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आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम्

लेखसूची—Contents

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संस्कृतखण्ड:

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<div align="right">(शाण्डिल्यसंहिता, भक्तिखण्ड ४।१।१३८-४६)</div>

NOTES

As the printed text of the *stotra* contains corrupt readings almost in all the stanzas, they are not fully intelligible and as such we refrain from giving a full translation of the *stotra*. Some of the important expressions of this *stotra* are explained here in brief. The metres used in this *stotra* are Pṛthvī (stanza 40), Śālinī (41), Svāgatā (43), Dodhaka (44) and Śārdūlavikrīdita (42) besides the well-known Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti.

(38) The traditional view that Vyāsa is the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī is stated here. The word '*veda-vyāsakara*' means 'one who arranges or divides the Vedas'. It is clearly stated in the Mbh. and the Purāṇas that the sage Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana was called Vyāsa or Vedavyāsa on account of his having arranged or divided the Vedas.

(39) Vyāsa is regarded as the *jñānāvatāra* of Viṣṇu. This seems to be an established view, for Vācaspati in his Bhāmatī describes Vyāsa as *jñānā-śaktyavatāra* of Hari (benedictory verse 5).[1] Vyāsa is said to be the author of the Vedāntasūtra (the well-known Brahmasūtra) and the *mantras*. The precise meaning of the word *mantra* is not quite clear.

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1. ब्रह्मसूत्रकृते तस्मै वेदव्यासाय धीमते । ज्ञानशक्त्यवताराय नमो भगवतो हरे: ॥ There is an interesting grammatical discussion on the formation of the word ज्ञानशक्त्यवतार in the Kalpataru and Parimala sub-commentaries. The Gauḍīya school does not, however, regard Vyāsa as a ज्ञानप्रकाशक अवतार. According to this school Dattātreya, Matsya, Catuḥsana (Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra) and Kapila fall under this class. It regards Vyāsa, Nārada and Buddha as incarnations establishing virtuousness (धर्मप्रकाशक अवतार). In the four-fold division of avatāras Vyāsa falls under the Prābhava division, the other three being Āveśa, Vaibhava and Parāvastha. Usually Vyāsa is regarded as one of the twenty-five līlāvatāras; vide Saṁkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta, section on Avatāra.

As regards the statement that Vyāsa was called by the name Prācīnagarbha, *vide* Śānti-p. 349.66. (अपान्तरतमाश्चैव वेदाचार्यः स उच्यते । प्राचीनगर्भं तमृषि प्रवदन्तीह केचन); see below for the Apāntaratamas.[2]

(40) To keep the metre intact we have read निगमदेशिक. in the place of the printed reading निगमादेशिकः. The sense of अपरविधिं च षष्ठं विधेः is not quite clear; the meaning of the third foot is also not fully intelligible. In the fourth foot after जगद्धितकृते two syllables (one *laghu* and the other *guru*) are wanting.

About Apāntaratamas, the Mbh. informs us that he came out from the syllable भोस् pronounced by Bhagavat, that he arranged the Vedas in the Svāyambhuva manvantara, that he received from Bhagavat the boon that he would promulgate dharma in all the manvantaras and that he would be born as the son of Parāśara in the family of Vasiṣṭha (Śānti-p. 349.38-59). The traditional view that the ancient sage Apāntaratamas was born as Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana was known to Śaṅkarācārya.[3]

(41) In verses 41-43 the Mahābhārata is extolled. Here the Mbh. is compared to a lotus floating on the ocean in the form of Vyāsa. The third foot is not quite intelligible. In the fourth foot संस्मृति must be corrected to संसृति (असारां संसृति त्यक्त्वा हंसाः पारं यान्ति), so that this foot becomes meaningful.

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2.   The view propounded in Śānti-p. 349. 64-68 about the propagation of the five śāstras, (namely Trayī, Sāṃkhya, etc.) in which Apāntaratamas has been associated with the Vedas is found in Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā, Ch. 11 also. According to F. O. Schrader, the sage who is said to have fashioned the three Vedas was called Apāntaratapas (Introduction to the Pancarātra and the Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā, pp. 109-110).

3.   अपान्तरतमा नाम वेदाचार्यः पुराणऋषि विष्णुनियोगात् कलिद्वापरयोः सन्धौ कृष्णद्वैपायनः संबभूव-इति स्मरन्ति (Śārīraka-bhāṣya 3.3.32). The following verses from the Bṛhadyogi-yājñavalkya about the connection of Apāntaratamas with the Vedas are worthy of notice : "एव एक हि विज्ञेयः प्रणवो योगसाधनम् । गृहीतः सप्तसिद्धान्तै रन्यैश्च ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥ हिरण्यगर्भः कपिले रपान्तरतमे- स्तथा । सनत्कुमारे ब्रह्मिष्ठे स्तथा पाशुपतैरपि ॥ पाञ्चरात्रैः सदोयुक्तैः सिद्धान्तैरपि सप्तभिः । भेदैस्त्रिषष्टिभिर्भिन्नमेकैकं नवधा पुनः ॥" (2. 66-68).

(42) It is difficult to ascertain what are the four denoted senses *(vācyārtha-catuṣṭaya)*. The fourth foot means the same as यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत् क्वचित् (Svargārohaṇa-p. 5.50); *vide* Ādiparvan Ch. 1, for the glorification of the Mahābhārata.

(43) *Saṁsṛti-vihīna* must be corrected to *saṁskṛtivihīna*. *Saṁskṛti* i. e. *saṁskāra* is said to be the means of acquiring *amṛta* (immortality).

(44) It is said that the Purāṇa, which chiefly deals with *bhakti* etc. as well as with the glorious deeds of Kṛṣṇa, was composed by Vyāsa. The verb in the sentence (2nd half), which is in passive voice, is wanting, thus making the sentence elliptical. The word *purāṇa* in the 4th line qualifies Vyāsa.

(45) Vyāsa is said to be the husband of Araṇī and the father of Śuka, who achieved divine knowledge from his father. Śuka, being the son of Araṇī, was called Āraṇeya or Araṇīsuta in the Mbh. and the Purāṇas. The Śānti-p. (324. 1-11) however gives a mythical account of the birth of Śuka (taking Araṇi or Araṇī as a piece of sacrificial wood i. e. the piece of wood used for kindling the sacred fire by attrition); cp. Harivaṁśa I. 18.50-51 (पराशर-कुलोत्पन्नः शुको नाम महातपाः । व्यासादरण्यां संभूतो विधूमोऽग्निरिव ज्वलन्) and Vāyu-p. 73.28-29.

(46) Ugraśravas is said to be the *jani* of Romaharṣaṇa. Since the Purāṇic tradition regards Ugraśravas as the son of Romaharṣaṇa (or Lomaharṣaṇa) we must take Romaharṣaṇi as another name of Romaharṣaṇa. Names of a similar nature are sometimes found in the Purāṇic works, as e. g. Agastya-Agasti (names of the same sage), Pulastya-Pulasti, Uttama-Auttami, Puṣkarasādi-Pauṣkarasādi, Bāskala-Bāskali, Aruṇa-Āruṇi, Dadhīca-Dadhīci, Cyavana-Cyāvani. *Jani*, which usually means birth, must be taken here in the sense of 'one who is born' i. e. a son (*vide* the comm. on the Uṇādisūtra जनिवसिस्त्यामिण् 4 130).

As this *stotra* is said to have been sung (*gītam*) by Ugraśravas, it is quite likely that it occurs in some Purāṇic work hitherto unpublished.

—**Ram Shankar Bhattacharya**

ब्रह्म-शिव-नारायण-स्तोत्रम्

[A eulogy addressed to Brahmā, Śiva & Nārāyaṇa separately in three Purāṇic works.]

¹नमो हिरण्यगर्भाय ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवात्मने ।
अविज्ञातस्वरूपाय कैवल्यायामृताय च ॥

(काशी० २।३०; धर्मारण्य० ३।१४; औश० उप०)

²यं न देवा विजानन्ति मनो यत्रापि ³कुण्ठितम् ।
⁴न यत्र वाक् प्रसरति नमस्तस्मै चिदात्मने ॥ (३१;१५)

योगिनो यं हृदाकाशे⁵ प्रणिधानेन निश्चला: ।
ज्योतीरूपं प्रपश्यन्ति तस्मै श्रीब्रह्मणे नम: ॥ (३२;१६)

कालात् पराय कालाय स्वेच्छया पुरुषाय च ।
गुणत्रयस्वरूपाय नम: प्रकृतिरूपिणे ॥ (३३;१७)

विष्णवे सत्त्वरूपाय रजोरूपाय वेधसे ।
⁶तमसे रुद्ररूपाय स्थितिसर्गान्तकारिणे ॥ (३४;१८)

नमो बुद्धिस्वरूपाय ⁷त्रिधाहंकृतये नम: ।
पञ्चतन्मात्ररूपाय ⁸पञ्च - कर्मेन्द्रियात्मने ॥ (३५;१९)

⁹नमो मन:-स्वरूपाय पञ्चबुद्धीन्द्रियात्मने ।
क्षित्यादिपञ्चरूपाय नमस्ते विषयात्मने ॥ (३६; २०)

नमो ब्रह्माण्डरूपाय तदन्तर्वर्तिने नम: ।
अर्वाचीनपराचीनविश्वरूपाय ते नम: ॥ (३७; २१)

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१. नमो हिरण्यरूपाय (वेंकट० संस्क०); नमोऽस्त्वनन्तरूपाय नीलकण्ठ नमोऽस्तु ते (धर्म०); नमो नारायणायेश महद्ब्रह्मस्वरूपिणे (औश०) ।

२. नान्तं देवा विजानन्ति यस्य तस्मै नमो नम: (धर्मा०) ।

३. मनो यत्रापि कुण्ठति (औश०) ।

४. यं न वाच: प्रशंसन्ति (धर्म०); न नि.सरति वाग् यत्र (औश०) ।

५. हृद:कोशे (धर्मा०) ।

६. तमोरूपाय रुद्राय (धर्म०); नमस्ते रुद्ररूपाय (औश०) ।

७. त्रिधाहंकारमूर्तये (धर्म०) ।

८. नम: प्रकृतिरूपिणे (धर्म०) ।

९. नमो नम:स्वरूपाय (काशी०; धर्म०; औश०) ।

अनित्यनित्यरूपाय   सदसत्पतये   नमः ।

१⁰समस्तभक्तकृपया   स्वेच्छाविष्कृतविग्रह ॥ (३८; २२)

तव¹¹ निःश्वसितं वेदास्तव स्वेदोऽखिलं जगत् ।

१²विश्वा भूतानि ते पादः शीर्ष्णो द्यौः समवर्तत ॥ (३९; २३)

१³नाभ्या आसीदन्तरिक्षं लोमानि च वनस्पतिः ।

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षोः सूर्यस्तव प्रभो ॥ (४०; २४)

त्वमेव सर्वं त्वयि देव सर्वं

१⁴स्तोता स्तुतिः स्तव्य इह त्वमेव ।

ईश त्वया वास्यमिदं हि सर्वं

नमोऽस्तु भूयोऽपि नमो नमस्ते ॥ (४१; २५)

(स्कन्द० वङ्गवासि-वेङ्कटेश्वर संस्करण)

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१०.   साधकानां हितार्थाय स्वेच्छाविष्कृतविग्रह (औश०); नमस्ते भक्तकृपया
     स्वेच्छा (धर्म० वेंकटसंस्क०) ।

११.   श्लोकोऽयं नास्ति । स्वेच्छाविष्कृतविग्रह इत्यनन्तरम् 'अग्रतस्तु नमस्तुभ्यं पृष्ठ-
     तस्तु नमो नमः । सर्वतो व्यासरूपाय भूयो भूयो नमो नमः ॥' इति पठ्यते ।
     (औश०) ।

१२.   विश्वभूतानि ते पादः शिरो (धर्म०) ।

१३.   श्लोकोऽयं नास्ति (औश०) ।

१४.   सर्वस्तुतिस्तव्यः (धर्म०) ।

NOTES

Though the eulogy printed above does not have any poetical charm so far as the diction and metre are concerned, yet *it has a great importance*, for it is found to have been used to eulogize three different deities in three different Purāṇic works, viz. the Kāśi-khaṇḍa, the Dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa and the Auśanasa Upapurāṇa (with slight variations). In the Kāśikhaṇḍa (2.30-41) it is spoken out to Brahmā, in the Dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa (3.14-25) to Śiva and in the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa to Nārāyaṇa—a fact which shows that originally this *stotra* must have been composed to eulogize any one of the three deities and afterwards it was applied to the other deities on account of its expounding philosophical views in a lucid manner. It is however impossible to ascertain the deity addressing to which this *stotra* was at first composed by the Purāṇic author.

It is to be noted in this connection that there are some *stotras* (in different Purāṇic works) in which a considerable number of stanzas are found more or less identical. A study of such *stotras* may yield important results so far as the chronology of the relevant Purāṇic sections is concerned.

In the Kāśikhaṇḍa (ch. 2) this *stotra* (called Abhīṣṭada in 2.47) was addressed by the Devas to Brahmā, so that he, being pleased, could find some way to lower the highly enlarged peak of the Vindhya hill. It is said that the hill, being envious of mount Meru, increased its height in order to obstruct the path of the sun. As a result of this obstruction, the whole world fell into disaster. Getting afraid the gods requested Brahmā to find out some means so that the height of the Vindhya hill could be lowered. This story with minor variations is found in several Purāṇic works and also in the Mbh. Vana-p. 104. The Rāmāyaṇa also refers to it in 3.11.85.

In the Dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa (ch. 3) it is said that at the beginning of the Tretā-yuga, Dharmarāja began to practise severe penance. Being afraid of Dharmarāja the devas with Brahmā went to mt. Kailāsa to see Śiva. On seeing Śiva, Brahmā extolled him by uttering this eulogy (verses 14-25).

In the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa the *stotra* occurs in the section on Vindhya-māhātmya (ch. 1). It is said that once Nārada came to the Badarikā āśrama and extolled Nārāyaṇa by uttering this *stotra*. [The verses of this Upapurāṇa have been taken from the Vaidyakavṛttānta (a highly learned work in Bengali dealing with the history of the Āyurvedic teachers) by Pt. Gurupada Haldar in which the first chapter of this Upapurāṇa has been quoted. Unfortunately the serial number of these verses has not been given by the author][1]

As the Kāśikhaṇḍa is well known we take the Kāśikhaṇḍa version as original and place the different readings of the Dharmā-raṇyakhaṇḍa (a sub-division of the Brahmakhaṇḍa of the Skanda-purāṇa) and the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa in the footnotes.

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1. According to Dr. Hazra the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa is one of the lost Upapurāṇas (St.Up. II, p. 501-502). There is another lost Upapurāṇa called Bṛhad-Auśanasa-upa-purāṇa (*ibid*, p. 504-505). Dr. Hazra informs us that 'there are MSS. of a Vindhya-māhātmya which claim to be a part of this Upapurāṇa.

In this *stotra* it is not the personality of the deity but the omnipresence and immanance of the deity which is predominant. That is why it hardly contains any description which is peculiar to any one of the three deities. The *stotra* speaks of all the important categories (*prameyas*) of *adhyātma-vidyā* and identifies them with the deity. The repeated use of the word *namas* (which shows obeisance) has undoubtedly rendered the *stotra* sublime and effective. Some of the important words in this *stotra* are explained here in brief.

In the Ṛg-veda (10.121) Hiraṇyagarbha is the only lord of the existent and is the one god above the gods. He is not only the creator but also the preserver and destroyer of the phenomenal world. He is often called Prajāpati in the Vedic works. In the Purāṇas the name Hiraṇyagarbha is almost exclusively applied to the god associated with the act of creation (usually called Brahmā) (Mark. p. 46.20-21a) and not to the god associated with the act of preservation or destruction. It seems that on account of the prominence of the act of creation (cp. सर्वविकाराणां जनिमूलत्वात्, Śaṅkara on Muṇḍaka 2.1.2) the name Hiraṇyagarbha came to be applied to the creator Brahmā to whom the word Prajāpati is frequently applied by the authors of the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas regarded Brahmā as the first teacher of the Vedas (in each creation) and from the Upaniṣads we learn that the line of teachers does not extend beyond Hiraṇyagarbha (*vide* Br.-up. 2.6.3 with the bhāṣya).

नमो हिरण्यगर्भाय....अमृताय च—The name Hiraṇyagarbha has been explained as 'one whose essence (*garbha*) consists in divine knowledge (*hiraṇya*)'; or 'one in whom *hiraṇya* (brahmāṇḍa, cosmic egg) exists'.[1] Hiraṇyagarbha is regarded here as identical

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1. हितं रमणीयम् अत्युज्ज्वल ज्ञानं गर्भः अन्तःसारो यस्य (Śaṅkara on Śvetāśvatara-up. 3.4). हिरण्यं गर्भे अस्य, हिरण्यस्य गर्भो वा ब्रह्माण्डप्रभवत्वात् (Kṣīrasvāmin on Amara 1.1.76). हिरण्यं ब्रह्माण्डरूपं यस्येश्वरस्य प्रजापतेर्गर्भे वर्तते सोऽयं हिरण्यगर्भः; यद्वा हिरण्यस्य ब्रह्माण्डस्य मध्ये सत्यलोके गर्भरूपेणा-वस्थितः चतुर्मुखो हिरण्यगर्भः (Sāyaṇa on Tai. Saṁ.); हिरण्मयस्य अण्डस्य गर्भभूतः प्रजापतिर्हिरण्यगर्भः। यद्वा हिरण्मयोऽण्डो गर्भवद् यस्योदरे वर्तते सोऽसौ सूत्रात्मा हिरण्यगर्भ इत्युच्यते (Sāyaṇa on RV. 10.121.1). The Ven. ed. reads हिरण्यरूपाय. Prajāpati Hiraṇyagarbha may rightly be described as *hiraṇyarūpa*; see the etymology of hiraṇya in connection with Prajāpati in Śatapatha-br. 7.4.1.16.

with *kaivalya* (emancipation, *mokṣa*) and *amṛta* (immortality). Since Hiraṇyagarbha is not the immutable ultimate principle, nor is he really bereft of activity (he is called *saguṇa brahman* or *kārya brahman* by the philosophers), the above description cannot be taken as philosophically valid; it must be taken as figurative. Since Hiraṇyagarbha possesses an extremely purified limiting adjunct the epithets applicable to the absolute brahman are also applied to him (*vide* Śaṅkara on Bṛ.-up. 1.4.6). Such figurative descriptions are often found in eulogies.

यं न देवा....चिदात्मने—*Deva* may be taken either in the sense of 'the wise' or in the sense of 'the organs' (*vide* bhāṣya on Īśa-up. 4). For the idea expressed in मनो....प्रसरति vide Tai.-up. 2. 4. 1 (यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह) and Kaṭha-up. 6. 12. *Cidātman*—one whose essential nature consists in *cit* (divine consciousness). If *cit* is taken in the sense of 'absolute awareness', then the description must be taken as figurative.

योगिनो यं....नमः—The heart, according to yogins, is the most suitable place for practising meditation. *Praṇidhāna* is either 'the acute form of one-pointedness' or 'a particular kind of devotion'. Since *hṛdaya* (one of the *dhāraṇādeśas*) is not elemental (*bhautika*) but spiritual (*ādhyātmika*) the *jyotis* perceived in the heart is not of the nature of external light; the word *jyotis* is used in the sense of 'illuminating entity' (*avabhāsaka*); *vide* Śārīrakabhāṣya 1.1.24. In *Śrī-brahman*, *Śrī* may rightly be taken in the sense of aparā vidyā (cp. ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि सा हि श्रीरमृता सताम्—Tai. Br. I. 2. 26. 2). As the tradition of sages holds that the line of teachers does not extend beyond Hiraṇyagarbha, it is reasonable to regard Hiraṇyagarbha as the repository of Vedic lore (*Śrī*). *Śrī* may however mean the supersensuous powers also, which, according to the Purāṇas, are innate in the creator Prajāpati.

कालात्....पुरुषाय च —Strictly speaking it is the absolute brahman (and not the creator Brahmā or any other deity) that transcends time. To Brahmā the act of transcending time is applied figuratively. स्वेच्छया पुरुषाय च—'He has willingly assumed the forms of sentient beings (*puruṣa* i. e. *jīva*)'—it may refer to the doctrine that the embodied beings are the conditioned forms of the absolute brahman (vide Bṛ-up.1.4.7; Chāndogya-up.6.3.2). The commentator

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Rāmānanda however takes it to express the same sense as Viṣṇu-p. 1.2.29 (प्रधानपुरुषं चापि प्रविश्यात्मेच्छया हरि: । क्षोभयामास संप्राप्ते सर्गकाले).

गुणत्रयस्वरूपाय नमः प्रकृतिरूपिणे—*Guṇas*, namely sattva (the sentient principle), rajas (the mutative principle) and tamas (the static principle) are identified with Brahmā. A distinction is made here between the *guṇas* and the *prakṛti* which is usually regarded as a name for the three *guṇas*. It appears that here '*guṇa*' means 'the *guṇas* in the quiescent state' and *prakṛti* means 'the *guṇas* in the state of evolution'. The followers of the Śaivādvaita system regard *prakṛti* and *guṇa* as two distinct *tattvas* and state that the *guṇas* arise from the agitated *prakṛti* (Tantrasāra, VIII).

विष्णवे...कारिणे—Here Brahmā is considered to be identical with Viṣṇu and Rudra (Śiva). That Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra are respectively connected with the rajas, sattva and tamas *guṇas* as well as with the act of creation, preservation and destruction respectively is an established doctrine of the Purāṇas (Matsya-p, 3. 14-16; Mārkaṇḍeya-p. 46. 14-18).

नमो बुद्धि....कर्मेन्द्रियात्मने—In the following stanzas Brahmā is regarded as identcal with *buddhi* etc. This identity is based on his superintendency (*adhiṣṭhātṛtva*). *Buddhi* is the cognitive principle, known also as the *mahattattva*. *Ahaṁkṛti* i. e. *ahaṁkāra* (*ahaṁkṛti* seems to have been used to keep the metre intact) has, according to the Sāṁkhya philosophy and the Purāṇas, three aspects, namely vaikṛtika or vaikṛta, taijasa and bhūtadi, which are respectively predominated by the sattva, rajas and tamas guṇas. The chapters on *sarga* in the Purāṇas contain valuable information regarding the nature and genesis of the five tanmātras, namely śabdatanmātra etc. The five *karmendriyas* (motor organs or the powers of voluntary movement) are well known. The physical organs are to be known as the seats (*adhiṣṭāna*) of the organs.

नमो मनःस्वरूपाय...विषयात्मने—Though all the three Purāṇic texts read नमो नमःस्वरूपाय yet there is not the slightest doubt that it is a corrupt reading, for the *manas* principle remains unexpressed if it is not read here. Moreover, it is improper to regard the deity as 'the same as *namas*'. A very precise definition of *manas* has been given by Śaṅkarācārya as सर्वार्थविषयं त्रैकाल्यवृत्ति मन एकमनेकवृत्तिकम् (Bhāṣya on Bṛ-up. 2.4.6). Five *buddhīndriyas* are often called *jñāne-*

ndriyas. For the reason for using the words *jñānendriya* and *karmen-driya*, vide Śārīrakabhāṣya 2.4.6. The nature of these two kinds of organs are to be known according to the śāstric tradition. The five *bhūtas*, namely kṣiti (earth), ap (water), tejas (light), vāyu (air) and ākāśa (the substance whose attribute is sound only) are not to be confounded with earth etc. *Viṣaya* is used here in the sense of '*bhautikas*' i. e. 'the objects made up of the five *bhūtas*'—'the gross or complex objects'.

नमो ब्रह्माण्ड...ते नमः—Brahmāṇḍa is the cosmic egg, which, according to the Purāṇas, consists of the seven *lokas*. *Tadantarvartin*—that which exists in the brahmāṇḍa. 'You are both *arvācīna* and *parācīna viśvarūpas*' (the manifold world). *Arvācīna*—'belonging to the proximate time' or 'of recent origin'; *parācīna*—'belonging to ancient times' or 'falling beyond the field of experience'. The commentator takes *arvācīna* and *parācīna* in the sense of '*aparakālika*' and '*pūrvakālika*' respectively.

अनित्यनित्य....नम:—Both the absolute brahman and the qualified brahman are sometimes described in the Upaniṣads etc. as possessing opposite attributes.[1] Commentators show that there is no real contradiction in such descriptions. It is needless to say that the words *nitya* and *sat* as well as their opposites are taken in more than one sense. समस्तभक्त....विग्रह—'He assumes various *vigrahas* out of compassion to his devotees'; cp. उपासकानां कार्यार्थं ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना (Rāmatāpanī-up. 1.1.7). *Vigrahas* are the *mūrtis* to be wor-shipped; it may mean the incarnations also. The Vaiṣṇava view about the assuming of *vigrahas* by the lord finds its excellent expression in the following couplet : "मणिर्यथा विभागेन नीलपीतादिभि-र्युतः । रूपभेदमवाप्नोति ध्यानभेदात् तथाच्युतः ॥"

तव निःश्वसित·····तव प्रभो—This view about the Vedas is based on the Br-up. passage 'अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यदृग्वेदो····' (2.4.10). The purpose of using the word 'breath' is to show that the Vedas came out of the infinite reality without the slightest

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1. न सत् तन्नासदुच्यते (Gītā 13.12); सदसच्चाहमर्जुन (Gītā 9.19); सदसत्तत्परं यत् (Gītā 11.37); उभयमेतत् प्रजापति निरुक्तश्चानिरुक्तश्च परिमित-श्चापरिमितश्च (Śatapatha-br. 6.5.3.7); द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे मूर्तं चामूर्तं च-. (Br-up. 2.3.1); सच्च त्यच्च अभवत् (Tai-Up. 2.6; त्यत् meaning अमूर्तं).

effort. The view expressed in तव स्वेदोऽखिलं जगत् is conspicuous for its absence in the Vedic works. If ˙sveda (sweat) is taken in the sense of 'seed i. e. energy placed in water' (अप्सु विसृष्टं वीर्यं शक्ति.विशेष:) then the sentence may be taken as expressing the same idea as is found in Manu 1.9 (vide the comm.); cp. Chān. Up. 6.2-4 which says that water was created by Being and that this in turn, willed to become ·many and to grow forth. विश्वा भूतानि····प्रभो—These lines are evidently based on the Puruṣasūkta (RV. 10.90.3,13,14). It is noteworthy that the sentence लोमानि च वनस्पति: is not found in the RV. The view is, however, found in the Viṣṇupurāṇa : "ओषध्य: फलमूलानि रोमभ्यस्तस्य जज्ञिरे" (1.5.50); cp. Tai-Br. 3.10.8.7 (ओषधि-वनस्पतयो मे लोमसु श्रिता:). *Vanaspati* may be taken here in a general sense, and not in the restricted sense of 'those which bear fruits but not flowers'.

त्वमेव....नमो नमस्ते—The third foot reminds one of the first foot of the first *mantra* of the Īśāvāsya-upaniṣad (ईशा वास्यमिदं सर्वम्). An echo of the fourth foot is found in Gītā.11.39 (पुनश्च भूयोऽपि नमो नमस्ते; cp. भूयिष्ठां ते नम उक्तिं विधेम (Īśāvāsya-up. 18).

The variant readings in the Dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa do not show any important difference in meaning. Since Śiva is eulogized, the words Nilakaṇṭha (in vocative case) and *anantarūpāya* (14) have been used. As to why Śiva came to be called by the name Nilakaṇṭha, see Mbh. Ādi-p.18.41-43. The word *anantarūpa* is significant as in the Vedas, the Rudras are regarded as many (असंख्याता: सहस्राणि ये रुद्रा अधि भूम्याम् YV.16.54). The reading नम: प्रकृतिरूपिणे (19) is corrupt, as it is already read in verse 17. The reading तव वेदोऽखिलं जगत् (23) (your Veda is the whole world) is better than the reading in the Kāśikhaṇḍa, for there are authoritative statements to support this view (cp. छन्दोभ्य एव प्रथममेतद् विश्वं व्यवर्तत, Vākyapadīya 1.120).

The only variant reading in the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa that deserves consideration is साधकानां हितार्थाय in the place of समस्तभक्तकृपया (Kāśikhanda 38) or नमस्ते भक्तकृपया (Dharmāraṇyo 22, Ven. ed.). As the expression भक्तकृपया is grammatically objectionable, the reading in the Upapurāṇa seems preferable.

Ram shankar Bhattacharya

THE DIVINE PRESENCE IN THE MŪRTI ACCORDING TO THE PURĀṆA-S

BY

PINUCCIA CARACCHI

The cult of the *mūrti*, which has such a great importance in Hindu religious practices has been equated with idolatry in Western countries for a long time. For example, E. O. Martin at the beginning of the century wrote : "The most stricking characteristic of Hinduism is idolatry. Idols, idols in every where, they are found all over the lands in millions."[1] The statements of Rev. Sherring in a book published in 1864 are even worse : "Idolatry has, for many centuries, drunk the life-blood of the Hindu with insatiate thirst, has covered with its pollutions the fair and fertile soil of India, has drenched the land with its poisoned waters, and has rendered its inhabitants as godless as it was possible for them to become."[2] Fortunately nowadays this wrong view has largely disappeared, especially thanks to the enlightening studies of Coomaraswamy, Avalon, Danielou[3] and others. From the indologist to those who have touched the subject only superficially, no one would now affirm that the cult of sacred images in India is idolatrous. In fact, the *mūrti* is not worshipped as a material object,

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1. Cf. *The Gods of India*, Delhi, 1972 (rep.), p. 8.
2. Cf. M. A. SHERRING, *Benares, the Sacred City of the Hindus*, Delhi, 1975 (rep. of 1868), p. 46.
3. Among the many works and articles of Coomaraswamy dealing with this subject the most relevant two are *The Transformation of Nature in Art*, New York, 1934 (Indian Edition, Delhi, 1974) and *The Dance of Shiva*, Delhi, 1968. Of A. DANIELOU, *The Hindu Polytheism*, London, 1963 is worthy of special mention. See also of A. AVALON, *Sakti and Sakta*, Madras, 1975 (VII ed.), especially chap. VIII.

rather the Divinity is worshipped through the *mūrti*. Strictly spea-
king, one should not say cult "of" the *mūrti* but cult "in" the *mūrti*,
that is the cult of that Divinity which is invoked in the image
through the rite of *āvāhana* and is removed from it through *visarjana*.[4]

Therefore, *āvāhana* and *visarjana* are thought to effect a
mystic change in the *mūrti*. This change, however, has been
interpreted by some scholars just as a device to help devotion
during worship. A. K. Coomaraswamy, for example, when spea-
king of *āvāhana* and *visarjana* rites, says : 'It should not be supposed
that the deity, by invocation and dismissal, is made to come or go,
for omnipresence does not move; these ceremonies are really proj-
ections of the worshipper's own mental attitude toward the image.
By invocation he announces to himself his intention of using the
image as a means of communion with the Angel; by dismissal he
announces that his service has been completed, and that he no
longer regards the image as a link between himself and the deity.'[5]
Avalon speaks in very similar terms. According to him the mean-
ing of the *āvāhana*, the *pūjā* and the *visarjana* is that the mind of the
faithful recognizes, worships and then leaves the presence of the
Divinity in the *mūrti*, which is a consequence of the divine omnipr-
esence. So these rituals would not produce any objective change
in the *mūrti*, but only a change in the mental attitude of the faith-
ful towards the *mūrti*.[6] The problem now is to see whether this
interpretation can be supported by the Scriptures and whether it
can lead to a satisfactory and definite solution of the problem of
the relation between the Divinity and the *mūrti*. Looking through
the *Purāṇa*-s, *Āgama*-s and *Tantra*-s, we can find many starting
points for reflecting on this matter. In the puranic texts, especia-
lly, there is often a section devoted to the construction, consecration
and worship of sacred images. These sections chiefly give practi-
cal rules and technical details, but here and there it is possible to
find some theoretical passages and some reflections on the meaning
of the Divinity's images. In the puranic texts, on which this rese-

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4. Cf. S. I. VARMĀ, *Bhārat mẽ pratīk-pūjā kā ārambh aur
    vikās*, Patna, 1974, p. 14 : हम वस्तुतः पत्थर नहीं पूजते, लेकिन
    पत्थर में मन्त्र द्वारा ईश्वर की सत्ता लाकर ईश्वर को पूजते हैं ।

5. The *Transformation*, p. 169

6. See A. AVALON, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-304

arch is mainly based, there are certainly some passages supporting the interpretations of Coomaraswamy and Avalon.

Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, 3. 108, for example, is completely devoted to the solution of this problem : how can the Omnipresent Absolute, who pervades being and non-being, be touched by the *āvāhana* ?[7]   The answer is given very clearly : *āvāhana* and *pūjā* do not touch the Supreme who is present always and everywhere in the universe. Therefore, *pūjā* is only "a means for the satisfaction of the mind" (केवलं कारणं तत्र मनसस्तुष्टिकारणम्). For this reason alone the Supreme is called even though He is already present. Worship cannot have any effect on Him who is by his very nature always blissful, but He accepts it to fulfil the *bhakti* of his devotees. For this reason, indeed, He Himself gives the impulse for the worship of sacred images, but the worshipper should always be aware of the divine omnipresence, by virtue of which not only the *mūrti* but also the place and the objects used in *pūjā* as well as all the other things are pervaded by the Divinity.[8] The following statement of the *Parama-saṁhitā* is even clearer : "God is neither established nor protected by anyone. He only receives the *pūjā* of the *bhakta*-s."[9]

From this assertion is it necessary to infer that the *āvāhana* and the other rites do not touch the sacred image at all, but only touch the worshipper's mind ? First, we may note that in the quoted passages, and generally wherever the problem of the *mūrti* is considered from this point of view, the intention is to stress the idea that the Omnipresent Absolute can never be contained in the narrow limits of a man-made form, and that His Bliss-fulness cannot be increased by any act of worship[10]. Here the

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7.   Cf. *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, *Third Khaṇḍa*, edit. by P. Shah, Baroda, 1958, 3. 108. 3cd-5.

8.   *Ibidem*, 3. 108. 14-22. This idea, in a strictly non-dualis-tic perspective, is beautifully expressed also in a *śloka* of *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* (ed. by J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1884, 3. 56), which repeats *Bhagavadgītā* 4.24 :

ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्महविर्ब्रह्माग्नौ ब्रह्मणा हुतम् ।
ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यं ब्रह्मकर्म्मसमाधिना ॥

9.   Cf. *Paramasaṁhitā*, edit. by S. K. Aiyangar, Baroda, 1940, 18. 12.

10.   Cf. *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad*, 4. 19cd :

न तस्य प्रतिमा अस्ति यस्य नाम महद्यशः ।

reality of the *mūrti* is, therefore, not taken primarily into considera-
tion, but rather the whole attention is directed to making clear this
idea in the mind of the *sādhaka*. For example, the passage quoted
above from the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* goes on to say :

प्रादुर्भावगतो विष्णुर्यथा देवगणास्तथा ।
आवाहितः सन्निहितो भवतीति विनिश्चयः ॥[11]

In *Praśna-saṁhitā*, Viṣṇu promises to be present with his own
śakti in that image which is consecrated and worshipped by a
knower of *Veda* and *Vedāṅga*, that is to say by a man who has the
adhikāra for it.[12] Morever, many passages speak of God's being
"invoked" (*āvāhitaḥ*)[13] or "established" (*sthāpitaḥ*)[14] in the *mūrti*
or *pratimā*. According to *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra*, there are even exter-
nal signs that reveal Kṛṣṇa's presence in an image : the image be-
comes light and bright and shows an expression of joy.[15]

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11. *Viṣṇudharmottara-p.*, 3. 108. 9. Also in *śloka-s* 7, 13, 22, 24
    of the same *adhyāya* the presence of God in a form is
    clearly asserted. Cf. also *Agni-purāṇa*, edit. by B.
    Upādhyāya, Vārāṇasī, 1966, 60. 29ab :

    यात्रावर्षादिकं दृष्ट्वा ज्ञेयः सन्निहितो हरिः ।

12. पूजयेद्यदि मद्बिम्बं वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः ।
    गृहे वापि प्रतिष्ठाप्य नित्यं पूजयते यदि ॥
    अहं तद्बिम्बमाविश्य भक्तानामिष्टसाधकः ।
    त्वया सह भविस्यामि नात्र संदेह अस्तु ते ॥

    Śrī Praśnasaṁhitā, edit. by S. Padmanabham, Tirupati,
    1969, 4. 10-11. Cf. also *Varāha-purāṇa* (Veṅkateśvara,
    Bombay, 1923) :

    आगमिष्याम्यहं देवि मन्त्रपाठो मम प्रियः । (182, 16ab)
    and एवं कृते विधाने भवामि सन्निहितः स्वयम् । (182, 20ab)

13. For example in *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 11. 27. 19 (Gorakhpur,
    1968).

14. For example in *Parama-saṁhitā*, 4. 61 and 19. 1.

15. See R. V. JOSHI, *Le rituel de la devotion kṛṣṇaite*, Pondi-
    chery, 1959, p. 83. Also J. N. BANERJEA, in *Development
    of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi, 1974 (III ed.), p. 69 quotes
    a passage of *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* in which it is said that
    gods' images laugh, cry, dance etc. Cf. also *Rāmacarita-
    mānasa* (Gorakhpur, n. d.), 1. 235ff. where the statue of
    Gaurī smiles and speaks with Sītā.

There may seem to be a contradiction between the texts cited
in the last paragraph and those cited earlier. On the one hand the
divine presence in the *mūrti* is clearly affirmed, and on the other
this presence is described only as a means of satisfying the *bhakti*
of the devotees, a device used by God to attract them and facilitate
their meditation.[16] But under this apparent contradiction, we can
discover two different points of view : one is that of the devotee, who
uses the *mūrti* because he needs this means of reaching the One who
is *Amūrta;* the other is that of the *yogin* who sees the Supreme
Brahman in everything, and for whom the *āvāhana* and *visarjana* have
no significance because they cannot modify the Supreme Omni-
presence he has realized in his own heart. He "sees Śiva in the
Ātman and not in the *pratimā-s.*"[17] These two points of view are
not incompatible, and it is possible to find them in close proximity
as we have seen in *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.* In fact, the second
point of view represents the ultimate goal, while the first one is
only a means, an intermediate stage, as the worship of the *mūrti*
has a value only "until one has realized in his own heart the Lord
present in all beings" :

अर्चादावर्चयेत् तावदीश्वरं मां स्वकर्मकृत् ।
यावन्न वेद स्वहृदि सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थितम् ॥[18]

Worshipping the *mūrti* can be compared with learning the
alphabet, which must precede the overall comprehension of a text :
in the same way, a man starts worshipping God in his different im-
ages, following his own faith and *bhakti* and according to his stage

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16.   Cf. *Śiva-purāṇa* (Veṅkateśvara, Bombay, 1965), *Koṭiru-*
        drasaṁhitā, 42. 9ab : ध्यानार्थं चैव सर्वेषामरूपो रूपवानभूत् ।
        Cf. also *Bhāgavata-p.,* 5. 25. 10 and *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra,*
        4. 16-17 and 13. 4, 13.

17.   शिवमात्मनि पश्यन्ति प्रतिमासु न योगिनः । *Jabaladarśana-upaniṣad,*
        4. 59 ab (in : *Upaniṣatsaṁgrahaḥ,* Patna, 1970). Cf. also *Li-*
        ṅga-purāṇa (ed. by J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1885), 1. 74.
        30 and 1. 75. 18-22; *Śiva-p., Rudrasaṁhitā,* 1.12.50-54; *Kūr-*
        ma-purāṇa (ed. by A. S. Gupta, Vārāṇasī, 1971), 11.98.20.

18.   *Bhāgavata-p.,* 3. 29. 25. Cf. also *Śiva-p., Rudrasaṁhitā,* 1.
        12. 63-67; *Agni-p.,* 379. 31-32; *Liṅga-p.,* 1. 75. 20. The
        same idea is clearly expressed also in *Maitry-upaniṣad,* 4.6,

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of spiritual evolution, in order to reach the highest stage in which he sees Him as the *Ātman* present in all beings.[19]

This fact, however, does not justify a merely symbolic interpretation of those scriptural passages which speak of the divine presence, called in the *mūrti* through *āvāhana*. Even if the *yogin's* point of view is superior to the devotee's, it does not remove the validity of the latter. It is certainly a relative validity, but only as devotion to a personal God is relative in comparison to the realization of Brahman. In the vedantic terminology we can say that the *yogin's* perspective is *pāramārthika*, while the devotee's is *vyāvahārika*.[20]

In the devotional perspective, worship of the *mūrti* has an important but rather limited place on the stairway of spiritual evolution that leads to *mokṣa*. Nevertheless this does not preclude the possibility that the limited horizons of this worship may suddenly open up, permitting the devotee to grasp the vision of the All-pervading Absolute. This experience is often represented in the *Purāṇas*. It is the moment when the devotee becomes aware of the fact that the Divinity which he invokes and adores in the image is only the manifestation of that Absolute. Thus in the *āvāhana* formula itself we sometimes find the mixed and harmonious devotion to the Lord present in a particular way in the *mūrti*, and the aware-

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19. अर्चादिषु यदा यत्र श्रद्धा मां तत्र चार्चयेत् ।
सर्वभूतेष्वात्मनि च सर्वत्रामहमवस्थितः ॥
(*Bhāgavata-p.*, 11. 27. 48)

यत्र तत्र यथा भक्तिः कर्तव्यं पूजनादिकम् ।
(*Śiva-p.*, Rudrasaṁhitā, 1. 12. 69ab).

Notice that in *Garuḍapurāṇa* (edit. by R. Bhattacharya, Vārāṇasī, 1964), 44. 12-13, one is lead to the meditation on *Ātman-Brahman* just during the contemplation of a Viṣṇu's image.

20. It may be interesting to see what Śaṅkarācārya says in connection with the problem we are dealing with. Commenting the scriptural statements speaking of God's presence in a particular place (such as in the heart or in the *śālagrāma*), he compared Him with the space that, although omnipresent, is said to abide in the eye of a needle, from the point of view of its association with the needle. But from the *pāramārthika* point of view a limited dwelling cannot be attributed to the *Brahman* (who has no relation with the unreal world). Cf. *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, 1. 2. 7.

ness of the divine Omnipresence : "I will invoke that Spirit who pervades the twenty-five *tattva-s*, the Consciousness, the Supreme Beatitude who is situated in the heart, beginning from Brahmā to the blade of grass. From the heart, O Supreme Lord, remain steady in the image which is *pratimā*."[21]

It is important to stress that generally it is not the Supreme *Brahman* who is invoked to become present in the sacred image.[22] The Object of the *āvāhana*, the "call", if not one of the many gods who, according to *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* (3.108.2-3), enter the statue by their own *siddhi-s*, is *Īśvara* or *Īśa*, that is the Supreme Lord who can be identified alternately with Śiva, Viṣṇu, the Devī—the *Iṣṭa-devatā* to whom the *bhakta*'s devotion is turned. The fact that it is not the *Brahman* but *Īśvara* who "descends" into the *mūrti* is comprehensible in the light of two considerations. The first one concerns the *sādhaka* and consists in the fact, as already mentioned, that he who has realized the *Brahman* does not need *mūrti* worship anymore. The second one is, so to speak, of a "theological" character, and concerns the *Brahman* who is unmanifested (*avyakta*) and *nirguṇa* by his own nature. What manifests itself is *Īśvara*, who gives rise to the world, supports it, destroys it and manifests Himself in the *avatāra-s*. Of course, in reading the *Purāṇa-s*, it is necessary to bear in mind that, from

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21.   जीवमावाहयिष्यामि   पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वगम् ॥

चैतन्यं परमानन्दं‧‧‧‧

ब्रह्मादिस्तम्बपर्यन्तं हृदयेषु व्यवस्थितम् ।

हृदयात् प्रतिमाबिम्बे स्थिरो भव परेश्वर ॥

(*Agni-p.*, 60. 19cd-21)

Also in *Viṣṇudharmottara-p.*, 3. 102, we find an *āvāhana*'s formula very similar to this one : आवाहयाम्यहं जीवं बीजं सर्वगतं प्रभुम् ।....Cf. also *Varāha-p.*, 182. 9 and 186. 11.

22.   There are surely a few passages from which we can infer just the opposite. For example in the passage of *Agni-p.* following the above quotation, it is written :

ज्योतिर्ज्ञानं परं ब्रह्म एकमेवाद्वितीयकम् ।

सजीवीकरणं कृत्वा प्रणवेन निबोधयेत् ॥ (60.23)

But this fact is explained by the identification of Viṣṇu, invoked in the statue, with the *Brahman* (see below).

their dovotional perspective, the *Iṣṭa-devatā* has very often been so exalted as to be identified with the *Brahman* itself,[23] therefore in the *Iṣṭa-devatā* the characteristics of *Īśvara* and Brahman are coexisting.

In order to fully understand the problem of the *mūrti* we are dealing with, it is important to examine how the idea of divine manifestation in a definite form has been developed in the puranic literature   In the Supreme One two forms are distinguished : *para* and *apara*, *amūrta* and *mūrta*[24] : the first one is unmanifested and can be neither seen nor known by the common man, nor even by gods, and all the more it cannot be used as a support for meditation nor be the object of religious practices[25]; the second one is the "form of Bhagavat having a *mūrti*" (मूर्तं भगवतो रूपम्, *Viṣṇu-p.*, 6.7.78a), the same *mūrti* that "abides in the *avatāra*-s" (अवतारेषु या मूर्त्तिविहरेत्, *Garuḍa-p.*, 1.226.32 cd) and hence can be contemplated, worshipped, "invoked" by men. In this connection also the *Parama-saṁhitā* (3.5-7) very clearly affirms that only he who is endowed with a *mūrti* (*mūrtimān*) can be taken as an object of *pūjā* by a devotee but he who is *Nirākāra* can be reached neither through acts of worship nor with praising hymns, nor even by

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23.　Cf , for example, *Śiva-p.*, *Rudrasaṁhitā*, 41. 42 : *Garuḍa-p.*, 1. 1. 12; *Bhāgavata-p.*, 11. 16. 1; *Liṅga-p.*, 1. 95. 22 where Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Nṛsiṁha are identified with the *Brahman*. Cf. also above n. 22.

24.　मूर्त्तामूर्तं परम्ब्रह्म । (*Agni-p.*, 347. 9c;
　　　द्वे रूपे ब्रह्मणस्तस्य मूर्तं चामूर्तमेव च । *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (Gorakhpur, 1969), 1. 22. 55ab;

　　　आश्रयश्चेतसो ब्रह्म द्विधा तच्च स्वभावतः ।
　　　भूप मूर्त्तममूर्त्तं च परं चापरमेव च ॥ *ibidem*, 6. 7. 47.

　　　A clear definition of *para* and *apara* is found in *Bṛhannāradīya purāṇa* (edit. by H. Shastri, Vārāṇasī, 1975 (IIed.)), 31. 57-59.

25.　Cf. *Devī Bhāgavata* (edit. by R. T. Pandey, Kāśī, 1969), 3. 8. 19-20; *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* (Veṅkateśvara, Bombay, 1959), 1. 149. 19; *Garuḍa-p.*, 1. 226. 33.

dhyāna.[26] The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* says that *yogin*-s also, in the beginning of their yogic practice, concentrate on the "*Mūrta*" One.[27]

In such a context, of course, the term "*mūrti*" is not used in the narrow sense of a sacred image or *pratimā*, but with its wider etymologic meaning, *i.e.* something that has assumed a form or a consistency, a "concretion", "personification", "manifestation".[28] Here we really find the key to understanding the doctrinal basis from which faith in God's presence in the sacred image finds its justification. In fact, when the term *mūrti* is connected with *avatāra*, as in the above quoted passage,[29] it is just to convey something very similar to what happens in the *avatāra* : in both cases the *Amūrta* One takes a *mūrti*, that is to say, He becomes concrete, manifests Himself, assumes a form, "descending" into a body or, in our case, into a *pratimā*. How God can become present in the image surely remains mysterious, but this is not a greater and more inexplicable mystery than the *avatāra* : here and there

26. The same idea is also expressed in *Viṣṇudharmottara-p.*, **3.** 46. 3cd-6ab :

पूजाध्यानादिकं कर्तुं साकारस्यैव शक्यते ॥
स्ववस्तु देव: साकार: पूजनीयो यथाविधि ।
अव्यक्ता हि गतिर्दुःखं देहभृद्भिरवाप्यते ॥
अतो भगवतानेन स्वेच्छया यत्प्रदर्शितम् ।
प्रादुर्भविष्यथाकारं तदर्चन्ति दिवौकस: ॥
एतस्मात् कारणात् पूजा आकारस्य विधीयते ।

cf. also *Viṣṇu-p.*, 6. 7. 55.

27. मूर्तं यद्योगिभि: पूर्वं योगारम्भेषु चिन्त्यते ।   (1. 22. 61cd)

28. In this general meaning, the term *mūrti* is often used simply to signify the different aspects of God, as Śiva's *Aṣṭamūrti* (cf. *Liṅga-p.*, 2. 13. 1ff.; *Śiva-p.*, *Śatarudra-saṁhitā*, 2 and *Vāyavīyasaṁhitā*, 2. 3. 18ff.) or a particular form in which He manifests Himself or is worshipped by his devotees (for example in *Agni-p.*, 379. 6b; *Bhaviṣya-p.*, 1. 4. 195 and 1.154. 15-20). Also remark that *mūrta* and *amūrta* are often synonymous of *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*, as in *Agni-p*, 274. 9c; *Viṣṇu-p*, 1. 22. 55b and 6. 7. 47c.

29. *Garuḍa-p.*, 226. 32.

the infinite bends itself towards the finite to meet the man.[30] The question of how this manifestation or "descent" can take place is very often posed in the *Purāṇa*-s, and the answer is always the same : the Absolute manifests Himself for the sake of the world, to meet the needs of his devotees, to attract them to Himself.[31] The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* even says that He "puts on a *mūrti* for our sake, impelled by his great compassion".[32] The problem then remains unsolved because it is constantly shifted from the "how" to the "why". Therefore, we have to accept the fact that it is impossible to pry into the impenetrable depths of this divine mystery in order to understand how the presence of the Without-Form can exist in the limited form of the image. By examining the Scriptures, however, we can find out in which ways this divine presence becomes actual and which are the terms that can define it.

First of all, let us observe that such a Presence depends on a series of definite and objective conditions, in the absence of which the Divinity does not descend into the *mūrti*. The first of these conditions concerns the *mūrti* itself while the second one concerns the celebration of its consecratory rites.

As is well known, the *mūrti* must conform to some defined iconographic models which establish its posture, the

30. It is interesting to notice that the verb *"ava-tṛ"*, in its causative form, is also used to mean the Divinity's descent in the *mūrti* during the *āvāhana*, for example in *Kālika-purāṇa* (edit. by V. N. Shastri, Vārāṇasī, 1972), 58. 135 ab. The idea of the connection between *mūrti* and *avatāra* has been doctrinally developed by the *Pāñcarātra*-s. They call the sacred image *"arcāvatāra"*, term explained by O. Schrader as "incarnation for the purpose of ordinary worship". God, descending with his *śakti* in the *arcāvatāra*, becomes present there with a subtle body, just as in the physical bodies of the *avatāra*-s. See O. SCHRADER, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, Madras, 1916, pp. 48-49.

31. Cf. for examble *Śiva-p.*, *Koṭirudrasaṃhitā*, 1. 15-17 and *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*, 4. 16-17 and 13. 2-13.

32. मूर्तं नः पुरुकृपया बभार सत्त्वं संशुद्धं सदसदिदं विभाति यत्र ।
यल्लीलां मृगपतिराददेऽनवद्यामादातुं स्वजनमनांस्युदारवीर्यः ॥

(5. 25. 10)

number and the position of its limbs, the emblems etc.,
because every peculiar aspect of the image has to be in accor-
dance with a determinate aspect of the Divinity. Besides that,
iconometric canons are also given which fix the proportions
of the image up to the smallest detail.[33] The *Purāṇa-s* exhort
the observance of all the rules prescribed in the *śāstra-s* on
this subject and threaten whoever makes or owns an image
which is not in accordance with the prescribed canons with
every kind of evil and mishap.[34] And the threat goes even
further : according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, "the
gods, even if called by the best of the Brahmans, do not
inhabit the *pratimā* that is lacking in *pramāṇa-s* and *lakṣaṇa-s*",
i.e. that has not the required iconographic characteristics, "on
the contrary *Piśāca-s, Daitya-s, Dānava-s* enter it".[35] There-

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33.   The best and the most complete study on this subject is
       perhaps the already quoted book of J. N. BANERJEA,
       The Development of Hindu Iconography, especially chs. VII
       to XII.

34.   Cf. for example *Matsya-purāṇa* (edit. by J. Vidyāsāgara,
       Calcutta, 1876), 258. 15-21 and 261. 19. Of course these
       ideas appear more often in the technical literature.
       See *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, 57. 49-55 and *Pratimāmānalakṣaṇa*, 2.
       78-84 (both the texts are edited and translated by J. N.
       BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 579-617). The *Śukranīti*
       clearly states.

यथोक्तावयवैः पूर्णा पुण्यदा सुमनोहरा ॥
अन्यथाऽऽयुर्धनहरा नित्यं दुःखविवर्द्धिनी ।
                  (edit. by B. Miśra, Vārāṇasi, 1968, 4. 4. 76cd-77ab

35.   प्रमाणहीनां प्रतिमां तथा लक्षणवर्जिताम् ॥
आवाहितापि विप्रेन्द्रैर्नविशन्ति दिवौकसः ।
आविशन्ति तु तां नित्यं पिशाचा दैत्यदानवाः ॥   (3. 38. 22cd-23)

Cf. also *Parama-saṁhitā*, 19. 9. Notice that the same bad
consequences that have been mentioned before, as well
as the Divinity's departure from the *mūrti* can take place
if the *mūrti* breaks, burns or comes into contact with
impure things, in which case the *mūrti* must be replaced
by a new one through specific rites, or, according to the
cases, the consecratory rites must be repeated. See
Agni-p., 67; *Parama-saṁhitā*, 22. 74; *Pratimāmānalakṣana*,
2. 131-134. Also see J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit*, pp. 568-
571 and P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona,
1968-1977 (II ed.), vol. II, pt. II, pp. 904-906.

fore, *pramāṇa-s* and *lakṣaṇa-s* are so important that, if they are absent, even the consecratory rites are ineffective. In fact, the gods refuse to enter that *mūrti*, leaving free passage to demoniacal presence. By the way, it is necessary to note that the texts do not always take such a rigid position ; according to some texts, for example, the exactitude of the proportions is required only for the immovable *mūrti-s* and for the *mūrti-s* of the temples. Furthermore, according to those texts and those passages in which the devotional view assumes more importance than the ritualist one, the devotee's *bhakti* can make up for any deficiency in the form of the *mūrti* and of the rites.[36]

Nevertheless, one is led to ask oneself about the significance of a conception according to which the good result of worship and even the divine presence in the *mūrti* are conditioned by the conformity of the *mūrti* to iconographic rules. This fact requires a closer examination and it could be by itself an object of separate study. For the moment, let us limit ourselves to a single remark : the *mūrti*, as Danielou has observed[37], is the concretization of certain divine aspects and cosmic forces, just like a *maṇḍala* or a *yantra*, but in a less abstract form which is, therefore, more approachable by the common man. This idea in itself is sufficient for us to understand that it is not possible to leave the Divinity's representation to individual inspiration or imagination, because every single part of the *mūrti* has precise cosmic references that

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36. The wonderful story, related in the *Bhaktamāla*, of *sant* Dhana is significant. Dhana, by the power of his simple devotion, invoked in a stone the presence of God who manifested Himself and even ate the offerings of food presented to Him. Cf. *Bhaktamāla*, Lucknow, 1977 (XVI ed), pp. 522-524.

37. See A. DANIELOU, *op. cit.*, p. 332. See also G. RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vārāṇasī, 1971 (II ed.), pp. 27-28; G. TUCCI, *Teoria e pratica del mandala*, Roma, 1969, p. 89; S. N. DASGUPTA, *Fundamentals of Indian Art*, Bombay, 1960 (II ed.), p. 25.

cannot be confused or left out.[38] Besides this, even if the absolute precision necessary in the *maṇḍala* is not required for the *mūrti*, the sacred image is neverthless a ritual support, and its importance is particularly great because it is destined to become the dwelling of the Divinity; that's why in a *mūrti*, as in a rite, even the smallest detail has a great importance. When the Divinity is called upon to come and dwell in the *mūrti*, that *mūrti* must be as suitable as possible for its reception; that is, it must be in the greatest possible conformity with the form (*svarūpa*) of that particular Divinity, as described in the Scriptures.[39] Then the *mūrti* can truly be considered a "concretization", a visible manifestation of the invisible Divinity dwelling in it.

As regards the performance of consecratory rites, all the external conditions of time and place should be carefully taken into consideration. According to *Parama-saṁhitā*, 19. 2, for example, the good result of the *sthāpana* of a *mūrti* depends on the good or bad conditions of the place (*deśa*), of the time (*kāla*)[40], of the people (*puruṣa*) and of the temple (*prāsāda*). Among the required conditions, the celebrant's *adhikāra* has a special im-

38. The *Purāṇa*-s are rich in passages concerning the interpretation of these symbols. Special attention must be given to the III *khaṇḍa* of *Viṣṇudharmottara p.* in which there is much relevant material on this subject, especially from *adhyāya* 44 to 85. Here we can find not only the description of *pratimā lakṣaṇa*-s, but also their symbolical meaning for which the technical term *hetu* is used.

39. Cf. *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra*, quoted by J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, p. 82 : *abhirūpyācca bimbānāṁ devaḥ sānnidhyam ṛcchati*, where "*abhirūpyāt*" has to be understood as the "fit, suitable form". The same passage also appears in the *Tithyāditattvam*, quoted by *Śabdakalpadruma*, *sub voce* "*sānnidhyam*", where not only the adaptability of the image, but also the worshipper's *tapas* and the perfection of the act of worship are stressed.

40. In the texts there are many prescriptions about the choice of the proper time, the *muhūrta*, which is very important for the celebration of the consecratory rites (and for many other rites as well). A selection of *śloka*-s on this subject is found in VEṆĪRĀMA ŚARMĀ GAUḌA, *Yajña-mīmāṁsā*, Vārāṇasi, 1970, pt. I, pp. 503 ff.

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portance too[41]. The ceremony through which the Divinity becomes present in the sacred image (*sannidhyakaraṇa*) is the centre of a series of rites called "*prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*", culminating in the *āvāhana* which is the essential part of it. These rites can continue for many days and they are sometimes performed with great pomp and solemnity.[42] However, they can also be reduced to a few gestures or even to the *āvāhana* alone, as is the case of a little domestic *mūrti*, whose *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* can be repeated every day before the daily *pūjā* or during every act of worship.[43] Generally the Scriptures distinguish between two kinds of *mūrti* : the *cala* and the *acala*. In the first case, the worshipper can repeat at will the *āvāhana* and the *visarjana* before and after every *pūjā*, but *āvāhana* and *visarjana* are compulsory if the statue has been moved. In the second case, the *āvāhana* is performed once and for all in the moment of placing the *mūrti* in a temple or in its fixed seat.[44]

Moreover, there are two fundamental kinds of *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*: the vedic and tantric. In the *Tantra-s*, we can find many descriptions of *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*, but still a great part of tantric ritual remains secret, especially as far as formulas and *mantra-s* are concerned. The reason is, in fact, that the tantric ritual, just as the magic ritual, sets forces in motion which only the initiates are able to control. Thus even a small mistake in gesture or in the pronunciation of a syllabe can be fatal for whoever performs the rite. Different local traditions are rich in anecdotes regarding this subject : thus disciples are said to have been stricken by great misfor-

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41. Cf. *Matsya-p.*, 254.264 and 264. lcd ff.

42. Such were the rites for the consecration of a new statue of Annapūrṇā in Vārāṇasī in January 1977. The *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* was patronized by the Śrṅgeri's Śankarā-cārya, His Holiness Śrī Abhinava Vidyātīrtha Svāmin, who for the occasion had the *Caṇḍī-yajña* and the *Rudra-yajña* celebrated. They continued for about one week, with the participation of 212 *paṇḍita-s*.

43. Cf. for example *Agni-p.*, 74.55 and *Parama-saṁhitā*, 27.22. Note that *āvāhana* and *visarjana* must be performed also in the mental *pūjā-s*, like in the *pūjā* described in *Parama-saṁhitā*, 4. 24-26.

44. Cf. *Bhāgavata-p.*, 11.27.13-14. According to *Parama-saṁhitā*, 23. 26ab in the case of a movable statue, *āvāhana* and *visarjana* must be compulsorily repeated every time :

जङ्गमं वार्च्चयेन्नित्यमावाह्य च विसृज्य च ।

tune or by death for having uttered secret *mantra-s*, which they have extorted from the *Guru* before being able to use them, and for suddenly finding themselves in face-to-face dangerous contact with the presence of the Divinity which they have invoked.

The second kind of *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* is widely described in the *Purāṇa*-s and *Āgama*-s and is called "vedic". This does not mean that it dates back to vedic times—whether or not the *mūrti* cult existed in vedic times is still a topic of debate[45]—but it means that in this kind of *prāṇa pratiṣṭhā* mostly vedic *mantra*-s and vedic rituals are used. Nevertheless the distinction between vedic and tantric *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* is not completely rigid : it is well known that in the *Purāṇa*-s there are plenty of tantric ideas[46] and the vedic ritual of *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* that we are going to examine is also full of tantric elements. The vedic and tantric rituals are often mixed especially in Bengal, where the famous *Durgā-pūjā* is full of tantric elements. On the other hand, the sanction for this mixing is provided by the *Purāṇa*-s. In fact the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* enumerates three kinds of rituals : vedic, tantric and mixed rituals[47]. In South India, however, vedic and tantric rituals remain almost completely distinct.

As we said, the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* includes a great number of ritual acts : the bath of the statue which must be performed under an apposite *maṇḍapa*, its unction with perfumes and sandal paste, the consecration of *kalaśa*, the *homa*, the offerings of food, water and flowers and also other rites that, with few variants, appear in all the *Purāṇa*-s dealing with this subject[48]. Among these rites, the most relevant to our study are those

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45. J. N. Banerjea has given a wide outline of this debate: *op. cit.,* pp. 41 ff. See also S. L. Varmā, *op. cit.,* pp, 5 ff. and G. Rao, *op. cit.,* pp. 4-5.

46. See C. Chakravarti, *Tantras—Studies on their Religion and Literature,* Calcutta, 1972 (rep.), p. 80 and B. Upādhyāya, *Purāṇa Vimarśa,* Vārāṇasi, 1965, pp. 448 ff.

47. See *Bkāgavata-p.,* 11. 27. 7ab :
    वैदिकस्तान्त्रिको मिश्र इति मे त्रिविधो मखः ।

48. The two more classic *Purāṇa*-s in this matter are the *Agni-p.* (*adhyāya*-s 59, 60, 62, 63, 66) and the *Matsya-p.* (*adhyāya* 263-265), but also see *Garuḍa-p.,* 48; *Bhāgavata-p.,* 11. 27; *Śiva-p.,* *Vāyavīyasaṁhitā,* *Uttarabhāga,* 36. The āgamic and tantric literatures are also very rich in ritual

performed on the *mūrti*, especially the *āvahana* because by examining them we can understand the relation between the Divinity and the *mūrti*, and consequently, the way in which the Divinity is present in it.

First of all, it should be noted that many of those *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* rites which aim at preparing the image for the God's descent may be regarded as normal acts of purification and worship. Such acts are usually performed with all the sacred or sacred-related objects[49], but of course in the case of *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* they take on a greater importance and solemnity. Some other rites have a more specific character and, between these, *nyāsa* is particularly important. During the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*, the officiant performs *nyāsa* upon himself, then repeats it upon the *mūrti*. The reason for this lies in the fact that the celebrant cannot consecrate the *mūrti* and invoke in it the Divinity (and not even do a *pūjā*) unless he has performed the same rituals upon himself, thus identifying himself with that Divinity (*ātmaprāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*), so that he simply communicates to the image that particular divine presence which he has first evoked in himself.[50] In the *Purāṇa*-s

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prescriptions for the consecration of the *mūrti*-s (see for example *Parama-saṁhitā*, 18-19 and *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*, 12) The technical work of Nilakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, *Pratiṣṭhā-mayūkha* (edited by Daulatarām Gauḍa, Vārāṇasī, 1971) should be noticed together with a few pages of *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (Bombay, 1949) in which we can find some of the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* formulas very commonly used till now.

49. In the same way, for instance, all the vessels must be purified and worshipped with flowers or anointed with sandal paste before being used in a *pūjā*. Even the hand with which one brings flowers in the temple for offering must be purified with water.

50. Cf. *Agni-p.*, 59.1 ff.; *Matsya-p*, 265. 34-35; *Garuḍa-p.*, 31, 10-12; 48.49; *Bhāgavata-p*, 11.27.19; *Parama-saṁhitā*, 19.59. C. Chakravarti (*op. cit.*, p. 80) rightly sees in this fact a tantric influence. However there is certainly an influence from that traditional idea so well expressed by the saying नादेवो देवमर्चयेत् "No one can worship God, if he is not God". This purely advaitic idea is supported by the authority of *Upaniṣad*-s. (see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-up.*, 1.4.10: योऽन्यां देवतामुपास्तेऽन्योऽसावन्योऽहमस्मीति न स वेद) and also appears in many *Purāṇa*--s. Cf., for example, *Śiva-p.*, *Vāyavīyasaṁhitā*, *Uttarabhāga*, 22.42 cd-43 ab:

different kinds of *nyāsa* are mentioned : Divinities, abstract symbols, the sun, the Indian rivers, etc can be "placed" on the different parts of the *mūrti*. All these concrete or abstract entities are generally symbolized by means of sacred syllabes which the priest visualizes as being put on the eyes, on the limbs, on the heart, on the navel, etc. of the *pratimā*. The more meaningful and commonly used of these *nyāsa*-s is certainly the one in which the priest mentally places the various *tattva* s on different parts of the statue, such as *prāṇa*, *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, *manas*, *tanmātra*-s, *mahābhūta*-s and all the *tattva*-s which, according to *Sāṁkhya*, constitue the manifested universe.[51] For this reason it is spontaneous to compare the *nyāsa* and the act of the *sṛṣṭi*, all the more so because, according to *Agni-purāṇa*, 67.2, these *tattva*-s must be reabsorbed with the *saṁhāra* rite at the moment of *visarjana*, just as the *tattva*-s of the universe will be reabsorbed in the moment of *pralaya*.

The *mūrti* is cosmicizied with the *nyāsa*, before receiving in itself the divine presence, and thus it is mystically transformed into a microcosm; this microcosm is considered as a living organism and, therefore, is similar to the man who is himself a microcosm.[52] In fact, also the sensory faculties of the *mūrti* have to be

नाशिवः शिवमभ्यस्येन्नाशिवः शिवमर्चयेत् ।
नाशिवस्तु शिवं ध्यायेन्नाशिवः प्राप्नुयाच्छिवम् ॥

and 26. 13 ab:

येऽर्चयन्ति महादेवं विज्ञेयास्ते महेश्वराः ।

In this connection, these words of *Kālikā-p.* are particularly strong:

देवाद्वारो ह्यहं देवो देवं देवाय योजयेत् । (57.107)

51. Cf., for example, *Agni-p.*, 59.17 ff. Particularly clear is the *nyāsa*'s formula given in *Nirṇayasindhu*, 3.1, p. 250 and in *Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha*, pp. 150-151.

52. See for example the following passage of *Agni-p.* (59.15-16 ab) which gets strength from the context :

आकाशवायुतेजांसि सलिलं पृथिवी तथा ।
स्थूलमेभिः शरीरन्तु सर्वाधारं प्रजायते ॥
एतेषां वाचका मन्त्रा न्यासायोच्यन्त उत्तमाः ।

As regards the "cosmicization" of the *mūrti*, it is worthy of note that one of the vedic *mantra*-s uttered during the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* is the *Puruṣasūkta* (see *Agni-p*, 59.48 and *Nirṇayasindhu*, 3.1.p. 250).

"roused" : the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*[53] speaks of "rousing" the statue from
sleep with songs and dances and one of the most popular hymns
sung in Bengal during *Durgā-pūjā*, "*Jāgo Durgā*", is an invitation
to the Devī to "rouse". Here the rite with which the eyes of the
mūrti are opened is particularly beautiful and meaningful. The
officiant, pronouncing a *mantra*, touches the eyes of the statue with
a stick to the top of which a tuft of *kuśa* grass or some flowers are
tied and in this way he gives light to the Divinity's eyes.[54] Both
to touch the cheeks of the statue and to touch its heart are other
meaningful gestures and all have the same basic symbolism :
infusing life into the *pratimā*, which is directly connected with the
significance of *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* (the "establishing the life" in
the *mūrti*).

देवस्य प्राणा इह प्राणाः....देवस्य जीव इह स्थितः....

Through such words the officiant invokes in the statue the
prāṇa and *jīva* of the Divinity, and he also invokes the *indriya*-s one
by one.[55] Of course, here a symbolic language is used because the
Divinity has not the sense organs, but it well expresses the idea of
the "vivification of the image" (*sajīvakaraṇa*). This vivification
cannot be considered accomplished until the Divinity invoked by
the celebrant descends into the *mūrti* whose senses have been roused
and in which life has been infused :

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53. Quoted by J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 566-567.

54. हिरण्यवर्णीं हरिणीं नेत्रे चोन्मीलयेच्छिखया: ॥

(*Agni-p.*, 62.3 cd)

मन्त्रोऽयं सर्वदेवानां नेत्रज्योतिष्वपि स्मृत: ।
एवमामन्त्र्य देवेशं काञ्चनेन विलेखयेत् ॥

(*Matsya-p.*, 263.33)

Notice here that a golden stick is said to be used for
opening the Divinity's eyes, like in *Garuḍa-p.*, 48.35-36.

55. Cf. *Nirṇayasindhu*, 3.1, p. 250. This formula, as well as
the others, are susceptible of variations in the common
use. This fact is testified by the modern *karmakāṇḍa*
manuals. See for example, *Karmakāṇḍa Paddhatiḥ*, edit.
by G. Datta Śāstri, Mathurā, s. d., p. 166 :

अस्याः देव्याः स्वर्णप्रतिमायां प्राणा इह प्राणा:........अस्याः देव्याः
स्वर्णप्रतिमायां जीवा इह स्थित:........See also *Sanatkumāra-tantra*,
4.13 and 10.78-80 (in *Tantrasaṃgrahaḥ*, vol. III, edit. by
R. Tripāṭhī, Vārāṇasī, 1979, pp. 517-564).

....प्रतिमाबिम्बे स्थिरो भव परेश्वर ।
सजीवं कुरु बिम्बं........⁵⁶

The *āvāhana* is certainly the most solemn moment of all the
prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā ceremony, because through *āvāhana* the mystical
change in the *mūrti* is fulfilled. In the *Purāṇa*-s many formulas of
āvāhana are given and some of them are wonderful prayers by which
the celebrant invokes God with devotion, asking him to become
present in the *pratimā* and identifying Him with the *Paramātman*,
with the Supreme Lord, Omnipresent and All-pervading, Crea-
tor and Sustainer of all things.[57] But usually, the *āvāhana* is per-
formed by uttering a short *mantra* which varies depending on wheth-
er the *mūrti* is *cala* or *acala*. If the *mūrti* is *acala*, the Divinity is
invoked to remain in the *pratimā* for ever, "till the sun and the
moon"[58] exist. If the *mūrti* is *cala*, the Divinity is requested to stay
in it for the whole time of the *pūjā*.[59] Among the stereotyped for-
mulas used for *āvāhana* of different Divinities, the formula quoted
by the *Nirṇayasindhu* is one of the most often used, appearing with
few variants in many manuals of *karmakāṇḍa*[60] :

अस्यै प्राणाः प्रतिष्ठन्तु अस्यै प्राणाः क्षरन्तु च ।
अस्यै देवत्वमर्चायै मामहेति च कञ्चन ॥[61]

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56. *Agni-p.*, 40.21-cd 22a.　Cf. also *Saṁskārapaddhatiḥ* by
　　BHĀSKARA, Poona, 1924, p. 29 : इति मन्त्रमुक्त्वा प्रतिमां
　　सजीवां ध्यायेत् ।

57. Cf. for example *Viṣṇudharmottara-p.*, 3.102; *Varāha-p.*, 185.
　　10-17; *Agni-p.*, 60.19-23.

58. So it is said in the wellknown formula :
　　सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ यावद्यावत्तिष्ठति मेदिनी ।
　　तावत्त्वयात्र देवेश स्थातव्यं स्वेच्छया प्रभो ॥
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha*, p. 157)

59. For example, this is the formula used in the *āvāhana* of
　　a *cala liṅga* : स्वामिन् सर्वजगन्नाथ यावत् पूजावसानकम् । तावत् त्वं
　　लिङ्गरूपेण अत्रैव सन्निधौ भव ॥

60. See for example in V. ŚARMĀ GAUḌA, *Durgāpūjana-
　　paddhatiḥ*, Vārāṇasī, 1977, p. 8 and in V. N. MIŚRA,
　　Grahaprayogaḥ arthāt grahaśāntiḥ, Kāśī, 1945, p. 9

61. *Nirṇayasindhu*, p. 250.　In the *Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha* (p. 152),
　　this formula is given with the following variant :
　　अस्यै देवत्वमर्चायै स्वाहेति यजुरीरयेत् ॥ And in *Saṁskārapaddhati*

After welcoming God who has settled in the *mūrti*, one has to invoke Him again : "O Bhagavat, with that form with which You pervades all the mobile and immobile things, remain present in the sacred images, o Lord of gods !"

यें रूपेण भगवंस्त्वया व्याप्तं चराचरम् ।
तेन रूपेण देवेश स्वार्चायां सन्निधौ भव ॥[62]

Anyway, it must be pointed out that, although the technical literature and the *Purāṇa*-s themselves are rich in ritual prescriptions and formulas for the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*, all these texts have to be considered incomplete in many cases, and most probably purposely incomplete. We have already mentioned the fact that in tantric rituals many parts remain secret : also in the cases of many other common rites of consecration, the Divinity's name or a particular *mantra* which will henceforth be pronounced during every *pūjā* remain secret. This happens especially in the case of family Divinities (*kula-devatā*) whose secret *mantra* is handed on from father to son and is jealously kept in the narrow family circle, but this *mantra* (or name) remains often secret also in the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* of the *mūrti*-s which are under the care of a *maṭha* or of a religious association and, in this case, it is known only by the *pujāri* of that *maṭha* or of that association. This is because the Divinity's name or the *mantra* has a determinant power in the *āvāhana* and just through it the Divinity is called[63]. Here is the heart of the matter: what happens during the *āvāhana* ? How can a *mantra* evoke the divine presence ? Figuratively, we could say that when the celebrant invokes God in one of his aspects and asks Him to become present in the *mūrti*, he attunes himself on the wavelength of the Divinity, catches its vibrations and infuses them in the *mūrti*. The instrument which enables him to catch the vibrations of one certain Divinity among many other divine vibrations is its name or its particular *mantra*, which, as its essence, is indivisible from the Divinity itself. In this connection there is all the theology of the

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(p. 29) : अस्यें जीवत्वमर्चायें स्वाहा ॥ This formula is also present in the *Kālikā-p.*, according to V. Śarmā Gauḍa, but he specifies neither the *adhyāya* nor the *śloka* (*Yajña-mīmāṁsā*, p 513).

62. *Nirṇayasindhu*, 3. 1, p. 250 and *Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha*, p. 156.
63. मन्त्रैराकृष्यते देवो मन्त्रैरेव विसृज्यते ॥ (*Parama-saṁhitā*, 6. 3cd).

Name, especially developed by *vaiṣṇava* movements, according to which in God "*nāma-nāminor abhedah*".[64] Morever, the *mantra* is the essential and enigmatic expression of the same symbolism found in the iconographical form which simply expresses it in a more concrete and explicit way. Therefore, there is a perfect correspondence between the *mantra* and the iconographical form of a certain Divinity because both of them are manifestations of the same divine essence[65]. For this reason in the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* (but also in

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64.   This doctrine is based on the idea of the eternity of sound and, carried to its extreme consequences, has led to the consideration of God's Name as something greater than God himself, somehow. See S. K. DE, *The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 486-487 and T. K. VENKATE-SVARAN, *Radha-Krishna Bhajanas of South India : A Phenomenological, Theological, and Philosophical Study*, in : *Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes*, edit. by M. Singer, Chicago, 1966, p. 169. Also in the *Purāṇa-s* a supreme power is attributed to the Name of God, as the great number of *sahasranāmastotra·s* present in the puranic literature can show. For example let us mention the *Śivasahasranāma*, in *Liṅga-p.*, 1. 98. 27-158, *Śiva-p.*, *Kotirudra Saṁhitā* 35, the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, in *Garuḍa-p.*, 1, 15 and *Padma-p.* (Poona, 1894), *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, 72. 113-297, and the *Durgāsahasranāma*, in *Kūrma-p.*, 1.2. 76-216. The importance of the repetition of God's Name is always much stressed and this repetition is said to grant fulfillment of all desires, purification from all sins, the merits one can get from the pilgrimage to all *tīrtha-s* and even *mukti* ! Cf. for example *Padma·p.*, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, 72. 1-110; *Agni-p.*, 305.16; *Liṅga-p.*, 1.44. 48-49; *Śiva-p.*, *Umāsaṁhitā*, 20. 50-52; *Bhāgavata-p.*, 1. 1. 14; 1. 5. 11; 11. 5. 36-37.

65.   See A. DANIELOU, *op. cit.*, p. 332. As is well known, the importance of *mantra* has been stressed especially in the tantrism (see A. AVALON, *op. cit.*, pp. 312 ff.), but also in the *Purāṇa-s* we can find a lot of material about *mantra-s* in their connection with different Divinities especially in *Agni-p.* which dedicates several *adhyāya-s* to this subject (302, 304, 308, 317 etc,).

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every *pūjā*) a great importance is given to *mūla-mantra*, which can be translated as "fundamental" or "specific" *mantra* and which is the *mantra* characteristic of a particular Divinity. In this connection the *Agni-purāṇa* (49.37cd-38ab) clearly states that the vivification of that Divinity, whose *sthāpana* has to be made, must be performed through *mūla-mantra* :

अथवा यस्य देवस्य प्रारब्धं स्थापनं भवेत्‌ ॥
तस्यैव मूलमन्त्रेण सजीवकरणं भवेत्‌ ।

When the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* has been accomplished, the *mūrti* can be worshipped or in the case of a temple's *mūrti*, it can be exposed to public veneration. It is very important to stress the fact that before performing the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*, the *mūrti* is only an object like many others; at most it can function as a symbolical reminder as do sacred images in Christianity, but it cannot be an object of worship. All the sacred value of the *mūrti* as the seat of divine presence depends in fact on the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*; thus it is said that if one makes a mistake in pronouncing *mantra*-s or in performing the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* rites, one runs the risk of worshipping a mere stone as Divinity.[66] This is obviously a far cry from idolatry ! Furthermore, the *Purāṇa*-s explicitly warn the faithful against the *pūjā* of a *mūrti* whose consecration has not yet been performed[67], because, as we insisted from the very beginning, not the image in itself is worshipped but the Divinity present in it.

There is one more problem regarding this "divine presence", namely, what is the relationship between the *mūrti* and the Divinity present in it ? Recalling what happens during the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*, we can say that "inhabitation" is perhaps the most suitable term for the definition of this relationship. This term is also suggested when it is constantly affirmed that God becomes present (*sannihita*) in the *mūrti*. Moreover, "*adhivāsana*", that is "inhabitation", is the term which is used to describe a part of the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*

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66. Cf. *Āryāsaptaśatī*, 386 (quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, sub voce "*pratiṣṭhā*") :

पूजा विना प्रतिष्ठां नास्ति न मन्त्रं विना प्रतिष्ठा च ।
तदुभयविप्रतिपन्न: पश्यतु गीर्वाणिपाषाणम्‌ ॥

67. See the *śloka* quoted by V. S. GAUDA in *Yajña-mīmāṁā*, p. 513.

rites, which also includes the *āvāhana*.[68]   The term "inhabitation"
is, however, imprecise, because the relation between Divinity and
mūrti cannot be compared to the one between a house and its inha-
bitants merely.   We have seen that the *mūrti* is mystically tranfor-
med through *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* into a living organism, that the *mūrti*
is vivified by the *prāṇa*, the *jīva*, the *indriyas* of the Divinity and that
somehow it is regarded as the Divinity's body.   A proof is the fact
that the *pratimā* is often called by names such as *vapu, tanu, vera* etc.
in the Scriptures.   This way of "feeling" the sacred image as the
Divinity's body is peculiar especially to the *Pañcarātra Saṁhitā-s*,
which consider the *arcā*, the sacred image object of worship, as one
of the five God's manifestations (*vibhava*).[69]   Also the *yantra* which,
as we have seen, is somehow an equivalent of the *mūrti*, is often
spoken of as a Divinity's body, especially in the *Tantra-s*.[70]   Yet
we cannot speak of a perfect union between the Divinity and this
"body".   In fact, just as God enters the *mūrti* through *āvāhana*, in
the same way He leaves it through *visarjana*.   Also if any accident
befalls the *mūrti*—a fall, a breakage and, according to some sources,
even the impure contact with an out-cast—it may results in the
God's removal from the *mūrti* as from a habitation that has become
unpleasant.[71]

Actually, the relationship between Divinity and *mūrti* escapes
precise definition; again and again the tradition has stressed the
mūrti aspects as the Divinity's body or habitation, but this second
aspect seems to be more consistent from a doctrinal point of view
and on the basis of puranic texts.   Perhaps the term that best of
all expresses the *mūrti* reality, including both the ideas of habi-
tation and of living organism, is the term "*jīvamandira*" which

68.   हरेः सान्निध्यकरणमधिवासनमुच्यते । (*Agni-p.*, 59, 1 ab) Cf. also
Mahānirvāṇa-tantra, 13. 285 where the *pratimā* is called
"*devatāvasa*" "Divinity's habitation".

69.   On the idea of *arcā* in the *Pañcarātra's* doctrine, see S. R.
BHATT, *The Philosophy of Pancharatra*, Madras, 1968,
p. 41 and the articles of M. YAMUNACHARYA, V.
VARADACHARI and S. VASUDEVACHARIAR, in
Visishtadvaita Philosophy and Religion, Madras, 1974, pp.
206-211, p. 240 and p. 258.   See also above n. 30.

70.   See J. WOODROFFE, *Introduction to Tantra Śāstra*,
Madras, 1973 (VI ed.), pp. 92-95 and P. V. KANE, *op.
cit.*, vol. V, pt. II, p. 1135.

71.   See above n. 35.

appears in *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 11.27.13b, and which means "living habitation" or "living temple" of the Divinity.[72]

We now have many elements for answering the initial problem at least from a puranic point of view. We have seen that the *mūrti* worship has certainly the value of offering psychological aid to the devotee, because the *mūrti* represents a concrete divine form to which he can direct his devotion and meditation. At the same time, *mūrti-pūjā* is only a step towards a higher realization and towards the transcendence of any forms and rites. But to consider the *mūrti* only as a symbol or as a support for meditation is an incomplete view, a disregard of its deepest reality, that is the divine presence, which should not be understood merely as a practical means for the devotee. The divine presence in the *mūrti* is something effective at a mystical level. If we have to use Christian terminology, we could say that it is somehow a "sacramental" presence. God is everywhere, but through the power of the *āvāhana's mantra* He enters the *mūrti* with his *śakti* and gives to his *bhakta*-s in a very specific way the grace of his presence. Thus we cannot consider *āvāhana* and *visarjana* merely as a "psychological drama" which is played for the purpose of worship in the mind of the *sādhaka*-s : they truly result in a mystical transformation of the *mūrti*, as clearly comes out by examining the ritual and the

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72. In this connection is remarkable the similarity between the *mūrti* and the temple which are both inhabited by God and both considered His body, although in a different way. In the ceremony of temple dedication, as described in *Agni-p.*, 101-102, there are analogies with some *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* rites. Moreover the *Agni-p.* clearly states that the temple is a kind of *mūrti* : प्रासादं वासुदेवस्य मूर्तिभेदम् (61, 19 cd.) and considers it to be a microcosm and a living organism, just like the *mūrti*. The various characteristics of the temple are linked with the *mahābhūta*-s and its parts with the parts of the human body, while the *pratimā* has the place of the *jīva* (प्रतिमा जीव उच्यते) 61, 20-26). The temple, as the *mūrti*, is the instrument through which God is present in the world in a concrete and approachable way :

एवमेष हरि: साक्षात्प्रसादत्वेन संस्थित: ॥ (*Agni-p.*, 61. 26 cd).

Scriptures. The *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* marks the *mūrti* with a particular seal which elevates the *mūrti* above all other things and makes it an important point of contact between man and God.

THE ROLE OF FOUR VARṆAS DURING THE
TIME OF NĪLĀDRI-MAHODAYAM

By

Vidyut Lata Ray

The *Sthala-Purāṇa* Nīlādri-Mahodayam is a big work covering 91 *Adhyāyas*. This *Purāṇā* was compiled on the model of the Puruṣottama-Māhātmya of the Skanda-purāṇa. The internal and external evidence indicate that this *purāṇa* was composed sometime in the latter part of the 14th century A. D. This *Purāṇa*, though primarily a *Purāṇa* of Jagannātha *tattva* and Jagannātha cult, presents a fairly comprehensive picture of the society of its time. There is no doubt that the institution of Jagannātha influences the social life of the people of Orissa. A deep and careful study of the Nīlādri-Mahodayam opens out many striking features of the then society, in its social, political, economic and cultural aspects. A society, being dynamic in nature, is a mirror-image of civilization. The contemporary civilization is clearly reflected in the Nīlādri-Mahodayam with sufficient references to the duties of the *varṇas*.

The society figuring in the Nīlādri-Mahodayam mainly comprised two categories of people—the kings and the subjects. Both the classes were helpful to each other. The people were generally pious and courteous. They were dutiful and obedient. The life in the society was diversified with such activities as "*Śrauta, Smārta, Prāyaścitta* and *Tīrtha*". In his relation to the rest of society, each individual laid stress upon his duties, his *dharma*. The society was practically based on realistic idealism. The people, however, had various skills and accordingly they were known as administrators, agriculturists, physicians, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, businessmen, dancers, musicians, educationists, fore-tellers, magicians etc. There also flourished some people having bad qualities. Our *purāṇa* refers to one kind of such people and calls the '*caṇḍā-las*'.[1] These people formed the lowest stratum of the society.

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1. N. M. 10.115a : "*Caṇḍālādi-jalaspṛṣṭam...........*"

Varṇa

In the early Ṛg-vedic period, the Āryas and the Anāryas, Dāsas or Dasyus were the two distinct classes in the society. They were sharply distinguished from each other by their language, religion and several other aspects. There were ethnical and physiognomical differences; the Dasyus were dark-skinned whereas the Āryas were fair. Thus, the concept of varṇa originated in the very remote period of Veda. Due to the complexity of life, various classes were gradually springing up in the Āryan society. The Avesta shows that in the Indo-Iranian period, the Āryan society was divided into four classes—priests, warriors, farmers and artisans.[2] But the Indo-Aryans were divided into three classes among themselves—Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya and Viś in the earlier age; and Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya in later times. The Anāryas, who were by this time almost completely subjugated, were also included in the Varṇa-scheme and formed the fourth class, the Śūdra.[3] The names of the four varṇas, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are expressly mentioned with their special characteristics in the famous Ṛg-vedic Puruṣa-Sūkta.[4] In the age of the later Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Purāṇas, the classes continued to be fluid. The four-fold division of the society into the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and the Śūdras has become fully established by the time of the Nīlādri-Mahodayam,[5] though the principle in determining a varṇa became different from that of the Vedic period. Originally, these varṇas were formulated on the basis of karma (action) and not by janma (birth). But the principle of heredity received greater and greater recognition in the age of the later Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Purāṇas. Our Purāṇa[6] mentions heredity as the main principle in determining the varṇa of an

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2. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. I, p. 224.

3. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. 11, Part I, pp. 25-36.

4. *Ṛg-veda*, X. 90.12.

5. N. M. 11.79-80a :
    Deve kṣatriya-saṃspṛṣṭe mahāsnānadvayaṃ bhavet,
    Vaśyairvāratrayaṃ śūdraiścaturvāraṃ tadācaret.
    Pūjāyāṃ jalapātraṃ vai Brāhmaṇaṃca vinā nṛpa.

6. N. M. 9.62 : *Māsadvayādhike saptavarṣe jāte nṛpottama.*
    tadopanayanaṃ kuryājjyeṣṭhaputrasya dhīmate
    9.73 : Tasya gotre yadā putro jyeṣṭho na syācca daivataḥ.
    dvitīyatanayaṃ kuryād agniśarmaṇa mādarāt.

individual. The rights and privileges of the different *varṇas* in the society had by that time been distinctly laid down and the people of a particular *varṇa* followed the *sva-dharma* as their duty.

Among the four *varṇas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Kṣatriyas*, the *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras*, the gradation of each preceding one was considered higher than that of the one following. Except the *Brāhmaṇas*, the Nīlādri-Mahodayam forbids the other three *varṇas* from touching the deity or its Naivedya and prescribes '*Mahāsnānas*' of the deity if touched by *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra*.[7] The *Purāṇa* prescribes twice, thrice and four-times '*Mahāsnānas*' for *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra*-touch respectively.[8] Thus, the *Brāhmaṇas* were considered worthy of the highest respect in society and the *Śūdras* were the people of the lowest class. It is a remarkable fact worth noting here that the Nīlādri-Mahodayam finds no difference among the animals, the birds and the people of the society while taking *Mahāprasāda* (*Bhoga*) of Lord Jagannātha.[9] This process promotes brotherliness in the people without considerations of their caste and creed.

Varṇa-saṁkara :

The term *varṇa-saṁkara* means the various mixed-castes that emerged in the society due to the '*Anuloma*' and '*Pratiloma*' kinds of marriage.[10] To the best of our knowledge, there is no occurrence of *varṇa-saṁkara* in the Vedic literature, though many instances of inter-caste marriage[11] can be cited from it. This is because *varṇa* was determined by the duty discharged by an individual. In the *Dharmaśāstra* works, there is frequent occurrence of the term "*varṇa--saṁkara*' in connection with castes and sub-castes.[12] Manu[13]

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7. N. M. 11.78 :
   Kṣatriyaśca yadā vaiśyaḥ śūdraśca daivataḥ spṛśet.
   tadācarenmahāsnānaṁ dviguṇaṁ kramaśo hareḥ.

8. N.M. 11/79 : *Deve kṣatriyasaṁspṛṣṭe mahāsnānadvayṁ bhavet,*
   Vaiśyairvāratrayaṁ śūdraiścaturvāraṁ tadācaret.

9. N. M. 11.115 : *Cāṇḍālādi-jalaspṛṣṭaṁ tadannaṁ ca nṛpottama,*
   Bhotkavyaṁ sahasā vipraiḥ pāvanaṁ suradurlabhaṁ.

10. *Śukra-Nīti*, p. 223, *Manu*, 1.2; S. D. Gyani, *Agni-purāṇa—A study*, p. 240.

11. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. II, p. 447.

12. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 123 and fn 23.

13. *Manu*, X. 1 ff.

illustrates the various *saṁkara-jātis* that originated in the '*anuloma*' kind of marriage. The *Dharmaśātras* generally relate the term '*varṇa-saṁkara*' to the promotion of social relations among the four *varṇas*. However, the Nilādri-Mahodayam does not refer directly to the idea of *varṇa-saṁkara* but includes the Mlecchas[14] along with the other people of the society. In some works, the Mlecchas are also considered as products of *varṇa-saṁkara*.[15]

The Brāhmaṇas and their role :

The *Brāhmaṇas* in the Nilādri-Mahodayam stood at the head of the *varṇa scheme*. Being the first class in the society, they were to conserve the ancient ideals, to maintain and develop the ancient rituals, to probe the mysteries of the universe, to investigate the relation between the Supreme spirit and the individual Soul and above all to preach the realization of the truths. The Bhagavad-Gītā characterizes the conduct of a *Brāhmaṇa* by tranquility, self-restraint, penance, purity, forgiveness, straightforwardness, knowledge, wisdom, realization of truth, and faith[16]—in fact, the *Brāhmaṇas* dedicated themselves to everything that was good and righteous. The study of the *Veda* was their primary concern. While introducing a *Brāhmaṇa*[17] in general, the Nilādri-Mahodayam speaks of him as "proficient in the *Veda* and its auxiliaries, in the *Smṛtis*, *Āgamas*, *Pāñcarātras* and the *Purāṇas*."[18] The zealous devotion with which the *Brāhmaṇas* applied themselves to the study of the *Veda* qualify them alone to undertake and discharge with efficiency the duty of a priest. Learning the *Vedas*, officiating at sacrifices, receiving the gifts and advising the king in various matters were the main duties of the *Brāhmaṇas* during the time of the Nilādri-Mahodayam.

The *Brāhmaṇa* as an officiating priest at sacrifices figures from the Ṛg veda onwards. The instances of the performances of sacri-

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14. N. M. 37.135a : "*Mlecchaśca yatra...............*"

15. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 124 and *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, 49.55.

16. *Bhagavad-Gītā*, XVIII, 42.

17. N. M. 9.3 : *Śṛṇu rājan mahāprājna jagadīśasya māpateḥ.*
     Ācāryapramukhānāṁ ca lakṣaṇaṁ kathayāmyaham.

18. N. M. 9.4-5a : *Sarvesāṁ sevakānāṁ ca śreṣṭhaḥ sa pūjako*
                                                     mataḥ

Vedavedāṅgavicchuddhaḥ pañcarātraviśaradaḥ
Smṛtyāgamapurāṇajñaḥ śāntaśca satkulodbhavaḥ.
Vaidikāṁstāntrikān mantrān jānmācārāravān ghṛṇī

fices by the *Brāhmaṇas* are abundant in our *Purāṇa*. The *Purāṇa* has provided for us a state of facts about *yajña*. The great Aśva-medha-sacrifice arranged by the king Indradyumna was successfully performed by the *Brāhmaṇas*. The king being pleased with them offered immense gifts, which included clothes, gold, rice, precious ornaments and also cows.[19] The *Brāhmaṇas* were considered the worthiest recipients of *dānas* and *dakṣiṇās*. The acceptance of gifts remained their principal means of livelihood. Rich and profuse gifts were granted to them by the kings on various occasions such as sacrifices, coronations, installations of temples, deities and *Rathas*. King Indradyumna gave a lot of *dānas* to the *Brāhmaṇas* and fed them well after the installation of the *Rathas* of Lord Jagannātha, Bālabhadra and Subhadrā.[20] In some cases, land was also one among the gifts offered to the *Brāhmaṇas*.[21] Satisfying the *Brāhmaṇas* with *dakṣiṇās* was one of the sacred duties of the people.[22] Our *Purāṇa* also frequently refers to half or a part of *dakṣiṇā* in want of its full amount. It is necessary to add here that in return for their services the *Brāhmaṇas* did not expect much. But the *pūjā* goes in vain without some kind of *dakṣiṇā*.[23] The topic of *dāna*, however, finds a very elaborate treatment in the Nīlādri-Mahoda-yam which contains principles and regulations regarding the proper *dāna*, its kinds and religious efficacies.

In the Nīlādri-Mahodayam, the *Brāhmaṇas* are seen invariably present in all social and religious functions. The kings and princes cherished their friendship and took pride in doing them service. Perhaps in every kingdom there was a *Brāhmaṇa purohita*, who was

19. N. M. 3.94-96 : *Yajñānte vahudānāni tena]dattāni koṭiśaḥ Annaiśca....•••....••••••...."*

20. N. M. 5.65-66 :
Suvarṇaṁ rajataṁ ratnaṁ vastraṁ dhānyaṁ ca gāṁ punaḥ datvā santoṣayedvipraṁ karma kartāra muttamam bhojayet brāhmaṇān divyaṁ pāyasam madhusarpiṣā annaṁ pūpādikaṁ tāvat pratiṣṭhānte tato dvijāḥ

21. N. M. 16.131 :
Pūrṇāhutiṁ tataḥ kṛtvā hema-bhūmyādi dakṣiṇām datvā vahuvidhāṁ divai ratnair viprāṁśca toṣayet

22. N. M. 13.37b :
"Suvarṇaiśca tadācāryaṁ toṣayed dakṣiṇārpaṇāt"

23. N. M. 23.336 :
"Dakṣiṇāyā abhāvena tatsarvaṁ niṣphalaṁ bhavet"

also the king's chief counsellor.[24] The *purohita* figures in our
Purāṇa as an important person in matters of state, as an adviser
whose advice was heeded with respect and as one who could re-
present the king in his absence.[25] The *purohita* of Indradyumna
wielded considerable influence in matters of state. He advised the
king to send his *(purohita's)* younger brother, Vidyāpati, to locate
the god Nīlamādhava in Oḍra-deśa and the king did accordingly.[26]
Thus, he was the co-adjutor and the alter ego of the king.

The *Brāhmaṇas* commanded very high respect in society. They
were universally regarded as *Bhūsura*,[27] *Mahīsura*[28] or *Dharaṇīsura*[29]
(divinities on the earth). The superiority of a *Brāhmaṇa* is recog-
nized from the time of the Ṛg-veda onwards. According to our
Purāṇa, God becomes satisfied with the satisfaction of the *Brāhmaṇa*[30]
The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa states that "oblations go to the gods and
the fee to the learned *Brāhmaṇas* who are the human gods."[31]
Some of the *Dharmaśāstras* assign to them a status superior to that
of the gods. According to Manu, a *Brāhmaṇa*, learned or not, is a
deity.[32] Similar expressions also occur in the Mahābhārata.[33]
But, such a theoretical claim that a *Brāhmaṇa* is superior even to
gods is not found in the Nīlādri-Mahodayam. This *Purāṇa* affirms
that a *Brāhmaṇa* is just like Viṣṇu himself.[34]

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24. N. M. 2.42-43.

25. N. M. 9.66 : "........*So'yaṁ pratinidhi stava*
           utsaveṣu ca sarveṣu............"

26. N. M. 2.44-48.

27. N. M. 2.97 : "*Mitratāṁ tena vai sārddhaṁ sampādya sa ca
                                     bhūsura*"
     42.44a : "*Vaṭuṁ dhārayate yastu vinā mantreṇa Bhūsuraḥ.*"

28. N. M. 2.96C :
     "*Tamāliṅgitavān gaḍhaṁ viṣṇuvuddhyā mahīsuraḥ*"

29. N. M. 2.96b : "*Iti viśvavasorvāṇīṁ śrutvā sa dharaṇīsuraḥ,*"
     22.10a : "*Brāhmaṇam tvāmaham tāvad vṛṇe sa dharaṇīsuraḥ*"

30. N. M. 9/24 : *Ācāryasya ca santoṣe santoṣo jagatāṁ pateḥ
     tasmimstuṣṭe haristuṣṭo jagadetaccarācaram.*

31. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, 1.336 cf. also Kane,
     2.837 ff.

32. Kane, 2.135.

33. Ibid, 136.

34. N.M. 2.52b :
     "*Sakṣādviṣṇusvarūpastvaṁ brāhmaṇodya nirīkṣitaḥ*

This *Purāṇa* refers to the various divisions prevailing among
the *Brāhmaṇas*. The words, *dvija*[35] and *vipra*[36] are of very fre-
quent occurrence. Besides, we find the categories, *Ācārya, caruhotā,*
pātrahotā, Brahmā and *Agniśarmā* included in the hierarchy of the
Brāhmaṇas.[37] The Nilādri-Mahodayam, in its chapter nine (*navama*
adhyāya), vividly explains the *lakṣaṇas* of *ācārya* and *Agniśarmā.*
The following *lakṣaṇas* were attributed to an *ācārya Brāhmaṇa.* He
should not be a limbless person, a widower, or a diseased man. He
should be polite and should have '*vratas*' of a '*Tapasvī*'. He should
have no sexual anxieties and his conduct should always be based
upon good manners.[38] An *Agniśarmā Brāhmaṇa* had the following
qualities. "He should observe *brahmacarya* and should study *Vedas*
He should not take his meal in the house of others. He should
not talk with women and *śudras*. He should have *upanayana-*
saṁskāra. He should be polite and his manners should be always
good."[39] In all festivals and sacrifices, the *Agniśarmā* represented
the king.[40] The *pūjaka Brāhmaṇas* used 'tilaka on the forehead and
on their chests. Our *Purāṇa* mentions special shapes for the *tilaka*
on the forehead and on the chest. The *tilaka* on the forehead was
stick-shaped, that on the chest had the shape of a lotus-leaf.[41]

Brahma-hatyā (killing a *Brāhmaṇa*) was one of the most grievous
sins. According to Nilādri-Mahodayam, one can be free from such
sins only if one visits 'Kalpa-pādapa', 'Kapālamocana' and takes
'*Nirmālya*' of Lord Jagannātha.[42] Prostrating length-wise in the
shade of *Ratha* frees one from all the sins, including *Brahma-hatyā*.[43]

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35. N. M. 2.112a; 5.33b; 5.66b; 5.54.

36. N. M. 16.131b; 2.90a; 2.101b; 4.21a; 5.65b.

37. N. M. 7.112a; 9.61a.

38. N. M. 9.6-7 : *Aṅgahīnaḥ patnīhīno na bhaved rogasaṁyutaḥ.*
    Vinayena yutaḥ śrīmān tapasvī sa ca suvrataḥ
    Kāmādidoṣarahitaḥ sadācārapratiṣṭhitaḥ.
    ācāryastādṛśaḥ śrīmān bhavettasya pārātmanaḥ.

39. N. M. 9.62-65.

40. N.M. 9.66: *Vastrācchāditaśīrṣaśca so'yaṁ pratinidhi stava*
    Utsaveṣu ca sarveṣu śirapaṇiṁ sureśvaram.

41. N. M. 38.46-47a.

42. N.M.1.31a: "*Brahmahatyādipāpaghno varttate kalpapādapaḥ*"
    N.M. 1.38b : *Paśyatāṁ jagatāṁ vāpi brahmahatyādi pāpahā.*"
    N.M. 10.113a : "*Brahmahatyādi-pāpaghnaṁ nirmālyaṁ*
    jagatāṁ pateḥ"

43. N.M. 16.119 : *Rathacchāyāṁ samālambya bhaktiśraddhānvitā*
    yadā, Brahmahatyādipāpebhyo muktāḥ syur bhavabandhanāt."

The Kṣatriyas and their role

In some verses of the Ṛg-veda, the word *Kṣatriya* means 'a king or a noble-man'. The word *rājanya* is found in the Ṛg-Veda only once in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, but in the later Vedic literature it is often used for a man of the royal family.[44] During the time of Nīlādri-Mahodayam, the *Kṣatriyas* were the martial section of the community. The status of a *Kṣatriya* in society was next to that of a *Brāhmaṇa*. Indradyumna, though a king, paid respect to the *Brāhmaṇa* Vidyāpati.[45] As rulers, the *Kṣatriyas* were sometimes commanding over the *Brāhmaṇas*—the king Indradyumna allowed the *Brāhmaṇa* Vidyāpati to go to *Oḍradeśa* in search of the deity 'Nilamādhava'.[46] Our *Purāṇa* hints at the *Sūryavaṁśa* origin of the *Kṣatriyas* by mentioning that the king Indradyumna was born in *Sūryavaṁśa*.[47] The *Kṣatriyas* were mainly instructed in the art of war and in state politics.

The *Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa* relationship was very close. The *Kṣatriyas* handled the administrative powers of the state whereas the *Brāhmaṇas* were the chief counsellors to them. Only *Kṣatriyas* were considered competent to become rulers and in that capacity they had to ensure a free and due observance of *dharma* by everyone in society. Arrangement of sacrifices was the duty of *Kṣatriyas*, mainly of *Kṣatriya*-kings. The performance of sacrifices, on the one hand, brought merit to the arranger and, on the other hand, it offered subsistence to the *Brāhmaṇas* who depended mainly on the charities given to them by the other *varṇas*. Thus, the *Kṣatriyas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* were intimately related to each other.

The duties of the Vaiśyas

In the Nīlādri-Mahodayam, the *vaiśyas* are often mentioned just to complete the list of the *varṇas*. From the information scattered loosely in the *Purāṇa*, it appears that the *vaiśyas* were a community engaged in trade and commerce. The *vaiśyas* focussed

44. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 139.
45. N. M. 2.112 : *Āyātaṁ taṁ dvijaśreṣṭhaṁ Indradyumno mahī-patiḥ*
   Āsanāt sahasotthāya namaskṛtya ca taṁ punaḥ.
46. N. M. 2.47b
   "Gaccha gaccha dvijaśreṣṭha tallakṣyaṁ kuru vegataḥ"
47. N.M. 2.8b : *"Jātah kṛtayuge viprāḥ sūryavaṁśasamudbhavaḥ"*

their attention mainly on wealth and profit. They formed the
basis upon which the other two classes of society, the *Brāhmaṇa* and
the *Kṣatriya*, rested.

The duties of the Śūdras

The Nīlādri-Mahodayam describes the *śūdras* as a *varṇa* of
the lowest rank in society. Their principal duty was to serve the
higher three *varṇas*. The *śūdras* were considered as the degraded
ones. They were forbidden to touch the materials ready for the
worship of Lord Jagannātha.[48] They were not allowed to enter
the kitchen of Lord Jagannātha.[49] Such references as the *śūdras*
studying the *Vedas*, worshiping the deities and performing the
sacrifices are not included in our *Purāṇa*. In the *Dharmaśāstras*
we find many disabilities imposed on *śūdras* and the Mahābhārata
says that they cannot own property.[50] According to our *Purāṇa*,
their presence at the sacrifical altar was considered contaminating.

The Śabaras and their activities

In addition to the *varṇas* discussed above, the Nīlādri-Maho-
dayam mentions the *Śabaras* and the *Yavanas* as the other races of
the society. There were *Śabara*-dwellings situated to the west of
the Puruṣottama Kṣetra.[51] The text of our *Purāṇa* reveals that
the *Śabaras* lived in the forests. They were hospitable to their
guests. They lived on fruits and roots collected from the forest.
The Nīlādri-Mahodayam describes that the *Brāhmaṇa* Vidyāpati,
while searching for the deity Nilamādhava, met with the great
Śabara Viśvāvasu in the forest of *Śabara-dvīpa*. Viśvāvasu paid
respect to Vidyāpati and warmly welcomed him with fruits and
roots.[52] The deity Nilamādhava was worshiped by the *Śabara*
Viśvāvasu in a cave in the forest.[53] This evidence shows that,

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48. N. M. 42.41a : "*Śūdrādīnaṁ spṛśyamānaṁ..............*"

49. N. M. 7.50b ; "*Na viśeyur yathā śūdrā.........*"

50. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 150.

51. N. M. 1.63b : ''*Kṣetrasya paścime deśe varttate śabarālayaḥ*

52. N. M. 2.50b-51 : *Śanaiḥ Śanairviveśātha śabaradvīpakānane*
    tam dṛṣṭvā śabaraśreṣṭho viśvāvasu ranuttamaḥ.
    namaskṛtyārc ayedvipraṁ phalamūlādibhir dvijāḥ

53. N. M. 2.53a : "*.............vanametacca gahvaram*"
    2.71b-c *Vidyāpate nīlatanuṁ mādhavaṁ devadurlabham*
    drakṣisyasi paraṁ devaṁ..................

the *Śabaras* were the real *Vaiṣṇavas*. They were not untouchables though they lived far away from the towns and villages. They worshiped their own deity with all sincerity and devotion but worshipping the gods or goddesses was not their profession. They did not hold any office in the king's court. They led their independent lives amidst the wild animals in the dense and fearsome forests.[54]

The Yavanas in the society

The *Yavanas* were a sect of people living in the contemporary society. They were not allowed to enter temples or to be present at the sacrificial altar. Even talks relating to them near *Naivedya* were considered contaminating.[55] Our *Purāṇa* describes in detail the mishappenings to be occurred to the deity, to the king and to the country by the entrance of a *Yavana* into the temple of Lord Jagannātha.[56] The author of the Nīlādri-Mahodaya warns the king to be alert about this and prescribes *Mahāsnāna* of the deity if at any time a *Yavana* enters a temple.

Ascetics and their role

The Nīlādri-Mahodayam in its first *adhyāya* mentions the sages of the Naimiṣa forest.[57] The sages had their disciples. They had the knowledge of all the *tīrthas* of the world.[58] The kings and their people paid respect to the ascetics. The sages on their part were the guardians and promoters of culture and as such they were deeply interested in the pace and progress of the state. The rules of conduct and the ideals of morality of the Ṛṣis inspired the king and the clown alike in their behaviour. It is noteworthy that they always considered the visit of a sage to the royal court a matter of great pleasure and honour for himself. The Ṛṣi Jaṭila

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54. N. M. 2.61a-b : "...........mārgo' sti bhayasaṁkulaḥ
    Siṁhavyāghrādibhirnūnaṁ devānāmapyagocaraḥ.

55. N.M. 7.108b-109a: "Yavanīyakathā jātā naivedyanikaṭe tadā,
    tannaivedyaṁ vahiṣkṛtya dīrghakhāte nipātayet

56. N. M. 13.36 : Prākāradehalīṁ nīco yavano yadi laṅghayet
    tadābhaven' mahādoṣaḥ kṣīnāyur nṛpatir bhavet
    cittabhramo pi nṛpater deśabhaṅgo bhavettadā

57. N. M. 1.36 : "Tādṛśe' pi vane ramye Śaunakādyā munīśvaraḥ

58. N. M. 1.46 : "Samastatīrtha tattvānāṁ jñānāya jagatītale"

narrated the story of Mādhava to king Indradyumna,[59] who then made arrangements for a journey to *Puruṣottama-kṣetra*.[60] The sages had the knowledge of different yogas. Indradyumna asked the *Maharṣi* Nārada to know about the *jñāna-yoga*, *vairāgya yoga* and *bhakti-yoga*[61] etc. Our *Purāṇa* mentions that the Ṛṣis asked Sūta to narrate the *tīrtha-tattva* for the benefit of all.[62]

Thus the four *varṇas* helped one another to survive in the society. They were devotees of their respective duties which they rendered with all sincerity. The scheme of works, which they have taken up in the Jagannātha temple, finds an elaborate description in the Nilādri-Mahodayam. According to the same rule, they are now also discharging their duties in the temple. To whichever *varṇa* they may belong, they perform today their own duties in the temple in accordance with their hereditary customs.

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59   N. M. 2.20-25; 2.28-36.

60.   N. M. 2.39 :
       "*Tataḥ purodhasaṁ prāha tannimittaṁ sa satvaraḥ.*"

61.   N. M. 2.128 : *Jñānavairāgyayoryogaṁ bhaktiyogasaya kāraṇaṁ caturvidhasaṁ yogaṁ pṛṣṭavānavaniśvaraḥ.*

62.   N. M. 1.9b : "*Ūcuḥ prāñjalyaḥ sarve sarvalokahitāya vai*"

THE SYAMANTAKA GEM STORY : A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

By

IVAN STRENSKI

Since no previous work, to our knowledge, has been done on the Syamantaka Gem story other than the passing comments of purāṇic scholars -such as H. H. Wilson,[1] F. E. Pargiter,[2] K. P. Jayaswal[3] and D. R. Patil,[4] we thought that a fresh approach to the story might bring rewards of its own, but also, perhaps, give us some hints as to why our story has caused these scholars to pause over it.

Before we do so, we would like to fill in some necessary background notes on the Purāṇas and on those Purāṇas with which we will be associated most closely—the Vāyu, Matsya and especially the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Purāṇas—literally meaning "ancient lore", or "that which come from ancient times",[5] constitute a class of Indian religious literature (Smṛti) which is divided into two main sub-classes : the Mahāpurāṇas, of which there number 18 and the Upapurāṇas, of which over 100 are counted. This division separates roughly the recognized, authentic or chief purāṇas from minor works which associate themselves to the primary 18. Lists of the 18 as found in all 18 Mahāpurāṇas (which we shall now refer to simply as Purāṇas) are in almost complete agreement with one another on the make up of this list.[6] The popular religious

1. Wilson, H. H , Essays Analitical and Critical, Trubner, London, 1864, p. 133.

2. Pargiter, F. E., Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Oxford University Press, London, 1922.

3. Jayaswal, K. P., Hindu Polity, Butterworth, London, 1924 Vol. 1. p. 42.

4. Patil, D. R., Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, Deccan College, Poona, 1946, pp. 24, 101, 120, 172f, 318.

5. Pusalker, A. D., Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas, Bharati-Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963. pp. 22.

6. Winternitz, M., A History of Indian Literature. Calcutta University Press, Calcutta, 1933, 1, pp. 531ff.

significance of the Purāṇas to Hinduism is (and has been) consider-
able—despite the censure of the Hindu reformers[1] and the conti-
nued disapproval of them among Hindu intellectuals like Dr. S.
Radhakrishnan. I quote :

> The Purāṇas with their wild chronology and wierd stories
> are mainly imaginative literature, but were treated as a
> part of the sacred tradition for the simple reason that some
> people took interest in them.[2]

There is much irremedial confusion as to the contents and
chronology of the Purāṇas since they form a literature not only
partly oral and popular in origin but one which has suffered consi-
derable emendations at the hands of successive generations of com-
pilers and redactors. We may however settle on some very rough
dates of origin (or codification) and agree upon a common general
set of contents. Thus, the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* have a recog-
nized antiquity and may be dated as not earlier than 400 BC nor
later than 500 AD.[3] The *Viṣṇu*, according to recent estimates,
spans the period between 100 AD and 350 AD[4], while the *Bhāgavata
Purāṇa* must not be dated earlier than 500 AD nor later than 950
AD.[5] Contentwise, the Purāṇas are closely connected with the
Epics. Winternitz states that the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa*
are "nothing other than Purāṇas and sections of the *Rāmāyaṇa*
partake of the character of Purāṇas".[6] They are like "new wine
in old bottles"[7] says Winternitz and often draw independently
from similar sources, such as the Epics. The Purāṇas however
agree among themselves that the "characteristics" requisite of the
"genuine" Purāṇa are five. Known as the five "Pañcalakṣaṇa",

1. Walker, B., *Hindu World*. George Allen and Unwin,
   London, 1968, 1, p. 270.
2. Radhakrishnan, S., *The Hindu View of Life*, Unwin
   Books, London, 1965, p. 17.
3. Patil, D. R., p. 4.
4. Hazra, R. C., "The Date of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa", *Annals
   of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, p 269.
5. Hopkins, T. J., "The Social Teaching of the Bhāgavata
   Purāṇa" in M. Singer (ed) *Krishna Myth. Rites and Atti-
   tudes*, East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1900, p. 4.
6,7. Winternitz, M., pp. 517f, 518.

these marks refer to kinds of accounts each Purāṇa must relate. They are :

(1) primary creation,

(2) secondary periodic re-creations and periodic cosmic dissolutions,

(3) genealogies of the gods, ṛṣis and heroes,

(4) activities of the Ages of Manu,

(5) history of the solar and lunar dynasties[1].

With Pargiter's work on the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas[2] and the more recent work of Patil on Indian cultural history from the *Vāyu*[3] some case has been made for the historical value of the Purāṇas, though considerable caution and discrimination must be exercised in any claims for the historicity of any puranic reference.[4] The Purāṇas are especially valuable to the historian of religion because they provide sources and accounts of myths, rituals, religious beliefs, ethical prohibitions and social conditions— whether or not these are real or imagined. Ancient theories of Indian geography, cosmography and cosmology have been reconstructed from the Purāṇas along with the cultural and political systems mentioned earlier.[5]

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is evidently a product of the Vaiṣṇavas and though it concentrates on the exaltation and glorification of Viṣṇu, there is some debate as to the propriety of Wilson's calling it sectarian.[6] Viṣṇu's primacy is a more positive thing : Śiva and Brahmā are mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, but assimilated to Viṣṇu.[7] The great antiquity of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is suggested because of the absence of references to special feasts, temples, sacri-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 522.

2. Pargiter, F. E., *Ancient Indian. Historical Tradition.*

3. Patil, D. R., *Cultural History from the Vayu Purāṇa.*

4. Winternitz, M., p. 529.

5. Ali, S. M., *The Geography of the Puranas*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1966.

6. Wilson, H. H., "Preface" to *The Vishnu Purana*; Pusalker; Roy, S. N., "The Date of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's Chapters on Māyāmoha Legend", *Purāṇa*, VII, 1965, pp. 276-287.

7. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* : Brahma, pp. 2, 18, 396; Śiva, p. 18.

fices, rituals dedicated to Viṣṇu. Perhaps more so than any other Purāṇa, it bears the five characteristics of a genuine Purāṇa. Though the dating of any purāṇa is a risky matter, R. C. Hazra has recently suggested that it could not have been later than 500 AD.[1]

After the accounts of creation and the nature of the universe and mythological narratives of past kings and sages of Book I, cosmography and geography of Book II and the account of the Manu ages of book III, the Syamantaka Gem story in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is found among the genealogical lists of the solar and lunar dynasties in Book IV. Book V is Practically identical to the *Harivaṁśa* and recounts the much beloved adventures of Kṛṣṇa as divine cow-herd. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* ends characteristically with an account of the world end and with a brief recapitulation of previous ages and the contents of the Purāṇa.

The second source of the Syamantaka Gem story with which we shall chiefly compare the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* version is taken from the famous *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. One of the most recent purāṇic compositions, which according to T. J. Hopkins[2] may be said to have existed not earlier than 500 A. D. and not later than 950 A.D., the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* seems to be the work of a consistent viewpoint concerned with the propagation of loving devotion *(bhakti)* to Viṣṇu—especially in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa. The close resemblance in content between the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* suggests that the latter served as its model. Significantly, it sometimes serves as its anti-model—since the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* seems to react against various pro-Vedic tendencies in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (as we will argue in our following analysis). Unlike the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (most probably) it is more clearly the product of a sect presenting a divine Kṛṣṇa whose amorous adventures with the Gopīs occupy even more space than in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. It damns Vedic religion "with faint praise when it is not openly

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1. Hazra, R. C., pp. 265-275; Winternitz, M., p. 545; Pargiter, F. E., p. 80.

2. Hopkins, T. J., p. 4; Renou, L., *Religions of Ancient India,* London University Press, London, 1953, p. 103; Winternitz, M., p. 556.

criticized"[1] and criticizes the *Mahābhārata* and other Purānas for a lack of sufficient zeal for Viṣṇu. "*Bhakti*" as an independent means of salvation is proclaimed.[2]

The *Matsya purāṇa*—one of those purāṇas which have preserved the most ancient text, only contains a fragment of the Symantaka Gem story. This purāṇa celebrates the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a fish who saves Manu alone during the great flood which destroys mankind at one of the world-dissolutions. It recounts the creation, genealogies, geographical, astronomical and cosmological matters and lists the dynasties of kings. Both Viṣṇu and Śiva legends are related in the *Matsya purāṇa*.

Ancient text is preserved by the *Vāyu*, which is often considered the oldest of purāṇas. Śiva seems the main object of veneretion in the *Vāyu* although Viṣṇu is also honoured. It has been used as a source of cultural history by D. R. Patil who has distinguished three periods reflected in the compilation of the *Vāyu* ranging from the archaic (500 BC and earlier) to the ancient (500 BC to 0) to the age of accretions (0-500 AD).[3] The Syamantaka Gem story agrees broadly with the *Viṣṇu purāṇa* version though significant differences are to be noticed in which the *Vāyu* tends to agree with the *Mahābhārata* tradition against the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.[4] Since the *Vāyu* is not available in English translation, we have had to rely on citations and reference from Patil's study which, all the same, have proved interesting.

The method of story-analysis which follows is chiefly a loose adaptation of the insights of Claude Levi-Strauss which first appeared in his "Structural Study of Myth" (1955), "The Myth of Asdiwal" (1967 of French 1958) and finally in a full way in his *Mythologiques*: *le Cru et le cuit* (1964), *Du Miel aux cendres* (1966) and *l'Origine des manieres do table* (1968). Our analysis also draws from I. Moore's attempts to do a task similar to Levi-Strauss's, but in an even more rigorous way by the construction of a syntax and semantics of stories. The groundwork for Moore's science of

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1. Hopkins, T. J., p. 12.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
3. Patil, D. R., p. 14.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

stories and its relation to Levi-Strauss's work can be found in his *Levi-Strauss and the Cultural Sciences* (1968) and in a soon-to-be-published essay covering much the same ground as *Levi-Strauss and the Cultural Sciences*. We would also refer the reader to E. R. Leach's structural analyses of two stories from Genesis : Levi-Strauss in the Garden of Eden" (1961) and "Genesis as Myth" (1962) as well as M. S. Robinson's attempt to derive some useful implications of a Sinhalese myth by structural means. "The House the Mighty Hero" or 'The House of Enough Paddy' ? (1968). Although we believe our analysis achieves the rigor necessary for a useful demonstration of structural methods, it falls short of the high degree of formality Moore's semantic and syntactical approach calls for. Nonetheless we would hold that even on the level of rigor at which our analysis operates, useful implications can be drawn from our story sufficient to commend a structural approach to the analysis of stories.

A. Structural Analysis of the Syamantaka Gem Story.

Following Levi-Strauss's instructions, the structural analysis of a myth begins by isolating the gross constituent units of which a myth is composed. These constituent units themselves are composed of relations and are abstracted from the myth by "breaking down its story into the shortest possible sentences and writing each such sentence on an index card bearing a number corresponding to the unfolding of the story."[1]

It may also be noticed that these "sentences" correspond roughly to "incidents" of the story. Now, "incidents" occur at a level of generality, one step below that of the "episode". Thus, most generally, a story is composed of "episodes", which are further composed of "incidents", which may be broken down further into "transformations", which in turn are composed of "states", which finally are composed of "elements". In our story the first episode might be called the 'episode of the giving of the gem'. In it we distinguish two incidents, the first of which is "Sūrya gives the Syamantaka Gem to Satrājit". This gives way to the "transformations" which we may abstract depending upon

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1. Levi-Strauss, C, "The Structural Study of Myth", Ch. XI, . *Structural Anthropology*, Allen Lane, London 1968. p. 211.

how far we want to push the rigor of the analysis. (1) Satrājit without the gem; Satrājit with the gem; (2) Sūrya has the gem; Sūrya has no gem. The "transformations" in turn reduce to a "layout" of "states" (1) Satrājit with the gem; (2) Satrājit without the gem. And the "state" is a "layout" of "elements".
(1) Satrājit   (2) with   (3) Gem.[1]

In our analysis of the Syamantaka Gem story, however, we will not attempt to articulate a structure beyond the level of the "incident"—although we will analyze the structure of several elements of our story in a digression. At the level of "incidents" we feel that an adequate case can be made for a certain structure which illuminate and ground certain themes of the myth. Though we carry out our analysis on the incident-level it should be understood that, along with Levi-Strauss, we believe that the true constituent units of a myth are not the individual incidents (relations) but "*bundles of such relations* and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as produce a meaning".[2] Though these relations pertaining to the same "bundle" appear in the story at various intervals we grasp them in such a way that by reading horizontally from left to right (as in Table 1) one follows the diachronic flow of the story as one would tell it. Reading vertically, however, one notice six columns which organize the variously occurring relations into "bundles" having a common element, whether it be "giving", as in column one, or "destroying" as in column five. (See Table I)

A List of Abbreviations.

A = Akrūra;　D = Dvārakā;　J = Jāmbavat;　Ja = Jāmbavatī; K = Kṛṣṇa;　L = a Lion;　P = Prasena; B = Balarāma;　S = Satrājit; Sa = Satyabhāmā;　Sh = Satadhanvan;　SG = the Syamantaka Gem; Su = Sūrya;　Suk = Sukumāra;　Ys = the Yādavas.

Legend : Numbers before the decimal refer to episode-numbers in Viṣṇu. Numbers after the decimal refer to incident-number in the Viṣṇu.

1.　Moore, Tim, *Claude Levi-Strauss and the Cultural Sciences.* Occasional Papers, No. 4, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University, Birmingham, 1968, for details of such an analysis.

2.　Levi-Strauss, C., p. 211.

We hope to show that our adaptation of Levi-Strauss's method for the analysis of stories is fruitful for the understanding of our myth, in which case we should concentrate upon considering each column in Table 1 as a unity—as a "bundle" of similar relations. To understand the myth, then, on the premisses employed, is to understand how these bundles of relations stand with respect to one another, and how the relations between and among these bundles of relations illuminate the meanings our myth might have. This is to penetrate to a structural understanding of our myth in order to substantiate various claims regarding a myth's having a particular meaning.

Given this brief introduction we should now lay the Syamantaka Gem story before the reader as it occurs in the *Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata* and *Matsya* Purāṇas. Dowson's precis of what seems the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* version of the story is given with episode divisions corresponding to those we have provided for the full version of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* of our story. The reader will notice that the story is broken down into episodes which are numbered as they occur in each separate Purāṇa. So that the reader may compare versions by episode, a code has been provided. After each episode number for each version of the story the reader will find three numbers within parenthesis. These numbers correspond to the numbers of the episode for all versions in the order *Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Matsya*. A dash (—) means that this episode is absent from the particular purāṇic version. Thus, after Episode 2 of the *Viṣṇu* the following figures within parenthesis will be found : (2, 2, 1), meaning that the second episode for the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* purāṇas is the first for the *Matsya*.

Dowson's Precis of the Syamantaka Gem Story

'(1) A celebrated gem given by the sun to Satrājit. "It yielded daily eight loads of gold and dispelled all fear of portents, wild beasts, fire, robbers, and famine." But though it was an inexhaustible source of good for the virtuous wearer, it was deadly to a wicked one. (2) Satrājit being afraid that Kṛṣṇa would take it from him, gave it to his own brother, Prasena, but he, being a bad man, was killed by a lion. Jāmbavat, king of the bears, killed the lion and carried off the gem; (3) but Kṛṣṇa, after a long conflict, (4) took it

TABLE 1.

I : Giving	II : Taking	III : Accusing	IV : Exonerating	V : Destroying	VI : Preserving
1.1 Su gives SG to S	—	—	—	—	1.2 SG preserves D from calamities
—	2.3 K wants to take SG from S, but does not	—	—	—	—
2.4 S gives SG to P	—	—	—	2.5 L kills P	—
—	2.6 L takes SG from P	—	—	2.7 J kills L	—
—	2.8 J takes SG from L	—	—	—	—
2.9 J gives SG to Suk	—	2.10 Ys explicitly accuse K of taking SG & killing P. S. implicitly accuses K of taking SG and killing P	3.11 All Ys acquit K of said crimes. (2.10)	—	
—	3.12 K attempts to take SG from J	—	—	3-4.13 K fights with J	4.14 K heals J's wounds
4.15 J gives Ja and SG to K	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	4.16 K's return to L brings benefits
5.17 K gives SG to S	—	—	5.18 Ys exonerate K of said crimes (2.10)	—	—
5.19 S gives Sa to K	—	—	5.20 S implicitly acquits K of said crimes (2.10)	—	—
—	—	—	—	8.21 Sh kills S	—
—	8.22 Sh takes SG from S	—	—	—	—
9.23 Sh gives SG to A	—	—	—	9.24 K kills Sh	—
—	9.25 K. tries to take SG from Sh but fails	9.26 R explicitly accuses K of taking SG and murdering Sh. Ys implicitly accuse K of taking SG and murdering	9.27 R and Ys implicitly acquit K of said crimes (9.26)	—	10.28 A's presence in D with SG brings benefits
—	—	—	—	10.29 Various calamities befall D	—
—	—	—	11.30 Ys forgive A's political misdeed	—	11.31 A's return to D with SG brings benefits
—	—	11.32 K "honors" A	—	11.32 K "lets A be"	—
—	—	11.33 K is "honored"	—	—	—
11.34 A "keeps" SG					

from him, (5) and restored it to Satrājit. (6, 7 omitted by
Dowson) (8) Afterwards Satrājita was killed in his sleep by
Śata-dhanwan, (9) who carried off the gem. Being pursued
by Kṛṣṇa and Bala-rāma, he gave the gem to Akrūra and
continued his flight, but he was overtaken and killed by
Kṛṣṇa alone. As Kṛṣṇa did not bring back the jewel, Bala-
rāma suspected that he had secreted it, and consequently he
upbraided and parted from him, declaring that he would not
be imposed upon by perjuries. (10 omitted by Dowson), (11)
Akrūra subsequently produced the gem, and it was claimed by
Kṛṣṇa, Bala-rāma and Satyabhāmā. After some contention
it was decided that Akrūra should keep it, and so "he moved
about like the sun wearing a garland of light."[1]

A List of Alternative Names

Kṛṣṇa : "Acyuta" = "the never falling" ; "Dāmodara" = "the
self-restrained" ; "descendant of Yadu (Jadu)" ; "eter-
nal male" ; "Foe of Madhu" ; "Govinda" = "Rescuer of
the Earth"; "he whose emblem is Garuḍa"; "holder of
the conch, discus, and mace" ; "Hṛṣikeśa" = "Lord of
the Senses"; "Keśava" = "the long-haired one"; "Lord
of the Universe"; "Lotus-cyed deity"; "Nārāyaṇa" =
"the universal abode" ; "Puruṣottama" = "the best of
men"; "Vāsudeva" = "the Indweller".

Rāma : "Balabhadra" = "he who is strong and fortunate" ;
"Baladeva" = "divinity of strength" ; "Balarāma" =
"Rāma the strong".

Sūrya : Āditya.

The Syamantaka Gem Story : Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Book IV, Chapter 13)

Ep. 1. (1, 1,-)

"On one occasion Satrājit, whilst walking along the sea
shore, addressed his mind to Sūrya, and hymned his praises;
on which the divinity appeared and stood before him. Behol-
ding him in an indistinct shape, Satrājit said to the sun, "I
have beheld thee, lord, in the heavens as a globe of fire : now

1.   Dowson, J., *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*,
     Routledge, Kegan Paul, French and Trubner, London,
     1928, pp. 315f.

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do thou show favour unto me, that I may see thee in thy proper form." On this the sun taking the jewel called Syamantaka from off his neck, placed it apart, and Satrājit beheld him of a dwarfish stature, with a body like burnished copper, and with slightly reddish eyes. Having offered his adorations, the sun desired him to demand a boon, and he requested that the jewel might become his. The sun presented it to him, and then resumed his place in the sky. Having obtained the spotless gem of gems, Satrājit wore it on his neck, and becoming as brilliant thereby as the sun himself, irradiating all the region with his splendour, he returned to Dvārakā. The inhabitants of that city, beholding him approach, repaired to the eternal male, Puruṣottama, who, to sustain the burden of the earth, had assumed a mortal form (as Kṛṣṇa), and said to him, "Lord, assuredly the divine sun is coming to visit you." But Kṛṣṇa smiled, and said, "It is not the divine sun, but Satrājit, to whom Āditya has presented the Syamantaka gem, and he now wears it : go and behold him without apprehension." Accordingly they departed. Satrājit having gone to his house, there deposited the jewel, which yielded daily eight loads of gold, and through its mavellous virtue dispelled all fear of portens, wild beasts, fire, robbers, and famine."

Ep. 2. (2, 2, 1)

"Acyuta was of opinion that this wonderful gem should be in the possession of Ugrasena; but although he had the power of taking it from Satrājit, he did not deprive him of it, that he might not occasion any disagreement amongst the family. Satrājit, on the other hand, fearing that Kṛṣṇa would ask him for the jewel, transferred it to his brother Prasena. Now it was the peculiar property of this jewel, that although it was an inexhaustible source of good to a virtuous person, yet when worn by a man of bad character it was the cause of his death. Prasena having taken the gem, and hung it round his neck, mounted his horse, and went to the woods to hunt. In the chase he was killed by a lion. The lion, taking the jewel in his mouth, was about to depart, when he was observed and killed by Jāmbavat, the king of the bears, who carrying off the gem retired into his cave, and gave it to his son Sukumāra to play with."

Ep. 3. (3, 3, 2)

"When these calumnious rumours came to the knowledge
of Kṛṣṇa, he collected a number of the Yādavas, and accom-
panied by them pursued the course of Prasena by the impress-
ions of his horse's hoofs. Desirous of recovering the gem, he
thence followed the steps of the lion, and at no great distance
came to the place where the lion had been killed by the bear.
Following the footmarks of the latter, he arrived at the foot
of a mountain, where he desired the Yādavas to await him,
whilst he continued the track. Still guided by the marks of
the feet, he discovered a cavern, and had scarcely entered it
when he heard the nurse of Sukumāra saying to him, "The
lion killed Prasena; the lion has been killed by Jāmbavat :
weep not, Sukumāra, the Syamantaka is your own." Thus
assured of his object, Kṛṣṇa advanced into the cavern, and
saw the brilliant jewel in the hands of the nurse, who was
giving it as a plaything to Sukumāra. The nurse soon descr-
ied his approach, and marking his eyes fixed upon the gem
with eager desire, called loudly for help. Hearing her cries,
Jāmbavat, full of anger, came to the cave, and a conflict
ensued between him and Acyuta, which lasted twenty-one days.
The Yādavas who had accompanied the latter waited seven
or eight days in expectation of his return, but as the foe of
Madhu still came not forth, they concluded that he must
have met his death in the cavern. "It could not have required
so many days," they thought "to overcome an enemy;" and
accordingly they departed, and returned to Dvārakā, and
announced that Kṛṣṇa had been killed."

Ep. 4. (4, 4, 2)

"When the relations of Acyuta heard this intelligence,
they performed all the obsequial rites suited to the occasion.
The food and water thus offered to Kṛṣṇa in the celebration
of his Śrāddha served to support his life, and invigorate his
strength in the combat in which he was engaged; whilst his
adversary, wearied by daily conflict with a powerful foe,
bruised and battered in every limb by heavy blows, and
enfeebled by want of food, became unable longer to resist
him. Overcome by his mighty antagonist, Jāmbavat cast
himself before him and said, "Thou, mighty being, art surely

invincible by all the demons, and by the spirits of heaven,
earth, or hell; much less art thou to be vanquished by mean
and powerless creatures in a human shape; and still less by
such as we are, who are born of brute origin. Undoubtedly
thou art a portion of my sovereign lord Nārāyaṇa, the
defender of the universe." Thus addressed by Jāmbavat,
Kṛṣṇa explained to him fully that he had descended to take
upon himself the burden of the earth, and kindly alleviated
the bodily pain which the bear suffered from the fight, by
touching him with his hand. Jāmbavat again prostrated
himself before Kṛṣṇa, and presented to him his daughter
Jāmbavatī, as an offering suitable to a guest. He also
delivered to his visitor the Syamantaka jewel. Although a
gift from such an individual was not fit for his acceptance,
yet Kṛṣṇa took the gem for the purpose of clearing his reputa-
tion. He then returned along with his bride Jāmbavatī to
Dvārakā.

When the people of Dvārakā beheld Kṛṣṇa alive and
returned, they were filled with delight, so that those who
were bowed down with years recovered youthful vigour; and
all the Yādavas, men and women, assembled round Ānakadu-
ndubhi, the father of the hero, and congratulated him.

Ep. 5. (5, 5, 3)

"Kṛṣṇa related to the whole assembly of the the Yādavas
all that had happened, exactly as it had befallen, and resto-
ring the Syamantaka jewel to Satrājit was exonerated from
the crime of which he had been falsely accused. He then
led Jāmbavatī into the inner apartments.

When Satrājit reflected that he had been the cause of
the aspersions upon Kṛṣṇa's character, he felt alarmed, and
to conciliate the prince he gave him to wife his daughter
Satyabhāmā."

Ep. 6, (6, 7,-)

"The maiden had been previously sought in marriage by
several of the most distinguished Yādavas, as Akrūra, Kṛtavar-
man and Śatadhanvan, who were highly incensed at her
being wedded to another, and leagued in enmity against

Satrājit. The chief amongst them, with Akrūra and Kṛtavar-
man, said to Śatadhanvan, "This caitiff Satrājit has offered
a gross insult to you, as well as to us who solicited his dau-
ghter, by giving her to Kṛṣṇa : let him not live : why do you
not kill him, and take the jewel ? Should Acyuta therefore
enter into feud with you, we will take your part." Upon
this promise Śatadhanvan undertook to slay Satrājit.

Ep. 7. (7, 6,–)

"When news arrived that the sons of Pāṇḍu had been
burned in the house of wax[10], Kṛṣṇa, who knew the real
truth, set off for Bāraṇāvata to allay the animosity of Dur-
yodhana, and to perform the duties his relationship required.

Ep. 8. (8, 7,–)

"Śatadhanvan taking advantage of his absence, killed
Satrājit in his sleep, and took possession of the gem. Upon
this coming to the knowledge of Satyabhāmā, she immediately
mounted her chariot, and, filled with fury at her father's
murder, repaired to Bāraṇāvata, and told her husband how
Satrājit had been killed by Sātadhanvan in resentment of
her having been married to another, and how he had carried
off the jewel; and she implored him to take prompt measures
to avange such heinous wrong. Kṛṣṇa, who is ever inter-
nally placid being informed of these transactions, said to
Satyabhāmā, as his eyes flashed with indignation, "Those are
indeed audacious injuries, but 1 will not submit to them
from so vile a wrath. They must assail the trac, who would
kill the birds that there have built their nests. Dismiss
excessive sorrow; it needs not your lamentations to excite any
wrath." Returning forthwith to Dvārakā, Kṛṣṇa took
Baladeva apart, and said to him, "A lion slew Prasena,
hunting in the forests; and now Satrājit has been murdered
by Śatadhanvan. As both these are removed, the jewel
which belonged to them is our common right. Up then,
ascend your car and put Śatadhanvan to death."

Being thus excited by his brother, Balarāma engaged
resolutely in the enterprise.

Ep. 9. (9, 8,–)

"But Śatadhanvan, being aware of their hostile designs,
repaired to Kṛtavarman, and required his assistance. Kṛta-

varman, however, declined to assist him, pleading his inability to engage in a conflict with both Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa. Śatadhanvan thus disappointed, applied to Akrūra; but he said, "You must have recourse to some other protector. How should I be able to defend you ? There is no one even amongst the immortals, whose praises are celebrated throughout the universe, who is capable of contending with the wielder of the discus, at the stamp of whose feet the three worlds tremble; whose hand makes the wives of the Asuras widows, whose weapons no host, however mighty, can resist; no one is capable of encountering the wielder of the ploughshave, who annihilates the prowess of his enemies by the glances of his eyes, that roll with the joys of wine; and whose vast ploughshare manifests his might, by seizing and exterminating the most formidable foes." "Since this is the case," replied Śatadhanvan, "and you are unable to assist me, at least accept and take care of this jewel." "I will do so, answered Akrūra, "If you promise that even in the last extremity you will not divulge its being in my possession." To this Śatadhanvan agreed, and Akrūra took the jewel; and the former mounting a very swift mare, one that could travel a hundred leagues a day, fled from Dvārakā.

When Kṛṣṇa heard of Śatadhanvan's flight, he harnessed his four horses, Śaivya, Sugrīva, Meghapuṣpa, and Balāhaka, to his car, and accompanied by Balarāma, set off in pursuit. The mare held her speed, and accomplished her hundred leagues; but when she reached the country of Mithilā, her strength was exhausted, and she dropped down and died. Śatadhanvan[11] dismounting, continued his flight on foot. When his pursuers came to the place where the mare had perished, Kṛṣṇa said to Balarāma, "Do you remain in the car, whilst I follow the villain on foot, and put him to death; the ground here is bad; and the horses will not be able to drag the chariot across it." Balarāma accordingly stayed with the car, and Kṛṣṇa followed Śatadhanvan on foot; when he had chased him for two *krośas*, he discharged his discus, and, although Śatadhanvan was at a considerable distance, the weapon struck off his head. Kṛṣṇa then coming up, searched his body and his dress for the Syamantaka jewel, but found

it not. He then returned to Balabhadra, and told him that
they had effected the death of Śatadhanvan to no purpose,
for the precious gem, the quintessence of all worlds, was not
upon his person. When Balabhadra heard this, he flew into
a violent rage, and said to Vāsudeva, "Shame light upon you,
to be thus greedy of wealth ! I acknowledge no brotherhood
with you. Here lies my path. Go whither you please; I
have done with Dvārakā, with you, with all our house. It is
of no use to seek to impose upon me with thy perjuries."
Thus reviling his brother, who fruitlessly endeavoured to
appease him, Balabhadra went to the city of Videha, where
Janaka received him hospitably, and there he remained.
Vāsudeva returned to Dvārakā. It was during his stay in
the dwelling of Janaka that Duryodhana, the son of Dhṛta-
rāṣṭra, learned from Balabhadra the art of fighting with the
mace. At the expiration of three years, Ugrasena and other
chiefs of the Yādavas, being satisfied that Kṛṣṇa had not the
jewel, went to Videha, and removed Balabhadra's suspicions,
and brought him home.

Ep. 10 . (10, 9, 4)

"Akrūra, carefully considering the treasures which the
precious jewel secured to him, constantly celebrated religious
rites, and, purified with holy prayers lived in affluence for
fifty-two years; and through the virtue of that gem there
was no dearth nor pestilence in the whole country. At the
end of that period, Śatrughna, the great grandson of Sātvata,
was killed by the Bhojas, and as they were in bonds of alliance
with Akrūra, he accompanied them in their flight from
Dvārakā. From the moment of his departure various cala-
mities, portents, snakes, dearth, plague, and the like, began to
prevail; so that he whose emblem is Garuḍa called together
the Yādavas, with Balabhadra and Ugrasena, and recommen-
ded them to consider how it was that so many prodigies
should have occurred at the same time. On this Andhaka,
one of the elders of the Yadu race, thus spoke : "Wherever
Śvaphalka, the father of Akrūra, dwelt, there famine, plague,
dearth, and other visitations were unknown. Once when
there was want of rain in the kingdom of Kāśirāja, Śvaphalka
was brought there, and immediately there fell rain from the

heavens. It happened also that the queen of Kāśirāja con-
ceived, and was quick with a daughter; but when the time of
delivery arrived, the child issued not from the womb.
Twelve years passed away, and still the girl was unborn.
Then Kāśirāja spoke to the child, and said, 'Daughter, why
is your birth thus delayed ? Come forth; I desire to behold
you, why do you inflict this protracted suffering upon your
mother ? Thus addressed, the infant answered, 'If, father,
you will present a cow every day to the Brāhmaṇas, I shall
of the end of three years more be born.' The king accordingly
presented daily a cow to the Brāhmaṇa, and at the end of
three years the damsel came into the world. Her father
called her Gāndinī, and he subsequently gave her to
Śvaphalka, when he came to his palace for his benefit.
Gāndinī, as long as she lived, gave a cow to the Brāhmaṇas
every day. Akrūra was her son by Śvaphalka, and his birth
therefore proceeds from a combination of uncommon excel-
lence. When a person such as he is, absent from us, is it
likely that famine, pestilence, and prodigies should fail to
occur ? Let him then be invited to return; the faults of men
of exalted worth must not be too severely scrutinized."

Agreeabtly to the advice of Andhaka, the older, the Yādavas
sent a mission headed by Keśava, Ugrasena, and Balabhadra,
to assure Akrūra that no notice would be taken of any irregu-
larity committed by him; and having satisfied him that he
was in no danger, they brought him back to Dvārakā.

Ep. 11. (11,9[107],-)

"Immediately on his arrival, in consequence of the pro-
perties of the jewel, the plague, dearth, famine, and every
other calamity and portent, ceased. Kṛṣṇa, observing this,
riflected that the descen of Akrūra from Gāndinī and Śvap-
halka was a cause wholly disproportionate to such an effect,
and that some powerful influence must be exerted to arrest
pestilence and famine. "Of a surety," said he to himself,
"the great Syamantaka jewel is in his keeping, for such I
have heard are amongst its properties. This Akrūra too has
been lately celebrating sacrifice after sacrifice; his own means
are insufficient for such expenses; it is beyond a doubt that he

has the jewel." Having come to this conclusion, he called a meeting of all the Yādavas at his house, under the pretext of some festive celebration. When they were all seated, and the purport of their assembling had been explained, and the business accomplished, Kṛṣṇa entered into conversation with Akrūra, and after laughing and joking, said to him, "Kinsman, you are a very prince in your liberality; but we know very well that the precious jewel which was stolen by Sudhanvan was delivered by him to you, and is now in your possession, to the great benefit of this kingdom. So let it remain; we all derive advantage from its virtues. But Balabhadra suspects that I have it, and therefore, out of kindness to me, show it to the assembly." When Akrūra, who had the jewel with him, was thus taxed, he hesitated what he should do. "If I deny that I have the jewel," thought he, "they will search my person, and find the gem hidden amongst my clothes. I cannot submit to a search." So reflecting, Akrūra said to Nārāyaṇa, the cause of the whole world, "It is true that the Syamantaka jewel was entrusted to me by Śatadhanvan, when he went from here. I expected every day that you would ask me for it, and with much inconvenience therefore I have kept it, until now. The charge of it has subjected me to so much anxiety, that I have been incapable of enjoying any pleasure, and have never known a moment's ease. Afraid that you would think me unfit to retain possession of a jewel so essential to the welfare of the kingdom, I forbore to mention to you its being in my hands; but now take it yourself, and give the care of it to whom you please." Having thus spoken, Akrūra drew forth from his garments a small gold box, and took from it the jewel. On displaying it to the assembly of the Yādavas, the whole chamber where they sat was illuminated by its radiance. "This", said Akrūra, "is the Syamantaka gem, which was consigned to me by Śatadhanvan : let him to whom it belongs now take it."

When the Yādavas beheld the jewel, they were filled with astonishment, and loudly expressed their delight. Balabhadra immediately claimed the jewel as his property jointly with Acyuta, as formerly agreed upon; whilst Satyabhāmā demanded it as her right, as it had originally belonged to her

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father. Between these two Kṛṣṇa considered himself as an ox between the two wheels of a cart, and thus spoke to Akrūra in the presence of all the Yādavas : "This jewel has been exhibited to the assembly in order to clear my reputation; it is the joint right of Balabhadra and myself, and is the patri- monial inheritance of Satyabhāmā. But this jewel, to be of advantage to the whole kingdom, should be taken charge of by a person who leads a life of perpetual continence : If worn by an impure individual, it will be the cause of his death. Now as I have sixteen thousand wives, I am not qualified to have the care of it. It is not likely that Satyabhāmā will agree the condition that would entitle her to the possession of the jewel; and as to Balabhadra, he is too much addicted to wine and the pleasures of sense to lead a life of self-denial. We are therefore out of the question, and all the Yādavas, Balabhadra, Satyabhāmā, and myself, request you, most boun- ntiful Akrūra, to retain the care of the jewel, as you have done hitherto, for the general good; for you are qualified to have the keeping of it, and in your hands it has been produc- tive of benefit to the country.   You must not decline compli- ance with our request." Akrūra, thus urged, accepted the jewel, and thence-forth wore it publicly round his neck, where it shone with dazzling brightness; and Akrūra moved about like the sun, wearing a garland of light.

Moral :

He who calls to mind the vindication of the character of Kṛṣṇa from false aspersions, shall never become the subject of unfounded accusation in the least degree, and living in the full exercise of his senses shall be cleansed from every sin.

B. Analysis :

Giving-Taking.

Let us examine the constituent units of our story as they occur in Table 1 beginning with the "giving" column. The story opens by Sūrya giving the Syamantaka Gem to Satrājit (1.1); Satrājit, in turn, gives the Syamantaka Gem to Prasena (2.4) and so on down the list. We might notice that two kinds of gifts are given—the Syamantaka Gem which, we have mentioned in inci-

dents 1.1, 2.4, 2.9, 5.17, 9.23, 4.15, 5.19, and women as wives, Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā both to Kṛṣṇa from their respective fathers Jāmbavat and Satrājit. (The *Matsya Purāṇa* records that Satyabhāmā was Satrājit's grand-daughter rather than his daughter). Likewise in column II, headed "taking", we listed such incidents as a Lion's taking the Syamantaka Gem from Prasena (2.6) and so on as well as attempts (though failures) at taking in varying degrees of attempt—Kṛṣṇa takes no Syamantaka Gem from Śatadhanvan (9.25). (He tried and failed) as well as Kṛṣṇa's thinking that Ugrasena should have the Syamantaka Gem where Kṛṣṇa knows that he could take it if he had really wanted to (2.3). In 9.25 Kṛṣṇa fails to take the Syamantaka Gem from Śatadhanvan though he tries, while in 2.3 Kṛṣṇa fails to take the Syamantaka Gem though he contemplates trying. All the "takings" involve the Syamantaka Gem it will be noted. We might also note that the entries 4.15 with 3.12 and 11.34 in the "giving and taking" columns seem to mediate between both columns. We might raname the first column "Offering Possession" while the second would be named "Seizing Possession". Thus 4.15 with 3.12 and 11.34 consist in incidents in which both offering and seizing possession coincide though not in the same ways. In 4.15, Jāmbavat gives Kṛṣṇa the Syamantaka Gem after Kṛṣṇa has fought Jāmbavat and has attempted to seize possession of the Syamantaka Gem (3.12). In 11.34 Akrūra simultaneously attempts to give the Syamantaka Gem to Kṛṣṇa after Kṛṣṇa has cajoled and accused Akrūra of possessing it but keeps it instead. Akrūra would have had the Syamantaka Gem taken from him had anyone proved worthy—eg. Kṛṣṇa or Satyabhāmā, but no one took the gem from Akrūra. 4.15 and 3.12 combine both giving and taking columns because they are both a separated giving and taking while 11.34 straddles the columns because Akrūra's "keeping" of the gem is midway between giving and taking or because "possession" is midway between "offering possession" and "seizing possession". It is properly neither giving nor taking, and in the story is seen as a keeping which was preceded by an attempted but failed giving on Akrūra's part and a desired but failed taking on the parts of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Satyabhāmā.

From a structural point of view, the travels of the Syamantaka Gem cease once it rests with an individual in a situation which lies "halfway between" giving and taking in a certain sense which

we have specified. The pendulum swings from giving to taking only to come to rest at the midpoint between them. If one poses the problem of the myth as "When will the Syamantaka Gem find a stable resting place ?" one seems to find the myth giving the answer—"in a situation which is neither a giving nor a taking : a keeping", because in the myth it is only when Akrūra can fail to give the Syamantaka and when others fail to take it that the Syamantaka Gem is insured an end to its wanderings. In a sense the model for this successful conclusion to the Giving-Taking dichotomy (11.34) is found in 4.15 and 3.12 as its "inverse". The "inverse" of 4.14 and 3.12, both giving and taking is (11.34) : neither giving nor taking.

We might bring out the mediating quality of 11.34 by contrasting it to two other taking-situations in which Kṛṣṇa is the principal actor. It is also noteworthy that these incidents— 2.3 and 9.25, stand opposed to one another as if they were to be understood as two extreme alternatives of the same operation taking. Let us think about these opposed taking-situations in order to bring out the fitting quality of their "solution" in 11.34.

These "takings" involve Kṛṣṇa in two curiously similar, yet importantly different acts. In 2.3, Kṛṣṇa is seen to have the conviction that Ugrasena should have the Syamantaka Gem rather than Satrājit. Kṛṣṇa is depicted as having not only the power to take the Syamantaka Gem but also having entertained the desire. Satrājit, on the other hand, does not wish Kṛṣṇa to have the Syamantaka Gem and gives it to Prasena (2.4) in order to avoid having to surrender the Syamantaka Gem to Kṛṣṇa. We might therefore call 2.3 an "undertaking" because Kṛṣṇa's inaction results in his withdrawal from seizure of the Syamantaka Gem. It is a kind of failed seizure—a taking which fails because of a kind of prophylaxis of action, On the other hand. the failure to seize the Syamantaka Gem from Śatadhanvan in 9.25 is an example of a taking which fails because Śatadhanvan does not have the Syamantaka Gem, though Kṛṣṇa kills and searches him for it. He attempts as much as possible to seize the Syamantaka Gem, but fails not only though he tries (too) hard ("over-taking") but because Śatadhanvan does not possess the Syamantka Gem. Viewing

these cases 2.3 and 9.25, where failure to seize and possess the Syamantaka Gem seems to be common features, though the reasons for failure in each case are different, 3.12 (in association with 4.15) seems to offer a model of a successful taking (as does 11.34 in its own way). By linking 3.12 with 4.15 our story seems to say that possession of the Syamantaka Gem is possible and successful when the taking of the Gem is associated with its being given. Where desire is too weak (2.3) or too strong (9.25) failure ensues. This, of course, is to simplify, for the association of 3.12 and 4.15 is only a partial success—the Gem is stolen again and Kṛṣṇa's reputation slurred. For this reason 11.34 (neither giving nor taking) "Having" is nedeed to halt the wanderings of the Gem—both its givings and its takings and the subsequent social and theological instability which result. We would do well to keep in mind this preference for the mediaton between extremes as we move on to our next pair of bundled relations.

If our general conclusion about the myth's attempt to neutralize or mediate the Giving-Taking dichotomy be correct, perhaps an inspection of the objects of exchange will reinforce our conclusions. The principal object of exchange—the Syamantaka Gem is itself an ambivalent article *par excellence*. It brings welfare if possessed by a good man and ill-fare if possessed by an evil man. As a mediating object—an interloper between giver and object of giving, taker and object of taking, the Syamantaka Gem manifests the dual character of the mediator. Less obvious are the ambiguous and contradictory qualities of the other objects of exchange : Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā. Not only are both wives figures of internal contradiction but each one is an "inversion" of the other. Thus Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā, both media between Kṛṣṇa and the outside world, are characters whose constitution reveals the myth's tendency to resolve dichotomous oppositions as 11.34 has thus far done with respect to the Giving-Taking dichotomy as a whole.

Let us consider then the "inversions" between Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā and the mediations they effect. The situatons in which they are given to Kṛṣṇa, first of all, are strikingly different. In Jāmbavatī's case she is given to Kṛṣṇa along with the Syamantaka Gem; it is a private affair (in Jāmbavat's cave), which is located inside Mount Ṛkṣa, the source of five rivers.[1] In Satyabhāmā's

1. Patil, D. R., p. 85.

case, she is given to Kṛṣṇa after (and somehow in exchange for the Syamantaka Gem) the Syamantaka Gem is given to Satrājit by Kṛṣṇa; it is a public affair (occurring, as it were, openly in Dvārakā) which is located by the sea, the goal of rivers

More striking perhaps are the differences between Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā themselves. Jāmbavatī though a bear, a being of nature, is passive and docile throughout, therefore upsetting expectations normally associated with nature. She is given to Kṛṣṇa, is led into his apartments (Ep. 5) by him, and is not heard of thereafter. Satyabhāmā on the other hand though human and a being of culture is active and passionate throughout, also upsetting expectations normally associated with culture. She fetches Kṛṣṇa in Bāraṇāvata and attempts to excite his wrath against Śatadhanvan, the murderer of her father Satrājit. She is quick to demand the Syamantaka Gem as her patrimonial inheritance when the possession of it is put into question in 11.34. It is not insignificant, we would suggest, that in the *Mahābhārata* Satyabhāmā is also cast in an active role with respect to the revenging of Satrājit's death. We quote :

> Then Sātyaki informed the slayer of Madhu as to how Kṛtavarman had behaved towards Satrājit for taking away from him the celebrated gem *Syamantaka*. Hearing the narrative, Satyabhāmā, giving way to wrath and tears, approached Keśava and sitting on his lap enhanced his anger (for Kṛtavarman).[1]

In short, Satyabhāmā is seen as an active instigator to Kṛṣṇa's actions while Jāmbavatī is passive with respect to Kṛṣṇa throughout.

Paradoxically, but understandably, both Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā terminate their lives after Kṛṣṇa's death, in ways which are not only "inversions" of one another (in keeping with what we have said above) but also as "inversions" of their previous behaviors.[2] Thus Jāmbavatī, a passive being of nature (itself an

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1. *The Mahābhārata* : *Mausalaparvan*, p. 7. (XVI, 3, 79).

2. Sorenson, S, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Williams and Norgate, London, 1925, Jambavati : p. 348; Satyabhama : p. 625.

inner "inversion") ends her days "inversely" as they were lived by ascending Kṛṣṇa's funeral pyre—by doing "satī" : an active, cultural deed having connexions with sacrifice.[1] Satyabhāmā, an active being of culture (another inner "inversion") becomes a forest ascetic (contemplation : the "inverse" of sacrifice) : a passive deed, having connections with nature—the forest. The "inverse" termini : "satī" and forest asceticism, can be further analyzed in terms of the constituent inversions implicit in them : "satī" requires the use of wood which has been acted upon by men (culture)—made into firewood, logs which are destroyed by flames—burnt. Forest asceticism involves wood as well—but trees not acted upon by men (nature) which are living—growing in a forest.

Therefore, Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā stand as "inverses" of one another not only in their presented modes of behavior and in their "natures" as well but with respect to the contradictions between their "natures" and their subsequent behaviors. They not only originate "inverse" kinds of being but end "inversely" to one another and to their previous modes of behavior. Thus we can schematize the transformations as follows :

	Usual Behavior	End State "Sati"
	appearance : (passive) culture	(active) culture
Jāmbavatī :		
	reality : nature	nature
	Usual Behaviour	End State Forest Asceticism
	appearance : (active) nature	(passive) nature
Satyabhāmā :		
	reality : culture	culture

Let us recapitulate the results of this first stage of our analysis. We have noticed how major oppositions under the "Giving-Taking" rubric have achieved resolution. In general, 11. 34 ("Having") mediates and neutralizes the opposition between "giving and taking" the Syamantaka Gem. This is an ambivalent condition neither properly describable as "giving" or "taking" but

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1.   Renou, L., *The Civilization of Ancient India*, second edition, Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 67 f,

as "having." We also noticed that the success of the mediating states—whether the tantative 4.15—3.12 or the final 11.34, was highlighted by the failure of two opposite and less ambiguous attempts at taking the gem in 2.3 and 9.25. In observing that states of mediation are ambiguous ones (11.34) we noticed that objects of mediation also shared this ambiguity. The Syamantaka Gem and the two wives Kṛṣṇa wins in the story—Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā, are prime examples of this insight.

Accusing-Exonerating

The second pair of constituent unit oppositions that we detect in our story involve the bundles of relations "accusing" and "exonerating." We might recall that it was the accusation by the Yādavas that Kṛṣṇa stole the Gem and murdered Prasena (2.10) which set into motion Kṛṣṇa's attempts to secure the Gem from Jāmbavat and the struggles, givings and takings that followed on in pursuit of the vindication of his reputation, his acquittal. It would not be unreasonable of us to see in Kṛṣṇa's quest for moral acquittal (or in the problem of Kṛṣṇa's acquittal) a major theme of our myth. Indeed this was the view of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa's* ancient commentator, who sees the point of the Syamantaka Gem story to be a working out of Kṛṣṇa's vindication of character.[1] In illuminatin the structure of this second pair of bundled relations, we can link its successful resolution—(11.33) Kṛṣṇa's full exoneration by one and all, and its means (11.32) with the pattern of resolution we found in the first pair of bundled relations—1 1.34, thus coming closer to a unified interpretation of all the bundled relations in the Syamantaka Gem story.

To proceed then with our analysis, we notice that on two distinct occasions (2.10 and 9.26) Kṛṣṇa is accused of having taken the Gem and of being guilty of the murder of its possessor. Structurally, these accusation-situations display a kind of symmetry. In 2.10, the community, (the Yādavas) explicitly and directly accuse

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1. The commentator—editor of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* states the theme of the Syamantaka Gem Story as :

   He, who calls to mind the vindication of the character of Kṛṣṇa from false aspersions, shall never become the subject of unfounded accusation in the least degree, and living in the full exercise of his senses shall be cleansed from every sin.

Kṛṣṇa while an individual, Satrājit, implicitly and directly accuses him of the same offences. In 9.26, an individual, Balarāma, explicitly and directly levels accusations against Kṛṣṇa while the community (the Yādavas) do so implicitly and indirectly. In both cases the tone of the accesations is inhospitable and entails moral condemnation of Kṛṣṇa's behavior.

The structures of the exoneration-situations differ similarly with 3.11 and 5.18 reflecting 2.10's primarily communal accusation with an acquittal equally communal and public. In 5.20 Satrājit implicitly exonerates Kṛṣṇa of any relevant crimes—implicitly admitting his own error in accusing Kṛṣṇa by giving his daughter Satyabhāmā in marriage to Kṛṣṇa (5.19) over those with prior claims. 9.27's a aquittal of Kṛṣṇa reflects the personal nature of the 9.26 accusation but on the whole is far from a complete acquittal of Kṛṣṇa. In episode 11 Kṛṣṇa maintains that Balarāma still harbors doubts as to his innocence in the matter of the secreting of the Syamantaka Gem and that therefore Akrūra should produce the Gem before the Yādava assembly and Balarāma. We must therefore regard the acquittal in 9.27 as a tentative one—awaiting fuller confirmation at a later date. It may be seen as an acquittal in *deed* but not of heart—Balarāma is convinced sufficiently to return to Dvārakā, the Yādavas do have commerce with Kṛṣṇa but until the Gem is produced, a cloud of doubt hangs over Kṛṣṇa's reputation. If the Gem can be produced and its absence from Śatadhanvan's possession can be explained, them Kṛṣṇa's reputation can be vindicated.

Exoneration, though again toned down does come for Kṛṣṇa (11.33) and it is worth noticing what this amounts to and how this is achieved, in terms of the dialectic of accusation and exoneration. We will see subsequently that this successful acquittal is also related to our final pair of bundled relations, "Destroying" and "Preserving", but first we want to consider how Kṛṣṇa's exoneration is worked out in its own terms. In a sense, the myth has presented us with situations in which aspersion is cast upon Kṛṣṇa's reputation from both community and individual in different variations of stress : 2.10 stressing community accusation; 9.26 stressing individual accusation. Poor Kṛṣṇa, the subject of public rumour and individual abuse, must suffer two acquittals : first the combination 3.11, 5.18 and 5.20, and later 9.27—neither of which prevent *further*

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slurs on his character from arising ! The first acquittal, which may be seen as a lumping of 3.11, 5.18 and 5.20, evidently means little to Kṛṣṇa's fellows, for Balarāma outlandishly accuses him again in 9.26 and the Yādavas concur with Balarāma against Kṛṣṇa in this attack on his character. The acquittal in 9.27, as we have noted, is incomplete—it merely amounts to a suspended sentence and barely an acquittal at all. How, our myth seems to ask, is Kṛṣṇa to gain *full* exoneration ?

Structurally, the beginning of the answer to this problem is given in 11.32, in the same way that the association of 3.12 and 4.15 offered an answer to the problem of how to possess the Syamantaka Gem. As 4.15 and 3.12 were *both* a giving and a taking, so also is 11.32 *both* an accusation and an acquittal (as well as being neither an accusing nor an acquitting as we will see). Kṛṣṇa *accuses* Akrūra of having the Gem and of having received it from Śatadhanvan, yet by his hospitality implicitly holds out an *acquittal* for the part Akrūra had in conspiring over Śatadhanvan's death and the circumstances of his possessing the Gem. By this partial similarity between thh solutions in 3.12-4.15 and 11.32 the myth weaves together structurally the first two pairs of bundled relations of which it is composed. Giving-Taking is structurally related to Accusing-Exonerating because the solutions to both are associations or mediations of their respective dichotomies.

What remains to be explained however is the relationship between 11.34, neither giving nor taking, and 11.32, both accusing and acquitting. One explanation might rely on the following insight into the relationships between 4.15-3.12 and 11.34 and 9.26-9.27 and 11.32—between the temporary solution to Giving-Taking (4.15-3.12) and its final solution (11.34) and between the tentative solution to accusing-exonerating (9.27) and its correlative accusation (9.26) and the final solution here (11.32). Thus, the following relations may be set up as follows.

$$\frac{4.15 + 3.12}{11.34} = \frac{9.26 + 9.27}{11.32}$$

$$\frac{\text{one gives to Kṛṣṇa} + \text{Kṛṣṇa takes from one}}{\text{one gives NOT to Kṛṣṇa} + \text{Kṛṣṇa takes NOT from one}} = \frac{\text{one accuses Kṛṣṇa} + \text{one acquits Kṛṣṇa}}{\text{Kṛṣṇa accuses one} + \text{Kṛṣṇa acquits one}}$$

11.34 is the compound negation of 4.15 and 3.12 while 11.32 is the compound converse of 9.26 and 9.27. Though negation and conversion are different logical operations—one being a change in the kind of predication and the other being a transposition of terms, one might still accept that 11.34 and 11.32 are similar in that they both attempt reversals of the previous incidents : 4.15-3.12 and 9.26-9.27—though, we admit, in different ways.

11.34 and 11.32 bear stronger resemblances if we notice that 11.32 is more like 11.34 than we have hitherto allowed. Kṛṣṇa's accusing one and Kṛṣṇa's acquitting one are both of the weak variety like Akrūra's not giving the Syamantaka Gem to Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa's not taking the Gem from Akrūra. If "Having" or "Keeping" was advanced as the means between the poles of 11.34 : "Offering Possession" and "Seizing Possession", then perhaps we can see in Kṛṣṇa's charge that Akrūra has the Syamantaka Gem and the acquittal implicit in his cajoling behavior here as describing another mediating state which is harder to name. Between, say, the poles of "Impugning Honor" and "Restoring Honor" there is simply the state—"Honoring"—which may properly characterize the overall effect of Kṛṣṇa's treatment of Akrūra in 11.32 : Kṛṣṇa states that Akrūra has the Gem etc., though Akrūra is not charged with moral transgressions; Kṛṣṇa implies that Akrūra's transgressions are forgotten without openly exonerating Akrūra. In a way, Kṛṣṇa neither accuses nor does not accuse Akrūra; nor does Kṛṣṇa acquit or not acquit Akrūra—yet does all at the same time in different senses. More precisely Kṛṣṇa "honors" Akrūra—establishes a mean between these various alternatives which succeeds in bringing Kṛṣṇa exoneration.

Similarly we may notice an analogous formal resemblance with respect to the final state of Kṛṣṇa in 11.33. This state (11.33) might arguably merit a position "between" the "Accusing" and "Exonorating" columns as 11.34 has done with respect to the "Giving" and "Taking" columns. Kṛṣṇa's final state might then quite plausibly be interpreted as we have interpreted Akrūra's : as the neutral "honoring" rather than simple "exonerating" ("restoring honor"). It might be noticed that episode 11 as well as making no accusation of Kṛṣṇa makes Kṛṣṇa's exoneration implicit. In a sense, 11.33 for Kṛṣṇa is more like neither being accused nor

exonerated but merely being "honored" since his innocence is not proclaimed and is left for the commentator to state as a moral.

In summary of our analysis of the "Accusing-Exonerating" pair of bundled relations we h ave noted three major oppositions : 1.—Accusing—Exonerating opposition 2.—Primarily communal accusation and exoneration in 2.10 and 3.11, 5.18 opposed to primarily individual accusation and exoneration in 9.26, 9.27, though we saw that an individual dimension was respectively involved secondarily in 2.10,3.11,5.18, as well as a communal dimension to 9.26 and 9.27. 3.—11.32's opposition to 9.26 and 9.27 was noted as consisting in the former's synthetic combination of elements distinguished in 9.26 and 9.27, with a conversion of Kṛṣṇa's role from accused to accuser and acquitted to acquitter—leading directly to Kṛṣṇa's final and full acquittal.

Along with oppositions we noticed the formal similarity between 4.15-3.12 and 11.32 while also considering 11.32's similarity to 11.34 in their creating new categories of stability.

Thus, we have noticed how the "Accusing"—"Exonerating" oppositions have gained a certain resolution in the final situations of Akrūra and Kṛṣṇa. Both achieve happy end-states by, as it were, mediating the poles of the oppositions involved. In being "honored" both Akrūra and Kṛṣṇa stand in situations midway between having their honors impugned and restored. In this way the end-states of Akrūra and Kṛṣṇa with respect to the "Accusing" —"Exonerating" relationships (11.32, 11.33) resemble the resolution of the "Giving"-"Taking" colums (11.34) in that as mediations of the given extremes they are similar.

Destroying-Preserving

Finally we would analyze the last opposed pair of bundled relations : "Destroying-Preserving". This opposition takes in on the Destroying side not only literal killing—the Lion kills Prasena (2.5), Jāmbavat kills the Lion (2.7) etc. but (a) physical struggle— possible though not actual killings—Kṛṣṇa struggles and subdues Jāmbavat (3-4.13) and (b) mental struggle or aggression—Kṛṣṇa's prodding of Akrūra, causing Akrūra, causing Akrūra to admit his possession of the Syamantaka Gem. One might also count the befalling upon Dvārakā of the various calamities which ensue upon
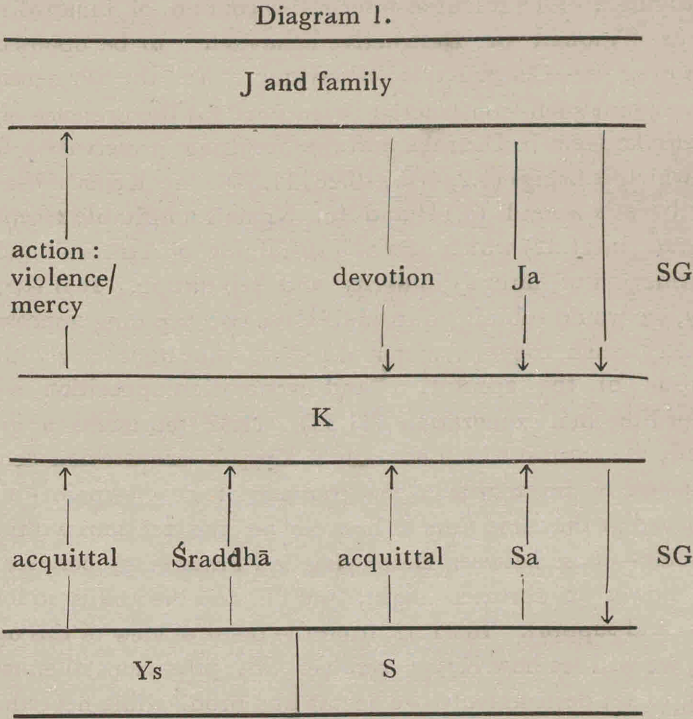
the Syamantaka Gem's removal from Dvārakā as an example of
"Destroying". One might also term this column of bundled rela-
tions as "Violent or Destructive Behaviour" to be opposed by
"Sustaining or Constructive Behaviour". In the "Preserving"
class we count such constructive events as (a) the presence of the
Syamantaka Gem in Dvārakā and the resulting preservation from
harm which it brings (1.2, 4.16, 10.28, 11.3), (b) Kṛṣṇa's healing
of Jāmbavat's wounds (4.14) and (c) Kṛṣṇa's hospitable reception
of Akrūra (in 11.32) which acts as a sustaining of Akrūra's honour—
an affirmation of Akrūra's integrity and reputation. It is Kṛṣṇa's
ability, we would submit, to straddle these two opposing approaches
(in 11.32) which, together with and indeed simultaneously with his
resolution of the accusation and exoneration opposition, which
wins for him final exoneration (11.33). 11.32 represents a grand
synthetic moment in which not only is Kṛṣṇa's exoneration achiev-
ed (the goal of the story from the commentator's viewpoint) but it
is achieved at the same time as he resolves the tensions within his
own being—those between Destroying and Preserving, between the
use of power to threaten, fight, and kill and the ability to foster,
sustain and support. In 11.32, from the point of view of this oppo-
sition, we will see how Kṛṣṇa resolves this precarious dilemma of
having to act destructively—to accuse and prod, while nevertheless
needing to sustain and support him whom Kṛṣṇa is pitted against.
This dilemma is resolved by Kṛṣṇa and, as we will go on to argue,
has important ramifications and confirmations in the theological
and political contexts in which this story is set.

We would best go about understanding this "Destroying-
Preserving" opposition by considering three mediations which
Kṛṣṇa performs with varying degrees of destructive power and
success between the community (Yādavas) and the three illicit
possessors of the Syamantaka Gem : Jāmbavat, Śatadhanvan and
Akrūra.

Mediation A [See the Diagram 1] is for Kṛṣṇa—a relatively
successful one : he obtains exoneration, two wives, the devotion of
Jāmbavat and recovers the Gem for the community (and Satrājit).
It also marks a mediation in which Kṛṣṇa's means of obtaining
the Gem, though violent, are nonetheless moderate and merciful :
though he struggles with Jāmbavat, he does show restraint (in the

Mediation A

Diagram 1.

J and family

action :
violence/   devotion   Ja   SG
mercy

K

acquittal   Śraddhā   acquittal   Sa   SG

Ys   S

Matsya Purāṇa, Kṛṣṇa kills Jāmbavat !) and heals Jāmbavat's wounds—3—4.13—4.14 mark a combination of Destruction and Preservation which harmonizes with the combination of Giving and Taking in 4.15 and 3.12.

On no view, however, does Mediation B [See the Diagram 2] prove successful for Kṛṣṇa, although he has increased the destructive element of his action to a superior degree in killing Śatadhanvan. Kṛṣṇa finds no Syamantaka Gem, nor do any good or blessings accrue to him (hence the broken lines in Diagram 2). His decidedly violent action in killing Śatadhanvan (8.21) brings, instead, the fraternal curse and accusation of Balarāma as well as disfavour with the community (9.26). If mediators are characterized by their ambivalent behaviour, as Levi-Strauss says[1], then Kṛṣṇa's one-sidedly violent behavior, lacking mercy (sustaining power to Śatadhanvan) may explain Kṛṣṇa's failure to succeed in mediating between Śatadhanvan and the community (the Yādavas).

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1. Levi-Strauss, C., pp. 224 ff.

Mediation B

Diagram 2.

Sh

action :
killing/
hostility   (Nothing)   (No)SG

K

Accusations   (No)SG

Ys   R   Sa
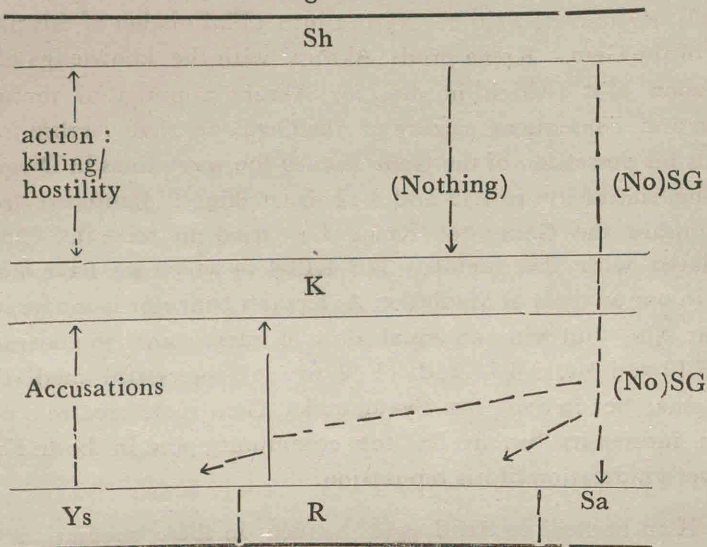
Not until Mediation C—the mediation between Akrūra and
the Yādava community, does Kṛṣṇa become fully exonerated of
his crimes and the Syamantaka Gem's wanderings cease—now to
remain a source of welfare to the community.

Mediation C

Diagram 3.

A

action : accusation
pressure/non-hostility   SG

K

Acquittals

Ys   R   Sa
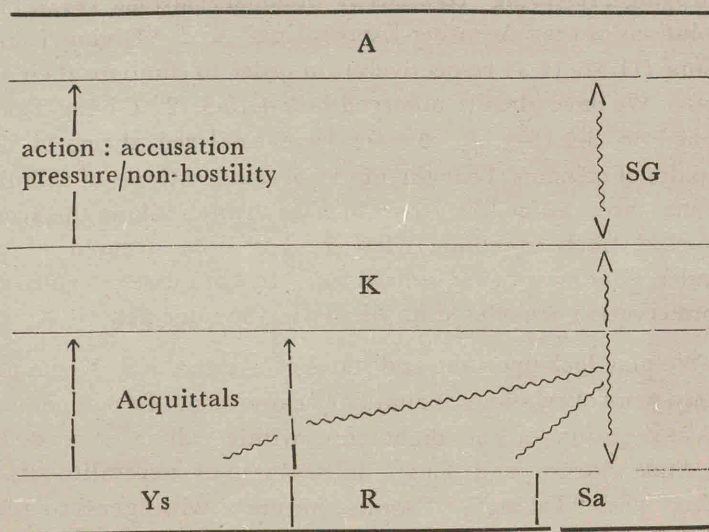
Significantly, Kṛṣṇa's tack is one characterized by judicious use of pressure (destructive power) and flattery (sustaining power) (11. 32). Kṛṣṇa verily cajoles Akrūra into an admission of his possession of the Gem. Kṛṣṇa prods Akrūra with the knowledge of his possession of it (which implies for Akrūra a potential threat to search and consequent seizure of the Gem) so that Akrūra freely reveals his possession of the Gem (hence the wavy lines in Diagram 3). The similarity to 4.15 and 3.12 is striking : Jāmbavat freely relinquishes the Gem after Kṛṣṇa has tried to seize it. Closely associated with this incident is 3-4.13-4.14 which we have mentioned in our analysis of Mediation A. Kṛṣṇa's behavior is moderate—violent, yes, but with an equal dose of mercy and forebearance. 4.15-3.12 and 3-4.13-4.14 and 11.32 are all successful mediations for Kṛṣṇa, for in each the Syamantaka Gem is restored to a place which insures its benefit for the community and in both Kṛṣṇa receives vindication of his reputation.

If an immediate trend is to be seen in these mediations it is that, for Kṛṣṇa, increasing destructiveness in the pursuit of his aims spells a decreasing success in the attainment of these aims; the more violence is employed to vindicate his reputation and gain the Syamantaka Gem for communal benefit, the less these are achieved.

We might take the opportunity to link this solution of the "Destroying-Preserving" columns of bundled relations (11.32) with the solutions of the "Accusing-Exonerating" and "Giving-Taking" columns (11.32, 11.34 respectively) in order to compare their similarities. We have already observed how 4.15-3.12 (Giving-Taking) is linked to 3-4.13-4.14. As we have analyzed them, 11.32 for both pairs of columns bear the marks of moderation—of skilful use of means—not passive but active in a way which allows the accused or attacked freely to admit what he has been accused of or to surrender what he is being pressed for. In both cases, exoneration and preservation are offered implicitly in the same act.
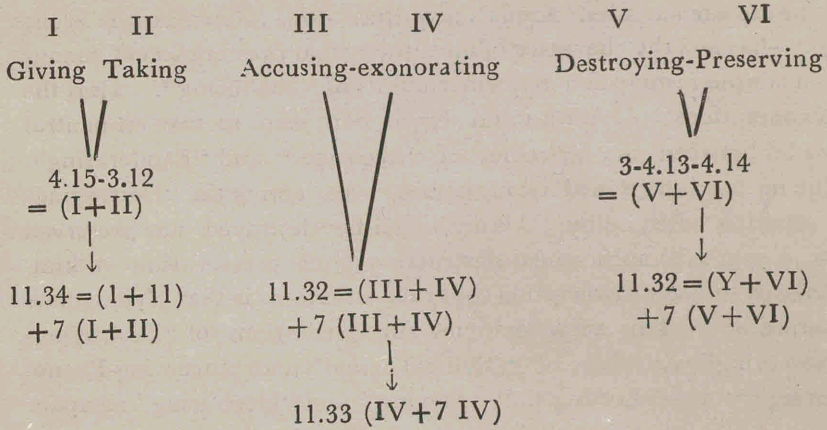
We may look upon the end-states of Akrūra and Kṛṣṇa under all three pairs of relations as similar because each of these end-states marks a negation of the dichotomy within which it is defined. 11.34 finds Akrūra and Kṛṣṇa in a state of neutrality *vis-a-vis* "Giving" and "Taking". Despite Akrūra's willingness to give up

the Gem and despite the fact that it could have been taken from him, he neither gives up the Syamantaka Gem nor has it taken from him. Akrūra simply "has" or "keeps" it. Correspondingly Krṣṇa neither gives the Gem to Akrūra nor does he take it from him. Krṣṇa lets Akrūra keep it—he sanctions Akrūra's possession of the Gem. 11.32 and 11.33 under "Accusing" and "Exonerating" have similar structures. In 11.32 Akrūra is neither accused nor not accused, neither exonerated nor not exonerated. He is "honoured", as we noted earlier. Krṣṇa also analogously accuses and does not accuse Akrūra in 11.32 as well as exonerating and not exonerating him. Krṣṇa "honours" Akrūra. In so doing however Krṣṇa's exoneration (11.33) is cast in a different light—for in "honouring" Akrūra Krṣṇa himself is "honored"—in accepting the *status quo* he enjoys his rightful status without an explicit acquittal being made, as in the earlier cases. Krṣṇa's acquittal—toned down as it is in the text—has less the character of an extraordinary restoration of honour as a simple resumption of former habits of "honouring". Thus the "exonerations" of Akrūra and Krṣṇa both seem to take on neutral shades between the extremes of "Accusing" and "Exonerating". The unity of these mediations persists even across the "Destroying-Preserving" dichotomy. Akrūra is neither destroyed nor preserved by Krṣṇa's simultaneous destruction and preservation of him. Perhaps the best description of this situation is that Krṣṇa "lets Akrūra be". This view matches the mediations of "Destroying-Preserving" with those of "Giving-Taking" and "Accusing-Exonerating" since "Letting Be", "Having" and "Honouring" compare as mediations between their respective dichotomies.

Now we feel that our story can be seen to have a discernible structure which we have made explicit in its pairs of opposed relationships and their resolutions. The "Giving-Taking" dichotomy is resolved by the mediating incidents 4.15-3.12 and 11.34 : 4.15-3.12; mark Jāmbavat's giving the Gem to Krṣṇa after he has attempted to seize it from Jāmbavat and therefore achieves a resolution of the first dichotomy. 11.34 mediates the same dichotomy differently, though nonetheless effectively, by combining Akrūra's desired giving with the desired taking by Krṣṇa, Rāma and Satyabhāmā. It also is the occasion of Akrūra's failure to give the Syamantaka Gem as well as the failure of any one to take it. In 11.32 Krṣṇa's simultaneous accusation and acquittal of Akrūra

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mediates the "Accusing-Exonerating" opposition by also being characterizable as being neither of these two actions. The intermediate act of "honouring" successfully resolves the tension between accusing and exonerating not only for Akrūra but by participation for Kṛṣṇa in 11.33. As for "Destroying-Preserving" we again witness two mediations as was the case for "Giving-Taking." 3-4.13-4.14 finds Kṛṣṇa first "destroying" Jāmbavat, then "preserving" him. 11.32 finds Kṛṣṇa simultaneously "destroying" and "preserving" as well as neither destroying nor preserving Akrūra so that the mediating term "letting be" perhaps better describes the situation. We then might schematize the structure of our story's oppositions and resolutions as follows :

I	II		III	IV		V	VI
Giving	Taking		Accusing-exonorating			Destroying-Preserving	

$$4.15\text{-}3.12 = (I+II)$$

$$\downarrow$$

$$11.34 = (1+11) + 7\,(I+II)$$

$$11.32 = (III+IV) + 7\,(III+IV)$$

$$\downarrow$$

$$11.33\,(IV+7\,IV)$$

$$3\text{-}4.13\text{-}4.14 = (V+VI)$$

$$\downarrow$$

$$11.32 = (Y+VI) + 7\,(V+VI)$$

C. Meanings :

Now that we have laid out our story's structure we might speculate about what important meanings it might have (have had) in its more typical settings. More properly, however, we might say that our search is one for "themes" which are themes of the story. That a certain theme is a theme of the story is an historical property. Thus, our task is one which strives to suggest what themes historically might have been themes of the Syamantaka Gem story. History is indispensable for confirming the suggestions we would want to make. Fully testable, our suggestions are open to falsification as well as verification in theory—though

the practical possibility of both may be small. It is hoped, in spite of these limitations, that our "educated guesses" will prove somewhat useful in understanding the Syamantaka Gem Story and the possible meanings it might have had in its *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* setting.

Having said this, we would begin by considering two plausible themes for which there are some historical supports : the political and the religious. The political question which the myth attempts to answer can be briefly stated as follows : What are the proper means by which the ends of a member of an assembly of peers are to be achieved within that assembly ? The political problem so posed is thus one of right behavior given a certain constitution of political life. That the Sātvatas of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa were an "oligarchic or republican clan", known to Pāṇini as the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis is the claim of Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity*.[1] Whether or not an exact sense can be attached to the kind of political body our Sātvatas (Yādavas) might have been,[2] we can at least appreciate the importance of the assembly for their political life. It was a council of elders and leaders, apparently a forum for the discussion of major political issues and formation of policies; it was even a kind of jury and court of law. It would not therefore be unreasonable to expect that certain codes of conduct should be prescribed—especially to limit the influence a physically powerful individual (such as Kṛṣṇa) might want to exert. Councils are, after all, kinds of substitutes for brute struggle and exclude the use of physical force in the pursuit of their affairs. A threatening speech or psychological pressure may not be tolerated in a "parliament" of peers; physical interference would be ruled out strictly. That is what "parliaments" at least are for—avoiding violent overthrow of government, even though they may be crude ones quite unlike our present-day assemblies. One might compare the character of the "parliament" in Magna Carta days to the present House of Commons to get an idea of the differences in mind.

If an assembly is an institution for encouraging certain kinds of behaviours (non-violent) and values of its members for the solu-

1.   Patil, D. R., pp. 172ff.
2.   Thapar, R., "Interpretations of Ancient Indian History", *History and Theory*, VII, 3, 1968, pp. 328f.

tions o its member's problems imagine what a stricture such norms
would be upon a person of such violent and rash nature as the
Kṛṣṇa depicted in our story and in the early tradition : In inci-
dent 2.3, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* barely conceals Kṛṣṇa's ability to seize
the Syamantaka Gem from Satrājit. "...he had the power of
taking it from Satrājit....' [VP, ep. 2] while the older *Matsya Purāṇa*
is less timid in admitting the violent means Kṛṣṇa would have used
to seize the Gem. "Kṛṣṇa was powerful to take it by force... .
[MP XLV, 5]. In both cases one feels that it is Kṛṣṇa's physical
prowess which makes him at once an asset to the Yādava commu-
nity as well as an unpredictable force beyond their control. In-
deed, this is borne out in the sequel to the accounts of Kṛṣṇa and
the Yādavas, [VP V, 37, p. 479] for he succeeds in instigating the
self-destruction of the Yādavas as well as taking a personal hand
in their extermination. This tradition, which is rooted in the
Mahābhārata[1] is described only in a general manner in our text and
in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*—both of which undoubtedly find such
nasty accounts of Kṛṣṇa's behavior an embarrassment.

Viewed against an historical backdrop where Kṛṣṇa's violent
power is a firm reality, one can understand his behavior against
Śatadhanvan as in line with the character of brutal warrior-prince,
what is less understandable is his behaviour in our text against
Jāmbavat and Akrūra. In both of these cases restraint is exercised,
though of different degrees. It is noteworthy that the older *Matsya
Purāṇa* presents Kṛṣṇa as slaying Jāmbavat while the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*
alludes to Kṛṣṇa's slaying of Madhu during his battle with Jām-
bavat. In the older tradition represented by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and
Mahābhārata, Kṛṣṇa is also barely restrained from physical violence
against Akrūra during the final episode of our story,[2] though the
reasons implied in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and in the older tradition
of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* differ again.

It is our contention that, even though there are other factors
which may inform the reasons for Kṛṣṇa's restraint against Akrūra
in 11 32, what still emerges is the tradition of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and

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1. The *Mahābhārata* gives vivid details of this internecine
   slaughter amid which an account of the Syamantaka
   Gem Story is repeated. See the above reference to
   Satyabhāmā-Jāmbavatī dichotomy.
2. Patil, D. R., pp. 172f.

the *Mahābhārata* : Kṛṣṇa's restraint is seemingly dictated by the exigencies imposed upon him by his compliance with the norms of an assembly of peers ! It is this need for the restraint of physical force, this need to comply with the rules implied in accepting membership in an assembly of peers which is an important theme in our story. Without canalizing our conclusion, we might state this politico-social theme in the following words : One does not attain one's politico-social aims in our society by using violent physical coercion. It is through diplomatic action—neither flaccid nor timid, which holds out acceptance and respect, that will win the day. It is such a meaning which agrees with our structural conclusions : Kṛṣṇa achieves his "exoneration" (and the story's goal in the eyes of the ancient commentator) by comporting him-self to Akrūra over the matter of his possession of the Syamantaka Gem in a way which combines accusation, exoneration, destruction and preservation in one act. [11.22]. Kṛṣṇa begins by flattering Akrūra (preservation) : "Kinsman, you are a very prince in your liberality", counters with a bold statement of fact (accusation) "But we know that the Syamantaka Gem is in your possession" etc., follows this up with an exoneration, "So let it remain....", all of which Akrūra understands as a being "taxed" (destruction), a being prodded. Yet all this takes place in a way which balances all the factors involved, thus making it possible for Akrūra to admit his complicity in the death of Satrājit and his possession of the Syam-antaka Gem—and allows Kṛṣṇa to achieve "exoneration". Thus, in its own way—by an opposition and then resolution of the myth's constituent bundled relations, by showing that some permutations of these relations fail and other succeed, the myth suggests the solution to its set problem.

Having made and supported the claim for a distinct political (social) theme in our story we should like to explore a religious theme of special interest, not unrelated to the political issues raised above. It is our conviction that the Syamantaka Gem Story marks an interesting phase in the historical and logical development of the apotheosis of Kṛṣṇa, who, as we have suggested and as experts in the field have stated, was not considered divine in the early tra-dition[1] but was rather depicted as, no doubt, an heroic and mighty,

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1. Pusalker, A. D., ; Hopkins, E. W., *Epic Mythology*. The Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research, III, 18 Stras-

though somewhat rash, greedy and even ruthless figure : Kṛṣṇa
the diplomat and healer of our story is a far cry from Kṛṣṇa whose
"heart was roasted hy terrific speeches"[1] against Akrūra in the
Vāyu Purāṇa or the Kṛṣṇa who instigated and joined in the slaughter
of the Yādavas later in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata.*
There are also other curious lapses of divinity in our text—Kṛṣṇa
is sometimes omniscient (he knows that what appears to be Sūrya
coming to visit him at our story's beginning is really Satrājit
wearing the Syamantaka Gem); at other times he relies upon
shrewd powers of deduction (Kṛṣṇa deduces that Akrūra possesses
the Syamantaka Gem because the good that prevails in Dvārakā
during Akrūra's presence is an effect wholly disproportionate to
the cause claimed for it —Akrūra's virtue, therefore Akrūra must
possess the Syamantaka Gem); and at other times Kṛṣṇa remains
as ignorant of the causes of events as any of the Yādavas (Kṛṣṇa
must be told by Satyabhāmā of her father's murder by Śatadhan-
van; he does not infer to Akrura's possession of the Syamantaka
Gem until three years after it has been in Akrūra's possession etc.).
The phase in the development of Kṛṣṇa as divine, which we
encounter in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* Syamantatka Gem Story, is one
which may very well still recall the early tradition (or at least
another tradition similar to the early one) while attempting a
reconciliation between that earlier tradition and the later diviniza-
tion of Kṛṣṇa which we get most completely in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*
The contradiction to which this gives rise in the mind of the
devotee is, we would suggest, grappled with in our text.[2]　The

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bourg, 1915, pp. 212, 215; Edgerton, F., (trans. ed.), *The Bhagavad Gita*, Harper Torthbooks, NYC, 1964, pp. 132-5.

1. Patil, D. R., pp. 172f.

2. Wilson's note on the commentator-editor's note *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa* p. 345 to Kṛṣṇa's "reflecting" that Akrūra's virtue is a cause wholly disproportionate to the effects it is sup- posed to yield, which we mentioned above as an instance of "shrewd inference", reveals the embarrassment caused by the inconsistency of Kṛṣṇa's dual natures. The latter's inept attempt to obviate this open contradiction (perhaps a trivial one at that) amounts to his saying that this reflecting of Kṛṣṇa's "is to be understood of him only as consistent with the account here given of him as if he were a mere man; for as he was omniscient there was no reason for him to reflect or reason". Yet the story gives

problem of how Kṛṣṇa can be *both* man and god, of how this early tradition can be reconciled with a newer tradition and the paradox which consequently arises is tackled and solved in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa Syamantaka Gem Story in a way which relates to the conservative political theme just discussed.

It is our contention however that the religious solution which the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* version of our story offers is that this paradox is too treacherous to attempt a positive solution—indeed the paradox is unfathomable or scandalous. Far better is it to stand by the tried and true reliance upon the efficacy of brahminic-style sacrifice than risk attachment to the fickle Kṛṣṇa. The story allows that Kṛṣṇa should be absolved of heinious crimes, yet he is not deemed worthy of possessing the Syamantaka Gem ! Rather, Akrūra, though he conspired in Satrājit's death, allied himself with enemies of the Yādavas, and concealed the whereabouts of the Syamantaka Gem is granted possession of the Gem—apparently because of his continence and diligence in offering brahminic-style sacrifices ![1] (and perhaps also because of his ancestors' patronage of the brahmins !)

It is significant that the attitude of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is so markedly different from that of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*'s regarding Kṛṣṇa, Akrūra and the place of brahminic sacrifice. Kṛṣṇa is a full-blown deity even to a melodramatic extent—his honour is never seriously impugned; he is never directly accused of crimes by the people, nor does he have lapses of knowledge. Akrūra yields up the Syamantaka Gem to Kṛṣṇa at the story's end and little is made of the efficacy of Brahminic sacrificies on his behalf. This latter is pushed into second place behind love and devotion to Kṛṣṇa. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* prefers to ignore any serious threat to Kṛṣṇa's divinity and breaks with the reserve of our *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* text.

By this exercise in a structural analysis of the Syamantaka Gem Story we have attempted to follow a method similar to that

us several examples where Kṛṣṇa not only needs to reflect and reason but occasions in which Kṛṣṇa is completely ignorant.

1.   The *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* likewise support the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*'s contention that Akrūra is a patron of Brahminic style of the sacrifice. *Matsya Purāṇa* "Ep" 4, Above p. 407, and Patil, D. R., p. 24.

laid down by Levi-Strauss in several places in an attempt to connect this story to some relevant political and theological themes which were also political and theological *beliefs* for some sector of the society from which the Viṣṇu Purāṇa Syamantaka Gem Story partly originated. It would be important to stress, however, how our analysis has been less ambitious than those which Levi-Strauss has undertaken in two broad respects : We have not tried to make our results cross-culturally comparative, though our analysis, we think, would provide a useful beginning for such a task. We might well have compared the Kṛṣṇa of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* Syamantaka Gem Story to the Jesus of the New Testament. Is there not a certain similar tension within Jesus between the "pacific", "Preserving" Christ—the Jesus of non-resistance to evil, the suffering servant of Isaiah and the Christ of violence and destruction—the Jesus who drove the moneylenders from the temple, the Apocalyptic Jesus of the Book of Revelation, the Jesus of possible Zealot connections ?[1] Are there not further analogies between Jesus' compliant attitude towards the state and Kṛṣṇa's acceptance of Yādavan political norms ? If Jesus' case is understandable as a kind of spiritual irony—by his resurrection Jesus conquers and succeeds in spite of the power of the state, Kṛṣṇa's case seems slightly different. His victory is not total in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as it is in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*—where Kṛṣṇa wins both an explicit exoneration and the Syamantaka Gem. It was not our purpose however to undertake such an extensive comparative project but to go some distance in pointing the way to a possible cross-culturally comparative analysis.

Moreover, althought we made frequent use of other variants of the Syamantaka Gem Story within roughly the "same culture", it was not even our intention to undertake a structural analysis of the relation that story may have had to the general make-up of Indian mythology, though again it would be a minute, though useful beginning for such a project. There are reasons why the "violence versus non-violence" opposition may be a common one in Indian stories and its resolution in the same stories important for Indian societies, and moral, political or religious beliefs, etc.[2] Important

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1. Brandon, S. G. F., *Jesus and the Zealots*, Manchester Univ. Press, Manchester, 1968.

2. Robinson, M. S., "Some Reflections....".

as this kind of investigation would be, it was not the problem our analysis set itself—though again, what we have attempted to do should be of use to those scholars seeking to pursue that distant and ambitious task of constructing a structural inventory of Indian mythology—and of those, who along with Levi-Strauss, hope to relate such structures to other structures in that society and to other societies.

[A knowledge of the following facts regarding the life of Kṛṣṇa may be useful in appreciating the article by Mr. Strenski : (1) Kṛṣṇa was 19 at the time of the performance of the Rājasūya sacrifice by Yudhiṣṭhira. (2) Kṛṣṇa married Jāmbavatī and then Satyabhāmā within the next 3 years. Rukmiṇī was his first wife. (3) The incident of the S. gem occurred 2 years after Yudhiṣṭhira's becoming heir-apparent at the age of 21. (4) Yudhiṣṭhira was older than Arjuna by 2 years who in turn was younger than Kṛṣṇa by 3 months. For a detailed discussion on these and other relevant matters, *vide* the article 'In which of the four Dvārakās .... ' by V. P. Athavale in Poona Orientalist, XIX. 1-4. The story has been alluded to in Nirukta 2. 4.

The *tithi* on which Prasena refused to give the S. Gem to Kṛṣṇa is said to be the भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्थी, on which day Hindus do not look at the moon since Kṛṣṇa was charged with theft on this day. In some parts of India a vow called कृष्णकलङ्किनी is observed on this day by the Vaiṣṇavas. *Vide* Hist. of Dharmaśāstra (V. p. 147) for some important information on the verse सिंहः प्रसेनमवधीत्....
—Editor]

THE VĀYUPURĀṆA AND THE MĀRKAṆḌEYAPURĀṆA :
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

By

LALLANJI GOPAL

The *Purāṇas* seem to have grown beyond the narrow description of five characteristics at an early stage of their evolution. The process of the growth and development of the *Purāṇa*s was helped by a desire to encompass within their fold different types of knowledge and various sciences. The accretions include, among other things, the rites, tenets and mythologies of different sects and also the ideas and principles of the different systems of philosophy. The principles of Sāṅkhya and the practices of Yoga were accommodated in some *Purāṇas*. One interesting piece of information in these sections concerns premonitory signs or *ariṣṭas*. The *ariṣṭas* are described in the *Vāyu*,[1] *Mārkaṇḍeya*[2] and *Liṅga*[3] *Purāṇas*. The *Skanda Purāṇa*[4] also lists indications foretelling impending death, though without employing the name *ariṣṭa*. The *ariṣṭas* are also enumerated in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*.[5] Here we propose to confine our observations to the *Vāyu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*.[6]

A comparison of the relevant chapters in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (=MP) and the *Vāyupurāṇa* (=VP) is revealing. In the MP there are forty verses on *ariṣṭas*, whereas the VP has only thirty-three verses. Verses 35, 36 and 39 of the MP, which deal with the behaviour of a person who has known his impending death through

1. Ch. 19
2. Ch. 43
3. I. 91
4. IV. 41
5. III. 238. 1-33.
6. The *Skandapurāṇa* is a late composition. The *Liṅga-purāṇa* evidently borrows its narrative on *ariṣṭas* from the *Vāyu-purāṇa*—R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p 96. Our article on '*Ariṣṭas in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*' appeared in *Purāṇam*, Vol. (XXIV. 1 Jan. 1982).

ariṣṭas[7], do not occur in the VP. Verse 33 of the VP is without a correspondig verse in the MP. Similar provisions in the MP are found in verses 37, 38 and 40, particulary the last one.[8]

Verses 5, 6, 13 and 34 in MP, dealing respectively with indications of death after nine months, eight months, ten days and impending death, do not have any thing parallel in the VP. Likewise, verses 24, 25, 20 (first line) and 27 (first line) of the VP mention indications of immediate death which are not to be found in the MP.

For the remaining verses we can trace paralles in the other text. The extent of correspondance is of varying nature. In the case of parallel verses, we have instances of identical lines, the difference in the form of one word can be expected to have been caused by the copyists involved. The identical lines are MP. 2 (second line) = VP. 2 (second line); MP. 9 (first line) = VP. 7 (first line); MP. 10 (first line) = VP. 8 (first line); MP. 14 (first line) = VP. 11 (first line); MP. 18 (first line) = VP. 15 (first line); MP. 29 (second line) = VP. 28 (second line) and MP. 30 (first three *pādas*) = VP. 29 (first three *pādas*).

In other cases we find the same words but their positions in the verses are changed. Sometimes we find synonyms being used. In many cases the same idea is conveyed by paraphrasing the lines. We compare below corresponding verses from the two *Purāṇas* to indicate the nature and extent of parallelism.

(1) VP 2-MP 2 changes the order of the indications, paraphrases *mahāpatham* as *devamārgaṁ* and adds *śukram*.

(2) VP 3—It has *Araśmivantamādityaṁ raśmivantañca pāvakam* which is peraphrased in MP 3 as *Araśmibimbaṁ sūryasya vahniṁ caivāṁśumālinam*.

(3) VP 4—For its *daśamāsān sa jīvati* we have in MP 4 *jīvet sa daśamāsikam*.

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7. In the *nibandha-granthas* the subject comes under the general heading of *utkrānti*.

8. VP, 33—Ariṣṭasūcite dehe tasmin kāla upāgate.
   Tyaktvā bhayaviṣādañca udgacchedbuddhimānnaraḥ.
   MP.40-Jñātvā kālañca taṁ samyagabhayasthānamāśritaḥ.
   Yuñjīta yogī kālo' sau yathā nāsyā phalo bhavet.

(4) VP 5 is paraphrased in MP 7, which substitutes *pārṣṇyām* for *pṛṣṭhato*.

(5) VP 6—The order of indications is changed in MP 8 which has *vāyaso* for *kākaḥ* and adds *kākolo*, In VP the first line has the expression *nilīyed yasya mūrddhani*. MP drops *nilīyed* and instead transforms *khagaḥ kaścit* in the second line into *khagaḥ nīlaḥ* revealing its soures in the process, For *ṣaṇmāsān nātivarttate* MP has *ṣaṇmāsāyuḥpradarśakaḥ*.

(6) VP 7—*Vadhyed* is replaced by *hanyate*, and *paśyet* by *dṛṣṭvā* in MP 9. *Chāyām vā vikṛtām* in VP is happier than *svām chāyāmanyathā* of MP.

(7) VP 8—For *paśyed* MP 10 has *dṛṣṭvā*. *Udakendradhanurvāpi* is replaced by *rātrāvindradhanuścāpi* in MP. *Trayo dvau vā sa jīvati* is paraphrased as *jīvitam dvitrimāsikam*. The premonitory sign of seeing a rainbow at night is mentioned more appropriately later in VP 21 (*rātrau cendrāyudham paśyed*) and MP 24 (*śakrāyudhañcārdharātre*), hence the reference in MP 10 is an unnecessary repetition. It occurs possibly because the compiler of the MP considered *udaka* in *udakendradhanur* to be redundant and substituted *rātrau* for *udaka-*.

(8) VP 9—MP 11 substitutes *toye* for *apsu* and adds *ghṛte taile*. For *ātmānaṃ* in VP we find *ātmanastanum* in MP. *Ātmānam* is repeated in the second line of VP.

(9) VP 10—The first line is paraphrased in MP 12 with the significant replacement of *vasāgandhi* by *vastamaso gandho*. In the second line MP drops *mṛtyurhyupasthitas* and adds *yogino nṛpa jīvitam*, making consequential changes in paraphrasing the remaining words.

(10) VP 11—The only change is in respect of the first half of the second line. It reads *adbhiḥ spṛṣṭo na hṛṣyet* in VP and *hṛṣyate nāmbusaṃsparśāt* in MP.

(11) VP 12—For *yuktena rasena* and *vidyānmṛtyurupasthitaḥ* MP 15 has *yānastho* and *na mṛtyuḥ kalamṛcchati*. Likewise, *aśām* and *vrajet* are replaced by *diśam* and *prayāti*.

(12) VP 13—MP 16 changes *kṛṣṇāmbaradharā śyāmā* into *raktakṛṣṇāmbaradharā*, which is not appropriate. It further adds *hasatī* after *gāyantī*.

(13) VP 14—It has two indications. The first, *chidram vāsaśca kṛṣṇaśca svapne yo vidhṛyānnaraḥ*, is dropped by MP 17. The second, *bhagnam vā śravaṇam*, can easily be expected to be a mistake of the copyist, the original reading having been *nagnam vā śramaṇam*. This seems to have been elaborated in MP verse as *Nagnam kṣapaṇakam svapne hasamānam mahābalam. Ekam samvīkṣyan valgantam.*

(14) VP 15 is clearly paraphrased in MP 18. *Nimajjet* is replaced by *nimagnam, dṛṣṭvā tu tādṛśam svapnam* by *svapne paśyatyathātmānam* and *sadya eva na jīvati* by *sa sadyo mriyate naraḥ.*

(15) VP 16 has *bhasmāṅgārāmśca keśāmśca* which is better than *Keśāṅgārāmstathā bhasma* in MP 19. *Śuṣkā* is replaced by *nirjalām*. The second line, *paśyedyo daśarātrāntu na sa jiveta tādṛṣaḥ* is expressed differently as *dṛṣṭvā svapne daśāhāttu mṛtyurekādaśe dine.*

(16) VP 17—MP 20 adds *karālair*, changes the order of *kṛṣṇaiḥ* and *vikaṭaiḥ* and uses *tāḍitaḥ* in place of *tāḍyate*. For *sadyo na sa jīvati* MP writes *sadyo mṛtyum labhennaraḥ.*

(17) VP 18—MP 21 drops *pratyuṣasi* but adds *viparītam paritam vā*. The fourth *pāda, sa gatāyurbhavennaraḥ*, appears as *sadyo mṛtyumṛcchati.*

(18) VP 19—The similarity with MP 22 in expression is obvious, but, because of a few changes, the first indication has been completely changed. VP has *yasya vai snātamātrasya hṛdayam pīḍyate bhṛśam*, whereas MP reads *yasya vai bhuktamātrasya hṛdayam bādhate kṣudhā*. VP has *dantaharṣaḥ*, which refers to a morbid sensitiveness of the teeth as when they are set on edge. The compiler of MP possibly did not appreciate its meaning and substituted the commoner expression *dantagharṣaḥ* meaning chattering or grinding of teeth which, however, is not such an abnormal feature as to indicate immediate definite death. The fourth *pāda* reads *tam gatāyusamādiśet* in VP and is worded as *sa gatāyurna samśayah.*

(19) VP 20-21 – The indication in the first line of VP 20, *Bhūyo bhūyaḥ śvasedyastu rātrau vā yadi vā divā* is replaced in MP 23 by another indication, *trasyatyahni tathā niśi*, which is not so expressive. Further, MP 23 compresses the two indications of VP 20 into one line and adopts the second line of VP 21 as its second line. The first line of MP 24 is the same as the first line of VP

21. But MP does not mention any new indication in the spare second line which it gets. MP paraphrases *indrāyudham* as *śakrāyudham* and *nakṣatramaṇḍalam* as *grahagaṇam*. In place of *rātrau* MP has *ardharātre*, which, in view of the contrast with *divā*, is overdone. *Paranetreṣu cātmānaṁ na paśyet* is paraphrased by MP as *Nātmānaṁ paranetrastham vīkṣate*.

(20) VP 22.—The fourth *pāda, sa jñeyo gatajīvitaḥ*, is paraphrased by MP 25 as *tasyāyurudgatam*. The position of the first and third indications is mutually changed in MP. The change of *netramekam* into *netrañca vāmam* is without any justification. Likewise, *karṇayornamanonnatī*, in place of *karṇau sthānācca bhraśyataḥ*, is not happier.

(21) VP 23—Of the three indications, MP 26 drops the third one, *gaṇḍe cipiṭake rakte*, even though it is an important symptom noted in medicinal texts as well. In the case of the first, *kṛṣṇa* is replaced by *śyāma* and the significant adjective *kharā* is omitted. *Paṅkabhāsañca vai mukham* has been simplified in MP as *Āraktatāmeti mukham*.

(22) VP 26—It has been paraphrased in MP 27. As in the case of VP 12, *yuktāḥ .... rathe* is replaced by....*yānena*.

(23) VP 27—MP 28 omits the introductory first line referring to the two indications as foremost *ariṣṭas*. It expands the first indication (*ghoṣaṁ na śṛṇuyāt karṇe*) to make it clear (*Pidhāya karṇau nirghoṣam na śṛṇotyātmasambhavam*). The second indication, *jyotirnetre na paśyati*, is merely paraphrased as *naśyate cakṣuṣorjyotiryasya*.

(24) VP 28—Its corresponding verse is MP 29 which uses *garte* for *śvabhre* and refers to its door being closed (*dvāram pidhīyate*), whereas VP says that it does not have any door (*dvārañcāsya na vidyate*).

(25) VP 29—The fourth *pāda* is changed in MP 30 as *śaṁsanti puṁsāmaparaṁ śarīram*. VP mentions two more significant ʼindications in this part (*atyuṣṇamūtro viṣamastha eva*). The forms *sukhasya* and *śuśiram* for *mukhasya* and *suṣīra* of VP are due to the scribe's mistake.

(26) VP 30-31—The order of the two verses is changed in MP 31-32. VP 30 is not properly worded, whereas MP 32 has a

better expression. VP refers to the person seeing his assaulter (*taṁ paśyedatha hantāraṁ*). MP mentions them as *duṣṭairbhūtaiḥ*. MP remarks that this indication unfailingly leads to the person meeting death after seven nights. We can see that the signs indicating death are listed earlier in the chapters in a descending order of the time after which death is to occur. The context in which the present verse occurs suits more the VP reference to the assaulted person not surviving (*sa hatastu na jīvati*). VP 31 mentions the person entering fire at the end of a dream. MP 31 refers to his entering fire in a dream and not coming out of it (*na niṣkramate punaḥ*). VP mentions the person not regaining memory (*smṛtiṁ nopalabheccāpi*), but MP instead adds that it applies as well to his entering water (*jalapraveśādapi*).

(27) VP 32 is paraphrased in MP 33 but the order of the adjectives is changed. For *prāvaraṇam* in VP, we have *vastram* in MP, which adds *amalam* and replaces *kṛṣṇam* by *asitam*. In place of *tasya mṛtyurupasthitaḥ* MP uses the clause *mṛtyumāsannaṁ tasyāpi hi vinirddiśet*. The word *svapne* in VP, which shows that the indication relates to visions in dreams, suits the context, but is dropped by MP.

(28) VP 33—The same idea is expressed in MP 40, but the wording shows many variations.

We, thus, see that the information about the *ariṣṭas* in the two *purāṇas* is similar and in some respects identical. But, it cannot be inferred that one borrowed from the other. In that case we shall have to postulate that the author of the borrowing *Purāṇa* indulged in a labourious exercise to camouflage the borrowing by paraphrasing expressions, changing the order of lines and replacing words by their synonyms. Generally, the authors of the *Purāṇas* do not make such an effort to conceal borrowing. It would be happier to conclude that the two *Purāṇas* drew from the same common source and the differences occur genuinely when the same information is communicated by two authors in their own way. At present we do not have any text, earlier than these two *Purāṇas*, from which they could have derived information on *ariṣṭas*.

Chapter 43 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa*, which deals with *ariṣṭas*, occurs in its second part containing chapters 10 to 44. In this part he four wise birds answer the questions of Jaimini through the

story of Jaḍa Sumati and his father, Mahāmati. Chapters 16 to
44 embox in this broader narrative the dialogue between Dattā-
treya and Alarka and the stories about them; they deal with the
different points relating to Yoga. After narrating the stories about
Dattātreya and Alarka, the text presents the practical (*pravṛtti*)
side of *dharma* through the dialogue between Madālasā and Alarka
(Chapters 27 to 36). The *nivṛtti* side of *dharma* is propounded in
chapters 37 to 44 wherein the threads of Yoga are resumed by
Dattātreya.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* is recognised to be one of the oldest
Purāṇas. Pargiter regards the original parts of this *Purāṇa* to have
been in existence in the third century A. D. and the latest part to
have been completed in the fifth or sixth century A. D. He places
Chapters 10 to 44 between these two dates.[9] R. C. Hazra is in
general agreement with Pargiter about the date of the chapters.
According to him, the story of Sumati was inserted into the
Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa, possibly not earlier than A. D. 200. Out of the
chapters connected with the story of Sumati, Hazra places chapters
12, 14, 15 and 28 to 35 sometime about the third or fourth century,
and chapter 33 (verse 8 to the end) even later than these chapters,
but before the beginning of the fifth century.[10] But the question,
whether the portions containing the account on Yoga in the form
of a dialogue between Dattātreya and Alarka, particularly chapter
43, formed part of the the story of Sumati from the beginning or
it was inserted along with the first or second set of *Smṛti* chapters,
has not been considered.

V. S. Agrawal, who regards the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* to be
permeated by the typical culture of the golden age of the Guptas[11],
is of the opinion that the chapter 43 on *ariṣṭas* is a clear interpo-
lation in the section on Yoga.[12] Thus, if the portions on Yoga are
taken to have formed part of the story of the Sumati from the
beginning, they are to be placed sometime after A. D. 200. If they
were coeval with the *Smṛti* chapters, they are to be dated in the

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9.   *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (English translation), Introduction
      p. xx.
10.   *Op. cit.*, pp. 8-13.
11.   *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, eka sāṁskṛtika adhyayana*, p. 1.
12.   *Ibid.*, p. 111.

third century The chapter 43 on *ariṣṭas*, which is a distinct inter-
polation in the portions on Yoga, is evidently to be placed after the
third century. There is nothing to indicate the date when this
chapter was interpolated. But, if we regard it to be of the same
date as interpolated chapter 33 (verses 8¦to the end), then, following
Hazra, we may place the chapter on *ariṣṭas* some time in the
fourth century.

R. C. Hazra[13] holds that chapters 10 to 20 (in which chapter
19 on *ariṣṭas* appears) in the *Vāyupurāṇa* cannot be dated earlier
than A. D. 200 and were interpolated after A. D. 400. His argu-
ment is that these chapters in the *Vāyupurāṇa* were influenced by
chapters 39 to 43 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*,[14] 'the Vāyu has not only a
good number of verses in common with the Mārkaṇḍeya but has
also improved upon the latter with fresh additions of chapters and
verses.' As the *Mārkaṇḍeya* chapters 39-43 are not to be dated
earlier than A. D. 200, the *Vāyupurāṇa* chapter 19 is to be dated
later still. Hazra further argues that as these chapters on Pāśupata
Yoga are not found in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, they did not occur in
the *Vāyupurāṇa* earlier, but were interpolated after the *Vāyupurāṇa*
and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* were separated about A. D. 400. Thus, follow-
ing Hazra, the addition of Chapter 19 (along with other chapters
on Pāśupata Yoga) to the *Vāyupurāṇa* is to be placed after A. D.
400.

The date and arguments suggested by Hazra have generally been
adopted by subsequent scholars. S.N. Roy[15] supports his conclusion
by an internal scrutiny of the chapters, the Buddhist influence on
them, their sectarian nature and incongruous and inconsistent
plan.[16]

But, the main premise of Hazra's thesis, that the *Vāyupurāṇa*
chapters show influence of and improvement over the *Mārkaṇḍeya-
purāṇa*, cannot be substantiated. We have shown that though there
are similarities, there are differences as well in expressions and
details, besides verses which appear only in one of the two texts.
In the present situation it is difficult to decide as to which of the

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13. *Op. cit.*, p. 15.
14. *Vāyu* 19 = *Mārkaṇḍeya* 43.
15. *Historical and Cultural Studies in the Purāṇas*, pp. 198-200,
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-79, 192, 207-8.

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two texts is the borrower. It is only an *a priori* assumption, that the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* is earlier, which has led Hazra to infer that the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* chapter is original and has been followed by the *Vāyupurāṇa*. If we analyse the corresponding chapters in the two *Purāṇas* with an open mind, we shall be inclined to support the claim of the *Vāyupurāṇa* to be regarded as the earlier of the two. The improvement, to which Hazra refers, is not of a nature to imply a revising hand. Actually in many cases the expression in the *Vāyupurāṇa* is brief and seems to have been paraphrased and elaborated in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* to make it clearer. In some cases the premonitory signs as recorded in the *Vāyupurāṇa* are nearer to the correct description of the *ariṣṭa* in other early sources, such as the *Devaladharmasūtra*. This cannot be interpreted as an improvement upon the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. On the contrary, it would indicate that the compiler of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, later in date, could not understand the nature of some *ariṣṭas*, and substituted words and expressions, thus exposing his mistake.

We are inclined to believe that the similarities in the *ariṣṭa* chapters of the two *Purāṇas* do not necessarily imply that the one borrowed from the other. The differences cannot be explained as resulting from a deliberate desire of copyist to introduce changes or as occurring unconsciously in the process of copying. We would suggest that both the texts drew upon a common source and in the process reveal similarities and introduce elements of change and difference. These are honest differences which can be expected to occur in such a case. We cannot, in the present state of knowledge, identify any particular text as the original from which the two *Purāṇas* borrowed. Early accounts of *ariṣṭas* are found in the *Devaladharmasūtra*[17] and the *Mahābhārata*[18] also. It is to be noted that all these early accounts of *ariṣṭas* in the *Devaladharmasūtra*, *Mahābhārata*, *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* occur in the context of philosophy and practice of Yoga. It is not unlikely that the two *Purāṇas* borrowed the narrative of *ariṣṭas* from the *Mahābhārata*, or more likely from the *Devaladharmasūtra*, and reshaped, sometimes by elaborating it, in their own way. Here again we cannot brush aside the possibility of a common tradition of *ariṣṭas* in the Yogic

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17. Quoted in *Kṛtyakalpataru, Mokṣakāṇḍa*, pp. 248-50.
18. XII. 305.

circle from which the four texts alike drew their accounts. If the *Mahābhārata* or the *Devaladharmasūtra* is not taken to represent the original or earliest recorded version, we would suggest that the earlier Yogic tradition about *ariṣṭas* was handed down orally, which may explain the variations in the accounts in the different texts. Here we will not go back still further to discuss the possible origin of the Yogic tradition of *ariṣṭas*.[19]

In view of its nearness to the *Devaladharmasūtra* in its structure and the details of the premonitory signs and the references to Yoga in its passages,[20] the chapter on *ariṣṭas* in the *Vāyupurāṇa* is to be regarded as representing a stage earlier than that found in the corresponding chapter in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*.

Another argument of Hazra for placing the *ariṣṭa* chapter of the *Vāyupurāṇa* later than the corresponding chapter in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* is based on the fact that the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* does not have a chapter on *ariṣṭas*. This is taken to indicate that the chapter in the *Vāyupurāṇa* was inserted after the *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* separated from one common text. The thesis, that the two *Purāṇa*s were originally one and became separate later, was put forth by Pargiter.[21] Hazra, supporting it, attributed it to sectarian causes and placed it after A. D. 400.[22] We agree with

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19. Our article on 'Ariṣṭas in Yoga' is to appear elsewhere.

20. We discuss it separately in our article on 'Ariṣṭas in the Devaladharmasūtra'.

21. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 23, 77.

22. *Op. cit.*, p. 18. S.N. Roy, *op. cit.*, though referring to Hazra's views with approval (p. 21), suggests improvements. We may agree with his conclusion that the 'process of the compilation extended over a number of centuries and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa assumed its extant shape after incorporating the portion depicting Jāmadagnya-Rāma's legend sometime about 1000 A.D.' (p. 192). We find it difficult to agree with his view that 'possibly the text was one even till the 7 th Century A.D., because the author of Harṣacarita does not give any specific name to the Purāṇa proclaimed by Pavamāna whose reading he attended in his village.' (208). In the writings of Bāṇa we have actually two passages which are relevant to our present discussion. In the *Kādambarī* (Pūrvabhāga, para 37-*purāṇe vāyupralapitam*) it is stated through a *śleṣa* that there was no babbling in the hermitage of sage Jābāli;

the general contention that the two *purāṇas* started with a common nucleus or drew upon a common source for much of their material. But, the inference, that, whatever occurs in only one of the two *Purāṇas*, must necessarily belong to a date after the separation of the two, is not a valid corollary. The criterion is not to be applied mechanically in all the cases. The Puranic texts present a queer phenomenon. The compilation of the text and the subsequent history of its elaboration or change are not governed by set and fixed rules. At many places we find passages and chapters being interpolated in the text. But we also find parallel cases of passages being changed, or sometimes, completely dropped.[23] We cannot determine the reasons operating behind all these changes and deve-

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there was proclaiming by Vāyu in the Purāṇa. The other reference to which S. N. Roy alludes occurs in the *Harṣacarita* (III, para 4-5 : *Pustakavācakah Sudṛṣṭih. .gītyā pavamānaproktaṁ papāṭha. Tadapi Munigītamatipṛthu tadapi jagadvyāpi pāvanaṁ tadapi Harṣacaritādabhinnaṁ pratibhāti hi me Purāṇamidam*). It says that 'the book-reader Sudṛṣṭi treated Bāṇa and his relatives and friends to a musical recitatlion of the *Purāṇa* promulgated by Vāyu, that was sung by the sage (Vyāsa , that is very extensive, that is world-wide (i. e. known everywhere), that is holy and that is not different from the career of Harṣa' The literary usage of Sanskrit language and the style of Bāṇa leave no doubt about the passages employing the words *vāyupralapitam, pavamānaproktam* and *pāvanam* actually referring to the *Vāyupurāṇa*. See also Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, V, p. 822. The further remark of S. N. Roy that 'it is hardly conceivable that an author of Bāṇa's calibre should write on irrelevant and ambiguous line' (p. 210, goes against his conclusion. If we follow Roy's line of argument, we shall have to assume that, though there was one *Vāyupurāṇa*, Bāṇa knew that in future there will be two *Purāṇas* issuing out of it, both claiming to have been proclaimed by Vāyu. If it is suggested that Bāṇa wanted to cover both *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* by his description, then we reach the conclusion that the two *Purāṇas* had come to acquire separate forms. It is to be noted that after the compilation of the two *Purāṇas* as separate texts the references in Bāṇa's writings will imply the *Vāyupurāṇa* and not the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

23. This is abundantly clear from the large number of passages and chapters which are quoted in the medieval commentaries and digests but appear in the available texts in vastly altered form or do not occur at all.

lopments. They could have been caused by the mistake of the copyist or else deliberately o nitted or altered by subsequent compilers on sectarian grounds or on account of an honest inability to see the justification for their presence in the text. S. N. Roy,[24] in referring to the absence of chapters 11 to 20 of the *Vāyupurāṇa* in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, remarks that it 'does not necessarily meant that they were absent also in the original and ancestral source of these two Purāṇas. For, loss of original passages in the extant Purāṇas are as common as addition of later passages and alteration of early ones.' But this remains a casual observation and S. N. Roy has not cared to work out its implications Following this remark it can be suggested that the chapters in question possibly occured in the original or common *Vāyupurāṇa*, but, whereas the compiler of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* chose to drop them, they were retained in the *Vāyupurāṇa*.

With due hesitation, 1 must submit that I am not much enamoured of the idea of the two *Purāṇas* separating from one common *Purāṇa*. In ancient times there was a definite tradition, recorded even in some of the early *Purāṇas*,[25] listing the names of the eighteen *Purāṇas*. The *svargārohaṇaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*[26] and the *Harivaṁśa*[27] refer to the eighteen *Purāṇas* without naming them. R. C. Hazra, who has argued to show that all these passages in the *Purāṇas*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* were either revised or interpolated in later times, dates the canon of the eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas* not earlier than the third but not later than the first quarter of the seventh century AD.[28] We must adequately emphasise the point that a considerable gap is to be postulated between the formulation and general acceptance of the list of the *Purāṇas* and the composition, circulation and due recognition of these *Purāṇas* individually. The composition of all the *Purāṇas* does not belong to the same period; the earliest among them possibly

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24. *Op. cit.*, p. 198.
25. *Viṣṇu* III. 6.21-23; *Mārkaṇḍeya* 134.7-11; *Vāyu* 104.2-10; *Matsya* 53.11-19; *Varāha* 112.69-72.
26. 5.45-46; 6.97.
27. III. 135.3.
28. *Op. cit.*, pp. 2-4, Kane, *Op. cit.*, V, p. 831 is more cautious in his remark that 'the list of 18 principal Purāṇas had been completed long before 1000 A. D. and was introduced in the Viṣṇupurāṇa many years before that.'

went back to very early times.　As has been rightly pointed out by
P. V. Kane,[29] the reference to *Purāṇas* in the plural number in the
Taittirīya Āraṇyaka[30] implies the circulation of at least three *Purāṇas*
in those times.　The *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* clearly implies the
existence of individual *Purāṇa* texts.　It twice quotes two verses
each from a *Purāṇa*,[31] gives the summary of a passage from a
Purāṇa[32] and names a *Purāṇa* as *Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa*.[33] It can be surm-
ised that the *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* possibly existed as
separate texts quite sometime before the formulation of the list of
eighteen *Purāṇas*.　The suggestion that the same text by the addi-
tion of two different types of material came to be designated as two
separate texts does not seem to be very plausible.　It is more likely
that before distinct texts came into being there was a mass of float-
ing literature circulating under the general name of *Purāṇas*, but
without being labelled or identified by the name of any particular
Purāṇa.[34] It seems that in the initial stage the compilers of indi-
vidual *Purāṇas* freely drew upon this fund.　This is the reason why
we find common passages and chapters not only in *Vāyu* and
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas but also among some other *Purāṇas*.[35] Thus, it
cannot be said, merely on the basis of the absence of the chapter on
ariṣṭas in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* that the *Vāyupurāṇa* borrowed its
chapter from the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*.

　　There are reasons to believe that the *Vāyupurāṇa* contains
much that is of a very early period.　Scholars generally agree in
describing the *Vāyupurāṇa* as the oldest of the extant *Purāṇas*.[36]

29.　　*Op. cit.*, V, p. 853.

30.　　II. 10.

31.　　I. 6.19.13; II. 9.23.3-6

32.　　I. 10.29.7

33.　　II. 9.24.6.

34.　　Some Purāṇas record a tradition that originally there
　　　　was only one Purāṇa from which all the Purāṇas have
　　　　evolved.　See B. Upadhyaya, *Purāṇa-vimarśa*, p. 70.　The
　　　　Purāṇa as a separate branch of literature is attested
　　　　to by the *Atharvaveda* XI. 7.24; XV. 6.10-11 and the
　　　　Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa XI. 5.6.8.　See Kane, *op. cit.*, pp.
　　　　816-18; S. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17, 31-33, 46-49.

35.　　Kane, *op. cit.*, V, p. 841, f.n. 1372.

36.　　R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 13; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism,
　　　　Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*; P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*,
　　　　V, p. 106.

R. G. Bhandarkar placed it earlier than the *Matsyapurāṇa*[37] and Pargiter regarded it to be older than the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.[38] Scholars date the latest portions of this *Purāṇa* not later than A.D. 500,[39] but generally agree that there was an ancient *Purāṇa* under the name of *Vāyu* and that the present text preserves much of the ancient work.[40] V.R.R. Dikshitar takes the earliest portion of the *Purāṇa* to the fifth century B.C.[41] D.R. Patil assigns the material in the *Vāyupurāṇa* to three broad categories :[42] the archaic survivals of which 500 B.C. is the lowest time-limit, the ancient material with the beginning of the Christian era as its lowest chronological *terminus*, and the accretions which do not generally go beyond A.D. 500.

The *Vāyupurāṇa* is the only *Purāṇa* which has actually been named in some early texts. The *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* mentions the *Purāṇa* proclaimed by Vāyu (*Vāyuproktam*) and refers to its two features which may be correlated with two of the five characteristics of a *Purāṇa*.[43] The clear admission on the part of the compiler of the *Mahābhārata* to have drawn upon the *Vāyupurāṇa* is an undoubted proof of the existence of a *Vāyupurāṇa* before the *Mahābhārata* took its present form. V.S. Sukthankar refers to the verbal similarity between a few stanzas in the *Vāyu* and some stanzas of the *Vanaparva*. But 'nothing corresponding to the general contents of the

37. *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 162.

38. *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 14, f. n. 4.

39. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*, pp. 46ff; D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 16. See also Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 554. C. V. Vaidya, *JBRAS*, 1925, pp. 155ff dates it in the eighth century but does not receive approval for his arguments. Chapter 104 mentioning Rādhā, the Tantras and the Śākta philosophy and chapters 105-112 on Gayāmāhatmya seem to be later additions—R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 17, f. n. 9.

40. Winternitz, *loc. cit.*

42. *Loc. cit.*

43. (Critical edition) III. 189.14–
    Etat te sarvamākhyātamatītānāgataṁ tathā|
    Vāyuproktamanusmṛtya purāṇamṛṣisaṁstutam||

passage where it occurs is to be found in the extant *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[44]
Thus evidence for equating the extant *Vāyu Purāṇa* with the *Vāyu*
quoted in the *Mahābhārata* is lacking.   But, as correctly pointed out
by D R. Patil,[45] the extant *Vāyu* 'shows at places a material defini-
tely older than that of the Mbh' and seems to have preserved some
material which originally belonged to the *Vāyupurāṇa* known to the
Mahābhārata.

Thus, we may conclude that the *Vāyupurāṇa* is not to be dated
on the assumption that its chapter on *ariṣṭas* is influenced by the one
chapter in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. Possibly both drew on an earlier
common source. The date of the two *Purāṇas* is to be determined
independently.   There is evidence to indicate that the extant
Vāyupurāṇa contains much early material which need not be dated
after the corresponding chapter in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. It was
possibly written a little earlier. We may best summarize the posi-
tion by saying that the chapters on *ariṣṭas* in the two *Purāṇas*
roughly belong to the same period and the difference in their dates
is not a wide one.

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44. Sukthankar Memorial Edition (1944), Introduction to
     the Āraṇyaka parvan, I. 156. See also Hopkins, *The
     Great Epic of India*, pp. 48ff.

45. *Op. cit.*, p. 4

THE COLOPHONS IN THE CRITICALLY EDITED PURĀṆA-S*

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

Colophon—or 'finishing touch' as conveyed by the etymon of the word—is to be understood, for the purpose of this article, as that part of an *adhyāya* after the last *śloka* and distinct from it, used mostly to specify the content of an *adhyāya* and its position in the regular succession of topics of a purāṇa. A puranic colophon starts usually with the word *'iti'* and is formed of several parts as described in the following example taken from Varāha purāṇa (Veṅk.), 29 :

<div align="center">

1   2   3   4

इति/श्रीवराहपुराणे/आदिकृतवृत्तान्ते महातप उपाख्याने/दिगुत्पत्तिर्नाम/

5

एकोनत्रिंशोऽध्याय: ॥२९॥

</div>

After the introduction (No 1), the colophon presents the purāṇa, sometimes with praising words, (No 2), and then the section, or general topic pertaining to a few *adhyāya*-s (No 3). The name of the *adhyāya* (No 4) and its number, both in letters and in figures or either of the two (No 5) are also given at the end.

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* The purāṇa-s studied here are the following three : Kūrma Purāṇa, critically edited by A. S. Gupta, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Vārāṇasī, 1971; Varāha Purāṇa, critically edited by A. S. Gupta, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Vārāṇasī, 1981; Vāmana Purāṇa, critically edited by A. S, Gupta, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Vārāṇasī, 1967.

The manuscripts quoted in this article are those used in the above quoted editions and presented in the introduction to the single purāṇa-s.

Abbreviations : *adh.* (s) = *adhyāya* (s)

    Crit. = Critical Edition
    MS (MSS) = manuscript(s)
    SMā = Saromāhātmya of Vāmana Purāṇa
    N. = Not given in the colophons
    — = the colophon is not reproduced by the Critical Edition
    Veṅk. = Veṅkaṭeśvara edition

Note : The names of the Sanskrit sections or stories are usually put in the stem-form because in the colophons sometimes they appear in the locative and sometimes in the nominative.

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The critical edition of the purāṇa-s and of the epics as well published upto now, give no critical text of colophons. Their editors, rather, are satisfied with 'new' colophons, i. e., not critically derived from the MSS evidence but directly composed by the editor himself on the basis of MSS material. It is true, the critical apparatus usually gives the situation of the colophons in the MSS but that also at times rather incompletely as is the case with Ādiparvan where at the end of *adhyāya* 14 it is remarked 'hereafter to the end of the Ādip., only significant constituent elements of the colophons will be noted'. This position is apparently logical considering the fact that no critical colophons can be reasonably constituted on the basis of MSS evidence. The difference between one MS and the other is such that no serious and scientific conclusion can be deduced from them. The numbers, in some cases, seem to have been rendered quite haphazardly. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point.

MS ब3 of Kūrma has the succession 35,28, 37 (=Crit. II. 36-38)

MS दे8 of Varāha has 105, 96, 9 7, 96, 99 (=Crit. 104-108)

MS दे1 of Vāmana has 64, 30 (=Crit. 38-39)

MS कारा of Vāmana has 75,87 (=Crit.44-45)

It is also evident that in a few instances the copyists committed mistakes :

MSS ग2, म1, उ1 of Kūrma have 28, 19, 30 (=Crit. II. 28-30) where 19 is एकोनविंश instead of एकोनत्रिंश

MS दे8 of Varāha has 125, 226,—, 128, 29 (=Crit. 124-128)

MS ते1 of Varāha has 205, 106, 207 (=Crit. 187-189)

MS दे1 of Vāmana has 24, 52, 26 (=Crit. SMā 3-5), where 52 stands surely for 25.

Such a process is so common that it has removed credibility from the colophons. However, if we consider that part of the colophons which describes the contents of the *adhyāya* we get a better picture. It seems that for this part the copyists were more attentive. In fact, although here also the difference between one MS and the other is very often so great that

any critical edition is impossible, we can get at least an idea as to whether the topic dealt with in the *adhyāya*-s was the same or different. So in this regard at least, the colophons can offer bits of information.

In preparing the critical edition of a purāṇa the MSS are grouped according to their similarity of readings. The colophons, however, cannot be classified in the same way as their respective *adhyāya*-s. That does not mean that colophons cannot be grouped following similarities of variants, they have also their own alliances. But the grouping of MSS based on similarity of colophons does not match with the groupings based on the variants of text.

What has been said explains why colophons are not normally taken into consideration by scholars. However, a little patience and attention will reveal a few strange and unexpected facts which deserve deeper study. The research is possible only for the critically edited purāṇa-s because it is through the collation of several MSS that a few facts can be noticed and some conclusions drawn. A general conclusion is that in several cases the only possible way to explain a few facts in colophons is to suppose that they are older than the text to which they are attached. In more than one instance they testify to a stage of puranic development different from the present, and so they may help considerably in reconstructing a history of the puranic text.

The following study will consider separately the problem of numbers in colophons and the problem of words. The two series of problems have to be taken separately because they are rather different even if, as we shall see, they reveal basically the same facts.

1. THE PROBLEM OF NUMBERS IN COLOPHONS

Colophons certainly contain many mistakes in their numbering and such mistakes are mostly due to carelessness of copyists. In some cases the only explanation possible, when it does not appear to be a copying mistake, is that the numbers are rendered haphazardly. We have already seen a few examples above. We could

multiply them to a very large extent. But we cannot dismiss all the evidence with these explanations only. Below we shall consider examples available from the Kūrma, Varāha and Vāmaṇa purāṇa-s which are not satisfactorily explained by the above arguments. The reason for chosing these purāṇa-s to which we alluded above and not others is that these are the only examples of which we have a critical edition based on a sufficient number of MSS from which we may draw some conclusions.

a. The new numbering

The phrase 'new numbering' is here understood to be the process through which a previous series of numbers is interrupted and a new one is started afresh beginning from one.

The Kūrma purāṇa, being divided into two parts—*Pūrvabhāga* and *Uparivibhāga*—has, naturally, a new numbering from the beginning of the second part. Such a new numbering is given in all the MSS except न1 and is combined with another numbering in ब2. The latter MS has a double numbering, one continuing from the first part, the other starting afresh form *adhyāya* one of *Uparivibhāga*. This double numbering continues for only nine *adhyāya*-s (= Crit. II. 1-10). Later the old numbering is dropped, but it is unexpectedly resumed just in the last *adhyāya* (= Crit. II.44), where the MS has No 93, instead of 44, as it would if it had continued the numbering from the beginning of the purāṇa. How such a number could be attached to this *adhyāya*, without any logical correlation to the adjacent numbers, will become clear below.

So much for the Kūrma purāṇa. The Varāha and Vāmana purāṇa-s present a more complex situation and deserve greater attention. Both the purāṇa-s have in one or another of the MSS new numberings at the beginning of any important topic. The clearest example is the Mathurā māhātmya of Varāha purāṇa. Such a *māhātmya* extends in the Critical Edition from *adh.* 150 to *adh.* 178 and has a new numbering in ब8 and दे9. This new numbering is almost complete in ब8 where it goes from 1 to 28 with only some irregularities and is only partial in दे9 where it has only *adh.*-s 11-26 (= Crit. 160-174), here also with some irregularities. Although this new numbering does not appear in other MSS yet it seems that its influence was rather widespread. MS ब1, for instance,

has a few numbers which belong to the new numbering, namely No 11 (=Crit. 161), No 16 (=Crit. 166), No 20 (=Crit. 169), No 27 (=Crit. 177). The peculiarities of these numbers in ब1 is that they appear exactly where the MS ब3 does not have numbers because of the irregularities mentioned above. Besides ब1 six more MSS were partially influenced by the new numbering, namely दे1-4.10, तॆ1. All these MSS have only *adh.* 2 (=Crit. 151) belonging to the new numbering. Five of them do not have any other numbers at all in the other colophons. One, instead, i. e., तॆ1 has remnants of another numbering, namely No 167 (=Crit. 150), No 183 (=Crit. 164), No 189-194 (=Crit. 169-176). So, it seems that the new numbering of the Mathurā māhātmya, which is now present only in ब3, and partially in दे9, was so much spread as to include MSS of different groups. What we have now in our MSS evidence are only fragments. तॆ1 reveals the existence of a particular kind of influence where the old and the new numbering mix together. This problem of double numbering will be discussed in greater detail as we proceed.

Another example of new numbering is in Varāha 191 ff (Crit.). The topic of these *adhyāya*-s is described in the colophons either as संसारचक्र or as नाचिकेतोपाख्यान, and it extends from Crit. 191 to Crit. 210 at least. It has new numbering in दे7 counting from 3 to 17 (Crit. 193-207), while in other MSS (दे1-6.8-11, ब1) it appears only in one, two or three *adhyāya*-s. Here, then, the same situation as in the previous example is repeated; hence the influence of this new numbering appears to have been rather widely spread, and what we see today is only a remnant. This case, however, presents two peculiarities which deserve attention. The first is represented by दे8 which has the following sequence :

97, 3, 4,—,101, 102 (=Crit. 192-197).

Nos 3-4 belong to the new numbering but their insertion in the counting does not alter the old numbering which is resumed from No 101 as if the preceding Nos were 98, -9, 100 and not Nos 3, 4,—, as in fact they are. This is neither carelessness nor haphazardly random. It may mean, rather, that the MS from which दे8 was copied already had the new numbering but in the process of copying either the exemplar MS was substituted with another or

the copyist thought it better to resume the MS's (दे8) proper num-
bering. This change can hardly be attributed to the whim of the
copyist. The reasonable supposition is an external influence,
perhaps due to another' MS, and this appears more convincing
when we collate the change of numbers in these *adhyāya*-s with
the other MSS which also have the new numbering in exactly
this place. The parallelism with the other MSS is significant
because they do not have a numbering of their own, old or new,
in any of the other *adhyāya*-s except in three or four. The
numbers of these three or four *adhyāya*-s must have been taken
from other MSS. Hence both for these three or four *adhyāya*-s and
for the above mentioned MS we are considering here, we have to
suppose an external influence.

The second peculiarity of this new numbering is represented
by ब1 which has accepted only No 2 (= Crit. 192) of the new num-
bering. In fact, we do not know whether it had accepted also other
numbers because the other colophons do not have any numbers.
But the strange fact is that in this MS, as in the other two Bengali,
ब2-3, the purāṇa ends a few *adhyāya*-s later (= Crit. 200). These
Bengali MSS conclude the purāṇa with the word वराहसमासम्. So
it appears illogical that ब1 accepted in its numbering figures belong-
ing to a topic which continues for many more *adhyāya*-s and then it
suddenly interrupted it. The logical explanation is that the topic
either was shortened by ब1 or lenghtened by दे7 and the others. In
both cases it appears strange that ब1 accepted the new numbering
without accepting the full text. No 2, and perhaps also Nos 3, 4
and 5 of the MSS, make us suspect that most probably a separate
unit was formed by and of themselves and as a separate unit they
entered also ब1. We have to suppose that this *adhyāya* had already
entered in the body of the puranic text before it was accepted in
the recension represented by ब1, i.e., that it was antecedent to it. In
this case, then, the colophon would reveal the situation of this MS
prior to the present copy of it.

We may also look at the problem from another point of view.
Let us suppose for a moment that our *adhyāya* No. 2 of ब1 (= Crit.
192) had another number, supposedly the serial one in the purāṇa.
Let us also suppose that in another MS some *adhyāya*-s dealing with

Nāciketa were combined with other *adhyāya*-s to form a new booklet which now extended upto Crit. 210, and was given a new numbering independently of the general ones belonging to the purāṇa, and that not improbably such a new booklet began to have an independent life. All these suppositions are not completely imaginary if we consider that all the MSS, except ते१ and ब३ were affected by this new numbering and that the Bengali MSS end the purāṇa just at the middle of such a new context. In our hypothesis ब१ as well as ब२-३ would be faithful to the original purāṇa and end their text at Crit. 200 and would not insert the new booklet. Even in this case, however, which supposedly puts the new booklet संसारचक्र after the Varāha purāṇa as a later development, we have to suppose that the actual *adhyāya* No 2 of ब१ was copied from a MS which had the new numbering but not the whole 'new booklet'. In this case also, then, this *adhyāya* was perhaps present somewhere in the purāṇa before its final placement in the text of ब१.

Another instance of new numbering in the Varāha purāṇa is again in ब१-२ where a new counting begins in Crit. 112, exactly where both the text itself, and the observations of scholars, make us think that a new section of the purāṇa was started. As this has been discussed by other scholars we leave it.[1]

Other examples of new numbering at the beginning of new sections are available also in the Vāmana purāṇa, for instance, at the beginning of the Saromāhātmya (see दे४.७), or immediately after it (see दे४,ब१-३) and in other cases which will be mentioned below. The Vāmana purāṇa presents some curious cases of new numbering where no one would expect them, as they are in *adhyāya*-s which at present do not start any new topic at all. So ब१-३ and दे४ begin with No 1 in Crit. 9, which is apparently not the beginning of any new topic. दे७ has No 1 in SMā 23, Crit., i. e., in the middle of a quite compact group of *adhyāya*-s dealing with Saromāhātmya. ब१-२, ते१ have a new beginning in Crit. 47, and दे७ has No 2 etc., starting from Crit. 35. In all these cases there are no apparent reasons for a new numbering to begin. Are, then, all these new numberings completely illogical, i. e., fruit of the whim of absent-minded or careless copyists or do they respond to any logic ? I do not have access to the original MSS

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1.   See R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, 1940, pp. 98-99; etc.

and the history of the MSS is also not well known, so the research ends up somewhat aborted; so much so if we think we are dealing with only a few MSS, out of the many dozens still available; here, we can give only a few suggestions that are hopefully reasonable and convincing.

For the first instance, i. e., the new numbering starting from Crit. 9 in ब1-3 and द4, we notice surely that the topic is rather new as it deals with Andhaka who had not appeared until that *adhyāya*. But it seems rather improbable that this is really a new topic significant enough to deserve a new numbering, especially when we consider that a new numbering might even indicate an indepedent existence of that group of *adhyāya*-s. One would rather expect a new numbering a few *adhyāya*-s before, after Crit. 5 which concludes the topic of Haralalita. But Crit. 9 does not have any of those words which are available usually at the beginning of a new matter and the previous *adhyāya* does not contain any hint either that the previous topic is over. The colophons, however, can help us to find a division in the purāṇa which at first appears irrelevant but which must have had more significance in another stage in the development of the text. Winternitz[2] states that the Vāmana 'begins with an account of the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a dwarf (Vāmana), whence it takes its name. However, this is not true for any of the MSS collated for the critical edition. The only clue that 'the account of the Viṣṇu incarnation as dwarf' might have been in the purāṇa are the colophons which, irregularly, have वामनप्रादुर्भाव from *adhyāya* 1 to 8 of the Critical Edition. Now, these same colophons start a new topic called भैरवप्रादुर्भाव from *adhyāya* 9 of the Critical. As the first 8 *adhyāya*-s do not contain any longer the account of Vāmana *avatāra*, so also the next ones do not contain the new topic supposed to start from *adh*. 9 (Crit.). Yet the colophons are faithful, and report what must have been present in these *adhyāya*-s in previous times. They refer to a stage of the purāṇa different from, or previous to, the present one. For our purpose it is enough to show that a few colophons, both with their description and with their numbers, remained linked to that previous stage, although the text of the *adhyāya* had, at least partially, changed or had been

2. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Part II, University of Calcutta, 1963 (II ed.), p. 502.

put into new context. So, in this case also, the colophons appear to be more conservative than the text itself. The topics of the actual Vāmana purāṇa follow the sequence given in Nārada I. 10ᵢ, so the present structure of Vāmana's colophons goes back to a period previous to that of Nārada I.92-109. If the mentioned colophons refer to a previous stage of Vāmana as we have suggested, then we have here a new glimpse into the history of a puranic text.

We could also visualize the problem from another point of view and suppose that the *adhyāya*-s were already present in the previous stage of the purāṇa and that the numbering is later and was added when these *adhyāya*-s were used, say, for a specific purpose and became a unit unto themselves. In this supposition the new numbering would indicate new use only. Hence it would be extremely difficult to understand why the new numbering took place just from this very *adhyāya* as the present text does not offer any real support for the beginning of a new topic at this point. We should suppose that the reason is the one given in the colophons themselves, namely that from this point the भैरवप्रादुर्भाव started. As at present there is no भैरवप्रादुर्भाव available in the text, nor does the Nārada purāṇa's summary of Vāmana refer to it, we must again suppose that these colophons refer to some matter that was once present in the purāṇa but has now disappeared. There seems to be no other reasonable conclusion, except to suppose that the colophons refer to a previous topic, i. e., from a previous time, or to a different topic other than the one contained in the present text.

Another case of such a numbering starting where apparently there is no beginning of a new topic is represented by ब₁-₂ and ते₁ in Vāmana 47 (Crit). Crit. 46 concludes the previous topic, although Crit. 45-46 seem to be an addition to Crit. 44 which is the real conclusion of the previous topic. In Crit. 44 in fact, even the colophons conclude by saying भैरवप्रादुर्भावं समाप्तम्. On the other hand almost all the colophons of Crit. 47 have वामनप्रादुर्भाव which can be really considered the general topic of this section. This section might have also been used separately, and so some MSS, namely ब₁-₂ and ते₁, used a new numbering. In this case we need not suppose that the colophons are older than the text. But just in this group of *adhyāya*-s starting from Crit. 47 and bearing a new numbering in ब₁-₂ and ते₁, there is an *adhyāya*, Crit. 53, the col-

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ophons of which in 6 MSS have the word समाप्तम्, although it is not clear as to what topic such a word refers. Now this word is avail- able both in ब्$_{1-2}$ which have the new numbering, and in शा$_1$, का$_{1-2}$ which continue with the previous numbering. So this word, com- pletely outside predictable logic, on the one hand equates the new numbering to the old numbering by this evidence proving that the new numbering does not really refer to a new text. On the other hand it must refer to something different from the actual text. So the topic to which the word समाप्तम् refers, not being the one avail- able in the present text, cannot be anything else than a topic which was available in this text previously but that has now disappeared. So once again some colophons prove to be more conservative than the text itself of the *adhyāya*.

The other two cases of new numbering in odd places can be dismissed in few words by saying that no specific reason could be found for it. Possibly for Vāmana, SMā 23 (Crit.), which has No 1 in दे$_7$, we can see that a new dialogue between Sanatkumāra and the Brāhmaṇa-s begin in just this *adhyāya*. But the clues are indeed rather scarce.

From the discussion so far, it does not seem hazardous to affirm that not infrequently some colophons take us back to a stage of puranic development that preceeds the present one. And that should be sufficient evidence to induce more scholarly attention to the colophons.

b. Double Numbering

For 'double numbering' it is understood here to be the insta- nce in which one *adhyāya* has two different numbers in the same colophon. Double numbering is rare. We have seen one case already in Kūrma II. 1-10, where at the beginning the *Uparivibhāga* ब$_2$ has both the numbers 1, 2 etc. and 51, 52 etc., continuing the numbering of the *Pūrvabhāga*. Another case in the Kūrma is avail- able in Crit. I.43-45 where ते$_1$ has both 43,44,45 and 46,47,48. The MS continues then with No 49 following the second numbering. The numbers 43, 44, 45 represent the regular sequence of numbers in this MS from the previous counting, while 46, 47, 48 are super- imposed, but they are also continued in the subsequent counting. The two series of numbers behave as if the latter had 'slipped' over the former. The first series appears like the tail of a previous num-

bering and the second like the head of the new numbering. The former appears once again in one *adhyāya* (see Crit. 48) and then disappears again. So for all intrinsic purposes the second numbering has superseded the first one.

Kūrma II. 16-17 (Crit.) is represented in कूं१ with 5/16 and 16/17. If we consider 5 as a mistake in place of 15, then we have the succession :   14, 15/16, 16/17, 17 (= Crit. 15-18.)

A double numbering is again visible in Kūrma II. 29 and 31 (Crit.). Crit. 28-32 is represented in कूं१ in the following way :

27, 28/29, 29, 30/31, 31

This case is quite similar to the previous one.

Kūrma II. 36-44 (Crit.) are represented in दे१ in the following manner.

37, 39/44, 40, 41, 42/37, 43/37, 44/38, 45/36, 46

In this series there are two other MSS which also give a double number, namely दे३ which has 40/44 (= Crit. II. 38) and कूं१ which has 42/43 (= Crit. II. 43).

In the Varāha purāṇa there is only one instance of double numbering in Crit. 128-129. The succession in ब१ starting from Crit. 127 upto Crit. 130 is the following :

16, 17/123, 18/124, 125

The MS ब१ had started a new numbering from Crit. 112 along with MSS ब२ and ब३. In all three MSS this new series seems to end with No 18 and the comparison with दे१० (cf. Crit. 125-129) seems to confirm it, although some random numbers both in ब२ (cf. Crit. 139, 141) and in ब३ (cf. Crit. 137) would support the opposite. It is exactly at the point of ending this new numbering that the second series is inserted and then continued in the following *adhyāya*-s. We have here the same 'slipping' process as in the case stated above regarding Kūrma I. 43-45 (Crit.).

Finally in the Vāmana purāṇa we have two cases of double numbering in Crit. 39 and Crit. 56. In the first instance, Crit. 37-40 are presented in दे११ by the following sequence ;

59, N, 30/61, 61

No 30, which is here completely out of place, is available also at this point in MSS दे$_{1.3-4}$. No 30 is in its regular succession only in दे$_4$, while it is out of series in the other two. From the MSS evidence, then, this colophon was copied from दे$_4$ where the number is in its logic sequence and hence inserted into the other MSS. In दे$_1$ and दे$_3$ it produced a change in the numbering, so that Crit. 37-40 represent them in the following way :

दे$_1$ 63, 64, 30, 31

दे$_3$ N, 63, 30, 31

In दे$_{11}$ on the contrary a double number appears in one *adhyāya*.

The second case of a double numbering in the Vāmana is in Crit. 56 Here ते$_1$ has No 10 and No 42. The colophon situation of ते$_1$ at this point is rather chaotic. Crit. 54-57 is represented in ते$_1$ thus :

6, N., 10/42, 73

Nos 6 and 10 belong to the numbering this MS has in common with ब$_1$ and ब$_2$; No 73 at this point is available also in का$_1$ while No 42 deviates completely. This case, as well all the others seen above, except Crit. 39 of the Vāmana purāṇa, indicate that our MSS are not numerous enough to enable us to follow the evolution of our text. On the other hand what we have seen, while commenting on Vāmana 39 (Crit.), is enough to show that attention to the double numbering would be useful in reconstructing a little of the history of the text and the alliances of the MSS. In this case, moreover, even more than in some others, access to original MSS is essential in order to know whether the two numberings belong to the same hand or to two different hands; or if one looks perhaps like a correction of the other etc. These problems remain unsolved for our three purāṇa-s. But this discussion shows, at least, that the colophons can offer rich sources of new information.

c. Interruption in Counting

The counting of the *adhyāya*-s is also often interrupted in our three purāṇa-s, either because the entire colophon, or the number of the *adhyāya* is missing. Any minor reason perhaps could be sufficient to make the copyist copy the number improperly or forget to write any number at all. A single interruption in counting,

therefore, or a mistake in the right succession of numbers should not bother us, as it is not productive to this discussion. Yet we may deduce in some cases bits of information regarding the history of the text and providing help in grouping the MSS.

It is not infrequent that from the regular or irregular counting we gain insights as to whether a missing *adhyāya* in a MS was missing also in the whole recension represented by that MS, or it is just missing in this copy of the MS.

In the Kūrma purāṇa (Critical Edition) the *Pūrvabhāga* has 51 *adhyāya*, MS ढ़4, although its last *adhyāya* bears No 53, has in fact only 45 *adhyāya*-s, because Crit. 28-33 are missing from it. As the numbers can sometimes be altered by different factors, as we mentioned above, the fact that the MS ends with No 53 is not enough proof to affirm that it must have actually had 53 *adhyāya*-s. So our problem is to know whether those six *adhyāya*-s which appear missing, when compared to the Critical Edition, were present in this recension or not. The counting of *adhyāya*-s can help us answer this question. Although the six *adhyāya*-s are missing, in fact, the counting is resumed later as if they were there. So we have No 29, then the six missing *adhyāya*-s and lastly No 36 exactly as if the *adhyāya*-s were present. So the counting reveals that the six missing *adhyāya*-s were available at the time of the writing of the numbers.

The same thing can be said of the three missing numbers in न1 (=Crit. I. 26-28), and in ब1 (=Crit. II. 42). In other cases as well, we can discover whether the missing *adhyāya*-s of a MS were actually missing at the time of the copying of the present MS or not. For example, Varāha 72-79 (Crit.) is represented in ढ़2 in the following way :

69, 70, N., N., —, —, —, 73

Supposing that the two Ns represent, in fact, 71, 72, which is easily conjecturable, No 73 after the three missing *adhyāya*-s follows regularly after No 72. So at the time this MS was copied these three *adhyāya*-s were missing. We can also go one step further. MS न1 follows closely ढ़2 but has no numbers in its colophons. By this closeness we can deduce that the three missing *adhyāya*-s of न1

parallel the ones missing in दे2, and were most probably not present
even when the MS was copied.　One is tempted to apply the same
reasoning also to the group of MSS दे1-4, which also lack these
three *adhyāya*-s although the absence of numbers in the colophons
makes the conclusion more uncertain as they belong to a group diffe-
rent from दे2 and न1 The same thing can be said for the group of
Kashmiri MSS शा1, का1-2, कारा of the Vāmana purāṇa, which do
not have the first nine *adhyāya*-s of the Saromāhātmya. The counting
shows that they were missing even at the time they were copied.
So also, since दे2 and न1 of the Vāmana purāṇa had no Saromāhā-
tmya at the time they were copied, this theory gains further support
by the fact that the counting of their *adhyāya*-s continues as if they
were not there.

So the interruption or the lack of interruption of counting
in a MS can result in discovering a bit of the history of a MS and
not improbably of the text itself.

The disruption in counting is not always in connection with
missing *adhyāya*-s.　In most cases the number is simply not given
for one or more *adhyāya*-s and is resumed later.

All the cases appearing in our three purāṇa-s can be classified
under two main groups :　the first is the case when although one or
more *adhyāya*-s do not bear any number, the counting is resumed
later as if it had never been discontinued. For instance, Kūrma 19-23
(Crit.) are represented in ब1 so :18, N., N., N., 22; Varāha
64-66 (Crit.) have the correspondent in दे5 :59, N., 61; Vāmana
29-33 (Crit.) are represented in दे4 so :20, N., N., N., 24. Such
cases can be multiplied; they show simply that the number
was forgotten but that it was available in the MS from which the
present one was copied.

The second group is represented by those instances where
the resumed number is not the one we would expect and the
adhyāya-s without number are, either more than they should be or
less if we look at their serial number only.

Kūrma 19-23 (Crit.) is represented in द1 so : 19, N.,N.,N., 22.
Instead of 22 there should be 23.

Varāha 1(-13 (Crit.) is represented in दे९ so : 9, N., N., 11.

Varāha 39-42 (Crit.) is in दे५ : 35, N., N., 37 and 94-100 (Crit.) is in दे२ ; 89, N., N., N.,—,N., 90

Vāmana SMā 10-12 (Crit.) is in दे७ : 10, N., 11

These instances can be multiplied to a great extent, and should be studied individually to discover whether such irregularities are due to carelessness of copyists, to addition of new *adhyāya*-s or to other possible reasons.

Examples in which the *adhyāya*-s are less than they should be are :

Kūrma II. 13-15 (Crit) in न१ : 62,—, 65

Varāha 79-82 (Crit.) represented in ब१ as : 81, N., N., 87

87-89 (Crit.) represented in ब१ as : 92, —, 95

92-94 (Crit.) is in दे२ : 84, N., 89

112-114 (Crit.) is in दे२ : 102, N., 115

These cases are less numerous than the previous ones but as the previous ones cannot be grouped together as a whole, they should be studied attentively and individually and with the help of other sources as well. Interruption and resuming of counting in MSS especially when they spread over many *adhyāya*-s show that the MSS were copied or dictated from other earlier MSS. The hypothesis of dictation, actually, is the best to explain certain factors which otherwise would not have taken place, had the numbers been copied directly by sight. The clearest example seems to be in MS दे१० of Varāha (=Crit. 50). दे१० has the same numbers as the Critical Edition, but abruptly it has the following sequence : 49, 15, 51. Here *adh.* 15, which sounds like पञ्चदशोध्याय: in Sanskrit, stands surely for *adh.* 50, which sounds like पञ्चाशोध्याय: The two words sound quite similar and could be easily confused especially by a less educated scribe who could misinterpret them and understand पञ्चाशोध्याय: for पञ्चदशोध्याय: and vice-versa. Such a mistake would not occur by careless copying as दे१० does not write the words for the numbers but only the figures. On the other hand the mistake was due to 'mishearing', or 'misunderstanding' most probably of the Sanskrit word. Hence we conclude that the number was dictated. We do not know, however, whether the copy from which the dictation was given contained only figures or

words. The number, however, was pronounced and surely not
shown. Less clear is the process through which in the same MS,
two *adhyāya*-s earlier, 18 is given in place of 48 (= Crit. 48).

दे₁ and दे₈ in Kūrma II. 20-22 (= Crit.) have the following
sequence : 20,19,22. No 19 in place of No 21 cannot be a mistake of
copying as the two figures are so different, but rather of interpre-
ting what was heard, unless, of course, the dictation was wrong,
i. e., in place of एकविंश it was dictated, heard or interpreted as
एकोनविंश. The fact, then, that the next *adhyāya*-s have their proper
number seems to imply that these latter were present in the MS
which served for dictation. A few other cases can be found : see
Varāha 73 (Crit.) in दे₉, 75 (Crit.) in म₁.

Other mistakes, however, are the results of mistakes of
copying. दे₁₀, which writes figures, not words here, in place of
Varāha 64-67 (Crit.) has the following sequence : 60, N., 32, 63. ६
has been read as ३. All the cases where "विंश" or its compounds
have been interpreted as "त्रिंश" or the opposite, are again based
on wrong reading and not on dictation.

The colophons, then, at least in some case, also help us
understand the way a MS, or at least a part of it, was transmitted.

d.   Repetition of Numbers

The same number of an *adhyāya* is often repeated in two or
even three adjacent chapters. The apparent reason for such a
repetition seems to be the copyists' mistake, either done in the
very act of writing the number, or as a kind of readjusting a previ-
ous mistake which had made the numbering discordant from the
examplar MS. Often the repetition takes place when either the
numbers of both the *adhyāya*-s or at least one of them, is given in
figures. Mistakes, as is known, are easier in writing figures than
words. These repetitions of the same number, however, are
difficult to reconcile with copying from a text where the numbers
are already written, or from dictation. They fit better the case of
a numbering given independently, i. e., after the text had already
been fully written, either by the same copyist or by another hand.

To check this last assertion we should see the MS itself. This also, however, would not solve all the problems because such a process might have taken place before the actual MS was copied and the mistakes repeated, i. e., the MS was copied as it was. So, if such 'later additions' cannot be proved for the present MS, we have then through it, evidence of a previous stage of the MS copy.

e. Influence from Other MSS

There are a few instances where the strangeness of counting seems to be due to the influence of another MS either of the same group or of another.

MS ते1 of Kūrma purāṇa is rather accurate in the numbers which generally correspond to those of the Critical Edition. From I. 43 (Crit.), however, the MS has for three successive *adhyāya*-s a double number, as we have already seen, one continues the previous numbering and the other starts from No 46. This new counting continues till the end of the *Pūrvabhāga*, even when the double numbers stop, except for No 48 (Crit.). Here is the comparison :

Crit. 43,   44,   45,   46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51
   ते1 43/46, 44/47, 45/48, 49, 50, 48, 52, 53, 54

Both in the *adhyāya*-s with double numbers and in ते1 48 (= Crit. 48) we may suppose the presence of an external influence and not a mere mistake as seen in Vāmana 39 (Crit.).[3] But looking at the collated MSS used in preparing this critical edition we do not find any other MS having the second counting nor a parallel MS with No 48 where ते1 has it. So we are left with doubt about influences from other MSS.

The case of MS दे2 in Kūrma I. 49-51 (Crit.) is clearer. This MS has the following succession : 48-52-50. In the counting, दे2 follows the MSS दे3-5, upto 48, while for the *adhyāya* 52 the MS has the same number as दे1.8-10. It is not improbable, then, that No 52 is due to the influence of another MS which had such a number at this point. And clearly the MS was not the one from which दे2 was being copied, because later the counting continues with No 50, as if

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3. See p. 363.

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instead of 52 there was 49. If we suppose that the exemplar MS already had such a distortion, we have simply to shift the problem to some earlier stage of transmission. The insertion of No 52 in this point, whenever it took place, is thus due to the influence of another MS with different numbering.

Another example is in ते$_1$ of the Vāmana purāṇa, Saromāhātmya. The Critical 21, 22, 23, 24 are represented in ते$_1$ so : 40, 43, N., 45. Here the counting jumps from No 40 to 43 and then it proceeds regularly. Now, two other MSS, namely ते$_3$ and ते$_{10}$ belonging to the same group, according to A. S. Gupta in his introduction to the Critical Edition, have in these *adhyāya*-s the regular succession : 42, 43, 44, 45. It is not improbable, then, that the new counting was established through the influence of MSS other than the exemplar used for copying ते$_1$. The numbers of this MS ते$_1$, however, are not always accurate or quite regular and so this new counting starting with No 43 and corresponding to the other MSS ते$_3$ and ते$_{10}$ could be interpreted as a re-establishment of a numbering which had become irregular through the carelessness of copyists. But this No 43, present in three MSS, and at this point, has surely influenced MS ते$_5$. This later MS gives numbers in the whole purāṇa only four times, namely in Crit. 17, where it has No 16 as do several other MSS; in Crit. SMā 12 and 20, where it has No 8 and No 6 respectively, not shared by any other MS and in our *adhyāya*, i. e., in Crit. SMā 22 where it has No 43. It seems natural to think that these four numbers of MS ते$_5$ are due to the influence of different MSS, even if it is not possible to know when such an influence took place and which MSS influenced it.

Another case, apparently easy, is in Vāmana purāṇa 39 (Crit.). At this point we have this situation :

Crit.	38, 39,	40
ते$_1$	64, 30,	31
ते$_3$	63, 30,	31
ते$_4$	29, 30,	29+
ते$_{11}$	N.,30/61,	61

+A mistake for 31 possibly.

The only regular succession is दे₄, where No 30 is in its right place. Such a number seems to have influenced the other three MSS, although in different ways. दे₁ and दे₃, from this *adhyāya* onward, change their numbering shifting it from 63 or 64 to 30 etc., while दे₁₁ has a double number but then continues its old counting. It seems, however, rather evident that in all cases दे₄ (or another MS with such numbering) influenced their numbering.

दे₇ of Vāmana purāṇa, finally, represents again another case, similar to दे₅ seen above for Saromāhātmya 22 (Crit.). Here also, like there, the MS does not give the number for several *adhyāya*-s but then in Crit. 61, suddenly it gives No 88, which is completely isolated and does not fit at all in the numbering this MS was following previously, and which was stopped with No 18 at Crit. 52, i. e., only nine *adhyāya*-s before. This isolated number 88, then, has no logic at all in this MSS, but it is equal to the number 88 of MS दे₁₀, where it has its right place. It is not improbable then that दे₇ was influenced by दे₁₀ or a similar MS. Such an influence, as said before, did not necessarily occur in the copy of the MS we are considering now; it may have happened earlier and then been faithfully reproduced in the present copy. This influence, at any rate, took place at some point of time in the transmission and evolution of this MS.

f. Miscellanea

It is almost impossible to refer to all the 'events' described by the colophons of the three purāṇa-s we are considering in the short space of this article. The more one looks at the colophons the more one discovers new things and is puzzled by new problems. Here a few more examples will be presented.

The last colophon of every purāṇa almost always gives details regarding the time, the writing, the copyist of the MS, the *sūci* of contents, and other data which help in the study of the text and which have thus been used in the introduction to the Critical Edition. Such pieces of information need not be repeated here. There are, however, other quite interesting facts apparent in the colophons for which an answer is still wanting.

MS दे9 of Varāha in Crit. 17, MS ब1 in Crit. 75, MS दे8 in Crit. 77, MS दे2 and दे10 in Crit. 129 and दे10 in Crit. 139, MS दे11 in Crit. 140ff, MS व1 in Crit. 179, MS ब3 in Crit. 181, MS ब1 in Crit. 192; Vāmana Saromāhātmya : MS दे5 in Crit. 12 and 20, MS कारा in Crit. 44, all have a number not at all connected with either their own previous or subsequent counting, or with any of the other collated MSS. If such strange insertions are not due to the whim of the copyists, we have some evidence of the existence of other MSS having such a numbering.

We have a case in the Varāha where the interplay between the carelessness or whim of the copyist and the strength of the MS tradition is quite evident. Crit. 104-121 is represented in दे8 in the following way :

105,96,97,96,99,100, 101, N., 103, 104, N., 106, N., 106, 109, 110, 111, 122

No 122 comes exactly in its right place as if No 105 of the beginning had been followed by Nos 106, 107 etc., and the counting then continues regularly. So the whole chaotic counting between 105 and 122 was the result of the whim of the copyist, but the copy from which the text was taken must have had a complete and orderly succession to allow the copyist to resume the counting in the right way. Naturally such a corruption of the text may have taken place at different times of the text's transmission.

Similar cases seem rather frequent and so the interplay between the old numbering and the new numbering due to purposeful change, influence of other MSS and the whim of copyists is not unlikely. MS ते1 in Varāha 150-169 (Crit.) seems also to have had such a kind of multiple interplay. The same for ब3 in Varāha 178-189 (Crit.), where the counting is resumed in the right way after a long interruption and apparently not by mere chance. No 4, in fact, which is inserted in between (cf. Crit. 181) without any connection at all with other MSS is not considered in the count, as it is proper. The same thing is repeated, with due variants, in Kūrma I. 31-34 (Crit.) by ब2 and most probably also in Kūrma 32-40 (Crit.) by ब1 and in Vāmana 42-46 (Crit.) by दे11.

There are two cases, one in Kūrma and the other in Vāmana, which seem to suggest that the mistake presented in their number-ing at this point, was the result of prior copying and that the pre-sent copies of the MSS reproduce faithfully what was written in the exemplar.

MSS प्र२, म१, उ१ दे३-४, ८-१० in Kūrma II. 28-30 (Crit.) have the succession 28, 19, 30. No 19 is clearly a mistake for 29. Now it is highly improbable that eight MSS might have committed the same mistake simultaneously. It is, therefore, sensible to suppose that the mistake was already present in the MSS and was copied fai-thfully. How such a mistake crept in is a matter of conjecture : we may think that it started with one MS and then it spread. We may also think that not all these mistakes are interdependent; it is possi-ble that also individual casual mistakes may have occurred, but it is difficult to imagine that all the eight copyists made the same mistake in just the very copies we happen to possess at present.

The other case is in Vāmana 43-46 (Crit.). The MSS with mistakes in this point are ब१-२, दे१ and दे४. They have :

ब१ 34, **25**, 36, **27**
ब२ N., 35, 36, **27**
दे१ 34, 35, **26**, N.
दे४34, 35, **26**, N.

No 25 of ब१ is an isolated mistake and could have been com-mitted either by the copyist of this MS or it could have been there already and just re-copied. Regarding the other two mistakes of दे१.४, i. e., No 26 instead of 36, and of ब१-२, No 27 instead of 37, it is more difficult to accept the theory that the present copyists are responsible. The case is similar to the previous one, but since the mistakes are present only in two MSS the hypothesis is far less secure.

The last two examples given here, however, suggest the possi-bility of also discovering the origin of mistakes in a MS by consi-dering its colophons.

2   THE PROBLEM OF THE NAME OF PURĀṆA AND ADHYĀYA

We have so fare considered only or mainly the numbers given in the colophons. Now we must give attention to their words.

The Critical Apparatus of the three purāṇa-s we are studying divides
the words of the colophons under two headings : the name of
purāṇa and the name of *adhyāya*. The distinction is not always
rigid, the usual separation-mark between the two being more an
external than an internal criterion. If the description is put in the
locative, it should be considered to refer to the purāṇa or to some
broader unit than the single *adhyāya*, if it is in the nominative then
it should be considered to refer to the *adhyāya*. A perusal of colo-
phons, however, shows that such a division could not be applied in
all cases in the Critical Edition.

The Critical Apparatus of Kūrma I. 16 puts under the name
adhyāya वामनप्रादुर्भावे of ब2, दे3.5.6 and त्रिविक्रमचरिते of दे1-2.8-10 and मुए
as well as वामनप्रादुर्भावो नाम of दे1, ग्र1-2 and त्रिविक्रमचरितवर्णनं नाम
of मुवें.

The Critical Apparatus of Varāha 74 considers रुद्रगीतासु भुवनकोशे
of दे5 as the name of the purāṇa, while the same expression is
considered name of the *adhyāya* by the Critical Apparatus of
adhyāya 75. This shows that the division between the two head-
ings is somewhat artificial, although it is normally rather useful,
especially if it is not accepted with rigidity.

The first and last *adhyāyas* of the purāṇa, or of a *bhāga*, or
even of a sub-topic, are particularly accurate in almost all the MSS.
The other *adhyāya*-s instead have usually very short colophons.
The beginning and the end of the purāṇa, hence, may be consi-
dered to have the exact name of the purāṇa, sometimes the date,
the place of copying and the scribe's name. These details are usually
studied by scholars and the pertinent conclusions have already been
ascertained. But we can use this tendency of being more accurate
in the first, and especially the last *adhyāya* of a *bhāga*, or of a sub-
division, to confirm that the part we are considering has really
reached an end. It can even be a hint that the *adhyāya*-s had a
life independent of the rest of the purāṇa in which they are now
inserted. Although this is only a hint, it has to be taken under
serious consideration though it should also be confirmed by other
facts as well. The section, described as वामनप्रादुर्भाव in the Vāmana
purāṇā, is called by this name :

in *adh*	1	by 2 MSS
	2	2
	3	–
	4	–
	5	–
	6	8
	7	–
	8	1

The tendency mentioned above would suggest that the वामनप्रादुर्भाव ended with *adhyāya* 6 or at least that this colophon was the last of this section. In fact, however, the *adhyāya* deals with कामदाह which appears also in the name of *adhyāya* given in this same colophon. The topic is Śaiva not Vaiṣṇava and it can hardly refer to वामनप्रादुर्भाव. So we have to suppose, as implied above, that this part of the colophon describing a sub-division of the purāṇa is older that the text itself, and that it was left unchanged even though it no longer matches the section to which it is allied. MS ब₁, which has वामनप्रादुर्भाव also in *adh*. 8, i e., after the conclusion of the section, might have used it because that *adhyāya*,8, deals with Vaiṣṇava material. In this case, than, the word would not be a remnant of an older stage of the purāṇa as in the previous cases, but an innovation of the particular scribe of this MS.

The topic '*vaṁśa*' is dealt with in Kūrma I.13-26. The colophons use the expression वंशानुकीर्त्तनं or a similar one in the following rate :

adh.	13	in 11 MSS
	14	–
	15	1
	16	–
	17	10
	18	14
	19	13
	20	15
	21	12
	22	8
	23	12
	24	6
	25	4
	26	10

Although the sequence of this rate presents the highest numbers in the middle, the rule of having also accurate description in most of MSS at the end is kept; and the unit of this topic is well defined both at its beginning and at its end.

A tendency which may sometimes interfere with the example just given occurs very often and requires further consideration. Not infrequently we find MSS which, although usually having inaccurate colophons, all of a sudden have one or more *adhyāya*-s with very accurate and detailed colophons. This process is even more evident when it happens simultaneously in many MSS of the same *adhyāya*. Such is the case of Vāmana 11 (Crit.) where unexpectedly all the collated MSS present uniformly पुष्करद्वीपवर्णनं नाम, with the exception of MS कारा. The fact is more evident for the group of MSS ब1-3, दे4.7.11and ते1 which are rather irregular about giving the names of *adhyāya*-s in this part of the text, but all of a sudden have this *adhyāya*, and a few others, uniformly described in their colophons. A rather reasonable suggestion to understand this phenomenon is to suppose that these *adhyāya*-s are fresh insertions, i. e., added to the purāṇa in a more recent time from that of the other *adhyāya*-s. Even the clearly defined booklets, like Īśvaragītā of Kūrma, Vāraṇasīmāhātmya or Prayāgamāhātmya of Vāmana have more accurate colophons in almost all the MSS and we know that these parts are later imports. This, then, seems to confirm that an accurate colophon in all the MSS indicates a more recent date for that specific *adhyāya*. In the same perspective we can think that a colophon may be used by some author with the intention of establishing a new trend in the purāṇa.

a. Name of Purāṇa

The three purāṇa-s studied here have rather uniform descriptions of the name of the purāṇa in the colophons. There are a few things which, however, deserve additional attention.

While Vāmana purāṇa is not qualified as आदि, both Kūrma and Varāha bear the title of आदि but in two different ways. Kūrma is usually called श्री आदिमहापुराणे कूर्मे (or कौर्मे), with rare exceptions —see Crit. I. 11 in MS ब1 which has इत्यादि कौर्मे· So, although the

word आदि in the latter purāṇa may have the same general meaning of 'important', 'great', as it has in the former, its very position makes the statement of the Introduction to the Varāha (English translation) that आदि may refer also to आदिवराह completely justi-fied. Not improbably there is a kind of pun, आदि keeping both in meanings. The word आदि could be attached directly to वराह be-cause in literature there is in fact an 'Ādivarāha', but it was not attached to कूर्म because there is no Ādikūrma in literature.

Kūrma purāṇa has two *bhāga*-s which are described also in Nārada I. 106 as पूर्वभाग and उत्तरभाग· The colophons, although keeping the two *bhāga*-s, present a different situation. The पूर्वभाग is there so called only in the last *adhyāya*, while उत्तरभाग has diffe-rent names in the MSS : उत्तरखण्ड, उत्तरार्ध, उपरिभाग and उपरिविभाग, which was accepted by the Critical Edition as the 'official name'. So the two *bhāga*-s have a completely different treatments in the MSS. From what has been said so far about the momentum of the colophons, it seems that this very situation of MSS on this topic should lead us to think that the two present *bhāga*-s did not have the same origin but that they are two parts juxtaposed. It may not even be completely out of logic to think that the *adhyāya*-s having the same type of description may belong to the same 'group' : so we would have *adhyāya*-s of the उत्तरार्ध, *adhyāya*-s of the उत्तरभाग and so on. Whether these *adhyāya*-s of different groups had also a separate life needs further research.

The Varāha purāṇa is described in almost all its colophons as भगवच्छास्त्र· Such a word is not mentioned in Nārada I. 103, nor is it available in the group of *adhyāya*-s 39-47, and a few others not noted here. Is there any reason why this section has no such a word, or is it only mere chance ? Further research is needed surely. It should be noted, however, that the *adhyāya*-s 39-50 form a sort of booklet called धरणीव्रत and that no MS of this booklet has the definition भगवच्छास्त्र ᵘpto *adh.* 47. As for the other next *adhyāya*-s : in 48 such a description appears only in MSS दे3.4 but the two MSS have no text of the *adhyāya*, they have only the colophon; in *adh.* 49 it is present only in MS दे4. In *adhyāya* 50 it is

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available in several MSS. So the only difficulty comes from this latter *adhyāya*, which is the conclusion of the booklet It is not improbable, then, that this 'booklet' was 'built up' with additional *adhyāya*-s (those without भगवच्छास्त्र) from a previous few *adhyāya*-s (those with भगवच्छास्त्र) of the same topic.

There are a few fascinating descriptions in the three purāṇa-s we are considering which, if they were more numerous, would lead us to a better understanding of the structure of the purāṇa-s. Unfortunately their irregularity is such that not even the least conclusion or hypothesis can be drawn.

In Kūrma there are 12 *adhyāya*-s claiming to belong to a पट् साह-स्रिकायां संहितायाम् and 3 *adhyāya*-s to a वैयासिक्यां संहितायाम्. In Varāha one *adhyāya* says it belongs to a चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रिकायां संहितायाम्. 4 *adhyāya*-s describe themselves as belonging to वैयासिक्याम् and one is called वैशंपायनीय. Vāmana purāṇa, at last, has one *adhyāya*, the 28th, where MS ब1 says पारमहंस्यां संहितायां वैयासिक्याम्. At this we can add the long section, *adh.* 35-96, of the Varāha-purāṇa and some 14 *adhyāya*-s at random, where almost all the colophons have the description प्रागितिहास. All these are at present only words, very suggestive indeed, but not more than that; they are enough to make us understand, however, that the colophons are persistently offering suggestions toward the discovery of a time when the purāṇa-s had a shape other than the present one.

b. Name of Adhyāya

Each *adhyāya* has its name, which presents one of the topics dealt with in the *adhyāya* itself, most probably the one considered somewhat more important for any reason whatsoever. Not infrequently one topic extends over more than one *adhyāya*, so the few *adhyāya*-s dealing with that topic may bear the same name or may be given two names, one referring to the larger theme and the other describing more closely the specific topic of the *adhyāya*. So we may have kinds of units or small sections formed of a few or several *adhyāya*-s. Often such sections are concluded in the colophon with the word समासम्. Such sections may have belonged to the more ancient form of the purāṇa or have been added later, but by the very fact of being easily definable and even with a beginning and

an end clearly recognizable make their 'mobility' easier. So, even if they were originally composed for the purāṇa itself they may have had, later, an independent life more easily than other parts not so clearly defined. Their very independence may have transformed them more or less. Small sections, of course, are easily recognizable and if they are compact they can be easily assigned to recent additions or old sections. We have many examples of such small sections in our three purāṇa-s; here are the clearest and most important.

In Kūrma purāṇa we can see:

—युगधर्मकीर्त्तनम्   —   2 *adhyāya*-s   (I.27-28)
—वाराणसीमाहात्म्यम्   —   5   -do-   (I.29-33)
—प्रयागमाहात्म्यम्   —   4   -do-   (I.34-37)
—ईश्वरगीता   —   11 -do-   (II.1-11)
—तीर्थप्रशंसा   —   5   -do-   (II.33-37)

In Varāha purāṇa :

—रैभ्यचरितम्   —   4 *adhyāya*-s (5-8)
—दुर्जयचरितम्   —   3   -do-   (10-12)
—घरणीव्रतम्   —   12 -do-   (39-50)
—अगस्त्यगीता   —   at least 19 *adhyāya*-s (52-71)
—भुवनकोश   —   at least 7 -do-   (89-96)
—रुद्रगीता   —   19 *adhyāya*-s (70-88)
—मथुरामाहात्म्यम्   —   29 -do-   (150-178)
—गोकर्णेश्वरमाहात्म्यम्   —   5   -do-   (211-215)

etc.

In Vāmana purāṇa :

—भुवनकोशः (or सुकेशिचरितम्) —   6 *adhyāya*-s   (11-16)
— देवीमाहात्म्यम्   —   3   -do-   (19-21)

etc.

When the *adhyāya*-s are many, or the topic is rather vast, like the Vāmana's वामनप्रादुर्भाव, भैरवप्रादुर्भाव, the section can become very extensive and be a kind of 'collection' of many topics loosely related among themselves. Such sections may recall to mind the *saṁhitā*-s

of which the purāṇa-s are sometimes said to be composed.[4] Such *saṁhitā*-s, of course, can grow endlessly and contain also other sub-sections. The Vāmana purāṇa is a good example of such a development. Its scheme given below, prepared only on the basis of the colophons evidence, shows exactly this situation :

<table>
<tr><td>1. वामनप्रादुर्भाव
adhs. 1-8</td><td>1. हरललित
adhs. 1-5</td></tr>
<tr><td>2. भैरवप्रादुर्भाव
adhs. 9-21</td><td>2. भुवनकोश
(or सुकेशिचरित)
adhs. 11-16</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>3. देवीमाहात्म्य
adhs. 18.38-21
—उमासंभव—उमा (गौरी) विवाह
upto *adhs.* 30
—कौमारसंभव
adhs. 31-32
—दण्डोपाख्यान
adhs. 37-45</td></tr>
<tr><td>3. भैरवप्रादुर्वाव
adhs. 28-44</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>4. वामनप्रादुर्भाव
adhs. 44-68</td><td>4. प्रह्लादतीर्थयात्रा
adhs. 52-61</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>5. त्रिविक्रमचरित
upto *adhs.* 68</td></tr>
</table>

It appears, then, that the topics are gathered in sections which can be arranged, as in the above scheme, into two or three streams : the first is represented by the general sections which are वामनप्रादुर्भाव, भैरवप्रादुर्भाव, and again वामनप्रादुर्भाव; the second is represented by several themes which run parallel to the first : हरललित, भुवनकोश, प्रह्लादतीर्थयात्रा, त्रिविक्रमचरित. The देवीमाहात्म्य is parallel to the more general theme भैरवप्रादुर्भाव but has, on its turn, topics which are subordinate to it, although its name does not appear. So at this point there are in fact three contemporaneous streams.

The Saromāhātmya, not put in the above scheme, is a kind of *saṁhitā* by itself inserted into the body of the Vāmana

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4. Brahmāṇḍa II. 34.21; Devī Bhāgavata I. 1.6; I. 2.37; I. 3.24 ff; Liṅga I. 1.11 ab; Nārada I. 1.16; II. 82.35 cd; Padma II 125.38; Skanda VII. 1.1.4,30....; Viṣṇu III 6.15; cf. also *Purāṇa* XXII No. 1 (Jan., 1980) pp. 48-52.

purāṇa; the reason for its acceptance in the Critical Edition has been explained in the Introduction to the Vāmana by A. S. Gupta. Such a *mahātmya* contains at least a वामनचरित as a distinguishable unit. Problematic remains the new counting started by MS दे7 in SMā 23 (Crit.). Whether another section began from this point or not cannot be determined. From what was said both for Saromāhātmya and for the rest of the Vāmana purāṇa there is no doubt that at least some purāṇa-s contain co-existent sections, which apparently interfered reciprocaly and had possibly also an independent life of their own.

Such sections or sub-sections are marked by the colophons in some cases with words like समाप्तम् or other special words. So दे1.3-4 of Varāha has प्रथमोद्देश: (see Crit. 111), Varāha 97 (Crit.) in all the MSS, except दे1.7, म1 gives पर्वाध्याय:. Both words suppose an end of a part; the first supposes the existence of other उद्देश-s, which no longer exist, not even in the MS having that word, and the second suggests the existence of a *sūci* or summary in that *adhyāya*, but such a summary is not available even in the MS containing that very expression. So both the words take us back to a stage of the purāṇa previous to the present one.

Other words hint possibly at divisions of the text no longer apparent in the present one. The Varāha purāṇa has several *adhyāya*-s called *sarga*-s. The reason of such a denomination is not clear. Did such *adhyāya*-s, which now alternate the two words सर्ग and अध्याय, form group by themselves? Sections could be determined by words like आदिसर्ग, आदिवृत्तान्त available in Varāha purāṇa or by special description of the *adhyāya*-s applied only to a specific group of *adhyāya*-s as in the case of the 'Īśvaragītā' of the Kūrma purāṇa where the *adhyāya*-s are said to belong, in the colophons, to ईश्वरगीतासु उपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे.

Not infrequently long sections are formed under a general description of a dialogue between two persons, for instance ईश्वरनारायण महर्षिसंवाद of Kūrma II. 1-11.

A note of warning should be put here not to be misunderstood. In the previous paragraphs there has been constant reference to sections, units, topics and the like. That presentation may

convey the impression that the *adhyāya*-s forming the topics etc.
were existing separately from the purāṇa and inserted in it by way
of accretion. Such a process cannot be excluded, but cannot even
be affirmed *a priori*. Such sections could be intrinsic parts of the
purāṇa from its very original composition. Each case has to be stu-
died separately. The fact of calling them 'sections' or the like, how-
ever, implies surely that they had more mobility because they were
more definite and could be easily shifted from one place to another.
The research done on the colophons till now shows the interesting
fact that some of these sections changed in themselves without shift-
ing. Some colophons continue to refer to them as if they continued
to exist but the contents of their *adhyāya*-s are now different.
It is just this discrepancy that allows us to have a peep into
a previous stage of the purāṇa-s.

3.　THE CHALLENGE OF COLOPHONS

The colophons offer, no doubt, many pieces of information
about the contents and structure of the purāṇa-s. We have to
consider, of course, only those colophons which really have some-
thing serious to say because, in fact, most of them are so carelessly
transmitted that they have nothing to offer but confusion or non-
senses. To work on colophons is to work on difficult and slippery
material.

Almost every time I got some result or conclusion by exami-
ning the colophons, such as a particular division of the text, or the
information that a colophon was hinting at an older stage of the
purāṇa etc., and I tried to check by looking into the text or by
reading the conclusions to which R.C. Hazra and other scholars
had arrived through other ways, I was disappoined. There has been
hardly a case in which the result found by studying the colophons
and the conclusions reached in other ways matched. The only
slight success was that through the examination of the colophons I
could sustain the opinion of Winternitz that the Vāmana purāṇa
began with the account of the Vāmana avatāra, although at present
no MS used in the Critical Edition mentions it. A meagre conso-
lation indeed. For all practical purposes the colophons appear, at
first, completely useless. To study them seems to be a mere
academical exercise.

Yet we have seen that some colophons or some indications imposed by the colophons are quite important. We have seen how many times we were taken back to a previous stage of the puranic text. Indeed, it seems that the lack of counterproofs of what is implied by the colophons in the actual puranic text is exactly the real positive contribution of some colophons, i.e., the reliable ones ! They were surely written carelessly and just for that they were not always changed according to the new modifications inserted in the text. Or, to see the problem from another perspective, those who introduced new material in the puranic text did not care to change also the colophons accordingly. However, if we reconstruct the scheme and the contents of the purāṇa-s by using only the colophons we get, in some points, a picture of the purāṇa totally different from the present one. The tendency to be more conservative, which we have noted on several occasions in the colophons, makes us postulate that the difference between the two contents of the purāṇa-s, the one described by the colophons and the present one, is of great importance and one which should be attentively considered. It appeared already, in fact, that in some cases such a difference shows us topics of a previous stage of the purāṇa. And that stage, we have seen in one instance at least, can be antecedent to the scheme in Nārada purāṇa I.92-109. If the study of the single *adhyāya*-s may lead us to find older and more recent passages or *adhyāya*-s, the study of the colophons may lead us to discover the structure of a part or of the whole purāṇa. The colophons, therefore, remain as a persistent challenge to go further in our research and penetrate deeper in the process of the evolution of the puranic text.

BUDDHA AS DEPICTED IN THE PURĀṆAS

By

Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

It is well known that the authors of the current Purāṇas (which include here the Upapurāṇas and the Epics) were aware of Buddha or the Buddha (on account of his attaining *bodhi*, supreme wisdom)—the founder of a particular system of thought. Almost all the Purāṇas are found to refer to this great thinker.[1] In the following pages an attempt is made to depict the life and activities of Buddha on the basis of the Purāṇas. Only in some important places we have thought it useful to quote from the Tantras and other non-Purāṇic works. Views of Buddhist tradition have also been shown whenever necessary.

A careful study of the statements about Buddha (as quoted here) reveals that *all of them are not referring to one and the same person.* We want to draw the attention of our readers to this remarkable point.

In the absence of the critical editions of all the Purāṇas we have thought it better to refrain from holding any discussion on textual criticism or on spuriousness of any of the Purāṇic statements quoted here.

The word buddha

In the Purāṇas the word *buddha* is found to have been used either as an adjective[2] (from the root *budh*, to know with the suffix

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1. That passages on Buddha were present in the Purāṇas before the time of Kumārila is undoubtedly proved from his statement in the Tantravārttika on Mīmāṁsā-sūtra 1.3.7 (स्मर्यते च पुराणेषु धर्मविप्लुतिहेतवः । कलौ शाक्यादयस्तेषां को वाक्यं श्रोतुमर्हति ॥; it is quoted in the Tantrādhikārinirṇaya pp. 9-10 (with the reading तेषां को वा संश्रोतुमर्हति).

2. एतद् बुद्ध्वा भवेद् बुद्धः किमन्यद् बुद्धलक्षणम् (Śānti-p. 285. 32; cp. Brahma-p. 237.11) अतीतानागतं ज्ञानं दर्शनं सांप्रतस्य च । बुद्धस्य समतां याति दीप्तिः स्यात् तप उच्यते ॥ (Vāyu-p. 119). व्यपेततन्द्रिर्धर्मात्मा शक्त्या सत्पथमाश्रितः । चारित्रपरमो बुद्धो ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥ (Anuśāsana-p. 142.33; the verse describes a per-

kta denoting the sense of an agent: कर्तरि क्तः) or as a noun referring to a particular person who was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu by the authors of the Purāṇas. A few Purāṇic verses are found to refer to Buddha though they do not contain the word Buddha or its synonyms. As for example Nāradīya 1.2.44 extols Buddha though it does not mention the name even indirectly.[3]

Buddha has been referred to in the Purāṇas by the following three names also : Buddhadeva (Padma-p. 6.31.15), Buddharūpa (Brahma-p. 122.69) and Siddhārtha (Matsya-p. 271.12).

Mention of Buddha in the Purāṇas

Buddha has been mentioned in the Purāṇic passages that either (1) show eulogy or glory of Viṣṇu (especially in those passages that enumerate the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu)[4] or (2) contain

son in the Vānaprastha state); The adjective *buddha* has been used in connection with various deities, namely Śiva, Viṣṇu, etc. (Liṅga-p. 1.21.10, 40; Kūrma p. 1.6.15, 1.10 48, Harivaṁśa-p. 3.3.25, Padma p. Bhūmi 31.43). Similarly the word *sugata* (frequently used by the Buddhist teachers for Buddha) has been used in Liṅga-p. 1.98.98 in the sense of 'one whose *gata* i.e. *jñāna* is perfect.' *Buddha* as an adjective may also be derived from the word बुद्धि with the secondary suffix अच् according to Pāṇini 5.2.127.

3. भूम्यादिलोकत्रितयं सन्तृसात्मानमात्मनि । पश्यन्ति निर्मलं शुद्धं तमीशानं भजाम्यहम् ॥ (Nāradīya-p. 1.2.24; the reading seems to be slightly corrupt); the stanza occurs in the Br-Nāradīya-p. 2.39 also (संहृत्यात्मानमात्मना । पश्यन्ति योगिनः सर्वं तमीशानं). That these verses refer to Buddha is beyond doubt, for they eulogize Viṣṇu and they are read after the verses extolling Paraśurāma, Rāma and Balarāma.

4. Brahma-p. 122.69; Padma-p. Bhūmi 18.66; 73.92; Padma-p. Uttara 31.15, 257.41, Padma-p. Kriyāyo asāra-p. 6.188, 11.94; Bhāgavata-p. 1.3.24, 2.7.37, 6.8.19, 10.40.22, 11.4.22; Nāradīya-p. 1.2.44, 1.62.54, 2.29.42, 2.32.36; Agni-p. 16.1-2; Bhaviṣya-p. 4.12 2 -29, 4 63.23, 6.83. 190.6 7; Brahmavaivarta p. 4 9.12; Liṅga-p. 2.48. 31b-32a; Varāha-p. 4.2, 55.37, 113.42, 211.69; Skanda-p. Avanti 42.14; Skanda-p. Revā 151.21-2 ; Skanda-p. Kumārikā 40.255-256; Skanda-p. Vāsudeva Māhātmya 18.41; Skanda-p. Sūtasaṁhitā 3.21; Matsya p. 47.247, 54.19, 285.7; Garuḍa-p. 1.1.32, 1.86.10-11; 1.145.40, 2.20.31-32; Śiva p. II. 2.16.11; II. 4.9.15; Devibhāgavata-p. 10.5.14; Viṣṇudharmottara-p. 3.351.54: Devī p.

accounts of incarnations or forms of Viṣṇu. In a few Purāṇas Buddha is mentioned in the genealogical lists of (future) kings (vide Matsya-p. 271.12, etc.) or in the descriptions of Kaliyuga.[5]

A few Purāṇic passages (not found in the printed editions) on Buddha are found to have been quoted in the works on Dharma-śāstra etc. A considerable number of such passages have also been quoted in the present paper.

The Rāmāyaṇa passage यथा हि चौरः स तथा हि बुद्धस् तथागतं नास्तिक-मत्र विद्धि (Ayodhyā 109.34) which is taken as referring to Buddha (it is however regarded by many as an interpolation) does not, according to us, really refer to Buddha. The word *buddha* in this passage simply means 'a person possessing the *buddhi*(opinion, conviction) that has been described in the preceding verse (109.33).[6] It may be easily observéd that in spite of the use of the words *yathā* and *tathā*, there arises no logical difficulty in taking the word *buddha* in the aforesaid sense.[7]

6.5; Saura-p. 15.25; Br. dharma-p. 2.11.72; Narasiṁha-p. 36.9; Br. Nāradīya-p. 2.39; Kallhi-p. 2.3; Purāṇa-saṁhitā 8.81; Viṣṇudharma-p. ch. 66, (MS); Mbh. Sānti-p. 348.2; 348. 41-42 (Kum. ed.).

5. Brahmāṇḍa-p. 2.31.60; Brahma-p. 230.13; Āgneya-p. (MS) 29.41 (*vide* St. Up. I, p. 145).

6. निन्दाम्यहं कर्म कृतं पितुस्तद् यस्त्वामगृहणाद् विषमस्थबुद्धिम् । बुद्ध्यान-यैवंविधया चरन्तं सुनास्तिकं धर्मपथादपेतम् (Rāmāyaṇa 2.109.33).

7. It is remarkable to note that even the later Upaniṣads do not mention Buddha. Maddhva, the teacher of the Dvaita school, has however quoted an Upaniṣad passage (on avatāra) which mentions Buddha (वासुदेवः संकर्षणः प्रद्युम्नोऽनि-रुद्धोऽहं मत्स्यः....रामः कृष्णो बुद्धः कल्किरहं....). There is ample reason to doubt about the genuineness of this statement, for Jīva-gosvāmin in his Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbha expressly declared that the aforesaid passage was to be taken as a Śruti statement on the authority of Madhva (मध्वभाष्य-प्रमाणिता श्रुतिः, p. 156, ed. Bhaktivicāra Yāyāvara). About the genuineness of many of the Śruti passages quoted by Madhva in his works modern scholars have expressed their doubt; *vide* the article by Venkata Subbiya in Indian Antiquary of 1933 (p. 189).

Points to be observed in the aforesaid Purāṇic passages

Following points are to be observed in connection with the Purāṇic references to Buddha :

(i)   Leaving only a few, almost all the Purāṇas refer to Buddha.

(ii)   Non-mention is found in the older Purāṇas (like the Mārkaṇḍeya-p.) as well as in the later Purāṇas (like the Vāmana-p.).[8]

(iii)   If Buddha is not mentioned in the list of the ten incarnations, then Kṛṣṇa, or some other incarnation is mentioned in order to complete the number.

(iv)   Those Purāṇas that do not refer to Buddha sometimes mention the Bauddhas though disdainfully; *vide* Kūrma-p. 1.30-13; 2.21.32.

(v)   While Buddha is invariably followed by Kalki (or Kalkin) in the lists of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, he is preceded by Balarāma or by Kṛṣṇa or by Vyāsa in different Purāṇas.

(vi)   Some Purāṇas do not invariably mention Buddha in all of its passages that enumerate or deal with the incarnations of Viṣṇu. As for example, the Brahma-p. which mentions Buddha in 122.69 (in a eulogy to Viṣṇu) describes the incarnations of Viṣṇu without describing Buddha in ch. 213; The Śānti-p. 348.2 (Kum. ed.) refers to Buddha, but is silent (in a different recention) on Buddha in 339. 103-104 (which mention Haṁsa and Sātvata i. e. Kṛṣṇa); the Bhāgavata-p. in more then one place mentions Buddha, but is silent on him in 10.2.40; the Bhaviṣya-p. mentions Buddha in 4.63.23 and 4. 190. 6-7 but is silent on him in 4.85.10 and 4. 76. 44.[9]

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8.   It is remarkable to note that the Prapañcasāra-tantra (ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya) does not mention Buddha while enumerating the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (मत्स्यः कूर्मवराहौ नृसिंहकुब्जत्रिरामकृष्णाश्च । कल्किः सानन्तात्मा 1959); cp. the Lalitāsahasranāma-bhāsya by Bhāskara : "क्रमेण मत्स्य-कूर्म-वराह-नरसिंह-वामन-भार्गव-दाशरथि-हलधर-कृष्ण-कल्कि-रूपदशावतारान् उत्पाद्य ते निषूदिताः, p. 49).

9.   About the non-mention of Buddha as an incarnation in the Āgneya-purāṇa (i. e. Vahni-purāṇa which is older than and different from the current Agni-purāṇa) the observations of Dr. Hazra are worth noticing : "The

The place of reading Buddha's name in the list of incarnations.

In the Purāṇic enumerations of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Buddha is mentioned usually in the ninth place; sometimes the word *navama* or *navamaka* has been used in connection with Buddha in these enumerations; *vide* Matsya-p. 47.247, Liṅga-p. 2.48. 30-32, Garuḍa-p. 1. 86. 10-11; 2. 20. 31-32, Śiva-p. 2. 4. 9. 25; Skanda-Revā. 151.21. Only in a few places Buddha's name is read in places other than nine.

In the accounts of Viṣṇu's forms or incarnations numbering much more than ten, no fixed place is given to Buddha though he is described in the 21st place in more than one Purāṇic chapter. It is to be noted that the order of names of the ten incarnations is generally fixed—it begins with Matsya and ends with Kalki. The order in which the forms or incarnations of Viṣṇu have been described elaborately in the Purāṇas does not seem to be so well-established as the order of the ten incarnations. It appears that the list of the ten incarnations was conceived to serve some purpose.

Buddha described as a yogin or a sannyāsin

In a few Purāṇic passages Buddha has been clearly described as a yogin.[10] He is said to be a *yogācārya* in Śiva-p. II.5.16.11. In Agni-p. 49.8 Buddha has been described as शान्तात्मन् (having a pacified mind), ऊर्ध्वपद्मस्थित (its meaning is not clear, though it un-

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mention of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in three places in the Āgneya-p. (ch. 3, 23 and 28) does not necessarily mean that the Buddha was one of them. Although the Buddha has been named as the founder of a heretical faith in Āgneya-p. 29.41 (fol. 102 b) there is not the slightest indication in this Purāṇa that he came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This shows that the ten incarnations include both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma instead of Buddha." (Studies in the Genuine Āgneya-purāṇa', in Our Heritage, Vol. III, p. 83, fn.)

10. धराबद्धपद्मासनस्थाङ् त्रियष्टि नियम्यानिलं न्यस्तनासाग्रदृष्टि । य आस्ते कलौ योगिनां चक्रवर्ती स बुद्धः प्रबुद्धोऽस्तु मच्चित्तवर्ती (Daśāvatāra-stotra attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, verse 9). As to why Siddhārtha was called Buddha, the statement in the Buddhist work Sūtroddeśālaṅkāra is worthy of note (अनुगतमतीतमभ्युपेतं चरमचरं क्षयिताक्षयं च कृत्स्नम् । यत इह स बुबोध बोधिमूले बुधसहितो भगवान् ततः स बुद्धः ॥, quoted in the comm. Trikāṇḍa-cintāmaṇi on Amarakośa).

doubtedly suggests some secret yoga practice)[11]; in Matsya-p. 54.19 he is described as शान्तं and in Skanda-Revā 151.21 as शान्तिसत्; in Devi-purāṇa 6.5 he is described as शुद्धसद्भावभाव (whose ideas are purely holy), शुद्धबुद्धतनूद्भव (born of a purified body) and रागद्वेषविनि-मुक्त (free from attachment and hatred); in Viṣṇudharma he is described as नराणामथ नारीणां दयां भूतेषु दर्शयन् (*vide* Studies in the Upapurāṇas I p. 144) which is suggestive of Buddha's being a *sannyāsin*, for showing compassion to all creatures is one of the chief characteristics of *sannyāsins*.[12] The Purāṇic assertion that Buddha was clad in clothes of brown-red colour (काषायवस्त्रवसंवीत Śānti-p. 348.2 Kum. ed; Cr. ed. App. 1, no 31) also proves that he was a *sannyāsin*.[13] Buddha is sometimes decribed as wearing a red cloth (रक्तवासं Devi-p. 6. 5; रक्ताम्बरव्यञ्जिताङ्ग, Viṣṇudharma, Ch. 66; *vide* 'St. Up.' I. p. 144)—a view which is found in the philosophical works also[14]. The Viṣṇu-p. (3.17-18) speaks of मायामोह (who may be taken as a form of Buddha [Māyāmoha has been clearly stated as the same as Buddha in Agni-p. 16.2] as wearing red cloth (*raktapaṭa*). Are we to take *rakta* as the same as kāṣāya or to think that one of these two descriptions is older than the other or that there were two different views about the colour of Buddha's garment ?

The names of the parents, wife and son of Buddha

In the Purāṇas Buddha's father is usually called शुद्धोदन[15]

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11. Cp. the description of Buddha in the Merutantra : पद्मे पद्मासनस्थं तमूर्वोर्न्यस्तकरद्वयम् । गौरमुण्डितसर्वाङ्ग ध्यानस्तिमित-लोचनम् ॥

12. G. Dh. S. 3.23-24; Yāj. Smṛti 3.61; Manu-smṛti 6.39.

13. The Bauddhas are often described in the Purāṇas as putting on brown-red garment; see ''काषायवासस: शूद्रा....शाक्यबुद्धो-पजीविन:' (Brahmāṇḍa-p. 2.31.59-60); काषायिणश्च निर्ग्रन्था बौद्धा:....भविष्यन्ति क्लौ युगे (Saura-p. 4.24).

14 यथा रक्तपटानां विज्ञानावस्थानेऽपि.... (Śārīraka-bhāṣya 2.2.35); रक्तपटधारणं वा दिगम्बरता वाऽवलम्ब्यताम् (Nyāyamañjari,I, p. 244) संघे रक्ताम्बरत्वं च शिश्रिये बौद्धभिक्षुभि: (Vivekavilāsa 8.275).

15. शुद्धोदनसुत:.... (Agni-p. 16.2). शुद्धोदनस्य पुत्रोऽभूत् स्वयं देवो जनार्दन: (Varāha-p. quoted in Kṛtyaratnākara, p. 248). शाक्यात् शुद्धोदनो नृप: । शुद्धोदनस्य भविता सिद्धार्थः पुष्कल: सुत: ॥

—a view which is in consonance with the Buddhist tradition.[16] There are also a few Purāṇic statements that declare that the name of his father is Añjana, Ajana, Ajina or even Jina.[17] According to Buddhist tradition Añjana is the name of the father of Buddha's mother.[18] The exact form of this second name (as mentioned in

(Matsya-p. 271.13). शुद्धोदनसुतो बुद्धो भविष्यामि (Viṣṇu-dharma; *vide* 'St. Up.' I, p. 144). वस्त्रपाणेः शुद्धोदनः, शुद्धोदनाद् बुधः, बुधादादित्यवंशो निवर्तते (Narasimha-p. 22.15), [Budha is either to be corrected to Buddha or to be taken as a name of Buddha; see सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुधः (Vyāḍi, quoted in the Vyākhyā-sudhā comm. on Amara 1.1.13).] Narasimha-p. 26.12 shows the same order replacing Vastra-pāṇi by Astrapāṇi. The Viṣṇu-p. mentions Śuddhodana and Rāhula but not Buddha in its chapter on genealogy (4.22). As Buddha abandoned kingship his name was not mentioned in the genealogical list. The Kalki-p speaks of Śuddhodana as the brother of Jina, king of the Kīkaṭa country (2. 7.28).

16. Buddha himself declared that the name of his father was शुद्धोदन (Mahāpadāna-suttānta in Dīghanikāya).

17. बुद्धो नामाजनसुतः (Bhāg. 1.3.24); अजनस्य सुतः । जिनसुत इति पाठे जिनोऽपि स एव (comm. Bhāvārthadīpikā); जिनस्य सुतो भविष्यति नाम्ना बुद्धः (comm. Bhāgavatacandrikā); अञ्जनसुतः, अजिन-सुतश्चेति पाठद्वयम् (comm. Sārathadarśinī); अजिनस्य सुतो नाम्ना बुद्धः (Siddhānta-pradīpa). मोहनार्थं दानवानां बालरूपी पथि स्थितः । पुत्रं तं कल्पयामास मूढबुद्धिर्जिनः स्वयम् ॥ (Brahmāṇḍa quoted in the comm. Bhāgavatatātparya by Madhva on Bhāg. 1.3.24) बौद्धरूपः स्वयं जातः कलौ प्राप्ते भयानके । अजिनस्य द्विजस्यैव सुतो भूत्वा जनार्दनः ॥ (Bhaviṣya-p. 4. 12.27). It is to be noted here that the Purāṇa says (in the verse 28) that Buddha appeared in the Tāmasāntara (in the Tāmasa, i. e. the fourth manvantara). The significance of this assertion is difficult to understand. The Kalki-p. has a peculiar view about both Jina and Śuddhodana in 2.6-7. It says that Kalki came to the Kīkaṭa country to chastise Buddha and he met with Jina, king of the country and Śuddho-dana, his brother, both of whom were killed by Kalki.

18. "And the name of her [Buddha's Mother's] father is expressly given as Añjana, the Śākiyan" (Rhys Davids : Buddhist India, p. 18).

the Purāṇas) cannot be determined unless proper critical editions of the Purāṇas are prepared.

Since Kalki-p. 2.7.44 regards मायादेवी as the mother of the Buddhists (मातरं बौद्धाः) we may reasonably infer that Māyādevī is the name of Buddha's mother. Buddha himself declared that the name of his mother was Māyādevī (Mahāpadāna-suttānta). Buddhist tradition and the lexicons (Amarakośa 1.1.15) are in favour of this view.[19] A mythical form of Māyādevī is found in Kalki-p. 2. 7. 36-44.

It may be surmised that अज्ञनी is also the name of 'Buddha's mother from the statement मगधे हेमसदनाद् अज्ञन्यां प्रभविष्यति विणोरंशो जगत्पाता बुधः (in Kumārika-khaṇḍa 40.255-256). If we take बुध as the same as बुद्ध, अज्ञनी cannot but be the name of Buddha's mother as there is no country of this name. For a discussion on this statement see *infra*.

There is no mention of Buddha's wife in the Purāṇas[20] and we find no direct statement regarding the son of Buddha in the Purāṇas. The Viṣṇupurāṇa says that Śuddhodana was succeeded by Rāhula (4.22.3),[21] and from Buddhistic works we find that Rāhula was the son of Buddha It may be presumed that since Buddha took *sannyāsa* before being enthroned,[22] Rāhula is said to have succeeded his grandfather Śuddhodana.

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19   "The name of his [Buddha's] mother has not yet been found in the oldest texts, but it is given in the Buddha-vaṁśa as Māyā" (Rhys Davids: The History and Literature of Buddhism, p. 60).

20.   It appears that the Purāṇic authors had no occasion to mention the name of the wife of Buddha.

21.   तस्मात् शाक्यः, शाक्यात् शुद्धोदनः, तस्मात् राहुलः, ततः प्रसनेजित् (Viṣṇu-p. 4.22.3). The readings क्रुद्धोदन and रातुल in the place of शुद्धोदन and राहुल (as found in some editions) are corrupt.

22.   A Varāha-p. verse says that Buddha enjoyed kingship : शुद्धोदनस्य बुद्धोऽभूत् स्वयं पुत्रो जनार्दनः । भुक्त्वा राज्यश्रियं सोऽथ गतिं परमकां गतः ॥ (quoted in Kṛtyaratnākara, p. 247). This is however extremely doubtful. If 'भुक्त्वा राज्यश्रियम्' means 'Buddha's remaining in the royal palace for some years' (before leaving it for ever with a view to discovering the way of getting rid of all miseries) then the Purāṇic statement may be accepted as valid,

The body of Buddha

We have a few statements describing the body and the limbs of Buddha. The expression *devasundara-rūpa* in Matsya-p. 47. 2+7 (देवसुन्दररूपेण बुद्धो जज्ञे)[23] shows the exquisite beauty of Buddha. He is said to be of white or pale-red complexion[24] and लम्बकर्ण (possessing long ears) in Angi-p.49.8; मुण्डित[25] (of shaven head) and शुक्लदन्तवान्[26] (having white teeth) in Śānti-p.348.41-42 (Kum. ed.) The epithet अम्बरावृत in Agni-p.49.8 shows that Buddha, unlike Mahāvira, used to put on cloth on his body.

The language used by Buddha

It is the Mahābhārata that informs us that Buddha preached his views through the medium of the Māgadhī language (भाषया मागधेनैव धर्मराजगृहे वसन्, Śānti-p.348.41; cr. ed. App. 1, no. 31). (Gramatically मागधेन भाषया is wrong; it ought to be corrected to मागध्या; the corrected reading however renders the metre defective).

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23. It has however variant readings. "In the readings recorded in the Anandasrama edn. the line देवसुन्दररूपेण द्वैपायनपुरःसर:' is given two variants, one making it more intelligible in its application to the Buddha : देवतासुररूपेण and another introducing the missing Kṛṣṇa दे क्यां ॱॱॱॱवसुदेवेन. The bulk of the MSS of Matsya collated by us have the reading देवक्यां वसुदेवेन. Further MSS, though not all of them,....read विधौ नवमके, thus eliminating the Buddha altogether" (Dr. V. Raghavan : 'Further Gleanings from the Matsya-p.', in Purāṇa III, p. 324).

24. In the Majjhimanikāya Buddha is found to have declared that the beauty of his pale-red body was destroyed on account of his practising acute austerities before the attainment of bodhi.

25. Cp. Bṛhatsaṁhitā-57.44 which describes Buddha as सुनीचकेश (57.44) meaning अत्यल्पकेश ; its variant सुनीतकेश means अतिनियमितकेश.

26. Nilakaṇṭha remarks शुक्लदन्ता मांसाशनत्यागाद् अन्यथा रक्तदन्तः स्यात् (on Hariv. 3.3.15). The significance as shown here does not seem to be satisfactory.

The aforesaid assertion about the language used by Buddha is historically valid. It is to be noted that (i) Pali was the language of Magadha through which Buddha preached and that (ii) Pali, on account of being spoken in Magadha was called Māgadhī. In time of Buddha Pali (the language of Buddha's sayings) and Māgadhī were synonymous. Afterwards the language of the religious teachings was called Pali and the Prākṛta language current at that time came to be called Māgadhī.[27]

It is well known that the Māgadhī language was highly praised by Buddhist teachers. In several works on Pali grammar Māgadhī is extolled by the couplet : सा भागधी मूलभासा नरा ययादिक-प्पिका । ब्रह्माणो चस् सुतालापा संबुद्धा चापि भासरे ॥ cp. the statement मागधभासाक्खरेन लिखाहि (सरसनवंस, p. 31, P. T. Series). Since Buddha used Māgadhaī the Buddhist teachers spoke of it in a highly exaggerated way.[28]

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27.   In later period Pali ceased to be the spoken language and it existed in religious works only. This later Māgadhī (which in reality is the gradually developed form of Pali) better known as the Māgadhī Prākṛta (Māgadhi Apabhaṁśa) and sometimes called Māgadhīnirukta (Dāṭha-vaṁśa 1.10) is the direct source of Oriya, Maithili, Bengali, Asamese, etc. The Māgadhī in the Sanskrit plays is quite different from Pali. It is better to use बौद्ध-मागधी for Pali and प्राकृतमागधी for मागधी प्राकृत(भाषा). Ardha-māgadhī is, however, a mixture of प्राकृत मागधी and महाराष्ट्री (Saṁkṣiptā-sāra vyākaraṇa 5.98).

28.   "It is claimed by Buddhaghoṣa, the greatest known Pali commentator, that the language through the medium of which the Buddha promulgated his doctrine and discipline was Māgadhī. To Buddhaghoṣa as well as to other Pali commentators Māgadhī is indeed the nirukti or diction of what is known as the Pali canon" (B. M. Barua : Some Aspects of Early Buddhism, in 'Cultural Heritage of India, Vol I, p. 442). "Even Buddhaghoṣa says that a child brought up without hearing the human voice would instinctively speak Māgadhī" (R. Childers : A Dictionary of the Pali language, p. 13), vide the comm. on the Mahārūpa-siddhi, p. 27.

Activities of Buddha

The Purāṇas ascribe two kinds of activities to Buddha, namely (1) preaching views in order to delude demons etc.[29] and (2) blaming animal sacrifice as prescribed in the Vedas.[30]

Following points are to be noted in this connection. The beings deluded by Buddha were rarely called men; chiefly they were called *daityas, dānavas* and *asuras.* These words seem to signify 'human beings possessing the characteristics of *daityas* etc'. It would be illogical to assume that *daityas* etc. are to be taken in their Purāṇic sense i. e. 'the offspring of Diti' etc. The metaphorical use of these words is often found in the Purāṇas.

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29. मोहनाय सुरद्विषाम् (Bhāg. 1.3.24; Garuḍa-p. 1.1.32). नमो बुद्धाय च दैत्यमोहिने (Bhāg. 10.40.22). दैत्यानां नाशनार्थाय विष्णुना बुद्धरूपिणा । बौद्धशास्त्रमसत् प्रोक्तम् (Padma-p. 6.263. 69-70). नमोऽस्तु बुद्धाय च दैत्यमोहिने (Padma, Sṛṣṭi 73.93). बुद्धो मोहयिष्यामि मानवान् (Śānti-p. 348. 42 Kum. ed.). मायामोहस्वरूपोऽसौ ···· मोहयामास दैत्यांस्तान् त्याजिता वेदधर्मकम् (Agni-p. 16.2-3). तेन बुद्धस्वरूपेण ···· भविष्यति जगत् सर्वं मोहितम्···· (Skanda, Revā 151.22). छलेन मोहयिष्यामि भूत्वा बुद्धोऽसुरानहम् (Skanda, Vaiṣṇava, Vasudeva-Māhātmya, 18.41; Guru-maṇḍala ed.). ततो लोकविमोहाय बुद्धत्वं वै भविष्यसि (Br-Dharma-p. 2.11.72).

30. देवद्विषां निगमवर्त्मनि निष्ठितानां ···· बहुभाष्यत औपधर्म्यम् (Bhāg. 2.7.37). वार्दैर्विमोह्यति यज्ञकृतोऽतदर्हान् (Bhāg. 11.4.23). नमस्ते ···· वेदनिन्दाकराय च ···· जैनाय बौद्धरूपाय ···· (Śiva-p. 2.5.16.11; बौद्ध to be corrected to बुद्ध, or it is to be taken in the sense of बुद्धसंबन्धिन्; in the preceding verse Kṛṣṇa and Rāma have been extolled). पुनश्च वेदमार्गो हि निन्दितः ···· स्थापितं नास्तिकमतं वेदमार्गविरोधकृत् ॥ (Śiva-p. 2.4.9.25). वेदमार्गो विनाशितः (Bhaviṣya-p. 1.6 39). ततः संमोह्यामास जिनाद्यानसुरांशकान् । भगवान् वाग्भिरुग्राभिरहिंसावाचिभि-र्हरिः ॥ (Brahmāṇḍa-p. quoted In Bhāgavatatātparya by Madhva, 1.3.28). पुनरिह विधिकृत-वेदधर्मानुष्ठानविहितः ···· बुद्धावतारस्त्वमसि (Kalki-p. 2.3.29). वेदवर्त्मप्रवृत्तानामसुराणां विमोहनम् । रूपं धृत्वा यज्ञविद्यां हिंसाप्रायां विनिन्द सि ॥ (Purāṇasaṁhitā 8.81).

Some are of opinion that the use of the words like *daitya*, *dānava*, etc. is in accordance with the Purāṇic character of narrating events of past ages. (Buddha lived long before the authors of the current Purāṇas). These words refer to those persons who, in ancient times, followed anti-Vedic religions and consequently found the teachings of Buddha as valid and useful. A similar use of words is found in the legends concerning the destruction or the loss of the Vedas. The Purāṇas say that the Vedas were destroyed or stolen by the *asuras* namely Hayagrīva, Śaṅkha and others.[31] There is no doubt that in these legends the word *asura* refers to those persons who were against Vedic discipline and who created obstacle to the propagation of Vedic culture. It must be borne in mind that no mythical tale can spring through pure imagination; such tales must have their bases in some form of reality.[32]

It is remarkable to note here that in later period followers of the Vedic religion declared that it was love of wanton life that had caused the highly learned persons of the 'Hindu' society to embrace Buddhism (*vide* Nyāyakusumāñjali by Udayana (Ch. II) of the 10th century.

From the Purāṇic statements it does not appear that Buddha was against the *nivṛtti-mārga* or *jñāna-mārga* of the Vedas. This is quite in consonance with the teachings of Buddha as found in the Piṭakas. Buddha is found to praise highly of those sages who were the followers of the *nivṛtti* or *jñāna mārga* of the Vedas.[33] (*vide* Brāhmaṇa-dhārmika-sutta in Suttanipāta).

31. *Vide* Bhāgavata-p. 11.4.17; 5.18.6; Varāha-p. 1.5; 15.10; 113.20; Kūrma-p. 1.16.77-84; Matsya-p. 53.5-7; Padma-p. 4.22.33; 6.257.1-31; Agni-p. 2.16-17; Śānti-p. 347; Vana-p. 85. 46-48.

32. Cp. the historical interpretation of (1) Gayāsura in the 'Buddha-Gayā' by R. L. Mitra and 'Gayā and Buddha Gayā' by B. M. Barua and of (2) Kalki in the papers by (1) K.P. Jayaswal in Indian Antiquary, vol. 46 (1917), by (2) Prof. Pathak in Indian Antiquary, vol. 43 (1918) and by (3) Otto Schrader in Brahmavidyā, vol. I.

33. The Kalki-p. has a statement that precisely states the view-point of Buddha : ब्रह्माभासविलासचातुरी प्रकृतिविमाननाम् असंपादयन् बुद्धावतारस्त्वमसि (2.3.29). The first two expressions in this statement are highly significant and deserve to be explained elaborately. The statement will be explained in a separate paper on 'The Buddhist religion and philosophy in the Purāṇas'.

Buddha is said to be the killer of Madhu and also dear to Madhu in Skanda-Revā 151.2 (मधुहन्ता मधुप्रियः). Nothing is known about this Madhu and the information is not found in any other Purāṇa. Since Buddha is regarded here as the ninth incarnation, the information creates a problem which is difficult to solve. Is the first Madhu the same as Mara ?

The places associated with Bnddha

Following places have been mentioned in the Purāṇas in connection with Buddha.

Kikaṭa—It is said that Buddha will appear in Kikaṭa (बुद्धो नामा····कीकटेषु भविष्यति, Bhāg. 1.3.24; Garuḍa 1.1.32).[34] As Kikaṭa is not stated to be the birth place of Buddha in Buddhist works[35] we are to take the root *bhū* (in *bhaviṣyati*) in the sense of 'to reside' or 'to lead the life.[36] Thus we can take Kikaṭa as a centre for preaching Buddhism.[37] The plural number in the

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34. कीकटेषु मध्ये गयाप्रदेशे (comm. Bhāvārthadīpikā); कीकटेषु मगधविषयेषु (comm. Padaratnāvalī); cp. Sāttvata-Saṁhitā 2 65 (पाषण्डशास्त्रमधिकल्प्य सुरद्विषाणां कर्ता जिनस्य तनयो भगवान् गयायाम्) and Saundarananda 3.15 (स विनीय काशिषु गयेषु बहुजनमथ गिरिव्रजे).

35. But see सो च भगवा मागधो मगधे भवत्ता ···· (since Buddha appeared in Magadha, he was called Māgadha), quoted from some Pali text by Pt. Vidhuśekhara Śāstrin in his Pāli-prakāśa, Intro. p. 13, fn. 32.

36. See Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī on the root Bhū (p. 4, ed. by 4. Mīmāṁsaka); in Mbh. Vana-p. 157.45 भविष्यसि means जीविष्यसि (Nilakaṇṭha).

37. Kikaṭa was deemed so intimately connected with Buddha that the Kalki-p (2.6.40) described Kalki's going to Kikaṭa with an army with a view to chastising Buddha, though Purāṇa tradition declares that Kalki will appear in the future. The Kalki-p. (2.6.41·42) further says that Kikaṭa was the country of the Bauddhas where there was no performance of the Vedic religion. Inhabitants of this country are said to be the followers of materialism and to be antagonistic to the rules of caste etc. It is remarkable to note that in the Ṛgveda (3 53.14) Kikaṭa was regarded as a land beyond the pale of aryanism and in the Nirukta (6.32) as an anārya-nivāsa.

word Kīkaṭa indicates that it is the name of a *janapada*. In the Purāṇas Kīkaṭa has been mentioned in a very few places. According to Garuḍa-p. 1.82.5 Kīkaṭa is situated in Gayā; according to Bṛ. Dharma-p. 2.26 20-22 the Kīkaṭa country has been called an unholy land. its king Kākakarṇa is said to be the despiser of the Brahmins and the name of one of its towns is Gayā; according to Vāyu-p. 108.73 the holy Gaṅgā, the holy Rājagṛha-vana and the holy river Punaḥpunā are in the Kīkaṭa country. Thus we can take Kīkaṭa as the ancient name of Magadha, a view supported by the lexicographer Hemacandra (Abhidhānacintāmaṇi).

Magadha—Mentioned in Skanda-Kumārikā 40.255 (मगधे हेमसदनादक्षिन्यां प्रभविष्यति). The significance of Hemasadana is to be determined.[38] For a discussion on this statement see below.

Dharmarājagṛha—It is said that Buddha, son of Śuddhodana, will delude men staying in the Dharmarājagṛha by preaching his views through the medium of the Māgadhī language (Śānti-p. 348. 41-42 Kum. ed.). It appears that the Dharmarājagraha is the same as Rājagṛha.[39]

That Rājagṛha was intimately connected with the activities of Buddha is a historical fact. It is well known that in Rājagṛha lay the centre of his missionary activities. Buddha is said to have gone out on his first alms-begging in Rājagṛha and to have lived in a cave of a hill in Rājagṛha. In the Dīghanikāya Buddha is said to have described many places of Rājagṛha as 'highly delightful'. It is a pity that schism in the Buddhist order also started at Rājagṛha.

Nepala—In the Nepāla-māhātmya section (1.57-65a) of the Himavat khaṇḍa (which is said to be a part of the Skanda-p. and

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38. There are minor Buddhist Schools, most of which seem to be of local origin, namely हेमवत, राजगिरिय (Mahāvaṁsa 5.12-13). Has this हेमवत any connection with हेमसदन ?

39. It may also be surmised that since Dharmarāja is the name of Buddha, a particular place (in Magadha) was called धर्मराजगृह. As for example Veṇuvana in Rājagṛha was a place which was intimately connected with Buddha. It is however better to accept धर्म (in the sense of धर्मयुक्त) as qualifying राजगृह.

which seems to be a work of much later age) it is said that Buddha, a form of Viṣṇu, came to a hill in Nepal from the Saurāṣṭra country and practised penance. The goddess Girijā (called Vajrayoginī) appeared to Buddha and gave a boon to him to the effect that persons residing in Nepal would be virtuous and that in this country the devotees of both Śiva and Buddha would reside. Being asked by Devī Buddha established a *liṅga* at the confluence of the rivers of Vāgmatī and Maṇimatī.

The aforesaid story does not seem to have any Buddhist basis. It appears that since Buddha was born in Nepalese border and since Buddhist Tantra has a close connection with Nepal, the aforesaid story was conceived by the Purāṇic authors.

Time of Buddha

Three kinds of statements are usually found in the Purāṇas about the time of Buddha. Sometimes the expression *pura*[40] (in ancient times) is used, which, being vague, does not require any discussion. A good number of Purāṇas declare that Buddha flourished at the beginning[41] or precisely at the first quarter[42] of the Kaliyuga. This view however is not of much value, if we think that a quarter of Kaliyuga is equal to 108000 years (the Kaliyuga being of 432000 years).

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40. पुरा देवासुरे युद्धे ॱॱॱॱशुद्धोदनसुतोऽभवत् (Agni-p. 16.1-2).

41. ततः कलौ सम्प्रवृत्ते ॱॱॱॱबुद्धो भविष्यामि (Bhāg. 1.3.24; Garuḍa-p. 1.1.32). कलौ प्राप्ते यथा बुद्धो भवेन्नारायणः प्रभुः (Narasimha-p. 36.9). कलियुगे घोरे संप्राप्ते ॱॱॱॱशुद्धोदनसुतो बुद्धो भविष्यामि (Viṣṇu-dharma, ch. 66; *vide* Studies in the Upapurāṇas, I p. 144). ततः कलियुगस्यादौ ॱॱॱॱशुद्धोदनसुतो बुद्धो ॱॱॱॱ (Śānti-p. 348 41-42 Kum. ed.). मया बुद्धेन वक्तव्या धर्माः कलियुगे पुनः (V. Dh. U. 3.351.54).

42. कलेः प्रथमचरणे वेदमार्गो विनाशितः (Bhaviṣya-p. 1.6.39). As the verses preceding to this verse are noteworthy for chronological purposes they are given here : "एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु कलिना संस्मृतो हरिः । काश्यपाद् उद्भवो देवो गौतमो नाम विश्रुतः ॥३६॥ बौद्धधर्मं च संस्कृतं पट्टणे प्राप्तवान् हरिः । दश वर्षं कृतं राज्यं तस्माच् छाक्यमुनिः स्मृतः ॥३७॥ विंशद्वर्षं कृतं राज्यं तस्माच् शुद्धोदनोऽभवत् । त्रिंशद्वर्षं कृतं राज्यं शाक्यसिंहस्ततोऽभवत् ॥ ३८ ॥ शताद्रौ द्विसहस्रेऽब्दे

The third view says that Buddha flourished in the 28th Kaliyuga.[43] The Purāṇic reckoning of the subdivisions of a *yuga* is still an enigma and unless the problem is solved it is useless to dwell upon this point.

There is a fourth view found in the Kumārikā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. only. From the verses[44] (as given in the footnote) it appears that Budha i. e. Buddha appeared 3600 years after the beginning of the Kaliyuga, taking ततः as indicating 'after the beginning of the Kali yuga'. If 3102 B. C. is taken as the beginning of the Kaliyuga, then, according to this view, Buddha appeared after Christ—an absurd view ! The Purāṇic verses as given in the footnote are highly perplexing and one is tempted to take this Buddha as a different person from Siddhārtha Buddha.

व्यतीते सोऽभवन्नृपः । कलेः प्रथमचरणे etc.   In some places the printed readings seem to be corrupt. Before 'एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु' the Purāṇa reads महानन्दस्ततो जातः पितुस्तुल्यं कृतं पदम् (35) and it shows the order of the kings from Nanda to Mahānanda as Nanda—Prananda—Parānanda— Samānanda — Priyānanda—Devānanda—Yajñabhaṅga— Mauryānanda—Mahānanda (verses 32-35)   The above account has its own peculiarities which deserve to be noted carefully. Smith's observations about the chronological position of the Nanda kings are worth noticing: "Many unsuccessful attempts have been made to harmonize the conflicting traditions and to evolve a resonable scheme of chronology. I cannot pretend to solve the puzzle" (Oxford H. of India p. 83).

43   अष्टाविंशतिमे प्राप्ते·····बुद्धो भूत्वा प्रवर्तयत् (Brahma-p. quoted in Kṛtyaratnākara, p. 159).

44. ततः त्रिषु सहस्रेषु षट्शतैरधिकेषु च । मगधे हेमसदनाद् अञ्जन्यां प्रभविष्यति ॥ २५५। विष्णोरंशो धर्मपाता बुधः साक्षात् स्वयं प्रभुः । तस्य कर्माणि भूरीणि भविष्यन्ति महात्मनः ॥२५६ । ज्योतिर्बिन्दुमुखानुग्रान् स हनिष्यति कोटिशः । चतुःषष्टि च वर्षाणि भुक्त्वा द्वीपानि सप्तच । भक्तेभ्यः स्वयशो मुक्त्वा दिवः पश्चाद् गमिष्यति ॥ २५७ । सर्वेषां चावताराणां गुणैः समधिको यतः ॥२५८। ततो वक्ष्यन्ति तं भक्त्या सर्वपापहरं बुधम् ॥ २५९ क । (40.255-259a). In lexicons Budha is read as a synonym of Buddha; सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुधः (Vyāḍi quoted in Vyākhyāsudhā on Amara 1.1.13).

Following points are to be noted in this connection : (i) This Buddha lived for 64 years, while Siddhārtha Budha lived for 80 years; (ii) this Buddha killed some persons, while Siddhārtha was a strict follower of non-violence; (iii) this Buddha is regarded as धर्मपाता, while Siddhārtha has never been regarded as such by the Paurāṇikas (dharma being the same as the Vedic religion). In spite of these glaring differences we find some points of essential similarity, namely his connection with the Magadha country (verse 255) and his being a part of Viṣṇu (verse 250).

It is to be further noted that in this passage the indication of time concerning Buddha is ambiguous. The word ततः in verse 255 does not necessarily mean 'after the beginning of the Kali age; it may early be taken to mean 3600 years after the Śaka king' ! The relevant verses are given in the footnote[45]; they may be considered by interested readers with a view to deriving a plausible sense. At present we are unable to give any rational explanation of these verses.[46]

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45   अष्टाविंशे कलौ यच्च भावि तत्त्वं निबोध मे ॥२४८॥ त्रिषु वर्षसहस्रेषु कले यतितेषु पार्थिव । त्रिशतेषु दशन्यूनेष्वस्यां भुवि भविष्यति ॥२४९॥ शूद्रको नाम वीराणामधिपः सिद्धिमत्र सः । चर्चितायां समाराध्य लप्स्यते भूभरा- पहः ॥२५०॥ ततस्त्रिषु सहस्रेषु दशाधिकशतत्रये । भविष्यं नन्दराज्यं च चाणक्यो यान् हनिष्यति ॥२५१॥ शुक्लतीर्थे सर्वपापनिर्मुक्ति योऽभिलप- स्यति । ततस् त्रिषु सहस्रेषु विंशत्या चाधिकेषु च ॥२५२॥ भविष्यं विक्रमा- दित्यराज्यं सोऽथ प्रलप्स्यते । सिद्धिप्रसादाद् दुर्गाणां दीनान् यो ह्यद- धरिष्यति ॥२५३॥ ततः शतसहस्रेषु शतेनाप्यधिकेषु च । शको नाम भविष्यश्च योऽतिदारिद्र्यहारकः ॥२५४॥ (Kumārikā ch : 40); verses 255-259a quoted above are about Budha or Buddha.

46.   I have come to know of the following verse on Buddha from some Vaiṣṇavas of the Gauḍiya school, which says that Buddha appeared 2000 years ofter the beginning of the Kaliyage : असौ व्यक्तः कलेरब्दसहस्रद्वितये गते । मूर्तिः पाटलवर्णस्य द्विभुजश्चिकुरोज्झितः ॥ (pāṭata = of pale-red or pink colour; cikurojjhita means the some as muṇḍita). If Buddha was born in 624 BC or 563 BC (according to the Buddhist traditions current in different countries), it follows that he was born 2478 or 2539 years after the Kali era. If we read the verse as अर्धसहस्रद्वितय and take it to mean 2500 (500+2000) years, the date as given here tallies with the

Tithi and week day concerning the birth of Buddha

No Purāṇa says anything on these two points. It is the Purāṇa-samuccaya (which is relied upon simply because it bears the word purāṇa in its name; quoted in Nirṇayasindhu, p. 61) that says that Buddha was born in the 6th day of the bright half in the month of Āśvina (कृष्णोऽष्टम्यां नभसि सितपरे चाश्विने यद् दशम्यां बुद्ध: कल्की नभसि समभवच् छुक्लछचां क्रमेण.[47] According to Buddhist tradition Siddhārtha Buddha was born in the 15th day of the bright-half (pūrṇimā) of the month of Vaiśākha.

Worship of Buddha

Only a few statements are found about the worship of Buddha. Varāha-p. 48.22 informs us that one desirous of beauty should worship Buddha (रूपकामो यजेद् बुद्धम्).

In the procedure of the Śravaṇadvādaśī-vrata Buddha is mentioned : कृष्णनाम्ना च नेत्रे द्रे बुद्धनाम्ना तथा शिर: (Saura-p. 15.16; by uttering the name of Buddha the head of the deity to be worshipped is to be touched); similarly Buddha's name is mentioned in the procedure of the Nakṣatrapuruṣa-vrata in Matsya-p ch. 54 बुद्धाय शान्ताय नमो ललाटं चित्रासु संपूज्यतमं मुरारे:, 54.19). The Varāha-p. has a chapter on the Buddhadvādaśī-vrata (ch. 47). According to Bhaviṣya (Uttara 4.140) lamps are to be lighted in the temple of Siddhārtha Buddha, Brahmā and others. In Garuḍa-p. I. 196.11 it is remarked that Buddha is to be invoked for protection from the *pāṣaṇḍas* (बुद्ध:···पाषण्डसंघातात्···अवतु). A similar view is found in the procedure of Nārāyaṇa-varman (बुद्धस्तु पाषण्डगणप्रमादात्) in Bhāga-vata- p. 6. 8. 19.

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two dates stated above. It is well known that different Buddhist traditions give different dates for Buddha, placing him in 1332 BC, in about 1000, 2959 or 835 BC. (Wilson : Asiatic Researches, vol. XV. p. 92).

47. Cp. आषाढे शुक्लनवमी विशाखायां च भास्करे । दिवा नाडीषट्कमध्ये बुद्धोऽभूद्दंशजो हरे: ॥ (Svatantra-tantra quoted in Prāṇato-siṇī, p. 373).

Cp. also 'Māyādevi was delivered of Bodhisattva or the child on the fifteenth day of the fourth moon of the Wood-Rat year'' (A. C. Korosi : The Life and Teachings of Buddha, p. 27). The last part of the sentence is not quite intelligible.

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The Kṛtyaratnākara (pp. 159-160) quotes a passage from the Brahma-p. about a *vrata* on the śukla-saptamī in the month of Vaiśākha, where it is stated that at the seventh day of Vaiśākha when the moon, associated with the Puṣya constellation, shines, the image of Buddha should be bathed and gifts, garments, etc. should be given to śākya-bhikṣus. The worship of the golden image of Buddha is prescribed in the Varāha-purāṇa (quoted in the Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 247).

In connection with the worship of Buddha it is necessary to show here the Purāṇic outlook about the Aśvatha tree, under one of which Siddhārtha is said to have attained *bodhi* or *lokottara jñāna*.[48] (*vide* Mahāpadāna-Suttānta in Dīghanikāya). Even non-Buddhist scholars are found to opine that the aśvattha-tree came to be called *bodhidruma* on account of Siddhārtha's having acquired *bodhi* under it (अस्य मूले भगवता बुद्धेन बोधिः साक्षात्कृत इति साहचर्याद् वृक्षोऽपि बोधिः, comm. Trikāṇḍacintāmaṇi on Amarakośa 2.4.20-21). The verses quoted in the foot note will show how this tree was looked with reverence by the authors of the Purāṇas[49].

Purassara of Buddha

Matsya-p. 47.247 informs us that Buddha, whose *purassara* was Dvaipāyana, was born as the ninth incarnation (बुद्धो नवमको जज्ञे···· द्वैपायनपुरस्सरः). The word *purassara* means 'purogāmin' (going in front, a fore-runner; it may also mean a teacher, a *purohita*). It is however extremely difficult to conceive Dvaipāyana (whether it means the sage Veda-vyāsa or it means any person born in an

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48. "Every Buddha is supposed to have attained enlighten-ment under a tree. The tree differs in the accounts of each of them. Our Buddha's wisdom tree, for instance, is of the kind called the Assattha or Pippal tree" (Rhys Davids : Buddhist India, p. 229-230).

49. चलदलाय वृक्षाय सदा विष्णुस्थिताय च । बोधिसत्त्वाय योग्याय सदाश्वत्थ नमोऽस्तुते ॥ (Padma-p. 5.55-16). चलद्दलाय वृक्षाय सर्वदा चलयिष्णवे । बोधितत्त्वाय यज्ञाय अश्वत्थाय नमो नमः ॥ (Vāyu-p. quoted in Tristhali-setu, p. 361). नमस्तेऽश्वत्थरूपाय ब्रह्मविष्णु-शिवात्मने । बोधिद्रुमाय कर्तॄणां पितॄणां तारणाय च ॥ (Vāyu-p. 111. 27). तस्मादिमौ विष्णुमहेश्वरावुभौ बभूवतु बौधिवटौ मुनीश्वराः (Padma-p. 6.117.30).

island) as a *purassara* (in any one of its senses) of Buddha. The difficulty, however, is got over if we consider that "the Vāyu-p., whose ch. 98 corresponds exactly to the latter part of this chapter (47th) of Matsya, omits the Buddha altogether and reads instead several verses on Kṛṣṇa."[50] It is however to be noted that the idea of 'a fore-runner of Śākya Buddha' is found in Buddhist tradition.[51]

Śākya in connection wtih Buddha

The Purāṇas sometime use the word *śākya* in connection with Buddha. In शाक्यबुद्धोपजीविनः (Brahmāṇḍa-p. 2.31.60; Brahma-p. 230.13) *śākya* is an adjective to Buddha.[52] Sometimes the word is used in the sense of 'a follower of Buddha' as is found in the Brahma-vaivarta passage बौद्धं धर्मं समास्थाय शाक्यास्ते वै बभूविरे (quoted in Śrāddha-kāṇḍa by Hemādri, p. 3).

According to the Matsya-p. 271.72 and Viṣṇu-p. 4.22.3 *śākya* is the name of the grand-father of Buddha. This seems to be highly doubtful as we do not find any corroborative statement in Buddhist works. The Br. Vaivarta-p. (quoted in Tantrādhikāriniṛṇaya, pp. 2-3) derives *Śākya* from the root *śāk* (to be able) in the sense of 'capable of subduing the gods' (said to the *asuras* by Buddha) —a derivation which is highly fanciful. The word has been explained in various ways[53] the authoritativeness of which does not seem

50. *Vide* 'Further Gleanings from the Matsya-p.' in Purāṇa III p. 324.

51. Buddhist tradition speaks of 24 predecessors of Siddārtha Buddha, the last of whom was Kaśyapa; cp. काश्यपाद् उड्डवो देवो गौतमो नाम नामतः(Bhāviśya-p. III.1.6.36).Siddārtha Buddha, in turn, is the prredecessor of Maitreya Buddha, who will appear afterwards.

52. In a passage in the Āgneya-p. similar to that in the Brahmāṇḍa and the Brahmapurāṇa we read 'साक्षाद् बुद्धोपजीविनः (*vide* 'St. Up.' I, p. 145). It appears that the meaning of the word śākya gradually became obscure.

53. शाक्यमुनिर्बुद्धावतारः, शको$भिजनोऽस्येति शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ण्यः (Aṣṭā. 4. 3.92) (Kṣīrasvāmin on Amarakośa 1.1.14). शाकेषु भवो विद्यमानो वा दिगादित्वाद् यत् (Trikāṇḍacintāmaṇi on Amara). शाकवृक्षप्रतिच्छन्नं वासं यस्माच्च चक्रिरे । तस्मादिक्ष्वाकुवंश्यास्ते भुवि

to be out of question.   The word Śākya-muni for Buddha is fairly
old, for it is found in the Rummindei inscription of Aśoka.

Before concluding this article we want to inform our readers
that about the Buddhist philosophy and religion the Purāṇas contain
various statements—almost all of which blame, denounce or decry
them vehemently.   Buddhist doctrines as propounded in the
Purāṇas (sometimes with the names of the Buddhistic schools)
have their own importance and they deserve to be compared with
the doctrines found in the Buddhist philosophical works.   In a
separate paper we shall deal elaborately with the Buddhist religion
and philosophy as described in the Purāṇas.

It should be noted in this connection that in the Purāṇas
the words Jina, Jinadharma, Buddha-śāstra, Bauddha dharma and
the like do not always bear the same sense.   Sometimes Bauddha
or Jaina means any anti-Vedic doctrine, whether it was taught by
Siddhārtha Buddha or by a person anterior to him.   There are
other problems too.   Since all the Purāṇic statements do not regard
Buddha as an incarnation of the Viṣṇu, the question 'when
Siddhārtha Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation' is of
prime importance and it deserves to be solved properly.   We shall
try to solve these questions in the aforesaid paper.

शाक्या इति स्मृताः ॥ (Saundarananda 1.24).   In fact Śākya
is the name of a Kṣatriya clan.   Buddha himself declared
that he had belonged to the Śākya clan (Pabajjā-sutta
in Suttanipāta; *vide* also Nālaka-sutta in Suttanipāta).
There are scholars who think that Śākya is based on the
Pali word Śākiya   (J. R. A. S. 1806, p. 162 ff.).   The
origin of the name appears to be shrouded in mystery.

BOOK—REVIEW

Mohd. Ismail Khan : BRAHMĀ IN THE PURĀNAS—Crescent Publishing House, F/D-56 New Kavinagar, Ghaziabad; pp. 138 along with 30 photo-plates. Rs. 90/-;

It is gratifying to learn that the book under review has come from the pen of a non-Hindu scholar, who is well known for his love for Sanskrit learning, especially for Purāṇic studies. His dissertation on Sarasvatī has already proved his competence in the field of Purāṇic research. The observations of the author (in the Preface) that 'there is a singularity in the emersion and development of Brahmā' and 'Brahmā has been a neglected deity in the sense that there is a great paucity of literature on him' are without any exaggeration and we have no hesitation in declaring that the author has made a commendable effort in presenting various aspect of Brahmā. His discussions on the physical aspects of Brahmā and Sarasvatī and especially on the implications of the vehicles (*vāhanas*) etc. of these deities are highly interesting. I believe that the work will attrack the notice of all lovers of Purāṇic literature.

In its five chapters the book chiefly deals with (1) the position of Brahmā; (2) the birth and death of Brahmā; (3) the offspring and the types of creation of Brahmā; (4) the colour and vehicles of Brahmā; and (5) the image of Brahmā and Sarasvatī, and the objects held in the hands by these deities.

A glance of the book would reveal that the work is not ex-haustive and manyessential Purāṇic facts concerning Brahmā are wanting. It is not understood why the author has not utilized all the Purāṇas. He does not seem to have collected materials from the Varāha, Nāradīya, Liṅga and Kūrma Purāṇas. Again, though he has utilized the Viṣṇudharmottara and Devībhāgavata (both are Upapurāṇas), yet he has left the Śiva, Devī and Kālikā Upapurāṇas. Since the author has chosen only one deity

for his monograph he should have utilized at least all the Purāṇas
(if not the Upapurāṇas), for each of these works has something
important to say about Brahmā. As for example Kūrma-p. 1.2. 104
says that those who take recourse to Brahmā should bear the
mark *tilaka* on the forehead.

The author has collected a good number of names of Brahmā
from eight Purāṇas without giving any explanations. Though
most of the names are easily intelligible, yet a few significant
names, such as Piṅgala-locana, Śikhin, Viriñci or Virañci, Kuśa-
dvaja should have been explained in the light of the Purāṇic
material. The etymologies of the names of Brahmā as given in
the Purāṇas (*vide* Vāyu-p. 5. 31-46) must have been critically
studied by the author. I may inform here the learned author that
highly significant names of Brahmā are found in the lexicons also,
and these have been explained by the commentators with the help
of the Purāṇas. In a few places necessary references have not been
given. The reference to the Purāṇic view that 'Brahmā on
account of possessing some particular powers is called Karma-
Brahmā' (p. 6), should have been given. Similarly the stanza
'Itihāsa-purāṇabhyām....' has been quoted on p. 5 without mention-
ing the source. Had the author knew the source of this stanza
(i. e. Mbh. Ādi-p. 1.267-68) the reading of the verse (as printed)
would not have been so corrupt.

A few omissions and faults as found in this work are shown
here so that the author may make necessary changes in the second
edition :

(1) In the enumeration of the eighteen Purāṇas (pp. 1-2) the
name of the Brahma-purāṇa which is read in the first place
in the 'Purāṇa-lists' in the Purāṇas, is wanting. (2) There is
a mistake in the names of the two subdivisions of the *vaikṛtasarga*;
the proper names are *ūrdhvasarga* and *arvāksarga* and not
devasarga and *manuṣyasarga* as the author thinks (p. 11). (3) The
exact name of Vācaspati's comm. on the Sāṁkhyakārikā is Tattva-
kaumudī (though often it is called Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī) (vide
the benedictory verse at the end of the comm.) and not Sāṁ-
khyattvakaumudi prabhā as has been written on p. 14. (4) The
use of the word *aṅgula* in the sense of a particular measure (p. 105)

is wrong. The correct form is *aṅguli*, which when used as the final member of a Tatpuruṣa compound becomes *aṅgula*, *vide* Pāṇini 5. 4.86. This wrong use is found almost in all works of modern scholars; it occurs even in the magnum opus of Dr. P.K. Acharya (quoted in the present work on p. 105) and in the Sanskrit-English Dic. by Apte. Maruta for Marut (p. 24) and Anudruhyu for Anu (a son of king Yayati) (p. 46) seem to be the result of inadvertence. Examples of inadventence are found in many places. In *śuklāśuklamataḥ*' (p. 78) *atah* has no relevance, it being an indeclinable. (5) The use of both the stem forms (*prātipadikas*) and the word forms (*padas*) in one and the same work is highly objectionable. It is needless to give examples. Sometimes the form used by the author is neither a stem nor a word; see the word Durvāsā on p. 65. It should be either Durvāsas (stem form) or Durvasāḥ (word form). (6) It is painful to note that the author has not strictly followed the rules of transliteration. Sometimes the same Sanskrit word has been written in two different ways. It is not understood the usefulness of using the sign of interjection (!) at the end of the first and second halves of a stanza. The modern practice of using stright lines seems to be better.

In conclusion we want to draw the attention of the author to the fact that a monograph on a deity must contain a discussion on the *tīrthas* associated with it and we request the author to append such a list in the Appendix in the second edition of his work; lists of *tīrthas* associated with Brahmā are rarely found; such a list occurs in the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the Skandapurāṇa (Ch. 107). A comprehensive list of the temples of Brahmā would have surely enhanced the value of the work. Many interesting facts are usually connected with the temples; as for example in the temple at Konkan Brahmā is worshipped in the form of his foot-prints; vide Mirasi's 'Studies in Indology' II, p. 13.

The price (Rs. 90/-) of the book will certainly come in the way of its brisk sale.

—R. S. B.

SOME GRAPHICAL PURĀṆIC TEXTS ON BRAHMĀ

Author and publisher as above: pages 142 alongwith 16 Photo-plates (8 of Brahmā and 8 of Sarasvatī). Rs. 70/-;

The book contains Purāṇic passages on Brahmā from the Padma, Brahma-vaivarta, Kūrma, Matsya, Viṣṇudharmottara, Vāmana, Brahma and Agni Purāṇas. The collection is, in no sense, exhaustive; as e. g. the author has collected passages from the fifth khaṇḍa of the Padma-p. and not from the other khaṇḍas.

In the Introduction the author has briefly dealt with (1) the epithets of Brahmā, (2) the Purāṇic episode of Brahmā, (3) vehicle of Brahmā, (4) colour or Brahmā, (5) offspring of Brahmā, (6) birth and death of Brahmā, (7) Brahmā as the guardian deity of the Rājasa Purāṇas, (8) the image of Brahmā, (9) various symbols of Brahmā, (10) Brahmā and Sarasvatī, (11) images of Brahmā at various places. Since the Introduction (which is based on the Purāṇic passages collected in this work) is a brief summary of the work reviewed above, no separate review of this book is needed.

It would have been highly useful had the author given at the beginning of the Purāṇic passages brief descriptions of topics which are dealt with in those Purāṇic passages. A work like this must contain a 'subject index' which may be given in the second edition.

—**R. S. B.**

Frank WHALING, *The Rise of the Religious Significance of Rama,* With the Foreword by E. G. Parrinder and the Preface by D. H. H. Ingalls, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1980 pp. XVIII, 392, Price Rs. 100.

The book traces the rise of the religious significance of the figure of Rāma in North India by examining three important texts : the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa of the Medieval Period and the Rāmacaritamānasa of Tulsi Das of XVIII Cent. A. D. These texts have been chosen because they constitute the main works in the development of the importance of Rāma. The author has used three methods to examine these three texts : the

literary/historical, the symbolical, and the theological. The result is that the figure of Rāma is examined in all its aspects as man, husband, king, hero, *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and in its continuity with Indra, as Brahman and finally as Devotional Lord.

Dr Whaling, who lived in North India from 1962 to 1966, tackles the study of the Rāmāyaṇa-s from the point of view of the Comparative Religionist His knowledge both of the Rāma tradition and of the Christian tradition is deep and well documented; his style is pleasant and attractive. The Appendix gives rich suggestions for comparison between Rāma, Christ and Kṛṣṇa. The author remarks that the usual confrontation between Christ on the one side and Rāma-Kṛṣṇa on the other does not justify the many situations in which Christ and Rāma stand commonly *versus* Kṛṣṇa or in which Kṛṣṇa and Christ are both counterparts of Rāma. The reader will find in this book several new suggestions for further research. The work is a deep contribution towards understanding the figure of Rāma and a help in religious dialogue. Basic is Dr. Whalings intuition, substantiated with many convincing proofs throughout the book, that the Rāma of Vālmīki contains in germ all the later developments, which in turn only manifest the seeds already present in the original figure.

The appendix is particularly important for religious dialogue. It would have been interesting if more attention had been given to the different ways of understanding the role of "religious community" in different religions, and to the role of a "name", the *mūrti* and the importance of sacraments. Even the concept of *bhakti* should have been discussed in more depth according to the different religious currents compared.

Both the student of Rāma and the Comparative Religionist, as well as the common reader will be delighted in reading this book which is full of insights and well documented The bibliography is abundant. It would be advisable to add two more books which deserve particular attention : V. Raghavan, *The Greater Rāmāyaṇa*, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1973 and Karpatri, *Rāmāyaṇa Mīmāṁsā*, Vārāṇasī, 1979.

The author and the editor are to be congratulated on giving a new tool toward the better understanding of the living Religious traditions of the world.

—G. Bonazzoli

DIANA L. ECK, *Banāras–City of Light*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1982, pp. XVI, 427,59 Illustrations, 7 Maps. Price $ 25.00

Of the many books already written and presently being compiled on Vārāṇasī, Diana L Eck's is surely the most fascinating. The author displays a rare capacity of understanding the secrets of this magic town, which is so far from her own culture and feelings. The love and admiration for "Kāśī" which surely must have been present in the author while composing the book, are transmitted to the reader through a splendid and captivating style and, equally important, through a solid acquaintance with the wide range of sources, even the lesser known and the less frequently used. The reader is impressed immediately from the very first page. He is taken on a unique tour along the streets and the river-bank, and into the temples and small lanes to perceive and experience the palpitating life of the city of Śiva.

'The book', says the author, 'is a study and interpretation of Banāras from the stand point of one who is close enough to Hindu tradition to see its religious significance and close enough to western religious and academic traditions to know the problems of understanding that Banāras and the Hindu tradition it represents might pose. My work is based on two primary sources : a voluminous literature of Sanskrit texts which describe and praise Banāras, and the city itself, with its patterns of temples, its seasons of pilgrimage, and its priestly and lay interpreters. It is a study of 'text and context' or perhaps more accurately, of classical Sanskrit texts and the 'text' of the city ....' (pp. XIII-XIV).

After an introduction of the previous works written on Vārāṇasī and a history of the different names of the town, the book continues with a good presentation of the history of Vārāṇasī. The reader is then taken into the religious geography of the city. With the author and the 'text' he admires and praises every sacred spot and every lane. Slowly and thoroughly he begins to understand that the town is built in the shape of a mystical *maṇḍala* with its centre being the temple of Viśvanātha, from which it expands in ever increasing concentric circles. As the revelation continues the town transcends its physical geography and one discovers that it is more than just its *tīrtha*-s or *ghāṭs*, or temples, but that also

Vārāṇasī, or Kāsī, is the actual or symbolic embodiment of Wisdom, it is *Brahman*, it is *Ātman*, and at the same time it is the city of *kāma*, of *artha*, of *dharma* and of *mokṣa* as well.

The appendices give the Sanskrit sources for the study of Banāras, the zones of the Sacred City, the *Śivaliṅga*-s of Kāsī, the cycles of Kāsī Goddesses, other Deities of Kāsī, and 'the Year in Banāras : A Partial Calendar'.

The Bibliography is quite rich, though a few important sources could be added such as A. S. Altekar, *History of Benares*, Benares 1937; A. K. Narain-T. N. Roy, *Excavations at Rajghat* (*1957-1958*; *1960-1965*), Varanasi, B. H. U., 1976; *Benares and its Ghats*, Published by the Kashi Tirtha Sudhar Trust, Benares, Allahabad, 1931 and R. L. Singh, *Banaras : A Study in Urban Geography.*

The diacritical marks of the Sanskrit words have been reduced purposely 'so that this text will not be unncessarily cumbersome to read' (p. 367). However, the name of the town in the title is spelled according to the old fashion 'Banāras', although it is now Vārāṇasī and even before restoration of this name, it was already spelled 'Benares'. Nowhere does the author explain the reason for this choice.

The book is recommendable both to the scholar and to the general reader and deserves attentive reading The author merits much praise for producing such a book. It is hoped that Diana L. Eck will continue her research and produce similar works of the same exceptional quality.

—**G. Bonazzoli**

　　　सरिता हांडा, अग्निपुराण की दार्शनिक एवं आयुर्वेदिक सामग्री का अध्ययन, ज्योतिरालोक प्रकाशन, वाराणसी, 1982, pp. XXX, 479. Price Rs. 100/-

From among the many topics which could be chosen for research from the encyclopaedic Agni purāṇa, Dr (MS) Sarita Handa has selected the ayurvedic material, one of the least considered subjects. The book is divided into two parts and deals with both philosophical and ayurvedic matters, but it is the latter which is

given special attention.   This book, along with other works on the
Garuḍa and Viṣṇudharmottara purāṇa-s, carried on under the
illuminating direction of Prof. Jyotir Mitra, enhances greatly our
knowledge of ayurvedic science from the medieval period. The
Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha by Vāgbhāṭa, the Vṛndamādhava, the Cakradatta
by Cakrapāṇi and the Viṣṇudharmottara purāṇa constitute the
sources of the Agni purāṇa for its ayurvedic material. According to
the author such material was attached to the Agni in the first
quater of the XII Century A.D. The Agni purāṇa, however, does
not simply copy from its sources but at times enlarges them, hence
it enhances knowledge on these subjects. The most significant
example is the disclosure of the 'sarpamantra', or mantra against
snake bite which is not available in any of the other sources of
ayurvedic treatises.

The book also contains various kinds of useful bits of information.
Comparative tables help the reader throughout the text to deter-
mine relationship between the Agni purāṇa and the known works
dealing with the same subject. The eleven appendices at the end
are extremely helpful toward further research of a scientific nature
in the purāṇa-s. They contain masses of useful information which
will enhance studies and aid all those who want to know more
regarding these topics. Compilers of dictionaries as well as scholars
of purāṇa-s will benefit considerably from these appendices.

The book is recommendable for its seriousness of research and
for the abundance of its information. The few printing mistakes,
especially the quotation of Viṣṇudharmottara purāṇa which has
constantly 11 in place of II, should be removed in the second
edition.

G. Bonazzoli

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(January-June, 1982)

Varāha Purāṇa Work

After publication of the critical edition and English translation of the Varāha Purāṇa its Hindi Translation is being revised and edited. It will soon go to the Press.

Garuḍa Purāṇa Work

Four MSS of the Garuḍa Purāṇa have been fully collated and compared : two belong to the Sarasvati Bhandar of Ramnagar Fort and two were taken on loan from Bhandarkar Oriental Institute of Pune. All four MSS are in Devanāgarī. One belonging to the Sarasvati Bhandar of Ramnagar contains all the three *khaṇḍa*-s, namely the Pūrvakhaṇḍa, the Uttarakhaṇḍa (or Pretakalpa) and the Brahmakhaṇḍa. Other MSS are being ordered from the Royal Society of Bengal, Calcutta, from Dacca University Library, from Bodleian Library, Oxford (U. K.) and from Universitatsbibliothek, Tubingen (W. Germany).

Veda-pārāyaṇa

In the bright half of the month of *Māgha (Māgha Śukla)*, the Śukla Yajurveda Saṁhitā was recited in the Vyāseśvara temple of the Ramnagar Fort by Pt. Mahadeva Ghanapathi. Sri Visvanatha Shastri was *Śrotā* of the *Pārāyaṇa*. On the successful conclusion of the *Pārāyaṇa* usual *Dakṣiṇā* and certificates were awarded to the reciter and *Śrotā*.

Purāṇa-pāṭha and Pravacana

1. In the month of Caitra, the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa was recited in the Janakpur temple of Ramnagar by Sri Ramji Mishra. The *Pārāyaṇa* was held from Caitra Śukla Pratipad *tithi* up to Navamī *tithi*.

2. The Jñānakhaṇḍa of Tripura Rahasya was recited by Sri Ramji Mishra in the Bāla Tripurā Sundarī Temple of Ramnagar from Āṣāḍha Śukla Pratipad upto Navamī.

Visitors to the Purāṇa Department

1. A group of six persons, among which the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary of the Haryana Bhumi Vikas

Bank (HSLDB). They wrote in the Visitor's Book'....are very much impressed by work being done by the Trust and the employees working. This is a great contribution being made by the Trust.'   —On 7.1.1982

2. A. K. Narain, University of Wisconsin, Madison, U. S. A. यहाँ फिर आकर बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई कि इस शोध संस्थान का कार्य हमेशा की तरह सभी तरह की परिस्थितियों के बावजूद सफलतापूर्वक चल रहा है ॥

—On 22.1.1982

3. Robin Thite, of British Council, Calcutta, with Kumar Rani of Burdawan : 'We were very pleased to have the opportunity to see something of the great work on the Puranas. It requires of all concerned much patience and devotion.'

4. K. T. Pandurangi, President, Mythic Society, Bangalore, Upakulapati Poornaprajna Vidyapeetha, Bangalore (Retired Prof. of Sanskrit, Bangalore University). On 11.2.1982.

5. C. R. Swaminathan, Deputy Educational Advisor (Skt), Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, New Delhi. On 2.5.1982.

6. Mr. Henry O. Thompson, Secretary of the Board of the Global Congress of World's Religions (GCWR). On 31.5.1982.

Demise of Dr. R. C. Hazra

Dr. R. C. Hazra passed way at his residence in Calcutta on 10.5.1982. He was a world renowned scholar of Purāṇas on which he wrote many books and articles opening new fields of research. He was a member of the Editorial Board of our Bulletin. The Chairman of the Trust as well as all the members of the Editorial Board and the staff of the Bulletin express their condolences and pray for eternal peace for his soul.

Research Scholars at the Purāṇa Department

It is not infrequent that scholars and research students come to the Purāṇa Department for completing their studies by using the books of the library and by conversing with the members of the staff

who are specialist in the Purāṇic field.   Mrs. Uma Soni a research student of Sagar University visited our Department for a few days in June : her research topic is अन्नदाचरण का व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व ॥

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

Mahārāja Benares Vidyāmandira Maṅgalotsava

The annual Vasanta maṅgalotsava took place on 26-28 March 1982 in the evenings from 7 to 9 p.m.   The three-day programme was held under the patronage of the Chairman of the Vidyāmandira Trust, H. H. Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh.   The musical programme was held in the premises of the Vidyāmandira inside the Palace. The Chairman of the Trust, important persons of the town and of the Universities attended every day.   A group of local people listened with interest to the classical music rendered by the students of the College of Performing Arts of B. H. U.   On the last evening a Kathak dance was performed by three boys, students of the difficult art at Kabir Chowra in a traditional school.

Museum

The Museum is the main attraction throughout the year for pilgrims and tourists who come to Vārāṇasī.   The rich arm collection and the ivories make Ramnagar Museum one of the best of its kind in India.   Among the important visitors who signed the Visitor's Book, are :—

1. Brajraj Singh of Kishangarh and Major Pratap Singh.

2. Sir John and Lady Thomas, British High Commission in India.

3. Prince Anjun Quder, Chairman of Oudh's Trust, Calcutta.   He writes in the visitors book : 'A very enjoyable and memorable visit to this great House of Benares, renews old ties of friendship extending to four generations.'

4. Major Raja Bahadur Birendra Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh M. P. Bhopal. 'A great Museum only of its kind in India.   I have visited almost all the Museums in the country but I never saw such rare collections of arms,

ivory, houḍah etc. both old and modern. I thank H. H.
taking me round the Museum—very well kept indeed.'

5. Prince and Princess Czetwertynski, Belgian Embassy, New
Delhi.

6. Mr. and Mrs. Michael Pisto, American Embassy, New
Delhi.

7. Emilio Paolo Bassi, Embassador of Italy, New Delhi,
in a note, 'This is the second time I am coming to this
magnificent Palace (with this rich, very well kept
museum) and how I hope there will be a third one !'

Dhrupad Mela

The eighth Dhrupad Melā took place. It was organized
at Tulsi Ghat, Vārāṇasī, under the auspices of the Vidyamandir
Trust. For the occasion the open ground where the Dhrupad
Mela took place was decorated and illuminated. The three night
programme was performed under a 'shyamāna' where many
people, including several young men and women from abroad, spent
the whole night in listening to the best artists in the field.

MAHARAJA UDIT NARAIN SINGH MĀNASA PRACĀRA NIDHI

Navahna Pārāyaṇa

As usual the Navahna Pārāyaṇa and Pravacana was perform-
ed in the Kālī Temple of Chakiā for nine days from Vaiśākha
Śukla Pratipad upto Vaiśākha Navamī, i. e., from 24 April to 2
May, 1982. Pravacanakartā were Sivanarain Vyāsa and others.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FOUR NEW PROJECTS

The All-India Kashiraj Trust has resolved to introduce four
new Projects for the advancement of Purāṇic learning. The Trust
heartily requests all scholars interested in Purāṇic study for co-
operation.

(1) Publication of monographs dealing with Purāṇic litera-
ture (i.e. works bearing the names of Purāṇas or Upapurāṇas) in
all the regional languages of India. Each monograph should

contain a detailed account of published works, of MSS. preserved in the libraries and the Private Collections and of works known through quotations.

(2) Publication of unpublished theses on important Purāṇic subjects.

(3) Publication of a series of monographs (not less than 100 pages) on the lives of the great sages as described in Purāṇic literature.

(4) Publication of Sanskrit Digests by traditional scholars on Purāṇic subjects. These digests may be published in the Bulletin also.

OUR REQUEST

We earnestly request the authorities of all Institutions (Universities, Colleges or Research Institutes) to send us detailed accounts of works, done or taken up by the members of their staff or by the Research Scholars, on the Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas and the Epics. They are also requested to send us the outlines of their Projects on Purāṇic studies and research. These accounts and outlines will enable us to prepare a Purāṇic Bibliography in near future.

Scholars interested in Purāṇic study may send to the Purāṇa Dept. any query of general interest about Purāṇic matters. These will be placed before competent persons for solution. These solutions may appear in the issues of the Bulletin.

संस्कृत-खराडः

पुराणवर्णिताः पाशुपता योगाचार्याः

पं० व्रजवल्लभद्विवेद:

[In a host of works on the Pāśupata and Śaiva
philosophies and in some of the compendia on Indian
philosophies we find a list of 28 Śaiva (Pāśupata)
yogācāryas beginning with Śveta and ending with
Nakulīśa or Lakulīśa. In some of the Purāṇas (namely
Śiva-p.. Liṅga-p. etc.) also, we find the names of these
ācāryas (often with variations in the names).

In the Purāṇas each of these 28 ācāryas is said to
have four disciples (112 in all). Names of many of
these disciples (as given in the Purāṇas) have variations.
In the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata we find very
little information about these teachers.

Fortunately the works on the Śaiva and Pāśupata
śāstras contain some valuable pieces of information
about the life and activities of these ācāryas. The
author has tried to collect here all important pieces
of information about these teachers from the aforesaid
śāstras.

There is also a list of 18 avatāras of Śiva in the
commentary by Guṇaratna on the Ṣaḍdarśana-samuc-
caya. A comparison of these names with the names
stated in the Purāṇas and the philosophical works has
also been made by the author.

An alphabetical list of all these teachers has also
been given at the end of the article. —Editor]

हरदत्तविरचिता गणकारिका[1] भासर्वज्ञरचितया रत्नटीकया सह बड़ौदा-
नगरस्थगायकवाड़शोधसंस्थया प्रकाशिता । लकुलीशपाशुपतमतस्यायं ग्रन्थः ।
अत्र परिशिष्टरूपेण विशुद्धिमुनिविरचितं यमप्रकरणम्, विशुद्धिमुनिकृतमात्म-
समर्पणम् अज्ञातकर्तृक: कारणपदार्थ:, रुद्रनामानि, आचार्यहरिभद्रकृतस्य

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१. गणकारिका भासर्वज्ञकृतिरिति तत्सम्पादकस्य मतं डॉ० सुरेन्द्रनाथदासमहोदयेन
(ए हिस्ट्री आफ इण्डियन फिलासफी, भा० ५, पृ० ११-१२), डॉ० कान्तिचन्द्र-
पाण्डेय महोदयेन (शैवदर्शनबिन्दु:, पृ० ३१) च खण्डितम् ।

षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयस्य,[१] राजशेखरसूरिकृतस्य च षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयस्य पाशुपतमत-
संबद्धोंऽशः, सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहस्थं नकुलीशपाशुपतमतदर्शनम्, कारवणमाहात्म्य-
मित्येते स्वल्पकाया ग्रन्था अपि प्रकाशिता विद्यन्ते । तत्र विशुद्धिमुनिकृते
आत्मसमर्पणे श्वेतादिकुलीशान्तानामष्टाविंशतिसंख्याकानां योगाचार्याणां
नामानीमानि दृश्यन्ते—

श्वेतः सुतारो दमनः सुगोत्र कङ्कु एव च ।
लोकाक्षिजैगीषव्यौ च तथैव दधिवाहनः ॥

ऋषभो मुनिरुग्रश्च चित्रार्थालिख्य गौतमः ।
वेदशिरा गोकर्णश्च गुहावासिशिखण्डिनौ ॥

जटामाली चाट्टहासो दारुको लाङ्गली तथा ।
श्वेतः शूल्यथ दण्डी च सहिष्णुः सोमशर्मकः ॥

लकुलीशश्चावतारा अष्टाविंशतिसंख्यका । इति ।

योगाचार्याणामेषां नामानि पाठभेदेन सह [२]स्कन्दपुराणस्य माहेश्वर-
खण्डान्तर्गतकौमारिकाखण्डस्य ४० तमे अध्यायेऽपि सन्ति । अन्यत्राष्टाविंशति-
संख्याकानामेषां शिवयोगिनां प्रत्येकं चत्वारः शिष्या इत्याहृत्य ११२ संख्याकानां
शिष्याणां नामावली वर्तते । शिवपुराणे सैषा नामावली स्थलद्वये दृश्यते ।
एका तृतीयस्याः शतरुद्रसंहितायाश्चतुर्थे पञ्चमे चाध्याये, अपरा च सप्तम्या
वायवीयसंहिताया उत्तरभागस्य नवमेऽध्याये । तत्र प्रथमा नामावली वायु-
पुराणस्य २३ तमाध्यायानुसारिणी, अपरा च लिङ्गपुराणस्य सप्तमाध्यायस्थां
नामावलीमनुसरति । "अद्य ब्रह्मणोऽह्नि द्वितीयप्रहरार्धे श्रीश्वेतवाराहकल्पे
वैवस्वतमन्वन्तरेऽष्टाविंशतितमे कलियुगे" इति प्रत्यहं सन्ध्यावन्दनकाले वयं
भणामः । तत्र प्रथमस्यां नामावल्यां प्रतिद्वापरयुगं प्रादुर्भूतानां वेदव्यासानाम्,

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१. आचार्यहरिभद्रसूरिणा श्लोकात्मकः षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयाख्यो ग्रन्थो रचितः । तत्र
    गुणरत्नकृतं व्याख्यानं विद्यते । अत्र व्याख्याग्रन्थस्यांशविशेषः संगृहीत इति
    विभावनीयम् ।

२. अत्र निबन्धे स्कन्दपुराण–वायुपुराण–लिङ्गपुराणानां मोरसंस्करणस्य, कूर्मपुराणस्य
    मोरसंस्करण–काशीराजन्याससंस्करणयोः, शिवपुराणस्य च काशीपण्डितपुस्तकालय-
    संस्करणस्य उपयोगः कृतः । आ. आत्मसमर्पणम्, कू. कूर्मपुराणम्, कूका. कूर्म-
    पुराणकाशीराजन्याससंस्करणम्, लि. लिङ्गपुराणम्, वा. वायुपुराणम्, शिवा.
    शिवपुराणवायवीयसंहिता, शिश. शिवपुराणशतरुद्रसंहिता, स्क. स्कन्दपुराणम्,
    इति च संकेतपरिचयो बोध्यः ।

प्रतिकलियुगं प्रादुर्भूतानां योगाचार्याणां च नामावली[१] संयुक्ता वर्तते विस्तृता
सविवरणा, अपरा च नामावली केवलं योगाचार्याणामेव । सैषा द्वितीया
नामावली कूर्मपुराणेऽपि दृश्यते । सौभाग्यादस्माकमस्य पुराणस्य परिष्कृतं
संस्करणं काशीराजन्यासमुद्रितं समुपलभ्यते । अस्मिन् संस्करणे पूर्वविभागीयैक-
पञ्चाशोऽध्याये वर्तते सैषा नामावली । ततः पूर्वतने चाध्याये वेदव्यासावताराः
परिगणिताः । अस्य संस्करणस्य विषयसंवादाख्ये द्वितीये परिशिष्टे व्यासाव-
ताराणां[२] पुराणान्तरेषु वर्णितानां स्थलनिर्देशो वर्तते,[३] योगाचार्यावताराणां च
पुराणान्तरेषु वर्णितानां स नास्ति । अतो यदस्माभिरुपलब्धं[४] तदाधारेणैव

१. अत्र शिवपुराणीयशतरुद्रसंहितायाः इमे श्लोका विशेषतोऽवधेयाः सन्ति—''वैवस्वते-
ऽन्तरे सम्यक् प्रोक्ता हि परमात्मना । योगेश्वरावताराश्च सर्वावर्तेषु सुव्रताः ।
व्यासाश्चैवाष्टविंशत्या द्वापरे द्वापरे विभो । योगेश्वरावताराश्च प्रारम्भे च कलौ
कलौ ॥…संख्यया द्वादशाधिक्यशतं च गणिता बुधैः ॥'' (५।५१-५६) इति ।
तत्रैव वायवीयसंहितोत्तरभागेऽपि—''एते वाराहकल्पेऽस्मिन् सप्तमस्यान्तरे मनो ।
अष्टाविंशतिराख्याता योगाचार्या युगक्रमात् ॥ शिष्याः प्रत्येकमेतेषां चत्वारः
शान्तचेतसः । श्वेतादयश्च रुष्यान्तास्तान् ब्रवीमि यथाक्रमम् ॥'' (९।६-७) इति,
''एते शिष्या महेशस्य योगाचार्यस्वरूपिणः । संख्या च शतमेतेषां सह द्वादशसंख्यया ॥
सर्वे पाशुपताः सिद्धा भस्मोद्धूलितविग्रहाः । सर्वशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञा वेदवेदाङ्गपारगाः ॥''
(९।२१-२२) इति च ।

२. व्यासावताराणां नामावलीष्वपि क्वचन वैभिन्न्यं दृश्यते । योगाचार्यनामावली-
परीक्षणमेव प्रकृतनिबन्धस्य विषय इति न साऽत्र परामृश्यते ।

३. शिवपुराण-लिङ्गपुराणयोरपि दृश्यते व्यासावतारनामावलीति न सार्वात्म्येन
स्थलनिर्देशो विहित इति प्रतिभाति । आगमसंहितातन्त्रादिग्रन्थेषु पुराणेषु च
समुपलभ्यन्ते समानविषयकाः समानानुपूर्वीकाः श्लोकाः । स्थलनामीदृशानां
प्रामाणिकी सर्वाङ्गपूर्णा च विषयानुक्रमणी निर्मीयत चेत् तुलनात्मकमनुशीलनमतीव
परिष्कृतं स्यात् । प्रत्येकं पुराणस्य पाठपरिष्कारात्मकसंस्करणवत् सम्पूर्णस्य
पुराणवाङ्मयस्य पाठपरिष्कारोऽपि परस्परसाहाय्येन कर्तुं शक्यते ।

४. योगाचार्यनामावली डॉ॰ सुरेन्द्रनाथदासगुप्तेन पूर्वोक्ते ग्रन्थे स्थलद्वये (पृ॰ ६, ७०)
चर्चिता । त. (पृ॰ ६) टिप्पण्यामन्यैर्विद्वद्भिः संगृहीता नामावली विनैव नामनिर्देशं
स्मर्यते । साम्याभावाच्च नामावलीयं कल्पनाप्रसूतेति (मिथिकल) च स निश्चिर्नोति ।
तेन नास्या नामावल्याः परीक्षायै प्रयासो विधेय इति तस्याभिप्रायः प्रतीयते ।
पौराणिकीषु सर्वासु घटनासु किमपि तथ्यं पिहितमिति चास्माकीनो विश्वासः ।
एष विश्वास एव प्रवर्तयत्यस्मानस्यां नामावलीपरीक्षायाम् । पाशुपतसूत्रसम्पादकेन
श्रीमताऽनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिणा रचित उपोद्घातोऽप्यत्र द्रष्टव्यः । विशेषतस्तस्याद्यानि
पृष्ठानि ।

२८ योगाचार्याणाम्, ११२ संख्याकानां तच्छिष्याणां च नामावली सपाठभेदं समुपस्थाप्यते समालोच्यते च । द्विविधामपि नामावलीं समुपस्थापयत्सु निर्दिष्ट-पुराणश्लोकेषु वर्तते वक्तृश्रोत्रादिप्रयुक्तं महद्द्वेषम्यमिति, मा भूच्च वृथा निबन्ध-कलेवरवृद्धिरिति तत्रत्या श्लोका नात्र संगृह्यन्ते ।

२८ योगाचार्याः

१. श्वेतः । "भविष्यामि शिखायुक्तः[१] श्वेतो नाम महामुनिः । हिम-वच्छिखरे रम्ये छागले पर्वतोत्तमे ॥" (४।६·७) इत्येवं शिवपुराणीयशतरुद्र-संहितायां वायुपुराणे (२३।११५-११६) च प्रथमस्य योगाचार्यस्य परिचयो वर्तते । अत्र हिमवच्छिखरेषु छागलाख्यस्य पर्वतोत्तमस्य स्थितिर्भौगोलिकै-राधुनिकैर्गवेषणीया । छगलाण्डं नाम ज्ञानेन्द्रियभुवनं शैवसिद्धान्तग्रन्थेषु[२] वर्ण्यते । स्वच्छन्दतन्त्रे (१०।१०४६-१०६१) गुणतत्त्वे गुरुपङ्क्तित्रयं वर्ण्यते । तत्र श्वेतादीनां नामानि व्युत्क्रमेण पठितानि दृश्यन्ते । प्रथमस्यास्य योगाचार्यस्य श्वेत इत्येव सार्वत्रिकं नाम । नात्र पाठभेदः कचन दृश्यते । श्वेतमुनेरुपाख्यानं महाभारते[३] (आदि० १।२३३, शान्ति० १५३।६८, अनु० ११५।६६, १५०।५२), लिङ्गपुराणे (पू० २९-३० अ०) पराख्ये तन्त्रे च समुपलभ्यते । अन्यत्रापि स्यादेतत् । "निवृत्तिमार्गं सुदृढं वर्तयिष्ये कलाविह" (शिश० ४।१६), "निवृत्तिपथवर्धनः" (शिश० ४।२५), "निवृत्तिपथवृद्धये" (शिश० ४।३५),

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१. शिवायुक्त इति शिश. पाठोऽशुद्धो मन्तव्यः, अग्रिम एव श्लोके "शिष्याः शिखायुक्ताः" (४।७) इति पाठदर्शनात् । "शिवे युक्ताः" (२३।११६) इति तु वा. पाठः । तत्रापि शिखायुक्ता इत्यनेनैव पाठेन भवितव्यम् । श्वेतमुनेर्हि द्वितीयस्य श्वेतशिख इति नाम दृश्यते । अष्टमस्य दधिवाहनाख्यस्य योगाचार्यस्य च शिष्यः पञ्चशिखो भवति । शिखिनः, मुण्डिनः, जटिनश्चेति त्रिविधा मुनयो भवन्ति । तत्र पाशुपता एते योगा-चार्याः शिखिनः स्युः ।

२. अस्मदीये तन्त्रयात्राख्ये निबन्धसंग्रहे "वैष्णवेषु तदितरेषु चागमेषु षडध्वविमर्शः" इति शीर्षको निबन्धो द्रष्टव्यः (पृ. २७) ।
वामदेवः, श्वेतः, लोकाक्षः, सुहोत्रः, गौतमः, दधिवाहः, ऋषभः, गोकर्णः, शिखण्डी, जटी, माली, उग्रः, भृगुः, शिखी, शूली, सुपालनः, अट्टहासः, दारुकः, लाङ्गली, लकुलेश इत्येतानि नामानि योगाचार्यनामावलीमनुकुर्वन्ति ।

३. महाभारते आदिपर्वणि (१।२२५-२३८) सुहोत्रः, काक्षीवान्, औशिजः, दमनः, युवनाश्वः, श्वेतः, कङ्कः, बलबन्धुः, निरामर्दः, केतुश्रृङ्ग इत्येते राजानो वर्ण्यन्ते । एतानि च नामानि योगाचार्याणामपि दृश्यन्ते । क्षत्रियः पाशुपतपद्धत्या शिवं समाराधयेदिति वामनपुराणं वदति (६।८६-९१) । तेन पाशुपताचार्येषु क्षत्रियनाम्नां संगतिर्बाढं सिद्ध्यति ।

इत्यादिवचनदर्शनादेते योगाचार्या निवृत्तिमार्गपरायणा आसन्निति प्रतीयते ।
'प्रवृत्तिपरायणान् मुनीन् निवृत्तिमार्गे प्रवर्तयितुं श्वेतो महामुनिर्दार्शुवनं जगा-
मेति लिङ्गपुराणीयं (१।२९।७-८) कथानकमप्यस्य मतस्य पोषकम् । ब्रह्म-
सूत्रव्याख्याता श्रीकण्ठो नानागमविधायिनं श्वेतं² स्मरति । एवं च मुनिरयं
पाशुपतमतस्य प्रवर्तकः प्रथमो योगाचार्य इति मन्तव्यम् ।

२. सुतारः । एतदेव सार्वत्रिकं नाम । कूका. इत्यत्र तु सुभान इति
नाम मूले स्थापितम् ।

३. दमनः । मदनः—शिवा. कू. लि., तारणः—स्क. । दमनाख्यो ब्रह्मर्षि-
र्महाभारते (वन० ५३।६-८) श्रूयते ।

४. सुहोत्रः । सुगोत्रः—आ., सुहोत्री—वा. । सुहोत्रनामकः प्राचीनो
नृपतिर्द्विषिश्च महाभारते (आदि० १।१२६, वन० २६।२४) वर्ण्यते ।

५. कङ्कः । कङ्कणः—कू. कूका. स्क. । कङ्कनामकः प्राचीनो नृपति-
र्महाभारते (आदि० १।१२३३) दृश्यते ।

६. लोकाक्षिः । लौगाक्षिः—शिवा., लोकाख्यः—स्क. । ७५ संख्याकः
शिष्योऽपि लोकाक्षिर्वर्तते । तत्रापि लौगाक्षिरिति पाठान्तरं दृश्यते ।

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१. "तान् सात्वते क्रियामार्गे मद्राक्याद् याहि योजय" (१।७) इति पाञ्चरात्रीयसात्वत-
संहितावचनस्य अद्यावधि निवृत्तिपरायणान् मुनीन् सात्वतशास्त्रोदिते शुद्धे क्रियामार्गे
प्रवृत्तिप्रवणे योजयेत्यभिप्रायो भवति । "तृतीयमृषिसर्गे च देर्वार्षित्वमुपेत्य सः । तन्त्रं
सात्वतमाचष्ट नैष्कर्म्यं कर्मणां यतः ॥" (१।३।८) इति भागवतपद्यव्याख्याने
श्रीधरः—"कर्मणामेव मोचकत्वं यतो भवति तदाचष्टेत्यर्थः" इत्याह । "प्रवृत्ति-
लक्षणश्चैष धर्मो नारायणात्मकः" (३४७।८३) इत्येवं च महाभारते नारायणीयो-
पाख्याने प्रतिपाद्यते । तेन पाशुपतो धर्मा निवृत्तिलक्षणः, पाञ्चरात्रधर्मश्च प्रवृत्ति-
लक्षणः सिद्ध्यति । सांख्ययोगाचार्यः पञ्चशिखो महाभारते (शान्ति. २१८।११)
पञ्चस्रोतसि निष्णातः पञ्चरात्रविशारदश्च वर्ण्यते । तेनोभयधर्माभिज्ञः स इति
सिद्ध्यति । पशुपतेः शिवस्य पञ्चवक्त्रेभ्यः पञ्चस्रोतस्सु शिवागमाः प्रवर्तन्त इति
च स्मर्तव्यमत्र ।

२. "नमः श्वेताभिधानाय नानागमविधायिने" इति विद्यते तत्रत्यं मङ्गलाचरण-
चतुर्थपद्यम् । अत्र श्रीकण्ठभाष्यव्याख्याकारोऽप्पयदीक्षितो वक्ति—"अनेन श्लोकेन
शिवशास्त्रप्रचारणार्थशिवावतारूपाणामष्टाविंशतेर्योगाचार्याणामाद्यस्य श्वेताचार्य-
स्यापि नमस्कारः क्रियते । अस्मिन् पक्षे 'नानागमविधायिने' इत्यस्य 'नानाविध-
पाशुपताद्यागमनिर्मात्रे' इत्यर्थः" इति । तेन च योगाचार्येष्वाद्यस्य श्वेतस्य नाना-
गमनिर्मातृत्वं सिद्ध्यतीति नेयं नामावली कल्पनामात्रप्रसूतेति विभावनीयं
विपश्चिद्भिः ।

७. जैगीषव्य: । "योगं संदृढयिष्यामि महायोगविचक्षण: । काश्यां गुहान्तरे संस्थो दिव्यदेशे कुशास्तरि: ।।" (शिश० ४।२८) इत्येवं सप्तमस्य योगाचार्यस्य जैगीषव्यस्य वर्णनं दृश्यते । वाराणस्यां काशीगुहा प्रसिद्धा । तस्मिन् दिव्यदेशे कुशास्तरण एष योगाचार्य: प्रादुर्भूत इत्यनेन ज्ञायते । ब्रह्मसभायां राजमानो जैगीषव्यो महर्षिर्महाभारते सभापर्वणि (११।२४) वर्ण्यते । जैगीषव्यदेवलयो: संवादो महाभारते शल्यपर्वणि (५० ५३-५५) जैगीषव्यासितयोस्तत्रैव शान्तिपर्वणि (२२९।३-४), योगसूत्रव्यासभाष्ये (३।१८) च आवश्यजैगीषव्यसंवादो वर्ण्यते ।

८. दधिवाहन: । दधिवाह:—शिवा. कूका. । दधिवाहनाख्य: प्राचीनो नृपतिर्महाभारते (शान्ति. ४९।८०) दृश्यते ।

९. ऋषभ: । वृषभ:—कूका., ऋभत:—शिश., एष पाठस्त्वशुद्ध: प्रतिभाति । महाभारते (वन. ११०।८, सभा. ११।२४, शान्ति. १२५-१२८ अ.) ऋषभाख्यस्य महर्षे: परिचय उपदेशादिकं च वर्तते ।

१०. भृगु: । दशमस्य योगाचार्यस्य मुनिरिति नाम बाहुल्येन दृश्यते । मुनिर्धर्म इति स्क. पाठ:, भृगुरिति तु कू. कूका. पाठ: । "हिमवच्छिखरे रम्ये भृगुतुङ्गे नगोत्तमे । नाम्ना भृगोस्तु शिखरं तस्मात् तच्छिखरं भृगु: ।। तत्रापि मम पुत्राश्च भृङ्गाद्या: श्रुतिसंमता: ।।" (शिश. ५।१-२, वा. २३।१४८- १४९) इत्येवमस्य वर्णनदर्शनाद् भृगुरित्येवास्य योगाचार्यस्य नाम स्वीकर्तव्यम् । अस्याचार्यस्य श्रुतिसंमतेषु चतुर्षु शिष्येषु प्रथमस्य भृङ्गस्यात्र निर्दिष्टस्य नाम न कचन दृश्यत इति पाठ एष परीक्षणीय: । महर्षेर्भृगोर्विस्तृत: परिचयो महाभारते द्रष्टव्य: ।

११. उग्र: । एकादशस्य उग्राख्यस्य योगाचार्यस्य नाम शिश. इत्यत्र स्पष्टं न ज्ञायते, किन्तु तस्य प्रादुर्भावस्थली गङ्गाद्वारमिति तत्र निर्दिष्टम् । उग्रा—वा. इति त्वशुद्ध: पाठ: । पुरुषतत्त्वे स्थितमुग्राख्यं भुवनं शैवागमेषु वर्ण्यते । उग्राख्य: शिष्योऽपि ५४ संख्याको द्रष्टव्य: । प्रजापते: कवे: पुत्र उग्रो महाभारते (अनु. ८५।१३३) दृश्यते ।

१२. अत्रि: । अत्रिवर्णने "हेमकञ्चुकमासाद्य" इति शिश.पाठ:, "हेमकं वनमासाद्य" इति च वा.पाठ: । द्वादशत्रयोदशयोगाचार्ययोर्नामनी

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१. महाभारते सभापर्वणि (११।१९-२४) भृगु:, अत्रि:, वसिष्ठ:, गौतम:, अङ्गिरा:, च्यवन:, सनत्कुमार:, देवल: जैगीषव्य:, ऋषभ इत्येते ऋषयो ब्रह्मसभामुपतिष्ठन्त इति वर्ण्यते ।

२. भृगो:, भृगुतीर्थस्य, भृगुतुङ्गस्य नगोत्तमस्य च वर्णनं महाभारतेऽपि बहुषु स्थलेषु वर्तते ।

चित्रार्थिलिश्च—आ. इत्येवं दृश्यते । अत्र च स्पष्टं न किमपि ज्ञायते । ५३ संख्याकः शिष्योऽपि तन्नाम्नैव प्रसिद्धः । ब्रह्मर्षिरत्रिश्च महाभारतपुराणादिषु प्रथित एव ।

१३ बलिः । बलिः, बालिर्वा महामुनिर्बालखिल्याश्रमे गन्धमादने पर्वतोत्तमे प्रादुर्भूत इति शिश. वा. इत्याभ्यां ज्ञायते । बालिः—कू. बली— कूका., सुपालकः—शिवा., सुबालकः—लि., सबालकः—स्क. । ¹युधिष्ठिर-सभायां विद्यमानो बलिर्नाम ऋषिर्महाभारते (सभा॰ ४।१०) वर्ण्यते ।

१४. गौतमः । आङ्गिरसे वंशे गौतमवने प्रादुर्भूत एष योगाचार्य इति शिश. वा. इत्याभ्यां ज्ञायते । अत्र पाठान्तरं नास्ति । ८४ संख्याकः शिष्योऽपि गौतमः । महाभारतादिषु विवरणं द्रष्टव्यम् ।

१५. वेदशिराः । एष योगाचार्यः सरस्वत्या उत्तरे भागे हिमवत्पृष्ठ-वर्तिनि वेदशीर्षाख्ये नगोत्तमे प्रादुर्भूतः । वेदशीर्षा—कूका , वेदशीर्षः—लि., वेददर्शी—कू. वेदशीर्णः—स्क. । वेदशिरा नाम प्राचीन ऋषिर्महाभारते (शान्ति. ३३६।८) दृश्यते ।

१६. गोकर्णः । सुपुण्ये गोकर्णवने गोकर्णस्य प्रादुर्भावो वर्ण्यते शिश. वा. इत्युभयोः स्थलयोः । अत्र पाठान्तरं न दृश्यते । गोकर्णं नाम आकाशतत्त्व-भुवनं शैवागमेषु वर्ण्यते । तीर्थरूपेण तपोवनरूपेण च महाभारते बहुषु स्थलेषु वर्ण्यते ।

१७. गुहावासी । "हिमवच्छिखरे शुभे ॥ महालये महोत्तुङ्गे शिवक्षेत्रं हिमालयम् । सिद्धक्षेत्रं महापुण्यं भविष्यति महालयम् ॥" (शिश. ५।१८-१९, वा. २३।१७४-१७५) इत्येवं शिश. वा. इत्यत्र महालयाख्यं स्थानमस्य योगाचार्यस्य प्रादुर्भावस्थलत्वेन निर्दिष्टम् । गुहावासः—कू. कूका. पाठान्तरम् ।

१८. शिखण्डी । हिमवच्छिखरे सिद्धिक्षेत्रे महापुण्ये शिखण्डी नाम पर्वतः, सिद्धनिषेवितं शिखण्डिनो वनं च राजते । तत्रैव शिखण्डाख्यस्य योगाचार्यस्य प्रादुर्भावो वर्ण्यते पूर्वोक्तयोरुभयोरपि स्थलयोः । ईश्वरतत्त्वे स्थितमेतन्नामकं भुवनं शिवागमेषु श्रूयते । शिखण्डभृत्—लि. स्क., शिखण्डधृक्—कू. । शिखया मयूरपिच्छेन वा विशिष्टः सम्बन्धो योगाचार्याणामित्यनेन नाम्नाऽपि ज्ञायते ।

१९. जटामाली । हिमवच्छिखरे रम्ये यत्र जटायुर्नाम पर्वतो विराजते, तत्रैव जटामालिनो योगाचार्यस्य प्रादुर्भावः । यजमाली—कू., जटी माली—शिश. ।

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१. महाभारते सभापर्वणि (४।१०-१८) देवलः, सत्यः, बलिः, बकः, दाल्भ्यः, सुमन्तुः, जैमिनिः, भालुकिः, भृगुः, काक्षीवान्, औशिजः, गौतम इत्येते मुनयो युधिष्ठिरसभायामासन्निति वर्ण्यते ।

२०. अट्टहासः । हिमवत्पृष्ठे देवदानवयक्षेन्द्रसिद्धचारणसेवितो महा-
गिरिरट्टहासो नाम राजते । अट्टहासप्रिया जनास्तत्र निवसन्ति । तत्रैवास्य
योगाचार्यस्य प्रादुर्भवः । अट्टहासाख्यं नाम वायुतत्त्वभुवनं शैवागमेषु स्मर्यते ।
अत्र पाठान्तरं नास्ति ।

२१. दारुकः । महति देवदारुवने दारुवने वा दारुकाख्यस्य योगाचार्यस्य
प्रादुर्भवः । दारुकं नाम कर्मेन्द्रियभुवनं शैवागमेषु द्रष्टव्यम् । दारुणः—स्क.
इति पाठान्तरम् ।

२२. लाङ्गली । 'तदाप्यहं भविष्यामि वाराणस्यां महामुनिः ॥
नाम्ना वै लाङ्गली भीमो यत्र देवाः सवासवाः । द्रक्ष्यन्ति मां कलौ तस्मिन्
भवं चैव हलायुधम् ॥'' (शिश. ५।३०-३१, वा २३।१९९-२००) इत्येवं
वर्ण्यतेऽयं योगाचार्यः । लाङ्गुली—शिवा. ।

२३. महाकालः । ''गिरौ कालञ्जरे शुभे ॥ तत्र कालं जरिष्यामि तदा
गिरिवरोत्तमे । तेन कालञ्जरो नाम भविष्यति स पर्वतः ॥'' (शिश. ५।३३-३४,
वा. २३।२०३-२०४) इत्येवमस्य योगाचार्यस्य प्रादुर्भावस्थलं वर्ण्यते । अस्या-
चार्यस्य श्वेत इति नाम शिश. वा. आ. कूका. इत्येवं बहुषु स्थलेषु दृश्यते ।
प्रथमस्य योगाचार्यस्य तच्छिष्यस्य चाप्येतदेव नाम वर्तते । तत्तु उपर्युक्तेन
विवरणेन सह न घटत इति नास्माभिर्मुख्यत्वेन स्थाप्यते । महाकाल इत्येव नाम
तद्वर्णनं सार्थकयति । महाकायमुनिः—लि., महायामो मुनि:—कू., संयमी—
स्क. इत्येतानि पाठान्तराणि चास्य विशेषणतया योजनीयानि । ६७ संख्याकः
शिष्योऽपि महाकायाख्यो वर्तते । महाकालाख्यं तेजस्तत्त्वभुवनम्, कालञ्जरं
नाम ज्ञानेन्द्रियभुवनं च शैवागमेषु द्रष्टव्यम् । कालञ्जरं निकषा सिद्धान्त-
शैवागमाः² प्रसृतिं लेभिरे, यत्र हि योगाचार्यस्य त्रयोविंशतितमस्य प्रादुर्भावः
समजायतेति परीक्षणसापेक्षोऽयं विषयः । शिवपार्षदत्वेन (सभा. १०।२४),
ज्योतिर्लिङ्गत्वेन (वन ८२।४९) च महाभारते महाकालो वर्ण्यते ।

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१. तस्मिन्नवतीर्णं हलायुधम्—वा. ।

२. ''निःशेषशास्त्रसदनं किल मध्यदेशः'' (तन्त्रा. ३७।३८) इत्यभिनवगुप्तो वक्ति ।
''तदा श्रीकण्ठनाथाज्ञावशात् सिद्धा अवातरन् ॥ त्र्यम्बकामर्दकाभिख्यश्रीनाथा
अद्वये द्वये । द्वयाद्वये च निपुणाः क्रमेण शिवशासने ॥......अतश्चार्धचतस्रोऽत्र
मठिकाः सन्ततिक्रमात् ।'' (तन्त्रा. ३६।११-१४) इति च स एवाह । आमर्दक-
तीर्थयं, शङ्खमठिका, त्र्यम्बक(तेरम्बि)मठिका च तदनुसारमुक्तस्य त्रिविधस्य
शिवशासनस्य प्रसारस्थलान्यासन् । एतानि च झाँसीनगरं परितः पूर्वमवस्थिता-
न्यासन्नित्याधुनिका ऐतिहासिका वदन्ति । कालञ्जरतीर्थस्यापि तत्रैवावस्थितिर्वर्तते ।

२४. **शूली** । शूली नाम महायोगी योगिवन्दिते नैमिषे समजायत ।
नैमिषं नाम जलीयं भुवनं शैवागमेषु वर्ण्यते । नैमिषारण्यं च पुराणप्रवचनपीठ-
त्वेन प्रथितम् ।

२५. **डिण्डिमुण्डीशः** । दण्डीमुण्डीशः—शिवा., दण्डी—आ., डिण्डी—
कूका., दण्डी मुण्डीश्वरः—लि. शिश. वा., डिण्डमुण्डीश्वरः—कू., डिण्डीजुण्डी-
श्वरः—स्क. इतीमानि पाठान्तराण्यत्र दृश्यन्ते । डिण्डिमुण्डिरिति जलीयं भुवनं
स्वच्छन्दतन्त्रे (१०।८५४) वर्ण्यते । तेन डिण्डिमुण्डीश इत्येव नाम प्रधानत्वेनात्र
स्थाप्यते ।

२६. **सहिष्णुः** । भद्रवटं पुरम्, पुण्यं रुद्रवटं वा प्राप्य सहिष्णुः
समजायत । सविष्णुः—शिवा., मुण्डी सहिष्णुः—कूका. इति पाठद्वयमप्यशुद्धम् ।
वस्तुतस्तु मुण्डीति पदं दण्डी इत्यनेन सह योजनीयम् ।

२७. **सोमशर्मा** । प्रभासतीर्थमासाद्य सोमशर्मा प्रादुर्भूतः । नास्ति
पाठान्तरमत्र । प्रभासं नाम जलतत्त्वभुवनं शैवागमेषु वर्ण्यते । प्रभासतीर्थं च
''सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च'' इत्यादिना वर्णितं प्रभासपट्टनमेव ।

२८. **लकुलीशः** । तदाप्यहं भविष्यामि योगात्मा योगमायया । लोक-
विस्मापनार्थाय ब्रह्माचारिशरीरकः ॥ श्मशाने मृतमुत्सृज्य दृष्ट्वा कायमनामयम् ।
ब्राह्माणां हितार्थाय प्रविष्टो योगमायया ॥ दिव्यां मेरुगुहां पुण्यां त्वया सार्धं
च विष्णुना । भविष्यामि तत्र ब्रह्मँल्लकुली नाम नामतः ॥ कायावतार[1]
इत्येवं सिद्धक्षेत्रं परं तदा ।'' (शिश. ५।४५—४८, वा. २३।२२०—२२३) इत्येवं
वर्ण्यतेऽयमन्तिमो योगाचार्यः शिश. वा. इत्यनयोः स्थलयोः । स्थलमेतत्
साम्प्रतं गुजरातराज्ये बड़ोदानगरं निकषा 'कारवण'नाम्ना प्रथितमस्ति ।
लकुलीश्वरः—शिवा., लकुली—शिश., नकुली—वा., नकुलीश्वरः—कू.,
नकुलीशः—कूका. । शास्त्रेषु नकुलीशः, लकुलीश इत्युभयविधमपि नाम
समुपलभ्यते, तथापि लकुटपाणिरयं शिवावतारो लकुलीशनाम्नैव ज्ञातव्यः ।
एष एवाचार्यो लकुलीशपाशुपतमतस्य प्रवर्तकः, पाशुपतसूत्राणां प्रणेता ।
पाशुपतेषु योगाचार्येष्वयमन्तिम इति पाशुपतमतप्रस्थापकोऽप्ययमेवाचार्य इति
केषाञ्चनाधुनिकानां मतं भ्रान्तिविजृम्भितमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

योगाचार्याणामेषां ११२ शिष्याः

वामनपुराणस्य षष्ठाध्यायस्य ८६-९१ श्लोकेषु हरार्चकानां चत्वारो
भेदा वर्णिताः शैव-पाशुपत-कालवदन-कापालिकाख्याः, चातुर्वर्ण्येन चैषां

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१. कायारोहणमित्येवं—वा. ।

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सम्बन्ध: स्थापित: । ब्राह्मण: शैवमतेन, क्षत्रिय: पाशुपतक्रमेण, वैश्य: कालास्य-
पद्धत्या, शूद्रश्च कापालिककर्मणा शिवं समुपासीतेति तस्याभिप्राय: प्रतीयते ।
अत्रापि प्रत्येकं योगाचार्यस्य चत्वार: शिष्या: श्रूयन्ते । किमेषामपि चातुर्वर्ण्येन
कश्चन: सम्बन्ध: समस्ति ? नास्य प्रश्नस्योत्तरं कापि दृश्यते । गवेषणीयं तत् ।
योगाचार्याणां केषाञ्चन आविर्भावस्थलादिकं वर्ण्यते पुराणेषु । शिष्याणां तु
तादृशं विवरणं कापि न दृश्यते । केवलं नामावली वर्तते । पाठभेदपुरस्सरं सात्र
समुपस्थाप्यते यावदुपलब्धपरिचयसहिता ।

१. श्वेत: । प्रथमस्य, त्रयोविंशतितमस्य च योगाचार्यस्य कुत्रचिन्नामैतद्
दृश्यते । प्रथमस्य श्वेताख्यस्य योगाचार्यस्य प्रथम: शिष्योऽपि तन्नामक एवेति
सर्वत्र परिदृश्यमानं पाठान्तररहितं नामैतत् कामपि समस्यां समुपस्थापयति ।
दूरस्थे शिष्ये भवतु नाम नाम्न: पुनरावृत्ति: । अत्र तु साक्षाच्छिष्ये सा
दृश्यते ।

२. श्वेतशिख: । शिख:—वा., श्वेतशिखण्डी—लि. ।

३. श्वेताश्व: । श्वेतास्य:—कूका. । ७१ संख्याकस्य शिष्यस्य
श्यावाश्व: श्यावास्य इति वा नाम दृश्यते । कालास्य इति च शिवार्चकेषु
तृतीयस्य नाम ।

४. श्वेतलोहित: ।

५. दुन्दुभि: ।

६. शतरूप: ।

७. ऋचीक: । हृषीक:—शिवा. शिश. लि. । पाठान्तरेषु ७० संख्याक:
शिष्योऽपि ऋचीक: श्रूयते । ऋचीको महर्षिर्महाभारते बहुषु स्थलेषु वर्ण्यते ।

८. केतुमान् । ८३ संख्याक: शिष्योऽप्येतन्नामक एव । युधिष्ठिरसभायां
विद्यमानं नृपतिद्वयं महाभारते (सभा. ४।२७, ३२) इत्यत्र दृश्यते । नास्ति
पाठान्तरम् ।

९. विशोक: । विकोश:—शिवा. । महाभारते कश्चन केकयराजकुमार
एतन्नामको वर्ण्यते (द्रोण. ८।१३) ।

१०. विकेश: । विशेष:—शिश. ।

११. विपाश: । विशाप:—वा. कूका., विपाप:—शिश., विशाख:—कू ।

१२. पापनाशन: । शापनाशन:—वा. कू. कूका., पाशनाशन:—लि. ।

१३. सुमुख: । कश्चन नृपतिर्महाभारते (सभा. ५१ । ७ दाक्षिणात्ये
पाठे) वर्ण्यते ।

१४. दुर्मुख: । नास्ति पाठान्तरम् ।

१५. दुर्दम: । दुर्गम:—शिश । दुर्दभ:—शिश. ।

१६. **दुरतिक्रमः** । नास्ति पाठान्तरम् । सात्वतसंहितायां (१०।२६)
सिद्धदशकेषु दुरतिक्रमः पठ्यते ।

१७. **सनत्कुमारः** । महातपस्वी योगाचार्यो भगवान् सनत्कुमारो ब्रह्म-
सभायां ब्रह्माणमुपासत इति महाभारते (सभा. ११।२३) वर्ण्यते । एतत्संबद्धा
अन्या अपि कथास्तत्रैव द्रष्टव्याः । दाल्भ्यः—कू. कूका. पाठान्तरम् । युधिष्ठिर-
सभायां विद्यमानो महर्षिर्दाल्भ्यो महाभारते (सभा. ४।११) द्रष्टव्यः ।

१८. **सनकः** । सनः—वा. कूका. ।

१९. **सनन्दनः** । सनन्दः—शिवा. लि. ।

२०. **सनातनः** । युधिष्ठिरसभायां विद्यमानो महर्षिर्महाभारते (सभा.
४।१६) वर्ण्यते ।

२१. **सुधामा** । षष्ठस्य लोकाक्षेः, त्रयोदशस्य च बलेर्योगाचार्यस्य द्वौ
द्वौ शिष्यौ समाननामानौ स्तः । अत्र ४९ संख्याकस्य शिष्यस्य नाम द्रष्टव्यम् ।

२२. **विरजाः** । विरजः—वा. । ५२ संख्याकः शिष्योऽप्येतन्नामक एव ।
प्रजापतेः कवेः पुत्र एतन्नामको महाभारते (अनु. ८५ । १३३) द्रष्टव्यः ।

२३. **शङ्खपाद्** । शङ्खः—शिवा., शङ्खवाणी—कू., संजयः—शिश. ।
शङ्खपात्रज—कूका. इति पाठोऽशुद्धः । शङ्खपादज इति पाठेन तत्र भाव्यम् ।
तदैव शिष्यसंख्यापूर्तिः संजायेत । वर्तते च स पाठस्तत्र टिप्पण्याम् ।

२४. **अजः** । अण्डजः—शिवा., वैरजः—लि., रवः—वा., विजयः—
शिश. । अजनामक ऋषिगणो महाभारते (शान्ति. २६।७) सूच्यते ।

२५. **सारस्वतः** । एतन्नामकः प्राचीन ऋषिर्महाभारते (शल्य. ५१।
३, ७-११४, वन ८५।४६, शान्ति. २०८।३१) द्रष्टव्यः ।

२६. **मेघः** । मोघः—कू., योगीशः—शिश., सुमेधः—वा० । महाभारते
(अनु. १५०।४५) तु योगाख्यः कश्चन ऋषिर्वर्ण्यते ।

२७. **मेघवाहः** । घनवाहः—कूका., धनवाहः—कू. वसुवाहः—वा. ।

२८. **सुवाहनः** । सुवाहकः—शिवा. ।

२९. **कपिलः** । सुप्रथितः सांख्याचार्यः ।

३०. **आसुरिः** । सुप्रथितः सांख्याचार्यः ।

३१. **पञ्चशिखः** । सुप्रथितो योगाचार्यः । महाभारते (शान्ति.
२१८।११) अयमाचार्यः पञ्चस्रोतसि निष्णातः पञ्चरात्रविशारदश्च वर्ण्यते ।

३२. **वोढुः** । वाष्कलः—शिवा. लि., वाग्बलिः—वा., शाल्वलः—
शिश. ।

३३. **पराशरः** । पराशरो महर्षिर्वसिष्ठपौत्रत्वेन प्रथिततमः ।

३४. गर्गः । गार्ग्यः—वा. । महाभारते (शान्ति. ३१८।५९-६३) वर्णितोऽस्योपदेशो द्रष्टव्यः ।

३५. भार्गवः । पञ्चशिखशिष्यत्वेन 'सांख्यकारिकामाठरवृत्तौ (७१का.) वर्ण्यते ।

३६. आङ्गिराः । गिरिशः—शिवा. । ब्रह्मणो मानसपुत्रेषु परिगण्यते । महाभारतादिषु विवरणं समुपलभ्यते ।

३७. बलबन्धुः । चलबन्धुः—कू. । महाभारते (आदि. १।२३७) प्राचीनः कश्चन नृपतिर्बलबन्धुनामकः । अन्येषामपि योगाचार्याणां नामान्यत्र दृश्यन्ते ।

३८. निरामित्रः । नरोमित्रः—शिश० । महाभारते (आदि. १।२३७) बलबन्धुना सह निरामर्द इति नाम दृश्यते ।

३९. केतुश्रृङ्गः । महाभारते (आदि० १।२३७) उक्ताभ्यां नामभ्यां सह पठ्यते ।

४०. तपोधनः । ८८ संख्याकः शिष्योऽप्येतन्नामकः पाठान्तरेषु दृश्यते ।

४१. लम्बोदरः । पाठभेदो न दृश्यते ।

४२. लम्बः । प्रलम्बकः—शिश. ।

४३. लम्बाक्षः । लम्बात्मा—शिवा., विक्रोशः—कू. ।

४४. लम्बकेशकः । केशलम्बः—शिश., लम्बकः शुकः—कू. इति त्वशुद्धः पाठः ।

४५. सर्वज्ञः ।

४६. समबुद्धिः ।

४७. साध्यः ।

४८. सत्यः । सर्वः—शिवा. लि. वा., शर्वः—शिश. । युधिष्ठिर-सभायां राजमान ऋषिर्महाभारते (सभा. ४।१०) सत्याख्यो वर्ण्यते ।

४९. सुधामा । २१ संख्याकः शिष्योऽप्येतन्नामक एव । उभयत्रापि पाठभेदो न दृश्यते ।

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१. भार्गवः, उलूकः, वाल्मीकिः, हारीतः, देवलश्चेति मुनयः पञ्चशिखशिष्यत्वेन तत्र वर्णिताः । तेषु भार्गवः, उलूकः, देवलश्चेति नामत्रयमत्राप्यस्ति । सांख्यकारिका-व्याख्यायां युक्तिदीपिकायां च अक्षपादः, आसुरिः, ऋषभेश्वरः, कणादः, कपिलः, कश्यपः, गौतमः, पञ्चशिखः, भृगुः, वसिष्ठः, वाढलिः, सनकः, सनत्कुमारः, सनन्दनः, सनातन इत्येते आचार्याः स्मर्यन्ते । तत्र ऋषभ एव ऋषभेश्वरः, वाग्बलिरेव वाढलिरिति वयमुत्पश्यामः ।

५० **कश्यपः** । काश्यपः:—लि. कू. शिश. कूका. । काश्यपः ६१ संख्याया-
मपि वर्तते । तत्रापि कश्यप इति पाठान्तरम् । तेनात्र कश्यपस्तत्र च काश्यप इति
नाम स्थाप्यते । कश्यपः काश्यपश्च महाभारतादिषु पृथक्तया वर्ण्येते ।

५१. **वसिष्ठः** । वासिष्ठः—लि., वर्षिष्ठः—शिश. ।

५२. **विरजाः** । २२ संख्याकः शिष्योऽपि । तत्रत्यं विवरणं द्रष्टव्यम् ।

५३. **अत्रिः** । १२ संख्याकस्याचार्यस्याप्येतदेव नाम ।

५४. **उग्रः** । ११ संख्याकस्याचार्यस्याप्येतदेव नाम । देवसदः—लि.,
दवशद्—शिश., उग्रतपाः—वा. इति पाठान्तराणि । पुरुषतत्त्वे स्थितमुग्राख्यं
भुवनं शैवागमेषु द्रष्टव्यम् ।

५५. **श्रवणः** । श्रावणः—वा. ।

५६. **श्रविष्ठकः** । सुवैद्यकः—कू., श्रविष्कः—वा. श्रविष्कटः—शिश. ।

५७. **कुणिः** । १०९ संख्याकस्य शिष्यस्य कुणिक इति नाम । अत्र पाशुपत-
सूत्रसम्पादकस्य उपोद्घातस्य (पृ. ३) टिप्पणी द्रष्टव्या । कुणिरेव आर्यभट
इति तस्याभिप्रायः ।

५८. **कुणिबाहुः** । कुणिगर्गनामकः कश्चन ऋषिर्महाभारते (शल्य.
५२।३) वर्ण्यते ।

५९ **कुशरीरः** ।

६०. **कुनेत्रकः** ।

६१. **काश्यपः** । कश्यपः—लि. कू. कूका. । ५० संख्यायामपि पाठान्तरे
दृश्यते तदेतन्नाम ।

६२. **उशनाः** । भृगोः पुत्रस्य शुक्राचार्यस्य नामान्तरम् । महाभारते
(आदि. ६५।३६) द्रष्टव्यम् ।

६३. **च्यवनः** । भृगोः पुत्रस्य च्यवनस्योपाख्यानं भारतादिषु द्रष्टव्यम् ।

६४. **बृहस्पतिः** । महर्षेरङ्गिरसः पुत्रस्य बृहस्पतेरुपाख्यानादिकं भार-
तादिषु वर्ण्यते ।

६५. **उतथ्यः** । उच्चास्यः—कू. । महर्षेरङ्गिरसो मध्यमः पुत्रः । महा-
भारते (आदि. ६६।५, शान्ति ९०—९१ अ., अनु. १५४।११,२२ १८) परिचयो-
पदेशादिकं दृश्यते ।

६६. **वामदेवः** । वामदेवः प्रथितो महर्षिरितिहासपुराणादिषु वर्ण्यते ।
मायातत्त्वे स्थितं वामदेवाख्यं भुवनं शैवागमेषु द्रष्टव्यम् ।

६७. **महाकायः** । महाकालः—शिवा. कू., महायोगः—लि. शिश. । २३
संख्याकस्याचार्यस्य विवरणमत्र द्रष्टव्यम् ।

६८. **महालयः ।** महानिलः—शिवा. कूका., महानिलिः—कू., महा-
बलः—लि. शिश. । महालयं नाम आकाशतत्त्वभुवनं शैवागमेषु द्रष्टव्यम् ।

६९. **वाचःश्रवा ।** वाजःश्रवा—कू., वाचस्रवा—वा. ।

७०. **सुवीरः ।** सुपीकः—कूका., सुधीकः—लि., सुकेशः—कू., ऋचोकः—
शिश., ऋच्चीकः—वा. । ७ संख्याकः शिष्योऽपि ऋच्चीकनामा वर्तते ।

७१. **श्यावाश्वः ।** श्यावास्यः—शिश., श्यावकः—शिवा. लि. । तृतीयस्य
शिष्यस्य विवरणमप्यत्र द्रष्टव्यम् ।

७२. **यतीश्वरः ।** सुपथीश्वरः—कूका., सुपर्थीश्वरः—कू., दृढव्रतः—वा.,
संयताश्वकः—कूका. पाठान्तरम् । दृढव्रतो ब्रह्मर्षिर्महाभारते (शान्ति २०८।
२८–२८) वर्ण्यते । यतिश्च विश्वामित्रपुत्रस्तत्रैव (अनु. ४।५८) दृश्यते ।

७३. **हिरण्यनाभः ।** हिरण्यनामा—शिवा. । हिरण्यनाभ इति नाम
महाभारते (शान्ति. १२९।१४९) दृश्यते ।

७४. **कौशल्यः ।** कौशिल्यः—वा. ।

७५. **लोकाक्षिः ।** लौगाक्षिः—लि., अकाक्षुः—कू., लोकाक्षी—शिश.,
काक्षीवः—वा. । गौतमस्य ऋषेः पुत्रः काक्षीवान् महाभारते (सभा. ४।१७,
१७।२२, २१।५) वर्ण्यते । षष्ठ आचार्योऽपि लोकाक्षिरिति नामधेयः ।

७६. **कुथुमिः ।** कुथुभिधः—कू., प्रधिमः—शिश. ।

७७. **सुमन्तुः ।** महर्षेर्व्यासस्य शिष्यो महाभारते (आदि. ६३।८९,
सभा. ४।११, शान्ति. ४७५) वर्णितो द्रष्टव्यः ।

७८. **जैमिनिः ।** महर्षेर्व्यासस्य शिष्यस्तत्रैव (आदि. ५३।६, ६७।८९,
सभा. ४।११, शान्ति. ४७६) वर्ण्यते । वर्चरी—कूका., बर्बरिः—शिश.,
बर्बरी—लि. ।

७९. **कबन्धः ।** कुबन्धः—शिवा., सुबन्धुः—वा. ।

८०. **कुशिकन्धरः ।** कुशकन्धरः—शिवा., कुक्षिकन्धरः—शिश. ।

८१. **प्लक्षः ।**

८२. **दार्भायणिः ।** दाल्भ्यायणिः—लि., दर्वयणिः—कू., दाक्षा-
यणिः—वा. ।

८३. **केतुमाली ।** केतुमान्—शिश. शिवा. कू. कूका. लि. । ८ संख्याकः
शिष्योऽपि केतुमान् । तेनात्र केतुमालीति नाम स्थाप्यते भेदावगमाय ।

८४. **गौतमः ।** गोपनः—लि., बकः—वा. । युधिष्ठिरसभायां बको नाम
ऋषिरासीदिति महाभारते (सभा. ४।११) द्रष्टव्यम् । १४ संख्याक आचार्योऽपि
गौतमः । तेनात्र बक इति नाम स्थापनीयम् ।

८५. भल्लवी । भल्लवः—शिश., भल्लाची—कू., भल्लवी—लि.,
तुल्यार्चिः—वा., भल्लापी—कूका., कलापो—कूका. पाठान्तरम् । युधिष्ठिर-
सभायां विद्यमानेषु ऋषिषु भालुकिरिति नाम दृश्यते (सभा. ४।१५)। तेन
तदेव नामात्र स्वीकर्तव्यम् ।

८६. मधुपिङ्गः । मधुपिङ्गाक्षः—वा. ।

८७ श्वेतकेतुः उपनिषन्महाभारतादिषु प्रसिद्धो महर्षिः ।

८८. तपोनिधिः । शिवा. शिश. वा. इत्यत्र नाम   न   दृश्यते ।
तपोधनः—कू. । ४० संख्याकः शिष्योऽपि तपोधनः । तत्र पाठभेदो नास्तीत्यत्र
तपोनिधिरिति नाम स्थापितम् ।

८९. उशिज । उशिकः—लि. शिश., उषिधा—कू., ऊषिजः—वा. ।
औशिजनामकः प्राचीनो नृपतिर्मुनिश्च महाभारते (आदि. १।२२६, सभा.
४।१७) वर्ण्यते ।

९०. बृहदश्व । बृहदुक्थः—वा. कूका, बृहद्रक्षः—कू. । महाभारते
बृहदश्व (वन. २६।२४-२५, ५२।४१-५०), बृहदुक्थ (वन. २२०।१८) इति
नामद्वयमपि वर्तते ।

९१. देवलः । युधिष्ठिरसभायां राजमानो महर्षिर्महाभारते (सभा.
४।१०) वर्ण्यते ।

९२. कविः । कपिः—कूका. । महर्षेर्भृंगोः पुत्रो भारते (आदि. ६६।४२)
दृश्यते ।

९३. शालिहोत्रः । मुनिरयं महाभारते (आदि. १५४।१५, १८; वन.
७१।२७, ८३।१०७) इत्यत्र वर्ण्यते । अश्वविद्यायां प्रवीण आसीदयम् ।

९४. अग्निवेश्यः । अग्निवेशः—शिश. लि., सुवेषः—शिवा. । अग्नि-
वेशः (आदि. १२९।३९-४०, १३८।९), अग्निवेश्यः (वन. २६।२३) इत्युभय-
मपि नाम भारते दृश्यते ।

९५. युवनाश्वः । युवनाश्वत्रयी भारते वर्णिता शब्दानुक्रमणीतो
ज्ञातव्या ।

९६. शरद्वसु । गौतमगोत्रीयो महर्षिः शरद्वान् भारते (आदि. ६३।१०७,
१२९।१२-२२) वर्णित इतोऽभिन्न एव स्यात् ।

९७. छागलः । श्वेताख्यस्य प्रथमस्याचार्यस्य विवरणं द्रष्टव्यम् ।
छगलाण्डं नाम ज्ञानेन्द्रियभुवनं शिवागमेषु वर्ण्यते ।

९८. कुण्डकर्णः । कुम्भकर्षऋष्यिः—वा. । कुण्डनामक ऋषिर्भारते
(आदि. ५३।१८) दृश्यते ।

९९. कुम्भः । कुन्तः—कू., कूष्माण्डः—शिश. ।

१००. प्रवाहुकः । प्रवाहुकः—वा., प्रवर्हकः—कूका. पाठान्तरम् ।

१०१. **उलूकः** । १०७ संख्याकः शिष्योऽप्येतन्नामक एव । उभयत्रापि पाठान्तरं च न दृश्यते । विश्वामित्रस्य पुत्र एतन्नामक ऋषिर्महाभारते (अनु. ४।५१, शान्ति. ४७।११) वर्ण्यते ।

१०२. **विद्युतः** । वैद्युतः—वा., कूका. पाठान्तरेऽपि ।

१०३. **मण्डूकः** । शार्दूलः—कूका., शार्द्रकः—कू., शम्बूकः—शिश., शर्वकः—वा. । ४८ संख्याकस्य शिष्यस्य पाठान्तरेषु शर्व इति नाम दृश्यते ।

१०४. **आश्वलायनः** ।

१०५. **अक्षपादः** । न्यायदर्शनप्रवर्तक आचार्यः ।

१०६. **कणादः** । वैशेषिकदर्शनप्रवर्तक आचार्यः । कुमारः—लि. कू. शिश. कूका. ।

१०७. **उलूकः** । १०१ संख्याकः शिष्योऽप्येतन्नामक एव ।

१०८. **वत्सः** । वसुवाहनः—कू., वृषवाहनः—कूका. पाठान्तरम् ।

१०८. **कुशिकः** । कुलिकः—शिवा., कुणिकः—कू. । ५७ संख्याकस्य शिष्यस्य कुणिरिति नाम वर्तते । कुशिक ऋषिर्महाभारते (आदि. ८।२५, उद्योग. ८३।२७) वर्ण्यते । स लकुलीशशिष्यात् कुशिकाद् भिन्न एव मन्तव्यः, परागभवत्वात् ।

११०. **गार्ग्यः** । गर्गः—शिश. शिवा. कूका., गर्भः—लि. । ३४ संख्याकः शिष्योऽपि गर्गनामको विद्यत इत्यत्र गार्ग्य इति मुख्यं नाम स्थापितम् । यद्यपि महाभारते दृश्यते तन्नाम, तथापि लकुलीशशिष्यस्यास्य त ऽन्नतैव मन्तव्या ।

१११. **मित्रः** । मित्रकः—शिवा. वा. कूका. ।

११२. **कौरुष्यः** । रुष्यः—शिवा., ऋष्यः—कूका., रुहः—कू., रुष्टः— वा., तौरुष्यः—शिश. । "श्वेतादयश्च रुष्यान्ता" (शिवा. ९।१७) इत्यत्रापि रुष्य इत्येव पाठो दृश्यते ।

एवमत्र २८ योगाचार्याणाम्, ११२ तच्छिष्याणां च परिचयः पर्यवसितः । इतः परं जैनग्रन्थेषु वर्णिता लकुलीशादिविद्यागुर्वन्ता अष्टादशावताराः प्रास-ङ्गिकतया समुपस्थाप्यन्ते ।

अष्टादशावताराः

हरिभद्रकृतषड्दर्शनसमुच्चयव्याख्यात्रा गुणरत्नेन द्वितीयाधिकारेऽष्टा-दशावतारा इमे वर्णिता एवम्—"तस्य (ईश्वरस्य) चाष्टादशावतारा अमी— १. नकुलीशः, २. कौशिकः, ३. गार्ग्यः, ४. मैत्र्यः, ५. कौरुष्यः, ६. ईशानः, ७. पारगार्ग्यः, ८. कपिलाण्डः, ९. मनुष्यकः, १०. कुशिकः, ११. अत्रिः,

१२. पिङ्गल:, १३. पुष्पक:, १४. बृहदार्यः, १५. अगस्ति:, १६. सन्तान:,
१७. राशीकर:, १८. विद्यागुरुश्च'' इति । राजशेखरकृते षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयेऽपि
तान्येतानि नामानि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र १०. अपरकुशिक:, १२. पिङ्गलाक्ष:,
१४ बृहदाचार्य इति नामसु विशेष: । अन्यत् सर्वं समानम् । पाशुपतसूत्र-
प्रस्तावनारम्भेऽपि नामान्येतानि परिगण्यन्ते । तत्र ४. मैत्रेय इति नाम्नि विशेष: ।
राशीकर एव कौण्डिन्य: पाशुपतसूत्रभाष्यकार इति च तत्र प्रदर्शितम् ।

अत्र नकुलीशोऽन्तिमो योगाचार्य: । कौशिक:, गार्ग्य:, मैत्रेय:, कौरुष
इति च तस्य चत्वार: शिष्या इति न केवलं पूर्वोक्तविवरणत:, अपि तु शिला-
शासनादिभ्यश्च' ज्ञायते । अत्र नाम्नि वैशिष्ट्ये सत्यपि क्रमे नैव वैमत्यम् ।

इदं तत्र चिन्तनीयम्—अष्टाविंशतियोगाचार्याणामिव अष्टादशावताराणां
क्रमोऽङ्गीकर्तव्य:, उतान्तिमस्य योगाचार्यस्य लकुलिशस्य कुशिकादयश्चत्वार:
साक्षाच्छिष्या: स्वीकर्तव्या: । यद्यन्तिम: पक्ष: स्वीक्रियते, तर्ह्यन्येषां क्रम: कीदृश
इति न निश्चेतुं शक्येत । तेनैवं समाधेयम्—लकुलीशावतारपरम्परावदन्येषु
युगेष्वपि योगाचार्याणां प्रत्येकं महती शिष्यपरम्पराऽवर्तत । तत्र पुराणेषु प्रत्येकं
चत्वार एव शिष्या वर्णिता: । ते च न साक्षाच्छिष्या:, किन्तु शिष्यपरम्परा-
प्रतीकभूता इति ।

तदयं लकुलीशादिविद्यागुर्वन्तानामष्टादशावताराणां   क्रम: पुराणागम-
शिलाशासनादिप्रामाण्येन स्थिरीकरणीय: । लकुलीशस्य, तस्य चतुर्णां शिष्याणां
चोल्लेख: सोमनाथमन्दिरसमुपलब्धे शिलाशासने वर्तते । सप्तदशस्य राशी-
करस्य कौण्डिन्यापराभिधस्य पाशुपतसूत्रभाष्यं समुपलभ्यते । विद्यागुरुश्च'
प्रमाणस्तुति-अनुभवस्तोत्ररचयितुर्विद्याधिपतितोऽभिन्न एव स्यात् । अन्येषां
मध्यवर्तिनामवताराणां परिचय: समुपलब्धव्य: ।

श्रुतिषु, पुराणेषु, आगमेषु, चिकित्साशास्त्रेषु च योगाचार्याणामेषां
नामानि चरितानि च कीर्तितानि स्यु: । तेषामन्वेषणे सारल्यं स्यादिति धिया
सर्वान्तेऽत्राक्षरानुक्रमण्या योगाचार्याणां तच्छिष्याणां च नामावली दीयते ।
पाठान्तरेषु समुपलब्धानामशुद्धानां शुद्धानां च सर्वेषां पाठानां सममेवात्र संकलनं
कृतमित्यवधेयम् । कूका. टिप्पणीस्थितानि पाठान्तराणि, अष्टादशावतारनामानि
च न सन्त्यत्र । अत्र आ. इत्यनेन योगाचार्य:, शि. इत्यनेन च तच्छिष्योऽभिप्रेत: ।
संख्या च पूर्वोक्तं क्रमं सूचयति ।

१. डॉ० कान्तिचन्द्रपाण्डेयविरचित: शैवदर्शनबिन्दुरित्याख्यो ग्रन्थोऽत्र द्रष्टव्य:
    (पृ. २८–२९) ।

२. लुसागमसंग्रहद्वितीयभागस्य उपोद्घातेऽस्मदीये विद्याधिपतेस्तस्य द्वयो: स्तोत्रयोश्च
    परिचय: प्रेक्षणीय: ।

    ३

योगाचार्याणां तच्छिष्याणां च नामानुक्रमणी

७५ अकाक्षुः (शि.)
१०५ अक्षपादः (शि.)
९४ अग्निवेशः (शि.)
९४ अग्निवेःयः (शि.)
३६ अङ्गिराः (शि.)
२४ अजः (शि.)
२० अट्टहासः (आ.)
२४ अण्डजः (शि.)
१२ अत्रिः (आ.)
५३ अत्रिः (शि.)
१०४ आश्वलायनः (शि.)
३० आसुरिः (शि.)
११ उग्रः (आ.)
५४ उग्रः (शि.)
५४ उग्रतपाः (शि.)
६५ उच्चास्यः (शि.)
६५ उतथ्यः (शि.)
१०१ उलूकः (शि.)
१०७ उलूकः (शि.)
६२ उशना (शि.)
८९ उशिकः (शि.)
८९ उशिजः (शि.)
८९ उषिधा (शि.)
८९ ऊषिजः (शि.)
७ ऋचीकः (शि.)
७० ऋचीकः (शि.)
९ ऋषभः (आ)
११२ ऋष्यः (शि.)
५ कङ्कः (आ.)
५ कङ्कणः (आ.)
१०६ कणादः (शि.)
५२ कपिः (शि.)
२९ कपिलः (शि.)

७९ कबन्धः (शि.)
८५ कलापी (शि.)
९२ कविः (शि.)
५० कश्यपः (शि.)
७५ काक्षीवः (शि.)
५० काश्यपः (शि.)
६१ काश्यपः (शि.)
८० कुक्षिकन्धरः (शि.)
५७ कुणिः (शि.)
१०९ कुणिकः (शि.)
५८ कुणिबाहुः (शि.)
९८ कुण्डकर्णः (शि.)
७६ कुथुभिधः (शि.)
७६ कुथुमिः (शि.)
६० कुनेत्रकः (शि.)
९९ कुन्तः (शि.)
७९ कुबन्धः (शि.)
१०६ कुमारः (शि.)
९९ कुम्भः (शि.)
९८ कुम्भकर्षऋषियः (शि.)
१०९ कुलिकः (शि.)
८० कुशन्धरः (शि.)
५९ कुशरीरः (शि.)
१०९ कुशिकः (शि.)
८० कुशिकन्धरः (शि.)
९९ कूष्माण्डः (शि.)
८ केतुमान् (शि.)
८३ केतुमान् (शि.)
८३ केतुमाली (शि.)
३९ केतुश्रृङ्गः (शि.)
४४ केशलम्बः (शि.)
११२ कौरुष्यः (शि.)

७४ कौशल्यः (शि.)
७४ कौशिल्यः (शि.)
३४ गर्गः (शि.)
११० गर्गः (शि.)
११० गर्भः (शि.)
३४ गार्ग्यः (शि.)
११० गार्ग्यः (शि.)
३६ गिरीशः (शि.)
१७ गुहावासः (आ.)
१७ गुहावासी (आ.)
१६ गोकर्णः (आ.)
८४ गोपनः (शि.)
१४ गौतमः (आ.)
८४ गौतमः (शि.)
२७ घनवाहः (शि.)
३७ चलबन्धुः (शि.)
६३ च्यवनः (शि.)
९७ छगलः (शि.)
१९ जटामाली (आ.)
१९ जटी माली (आ.)
७ जैगीषव्यः (आ.)
७८ जैमिनिः (शि.)
२५ डिण्डमुण्डीश्वरः (आ.)
२५ डिण्डी (आ.)
२५ डिण्डीजुण्डीश्वरः (आ.)
४० तपोधनः (शि.)
८८ तपोधनः (शि.)
८८ तपोनिधिः (शि.)
३ तारणः (आ.)
८५ तुल्यार्चिः (शि.)
११२ तौरुष्यः (शि.)
२५ दण्डी (आ.)
२५ दण्डीमुण्डीशः (आ.)

२५ दण्डीमुण्डीश्वरः (आ.)
८ दत्रिवाहः (आ.)
३ दमनः (आ.)
८२ दर्वायणिः (शि.)
५४ दवशदः (शि.)
८२ दाक्षायणिः (शि.)
२१ दारुकः (आ.)
२१ दारुणः (आ.)
८२ दार्भायणिः (शि.)
१७ दालभ्यः (शि.)
८२ दाल्भ्यायणिः (शि.)
५ दुन्दुभिः (शि.)
१६ दुरतिक्रमः (शि.)
१५ दुर्गमः (शि.)
१५ दुर्दमः (शि.)
१५ दुर्दर्भः (शि.)
१४ दुर्मुखः (शि.)
९१ देवलः (शि.)
५४ देवसदः (शि.)
२७ धनवाहः (शि.)
१० धर्मः (आ.)
२८ नकुली (आ.)
२८ नकुलीशः (आ.)
२८ नकुलीश्वरः (आ.)
३८ नरोमित्रः (शि.)
३८ निरामित्रः (शि.)
३१ पञ्चशिखः (शि.)
३३ पराशरः (शि.)
१२ पापनाशनः (शि.)
१२ पाशनाशनः (शि.)
७६ प्रघिमः (शि.)
१०० प्रबाहुकः (शि.)
४२ प्रलम्बकः (शि.)
१०० प्रवर्हकः (शि.)

१०० प्रवाहकः (शि.)
८१ प्लक्षः (शि.)
८४ बकः (शि.)
७८ बर्चरी (शि.)
७८ बर्बरिः (शि.)
७८ बर्बरी (शि.)
३७ बलबन्धुः (शि.)
१३ बलिः (आ.)
१३ बली (आ.)
१३ बालिः (आ.)
९० बृहदश्वः (शि.)
९० बृहदुक्थः (शि.)
९० बृहद्रक्षः (शि.)
६४ बृहस्पतिः (शि.)
८५ भल्लवः (शि.)
८५ भल्लवी (शि.)
८५ भल्लाची (शि.)
८५ भल्लापी (शि.)
८५ भल्लावी (शि.)
३५ भार्गवः (शि.)
१० भृगुः (आ.)
१०३ मण्डूकः (शि.)
३ मदनः (आ.)
८६ मधुपिङ्गः (शि.)
८६ मधुपिङ्गाक्षः (शि.)
६७ महाकायः (शि.)
२३ महाकायमुनिः (शि.)
२३ महाकालः (आ.)
६७ महाकालः (शि.)
६८ महानिलः (शि.)
६८ महानिलिः (शि.)
६८ महाबलः (शि.)
२३ महायाममुनिः (शि.)
६७ महायोगः (शि.)

६८ महालयः (शि.)
१११ मित्रः (शि.)
१११ मित्रकः (शि.)
१० मुनिः (आ.)
२६ मेघः (शि.)
२७ मेघवाहः (शि.)
२६ मोघः (शि.)
१९ यजमाली (आ.)
७२ यतीश्वरः (शि.)
९५ युवनाश्वः (शि.)
२६ योगीशः (शि.)
२४ रवः (शि.)
७० रुचीकः (शि.)
११२ रुहः (शि.)
११२ रुष्टः (शि.)
११२ रुष्यः (शि.)
२८ लकुली (आ.)
२८ लकुलीशः (आ.)
२८ लकुलीश्वरः (आ.)
४२ लम्बः (शि.)
४४ लम्बकेशकः (शि.)
४३ लम्बाक्षः (शि.)
४३ लम्बात्मा (शि.)
४१ लम्बोदरः (शि.)
२२ लाङ्गली (आ.)
२२ लाङ्गली (आ.)
६ लोकाक्षिः (आ.)
७५ लोकाक्षिः (शि.)
७५ लोकाक्षी (शि.)
६ लोकाख्यः (आ.)
६ लौगाक्षिः (आ.)
७५ लौगाक्षिः (शि.)
१०८ वत्सः (शि.)
५१ वशिष्ठः (शि.)

५१ वसिष्ठः (शि.)	२३ शङ्खः (शि.)	३ श्वेतास्यः (शि.)
२७ वसुवाहः (शि.)	२३ शङ्खपाद् (शि.)	७२ संयताश्वकः (शि.)
१०८ वसुवाहनः (शि.)	२३ शङ्खवाणी (शि.)	२३ संयमी (आ.)
३२ वाग्बलिः (शि.)	६ शतरूपः (शि.)	२३ सञ्जयः (शि.)
६९ वाचस्रवाः (शि.)	१०३ शम्बूकः (शि.)	४८ सत्यः (शि.)
६९ वाचःश्रवा (शि.)	९६ शरद्धसुः (शि.)	१८ सनः (शि.)
६९ वाजःश्रवा (शि.)	४८ शर्वः (शि.)	१८ सनकः (शि.)
६६ वामदेवः (शि.)	१०३ शर्वकः (शि.)	१७ सनत्कुमारः (शि.)
३२ वाष्कलः (शि.)	१०३ शाद्रकः (शि.)	१९ सनन्दः (शि.)
५१ वासिष्ठः (शि.)	१०३ शार्द्वलः (शि.)	१९ सनन्दनः (शि.)
१० विकेशः (शि.)	१०३ शार्द्वलः (शि.)	२० सनातनः (शि.)
९ विकोशः (शि.)	१२ शापनाशनः (शि.)	१३ सबालकः (आ.)
४३ विक्रोशः (शि.)	९३ शालिहोत्रः (शि.)	४६ समबुद्धिः (शि.)
२४ विजयः (शि.)	३२ शाल्वलः (शि.)	४८ सर्वः (शि.)
१०२ विद्युतः (शि.)	२ शिखः (शि.)	४५ सर्वज्ञः (शि.)
११ विपापः (शि.)	१८ शिखण्डधृक् (आ.)	२६ सविष्णुः (आ.)
११ विपाशः (शि.)	१८ शिखण्डभृत् (आ.)	२६ सहिष्णुः (आ.)
२२ विरजः (शि.)	१८ शिखण्डी (आ.)	४७ साध्यः (शि.)
२२ विरजा (शि.)	२४ शूली (आ.)	२५ सारस्वतः (शि.)
५२ विरजा (शि.)	७१ श्यावकः (शि.)	७० सुकेशः (शि.)
११ विशाखः (शि.)	७१ श्यावाश्वः (शि.)	४ सुगोत्रः (आ.)
११ विशापः (शि.)	७१ श्यावास्यः (शि.)	३ सुतारः (शि.)
१० विशेषः (शि.)	५५ श्रवणः (शि.)	२१ सुधामा (शि.)
९ विशोकः (शि.)	५६ श्रविष्कटः (शि.)	४९ सुधामा (शि.)
९ वृषभः (आ.)	५६ श्रविष्टकः (शि.)	७० सुधीकः (शि.)
१०८ वृषवाहनः (शि.)	५६ श्रविष्ठकः (शि.)	७२ सुपथीश्वरः (शि.)
१५ वेददर्शी (आ.)	५५ श्रावणः (शि.)	७२ सुपरथीश्वरः (शि.)
१५ वेदशिराः (आ.)	१ श्वेतः (आ.)	१३ सुपालकः (आ.)
१५ वेदशीर्णः (आ.)	२३ श्वेतः (आ.)	७० सुपीकः (शि.)
१५ वेदशीर्षः (आ.)	१ श्वेतः (शि.)	७९ सुबन्धुः (शि.)
१५ वेदशीर्षः (आ.)	८७ श्वेतकेतुः (शि.)	१३ सुबालकः (आ.)
१०२ वैद्युतः (शि.)	४ श्वेतलोहितः (शि.)	२ सुभानः (आ.)
२४ वैरजः (शि.)	२ श्वेतशिखः (शि.)	७७ सुमन्तुः (शि.)
३२ वोढुः (शि.)	२ श्वेतशिखण्डी (शि.)	१३ सुमुखः (शि.)
	३ श्वेताश्वः (शि.)	

२६ सुमेधः (शि.)	९४ सुवेषः (शि.)	२७ सोमशर्मा (आ.)
२८ सुवाहकः (शि.)	५६ सुवैद्यकः (शि.)	७३ हिरण्यनाभः (शि.)
२८ सुवाहनः (शि.)	४ सुहोत्रः (आ.)	७३ हिरण्यनामा (शि.)
७० सुवीरः (शि.)	४ सुहोत्री (आ.)	७ हृषीकः (शि.)

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आंग्लभाषामयानां निबन्धानां संक्षेपाः

THE DIVINE PRESENCE IN THE MŪRTI ACCORDING TO THE PURĀṆAS

by

Pinuccia Caracchi

पौराणिकदृष्ट्या मूर्तौ (= प्रतिमायां) देवताया विद्यमानता

हिन्दूधर्मसंमता देवमूर्तिपूजा पाश्चात्त्यै विचारकैः 'जडवस्तु-पूजाविशेष-
रूपा' इति चिन्तिता प्राक्; कुमारस्वामिप्रभृतिभिर्विद्वद्भिः कृतानां ग्रन्थाना-
मध्ययनेन मतिमिदमिदानीं परिवर्तितं संजातम्। न खलु जडा मूर्तिः पूज्यते,
प्रत्युत मूर्तौ (अर्थात् मूर्तिद्वारेण) ऐश-सत्तायाः पूजनं क्रियते—इत्येव इदानी-
मभ्युपगम्यते। मूर्तिरीश्वरचिन्तने साहाय्यकमादधाति; न खलु कश्चित् 'मूर्तिरेव
ईश्वरः' इति चिन्तयति। अतएव मूर्तौ देवताया आवाहनं क्रियते, पूजानन्तरं
च तस्या विसर्जनमपि। आवाहन-विसर्जन-क्रिययोः किमपि गूढं फलं मूर्तौ
प्रकटितं भवति—इति विज्ञेयम्। अस्य रहस्यं बहुधा व्याख्यातं अवेलन—प्रभृति-
भिः आधुनिकैर्व्याख्यातृभिरपि। न खलु आवाहन-विसर्जनक्रिये मूर्तौ कमपि
वास्तवं परिणामम् आधत्तः प्रत्युतोपासकस्य मन एव तत्तत्क्रियया प्रभावितं
भवति—इति बहवो मन्यन्ते। विषयेऽस्मिन् किं मतं शास्त्रदृष्ट्या युक्तिमिति विस्त-
रेणालोचितं लेखिकया। आवाहनविसर्जनक्रियाभ्यां मूर्तौ कश्चन निगूढोऽलौकिकः
परिणामः (Mystical transformation) उत्पद्यते-इति निबन्धान्ते
स्फुटं प्रदर्शितम्।

पुराणागमतन्त्रादिषु मूर्तिविषयकाणि (मूर्तिनिर्माणादिपराणि) बहूनि
मतानि दृश्यन्ते। प्राधान्येन पुराणमतान्याश्रित्यैवात्र विचारः कृतः। कुमार-
स्वामि—अवेलनमतयोः समर्थनमेव पुराणवचनेषु दृश्यते। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर—
विष्णु-गरुड-भागवत-परमसंहिता-प्रश्नसंहिता—वचनानि स्वमतपुष्ट्यत्र उदा-
हृतानि।

लेखिकयेदं दर्शितं यद् अमूर्ते देवे चित्तस्य समाधानाय मूर्तिसाहाय्यमादौ
स्वीकार्यमेव; साधनस्य चरमदशायां न मूर्तिपूजाया अपेक्षा भवतीति चात्र
व्यक्तमेव प्रतिपादितम्। स्वयोग्यतानुसारेण शिवादिदेवता उपासनीयाः-इत्यप्युद्-
घोषितम्।

इदमप्यत्र विचारितम्—न निर्गुणं ब्रह्म प्रतिमादिषु उपास्यते प्रत्युत शिवादय ऐश्वर्यवन्तो देवाः, ये स्वैश्वर्यबलेन मूर्तिषु आविशन्ति । इमे देवा अपि तत्त्वदृष्ट्या ब्रह्मण एवाविभावविशेषाः, अतएव ब्रह्म मूर्तममूर्तं चोच्यते । न खलु साकाराणि जडवस्तून्येव मूर्तिशब्देनाभिलप्यन्ते, प्रत्युत ससीमाविर्भावविशेषाः, परिच्छिन्नाभिव्यक्तिविशेषा वा मूर्तिशब्देन ग्राह्याः । इमे प्रायेणावतारा इत्युच्यन्ते, येषां विवरणं विस्तरेणोपलभ्यते पुराणेषु ।

यतो हि मूर्ति-साहाय्येन परस्यात्मन उपासनं क्रियते, अतो मूर्ति-निर्माणादिकमधिकृत्य पुराणागमादिशास्त्रकारैः बहुधा चिन्तितम्—कस्य देवस्य कीदृशी मूर्तिः कथं कैर्द्रव्यैः निर्मेया; क च सा कथं स्थापनीया, काभिवा प्रक्रियाभिः पूजनीयेति ।

निबन्धेऽस्मिन्   आवाहन-विसर्जन-प्राणप्रतिष्ठाश्चाधिकृत्य विशिष्टो विचारः कृतो लेखिकया, न्यासाधिवासनादिकर्मणां लघु विवरणमपि प्रदत्तम् । मूर्तीनां चलादिभेदा अपि उक्ताः—'नामनामिनोरभेदः' इति सिद्धान्तमाश्रित्य जपो विधेय इत्यप्युक्तम् । मन्दिरस्थितस्य मूर्तस्य देवस्य पूजां कुर्वतो जनस्य इयं मतिरपि जायते यद् आत्मनो देवस्याधिष्ठानभूतमिदं शरीरमन्दिरमिति । मूर्तौ देवताया उपस्थिति यादृशी सा न वर्णयितुं शक्यते—इत्युपसंहृतं लेखिकया ।

प्रसंगत इमे विषया इह विवेचिताः—इष्टदेवतास्वरूपम्; योगिदृष्टि-भक्तदृष्ट्योर्भेदः; दोषयुक्तायाः पूजाया असाफल्यम्; वैदिक—तान्त्रिक-मिश्रभेदेन उपासना-त्रैविध्यम्; मन्त्रशक्तिश्च ।

THE ROLE OF FOUR VARNAS DURING THE TIME OF
NĪLĀDRIMAHODAYAM

by

Vidyut Lata Ray

नीलाद्रिमहोदयग्रन्थरचनासमये चतुर्णां वर्णानां प्रभावकर्माणि

नीलाद्रिमहोदयं नाम एकनवत्यध्यायात्मकं किमपि स्थलपुराणं (तीर्थ-विशेषमाहात्म्यविवरणप्रधानं) विद्यते । पुराणमिदं स्कन्दपुराणीय—पुरुषोत्तम-माहात्म्यखण्डम् अनुकरोतीति दृश्यते । ख्रीष्ट्रीय-चतुर्दश-शतके विरचितमिद-मित्यनुमीयते । पुराणेऽस्मिन् जगन्नाथमाहात्म्यादि-विवरणेन सह तात्कालिक-समाजस्य चित्रणमपि कृतमिति दृश्यते ।

एतत्पुराणोक्तं यत् सामाजिकं विवरणं तद् निबन्धेऽस्मिन् लेखिकया
प्रदर्शितम् । इमे विषया अत्र मुख्यत उक्ता:—समाजस्य द्विधा विभागो राज-
प्रजात्मक:; प्रजानां बाहुल्येन धर्मपरायणत्वम्, तासां स्वधर्मनिरतत्वं च;
चण्डालजाते: सामाजिकी स्थिति:; केषां जगन्नाथमूर्तिस्पर्शनेऽधिकार:; के
खलु समाजे प्रशंसिता मान्याश्च भवन्ति; वर्णसंकरस्य स्वरूपम्; ब्राह्मणस्य
माहात्म्यं कर्माणि, भेदाश्च; उपनयनादिसंस्कारा:; पुरोहितानां विशिष्टमर्यादा;
क्षत्रियाणां धर्मा: (कर्माणि), ब्राह्मणै: सह तेषां संबन्ध:; क्षत्रिय-इन्द्रद्युम्न-
नृपतिविषयिणी चर्चा; ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिययो रन्तरङ्ग: संबन्ध:; वैश्यानां
धर्मा:, शूद्रैरनाचरणीयानि कर्माणि; शबराणां यवनानां च कर्माणि, तेषां
वासस्थानानि च ।

मुख्यविचारप्रसंगे इमे अवान्तरविषया अपि आलोचिता:—वैदिको
वर्णव्यवस्था कर्महेतुकी; जन्ममूलिका वर्णव्यवस्था स्मृतिशास्त्रसिद्धा अर्वाक्-
कालिकी; जगन्नाथप्रसादग्रहणे प्राणिनामधिकारभेदस्य अभाव:; ब्राह्मणानामेव
प्रतिग्रहेऽधिकार इति ।

पुराणारम्भे नैमिषीयमुनिप्रसंगो दृश्यते । तीर्थतत्त्वस्य व्याख्यानाय
सूनो मुनिभि: पृष्ट:; सूतेन च प्रसंगानुप्रसंगत उपर्युक्ता विषया: प्रतिपादिता: ।

THE SYAMANTAKA GEM STORY : A STRUCTURAL
ANALYSIS

by

Ivan Strenski

स्यमन्तकमण्युपाख्यान-रचनाविन्यासस्य विश्लेषणम्

निबन्धास्यारम्भे लेखकेन पुराणसामान्यविषये पुराणसंख्याविषये च लघ्वी
चर्चा कृता । केषाञ्चन पुराणानां रचनाकालविषयेऽपि स्वमतं प्रकटीकृतम्,
विष्णुपुराणमधिकृत्य विशिष्टा चर्चापि कृता ।

स्यमन्तकमणि-कथा यथा विष्णुपुराणे प्रोक्ता, तथा ततोऽर्वाक्कालिके
भागवतेऽपि । प्राचीनपुराणेषु अन्यतमे मत्स्यपुराणेऽपि कथेयं वर्तते । तथैव
प्राचीनतरे वायुपुराणे, महाभारतेऽपि । यद्यपि कथाया अस्या मुख्यं रूपं सर्वत्र
सदृशमेव, तथापि गौणेषु अंशेषु भेदो दृश्यते विभिन्नेषु पुराणेषु । यथा—वायु-
पुराणीया कथा नांशतो विष्णुपुराणमनुसरति, अनुसरति च महाभारतीयां
कथाम् ।

स्यमन्तकमणिकथारचनाविन्यासविश्लेषणे लेखकेन केषांचन पाश्चात्य-
विदुषाम् (यथा लेबी स्त्रौस्, टी. मूर, ई. आर. लीच इति नामधेयानाम्)
आलोचनारीतिरनुसृता ।

अस्याः कथाया ये अवान्तरविभागा भवितुमर्हन्ति, ते आदौ दर्शिताः ।
विभागेषु प्रत्येकमाश्रित्य लेखकेन विचारः कृतः । इमे खलु विभागाः:—

(१) सूर्येण सत्राजिते मणिः प्रदत्तः । (२) कृष्णभयात् सत्राजित् स्वभ्रात्रे
प्रसेनाय मणि दत्तवान् । दुष्टोऽयं सिंहेन हतः, जाम्बवता च सिंहो हतः, मणिश्च
लब्धः । (३) कृष्णेन सह जाम्बवतो युद्धम् । (४) कृष्णेन मणिः प्राप्तः ।
(५) कृष्णः सत्राजिते मणि दत्तवान् । सत्राजित्कन्यया सत्यभामया सह कृष्णस्य
विवाहो जातः । (६) कृष्णेन सह सत्यभामाया विवाहे जाते कृतवर्मादि-यादवा
रुष्टा जाताः । रुष्टः शतधन्वा सत्राजितं जघान । (७) वारणावते पाण्डवा दग्धा
इति श्रुत्वा कृष्णो वारणावतं प्रस्थितः । (८) सत्यभामया कृष्णो विज्ञापितं
वारणावते—शतधन्वना सत्राजितो हतो मणिश्च गृहीत इति । (९) शतधन्वना
मणिरक्रूराय प्रदत्तः । यद्यपि कृष्णेन हतः शतधन्वा, तथापि तेन मणिर्न प्राप्तः ।
मणिविषये कृष्णं प्रति बलरामस्य संशयः, अप्रसन्नचित्तस्य तस्यान्यत्र गमनम् ।
(१०) मणियुतोऽक्रूरः यज्ञानुष्ठानपरायणो बभूव, तदधिष्ठिता द्वारका समङ्गला
जाता । (११) 'अक्रूरे मणिरस्ति' इति कृष्णो ज्ञातवान् । तेन पृष्टः स मणि
सभायां प्रदर्शितवान् । कृष्णो मणिनं गृहीतवान्, अतोऽक्रूरो मणिं कण्ठे विधार्य
सूर्य इव तेजस्वी जातः ।

प्रत्येकं विभागेषु बहवोऽवान्तराः कथाः सन्ति । सर्वासां कथानां स्वरूपं
कथान्तःपातिनां जनानां चरितं च विस्तरेण निबन्धे प्रदर्शितम् ।

किंविधो राजनैतिको धार्मिको वा हेतुः प्रत्येकं घटनानामुद्भावको भवति,
कस्य उद्देश्यस्य पूर्तये कः किं कर्म (विशेषतः मणि-दानरूपं कर्म, मणिग्रहणरूपं
कर्म वा) संपादयति – इति विस्तरेण प्रदर्शितमस्मिन् लेखे । सात्त्वतवंशीयानां
यादवानां काचिद् विशिष्टा राज्यव्यवस्थासीत्, सभा च । सभ्येषु कृष्णो
बलवत्तरः । विरोधिनः सभ्याः कृष्णेन सह कथं विरोधं चक्रुः—इत्यनया कथया
स्फुटं विज्ञायते । कृष्णेन सह यादवान्तराणां यो विरोध आसीत्, स एतत्कथाया
मूलमिति व्यक्तं प्रतीयते ।

अस्याः कथायाः पर्यालोचनेन कृष्णचरितस्य महत्ता विज्ञाता भवति ।
अक्रूरो न कृष्णस्य मित्रम्, तथापि तस्मै एव मणिर्दत्तः कृष्णेन—इत्यनेन कृष्णस्य
माहात्म्यं सुप्रतिष्ठितं भवति ।

THE VĀYUPURĀṆA AND THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA PURĀṆA :
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

by

Lallanji Gopal

वायु-मार्कण्डेय-पुराणयोस्तुलनात्मकमध्ययनम्

सर्गादिपञ्चविषय-बहिर्भूता अपि विषयाः प्राचीनकालादेव पुराणेषु संकलिताः । यथा यथा विद्यानां विकाशा जाताः, तथा तथा तेषां संग्रहोऽपि पुराणेषु कृतः । विभिन्नानां धर्मदर्शनसंप्रदायानाम् आचारा मतानि च पुराणेषु यथाकालं प्रतिपादितानि । योगशास्त्रीयम् अरिष्टविषयम् कतिपय-पुराणप्रतिपादितम् अधिकृत्य प्राक्तने निबन्धे ('पुराण'-प्रकाशिते) लेखकेन विचारः कृतः । वायु-मार्कण्डेय-पुराण-द्वय-गतम् अरिष्टविषयम् अधिकृत्येह विचारः प्रस्तूयते । तुलनाप्रधानोऽयं विचारः ।

विषयेऽस्मिन् इमानि मतानि लेखकेन प्रतिपादितानि—(१) सन्ति कानिचन अरिष्टविषयकाणि मतानि यानि एकस्मिन्नेव पुराणे उक्तानि, न द्वयोः । (२) पुराणद्वयवचनेषु बहुत्र शब्द-सादृश्यमवलोक्यते; बहूनि वचनानि सर्वथैक-रूपाणि । (३) केषुचित् स्थलेषु अर्थैक्ये सत्यपि पर्यायशब्दप्रयोगे भेदो दृश्यते (यथा वह्निस्थले पावक इति) । (४) वाक्यानां पौर्वापर्ये नोभयत्र एकरूपता-वलोक्यते । (५) एकस्मिन् पुराणे यद् अस्पष्टार्थकम् अधिकम् अप्रयोजनं दुरुक्तं पूरणसापेक्षं वा, तस्य तथा परिवर्तनम् अन्यस्मिन् पुराणे कृतं यथा स दोषो दूरीकृतो भवेत् । (६) केषुचित् स्थलेषु लिपिकरप्रमादा अपि जाताः ।

पुराणद्वयगतयोरनयोर्विवरणयोः रूपजीव्यजीवकभावो न निश्चेतुं शक्यते । उभयोः किमपि स्वतन्त्रम् एकं मूलमासीदित्येव संभाव्यते ।

पुराणद्वयरचनाकालमधिकृत्यापि लेखकेन स्वमतं प्रकटीकृतम् । लेखकेन पर्जिटर-हाजरा-अग्रवाल-प्रभृतिविदुषां मतानि प्रदर्शितानि समीक्षितानि च । मार्कण्डेयपुराणगतारिष्टविवरणपरकोऽध्यायः, वायुपुराणगतारिष्टपरकोऽध्यायश्च ख्रीष्टीये चतुर्थे शतके विरचितौ-इति लेखकीया दृष्टिः । मार्कण्डेयपुराणोक्त-विवरणस्य प्रभावो वायुपुराणगतविवरणे वर्तते—इति यद् हाजरा-मतं तन्न लेखकेनाभ्युपगतम् । अरिष्टविवरणस्य प्राचीनतमं मूलं देवलधर्मसूत्रे महाभारते चोपलभ्यते—इति विज्ञेयम् ।

निबन्धस्यान्ते—'मूलभूतं पुराणम्, तस्य च यथाकालमुपबृंहणपूर्वकं पुराणान्तराणां विरचनम्' इत्यादिविषयानधिकृत्य लेखकेन विशदं विवेचितम्, वायुपुराणस्य महाभारतादपि प्राचीनता प्रदर्शिता ।

THE COLOPHONS OF THE CRITICALLY EDITED
PURĀṆAS

by

Giorgio Bonazzoli

समीक्षात्मक-संस्करणवतां पुराणानां पुष्पिकाः

ग्रन्थः खल्वध्याय-सर्गादिभिर्विभक्तो भवति । अध्याय-सर्गादि-समाप्ते रनन्तरं अध्याय-सर्गादि-प्रतिपादितानां विषयाणां ज्ञापकं यद् वाक्यम् 'इति' पदघटितं दृश्यते, तदेव 'पुष्पिका' इत्युच्यते । पुष्पिकावाक्यं यथा काव्यादिषु दृश्यते, तथा पुराणेष्वपि । प्रायेण पुष्पिकावाक्ये ग्रन्थनाम्नः, अध्यायसंख्यायाः, प्रधानाप्रधानविषयादीनां च समुल्लेखो वर्तते ।

पुष्पिकावाक्यसम्पादने प्रायेण पुराणसंपादका उपेक्षका भवन्ति । समीक्षात्मकपुराणग्रन्थसंपादका अपि पुष्पिकावाक्यसंपादने शैथिल्यं भजन्ते— इति दृश्यते । सम्पादकाः स्वयमेव पुष्पिकावाक्यं विरच्य ग्रन्थे स्थापयन्ति- इत्यपि लक्षितं क्वचित् । पुष्पिका-लेखने लिपिकराणाम् प्रमादा अपि दृष्टाः । सन्ति ईदृशानि पुष्पिकावाक्यानि, येषां प्रामाण्यविषयेऽपि संशयो जागर्ति ।

निबन्धेऽस्मिन् लेखकेन समीक्षात्मकसंस्करणवतां त्रयाणां पुराणानाम् (वामन कूर्म-वराह-नामकानाम्) पुष्पिका आश्रित्य विचारः कृतः ।

निबन्धस्य प्रथमांशे पुष्पिकागतान् अध्यायादि-संख्या-परक-निर्देशान् अधिकृत्य विचारः प्रस्तुतः । अत्रापि यथाक्रमम् (क) नवीनसंख्याया निर्देशः (पूर्वप्रचलिताध्याय-संख्यानिर्देशं परित्यज्य नवीनसंख्याया प्रयोगः), (ख) द्विधा अध्यायसंख्यायाः निर्देशः (ग) अध्यायगणनाया विच्छेदः, (घ) अध्यायसंख्यानिर्देशे पुनरुक्तिः, (ङ) एकस्मिन् हस्तलेखे स्वविभागान्तःपातिनां विभागान्तरान्तःपातिनां वा हस्तलेखान्तराणां प्रभावः, (च) प्रकीर्णं विचाराश्च—इतीमे विषया बहुभिरुदाहरणैं विचारिताः ।

विचारप्रसंगे लेखकेन यानि विशिष्टानि मतानि प्रोक्तानि तेषु कानिचनेह प्रदर्श्यन्ते—

द्विविभागविशिष्टे कूर्मपुराणे केषुचिद् हस्तलेखेषु अध्यायसंख्याया अविभागो दृश्यते (कृत्स्ने ग्रन्थे धारावाहिकरूपेण अध्यायसंख्या प्रदत्ता) । धारावाहिक- संख्यानिर्देशेन सह नवीनसंख्यानिर्देशोऽपि क्वचित् कृतः । यथा वराहपुराणगते मथुरामाहात्म्ये पृथग्रूपेणाध्यायसंख्या प्रदत्ता केषुचिद् हस्तलेखेषु । इदं निर्देशा- धिक्यमपि न सर्वेषु हस्तलेखेषु सर्वग्रन्थव्यापि लक्ष्यते । पुराणग्रन्थलिपिकरैरेव संख्यानिर्देश ईदृशं वैचित्र्यं कृतमिति न तर्कसहम् ।

अध्यायसंख्याया द्विनिर्देश: काचित्क: । कूर्मपुराणे अस्या रीते: कानिचनो-
दाहरणानि लभ्यन्ते । उदाहरणानामल्पीयस्त्वाद् एतद्रीतिविषये न किमपि वैशद्येन
विचारयितुं शक्यते ।

पुराणग्रन्थे कृत्स्नाया: पुष्पिकाया योऽभाव:, पुष्पिकायामध्यायस्य वा
योऽनुल्लेख:, अनयो: कारणेषु लिपिकरप्रमाद: मुख्यतां भजते-इति कथनं नासंगतं
भवति । पुराणगता अध्यायविशेषा: कदा संयोजिता वियोजिता वा - इति एवं-
विधपुष्पिकानामध्ययनेन अनुमातुं शक्यते । को हस्तलेख: कस्मिन् विभागे
स्थापनीय:—इत्यपि आभिविज्ञातुं शक्यते । अध्यायसंख्यानिर्देशे कचित् शब्द-
सादृश्यहेतुकी भ्रान्तिरपि जाता लिपिकराणामित्यपि दृश्यते ।

अध्यायसंख्यानिर्देशे पुनरुक्ति: खलु लिपिकरप्रमादात् प्राक्तन-भ्रान्तनिर्देश-
संशोधनकरणाद् वा संजातेति व्यक्तं प्रतीयते । कचित् 'हस्तलेखस्य प्राचीनं रूपं
कीदृशम् आसीत्' इत्यपि पुनरुक्तिपर्यालोचनेन प्रतीयते ।

एकस्मिन् हस्तलेखे हस्तलेखान्तराणां य: प्रभाव:, स वामनपुराणीय—
सरोमहात्म्याध्ययनेन स्फुटं विज्ञायते—इति प्रदर्शितं लेखकेन ।

अन्तिमायां पुष्पिकायां हस्तलेखस्य रचनाकालादिविषयिणी सूचना
विद्यते । पुराणगतानि बहूनि विचित्राणि तथ्यानि अन्तिम-पुष्पिकाध्ययनेन
ज्ञातुं शक्यन्ते । अस्यां पुष्पिकायामपि लिपिकर-प्रमादा दृश्यन्ते; पूर्वतन-
लिपिकरकृता प्रमादा अर्वाक्कालिक-लिपिकरेणानुसृता: — इत्यप्यवलोक्यते ।

निबन्धस्य द्वितीयेंऽशे ता समस्या विचारिता। य: पुष्पिकागतेषु पुराण-
पुराणाध्याययोर्नामसु दृष्टा: । पुष्पिकागतेऽध्यायनामनिर्देशे वैचित्र्यं दृश्यते—
कचित् ससमीविभक्ते: कचिद् वा प्रथमाविभक्ते: प्रयोग: कृत:; कचित्
प्रकरणद्वयनामापि गृहीतम्—'रुद्रगीतासु भुवनकोशे' इति । पुराणस्य कियानंश:
प्राचीन:, प्राचीनतरो वा—इति पुष्पिकागत-पुराण-पुराणाध्याययो र्नामनी दृष्ट्वा
अनुमातुं शक्यते ।

पुष्पिकोक्त-पुराणनामनिर्देशे भिन्नताऽवलोक्यते; यथा 'आदि-' पद-
प्रयोग: पुराणनाम्ना सह कचिद् दृश्यते, कचिन्नेति । पुराणावान्तरभागानां
निर्देशेऽपि वैचित्र्यं दृश्यते । कूर्मपुराणस्य पूर्वभाग: सदैव पूर्वभाग इत्युच्यते,
उत्तरभागस्तु उत्तरखण्ड इति, उत्तरार्ध इति उपरिभाग इति उपरिविभाग इति
वा शब्दै रभिलप्यते। अनेन सूच्यते यद् उभौ भागौ नैकस्मात् पुराणसंप्रदायादागतौ।
कचित् पुष्पिकायां सविशेषणमपि पुराणनाम दृश्यते । तच्चापि न कृत्स्न-पुराण-
व्यापि । कचित् पुष्पिकायां विशेषणपदे परिवर्तनमपि लक्ष्यते । यथा कूर्मपुराणे
पुष्पिकायां 'षट्साहस्रिकायां संहितायाम्' इति, 'वैयासिक्यां संहितायाम्' इति च
पठ्यते विभिन्नेषु हस्तलेखेषु । अनेन सूच्यते यत् पुराणस्य पूर्वकालिकं रूपम्
अपरकालिकं च न सर्वथा अभिन्नम् ।

लेखकेनेदं सुदृढं प्रतिपादितं यत् न केवलं पुराणग्रन्थरचनाविषये बहूनि
तथ्यानि पुष्पिकाः सूचयन्ति, प्रत्युत 'कः खलु कस्य पुराणस्य आदिमोऽध्यायः
(सर्वादौ प्रतिपादनीयो विषयः)' 'प्रथमाध्याय-विषयस्य प्रतिपादनं स्वस्थानात्
च्यावितं न वा' इत्येते विषया अपि पुष्पिकाध्ययनेन अनुमातुमर्हाः । यतः
काश्चन पुष्पिका अनवधानेन विरचिता इति नापलपनीयम्, अतः पुष्पिकाणां
परीक्षणं कृत्वैव तासाम् अध्ययनं विधेयम् ।

BUDDHA AS DEPICTED IN THE PURĀṆAS

by

Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

पुराणवर्णितो बुद्धः

पुराणेषु (उपपुराणेषु महाभारते च) भगवतो बुद्धस्य विषये यानि
वचनानि उपलभ्यन्ते तानि आश्रित्य निबन्धोऽयं विरचितः । एषु वचनेषु
बुद्धस्य चरितमधिकृत्य यद् विशिष्टं मतमुक्तं तदिह तन्त्र—बौद्ध-वाङ्मयादि-
मतप्रदर्शनेन सह विचारितम् । रामायणोक्तं बुद्धपरकं वचनं न सिद्धार्थबुद्धं
लक्षयति—इति लेखकीया दृष्टिः ।

निबन्धे इमानि वस्तूनि विशेषतो विचारितानि—बुद्धस्य विष्णुत्वतार-
त्वम्; बुद्धावतारविषये पुराणस्य दृष्टिः; अवतारगणनायां बुद्धस्य स्थानम्; बुद्धस्य
योगित्वं सन्यासित्वं च; बुद्धस्य पितरौ, पत्नी, पुत्रश्च; बुद्धस्य शरीरम्; बुद्ध-
प्रयुक्ता भाषा; बुद्धकृतानि कर्माणि; बुद्धसंबद्धानि स्थानानि; बुद्धस्य कालः;
बुद्धस्य जन्मतिथिः; बुद्धस्य पूजा; बुद्धस्य पूर्वाचार्याः; बुद्धसंबन्धि-शाक्येति-
शब्दस्याभिप्रायः ।

उपर्युक्तेषु विषयेषु यानि पौराणिकानि मतानि न तानि सर्वाणि एकमेव
बुद्धनामकं पुरुषं लक्षयन्ति, यतो बुद्धजन्मादि-परकेषु पुराणवचनेषु न सर्वत्र
ऐकमत्यं दृश्यते—इति लेखकेनोक्तम् । बुद्धशब्दः पुराणेषु योगार्थेऽपि (ज्ञानि—
ज्ञात्रादिषु अर्थेषु) प्रयुक्त उपलभ्यते, इति लेखकेन दर्शितम् । इदमपि चोक्तं यत्
क्वचित् सिद्धार्थबुद्धोक्ताद् मतात् प्राचीनतरम् अवैदिकमतम् अपि बौद्धशब्देन
पुराणेषु लक्षितम् ।

पुराणोक्तमतानां विशदीकरणाय लेखकेन बहुत्र प्रयतितम् । तेनेदं प्रति-
पादितं यत्—पुराणकारैर्मंगधभाषेति रूपेण यदुक्तं तत् पालिभाषैव; बुद्धेन न
वैदिकज्ञानकाण्डस्य गर्हणं कृतम्, प्रत्युत हिंसामयकर्मणामेव; बुद्धस्य पुराणनिर्दिष्टः
कालो न सर्वथा काल्पनिकः; क्वचित् पुराणोक्तो बुद्धकालो न सुष्ठु उपपादनाहैः ।
उपनिषत्सु बुद्धः स्मृतो न वा, बुद्धेन राज्यश्रीर्भुक्ता न वा; बुद्धेन ये मोहितास्ते
मनुष्या वा दैत्य-दानवा वा—इत्यादयः केचन प्रश्ना अपि समाहिता लेखकेन ।

सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

वराहपुराणसंबन्धि कार्यम्

वराहपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणम् आंग्लभाषानुवादश्च प्रकाशितौ । अस्य हिन्दीभाषानुवादोऽपि कृत: । संप्रति अस्यानुवादस्य संपादनं संशोधनं च क्रियते । हिन्दीभाषानुवादोऽयं शीघ्रमेव मुद्रणार्थं दास्यते ।

गरुडपुराणसंबन्धि कार्यम्

गरुडपुराणस्य चतुर्णां हस्तलेखानां पाठसंवाद-लेखनकार्यं च संपूर्णं जातम् । एषु चतुर्षु हस्तलेखेषु द्वौ रामनगरदुर्गस्थ-सरस्वतीभण्डारपुस्तकालयस्य; द्वौ च पुण्यपत्तननगरस्थ-भण्डारकर-प्राच्यविद्या-शोध-संस्थानस्य । सरस्वती-भण्डारस्यैकस्मिन् हस्तलेखे गरुडपुराणस्य त्रय: खण्डा:—पूर्वखण्ड:, उत्तर-खण्ड: (प्रेतकल्पापरनामा), ब्रह्मखण्डश्च दृश्यन्ते । एशियाटिकसोसायटी (कलकत्ता)—ढाकाविश्वविद्यालय—बोडलियनपुस्तकालय (अक्सफोर्ड)—तुविन्गेन-विश्वविद्यालय (पश्चिमजर्मनी)—इत्येतेभ्य: संस्थानेभ्यो हस्तलेखा-नामावासये प्रयासो विधीयते ।

वेदपारायणम्

रामनगरदुर्गस्थिते व्यासेश्वरमन्दिरे माघमासे शुक्लपक्षे शुक्लयजुर्वेद-संहिताया: पारायणं कृतं श्रीमहादेवघनपाठिमहोदयेन । विश्वनाथशास्त्री पारायणस्य श्रोतासीत् । पारायणसमाप्तौ पारायणस्य कर्त्रे श्रोत्रे च दक्षिणा प्रमाणपत्रं च प्रदत्तम् ।

पुराणपाठ:

१—यथापूर्वं चैत्रशुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिम् आरभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावद् रामनगरस्थिते जनकपुरमन्दिरे अध्यात्मरामायणस्य पाठ: श्रीरामजीमिश्र-महोदयेन कृत: ।

२—आषाढशुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावद् रामनगर-स्थिते बालात्रिपुरसुन्दरीमन्दिरे त्रिपुरारहस्यस्य पाठ: श्रीरामजीमिश्रमहोदयेन कृत: ।

पुराणविभागे समागता विद्वांसः

१—हरियाणा-भूमिविकास-बैंक इति संस्थानस्य अध्यक्ष-उपाध्यक्ष-सचिव-संहिताः षड् अधिकारिणः पुराणविभागे समागताः । एभिर्दर्शक-पुस्तिकायां लिखितम्—''अस्मिन् न्यासे अत्यल्पाधिकारिभिश्च यत् कर्म क्रियते तेन वयम् अतीव प्रभाविताः । न्यासेनानेन महत्त्वपूर्णं कार्यं क्रियते'' इति । (७।१।८२ दिनाङ्के) ।

२—प्रो० अवधकिशोरनारायणः (अमेरिका-देशस्थ-विस्कन्सिन—विश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापकः); अनेन लिखितम्—''पुनरिहागत्य इदं विज्ञाय महती प्रसन्नता जाता यदस्य शोधसंस्थानस्य कार्यं सदैव अनुकूलायां प्रतिकूलायां वा अवस्थायां साफल्यं प्राप्नुवदेव प्रचलति'' इति । (२२।१।८२ दिनाङ्के) ।

३—श्री रविन्थिटे, 'ब्रिटिशकाउन्सिल, कलकत्ता' इत्यस्याधिकारी, वर्धमानराज्यस्य कुमाररानिना सह । एताभ्यां लिखितम्—''पुराणविषये क्रियमाणस्य महतः कार्यस्य अंशविशेषस्यावलोकनेन वयमतीव प्रसन्नाः । अस्मिन् कर्मणि संबद्धानां सर्वेषां कृते धैर्यस्य समर्पणभावस्य चातीव आवश्यकता भवति'' इति ।

४—डा. के. टी. पाण्डुरङ्गि, बंगलोरस्थितायाः 'मिथिक् सोसायटी'-संस्थाया अध्यक्षः, तत्रस्थस्य पूर्णप्रज्ञविद्यापीठस्योपकुलपतिश्च (११।२।८२ दिनाङ्के) ।

५—डा. सी. आर. स्वामिनाथन्, केन्द्रीयशिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य उपशिक्षा-परामर्शदाता (२।५।८२ दिनाङ्के) ।

६—हेनरी ओ थाम्प्सन—विश्वधर्मसभासमितेः सचिवः (शिकागो-नगरस्थः) (३१।५।८२ दिनाङ्के) ।

डा० राजेन्द्रचन्द्रहाजरामहोदयस्य निधनम्

पुराणविषये विश्वविश्रुतो विपश्चिद् डा. राजेन्द्रचन्द्रहाजरा १०।५।८२ दिनाङ्के कलकत्तानगरस्थिते स्वीये वासगृहे निधनमवाप । अनेन महाभागेन पुराणविषये बहवो विद्वत्प्रशंसिता निबन्धा ग्रन्थाश्च प्रणीताः, पुराणविषयकानुसन्धानस्य नूतनो मार्गश्च प्रदर्शितः । हाजरामहोदयः 'पुराण'—पत्रिकायाः संपादकमण्डलस्य सदस्य आसीत् । न्यासाध्यक्षाः, अन्ये सदस्याः, पुराण-पत्रिका-सदस्याश्च निधनवृत्तान्तं विज्ञाय दुःखितान्तःकरणैः समवेदनां ज्ञापयन्ति, दिवंगतात्मनः शान्त्यै च प्रार्थयन्ति ।

पुराणविभागे शोधच्छात्राः

शोधच्छात्रा विद्वांसश्च स्वकार्यसंपादनाय पुस्तकाद्यवलोकनार्थं पुराण-
विषये मार्गदर्शनार्थं च पुराणविभागे प्रायशः समागच्छन्ति । सागरविश्व-
विद्यालयस्य शोधच्छात्रा उमा सोना महाभागा जूनमासे केषुचिद् दिनेषु पुराण-
विभागे समागताध्ययनार्थम् । 'अन्नदाचरण का व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व' इत्यस्याः
शोधविषयः ।

सहयोगि-न्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

१. महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासमङ्गलोत्सवः

वार्षिको वासन्तिक-मङ्गलोत्सवः १९८२ वर्षीय—मार्चमासस्य २-२८
दिनेषु सायंकाले ७ वादनतः ८ वादनं यावत् प्रतिदिनं रामनगरदुर्गे संपन्नः ।
दिवसत्रयात्मकः कार्यक्रमः तत्रभवतां न्यासाध्यक्षाणां महाराजानां डा.
विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानां सान्निध्ये संपन्नः । संगीतोऽयमुत्सवः दुर्गस्य विद्या-
मन्दिरप्राङ्गणे संपन्नः । न्यासाध्यक्षाः, नगरस्य विश्वविद्यालयस्य च विशिष्टा
जनाः प्रतिदिनं उत्सवकार्यक्रमस्यावलोकनं चक्रुः । बहवो जनाः सावधाना
भूत्वा शास्त्रीयं संगीतं शुश्रुवुः । शास्त्रीय-संगीतस्य कार्यक्रमः काशिक-हिन्दु-
विश्वविद्यालयीय-संगीत-महाविद्यालयस्य छात्रैर्विहितः । अन्तिमे दिने कबीर-
चौरा-स्थित-विद्यालयस्य त्रयश्छात्राः 'कत्थक-नृत्यं' प्रदर्शयामासुः ।

संग्रहालयः

वाराणसीमागतानां तीर्थयात्रिणां पर्यटकानां च कृते विद्यामन्दिरन्यासस्य
संग्रहालयः शाश्वतम् आकर्षणकेन्द्रं वर्तते । यतोऽत्र शस्त्राणां हस्तिदन्तनिर्मित-
वस्तूनां चातिविशालः संग्रहो विद्यते, अतः संग्रहालयोऽयं भारतवर्षे विशिष्टं
स्थानं भजते । विशिष्टदर्शकेषु येषां हस्ताक्षराणि दर्शकपुस्तके सन्ति, त इमे—

१—किशनगढनरेश श्रीमान् व्रजराजसिंहः, श्रीप्रतापसिंहश्च ।

२—भारतस्थितस्य ब्रिटिशदूतावासस्य श्रीजानमहोदयः, लेडी थामस-
महोदया च ।

३—प्रिन्स अर्जुनकुदरमहोदयः (कलकत्तास्थितस्य 'अवधट्रस्ट'—
इत्यस्याध्यक्षः) । एष महाभागो दर्शक-पुस्तके लिखति—''काशिराजस्य
अतीव आनन्दकरी स्मरणीया च यात्रा । चतुष्पुरुष-व्यापी योऽस्माकं मैत्री-
संबन्धः, तस्य नवीनीकरणं जातम्'' इति ।

४—मध्यप्रदेशस्य खैरागढराज्यस्य मेजर--राजाबहादुर-वीरेन्द्रबहादुर सिंह: । एभिर्लिखितम्--''महानयं संग्रहालय:; भारतेऽद्वितीय: । स्वदेशोऽहं बहून् संग्रहालयान् तत्रत्यानि संगृहीतवस्तूनि च दृष्टवान्, परन्तु नूतनानां प्राचीनानां शस्त्राणां, हस्तिदन्तनिर्मितानां वस्तूनां, 'हौदा'--इत्यादिवस्तूनां च एवं-समृद्ध: संग्रह: न मयान्यत्र कदापि दृष्ट: । तत्र भवत: काशिराजान् प्रति संग्रहालयदर्शनार्थमहं धन्यवादान् वितरामि । वस्तुतोऽतीवशोभनरूपेण रक्षितोऽयं संग्रहालय:'' इति ।

५—दिल्लीस्थितस्य वेल्जियम-दूतावासस्य कुमार: तथा कुमारी जेटरटिनुस्की ।

६—अमेरिकनदूतावासस्य श्रीमान् माइकेलपिस्टो तथा तस्य पत्नी

७—दिल्लीस्थितस्य इटलीदेशस्य राजदूत: श्रीइमिलिओ पाओलो बासी । अनेन लिखितम्--''अस्मिन् प्रशस्ते राजभवने ममागमनमिदं द्वितीयम् । अस्त्रसमृद्ध:, सुसंरक्षितश्च अत्रत्य: संग्रहालय: । कथमहं पुनरागच्छेयम् इति जायते वाञ्छा'' इति ।

ध्रुपदमेला

अष्टमो ध्रुपदमेलासमारोहो महाराजबनारस-विद्यामन्दिर-न्यासेन वाराणस्यां तुलसीघट्टे संपन्न: । समारोहार्थं ध्रुपदमेलास्थानम् अलङ्कृतम्, प्रकाशव्यवस्था च विहिता । यामिनीत्रयात्मक: कार्यक्रम: 'शामियाना'-प्रावरणस्याधोऽनुष्ठित: । बहवो जना: (एषु केचन वैदेशिका युवानो युवत्यश्च आसन्) कृत्स्नां रात्रिं कार्यक्रमस्य श्रवणमकुर्वन् । समारोहेऽस्मिन् सदैव ध्रुपदगानविद्यायां प्रवीणा: पण्डिता: प्रदर्शनं कुर्वन्ति ।

चतुर्णाम् अभिनवप्रकल्पानां विषये घोषणा

पुराणविद्याया अभिवृद्धये काशिराजन्यासेन चत्वारोऽभिनवा: प्रकल्पा: संकलिपता: । सर्वे पुराणविदो विद्वांस: अस्मिन् कर्मणि सहयोगाय प्रकामं निवेदयन्ते ।

(१) अस्मद्देशे क्षेत्रीयभाषानिबद्धा बहव: पुराणग्रन्था विरचिता: । एतादृशसाहित्यविवरण-पराणां नवीनग्रन्थानां (Monograph) प्रकाशनम् न्यासेन संकलिपतम् । एषु ग्रन्थेषु प्रकाशित-हस्तलिखित-साहित्यस्य विवरणेन सह उद्धरणज्ञापितग्रन्थानां च विवरणमपि स्यात् ।

(२) पौराणिकविषयप्रतिपादनपराणां शोधग्रन्थानाम् अप्रकाशितानाम् प्रकाशनम् ।

(३) पुराणवर्णित-मुनिचरितविवरण-पराणां ग्रन्थानां (१०० पृष्ठादधि-कानाम्) प्रकाशनम् ।

(४) पौराणिकविषय-प्रतिपादनपराणां लघु-संस्कृतग्रन्थानां संस्कृतविद्वद्-विरचितानां प्राचीनानाम् प्राचीनानां च प्रकाशनम् । पुराणपत्रिकायामपि इमे ग्रन्थाः प्रकाशनीयाः स्युः ।

अस्माकं सविनयमभ्यर्थना

सर्वासां शिक्षासंस्थानानामधिकारिणः सविनयमभ्यर्थ्यन्ते—यत्ते स्वस्व-संस्थानसदस्यैः शोधछात्रैर्वा लिखितानां लेखिष्यमाणानां वा पुराणविषयकाणां ग्रन्थानां विवरणमस्मत्सकाशे प्रेषयेयुः (पुराणशब्देन उपपुराणानि इतिहासश्च ग्राह्यानि) । पुराणाध्ययनगवेषणाविषये यदि तेषां केचन प्रकल्पाः स्युस्तर्हि तेषामपि संक्षिप्तं विवरणं प्रेषणीयम् । पुराणविषयकग्रन्थसूची-निर्माणाय उपर्युक्तंग्रन्थविवरणं प्रकल्पविवरणं च अत्यन्त मावश्यकम् ।

पुराणविषयरसिका विद्वांसो निवेद्यन्ते यत् ते पुराण-विषयिण्यो जिज्ञासाः प्रश्ना वा अस्मत्-सकाशे प्रेषयेयुः समाधानार्थम् । इमा जिज्ञासाः प्रश्ना वा समाहिता भविष्यन्ति पुराणविशेषज्ञैः, सति संभवे जिज्ञासा-मीमांसे पुराण-पत्रिकायां प्रकाशमेष्यतः ।

The 'Purāṇa', Bulletin has been started by the Purāṇa Department of the All-India Kashiraj Trust with the aim of organising the manifold studies relating to the Purāṇas. It specially discusses the several aspects of text-reconstruction, of the interpretation of the vast cultural and historical material, and of the obscure esoteric symbolism of legends and myths of the Purāṇas. The editors invite contributions from all those scholars who are interested in the culture of the Purāṇa literature in which the religion and philosophy of the Vedas have found the fullest expression.