय मामृतात् ॥

which, as its contents, its irrelevant position in the said Ṛg-Vedic hymn, and the lack of its Pada-pāṭha show, is undoubtedly spurious, but which has been given most relevantly, for citation in the Tryambaka-homa for attainment of Rudra's grace, in all the extant Saṃhitās of the *Yajurveda*, viz. in *Vs* 3.60, *TS* 1.8.6.2, *MS* 1.10.4 (25, p. 84), *KS* 9.7 (32, p. 76), and *KKS* 8. 10 (p. 87), the last-mentioned two works reading 'रयिपोषणम्' for 'पुष्टिवर्धनम्', in the second pāda. This verse occurs also in *ŚBr* 2.6.2.12 without any variation in reading.

It is hardly necessary to say that 'त्र्यम्बक' is a compound word having 'त्रि' (meaning 'three') as its first member; but insurmountable difficulties arise with regard to its second member, which, from a consideration of the form of the compound, may be taken to be 'अम्बा', 'अम्ब', 'अम्बक' 'अम्बका'. Unfortunately no scholar, early or late, has yet been found to have come forward to tell definitely what this second member actually is and means and why or to suggest its derivation. It is a fact that from the Ṛg-Vedic times or even earlier the word 'अम्बा' which, as the words 'amme' (meaning 'nurse') in German, 'amma' in old German, and a few similar other show, must have had an Indo-European origin<sup>1</sup>, came to be

1. The words 'अम्बा', 'अम्ब', 'अम्बे', 'अम्म', 'अम्मे' etc., used for 'mother' in the South Indian languages of non-Aryan (or Dravidian) origin, need not be taken to be the source of the Vedic word 'अम्बा', which, as well as 'अप्पा' (meaning 'father'), must have had natural origin, being the earliest words which a child can pronounce instinctively, for the first time after birth, to call its nearest relations on earth, viz., its mother and father.



used to mean 'mother', and this use was sanctioned universally by all the Sanskrit lexicographers including Amara-siṃha. But neither the *Rg-Veda* and the other Vedic works nor the early Sanskrit lexicons (such as the *Amara-Kośa*, *Śāsvata-Kośa* etc.) know the word 'अम्ब', 'अम्बक', and 'अम्बिका'. Still, evidently in view of the feminine word 'अम्बा'<sup>2</sup>, of the enigmatic compound 'त्र्यम्बक' applied to Rudra in the *Yajur-Veda*, and of the fact that Epic<sup>3</sup> and Purāṇic Śiva, who is taken to be identical with Vedic Rudra, is said to have three eyes, some Indian authorities (including a few lexicographers<sup>4</sup>) take 'अम्ब' (the masculine form of 'अम्बा') to mean 'father' and 'अम्बक' to mean 'father' or 'eye'; and, consequently, the word 'त्र्यम्बक' is taken by some to mean 'the father of the three (gods or words)' or 'one having three eyes'. Thus, in his English translation (II, p. 123, No. 403). of Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita's *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* S. C. Vasu renders 'त्र्यम्बक' as 'the father of three worlds'; in commenting on *RV* 7.59.12 Sāyaṇa takes this word to mean '(Mahādeva) the father of the three (gods) Brahman, Viṣṇu and Rudra,<sup>5</sup> and in his commentary on *TS* 1.8.6.2 he explains it as 'one who has three eyes,<sup>6</sup> in commenting on *VS* 3.58 and 3.60 Mahīdhara explains this word in a similar way to mean one having three eyes<sup>7</sup>; according to Nilakaṇṭha this word occurring in *Mbh* 12.284.12 and 89<sup>8</sup>

2. As this word ends in 'आ' and means 'mother', it is taken to be based on a *supposed* masculine word 'अम्ब', which is consequently, taken, without any authority or reason, to mean 'father'.
3. See, for instance, *Mbh.* (Vaṅga. ed) 7.201.11 and 49 (= Poona cr. ed. 7.173. 11 and 38-39), and 13.17.128 ab (Poona cr. ed. 13.17.124 cd. reading वृषभः for 'त्रिलोचनः'); Vāyu-p. (Ānss ed.) 29.124, and 25.2; and so on.
4. Such as Hemacandra, who, in his *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, gives, 'नेत्र' as the synonym for 'अम्बक' (neuter).
5. 'त्रयाणां ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्राणाम् अम्बकं पितरम्—Sāyaṇa.
6. 'त्रोणि अम्बकानि नेत्राणि यस्य असौ त्र्यम्बकस्तम्—Sāyaṇa.
7. See Mahīdhara's Com.—'त्रोणि अम्बकानि नेत्राणि यस्य तादृशम्' and 'नेत्रत्रयोपेतम्'.
8. For these verses see *Mbh* (Poona cr. ed.), Vol. 16—Śānti parvan, Part III, App. I, No. 28, lines 178-9 (at p. 2059) and lines 334-5 (at p. 2069) respectively.

as an epithet of Śiva, respectively means 'one with respect to whom the scriptures, teachers, and (acts of) meditation are the three eyes (i. e. means of knowledge),<sup>9</sup> and 'one whose three eyes are those bearing the names of the (three) Vedas';<sup>10</sup> and the *Devī-p.* says that goddess Ambikā (i. e., Durgā) is called 'त्र्यम्बका', because the Moon, the Sun, and Wind are her three eyes.<sup>11</sup> The *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, says that as Śiva, the lord of the universe, 'betakes himself to (or pervades) the three divine (entities, viz.) Heaven, Waters and Earth', he is called 'त्र्यम्बक'.<sup>12</sup> In explaining how Rudra came to be called 'त्र्यम्बक', the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (Venkaṭ ed.), 1.9.2b-6) says :

बोधोः प्रतिसंधत्ते रुद्रः क्षीणः पुनः पुनः ॥2b  
 प्राप्तौषधिफलैर्देवः सम्यगिष्टं फलार्थिभिः ।  
 त्रिभिरेव कपालैस्तु त्र्यम्बकैरोषधीक्षये ॥3  
 इज्यते मुनिभिर्यस्मात् तस्मात् त्र्यम्बक उच्यते ॥4a  
 त्रिसाधनः पुरोडाशस्त्रिकपालस्ततः स्मृतः ।  
 त्र्यम्बकः स पुरोडाशस्तेनेह त्र्यम्बकः स्मृतः ॥6

But very peculiar is the statement made in this matter by the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*<sup>13</sup>, which in its section on Tryambaka-homa, prescribes the offer, to Rudra, of his due share of the oblations

9. 'त्रीणि शास्त्राचार्यध्यानानि अम्बकानि नेत्राणीव गमकानि बोधकानि यस्य स त्र्यम्बकः'—*Nilakaṇṭha.*)

(But this interpretation cannot be accepted as plausible, because in this verse of the *Mahābhārata* there is the word 'त्रिनेत्राय' immediately after 'त्र्यम्बकाय', thus showing definitely that 'नेत्र' and 'अम्बक' are not synonymous.)

10. 'वेदाख्यानि अम्बकानि चक्षुषि यस्य'—*Nilakaṇṭha.*

11. *Devī-P.* (Vaṅga. ed.) 37. 6—

सोमसूर्यानिलास्त्रीणि यस्य नेत्राणि भार्गव ।

तेन सा त्र्यम्बका देवी मुनिभिः परिकीर्तिता ॥

12. *Mbh* 7. 201. 130 (= Poona cr. ed. 7. 173. 89)—

तिस्रो देवीर्यदा चैव भजते भुवनेश्वरः ।

द्यामपः पृथिवीं चैव त्र्यम्बकश्च ततः स्मृतः ॥

(भजते = पालयति—*Nilakaṇṭha.*)

13. "एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्त्राऽम्बिकया तं जुषस्व, स्वाहा (*VS* 3.57)"—*ŚBr* 2.6.2.9.



with the citation of the Mantra "This is thy share, O Rudra; graciously accept it together with thy sister (who is) *ambikā*, Svāhā!" and then says :

"Ambikā, indeed, by name is his (Rudra's) sister; (and) this share is his together with her (as a sharer); as this share is his together with a woman (स्त्री, as a sharer), therefore (these oblations) are named त्र्यम्बकाः; (and) thus (he) delivers from Rudra's power those offspring who have been born to him".<sup>14</sup>

In this statement we fail to understand why the oblations shared by Rudra originally with his 'sister Ambikā' (a woman-स्त्री) are called 'त्र्यम्बकाः' (and not 'त्र्यम्बिकाः' or 'स्त्र्यम्बिकाः'), what the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* actually means by the word 'अम्बक' or 'अम्बका' (occurring in त्र्यम्बकाः) and how and why the offspring born to the offerer of the said oblations are delivered from Rudra's power. As a matter of fact, this is a highly confused statement based on a complete misunderstanding of the words 'अम्बिका' and 'त्र्यम्बक', so much so that this Brāhmaṇa and no other Vedic work, gives out 'अम्बिका', evidently an epithet, as we shall see below, definitely as the 'name' (नामन्) of Rudra's 'sister' (स्वसु) and makes Keith go so far as to say, without rhyme or reason, that 'Ambikā as the sister of Rudra' 'seems to derived from the epithet Tryambaka'<sup>15</sup> So, there is hardly any doubt that the said statement is the result of a serious confusion with regard to the meaning particularly of the obscure word 'त्र्यम्बक'; and as at least one more palpable instance of a similar confusion has been cited by us elsewhere<sup>16</sup> in connection with the possibility of the Vedic Aryans' contact with the Assyrians or Assyro-Babylonians in a fairly early Vedic period, we cannot overlook it easily.

Following the authorities referred to above and also similar others and in view of the lines. "एष ते हृद् भागः, सह स्वस्त्राऽम्बिकया तं जुषस्व,

14. "अम्बिका ह वै नामास्य स्वसा, तयास्यैष सह भागः, तद् यदस्यैष स्त्रिया सह भागस्तस्मात् त्र्यम्बका नाम, तद् या अस्य प्रजा जातास्ता हृदियात् प्रमुञ्चति" (ŚBr 2.6.2.9).

15. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, p. 144.

16. In our article on the source or origin of R̥g-Vedic Rudra, which is awaiting publication.

शरद्वै रुद्रस्य स्वसाऽम्बिका [Or अम्बिका स्वसा) etc. occurring in the extant Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the *Yajur-Veda*<sup>17</sup> (in some of which the word 'अम्बिका' appears to have been taken, as in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa mentioned above, to be the name of Rudra's sister), modern scholars interpret the compound 'त्र्यम्बक' as one having three mothers, three sisters, three wives, or three eyes. Thus, according to Arbman, Louis Renou and D. R. Bhandarkar this word means Rudra 'who has three mothers';<sup>18</sup> to Macdonell its "meaning appears to be 'one who has three mothers' in allusion to the three-fold division of the universe",<sup>19</sup> Keith takes it to mean one having three wives, sisters or mothers, and says, without explaining its second member, that in it there is possibly 'an allusion to the three divisions of the universe' or 'the epithet refers to the god either as connected with three seasons, or as connected with the three worlds,—heaven, air and earth, as in the case with the Maruts .....';<sup>20</sup> to Griffith it is a name of Rudra as having three wives, sisters or mothers, or three eyes;<sup>21</sup> and so on. But we are constrained to say that none of these interpretations has the least claim to plausibility. Neither the *R̥g-Veda* nor any of the other Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas says anywhere, directly or indirectly, that

17. The line 'एष ते रुद्र भागः' etc. occurs in *VS* 3.57, *TS* 1.8.6.1, *KS* 9.7 (29, p. 76) and 36. 14 (25-27, p. 362), *KKS* 8.10 (p. 87), *MS* 1.10.4 (22-27, p. 84) and 1.10.20 (48-50, p.95), *TBR.* 1.6.10.4, and *SBr* 2.6.2.9.

For the line 'शरद् वै रुद्रस्य स्वसाऽम्बिका' etc. see *KS* 36.14 (25-27, p. 362), *MS* 1.10.20(48-50, p. 95), and *TBr* 1.6.10.4 (v.l.—'शरद् वा अस्याम्बिका स्वसा'). About this line as occurring a little differently (i. e. without mention of 'शरद्') in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (2.6.2.9) we shall say later.

18. E. Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala, 1922) p. 296 ff.; L. Renou. *Vedic India*, p. 63 (§ 125); D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient India Culture*, p. 42.
19. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 74.
20. A. B. Keith, *Taittirīya Samhitā* (English translation), p. 118, note 2; and *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, pp. 143, 149.
21. R. T. H. Griffith, *The Text of the White Yajur-Veda (Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, English translation)* 3.58 (note at p. 28).



Vedic Rudra ever had *three* mothers<sup>22</sup>, sisters, wives or eyes,<sup>23</sup> or was the father of any group of three deities, the Maruts, of whom Rudra is repeatedly called the father in the *Ṛg-Veda*, being many more in number than three. As a matter of fact, the Vedic Saṁhitās are completely silent about the mention either of even a single mother, sister or wife of Rudra or of her name.<sup>24</sup> Of the Brāhmaṇas it is only the *Śatapatha* (6.1.3.7ff) which gives a story of the birth, from the Dawn (उषस्) by the year (संवत्सर) and the seasons (ऋतवः), of a boy (कुमार), who cried for names immediately after his birth and was consequently given by Prajāpati as many as eight names including 'Rudra', which was the first.<sup>25</sup> But even in this Brāhmaṇa there is no mention of Rudra's three mothers.

Stories, similar to that given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, are to be found in many of the present Purāṇas also, but in these works

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22. Taking, like Ludwig, Geldner and others, the word 'त्रिमाता' in *RV* 3.56.5 to mean 'he who has three mothers', Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 74) feels inclined to find in it the *Ṛg-Vedic* response to Rudra's 'three mothers'. But we must not overlook the facts that 'त्रिमाता' having the accent in the first syllable, is a Tatpuruṣa Compound, and not a Bahuvrihi, and means, as Venkatamādhava and Sāyaṇācārya say, "the measurer of the three (worlds), and not 'he who has three mothers', and that neither in the said verse nor in any other of the same Sūkta there is any mention of Rudra or the slightest reference to this god.
23. It is a fact that in *AV* 11.2.3,7 and *VS* 16.7 Rudra is said to be 'thousand-eyed', but this is evidently due to his past *Ṛg-Vedic* identification with Agni.
24. Although, as we have already said, the *Ṛg-Veda* often calls Rudra the father, and sometimes the progenitor, of the Maruts, and the latter the sons of Pṛṣṇi (cf. 'पृश्निमातरः'—*RV* 1.23.10, 38.4, 85.2, etc.), Pṛṣṇi is never said to be Rudra's 'wife.'

Even if Pṛṣṇi be taken to be the wife of Rudra, the latter is nowhere said to have *three* wives.

25. This story must have been based on the facts that Rudra came to be identified with Agni in the post-*Ṛg-Vedic* days, that Agni has been called 'कुमार' in *RV* 5.2.1, and that every day, throughout the year and in all the seasons, fire was kindled by the Vedic Aryans early in the morning for performance of sacrifices.

there is no mention of the Dawn, the Year and the Seasons; on the other hand, a child, called 'Kumāra Nīla-lohita' or simply 'Nīla-lohita', is said to have appeared all on a sudden in (Rudra—) Mahādeva's lap and to have received from Brahman the name 'Rudra' and seven others.<sup>26</sup> Although in the present Epics and Purāṇas, Vedic Rudra, being amalgamated with Śīva (a god of popular origin), has lost much of his Vedic character and gained many additions to his person and activities, these works also are completely silent about his three mothers.

From what has been said above it is evident that the interpretation, hitherto given by scholars, early or late, of the word 'त्र्यम्बक' are all completely unauthorised and have consequently no basis to stand upon. Under these circumstances we shall have to try in our own way to determine its meaning, and, for this, we shall have to look to the *Ṛg-Veda* first of all.

We have already said that 'त्र्यम्बक' is a compound word presumably having 'अम्बा', 'अम्ब', 'अम्बक' or अम्बका as its second member. Although, in the *Ṛg-Veda*, we do not find 'अम्बक' or 'अम्बका' the word 'अम्ब' (evidently the vocative singular of 'अम्बा') is there. Besides this, the *Ṛg-Veda* has two other words (presumably derived from the same root or base), viz., 'अम्बि' (and its derivatives 'अम्बितमा' and 'अम्बी') and 'अम्बर'. In the Saṁhitās of the *Yajur-Veda* there is a third one, viz., 'अम्बिका'.

Of the words occurring in the *Ṛg-Veda* we find 'अम्बि' used in the form 'अम्बितमे' (feminine vocative-singular of superlative of 'अम्बि' in *ṚV* 2.41.16 running as follows :

अम्बित॑मे॒ नदी॑तमे॒ देवि॑तमे॒ सर॑स्वति ।

अ॒प्र॒श॒स्ता इ॑व॒ स्मसि॑ प्रश॒स्ति॒तम्ब॒ नस्कृ॑धि ॥

and it occurs in the form 'अम्बयः' (nominative plural) in *ṚV* 1.23.19 which runs thus :

26. *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 10.3 ff. and i.5. 72 ff.; *Vāyu-p.* 27. 3ff. and 1.0.73ff.; *Viṣṇu-p.* (Vāṅga. ed.) i.7.8ff and i.8. ff.; *Padma-p.* (Ānss ed., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) 3.162-168ab and 188ff; *Kārma-p.* (All-India Kashiraj Trust ed.) i.7.24ff and i. 10. 18cd ff.; *Liṅga-p.* (Calcutta ed.) 1.6.11ff; and so on.



अम्बयो यन्त्यध्वभिर्जामयो अध्वरीयताम् ।  
पृञ्चतीर्मधुना पयः ॥

In explaining the former verse (RV 2.41.16) Sāyaṇa takes 'अम्बितमे' to mean 'मातृणां श्रेष्ठे' ('best of mothers') and thus, 'अम्बि' to be synonymous with 'मातृ' ('mother') but in his commentary on the latter verse (RV 1.23.16) he explains 'अम्बयः' not simply as 'मातरः' ('mothers'), but as 'मातृस्थानीया आपः' ('waters deserving the place of mothers') and quotes *Kauṣṭhiki-Brahmaṇa* 12.2, which says that in the verse 'अम्बयो यन्त्यध्वभिः' (RV 1.23.16) it is 'आपः' ('waters') which have been called 'अम्बयः' ('mothers') by way of praise.<sup>27</sup> Again, at the very outset of his commentary on this Rg-Vedic verse (अम्बयो यन्त्यध्वभिः, etc.) as occurring in *Atharva-Veda* 1.4.1 Sāyaṇa says that, "like the word 'अम्बा', the word 'अम्बि' also is well-known in the Veda as denoting 'mother,'; and then, after referring to RV 2. 41.16 (अम्बितमे नदीतमे, etc.) and *KBr.* 12.2. (mentioned above) as his authorities, he interprets 'अम्बयः' not simply as 'मातरः' but as 'मातृभूता आपः' (i. e., waters that attained the position of mothers). Thus, following the *Kauṣṭhiki-Brahmaṇa* Sāyaṇa takes this word to have been used in the sense of 'mothers' for praise of 'waters' (आपः) which are relevant in the said Rg-Vedic verse as well as in a few others of the same Sūkta. We are now to see how far this interpretation can be used relevantly in explaining RV. 1.23.16 (अम्बयो यन्त्यध्वभिः, etc.) quoted above.

From Sāyaṇa's commentaries on this verse as occurring in the Rg-Veda (1.23.16) and the *Atharva-Veda* (1.4.1) we understand that he construes it as follows :

"अम्बयः अध्वरीयतां जामयः, मधुना पयः पृञ्चतीः, अध्वभिः यन्ति ।"

As we have already seen, Sāyaṇa takes 'अम्बयः' to mean 'मातृस्थानीयाः (or, मातृभूताः) आपः' ('waters which are mother-like') by 'जामयः' he means 'हितकारिण्यो बन्धवः' ('beneficial or serviceable female relations') or 'अगिन्यः' ('sisters') because, as he says, 'in the (sacrificial) act under performance (waters) are helpful like

27. तथा च कौषीतकिब्राह्मणे समाप्तायते—'अम्बयो यन्त्यध्वभिरित्यापो वा अम्बयः' इति ।—Sāyaṇa's com. on RV 1.23.16.

sisters',<sup>28</sup> and he interprets the expression 'पृञ्चतीर्मधुना पयः', rather queerly, in his com. on *RV.* 1.23.16 as '.....माधुर्यरसेन युक्तं पयः.... गवादिषु योजयन्त्यः' ('associating in cows etc....milk furnished with the taste of sweetness') and, a bit differently, in his com. on *AV.* 1.4.1 as स्वकीयेन माधुर्यरसेन पयः सोमरसादिकं होमद्रव्यं पयोविकारभूतम् आज्यं वा संयोजयन्त्यः ('furnishing with their own sweet taste the objects of sacrifice such as Soma-juice etc. or ghee which is milk in a changed form'). So, following Sāyaṇa's construction and explanation of the said verse we may translate it thus :

"The mother-like (waters), the sisters (or, beneficial female relations) of the (priests or sacrificers) desiring (performance of their Soma<sup>29</sup>) sacrifice, go by (their) paths, putting (in cows etc.) milk furnished with sweet taste [or, associating *payas* with (their) taste of sweetness]".

In interpreting the said verse (*RV.* 1.23.16) Mudgala follows Sāyaṇa very faithfully; but Skanda-svāmin's interpretation of it, though being generally the same as that of Sāyaṇa, has the peculiarity in that it takes 'मधु' to be water brought from a stream and kept overnight in a special vessel called एकघन (meant for keeping water for sacrificial and other religious purposes)<sup>30</sup> and 'पयः' to be the same as Soma-juice.<sup>31</sup> According to Veṅkaṭamādhava the expression 'पृञ्चतीर्मधुना पयः' means 'मधुरेण रसेन प्रत्यक्षमुदकं संपृञ्चन्त्यः' ('thoroughly associating the visible water with sweet taste').

Following more or less the interpretations of the scholiasts mentioned above Griffith translates this verse, as occurring in the *Rg-Veda*, thus :

"Along their paths the Mothers go, Sisters of priestly ministrants, mingling their sweetness with the milk".

28. जामयो भगिन्यः । क्रियमाणे व्यापारे भगिनीवत् सहायभूता इत्यर्थः ।  
Sāyaṇa's com. on *AV.* 1.4.1.
29. That 'अष्टवर' is 'सोमभाग' is said by Sāyaṇa in his com. on *AV.* 1.4.1
- 30-31 पृञ्चतीः संपर्चयन्त्यः स्वावयवभूतेन मधुना ।  
इत्युदकनाम 'मधु' (*Nighanṭu* 1.12) । वसतीवर्येकघनाख्येन पयः  
सोमलक्षणमुदकम् ।  
—Skanda—Svāmin's Com.



It has already been said that this verse also occurs in 1.4.1, and Whitney and Griffith translate it as follows :

“The mothers go on their ways, sisters of them that make sacrifice, mixing milk with honey” (Whitney).

“Along their paths the Mothers go, Sisters of priestly ministrants, *blending their water with the mead.*” (Griffith).

As Ludwig, Grassmann, Geldner and others' renderings of this verse are not very materially different from those of Whitney and Griffith, we need not mention them here.

But it is hardly necessary to say that these interpretations and translations are not at all satisfactory or convincing. If 'अम्ब' mean simply 'mother', as these scholars say, then the 'waters' being called 'अम्बयः' and thus being conceived as 'the mothers' of the priests or sacrificers desiring performance of their (Soma) sacrifice, are again called their 'जामयः' (sisters or other female relations). This conception of double relation of the same object (viz. waters) with the same persons (viz., the priests or sacrificers) for the same functions of the former (i. e., waters) is extremely awkward and also absolutely unnecessary, because the mothers generally and naturally render much greater service to their sons than the sisters to their brothers, thus leaving no scope for the latter. According to Sāyaṇa, 'waters', like sisters, are helpful in a (sacrificial) act under performance'; but can the sisters 'put in cows etc. milk furnished with sweet taste' (as Sāyaṇa and Mudgala say), or have they got (or do they carry) any sweet taste of their own (cf. 'स्वकीयेन माधुर्यरसेन'), with which they can sweeten the objects of sacrifices such as Soma-juice or ghee (as Sāyaṇa says) or does the special kind of water with which they mix the Soma-juice, form a part of their own self (स्वावयवभूत, as Skanda-svāmin says), or can they add sweet taste to water (as Venkaṭamādhava says), and, if so, how? As the said interpretations of ṚV 1.23.16 raise these abnormal questions but fail to enable us to give suitable replies, there is hardly any doubt that all these difficulties arise from the wrong interpretation of this verse, particularly of the word 'अम्बयः' used in it. If we set aside the other objections, the very presence of the word 'जामयः' in the said verse shows that 'अम्बयः' cannot mean 'mothers'. So, for gett-

ing to the other possible meanings of this word ('अम्ब') we should derive it, as Sāyaṇa has done, from the Ātmanepadī root 'अवि' (i. e. 'अम्ब' meaning 'to roar', 'to sound,—अवि शब्दे) with the Uṇādi suffix इ (meant for denoting the subject) in accordance with the Uṇādi-sūtra 'अच इः' (4.138), but we must take it primarily to be an *epithet* meaning (that) which roars or makes sound and secondarily to mean, by convention in rare but relevant cases, those which have this epithet, viz., water and mother. Thus, like 'अम्बम्' (derived from √अम्ब—to sound, and meaning 'water'), 'नद' (derived from √नद्—to roar, and meaning 'river') and many other similar words, 'अम्बि' is derived from its basic root 'अवि' (i. e. 'अम्ब'—to roar, to sound) and conventionally taken, like 'अम्बि', to mean 'water', perhaps because water is found to create sound in various ways—by falling on earth as rain and hail, by flowing in strong currents in rivers and fountains, by creating water-falls, by giving rise to lightning and thunder and so on. Convention also requires 'अम्बि' to mean 'mother', as scholiasts rightly say, evidently because a naturally affectionate mother (even among the lower animals) has to make particular sounds to warn her little children against dangers or to call them to her side for their safety. But in the matter there is a remarkable difference between the meanings of the words 'अम्बम्', 'नद', 'अम्बु' etc., on the one hand, and those of 'अम्बि', on the other. Whereas in case of the former words their conventional meanings come to the forefront, thus pointing very prominently to the material objects taken by convention to be denoted by them and throwing their literal meanings into the background, in the case of the latter (i. e., the word 'अम्बि') its literal meanings are more prominent and inseparable even though it is used in the conventional sense. As to the word 'अम्बा' (meaning 'mother') it may be said that, being uttered instinctively for the first time by a little child incapable of speaking, this word had a natural origin and did not stand in need of being derived from a root. So, its meaning 'mother', unlike those of 'अम्बि' a word derived from the root 'अवि' i. e. 'अम्ब', is direct and natural and has got no idea of any root at its base. As human civilization made its progress, there was an ever-increasing attempt to express ideas not only by finding new words for them but also by forming kindred words on the roots or bases of those already in use in society; and



it is hardly necessary to say that these derived words, even though used to mean some particular things by convention, could not, in many cases, get over the meaning of their roots or bases.

That the conventional meaning 'mother' given to 'अम्बि' has, at its basis, its etymological meaning of roaring or sounding is quite evident from RV 8. 72. 5, which gives a very nice poetic description of a bright lightning-flash from a cloud in the sky and the closely following thunder, through the imagery of a brightly white newborn calf running unobstructed after its birth and its mother lowing as if in appreciation of the extraordinary exploit of her child. This verse says :

चरन् वत्सो रुशन्निह नि'दातार् न वि'दते । वेति स्तोतव अम्ब्यम् ।

[“The running calf, shining bright here (in the sky), finds none to check (it, and) wants (its) roaring (mother) to praise it”].

The word 'अम्ब्यम्' in this verse is the Accusative singular of 'अम्बी', the alternative feminine form of 'अम्बि' derived with the addition of डीप् (>ई) in accordance with the Vārttika “कृदिकारादक्तिनः” under Pāṇini's rule “बह्नादिभ्यश्च” (4.1.45). As the lightning-flash is closely followed by the thunder, and as the calf (in the form of the lightning-flash) does not want its mother (in the form of the cloud) to look silently at it like a dumb spectator but expects her to be vociferous in full appreciation of its highly creditable work, the word 'अम्बी' has the underlying meaning of 'roaring', which, here, is of the first importance.

Although we know of the literary use of the root 'अवि' (i. e., अम्ब) meaning 'to roar', 'to sound' in the Vedic or non-Vedic literature, the R̥g-Vedic verse quoted above bears sufficient evidence to the great antiquity of the said in-lying meaning of the root 'अवि' (i. e., 'अम्ब').

From what has been said above it is evident that we should take the word 'अम्ब्यः', in RV 1.23.16 to mean 'the roaring (waters)', and with this meaning of this word we should translate the said verse thus :

“The roaring (waters), the (singing) sisters (or, female relations) of the (priests or sacrificers) desiring (performance of

their Soma-) sacrifice, go by (their) paths, mixing milk with Soma-juice”.

As a matter of fact, a careful study of the *Ṛg-Veda* shows that in the early *Ṛg-Vedic* period, when the females in the Vedic society enjoyed much greater freedom, the Vedic Aryans took, at least in the family rites, the active assistance of their sisters and other near female relations, who helped the male members by extracting juice from Soma plants founded particularly in mortars,<sup>32</sup> by bringing water in jars from rivers etc.,<sup>33</sup> by mixing milk with Soma-juice kept in jars (कलश) or vats (द्वीण), by diluting the mixture properly with water if necessary, and by doing similar other works possible for them. From the *Ṛg-Veda* we learn that, while thus working, the Vedic females used to sing songs.<sup>34</sup> But with the progress of time the Aryan females came gradually to be deprived of this right of active co-operation in religious matters and were pushed into the background. From the said *Ṛg-Vedic* verse it appears that at the time of its composition the females of the Vedic society were no longer allowed to take active part, like males, in the performance of Vedic, particularly Soma, sacrifices. So the roaring waters, moving along their particular paths leading to the jars or vats containing Soma-juice, are said to be doing, like the singing sisters or female relations (of older days), the work of mixing milk proportionately with Soma-juice (which is often called मधु in the *Ṛg-Veda*).<sup>35</sup> It is hardly necessary to say that abnormal consumption of Soma-juice in the different spheres of individual, social, religious and political life of the Vedic Aryans made Soma practically a rare thing even in the late *Ṛg-Vedic* period, and the result was that, with the progress of time, people felt more and more the necessity of diluting Soma-juice with water to meet the demand. This is evidently why in the said *Ṛg-Vedic* verse ‘the roaring waters’ (and not the singing sisters or female relations of the priests or sacrificers) have been said to mix milk with Soma-juice.

We have already seen that ‘अम्बि’, formed by adding the Uṇādi suffix इ to √अम्बि (i. e. अम्ब), primarily means ‘(that) which roars or

32. See *RV* 1.28.3-4; 1.89.3.

33. Cf., for instance, *RV* 1.191.14.

34. Cf., for instance, *RV* 1.92.3.

35. See, for instance, *RV* 4.26.5, 4.27.5, 6.20.3, 8.69.6, and so on.



makes sound'. Consequently, 'अम्बितमे', which in *RV* 2.41.16, is one of the epithets of the river *Sarasvatī*, must be taken to mean 'the best roarer' or 'the best of those having roaring (waters)'<sup>36</sup>, and this meaning finds strong support in the fact that in the said verse (i. e. *RV* 2.41.16 which contains the epithet 'अम्बितमे') *Sarasvatī* has been addressed as 'अम्ब' ('O mother') and that in a good number of *Rg-Vedic* verses this river has been extolled for her mighty flood, high speed, surging waves, and loud roaring.<sup>37</sup>

Our statements made above make it clear that the *Ātmanepadī* root 'अबि' (i. e. 'अम्ब'), may safely be taken to mean 'to roar', 'to sound'. So, the words 'अम्ब', 'अम्बा', 'अम्बक' and 'अम्बिका' may be derived of follows :

'अम्ब', (literally meaning 'roarer' 'maker of sound').—अम्बते शब्दायते इति अम्बः । √अबि (i. e. √अम्ब) + (कर्तरि) अच् (>अ), by Pāṇini's rule 3.1.134 —नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः ।

'अम्ब' (literally meaning 'roar', 'sound').—अम्ब्यते शब्दाते इति अम्बः । √अबि + (भावे) अप् (बाहुलकात्) ।

['अम्ब' may, by convention, mean "father", because, like a mother, a father also not rarely makes sound to control his children.

'अम्बा' (meaning, by convention, 'mother').—'अम्ब' (masculine, meaning 'father' by convention) with the feminine suffix आप् (>आ).]

36. This second meaning we may have if we take 'अम्बितमे' to be equivalent to 'अम्बितमे' just like 'अपस्तमा' which, an epithet of a river in *RV* 10.75.7, is equivalent to 'अपस्वत्तमा' (according to Sāyaṇa) or 'अपस्वित्तमा' (according to Udgītha).

37. See, for instance, *RV* 1.3.12 (*Sarasvatī*, a huge mass of water महो अर्णः), 6.52.6 (swelling with rivers) 7.36.6 (mother of floods, swelling with water the roaring streams), 7.95.1 (moving swiftly and surpassing all other streams in her greatness), 7.96.1 (the mightiest of rivers), 7.96.5 (high waves) and so on.

‘अम्बर’ (meaning ‘sky’).— अम्बं शब्दं राति घत्ते इति अम्बरम् । अम्ब + √रा + क (>अ) । (It is well known that आकाश is शब्दगुण, i. e. has ‘sound’ as its attribute).

‘अम्बक’ (meaning ‘one who habitually roars or makes sound’).— अम्बितुं शब्दितुं शीलम् अस्य इति अम्बकः । √अभि + (कर्तरि) वुञ् (>अक) । Cf. Pāṇini’s rule 3.2.146 (बाहुलकात्).

‘अम्बक’ [meaning ‘one who causes (something) to roar or sound’]—अम्बयति शब्दं कारयति इति अम्बकः । √अभि + णिच् + (कर्तरि) ण्वुल् (>अक) ।

As ‘अम्बक’ may be derived in the said two ways, ‘त्र्यम्बक’ may be analysed thus :

- (i) त्रिषु पृथिव्यन्तरिक्षद्युषु अम्बकः (शब्दकारकः)—one who roars (or makes sound) in the three (regions, viz., earth, air and heaven).
- (ii) त्रयाणां (पृथिव्यन्तरिक्षद्युषुनाम्) अम्बकः (शब्दकारकः)—one who makes the three (regions, viz., earth, air and heaven) roar or sound (with his roaring).

That Rudra controls the three regions, viz., the earth, air and heaven, and fills these with his roar, is known from a number of R̥g-Vedic verses, such as R̥V 1.114.5, 1.122.1, 2.1.6, 5.41.3 and 8.20.17 (in which Rudra has been called the extremely powerful god of heaven), 7.46.2 (which says that Rudra thinks of the earthly beings through his lordship and of the heavenly ones through his imperial sway), 7.46.3 (in which it is stated that Rudra’s blazing dart, i. e. the lightning-flash, passes by the earth after being hurled down from heavens), 10.92.5 (which says that as Rudra proceeds, attaining high speed and roaring frequently and violently in the intermediate region, viz., the sky, floods rush forward and cover up the extensive earth), and so on.

It should be mentioned here that although in R̥V 6.49.10 Rudra has been called ‘the father of the universe (भुवनस्य पितरं.... रुद्रम्), the word ‘त्र्यम्बक’ must not be taken to mean ‘the father of the three (regions or worlds)’, because in that case we have to take ‘अम्बिका’ to be the feminine form of ‘अम्बक’ (meaning ‘father’) but this is impossible as will be evident from our interpretation of ‘अम्बिका’ (which is given below).



## (b) अम्बिका

This word is the feminine form of 'अम्बक' meaning '(habitual) roarer or maker of sound', and for its derivation we are to look to Pāṇini's rule 7.3.44—प्रत्ययस्थात् कात् पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुपः. So, in its origin, it is an epithet meaning 'one (a female) who roars or makes sound (habitually)'.<sup>38</sup>

The earliest use of this word is found in connection with Tryambaka-homa (in Sākamedha in Rājasūya) in the extant Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas of only the *Yajur-Veda*. As we have said above, the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* gives it out to be the 'name' (नाम) of Rudra's sister.<sup>38</sup> But, strangely enough, this statement of this Brāhmaṇa has express support neither of any of the Samhitās of the *Yajur-Veda* nor of the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, although these works, as their wordings show<sup>39</sup>, appear to have, as regards 'अम्बिका', the same view as that of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. So, the idea that 'अम्बिका' is the name of Rudra's sister, must have had a much earlier beginning. But who was this 'अम्बिका' and whence did she come ?

As we have already seen, the *Ṛg-Veda* does not say anywhere that Rudra ever had a father, mother, sister or wife. As a matter of fact, this Veda and also the *Sāma-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda* are completely silent about anyone, divine or non-divine, called 'अम्बिका' nor do they use the word 'अम्बिका' at all. Even in the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the *Yajur-Veda* there is no mention of 'अम्बिका' anywhere beyond the particular passages on Tryambaka homa. So, great doubt arises as to the authenticity of the statement of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* as regards 'अम्बिका'. As, thus, 'अम्बिका' as a personal being, divine or otherwise, was non-existent or untraceable in the pre—*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* period, it appears that

38. See *ŚBr.* 2.6.2.9—स जुहोति 'एष ते रुद्र भागः, सह स्वस्त्राऽम्बिकया तं जुषस्व, स्वाहा' इति । अम्बिका ह वै नामास्य स्वसा....; and 2.6.2.13 ...या ह वै सा रुद्रस्य स्वसाऽम्बिका नाम सा ह वै भागस्येष्टे.... ।

39. Cf. "एष ते रुद्र भागः, सह स्वस्त्राऽम्बिकया तं जुषस्व"—*VS* 3.57, *TS* 1.8.6.1, *MS* 1.10.4 (22, p. 84—v. 1. 'तं जुषस्व सह स्वस्त्राऽम्बिकया') and 1.10.20 (48—50, p. 94—v. 1. as in 1.10.4), *KS* 9.7 (29, p. 96—v. 1.—omits. 'तम्') and 36.14 (25-27, p. 362). *KKŚ* 8.10 (p. 87), *TBr* 1.6.10.4.

the obscure word “अम्बिका” (containing the part ‘अम्बक’ of unknown meaning) made ‘अम्बिका’ equally obscure and also problematic, and confusion arose about it long before the period of the *Satapatha-Brahmana*. It is a fact that the *Kāṭhaka-Samhitā* (in a different passage), and also the *Taittirīya-Brahmana*, say definitely that शरद् (the Autumn Season) is Rudra’s ‘sister’<sup>40</sup> but the confusion as regards ‘अम्बिका’ being long-continued and deep-rooted, persisted and could not be got rid of very easily, and this is evident from a unique and undoubtedly wrong passage of the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā*, which, unlike those of the *Kāṭhaka-Samhitā* and the *Taittirīya-Brahmana* referred to above, gives out शरद् (Autumn Season) to be the source of Rudra’s origin (योनि) and his ‘sister’ (स्वसा) to be ‘अम्बिका’.<sup>41</sup> This wrong statement of the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā* shows

40. See *KS* 36.14 (25-27, p. 362)—शरद् वै रुद्रस्य स्वसाऽम्बिका, ताम् एषोऽन्ववचरति, तस्मादेष शरदि भूयिष्ठं हन्ति; *TBr* 1.6.10.4—शरद् वा अस्याम्बिका स्वसा, तया वा एष हिनस्ति ।

41. See *MS* 1.10.20 (48-50, p. 94)—शरद् वै रुद्रस्य योनिः, स्वसाऽम्बिका, एतां वा एषोऽन्ववचरति, तस्माच्च शरदि भूयिष्ठं हन्ति ।  
For the corresponding passages of the *Kāṭhaka-Samhitā* (36.14) and the *Taittirīya-Brahmana* (1.6.10.4) see the immediately preceding foot-note.

It is to be noted that, by giving out ‘शरद्’ (the Autumn Season) to be ‘the source of Rudra’s origin’ (रुद्रस्य योनिः) and his ‘sister’ (स्वसा) to be ‘अम्बिका’, the said passage (1.10.20) of the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā* unlike those of the *Kāṭhaka-Samhitā* and the *Taittirīya-Brahmana* (referred to above) clearly differentiates ‘शरद्’ from Rudra’s ‘sister’ (स्वसा). As ‘शरद्’ is thus distinguished from Rudra’s ‘स्वसा अम्बिका’, and as Rudra is said to follow the latter (cf. the pronoun ‘एताम्’) in her train, Rudra cannot be said reasonably to ‘kill most in शरद्’. So, the word ‘योनिः’ in the said passage of the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā*, which is wanting in the other two passages quoted above (in fn. 40), must have been added wrongly and has, consequently, to be omitted for giving it a better sense. Here we cannot overlook the fact that a little after the said passage of the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā* says: रुद्र, एष ते भागः, तेनावसेन परो मूजवतोऽतीहि पिनाकहस्तः कृत्तिवासा अवततधन्वा इति, गिरिवै रुद्रस्य योनिः,



that the obscure and problematic word 'अम्बिका' made it extremely difficult even for ancient authorities to determine correctly the mutual relation between शरद्, रुद्र and अम्बिका and the result was that शरद् (the Autumn Season) was taken by some to be Rudra's sister and by others to be the source of his origin (i. e., his mother), while all of these ancient authorities appear to agree in taking अम्बिका to be the name of Rudra's sister, totally overlooking the fact that there is no trace of any personal being, divine or otherwise, called अम्बिका in any of the Vedic works earlier than the extant Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the *Yajur-Veda*, in which, as we have already said, the word 'अम्बिका' occurs for the first time in connection with Tryambaka-homa. Under these circumstances we feel it necessary to try to explain, in a relevant and reasonable way, the said passages of the extant Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the *Yajur-Veda* in which there is mention of the word 'अम्बिका'.

We have shown elsewhere that Vedic Rudra was a highly mischievous and destructive god, and that his widely popular name 'Rudra' (meaning 'Howler', 'Roarer') was originally not a name but a most prominent epithet of his. Similarly, the word 'शरद्' derived from √शृ (meaning 'to kill', 'to destroy', 'to tear asunder', 'to injure') with the Uṇādi suffix 'अदि' (>'अद्') is an epithet (in the feminine gender) meaning 'that which kills, destroys or injures', but it is used as the name of the Autumn Season, because, coming immediately after the rains, this Season causes various kinds of diseases such as cough, fever etc. and is thus between creative of sufferings of human beings and destructive of human life.<sup>42</sup> Like Rudra, शरद् (the Autumn Season) also is a roarer, because, during this season, clouds roar and pour out their last vestige of water, and the ambitious conquerors' hosts attack enemy-States by raising

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अतो वा एषोऽन्वभ्यवचारं प्रजाः शमायते, etc." in which, as well as in the corresponding passage of *KS* 36.14 (25-27, p.362), a mountain (गिरि) has been said to be the source or origin (योनिः) of Rudra.

42. Cf. Sāyaṇa's com. on *TS* (1.8.6.1-2)—'शरत्कालो हि पीनसज्वराद्युत्पादनेन हिंसकः, तद्वदियमम्बिका हिंसिका, ततः शरद् इत्युच्यते ।

war-cries and making people wail for their life and property.<sup>43</sup> It is, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that the Autumn Season has been named 'शरद्' and called Rudra's sister (स्वसा) described as अम्बिका (meaning 'roaring'). As it was a popular belief that, being the creator of all kinds of human sufferings consequent upon destruction of property and diseases and death, Rudra caused also these in Autumn most extensively in company with his roaring sister Śarad, some of the Saṁhitās of the *Yajur-Veda*, as well as the *Taittirīya-Brahmaṇa*, have the following lines :

“एष ते रुद्र भागः, सह स्वसाऽम्बिकया तं जुषस्व”<sup>44</sup>

[“This, O Rudra, is thy share; with (thy) roaring sister enjoy it”]

शरद्वै रुद्रस्य स्वसाऽम्बिका, तामेषोऽन्ववचरति, तस्मादेष शरदि भूयिष्ठं हन्ति”<sup>45</sup>

[“Verily Autumn is Rudra's roaring sister; following her this (god) moves about; consequently, this (god) kills most in Autumn”], and

“शरदा अस्याम्बिका स्वसा, तथा वा एष हिनस्ति”<sup>46</sup>

[“Autumn, indeed, is the roaring sister of this (god Rudra); (together) with her this (god) kills”].

From what has been said about it is evident that the word 'अम्बिका' occurring in the said passages of the *Yajur-Veda Saṁhitās* and the *Taittirīya-Brahmaṇa* is an epithet (and not the name) of Rudra's sister and means a '(female) that roars'.

In his commentary on *TS* 1.8.6.1 Sāyaṇa interprets 'अम्बिका' as 'हिसिका', (injurious, maleficent)<sup>47</sup> but, as this interpretation has got no authority in its support, it cannot be accepted as plausible.

43. More information on this point will be given on another occasion.

44. For mention of the texts containing this line see fns. 39 and 38 above.

45. *KS* 36.14 (25-27, p. 362).

46. *TBr.* 1.6.10.4

47. For the text of Sāyaṇa's com. see fn. 42 above.



As we have seen above, it is only the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (2.6.2.9, 13) which gives out 'अम्बिका' to be the name of Rudra's sister, keeping completely silent about 'शरद्'. This statement of this *Brahmaṇa* with complete silence about 'शरद्' must be due, firstly, to the extreme obscurity of the meaning of this word as well as of that of 'त्र्यम्बक'<sup>48</sup> and, secondly, to the wrong text of the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā* (1.10.20) in which the Autumn season (शरद्) has been said to be the source of origin (योनि) of Rudra. Besides these there seems to be another no-less-serious reason, but this we intend to state with full details on another occasion.

Although the said statement of *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* as regards 'अम्बिका' must be taken as wrong, the posterity blindly followed it, with the result that a mother-goddess named Ambikā came into being and became the object of wide popular worship.

#### Abbreviation

ĀnSS.	=	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit series (Poona)
AV	=	<i>Atharva-Veda</i> (Śaunaka Samhitā)
Com.	=	Commentary.
Ed.	=	Edition, or edited by.
KBr	=	Kauṣītaki-Brahmaṇa.
KKS	=	<i>Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Samhitā</i> (of the <i>Yajur-Veda</i> ) ed. Raghu Vīra, 1932.
KS	=	<i>Kāṭhaka-Samhitā</i> (ed. Svādhyāya-Maṇḍala 1943.

48. That the meaning of 'त्र्यम्बक' was an insoluble problem to the ancient authorities, is evident from the extremely hazy and enigmatic statements made by them in connection with it in ŚBr 2.6.2.9 (quoted above in fn. 14) and in KS. 36.14 (25-27, p. 362) and MS 1.10.20 (48-50, p. 95), which say respectively :

'अम्बी वै स्त्री भगनाम्नी, तस्मात् त्र्यम्बका, अप्रतिष्ठितो वा एष यस्याप्रतिष्ठितं हविरप्रतिष्ठितास्त्र्यम्बकाः.....(KS), and

'अम्बी वै स्त्री भगनाम्नी, तस्मात् त्र्यम्बका, यस्य वै हविरप्रतिष्ठितम् अप्रतिष्ठितः सः, अप्रतिष्ठिता अस्य त्र्यम्बकाः.....(MS).

<i>Mbh</i>	=	<i>Mahābhārata</i> (Vaṅga. ed. unless otherwise indicated).
<i>MS</i>	=	<i>Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā</i> (of the <i>Yajur-Veda</i> ) ed. Svādhyāya-Maṇḍala 1942.
—p.	=	(as in 'Brahma-p' = - <i>Purāṇa</i>
Poona cr. ed.	=	Poona critical edition (published by the ABORI, Poona).
<i>RV</i>	=	<i>Ṛg-Veda</i> .
<i>ŚBr</i>	=	<i>Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa</i> (ed. Acyuta-Granthamālā, Vārāṇasī).
<i>TS</i>	=	<i>Taittirīya-Saṁhitā</i> (of the <i>Yajur-Veda</i> ), Svādhyāya-Maṇḍala, 2nd ed.
Vaṅga	=	Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta.
Venkaṭ.	=	Venkateśvara Press, Bombay.
<i>VS</i>	=	<i>Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā</i> (of the <i>White-Yajur-Veda</i> ) ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1922.



## VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA PURĀṆA ON ARIṢṬAS

By

LALLANJI GOPAL

[अरिष्टानां (= मृत्युसूचकचिह्नानां) विवरणं यथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे (३/२३८ अ०) दृश्यते, तथा योगशास्त्रे, देवलधर्मसूत्रे, महाभारते, लिङ्गपुराणे, मार्कण्डेयपुराणे, वायुपुराणे, चरकसंहितायां, भेलसंहितायां चोपलभ्यते । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीयारिष्टविवरणेन सह एतद्ग्रन्थगतानां विवरणानां तुलना कृता लेखकेन । सिद्धान्तितं च लेखकेन यद् विष्णुधर्मोत्तरगतं विवरणं न कञ्चिद् एकमेव ग्रन्थम् (उपरिनिर्दिष्टम्) आश्रित्य लिखितम् । अरिष्टानि प्रथमत आयुर्वेदशास्त्रकारैर्विवृतानि, ततश्च योगशास्त्रकारैः । पुराणेषु योगविद्या-विवरणप्रसङ्गे अरिष्टानां विवरणं प्रदत्तम् ।

महाभारतीयारिष्टविवरण - विष्णुधर्मोत्तरगत्तारिष्टविवरणयोर्नात्यन्तं सादृश्यमवलोक्यते । वाय्वादिपुराणगत-विवरणेन सह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरगत-विवरणस्य सादृश्यं स्फुटमेव दृश्यते । देवलधर्मसूत्रीयारिष्टविवरणस्य भूयः सादृश्यं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरगतविवरणेन सहास्ति । चिकित्साशास्त्रगतारिष्टविवरणस्य भूयानंशो विष्णुधर्मोत्तरगत्तारिष्टविवरणे उपलभ्यते ।

अरिष्टविवरण-परीक्षणेन विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणरचनायाः कालोऽपि अनुमातुं शक्यते । अस्य रचनाकालः ६२८-१००० ख्रीष्टीयवर्षमध्ये, ६००-१००० वर्षमध्ये वा निर्णीतः । ५०० ख्रीष्टीयवर्षात् प्रागिदं रचितमिति केचित् । ५००-७०० ख्रीष्टीयाब्दो रचनाकालोऽस्येत्यन्ये; ४००-५०० ख्रीष्टीयाब्द इत्यपरे ।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरगत्तारिष्टविषयकाध्यायस्य रचना ४००-५०० ख्रीष्टीयाब्दयोर्मध्ये जातेति लेखकेन निरूपितम् ।

In a recent study<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ramesh Chandra Srivastava has analysed those portions of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* which contain material on medicinal science. He has concluded that these chapters dealing with Āyurvedic material are based on the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁ*

1. *Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa Kā Cikitsā Vaijñānika Adhyayana*. Unpublished thesis approved for the Ph. D. degree of Banaras Hindu University, 1981.

*graha* of Vāgbhaṭa.<sup>2</sup> He has indicated the parallels particularly when he analyses passages on basic principles.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Srivastava has listed verses which the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* has common with the *Agnipurāṇa*,<sup>4</sup> but he has not prepared any such list of verses common to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*. In the section on *ariṣṭas* Dr. Srivastava merely explains the nature of the various indications. He has not pointed out parallels from the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* or any other medicinal text. It seems that he is conscious that there is no close parallel between the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the medicinal texts so far as the *ariṣṭas* are concerned.

The account of the *ariṣṭas* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, khaṇḍa III, Chapter 238 has its own unique nature. It has certain features which bring it closer to the passages on *ariṣṭas* described in the context of Yoga in the *Devaladharmasūtrā*<sup>5</sup>, *Mahābhārata*<sup>6</sup> and *Vāyu*<sup>7</sup>, *Mārkaṇḍeya*<sup>8</sup> and *Liṅga*<sup>9</sup> *Purāṇas*. On the same hand, the close connection of the chapter in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* with the system of Āyurveda is also evident.

We can, for the sake of convenience, divide the chapter into two sections. The first runs upto verse 23; the second includes verses 24 to 33. The first records the premonitory signs for death after a specified period. Though most of the indications on *ariṣṭas*, generally speaking, can ultimately be traced to the ancient texts on Āyurveda, which have a very detailed account, the manner in which they occur in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* has a distinctive character. The medicinal texts also in some cases indicate death after a specified period. But a connected and consolidated account, in which the period decreases gradually from one year to one month and then to one day and finally to immediate death, is not to be found in

2. *Ibid*, pp. 17, 349.

3. *Ibid*, Chapter II.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 379-92.

5. It is quoted in Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Mokṣakāṇḍa*, pp. 248-50. Our own reconstruction of the *Devaladharmasūtra* will be published shortly.

6. (Critical edition) Śāntiparva, 305.

7. Chapter XIX.

8. Chapter 43.

9. I. 91.



the Ayurvedic texts. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* shares this feature with the *Devaladharmasūtra*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. If we compare the relevant verses in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* with the passages in these texts, we find that no single verse in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* was borrowed in full from any of these texts. Most of the indications, sometimes in identical or similar words, occur in one or the other text. But the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* seems to have introduced definite changes. At places he adds new signs, while at others he drops some of the signs. There is some difference in as much as he mentions the same indication to refer to death after a different period of time.

Now we may analyse the indications for different periods in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* noting their parallels in other texts. As the *Līṅgapurāṇa* is known to have borrowed its account of the *ariṣṭas* from that in the *Vāyupurāṇa*<sup>10</sup>, we have not noted the parallels with the *Līṅgapurāṇa*. Likewise, the account in the *Mahābhārata* is very summarised and brief and has very limited cases of parallels. Hence, we have not indicated the similarities with the verses in the *Mahābhārata*.

(1) Verse 4—It refers to the death of a person after a year, if he sees the light of the moon in the day time, or the shadow of the moon and the sun (respectively in daytime and night) and their setting.<sup>11</sup> There is nothing to match it in the *Devaladharmasūtra*, *Mahābhārata*, *Vāyupurāṇa* *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*<sup>12</sup> or any of the texts on medicine.

(2) Verse 5—It refers to the death of a person after a year if he sees the light of fire in the sky, or the *dhruva* (star) or the *arundhatī* star which is not visible to others.<sup>13</sup> It is similar to MP 2, VP 2 and Devala 2. These texts have the additional expression

10. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 96.

11. न तु कर्माणि यो श्वभ्रे प्रभाकर्म निशाभृतः ।  
छायां चन्द्रार्कयोर्वीपि तयोश्च नमनं तथा ॥

12. Hereinafter *Devaladharmasūtra*, *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* have been abbreviated as Devala, VP and MP.

13. देवमार्गे प्रभा वह्नेर् ध्रुवं तारामरुन्धतीम् ।  
पश्यत्यदृष्टामन्यैर्वा मृत्युः स्यात्तस्य वत्सरात् ॥

*somacchāyam* which seems to have inspired verse 4 of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*.

(3) Verse 6—‘He, who does not see the light of other luminous objects, is said to die in the eleventh month’.<sup>14</sup> The indication for the eleventh month in the other texts also concerns luminous objects, but differs considerably in the wording.

(4) Verse 7—‘He, who in the night in the dream emits urine or stool (of the colour of) gold or silver, goes to the residence of Yama in the tenth month’.<sup>15</sup> Its parallel is Devala 5, VP 4, and MP 4, with the difference that these texts place *mūtram puriṣam* first and *suvarṇam rajataṁ* later and have *pratyakṣam* for *niśi*. It is, however, nearer to VP and MP than to Devala, which adds *prabham* to *suvarṇarajata* and mentions it as a premonitory sign for death in the ninth month.

(5) Verse 8—‘By seeing demons, ghosts, goblins or *Yakṣas* or other supra-sensory beings the death is certain in the ninth month’.<sup>16</sup> The VP does not have any indication for the ninth month, nor does it have anything of this type listed elsewhere. The first line of MP 5 and the second line of Devala 4 resemble this verse. It is to be noted that the line in the MP contains a reference to the cities of the *gandharvas*, but Devala mentions it in the other line.

(6) Verse 9—‘He, who becomes weak (even when) taking large quantity of rich food or becomes bulky even though not eating, attains death in the eighth month’.<sup>17</sup> In this case also we do not find in other texts any parallel mentioning this indication or referring to the premonitory sign for death in the eighth month. Devala 6 and MP 6 are similar to it in mentioning death after the eighth month on the basis of sudden bulkiness or thinness. But there is

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14. सप्रभानामथान्वेषां प्रभां यस्तु न पश्यति ।  
तस्यैकादशमे मासे मरणं परिकीर्तितम् ॥
15. सुवर्णरजतं मूत्रं पुरीषं वमते निशि ।  
स्वप्ने स मासे दशमे प्रयाति यममन्दिरम् ॥
16. रक्षः प्रेतपिशाचानां यक्षाणामपि दर्शनात् ।  
अतीन्द्रियाणामन्वेषां नवमे मरणं ध्रुवम् ॥
17. दौर्बल्यं जायते यस्य बहुसम्पन्नभोजिनः ।  
अनश्नन्तोऽपि पीनत्वमष्टमे स्यात्स मृत्युभाक् ॥



no reference to food or fasting as the factor. Instead we have an additional mention of morbidity in the natural form of the man.

(7) Verse 10—‘He, whose whole foot appears to be split up or deformed in dust or mud, attains death in the seventh month.’<sup>18</sup> This indication appears alike in Devala 7, VP 5, and MP 7, but with some difference in the wording. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* adds the words *asakalaṃ* and *vikṛtaṃ* for *padam*, whereas the other texts have *agrataḥ pṛṣṭato vā’pi* (MP has *pārṣṇyām pādasyāgre*). The MP verse is slightly more akin to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* verse.

(8) Verse 11—‘The twice-born, on whose head verily perch crow, hawk and other carnivorous birds, is declared to die in the sixth (month).’<sup>19</sup> This indication is recorded by Devala 8, MP 8 as well. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* inserts the word *dvijāḥ* and phrases *śyena* for *grddhra*. Of the three texts Devala is the nearest. The VP replaces *khagāḥ* for *pakṣiṇaḥ*, while the MP has several changes; it uses *vāyasaḥ* for *kākāḥ* and inserts two new words *Kākolah* and *nīlah*.

(9) Verse 12—‘He, from whose body dust, having the colour of the powder of cowdung, is rubbed off (and who sees) the morbid form of the shadow of his own body, attains death in the fifth (month).’<sup>20</sup> Its parallel is to be seen in Devala 9, MP 9 and VP 7. Of the three, Devala comes nearest to the present verse. The other two mention this indication for death in the fourth or fifth month. The first part of the indication, as given in the first line, also differs from what the other texts record, but here also Devala has a little more resemblance. It may be noted that the expression *gomayacūrṇābham* can be traced in the account of *ariṣṭas* found in the medicinal texts.<sup>21</sup>

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18. पदं चासकलं यस्य खण्डं विकृतमेव वा ।  
पांमुकर्दमयोर्दृश्येत्सप्तमे मासि मृत्युभाक् ॥
19. क्रव्यादाः पक्षिणो यस्य मूर्ध्नि लीयन्ति वै द्विजाः ।  
काकश्येनादयस्तस्य षष्ठे मरणमादिशेत् ॥
20. यस्य गोमयचूर्णाभं शरीरान्मृज्यते रजः ।  
स्वदेहच्छायाविकृतिः पञ्चमे स तु मृत्युभाक् ॥
21. Caraka, Indriya, 12.3; Bhela, Indriya, 9.1.

(10) Verse 13—The indication is mentioned in a single line. It says that a man, having seen lightning in a cloudless sky, definitely dies in the fourth month.<sup>22</sup> It has its parallel in Devala 10, MP 10 and VP 10. MP and VP mention it as referring to the person living for three or two months and record another premonitory sign in the first part of the second line. The second part of the first line in the three texts adds the detail that the lightning rests in the southern direction (*dakṣiṇām diśamāśritam*). The first part of the line is completely identical with its counterpart in MP.

(11) Verse 14—‘The noble twice-born, who knows his *dharmā*, having seen the rainbow in water or the sky as non-existent, definitely dies in the third month.’<sup>23</sup> Devala 10 mentions a different premonitory sign for death in the third month. The first of the two indications noted by the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is recorded by Devala 12 as sign for death by the second month. MP 10 and VP 8 record it along with the preceding sign for death in two or three months.<sup>24</sup> The phrasing of the indication is nearer to that in Devala than the one found in VP.

(12) Verses 15 and 16—‘If, without any disease, the eyes move round, or if one of the eyes appears to be dislocated and the deformed nose is curved, it brings death within a month.’<sup>25</sup> The indications for death after a month recorded in Devala, MP and VP are totally different. But, the indications under discussion are listed in MP 25 and VP 22 for a man whose life is over. Of the two VP has a greater resemblance in expression.

22. अनभ्रे विद्युत् दृष्ट्वा चतुर्थे म्रियते ध्रुवम् ।

23. शक्रचापं जले दृष्ट्वा गगनं वा द्विजोत्तमाः ।

अविद्यमानं धर्मज्ञस्तृतीये म्रियते ध्रुवम् ॥

24. MP refers to the seeing of the rainbow in the night.

25. अवघट्टनं नेत्रस्य विना रोगं यदा भवेद् ।

एकस्य यदि वा दृश्येत्स्थानभ्रंशो विधीयते ॥

मासेन विकृता नासा वक्रा च मरणप्रदा ॥

The reading is defective. *Avaghaṭṭana* means agitation, shaking, moving, stirring round. But the parallel passages in MP and VP have *sravet* which means oozes or flows. Likewise, a comparison with MP and VP passages would suggest that the second line refers to ears.



(13) Verse 17 (line a)—‘If a man smells foul odour from his own body, he dies within a fortnight’.<sup>26</sup> This indication is mentioned by MP 12 and VP 10 in greater details. In Devala 15 it is brief and is mentioned as a premonitory sign for death within twelve days.

(14) Verse 17 (lines b and c)—‘The very fortunate man, who does not see his own image in the eyes of others, verily sees Yama within twelve days.’<sup>27</sup> The indications for death after twelve days as listed by Devala, MP and VP differ from this. MP 23 and VP 21 later mention this very sign as indicating that the death of the person is imminent. In both these *Purāṇas* it is the second line of the verse which is parallel to the first line of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

(15) Verse 18—A man knowing *dharma*, who does not smell the odour of an extinguished lamp, definitely sees Yama (lit. the son of Sun) within a week.<sup>28</sup> None of the three texts, Devala, MP and VP, mentions any indication for death within a week. But both the *Purāṇas* list this sign later on (MP 23 and VP 20) as indicating imminent death.

(16) Verse 19—‘If the chest, feet and head of a person, immediately after bath or besmearing (with oil or unguent), quickly dries, his death is indicated after three days.’<sup>29</sup> The two *Purāṇas* do not mention any indication for death within three days. Devala does list one for this period, but it differs from the one mentioned by the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. This sign is listed by Devala and MP as indicating death respectively after a month and twelve days.<sup>30</sup> The wording of the indication is nearer to that in MP. However, all these three texts refer to a person taking his bath (*snātamātrasya*).

26. अर्घमासेन दुर्गन्धप्रभवं स्वशरीरतः ।

27. परचक्षुषि यश्छायामात्मनस्तु न पश्यति ।  
स पश्यति महाभागा द्वादशाहेन वै यमम् ॥

28. निर्वाणदीपगन्धं तु यस्तु नाघ्राति मानवः ।  
सप्ताहेन तु धर्मज्ञाः पश्यत्यर्कसुतं द्रुवम् ॥

29. सद्यः स्नातानुलिप्तस्य हृत्पादशिरसां भवेत् ॥  
क्षिप्रं संशोषणं तस्य त्र्यहान्मरणमादिशेत् ॥

30. VP 19 refers to the severe pain in heart after the person has taken his bath.

The reference to the person taking his bath and besmearing himself (*snātānuliptasya*) occurs in the medicinal texts.<sup>31</sup>

(17) Verse 20—‘If a person has red freckles on his cheeks and has morbidity in his colour, his death is ordained to occur within a day and a night.’<sup>32</sup> The other three texts do not record any sign to indicate death after the period specified here. The sign of red boils (*piṭaka*) on the cheek (*ganḍa*), however, is recorded by Devala 16 and VP 23, by the first to indicate that the person will live for four days and by the second that the death is imminent. But the other sign of morbidity in colour is not mentioned by any of these texts. The medicinal texts do prominently mention morbidity of colour (*varṇavikṛti*) as a premonitory sign.<sup>33</sup>

(18) Verses 21 and 22—‘He, who does not hear the sound when the ears are closed with fingers, does not see the face in a stainless mirror and sees the agents (*puruṣas*) (of Yama) who have approached, is ordained to die immediately.’<sup>34</sup> Of the three indications, the first is recorded alike by Devala 18, MP 28 and VP 27, the MP passage being the nearest. The second indication also occurs in these three texts (Devala 13, VP 9 and MP 11), of which the first two are nearer to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* passage than the last one. But, in all the three texts it indicates death after a month. There is nothing in Devala to resemble the third indication. But MP 20 and VP 17 have a remote connection; they mention fierce *puruṣas* hitting the person with stones in dream, indicating imminent death.

(19) Verse 23—The verse is not properly phrased. It mentions premonitory signs for death after two days and thus does not appear in a proper sequence of enumeration. The most reasonable

31. Caraka, Indriya, 2.22; 5.16; 12.5; Bhela, Indriya, 11.19; Suśruta, Sūtra, 33.10.

32. गण्डयोस्तिलकान् रक्तान्वर्णवैकृतमेव च ।  
अहोरात्रेण मरणं पुरुषस्य समादिशेत् ॥

33. Caraka, Indriya, 1.8-13, 17-23.

34. अङ्गुलिभ्यान्तु विहिते श्रोत्रे तु न श्रुणोति यः ॥२१  
शब्दं न पश्येत्तु मुखं निर्मले दर्पणे तथा ।

पश्येच्च पुरुषान्प्राप्तान्सद्यो मरणमादिशेत् ॥२२

*Vihite* is possibly a mistake for *pihite*.



translation of the verse, as it is, will be : When the smoke on the head is destroyed, which may be caused by getting wet by water, and the bending (or breaking) of nose, death is ordained after two days'.<sup>35</sup> None of the three texts has a parallel verse. The author possibly tried to incorporate as many indications as possible and, in the process, did not care for repetition. We notice here three signs. The first is the appearance of smoke on the head of a person. It is mentioned by Devala 14 as indicating death after a fortnight. The second possibly refers to the hair not standing up even when wet with water. This occurs in Devala 18, VP 11 and MP 14, the first mentioning it, as in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, to indicate death after two days. The third is only a revised form of the indication mentioned in verse 16 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* discussed earlier. Thus, the present verse seems to be based on Devala.

The second part in the chapter dealing with *ariṣṭas* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is without any parallel in the other texts. This is because, whereas the other texts deal with *ariṣṭas* in connection with Yoga, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* emphasises their medicinal aspect. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* has given a wide coverage to topics falling within the scope of Āyurveda. In suffixing verses 24 to 33 to its account on *ariṣṭas*, it possibly wanted to emphasise its distinction from the other texts and to bring it closer to the medicinal texts.

The introductory verses 2 and 3 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*<sup>36</sup> are clearly written after Suśruta, Sūtra, 30.3<sup>37</sup>. They spell out the approach of the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. He seeks to record signs expressed in abnormal changes in intelligence, senses and body. The medicinal concern is revealed further by verse 24 which refers to the approaching death of both a healthy and a sick person.

35. मूर्धूंमविनाशे तु जलार्द्राद्वा तदुद्भवेत् ।  
नासाभङ्गेन धर्मज्ञा दघहान्मरणमादिशेत् ॥

36. प्रकृतेर्विकृतिर्नृणां बुद्धीन्द्रियशरीरजा ।  
अकस्माद् दृश्यते येषां तेषां मरणमादिशेत् ॥२  
एतत्समासात् कथितं विस्तरोऽयमतः परम् ।

सूक्ष्मारिष्टावबोधार्थं तथा स्पष्टार्थमेव च ॥३

The text reads *pravṛtte* in place of *prakṛter* and *vikṛti* for *vikṛtir* in v. 2.

37. शरीरशीलयोर्यस्य प्रकृतेर्विकृतिर्भवेत् ।  
तत्त्वरिष्टं समासेन व्यासतस्तु निबोध मे ॥

It is to be noticed that in the first part also the *Viṣṇudharmottara* omits many indications, which have a supernatural character, and emphasises symptoms in the form of changes in body, senses and intelligence.

Verses 24 to 33 refer to the sudden tendency on the part of the different senses to behave opposite to their normal character (*ceṣṭā-viparyaya*).<sup>38</sup> The *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* devotes chapter 10 of the *Sārīrasthāna* to indications of morbid behaviour (*vikṛtehāvijñānīya*). But it does not have verses or expressions identical with those in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. However, verses 26 to 28 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* seem to present more elaborately and effectively what the

38. स्पर्शदृष्टिरसप्राणशब्दचेष्टाविपर्ययः ।  
 दृश्यते तु मुमूर्षूणां स्वस्थातुरशरीरिणाम् ॥ २४  
 श्लक्ष्णं खगं वरं लक्ष्म शीतोष्णस्य विपर्ययः ।  
 अकस्माद्वेत्ति यो देही दुर्लभं तस्य जीवितम् ॥ २५  
 तोयवन्मेदिनीं तोयं मेदिनीमिव पश्यति ।  
 अतीन्द्रियं निरीक्षेत न वीक्षेत करस्थितम् ॥ २६  
 पृथिवीमिव चाकाशं चाकाशमिव मेदिनीम् ।  
 आकाशमिव चात्मानं पूर्णमिन्दुमथातिथौ ॥ २७  
 शुक्लकृष्णविपर्यासं स्थूलसूक्ष्म-विपर्ययम् ।  
 विपर्यासं सदसतां दृश्यते जीवितक्षये ॥ २८  
 षण्णां रसानां पर्यास इष्टानिष्टविपर्ययः ।  
 सर्वथा ग्रहणं पश्यन्निग्रहातीन्द्रियग्रहः ॥ २९  
 अभक्ष्यलौल्यमत्यर्थं मरणायोपजायते ।  
 शोभनाशोभनघ्नेयग्रहणे तु विपर्ययः ॥ ३०  
 इष्टैरनिष्टैः संयोगेऽनिष्टैरिष्टसमागमः ।  
 भयधैर्यविपर्यासो जायते प्राणसंक्षये ॥ ३१  
 अतिदीर्घोऽतिह्रस्वो वा सतमस्कोऽतिशीतलः ।  
 उच्छ्वासः प्राणसन्त्यागे गतासूनां प्रजायते ॥ ३२  
 अनाहतानां शब्दं स्यादाहतानामशब्दता ।  
 आहतानामशब्दत्वं मुमूर्षूणां नृणां गृहे ॥ ३३
- The reading in the printed text in the first line of verse 25 is *Khagam varam* in place of *Kharam vā*.



*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* says in verses 3 and 4.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, the idea contained in verse 33 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* has its parallel in verse 7 of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*.<sup>40</sup> Indications detailed in verses 29 to 31 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* are very briefly implied by the second line of verse 8 of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*.<sup>41</sup>

This same subject has been treated in the chapters entitled *indriyānīka* in the *Carakasamhitā* (Indriya, ch. IV) and *Bhelasamhitā* (Indriya, ch. VII) which are identical except for minor variations in reading (possibly caused by the corrupt form of the text the *Bhelasamhitā*) and the absence in the *Bhelasamhitā* of verses 14 and 20 of the *Carakasamhitā*. Sūruta deals with this subject in chapter 30 of the *Sātrasthana* entitled *pañcendriyārtha-vipratipatti* in which morbidity in respect of sound (verses 4-6), touch (verses 7-10), taste (verses 11-12), smell (verse 13) and sight (verses 15-23) are referred to. But there is no significant similarity in the details of the signs or the wording. We are inclined to identify the *Carakasamhitā* and *Bhelasamhitā* as the source from which the *Viṣṇudharmottara* derived its information for verses 24 to 33. The relevant portions in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, except for verses 3 and 4, referring to morbidity in visual perception, are so brief and devoid of details that they could not have been the prototype for the *Viṣṇudharmottara* verses. Another reason for regarding the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Bhelasamhitā* as the prototype in emphasising this aspect of the *ariṣṭas* is the fact that they duly introduce the subject bringing out its significance (Caraka verses 5 and 6; Bhela verses 3 and 4), and also add a concluding verse to summarise the point (Caraka verse 26; Bhela verse 22). Both these texts<sup>42</sup> alike have several verses on the morbidity of the five senses and list a large number of symptoms on whose basis the

9. घनीभूतमिवाकाशमाकाशमिव यो घनम् ।  
 अमूर्तमिव मूर्तं च मूर्तं वा मूर्तवत्स्थितम् ॥  
 तेजस्व्यतेजस्तद्वच्च शुक्लं कृष्णमसच्च सत् ।  
 अनेत्ररोगश्चन्द्रं च बहुरूपमलाञ्छनम् ॥
40. मेघतोयौघनिर्घोषवीणापणववेणुजान् ।  
 शृणोत्यन्यांश्च यः शब्दानसतो न सतोऽपि वा ॥
41. तद्वद्गन्धरसस्पर्शान्मन्यते यो विपर्ययात् ।
42. In the following discussion we have not referred to the verse in the *Bhelasamhitā* to avoid repetition, the *Carakasamhitā* being older and better known.

indications mentioned in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* could have been formulated, in some cases by using similar expressions. Thus, verse 25 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* reminds us of verse 23 in the *Carakasamhitā*.<sup>43</sup> The *Carakasamhitā* has twelve verses on morbidity of visual perception<sup>44</sup>, which could have inspired verses 26 to 28 of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Likewise, the *Carakasamhitā* has one verse each on the morbidity of taste<sup>45</sup> and smell<sup>46</sup>, which could have formed the basis for the two verses (29 and 30) on this point in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Further, Verse 33 in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* can be matched by verse 19 of the *Carakasamhitā*.<sup>47</sup>

We have not much to choose between the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Bhelasamhitā* for being regarded as the base for verses 24 to 33 in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, because both have identical verses. Our preference for the *Carakasamhitā* is partially due to the fact that it is older of the two and has a better reputation as an authority on the subject. There is an additional consideration in favour

43. Indriyāṅika, IV. 23—

उष्णांछीतान् खरांछलक्षणान्मूत्रनपि च दारुणान् ।

स्पृश्यान् स्पृष्ट्वा वा ततोऽन्यत्वं मुमूर्षुस्तेषु मन्यते ॥

44. We may mention in particular the following passages :

घनीभूतमिवाकाशमाकाशमिव मेदिनीम् ।

विगीतमुभयं ह्येतत् पश्यन् मरणमृच्छति ॥७

यस्य दर्शनमायाति मारुतोऽम्बरगोचरः ।

अग्निर्नायाति चादीप्तस्तस्यायुःक्षयमादिशेत् ॥ ८

कृष्णं वा यदि वा शुक्लं निशां व्रजति सप्तमीम् ॥

मरीचीनसतो मेघान्मेघान् वाऽप्यसतोऽम्बरे ।

विद्युतो वा विना मेघैः पश्यन् मरणमृच्छति ॥ १२

यश्च पश्यत्यदृश्यान् वै दृश्यान् यश्च न पश्यति ।

तावुभौ पश्यतः क्षिप्रं यमक्षयमसंशयम् ॥ १८

45. *Ibid*, IV. 22

यो रसान्न विजानाति न वा जानाति तत्त्वतः ।

मुखपाकादृते पक्वं तमाहुः कुशला नरम् ॥

46. *Ibid*, IV. 23, quoted above.

47. *Ibid*, IV. 19

अशब्दस्य च यः श्रोता शब्दान् यश्च न बुध्यते ।

द्वावप्येतौ यथा प्रेतौ तथा ज्ञेयौ विजानता ॥



of our suggestion. The *Carakasamhitā*, in view of the importance of the indications under discussion, includes some of them in its summary of the information in the earlier chapters, which it gives in chapter 12 (verses 40 to 61). It is significant that verse 58 in this narrative,<sup>48</sup> without any parallel in the *Bhelasamhitā*, matches verse 24 in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. We may further note that a passage in the *puṣpitaka indriya* chapter (*Indriyasthāna*, 2) of the *Carakasamhitā*<sup>49</sup>, though referring to the smell of the body of a morbid person (and not his morbid smell sense), employs expressions reminding us of lines 30 b and 31 a of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. But chapter (II) entitled *puṣpīya* in the *indriyasthāna* of the *Bhelasamhitā* does not contain any passages similar to it.

But, the desire on the part of the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* to distinguish it from earlier texts mentioning *ariṣṭas* can be seen in the two new verses (31 and 32) inserted in the second part of its narrative, though their presence is not justified by the avowed scope specified in verse 24. They mention that in the case of imminent death there is a juxtaposition of fear and fortitude and at the time of death there is a breathing out.

Thus, we see that the chapter on *ariṣṭas* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is not based on any particular text. Being of direct relevance to a physician and his patient, *ariṣṭas* were first considered in all their details by texts on medicine. The Yoga school of philosophy adopted the account of *ariṣṭas* to suit its own requirements. It was in this context that the *ariṣṭas* are noted in the *Mahābhārata*, *Devala-dharma-sūtra*, *Vāyu-purāṇa* *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and *Līṅga-purāṇa*. Of these the *Līṅga-purāṇa* copies the *Vāyu-purāṇa*. The account in the *Mahābhārata*, does not have any close resemblance with the *Viṣṇudharmottara* version. The first part of the account in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* has resemblances and borrowings alike from the *Devala-dharmasūtra*, *Vāyu-purāṇa* and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. It is not possible to choose one of these three as the source

48. शब्दः स्पर्शो रसो रूपं गन्धश्चेष्टा विचिन्तितम् ।

उत्पद्यन्ते शुभान्येव प्रतिकर्मप्रवृत्तिषु ॥

49. इष्टैर्वा यदि वाऽनिष्टैः स च पुष्पित उच्यते ॥ १०

समासेनाशुभान् गन्धानेकत्वेनाथवा पुनः ।

आजिघ्र्येऽस्य गात्रेषु तं विद्यात् पुष्पितं भिषक् ॥ ११

from which the *Viṣṇudharmottara* borrowed, though we find that on some details the *Devala-dharmasūtra* seems to have contributed a little more than the other two. We will not discuss here the possibility of all these three sources themselves deriving their information from a common source and to identify it.<sup>50</sup>

In its account the *Viṣṇudharmottara* seems to have given a larger medicinal emphasis, borrowing expressions occurring in medicinal texts. The second part of its narrative is clearly outside the influence of the three texts under the Yogic tradition and was most likely drafted on the basis of the *Carakasamhitā* (and the *Bhelasamhitā*), though showing familiarity with the text of the *Suśrutasamhitā* as well.

We may briefly correlate these inferences with the opinions expressed about the date of the composition of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. A later date between A. D. 628 and 1000 was suggested by Winternitz.<sup>51</sup> The most recent view of P. V. Kane<sup>52</sup> also favours a date between A. D. 600 and 1000 with the possibility of passages being added in later periods. Earlier, Buhler had suggested that the text was composed before A. D. 500.<sup>53</sup> Basing themselves on the portions dealing with painting, Stella Kramrisch<sup>54</sup> has placed the text between the fifth and seventh centuries. On the basis of a fuller discussion of a wider range of evidence, R. C. Hazra dates the text between A. D. 400 and 500.

We are in general agreement with the view suggesting that the different portions in an encyclopaedic work of the nature of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* are to be assessed separately for determining their chronology and that in its Āyurvedic material the *Viṣṇudharmottara* was influenced mostly by the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa.<sup>55</sup> As the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* is placed in about A. D. 550<sup>56</sup>, the close of the

50. We are attempting it separately in another article.

51. *History of Indian Literature, I, p. 580.*

52. *History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. V., p. 910.*

53. *Indian Antiquary, XIX (1890), p. 408.*

54. *Journal of the Department of Letters, XI, p. 3.* She places it before Śaṅkarācārya.

55. R. G. Srivastava, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 17, 349.

56. P. V. Sharma, *Vāgbhaṭa-vivecana, p. 356; Āyurveda kā vaijñānika itihāsa, p. 156.*



sixth century and the first quarter of the seventh century<sup>57</sup> will be generally acceptable as the date for portions which contain Āyurvedic material.

But chapter 238 of Khaṇḍa III of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is evidently an exception to this general inference. It has to be dated after the *Devala-dharmasūtra*, *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* on the one hand and the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* on the other. Following R. C. Hazra<sup>58</sup>, chapter 43 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* is to be dated later than A. D. 200 but before the latter half of the fifth century. According to Hazra the relevant portions of the *Vāyupurāṇa* are an improvement upon the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and hence are to be dated later still. He further suggests that they were interpolated after A.D. 400 when the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* were separated.<sup>59</sup> For the *Devaladharmasūtra* we favour the time-bracket c. 400 B. C. to A. D. 200.

Opinion is sharply divided on the question of the chronological stratification of the *Carakasamhitā*. Its *indriyasthāna* section, in which we find an account of the *ariṣṭas*, was not retouched by Dr̥ḍhabala. It was originally written by Agniveśa, the disciple of Ātreya, and was revised by Caraka. The Chronology Committee of the National Institute of Sciences of India, after a due consideration of all possible evidence, accepted A. D. 100 as the date for the composition of the *Carakasamhitā*.<sup>60</sup> The *Suśruta-samhitā* also had several stages of revision and elaboration. Whatever the date of the elder Suśruta, the later one, who revised the original text, is

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57. R. C. Srivastava, *Op. cit.*, p. 17.
58. *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 10-11. This agrees with Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (English translation), Introduction, p. xx.
59. *Ibid*, p. 15. S. N. Roy, *Historical and Cultural Studies in the Purāṇas*, pp. 197-208 supports Hazra on the basis of the Buddhist influence, sectarian nature and incongruous and inconsistent plan of chapters 11 to 20. He, however, holds that even uptill the seventh century the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* formed one text.
60. R. C. Majumdar in D. M. Bose, S. N. Sen and B. V. Subbarayappa (Ed.), *A Concise History of Science in India*, p. 223. Caraka was the name of a physician at the court of Kaniṣka. P. V. Sharma, *Āyurveda kā vaijñānika itihāsa*, p. 113 places Caraka in the second century B. C.

generally placed in the second century A. D.<sup>61</sup> The Chronology Committee of the National Institute of the Sciences of India has decided to place Nāgārjuna's redaction of the text between the third and fourth centuries A. D.<sup>62</sup> The *Bhelasāhitā* acquired its present form in the seventh century.<sup>63</sup> But it clearly contains much that is old and authentic, going back to the period of the *Brāhmaṇas*.<sup>64</sup> The late date for the revision of the text does not affect our chronological discussion as the *Viṣṇudharmottara* chapter does not show any exclusive connection or dependence on the *Bhelasāhitā*.

Considering all this we need not push the date of the chapter on *ariṣṭa* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* to the sixth-seventh centuries. A date between A. D. 450 and 500 will meet the requirements of the case.

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61. P. V. Sharma, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

62. R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

63. P. V. Sharma, *loc. cit.*, p. 131.

64. R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, p. 222.



## KṚṢṆA AS A PORTION OF THE SUPREME\*

By

NOEL SMITH

[विष्णुपुराणे भागवते च कृष्णस्य स्वरूपं नैकप्रकारेण प्रदर्शितम्—स  
क्वचिद् अंशावतारः, क्वचित् पूर्णावतारः, क्वचित् सर्वावतारबीजभूतः,  
क्वचित् पुनरंशांशभूत इत्येवंरूपेण बहुधोपवर्णितः । यद्यपि अंशप्रतिपादक-  
वचनानि बहुसंख्यकानि, तथापि व्याख्यातृभिस्तानि तथा व्याख्यातानि यथा  
कृष्णस्य सर्वातिशायिता सर्वकारणता वा न खण्डिता स्यात् ।

निबन्धलेखकेन व्याख्यातृमतानां समीक्षा कृता विस्तरेण; प्रतिपादितं च  
महता यत्नेन यद् व्याख्यातृणां व्याख्यानानि (यानि कृष्णस्य सर्वातिशायितां  
प्रतिपादयन्ति) प्रायेण क्लिष्टकल्पनारूपाणि, अयुक्तिदृढाणि च । लेखकमते  
कृष्णस्वरूपनिदर्शकानि पौराणिकमतानि स्वस्वसंप्रदायनियतानि; तानि यथा-  
कालं च समादृतानि पुराणकारैः । अर्वाचीने काले वैष्णवाचार्यैः कृष्णस्य  
सर्वकारणता सर्वातिशायिता च अनृजुभिरुपायैरपि प्रतिपादिता । अत्यन्तार्वा-  
चीने ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे खल्वस्य मतस्य प्रतिपादनं महता कण्ठेन कृतमिति  
दृश्यते ।]

Both in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ViP) and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (BhP), Kṛṣṇa is identified with the supreme Being.<sup>1</sup> In fact, in the BhP, Kṛṣṇa is distinguished from the gods, seers and other descents (*avatāra*), who are merely portions (*amśa*) or smaller parts

\* Paper presented at the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference, Varanasi, October, 1981.

The names of the commentators of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* frequently referred to are abbreviated thus : GD = Giridharalāla, GS = Gaṅgāśahāya, JG = Jīva Gosvāmin (His three commentaries : Ks = *Krama-sandarbha*, Vt = *Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī*, Bks = *Brhat kṛṣṇasandarbha*), RR = Rādhāramāṇadāsa, SD = Śukadeva, ŚS = Śrīdhara Svāmin, VB = Vallabha, VC = Viśvanātha Cakravartin, VD = Vamśīdhara, VJ = Vijayadhva, VR = Virarāghava.

1. Eg., ViP 5. 1. 34-35; 18.53; 23. 32. BhP 10. 10. 33; 13. 55; 16. 40; 28.6; 48.19; 84.20; 85.39. Cf. my doctoral thesis, "The Divinity of Kṛṣṇa according to the *Harivamśa*, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*", (Harvard University, 1980), pp. 143-145, 149-154.

(*kalā*) of the *Puruṣa*, but Kṛṣṇa is the Lord (*bhagavān*) himself (1.3.28). However, in several passages in the ViP and the BhP, he is described as a descent of a part (*aṁśa*) of the supreme Light [i. e., Brahman] or of Viṣṇu or of the Lord (*bhagavān*).<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he is even referred to as a part of a part (*aṁśāṁśa*, *aṁśa-bhāga*).<sup>3</sup> In this paper I shall analyse the various attempts by commentators to explain away Kṛṣṇa's being considered as a portion of the Supreme.

### (i) Kṛṣṇa as a part in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa

I shall first briefly deal with the ViP, and then take up the BhP for a detailed consideration.<sup>4</sup> ŚS, on ViP 5.1.2, maintains that Kṛṣṇa is the supreme Brahman, but is called a portion because he descends in the limited form of a human being, Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya, on ViP 5.1.2-3, points out that the terms 'portion' or 'portion of a portion' are used metaphorically due to the human form being very limited. But it is not that Kṛṣṇa's power is limited, for he is said to have a universal form, to possess

2. In the 5th Book of the ViP : 1.2 and 32; 2.4; 7.47; 17.2 and 34; 20.38; 22.13; 23.24; 29.25; in the BhP : 2.7.26; 3.2.15; 4.1.59; 11.7.2; and from Book 10 : 1.2; 2.18 and 41; 20.48; 26.23; 33.27; 38.32; 41.46; 43.23; 48.24.
3. ViP 5.1.3; BhP 10.2.9 and 16; 10.10.35.
4. Commentaries on the ViP : (1) *Viṣṇupurāṇam* with the commentary of Śrīdhara called *Svaprakāśa*, ed. by Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta : Sarasvati Press, 1882; (2) *Śrīmadviṣṇupurāṇam*, with the commentary of Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya called *Vaiṣṇavākūṭacandrikā*, Bombay, Śaka 1824 [1902]. For the BhP I have used : (1) Madhva's *Śrībhāgavata-tātparya-nirṇaya* ed. by Bannanje Govindacharya, *Sarva-mūla granthāḥ*, vol. 3, Udupi : Sarva Mula Publication Committee, 1980. (2) *Śrīmadbhāgavatam* with the commentary of Gaṅgā-sahāya called *Anvitārthaparakāśikā ṭīkā*, ed. by Paṇḍeya Rāmtej Śāstrī, Benares : Paṇḍit Pustakālaya, Saṁvat 2002 [1965]. (3) *Śrīmadbhāgavata-mahapurāṇam* with various commentaries, ed. by Kṛṣṇaśaṅkara Śāstrī, Vols. 1.9 and 11-12, Ahmedabad; *Śrībhāgavata-vidyāpīṭha*, Saṁvat 2022 [1965] to Saṁvat 2029 [1973], for references other than Bk. 10; (4) *Śrīmadbhāgavatam Daśamaḥ skandhaḥ*, with several commentaries, 3 vols., ed. by Śrī Nityaśvarūpa Brahma-cāri, Vṛndāvana; Śrī Devakinandana Press, Saṁvat 1963-1964 [1906-1907], for Bk 10.





that what is mentioned earlier has less force than what is mentioned later. Or the statement 'Kṛṣṇa is the Lord himself', being considered a *śruti*, sublates the statement of his being an *avatāra*, for the latter is only a *prakaraṇa*, which has lesser force than a *śruti*. VC and GS use the same argument to invalidate passages that speak of Kṛṣṇa as a portion of the Supreme, by asserting that they are merely *prakaraṇas* or *līngas*. They add that the *śruti* 'Kṛṣṇa is the Lord himself' is a *paribhāṣā-sūtra*, i. e., an assertion, which, although occurring in one place, illuminates the whole *śāstra* [the BhP], like a lamp in a house. It is mentioned once only and is not repeated. Thus, according to JG, Kṛṣṇa's being mentioned as an *avatāra* refers to his descent in his essential character (*svarūpa*) into phenomenal glory (*prākṛta-vaibhava*) in order to generate a special bliss in his own servants.<sup>9</sup> As VC puts it, it is in order to bestow his grace.

### Kṛṣṇa as a part

Let us now examine how the various commentators attempt to reconcile the passages of the BhP which speak of Kṛṣṇa as a part of the Supreme with the belief that Kṛṣṇa is the Lord himself.<sup>10</sup> The first argument is that such passages cannot be taken literally because otherwise they would contradict the principal statement that Kṛṣṇa is the Lord himself.<sup>11</sup> The mention of

9. JG has further discussion on this topic in his *Krama-sandarbha*. See S. K. De, *The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, 2nd ed., (Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1961), pp. 314-325. Incidentally, in his Ks, JG states that, since Balarāma is mentioned in the company of Kṛṣṇa in 1.3.23, Balarāma too is not a part of the Puruṣa. But JG himself, as we shall see later, at times refers to Balarāma as a portion of the Supreme.

10. The commentators do not explain away every single instance. At times they are silent. Eg., Madhva on most of the passages; VJ on 10.1.2; ŚS, VJ, JG (Ks and Vt) on 10.2.16; JG (Ks) and Sudarśanasūri on 10.2.18; ŚS, VJ, SD, on 10.2.41; ŚS, JG (Ks and Vt), VJ on 10.10.35; ŚS, VJ and Sudarśanasūri on 10.20.48; ŚS, VJ, GS on 10.26.23; ŚS, VJ, JG (Ks) on 10.33.27; VJ on 10.38.32; ŚS, VJ, JG (Ks), VC, SD on 10.41.46; ŚS, VJ on 10.43.23; JG (Ks and Vt), VJ on 10.48.24; ŚS, VJ and Sudarśanasūri on 11.7.2.

11. ŚS, VD, VR, VC, GD, GS on 2.7.26; see RR on 3.2.15; GD on 4.1.59; JG (Vt), VR, GS on 10.1.2.



Kṛṣṇa as a part-manifestation is due to the limited perception of ordinary people,<sup>12</sup> or to foster Devakī's and Yaśodā's maternal affection,<sup>13</sup> or he takes on a limited form, as it were, to show his grace to his devotees.<sup>14</sup>

Often the instrumental (e. g. *amśena*) is interpreted to mean 'together with' some other being which is considered to be a part or a part of a part. For example, Kṛṣṇa descended together with Balarāma, who is a portion of the Supreme.<sup>15</sup> Kṛṣṇa is also said to be accompanied by other portions such as Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha,<sup>16</sup> *Puruṣa* and others,<sup>17</sup> parts like Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha,<sup>18</sup> Brahmā, Rudra, etc.<sup>19</sup> the portions of the *devas* who descended among the Yadus,<sup>20</sup> Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna and others,<sup>21</sup> the cowherds, Yādavas and others,<sup>22</sup> *Prakṛti*,<sup>23</sup> or they are simply called his portions without be specified.<sup>24</sup>

At times the instrumental is interpreted to mean 'by means of', but without implying that Kṛṣṇa is a portion. Thus Kṛṣṇa descends by means of (the knowledge in the form of) his decision (*saṅkalpa*) to be born, the decision being considered as an *amśa* or

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12. ŚS, JG (Vt) on 10.1.2; VB on 10.26.23; see also SD on 10.26.23; VC, SD, GS on 10.43.23.
  13. VC on 10.2.9.
  14. ŚS, GS on 10.2.18.
  15. ŚS, VD, VR, SD, VB on 2.7.26; VR, SD, GD on 3.2.15; JG (Ks and Vt), VR, GS on 10.1.2; VR on 10.2.9; JG (Vt), VC, GS on 10.2.41; VR on 10.10.35; Saṅkarṣaṇa, Gosvāmin, JG (Vt and Bks), VR, VB, VC, Kīśoriprasāda, Dhanapatisūri, SD, GS, on 10.33.27; ŚS, VR, VC, GS on 10.48.24; VD, RR, VR, JG (Ks), VC, SD, GD, GS on 11.7.2.
  16. GD, GS on 2.7.26.
  17. VD, JG (Ks) on 3.2.15.
  18. VD, VC on 3.2.15.
  19. VC on 10.10.35; in 3.2.15, VD and VJ interpret the instrumental to mean 'by Brahmā', i. e., Kṛṣṇa was requested to descend by Brahmā who is a portion.
  20. GS on 3.2.15.
  21. SD on 10.33.27.
  22. JG (Vt) on 10.41.46.
  23. ŚS, GD, GS on 3.2.15. See also VB on the same.
  24. VD, RR, JG (Ks) on 3.2.15. See also VB and Puruṣottama on the same.

*kalā* or *amśa-bhāga*.<sup>25</sup> Other such portions are Kṛṣṇa's bliss (*ānanda*),<sup>26</sup> his *kriyā-śakti*,<sup>27</sup> his divine form (*divya-vigraha*),<sup>28</sup> or Pradyumna.<sup>29</sup>

VB offers some peculiar interpretations which no other commentator gives. For instance, Kṛṣṇa is referred to as a part because he occupies a section of the womb of Devakī.<sup>30</sup> Or Kṛṣṇa's descent is '*amśena*' because he does not become manifest everywhere, but only in a particular part of the world, viz., the house of Devakī.<sup>31</sup> Or Kṛṣṇa is the fullness, but he uses only that much part of himself as is required to save those whom he has come to save.<sup>32</sup>

### Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as parts

Some passages indicate that both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are portions of the Supreme. Let us observe some of the interpretations offered by the commentators in this regard. One is that Kṛṣṇa takes on two forms, viz., Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, by dividing his own form (*mūrtibheda*). But this does not mean that Kṛṣṇa is only a part. It is the same whole that manifests itself in two forms.<sup>33</sup> Another explanation is that the term 'part' is properly applicable to Balarāma, but it is applied to Kṛṣṇa by the 'maxim of the umbrella' (*chatrinyāya*).<sup>34</sup> In 10.43.23 it is because of the 'goddess of speech' (*gīrdevī*), and because Vasudeva, in whose house Kṛṣṇa descended, is considered as a part that the word 'part' is used.<sup>35</sup> In 10.20.48, the term '*kalābhyām*' is given the following meanings: Consciousness (*cit*) and bliss (*ānanda*),<sup>36</sup> the sun and

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25. SD on 2.7.26 and on 10.38.32; GS on 10.41.46; VR on 10.1.2, 10.2.16 and 18, 10.2.41, 10.10.35, 10.33.27, 10.38.32, 10.41.46, 10.43.23, 10.48.24.
26. VB on 10.38.32.
27. VB on 10.41.46.
28. VR. on 10.1.2.
29. See VB on 10.1.2. and 10.2.41.
30. VB on 10.2.41. See also 10.41.46.
31. VB on 10.1.2.
32. VB on 10.43.23.
33. ŚS, JG (Ks), GS on 10.38.32; GS on 10.41.46.
34. VR, SD on 10.20.48; VR, SD, GS on 10.43.23.
35. JG (Vt) on 10.43. 23.
36. VB on 10.20.48.



the moon;<sup>37</sup> when construed with 'hareḥ', which means the moon, the two *kalās* are the phases of the moon;<sup>38</sup> they are the two *avatāras*, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, without implying that Kṛṣṇa is a part;<sup>39</sup> the two hairs (i. e., symbolically Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) with which the Lord descends.<sup>40</sup> These two hairs are referred to in 2.7.26, where it is said that the one with the white and black hair (*sitakṛṣṇakeśa*) was born by a part (*kalā*) of himself. Referring also to ViP 5.1.59-60, several commentators<sup>41</sup> point out that these two white and black hairs symbolize Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively. VB thinks '*sitakṛṣṇakeśa*' refers to Saṅkarṣaṇa, but feels that the four-fold [*vyūha*] Lord is suggested. JG maintains that the word *keśa* (hair) does not indicate a part (*aṁśa*), but it rather means lustre (*aṁśu*). By displaying his two *keśas*, Nārāyaṇa showed his two lustres, viz., Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa.

#### Explanation of compound words

Since the hair may suggest that Kṛṣṇa is a part, some of the commentators<sup>42</sup>, notably VD, go to great lengths, giving several alternative interpretations of the words *kalayā sitakṛṣṇakeśa* (2.7.26), using all their grammatical skill. For instance, (1) According to VC, VD and GD, *sita* is Śiva, *kṛṣṇa* is Viṣṇu, *ka* is Brahmā, which yields *sitakṛṣṇaka*. Then, they continue, Kṛṣṇa is the lord (*īśa*) of these three (*teṣām*), so that we finally get *sitakṛṣṇakeśa*. (2) Or *kalayā* is taken to mean 'skilfully' and *sitakṛṣṇakeśa* is interpreted to mean the one who has bound (*sita*) his black hair.<sup>43</sup> (3) Or in VD's somewhat different interpretation, which keeps the above meanings of *kalayā* and *sita*, the term *kṛṣṇa* in the compound *sitakṛṣṇakeśa* is interpreted to mean 'of Kṛṣṇā' (*kṛṣṇāyāḥ*), i. e., of Rādhā, so that *kalayā sitakṛṣṇakeśa* means 'the one who has skilfully tied the hair of Rādhā'. (4) Or according to SD it means the one who has partly (*kalayā*) white and black hair. (5) Or, according to

37. SD on 10.20.48.

38. VC, GS on 10.20.48.

39. GS on 10.20.48.

40. VB on 10.20.48. For his understanding of these two hairs see his comment on 2.7.26.

41. Eg., ŚS, VR, JG (Ks), VC.

42. VD, VC, SD, GD, JG.

43. Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Bhagavatāmṛta* as quoted by VC. See also a partly similar interpretation by GS.

VD, *kalayā sita*, taken as a vocative in which *sita* means 'old', is interpreted to mean 'O old partial *avatāra*', and is addressed to Nārada. The remaining *kṛṣṇakeśa* (the black-haired one) refers to Kṛṣṇa. (6) Or VD takes the negative 'a' from *kalayā* to yield *asita* when prefixed to *sita*, and *asita* is interpreted to mean *adharma*. Then *kṛṣṇaka* is interpreted as 'the one who removes', from *karṣati*=*uddharati*. The final element, *īśa*, means lord or protector. So *asitakṛṣṇakeśa* means the one who is the protector of those who remove *adharma*. (7) VD further outdoes himself in the following interpretation. *Kalayā* is taken as a nominative fem. ending word, and is analysed as 'ka', meaning 'water', plus 'layā', meaning that which dissolves (*ke=jale līyate iti*), so that *kalayā* means 'one who dissolves into the water', and the one who thus dissolves is supposed to be the earth. Now the one which is attached (*sita*) to that earth (*kalayā*) is the Govardhana mountain. The term *kṛṣṇa* is explained to mean the one who lifts (*karṣati*=*uddharati*) the Govardhana mountain. He has still to explain the last element, viz., *keśa*, which is interpreted to mean 'the one who lies (*śete*) in the water (*ke=jale*), i. e., Viṣṇu. Hence *kalayā sitakṛṣṇakeśa* comes to mean 'Viṣṇu who lifts the Govardhana mountain that is attached to the earth'. There are many more permutations and combinations, but these are sufficient to give an idea of how the commentators proceed. Another compound '*acyutāṁśaḥ*' (the portion of Acyuta), in 10.2.18 is interpreted by SS, JG (Vt), VC, SD and GS to mean 'the one who is not deprived of his parts' (*cyutirahitā aṁśā aiśvaryādayo yasya*), i. e., *acyutāṁśaḥ* means 'the integral one', 'the complete one'.<sup>44</sup>

### Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna as parts

In 4.1.59, two parts (*aṁśas*) of the Lord Hari, interpreted to refer to Nara and Nārāyaṇa, are said to have come (*āgata*) as the two *Kṛṣṇas*, interpreted to mean Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa. According to VR, Nara and Nārāyaṇa descend in the form (*rūpa*) of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa. But most of the commentators explain that Nara and Nārāyaṇa enter Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, maintaining, however, that while Nara enters Arjuna with his *āveśa*, Kṛṣṇa is Nārāyaṇa

44. See also a similar explanation by VB. VJ interprets the compound as the *aṁśa* of Hari, but says that the word *aṁśa* here is only a reference to Kṛṣṇa's black hair (See 2.7.26).



himself.<sup>45</sup> SD distinguishes three Nārāyaṇas. The Primal Nārāyaṇa, who is Kṛṣṇa himself; the second, who is the Puruṣa; and the third, who is a part (*aṁśa*) of the Puruṣa, descends as the seer Nārāyaṇa in the family of Dhārma. Now we are faced with the problem, viz., who is this Kṛṣṇa into whom Nārāyaṇa, the *aṁśa* of Hari enters. It seems to me that VC, VD and RR had this question in mind when they claimed that the two *aṁśas* (parts), Nara and Nārāyaṇa, enter Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, who are their *aṁśins* (wholes or sources). In order to defend their position that Kṛṣṇa is the *aṁśin*, and not the *aṁśa*, they are forced to also make Arjuna an *aṁśin*. RR states that, since Arjuna is the companion of Krishna, Arjuna, is an *aṁśin* of Nara, who is his *aṁśa*, yet it is Nara who enters as an *āveśa* into Arjuna just as rivers enter into the ocean. So in order to preserve Kṛṣṇa's being an *aṁśin*, they even go to the extent of making Arjuna too an *aṁśin*. But they have to immediately recant and say that Nara enters Arjuna by his *āveśa*, while at the same time they want to maintain that Kṛṣṇa is Nārāyaṇa himself, or superior to Nārāyaṇa as Puruṣa and as the seer.

### Different construing of words

We have seen some examples of how the commentators divide and connect various parts of compound like *sitakṛṣṇakeśa*. Let us now see some examples of how the commentators construe words differently so as to show that Kṛṣṇa is not a portion (*aṁśa*). In 10.1.2 instead of construing '*aṁśena*' with '*avatīrṇasya*', VC connects it with '*viṣṇoḥ*', interpreting Viṣṇu to be an *aṁśa* of Kṛṣṇa as present in Vaikuṅṭha.<sup>46</sup> Alternatively, VC connects '*aṁśena*' with '*śaṁśa*' to yield the meaning 'tell me partially the deeds of Kṛṣṇa', as no one can relate them fully.<sup>47</sup> In 10.2.16 instead of linking '*aṁśabhāgena*' with '*āviveśa*', VR supplies '*jātasya*' to agree with '*ānakadundubheḥ*' and construes '*aṁśabhāgena*' with '*jātasya*'. So the Lord entered the mind of Vasudeva (Ānakadundubhi), who was born as a part of the *devas*, who, in turn, are parts of the Lord. Hence *aṁśabhāga* is interpreted to mean 'part of a part', but it refers to Vasudeva, not to Kṛṣṇa. In 10.2.41, instead of connecting

45. So also Madhva.

46. *tatrāvatīrṇasya vīryāṇi kathaya. Kasya, aṁśena viṣṇoḥ, yaḥ khalvamśena vaikuṅṭhe viṣṇur bhavati, yasyaikā mśo viṣṇuḥ tasya pūrṇasyetyarthaḥ.*

47. This construction is also mentioned by SD and GS.

'*amśena*' with '*kukṣigataḥ*', JG (Vt) supplies '*bhavet*' to go with '*bhavāya*' and relates '*amśena*' with '*bhavāya bhavet*'. So he derives the following sense: That Kṛṣṇa, who could bring about our welfare by his parts like Matsya, Aśva, etc., has himself entered your womb, is indeed fortunate. In 10.33.27 instead of construing '*amśena*' with '*avatīrṇaḥ*', several commentators<sup>48</sup> read '*amśena*' with '*jagadīśvaraḥ*', saying that he is the Lord of the world, viz. Viṣṇu, by a part of himself, but he himself has his full glory. Similarly, JG(Vt), in 10.41.46, construes '*amśena*' with '*jagataḥ kāraṇam*', indicating that Kṛṣṇa is the cause of the world by a part of himself. In 10.20. 48, VB, instead of taking '*kalābhyām*' with '*hareḥ*', reads '*bhūḥ nitarām hareḥ*, i. e., earth which belongs entirely to Hari; and he adds that it is Saṅkarṣaṇa who is the part (*kalā*). JG (Vt and Ks), VC, SD and GS divide '*kalābhyām*' into *kalā* and *ābhyām*, understanding *kalā* not as a part but as *śakti* (power), which is the earth. So we obtain the following: Hari's *kalā*, viz., his power, namely the earth, shone with these two (*ābhyām*), viz., Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. VD in 11.7.2, instead of construing *amśena*, with *avatīrṇaḥ* links it with '*niṣpādita*, and connects '*aśeṣataḥ* with '*avatīrṇaḥ* so that the resulting meaning is: I have partially accomplished the task entrusted to me by the gods for which I have descended fully. The work is only partially completed because the destruction of the Yadu clan still remains to be done.

### Kṛṣṇa as part of a part

In 10. 2. 9. and 16, and 10. 10. 35 Kṛṣṇa can be considered to be a part of a part (*amśabhāga*). We shall now see how by giving different meanings to the element *bhāga*, the commentators free Kṛṣṇa from being called a portion. For instance, in 10. 2. 9, *amśabhāgena* is interpreted as 'by that nature (*svarūpeṇa*) in which there is the entry (*bhāga = bhajana = praveśa*) of the *amśas*.<sup>49</sup> Another explanation is 'by that form by which the *amśas*, i. e., the *jīvas* or Brahmā and others receive from Kṛṣṇa their share (*bhāga*) of

48. JG (Vt), Kīśorīprasāda, Rāmanārāyaṇa, Dhanapatīsūri. See also VC. Kīśorīprasāda gives an alternative explanation according to which he supplies *api* and reads *amśena dharmādi-sthāpanāya iti kimuta svayam bhagavattvena iti*. (If *dharma* can be established even by a part, how much more by the entire Lord !)

49. JG (Vt and Ks), VC. See also a similar interpretation in VD,



the four *puruṣārthas* in accordance with their dispositions.’<sup>50</sup> VB interprets it to mean ‘by the division (*bhāgena* = *vibhāgena*) of the fourfold *aṁśas* of Puruṣottama, viz., Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha’. He adds that the word ‘*bhāga*’ is used in the singular to show that the Pradyumna-part alone is involved in becoming a son. ŚS gives five alternative explanations, one of them being ‘he who presides (*bhāga* = *bhajate* = *adhitiṣṭhati*) over all by means of his powers (*aṁśaih* = *śaktibhiḥ*). In 10. 2. 16 SD interprets it as ‘in the form of being considered as a son (*bhāgena* = *putratayā bhajanīyena rūpeṇa*) of Devakī and Vasudeva, who are his parts (*aṁśa*). GS gives the following explanation in 10. 2. 35: By means of that full form in which there is the manifestation (*bhāga* = *prādurbhāva*) of the partial *avatāras* (*aṁśāvatārāṇām*).

### Violence to the meaning of the word ‘part’

Finally we must mention that occasionally a commentator coolly ignores the word *aṁśa* or even takes it to mean *aṁśin*. Thus VR, dropping the word *aṁśa* in 10.26.33, just comments, ‘I consider Kṛṣṇa to be Nārāyaṇa himself’. JG (Ks and Vt) and VC take *aṁśa* here to mean not *āveśa* but *āveśin*, so that his comment reads, ‘I consider Kṛṣṇa to be the source of the power of Nārāyaṇa (*tacchaktyāveśinam*).’

We have thus seen the various techniques and devices used by the commentators, who even go so far as to offer rather far-fetched interpretations to defend what I think is a later understanding of the divine nature of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>51</sup> The passages that speak of Kṛṣṇa as a part or a part of a part of the Supreme are so numerous, that it is difficult to accept that they are all superceded by the single statement that Kṛṣṇa is the Lord himself. It seems to me that we have here a remnant from an older tradition harking back to the time when Kṛṣṇa came to be identified with Viṣṇu, and as a descent (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu, was considered his portion. Later, through the process of ‘sanskritization,’ Vaiṣṇavism became more Vedāntic,

50. JG, VC, GS, SD. See also SD on 10.10.35.

51. Nowhere does the BhP use the word ‘*pūrṇāvatāra*. On the other hand, the commentators frequently mention Kṛṣṇa’s being the ‘fullness’. Eg., VR on 1.3.28, says that Kṛṣṇa is a *pūrṇāvatāra*. Jīva Gosvāmin, on 1.3.28, goes even further and states that Kṛṣṇa is the *avatarin*.

identifying Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu with Brahman, which manifests itself as Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva and the like. But there are also passages in the BhP where Kṛṣṇa is not merely a manifestation of Brahman but is Brahman. These earlier and later traditions exist side by side in the Vaiṣṇava texts. In the BhP we find the *initial* attempt to deal with these conflicting traditions by explicitly asserting that, while other gods and beings are portions of the Puruṣa, Kṛṣṇa is the Lord himself. It is only in the tradition after the BhP—which is that of our commentators—that Kṛṣṇa's absolute supremacy is more fully established. For example, in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*<sup>52</sup> Viṣṇu, who has a universe in every pore of his skin, is merely a sixteenth portion of Kṛṣṇa.

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52. *Śrībrahmavaivartam Mahāpurāṇam*, 2 vols. (Bombay : Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Saṁvat 1938 [1931], *Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa* 5.110.



## VEDIC—PURĀNIC VINCULUM

By

S. K. LAL

[विदार्थग्याख्यानाय पुराणानि उपकारकाणि, पुराणगता विषया अपि सूक्ष्मरूपेण वेदेषूपलभ्यन्ते—इति द्वे मते निबन्धादौ उक्ते । ततश्चेदं प्रतिपादितं यद् वैष्णवशैवधर्मसंबद्धौ विष्णुशिवौ देवौ वेदे पुराणे च बहुधा उपवर्णिता । वेदेतरपरम्परागतयोरनयो देवयो वेदेऽनुप्रवेशोऽनतिप्राचीने काले संजातः । वैष्णव-शैव-सम्प्रदाययोः परस्परद्वेषः सुप्रथित एव । पुराणवाङ्मये विष्णु-शिव-समन्वय-स्थापने विशिष्टः प्रयासोऽवलोक्यते ।

वैष्णव-शैव-धर्मयोः सम्मेलनाय समन्वयाय वा रात्रिनाम्नी काचिद् देवता (देवी) अभिकल्पिता, यस्या उल्लेख ऋग्वेदे दृश्यते । पुराणेऽपीयं देवी एतदर्थं वर्णिता—इति व्यक्तं प्रतीयते । एतद्विषये मधुकैटभ-शुम्भनिशुम्भ-तारकासुराख्यानानानि प्रमाणभूतानि—इति लेखकेन प्रदर्शितं विस्तरेण । एषु आख्यानेषु रात्रिदेवतायाः, तदवतारभूतदेवतानां च महिमा वर्णितः । तत्र योगनिद्रा-कालरात्रि-विष्णुमायारूपा अवतारा विष्णुपक्षीयाः; काली-कौशिकी-एकानंशा-रूपा अवताराश्च शिवपक्षीयाः ।

इयं रात्रिदेवता वैदिकी; अस्या बहूनि रूपाणि वेदे उक्तानि । इयं सौरी, सर्वप्राणिशरणभूता, दैत्यदानवादिसंबद्धा, दैत्यादिभयनिवारिका, प्रजननादि-शक्तिप्राचुर्यमयी च । पुराणे इयं रात्रि विष्णुसंबद्धा जाता सौरीत्वात्, शिव-संबद्धा जाता ध्वंसादिशक्तिमत्त्वात् ।]

The Purāṇas are the indispensable aids in the interpretation of the Vedas, their legends and mythology. Conversely, much of the Purāṇic legend and mythology is found, at least in its germinal stage, in the Vedic texts. That is, Vedic and Purāṇic mythology may be regarded as a two-way traffic. A number of Vedic divinities and the mythology connected with them are noticed to have found fuller expression in the Purāṇic texts. They have proliferated in different dimensions, and have encompassed around them many more elements of diverse nature.

Viṣṇu and Śiva, the two very important divinities of the Purāṇic amalgam, around whom Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism revolve, are found in the oldest extant Veda, the Ṛgveda. But it is generally

averred that these two divinities were not so very important gods in the Vedic official religion. It is believed<sup>1</sup> that Viṣṇu was a "god of great eminence among the masses of the Aryan nomads and was not particularly liked by the orthodox family of the Vedic poets." He has the traits of phallus worship. On the other hand, Śiva was a very prominent god of pre-Aryan non-Vedic people.<sup>2</sup> It was only in the course of mutual assimilation and give and take between the Vedic and non-Vedic, that these two gods asserted themselves and came into prominence in the Vedic fold through two different channels : Viṣṇu through the super-imposition of solar traits on him and his consequent identification with Indra;<sup>3</sup> and Śiva, also a pre-Vedic non-Aryan god connected with phallus worship, through Agni after having been re-christened as Rudra.<sup>4</sup> However, this assimilation was not exercised without trimming much of the original nature and function of Viṣṇu and Śiva and making them conform to the Vedic thought-pattern.

In spite of this teleological inclusion of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the hierarchical Vedic religion, their pristine connection with fecundity, fertility, procreation, and phallus continued to survive in peoples' mind, the faint traces of which can be seen even in the Ṛgveda. In the course of time, when Vedism was on the decline and the original Vedic gods were being relegated to the background, and when Brāhmaṇism, precursor of modern Hinduism, was taking its firm roots, these two gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva, surfaced conspicuously and flourished in two different channels : Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

A good part of the Purāṇic religion revolves round and reverberates with these two isms, which are seemingly diagonally opposite to each other. It is a well-known fact that these two isms were so different and distinct from each other that there used to be bitter conflicts between the followers of Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism.<sup>5</sup> It is in the Purāṇic literature that a noble attempt has been made to bridge the differences and, to a very appreciable extent, the Purāṇas gloriously brought in a kind of conciliation between the two conflicting isms by their ingenious methods of bringing these two gods together

1. R. N. Dandekar, *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, 72.

2. Dandekar, o. c., 240.

3. Dandekar, o. c., 89.

4. Dandekar, o. c., 206; Gonda, *Visnuism and Sivaism*, 4.

5. Gonda, o. c., ch. V.



and making them complementary and not contradictory to each other. The lead given by the Purāṇic texts was followed by many Gupta and other kings and there thrived a number of temples where the idols of divinities belonging to both the isms were installed and worshipped amicably. This paper deals with one of the many measures by which this very important religious and social achievement was accomplished by the Purāṇas.

A study of some of the Purāṇic legends reveals that in order to have a sort of rapprochement between these two isms, the Purāṇic mythologists sought for a link divinity that could function as a vinculum between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism and found a divinity, namely, Rātri (RV 10.127) that served their purpose very well. But before we take up the characteristic features of this divinity which attracted Purāṇic mythologists to pick her up from among a host of many other important female divinities in the Vedic mythology, we should mention, in brief, three legends which contain in them the divinities of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

### 1. The legend of Madhu and Kaiṭabha<sup>6</sup>

In the Hindu cosmogonic speculations, it is believed that at the end of an eon the entire creation of Brahmā is destroyed by devastating floods. Viṣṇu goes into his cosmic sleep and so do all other gods. When Viṣṇu is still under the deep influence of Yoganidrā (cosmic sleep), Brahmā springs forth from his navel and appears on the lotus growing from the navel of Viṣṇu. Looking around the vacuum created by the surging waters, a flash of desire comes to his mind to create the universe anew. The moment he contemplated this re-creation, two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, sprang forth from the ear of Viṣṇu and rushed to devour Brahmā. Brahmā looked around for succour but found no one except Viṣṇu who also was in slumber under the deep influence of Yoganidrā. Brahmā realised that unless Viṣṇu is released from the grip of Yoganidrā, and kills the demons, his very life was in danger to speak nothing of the re-creation. Thus thinking, he began to pray to Yoganidrā who had overpowered Viṣṇu. Being pleased by his supplications, Yoganidrā left Viṣṇu and stood aside. Viṣṇu got up and saw the two demons about to devour Brahmā. He challenged

6. Devīm. 1.49 f; DevībhP 1.6; 7.

them and a fierce fight between Viṣṇu and the two demons ensued. Mighty as the two demons were, Viṣṇu could not overpower them. Finding himself unable to vanquish the demons, he remembered his own potent power, namely, Viṣṇumāyā. She deluded the demons, and they were then killed by Viṣṇu. Brahmā then engaged himself in the job of re-creation of the universe.

The above legend brings forth two divinities, Yoganidrā and Viṣṇumāyā who helped Viṣṇu in annihilating the inimical forces of nature symbolized by Madhu and Kaiṭabha who hindered the smooth functioning of Brahmā. Undoubtedly these two female divinities are purely Purāṇic. But their counterpart, though in rudimentary form, can be found in the Vedic mythology. But before we do so, let us examine another legend mentioned in the Purāṇas.

## 2. The legend of Śumbha and Niśumbha<sup>7</sup>

These two fierce demons defeated Indra and all other gods. The gods retreated to the Himālayas. There, they implored Viṣṇumāyā to help them in their plight. At that moment Pārvatī, consort of Śiva, came there to bathe in the Gaṅgā. She enquired of the gods about the object of their prayer. With these words of hers, a girl instantly sprang forth from her body. She came later to be known as Kauśikī, having been born from the *kośa* (sheeth) of Pārvatī. In the meantime, Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, the two servants of the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha, saw the exceedingly charming Kauśikī and reported her presence to their masters. Śumbha became infatuated with her and sent a messenger to Kauśikī asking her to marry either him or his younger brother, Niśumbha. Kauśikī retorted that she would marry only the man who would conquer her in a fight. Hearing this, Śumbha despatched a mighty fighter, Dhūmralocana, to bring the impudent girl to him. But the mighty Dhūmralocana was killed by the slender Kauśikī. Thereafter, Śumbha and Niśumbha sent Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa to punish the impudent girl and to drag her to him. On approaching these two, the goddess became infuriated and there instantly sprang forth Kālī from her forehead. Again a fierce battle commenced between Kālī and the demons. The demons were killed by Kālī. Śumbha now became alarmed and realised the prowess of the Devi Kauśikī. He

7. Devi M. 5-10.



mobilized a huge army. In the meantime, the *śakti* of goddess Kauṣikī sprang forth from her, and also *śaktis* of other gods, namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kārttikeya, Indra, Varāha, and Nṛsimha also sprang forth, and joined her. The (nameless) *śakti* of Kauṣikī sent Śiva as her emissary to the two demons to warn them that they must instantly release the gods and their property. And thus that *śakti* got the name Śivadūtī. The two demons did not heed the warning and attacked. There commenced a pitched battle between Śumbha and Niśumbha and other demons on one side and Kauṣikī, Kālī, Śivadūtī, and all the *śaktis* of the gods on the other. Ultimately, all the demons were annihilated and the gods were released.

This legend brings forth the following divinities : 1. Pārvatī, 2. Kauṣikī, 3. Kālī, 4. Śivadūtī, and 5. the *śaktis* of the gods. Before we discuss their origin and importance let us describe a third legend bearing on our topic.

### 3. The legend of Tārakāsura<sup>8</sup>

The mighty demon Tāraka tormented all the gods and usurped their property. The gods approached Brahmā for his advice and help. Brahmā assured them that a son of Śiva and Pārvatī would kill the demon. The gods retired. Brahmā then contemplated that in order to beget a son who would be able to kill the demon, Pārvatī had to practise rigorous penance in order to acquire physical strength to bear such a mighty child. He therefore contrived a plan. He asked the goddess Rātri to enter into the womb of Menakā, Himālaya's wife, and darken the colour of the child. After the marriage of Pārvatī with Śiva, Śiva would taunt her for her black complexion; she would feel offended, and resort to penance to change the black colour of her body. Another reason which Brahmā mentioned to Rātri for this kind of affinity between her and Pārvatī was that Rātri had to destroy the demons in the universe which she could accomplish only after coming into some kind of close contact with Pārvatī<sup>9</sup>, and thereby inheriting some of the demon-destroying quality of hers.

Thus instructed by Brahmā, Rātri covered the embryo of Menakā with her black hue and changed the colour of the child

8. DevīM. 5 f ; MatsyaP 152-155.

9. This indicates that Pārvatī belongs to the group of goddesses of inimical nature.

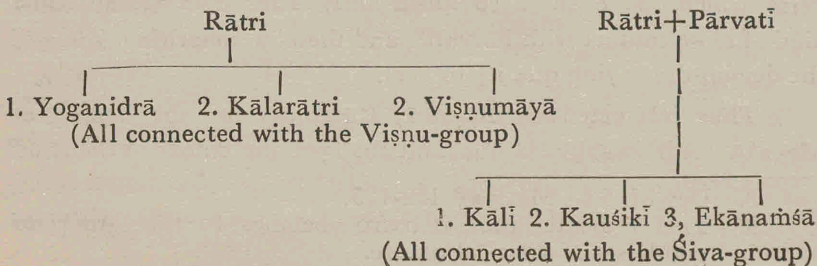
into black. Consequently Pārvatī was born black and was named by her parents as Kālī or Kālikā (blacky). In due course, Pārvatī and Śiva were married. As Brahmā had planned, Śiva once teased Pārvatī for her black complexion. Pārvatī felt offended and at once proceeded for penance to change her black colour. In the meantime, it so happened that a demon named Āḍi transformed himself into a damsel and entered the apartment of Śiva, forgetting that there was a curse on him that he would be killed whenever he transformed himself into any other form. Śiva killed the demon. However, when Pārvatī heard this, she misunderstood the whole affair and felt so disgusted and furious that wrath came out of her mouth in the form of a lion. Pārvatī was just about to enter the mouth of the lion, when Brahmā appeared before her and granted her the desired boon of obtaining a fair complexion. His plan had thus succeeded. The dark skin was at once separated from the body of Pārvatī and was converted into its original form of Rātri. She is known by the name of Kauśikī, for she was born from the sheeth (*kośa*) of Pārvatī. Brahmā further told her that since she had become blessed by the contact with Pārvatī and had partaken an *amśa* of hers, she would also be known as Ekānamśā.

This legend refers to three female divinities : 1. Pārvatī, 2. Rātri, and 3. Kauśikī or Ekānamśā.

The sum total of all the female divinities referred to in the above three legends is :

1. Yoganidrā,
2. Kālarātri,
3. Viṣṇumāyā,
4. Pārvatī,
5. Rātri,
6. Kālī,
7. Kauśikī,
8. Ekānamśā

The above mentioned divinities, on the basis of the three foregoing legends, can be tabulated as under :





From among these two groups, Parvatī was originally a mountain deity as her name (*Parvata*→*pārvata*→*pārvatī* = 'a mountain dweller') indicates. Most of the mountain and tribal deities were inimical goddesses and were worshipped to ward off and protect from demons, goblins, evil-spirits, etc. Conversely, such goddesses were also regarded as divinities of fertility and procreation. Similar must have been the case with Pārvatī. Further, Śiva was also a prominent tribal god of pre-Vedic India. Significant features of Śiva were (are) : 1. his connection with phallus, fecundity, and procreation, 2. his connection with demons, goblins, and evil-spirits, etc., i. e., malignant forces.

In the post-Vedic period, during the age of religious reawakening, and mass assimilation of independent divinities of different tribes and cults with the divinities of Neo-Brahmanism, Pārvatī was united with Śiva because of their identical qualities. They became universal parents (*cf. jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatīparameśvarau*). That is to say, apart from their predominant position in Śaivism and Tāntrism, what is important from our point of view is that the demon-destroying and fertility-nature of Pārvatī still continues in her. It is Pārvatī who, in her incarnation as Kālī or Durgā or Kauśikī or Vindyaśiṅhī, destroys the demons. Again, it is Pārvatī who is worshipped by women to obtain a husband and children (refer to Sītā's *gaurī-pūjana* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*).

The second divinity of the above group, namely Rātri, has a different story. She was originally a Vedic goddess.

There are altogether six hymns, one in the Ṛgveda (10. 127) and five in the Atharvaveda (3.10; 19.47-50) which celebrate Rātri. One important feature of Rātri in the Ṛgveda is that she is described as *jagato niveśinī*, one who gives rest to the entire world (ṚV. 1.35.1; AV. 9.3.37; Khila 4.2.3). She provides a comfortable house (AV. 9.3.17; ŚB. 13.1.4.3) where all beings enjoy their nightly rest (ŚB. 10.3.1.16). People desire to sleep in her lap without any fear and worry, while she keeps a watch over men, their cows and horses (AV.19.47.9). Even the gods sleep in her wide lap (ṚV.10.70.6).

Another important feature of Rātri is her close connection with the sun. It is said that the sun possesses two forms : bright

and dark (RV. 10.37.3; 6.9.1). The one shines during the day, the other is dark during the night (RV. 1.215.5; VS. 33.38). Whatever light is in the sun, the same light is in the night also (AV. 4.18.1). Day and night are regarded as the two daughters of the sun (RV. 6.49.3).

The motherly aspect of Rātri is also hinted at in Vedic literature. She is the mother of Uṣas (RV. 1.113.3) and also of the sun (Rohita) (AV. 13.3.36).

Nevertheless, the fact that the demons, goblins, and evil spirits, etc. wander and become more active during the night has not remained unnoticed by the Vedic poets. She is prayed to protect people from all difficulties—human, natural, or supernatural. She is prayed to protect men from demons (Ppp. 13.10.2; AV. 8.2.20) and from the fierce creatures on the mountain (AV. 19.48.3). She is implored also to keep the wolves and the thieves away (RV. 10.127.6) and protect men from snakes, wolves, and other fierce animals (AV. 19.47.8; 50.1). It is important to note that in AV. 19.49.4, it is said that the shining Rātri has taken upon herself the splendour (*varcas*) of a lion, a tiger, a horse, and men and she transforms herself into many forms. In AV. 19.50.2, the poet wishes that the sharp-horned draught oxen of Rātri protect men in their difficulties.

Because of the belief that the inimical forces and demons prevail during the night, Rātri came to be regarded as an evil in Brāhmaṇic texts. The nightly darkness is the darkness of death (AB. 4.5; KB. 17.6; 9; GB. 2.5.1). The demons and the Rākṣasas gather in the night (TS. 2.4.1.1; SB. 7.3.2.19). The Asuras delight in the night (ŚB 11.1.6.1). MārḥP 48.1f mentions that while Prajāpati was engaged in meditation, the particles of darkness produced the Asuras. Prajāpati cast off that body of his which was composed of darkness. The body that was cast off by Prajāpati became night.

The above discussion would lead us to conclude that 1. Rātri has solar affinity; 2. she provides rest to all beings; 3. she is connected with demons, goblins, and evil-spirits, etc. from whom she protects; and 4. she has some traits of fertility and procreation.

In the post-Vedic Purāṇic literature, because of these prominent features of hers Rātri came to be associated with Viṣṇu and



Śiva. By virtue of her solar traits and motherly aspect she was aligned with Viṣṇu. On the other hand, her other traits, namely, her destroying the malignant forces plus her motherly aspect led her to be united with Śiva, a god of identical character and function.

The darkness of Rātri which has been referred to as being associated with the anarchic forces has been personified in the Purāṇic mythology as Kālarātri which does not seem different from Rātri in the Vedic mythology. This Kālarātri has her sway over the entire universe during the *pralaya*.<sup>10</sup> The other feature of Rātri, i. e., her giving rest and bringing sleep to all beings, was personified as Yoganidrā.

By the time of the Purāṇas the solar character of Viṣṇu was fully developed and established. Rātri, because of her solar connection in the Ṛgveda, came to be associated with Viṣṇu. In the Ṛgveda, it is the solar god Indra, who with the help of his *māyā* brings forth the universe (ṚV. 6.47.18). But in the Purāṇas, it is the solar god Viṣṇu who is the lord of this *māyā*. Kālarātri is said to be Viṣṇumāyā (DevīM. 1.53; 5.13; KālikāP. 5.14; 6.9). The all-creative primeval goddess is known by the name of Viṣṇumāyā among the people (DevīM. 5.12) Without the consent, help, and cooperation of Viṣṇumāyā, nothing can be produced. This is clear from the legend of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

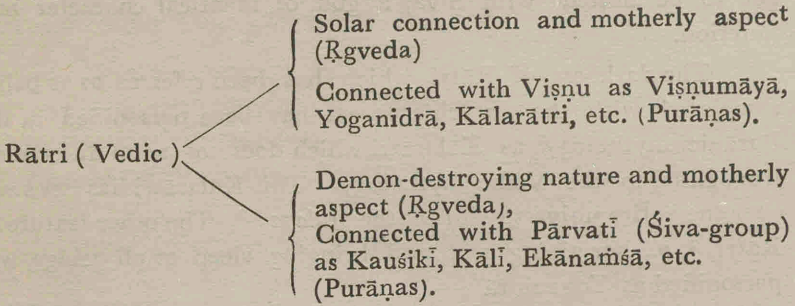
The selfsame Rātri has been associated with Pārvatī (Śiva-group) also as is evident from the legend of Śumbha and Niśumbha, and Tārakāsura. The reason for such association must have been her demon-destroying nature and that of Pārvatī with whom she was connected.

Whereas the solar affiliation of Rātri in the Ṛgveda was instrumental for her connection with Viṣṇu, her other features, viz., darkness and demon-destroying nature were conducive to her being associated with Pārvatī who too was originally an inimical goddess. That Brahmā asked Rātri to cover the embryo of Menakā so that Pārvatī is born black and thereby be endowed, due to the contact with Pārvatī, with an added vigour to destroy demons points towards this assumption.

10. Refer to Viṣṇu's cosmic sleep and emergence of Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

**Conclusion :**

On the basis of the above conspectus, we can have a clear picture of Rātri :



The Vedic Rātri thus served as a unifying force, a vinculum, in the Purāṇic mythology to bridge the gulf between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism because of her twofold character in the Ṛgveda :

1. Solar connection, and 2. demon-destroying nature. Viṣṇumāyā, Kālarātri, Yoganidrā, Kauśikī, Ekānamśā, Kālī, Śivadūtī, may be regarded as different emanations of the Vedic Rātri.



# THE UNIVERSALITY AND SUPREMACY OF BHAKTI-YOGA

By  
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[भागवतपुराणे भक्तिर्बहुधा प्रपञ्चितेति दृश्यते । निबन्धेऽस्मिन् भक्ति-विषयको ह्ये प्रश्नो विचारितौ—(१) किं भक्तिः सर्वेभ्योऽविशेषेण विहिता ? (अर्थात् वर्णादिभेदेन भक्त्यनुशीलनं भिद्यते न वेति); (२) परमपुरुषार्थ-साधनेषु भक्तेः प्राधान्यं भागवते स्वीकृतं न वेति ।

निबन्धलेखकेनेदं सिद्धान्तितं यद् यद्यपि भागवते भक्तैः सर्वोपकारिताऽभ्युपगता, तथापि पुराणमिदं वर्णाश्रममर्यादां न सर्वथा तिरस्करोति । सर्वेषु साधनेषु भक्तिः प्रधानभूतेति भागवतीयं मतम् । भक्तिरियं वासुदेवविष्णु-परेति । निबन्धलेखकेन स्वमतं भागवतवाक्यानाम्, भागवतोक्तस्थानां चाश्रयेण सुष्ठु प्रतिपादितम् । निबन्धान्ते भक्तेर्महिमा प्राचीनता चापि प्रकटीकृता ।]

The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*,<sup>1</sup> which claims to be an infallible help to the spiritual pilgrim,<sup>2</sup> propounds *bhakti* as the highest *dharma* of man.<sup>3</sup> In this article we shall discuss two questions : (1) Does the *BhP* propose the *bhakti-yoga* to all men and women, whatever be their social status ? In other words, we shall see how the *bhakti-yoga* stands in relation to the *varṇa-āśrama-dharma*. (2) Does the *BhP* give any preference to the *bhakti-yoga vis-a-vis* the other traditionally accepted ways of attaining realization ? To put it differently, is the *bhakti-yoga* one among other *mārgas* equally accepted by the *BhP*, or does the *BhP* give to it some special significance ?

## 1 : Bhakti—the Universal Way to God

### Certain limitations of the Varṇa-āśrama-dharma

The traditional understanding of *dharma* was to a large extent intimately linked with the two concepts of *varṇa* and *āśrama*.<sup>4</sup>

1. Henceforth abbreviated as *BhP*.
2. Cf. S. Anand, "The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* : A Guide for the *Sādhanaka*", *Purāṇa* XX. 1, pp. 71-86.
3. Cf. S. Anand, "Bhakti—the *Bhāgavata* Way to God", *Purāṇa* XXII. 2, pp. 187-211.
4. Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra* (Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1968), vol. I, p. 3.

In its earliest form, the *varṇa*-structure of society may have been a purely socio-economic phenomenon. Gradually, however, it acquired a religious significance, and the Śūdra was the greatest loser. He was not allowed to study the Veda. The Veda could be studied only by one who had been duly initiated through the *upanayana-saṁskāra*. The Śūdra was debarred from all *saṁskāras*, except *vivāha*. He could not be present even when the Veda was being recited. Therefore, the only *āśrama* open to him was the *gārhasthya*.<sup>5</sup>

The *āśrama*-approach to life in its final development divided life into four stages. The first two were mainly concerned with the things of this life. Manu teaches that only after a man has discharged his debt to the seers, to the fathers, and to the gods, should he think of *mokṣa*.<sup>6</sup> Medhātithi, who "most probably flourished between 825 and 900 A. D.," commenting on *Manu-smṛti* 6.97, remarks that the Śūdra by serving the Brāhmins and by fulfilling his household duties, acquires the fruits of all the *āśramas*, except *mokṣa*.<sup>8</sup> *Mokṣa* can be acquired only by the proper observance of the fourth *āśrama*, i. e., *saṁnyāsa*.<sup>9</sup> Kane, while discussing the relation between the *puruṣārtha*-doctrine and the *āśrama*-system seems to agree with Medhātithi in his understanding of the traditional stand of the Dharmaśāstras.<sup>10</sup>

### **Bhakti : a call to all men and women**

The *BhP* clearly states that birth alone cannot be the source of man's greatness. That one is born in a high caste is no guarantee that one is dear to the Lord.<sup>11</sup> He is not pleased with anything that falls short of selfless *bhakti*.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, without *bhakti*, a

5. Cf. Kane, *Op. cit.* (1974), vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 154-64.

6. *adhītya vidhiyad vedān putrāmścotpādyā dharmataḥ, iṣṭvā ca śaktitaḥ yajñair mano mokṣe niveśayet.* 6.36.

7. Kane : *Op. cit.*, I, p. 583.

8. *śusrūṣayā' patyotpādanena ca sarvāśramaphalaṁ labhate ...parivrājakaphalaṁ varjayitvā.*

9. Cf. Kane, *Op. cit.*, II-1, p. 163.

10. Cfr. *Ibid.*, pp. 422-4.

11. *nālaṁ dvijatvaṁ devatvaṁ ṛṣitvaṁ vāsurātmajāḥ, pṛiṇanāya mukundasya na vṛttaṁ na bahujātā.* 7.7.51.

12. *pṛiyate' malayā bhaktyā hariranyad viḍambanam.* 7.7.52b.



noble birth, even in the family of a *ṛṣi*, is of no avail.<sup>13</sup> Just as a high birth confers no privileges, so too, a low birth does not disqualify the Śūdra. The *BhP* has something very consoling to say of the origin of the Śūdra :

Service, which is needed to attain *dharma*, was born from the feet of the Lord. In the days of old the Śūdra was born for this service. By fulfilling this he pleases the Lord.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, far from being disadvantaged by his birth, the Śūdra seems to be in a better position, because his calling to service is helpful and necessary towards the fulfilment of the Law. Kṛṣṇa, too, has a very favourable attitude towards the Śūdra. He directs Nanda to give the outcastes a share of the sacrifice.<sup>15</sup>

Contrary to the stand taken by the authors of the Dharma-sāstras, the *BhP* teaches that all men and women can attain perfection,<sup>16</sup> because all men can love the Lord, even the so-called "dog-eaters."<sup>17</sup> To be a saint one need not be born in the family of a *dvija*. Like Satyakāma Jābala of old,<sup>18</sup> Nārada was the son of a maid-servant,<sup>19</sup> born to her as a result of being cursed to be born a Śūdra,<sup>20</sup> and he probably did not know who his father was. Yet, he was a great saint,<sup>21</sup> honoured by all the gods.<sup>22</sup> Vidura,

13. ṛṣayo'pi deva yuṣmatprasāṅgavimukhā iha saṁsaranti. 3.9.10b.

14. padbhyāṁ bhagavato jajñe śusrūṣā dharmasiddhaye, tasyāṁ jātaḥ purā śūdro yadvṛtyā tuṣyate hariḥ. 3.6.33. All quotations from the *BhP* are my own translation.

15. See 10.24.28.

16. daiteyā yakṣaraksāmsi striyaḥ śūdrāḥ vrajaukasaḥ, khagā mṛgāḥ pāpajīvāḥ santi hyacyutatām gatāḥ. 7.7.54.

17. bhaktyāham ekayā grāhyaḥ śraddhayā'tmā priyaḥ satām, bhaktiḥ punāti manniṣṭhā śvapākān api sambhavāt. 11.14.21.

śvapāka is considered to be "a man of a very low and degraded caste." V. S. Apte, *The Students' Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), p. 567.

18. *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* 4.4.

19. See 1.5.23.

20. See 7.15.72.

21. mahā-bhāgavata, 2.9.41b.

22. sura-pūjita, 1.4.31b.

too, was a Śūdra.<sup>23</sup> Yet, Yudhiṣṭhira addressing him says :

O Lord, devotees of the Lord like you are made holy by the Lord who dwells in your heart. You in turn sanctify all the holy places.<sup>24</sup>

To be a saint one need not receive *upanayana*, the *saṁskāra* by which a Hindu becomes a *dvija*. Śuka did not receive it,<sup>25</sup> yet, he was a great devotee of the Lord,<sup>26</sup> fully dedicated to Him.<sup>27</sup> To scale the heights of holiness one need not study the Veda. Sūta had not studied the Veda,<sup>28</sup> but he was no poorer for that, being accounted a great devotee of the Lord.<sup>29</sup>

If God-realization is the goal of all men, and of women, irrespective of their caste, then it follows that the means thereto should be equally available to all. According to the Dharmasāstras, one could begin the *brahmacharya-āśrama*—the student life—only after receiving the *upanayana*. Therefore only men of the first three castes could enter on spiritual discipleship. Women and Śūdras were debarred. But Kṛṣṇa opens the doors of spiritual discipleship to all, even to the Śūdras and to women. Winding up his teaching to Uddhava, he tells him :

You may impart the teaching I have given to you only to a man who is free from the faults I have indicated above, provided he is devoted to the Brāhmins, is loved by you, and is pure and pious. You may also impart this teaching to women and Śūdras provided they have devotion. Once a person has

23. He was actually Yama, born as a Śūdra, also due to a curse. See 3.5.20.

24. bhavadvidhā bhāgavatās tīrthabhūtāḥ svayam vibho,  
tīrthīkurvanti tīrthāni svāntaḥsthena gadābhṛtā. 1.13.10.

25. an-upeta, 1,2.2a.

26. bhāgavata-pradhāna, 2.3.25a.

27. vāsudeva-parāyaṇa, 2.3.16a.

28. ....snātamanyatra chandasāt. 1.4.13b.

When the sages justify themselves for choosing Sūta to narrate to them the story of Kṛṣṇa, they underline his wide learning. But the texts he has mastered are only *smṛti*-texts. See 1.1.6.

29. bhagavat-pradhāna. 1.18.15a.



really understood this teaching nothing else remains to be known.<sup>30</sup>

Thus the Śūdras and women are eligible to receive the fulness of spiritual discipleship.<sup>31</sup> The Veda was a closed book for the Śūdra. It could not even be recited in his presence. The *BhP*, which claims to be the very essence of the Vedas,<sup>32</sup> offers itself to all who care to study it with reverence.<sup>33</sup> The *BhP* lays the greatest stress on *satsaṅga* as a means to holiness.<sup>34</sup> The saint is open to all men, ready to accept anyone.<sup>35</sup> Thence *satsaṅga* is a universal sacrament. All types of men and women reach the heights of holiness through *satsaṅga*.<sup>36</sup> *Satsaṅga* nullifies all social disqualifications.<sup>37</sup> *Bhakti* makes up for the lack of all the other means, which are available to the privileged ones alone.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, an

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30. etair doṣair vihināya brahmanyāya priyāya ca, sādhave śucaye brūyād bhaktiḥ syācchūdrayoṣitām. naitad vijñāya jijñāsor jñātavyamavaśiṣyate. 11.29.31-32a.
31. For a complete discussion on the concept of spiritual discipleship as expounded by the *BhP*, cf. S. Anand: "Spiritual Discipleship as Described by the Bhāgavata-purāṇa," *Indian Theological Studies*, XV-1, pp. 21-55.
32. akhila-śruti-sāra, 1.2.3a. sarva-veda-anta-sāra, 12.13.12a.
33. vipro' dhītyāpnuyāt prajñām rājanyodadhimekhalām, vaiśyo nidhipatitvaṁ ca śūdraḥ suddhyeta pātakāt. 12.12.64.
34. Kṛṣṇa calls *satsaṅga* the greatest secret (*parama-guhya*). See 11.11.49a. For a complete discussion on the concept of *satsaṅga* as taught by the *BhP*, cf. S. Anand: "Satsaṅga: The Company of Saints", in G. M. Vaddakkekara (ed.): *Prayer and Contemplation* (Bangalore, Asirvanam, 1980), pp. 273-310.
35. sarva-bhūta-sama, 11.2.52b.
36. See 11.12.2-9.
37. dauṣkulyamādhiṁ vidhunoti śīgram mahattamānām abhidānayoḡaḥ. 1.18.18b.
38. Devahūti addresses her son, Kapila, considered to be an *avatāra*: tepus tapaste juhuvuḥ sasnu rāryā brahmānūcurnāma gṛṇanti ye te. 3.33.7b.  
Similarly, some Brāhmins who at first refused to honour the request made by Kṛṣṇa, eulogize their wives favoured by him:

outcaste, provided he is a *bhakta*, is superior to a Brahmin, who may be adorned with many qualities but bereft of *bhakti*.<sup>39</sup>

The universalistic stand of the *BhP* is founded on the belief that Hari, being the soul of all,<sup>40</sup> looks upon all without partiality.<sup>41</sup> He has no favourites, nor is He against anyone.<sup>42</sup> But this does not mean that He is indifferent towards His devotees, far from it. The *bhakta* is most dear to Him. Kṛṣṇa tells Uddhava that he is dearer to Him than Śiva, Brahmā, and even Śrī.<sup>43</sup>

Though the *BhP* has a universalistic attitude, it does not totally reject the traditional respect shown to the Brāhmin. Ṛṣabha, considered to be an *avatāra* of Hari, instructs his people thus :

I find no being equal to, much less higher than, the Brāhmin  
I gladly accept the offering made through the Brāhmin,  
provided it is accompanied with faith. Such an offering  
surpasses the *agnihotra*.<sup>44</sup>

To give gifts to the Brāhmins seems to be better than to offer a sacrifice ! Kṛṣṇa himself teaches the greatness of the Brāhmin, but he insists that this greatness is more the consequence of moral greatness than of birth alone :

nāsām dvijātisaṁskāro na nivāso gurāvapi,  
na tapo nātmamīmāṁsā na śaucaṁ na kriyaḥ śubhāḥ.  
athāpi hyuttamaśloke kṛṣṇe yogeśvareśvare,  
bhaktirdṛḍhā na cāsmakaṁ saṁskārādīmatāmapi.  
10.23.42-3.

39. viprād dviṣaḍguṇayutād aravindanābhā-  
pādāravindavimukhācchvapacāṁ varīṣṭham,  
manye tadarpitamanovacanehitārtha.  
prāṇam punāti sa kulāṁ na tu bhūrimānaḥ. 7.9.10.
40. sarva-ātmā, 1.9.21a.
41. sama-dṛṣ, *ibid*.
42. na yasya, kaściddayito' sti karhicid  
dveṣyaśca yasmin viśamā matirṇṇām. 1.8.29b.
43. na tathā me priyatama ātmayonir na saṁkaraḥ,  
na ca saṁkarṣaṇo na śrīrnaivātmā ca yathā bhavān.  
11.14.15.
44. na brāhmaṇais tulaye bhūtamanyat  
paśyāmi viprāḥ kimataḥ paraṁ tu,  
yasmin ṇbhīḥ prahutaṁ śraddhayāham  
aśnāmi kāmāṁ na tathāgnihotre. 5.5.23.



By his very birth, the Brāhmin is superior to all beings, more so if he is endowed with penance, learning, contentment, and devotion to me.<sup>45</sup>

The real Brāhmin is characterized by a spirit of forgiveness;<sup>46</sup> he is calm, considerate to the poor and needy, and looks upon all with an impartial eye.<sup>47</sup> Since it is moral greatness that constitutes the real Brāhmin, anyone who leads a life of virtue and *bhakti* can become a Brāhmin.<sup>48</sup> Here the *BhP* seems to give in to the factual religious dominance of the Brāhmins, but not quite, because by introducing the moral and religious consideration in the concept of Brāhminhood, it implicitly passes a judgement on the practice then prevalent.

### Bhakti and temporal involvement

The *saṁnyāsa-āśrama* which was particularly suited for the quest of *mokṣa*—according to the opinion commonly held by the Dharmaśāstra writers—demands that a man renounces everything, even his house, so that he is obliged to go from place to place, to be a *parivrāt*. In the first two *āśramas* man fulfilled the first three *puruṣārthas* : *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*. Only in the third did he think of *mokṣa*.

The *BhP*, however, teaches that supreme *bhakti* is possible while being involved in things mundane. Temporal commitment is not incompatible with holiness for one who is detached. King Dhruva, while he continues to rule his kingdom, while he continues his quest for *artha*, *kāma*, and *dharma*,<sup>49</sup> has his senses fully under control,<sup>50</sup> his mind immovably fixed on the Lord.<sup>51</sup> Similarly,

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45. brāhmaṇo janmanā śreyān sarveṣāṁ prāṇināmiha, tapasā vidyayā tuṣṭyā kimu matkalayā yutaḥ. 10.86.53.
  46. Jamadagni to his son, Paraśurāma, after the latter slew King Arjuna : vyaṁ hi brāhmaṇās tāta kṣamayārhanatām gatāḥ. 9.15.39a.
  47. brāhmaṇaḥ samadṛk śānto dīnānām samupekṣakaḥ. 4.14.41a.
  48. Speaking of the sons of Ṛṣabha, the *BhP* remarks : karmavisuddhā brāhmaṇā babhūvuḥ.
  49. trivarga-aupayika, 4.12.14b.
  50. avicala-indriya, 4.12.14a.
  51. acalita-smṛti, 4.12.8b.

we have the instance of king Pṛthu, foremost among the great.<sup>52</sup> He has fully attained the heights of perfection, his mind being completely fixed on the Lord.<sup>53</sup> Yet he continues to exercise his royal power, fulfilling all his duties, that too in a thorough manner.<sup>54</sup> This is possible only when one has his feet firmly on this earth. The story of Sudāmā is one of the most moving episodes in the *BhP*. In him we see the possibility of great sanctity within the *gārhasṭhya-āśrama*. He is fully detached from sensual objects, calm, and self-possessed.<sup>55</sup> Hence, though fulfilling the duties incumbent upon him as a householder, he does not get attached to things of this world.<sup>56</sup>

Once again the *BhP* finds the justification for this stand in the mystery of God Himself. He creates and sustains everything; He leads all creation to its goal: yet, He Himself remains unattached, fully free.<sup>57</sup> This is true also with regard to His *avatāra*, Lord Kṛṣṇa, who moves about in the world, fully detached, seeking nothing but the good of the world.<sup>58</sup> This is possible because God has in Himself all fullness; He does not need to seek it outside Himself. So, too, the *bhakta* has in his heart the Lord Himself. What else does he need to look for?<sup>59</sup> As God is one who has His purpose always fulfilled, so, too, the *bhakta* is happy with what he has.<sup>60</sup> If he gets involved in the world, it is not out of personal interest, but because the Lord wants him to do so.<sup>61</sup> Only in this context

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52. ....dhuryo mahatām.... 4.33.49a.  
 53. ....ātmanyavasthitaḥ. 4.22.49b.  
 54. karmāṇi ca yathākālaṃ yathādeśaṃ yathābalam,  
 yathocitaṃ yathāvittam akarod brahmasātkṛtam. 4.22.50.  
 55. virakta indriyārtheṣu praśāntātmā jitendriyaḥ. 10.80.6b.  
 56. Kṛṣṇa, praising his friend, Sudāmā, tells him :  
 prāyo gṛheṣu te cittamakāma vihataṃ tathā,  
 naivātipriyase vidvan dhaneṣu viditaṃ hi me. 10.80.29.  
 57. sa vā idaṃ viśvamamoghalīlaḥ sṛjatyavatyatti na  
 sajjate' smin. 1.3.10a.  
 58. Kṛṣṇa tells Sudāmā :  
 kecit kurvanti karmāṇi kāmairahatacetasah,  
 tyajantaḥ prakṛtīr daivīr yathāham lokasaṃgraham.  
 10.80.30.  
 59. īhate bhagavānīso no hi tatra viśajjate,  
 ātma labhena pūrṇārtho nāvasidanti ye' nu tam. 8.1.15.  
 60. nija-lābha-tuṣṭa, 1.19.25b.  
 61. ....īśvarecchayādhiniveśitakarmādhikāraḥ.... 5.1.23.



does temporal involvement become part of the service rendered to the Lord.<sup>62</sup> However, the *BhP* is also aware that this combination of temporal involvement and the quest for perfection is difficult. Like Brahmā, man has to pray that while being involved in the world his heart may be fixed on the Lord.<sup>63</sup> The Lord by His grace will definitely sustain His sincere devotee.<sup>64</sup> Thus, *bhakti*, by purifying man, makes his secular involvement selfless, and thereby more authentic.

### Conclusion : Bhakti as sādharma-dharma

The *BhP* does not reject outright the *varṇa-dharma*. It gives a special place of honour to the Brāhmin, but it also re-defines Brāhminhood in accordance with its central teaching. The real Brāhmin is the *bhakta*, and all men, and even women, can be *bhaktas*. Similarly, the *BhP* does not reject the division of human life into four states, but asserts that *bhakti*, the *dharma* of the *paramahंसas*,<sup>65</sup> is beyond all *āśramas*,<sup>66</sup> and therefore attainable in every state of life. *Bhakti*, then, is the *sādharma-dharma*, the universal *dharma*. It cuts across all strata of society and all stages of life. *Bhakti* gives meaning to all other *dharmas* and fulfils it, as Sūta tells the sages of Naimiṣāraṇya :

O best among the twice-born, to please the Lord is the perfection of *dharma*, properly fulfilled by men, according to their *varṇa* and *āśrama*.<sup>67</sup>

62. Brahmā, tells Svāyambhuva-Manu :  
param śuśrūṣaṇam mahyam syāt prajārakṣayā nṛpa,  
bhagavāṁste prajābhartur hr̥ṣikeśo' nutuṣyati. 3.13.12.
63. Brahmā, when commissioned by Viṣṇu to create the world prays that while doing so, he may remain free from all attachment: his mind fully fixed on the Lord. See 2.9.28-9.
64. Brahmā, whose prayer is heard, is given this assurance by Viṣṇu : nānakarmavitānena prajā bahviḥ sisṛkṣataḥ,  
nātmāvāsīdatyasminste varṣīyān madanugrahaḥ.
65. Cf. Anand : "The Bhāgavata-purāṇa : A Guide for the Sādharma." 79-82.
66. sarva-āśrama-namaskṛta, 1.3.13b.
67. ataḥ pumbhir dvijaśreṣṭha varṇāśramavibhāgaśaḥ,  
svanuṣṭhitasya dharmasya saṁsiddhir haritoṣaṇam. 1.2.13.

Hence, a man may fail to observe his *sva-dharma*, and yet suffer no loss, provided he has *bhakti*; on the other hand, a man who observes *svadharmā* but has no *bhakti* has everything to lose.<sup>68</sup>

## II : Bhakti—the best way to God

### Uddhava's question

In his instruction to his devoted pupil, Uddhava, Kṛṣṇa tells him that in order to help man attain his ultimate goal, he, Kṛṣṇa, has propounded three *yogas*, namely, *karma-*, *jñāna-*, and *bhakti-yoga*. Besides these there is no other way man can reach his goal.<sup>69</sup> The *BhP* is thus well aware of the three traditional ways to self-realization. The question that troubles Uddhava is whether man is free to choose any of these or if one of them is superior to the other two.<sup>70</sup> We shall now try to see what the *BhP* has to say on this matter.

### Bhakti and the Karma-mārga

The *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* of Jaimini define *dharma* as “a desirable goal or result that is indicated by injunctive passages.”<sup>71</sup> Kane believes that here *dharma* means “such rites as are conducive to happiness and are enjoined by Vedic passages.”<sup>72</sup> In interpreting *dharma* in terms of religious rites, Kane takes his cue from Śabaravāmī, who in his commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*, explains that the object of the injunction is (religious) action.<sup>73</sup> The *Mīmāṃsā* school of thought divides religious rites into three kinds. The *nitya-karmas* are those rituals that man was obliged to perform every day.

68. tyaktvā svadharmam caraṇāmbujam harer  
bhajannapakvo' tha patet tato yadi,  
yatra kva vābhadramabhūdamuṣya kim  
ko vārtha apto' bhajatām svadharmataḥ. 1.5.17.
69. yogāstrayo mayā proktā nṛṇām śreyovidhityā,  
jñānam karma ca bhaktiśca nopāyo'nyo'sti kutra cit.  
11.20.6.
70. vadanti kṛṣṇa śreyāmsi bahūni brahmavādināḥ,  
teṣām vikalpapṛādhānyam utāho ekamukhyatā. 11.14.1.
71. codanālakṣaṇārtho dharmāḥ. 1.1.2.  
Quoted by Kane, *op. cit.*, I, p. 5.
72. *Ibid.*
73. codaneti kriyāyāḥ pravartakam vacanamāhuḥ.  
Quoted by R. S. Misra : *Studies in Philosophy and Religion*  
(Varanasi, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1971), p. 119.



The *naimittika-karmas* are those rituals that had to be performed when some definite occasion arose. The *kāmya-karmas* were left to the choice of the individual. He performed them when he wanted to achieve some definite purpose.<sup>74</sup>

The *BhP* opens with a sacrificial scene. It makes a subtle derogatory remark about the sacrificial system. The sages who asked Sūta to narrate to them the story of Kṛṣṇa tell him :

We are engaged in this sacrificial action, even though we are not sure of its outcome. The smoke rising from the fire is soiling us. But you quench our thirst by offering us the sweet honey flowing from the lotus feet of the Lord.<sup>75</sup>

Not only is the sacrificial system devoid of assurance, but it leaves the participants soiled by the smoke ! A stronger rejection of the sacrificial system is voiced by Yama in his instruction to his servants after they return empty-handed on being repelled by the messengers of Viṣṇu from dragging away Ajāmila<sup>76</sup> :

The Vedas attract man by their sweet and flowery speech. Man's understanding gets clouded on hearing them, and then without much discernment he engages in ritual action, not realizing the greatness of the divine name, as his mind is confused by the divine *māyā*.<sup>77</sup>

Here the involvement in the sacrificial action is attributed to the delusion brought about by *māyā*. A man who concentrates on the sacrificial structure, convinced of its omnipotence, does not

74. Cfr. Misra : *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20.

75. *karmaṇyasmin nanāśvāse dhūmadhūmrātmanām bhavān, āpāyayati govindapādapadmāsavaṁ madhu. 1.18.12.*

Elaborate sacrificial performance required the assistance of a *purohita*. The *BhP* does not seem to have much respect for this office either. Being deserted by Bṛhaspati, the gods request Viśvarūpa to be their priest. The latter is reluctant, because the priesthood is condemned by virtuous men, and only a fool is happy with it. See 6.7.35-6.

76. For the details of the story of Ajāmila, see 6.1-3.

77. *prāyeṇa veda tadidaṁ na mahājano'yaṁ devyā vimohitamātir bata māyayālam, trayyāṁ jaḍīkṛtamātir madhupuṣpitāyām vaiṭānike mahati karmāṇi yujyamānaḥ. 6.3.25.*

realize the glory of the *bhakti-mārga*.<sup>78</sup> The reward of sacrificial action is perishable<sup>79</sup>, and concerns the first three *puruṣārthas* only<sup>80</sup> and as such, it is the source of rebirth.<sup>81</sup>

The *BhP* is well aware of the traditional belief in the doctrine of sacrifice. In a lengthy passage it gives the various benefits to be obtained by sacrificing to the different Vedic deities, and concludes thus :

A man with a great understanding, whether he is free from all desire, or wishes to possess all, or longs for *mokṣa* alone, should worship with intense devotion the supreme Puruṣa. For the realization of the supreme goal for all worshippers is had when they experience a steadfast devotion to the Lord. This is possible only through the company of the saints.<sup>82</sup>

The *BhP*, thus, in very clear terms states that by *bhakti* alone can man attain all the benefits of the different *yajñas*; that *bhakti* is the supreme *yajña*; that *bhakti* is the real goal of all *yajñas*.

This attitude of the *BhP* is well illustrated in the episode of Bali.<sup>83</sup> He was a Daitya. By faithfully serving his preceptors he had attained great gifts. He conquered the whole world, and even ousted Indra from his kingdom. Aditi, the mother of the gods, seeing the sad plight of her son, advised by her husband, worships Viṣṇu, to obtain a son who would be a match for Bali. In the meanwhile, the humiliated Indra is told that only Viṣṇu can come to his rescue. He betakes himself to Viṣṇu. In answer to his prayer, Viṣṇu condescends to be born of Aditi. This is his *Vāmana-avatāra*. Then dressed as a Brāhmin lad, he goes to the sacrificial

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78. From the total context of the story of Ajāmila, is obvious that Yama is contrasting the *bhakti-mārga* with the *karma-mārga*.
79. *kṣayiṣṇu*, 7.7.40a.
80. *traivargika-karma*, 2.4.4a.
81. *evam nṛṇām kriyāyogāḥ sarve saṁsṛtihatavaḥ ta evātmavināśāya kalpante kalpitāḥ pare.* 1.5.34.
82. *akāmaḥ sarvakāmo vā mokṣakāma udāradhīḥ, tivreṇa bhaktiyogena yajeta puruṣam param. etāvāneva yajatām iha niḥśreyasodayaḥ, bhagavatyacalo bhāvo yad bhāgavatasangataḥ.* 2.3.10-11.
83. The story of Bali is found in 8.15-23.



hall of Bali and asks for some gift. Śukra, Bali's preceptor, sensing the danger, advises him against granting the wish of Vāmana. But Bali, not wishing to break his promise, insists on giving to Vāmana whatever he may ask. Vāmana asks for three paces of land. Bali, seeing no difficulty, grants the request. Vāmana covers the whole earth in one stride, with the second he measures the heavens. Since nothing more is left for the third step, Bali is bound and taken to hell. Then Vāmana tells Śukra to complete the half-performed sacrifice. To this Śukra replies :

O Lord, you are the Lord of all action, the Lord of all sacrifices, nay, you are the very embodiment of sacrifice. Bali has worshipped you with all his being. How, then, can his sacrificial action remain incomplete? The recitation of your sacred name makes reparation for all sacrificial defects whether these defects be due to faulty *mantra* or ritual, or improper time or place.<sup>84</sup>

Could the offering of such a generous soul like that of Bali remain incomplete? Thus it is only when *karma* is surrendered to the Lord that it becomes fruitful.<sup>85</sup> It is *bhakti* that makes this detachment possible.

*Karma* is an initial requirement. The real import of the Vedas is not to impose *karma*, but to free man from *Karma*.<sup>86</sup> Man reaches this stage only when he performs the action enjoined by the Vedas in a spirit of surrender.<sup>87</sup> Hence it is only when he has matured in *bhakti* that he can abandon the *karma-mārga*.<sup>88</sup> It is for this reason that Nārada, who is considered to be a great teacher of

84. kutas tatkarmavaiṣamyam yasya karmesvaro bhavān,  
yajñeśo yajñapurusaḥ sarvabhāvena pūjitaḥ.  
mantratas tantratas chidraṁ deśakālārhavastutaḥ,  
sarvaṁ karoti niśchidraṁ nāmasaṁkīrtanaṁ tava.  
8.23.15-6.

85. See above, note 81.

86. paroḥṣavādo vedo' yam bālānām anuśāsanam,  
karmamokṣāya karmāṇi vidhatte hyagadaṁ yathā. 11.3.44.

87. vedoktamevaṁ kurvāṇo nissaṅgo'rpitamīśvare,  
naiṣkarmyām labhate siddhiṁ rocanārthā phalaśrutīḥ.  
11.3.46.

88. tāvat karmāṇi kurvīta na nirvidyeta yāvatā,  
matkathāśravaṇādau vā śraddhā yāvan na jāyate. 11.20.9.

the *bhakti-yoga*, is also the one who teaches *naiṣkarmya* (actionlessness).<sup>89</sup> We can easily understand this stand of the *BhP* if we bear in mind that the Lord is the heart of the sacrifice.<sup>90</sup>

Action is but the indication of a deeper disposition. It is this inner disposition that gives meaning to our action. But when the inner attitude has reached a great depth then action becomes ineffective: it cannot convey the depth of the attitude. Then the best course of action is to cease from all action. So too, in spiritual life, *bhakti* is the highest fulfilment of man. It alone gives meaning to *karma*. Consequently, when through intense *bhakti*, a man is in deep communion with Him who is the Lord of *karma* and *yajña*,<sup>91</sup> then all action becomes superfluous.

Then silence, not merely of words, but of the total human endeavour, is the best expression of that inner depth. Then this silence speaks more loudly than words and actions, because the Lord is beyond all human expression, and our silence is the most profound proclamation of his ineffability, of his transcendence. It is this that lies behind the instruction of Kṛṣṇa to Uddhava :

O Uddhava, put aside your concern for what the law lays down or prohibits, nor be too worried about what you do or do not do, about what you have learnt in the sacred books and what you have still to learn. Come to me, for I am the one refuge of all beings. By surrendering yourself totally to me you will have no reason to be afraid.<sup>92</sup>

But silence and actionlessness are difficult for man as they hurt his pride, reminding him of his own inherent poverty. Hence only the grace of the Lord can help man to accept this attitude, as Nārada tells King Prācinabarhis :

89. *ṛtīyam ṛṣisargaṃ ca devarṣitvam upetya saḥ,*  
*tantraṃ sātvatam ācaṣṭa naiṣkarmyaṃ karmaṇāṃ yataḥ.*  
1.3.8.

90. *yajña-hṛdaya*, 4.9.24a.

91. Viṣṇu is also called *yajña-liṅga*, (3.13.13a), *yajña-puruṣa* (3.13.23b), *yajña-bhāvana* (3.13.34a), and *yajña-mūrti* (3.14.2a).

92. *tasmāt tvam uddhavotsṛjya codanām praticodanām,*  
*pravṛttaṃ ca nivṛttaṃ ca śrotavyaṃ śrutameva ca.*  
*mām ekameva śaraṇam ātmānam sarvadehinām,*  
*yāhi sarvātmabhāvena mayā syā hyakutobhayaḥ.*



When a man, who contemplates the Lord with his whole self, receives His grace, then he puts aside his attachment for this world as well as his faith in the Veda.<sup>93</sup>

Man can fully put aside himself and all his efforts only when sustained by the grace of God he realizes that God can do much more for him than he can even think of. Only in this attitude of loving trust will man be prepared to face his own poverty, his own helplessness to help himself.

### **Bhakti and the Jñāna-mārga**

The Ṛgvedic seers approached the *devas* with gifts, hoping to be blessed in return. As the sacrificial system developed, it acquired more importance than the *devas* themselves. Not only man, but even the *devas* were in need of the sacrifice. If they won a fight against the *asuras*, it was because they knew the art of sacrifice. Even Prajāpati, after he is exhausted by his creative activity, needs to be revived by a sacrifice. Thus the sacrifice became an "omnipotent world-principles."<sup>94</sup> If the sacrifice was so important, then the man who knew the mystery of the sacrifice, the man who knew the connection of the sacrifice with the world, was considered to be great.<sup>95</sup> Just as the sacrifice had supplanted the *devas*, so too, in the course of time, the knowledge of the world-principle embodied in the sacrifice became more important than the sacrifice itself, and eventually the sacrifice was ignored. This attitude finds its most zealous advocates in the Upaniṣads.

The Upaniṣads repeat the refrain found in the Brāhmaṇas: "He who knows....." Knowledge is of two types: *para* and *apara*. It is the former that leads to *mokṣa*. Celibacy, penance, *yoga* and

93. yadā yam anuṛhṇāti bhagavān ātmabhāvitaḥ,  
sa jahāti matim loke vede ca pariniṣṭhitām. 4.29.46

94. S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade: *History of Indian Philosophy* (Poona, Bilvakunja Publishing House, 1927), vol. II, pp. 65-6.

95. In the Brāhmaṇas we often find references to the man who knows :

... yaśo ha bhavati ya evam vidvān. *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*  
1.1.1.5.

... sa yasya haivam viduṣaḥ ... *Ibid.* 1.1.4.17.

... evametad veda. *Ibid.* 1.2.5.7.

... yasyaivam viduṣaḥ.... *Ibid.* 1.4.1.35, etc.

study are directed towards the acquisition of this *para-vidyā*. The disciple has to be instructed by a worthy teacher, but he must also personally assimilate the teaching by constant meditation.<sup>96</sup>

In his instruction to Uddhava, Kṛṣṇa tells him :

Only those who have been perfected through knowledge and discernment know my highest state. Therefore the *jñānin* is very dear to me. By his knowledge he sustains me. Penance, pilgrimage, recitation of prayer, alms, or the other means of sanctification cannot help man to attain that perfection which even a small fraction of knowledge can.<sup>97</sup>

From these lines one may get the impression that the *BhP* affirms the supremacy of the *jñāna-mārga*. But even a casual reading of the whole chapter from which these lines have been taken will make it quite clear that the *jñāna* spoken of here is penetrated through and through with *bhakti*. The lines that immediately follow this passage make it quite clear :

Therefore, O Uddhava, having come to know (me as) your Self through knowledge, and being equipped with knowledge and discernment, *being full of devotion*, worship me.<sup>98</sup>

The stand of the *BhP* with regard to the *jñāna-mārga* is similar to that with regard to *karma-mārga*, i. e., *jñāna* is meaningful only in relation to *bhakti*. This explains why Vyāsa, who has studied everything, feels like one who has not yet attained his goal.<sup>99</sup> This is because knowledge, however great, is by itself futile.<sup>100</sup>

96. Cf. S. Anand : "The Upaniṣadic Theology of Salvation", *Paths-Mārga*, III-2, pp. 12-5.

97. *jñānavijñāna saṁsiddhāḥ padaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ vidurmama, jñānī priyatamo' to me jñānenāsau bibharti mām. tapas tīrthaṁ japo dānaṁ pavitrāṇitarāṇi ca, nālaṁ kurvanti tāṁ siddhiṁ yā jñānakalayā kṛtā. 11.19.3-4*

98. *tasmā jñānena sahitaṁ jñātvā svātmānam uddhava, jñānavijñānasampanno bhaja mām bhaktibhāvitaḥ. 11.19.5.*

Emphasis mine.

99. Finding Vyāsa sad at heart, Nārada expresses his surprise to him :

*jijñāsitam adhitaṁ ca yat tad brahma sanātanam, athāpi śocasyātmānam akṛtārtha iva prabho. 1.5.4.*

100. *naīskarmyam apyacyutabhāvavarjitam na śobhate jñānamalaṁ nirañjanam. 1.5.12.*



*Jñāna* is a preparation for *bhakti*. It is by *jñāna* that man realizes that Hari is the Lord of all, the most worthy of love. It is by *jñāna* that man sees the futility of everything else.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, the *BhP* also teaches that it is by *bhakti* alone that man can reach the knowledge of the highest reality :

Just as an ignorant man does not understand the behaviour of an actor doing wonderful things with his mind and words, so too a man of poor intelligence cannot by all his skill understand the name, manifestation or doings of the Lord. Only that man who with constant and sincere devotion reverences the scent coming from the Lotus-feet of the Lord can understand His ways, of that Lord who holds the discus and of whose power there is no end.<sup>102</sup>

No human effort can reveal the mystery of God, The Lord Himself imparts this knowledge which is a great secret. Viṣṇu tells Brahmā :

Under my instruction receive the most secret knowledge together with discernment and whatever is helpful for it. By my grace you will truly come to know me as I am, my true nature, my form, quality and action.<sup>103</sup>

To know the Lord man has to come to Him in *bhakti*, and the Lord by His *anugraha* reveals Himself to his *bhakta*.<sup>104</sup> The *bhakta* expresses his love by serving the devotees of the Lord and thus

101. The Pracetasas request Nārada to instruct them in that wisdom which will reveal reality to them and help them to cross the ocean of death and rebirth. Nārada in his instruction tells them of the futility of everything else other than Hari. See 4.31.7-25. Note the *bhakti*-tone.

102. na cāsya kaścinnipuṇena dhātur  
avaiti jantuḥ kumaṇiṣa ūtiḥ,  
nāmāni rūpāṇi manovacobhiḥ  
santanvato naṭacaryamivājñāḥ.  
sa veda dhātuḥ padaviṁ parasya  
durantavīryasya rathāṅgapāṇeh,  
yo'māyayā santatayānuvṛtṭyā  
bhajete tatpādasarojagandham. 1.3.37-8.

103. jñānam paramaguhyam me yad vijñānasamanvitam,  
sarahasyam tadaṅgam ca gṛhāṇa gaditam mayā.  
yāvān aham yathābhāvo yadrūpaṅgaṅgakarmakah,  
tathaiva tattvavijñānam astu te madanugrahāt. 2.9.30-1.

104. madbhaktaḥ pratibuddhārtho matprasādena bhūyasā.  
3.27.28a.

becomes worthy of God's revelation,<sup>105</sup> By love and God's grace man gets an intuitive grasp of the highest reality.<sup>106</sup>

The reason for this stand of the *BhP* is not difficult to see. If the knowledge that brings perfection is about the highest reality, then it has to be penetrated by *bhakti*. According to the *BhP*, Kṛṣṇa himself is the supreme reality.<sup>107</sup> He reveals himself as a great lover. It is he who calls the *gopīs* to himself, but they cannot, even when allowed intimacy with him, claim him to be their own in such a way as to possess him. He remains forever the Lord, free to reveal or veil himself. If he reveals himself, it is only within the context of love. It is only when through love he has entered the heart of man that he unveils his face.<sup>108</sup> The knowledge that brings holiness and eventually salvation is not the knowledge of a thing which man can arrogantly invade, but the knowledge of him who is fully free, and before whom man must stand in humility and reverence as before a mystery. It is the knowledge born of personal communion which is impossible without love and grace. If this knowledge leads to *ātma-darśana*, then it is not the stare of an indifferent, unconcerned onlooker, but the contemplation of a lover.<sup>109</sup>

With reference to the teaching Kapila gave to his mother, Devahūti, S. Bhattacharya has this to say :

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105. jñānam viśuddham paramārthamekam  
anantaraṁ tvabahir brahma satyam,  
pratyak praśāntaṁ bhagavacchabdasaṁjñāṁ  
yadvāsudevaṁ kavayo vadanti.  
rahūgaṇaitat tapasā na yāti  
na cejyayā nirvapaṇād grhād vā,  
na cchandasā naiva jalāgnisūryair  
viṇā mahatpādarajo' bhīṣekam. 5.12.11-2.
106. vāsudeve bhagavati bhaktiyogaḥ prayojitaḥ.  
janayatyāśu vairāgyaṁ jñānam ca yad ahaitekam. 1.2.7
107. Cf. S. Anand : "Saguṇa or Nirguṇa", *Purāṇa*, XXI-1,  
pp. 40-63.
108. hṛdi sthito yacchati bhaktipūte  
jñānam satattvādhighamaṁ purāṇam. 3.5.4b.
109. tacchraddadhānā munayo jñānavairagyayuktayā,  
paśyantyātmani cātmanāṁ bhaktyā śrutagrhītayā. 1.2.12.  
This *ātma-darśana* is the same as *hari-darśana*. See 1.6.16-7



While the Bhāgavata disowns the claim of the path of action as an independent method, it has the unique catholicity to consider the path of knowledge and the path of devotion on equal footing. This is what the great saint Kapila has to say on this issue : The Paths of knowledge and devotion are equally good, for any one of them can take the *puruṣa* to *Puruṣa*.<sup>110</sup>

The verse in particular which he has in mind reads thus :

O daughter of Manu, *bhakti* and *yoga* have both been explained by me. By following one of them a man may attain the Supreme *Puruṣa*.<sup>111</sup>

It does not seem to me quite correct to evaluate a work mainly on the basis of one isolated verse, ignoring the overall trend. Further, we have shown that in the *BhP jñāna* is essentially linked with *bhakti*, and is the result of divine grace. Also, the fact that two ways are available to reach one and the same goal is no indication that both are equally good. If that were so, we might as well stop travelling by train and go back to our bullock-carts ! Again, the text referred to does not explicitly speak of the *jñāna-mārga*, but of *yoga*. We shall show that according to the explicit teaching of the *BhP*, *bhakti-mārga* is superior to *yoga*. Lastly, Bhattacarya is not quite consistent with his own stand. In the second volume of his study on the *BhP*, he has one chapter entitled 'The Sovereignty of the Path of Devotion',<sup>112</sup> where he says :

...The Bhāgavata seems to have dislodged both rituals and knowledge from their status of *dharma* and appropriated it instead in favour of devotion.<sup>113</sup>

### **Bhakti and Yoga**

In the *BhP*, the word *yoga* is found in the plural.<sup>114</sup> It is thus used both in the general as well as in the specialized sense. The *BhP* speaks of *bhaktiyoga*.<sup>115</sup> Kṛṣṇa uses the word to mean the

110. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11.

111. *bhaktiyogaśca yogaśca mayā mānavyudīritaḥ, yayor ekatareṇaiva puruṣaḥ puruṣam vrajet.* 3.29.35.

112. Cf. pp. 107-30.

113. p. 109.

114. *dr̥ṣṭā yogāḥ prayuktāśca....*4.18.13b.

115. See 3.29.35b.

three *mārgas*.<sup>116</sup> On the other hand, the word is also used to indicate the *aṣṭa-aṅga-yoga*.<sup>117</sup> We are now faced with the question : Can *aṣṭa-aṅga-yoga* as taught by its earliest proponents afford to ignore the *bhakti-mārga* as propounded by the *BhP*?<sup>118</sup>

The *Yoga-sūtra* speaks of *īśvara-praṇidhāna*.<sup>119</sup> The *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* explains it as *bhakti*,<sup>120</sup> and as the offering of all action to *īśvara*, the supreme teacher.<sup>121</sup> Dasgupta is of the opinion that these are two different ideas expressed by the same term. He writes :

This word (*īśvara-praṇidhāna*), according to the commentators, is used in two senses in the first and second books of the Patañjala Yoga aphorisms. In the first book it means love or devotion to God as the one centre of meditation, in the second it is used to mean the abnegation of all fruits of actions to *īśvara*, and thus *īśvara-praṇidhāna* in this sense is included under *kriyāyoga*.<sup>122</sup>

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116. yogāstrayo mayā proktāḥ... 11.20.6a.  
 117. yamādibhīry ogaṭhāiḥ... 3.27.6a.  
 11.15 speaks of the various *siddhis* obtained by *yoga*.  
 118. The earliest systematic presentation of the *aṣṭa-aṅga-yoga* is found in the *Yoga-sūtra*, attributed to Patañjali and written between 300 A. D. and 500 A. D. It has a *bhāṣya* supposed to have been written by Vyāsa between 650 and 850 A. D. Cf. J. H. Woods : *The Yoga-System of Patañjali* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, rep. 1972), pp. xvii-xxi. Dasgupta accepts the traditional view that the same Patañjali wrote the *Mahā-bhāṣya* on Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, as well as composed the *Yoga-sūtras*, Cf. S. N. Dasgupta : *A History of Indian Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 1952), vol. I, pp. 226-38.  
 119. *īśvarapraṇidhānād vā*. 1.23. See also 2.1, 32, 54.  
 120. *praṇidhānādbhaktiviśeṣād*. *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* on 1.23.  
 121. *īśvarapraṇidhānaṁ sarvakriyāṇāṁ paramagurāvarpaṇaṁ tatphalasannyāso vā*. *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* on 2.1. This is repeated without any fundamental change in the comment on 2.32 and 2.45.  
 122. *Yoga as Philosophy and Religion* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass rep. 1973), p. 161.



However, Bhoja, who flourished in the eleventh century A. D.,<sup>123</sup> does not seem to accept this distinction.<sup>124</sup> Thus in the two earliest proponents of the *aṣṭa-aṅga-yoga* we do have the notion of *bhakti* as the surrender of action with its fruits to Īśvara, who is viewed as the supreme teacher.

The *Yoga-sūtra* defines *yoga* as "the restriction of the fluctuations of the mind-stuff."<sup>125</sup> The result of this restriction is that "then the seer (that is, the self), abides in himself."<sup>126</sup> The *BhP* is aware of this definition of *yoga*.<sup>127</sup> Kapila begins his discourse of the *aṣṭa-aṅga-yoga* with these words :

O Princess, I shall explain to you the characteristics of *yoga* with some aid to concentration. By this process your mind, having become tranquil, will follow the right path.<sup>128</sup>

After finishing his discourse on *yoga*, he tells his mother that he has explained the *bhakti-yoga* and the *aṣṭa-aṅga-yoga* and that by one of these two man can reach the supreme *Puruṣa*.<sup>129</sup> From this it may appear that according to the *BhP* both the aforesaid *yogas* are equally good. We have already noted that this was the conclusion arrived at by Bhattacarya. But we have to examine the issue in the total context of the *BhP*.

The *BhP* clearly states that the goal of *yoga* is not merely the cessation of mental unrest, but to make man pleasing to Viṣṇu,<sup>130</sup> so that he can concentrate and experience the communion that is

123. Cf. V. Karnatak : *Vyākhyākāron kī Dṛṣṭi se Pātāñjal-Yogasūtra kā Samīkṣātmak Adhyayan* (Benaras, Hindu University, 1974), *Bhūmikā*, p. 27.
124. Bhoja explains *īśvara-praṇidhāna* as *sarva-kriyā-arpaṇa* already in his comment on 1.23, while Vyāsa does it only in his comment on 2.1. This explains Dasgupta's opinion.
125. *yogaścittavṛttinirodhaḥ*. 1.2. (tr. Woods)
126. *tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe' vasthānam*. 1.3. (tr. Woods)
127. E. g. : *eṣa vai paramo yogo manasaḥ saṁgrahaḥ smṛtaḥ*. 11.20.21a. *paro hi yogo manasaḥ samādhiḥ*. 11.23.46b.
128. *yogasya lakṣaṇam vakṣye sabījasya nṛpātmaje, mano yenaiva vidhinā prasannaṁ yāti satpatham*. 3.28.1.
129. See note 111.
130. *tā eva niyamāḥ sākṣāt tā eva ca yamottamāḥ, tapo dānaṁ vrataṁ yajño yena tuṣyatyadhokṣajaḥ*. 8.16.61.

characterised by love.<sup>131</sup> It is precisely because *yoga* is subservient to *bhakti* that Nārada can direct Vyāsa to recollect the wonderful deeds of Viṣṇu with the help of *samādhi*.<sup>132</sup> The mental calm aimed at by *yoga* is attained through the eight-fold process beginning with the *yamas*.<sup>133</sup> The *BhP* clearly teaches that the self will not attain peace so effectively by the *aṣṭa-aṅga-yoga* as by *bhakti*. Nārada, wanting to encourage the frustrated Vyāsa, shares with him his spiritual experience. He has learnt by experience that :

A heart overcome by passion and greed does not attain peace by the practice of *yama* and other limbs of *yoga* as effectively it does through the devotion to the Lord.<sup>134</sup>

Thus, not only is mental calm a preparation for the fullness of *bhakti*, but this mental calm is not possible without *bhakti*.<sup>135</sup> It is for this reason that when Kṛṣṇa enumerates the *yamas* and *niyamas* he includes therein such elements as faith (*śraddhā*) and pilgrimage (*tīrtha*).<sup>136</sup>

As we have already noted, the *Yoga-sūtra* does speak about devotion.<sup>137</sup> But M. Eliade believes Īśvara has a “comparatively small” role in the *yoga*-process and the *bhakti* spoken of in the *Yoga-sūtra* and the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* is an “extremely rarefied, extremely intellectual devotion;” the *īśvara* of the *Yoga-sūtra* is a “macroyogin” deprived of all emotions. If he finds a place in the Sūtras, it is not because the Sūtrakāra was personally convinced that he should be there, but simply because he had to take note of the fact that

131. *bhakti-lakṣaṇa-yoga*, 2.1.21.

132. *urukramasyākhilabandhamuktaye samādhinānummara tadviceṣṭitam*, 1.5.13b.

133. *yamaniyamāsanaprāṇāyāmapratyāhāradhāraṇādhyānasamādhayo' ṣṭāvaṅgāni*. *Yoga-sūtra* 2.29.

134. *yamādhbhiryogapathaiḥ kāmaloḥbhahato muhuḥ, mukundasevayā yadvat tathā*” *tmāddhā na śāmyati*. 1.6.36.

135. See 11.16.42-44.

136. See 11.19.33-35a.

137. To be exact, the *Yoga-sūtra* does not speak of *bhakti*, but only of *īśvara-praṇidhāna*. Vyāsa uses the word *bhakti* only once, in his comment on 1.23.



people—at least some of them—practised *bhakti*.<sup>138</sup> It should also be noted that in the *Yoga-sūtra īśvara-praṇidhāna* is but one of the five *niyamas*,<sup>139</sup> and *samādhi* can be attained by other means as well.<sup>140</sup>

In the *BhP* Viṣṇu occupies a unique position. He is not merely the lord of *yoga* and universal teacher,<sup>141</sup> but the ultimate goal of man, being most worthy of his love.<sup>142</sup> Hence without *bhakti* the *aṣṭa-aṅga-yoga* is futile, as Kṛṣṇa tells Mucukunda :

O King, the mind of those practising the *prāṇāyāma* and the other yogic aids, but who are devoid of *bhakti*, is seen to be repeatedly disturbed as their passion has not yet been subjugated.<sup>143</sup>

Thus according to the *BhP*, *bhakti* is not one of the means which the *yogi* is free to choose. It is the basis of all *yoga*, and no other way is as good as *bhakti*.<sup>144</sup> The *bhakti* advocated by the *BhP* is not merely an intellectual disposition, but involves the whole man,<sup>145</sup> and as such centres round the *avatāra*. The *Yoga-sūtra* and the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* have nothing to say about this concept.<sup>146</sup> Since *bhakti* for Viṣṇu is the highest goal of human activity, the *bhakta* can afford to ignore the supernatural powers associated with

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138. *Yoga : Immortality and Freedom* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2nd ed., 1969), pp. 73-6.
139. śaucasaṁtoṣatapahṣvādhyāyeśvarapraṇidhānāni niyamāḥ. 2.32.
140. īśvarapraṇidhānād vā. 1.23. Note carefully the particle *vā*. Vyāsa introduces this *sūtra* thus : kimstaemādevā” sannatamaḥ samādhir bhavati, athāśya lābhe bhavatyanyo’ pi kaścīdupāyo na veti.
141. *yoga-īśvara*, 1.8.43b; *akhila-guru*, *ibid*.
142. ... preṣṭhaḥ san preyasāmapi. 3.9.42a.
143. yuñjānānamabhaktānām prāṇāyāmādibhir manaḥ, akṣīnavāsanām rājan dṛṣyate punar utthitam. 10.51.61.
144. na yujyamānayā bhaktyā bhagavatyakhilātmani, sadṛśo’ sti śivaḥ panthā yoginām brahmasiddhaye. 3.25.19.
145. Cf. Anand : “*Bhakti : the Bhāgavata Way to God*”, pp. 193-5.
146. Vācaspati Misra, Bhoja and some other commentators, following the *Yoga-sūtra*, maintain a silence with regard to the concept of *avatāra*. Vijnānabhikṣu and Nāgesabhaṭṭa deny it, for *īśvara* is beyond all action. Nārāyaṇatīrtha admits the doctrine of *avatāra*. Cf. Karnatak : *Op. cit.*, pp. 116-7.

*yoga*;<sup>147</sup> indeed, he has to be fully detached from them, lest in being attached to them, he may miss the real goal of his struggle.<sup>148</sup>

The *BhP* goes beyond the goal set by the *Yoga-sūtra*. The calming of one's self cannot be a goal in itself, because that would mean a vacuum. The mind can only reach complete calm when it attains its highest object, and this is God. According to the *BhP*, God can be fully attained only through *nirguṇa-bhakti*. Since God completely fulfils man, the *bhakta* needs nothing else, not even the *siddhis*.<sup>149</sup>

### **Bhakti as the best mārḡa**

From the above discussion we can now summarize what the *BhP* has to say to the question of Uddhava. The *BhP* not only states that the other *mārḡas* remain incomplete without *bhakti*, but also avers that all the *mārḡas* find their consummation only when they lead to *bhakti*. This is not merely our conclusion, but is explicitly stated by the *BhP* :

For a man who has come into this world there is no other way more favourable than that which leads to steadfast devotion to Lord Vāsudeva.<sup>150</sup>

Thus *bhakti* is the end to be achieved by following the *mārḡas*.<sup>151</sup> We have also noted that for the *yogī*, *bhakti* is the best path.<sup>152</sup> This explains why Nārada, confirming the teaching given to Dhruva by the latter's mother, tells him :

The way shown to you by your mother will help you to attain the highest good : Vāsudeva is the Lord. Worship him with

147. aṣṭa-aṅga-anupravṛtta-aśvarya, 3.25.37a.

148. yadā na yogopacitāṣu ceto māyāsu siddhasya viṣajjate'ṅga, ananyahetuṣvatha me gatiḥ syād ātyantiki na mṛtyuhāsaḥ. 3.27.30.

149. Earlier we have discussed how *bhakti* leads to *ātma-tuṣṭi*. Cf. Anand : *art. cit.*, 207-8. We may also note that the *BhP* speaks of *bhakti* as *ātma-prasādinī* (1.2.22b).

150. See above, note 70.

151. na hyato'nyaḥ śivaḥ panthā viśataḥ samsṛtāviha, vāsudeve bhagavati bhaktiyogo yato bhavet. 2.2.33.

152. See above, note 144.



your mind fixed on him.<sup>153</sup>

Thus *bhakti* to Vāsudeva is the best means to attain the highest goal of man. Just as the fire burns down the wood, just as the sun dispels the darkness, so too *bhakti* removes sin.<sup>154</sup> *Bhakti* breaks the knot of ignorance.<sup>155</sup> By *bhakti* man can more easily overcome his nature,<sup>156</sup> his natural inclinations,<sup>157</sup> his senses.<sup>158</sup> Only when a man's heart is filled with love for the Lord, can he easily renounce the world,<sup>159</sup> can he overcome all his desires.<sup>160</sup> In short, by *bhakti* man attains all those spiritual benefits made available to him by other spiritual means. No wonder then, that Kṛṣṇa concludes his exposition of the three *mārgas* with this assurance :

Whatever a man can obtain by rituals, penance, knowledge, renunciation, *yoga*, alms-giving, or by other pious exercises,

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153. jananyabhihitāṅ panthāḥ sa vai niḥśreyasasya te, bhagavān vāsudevastam bhaja tatpravaṇātmanā. 4.8.40. Śrīdhara Svāmin, the most authoritative commentator on the *BhP*, has this to say on the verse just quoted : niḥśreyasasyābhipretārthasya panthāḥ ko' sāvityata āha bhagavānvāsudevo'ta eva tam bhaja. Thus Vāsudeva is both : the goal and the way to the goal !
154. kecit kevalayā bhaktyā vāsudevaparāyaṇāḥ. agham dhunvanti kārtsnyena niḥāramiva bhāskarāḥ. 6.1.15. yathāgniḥ susamṛddharciḥ karotyedhāmsi bhasmasāt, tathā madviṣayā bhakti ruddhavaināmsi kṛtsnaśaḥ. 11.14.19.
155. tvam pratyagātmani tadā bhagavatyananta ānandamātra upapannasamastāśaktau, bhaktim vidhāya paramām śanakairavidyā granthim vibhetsyasi mamāhamiti prarūḍham. 4.11.30.
156. ... jītvā prakṛtim baliṣṭhām. 3.5.46a.
157. tadā rajastambhāvāḥ kāmlobhādayaśca ye, ceta etairanāviddham sthitam sattve prasīdati. 1.2.19. rajas-tamas-apaha-bhakti. 1.5.28b.
158. bādhyamāno'pi madbhakto viṣayairajitendriyaḥ, prāyaḥ pragalbhayā bhaktyā viṣayair nābhibhūyate. 11.14.18.
159. vāsudeve bhagavati bhaktiyogaḥ prayojitaḥ, janayatyaśu vairāgyam jñānam ca yadahaitukam. 1.2.7.
160. niḥspṛhaḥ sarvakāmebhyaḥ kṛṣṇapādābjasevayā. 1.12.14b.

all that can be attained easily by my devotees through the *bhakti-yoga*.<sup>161</sup>

### Conclusion : Bhakti, the goal of spiritual discipleship

In the Indian tradition the concept of spiritual discipleship is very conspicuous. Already in the *Atharva-veda* we have the earliest reference to it.<sup>162</sup> What is the goal of discipleship? We can now answer the question with full confidence. As the *BhP* presents *bhakti* as the best means to attain God, the best internal disposition to experience Him, it follows that the goal of spiritual discipleship cannot be anything else than *bhakti*. Lest there be any doubt on this matter, the *BhP* makes its mind quite clear.<sup>163</sup> Hiranyakaśipu fondly questions his son about the best lesson he has learnt.<sup>164</sup> Prahlāda's answer is clear and simple :

To hear about Viṣṇu, to sing about Him, to remember Him, to touch His feet, to offer gifts to Him, to bow to Him, to be a slave unto Him, to be a constant companion for Him, to surrender oneself totally to Him, in short, the ninefold devotion to Viṣṇu, that I believe to be the best lesson a man can learn.<sup>165</sup>

Prahlāda finds nothing better for man to learn than the ninefold *bhakti* to Viṣṇu. The highest learning is to be imparted only to a pupil who has really proved himself. Thus, only when the sages are pleased with the devoted service, maturity and genuine

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161. yat karmabhīryattapasā jñānavairāgyataśca yat,  
yogena dānadharmaṇa śreyobhīritarairapi,  
sarvaṁ madbhaktiyogena madbhakto labhate'ñjasā.  
11.20.32-33a.
162. See 11.5. This hymn is a eulogy of *brahmacārya*. The teacher is the spiritual mother of the *brahmacārī* (verse 3).
163. Cf. Anand : "Spiritual Discipleship as Described by the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*."
164. uttama-adhīta, 7.5.22a.
165. śravaṇaṁ kīrtanaṁ viṣṇoḥ smaraṇaṁ pādasevanam  
arcaṇaṁ vandanaṁ dāsyam sakhyamātmanivedanam,  
iti puṁsārpitā viṣṇau bhaktiścennavalakṣaṇā  
kriyate bhagavatyaddhā tanmanye'dhītamuttamam.  
7.5.23-4.



faith of Nārada, do they impart to him the most secret knowledge, the knowledge imparted to them by the Lord Himself.<sup>166</sup> Thus an initial *bhakti* is required from the aspirant before he can be accepted as a pupil. This initial *bhakti* can make up for all other defects, thus enabling all—even women and Śūdras—to qualify for spiritual discipleship, as Kṛṣṇa told Uddhava.<sup>167</sup>

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166. jñānam guhyatamaṁ yattat sākṣādbhagavatoditam,  
anvavocan gamiṣyantaḥ kṛpayā dīnavatsalāḥ. 1.5.30.

167. sādhave śuca e brūyād bhaktiḥ syācchūdrayoṣitām,  
11.29.3.

THE SAHYĀDRIKHAṆḌA : STYLE AND CONTEXT  
AS INDICES OF AUTHORSHIP IN THE  
PĀTITYAGRĀMANIRŪPĀ

BY

STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT

[सह्याद्रिखण्डनामधेयं पुराणं भागद्वययुक्तमुपलभ्यते । अस्य 'आदिरहस्य'-  
नामके प्रथमे भागे स्कन्दपुराणीयं ज्ञानयोगखण्डं वर्तते, किञ्चित् परिवर्तित-  
रूपेण । उत्तररहस्यनामके द्वितीये भागे ब्राह्मणोत्पत्तिविषयकं विवरणं  
दृश्यते । चतुष्प्रकरण-विभक्तोऽयं भागः; अस्मिन् महीशूर-(Mysore)-  
प्रांतीयानां ब्राह्मणानामुत्पत्तिः, उत्तरदेशाद् ब्राह्मणानाम् आगमनम्, प्राप्त-  
हरिजन (= पातित्य)-अवस्थानां ब्राह्मणानामुत्पत्तिः, परशुरामचरितं च—  
इति चत्वारो विषया यथाक्रमं चतुर्षु प्रकरणेषु विवृताः ।

उत्तरार्धस्य कोशे बहु वैचित्यम् अवलोक्यते; अस्य बहवः पाठा भ्रष्टाः  
प्रतीयन्ते । एषु प्रकरणेषु रचनाशैलीभेदोऽपि लक्ष्यते ।

उत्तरार्धस्य तृतीयं प्रकरणमेकादशाध्याययुतं पातित्यग्रामनिर्णय-  
नामकम्; येषु ग्रामेषु पतिताः (शूद्राचाराः) ब्राह्मणा निवसन्ति, तेषां  
विवरणमत्र प्रदत्तम् । एतत्प्रकरणगता अष्टौ अध्यायाः 'तुलुवग्राम-द्धृति'नामके  
ग्रन्थेऽपि दृश्यन्ते । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् नवेतिवृत्तानि प्रोक्तानि । निबन्धे एषामिति-  
वृत्तानां विवरणं विस्तरेण प्रदत्तं लेखकेन ।

लेखकेनोक्तम्—अस्य भागस्य सर्वे अंशा नैककालिकाः, न सर्वाणि  
इतिवृत्तानि समानकालिकानि । अस्मिन् शब्दप्रयोगे वैचित्याणि लक्ष्यन्ते—  
मूर्धन्यवर्णानां प्रयोगबाहुल्यमपि अत्र दृश्यते ।

पुराणसदृशा ग्रन्था अर्वाचीने कालेऽपि विरचिता इत्यत्र ग्रन्थोऽयमपि  
प्रमाणभूतमित्युपसंहृतं लेखकेन ।]

1. The *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* (Skh), or Book of the Sahyādri Range of Mountains, in the compendium of chapters which has come down to us, is divided into two parts. The first part, the *ādirahasya* contains primarily chapters of the *Jñānayogakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-*



*purāṇa*, perhaps with some rearrangement.<sup>1</sup> Within this there is interpolated a large section on the origin of *kṣatriya* groups in the Mysore area. The second part, the *uttarārdha*, *uṣaribhāga*, or *uttararahasya*, is devoted entirely to the origins of *brāhmaṇa* groups in the area. It can be divided into four sections. These discuss respectively the origins of the major *brāhmaṇa* groups in the Mysore area, the introduction of *brāhmaṇas* from the north into the area by the 4th c. Kadamba king Mayūravarma, the origin of groups of *brāhmaṇas* of Harijan status in the area, and the god Paraśu-Rāma. The latter is a god of particular reverence in the Mysore region. He generally is identified as a god of *brāhmaṇa* descent who was so enraged by *kṣatriyas* lording over *brāhmaṇas* that he cut down the *kṣatriyas* 21 times, calculated  $7 \times 3$ . This calculation can be understood to indicate entirety, thereby indicating the thoroughness of his action.

In the manuscript colophons of sections of the *uttarārdha*, we have evidence of three different numbering systems which have been applied at one time or another to some of the chapters of this part of the Skh. Similarly, the manuscripts demonstrate three levels of corruption with each more corrupt than the preceding level. The different numbering systems and levels of corruption correlate with one another. The numbering systems alone indicate that at one time these chapters were attached to the Skh in a different fashion than at present, and that at still another time some chapters had been located in a different context. From these points, we can deduce that while the present *uttarārdha* of the Skh was in its formative stages, parts of its text were already corrupt.

As we have the text today, the four sections of the *uttarārdha* of the Skh are stylistically distinct from one another.

The second section which discusses the introduction of *brāhmaṇas* from the north into the area by Mayūravarma, for example, is written in simple declarative sentences with simple Sanskrit vocabulary. The few verses which describe the physical features of the area at the very beginning of this section, however, demonstrate a different Sanskrit style of image heaped on image so as to

1. See S. H. Levitt, "The *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* : Some Problems in the Textual Criticism of a Puranic Text", in *Purāṇa* 19.1 (January 1967), 16-7, and *Purāṇa* 21.1 (January 1979) Table III, 77-9.

form a lengthy hyperbole. This contrasts with the simple declarative style of the rest of these chapters. The same description is found as well toward the beginning of the third section on *brāhmaṇas* of Harijan status. In the latter section these verses are also somewhat disjunctive. This suggests that we have here a stock description which an author could draw on at will. Suggested as well is that these verses may have been added in both contexts at the time of placing the second and third sections of the *uttarārdha* next to one another. It can be noted further that in the manuscripts, these sections appear to already have been placed next to one another by the time of our earliest numbering system for the chapters of the *uttarārdha*. This numbering system can be associated with our best manuscripts of the text.

The fourth section, which continues reference to Paraśu-Rāma from the earlier sections, is composed of two chapters of the *Reṇukāmāhātmya* as in some manuscripts of the text. The *māhātmya*, or glorification, traditionally is attached to the SKh. The style of these chapters is not one of simple declarative sentences, and it contrasts with the second section of the *uttarārdha* as much as it does with the third. It is clear that this section of the *uttarārdha* was attached to it for reasons of theme. It is not clear, however, at which point in the growth of the text it was so attached. It appears already in manuscripts demonstrating the second stage of corruption. But there is no evidence of it in its present position in the best manuscript of this group. Manuscripts containing the text in its earliest stage of corruption are incomplete. While it is doubtful that this section was attached at this time, we cannot be certain without clear testimony.

The third section titles itself *Pātityagrāmanirṇaya* (PGN). It is a discussion of villages of *brāhmaṇas* fallen from status, that is, of kin groups of *brāhmaṇas* of Harijan status. That these *brāhmaṇas* are of Harijan status is made clear in the text over and over again in its reference to them as having *śūdra* status. This is the standard *varṇa* in which Harijans are classed in Sanskrit literature outside the Tamil-speaking region.<sup>2</sup> Such groups of *brāhmaṇas* of Harijan

2. See I. Karve, *Hindu Society—An Interpretation* (Poona : Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1961) 48, and J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects, an exposition of the origin of the Hindu caste system and the bearing of sects towards each other and towards other religious systems* (Calcutta : Thacker, 1896), 254-69, etc.



status are not uncommon in India. The various volumes listing the castes and tribes in India which were compiled during the British period contain reference to approximately 100 such groups. The various district gazeteers and other sources contain reference to even more such groups. It was from such a group which had raised its status that such notable figures in modern Indian history as Debendranath Tagore and Rabindranath Tagore came.

The PGN, as in the Skh as this has been handed down to us, is composed of 11 chapters. At least 8 of these chapters also are to be found in the *Tuḷuvagrāmapaddhati*, a discourse on Tuḷu villages.<sup>3</sup> The text as in the best *Tuḷuvagrāmapaddhati* manuscript is most closely related to the less preferred manuscript in the first group of our relevant Skh manuscripts and to the most preferred manuscript in our second grouping of these manuscripts. Those readings which are shared with the manuscript in the second grouping, however, are with the less preferred readings which agree with other less preferred manuscripts.

In a critically edited text of the PGN<sup>4</sup> certain stylistic features emerge which contrast certain of the chapters with one another as much as these contrast with the preceding grouping of chapters on the introduction of *brāhmaṇas* from the north into the area by Mayūravarmān, let us say. Similarly, certain points contrast

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3. Compare the contents of this text as outlined in B. A. Saletore, "The Tuluva Gramapaddhati", *S. Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* (Madras: The Committee, 1936), 116-7, and the sections of text reproduced and discussed in B. A. Saletore, *History of Ancient Kārnāṭaka, vol. 1—History of Tūḷuva*, Poona Oriental Series 53 (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1936), 124-5, 310-8, 442-9, with the text of the PGN. Saletore's text is extremely corrupt, as are as well all other individual manuscripts of the PGN. His discussions should be viewed with extreme circumspection. A large number of points have been misconstrued on account of bad readings and interpolations which were not recognized to be such.
  4. See S. H. Levitt, *The Pātityagrāmanirṇaya: A Puranic History of Degraded Brahman Villages* (Dissertation, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1973), available from Xerox University Microfilms, Dissertation Copies; P. O. Box 1764, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, U. S. A. -- Order No. 74-14,100, as listed in *Dissertation Abstracts International* vol. 34/12 (June 1974), 7711A.

sections of text within individual chapters with other parts of the same chapters. This constitutes further evidence of the growth of this *purāṇa* text, and provides further indication of the way in which a *purāṇa* tradition expands. M. Winternitz wrote in his *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* that with regard to the *Mahābhārata* "the date of each section, nay sometimes of each single verse of the *Mahābhārata* must be determined separately...."<sup>5</sup> What is true with regard to *itihāsa*, it appears, is also true in this regard for *purāṇa*. Both *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*, of course, are in old sources such as the *Sāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra* classed together as *itihāsapurāṇa*, and in the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Amarakośa* they are defined in part in terms of one another.<sup>6</sup>

2.1 Within the 11 chapters of the PGN there are 9 histories. All except the last two are one chapter in length each. The first two histories are so closely related that they also can be understood as a single story. They are, nevertheless, distinct in that each history discusses a different generation. The last two histories are two chapters in length each. In the case of the last two histories, neither chapter can stand without the other. Their format is different from that of the preceding stories.

Interestingly, for the last two histories the chapter numbering system which can be associated with the second level of corruption breaks down. While this numbering for the earlier chapters, 88-90, 191-193, 174 can be understood to indicate chapters numbered 88-94, the last four chapters are numbered 175, 194, 124, and 125. This perhaps can be construed as chapters numbered 95, 94, 94, and 95 when we consider possible misreadings.<sup>7</sup>

Indicated here is an expansion of the tradition at this point, possibly the loss of a different chapter 95, and a reluctance to numbering any of these chapters above 95 as if chapter 96 was

5. See M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, trans. Mrs. S. Ketkar, 2 vols. (1927; Rpt. New York : Russell, and Russell, 1971), 1 : 469.
6. See E. Sieg, "Itihāsa", in J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 7 : 461b-2a, and S. H. Levitt, "A Note on the compound *pañcalakṣaṇa* in Amarasinha's *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana*", in *Purāṇa* 18.1 (Janury 1976), 25, 32, and foldout.
7. See S. H. Levitt, "The *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* : Some Problems", in *Purāṇa* 19.1, 19-21.



firmly associated with decidedly different material. To be noted here is that the best manuscripts, which are, it is true, incomplete, do not extend to these chapters or to the overly brief chapter before these. It is possible that we have here indication that these chapters were not attached to the text at this time. We must be cautious here, however, as these manuscripts also show no evidence of the sixth history, which story clearly is integral to the core of our text.

2.2. Three of the stories begin with a formulaic phrase. The third history begins :<sup>8</sup>

*pātityagrāmam asty anyat śuktimatyaś ca dakṣiṇe |  
modagrāmam [tad] ity āhuḥ.... .. ||*

There is another village of *brāhmaṇas* of fallen status to the south of the Śuktimatī River. It is called Modagrāma,.....

The fourth history begins :

*pātityagrāmam asty anyat koṭilīṅgeśasamnidhau |*

There is another village of *brāhmaṇas* of fallen status near Koṭilīṅgeśa.

The seventh history begins :

*pātityagrāmam asty anyat cakranādyās taṭe śubhe |  
nānāgrāmam tad ity āhuḥ..... ||*

There is another village of *brāhmaṇas* of fallen status on the splendid shore of the Cakranādī River. It is called Nānāgrāma,.....

To be emphasized is that not all the histories begin in this way. While the formulaic phrase is rigid, its usage is not so. In contrast, the eighth history, while it begins in similar fashion, breaks with the rigid formula :

*vakṣyāmi rājaśārdūla grāmam anyad bahiṣkṛtam |  
velaṅḡṭi tad ity āhuḥ sītāyās cottarodhasi ||*

8. In quotations from the PGN, emendations in the text are placed in brackets. When these emendations involve a certain degree of uncertainty, a question mark has been indicated at the appropriate place in the accompanying translation.

O tiger-like king, I will speak of another cast out village. It is called Velañji. On the northern bank of the Sitā River.... Similarly, the tenth history begins :

*anyad [grāmaṃ] pravakṣyāmi bhūdevasya mähātmanaḥ |*

I will speak of another village of a noble *brāhmaṇa* (god upon earth).

We have evidence here of an attempt to follow the formula found in some of the chapters, but without rigid adherence to it. When taken together with other points discussed both above and below, this can be understood to reflect here different authorship.

2. 3. All the histories in the PGN end in similar fashion.<sup>9</sup> The single exception to this is the first history, the events of which are continued in the second history so as to form two related but discrete stories. From history to history there does appear to be some variation. In part, though, this may be due to corruption in the manuscripts. The second chapter ends :

*bahunātra kim uktena kim anyac chrotum icchasi |  
eteṣāṃ darśanāt puṃsāṃ pātityaṃ sambhaviṣyati |  
prāyaścittavidhiṃ vakṣye mārtaṇḍasyāvalokanam ||*

What else is there to say? What else would you desire to hear? People become fallen in status from seeing these. I will recite an appearance of Mārtaṇḍa, a formula for expiation....

The third chapter ends :

*eteṣāṃ darśanāt sadyaḥ pātityam anugacchati |  
prāyaścittavidhiṃ vakṣye caṇḍām̐sor darśanam param ||  
bahunātra kim uktena nātra kāryā vicāraṇā |*

At the moment one sees these he loses status. In order to provide expiation I will state the highest vision of the sun.

9. The verses which occur at the end of the first three chapters will not be considered here as they constitute a separate topic. In two instances, they appear to be integral to the penances prescribed. They are indicated here by three dots after the sections of text concerned. At the end of the first chapter, such a verse is added without introduction. Its content is consistent with that of the other two verses, however. Such verses do not occur after the third history.



What is there to say aside from this ? There is no discussion to be made with regard to this.....

The fifth chapter ends :

*teṣāṃ saṃsargamātreṇa pātityam anugacçati |  
tatpāpavinivṛtityarthaṃ mārtaṇḍam avalokayet ||  
bahunātra kim uktena punar anyam vadāmi te ||*

By association with them one becomes fallen in status. To put an end to that sin one should look up to Mārtaṇḍa. What else is there to say ? I will speak still more to you,

The sixth chapter end :

*teṣāṃ darśanamātreṇa pātityam prāpnuvanti hi |  
prāyaścittavidhānam tu mayā vaktuṃ na śakyate |  
tatrāpi samakāle tu koṣimārtaṇḍadarśanāt ||  
tadā pūtā bhaviṣyanti nātra kāryā vicāraṇā |  
bahunātra kim uktena grāmam anyam vadāmi te ||*

People obtain fallen status simply by looking at them. The only atonement I can prescribe is to look at the sun the same length of time, but a million (*koṣi*) times longer. Then they will be purified. There is not to be any discussion with regard to this. What else is there to say ? I will speak to you of another village.

The last two stories end in similar fashion, but they contrast with the rest of the chapters on two accounts. The sentence, *bahunātra kim uktena*, is modified to include direct reference to Śatānīka, to whom the text is being recited. The author appears to find difficulty in stating the penance prescribed in one instance, and has the group itself performing the penance, or so it seems, in the other instance. Thus, in the eighth history the text reads :

*bahunātra kim uktena rājaśreṇiśiromaṇe ||*

O jewel in a line of kings, what is there to say aside from this ?

In the ninth history the text read :

*bahunātra kim uktena rājan rājendranandana |*

O king, son of the best of kings, what is there to say aside from this ?

In the eighth history, this is followed by :

*teṣāṃ darśanamātreṇa pātityaṃ cānuyāsyati |*  
*prāyaścittam mayā vaktum na śakyam nṛpaṇandana ||*  
*sādhāraṇenaiva vakṣye kṛcchracāndrāyaṇaṃ caret ||*

Simply by looking at them one will become fallen in status. O prince, it is not possible to speak an expiation. I will speak generally. Let one perform a *kṛcchra* or a *cāndrāyaṇa*.

In the ninth history, this is followed by :

*apaṅktheyā [nām]eteṣāṃ narāṇaṃ nīcavartinām||*  
*bhūñjānānām adharmānāṃ ca gaṅgāsnānaṃ vidhīyate|*  
*sadā teṣāṃ..... .. ||*  
*dvādaśaśāb [dān] pravastavyaṃ vārāṇasyāṃ na saṃśayaḥ||*

For these men with whom no meals can be eaten, living in a low condition and indulging in unrighteousness, a bath in the Ganges River is prescribed. Always they....will have to travel to Vāraṇasī for twelve years, without a doubt.

In all the preceding histories, the appropriate penance in every case involved the sun and included explicit mention of the sun. This is not the case in either instance here. We have here difference both in style and content.

2.4. It is not clear that the penances at the end of the earlier chapters are always integral to the text. A notable instance of this uncertainty occurs at the end of the fourth history, though there are similar instances at the end of the second, third, and fifth histories as well, for instance. In the fourth history, Paraśu-Rāma removes the sin of the *brāhmaṇas* so that they are, in the word of the text, *niṣkalaṅka*, or “stainless”. The text then states :

*bahunātra kim uktena nirbhītāḥ saṃcaranty aho|*  
 What else is there to say. They live without fear.

It then, however, adds :

*teṣāṃ darśanamātreṇa pātityaṃ labhate naraḥ||*  
*prāyaścittavidhiṃ vakṣye saṣṭhakāl [āsanaṃ] caret||*

Merely by seeing those a man obtains degradation. I will speak an expiation. Let one do an *āsana* (?) at noon.



Toward the end of the fifth history we find a statement of a type not uncommon toward the end of these stories that beginning then the group concerned is illustrious (or, ruling) in the place concerned. The text then, however, adds :

*[tā]su jātā mahābhāga śūdra eva na saṁśayaḥ||  
teṣāṁ saṁsargamātreṇa pātityam anugacchati|  
tatpāpavinivṛttyarthaṁ mārtaṇḍam avalokayet||  
bahunātra kim uhtena punar anyam vadāmi te||*

O king, the children of those women are without a doubt *śūdras*. By association with them one becomes fallen from status. To put an end to that sin one should look up to Mārtaṇḍa. What else is there to say. I will speak still more to you.

Toward the end of the second history, this prohibitory section is comparatively lengthy. The end of the fourth history is particularly interesting in that this section in the fourth history may be part of or an addition to a possible second conclusion to the story. These two sections are discussed below (2.7). They provide additional reason for suspecting that the penances at the end of the earlier chapters may not be integral to the text.

2.5. It also is not clear if the seventh history has the same authorship as the preceding histories. This chapter is so short that it appears in context to be fragmentary. On the basis of its few verses, however, its style appears to be more straightforward and simpler than that of the preceding chapters. Verbal forms are simple, subordinate phrases are simple, sentence structure is simple. Its statements are brief. For instance :

*mayūravarman sa purā medhāvī ballabhiṁ prati|  
rāmeṇa nirmitair vipraiḥ vāhayitvā ca vāhanam||  
siṣṭān [viprān] samādāya puṇaḥ svapuram āyayau|  
grāmapradānasamaye procur bhārgavanirmitāḥ||*

The learned Mayūravarman previously had his litter carried to Ballabhī by the *brāhmaṇas* who had been created by Rāma. Taking with him learned *brāhmaṇas* he returned home. At the time of giving villages, those created by the Bhargava spoke.

Compare this with the following extracts from the fifth and sixth histories which use lengthier sentences, more subordinate

clauses, more adjectives, more difficult vocabulary, and which literally pile in more imagery.

*aṅgavaṅgakalīṅgebhyaḥ saurāṣṭrād gujja[rāt] tathā||*  
*āndhradraviḍakarnāṭakāśmīrebhyas tathaiṅva ca|*  
*mahārāṣṭrotka[lābhy]ām ca sindhumāgadha....||*  
*gauḍagorāṣṭradeśābhyām parityaktā vitantavaḥ|*  
*saṃjātāḥ puṛṇagarbhīṅyaḥ kṛtāśrāddhavigarhitāḥ||*  
*ākālparahitā nāryaḥ kṣutpipāsātipiditāḥ|*  
*militvā tāḥ samāyātāḥ tuṅgabhadrāntikāṃ nṛpa||*  
*tīrastham advayaṃ śāntaṃ virūpākṣaṃ mahēśvaraṃ|*  
*nāryaḥ sarvāḥ samāviṣṭāḥ stutiṃ kartuṃ pracakramuḥ||*  
*tatrāpaśyan mahābhāgaṃ nāsāgrakṛtalocanam|*  
*kaṇvaṃ nāma mahābhāgaṃ śataghasrādi[ka]prabham||*

Abandoned widows from Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kālīṅga, from Saurāṣṭra and from Gujjara, from Andhra, Draviḍa, Karnāta, and Kāśmīra, from Mahārāṣṭra and from Utkalā, from Sindhu and Māgadha.... .., and from the countries of Gauḍa and Gorāṣṭra, pregnant women forsaken forever, despised because they had not performed the funeral rites (?), afflicted by hunger and thirst, having met one another, O king, came together near the Tuṅgabhadrā River. Together all the women began to make a *stotra* to the kind great god Virūpākṣa who stood, unique, on the shore. They saw there a great lord with his glance fixed on his nose, the great lord named Kaṇva with the splendour of a hundred dawns.

*purā dhvajotsave ramye candradatta-narādhipe|*  
*nānādeśāt samāyātāḥ nānāvarṇā dvija[da]yaḥ||*  
*brahmakṣat[ri]yaviṣṭūdrā vivarṇāḥ śābarādayaḥ|*  
*sarve te cotsavaṃ dṛṣṭvā jāgmus tatra yathāgatāḥ||*  
*janasammarditāḥ kācīt kanyāḥ śābarasambhavaḥ|*  
*vyastastābhūt tadā bhūpa : undarī pañcahāyanā||*

Once, when Candradatta was king, the different classes beginning with the twice-born—*brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras*, low people such as Śābaras and so forth—came from different regions to the enjoyable banner festival. After seeing the banner festival all those went from there as they had



come. O king, as a result of the confusion of people a certain girl of Śabara descent, a beautiful girl who was five years old, became separated.

Further, while the beginning of the seventh history adheres to the formula outlined above, the end is not the standard ending. The standard ending has been discussed above. In this story, however, we find :

*bahunātra kim uktena sarvakarmabahīṣṛtāh||*

What else is there to say except that they were excluded from all brahmanical rites ?

As in all the histories preceding it except the sixth, there is a positive statement about the group concerned immediately preceding this statement. But there is no prescription of a penance.

2.6. Within the body of the text of the PGN, there are several short sections of text which contrast in style, content, or both style and content with surrounding sections of text.

One such section, the description of the land toward the beginning of the first story, has been noted above. Uncertainty regarding the standard endings of these stories has also been noted. In both instances, this material is present in the manuscripts which represent the first stage of corruption and earliest numbering system for this text.

Another such instance of a passage which contrasts contextually in style or content also occurs toward the beginning of the first history. In this section of text there is related in brief the origin of the Kroḍeśa tīrtha. The passage is juxtaposed with little connection to an account of Paraśu-Rāma coming to the Sahyādrī range of mountains, to which brief account the description of the land is attached. Stylistically, it is perhaps too brief to contrast with the following passage on the surface. Contextually, though, it is anomalous.

Further, after the description of the land in the first history, a 20 verse *stotra* is spoken by Paraśu-Rāma. This *stotra* breaks with the standard *śloka* metre of the rest of the text. It also differs in style from the rest of the text in that it is composed entirely of compounds which serve as laudations in the vocative case one on

top of another. While the *stotra* follows contextually, as does the description of the land, it is not clear that its authorship is not as independent of the main narrative of the PGN as is the description of the land. We cannot be certain, though, since we lack testimony to this such as we have for the description of the land. Such *stotras*, however, are commonplace. V. Raghavan once remarked that such literature commonly was scribbled on scraps of paper in India. It would not be unreasonable to assume that its authorship was independent of the PGN, but that it was included here on account of its appropriateness and its literary merit.

In instances such as these in the first chapter of the PGN, the juxtaposition of stylistically different sections of different authorship appears to have been effected by the author of the PGN himself. In the instance of the endings of the chapters, if these contain material of different authorship, they would appear to have been added by a different hand. They must be considered to be an integral part of the tradition, however, on account of their consistency from chapter to chapter and their seeming textual integrity. In other instances, though, this is not the case.

In the fourth history, for example, there is a lengthy section of commentary within commentary, and of elaborate and detailed ritual narrative which is not characteristic of the text. At some points, this section of text breaks with the standard *śloka* metre, breaking in fact with all metre. On account of the stylistic differences and contextual inappropriateness of these passages, they clearly are interpolations of later date than the text in which they are embedded. They are not integral to the text at any level.

In another instance, in the second history, brief scornful statements which are contextually inappropriate are added in a listing of occupations practised by the group with which the history is concerned. While they also are brief statements of occupation, they are clearly interpolations on account of the difference in tone between them and the text proper.

In such instances, we have in the transmitted text of the PGN interpolations of spurious passages pure and simple.

2.7. One of the most clearcut differences in style in these chapters emerges from difference in the vocabularies used by the



last two histories (four chapters) when compared with the earlier histories. On account of the brevity of the seventh history, consideration is not extended to it here. Little can be determined in its regard from its 13 verses by the type of analysis to be noted here.

In the first six histories, retroflex consonants occur, but their occurrence is not as frequent as in the last two histories.<sup>10</sup> In the first history, approximately 71 retroflex consonants occur in the narrative section of the text. This section of text occupies 52 verses. As pointed out above, there is in this history a lengthy *stotra* to Viṣṇu as well. Retroflex consonants for this *stotra* have not been tabulated since its style is so radically different from that of the rest of the chapters. In the second history of 50 verses, approximately 96 retroflex consonants occur. In the third history of 46 verses, there are approximately 73 retroflex consonants. And in the fourth, fifth, and sixth histories of 49, 33, and 35 verses respectively, approximately 105, 47, and 48 retroflex consonants occur in each.

Within these stories, the larger number of retroflex consonants in the fourth history can be accounted for in part by the names of the two villages concerned occurring 8 times. The name of each of these contains a retroflex consonant. In the main, however, the larger number of retroflex consonants in this history, as well as in the second history, can be accounted for by what may just be the nature of the vocabulary associated with certain topics or, far more likely, by style toward the end of these histories. In both of these histories, there is a section of 10 or 11 verses at the end which concludes the stories, condemns and places restrictions on the people discussed, and then provides penance for contact with the groups concerned. In the case of the second story, 7 of these verses are extraneous to the conclusion of the story. In the case of the fourth story, they provide what may be construed as a second conclusion to the story. These verses provide support for the suggestion, offered above, that there may have been tampering

10. Retroflex ɭ, which in Sanskrit is an allophonic variant of ɭ only, is not considered here. The manuscripts are not consistent between recording ɭ and ɭ in their readings.

with the endings of these histories. In the other histories, however, the tampering would not have extended to as many verses. In both instances here, these verses contain a greater concentration of retroflex consonants than the preceding portions of the chapters. Of the 96 retroflex consonants of the second story (50 verses), approximately 32 are in the last 11 verses, 23 in the last 7 verses. And of the 105 retroflex consonants of the fourth story (49 verses), approximately 28 occur in the last 10 verses. This reduces the number of retroflex consonants occurring in the earlier portions of these histories to 64 retroflex consonants in 39 verses, or 73 in 43 verses, and to 77 retroflex consonants occurring in 39 verses. It is to be noted that in the fourth story, the positive statement about the group concerned, referred to above, may have been retained but displaced in the rewriting of the ending for reason of parallelism with the other histories. Similar parallelism of composition is, of course, in evidence in the last two histories.

In contrast to this data, the first chapter of the eighth history, in 44 verses, contains approximately 99 retroflex consonants, and the second chapter of this history, in 60 verses, contains approximately 120 retroflex consonants. Similarly, the first chapter of the ninth history, in 37 verses, contains 101 retroflex consonants. The last chapter, showing less significant contrast, but contrast nevertheless, contains in its 42 verses approximately 77 retroflex consonants.

This data is charted below, together with a breakdown of the occurrence of retroflex consonants. The total occurrence of retroflex consonants for the second and fourth histories are set off to the side on account of the circumstances outlined above, and an asterisk is placed next to reference to these histories so as to indicate these circumstances. Below these totals, in parentheses, are given the total occurrence of retroflex consonants for the first 43 and 39 verses of these histories respectively. All figures should be understood to be approximate only in order to leave allowance for incorrect readings in the edited text. This is necessary on account of the extreme corruption of the manuscripts. The largest occurrence of each retroflex consonant in an individual chapter is in bold type.



TABLE I

	t	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	ṣ	Total	Number of Verses
History 1	11	0	5	0	31	24	71	52 vss.
*History 2	11	6	10	1	34	34	96	50 vss.
							(73)	(43 vss.)
History 3	11	5	2	4	21	32	75	46 vss.
*History 4	15	1	8	1	30	50	105	49 vss.
							(77)	(39 vss.)
History 5	3	1	7	0	15	21	47	33 vss.
History 6	11	0	3	0	10	24	48	35 vss.
Histories 1-6	62	13	35	6	110	185	442	265 vss.
							(391)	(248 vss.)
History 8a	13	10	3	3	27	43	99	44 vss.
8b	14	2	4	1	43	56	120	60 vss.
History 9a	17	6	6	1	27	44	101	37 vss.
9b	17	2	4	0	26	28	77	42 vss.
Histories 8-9	61	20	17	5	123	171	397	183 vss.

## RATIOS :

183 vss. : 248 vss. = 7.4:10, roughly 3:4. Occurrence of retroflexes roughly 25% higher in Histories 8-9.

183 vss. : 265 vss. = 6.9:10, roughly 2:3. Occurrence of retroflexes roughly 22% higher in Histories 8-9.

As can be seen, a contrast exists primarily for t, ṇ, and ṣ. In order to see clearly the contrast for ṇ and ṣ, which letters account for the greatest number of retroflex consonants occurring, we must take into account the number of verses for each history. Thus, while History 8a has four fewer occurrences of ṇ and 19 more occurrences of ṣ than History 1, it has 8 fewer verses. While History 9a has six more occurrences of ṇ and 12 more occurrences of ṣ, it has 9 fewer verses. The greatest occurrences of t, ṭh, ṇ, and ṣ in a single chapter occur in the last two histories. On the other hand, the greatest occurrences of ḍ in a single chapter occur in the first six histories. When we consider the total occurrences for the first six histories as a group as against the last two, and take into account the difference in the number of verses represented in each group, we find a significantly greater number

of occurrences of ṭ, ṭh, ṇ, and ṣ in the last two histories, and a significantly greater number of occurrences of ḍ in the first six histories. For instance, Histories 8-9 have approximately 33% more occurrences of ṭ in their 183 verses than do Histories 1-6 in a corresponding number of verses. Histories 1-6 have approximately 66% more occurrences of ḍ than would Histories 8-9 in an equivalent number of verses. The occurrences of ḍh do not provide a clearcut contrast.

Not entirely clear is the situation with regard to the second chapter of the last history. To be kept in mind is that its total number of retroflex consonants, while significantly less than the occurrence of retroflex consonants in the other three chapters of the last two histories, remains nevertheless somewhat greater than the occurrence of retroflex consonant in the earlier histories in almost every instance when the number of verses involved are considered. Also to be noted is that large sections of this chapter remain very corrupt and that there occurs in this chapter quotation from elsewhere. Suggesting mislection is that the occurrence of individual retroflex consonants in this chapter is on par with the occurrence of individual retroflex consonants in other chapters in the last two histories in all cases except in the instance of ṣ. What appears to have happened is that ṣ has been misread at some point in the transmission of the text.

3. In short, on the basis of style and the numbering of the chapters of the *uttarārdha* of the Skh in the manuscripts, we have evidence of multiple authorship for this section of the *uttarārdha* alone. This extends to differences in the format of the histories, differences in the use of formulaic phrases, questionable continuity at certain points, differences in syntax, and differences in vocabulary. In the main, these points indicate different authorship for the last two histories (four chapters) as against the first six histories. They may indicate also still another authorship for the seventh history. Tampering with the text is indicated by spurious interpolations in the first six histories, and may be indicated for the endings of the histories. Also in evidence is that set verses were incorporated in the text perhaps from the period of its initial authorship, perhaps from the period when different sections of the *uttarārdha* were placed next to one another. In some cases, clear interpolations into the narrative can be removed from the



text proper. In other instances, possible interpolations cannot be removed without better testimony from the manuscripts which might resolve certain questions, or on account of these interpolations being integral to the text in its present environment.

What is particularly significant here, however, is that we have in the *uttarārdha* of the Skh, and in the PGN in specific, evidence of the formation and growth of a *purāṇa* tradition in a format brief enough that we can compare and contrast certain parameters of style. This allows us to see in clear relief certain aspects of the patchwork nature of such a tradition. The text provides, in short, an excellent example of the development of a *purāṇa* tradition which, in its turn, can help us understand better our larger *purāṇa* texts.

## SCHEMES IN THE PURĀNAS\*

(A First Approach)

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

[पुराणानि सदैव विकासं प्राप्नुवन्त्येव अवलोक्यन्ते; अतएव यथा पुराणगता विषया विचारार्हास्तथा विषयाणां क्रमोऽपि । येन क्रमेण विषयाः प्रतिपादिताः, सोऽपि कमपि हेतुमाश्रित्य प्रवर्तते, न पुनर्यदृच्छया विषया उपस्थापिताः—इत्यभ्युपेयमेव । सोऽयं क्रमो द्विविधः—प्रतिपुराणीयो विषय-क्रमः, सदृशपुराणानां विषयप्रतिपादनक्रमश्च । योऽयं द्वितीयो विभागः, स पुराणसंबद्धानि बहूनि रहस्यानि विज्ञापयति—इति लेखकेन स्फुटं प्रतिपादि-तम् । विष्णुपुराण-भागवतयोः, अग्नि-गरुडपुराणयोः, वायु-ब्रह्माण्ड-पुराणयोः, मत्स्य-ब्रह्मपुराणयोश्च विषयक्रमे भूयः सादृश्यं दृश्यते, अन्तरान्तरा वैसादृश्यं च । वैसादृश्यमिदं हेतुजन्यम् इति निश्चितमेव । एतद्-हेतु-विषये किरफिल-महोदयेन प्रथमं प्रयासो विहितः; तदुक्तानि कानिचन मतानि सर्वथा युक्तियुक्तानीति विदुषां मतम् ।

पुराणविषयाणामनुक्रमः केषुचित् पुराणेष्वेव समासविस्तराभ्याम् प्रदत्तः । केषुचित् पुराणेषु आदावेव तत्पुराणगतविषयाणां क्रम उल्लिखितो दृश्यते । पुराणप्रतिपादितविषयैः सह पुराणस्यविषयानुक्रमणीप्रोक्तानां विषयाणां सदैव ऐकमत्यं नास्ति—इति प्रसिद्धमेव । अस्य हेतुविषयक्रम-परिशीलनेन विज्ञातुं शक्यते; पुराणोक्तविषयाणां प्राचीनता, प्रामाणिकता, प्रक्षिप्तता चानुमातुं शक्यते—इति लेखकेन उदाहरणरूपपादितम् ।

निबन्धेऽस्मिन् अग्नि-गरुडपुराणयोः, विष्णु-भागवतपुराणयोश्च संबन्ध-माश्रित्य विचारः कृतः । ब्रह्माण्ड-वायुपुराणादि-विषयक्रमोऽपि अन्तरान्तरा आलोचितः । प्रकरणानां तत्तत्स्थाने निवेशने यो हेतुस्तमाश्रित्य लेखकेन विशिष्टा चर्चा कृता । क्वचित् पुराणेषु प्रकरण-विशेषः पृथक् विभज्य स्थापित इति दृश्यते (यथा गरुडपुराणे प्रेतकल्पनिरूपणात्मको भागः), अस्य पृथक्विभागस्य हेतुरपि विषयप्रतिपादनक्रम-रहस्यज्ञानेन विज्ञातुं शक्यते—इति लेखकेन प्रादर्शितम् ।

विषयप्रतिपादनक्रमे पुराणिकानां काचिद् दृष्टिः शैली वासीत्—इत्युक्तं लेखकेन । किमपि पुराणम् एकपरम्पराश्रितं वा, अनेकपरम्पराश्रितं वा—एतस्य निरूपणमपि विषयक्रमविचारेण कर्तुं शक्यते । इदमपि लेखकेन प्रदर्शितं यद् अष्टादश-पुराण-रचनायाः क्रमोऽपि सहेतुकः ।]

\* This article is a revised and enlarged form of the paper read at the Vth World Sanskrit Conference, held in Vārāṇasī from 21 to 26 October, 1982.

Abbreviations : Bd = Brahmāṇḍa; Mt = Matsya; Pd = Padma; Vy = Vāyu; Śk = Skanda.



We have proof that the purāṇic authors had in view the whole complex of purāṇic literature and were constantly trying to put in order the ever growing underbrush of new productions. All the attempts were made towards fixing a purāṇic canon converge to support this impression.<sup>1</sup> The 'purāṇic schemes', i. e. the orderly succession of topics common to two or more purāṇa-s, which we are going to study in this article are a further proof of the command over the purāṇic matter shown by the purāṇic authors.

Studies in the purāṇa-s tend usually to analyse and, so to say, to decompose them in order to find out the time and place of origin, their history, development etc. Even the recent structuralistic approaches<sup>2</sup> are limited to a myth or group of myths and only vaguely refer to the broader context in which they are inserted. But as the purāṇa-s are 'mosaics', whose pieces are always changing, we run the risk of missing their real meaning if we do not attempt also to see them in their totality. When we have examined all their details and found that the single 'tesserae' of a purāṇa come from such and such *sampradāya*, from such and such time and place or belong to such and such a myth etc. we have not yet given the answer to why such influences took place or took place in that particular way. Even if we need to analyse the single pieces of the composition (whether it is better to do it before or after we have got a complete picture of the composition itself is no matter of our interest now) we have to be careful not to miss the wonderful complex which was born out of all these pieces and stands now in front of us. By dint of examining more and more details we may miss the whole. I am supported in this statement by the attitude of some purāṇic authors who considered the whole very important. The schemes we are going to examine may show the way to prove that purāṇa-s are not only a heap of pieces which happened to come together under the influences of different forces operating on them down the centuries but are a vast harmonious combination of different and sometimes apparently irreducible elements. In other

1. see The Dynamic Canon of the Purāṇa-s, in *Purāṇa*, XXI, No 2 (July, 1979), pp. 116-166.
2. Wendy D. O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1975; M. Biardeau, The Story of Arjuna Kārtavīrya without Reconstruction, in *Purāṇa* XII, No 2 (July, 1970), pp. 286-303.

words, the purāṇa-s are, on a small scale, what Hinduism is at large. The new elements which come from different parts try to break up the unity, but a strong capacity of synthesis puts each new element in its right place and assimilates it. This phenomenon is too well known to insist on it. This article tries to put in evidence one of the manifold attempts towards the above-mentioned synthesis. To be honest, I should say at the outset that even this synthesis produced by the schemes was later decomposed by new factors and so only a few remnants of it are still visible. They are, however, important for understanding a moment in the evolution of a culture and for pointing out a trend of energies which also nowadays is at work in Indian culture. This article will be only a first little step, rather technical indeed, on this line, but hopefully already meaningful.

I first discovered this tendency of the purāṇa-s towards a synthesis or orderly disposition of their topics in common schemes when I was comparing the matters of the Agni and the Garuḍa purāṇa-s. Suddenly appeared a quite definite and close similarity of subjects between the two texts and, what struck me more, a rather similar order in their sequence. The discovery encouraged me to examine also other purāṇa-s. I have to confess that I was no more so lucky, but comparisons between the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata purāṇa-s and analysis of the Matsya and the Brahma, as well as a re-examination of the study done by W. Kirfel on the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa-s<sup>3</sup> brought further light on the matter. I have not yet examined all the purāṇa-s from this point of view, so the results are only partial.

From the research done till now one point is clear, namely that some purāṇa-s have a very compact and orderly build-up and are strongly related among themselves. To put it in a more specific way, the relation between the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu purāṇa-s studied by W. Kirfel is analogically extendable to other cases. Although Kirfel's perspective will have to be modified in this study, yet his findings are the strongest proof of a trend which now appears to be more vast than previously suspected. There seems to be, indeed, a strong external force which gives the purāṇa-s an imprint and uniformity, leaving them though freedom in details.

3. W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1927, pp. IX-XI.



The aim of this article is, therefore, to present some remarks on the relation between the Purāṇa-s. The remarks are only preliminary, yet they already hint at something which promises to be quite interesting.

## PART ONE : PURĀṆIC SCHEMES

### 1. Cataloguing of topics

To proceed speedily in the work, we have to find, first of all, a reasonable way to compare the topics of the different purāṇa-s among themselves. Although nothing has been systematically done in this field, one can start with the colophons very often available at the end of *adhyāya*-s, which in most cases mention one of the topics narrated in the text. These colophons, rather short, are ideal for a synthetic analysis of the *adhyāya* and so they can be used for this purpose. Unfortunately they are often missing or they lay stress, among the many themes narrated in an *adhyāya*, on topics which are less important or not useful to our purpose. They can, however, be irregularly used as helpful factors in the analysis of the themes of an *adhyāya*.

The *sūci*-s of all the purāṇa-s given in Agni 272, Nārada I. 92-109, Matsya 53, Śiva V, 44.124ff., and Skanda VII. 1.2 are, with the exception of the Nārada, too short and describe only those topics that were supposed to be narrated in the period when such *sūci*-s were composed. They match neither among themselves nor with the present purāṇic matter except in rare cases. They are useful for discovering the attempts of fixing a purāṇic canon more than in describing the contents of the extant purāṇa-s. But as Nārada's *sūci*-s are longer and still matching casually with the extant purāṇa-s they can be used now and then.

As for the summaries of a specific purāṇa which are often available in the opening or concluding *adhyāya*-s, they can be used but with considerable moderation, because not infrequently they do not correspond to the real content of the purāṇa. In some cases, they seem to be descriptions of ideal purāṇic matter and they are often meant to be recited as separate *adhyāya*-s for religious purpose.<sup>4</sup> So

4. see A General Introduction to the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa. Its Anukramāṇikās and their Significance, in *Purāṇa* XVII, No 2 (July, 1975), pp. 118 ff, especially pp. 143-147.

they constitute a topic by themselves and do not fit in well with our scope.

As for the summary of the *adhyāya-s* that each purāṇa has, as every other printed book, at the beginning of the text, they are really 'tables of contents' describing the actual text as it is offered to the readers and so we can be sure that they mention the subjects really dealt with in the purāṇa. Some scholars have even prepared separate lists of topics available in one or more purāṇa-s.<sup>5</sup> Both the tables of contents and these lists of topics are quite valuable and useful but they necessarily limit their field to the important subjects of each *adhyāya* which are not always the topics an *adhyāya* has in common with another one. The purāṇa-s, in fact, in their evolution may have undergone a disarrangement in their topics. The same important subject in two purāṇa-s may have remained important in one and been given secondary weight in another. This discrepancy does not appear in the above mentioned table of contents and lists, which giving only the important topics, leave unnoticed the topics that have become secondary. So we are left with no chance to make the necessary comparison. In order to discover all the topics of the *adhyāya-s* we should then proceed to a very detailed analysis of the text cataloguing all the single and minor sub-divisions of the subjects. But this, it seems, would kill the text overburdening the analysis with unimportant details without making any substantial contribution. Such an analysis, indeed, does not appear to be necessary. What we really need most is a 'comparative' list of subjects. We have to analyse a text with an eye already fixed on another one so that the common topics may stand out clearly. This way of proceeding used in the following analysis, although rather approximate, seems already significant enough to rebuild the general trend of a purāṇa and it is more adherent to the reality of living texts which do not admit of too modern sophisticated methods of research.

While cataloguing the topics of a purāṇa we have to keep in mind also the relative freedom the authors, whoever they were, took for themselves in dealing with their subjects and the influence of

5. Cf Y. Tandon, *A Concordance of Purāṇa-Contents*, V. I. Series 3, Hoshiarpur (V. I. P.), 1952; Madhvācārya Ādya, *Viṣṇupurāṇa Viśayānukramaṇi*, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Vārāṇasī, 1966; R. S. Bhattacharya, *Subject Index to the Agni Purāṇa*, Bharatiya Vidyā Prakāśan, Vārāṇasī, n. d.



places and circumstances which caused marginal or minor changes in the sequence of the topics themselves. In our analysis, therefore, we shall keep an eye on general themes as well as on details. For instance, if in the correspondent *adhyāya* of two purāṇa-s, one deals with different kinds of bath and the other with different *pūjā*-s, we shall classify those two subjects under the general item 'karmakāṇḍa'. However, if in both the purāṇa-s we find the description of *pūjā*-s in the corresponding *adhyāya*-s, we shall lay emphasis on this specific fact and shall classify them under 'pūjā' in both cases. The first correspondence is already enough to identify the sameness of trend, but the second one is naturally more meaningful.

## 2. The Agni-Garuḍa purāṇa relation and its extension to the Matsya purāṇa.

a.—The Agni and Garuḍa purāṇa-s seem to be the two purāṇa-s which match the most, apart from the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa which will be considered below. The Agni purāṇa (ĀSS) has 11,457 *śloka*-s and the Garuḍa purāṇa (Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara Ed.) has 8,738 *śloka*-s. The two purāṇa-s then are substantially different in their length, but they are identical in being both encyclopaedic in character. The number of their *śloka*-s almost coincides with the figure given in Agni 272.11,21 and the details of their contents correspond fairly closely to the description of Nārada I, 99 and 108 except in a few particulars. We could even compare the two *adhyāya*-s of the Nārada purāṇa which give their summary, but it seems more advisable to give another summary to stress the similarities in the subjects and their sequence.

(see Table No 1 in the Appendix)

The comparison between the two purāṇa-s is very instructive. The first evident point is that they have really a quite similar structure. The parallelism is so evident that in some cases it helps to point out important themes which at first appear of minor value in one purāṇa as they are hidden inside other subjects or to leave apart some topics which apparently are important because they are dealt with at some length. For instance, theme No 2 of Garuḍa (*avatāra*, only a few *śloka*-s) could be evidenced by seeing the importance it has in the corresponding No 2 of the Agni purāṇa at this point of the scheme. Also No 10 of the Garuḍa (*manvantara*) was brought to light in this way although not immediately apparent for its being in

an alien context—it is in fact in *adh.* 87, included in the previous topic (*tīrthamāhātmya*) of *adhs* 81-90. This was possible for its perfect parallelism with No 10 of the Agni, also dealing with '*manvantara*'. The same thing can be said of Agni No 13 (*karmakāṇḍa*, *adhs* 263-270), inserted in the previous topic '*veda-s*' of *adhs* 251-272, for its correspondence with Garuḍa No 13 '*karmakāṇḍa*'. The whole process will become clearer as we proceed. One thing, however, can already be said at this point, namely that the comparison of the two schemes shows an evident common plan which stands out strongly even through the idiosyncrasies of each purāṇa. From this it appears also that the whole purāṇa in its entirety is more important than its single parts. But we shall revert again to this point in a short time.

The second thing which stands out clearly from this comparison of the Agni-Garuḍa schemes is that each scheme is, in its turn, divided into sections or units. These units are 'groups of subjects' floating, as it were, in the fluid magma of a purāṇa. Such units are classified with a roman number from I to VII in the above scheme. We shall see that the Matsya purāṇa, while following basically the general scheme of Agni-Garuḍa, shifts the topics dealt with in units V of Agni-Garuḍa to its own unit II and vice versa. It is noteworthy that in this case what is transferred from one place to another is not a single topic but the whole unit. A unit is quite compact in itself and easily recognizable, although in its interior the single elements composing it may be disposed in different ways in different purāṇa-s. For instance, Agni's unit III has the sequence '*tīrthamāhātmya*'-'*bhuvanakośa*'-'*jyotiṣa*'—let us say conventionally 'a-b-c'—the correspondent Garuḍa's unit III contains the same topics as Agni but in the sequence 'b-c-a', namely '*bhuvanakośa*'-'*jyotiṣa-tīrthamāhātmya*'. The prevalence of the entire purāṇa as a compact whole and the clear-cut floating units do not, however, exclude the presence of isolated topics occasionally introduced without any specific link with other adjacent subjects. Such is the case, for instance, of the topics '*vāyujaya*' and '*śvāyurveda*' of the Garuḍa purāṇa (No 18 in unit VI), which have no direct relation with the preceding topic '*mantra-s*' (No 17), nor with the following '*vākaraṇa*' (No 19). The same thing can be said of '*śvavāhana*' in Agni purāṇa (No 16) which has no correspondent topics in Garuḍa purāṇa and no relation with the context in which it is inserted.



The units of which we are talking seem to be 'circles of subjects', in which the main topic is somewhat a magnetic centre around which all the others are disposed through a 'sympathetic attraction'. So, for instance, in unit I the topic 'avatāra' (No 2 in both the purāṇa-s) attracts or develops naturally the topic 'śṛṣṭi' (No 3); and in unit VI the topic 'mantra' (No 17 in both the purāṇa-s) is linked with the topic 'karmakāṇḍa' or 'pūjā' (cf No 18 of Agni) etc. All this is done, however, with great freedom. For instance, in unit I we can note that while Agni's 'jagatsarga' has incorporated the topic 'vaṁśa' as a kind of sub-topic, Garuḍa's 'śṛṣṭi' has no other subject included in itself.

This relation between units and single topics can lead to some further considerations. Agni No 6 deals with the topic 'tīrthamāhātmya'. The sequence of *adhyāya*-s is :

*adh.* 108 *bhuvanakośa*; *adhs* 109-117 *tīrthamāhātmya*; *adhs* 118-120 *bhuvanakośa*.

This sequence reveals that in fact the topic *tīrthamāhātmya* is in the Agni purāṇa only a sub-topic of the broader subject '*bhuvanakośa*'. Such a relation, however, does not appear in the corresponding section of the Garuḍa purāṇa where '*tīrthamāhātmya*' not only is not included in the topic '*bhuvanakośa*' but is even separated by another subject, namely '*jyotiṣa*' (No 8). So the same topic can be either linked with other sub-topics or can appear independently. This procedure deserves greater attention as it is repeated in several cases : see Agni No 3 '*jagatsarga*' (*adhs* 17-20), which includes '*vaṁśa*' (*adhs* 18-19); Agni Nos 12-13 '*veda-s*' (*adhs* 252-272) with incorporated '*karmakāṇḍa*' (*adhs* 263-270); Garuḍa Nos 9-10 '*tīrthamāhātmya*' (*adhs* 81-90) which absorbed '*manvantara*' (*adh* 87) etc. We define this phenomenon as a tendency to 'inclusion', through which a topic swallows up, so to say, the other one in itself. Or can we speak of 'ring procedure' by which the same topic is re-assumed repeatedly. For instance, if we take Agni No 3 '*jagatsarga*' (*adhs* 17-20) with included '*vaṁśa*' (*adhs* 18-19), we see that the real sequence of topics is : '*jagatsarga*' (*adh* 17)-'*vaṁśa*' (*adhs* 18-19)-'*jagatsarga*' (*adh* 20); the same for Garuḍa Nos 9-10 which has the sequence '*tīrthamāhātmya*' (*adhs* 81-86) - '*manvantara*' (*adh* 87)-'*tīrthamāhātmya*' (*adhs* 88-90). It seems as if a topic considered more important, is repeated as a kind of echo. This gives the

result of 'concentric circles' where one of the themes is in the middle, included, so to say, in the other one which stands around it.

From what we have said till now, at least two main conclusions can be drawn for the study of the purāṇa-s. The first is that only in some cases single topics are to be considered and studied separately; they should rather be approached in the light of the context because they really form a compact unit with that specific context which gives them its own connotation. The second conclusion is that the whole purāṇa forms a unit by itself and constitutes the real and ultimate context both of the units and of isolated topics. So even if we consider a purāṇa as a mosaic of many pre-constituted independent units or subjects, we cannot decompose it into the original elements lest we destroy the mosaic itself. Each purāṇa has its own independent life and unity which are to be grasped in their entirety and specific structure if we want to perceive what makes that purāṇa unique. If the single units are separated for a while to examine them more closely, they have to be reunited immediately to the whole, lest we fail to reach the right interpretation. It seems easy to conclude from all this that studying a purāṇic topic in isolation from its units or specific purāṇic context is running the risk of misunderstanding it completely.

Moreover the stress we are here laying on the scheme of a purāṇa may lead us to find also its different layers of systematization. If two purāṇa-s have the same scheme, i. e. they deal with the same topics in the same order, we can suppose that the topics which are common to both of them were introduced in the purāṇa-s probably at the same time or at least that they represent the same current or layer, while the topics which appear to be outside the common scheme belong possibly to a different layer. In both cases the matter used in the purāṇa-s can be taken from material already well systematized outside the purāṇa itself in books or systems. An example outside the common schemes is Vāyu II. 211-225 on the musical theory<sup>6</sup>, while the *Dharmantarīsamhitā* of Garuḍa 146-194 is an example of matter—surely already organized outside the

6. See A. Danielou, N.R. Bhatt, *Textes des Purāṇa sur la theory musicale*, Vol. 1, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No 11, Pondichery (Institut Français d'Indologie), 1959.



purāṇa-s—common to more than one purāṇa. The reasons underlying the insertion of the two topics in the two purāṇa-s are different, the latter is the parallel with the common scheme; the former should be looked for in other more specific influxes that purāṇa underwent in its evolution. So the approach itself, while studying the two themes, must be different. The ‘historical’ analysis of the text points out when that particular passage was composed, the ‘scheme’ analysis helps us to discover when and under which forces it was inserted in the purāṇa-s.

This stress on the necessity of considering the common purāṇic schemes has not to lead us to overlook the idiosyncrasies of each purāṇa in dealing with the single topics. The two purāṇa-s we are just examining, namely the Agni and the Garuḍa, have a similar scheme and yet they have distinct individualities and the purāṇic authors themselves put them in two different categories, namely the Agni in the tāmasa and rājasa purāṇa-s and the Garuḍa in the sāttvika ones.<sup>7</sup> The same is true also for the Brahmāṇḍa and the Vāyu, which not only have the same scheme but in many cases even the same words. They are also to be considered at present as two different purāṇa-s with their own peculiarities.

Another remark of some importance can be made by examining Agni No 5. The two topics of this number, namely ‘buildings’ and ‘*devatāsthāpana*’ are repeated twice, in *adhs* 38-70 and then in *adhs* 92 106. Here the fact stands out clearly because the repetition is done immediately, with the sole interruption of *adhs* 71-91 (*karmakāṇḍa*). In other cases such repetitions are spread all along the purāṇa as it happens, for instance, for the group ‘*avatāra-sṛṣṭi*’, i.e., Nos 2-3 of unit I in the Matsya purāṇa. Such a group is repeated in three different places as a kind of refrain or ‘constant’, namely in Nos 2-3 and then in *adhs* 163-175 after No 10 and in *adhs* 243 250 after No 16 of the Matsya purāṇa. Each purāṇa can have its own peculiar refrain or constant which is not less important than the specific topics proper to that purāṇa.

A last remark can be made, keeping in mind that while the Garuḍa purāṇa has no division of *khaṇḍa-s* or the like, the Garuḍa purāṇa besides the *Pūrva-khaṇḍa* examined by us, has also an *Uttara-khaṇḍa* which is not taken under consideration here, because it has

7. See below, page 169.

no correspondence in the Agni purāṇa. This seems to imply that some additions to the purāṇa-s were made when the power of the schemes or the strong unity of the purāṇic topics was still felt and so if topics had to be added they had to be put in a separate part. The clearest proof of this are the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu purāṇa-s which have a common scheme ending with the usual conclusion of a purāṇa but then they have added, later than Nārada purāṇa I. 92-109, by way of appendix, two different topics, namely Lalitā-upākhyāna (Bḍ. III. 5-40) and Gayā-māhātmya (Vy II. 43-51) respectively.

So the process of systematizing the purāṇa-s according to schemes or common patterns lasted only some time. As every attempt to fix the purāṇic matter, this also failed in the long run and the purāṇa-s continued to evolve, leaving only vague remnants of the attempt made.

b.—After this rather quick comparison between Agni and Garuḍa purāṇa-s we shall analyze the relation, if any, of these two purāṇa-s with other texts, to discover whether the scheme we have analysed in them is common also to some other purāṇa.

The Matsya purāṇa seems to be, among the purāṇa-s I have examined for this preliminary research, the closest to them. It has 14,062 śloka-s in the ĀSS; it is, therefore, considerably longer than the other two we have examined and almost double than the Agni. The scheme given in the Appendix is compared with the Agni-Garuḍa group, as it follows their same pattern. In this case also the content of the Matsya is almost exactly matching with the one given in Nārada I. 107. (See Table II in the Appendix)

As already noted above, the peculiar feature of this purāṇa is the refrain of the two themes 'avatāra-sr̥ṣṭi', which recur three times and each time, it is not difficult to note it, the theme 'sr̥ṣṭi' assumes new tones and perspectives which cannot surely be perceived if we analyse it outside the context in a sort of aseptic way.

The topics Nos 4-6, which partly constitute unit II of this purāṇa, correspond to unit V of the Agni-Garuḍa scheme, which is put here at the beginning of the purāṇa and arranged in a way different from Agni's and Garuḍa's. It remains, however, easily



recognizable. The comparison of this unit (namely II of the Matsya and V of the Agni-Garuḍa) in the three purāṇa-s is rather interesting.

<i>Matsya P.</i> Unit II	<i>Agni P.</i> Unit V	<i>Garuḍa P.</i> Unit V
4. <i>Vaṁśa adhs</i> 11-51	12. <i>Veda-s (Purāṇa- itihāsa) adhs</i> 259-272	—
5. <i>Kriyāyoga adh</i> 52	13. <i>Karmakāṇḍa adhs</i> 263-270	13. <i>Karmakāṇḍa adhs.</i> 116-137 ( <i>Dharmaśāstra- vrata</i> )
6. <i>Purāṇa-s adh.</i> 53	14 <i>Vaṁśa adhs</i> 273-278	14. <i>Vaṁśa adhs.</i> 138-142
—	—	15. <i>Rām.-Mbh. adhs.</i> 143-145
<i>Dharmaśāstra adhs</i> 54-101		

We cannot escape the impression that we have here a purāṇic unit in its becoming. The three subjects of this unit seem to have developed from a single one, which through a sort of sympathetic attraction has gathered around itself other topics. A subject like 'Rāmāyaṇa' and 'Mahābhārata' (see Garuḍa No. 15) or even 'Purāṇa-s' (see Agni No. 12), could be easily attracted by a topic like 'vaṁśa' (see Agni and Garuḍa No. 14). On the other hand the 'Itihāsa-purāṇa' was not unnaturally linked to the 'Vedas' (see Agni No. 12), which in their turn could develop liturgical matter for their link with sacrifice (see Agni-Garuḍa No. 13). We supposed, then, that unit V was originated by one topic, namely 'vaṁśa'; its prevalence both in length and position in the Matsya would confirm it. The epics and purāṇa-s were easily attracted around it and, on their turn, recalled by way of sympathetic connexion or analogy the Veda-s which were spontaneously linked with *karmakāṇḍa*. Once the topics had developed in a purāṇa they remained as constitutive elements of the unit and influenced the other two purāṇa-s. That the topics 'purāṇa-s', 'vedas' and 'karmakāṇḍa' are secondary appears from the fact that 'karmakāṇḍa' of Agni-Garuḍa (No. 13) is not a substitution for 'kriyāyoga' of the Matsya (No. 5) as we shall see immediately and so the two subjects are independent; that the subject 'purāṇa' was omitted in the Garuḍa and that the 'veda-s'

do not appear in the Matsya. On the other hand that the hypothesis of the appearing of this unit II (or V) is not only imaginary can be seen by comparing the three purāṇa-s with their summary in the Nārada purāṇa.

For Agni purāṇa, Nārada I.99.15ff says :

राज्याभिषेकमन्त्रोक्तिर्द्धर्मकृत्यं च भूभुजासु ॥  
रामोक्तनीतिनिर्देशो रत्नानां लक्षणं ततः ।  
धनुर्विद्या ततः प्रोक्ता व्यवहारप्रदर्शनम् ॥  
(cf. No. 11 of the scheme)

वेदासुरविमर्दाख्या ह्यायुर्वेदनिरूपणम् ।  
(cf. No. 16 of scheme)

So here the whole unit V is omitted; it had not yet entered the purāṇa.

For Garuḍa purāṇa Nārada I. 108.12cd ff. says :

जननाख्यं प्रेताशौचं नीतिशास्त्रं व्रतोक्तयः ॥  
(cf. Nos 11-12 of scheme)

सूर्यवंशः सोमवंशोऽवतारकथनं हरेः ।  
(cf. No. 14 of scheme)

रामायणं हरेर्वंशो भारताख्यानकं ततः ॥  
(cf. No. 15 of scheme)

The topics 'vamśa' (No. 14) and 'purāṇa-s, Mahābhārata' (No. 15) are already present, but 'karmakāṇḍa' (No. 13) is missing. We have supposed that it was introduced under the influence of a previous introduction of the topic 'veda-s'.

For Matsya purāṇa, at last, Nārada I. 107.8 says :

कीर्त्तनं पुरुवंशस्य वंशो ह्रीताशनः परम् ।  
क्रियायोगस्ततः पञ्चात्पुराणपरिकीर्तितम् ॥  
(cf. Nos. 4-6 of scheme)

Here the whole unit is already present as in the extant text. So it is not difficult now to reconstruct the process of formation of this unit. At the time of Nārada I. 92.109 it was present in the Matsya in the same place and in the same order as we have it now. Its two main points were 'vamśa' and 'purāṇa-s'. It had already



been assumed by the Garuḍa purāṇa in a reduced form, namely without '*kriyāyoga*'; only '*vaṁśa*' and '(purāṇa)—*īihāsa*' had been retained. After the composition of Nārada I. 92-109 the Agni purāṇa took them and enlarged them to include also the vedic *śākhā*-s and liturgical matter (*karmakāṇḍa*) related to the veda-s. It was only at this stage that the Garuḍa purāṇa inserted the topic '*vrata*' which is somewhat half-way between liturgical and dharmasāstric matters. All this, of course, is valid if the development took place in a logical and consequential way. It remains, anyway, a good basic hypothesis, a solid starting point for research.

If we compare Matsya's scheme with Agni-Garuḍa's we come in touch with another procedure in purāṇic composition. The topics which are given in a frame, in the Table, between Nos 3 and 4 (i. e. '*manvantara*' and '*prithivīdāna*'), between Nos 6 and 7 (i. e. '*dharmasāstra*') and the topics after the refrain between Nos 10 and 11, (i. e. '*tīrthamāhātmya*' and '*vaṁśa*') may be considered a sort of buffer-topics, i. e. matter added to join more important units or to enlarge previous and subsequent topics; they are then not directly parts of the scheme.

The comparison of unit V of the Matsya with the corresponding unit II of the Garuḍa furnishes a further example of what we have already seen above. In Matsya No 14 the topic '*kriyāyoga*' although it is hidden in a completely alien context, namely '*devatāpratiṣṭhā*', could be put in evidence because of the undoubted importance the subject '*yoga*' has in this point of the scheme, as it appears from Garuḍa No 5. Moreover, Garuḍa No 6, which apparently deals with '*dharmasāstra*' but has a strange appendix on '*aṣṭanidhi*', is to be understood, most probably, in the light of its parallel in Matsya No 16, where the only dharmasāstric topic dealt with is '*dāna*'. So '*aṣṭanidhi*', although at present a secondary element in Garuḍa No 6 was most probably primary. The three *adhyāya*-s previous to it on '*dharmasāstra*', then, can be considered as a kind of enlargement by way of introduction to the main topic. So this is a further example of the importance the context and schemes may have.

In the logic of purāṇa-s like the three we are examining, which begin with '*avatāra*' and '*śṛṣṭi*', the topic '*pralaya*' is rightly put at the end. Unit VII of Agni-Garuḍa, which comes after such a topic,

should be considered, then, something outside the basic structure of these three purāṇa-s. We can suppose, however, that the '*paramā gati*' is a topic to be dealt with quite logically after '*pralaya*' and so all the subjects in connection with it, like '*jñāna*', '*yoga*' etc., as we see in the Agni-Garuḍa scheme, may find their reasonable place after it. The parallel with the Matsya does not help in this case because this purāṇa ends with unit V and has no correspondent matter for units VI and VII of the Agni-Garuḍa purāṇa-s.

### 3.—The Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata purāṇa relation and the Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa.

a.—Completely different and far more complex is the relation of the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata purāṇa-s. We do not find in them the rigid scheme we have noticed in the previous three purāṇa s and the whole arrangement of the topics and the spirit itself are quite different from the purāṇa-s just examined. Yet we can still discern in them a rather large agreement in some of their parts. They are completely different in style and length. Viṣṇu purāṇa has 6,373 *śloka*-s in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Edition and is divided into six *aṁśa*-s; the Bhāgavata purāṇa has 14,579 *śloka*-s in the same edition and is divided into twelve *skandha*-s. The general theme, however, is common and their schemes are also mutually comparable. Their comparison is rather instructive even if not so smoothly feasible as in the previous three purāṇa-s.

(see Table III in the Appendix)

The themes have been catalogued under three sections, mainly because of different degree of agreement in the topics.

Before entering into a detailed analysis of this scheme let us first note a process so peculiar to the Bhāgavata in comparison with the Viṣṇu but frequent also in other purāṇa-s, namely the enlargement. It is so common, indeed, that it deserves particular attention because it is one of the causes of the 'deviation' of a purāṇa from the original purāṇic scheme it might have had in common with another one. As we have already seen, there are different ways of enlarging a text : an *adhyāya* or a *khaṇḍa*, a unit, a section, or the whole purāṇa can be developed. We have examples of enlargement at the end of a purāṇa, as in the Garuḍa, Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu purāṇa-s, where a new *khaṇḍa* or at least a new section is added. We



have enlargements at the beginning of a purāṇa as it appears from the comparison between the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, Section I, as we shall see immediately, or in the middle, as it will be seen in the Vāyu compared with the Brahmāṇḍa (see scheme in the Appendix, Table IV, between Nos 3 and 4). Sometimes the enlargement or rather the deviation from the established scheme, is due to a sort of 'assonance' of topics, as we have already noticed. This process can be responsible for repetitions of topics, as in Agni No 5, where 'buildings' and '*devatāsthāpana*' are repeated twice, or in Matsya after No 10, where the topics '*pralaya*', '*avatāra*' and '*śṛṣṭi*' recall one another reciprocally so that where anyone of them is introduced the others also follow by 'concomitance'. The process of enlargement and specifically of 'assonance' can lead a purāṇa quite far from the original scheme. For instance, the story of Bhagīratha can bring a purāṇic author to continue either with '*vamśa*' or with '*bhuvanakośa*' or again with '*dharmaśāstra*', all depending on the stress laid on one point or another of the *kathā*, whether Bhagīratha's family is put in evidence or the descent of the Gaṅgā from heaven or the piety of the king. If we compare the sequence of topics in a purāṇa to a musical sequence we may understand better how each note-*kathā* can lead to an indefinite variety of relations with the next note-*kathā* to compose always new melodies, all depending on the inner sensitiveness of the composer. Sometimes, these variations-deviations are temporary as it is with Vāyu Nos 3-4, but they can be permanent and give a new feature to the purāṇa itself. Examining carefully the process of changing or evolving of schemes in the purāṇa-s would lead us too far now, because we should examine the trends and the forces which made their influence felt on the purāṇa-s down the centuries. We have here surely one of the main keys for understanding the whole process of purāṇic systematization and evolution. Should we enter a little more in the heart of the process we would understand perhaps why some topics are preferably attached to one purāṇa and not to another. So, for instance, why should '*Prayāga mātmya*' be originally linked with the Matsya purāṇa while the '*Kumbha melā*', which takes place at Prayāga, is traditionally linked with the Skanda purāṇa or why was the '*pretakalpa*' attached to the Garuḍa purāṇa and the '*pañcakrośi*' of Vārāṇasī was put in connection with the Brahmavaivarta purāṇa, just to give a few examples at random. All this makes us suppose that even the so-called enlargements or deviations did not take place haphazardly but according

to a logic which escapes our present understanding. Coming back to the two purāṇa-s we are studying here, we discover that in all the three sections the Bhāgavata enlarges, though in different proportion, the Viṣṇu's matter, through repetition of the same theme or through addition of related topics by assonance. The process is especially evident in section I. While the Viṣṇu purāṇa has here only one *adhyāya* as introduction, the Bhāgavata has the whole first *skandha* of nineteen *adhyāya*-s and other four *adhyāya*-s in the third *skandha*. The aim of these *adhyāya*-s of the Bhāgavata is unmistakably introductory as they introduce the characters that will be the interlocutors in the whole text or describe the characteristics of the purāṇa itself. The enlargement is obtained through repetition of the theme 'sṛṣṭi', or other refrains, like 'vaṁśa', through the addition of peculiar themes of Bhāgavata, namely sāmpradāyic and bhaktic topics (see Bhāgavata No 2 - *adhs* II.8-9 - and No 4 - *adhs* III. 27-33) and other ways (compare Viṣṇu No 9 'dharmaśāstra' with the corresponding Bhāgavata Nos 9-11 'dharmaśāstra', 'manvantara', 'avatāra').

The relation of themes in Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata section II is rather loose. But if we consider the whole section as a unit, it is not difficult to discover the same leading lines in both the purāṇa-s. Viṣṇu No 6 'manvantara' corresponds to Bhāgavata No 10 'manvantara' with the same characteristic. The theme 'māyāmoha' of Viṣṇu No 10 can be the vague correspondent of 'avatāra' theme of Bhāgavata No 12. The Bhāgavata purāṇa adds here 'vaṁśa' (No 8) but does not deal with 'veda-s' (see instead Viṣṇu No 7), a theme that this purāṇa will take up only at the end after the conclusion (see Bhāgavata No 18).

Section III is almost equally reproduced in both the purāṇa-s. The Bhāgavata adds new topics after the conclusion (Nos 17 ff), a process already found in other purāṇa-s also.

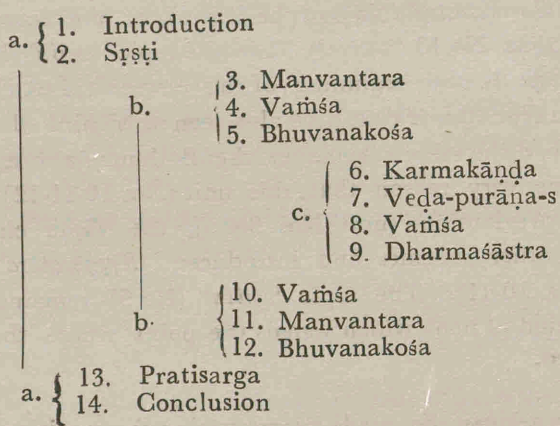
The comparison of these two purāṇa-s seems to point out that the Bhāgavata is dependent on the Viṣṇu for its scheme, which is followed constantly and, although continuously enlarged or momentarily abandoned, is immediately resumed again. It is evident that in all this process the division into *aṁśa*-s or *skandha*-s is rather external and superficial and it is not linked with the rhythm of the schemes.



b.—The Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu relation has been studied by W. Kirfel. Their interdependence is evident as it extends to the very words, not only to the topics. There should be no need, then, to compare them, especially if we accept Kirfel's view that these purāṇa-s were once only one.<sup>8</sup> But it is all the same of some interest to analyse them subject-wise and compare them with other purāṇa-s.

(see Table IV in the Appendix)

There is not much to say on these schemes, of course, except noticing the long addition at the end, after the conclusion, especially in the Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa and the insertion in the Vāyu between Nos 3 and 4 which breaks only momentarily the common scheme. We can add however, a note of some interest. These two purāṇa-s seem to have a kind of inner rythm which can be briefly presented in the following way :



The letters a-b-c point out a process of parallel disposition in the themes which correspond reciprocally in a mirror way around a group of topics 'c' standing right in the centre.

We can now compare the Viṣṇu and the Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa-s.

(see Table V in the Appendix)

The two schemes have been given in their essential elements in order to bring out better their relation. The first nine points, as well as the last two (or three, cf. Viṣṇu purāṇa) correspond in the two purāṇa-s. The major difference is between Nos 10-11 (*Kṛṣṇā-*

8. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. X.

*vatāra*-'*Kaliyugadharmā*') of the Viṣṇu and Nos 10-12 ('*vaṁśa*-'*manvantara*-'*bhuvanakośa*') of the Brahmāṇḍa. And this difference appears exactly there where the Brahmāṇḍa repeats itself (Nos 10-12 '*vaṁśa*-'*manvantara*-'*bhuvanakośa*' are equal to Nos 3-5). We have marked these topics with the letter 'b' in the above scheme. The Viṣṇu purāṇa, instead of repeating the same themes, introduces the new topics '*Kṛṣṇāvatāra-Kaliyuga*' (Nos 10-11).

The collation of these two schemes is quite instructive. We can note, first of all, the repetition or 'refrain' of the theme '*vaṁśa*' after No. 4 of the Viṣṇu purāṇa; the enlargement in No 13 ('*ādhyātmika*') of the same purāṇa; the buffer-topic of the Brahmāṇḍa (No 6), which has no correspondence in the Viṣṇu and, then, a new procedure, not yet met with in the other schemes. The topic '*vaṁśa*' of the Viṣṇu purāṇa (No 9), although it can be considered correspondent to Brahmāṇḍa No 8 ('*vaṁśa*'), is better seen, from its position after '*dharmaśāstra*' (No 8 of the Viṣṇu), as the correspondent of Brahmāṇḍa No 10 ('*vaṁśa*'). Now, the topic '*vaṁśa*' (No 10) in the Brahmāṇḍa is the beginning of the new unit, i.e., Nos 10-11-12; so Viṣṇu No 9 ('*vaṁśa*') can be also seen as a hint that the Viṣṇu purāṇa had the same scheme as the Brahmāṇḍa but then, possibly by the very reason that this unit (Nos 10-11-12) was a repetition of a previous one (unit Nos 3-4-5), the Viṣṇu changed and followed other schemes and introduced '*Kṛṣṇāvatāra*' and '*Kaliyuga*' (Nos 10-11). The topic '*vaṁśa*' (No 9) remains as a remnant or a kind of hook which signals the point where the two schemes divided.

A last remark can be made by comparing the position of the subject '*manvantara*' of the Viṣṇu purāṇa (No 5) which we have linked in this scheme with the previous topics, namely '*vaṁśa*' and '*bhuvana kośa*' (Nos 3-4) to form a kind of unit parallel to the corresponding Brahmāṇḍa's Nos 3-4-5. Now, this same topic '*manvantara*' (Viṣṇu No 5) was instead joined to the following topics '*Veda-s*' etc. (Nos 6 ff) to form section II of the Viṣṇu purāṇa, parallel to Section II of the Bhāgavata in Table III. Does this topic belong to the previous or subsequent section? The compact unity of Viṣṇu Nos 1-4 and their strong parallelism with the Bhāgavata Nos 1-5 would put the topic '*manvantara*' (Viṣṇu No 5) outside the group in which we have put it in Table V. We are encouraged to do that by



seeing that 'manvantara' of Viṣṇu No 5 is really corresponding to 'manvantara' of Bhāgavata No 9. But, on the other hand, the strong parallelism with the Brahmāṇḍa Nos 3-5 gives a point to its being an element of this very group as we have put in Table V and not of the following one as given in Table III. The strong parallelism between Brahmāṇḍa and Viṣṇu in Nos 3-5 is re-inforced by Brahma Nos 3-5 (see Table VI), which have exactly the same topics 'manvantara'-*'vaṁśa'*-*'bhuvanakośa'*. So the topic 'manvantara' (Viṣṇu No 5) fits well both in the previous unit where we have put it in Table V and in the following where we have put it in Table III. All this seems to point towards a double function of some topics, which should be considered perhaps as different kinds of pivots that can make the purāṇa change its scheme—the one it has in common with others—and turn it towards a new direction.

It is also interesting to note that the theme '*vaṁśa*' occurs three times in both the purāṇa-s (cf. Viṣṇu Nos 3,4,9 and Brahmāṇḍa Nos 4, 8, 10), but its function in the 'economy' of the two texts is different. This appears to be a further proof that the topics should not be examined in isolation but in relation with the function they have in the whole purāṇa.

#### 4. Purāṇic Habits and Heterogeneous Schemes

Besides the schemes we have examined, the purāṇa-s present some peculiar features, trends or habits common to many of them even if not organized in schemes for the whole purāṇa.

The purāṇa-s, indeed, in many cases have a particular and fixed way of joining topics, not haphazardly but in a selective way. They are built up, indeed, according to a logic which, strikingly in some cases, is not inner to them, i. e., the subjects are not always linked among themselves in a logical sequence. The incongruence in the succession of topics may be sometimes, even very often, explained with later additions, but that does not seem to solve all problems. There are, indeed, instances when it seems that a kind of 'habit' or 'selective unions' play an important role in systematizing the sequence of subjects. Some of them might appear natural, like, for instance, the connection between the topic '*bhuvanakośa*' and the topic '*tīrthamāhātmya*'. The connection is in this case so natural that where the former is introduced the

latter also very often comes by way of concomitance. But there are cases in which the link between subjects is apparently over imposed, so to say, by forces which are outside the inner and normal development of the subjects. In these cases the purāṇa may not follow anyone of the schemes we already know of but it is, not improbably, under the influence of 'purāṇic habits', which dictate, for instance, what topics have to be dealt with in the beginning or what should come at the end or again how to build a sequence of themes and so on. We have, of course, to go about slowly in this theory, as we do not possess enough material for its solid basis and fantasy may play a bad trick. Yet there are hints towards what we have just said which should not be underestimated.

For instance, examining the sequence of topics in the Brahma purāṇa we find an interesting fact. The sequence of topics does not correspond to any definite scheme already studied but it recalls two different schemes as if the purāṇa were under different influences.

(see Table IV in the Appendix)

In the beginning the purāṇa follows the sequence or *krama* of subjects we already found in the Brahmāṇḍa and Viṣṇu purāṇa-s. It apparently enlarges the buffer-topic of this latter (Viṣṇu No 6, 'karmakāṇḍa' and introduces a new and long theme 'tīrthamāhātmya' (Brahma No 8; cf already No 5). But from No 10 downward it is influenced by the scheme of the Agni-Garuḍa group; it only inserts its own peculiar refrain 'dharmasāstra-karmakāṇḍa'. The result of all this is a kind of mixed scheme bearing the imprints of two different schemes. Whether this should be considered new scheme, common to other purāṇa-s or only a mixture of units as a characteristic process of the Brahma purāṇa is not yet clear. Further investigation is needed.

## PART TWO : PURĀṆIC AWARENESS OF COMMON KRAMA-S

We have now enough matter to affirm that in some cases at least the purāṇa-s were following a definite scheme or *krama* common to more than one text. Were these schemes followed blindly or were the purāṇic author aware of what they were doing? We should proceed by steps and examine accurately the purāṇic attitude before these *krama*-s.



### 1. Order of the 18 purāṇa-s

There are passages, indeed not many, which clearly state that the eighteen purāṇas have a particular order which has to be followed.<sup>9</sup> It is perhaps because of remembering these passages that some authors tried to discover an inner link among the eighteen purāṇa-s which would account for their succession in the purāṇic lists.<sup>10</sup> It is known indeed that the purāṇa-s have 27 lists of the eighteen purāṇa-s,<sup>11</sup> twelve of which are equal among themselves—with the only variant of the Śiva or the Vāyu purāṇa at the fourth place—and other nine are quite similar. Such lists follow a definite *krama*, of which the purāṇic authors are aware. Usually no explanation is given for such an order. We find a hint only in Padma IV. 111. 66 ff and that also not for all the purāṇa-s but for eight of them. But even if they do not give any reason they insist that the succession in the order of the purāṇa-s is not haphazardous but क्रमात्, यथाक्रमम् etc.

Skanda purāṇa V. 3.1.14ab says :

तं नमस्कृत्य वक्ष्यामि पुराणानि यथाक्रमम् ।

(cf also śl. 52)

The same purāṇa in VII. 2.2 ab says :

अथ संक्षेपतो वक्ष्ये पुराणानामनुक्रमम् ।

(cf Mt. 53.72)

A little below, śl. 109ab has :

इदमष्टादशानां तु पुराणानामनुक्रमम् ।

The Matsya purāṇa (53.1) says :

पुराणसंख्यमाचक्ष्व सूत विस्तरशः क्रमात् ।

दानधर्ममशेषं तु यथावदनुपूर्वशः ॥

So these texts stress that the purāṇa-s have a *krama* which they follow. Also by giving the names of the purāṇa-s in the lists some

9. See, for instance, Matsya 53.1; Skanda V. 3.1.14ab, 52; VII. 2.2, 166-109ab.

10. Baladeva Upadhyaya, *Purāṇa Vimarśa*, Chowkhamba Vidyābhavan, Vārāṇasī, 1965, pp. 86-89; Giridhar Śarma Caturvedi, *Purāṇa Pariśīlan*, Bihār Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariśad, Patna, 1970, pp. 27-33.

11. see *The Dynamic Canon*. . . *op. cit.*, pp. 132-134, 144-149.

texts<sup>12</sup> stress the orderly succession mentioning their number : so Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa is called the seventh, Kūrma the fifteenth, Liṅga the eleventh and so on. Skanda V. 3.1.43ab quotes the Matsya as the sixteenth purāṇa according to the order :

मात्स्यं मत्स्येन यत्प्रोक्तं मनवे षोडशं क्रमात् ।

The single purāṇa-s show in some cases full awareness of their place in the list by identifying themselves with that purāṇa having that number : Bhaviṣya purāṇa affirms to be the ninth, Mārkaṇḍeya the seventh, Kūrma the fifteenth etc., exactly as in the lists.<sup>13</sup>

The commonly accepted list follows this order, which we shall call as the 'Viṣṇu's order as it is found in the Viṣṇu purāṇa also 1. Brahma 2. Padma 3. Viṣṇu 4. Śiva (or Vāyu) 5. Bhāgavata 6. Nārādīya 7. Mārkaṇḍeya 8. Agni 9. Bhaviṣya 10. Brahmavaivarta 11. Liṅga 12. Varāha 13. Skanda 14. Vāmana 15. Kūrma 16. Matsya 17. Garuḍa 18. Brahmāṇḍa. That this succession of purāṇa-s was most probably following a particular order with a specific meaning appears from the three passages we have now to examine. Garuḍa purāṇa, Brahma Khaṇḍa I. 1ff, Padma purāṇa, Uttara Khaṇḍa 263.81ff and Bhaviṣya purāṇa III. 3.28.10ff divide the 18 purāṇa-s according to the three *guṇa*-s into *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*. As the parts where these passages are inserted are comparatively late we can suppose that the division according to the *guṇa*-s is also rather late, yet it presents interesting features worthy of attention.

If we apply these three-*guṇa* divisions to the purāṇic lists of eighteen purāṇa-s we discover a kind of rythm which does not seem to be casual. As the lists of 18 purāṇa-s are many, it is but natural that the three-*guṇa* divisions fit one or only some of them. We may suppose that the division was prepared for that list where it fits best. Now the three-*guṇa* scheme of Bhaviṣya III. 3.28 fits mainly the list available in the Bhaviṣya itself because it contains the Nṛsimha purāṇa and both the Śiva and the Vāyu, facts which are not repeated in other lists. It fits, however, also the main list the Viṣṇu's and two or three others (see Appendix). As for

12. see Bhaviṣya I. 1.61 ff; Varāha 3.69 ff; Viṣṇu III. 6.21 ff. etc.

13. Bhaviṣya I. 1.69; Mārkaṇḍeya 137.25ab; Kūrma I. 1.21; Liṅga I. 2.3cd; Vāmana 95.36.



the three-*guṇa* divisions of the Garuḍa, and Padma they fit best the list as given in Padma VI. 263, which is equal to the standard one (or the Viṣṇu's III. 6), but puts the Skanda purāṇa at the last but one place and not at No 13 as the usual list does. The Garuḍa's *guṇa*-division, moreover, agrees perfectly also with the lists given in the Kūrma, Śiva VIII. 1.1.43, Padma VI. 219, Liṅga, Śiva V. 44.120 as well as Padma IV. 111. The lists and their relation with the *guṇa*-division are given in the Appendix : here we discuss only one of them to stress the awareness in the purāṇic authors of the link the purāṇa-s have in their succession.

PURĀṆA-S	Guṇa-scheme acc. to Garuḍa	Guṇa-scheme acc. to Padma	Guṇa-scheme acc. to Bhv.
1. Brahma*	T	R	S
2. Padma	R	S	S
3. Viṣṇu+	S	S	S
4. Śiva (or Vāyu)*	S	T	R(R)
5. Bhāgavata+	S	S	S
6. Nārādīya (Āditya for Gḍ)	T	S	—
7. Mārkaṇḍeya	T	R	T
8. Agni	R	T	T
9. Bhaviṣya	R	R	T
10. Brahmavaivarta	T	R	—
11. Liṅga+	T	R	T
12. Varāha*	R	T	S
13. Skanda	—	—	—
14. Vāmana+	R	R	R
15. Kūrma*	S	T	R
16. Matsya*	S	T	R
17. Garuḍa+	S	S	S
18. Skanda	R	T	—
19. Brahmāṇḍa	T	R	T
20. Nṛsimha	—	—	R

Note :— S = Sāttvika; R = Rājasa; T = Tāmasa.

\* = purāṇa which has been assigned to all the three *guṇa*-s subsequently.

+ = purāṇa which was assigned the same *guṇa* in the three schemes.

The numbers of the Purāṇa-s are given according to the order which appears in Viṣṇu III. 6.

The Skanda after the Garuḍa appears only in Pd. VI. 263; Bhv. gives also Nṛsimha and both the Śiva and the Vāyu; Garuḍa substitutes Āditya for Nārādīya.

The sequence of the Garuḍa's *guṇa* list starts and ends with all the three *guṇa*-s which appear in these two places in a mirror succession :

	1. T	3. S
Beginning	2. R	End 2. R
	3. S	1. T

The others are arranged in groups of two purāṇas each having the same *guṇa*. Other arrangements or successions are also possible. the reader will find them easily and so new rythms can be discovered.

The Padma's *guṇa* list presents four groups of four purāṇa-s each. Each group contains all the three *guṇa*-s, one of which is repeated twice in succession. The position of the Skanda purāṇa (No 13) in the order proposed by the Viṣṇu purāṇa (i. e. the standard list) would interfere with the rhythm. To avoid such an irregularity the Padma in its own list given in previous *śloka*-s transposes the Skanda immediately after the Garuḍa—as we have done—and so the rhythm is preserved. We may assume that the shifting of the Skanda purāṇa to the last but one position operated by the Padma purāṇa in this passage is due exactly to the necessity of keeping the above-mentioned rhythm. This would imply that the author of such a list not only was aware of the rhythm but that he considered it more important than the standard and generally-accepted order of the purāṇa-s, namely the Viṣṇu purāṇa's list.

The Bhaviṣya divides the list into three groups of three purāṇa-s each belonging to the same *guṇa* alternated with groups of three purāṇa-s having two purāṇa-s of one *guṇa* and the third one different. The last group concludes with three purāṇa-s, each one having a different *guṇa* in that same succession with which the three-*guṇa*-s groups had been introduced previously. It appears difficult that all such correspondences may be due to a mere accident. It is sounder to think that they were deliberately meant by the authors.

## 2. Order of the Single Purāṇa-s

At least eight purāṇa-s show clear awareness of being a unit having a definite scheme.

Vāmana 1.10 and Brahmāṇḍa I. 1.168ab affirm it straight-way. The former says :



पुराणं वामनं वक्ष्ये क्रमान्निखिलमादितः ।

The latter has :

अनेनानुक्रमेणैव पुराणं संप्रकाशते ।

Padma II. 125. 40cd-41ab foresees a great merit for the man who hears 'in due order' its five (not yet six as they are at present) *khaṇḍa-s* :

यः शृणोति नरो भक्त्या पञ्च खण्डान्यनुक्रमात् ।  
सहस्रगोप्रदानस्य मानवो लभते फलम् ।

The five *khaṇḍa-s* of the Padma have, then, their order which possibly is important and internally linked with the matter itself of the purāṇa. Other purāṇa-s give more details about such an order. The Viṣṇu purāṇa is aware that it is narrating the *pañcalakṣaṇa* in the order given in the usual *śloka* :

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।  
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

It reminds the readers and listeners of the fact whenever a new topic of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* is started. So at the end of *amśa* I it affirms :

इत्येष तैःशः प्रथमः पुराणस्यास्य वै द्विज ।  
यथावत्कथितो यस्मिञ्छ्रुते पापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥  
(I. 22.88)

At the beginning of *amśa* III it says :

कथिता गुरुणा सम्यग्भूसमुद्रादिसंस्थितिः । 3.1 ab ।  
... ..  
मन्वन्तराण्यशेषाणि श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यनुक्रमात् ॥ 3.3 cd ॥  
... ..  
तान्यहं भवतः सम्यक् कथयामि यथाक्रमम् ॥ 3.5 cd ॥

Similar things are said in IV. 1.2 for *amśa* and in a clearer way in V. 1.1. :

नृपाणां कथितस्सर्वो भवता वंशविस्तरः ।  
वंशानुचरितं चैव यथावदनुवर्णितम् ॥

and then again in VI. 1.1-2 ab :

व्याख्याना भवता सर्गवंशमन्वन्तरस्थितिः ।  
वंशानुचरितं चैव विस्तरेण महामुने ॥ 1 ॥  
श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं त्वत्तो यथावदुपसंहृतिम् । 2 ab ॥

So the Viṣṇu purāṇa is always conscious of different topics to be dealt with according to a fixed plan, which is again summarized at the end :

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशमन्वन्तराणि च ।  
वंशानुचरितं कृत्स्नं मया तव प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ (VI. 8.13)

Although the '*pratisarga*' is dealt with at the end of the purāṇa and not in second place as we would expect from the *śloka* just quoted, yet the purāṇa shows itself to be continuously attentive to the order to be followed in the text.

The Bhāgavata purāṇa is not so particular about emphasizing the regular development of the topics but it is also aware of the inner unity of the whole purāṇa, especially when it mentions topics already narrated—see V. 26.38; VI. 1.1; VIII. 1.1, 6.

The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa-s divide their text into four *pāda*-s which will be narrated in due order :

वक्ष्यामि तान् पुरस्तात्तु विस्तरेण यथाक्रमम् ।  
(Bd. I. 1.1.40 ab)

At each *pāda* the text underlines the moment where the next *pāda* follows in due order or the previous one was duly narrated as pre-announced. So at the end of the first *pāda* :

अनेनाद्येन पादेन पुराणं परिकीर्तितम् ॥  
(Bd. I. 1.5.145 cd; cf. Vy I. 6.73 cd)

At the end of the second *pāda* :

इत्येष ह मया पादो द्वितीयः कथितो द्विजाः ।  
विस्तरेणानुपूर्व्या च भूयः किं कथयाम्यहम् ॥  
(Bd. I. 2.38.33; cf. Vy I. 61.186 cd)

The *śloka* is repeated with due changes in II. 3.74.278 (cf. Vy II. 37.458) at the end of the third *pāda*. The next *adhyāya* continues :

श्रुत्वा पादं तृतीयं तु क्रान्तं सूतेन धीमता ।  
ततश्चतुर्थं पप्रच्छुः पादं वै ऋषिसत्तमाः ॥  
(Bd. III. 4.1.1; cf. Vy II. 38.1)

These two purāṇa-s, then, are also fully aware of the order they have to follow in narrating their matter. Skanda purāṇa VII. 4.44.23, although speaking of '*purāṇānām anukramah*' refers apparently to the inner order of each purāṇa and so it can be quoted here to support our supposition that some purāṇic authors are always in



control of their own matter and put it in a prefixed order. The double *sūci-s* available at the beginning of some purāṇa-s<sup>14</sup> show also that the purāṇas had a prefixed scheme to follow. In these cases indeed the interlocutors are introduced as they were already well acquainted with the matter to be narrated even before it is narrated.

### 3. Sequence of topics

Padma purāṇa I. 1, Matsya I, and several other purāṇa-s present a list of questions or topics to be dealt with in the purāṇa and specify that those subjects have to be narrated in order :

एतत्सर्वं महाभाग कथयस्व यथाक्रमम् ।

(Pd. I.1.17ef)

सर्वमेतत् समाचक्ष्व सूत विस्तरशः क्रमात् ।

(Mt. 1.7ab)

Being at the beginning of the purāṇa-s these *śloka-s* in fact express the intention of having the whole purāṇa narrated in due order, so their meaning is equivalent to what we said in the previous paragraph. At other times the order does not refer to the whole purāṇa but only to a group of subjects like in Nārada I.97.6d which speaks only of the order the first topics must have in the Nārada purāṇa itself; or in Brahmavaivarta purāṇa I.1.46-47 where also the reference is only to a few topics. In some other cases a subject is said to follow the previous one in due order as if the author knew what kind of link should join the two *kathā-s* or topics. Brahmavaivarta purāṇa I.22.32 states :

ब्रह्मणो बालकानाञ्च व्युत्पत्तिः कथिता मुने ।

साम्प्रतं नारदाख्यानं श्रूयताञ्च यथाक्रमम् ॥

The same purāṇa says : (II.4.14)

दुर्गायाश्चैव राधाया विस्तीर्णं चरितं महत् ।

तच्च पश्चात् प्रवक्ष्यामि संक्षेपं क्रमतः शृणु ॥

This last example shows already that the two '*carita-s*' form a kind of unit which is first narrated in a long form and then in short '*kramataḥ*'. In this way the distinction between *kathā-s* and the units, of which we spoke above, tends to disappear. So when the purāṇic authors speak of an inner order of a *kathā* (see Bḍ. I.1.1.35-

14. see, for instance, Brahmavaivarta purāṇa I. 1.

36; 2.48 ; Sk. II.8.108cd etc.) they may intend also something vaster than the narrow frames of the story.

All this tends to point out that the authors not only know of a scheme or sequence of topics for the whole purāṇa but are also aware of smaller units—sometimes identifiable *tout-court* with a *kathā*—, which also have their order.

#### 4. Purāṇic origin

As is known the purāṇic authors have two theories about the origin of their works : one affirms that the 18 purāṇa-s were composed by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana who reduced the ten million of purāṇic *śloka*-s to four hundred thousand and divided them into eighteen parts. This theory is available systematically only in Matsya 53, Skanda V. 1.2; VII. 3.1, Nārada I. 92 and Padma I. 1, but it is accepted as matter of fact by many more and it is the current doctrine even at present. The five passages mentioned above have a rather uniform text although there are signs of different schools and tendencies. From the point of view of our study this theory would favour one common scheme for all the purāṇa-s. Sentences like

पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥

(Vy I. 61. 59 cd)

would support it. Or it would point out simply that the purāṇa-s have each their own distinct pattern and, at most, they are like different *adhyāya*-s of a unique enormous purāṇa. The theory of the three *guṇa*-s examined above would confirm it.

The second theory is available only in four purāṇa-s, namely Brahmāṇḍa I. 2. 35.63ff. Vāyu I. 60.1ff, Viṣṇu III. 6.15ff, and Bhāgavata XII.7.5ff. It is not usually accepted nor is it even known. The four texts, reducible to three, as the Brahmāṇḍa and the Vāyu have exactly the same words, only casually correspond *verbatim*. The theory they propose, however, is rather uniform. As there are different vedic *śākhā*-s, says the theory, so there are also different purāṇic *śākhā*-s, which were formed in the following way. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana taught his own *saṁhitā* to his disciple Sūta who, in his turn, transmitted it to his six disciples already good experts in the old matters (*purāṇeṣu* Bḍ. I.2.35-65ab). Among them three wrote their own *saṁhitā*-s and so from the one original *saṁhitā* four were formed. Vāyu I.60 seems to support the possibility that



from the very beginning Sūta transmitted the purāṇa *samhitā* in six different forms (षट्शः) and that three of them composed three other *samhitā*-s and then three more, so other six new *samhitā*-s were formed. According to the Vāyu purāṇa then we should think of the following stages in the purāṇic formation :

$$1 < 6 < 9 < 12$$

Such a detailed process is affirmed only by the Vāyu, which has variants from the Brahmāṇḍa on this point. But all the other three texts reporting this theory and the Vāyu itself immediately after it mention four *samhitā*-s only of which the names are also given. They are :

Lomaharṣaṇikā	—	the <i>mūlā samhitā</i>
Kāśyapikā	—	the <i>parā samhitā</i>
Sāvarnikā	—	<i>tr̥tīya samhitā</i>
Śamśapāyanikā	—	<i>anyā</i>

Things are not so smooth indeed because the names of the four *samhitā*-s as well of the six disciples do not coincide in all the four purāṇa-s and, moreover, the Brahmāṇḍa has apparently another parallel theory which speaks of only five disciples of Sūta having names partially different from the six of the other texts.<sup>(15)</sup> This uncertainty in the text as well as the fact that this theory is present only in some texts which are usually considered the oldest (except for the Bhāgavata which has here the shortest form with different names of the six disciples and puts it at the end of the purāṇa disregarding the parallelism with the Viṣṇu which it has in other places of the scheme) are points favouring an old tradition, most probably older than the other claiming the authorship of all the 18 purāṇa-s to Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana only. For our study we need not to have more or surer details; it is enough to know that the purāṇa-s not only were not all composed directly by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, but that they could be grouped according to their topic or tendency. In fact this theory, as we have seen, is parallel to the vedic *śākhā*-s under which it is inserted in our texts.

The Viṣṇu purāṇa (III. 6.19cd) claims to be a combination of the previous four *samhitā*-s :

चतुष्टयेन भेदेन संहितानामिदं मुने ॥

15. Brahmāṇḍa I. 1.1.12-15.

So some purāṇic authors were aware that the purāṇa-s were following common patterns and that such patterns could be transformed, as the Viṣṇu purāṇa does. The only text outside these ones referring to purāṇic composition and mentioning the names of these *samhitā*-s, is Bhaviṣya II. 1.1.4ab

पुराणसंहितां पुण्यां पप्रच्छू रौमहर्षणिम् ।

Other hints to divisions of the purāṇa-s like Vāyu II. 42.108f (नैकघा) or Devī Bhāgavata I. 1.13a (त्रिविधानि पुराणानि) may refer to the *guṇa* division we have seen above.

### 5. A Few Purāṇic Hints

We can perhaps go a step further. There is, first of all, a text which deserves more attention that I am now in a position to pay but that is rather meaningful for our research even at a first quick reading. The text, rather long, is Bhaviṣya III. 4.22.45-218. It presents the eighteen *mahākalpa*-s, of which it gives the names, the divinities, the Manus in charge and other details. But in five cases it mentions that the particular matter specified in that *mahākalpa* is known to a particular class of *paurāṇika*-s. These classes are *Brahmapaurāṇika*-s (śl. 48), *Viṣṇupaurāṇika*-s (śl. 98b, 99a), *Śivapaurāṇika*-s (śl. 102a), *Liṅgapaurāṇika*-s (śl. 129b) and *Bhāviṣyaka*-s (śl. 218b). It is not clear, in my present knowledge, what these words really mean. They apparently refer to different classes of specialists in purāṇic matters. We have to go slowly in our deductions because the text might be quite late, as it appears from the part of the purāṇa in which it is inserted. But if our supposition is correct, we can connect it with the division of the purāṇa-s according to the deities as it appears in Skanda VII. 1.289 and in Matsya 53.67-68 and deduce that there were people specialized in the old stories referring to a particular deity and purāṇa-s in which the main topic was one of the deities. We may perhaps even think that these *Brahmapaurāṇika*-s etc. went about narrating, like bards, their stories according to schemes or common patterns or sequence of topics. Just as any modern *Vyāsa*, while narrating the story of Rāma, although changing the details and the teachings *ad infinitum*, will follow always the same traditional pattern of the Rāmāyaṇa, so a *Brahmapaurāṇika* or a *Viṣṇupaurāṇika* ect., most probably, followed the same schemes in narrating their purāṇa-s.



Finally we have in our texts hints at matters taken from other purāṇa-s. Besides the examples of equal texts in two or more purāṇa-s, like Prayāgamāhātmya, etc.<sup>16</sup> there are hints to the whole matter of a purāṇa or to portions of it renarrated by another one. For the whole matter of a purāṇa we have Padma V. 59.2 :

पुरा स्कन्दपुराणे च यन्मया कीर्तितं द्विजाः ।  
कथयामि पुराणं च पुरतो मोक्षहेतवे ॥

For partial matter we have Bhaviṣya IV. 121.2, 4 :

भविष्यमत्स्यमार्तण्डपुराणेषु च वर्णितम् ।  
वाराहं चैव संगृह्य कथ्यन्ते तानि पाण्डव ॥ 2 ॥

.... ....  
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेभ्यो यन्मया ह्यवधारितम् ।  
तत्ते वच्मि कुश्र्श्रेष्ठ कन्यान्यस्योपदिश्यते ॥ 4 ॥

In a more general way Padma V. 36.14 ab says :

शृणुष्वऽऽदिपुराणेषु देवेभ्यश्च यथाश्रुति ।

These are most probably the only references to the process we are examining. We cannot deduce from them that the purāṇa-s show clear awareness of following schemes taken from other purāṇa-s, yet they show that some authors dared to say that they had taken their matter from other texts. The fact that the purāṇa-s know of Ādipurāṇa-s (Pd. V. 36.14 ab) or of other purāṇa-s (Bd. II. 63.174; Bhv. II. 1.21.1 ab; III. 4.21.131 ab; Pd. IV. 100.53 ab; VI. 63.55ab etc.) or that they quote single *śloka*-s from previous and old *itihāsika* texts (Bd. I. 5.4cd; II. 63.69ab; B. 15.49ab; Pd. VI. 29.1; Bhv. IV. 192.2ab etc.) does not prove that they know other purāṇic schemes or that they follow them. However, the constant references to other purāṇa-s show that the purāṇic authors are fully aware of what was going on in other texts and that sometimes they took inspiration from or copied them. The hint of Padma V. 59.2 mentioned above and the schemes of the Agni-Garuḍa (-Matsya), of the Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu and Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata (and Brahma) are already good matter for a strong suspicion that there was a time when some purāṇa-s followed common schemes. The suggestion of Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu and Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata that in the beginning the purāṇic literature contained only one and then four *saṃhitā*-s would point out that this phenomenon of the schemes took place very early and was very soon overcome by later development or increase in the number of purāṇa-s.

16. Matsya 102-112 and Padma, Svarga Khaṇḍa 39-49 (=Ādi Khaṇḍa 39-49).

## TABLE I\*

AGNI PURĀṆA  
(ĀSS—11,457 śl)

GARUḌA PURĀṆA  
(Jīv. Vidyās.—8,738 śl.)

## UNIT I

1. Maṅgalācaraṇa	a. 1	1. Maṅgalācaraṇa	a.1
2. Avatāra-s	aa. 2-16	2. Avatāra-s	a.1
		—Anukramaṇikā	a.2
3. Jagatsarga	aa. 17-20	3. Sṛṣṭi	aa.3-6
—Vaṁśa	aa. 18-19		

## UNIT II

4. Karmakāṇḍa	aa. 21-37	4. Karmakāṇḍa	aa. 7-45
5. Buildings...		5. Buildings...	
	devatāsthāpana aa. 38-71		devatāsthāpana aa. 46-48
	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">-karmakāṇḍa aa. 71-91 buildings... devatāsthāpana aa. 92-106</div>		—yoga a. 49
—		6. Dharmasāstra	aa. 50-52
		—aṣṭanidhi	a. 53

## UNIT III

6. Tīrthamāhātmya	aa. 109-117	—	
(Gayā, śrāddha)			
7. Bhuvanakośa	aa. 108, 118-120	7. Bhuvanakośa	aa. 54-57
		—vaṁśa	a. 54
		—Sūryavyūha	a. 55
8. Jyotiṣa	aa. 121-149	8. Jyotiṣa	aa. 59-80
(with many related subjects)		—narastrīlakṣaṇa	aa. 63-65
—		9. Tīrthamāhātmya	aa. 81-90
		(Gayā-Pitrākhyāna)	
9. Manvantara	a. 150	10. Manvantara	a. 87
		—ādhyātmika	aa. 91-92

\* All the divisions and groupings of subjects as well as the names given to the topics in this and in the following tables have been prepared for this study. They do not appear in the purāṇa-s, although they are based on them.



## UNIT IV

- |                     |             |                  |             |
|---------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| 10. Dharmaśāstra    | aa. 151-217 | 11. Dharmaśāstra | aa. 93-107  |
| 11. Rājadharmā etc. | aa. 218-248 | 12. Nītiśāstra   | aa. 108-115 |
| -dhanurveda         | aa. 249-252 |                  |             |

## UNIT V

- |                                 |             |                          |             |
|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| 12. Veda-s (and Purāṇa-Itihāsa) |             | —                        |             |
|                                 | aa. 259-272 |                          |             |
| 13. Karmakāṇḍa                  | aa. 263-270 | 13. Karmakāṇḍa and Vrata |             |
|                                 |             |                          | aa. 116-137 |
| 14. Vamśa                       | aa. 173-178 | 14. Vamśa                | aa. 138-142 |
| —                               |             | 15. Rāmāyaṇa-Mahābhārata |             |
|                                 |             |                          | aa. 143-145 |

## UNIT VI

- |  |             |  |                        |
|--|-------------|--|------------------------|
| 15. Āyurveda                                       | aa. 279-298 | 16. Āyurveda                               | aa. 146-194            |
| 16. Āsvavāyana                                     | a. 288      | —  |                        |
| 17. Mantra (and pūjās)                             | aa. 299-317 | 17. Mantra-s (karmakāṇḍa, vidyā, cuḍāmaṇi) | aa. 195-199            |
| 18. Karmakāṇḍa                                     | aa. 318-327 | —  |                        |
| —  |             | 18. Vāyujaya, Āsvāyurveda                  |                        |
|  |             |  | aa. 200-201            |
| 19. Chanda-s, kāvya, alamkāra, vyākaraṇa, amarkośa | aa. 328-367 | 19. Vyākaraṇa —sadācāra                    | aa. 203-204<br>aa. 205 |
| —  |             | 20. Karmakāṇḍa                             | aa. 206-212            |
| —  |             | 21. Dharmaśāstra                           | aa. 213-215            |

## UNIT VII

- |                        |             |                 |             |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 20. Pralaya            | aa. 368-369 | 22. Pralaya     | aa. 216-217 |
| —limbs of the body     | a. 370      |                 |             |
| 21. Naraka-s           | a. 371      | —               |             |
| 22. Yoga               | aa. 372-376 | 23. Yoga        | a. 218      |
| —                      |             | 24. Ādhyātmika  | aa. 219-226 |
| 23. Brahmajñāna        | aa. 377-380 | 25. Brahmajñāna | a. 227      |
|                        |             | —Ātmajñāna      | a. 228      |
| 24. Gītāsārā           | a. 381      | 26. Gītāsārā    | a. 229      |
| —Yamagītā              | a. 382      |                 |             |
| 25. Agnipurāṇamahātmya | a. 383      | —               |             |

## UTTARAKHAṆḌA (Pretakalpa)

## TABLE II

MATSYA PURĀṆA (ĀSS-14,062 \$l)	AGNI PURĀṆA (ĀSS-11,457 \$l)	GARUḌA PURĀṆA (Jīv. 8,738 \$l)
-----------------------------------	---------------------------------	-----------------------------------

## UNIT I

1. Maṅgalāc. a. 1	1. Maṅgalāc. a. 1	1. Maṅgalāc. a. 1
2. Matsyāvatāra. aa. 2-3	2. Avatāras aa. 2-16	2. Avatāras a.1 —anukram. a. 2
3. Sṛṣṭi aa. 4-8	3. Jagatsarga aa. 17-20 —vaṁśa aa. 18-19	3. Sṛṣṭi aa. 3-6

Manvantara a. 9  
Prthivīdohana a.10

## UNIT II

4. Vaṁśa aa. 11-51	12. Vedas (Purāṇa- itihāsa) aa. 259-272	—
5. Kriyāyoga a. 52	13. Karmak. aa. 263-270	13. Karmak. -vrata aa. 116-137
—	—	15. Rām. -Mbh. aa. 143-145

Dharmaśāstra aa. 54-101

## UNIT V

## UNIT III

7. Tīrtham. aa. 102-112	6. Tīrtham. aa. 109-117	—
8. Bhuvanak. aa. 112- 123	7. Bhuvanak. aa. 108, 118-120	7. Bhuvanak. aa. 54-57
9. Jyotiṣa aa. 124-140	8. Jyotiṣa aa. 121-149	8. Jyotiṣa aa.59-80 —nara-strī 63-65
—	—	9. Tīrtham. 81-90
10. Caturyuga-Manv. 141-159	9. Manvantara a. 150	10. Manv. a. 87
—ādhyāt. aa. 160-162	—	—ādhyāt. aa. 91-92

sṛṣṭi (pralaya) aa. 163-165  
yajñāvatāra a. 166  
sṛṣṭi aa. 167-175  
-ādhyātm. a. 176

Tīrtham. aa. 179-193

Vaṁśa aa. 194-203



## UNIT IV.

- |                                 |   |                                |
|---------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 11. Dharmasāstra<br>aa. 204-213 | 10. Dharmasāstra<br>aa. 151-217                           | 11. Dharmasāstra<br>aa. 93-107 |
| 12. Rājadharmā<br>aa. 214-226   | 11. Rājadharmā<br>aa. 218-248<br>—Dhanurv.<br>aa. 249-252 | 12. Nītisāstra<br>aa. 108-115  |
| 13. Dharmasāstra<br>aa. 227-242 | —   | —                              |

Avatāra aa. 243-247  
Kṣīrodamanthana  
(sṛṣṭi) aa. 248-250

## UNIT V

- 
14. Buildings-Devatāp.  
aa. 251-269  
—Kriyāyoga a. 257
15. Vamśa aa. 270-272
16. Dharmasāstra (dāna)  
aa. 273-288
17. Kalpas a. 289
18. Matsyasūci a. 290

## UNIT II

4. Karmakāṇḍa aa. 21-37
4. Karmakāṇḍa  
aa. 7-45
5. Buildings-Devatāp.  
aa. 38-106
5. Buildings-Devatāp.  
aa. 46-48  
—Yoga a. 49
- 
6. Dharmasāstra aa.  
50-52  
—aṣṭanidhi a.93

## Units VI and VII

## TABLE III

VIṢṆU PURĀṆA  
(Jīv. Vidyās.-6, 373)

BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA  
(Jīv. Vidyās.-14, 579)

## SECTION I

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Introduction a. I. 1</p> <p>2. Utpatti aa. I. 2-9<br/>—Vaṁśa a. I. 7<br/>—Samudra manthana a. I. 9</p> <p>3. Vaṁśa aa. I. 10-II. 1<br/><u>—Jagat-vyavasthā a. I. 22</u></p> <p>—</p> <p>4. Bhuvanakośa aa. II. 2-12<br/>—Vaṁśa aa. II. 13-16</p> | <p>1. Introduction aa. I. 1-19<br/>—Bhagavad-avatāra a. I.3<br/>—Vyāsa</p> <p>2. Sṛṣṭi aa. II. 1-7<br/>—Bhagavad-upadeśa aa. II. 8-9</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>Introduction a. II. 10<br/>—Vidura-Uddhava-Maitreya<br/>aa. III. 1-4<br/>Sṛṣṭi aa. III. 9-13<br/>—Manvantara-Kālavibhāga<br/>a. III. 11</p> </div> <p>3. Vaṁśa aa. III. 14-25<br/><u>—Brahmā sṛṣṭi a III. 20</u><br/><u>—Tattva utpatti a. III. 26</u></p> <p>4. Ādhyātmika aa. III. 27-33<br/>—Vaṁśa aa. IV. 1-V. 15</p> <p>5. Bhuvanakośa aa. V. 16-26</p> |
|--|---|

## SECTION II

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>5. Manvantara aa. III. 1-3<br/>Vyāsas—of the past a. III. 1<br/>—of the future a III.2</p> <p>6. Vedas aa. III. 4-6</p> <p>7. Yamagītā a. III. 7</p> <p>8. Dharmasāstra aa. III. 8.16</p> <p>—</p> <p>9. Sāmpradayikī kathā<br/>aa. III. 8. 16</p> <p>—</p> | <p>—</p> <p>6. Yamadūta Ajāmila aa. VI. 1-3</p> <p>7. Vaṁśa aa. VI. 4-VII. 10<br/>—pumsavanavrata a. VI. 19</p> <p>8. Dharmasāstra aa. VI. 11-15</p> <p>9. Manvantara<br/>—of the past a. VIII. 1</p> <p>10. Sāmpradayikā kathā aa.<br/>VIII. 2-5<br/><u>—sṛṣṭi (samudramanathana)</u><br/><u>aa. VIII 6-12</u><br/>—of the future aa. VIII. 13-14</p> <p>11. Avatāra aa. VIII. 15-23</p> |
|--|---|



## SECTION III

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 10. Vaiśā aa. IV. 1-23         | 12. Vaiśā aa. IX. 1-24   |
| 11. Kṛṣṇa avatāra aa. V. 1-38  | 13. Kṛṣṇa avatāra aa. X. 1-XI. 6,<br>30-31<br>—ādhyātmika aa. 7-16<br>—dharmaśāstra aa. 17-18. |
| 12. Kaliyugadharmā aa. VI. 1-2 | 14. Kaliyuga aa. XII. 1-3  |
| 13. Pralaya aa. VI. 3-4        | 15. Pralaya a. XII. 4<br>—   |
| 14. Ādhyātmika aa. VI. 5-7     | 16. Conclusion : antima upadeśa<br>a. XII. 5   |
| 15. Conclusion a. VI. 8        |  |
- 
- |  |
|--|
| 17. Vedas aa. XII. 6-7                 |
| 18. Mārkaṇḍeya aa. 8-10                |
| 19. Bhagavad aṅga-upāṅga<br>a. XII. 11 |
| 20. Sūci aa. XII. 12-13                |

## TABLE IV

## BRAHMĀṆḌA PURĀṆA

## VĀYU PURĀṆA

## UNIT I

## I. Prakriyā pāda

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Anukramaṇikā-Intro-<br>duction aa. I. 1-2 | 1. Anukramaṇikā-Introduction<br>aa. I. 1-2 |
| 2. Sṛṣṭi aa. I. 3-8                          | 2. Sṛṣṭi aa. I. 3-9                        |

## II. Anuṣaṅga pāda

- |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| —pratisandhi a. I. 6  | —pratisarga a. I. 7   |
| —dharmaśāstra a. I. 7 | —dharmaśāstra a. I. 8 |

## UNIT II

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 3. Manvantara a. I. 9<br>Mahādevatanu a. I. 10 | 3. Manvantara a. I. 10<br>-----<br>a. ādhyātmika aa. I. 11-15<br>b. dharmasāstra aa. I. 16-18<br>c. ādhyātmika aa. I. 19-20<br>d. kalpa aa. I. 21-22<br>e. avatāra aa. I. 23-24<br>f. utpatti aa. I. 25-27<br>----- |
| 4. Varṇsa aa. I. 11-14                         | 4. Varṇsa aa. I. 28-33<br>—yugadharma a. I. 32  |
| 5. Bhuvanakośa aa. I. 15-24                    | 5. Bhuvanakośa aa. I. 34-53<br>—Gaṅgā avatāra a. I. 47  |

## UNIT III

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 6. Karmakāṇḍa aa. I. 25-33<br>—yuga a. I. 29, 31   | 6. Karmakāṇḍa aa. I. 54-59<br>—caturyuga a. I. 58    |
| 7. Veda-purāṇas a. I. 34                           | 7. Veda-purāṇas a. I. 60                             |
| 8. Varṇsa aa. I. 35-II. 8<br>—Pṛthivīdohana a. 136 | 8. Varṇsa aa. I. 61-II. 9<br>—Pṛthivīdohana a. II. 1 |

## III. Upodghāta pāda

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| —Sarga aa. I. 38; II. 3-7    | —Sarga aa. II. 2.; 5-8       |
| 9. Dharmasāstra aa. II. 9-20 | 9. Dharmasāstra aa. II. 9-20 |



## UNIT IV

- |                                      |                             |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 10. Vamśa aa. II. 21-74              | 10. Vamśa aa. II. 22-37     |
| —Arjuna aa. II. 21-29                | —Vaivasvata sṛṣṭi a. II. 23 |
| —Bhārgava aa. II. 25-46              | —Gītālakāra aa. II. 24-25   |
| —Sagara aa. II. 44-58, 63            | —Śambhu a. II. 35           |
| —Vaivasvata-utpatti<br>aa. II. 59-60 |                             |
| —Gandharva aa. II. 61-62             |                             |
| —Viṣṇumāhātmya<br>aa. II. 72-73      | —Viṣṇumāhātmya aa. II. 36   |

## IV. Upasamhāra

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 11. Manvantara a. III.                 | 11. Manvantara a. II. 38   |
| 12. Bhuvanakośa a. III. 2              | 12. Bhuvanakośa a. II. 39  |
| 13. Pratisarga-pralaya<br>aa. III. 3-4 | 13. Pralaya aa. II. 40-41  |
| 14. Conclusion a. III. 4               | 14. Conclusion a. II. 42   |
| Lalitā-upākhyāna<br>aa. III. 5-40.     | Gayāmāhātmya aa. II. 43-50 |

TABLE V

VIṢṆU PURĀṆA	BRAHMĀṆḌA PURĀṆA	
1. Introduction a. I. 1	1. Introduction aa. I. 1-2	
2. Utpatti aa. 2-9	2. Sṛṣṭi aa. I. 3-8	
3. Vamśa aa. I. 10-II.1 4. Bhuvanakośa (Vamśa) aa. II. 2-16 5. Manvantara aa. III. 1-3	3. Manvantara aa. I. 9-10 4. Vamśa aa. I. 11-14 5. Bhuvanakośa aa. I. 15-24	
		6. Karmakāṇḍa aa. I. 25-33
		7. Vedas-purāṇas a. I. 34
6. Vedas aa. III. 4-6	8. Vamśa aa. I. 35-II.8	
7. Yamagītā aa. III. 7	9. Dharmasāstra aa. II. 9-20	
8. Dharmasāstra aa. III. 8-16	—	
9. Sāmpradāyikī kathā aa. III. 17-18		
10. Vamśa aa. IV. 1-23		
10. Kṛṣṇāvatāra aa. V. 1-38	10. Vamśa aa. II. 21-74 11. Manvantara aa. III. 1 12. Bhuvanakośa a. III. 2	
11. Kaliyugadharma aa. VI. 1-2		
12. Pralaya aa. VI. 3-4		
13. Ādhyātmika aa. VI. 5-7	13. Pratisarga (pralaya) aa. III 3-4	
14. Conclusion a. VI. 8	—	
	14. Conclusion a. III. 4 Lalitā-upākhyāna aa. III. 5-40	



TABLE VI

BRAHMA PURĀṆA	BRAHMĀṆḌA (Viṣṇu) PURĀṆA
1. Maṅgalācaraṇa a. 1	1. Introduction aa. I. 1-2
2. Ādisarga aa. 1-4 —vaṁśa a. 2	2. Sṛṣṭi aa. I. 3-8
3. Manvantara a. 5 —utpatti a. 6	3. Manvantara aa. I. 9-10
4. Vaṁśa aa. 7-17	4. Vaṁśa aa. I. 11-14
5. Bhuvanakośa aa. 18-27	5. Bhuvanakośa aa. I. 15-24
6. Tīrthamāhātmya aa. 28-57 —karmakāṇḍa māhātmya aa. 57-59 —dharmaśāstra aa. 60-67 —Viṣṇuloka varṇana a. 68	
7. Tīrthamāhātmya aa. 69-178	
	(Viṣṇu Purāṇa)
8. Kṛṣṇāvatāra (and other avatāras aa. 179-213	10. Kṛṣṇāvatāra aa. V. 1-38
	AGNI PURĀṆA (Garuḍa)
9. Naraka aa. 214-216  —Dharmaśāstra aa. 216-225 —Karmakāṇḍa aa. 226-228	20. Pralaya aa. 368-370 —limbs of body
10. Pralaya aa. 229-233	21. Narakas a. 371
11. Yoga aa. 234-242	22. Yoga aa. 372-376
12. Jñāna aa. 243-244	23. Brahmajñāna aa. 377-380
13. Conclusion a. 245	

TABLE VII

List of Kūrma I. 1; Padma VI. 219; Śiva VII. 1.1.43	Acc. to Garuḍa	Acc. to Padma	Acc. to Bhaviṣya
1. Brahma	T	R	S
2. Padma	R } S	S	S } S
3. Viṣṇu	S	S	S
4. Śiva (Vāyu)	S } S	T	{ R (R) S
5. Bhāgavata	R }	S	R
6. Bhaviṣya	R	R	R
7. Nāradiya	T	S	T
8. Mārkaṇḍeya	T } R	R	T } T
9. Agni	R	T	T
10. Brahmavaivarta	T	R	—
11. Liṅga	T } R	T	T
12. Varāha	R }	S	{ T S
13. Skanda	R }	T	R
14. Vāmana	R }	R	R }
15. Kūrma	S }	T	R }
16. Matsya	S }	T	R }
17. Garuḍa	S }	S	S }
18. Brahmāṇḍa Nṛṣiṃha	T } —	R	{ T R

List of Liṅga I. 39 Śiva V. 44.120.	Acc. to Garuḍa	Acc. to Padma	Acc. to Bhaviṣya
1. Brahma	T	R	S
2. Padma	R } S	S	S } S
3. Viṣṇu	S	S	S
4. Śiva (Vāyu)	S } S	T	R (R)
5. Bhāgavata	R }	S	S
6. Bhaviṣya	R	R	T
7. Nāradiya	T	S	—
8. Mārkaṇḍeya	T } R	R	T } T
9. Agni	R	T	T
10. Brahmavaivarta	T	R	—
11. Liṅga	T } R	T	T
12. Varāha	R }	S	T
13. Vāmana	R }	R	R
14. Kūrma	S }	T	R
15. Matsya	S }	T	R
16. Garuḍa	S }	S	S
17. Skanda	R }	T	S
18. Brahmāṇḍa Nṛṣiṃha	T } —	R	{ T R



List of Padma VI. 263	Acc. to Garuḍa	Acc. to Padma	Acc. to Bhaviṣya
1. Brahma	[T	R	S
2. Padma	[R }	S	S
3. Viṣṇu	S }	S	S
4. Śiva (Vāyu)	{ S }	T	R (R)
5. Bhāgavata	{ S }	S	S
6. Nāradya	[T	S	—
7. Mārkaṇḍeya	[T	R	T
8. Agni	[R }	R	T
9. Bhaviṣya	[R }	R	—
10. Brahmavaiivarta	[T	T	T
11. Liṅga	[T	S	T
12. Varāha	[R }	R	R
13. Vāmana	[R }	T	R
14. Kūrma	{ S }	T	R
15. Matsya	{ S }	S	S
16. Garuḍa	{ S }		
17. Skanda	[R }	[T	S
18. Brahmāṇḍa	[T	[R	T
Nṛsiṃha	—	—	R

Note : S=Sāttvika; R=Rājasa; T=Tāmasa. The order of the *guṇa-s* as given in Garuḍa fits well also the list of the purāṇa-s in Padma IV. 111, while the order of the Bhaviṣya fits also the list of Bhaviṣya III. 3.28. For further clarifications see above p. 168-170.

IS KAPILA, THE FOUNDER OF THE SĀMKHYA SYSTEM,  
IDENTICAL WITH THE DESTROYER OF THE SONS OF  
THE KING SAGARA ?

by

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

[अशिष्टान् सगरनृपपुत्रान् कपिलो नाम मुनिः स्वतेजसा ददाहेति पौराणिकी प्रसिद्धिः । कपिलोऽयं सांख्यप्रवक्तेति भागवते, देवीभागवते चोक्तम् । पुराणद्वयोक्तं मतमिदं पुराणवाङ्मयमतानुसारेणैव न संगतं भवति; सांख्यवक्तुः कपिलाद् भिन्नोऽयं कपिल इति च मते लेखकेनात्र प्रतिपादिते । निबन्धलेखकेन अभिहितं यद् भागवत-देवीभागवते एव सगरपुत्रनाशकं सांख्यवक्तारं मन्येते, नान्यत् पुराणमुपपुराणमितिहासो वा, अतो मतमिदं न श्रद्धातुं शक्यते । ध्वंसकृत्-कपिल-संबद्धानि देश-काल-पित्रादि-गुण-कर्मादीनि न सांख्यवक्तरि कपिले संगतानि भवन्ति—इति लेखकेन विस्तरेण प्रदर्शितम् ।

यतो ध्वंसकृत् कपिलो विष्णु-वासुदेव-रूपेण प्रसिद्धिं गतः, सांख्यवक्ता कपिलोऽपि विष्णोरवताररूपेण संमानितो वैष्णवैरर्वाक्कालिकैः, अतो ध्वंसकृत् कपिल एव सांख्यवक्ता कपिल इति प्रसिद्धिर्जाता, या वैष्णवसंप्रदाय-विशेषालम्बिना भागवतकारेणानुसृता । द्वयोर्मुन्योः कपिलेतिपदाभिधेयत्वपि अस्याः प्रसिद्धेः (वस्तुतः भ्रान्तदृष्टेः) हेतुः ।

कपिलद्वयैक्यविषयकमिदं भ्रान्तं मतम् आदौ अविशेषदर्शिना भागवत-कारेण प्रोक्तम्, ततश्च देवीभागवतकारेणानुसृतम् । सांख्यवक्तुर्भिन्नः कपिलः ('चक्रधनु'-'वासुदेवा'परनामा) संकल्पबलेन वह्निमुत्पाद्य सगरपुत्रान् ददाह—इति प्राचीनपुराणेभ्यो विज्ञायापि भागवतकारः स्वेच्छया ध्वंसकृतं कपिलं सांख्यवक्तारं मेने—इत्यपि भवितुं महति इति लेखको वक्ति । आदिविदुषा सिद्धेश्वरेण परमर्षिणा सहजातधर्मज्ञानवैराग्यैश्वर्येण कपिलेन सगरपुत्रदहनरूपं कर्म कृतमिति कथन मध्यात्मशास्त्रदृशा न संगतं भवतीति लेखकीया दृष्टिः ।

निबन्धान्ते सांख्यवक्तु-कपिल-कालविषये काचिद् दुःसमाधेया समस्या चोपन्यस्ता लेखकेन ।]



The Bhāgavata, after stating the burning of the sons of the king Sagara by a sage named Kapila in 9.8.10-12, remarks in the following two verses (13-14)<sup>1</sup> that this Kapila is the same as the founder of Sāṃkhya. These two verses suggest that it is not the wrath of the sage that burnt the sons of Sagara to ashes; in fact it is their sinful acts that caused their death. The Devī-Bhāgavata (6.15.42),<sup>2</sup> while giving incidentally examples of the ill-results of lust, wrath, greed and egoism, categorically states that the sons of Sagara were burnt by the Sāṃkhya teacher Kapila on account of *daiṣya* (the power of destiny).

This incident of burning was so widely known that a poet like Bhavabhūti has clearly referred to it in his Uttararāmacarita (1.23).<sup>3</sup> Though Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa<sup>4</sup> (13.3) spoke of the digging of the earth by the sons of Sagara with a view to finding out the sacrificial horse and the carrying away of the horse by Kapila to the nether region and was silent on the incident of the burning of the sons of Sagara by the fire created by the wrath of Kapila, yet we have no doubt that he was aware of this incident.

A careful study of the relevant Purāṇic passages would reveal that the philosopher (i. e. founder of Sāṃkhya) Kapila was not the destroyer of the sons of Sagara. We shall also try to show the causes that gave rise to this wrong identification.

(A) The episode of the burning of the wicked sons of the king Sagara by the wrathful sage Kapila is set out in the following

1. न साधुवादो मुनिकोपभजिता नृपेन्द्रेपुत्रा इति सत्त्वधामनि ।  
कथं तमो रोषमयं विभाव्यते जगत्-पवित्रात्मनि खे रजो भुवः ॥  
यस्येरिता सांख्यमयी दृढेह नौर्यया मुमुक्षुस्तरते दुरत्ययम् ।  
भवार्णवं मृत्युपथं विपश्चितः परात्मभूतस्य कथं पृथङ्-मतिः ॥
2. कपिलः सांख्यवेत्ता च योगाम्यासरतः शुचिः ।  
तेनापि दैवयोगाद्धि प्रदग्धाः सगरात्मजाः ॥
3. तुरगविचयव्यग्रानुर्वीभिदः सगराध्वरे कपिलमहसामर्षात् प्लुष्टान् पितुश्च  
पितामहान् । (v. 1. पितुः प्रपितामहान्) ।
4. गुरोरियक्षोः कपिलेन मेघ्ये रसातलं संक्रमिते तुरङ्गे ।  
तदर्थमुर्वीमवदारद्भिः पूर्वेः किलायं परिवर्षितो नः ॥

Purāṇic works and the epics<sup>5</sup> :

Vāyu-p. 88. 147-148; Brahmāṇḍa-p. 2.53.25-35 and 2.63.144 146; Viṣṇu-p. 4.4.11, 23 (in prose); Brahma-p. 8.52-56; Matsya-p. 12.42b-43a (The destroyer is called Viṣṇu; there is no separate mention of the name Kapila); Padma-p. 5.8.147; 6.21.37b-39a; Liṅga-p. 1.66.18; the printed reading विष्णुहंकारमार्गणेः is to be corrected to विष्णुना येश्चमार्गणे; Agni-p. 273.28a-29a; Nārādīya-p. 1.18.95-109; Viṣṇudharmottara-p. 1.18.14-16a; Śiva-p. 5.38.51-53; Nara-simha-p. 26.7; Br. Dharma-p. 2.18:28-29 and 2.22.41; Br. Nārādīya-p. 89.99-113; Rāmāyaṇa 1.40.24-30; Mahābhārata, Vana-p. 47.18-19 and 107.28-33; Udyoga-p. 109.17b-18a; Anuśāsana-p. 153.9 and Harivaṁśa 1.14.24-25.<sup>6</sup>

5. Though Harivaṁśa (1.15.7) and Brahma-p. (8.68) inform us that 'the śruti says that the king Sagara had two wives' yet no Vedic text is found to contain any information about this king or his sons. This is why no Vedic text is of any help to us in determining the identity of the destroyer Kapila. It is quite reasonable to think that the word śruti in the aforesaid Purāṇic passage simply means 'tradition' (*aitihya*).
6. स तं देशं सुतैः सर्वैः खानयामास पाथिवः । आसेदुश्च ततस्तस्मिस्तदन्तस्ते महार्णवे ॥ तमादिपुरुषं देवं हरिं कृष्णं प्रजापतिम् ॥ विष्णुं कपिलरूपेण हंसं नारायणं प्रभुम् ॥ तस्य चक्षुः समासाद्य तेजस्तत् प्रतिपद्यते । दग्धाः पुत्रास्तदा सर्वे चत्वारस्त्ववशेषिताः ॥ (Vāyu-p. 88.146-148). ततो मुनिरदीनात्मा ध्यानभङ्गप्रर्षितः ॥२५॥ क्रोधेन महताविष्टश्चक्षुभे कपिलस्तदा । प्रचचाल दुराधर्षो धषितस्तर्दुरात्मभिः ॥२६॥....उन्मीलयत् तदानेत्रे वह्निक्रसमद्युतिः । तदाक्षिणी क्षणं राजन् राजतां सुभृशारुणे ॥२९॥...अवैक्षत स गम्भीरः कृतान्तः कालपर्यये । क्रुद्धस्य तस्य नेत्राभ्यां सहसा पावकाचिषः ॥३०॥ क्रोधाग्निः स महाराज ज्वालान्यासदिगन्तरः ॥३०॥ दग्धाश्चकार तान् सर्वान् आवृण्वानो नभस्तलम् ॥३५॥ (Brahmāṇḍa-p. 2.53.25-35). स तु देशं सुतैः सर्वैः खानयामास पाथिवः । आसेदुश्च ततस्तस्मिन् खनन्तस्ते महार्णवे ॥१४४॥ तमादिपुरुषं देवं हरिं कृष्णं प्रजापतिम् । विष्णुं कपिलरूपेण हंसं नारायणं प्रभुम् ॥१४५॥ तस्य चक्षुः समासाद्य तेजस्तत् प्रतिपद्यते । दग्धाः पुत्रास्तदा सर्वे चत्वारस्त्ववशेषिताः ॥ (Brahmāṇḍa-p. 2.63.144-146). ततश्च तेनापि भगवता किञ्चिदोषत् परिवर्तितेन लोचनेन विलोकितः स्वशरीरसमुत्थेन अग्निना दह्यमाना विनेशुः (Viṣṇu-p. 4.4.11). ततस्तत्-पुत्र-बलमशेषं परमर्षिणा कपिलेन तेजसा दग्धम् (*ibid* 4.4.12). स तं देशं तदा पुत्रैः खानयामास पाथिवः । आसेदुस्तु तदा तत्र खन्यमाने महार्णवे ॥५४॥ तमादिपुरुषं देवं हरिं



कृष्णं प्रजापतिम् । विष्णुं कपिलरूपेण स्वपन्तं पुरुषं तदा ॥५५ तस्य चक्षुः-  
समुत्थेन तेजसा प्रतिबुध्यतः । दग्धाः सर्वे मुनिश्रेष्ठाश्चत्वारस्त्ववशेषिताः ॥  
५६ (Brahma-p. 8.54-56). ततः षष्टिसहस्राणि सुषुवे यादवी प्रभा ॥४२  
खनन्तः पृथिवीं दग्धा विष्णुना येऽश्वमार्गणे (Matsya-p. 12.42b-43a).  
ततः षष्टिसहस्राणि सुषुवे यादवी प्रभा । खनन्तः पृथिवीं दग्धा  
विष्णुना येऽश्वमार्गणे ॥ (Padma-p. 5.8.147). तत्रैकमादिपुरुषं  
ददृशुस्ते त्वरान्विताः ॥ ३७। चोरोऽयमवदंश्चेति कपिलं जगतां प्रभुम् ।  
तस्य चक्षुःसमुत्थेन वह्निना प्रतिबुध्यतः ॥३८। दग्धाः षष्टिसहस्राणि  
चत्वारस्तेऽवशेषिताः ॥ ३९क (Padma-p. 6.21.37b-39a). ततः षष्टि-  
सहस्राणि सुषुवे यादवी प्रभा । खनन्तः पृथिवीं दग्धाः विष्णुहुंकारमार्गणेः ।  
(Linga-p. 1.66.18). प्रभा षष्टिसहस्राणां सुतानां जननी त्वभूत् ॥२८।  
खनन्तः पृथिवीं दग्धाः कपिलेनाथ सागराः (Agni- p. 273.28a-29a).  
तत्रापश्यन् महात्मानं कोटिसूर्यसमप्रभम् । कपिलं ध्याननिरतं वाजिनं च  
तदन्तिके ॥९५। ततः सर्वे ते संरब्धास्तं मुनिं पश्य वेगतः । हन्तु मुद्युक्त-  
मनसो विद्रवन्तः समासदन् ॥६९ [एतनन्तरं 'दुःशीलतानिन्दापरका बहवः  
श्लोकाः कपिलेनोक्ताः] इत्युक्त्वा कपिलः क्रुद्धो नेत्राभ्यां ससृजेऽनलम् ।  
स वह्निः सागरान् सर्वान् भस्मसाद् अकरोत् क्षणात् ॥ Nāradiya--p.  
1.18.95-109). कपिलस्य समीपस्थं ददृशुस्ते तुरङ्गमम् । तुरङ्गसहितं  
दृष्ट्वा कपिलं ते त्वमर्षिताः ॥१४। कुद्दाललेपिकाहस्तास्तस्य जग्मुर्वक्षेप्सया ।  
तान् बाधमानान् दुर्बुद्धीन् संददर्श तदा ऋषिः ॥१५। चक्षुषा दृष्टमात्रास्ते  
भस्मीभूतास्तु सागराः । (Viṣṇudharmottara-p. 1. 18. 14-16a).  
महाराजोऽथ सगरस्तद्दहयान्वेषणाय च । स तं देशं तदा पुत्रैः खानयामास  
सर्वतः ॥ आसेदुस्ते ततस्तत्र खन्यमाने महार्णवे ॥ तमादिपुरुषं देवं कपिलं  
विश्वरूपिणम् ॥ तस्य चक्षुःसमुत्थेन वह्निना प्रतिबुध्यतः । दग्धाः षष्टि-  
सहस्राणि चत्वारस्त्ववशेषिताः ॥ (Śiva-p. 5.38 51-53). अस्थिशर्करा-  
भूताः कपिलमहर्षिनिर्दग्धाश्च गुरवः सागराख्या गङ्गातोयसंसृष्टा दिवमा-  
रोपिताः (Narasimha-p. 26.7). ततो भग्नसमाधिश्च कपिलो नाम वै  
मुनिः । उन्निरयित्वा नयने तान् ददर्श स तामसान् । हुंकारशब्दसंयुक्त-  
चक्षुर्दर्शनतो मुनिः । तत्क्षणादेव वै भस्म चकार तान् कृतागसः ॥  
(Brhadharma-p. 2. 18.28-29). तत्रापश्यन् महात्मानं कोटिसूर्य-  
समप्रभम् । कपिलं ध्याननिरतं सति चैव तदन्तिके ॥९९॥ प्रमत्ताः पाप-  
निरताः सागरा अविवेकिनः । सर्वे ते सहसा ह्येते मुनिं बन्धुं समुद्यताः ॥१००।  
हन्यतां हन्यतामेव वध्यतां वध्यतामिति ॥१०१का....परित्यक्तसमाधिस्तु  
तान् दृष्ट्वा विस्मितो मुनिः । उवाच भावगम्भीरं लोकोपद्रवकारिणः ॥१०५।

The burning incident has not been mentioned by the Garuḍa-p. (1.138.29), the Kūrma-p. (1.21.5-7) and the Saura-p. (30.38) though they speak of the king Sagara, his wives and his descendants.

इत्युक्त्वा कपिलः क्रुद्धो नेत्रादग्निं विसृष्टवान् । स बह्निः सागरान् सर्वान् भस्मसादकरोत् तदा । (Brhannārādīya 8.96.99-113). ते तु सर्वे महात्मानः भीमवेगा महाबलाः ॥२४॥ ददृशुः कपिलं तत्र वासुदेवं सनातनम् । २५॥ का श्रुत्वा तु वचनं तेषां कपिलो रघुनन्दन । रोषेण महताविष्टो हुंकार मकरोत् तदा ॥२९॥ ततस्तेनाप्रमेयेण कपिलेन महात्मना । भस्मराशिकृताः सर्वे काकुत्स्थ सगरात्मजाः ॥३०॥ (Rāmāyaṇa 1.40.24-30). योजसौ भूमिगतः श्रीमान् विष्णुर्मधुनिसूदनः । कपिलो नाम देवोऽसौ भगवानजितो हरिः ॥१८॥ येन पूर्वं महात्मानः खनमाना रसातलम् । दर्शनादेव निहताः सगरस्यात्मजा विशो ॥१९॥ (Mbh. Vana-p. 47.18-19). अपश्यन्त ह्यं तत्र विचरन्तं महीतले । विदार्य पातालमथ संक्रुद्धाः सगरात्मजाः ॥२८॥ ...ते तं दृष्ट्वा ह्यं राजन् संप्रहृष्टतनूहहाः । अनादृत्य महात्मानं कपिलं कालचोदिताः । संक्रुद्धा संप्रधावन्त अश्वग्रहणकाङ्क्षिणः । ततः क्रुद्धो महाराज कपिलो मुनिसत्तमः ॥३१॥ वासुदेवेति यं प्राहुः कपिलं मुनिपुङ्गवम् । स चक्षुर्विकृतं कृत्वा तेजस्तेषु समुत्सृजत् ॥३२॥ ददाह सुमहातेजा मन्दबुद्धीन् स सागरान् ॥३३॥ (Mbh. Vana-p. 107.28-33). अत्र चक्रधनुर्नाम सूर्याज् जातो महानृषिः । विदुर्य कपिलं देवं येनार्ताः सगरात्मजाः ॥ (Udyoga-p. 109.17b-18a). महत्तश्चूर्णितान् पश्य ये हासन्त महोदधिम् । सुवर्णधारिणा नित्यमवशसा द्विजातिना ॥ (Mbh. Anuśāsana-p. 153.9) : “महतः सगरपुत्रान् आसन्त उपासन्त, सुवर्णधारिणा शोभनो ब्राह्मणवर्णस्तस्य धारिणा धर्त्रा द्विजातिना कपिलेन” (Nīlakaṇṭha’s comment). The word महोदधि in this verse may be taken as the name of a particular ocean. स तं देशं तदा पुत्रैः खानयामास पाथिवः । आसेदुस्ते ततस्तत्र खन्यमाने महार्णवे ॥२३॥ तमादिपुरुषं देवं हरिं कृष्णं प्रजापतिम् । विष्णुं कपिलरूपेण स्वपन्तं पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥२४॥ तस्य चक्षुः समुत्थेन तेजसा प्रतिबुध्यतः । दग्धा स्ते वै महाराज चत्वारस्त्ववशेषिताः ॥२५॥ (Harivamśa 1.14.23-25).

Far a full account of the whole episode beginning with Sagara’s performing the horse sacrifice and ending with the burning of his sons to ashes by the fire created by the wrathful sage Kapila, readers should read some verses more preceding the verses referred to here. There is no need to give an account of the episode as it is wellknown to the readers of the Purāṇas.



Since the genealogical accounts in these Purāṇas seem to be brief, the non-mention of the incident does not prove that it was not known to the authors of these Purāṇas. The Brahmaivarta, the Devī-p., the Kālikā-p., the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., the Skanda-p., the Vāmana-p., and the Bhaviṣya-p. are silent on the king Sagara and his descendants. Though the Devī-Bhāgavata, which contains a reference to this incident, has chapters on the Solar race in the 7th book, yet it furnishes us with no information of Sagara or his sons, as it abruptly ends after giving an account of the life of the king Hariścandra (27.42) - a remote ancestor of Sagara.

According to us this non-mention is of great importance. It cannot be explained away by saying that since the 'mention of Kapila's promulgating Sāṃkhya' was of little significance, it had not been stated in the Purāṇic works. Since most of the epithets used in the aforesaid passages in the Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas and the epics (some are found to use more than five epithets to describe Kapila and some have more than three verses to describe him) are such as are commonplace and do not bear any important significance, the non-use of such a significant epithet as 'the founder of Sāṃkhya' must be due to some real (i. e. historical) cause. According to us this cause is no other than the non-recognition by the authors of these Purāṇic works of the fact of burning by the founder of the Sāṃkhya system.

(B) That the philosopher Kapila was deemed as different from the destroyer Kapila by the Purāṇic authors may be fairly ascertained if the period of their appearance as shown in the Purāṇas is considered. While according to the Purāṇas the destroyer Kapila appeared in the Vaivasvata manvantara (the 7th manvantara) since Sagara belonged to the dynasty of Ikṣvāku, the son of Vaivasvata manu (Sagara appeared a few generations before Rāma Dāśarathi), the philosopher Kapila appeared in the Svāyambhuva manvantara (the 1st manvantara), for he is said to be the son of Devahūti, the daughter of Svāyambhuva Manu.<sup>7</sup>

7. Regarding Devahūti and Kardama (the parents of the philosopher Kapila) and Kapila's teachings to his mother, *vide* D. Bhāg. 8.3.12-19; Bhāgavata 3.24.6-19, Śiva-p. 2.1. 16.15, 2.5.16.13, Br. Vaivarta-p. 4.22.47; I.9.6. It is to be noted that no older Purāṇa contains any information about the parentage of Kapila. The Skanda-p. is found

Since this information is found neither in the epics, nor in the older Purāṇas, nor does it occur in any ancient work on philosophy<sup>8</sup> its authoritativeness may be doubted, but as here we are dealing with the question of identity of the two Kapilas on the basis of the Purāṇic views it is not necessary for us to examine the validity of the Purāṇic statements.

The Viṣṇu-purāṇa, which is one of the older Purāṇas, also places Kapila in the same period. From Viṣṇu-purāṇa 2.13-14 it appears that Kapila, the philosopher, was contemporary with Bharata (Jaḍa-Bharata) of the Svāyambhuva manvantara.<sup>9</sup> The Kālikā-p. also places him in this Manvantara (31.3-5).

It would be wrong to hold that Kapila of the Svāyambhuva manvantara was alive in the Vaivasvata manvantara also, for he is nowhere regarded in the Purāṇas as a longlived (*dīrghajīvin* or *cirajīvin*) person. One Kapila (along with four others) is regarded as 'sukhaśāyin' (sleeping peacefully) in the Ṛkpariśiṣṭa (Khilasūkta 1.10). Even if this expression is interpreted to mean 'a longlived person' yet it serves no purpose, for there is no reason to take this Kapila as identical with the philosopher Kapila. He may rightly be regarded as the destroyer Kapila, who is often described (vide Brahma-p, 8.55; Hariv. 1.14.24) as विष्णुं कपिलरूपेण स्वपन्तम् (mark the

to hold a slightly different view. It says that Devahūti was the daughter of Tṛṇabindu and that Jaya and Vijaya were Kapila's elder brothers (Kārttika-māsa-mahātmya 28.2-3). The Sāttvata-tantra (a work of later times) says; कपिलाख्य ईशः श्रीदेवहूतितनयः' (2.10). It is noteworthy that the Bhāgavata refers to a work called Sattvata-tantra in 1.3.8.

8. The Māthara-vṛtti on Sām-kā(1) speaks of Kardama (a Prajāpati) and Devahūti (the daughter of Svāyambhuva Manu) as the parents of Kapila. This is evidently based on the Bhāgavata. (A verse from the Bhāgavata is found to have been quoted in this vṛtti.)
9. One remarkable point deserves notice. The Viṣṇu-p (2.13.54) says that the king of the Sauvira country wanted to know from Kapila of the nature of śreyas. (This information is found in other Purāṇas also). The Viṣṇudharma (an unpublished Upapurāṇa) informs us that once Kapila was asked by the gods and sages to expound the nature of śreyas (vide Yoga-cintāmaṇi by Śivānanda, p. 58), which shows that the nature of śreyas was one of the topics chiefly dealt with by the teachers of Sāṃkhya; cp. Sāṃkhya-kārikā 'तद्-विपरीतः श्रेयान् व्यक्ताव्यक्तज्ञविज्ञानात्' (2)'.<sup>10</sup>



use of the root स्वप् to recline, to rest, to lie down).<sup>10</sup> It is quite likely that this sage remained in the state of 'suspended animation' for a very long period.<sup>11</sup>

Like the difference in *manvantara*, we find difference in *yuga* also in connection with the appearance of these two Kapilas. While the Purāṇas place the philosopher Kapila in the Satya or Kṛta yuga (कृते युगे परं ज्ञानं कपिलादिस्वरूपधृक्, Viṣṇu-p. 3.2,54), they place Sagara in the Tretā yuga (Pargiter : A. I. H. T. p. 177).

(C) Moreover the Purāṇic declarations like 'the philosopher Kapila is the first incarnation of Viṣṇu in human form' (Viṣṇu-dharma, *vide* 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas', I, p. 146) place him to such an earlier period as cannot be assigned to the destroyer Kapila, who appeared some generations before Dāśarathi Rāma. Harivaṁśa 3.14.4 and Matsya-p. 171.4 speak of the presence of Kapila, the Sāṁkhya-teacher and Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā), the yoga-teacher in the earliest period of creation—a statement which shows that according to the Paurāṇikas the Sāṁkhya-teacher Kapila appeared long before the birth of the destroyer Kapila. In some of the Purāṇas (*vide* Vāyu-p. 65.53-54) Kardama, Kapila's father, is said to be a Prajāpati (one of the 21 Prajāpatis; Śānti-p. 334.36-37).

(D) Purāṇic statements about the parentage of the two Kapilas do not seem to uphold the identity of the two Kapilas.

10. See the following verse of the Brahmāṇḍa-p. about the destroyer Kapila saying that he remained in the state of meditation for a period of one hundred divine years (अगस्त्यपीतसलिले दिव्यवर्षशतावधि । ध्यायन्नास्तेऽधुनाम्मोघौ एकान्ते तत्र कुत्रचित् ॥ 2,52.16)

11. I have used the word 'suspended animation' in the Haṭhayogic sense of *śarīra rodha*, which has great similarity with it. It is well-known that Haridāsa yogin, who was acquainted with the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh, was able to remain in this state for a considerable length of time; *vide* W. G. Osborne : The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh (p. 47 'in the course of ten months he remained under ground'); Dr. J. M. Honigburger : Physician to the Court of Lahore (pp. 126-130); Dr. Mc. Greegar : History of the Sikhs. Interested readers may profitably read the article 'Studies on Shri Ramanand Yogī during his stay in an air-tight box' in Indian Journal of Medical Research, 49 (1961).

While the Purāṇas inform us that the philosopher Kapila was the son of Devahūti and Kardama, they never ascribe the same parentage to the destroyer Kapila. The only information in this respect (which is mythical in character) is found in the Mbh. which says that the destroyer Kapila was born of the sun (सूर्याज् जातो महानृषिः, विदुयं कपिलं देवं येनार्ताः सगरात्मजाः, Vana-p. 109. 17-18). It has however no connection with real parentage. The assertion of the Mahābhārata that the Sāmkhya teacher Kapila is आदित्यस्थ (remaining in the sun, 339.68) cannot be taken as proving his identity with this Kapila.

(E) In connection with the incident of burning we find the Mahābhārata to declare that this sage was called Vāsudeva by people (वासुदेवेति यं प्राहुः कपिलं मुनिपुङ्गवम्, Vana-p. 107.32). That the destroyer Kapila was actually called by this name (or appellation) in ancient India is borne out by the following passage of the Śārīraka-bhāṣya on Br. sū. 2.1.1, “या तु श्रुतिः कपिलस्य...कपिलमिति श्रुतिसामान्यमात्रत्वात् । अन्यस्य च कपिलस्य सगरपुत्राणां प्रतसुर्वासुदेवनाम्नः स्मरणात्”. (Mark the word वासुदेवनाम्नः ). This shows that in the Rāmāyaṇa passage ‘ददृशुः कपिलं तत्र वासुदेवं सनातनम्’ (1.40.25) we are to take Vāsudeva as another name of Kapila and not as denoting the sense of ‘a divine being in which all reside’,<sup>12</sup> This however is a significant name (i. e. based on some *guṇa* or *karman* of the person concerned) as will be discussed in the sequel.

The philosopher Kapila is never said to have another name as Vāsudeva, though in a very few passages of the Purāṇas he is regarded as an incarnation or form of Viṣṇu. Such expressions simply show excellence, glory or divinity in the sage and they cannot be taken as proving real identity in the two Kapilas.

In the Udyoga-p. of the Mbh. we find the statement that the sons of Sagara were destroyed by a great sage named Cakradhanu (109.17-18). The philosopher Kapila has never been called by this name. (*Vide infra* for a discussion on this name).

12. सर्वाणि तत्र भूतानि निवसन्ति परात्मनि ॥ ६८ ॥

भूतेषु च स सर्वात्मा वासुदेवस्ततः स्मृतः ।

भूतेषु वसते योजन्तर्वसन्त्यत्र च तानि यत् ॥ ६९ ॥

धाता विधाता जगतां वासुदेवस्ततः प्रभुः ॥ ७० ॥

(Brahma-p. 233.68-70).



(F) A consideration of the places associated with the two Kapilas reveals that one has no connection with the other. The philosopher Kapila is connected with the river Sarasvatī<sup>13</sup>, Bindusaras<sup>14</sup> (being the places where his father Kardama resided), Pulaha-āsrama,<sup>15</sup> and the river Ikṣumatī,<sup>16</sup> [It is not necessary to identify these here.] None of these has been mentioned in the Epic-Purāṇic passages that refer to the destroyer Kapila. Similarly the places mentioned in connection with the destroyer Kapila<sup>17</sup> have never been mentioned in connection with the philosopher Kapila.

There is no need to deal here with the aforesaid Purāṇic passages in order to solve any contradiction or problem that may arise from them. We simply assert that none of the places referred to

13. तत्कर्दमाश्रमपदं सरस्वत्या परिश्रितम् ।  
स्वयंभूः साकमृषिभिर्मरीच्यादिभिरभ्यगात् ॥  
Bhāg. 3.24.9; Kardama is the father of Kapila.
14. अथ संप्रस्थिते शुक्ले कर्दमो भगवानृषिः ।  
आस्ते स्म बिन्दुसरसि तं कालं प्रतिपालयन् ॥  
(Bhāg. 3.21.35)
15. देवहृत्यै परं ज्ञानं सर्वाविद्यानिवर्तकम् । १७  
उपदिश्य महायोगी स ययौ पुलहाश्रमम् ॥ १९  
(D. Bhāg. 8.3.17, 19). Mahāyogin refers to Kapila. If D. Bhāg. 9.21.16-18 are taken as referring to the philosopher Kapila, then the place (situated somewhere in South India) as described here is also to be accepted as connected with him. The name of the place is not given.
16. बभूवैक्ष्मतीतीरे कपिलर्षेर्वराश्रमम् (Viṣṇu-p. 2. 13. 48).
17. The places mentioned are : महातल (Bṛhadharma-p. 2.22.41); प्रागुदक्दिश् (north-eastern direction, Bhāg. 9.8.10); पूर्वोत्तरदेश (Mbh. Vana-p. 107.28); महोदधि (Anusāsana-p. 153.9); पूर्वदक्षिणसमुद्र (south-east ocean, Harivaṁśa 1.14.22; Brahmanāṇḍa-p. 2.63.143; Brahma-p. 8. 53; Padma-p. 6 21. 35). According to Udyoga-parvan 109.17-18 the destroyer Kapila resides in the southern direction. The statement of Viṣṇudharma (कपिलं पूर्वसागरे, Studies in the Upapurāṇas I, p. 123) may also be considered in this connection.

in connection with the destroyer Kapila has any connection with the philosopher Kapila—a fact which tends to disprove the identity of the two Kapilas.

(G) We find that some significant expressions, which are used as the epithets of the philosopher Kapila in the philosophical and Purāṇic works, have never been used in connection with the destroyer Kapila—a fact which undoubtedly shows that the authors of these works were aware of the difference between these two Kapilas.

The first epithet of this sort is *ādividvas*, which is used in connection with the philosopher Kapila in an aphoristic statement of Pañcaśikha quoted in the Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasūtra 1.25. We find the Purāṇas to declare that Kapila promulgated the science of the self. The destroyer Kapila has never been described in a similar way.

The second epithet is *siddheśvara* or words having a similar sense. These are found in Gītā 10.26, Brahma-vaivarta-p. 4.22.47, Bhāgavata-p. 3.24.19, Padma-p. 6.212.42-43 etc. (It is used in Sātvata-tantra 2.10 also.) None of these epithets is found in the Purāṇic passages describing the destroyer Kapila.

The third is *paramarṣi*, which is found in the aforesaid aphorism of Pañcaśikha, in Sāṃkhya-kārikā 69 and in Śānti-p. 217. 1, 349.65, Vana-p. 220.21. Only once it has been used (in Viṣṇu-p. 4. 4.23) in connection with the destroyer Kapila.<sup>18</sup>

The epithet *mokṣadharmajña* is applied to the philosopher Kapila in Viṣṇu-p. 2.13.49 etc., which is highly significant, as Sāṃkhya is regarded as the philosophy of liberation (संख्यं तु मोक्षदर्शनम् Śānti p. 300.5). It has not been used in connection with the destroyer Kapila.

(H) As to the time and cause of the wrong identification, our views are as follows :

18. The word *paramarṣi* has a technical meaning also as stated in Vāyu-p. 59-80 (निवृत्तिसमकालं तु बुद्धचाव्यक्तमृषिः स्वयम् । परं हि ऋषते यस्मात् परमर्षिस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ ; the printed reading seems to be slightly corrupt) and in the Yuktidīpikā comm. on Sāṃ-kā 15 (यस्य सत्त्वप्रधानं कार्यकरणं स परमर्षिः). It appears that the Viṣṇu-purāṇa has used the word in its usually accepted sense of 'a great sage' (परमश्र्वासौ ऋषिश्च).



(i) Since the Purāṇic works (except the Bhāgavata) in their chapters on *vaiśānucarita* do not state that the destroyer Kapila was also the founder of Sāṃkhya and since these chapters are rightly regarded as forming the older parts of the Purāṇic works, it is quite justified to hold that the wrong idea of identity of the two Kapilas arose long after the composition of these chapters and one or two centuries before the composition of the two Bhāgavatas. We have already said that the chapter on *vaiśānucarita* in the Devībhāgavata are silent on the king Sagara and his descendants and the D. Bhag. speaks of the two Kapilas (in a separate section) while mentioning the bad effects of lust, wrath, etc.

(ii) The destroyer Kapila, on account of his burning the wicked sons of the king Sagara, came to be regarded by the Vaiṣṇava sects as an incarnation of Viṣṇu,<sup>19</sup> who is always conceived as the protector of the *jīvas* even by destroying the wicked. Since the teachings of the philosopher Kapila are found to have been incorporated in the authoritative treatises of some of the ancient Vaiṣṇava sects (as may be proved by the 12th chapter of the Ahirbudhnyā-saṃhitā dealing with the contents of the Ṣaṣṭitantra), it may be rightly presumed that the philosopher Kapila was also regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu by the ancient sects of Vaiṣṇava dharma<sup>19</sup>. Since both the Kapilas were deemed as the forms of Viṣṇu there arose the idea in later times that the destroyer Kapila was the same as the philosopher Kapila.

(iii) It appears that the use of the word '*kapila*' as the 'name' also played an important part in creating the wrong idea of identity. The word *kapila* (adj.) means 'brown, tawny, reddish', and in this sense the word seems to have been used in connection with the destroyer sage (known by the name Cakradhanu or Vāsudeva) who had been described as having fire-like colour.<sup>20</sup> It may also be

19. So far as the Sāṃkhya tradition is concerned Kapila is regarded as आदिविद्वान्, परमर्षि, सहजातधर्मज्ञानवैराग्यैश्वर्य and विश्वाग्रज.

20. कपिलं तेजसां राशिम्..... (बृहन्नारदीय० 8.123); कोटिसूर्यसमप्रभम् (बृहन्नारदीय० 8.99, नारदीय० 18.95); तेजोराशिमनुत्तमम्। तेजसादीप्यमानं तु ज्वालामिखिष पावकम् (वनपर्व 107.27); ज्वालामालमिवानलम् (ब्रह्माण्ड० 2.53.21).

surmised that since the colour *kapila* has a great resemblance to fire, the person who created fire from his body or eyes came to be called Kapila. [It may be noted in this connection that the act of creating fire from the body depends upon the supernormal power known as *samāna-jaya* and this power renders the body effulgent—Yogasūtra 3.40]. In connection with the philosopher, the word Kapila must be taken as his personal name.

There is however some difficulty in determining the proper name of the destroyer sage. We have already said that Śaṅkarācārya tells us that the name of this sage is Vāsudeva (वासुदेवापरनाम्नः) which is in consonance with the Vanaparvan-passage quoted above. Since the Mbh. in another parvan uses the word Cakradhanu as the name of this sage (अत्र चक्रधनुर्नाम) a doubt arises about the actual personal (proper) name of the sage. It would be too much to assume that there were two different traditions regarding the incident of burning the sons of Sagara. It is quite reasonable to think that Cakradhanu was the name given by the parents of the sage in the 'ceremony of naming' and afterwards the sage came to be called Vāsudeva on account of his similarity with Viṣṇu as stated above. It may also be surmised that since the Mbh. does not say चक्रधनुर्नाम्ना (i. e. *nāman* in the third case-ending),<sup>21</sup> the word Cakradhanu may be taken as an epithet. We are however in favour of taking Cakradhanu as the personal name, for the word as an epithet has no obvious fitness in its context and as far as I know the word is not found as a name of any other sage.

(iv) We have already said that the statement showing identity of the two Kapilas is found in the Bhāgavata and the Devībhāgavata only. As to which of these two Purāṇas spoke of the identity at first we think it more reasonable to hold that the mistaken idea arose at first in the author of the Bhāgavata and this is why he, being aware of the divine nature of the philosopher Kapila,

21. If the word *nāman* is not used in the third case-ending it may signify simply प्रसिद्धि and not a 'proper name'; cp. नाम प्रसिद्धौ । नामपदस्य संज्ञार्थत्वे प्रकृत्यादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् इति तृतीयया भाव्यमित्यवधेयम् (Comm. by Rucipati Upādhyāya on Anargharāghava 1.3). This is why sometimes we find the use of both नाम and नाम्ना in the same sentence : मारिषा नाम नाम्ना (Viṣṇu-p. 1.15.8).



tried to exonerate him from the fault of violence—the greatest fault for a yogin—by offering the explanation embodied in verses 9.8.13-14. As these Bhāgavata verses put the explanation in a highly philosophical way and as they do not point to the real cause directly, while the Devībhāgavata verse (6.15.42) does not say anything philosophically but directly mentions a popular cause (viz. *daivayoga*) it follows that the author of the D. Bhāg. came to know of this explanation from the Bhāgavata. That the explanation of the D. Bhāg. is nothing but a popular version of what the Bhāgavata says in a philosophical way may be readily accepted.

(I) As the author of the Bhāgavata<sup>22</sup> is sometimes found to deal with the tales and incidents of ancient times independently<sup>23</sup>

22. According to us the Bhāgavata is later than the older parts of all the earlier Purāṇas. Our study of the Bhāgavata reveals that the Bhāgavata was composed by a single person who was highly learned and was a follower of Vaiṣṇava śāstra, especially the Pañcarātra Āgama. By utilizing the Purāṇic materials he composed a *kāvya* giving it a Purāṇic character. This is why the nature of the composition of the Bhāgavata is not similar to that of the other Purāṇic works which have been composed by different persons (belonging to different or even rival sects) at different times. The original forms of these Purāṇas have been revised in various ways from time to time by using the process of incorporation, augmentation and rejection. This is why all of these Purāṇas have, unlike the Bhāgavata, more than one version or recension. Only a few verses seem to have been interpolated in the Bhāgavata. In a forthcoming paper we shall demonstrate our view in detail.
23. A remarkable example of this tendency of the author of the Bhāgavata is his assertion that Śuka, the son of Vyāsa, narrated the Bhāgavata-purāṇa to the king Parīksit (1.3.41-42), who has born just after the Bhārata war (Aśvamedha-p. 66.8). But according to the Mahābhārata (which was known to the author of the Bhāgavata as it has been referred to in Bhāgavata 1.4.25) Śuka left his mortal coil before the Bhārata war (Sānti-p. 333). Since Śuka was highly praised in the Mahābhārata the author of the Bhāgavata deliberately connected him with the Bhāgavata with a view to proving the exalted character of the Bhāgavata dharma. Curiously enough though the last days of the king Parīksit have been described in the Mahābhārata beginning with the curse uttered by the sage Śāmika and ending with the biting of the Takṣaka nāga with great detail (Ādiparvan 40-43), yet there is no mention of his hearing the Bhāgavata from Śuka.

(i.e. he does not follow the accounts as given in the older works) it is more plausible to presume that he deliberately identified the philosopher Kapila with the destroyer Kapila to serve some purpose. The purpose seems to show that Viṣṇu (Kapila is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in 1.3.10) protects the world even by causing destruction directly or indirectly. Since the Vaiṣṇava author of the Bhāgavata took the sage Kapila as an expounder of *ātma-jñāna* or a promulgator of *mokṣaśāstra* he thought it illogical to conceive that Kapila created fire in order to burn some persons to ashes (even though they were wicked). This is why he declared that the sons of Sagara were burnt by the fire of their own bodies (स्वशरीराग्निना भस्मसादभवन् 9.8.12)—a statement which suggests that they were burnt as a result of their own sinful acts<sup>24</sup> and that there was no agency or volition of Kapila in the act of burning.

The Bhāgavata words 'नृपेन्द्रपुत्रा मुनिकोपभजिता इति न साधुवादः' clearly indicate that the incident of burning of the wicked sons of Sagara by Kapila was regarded as an established fact in the Purāṇic tradition and that from older Purāṇas the author of the Bhāgavata knew that the wicked sons of the king Sagara were really consumed by the fire created by the sage. As he connected the act of burning with the philosopher Kapila (either ignorantly or deliberately) he tried to justify the act in his own way.

24. Like the Bhāgavata, Viṣṇu-p. 4.4.11 also says स्वशरीरसमुत्थेन अग्निना दह्यमाना दिनेशुः. Though all Purāṇic works except these two expressly state that fire was created by Kapila from his eyes or his body (i.e. Kapila's volition was active in producing the fire) which burnt the sons of Sagara into ashes, the author of the Viṣṇu-p. (who was a Vaiṣṇava) tried to minimize the agency of Kapila in the act of burning. That there was some connection between Kapila and the act of burning is admitted by this Purāṇa as is proved from the words कपिलतेजसा दग्धम् stated just after the above passage. In this respect the author of the Bhāgavata seems to follow the Viṣṇu-p. (which however does not regard the destroyer Kapila as the founder of Sāṃkhya of whom it speaks in connection with the life of Jada Bharata in sec II.) but he went one step further and declared that there was no rise of wrath in Kapila. Since the author of the Bhāgavata took this Kapila as identical with the philosopher Kapila he was compelled to express the above view.



There are, however, strong grounds to believe that the author of the Bhāgavata changed the incident in the aforesaid manner deliberately. Though the Bhāgavata says that the sons of Sagara were burnt by the fire born of their own bodies, yet it mentions 'Kapila's opening the eyes' (उन्मिषे तदा मुनिः, 9.8.11). What was the use of opening the eyes by Kapila possessing an absolutely pacified mind if the fire was born of the bodies of the persons (who were burnt) without having any connection with Kapila's volition or activity? Does it not indicate that the author of the Bhāgavata was personally aware of the incident as described in the older Purāṇas and that he described the incident changing it slightly in order to serve some purpose ?<sup>25</sup>

The reason afforded by the Bhāgavata (9.8.13-14) with a view to exonerating the sage from the sin of violence was deemed so justified that in later times it was reiterated (in a popular form) by the author of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa in 2.52.29-31<sup>26</sup> (the chapter is however not on *vamśānucarita*) in connection with the destroyer Kapila, who is not regarded by this Purāṇa as the founder of Sāṃkhya.

(J) The present writer is of opinion that if the act of burning the sons of Sagara is judged in accordance with the principles of *adhyātmavidyā*, it cannot be attributed to the philosopher Kapila. We find the historical statement of Pañcaśikha (quoted in the Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasūtra 1.25) that Kapila instructed Āsuri in Sāṃkhya by assuming a *nirmāṇa-citta*. Since this *citta* is caused by *dhyāna* it is bereft of all latent impressions (Vide Yogasūtra 4.6). It is inconceivable that a yogin possessing such a high stage gets so highly enraged that he becomes compelled to create fire to kill

25. Some Āgamic works are found to speak of the Sāṃkhya teacher Kapila. It may be surmized that the author of an Āgama work identified the philosopher Kapila with the destroyer Kapila and the author of the Bhāgavata, who was a follower of Vaiṣṇava Āgamas, simply re-stated the view of his tradition with his own observations.

26. स्वकर्मणैव निर्दग्धाः प्रविनङ्क्ष्यन्ति सागराः ॥२९॥ काले प्राप्ते तु युष्माभिः स तावत् परिपाल्यताम् । अहं तु कारणं तेषां विनाशाय दुरात्मनाम् ॥३०॥ भविष्यामि सुरश्रेष्ठा भवतामर्थसिद्धये । (ब्रह्माण्ड० २।५२।२९क—३१ख.). Here कारण is the same as the निमित्तमात्र in the Gītā (11,33).

some persons however wicked they are. It is well known that these yogins are so powerful that even evil thoughts of wicked persons get restricted if they happen to come near them.<sup>27</sup>

The destroyer Kapila seems to be a yogin of a lower stage though he possessed certain supernormal powers. It may be easily accepted that this Kapila (who appeared at the time of the king Sagara) cannot be regarded as *ādividvas*, cannot be recalled in the act of *manuṣya-tarpaṇa* (vide the Gr̥hya-sūtras etc.), cannot be described as ऋषिं प्रसूतं कपिलं यस्तमग्रे (Śvetāśvatara-up.4.5) and cannot be regarded as a mind-born son of Brahmā appearing at the earliest period of creation. All these show that the ancient Indian tradition did not recognize the two Kapilas as one.

(K) We want to conclude this discussion by presenting a problem regarding the time of the Sāṃkhya teacher Kapila.

We have already said that there are Purāṇic statements that place Kapila in the Svāyambhuva manvantara or in the Satya yuga or in the earlier period of creation. Such statements must be regarded as of mythical character and they simply mean that Kapila was a man of hoary past.

But in the Mahābhārata we find such statements of non-mythical character as seem to place Kapila at a much later period, thus giving rise to a grave contradiction.

It is said in the Śānti-p., that Pañcaśikha (the disciple of Āsuri, the disciple of Kapila) taught Dharmadhvaja Janaka, king of the Videha country, in Sāṃkhya (320.4,24).<sup>28</sup> We find no mention

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27. The Kālikā-p., which has no chapter on vaṃśānucarita and which does not say even incidentally anything about the killing of the sons of Sagara by Kapila, describes in chap. 32 an incident which shows vehement wrath of the Sāṃkhya teacher Kapila (as may be inferred from verses 12-13) to Svāyambhuva Manu. This must be due to the confusion that the philosopher Kapila is identical with the destroyer Kapila.
28. The Śānti-p. says that the king Janadeva Janaka was also taught by Pañcaśikha (218-219). This king has not been mentioned in the Purāṇic lists of the Janaka dynasty and the Mahābhārata does not say anything about his time.



of Dharmadhvaja Janaka in the genealogical lists in the Purāṇas<sup>29</sup> except in the list in the Bhāgavata. According to this Purāṇa Dharmadhvaja appeared one generation after Sīradhvaja, the father-in-law of Dāśarathi Rāma (9.13.18-20) who was born some generations after the king Sagara. Accepting the Bhāgavata genealogy as valid a question presents itself—if the grand-disciple of the philosopher Kapila taught a person who appeared one generation after the father-in-law of Rāma, how can Kapila be held as appearing in the Kṛta yuga or in the Svāyambhuva manvantara as stated before so far as the Purāṇic view is concerned ?

It should be noted here that this Kapila (i. e. the teacher of Pañcaśikha who instructed Dharmadhvaja) cannot be regarded as the destroyer Kapila, for there is a period covering more than 20 generations between Sagara and Daśaratha, a contemporary of Sīradhvaja. We have already shown that (i) no Purāṇic work (except the two Bhāgavatas) says that the destroyer Kapila was the founder of Sāṃkhya and that (ii) the ancient Indian tradition never seems to have ascribed those activities and characteristics to the destroyer Kapila that exclusively or especially belong to the philosopher Kapila.

The aforesaid problem seems to be highly perplexing and I plead my inability to solve it.

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29. Brahmāṇḍa-p. 3.64.1-24; Vāyu-p. 89.1-23; Viṣṇu-p. 4.5. 11-14; Garuḍa-p. 1.138.44-48; Bhāgavata 9.13.1-27; Rāmāyaṇa 1.71.3-20. Though the Viṣṇu-p. does not mention Dharmadhvaja in the genealogy of the Janaka dynasty yet it mentions him in connection with the Kesidhvaja-Khāṇḍikya dialogue (6.6). That this Dharmadhvaja is identical with Dharmadhvaja in the dynastical list in the Bhāgavata is beyond doubt.

## LOCATION OF THE NAIMIŚĀ FOREST

O. P. BHARADWAJ

[पुराणकथितं नैमिषा(शा)रण्यम् उत्तर-प्रदेशान्तर्गत-सीतापुरमण्डले (लखनऊ-नगर्याः पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां दिशि) विद्यत इति प्रसिद्धम्; इदमिदानीं 'निमसार' इति, 'निमखारवन' इति बोध्यते । नैमिषारण्यमिदं कुरुक्षेत्रान्तर्गत-मिति पाण्डुरङ्गवामनकाणे-महोदयस्य मतम् । उभे एते मते मिराशीमहोदयेन खण्डिते । सुलतानपुरमण्डले अयोध्यायाः समीपे नैमिषारण्यस्य स्थिति रिति मिराशी-महोदयेन प्रतिपादितम् ।

काणे-महोदयस्य मतमेव संगतमिति लेखकेन निबन्धेऽस्मिन् स्थापितम् । लेखकोक्ता इमा मुख्या युक्तयः—नैमिषीयाः कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्राणि चक्रुरिति कथनं वेदादिषु प्राचीनग्रन्थेषूपलभ्यते । अतो नैमिषारण्यं कुरुक्षेत्रान्तर्गतमित्येव संभाव्यते । कुरुक्षेत्र-संबद्धाः केचन पुरुषा नैमिषा नैमिषीया वा पुराणेषूक्ताः । पृथूदक-विनशनयोर्मध्ये नैमिषस्य स्थितिरासीदिति देवलधर्म-सूत्रतो विज्ञायते । महाभारते नैमिषविषये यानि त्रिवरणानि उपलभ्यन्ते, तानि कुरुक्षेत्रान्तर्गते नैमिषे सुष्ठु संगतानि भवन्तीति दृश्यते । पुराणे महा-भारते च सन्ति सन्दर्भाः, ये न केवलं नैमिषारण्यं कुरुक्षेत्रं च परस्परसंबद्धं दर्शयन्ति, प्रत्युत नैमिषं कुरुक्षेत्रान्तर्गतमित्यपि स्पष्टं बोधयन्ति । स्कन्द-पुराणीय-सनत्सुजात-संहितायां नैमिषारण्यस्य यादृशं वर्णनमुपलभ्यते ततोऽपि विज्ञायते यदिदमरण्यं सरस्वती-दृषद्वत्योर्मध्ये (अर्थात् कुरुक्षेत्र-प्रदेशे) स्थितमासीदिति ।]

Naimiṣāraṇya or the Naimiśa<sup>1</sup> forest is usually identified with Nimsar or Nimkharvan at a short distance from the Nimsar station of the old Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, 20 miles from Sitapur and 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow.<sup>2</sup> The similarity between the two names is obvious.

P. V. Kane,<sup>3</sup> however, locates the sacred forest, where most of the Purāṇas are said to have been recited, in Kurukṣetra on the

1. The cerebral ṣ in place of the palatal seems to be a later appearance; cf. Vedic Index, i.460.
2. Dey, Nando Lal: The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, 3rd ed. Delhi 1971, p. 135.
3. History of the Dharmasāstra, Vol. IV, Poona 1953, p.783.



basis of a detailed reference in the Vāyu Purāṇa. V. V. Mirashi<sup>4</sup> rejects both these views and places it somewhere in the Sultanpur district of Uttar Pradesh, not very far from both Ayodhyā and the hermitage of Vālmiki, in the light of the testimony of the Purāṇas and the Epics. Although the name Naimiśāranya appears to have been applied to a forest in the Uttar-Pradesh also it is proposed to show here that this was a later development and that the original forest of this name was situated in Kurukṣetra as believed by Prof. Kane.

From early Vedic times Naimiśa finds mention as the name of a region and the dwellers of this region are called Naimiśīyas<sup>5</sup> or Naimiśeyas.<sup>6</sup> In the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa<sup>7</sup> even an individual Ṛṣi named Śitibāhu Aīṣakṛta is accorded the epithet of Naimiśi on account of his residence in Naimiśa and a monkey is said to have run off with his sacrificial cake.

Later the Mahābhārata<sup>8</sup> and Bṛhatsamhitā<sup>9</sup> also mention it as the name of a region or its people although by this time it was popularly known as a forest.

The Naimiśīyas are known to literature as performers of Sattras or long sacrificial sessions in Kurukṣetra or Naimiśāranya. These Sattras often continued for as long as twelve years at a stretch<sup>10</sup> and sometimes even longer than that.<sup>11</sup> It could hardly be possible for Ṛṣis to travel all the way from Nimsar to Kurukṣetra and then stay away from their dwellings for Sattras of such long durations. Apparently the Naimiśa, which abounded in the hermitages of Ṛṣis was only a part of Kurukṣetra so that a Sattra undertaken there

4. Purāṇa Vol. X, No. 1 (Feb. 1968) pp. 27-34.

5. Vedic Index, i. 460.

6. Mbh. (Gita Press) Śalya, 37.41-42.

7. i. 364; Also cf. Vedic Index, ii. 379.

8. Karna., 45.30.

9. Chaukhamba, Varanasi 1977, 11.60.

10. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (P. B.) XXV, 6.4. & Mbh. Śalya, 37.41-43.

11. Vāyu i. 2.5. and Bhāgavata 1.1.4 ff. speak of a 1000 year sacrifice. So does P. B. XXV 17 & V. 18. Also see P. B. XXV. 7. for a 36 year Sattra & P. B. XXV. 8. for a 100 year Sattra.

could at the same time be said to have been performed in Kurukṣetra too.

A number of personalities definitely known to be connected with Kurukṣetra are associated with Naimiṣa and Naimiṣīyas. The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa<sup>12</sup> speaks of Daivodāsi Pratardana going to a sacrificial session of the Naimiṣīyas. Pratardana was connected with the Trtsu Bharatas<sup>13</sup> and his father Divodāsa defeated the Paṇis, Pārāvatas and Vṛṣayas on the bank of the Sarasvatī<sup>14</sup> according to the Ṛgveda.<sup>15</sup> The Kāṭhaka Samhitā<sup>16</sup> describes a sacrifice of the Nimiṣīyas at which they tied 27 calves in Kuru Pañcālas. Baka Dālbhya also participated in it. According to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>17</sup> too he officiated as a chanter of the Sāmaveda for the Naimiṣīyas.

He belonged to Kuru Pañcālas<sup>18</sup> and once visited the assembly of Yudhiṣṭhira.<sup>19</sup> In the Vāmana Purāṇa<sup>20</sup> he is said to have been visited by Dhṛtarāṣṭra at the Avakīrṇatīrtha in Pṛthūdaka or Pehova. The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>21</sup> connects the Naimiṣīyas with the Gṛhapatis of Somaśuṣma who was the Udgātā in a sacrifice of Hrtaśvāsaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvṛṣas<sup>22</sup> who occupied the north-western part of Kurukṣetra and had the Śakambharas as their neighbours.<sup>23</sup> These references acquire great importance when

12. XXVI. 5.

13. Keith, A. B. : Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas, Reprint Delhi 1971, Intro. p. 45.

14. Cf. Asim Kumar Chatterjee : Political History of Pre-Buddhist India, Calcutta 1980, p. 9.

15. VI. 61.1.

16. X. 6.

17. i. 2.13.

18. Vedic Index ii. 58.

19. Mbh. Sabhā, 4.11.

20. Ed. A. S. Gupta with Hindi tr., Varanasi 1968, S. M. 18, 25-32.

21. i 363.

22. i. 234. The compound form Kurumahāvṛṣa (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa-Kāṇva Rec. 4. 2. 3. 10.) like Kurupañcāla suggests that the Mahāvṛṣas were either a part or neighbours of the Kurus.

23. Vedic Index ii. 132.



it is remembered that Kurukṣetra was the centre of sacrificial culture of the Brāhmaṇic age. Dr Keith<sup>24</sup> therefore rightly associates the Naimiśīyas with the Kuru country.

This position is very clearly supported by the Lawgiver Devala<sup>25</sup> who is quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara<sup>26</sup> as naming the following tīrthas of the Sarasvatī: Plakṣaprāsraṇa, Vṛddhakanyāka, Sārasvata, Vamśodbheda, Āditya, Kaubera, Vaijayanta, Pṛthūdaka, Naimiśa, Vinaśana, Vamśodbheda and Prabhāsa. The list begins with the source of the Sarasvatī<sup>27</sup> and gives the location of Naimiśa somewhere between Pṛthūdaka<sup>28</sup> and Vinaśana<sup>29</sup>. It was probably not far from Vinaśana which has been described in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras as the starting point of the Sārasvata<sup>30</sup> and Dārṣadvata<sup>31</sup> sacrificial sessions.

The Mahābhārata contains several references to Naimiśa, some of which throw light on its situation. A tīrtha Naimiśa-Kuñja<sup>32</sup> is specifically mentioned on the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra and connected with the Naimiśīyas. Naimiśa is described as one of the tīrthas on Gomatī and the Kanyātīrtha, Āsvatīrtha, Gavāmtīrtha, Kālakotī Vṛṣaprastha and Bāhudā are named in the same region.<sup>33</sup> Some of

24. *op. cit.* Intro. p. 45.

25. A contemporary of Kātyāyana dated between A.D. 400 & 600. See the Classical Age, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay 1954, p. 299. His complete work is not available.

26. Ed. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., G. O. S. Baroda 1942, p. 250.

27. Bharadwaj O. P. : Plakṣaprāsraṇa, A.B.O.R.I. Diamond Jubilee Volume.

28. Identified with Pehoa on the Sarasvatī river, 14 miles to the west of Thansar. Cunningham Alexander : A. S. I. R. Vol. XIV, Reprint, Varanasi 1970, p. 101.

29. Identified with the region of Kalibangan in district Ganganagar of Rajasthan. Bharadwaj, O. P. : Vinaśana, Paper presented at the A.I. O. C. Shantiniketan (1980) Session.

30. e. g. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 10, XXV. 11., XXV. 12 and Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra VI. 6 etc.

31. e. g. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 13. and Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XXIV. 6 etc.

32. Vana, 83.109-110.

33. Vana, 95. 1-4.

these tīrthas can be identified in Kurukṣetra in the Epic itself. Kanyātīrtha is mentioned after Naimiśa-Kuñja on the Sarasvatī.<sup>34</sup> Gavāmtīrtha is probably the same as Gavāmbhavana<sup>35</sup> identified with Gohana in district Sonipat.<sup>36</sup> And Bāhudā has been mentioned with Dṛṣadvatī after Gomatī and Dhūtapāpā.<sup>37</sup> It is also recommended for a visit immediately after the Sarasvatī.<sup>38</sup> Vṛṣaprasatha is apparently the same tīrtha which is elsewhere mentioned as Triviṣṭapa and recommended for the worship of Vṛṣadhvaja Śūlapāni.<sup>39</sup> Some of these names are associated with the region of Kanauj<sup>40</sup> also but the phenomenon of a name applying to several tīrthas at the same time is too common in our country to be taken seriously.<sup>41</sup> Apart from that Kurukṣetra being the cradle of Indian culture the balance of probability is more in favour of their travelling from this region to other directions in the sub-continent.

In the Śalya Parva<sup>42</sup> occurs the story of the origin of the tīrtha called Naimiśa-Kuñja which appears to have been an extension of the Naimiśa and situated closer to the Sarasvatī. It is said that once in the Kṛtayuga such a large number of Ṛṣis collected at a twelve-year sacrifice in Naimiśa that the tīrthas on the southern bank of the Sarasvatī looked like towns. The Ṛṣis then spread right upto Samantapañcaka and, finding no room to stay near the holy river, had to stop away from it for performing sacrifices. Out of consideration for them the Sarasvatī took a turn east-ward and created many Kuñjas or bowers overgrown with plants and creepers before returning to her normal course. This is apparently an explanation of the name Prācī-Sarasvatī given to the river where it turns eastward near Pṛthūdaka or Pehoa in district

34. Vana, 83.112.

35. Vana, 83.50.

36. Agrawala, V.S.: Vāmana Purāṇa-A Study, Varanasi 1964, p. 188.

37. Vāmana, 13.21. It is possible that Dhūtapāpā has been used as an adjective here.

38. Vana, 84.66-67.

39. Vana, 83.84, and Vāmana, S. M. 15. 41-42.

40. See Dey under relevant entries.

41. See e.g. Dey under entries on Kapāla-Mocana, Kanyā-tīrtha, Cakratīrtha and Dharmāraṇya etc.

42. 37.36-57.



Kurukṣetra.<sup>43</sup> The story brings out the association of Naimiśa and the Naimiśīyas with the Sarasvatī and Kurukṣetra in no uncertain terms. At another place<sup>44</sup> the Epic describes the river Kāñcanaḅksī, one of the seven tributaries of the Sarasvatī, all of which join it in the tīrtha Saptasārasvata, as flowing through Naimiśa. Saptasārasvata, too, is a Sārasvata tīrtha of Kurukṣetra and was evidently located not far from Naimiśa.<sup>45</sup> And finally the Naimiśas are mentioned with Kurus, Pañcālas and Matsyas as people who understood Dharma.<sup>46</sup>

Some of the Purāṇas also contain material which is equally helpful. We can begin with a reference to some interesting observations made by Giorgio Bonazzoli in an article on the 'Place of Purāṇic Recitation.'<sup>47</sup> Fifteen of the Purāṇas mention the place of their recitation. Out of these, six name more than one place of narration while ten mention Naimiśāraṇya in this regard although it is not given this privilege exclusively.<sup>48</sup> Bonazzoli, however, believes that the place they mention describes a moment of Purāṇic evolution rather than a topographic spot.<sup>49</sup> From the point of similarity between the two he concludes that Naimiśa and Kurukṣetra represent two aspects of the same Purāṇic layer. As he points out both the spots host a twelve-year-long sacrifice and both at the beginning of Kaliyuga. In both the places we meet with Lomahaṛṣaṇa, the Sūta, and the Ṛṣis led by Śaunaka (see Skanda II. 1.1.1. and II. 8.18). Moreover, the Ṛṣis at Kurukṣetra, according to Vāyu I. 1.11-12, are called Naimiśīyas. The Ṛṣis who attended the Purāṇas are also often called Naimiśīyas. (see Kūrma I. 1.2, Garuḁa 1.5, Brahmāṇḁa I. 1.37) This implies that they were exactly the same persons present at Kurukṣetra as well as Naimiśāraṇya.<sup>50</sup> This striking equality of everything at Kurukṣetra and

43. Vāmana, 23. 43.

44. Śalya, 38.19-20.

45. Vana, 83. 115-133. It is traditionally located at village Mangna 5 miles to the west of Pehoa. See A.S.I.R. XIV. p. 100.

46. Karṇa, 45.30.

47. Purāṇa Vol. XXIII, No. 1. Jan. 81. pp. 48-61.

48. *ibid.* p. 49.

49. *ibid.* p. 53.

50. *ibid.* p. 58.

Naimiṣa is attributed by Bonazzoli to an enthusiastic movement at the beginning of Kaliyuga which was spread all over the Madhya-deśa by itinerant Ṛṣis performing sacrifices and narrating old stories. According to him two literary and religious streams of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas took shape in this movement and the same persons in the same period did the same things but in two different places, at Kurukṣetra, traditional place of the Mahābhārata and at Naimiṣaraṇya, traditional place of the Purāṇas.

Now this explanation, in our opinion, relies on the assumption of a coincidence which is not only improbable but also superfluous in view of the availability of a more simple and straight explanation. As we shall see the place of recitation is mentioned, at least in some of the Purāṇas, so clearly and with such specific details that it obviously describes a topographic spot or region rather than a movement of Purāṇic evolution and the connection between the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata arises from the fact that Naimiṣaraṇya and Kurukṣetra both refer to the same country with the qualification that one formed a part of the other.

This is indeed the only explanation of a couple of situations presented in the Purāṇas. For instance in the Skanda Purāṇa according to II. 8.18 Lomahaṛṣaṇa tells the Kathā to Śaunaka and the Ṛṣis at Kurukṣetra while according to II. 1.1.1. he appears to have told it at Naimiṣa. In Padma Purāṇa I. 1.2. ff. Ṛṣis and Munis are described as converging at Naimiṣa from different places for performing a sacrifice and listening to Purāṇic Kathās while in Skanda Purāṇa II. 8.1.7. they are said to have gathered for the same purpose at Kurukṣetra. These two situations have been noted by Bonazzoli<sup>51</sup> but a few more are available elsewhere. According to Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 1.4. ff. Śaunaka and other sages gather at Naimiṣa in a thousand-year sacrifice where Sūta is requested to narrate the noble doings of the Lord whereas in I. 7.2-6 Vyāsa is said to have composed the Sātvata Saṁhitā in his hermitage named Śamyāprāsa on the western bank of Brahmanadī Sarasvatī. The Kūrma Purāṇa<sup>52</sup> in its Naimiṣa Māhātmya declares that the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa was narrated by Vāyu to the Ṛṣis engaged in a Sattra in this holy forest. The Brahmāṇḍa<sup>53</sup> itself, on

51. *ibid.* p. 52-53.

52. Mansukh Rai Mor ed. ii. 43.14.

53. Ed. J. L. Sastri, Delhi 1973, i. 1.27 ff. & i. 1.160.



the other hand asserts that it was recited in Kurukṣetra on the bank of the Dṛṣadvatī. Bonazzoli<sup>54</sup> draws our attention to another striking fact. The Kurukṣetra Māhātmya<sup>55</sup> does not mention any Purāṇic recitation held at Kurukṣetra as normally it should. On the contrary it affirms that the place where Śaunaka, the foremost of Ṛṣis, enquires about river Sarasvatī of Lomahaṛṣaṇa (i. e. Sūta) is not Kurukṣetra but Naimiśa. He rightly finds it strange that even for the Kurukṣetra Māhātmya, the Purāṇas or some of them should be recited at Naimiśa and that such a statement should be found in a Māhātmya which is supposed to speak of Purāṇic events at Kurukṣetra and not at Naimiśa. All these apparently conflicting situations point to, and are consistent with, the location of Naimiśaraṇya in Kurukṣetra which can be supported with Purāṇic testimony of a definitive nature.

In the Vāmana Purāṇa the rivers Kāñcanākṣī-Sarasvatī, Gomatī and Gurudā (Bāhudā ?) are connected with one another and with Naimiśa.<sup>56</sup> The Gomatī is said to join the Sarasvatī<sup>57</sup> which lends plausibility to its identification with the Dṛṣadvatī by Dr Kane. Prahlāda, the Demon king, goes with his Daityas to Naimiśa and, while hunting after a bath there, reaches the river Sarasvatī which is flowing with clear water.<sup>58</sup> In another story Citrāṅgadā, daughter of Viśvakarmā, visits Naimiśa to take a bath<sup>59</sup> and falls in love with king Suratha who is carried away thirteen yojanas by the Sarasvatī, as a result of being cursed by her father.<sup>60</sup> Citrāṅgadā also jumps into the river Kāñcanākṣī-Sarasvatī which throws her into the great river Gomatī.<sup>61</sup> And as if to remove any doubt that may still be left the Vāmana mentions Naimiśa among the tīrthas of Kurukṣetra between Pavanahrada and Sapta-Sārasvata<sup>62</sup> where the seven Sarasvatīs, including the Kāñca-

54. *op. cit.* p. 57.

55. Vāmana, S. M. 16.24 ff.

56. 57. 1-3.

57. 37. 60-61.

58. 7.41-42.

59. 37.40.

60. 37.54.

61. 37.60-61.

62. S. M., 16.6-8.

nākṣi, join and then flow together.<sup>63</sup> So does the Brahma Purāṇa<sup>64</sup> where it is bracketted with many Kurukṣetra tīrthas like Pāṇi-khāta,<sup>65</sup> Miśraka,<sup>66</sup> Madhuvāṭa,<sup>67</sup> Kauṣikī,<sup>68</sup> Ṛṇamocana,<sup>69</sup> Koṭitīrtha,<sup>70</sup> Somatīrtha,<sup>71</sup> Kanyātīrtha,<sup>72</sup> Saugandhikavana,<sup>73</sup> Sarasvatī, Saptasārasvata, Sthāṇutīrtha<sup>74</sup> and Kapālamocana<sup>75</sup> etc.

The references in the Vāyu Purāṇa are even more explicit. It describes the Sūta as going to see the Ṛṣis who, duly initiated according to the Śāstras while living in Naimiṣāraṇya, were performing a long Sattra in Dharmakṣetra Kurukṣetra on the bank of the sacred Dṛṣadvatī.<sup>76</sup> The expression used is 'Naimiṣāraṇya-gocarāḥ' which should mean 'frequenting, dwelling or resorting to Naimiṣāraṇya' and (at the same time) performing a Sattra in Kurukṣetra. Here too the author is anxious to eliminate all possibility of doubt and adds the names of a number of renowned personalities connected with Naimiṣa. They are Rohiṇī, mother of Budha, father of Purūravā, Vasiṣṭha, his wife Arundhatī and his eldest son, Śakti, and grandson Parāśara, king Kalmāṣapāda who was cursed by Śakti, Viśvāmitra who was the avowed enemy of Vasiṣṭha and king Purūravā himself in whose time the Sattra took place.<sup>77</sup> Their association with the land of Kurukṣetra and the holy Sarasvatī is only too well-known.<sup>78</sup> The Vāyu does not even

63. S. M., 16.17-18.

64. Mansukh Rai Mor ed. i, 25.44.

65. Cf. Mbh. Vana, 83.89 & Vāmana, S. M. 15.51.

66. Mbh. Vana. 83.94. & Vāmana, S. M. 15.52.

67. Mbh. Vana. 83.94 & Vāmana, S. M. 15.55.

68. Mbh. Vana. 83.95 & Vāmana, S. m. 13.18.

69. Vāmana, S. M. 20.6.

70. Mbh. Vana. 83.17 & Vāmana, S. M. 13.28.

71. Mbh. Vana. 83.114 & Vāmana, S. M. 20.4. & 13. 33-35.

72. Mbh. Vana. 83.112 & Vāmana, 57.43.

73. Mbh. Vana. 84.4 & Vāmana, S. M. 26.55.

74. Mbh. Śalya, 42:4-7 & Vāmana, S. M. 19.3.

75. Mbh. Vana, 83.137 & Vāmana, S. M. 18.13.

76. i. 1.12.

77. i. 2.8. ff.

78. For Purūravas & others connected with him see Bharadwaj, O. P. : Identification of Ludhiana, Purāṇa Vol. VII, No. 2 (July 1975) pp. 103-117 and Vol. XXI, No. 2 (July 1979) pp. 177-193; for Vasiṣṭha & Viśvāmitra, Mbh. 42.4; for Śakti, Kalmāṣapāda and rivalry of Vasiṣṭha & Viśvāmitra, Brahmāṇḍa i. 1.2.11.



admit of the possibility of Ṛṣis going from Naimiśāraṇya all the way to Kurukṣetra to perform the sacrifice. It declares that they were called Naimiśeyas since they performed the Sattra in Naimiśa.<sup>79</sup> The implication is too obvious to need elaboration.

The only other Purāṇa that defines the location of Naimiśāraṇya in most unambiguous terms is the Brahmāṇḍa<sup>80</sup> which follows the Vāyu on this subject almost to the letter, rendering a detailed examination unnecessary, and thus augments the force of its evidence.

Last but not the least to note is the description of Naimiśāraṇya given in the opening verses of the Vaiśyacarita of the Sanatsujātasamhitā in Skanda Uttara Khaṇḍa.<sup>81</sup> The sacred forest is described here as resounding with the chanting of Mantras by gatherings of Maharṣis, auspicious with trees bearing flowers and situated across the waters of the Sarasvatī which agrees with its location in the doab of the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī.

An examination of relevant evidence from various classes of Sanskrit literature, including the Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣadas, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, thus leads to the conclusion that Naimiśa was the name of a district and its people in ancient Kurukṣetra. It was mostly covered with wild growth and dotted with hermitages. It was located along the bank of the Dṛṣadvatī and extended towards the Sarasvatī so as to comprise the lower part of the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī doab which was called Brahmāvarta.<sup>82</sup> We have seen that well-known personalities of Kurukṣetra are associated with Naimiśa also, same rivers are connected with both the regions and there are situations which can be reconciled only with the equation of Gomatī with Dṛṣadvatī and the location of Naimiśa within the limits of Kurukṣetra. And finally we have cited texts which directly confirm this fact.

However, we do not rule out the possibility that in course of time the name Naimiśa or Naimiśāraṇya travelled eastward, leaving its vestiges in names like Naimiśakuṅja in Kurukṣetra and Nimsar or Nimkharvan in Uttar Pradesh.

79. i.2.12.

80. See 1.17 & 160; 2.9. ff. & 2.13 etc.

81. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. In the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Vol. IV, Madras 1908, p. 1843, No. 2542. Beg.

82. Manusmṛti ii. 17.

*Obituary*

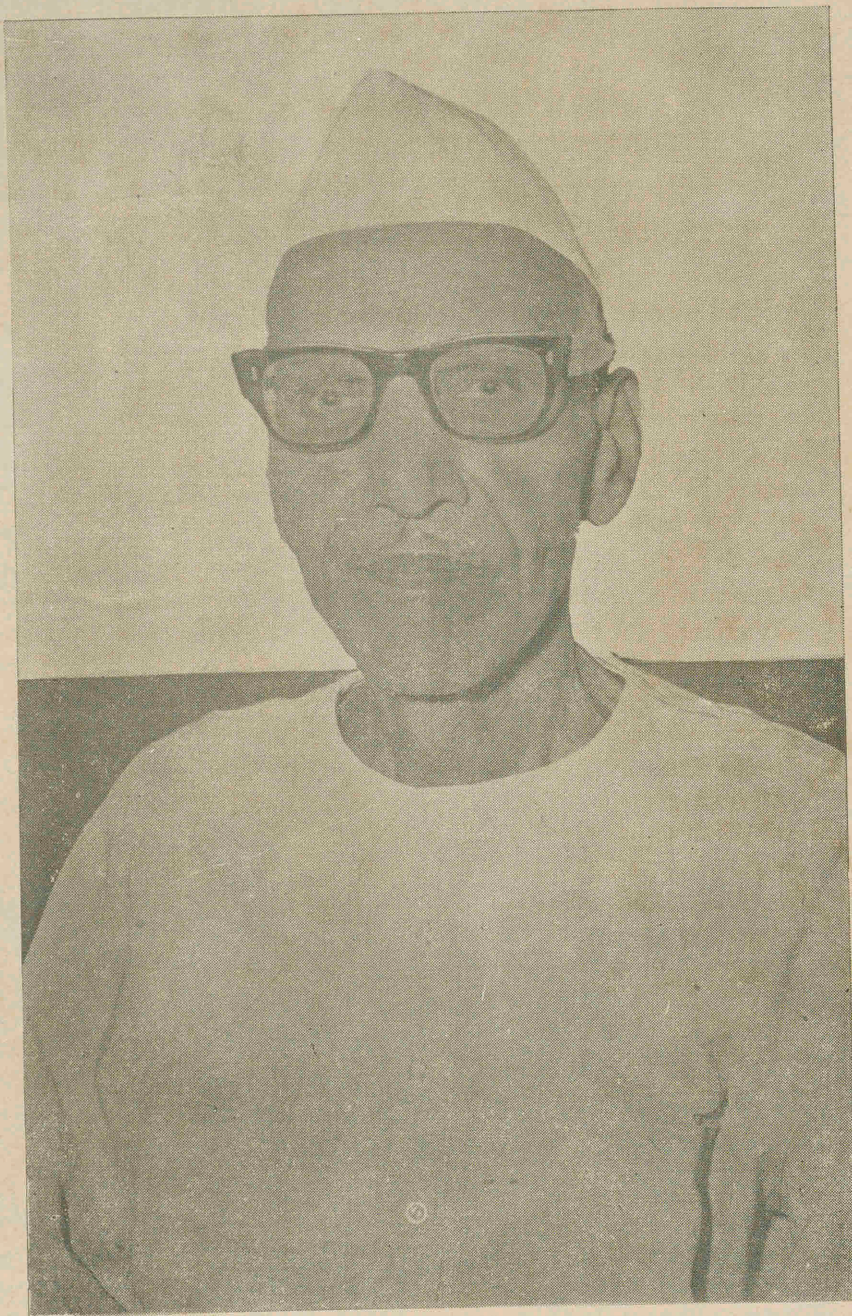
**Shri ANAND SWARUP GUPTA**

Indologists in general and scholars of Purāṇic Studies in particular were shocked to learn of the demise of Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, Asstt Director and Editor-in-charge of the Purāṇa Department of the All-India Kashiraj Trust on the afternoon of October 14, 1981, at his residence in Ramnagar, Vārāṇasī. Shri Gupta was so closely associated with and involved in the Purāṇa project of the Trust that it will be a difficult task for the Trust to arrange and prosecute its project properly in his absence. He was associated with the project from its very inception, first as an assistant and then as editor-in-chief. He ably and with wide appreciation from all corners of the literary world critically edited three Mahāpurāṇa-s—Vāmana, Kūrma and Varāha—published by the Trust. He also edited the Purāṇa Bulletin for the last twenty years and contributed scholarly articles and notes to the Bulletin (A list of his works is appended below). He attended several sessions of the Oriental Conference and contributed papers there. He also delivered extension lectures at many Research Centres and Institutes. He taught Sanskrit and Hindi to post-graduate classes of Meerut (then Agra) University before joining the All-India Kashiraj Trust, and edited many text books. In short, his academic activities were extended to various fields. He also served as an Āyurvedic physician in his early days.

Shri Gupta was born on 4th April, 1905 in the village Aurangabad (Rasulpur), six miles from Meerut city in the Agra-wala family. He was the only son of his father Lala Banshidhar. He passed the B.A. examination in 1927 from Allahabad University and M.A. (Sanskrit) from Agra University (1929). Later he took also Master Degree in Hindi and History from the same University.

Shri Gupta was an unassuming scholar with pleasing and genial personality. He had the depth and solidity of traditional learning. He had a very accurate knowledge of Pāṇinian grammar. Being originally an Ārya Samājist, he had a good knowledge of Vedic literature. He daily recited the *Gītā* and *Upaniṣads*. Besides his wide knowledge he possessed a rare personality filled with love,





Shri Anand Swarup Gupta





affection and regard for all and with malice to none. Nobody, whether superior or subordinate, coming in contact with him ever felt any discomfiture from him; likewise he also never bore any grudge to any one. In this connection we may recall a verse of the *Gītā* (12.15) in which such a person is called a Yogin :

यस्मान्नोद्विजते लोको लोकान्नोद्विजते च यः ।

Though he was always in poor health he never hesitated to do hard work. He used to come to the office around 12 noon but till 5p.m. he never left his chair, and indulged only in serious academic work. During these five hours he always engaged himself in ticklish problems of Purāṇic texts. He set an example to his colleagues and subordinates for hard work. Sometimes he was so much engrossed in these texts that he failed to notice even the arrival of scholars, who used to sit by his side. He was later informed by the colleagues about the guests. He always cherished the Vedic idea of doing work till the last moment :

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।

Shri Gupta was always helpful to friends and colleagues. There is hardly any instance when he dealt roughly with his co-workers. He always tried to help and guide us in academic matters. We have perfect trust in the words of the Blessed Lord :

न हि कल्याणकृत् कश्चिद् दुर्गतिं तात गच्छति (Gītā 6.40)

Shri Gupta was a disciplined scholar and maintained a daily diary of his work. He always advised the scholars to maintain a record of their works. He was very punctual for the office routine and he never liked that a person should leave the office before time. In his last days His Highness Maharaja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman of the Trust, kindly permitted him to carry on his work at his residence. Even in that condition any visitor was amazed to see that Shri Gupta was always engrossed in Purāṇic work. Actually he had no interest except in the work of study (विद्याव्रत). Shri Gupta had good contacts with eminent scholars like Dr Kane, Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Dr Mirashi, Dr Agrawala, Dr Raghavan, Dr Pusalker, Dr Hazra and many others. All of them had high regard and appreciation for his scholarship and unassuming personality. Dr V. S. Agrawala used to say that Śrī Gupta was the chief gem of the crown.

Hearing the news of his death M.M. Dr Mirashi expressed his sorrow in the following words : 'We have lost a devoted Scholar of the Purāṇas'. Dr. Hazra said : 'The news of Śrī Gupta's unexpected death is to me a bolt from the blue. He was a very sincere and affectionate friend of mine and it is extremely painful for me to think that he is far beyond my reach and will never return'.

Shri Gupta was originally an Ārya Samājist, but on account of his association with the Purāṇa work he developed a high regard for the Purāṇas. He firmly held that the Purāṇas are the '*upabr̥hmaṇa*' or amplification of the Vedas. Besides the *Gītā* and *Upaniṣads* he also used to recite the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* of the Mahābhārata. A few months before his death when I enquired about his recitation of the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* he replied that then he recited only selected names from it. Probably his argument was that since these names were expressive of attributes (गौण) he would recite only those names which then appealed to him. It is very fortunate that Shri Gupta did not lose his senses till his last breath. In the last five days before his death he bade farewell to his relatives with folded hands.

For the critical edition of Purāṇas Shri Gupta did his best to make them as authentic and reliable as possible. In 1959 he spent six months in Madras with Dr V. Raghavan for the critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa and the Purāṇa Bulletin. Later he spent a few months in Poona at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to see the finer points of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata under Dr Dandekar. He was also in contact with the Rāmāyaṇa project of Baroda University. Here in the Purāṇa Deptt. also he discussed the text with his colleagues and other eminent Pandits and scholars like Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Hare Ram Shukla, Dr R. K. Sharma, Dr. S. N. Shastri and others. Shri Gupta had very high esteem and regard for H. H. Maharaja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh. He always tried his best to fulfil the commands and wishes of H. H. the Maharaja.

H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh has very high appreciation for his erudition and scholarship. Maharaj Bahadur firmly holds the opinion that Shri Gupta was not inferior to any eminent scholar and with this sense of appreciation and confidence he authorised him to edit the critical editions of the Mahāpurāṇas in the place of Dr V. S. Agrawala.



Shri Gupta efficiently edited the three Mahāpurāṇas with distinction and showed himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by the Maharaja. He was a pioneer in the field of critically editing the Mahāpurāṇas—an eminent pathmaker (पथिकृत् विद्वान्). At the Silver Jubilee function of the Trust on 24 October, 1981, H. H. Maharaja paid a glowing tribute to Shri Gupta, a tribute fully shared by all Purāṇic scholars.

We pray in the words of Upaniṣads—may the Almighty grant the departed soul union with himself :

यस्तूर्णनाभ इव तन्तुभिः प्रधानजैः स्वभावतो देव एकः स्वमावृणोत् । स नो  
दधाद् ब्रह्माप्ययम् ॥

—Śvetāśvatara Up. VI. 10

‘May the effulgent Being, the One without a second, who, like a spider, spontaneously covers Himself with threads made out of His own creative powers, grant us union with himself, the Brahman.’

—Ganga Sagar Rai

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## ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(July-December, 1981)

### **Varāha Purāṇa Work**

The editing and printing of the critical edition and English translation of the Varāha Purāṇa have been completed. The 215 *adhyāya-s* with their critical apparatus, introduction and appendices have been published in one volume. The Sanskrit text as established in the critical edition and its English translation have also been edited, printed and published in a separate volume. The two volumes were released and presented to the President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies at a function held at Shivala Palace on the 24 of October, 1981, during the Vth World Sanskrit Conference (see details below).

### **Viṣṇusahasranāma Work**

The collation of the MSS of the Viṣṇusahasranāma has been continued. It will include the Viṣṇusahasranāma of the Mahābhārata, Padma, Garuḍa and Skanda Purāṇa-s. MSS of the Mahābhārata and Padma have been collated. Mss of the Garuḍa and Skanda have already been asked from different libraries in India and abroad.

### **Garuḍa Purāṇa Work**

The collation of four MSS of the Garuḍa Purāṇa is being completed. Of these four, two MSS belong to the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍār, Rāmnagar, and two MSS to the Bhandarkara Oriental Research Institute of Poona. All four MSS are in Devanāgarī. Other MSS have been ordered from W. Germany, Allahabad and Calcutta. Śrī Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Śrī Raghunath Mandir, Jammu, is at present the only library having complete MSS of the Brahmakhaṇḍa or the third part of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

### **Editing of Premrāmāyaṇa**

The Prema Rāmāyaṇa of Ramu Dvivedī has been critically edited by Maharaj Kumari Krishnapriya on the basis of two MSS. The book was presented to Dr. Dandekar, the President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, at a special function held at Tulsī Ghāṭ on 24.10.1981 in the presence of the delegates to the Vth World Sanskrit Conference. The Prema Rāmāyaṇa is a translation and rifacimento in Sanskrit of Tulsī-dāsa's Rāmacaritmānasa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa. It has about 2200 śloka-s.



## सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९८१)

### वराहपुराणसम्बन्धि कार्यम्

वराहपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य आंग्लभाषानुवादस्य च संपादन-कार्यं मुद्रणकार्यं च पूर्णतां गतम् । पाठसमीक्षित-संस्करणस्य पञ्चदशाधिक-द्विशताध्यायास्तेषां पाठान्तरविवरणं भूमिका, परिशिष्टानि च एकस्मिन् भागे प्रकाशितानि । द्वितीये भागे पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणे मुद्रिता मूलश्लोकास्तेषाम् आंग्लभाषानुवादश्च भूमिकापरिशिष्टादिभिः सह प्रकाशिताः । उभावपि भागौ पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनावसरे सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य रजत-जयन्त्युत्सवे २४ अक्टूबर १९८१ दिनाङ्के शिवालाभवने सम्मेलनाध्यक्षेण उद्घाटितौ । तौ च भागौ सम्मेलनाध्यक्षाय समर्पितौ । (रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य विवरणमुपरिष्ठाद् द्रष्टव्यम्)

### विष्णुसहस्रनामसंबन्धि कार्यम्

विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रस्य पाठसंवादकार्यं प्रचलति । अस्मिन् संपाद्यमाने ग्रन्थे पद्म-स्कन्द-गरुडपुराणेषु महाभारते चोपलब्धानि विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्राणि भविष्यन्ति । सम्प्रति महाभारतस्य पद्मपुराणस्य च हस्तलेखानां पाठसंवाद-लेखनकार्यं कृतम् । गरुडपुराणस्य स्कन्दपुराणस्य च हस्तलेखानामवाप्तये प्रयासः क्रियते; हस्तलेखप्रदानाय केचन ग्रन्थागाराध्यक्षा अनुरुद्धाः ।

### गरुडपुराणसंबन्धि कार्यम्

गरुडपुराणस्य चतुर्णां हस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादलेखनकार्यम् प्रायेण समाप्तं जातम् । एषु चतुर्षु हस्तलेखेषु द्वौ रामनगरदुर्गस्थस्य सरस्वतीभण्डारपुस्तकालयस्य, द्वौ च पुणेनगरस्थस्य भण्डारकरप्राच्यशोधसंस्थानस्य, सन्ति । चत्वारो हस्तलेखा देवनागरीलिपिमयाः । प्रयागनगरात् पश्चिमजर्मनीदेशाच्च हस्तलेखानां प्राप्तये प्रयासो विहितः । जम्मूनगरस्थरघुनाथपुस्तकालये गरुडपुराण-तृतीय-खण्डस्य ब्रह्मखण्डनामकस्य हस्तलेखो वर्तते ।

### प्रेमरामायणस्य प्रकाशनम्

रामद्विवेदविरचितं प्रेमरामायणं हस्तलेखानामाधारेण कनिष्ठया महाराजकुमार्या श्रीमत्या कृष्णप्रियया संपादितम् । इदं संस्करणं पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृत-सम्मेलनस्य प्रतिनिधोनामुपस्थितौ तुलसीघट्टे २४-१०-८१ दिनाङ्के सायंसमये सम्मेलनस्याध्यक्षाय डा० दाण्डेकरमहोदयाय समर्पितम् । प्रेमरामायणं खलु तुलसी-दासविरचितस्य रामचरितमानस (अवधीभाषामय)स्यायोध्याकाण्डस्य संस्कृत-भाषामयी पद्यबद्धा टीका स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थरूपा । ग्रन्थोज्यं प्रायेण २२०० पद्येषु निर्मितः ।

### Purāṇa Goṣṭhi

The Vyāsa Pūrṇimā celebration was held under the Chairmanship of Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Kashinaresh, at Shivala Palace of the All-India Kashiraj Trust on 16.7.1981. In the beginning 20 Vedic Brāhmaṇas recited Vasant Puja, parts of the Vedas. Later two South Indian girls recited verses from the Saundarya Laharī and Lalitā Sahasranāma. The Mahārāja Kumār Śrī Anant Narain Singh distributed Dakṣiṇā to Vedic Brāhmaṇas. Later, a Purāṇa Seminar or Goṣṭhī was held, in which after Maṅgalācaraṇa Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai of the Trust presented the annual working report of the Purāṇa Department. The Critical Edition of the Varāha Purāṇa, was also presented to the Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh by Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai. The Mahārāja told the scholars about the coming Silver Jubilee of the All-India Kashiraj Trust and asked the scholars to suggest the manner in which it should be celebrated. He also informed the scholars about the Vth World Sanskrit Conference and sought their active co-operation. Discussion started and the scholars expressed their views. Among the prominent scholars who expressed their views were Pt. Baladeva Upadhyāya, Dr. Raghunath Singh, former Chairman of the Shipping Corporation, Prof. Lallanji Gopal, Prof. Rewa Prasad Dwivedi, Prof. Vishwanath Bhattacharya, Prof. Vishwanath Shastri Datar and Śrī Vaikuṇṭha Nath Upadhyaya. The Mahārāja thanked the scholars. At the end prasāda and tea were served to the scholars.

### Purāṇa Pāṭha

The Tripurā Rahasya Māhātmya Khaṇḍa was recited in the Bālā Tripura Sundarī temple Ratna Bāg from Āṣāḍha Śukla Pratipad to Navamī (i. e. July 2 to 11). The reciter was Śrī Kāmadeva Jhā.

A solemn 'Bhāgavata Saptāha' was held in the Jawahir khana of the Ramnagar Fort, from 16 November to 25 November, 1981. After a yajña at the opening of the week-long recitation the Bhāgavata purāṇa was recited according to the prescribed ritual in the mornings by Śrī Viśvanāth Sastri Datar. In the evenings discourses were given by Śrī Viśvanāth Sastri Datar. H. H. the Mahārāja together with the Maharāja Kumār and the Mahārāja Kumārīs attended regularly to all the rituals. People in great number were present at the discourses every day. On the final day a yajña was performed, Brāhmaṇas were fed and due Dakṣiṇā was given to their.



## पुराण-गोष्ठी

तत्रभवतां काशिनरेशानां डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयानां सभा-पतित्वे १६-७-८१ दिनाङ्के व्यासोत्सवः सम्पन्नः । प्रारम्भे वैदिकी वसन्तपूजा सम्पन्ना, यस्यां विशतिर्वेदज्ञा ब्राह्मणा वेदपाठमकुर्वन् । तदनन्तरं द्वे दाक्षिणात्ये बालिके 'सौन्दर्यलहरीः' 'ललितासहस्रनाम्न'श्च केषांचिच्छ्लोकानां पाठमकुर्वताम् । महाराजकुमारः श्री अनन्तनारायणसिंहो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दक्षिणां प्रदत्तवान् । एतदनन्तरं पुराणगोष्ठी प्रारब्धा । मङ्गलचरणानन्तरं डा० गंगासागररायः पुराणविभागस्य वार्षिकं कार्यविवरणं प्रस्तुतवान् । सद्यःप्रकाशितं वराह-पुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षितं संस्करणं न्यासाध्यक्षेभ्यः काशिनरेशेभ्यो महाराजेभ्यो डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयेभ्यः समर्पितं डा० गङ्गासागरराय-महोदयेन । तत्रभवन्तो महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदया उपस्थितान् विदुषो न्यासस्य भाविनो रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य सूचनां दत्तवन्तः, उत्सवस्य स्वरूपप्रकार-विषये विदुषश्च जिज्ञासितवन्तः । तैर्वाराणस्यां भाविनः पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृत-सम्मेलनस्य सूचनापि प्रदत्ता, विदुषां सहयोगश्च काङ्क्षितः । तदनन्तरं विचारविमर्शः प्रारब्धः; विद्वांसः स्वस्वमतानि च प्रकाशितवन्तः । प्रमुखेषु वक्तृषु पं० बलदेव उपाध्यायः, डा० रघुनाथ सिंहः, प्रो० लल्लनजी गोपालः, प्रो० रेवा-प्रसाद द्विवेदी, प्रो० विश्वनाथ भट्टाचार्यः, पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्री दातारः, पं० वैकुण्ठनाथ उपाध्यायश्च आसन् । अन्ते महाराजैः धन्यवादो ज्ञापितः । प्रसाद-वितरणानन्तरमल्पाहारश्च प्रदत्तः ।

## पुराणपाठः

आषाढमासस्य शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावद् रामनगरस्थे रत्नबागोद्याने बालात्रिपुरसुन्दरीमन्दिरे त्रिपुरारहस्यस्य पाठः श्री कामदेवज्ञा-महोदयेन कृतः ।

रामनगरदुर्गे जवाहिरखानास्थाने श्रीमद्भागवतमहापुराणस्य पाठः प्रवचनं च (सप्ताहपाठः) जातम् । सप्ताहपाठात् प्राक् विधिपूर्वकं तत्तद्देवतानां पूजनं कृत्वा पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्रिदातारमहोदयेन पाठः, अपराह्णसमये प्रवचनं च कृतम् । तत्रभवन्तो न्यासाध्यक्षाः महाराजा महाराजकुमारो महाराजकुमार्यः, राजपरिवारसदस्याश्च विधिपूर्वकं सप्ताहपारायणं प्रवचनं च श्रुतवन्तः । अयं सप्ताहयज्ञः १६.११.८१ दिनाङ्कात् प्रारभ्य सप्तदिनानि यावज्जातः । प्रतिदिनं प्रवचनेषु बहुसंख्यका जना उपस्थिता आसन् । पारायणसमाप्तौ पूर्णाहुतियज्ञः सम्पन्नो जातः; ब्राह्मणाश्च भोजिताः, दक्षिणाश्च प्रदत्ताः ।

### Veda-Pārāyaṇa

The text of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda i. e. Taittirīya Saṁhitā was recited from memory by Śrī Anjaneya Ghaṇapāthī, while Śrī Gaṇeśa Bhata Bapata was the Śrotā. The recitation was held in the Prabhu-Nārāyaṇeśvara Temple of the Shivāla Palace in Vārāṇasī from 2.7.81 to 5.8.1981. On the completion of the scheduled Pārāyaṇa the usual Dakṣiṇā was given to the Pārāyaṇa-kartā and the Śrotā.

### Scholars and Distinguished Persons who visited the Purāṇa Deptt.

On the occasion of the Vth World Sanskrit Congress, held in Vārāṇasī, H. H. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, invited a group of foreign scholars interested in the Purāṇa-s to express their views and give their suggestions on the activities of the Trust. The meeting took place in the Palace of Ramnagar on 26.10.1981. The Scholars reached Ramnagar by the motorboat offered by Maharaja Banaras Vidya-mandir Trust. They were first shown the work of the Purāṇa Deptt and the difficulties of the work and their possible solution were explained. Then the scholars were invited to express their opinions and suggestions. After the meeting with the Chairman, Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, they were offered refreshment and tea. They returned to Vārāṇasī on the same motorboat. The names of these scholars along with their opinions about the work of the Dept. are give below :

1. Dr. N.R. Bhatt—Head of Sanskrit Deptt., French Institute of Indology—Pondicherry : “I am very happy to visit the Purāṇa Deptt. of the Kāśī Raj Trust and to understand the principles of the critical edition of the Purāṇas, the great treasures of Bhārata”.

2. Miss Margarida de Lacerda—University of Lisbon, Portugal : “I am deeply impressed by the work done in the Purāṇa Department and I am thankful for having had the honour of being asked by His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras”.

3. Mr. B. Dagens—Director, French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry : “I am very happy to be here a second time and to see that Varāha P. has been published. We were all waiting for it”.



## वेदपारायणम्

कृष्णयजुर्वेदीय-तैत्तिरीयसंहितायाः स्मरणपूर्वकं पारायणं (ग्रन्थमनव-लोक्य) श्री आञ्जनेयशर्म-घनपाठिमहोदयेन कृतम् । श्रीगणेशभटबापट-महोदयः श्रोता आसीत् । एतत्पारायणं न्यासस्य शिवालाभवनस्थे प्रभुनारायणेश्वर-मन्दिरे २.७.८१ दिनाङ्कमारम्य ५.८.८१ दिनाङ्कं यावत् संपन्नम् । पारायण-समाप्तौ पारायणस्य कर्त्रे श्रोत्रे च विहिता दक्षिणा दत्ताः ।

## पुराणविभागे आगता विशिष्टा जना विद्वांसश्च

वाराणस्यां सम्पन्ने पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनावसरे सर्वभारतीयकाशि-राजन्यासस्याध्यक्षास्तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशाः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयाः पुराणाध्ययने निरतान् काञ्चन वैदेशिकविदुषः रामनगरदुर्गे काशिराज-न्यासस्य कार्येषु विमर्शार्थमाहूतवन्तः । एषा विमर्शसभा २६.१०.८१ दिनाङ्के सम्पन्ना । विद्वांसौ महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासस्य 'मोटरबोट' इति नौकायानेन आगताः, तेभ्यः पुराणसंबन्धि कार्यस्य परिचयः प्रदत्तः । एतस्मिन् पुराणकार्येयत्काठिन्यं यच्च तस्य समाधानं तदुभयं व्याख्यातम् । तदनन्तरं विदुषां विचाराः परामर्शाश्च आहूताः । न्यासाध्यक्षैस्तत्रभवद्भिर्महाराजैः डा० विभूति-नारायणसिंहमहोदयैः सह विमर्शानन्तरं तेभ्यः 'चाय' पानीयम् अल्पाहारश्च प्रदत्ते । तदनन्तरंस्ते पुनः तेनैव नौकायानेन वाराणसीं प्रत्यागताः । एतेषां नामानि पुराणकार्ये विचाराश्च अधोनिर्दिष्टाः—

१. डा० एन० आर० भट्टमहोदयः—पाण्डिचेरीनगरस्थस्य 'फ्रेञ्च इंस्टी-ट्यूट आफ इण्डोलाजी' इत्यस्य अध्यक्षः—“अहं काशीराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागं दृष्ट्वा भारतस्य महतां, निधिभूतानां पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य सिद्धान्तान् चावगत्य अतीव प्रसन्नोऽस्मि” ।

२. मिस मार्गरेडा डे लासेडा—पोर्तुगालदेशस्थ-लिस्बन-विश्वविद्यालय-संबद्धा—“पुराणविभागे सम्पन्नेन कार्येण अहमतीव प्रभाविताऽस्मि; तथा तत्र-भवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः आहूता इत्येतदर्थमतीव कृतज्ञा” ।

३. मि० बी० डेन्स—पाण्डिचेरीस्थितस्य फ्रेन्च इंस्टीट्यूट इत्यस्य निदेशकः—“अहमत्र द्वितीयवासरे आगत्य वराहपुराणस्य प्रकाशनं दृष्ट्वा अतीव प्रसन्नोऽस्मि” ।

4. Mr. A. Padoux—French National; Centre for Scientific Research, Paris: “My third visit to Purāṇa Department shows me the activities here ever increasing and so useful.”

5. J. L. Bockington, Sanskrit Deptt., University of Edinburgh: “It was a real pleasure to view the work of the Putāṇa Dept. and to learn of the progress in this important field of work.”

6. Dr. Thomas B. Coburn, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York: “I am most grateful to have seen the inner working of an institution that is doing such invaluable work for Indological and comparative religious studies.”

7. Miss H. Bruner, c/o French Institute of Indology Pondicherry.

8. G. Gispert-Sauch S. J.—Vidyajyoti, Delhi.

9. Prof. R. Panikkar—University of California, Santa Barbara, California.

10. Prof. Rocher and wife—University of Philadelphia.

On 31.12.1981 G. de la Lama, Amabassador of Mexico in Delhi, paid a visit to the Chairman, H. H. the Maharaja and to the Purāṇa Department. She writes in the visitors book: “We are very grateful to His Highness for all his attention and hope to contribute in any way at our disposal to his work for the Indian editions of the Purāṇa-s.” The illustrious guest was later taken round the Museum.

### Rāsa Līlā

The Rāsa līlā or enacting of Kṛṣṇa's dalliance at Vṛndāvana was performed in the Prasiddha Garden of Ramnagar from 3 to 15 August. The performace was undertaken under the auspices of the All-India Kashiraj Trust. For fifteen days many people attended with great enthusiasm and devotion the religious enacting. H. H. the Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh also attended the performance daily.

### Rāma Līlā

The Rāma Līlā, which is celebrated under the auspices of the All India Kashiraj Trust with the financial help of the Government of India, took place from Ananta Caturdaśī (23 September) to Āśvina Pūrṇimā (23 October). To attend the performance people come



४. मि० ए० पडुक्स—पेरिस नगरस्थ-‘फ्रेन्च नेशनल सेण्टर फार साइ-ण्टिफिक रिसर्च’ इत्याख्य-संस्थासंबद्धः—“अहमत्र पुराणविभागे तृतीयावसरे आगत्य अत्रत्य कार्यजातं वृद्धिं गतं अतीवोपयोगि च पश्यामि” ।

५. मि० जे० एल० बाकिङ्गटन—एडिनवर्ग-विश्वविद्यालयीय-संस्कृत-विभागस्थः—“पुराणविभागस्य कार्यावलोकनम् अस्मिन् उपयोगिनि कार्यक्षेत्रे प्रगतिज्ञानं च वास्तविक आनन्द एव” ।

६. डा० थामस बी० कोबर्न—न्यूयार्क-अन्तर्गत-कैण्टन-स्थित-सेण्टलारेन्स-विश्वविद्यालयीयः—“प्राच्यविद्यायास्तुलनात्मकधर्मस्य चातीवोपयोगि-सेवायां संलग्नस्य अस्य संस्थानस्य आन्तरकार्यविधिं दृष्ट्वाऽहमतीवोपकृतोऽस्मि” ।

७. मिस० एच० ब्रुनर—पाण्डिचेरीनगरस्थ-फ्रेन्च संस्थानीया ।

८. जी० गिसपत्तं साउच एस० जे०—विद्याज्योति-(दिल्ली) इतिस्थः ।

९. प्रो० आर० पनिक्कर—केलिफोर्निया विश्वविद्यालयीयः ।

१०. प्रो० रोचर सपत्नीकः—फिलाडेल्फिया-विश्वविद्यालयीयः ।

३१.११.८१ दिनाङ्के मेक्सिको देशस्य दिल्लीनगरस्थिता राजदूती मि०जी० डे ला लामा महाशयाध्यक्षान् तत्रभवतः काशिनरेशान्, पुराणविभागं च दृष्टवती । एषा महाशया दर्शकपुस्तिकायां लिखति—“वयं काशिनरेशान् प्रति सद्भावनायै कृतज्ञाः, आशास्महे च यत् पुराणानां भारतीयसंस्करणार्थं यथाशक्ति सहयोगं कुर्मः” इति ।

## रासलीला

कृष्णस्य रासलीलायाः प्रदर्शनं रामनगरस्थे प्रसिद्धोद्याने ३ अगस्त दिनाङ्कत १५ अगस्त दिनाङ्कं यावत् संपन्नम् । रासलीलायाः प्रदर्शनं सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासेन संचाल्यते । एतद् धार्मिकं प्रदर्शनं पञ्चदश दिनानि यावत् प्रचलति, यस्य दर्शनं बहवो जना अत्युत्साहेन श्रद्धाभरितहृदयेन कुर्वन्ति । तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयाः प्रतिदिनं रासलीलाया अवलोकनं कुर्वन्ति ।

## रामलीला

भारतशासनस्यार्थिकसाहाय्येन सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यास-द्वारा संचाल्यमाना रामलीला अनन्तचतुर्दशी-दिनं २३ सितम्बर आरभ्य आश्विन-शुक्ल-पूर्णिमां २३ अक्टूबरयावत् संपन्ना जाता । लीलादर्शनार्थं काशीनगरतः समीपवर्ति-स्थानेभ्यश्च जना आगच्छन्ति । नगरस्य मुख्यस्थानतः दर्शनार्थिनां गमनागमनाय ‘वस’ यानमागच्छति । साधवो बहव इतरे च जना मासं यावत् रामलीलादर्शनार्थं रामनगरे एव वसन्ति । साधुभ्यः प्रतिदिनं निःशुल्कं भोजनं दीयते यदर्थं प्रति-

from the town and the neighbouring villages. Buses were arranged by the U. P. Roadways to transport them from and to the main points of the city. Sādhus and other people stayed in Ramnagar for the whole month. The sādhus got their free ration (*bhaṇḍārā*) every day. This year 23, 401 meals were distributed in the whole month. Some *Līlās* attracted more attention and crowds. On the *daśaharā* day the Mahārāja, after the pūjā to the arms in the palace, proceeded in solemn procession on his elephant followed by more than a lac of people towards a place called Laṅkā where the enacting of the death of Rāvaṇa took place. The *Līlās* were performed from 5 PM to 10 or 11 P.M. The *Līlā* of the Rāma. Rājyābhiṣeka continued for the whole night and people attended the *āratī* which took place at early dawn. The Mahārāja, the Mahārāja Kumāra and dignitaries attended the performance every day on their elephants. At the end of the month the *śvarūpas* (performers) were received by H. H. the Mahārāja, who gave them due respect and food along with the Dakṣiṇā.

The British High Commissioner and Prince Aṅjum Quder of Oudh were special guests who came to see the Dasahara and Bharat Milap.

### **The Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Trust**

The All-India Kashiraj Trust was established in the year 1956 and it was inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of India. The Silver Jubilee function of the Trust was celebrated on 24th of October 1981, at Sivala Palace of the Trust at 3 p. m. amidst all the delegates of the Vth World Sanskrit Conference held at Vārāṇasī, in the Banaras Hindu University from Oct. 21 to 26. Besides the delegates of the Conference eminent scholars of Vārāṇasī, the Officers of the three local Universities, important dignitaries and officers of the city were present to behold the celebration. More than a thousand scholars were present. The function was presided over by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Chairman of the Conference. On the dais were present H. H. the Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman of the Trust, Mahārāja Kumāra Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau, Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya, Dr. Raghunath Singh, all Trustees; Prof. Filliozat and Vice-Chairman of the Conference, Dr. G. Bongard-Levin of the Russian Delegation; Prof. Hara of Japan, one of the Vice-Presidents of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies; Prof. Dr. R. K. Sharma, Secretary of the Organizing Committee of the Conference and Director



दिनम् अन्नसत्रं ('भण्डारा इति') प्रचलति । अस्मिन् वर्षे प्रायशो नव शतानि (९००) साधूनां प्रतिदिनं भोजनमलभन्त । केषुचिद्दिनेषु साधूनां संख्या चतुर्दशशत- (१४००) मित्ता जाता । संपूर्णे मासे २३४०१ साधूनां कृते भोजनान्नं प्रदत्तम् । महाराजा प्रतिदिनं लीलाकाले तत्र उपस्थिता भवन्ति । विजयादशमीदिने दुर्गे शस्त्रपूजानन्तरं महाराजा हस्त्यारोहणं कृत्वा 'लङ्का'-नामकं स्थानं गच्छन्ति, यत्र रावणवधस्य लीला प्रदर्शिता भवति । अस्यां विशिष्टायां यात्रायां लक्षाधिका जना महाराजानामनुगमनं कुर्वन्ति । प्रतिदिनं रामलीला सायं पञ्चवादनकालतो रात्रौ दशवादनम् एकादशवादनं वा यावत् प्रचलति । रामराज्याभिषेकस्य लीला रात्रिपर्यन्तं प्रचलति । दशकाश्च अपरदिने प्रातः समये आरात्रिकं ('आरती' इति) पश्यन्ति । महाराजा महाराजकुमारः विशिष्टा जनाश्च प्रतिदिनं हस्त्यारोहणं कृत्वा लीलां पश्यन्ति । मासान्ते लीला-समाप्तौ महाराजाः पात्राणां ('स्वरूप' इति नाम्ना प्रथितानां) दुर्गे सत्कारं कुर्वन्ति, तेभ्यः भोजनं दक्षिणाश्च प्रददति ।

अस्मिन् वर्षे ब्रिटिश हाईकमिश्नर महोदयः तथा अवधस्य नबाब इति प्रथितः प्रिन्स श्रीअन्जुम कुदरमहोदयः प्रमुखदर्शकौ आस्ताम् ।

### सर्वभारतीय-काशीराजन्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्युत्सवः

सर्वभारतीय-काशीराजन्यासस्य विधिवत्स्थापनं १९५६ ई० वर्षे जातम् । तदानन्तनेन राष्ट्रपतिना डा० राजेन्द्रप्रसाद-महाभागेन न्यासस्य शिवाला-प्रासादे विधिवदुद्घाटनं विहितम् । अस्य रजतजयन्त्युत्सवः २४ अक्टूबर १९८१ दिनाङ्के अपराह्णे त्रिवादनसमये शिवालाप्रासादे पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृत-सम्मेलन-सम्बद्धानां समस्तप्रतिनिधीनां समक्षं संपन्नः । पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृत-सम्मेलनं काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालये अक्टूबर-मासस्य २१ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य २६ दिनाङ्कं यावत् संपन्नम् । सम्मेलनस्य प्रतिनिधिभ्योऽतिरिक्ता नगरस्य विशिष्टा विद्वांसः, त्रयाणां विश्वविद्यालयानां पदाधिकारिणस्तथा विशिष्टा जनाः पदाधिकारिणश्चोपस्थिता आसन् । सहस्राधिका विद्वांस उत्सवे समागताः । उत्सव-स्याध्यक्षतां पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनस्याध्यक्षो डा० रामचन्द्रनारायण-दाण्डेकर-महोदयश्चकार । मञ्चे तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशा महाराजा डा० विभूति नारायणसिंह-महोदयाः, महाराजकुमारो डा० रघुवीरसिंह-महोदयः, प्रो० बलदेव उपाध्यायमहोदयः, डा० रघुनार्थसिंहमहोदयः (सर्वे न्यासधारिणः), सम्मेलनस्यो-पाध्यक्षः फ्रान्सदेशीयः डा० फिलिओजा-महोदयः, रूसदेशीयसदस्यानां नेता डा० बोनगार्ड लेविन महोदयः, जापानदेशीय प्रो० डा० हारामहोदयः उपस्थिता आसन् । मञ्चे उपस्थितेषु विशिष्टजनेषु इमे मुख्याः—राष्ट्रीयसंस्कृतसंस्थानस्य निदेशकः पञ्चम-विश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनस्य संयोजकः सचिवश्च डा० रामकरण-शर्म-महोदयः, केन्द्रीयशिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य संस्कृतविषये सहायकपरामर्शदाता डा०

Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Dr. C. R. Swaminathan, Asstt. Educational Advisor (Skt.), Govt. of India, Dr. K. N. Udupa Rector, B. H. U., Prof. Badari Nath Sukla, former V. C. of Sanskrit University; and Maharaj Kumar A. N. Singh. The Proceedings started with Maṅgalācaraṇa by Śrī Gaṇeśvara Drāviḍa. Śrī Paṭṭābhirāma Sastri read a message from the Senior Śaṅkarācārya His Holiness Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī Mahārāja of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham which he had kindly sent of his own accord for this occasion. Later, His Highness Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh informed the scholars of the sad demise of Śrī Ananda Swarup Gupta, editor of the Purāṇa Bulletin, on October 14, 1981. His Highness paid high tribute to the head and heart of the late Śrī Gupta. All persons stood in silence for two minutes and prayed for the peace of the soul of Śrī Gupta. Mahārāja Kumāra Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau welcomed the scholars and pointed out some salient features of modern research. Prof. Baladeva Upādhyāya, another Trustee, gave a brief survey of the activities of the Trust during the last twenty-five years. Dr. R. N. Dandekar spoke about the high qualities of the Purāṇa work done by the All-India Kashiraj Trust and paid high tribute to H. H. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman of the Trust, for his patronage and guidance of the Purāṇa project. Thereafter Dr. J. Filliozat spoke very highly about the Purāṇa publications of the Trust. Prof. Hara of Japan, Vice-President of the I. A. S. S., joined Prof. J. Filliozat in his appreciation of the critical editions of the Mahā-purāṇas. Dr. Filliozat released the critical edition and English Translation volumes of the Varāha Purāṇa. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh presented copies of the Varāha Purāṇa to Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Dr. J. Filliozat.

Dr. G. Bongard-Levin declared that the Russian delegation would present a set of Russian publications on Indology to H. H. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, which was being brought from Russia. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh presented a set of publication of the Trust to the Russian delegation.

On this occasion the Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh announced that the All-India Kashiraj Trust will give a prize of Rupees ten thousand after every three years for the best book on Purāṇic subject published in any language. Then, at the request of the Chairman, Dr. R. N. Dandekar presented shawls in recognition of their services to Dr. G. S. Rai, Dr. G. Bonazzoli, Śrī Hiramani Mishra, Śrī Vijaya Shankar Singh, Śrī Kripasindhu Sharma, who



सी०आर०स्वामीनाथन्महोदयः; सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सेवा-निवृत्तः कुलपतिः पं० बदरीनाथशुक्लमहोदयः; काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य रेक्टर डा० के० एन० उडुप्पामहोदयः; महाराजकुमारः श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंह-महोदयश्च ।

कार्यक्रमस्यारम्भे पं० गणेश्वरद्राविडेन मङ्गलाचरणं कृतम् । पण्डित-पट्टाभिरामशास्त्रिमहोदयः काञ्चीपीठस्थ-वरिष्ठशंकराचार्यैः श्रीचन्द्रशेखर-सरस्वती-महाभागैः रजतजयन्त्युत्सवार्थं प्रेषितं संदेशमपठत् । तदनन्तरं महाराजैः काशिनरेशैः 'पुराण-पत्रिकासंपादकस्य श्री आनन्दस्वरूपगुप्त-महोदयस्य १४ अक्टूबर १९८१ दिनाङ्के निधनमभूदिति सूचना उपस्थितेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यः प्रदत्ता । महाराजा श्री गुप्तमहोदयस्य कर्मनिष्ठाया व्यक्तित्वस्य च भूरिशः प्रशंसनं कृतवन्तः । सर्वे जना अस्य विदुषः स्मृतौ क्षणद्वयं मौनभावेन उदतिष्ठन् । महाराजकुमारो डा० रघुवीरसिंह-महोदयः अतिथीनां स्वागतं चकार । तेन आधुनिकशोधविषयेऽपि विचाराः प्रस्तुताः । प्रो० बलदेव उपाध्यायः सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य पञ्चविंशतिवर्षव्यापिकाल-कृतस्य कार्यस्य विवरणमुपस्थापयामास । डा० आर० एन० दाण्डेकर-महाशयो न्यासस्य पुराणकार्यस्य च वैशिष्ट्यं महत्त्वं च प्रतिपादयामास ; पुराणसंशोधनकार्यस्य संरक्षणार्थं संचालनार्थं च न्यासाध्यक्षेभ्यः तत्रभवद्भ्यः काशिनरेशेभ्यो डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहेभ्यो भूरिशो धन्यवादांश्च प्रदत्तवान् ।

तदनन्तरं फ्रान्सदेशीयः प्राध्यापकः सम्मेलनस्योपाध्यक्षः डा० फिलिओजा महोदयः पुराणसंशोधनकार्यस्य महत्त्वं प्रतिपादयन् न्यासकृत-पुराणप्रकाशनस्य प्रशंसनं कृतवान् । जापानदेशीयः प्राध्यापकः डा० हारा-महोदयो (यः सम्मेलनस्य अपर उपाध्यक्षः आसीत्) डा० फिलिओजा-महोदयस्य विचारानां समर्थनं प्रशंसनं च कृतवान् । तदनन्तरं डा० फिलियोजा-महोदयो वराहपुराणस्य संशोधित-संस्करणस्य आंग्लभाषानुवादस्य च उद्घाटनं चकार । न्यासाध्यक्षास्तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदया वराहपुराणस्य संशोधितसंस्करणम् आंग्लभाषानुवादं च डा० दाण्डेकर-महोदयाय, डा० फिलिओजा-महोदयाय च समर्पयामासुः । डा० जी० बोनागार्डलेविन-महोदयः सूचयामास यद् रूसदेशीय-प्रतिनिधिमण्डलं न्यासाध्यक्षेभ्यो महाराजकाशिनरेशेभ्यः रूसदेशे प्रकाशितान् प्राच्यविद्याग्रन्थान् समर्पयिष्यति । इमे ग्रन्था रूसदेशादानीयमाना वर्तन्ते । महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदया अपि रूसदेशीयप्रतिनिधिमण्डलाय न्यासेन प्रकाशितान् ग्रन्थान् उपहारस्वरूपेण प्रदत्तवन्तः । पुराणप्रकाशन-कर्मणि संलग्नानां विदुषां सत्कारः 'शाल' इति अङ्गवस्त्र-प्रदानेन कृतः ।

एतदवसरे न्यासाध्यक्षाणां महाराजानां डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयानामनुरोधेन डा० दाण्डेकर-महोदयः पुराणप्रकाशन-विभागस्य विद्वद्भ्यः (डा० गङ्गासागरराय-महोदयाय, डा० बोनाजुली-महोदयाय, श्री हीरामणि-मिश्र-महोदयाय, श्रीविजयशंकरचौधरी-महोदयाय, श्री कृपासिन्धुशर्म-महोदयाय)

had worked hard in the preparation and publication of the Varāha Purāṇa and to Śrī A. B. Bhattacharya who had translated into English the text of the Varāha Purāṇa.

Dr. Raghunath Singh, a Trustee, thanked the guests for their attending the session and spoke eulogistically about the activities of the Trust. Later a concert of vocal and instrumental music was given by a party led by Pt. Sivakumar Shastri. In conclusion H.H. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh thanked the guests for their kind collaboration in the work of the Trust and for the trouble they had taken in attending the session.

### Fifth World Sanskrit Conference

The Fifth World Sanskrit Conference was held in Banaras Hindu University, Vārāṇasī from October 21 to 26, 1981. H. H. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman of Trust and Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, was elected Chairman of the reception committee. About one thousand scholars from different countries attended the Conference. On the 21st the Conference was inaugurated by Śrī Viswanath Pratap Singh, Chief Minister of U. P. The Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh welcomed the guests in lucid Sanskrit verses (published elsewhere) which were translated into English also. Dr. R. N. Dandekar presided over the Conference. He described the salient features of Sanskrit researches in his speech. Dr. R. K. Sharma, Organizing Secretary, made a Sanskrit summary of the English speech of Dr. R. N. Dandekar. At the end Dr. R. K. Sharma thanked the guests.

The Conference continued for five days and scholars presented their papers in different sessions. Dr. G. Bonazzoli of the Purāṇa Department read his paper entitled 'Purāṇic Schemes' on 23.10.81. On the evening of each day some cultural programmes were organized for the entertainment of the scholars. Different organizations and individuals gave dinners and lunches to the delegates. One day (the 24th) of the conference was given to All-India Kashiraj Trust in which the Silver Jubilee function was celebrated at Sivala Palace of the Trust. Prema Rāmāyaṇa was released at Tulsi Ghat and a lunch to the delegates was given in the hotel Taj Ganges by the A.I.K. Trust. On the 26th of October a special convocation was held in the Banaras Hindu University in which H. H. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, as Chancellor of the University, conferred



तथा आंग्लभाषानुवादकारिणे श्री अहिभूषणभट्टाचार्य-महोदयाय च 'शाल' नाम-  
कानि प्रावरणानि समर्पयामास । एतदवसरे सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्याध्यक्षा-  
स्तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदया उद्घोषितवन्तो  
यत् सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासो दशसहस्ररूप्यकाणां पुरस्कारः सर्वोत्तमायपुराण-  
विषयक-ग्रन्थाय (यया कयापि भाषया रचिताय) प्रदास्यति । तदनन्तरं डा० रघुनाथ-  
सिंह-महोदयः समागतेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यो धन्यवादान् वितीर्णवान् । तदनन्तरं पण्डित-  
शिवकुमारशास्त्रि-महोदयस्य नेतृत्वे वाद्यगानस्य कार्यक्रमः संजातो यस्मिन्  
अन्नपूर्णाष्टकस्य विश्वनाथाष्टकस्य च गानमतीव मनोह्लादि आसीत् । अन्ते  
काशिनरेशा न्यासकार्ये सहयोगं दातुं श्रमपूर्वकागमनकारिभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यो धन्य-  
वादान् प्रददुः ।

### पञ्चमं विश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनम्

वाराणस्यां काशिक-हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालये १९८१ वर्षीय-अक्टूबरमासस्य  
२१तः २६ दिनाङ्कं यावत् पञ्चमं विश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनं संपन्नम् । न्यासाध्यक्षाः  
काशिकहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य कुलाधिपतयः काशिनरेशास्तत्रभवन्तो महाराजा  
डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयाः सम्मेलनस्य स्वागतसमितेरध्यक्षा निर्वाचिता  
आसन् । प्रायशः सहस्रसंख्याका भारतीया वैदेशिकाश्च प्रतिनिधयः सम्मेलने  
उपस्थिताः । सम्मेलनस्योद्घाटनमुत्तरप्रदेशस्य मुख्यमन्त्री श्री विश्वनाथप्रताप-  
सिंह-महोदयश्चकार । महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदया उपस्थितानां  
विदुषां स्वागतं सुललितैः संस्कृतपद्यैश्चकार येषामनुवादः आंग्लभाषायामपि  
श्रावितः (एतद्भाषणमुपरिष्ठान्मुद्रितमस्ति) । डा० दाण्डेकर-महोदयः सम्मेलन-  
स्याध्यक्षतां चकार । तेन स्वभाषणे संस्कृतानुसंधानविषये केचन महत्त्वपूर्णाः  
प्रश्नाः समुपस्थापिताः । सम्मेलनस्य संयोजक-सचिवः डा० रामकरण-  
शर्म-महोदयः डा० दाण्डेकर-महोदयेन आंग्लभाषायां प्रदत्तस्याभिभाषणस्य  
देववाण्यां सारसंक्षेपं श्रावयामास । उद्घाटनसमारोहसमापनावसरे डा०  
रामकरण-शर्म-महोदयः सर्वेभ्यो धन्यवादान् वितीर्णवान् ।

सम्मेलनं पञ्चदिनव्यापि आसीत् । विद्वांसो विविधगोष्ठीषु स्वस्व-  
निबन्धान् अपठन् । पुराणविभागस्थः डा० बोनाजुली-महाभागः 'पुराणगत-  
विषय-क्रम'-विषये स्वनिबन्धमपठत् । प्रतिदिनं सन्ध्यासु प्रतिनिधीनां मनोरञ्जनार्थं  
सांस्कृतिकः कार्यक्रमो विधीयमान आसीत् । विविधसंस्थाभिः जनैश्च प्रतिनिधीनां  
कृते भोजनस्य व्यवस्था कृता । २४ अक्टूबर १९८१ दिनाङ्के सर्वभारतीय-  
काशिराजन्यासेन प्रतिनिधिभ्यो 'ताजगङ्गेज'-होटल-संस्थाने भोजनं प्रदत्तम् ;  
यदनन्तरं तस्मिन्नेव दिने न्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्युसवः शिवालाभवने आयोजितः ।  
तदनन्तरं च प्रेमरामायणस्य प्रकाशनोद्घाटनं तुलसीघट्टे संपन्नम् । २६ अक्टूबर  
१९८१ दिनाङ्के काशिकहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालये तत्रभवतां महाराजानां विश्व-

the Degree of Doctor of Letters on eight Sanskrit scholars, three from foreign countries and five from India. Their names are—Dr. Paul Thieme, Dr. Jean Filliozat, Dr. J. Gonda, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. Raghunath Sharma, Dr. Charu Deva Shastri, Dr. Lakshmanjoo and Dr. Ramji Upadhyaya.

After the convocation the Valedictory function of the conference started. Mahārāja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh thanked the delegates for their active participation. He also declared the institution of a prize of Rs. ten thousand on Purāṇic work in any language every three years. Dr. Dandekar, Dr. Hard and Śrī Vishwanarayan Shastri expressed their views. Dr. Dandekar read out the resolutions passed in the conference. The Publication of the Varāha Purāṇa and the institutions of a prize of Rs. ten thousand for the best Purāṇic work were praised in the following resolutions :

1. The Fifth World Sanskrit Conference congratulates the Kashiraj Trust on the publication of the Critical Edition of the *Varāha Purāṇa* (with English translation) and expresses the hope that the critical editions of the remaining *Purāṇas* will also be brought out in quick succession.

2. The Conference further notes with pleasure the announcement made by the Kashi Naresh on behalf of the Kashiraj Trust regarding the institution of a prize of Rs. 10,000/- to be awarded every third year for the best work relating to the *Purāṇas* published in any language and in any country.

Finally Dr. R. K. Sharma thanked the guests, organizers and all associated persons for attending the Conference. The Venue and the office bearers of the next session were declared. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Chairman, on behalf of the Conference presented a medal to Mahārāja for his services for the promotion of Sanskrit. During the conference a brochure on the All-India Kashiraj Trust and a booklet on Vārāṇasī were distributed to the delegates.

### **The Chairman of the Trust honoured in Sri Lanka**

On March 28, 1981 the Kalyani Samagri Dharma Mahasāṅgha Sabha, the Supreme Saṅgha Council of Sri Lanka honoured H. H. Kashinaresh Mahārāja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh by conferring the highest Degree of Vidyā Chakravartī. The Mahārāja could not attend the function in person and the Degree was awarded



विद्यालस्य कुलाधिपतीनां डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयानामध्यक्षतायां विशेष-  
दीक्षान्त-महोत्सवः संपन्नः, यस्मिन् महाराजैः अष्टभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यः [पञ्चभ्यो  
भारतीयेभ्यः, त्रिभ्यो वैदेशिकेभ्यश्च] डी० लिट् इति सम्मानितोपाधिः प्रदत्तः ।  
सम्मानितविदुषां नामानि इमानि—डा० पाल थीमे, डा० जीन फिलिओजा,  
डा० जे० गोण्डा, डा० आर० एन० दाण्डेकर, डा० रघुनाथ शर्मा, डा० चारुदेव  
शास्त्री, डा० लक्ष्मण जू, डा० रामजी उपाध्याय ।

दीक्षान्त-समारोहानन्तरं सम्मेलनस्य समापन-समारोहः प्रारब्धः ।  
महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयाः प्रतिनिधिभ्यो धन्यवादान्  
वितीर्णवन्तः । तैः 'प्रतित्रिवर्षं कयापि भाषया रचिताय सर्वोत्तम-पौराणिक-  
ग्रन्थाय दशसहस्ररूप्यकाणां पुरस्कारो न्यासेन प्रदेयः'—इति घोषणा कृता ।  
डा० दाण्डेकर-महाभागः, डा० हार्ड-महोदयः श्री विश्वनारायण-शास्त्रिमहो-  
दयश्च सम्मेलन-साफल्यार्थं धन्यवादान् वितीर्णवन्तः । डा० दाण्डेकर-महोदयः  
सम्मेलनेन स्वीकृतान् प्रस्तावान् पठितवान् । वराहपुराणस्य प्रकाशनम्, दश-  
सहस्ररूप्यकाणां पुरस्कारस्य संस्थापनं च सम्मेलनेन अधोनिर्दिष्टाभ्यां प्रस्तावाभ्यां  
प्रशंसितम्—

१. "पञ्चमं विश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनं वराह-पुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मक-  
संस्करणस्य (आंग्लभाषानुवादेन सह) प्रकाशनार्थं काशिराजन्यासस्याभिनन्दनं  
करोति; आशास्ते च यद् अवशिष्टानां पुराणानामपि पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि  
संस्करणानि शीघ्रमेव प्रकाशितानि भविष्यन्ती"ति ।

२. "सम्मेलनमिदम् 'कयापि भाषया विरचिताय श्रेष्ठाय पुराणविषयक-  
ग्रन्थाय प्रति-त्रिवर्षं दशसहस्ररूप्यकमितः पुरस्कारः काशिराजन्यासेन देयः' इति  
काशिनरेशैः कृताया घोषणायाः सहर्षमवधानं करोति" इति ।

अन्ते डा० रामकरणशर्ममहोदयः सर्वेभ्यो धन्यवादान् ज्ञापयामास ।  
सम्मेलनाध्यक्षो डा० दाण्डेकरमहोदयः काशिनरेशेभ्यो डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-  
महोदयेभ्यः संस्कृतसेवार्थं पदकं समर्पयामास । सम्मेलनावसरे न्यासेन कार्य-  
विवरणपरं पुस्तकं वाराणसी-नाम्नी पुस्तिका च वितीर्णा ।

### न्यासाध्यक्षा लङ्कादेशे सम्मानिताः

२८ मार्चं १९८१ दिनाङ्के लङ्कादेशस्य सर्वोच्चसंस्थया 'कल्याणी सामग्री  
धर्ममहासंघ सभा'-इति नाम्न्या महाराजेभ्यः काशिनरेशेभ्यो डा० विभूति-  
नारायणसिंहमहोदयेभ्यो 'विद्याचक्रवर्ती'-इति सम्मानोपाधिः प्रदत्तः ।

*in absentia*. Speakers on this occasion appreciated the services of Mahārāja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh to the cause of religious harmony. The speakers traced the history of Kashiraj in Buddhist and Pali literature. Later on, at a special function held in Sarnath the Degree was handed over to the Mahārāja by Dr Hari Narain, the then Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University.

### **Prime Minister visits the Fort**

The Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, visited the Fort of Ramnagar on 16.5.81. The illustrious guest came to Vārāṇasī and Vindhyācala. On her way to Vindhyācala she paid a short visit to the Fort and she was offered refreshments by H. H. Mahārāja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh.

### **ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS**

#### **Mahārāja Prabhu Narain Singh Physical Cultural Trust**

On the occasion of the birthday of the Mahārāja Kumāra Anant Narain Singh, the usual sport competitions took place in the grounds adjacent to the Fort on December 1 and 2, 1981. Several schools took part in the competitions and the boys of the junior and primary schools took part in the different sports. Judges were Sri Ashok Kumar Singh, Sri S. C. Datta, Sri S. L. Dar, and Sri Karan Singh. Prizes were distributed by the Mahārāja Kumārīs. Sri S. L. Dar congratulated the participants and hoped for their better preparation next year. Sweetmeats and tea were served to the participants and workers on both the days.

### **MAHĀRĀJA BANARAS VIDYAMANDIR TRUST**

#### **Vedic Bālaka Vasanta Pūjā**

The Vedic Bālaka Vasanta Pūjā was performed by sixteen Vedic students under 15 years of age from Vārāṇasī on 1st December, 1981. The pūjā was performed in the Devī mandir which is situated in the Fort of Ramnagar. On the completion of the ritual the usual Dakṣiṇā was given to them and a meal was provided for them.

#### **Painting Competitions**

1. On 3.12.1981 the students of the local schools took part in a painting-on-the-spot competition in the premises of the Vidyā-mandira Pāṭhaśālā. The boys and girls occupied every corner



महाराजास्तत्र उपस्थिता नासन् । उपाधिरनुपस्थितौ प्रदत्तः । महाराजानां धर्मसमभावस्य प्रशंसनं तत्र कृतम् । वक्तृभिः पालिबौद्धग्रन्थेषु काशिनरेशानामुल्लेखस्य विवरणं प्रदत्तम् । वर्तमाना महाराजा तस्यामेव शृङ्खलायां वर्तन्ते इत्यप्युक्तम् । अनन्तरम् एष उपाधिः सारनाथस्थाने कस्मिंश्चिद् उत्सवे काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य तदानीन्तनेन कुलपतिना डा० हरिनारायण-महोदयेन महाराजेभ्यः समर्पितः ।

### प्रधानमन्त्रिणः रामनगरदुर्गे आगमनम्

प्रधानमन्त्रिणी श्रीमती इन्दिरागान्धी-महाभागा १६.५.८१ दिनाङ्के रामनगरदुर्गे समागता । एषा महाभागा वाराणस्या विन्ध्याचलस्थानं प्रति गता । विन्ध्याचलं गन्तुकामा सा कञ्चित् कालं रामनगर-दुर्गे तस्थौ । महाराजैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयैः साज्ज्वाहारेण सम्मानिता ।

### सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

#### महाराजा-प्रभुनारायणसिंह-फिजिकलकल्चरल-ट्रस्ट

महाराजकुमारस्य वर्धापनावसरे अनेन न्यासेन १९८१ वर्षस्य दिसम्बर-मासे १, २ दिनाङ्कयोः दुर्गस्य समीपवर्तिनि 'खन्दक' स्थाने क्रोडा-प्रतियोगिताया आयोजनं कृतमासीत् । अत्रत्यानां प्राथमिक-पाठशालानां माध्यमिक-पाठशालानां च छात्रा उत्साहेन अस्यां प्रतियोगितायां समाविष्टा बभूवुः । दुर्गस्य-विद्यामन्दिर-पाठशालायाः छात्रा अपि उत्साहभरितचेतसा अस्यां प्रतियोगितायां समाविष्टा आसन् । श्री अशोक कुमार सिंहः, श्री एस० सी० दत्तमहोदयः, श्री एस० एल० दरमहोदयः, श्री कर्णसिंहमहोदयश्च निर्णायका आसन् । महाराज-बलवन्तसिंह-महाविद्यालयस्य प्राचार्यः, अध्यापकाश्च समारोहस्य संचालने साहाय्यं कृतवन्तः । श्री शिवनन्दनलालदर-महोदयः प्रतियोगिविद्यालयेभ्यश्छात्रेभ्यश्च धन्यवादान् वितोर्णवान्, आगामिवर्षे अधिकपरिश्रमेण आगमनाय उत्साहितवांश्च । महाराजकुमारीभिः विजेतृभ्यः छात्रेभ्यः विद्यालयेभ्यश्च पुरस्काराः प्रदत्ताः ।

### महाराजाबनारसविद्यामन्दिर-न्यास

#### वैदिकबालककृता वसन्तपूजा

वैदिकवसन्तपूजा ऊनपञ्चदशवर्षीयैः षोडशैर्वैदिकैः १९८१ वर्षस्य दिसम्बर-मासस्य प्रथम-दिनाङ्के रामनगरदुर्गस्थे देवीमन्दिरे संपन्ना । वसन्तपूजानन्तरं तेभ्यो दक्षिणा भोजनं च प्रदत्तम् ।

#### चित्रकला-प्रतियोगिता

३.१२.८१ दिनाङ्के अत्रत्यानां पाठशालानां छात्राः 'सद्यः चित्ररचना'-प्रतियोगितायां विद्यामन्दिरप्राङ्गणे समाविष्टा आसन् । सर्वे छात्रा अत्युत्साहेन

of the premises deeply absorbed in their work. At the end of the competition prizes were given for the best paintings. This year the students of the Banaras Hindu Unversisty did not participate in the competition.

2. On the same day the local potter-artists depicted the wall paintings on the external walls of the Museum in the Fort, Ramnagar. The competition takes place every year on the occasion of the birthday celebrations of the Mahārāja Kumāra. The painting of the previous year were removed, the walls were white-washed afresh and then the new paintings were depicted. All painters got a prize.

### **Mahārāja Kāśinareśa Dharmakārya Nidhi**

This Trust helps various religious and cultural institutions. It also gives medals and prizes to students of various educational institutions. This Trust also runs the Mahārāja Balvant Singh Degree College in Gaṅgāpur, Raja Manasa Ram Law College at Raja Talab and the Maharani Ram Ratna Kunvari Sanskrit Pathasala at Ramanagar. These institutions are growing day by day.



प्रतियोगितायां सम्मिलिता बभूवुः । प्रतियोगितासमाप्तौ विजेतृछात्रेभ्यः पुरस्काराः प्रदत्ताः । अस्मिन् वर्षे हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीयाः छात्राः प्रतियोगितायां नागताः ।

अस्मिन्नेव दिने अत्रत्याः कुम्भकारा विद्यामन्दिर-संग्रहालयस्य बाह्य-भित्तिषु चित्रनिर्माणमकुर्वन् । एषा प्रतियोगिता प्रतिवर्षं महाराजकुमारस्य वर्धापनावसरे आयोजिता भवति ; एते विगतवर्षीयं चित्रमवधूय भित्ति धौतां विधाय नवीनचित्राणां निर्माणं कुर्वन्ति । सर्वे प्रतियोगिकुम्भकाराः पुरस्कारं प्राप्नुवन्ति च ।

### महाराजकाशिराज-धर्मकार्यनिधिः

अनेन न्यासेन बह्वीभ्यो धार्मिकीभ्यः सांस्कृतिकीभ्यश्च संस्थाभ्यः साहाय्यं, बह्वीषु संस्थासु छात्रेभ्यः पदकानि पुरस्काराश्च प्रदीयन्ते । अनेन न्यासेन गङ्गापुरस्थस्य महाराज-बलवन्तसिंह-महाविद्यालयस्य, राजातालाब-स्थितस्य राजामनसारामविधि-विद्यालयस्य, रामनगरस्थिताया महारानी-रामरत्न-कुंवरिसंस्कृत-पाठशालायाश्च संचालनं क्रियते । इमा विद्यासंस्था अनुदिनं वृद्धिं पुष्टिं च लभमाना दृश्यन्ते ।

WELCOME ADDRESS BY H. H. MAHARAJA  
Dr. VIBHUTI NARAIN SINGH, CHAIRMAN,  
RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE Vth WORLD  
SANSKRIT CONFERENCE  
VICTORY TO LORD VIŚVANĀTHA

Victory to the Vedic Dharma followed by all persons of highest achievement. Here shines its far-famed flag of victory reaching the highest sky. Victorious is the eternal voice of the Vedas, the goddess, which, though assuming various forms, is one in essence and is still inscrutable.

O You honourable scholars devoted to the protection of the Vedas and the scriptures, and you Indian friends concerned with Sanskrit, who follow them, and you who have come here to attend the Conference from far-off countries—we are happy to welcome you all, O lovers of Sanskrit.

Serve you the Sanskrit which provides to the people the highest knowledge that satisfies all the needs, provides spiritual knowledge and pure discrimination that brings about great joy, leads men to the path of deliverance drawing them away from the alluring path of enjoyment and delivers great bliss at all times.

Serve you the Sanskrit which nurtures noble feeling in the minds of men, encourages friendly feeling, advocates always the most pleasing conduct for the whole World, teaches good conduct approved by the scriptures and leads men always to the path of Dharma.

Serve you the Sanskrit which leads all men to the realisation of lofty ideals for their welfare by prescribing for them the standard conduct of the cultured, of the ruling kings and of noble men as to how the wicked are to be controlled, and the harmless ways of piety and teaches the useful scriptures.

Serve you the Sanskrit which inculcates in man the best and most beneficial spiritual knowledge, purifies the minds of the accomplished by imparting the knowledge of the Yoga Vidyā, pleases the hearts of the scholars by the laudable teaching of the mantras and by means of the Tantric lore.

O You gentlemen, you have rendered a great service to humanity by willingly coming here at Kashi in this fifth World Sanskrit Conference. Really, if by your efforts the Vedic culture attains its permanent place of honour in this country, the Conference will be successful.

Happy and prosperous be the noble delegates who come to attend the Conference. We extend our respectful welcome to all the honourable participants.



“पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनस्य स्वागतसमितेरध्यक्षाणां तत्र भवतां  
काशिनरेशानां डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयानां स्वागताभिनन्दनम्”

## ॥ श्रीविश्वनाथो विजयते ॥

जयति सकलसिद्धैराश्रितः श्रौतधर्मः  
स्फुरति गगनगामिन्यस्य सा वैजयन्ती ।  
जयति भगवती सा नैकरूपैकरूपाऽ-  
प्यविदितपरतत्त्वा शाश्वती वेदवाणी ॥ १ ॥  
श्रीमन्तः श्रुतिशास्त्ररक्षणपरा विद्वद्वरेण्या द्विजाः  
सभ्याः संस्कृतचिन्तकास्तदनुगा ये भारतीया जनाः ।  
ये राष्ट्रान्तरतः सुदूरत इहाऽऽयाताश्च सम्मेलने  
तेषां संस्कृतहार्दिनां सकुतुकं कुर्मः शुभं स्वागतम् ॥ २ ॥  
विज्ञानं विपुलं जनेषु वितरत् सर्वार्थसंसाधकं  
स्वाध्यात्मं विकिरद् विवेकममलं लोके महाह्लाददम् ।  
भोगासक्तिपथाद्वियोज्य गमयन्मुक्तेः सुमार्गं जनान्  
कल्याणं बहुलं प्रकुर्वदनिशं संसेव्यतां संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥  
सौजन्यं जनतामनस्सु जनयत् सौहृद्यमुद्योतयत्  
शीलं सङ्कलयन्नितान्तललितं विश्वेऽखिलं सर्वदा ।  
वृत्तं शास्त्रसमर्थितं शुभकरं संशिक्षयन् मानवादं  
मर्त्यान् धर्मपथं नयच्च नितरां संसेव्यतां संस्कृतम् ॥ ४ ॥  
शिष्टानां व्यवहारनीतिमखिलां नीतिं धरित्रीपतेः  
दुष्टानां दमनस्य नीतिममलां सद्धर्मनीतिं सताम् ।  
सर्वानुच्चविचारवर्त्मसु नरानारोहयच्च श्रेयसे  
सच्छास्त्राणि च पाठयत्प्रतिदिनं संसेव्यतां संस्कृतम् ॥ ५ ॥  
जीवान् बोधयदुत्तमामतिहितामध्यात्मविद्यां प्रियां  
योगानामपि विद्यया मतिमतां स्वान्तं समापुयता ।  
मन्त्राणां शुभशिक्षया च विदुषां सम्मोदयन्मानसं  
तन्त्राद्यैश्च विनोदयद् बुधवरान् संसेव्यतां संस्कृतम् ॥ ६ ॥  
काश्यां पञ्चमविश्वसंस्कृतमहासम्मेलनेऽस्मिन् मुदा  
श्रीमद्भिः स्वपदार्पणेन सुमहान् लोकोपकारः कृतः ।  
सत्यं तद्भवतां प्रयासन इह श्रीताध्वना संस्कृतेः  
राष्ट्रे सुस्थितिसंस्थितिर्यदि भवेत् सम्मेलनं सार्थकम् ॥ ७ ॥  
सम्मेलने समायाताः सर्वे नन्दन्तु सज्जनाः ।  
सर्वेषामेव मान्यानां कुर्मः स्वागतमादरात् ॥ ८ ॥

## BOOK REVIEW

*Sāmba Purāṇa* (Hindi Translation) By Dr. Vinod Chandra Srivastava  
Foreward by Dr. R. C. Hazra; Published by Indological  
Publications, Allahabad; pp. 18+340; Price Rs. 45; \$ 4.

The Sāmba Purāṇa, an important Upa-purāṇa, is included in all the lists of Upapurāṇas. It is a sectarian Purāṇa and contains matter concerning Sun-worship. Dr. V. C. Srivastava, who has already shown his proficiency in the study of the Sun-cult, has ably translated this Purāṇa into Hindi with copious notes, explaining the text with the help of comparative literature. The Sāmba Purāṇa contains 84 chapters, though in some MSS on account of joining two *adhyāyas* into one and dividing one *adhyāya* into two the number of chapters differs. The translator has faithfully tried to give an authentic translation of the text. The footnotes containing explanations show the vast knowledge of the translator. In the introduction the author has given valuable information about the Sāmba Purāṇa and the Sun cult. The book is a commendable addition in the field of Purāṇic studies. It would have been better if the original text on which translation is based had been given along with translation. Unfortunately printing mistakes are found here and there which should be removed in the next edition.

—Ganga Sagar Rai



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Donation made to All India Kashi Raj Trust, Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi, will qualify for exemption under Sec. 80G of the Income Tax Act, 1961 in the hands of donors, vide certificate No. 58/59 (253/80-81/Tech ) dated 9.12.80.

**RESOLUTION PASSED IN THE Vth WORLD SANSKRIT  
CONFERENCE HELD IN VARANASI  
(Oct. 21-26, 1981)**

1. The Fifth World Sanskrit Conference congratulates the Kashiraj Trust on the publication of the Critical Edition of the *Varāha Purāna* (with English Translation) and expresses the hope that the critical editions of the remaining *Purānas* will also be brought out in quick succession.

2. The Conference further notes with pleasure the announcement made by the Kashi Naresh on behalf of the Kashiraj Trust regarding the institution of a prize of Rs. 10,000/- to be awarded every third year for the best work relating to the *Purānas* published in any language and in any country.