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[July, 1983

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डा० रामकरण शर्मा

सहशिक्षापारामर्शदाता, शिक्षामन्त्रालय तथा निदेशक, केन्द्रीय संस्कृत-
संस्थान, नयी दिल्ली

डा० रामचन्द्र नारायण दाण्डेकर

भण्डारकर प्राच्यशोधसंस्थान, पुणे

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Authors are requested to use Devanagari characters in
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to follow the system of transliteration adopted by the International
Congress of Orientalists at Athens in 1912 [ऋ=r; च्=c; छ=ch
ट=t; श्=ś; ष्=ṣ; * =m].

Traditional Sanskrit scholars are requested to send us article
(i) dealing with the religious & philosophical matters in the
Purāṇas and (ii) explaining the obscure & difficult passages in the
Purāṇas.

पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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संस्कृतखण्ड.

आङ्गलभाषानिबद्धानां लेखानां संक्षेपाः

3

सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यं विवरणम् —

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य रजत जयन्त्युत्सवस्य

समापनसमारोहः

गुरुस्तोत्रम् —

Supplement

Classified Subject and Author Index of Purāna

Vol. XXI to Vol. XXV

By Dr. G. S. Rai and S. P. Gupta

1-23

व्यासप्रशस्तिः

(१)

नमो व्यासाय गुरवे वेदज्ञाय महर्षये ।
पाराशर्याय शान्ताय नमो नारायणाय ते ॥¹

(२)

विद्यावन्तं विपुलमतिदं वेदवेदाङ्गवेद्यं
श्रेष्ठं शान्तं शमितविषयं शुद्धतेजोविशालम् ।
वेदव्यासं सततविनतं विश्ववेद्यैकयोनिं
पाराशर्यं परमपुरुषं सर्वदाहं नमामि ॥²

(३)

अमृतपरमपूर्वं भारतीकामधेनुं
श्रुतिगणकृतवत्सो व्यासदेवो दुदोह ।
अतिरुचिरपुराणं ब्रह्मवैवर्तमेतत्
पिबत पिबत मुग्धा दुग्धमक्षय्यमिष्टम् ॥³

(४)

नमः शिवाय शान्ताय व्यासाय मुनये नमः ॥⁴

1. Second introductory stanza in the Viṣṇudharma-upapurāṇa, an unpublished work ; *vide* 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' (by Dr. R. C. Hazra) vol. I p. 119.
2. Skanda-p. Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa, Ayodhyā-māhātmya 1.24 (Vang. ed.). The verse is found with slight variations in several Purāṇas (*vide* श्रीव्यासप्रशस्तयः, p. 9).
3. One of the Introductory verses in the Brahma-khaṇḍa of the Brahmavaivarta-p. In the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa there is a similar verse having the third line as सुरुचिरमहिमानं विन्ध्यदेशस्य सर्वे which is in accordance with the character of this Upapurāṇa (This Upapurāṇa chiefly deals with the glorification of the Vindhya hill). In the fourth foot it reads पिबत परिविमुग्धाः which in sense is identical with the words in the Brahmavaivarta-p.
For the verse of the Upapurāṇa see Gurupada Haldar: Vaidyaka-vṛttānta (in Bengali), p. 296.
4. Liṅga-purāṇa II. 55.35.

(५)

नमस्तस्मै मुनीशाय तपोनिष्ठाय धीमते ।
 वीतरागाय कवये व्यासायामिततेजसे ॥
 तं नमामि महेशानं मुनिं धर्मविदां वरम् ।
 श्यामं जटाकलापेन शोभमानं शुभाननम् ॥
 मुनीन् सूर्यप्रभान् धर्मान् पाठयन्तं सुवर्चसम् ।
 नानापुराणकर्तारं वेदव्यासं महाप्रभम् ॥⁵

(६)

सुखासीनं महाव्यासं गङ्गाकूले द्विजोत्तम ।
 तं दृष्ट्वा सुमहातेजा ज्वलन्तमिव पावकम् ॥
 साक्षान्नारायणं देवं तेजसादित्यसन्निभम् ।
 प्रणम्य शिरसा वीर सर्वशास्त्रालयं परम् ॥
 महाभारतकर्तारं वेदार्थनिकषं परम् ।
 आचार्यं परमर्षीणां राजर्षीणां च भारत ॥
 कर्तारं कुरुवंशस्य दैवतं परमं मम ।
 पप्रच्छ कुरुशाद्दुर्लो द्विज भक्त्या समन्वितः ॥⁶

(७)

एवं ब्रुवन्तमनघं व्यासं सत्यवतीसुतम् ॥ ४७ ॥
 साधु साध्विति संकीर्त्यं प्रत्यूर्चुर्निगमा वचः ।

वेदा ऊचुः

साधु साधु महाप्राज्ञ विष्णुरात्मा शरीरिणाम् ।
 अजोऽपि जन्म संपद्य लोकानुग्रहमीहसे ॥ ४८ ॥
 अन्यथा ते न घटते संसारः कर्मबन्धनः ।
 अपृष्टो मायया देव्या कदाचिज्ज्ञानगूह्या ॥ ४९ ॥
 विभर्षि स्वेच्छया रूपं स्वेच्छयैव निगूहसे ।
 अस्मत्संमत एवार्थो भवता संप्रदर्शितः ॥ ५० ॥
 पुराणेष्वितिहासेषु सूत्रेष्वपि च नैकधा ।
 अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमं सर्वकारणकारणम् ॥ ५१ ॥
 तस्यात्मनोऽप्यात्मभावतया पुष्पस्य गन्धवत् ।
 रसवद्वा स्थितं रूपमवेहि परमं हि तत् ॥ ५२ ॥⁷

5. Brhad-dharma-purāna. I. 1.23-25.

6. Bhaviṣya, Brāhma 198.4-7.

7. Purāna-samhitā 2.47b-52.

NOTES ON THE VYĀSA-PRAŚASTI

In the Itihāsa-Purāṇa works and in the commentaries thereon we often find verses that glorify the sage Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana (usually called Vedavyāsa or Vyāsa) in various ways. A commendable collection of such verses is to be found in the booklet श्रीव्यासप्रशस्तयः (published by the A. -1. Kashiraj Trust). A few Purāṇic verses, not included in the booklet, are given here.

As almost all the verses are easy to understand, only a few important words in these verses are explained here.

(No. 1) Since Vyāsa was the son of Parāśara, he was called Pārāśarya. The word however presents a grammatical difficulty, for the word Pārāśarya means the *gotra-apatya* (grandson and his descendents) of Parāśara; *vide* the Pāṇinian sūtra गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् (4.1.105). Commentators are constrained to say that in the name Pārāśarya and in similar other names like Jāmadagnya (Paraśu-rāma) the suffix यञ् enjoined by the sūtra 4.1.105 is to be taken in the sense of a son (*apatya*) and not in the sense of *gotra-apatya*.¹

(No. 2) शमितविषय (adjective to Pārāśarya (Vyāsa) means विषयाः शमिताः शान्ता यस्मिन्—one in whom objects (i. e., the attachment to the objects) have ceased, one whose passions are quieted—a man of perfectly tranquil mind. सततविनत (always modest or humble) is not a happy reading; सततयशसं, the reading of the other Purāṇas, seems to be more appropriate.

विश्ववेद्यैकयोनि—One who is the only source (*yonī*) of all knowable objects. Cp. the Ved. Sū. योनिश्च हि गीयते (1.4.27). It is used here taking Vyāsa as identical with the supreme deity.

(No. 3) Here Vyāsa is compared to a milkman, the Vedas to the calves, and the goddess of speech to the cow which satisfies all

1. कथमनन्तरो रामो जामदग्न्यः, व्यासः पाराशर्य इति । गोत्ररूपाध्याहारेण भविष्यति । अनन्तरापत्यविवक्षायां तु ऋष्यणैव भवितव्यम्—जामदग्न्यः पाराशरः (Kāśikā 4.1.105).

desires. The milk is said to be inexhaustible and extremely desired.

The printed reading of the verse in the Auśanasa-upapurāṇa seems to be corrupt in one or two places. As the first two feet of this verse are common to two Purāṇic works, it follows that one of these two Purāṇic works is the borrower.

(No. 5) Vyāsa is described as having dark (*śyāma*) complexion. It is well known that on account of his complexion Vyāsa was sometimes called Kṛṣṇa and Śuka, his son, Kārṣṇi.²

(No. 6) Here Vyāsa is said to be वेदार्थनिकष, *nikāṣa* meaning *nikāṣa iva*—like a touch stone. As by means of the touch stone the purity of gold can be tested (Cp. निकषे हेमरेखेव, Raghuvamśa 17.46), so the verity of the Vedic views are shown by Vyāsa through his various activities.

Vyāsa is said to be the teacher of *paramarṣis* and *rājarṣis*. The word *paramarṣi* is usually used in the sense of 'a great sage'. A technical sense of this word is found in the Purāṇas.³

Rājarṣi means 'a king who has adopted the life of a sage'. For the characteristics of *rājarṣis* (along with *brahmarṣis* and *devarṣis*), see Brahmāṇḍa-p. 1.35.100-102. The category of *rājarṣi* along with the categories of *brahmarṣi* and *devarṣi* is mentioned in Viṣṇu-p. 3.6.30, Vāyu-p. 61.80 and Brahmāṇḍa-p. 1.35.89-90.

Since Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu were the sons of Kṛṣṇadvai-pāyana from Ambikā and Ambālikā respectively through the process of *niyoga*, he is said to be the *kartṛ* of the Kuru dynasty. (Kuru being the ancestor of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu).

2. For the reasons for the various names of Vyāsa see the Skanda-p. : द्वैपायनो द्वीपजन्मा पाराशर्यः पराशरात् । कृष्णांशात् कृष्णनामायं व्यासो वेदान् व्यसिष्यति (Revākhaṇḍa 97.74b-75a). The reason (i. e. being born of a portion of Kṛṣṇa) given here for the name Kṛṣṇa is different, which seems to be a later idea.

3. निवृत्तिसमकालं तु बुद्ध्याव्यक्तमृषिः स्वयम् । परं हि ऋषते यस्मात् परमर्षिस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ (Vāyu-p. 59.8). Brahmāṇḍa-p. 1.32.86 and Matsya-p. 145.82 read the verse with variations.

(No. 7) Vyāsa, being doubtful about the real significance of the teachings of the Vedas, worshipped the Vedas, and they appeared before him in human form. Vyāsa asked them whether there was an entity which was higher than the one, *kūtaṣṭha* (changelessly permanent) principle (i. e. the absolute brahman). Hearing the question, the Vedas praised Vyāsa by uttering the verses as given here (48-50b).

Vyāsa is described here as an incarnation of the birthless Viṣṇu, who appeared to guide people into the right path (*lokānugraha*; cp. the word *lokasamgraha* in *Gītā* 3.20,25). Viṣṇu's act of assuming a human form does not become a cause of bondage as it is due to His free will. Viṣṇu, being not influenced by *Māyā*, can create various forms and can withdraw them through his will only (48-50a).

The Vedas stated that the import of the Vedic words had been shown in the *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsas* and the *sūtras* (i. e. the *Brahmasūtra* and similar other treatises) (50b-51a).

In verses 51b-52 it is propounded that the entity, whose essential characteristic is *rasa*, is higher than brahman⁴. The view of the Vaiṣṇava philosophy is expressly stated here.

—**Ram Shankar Bhattacharya**

4. For the *Purāṇic* exposition of the view that the nature of the ultimate reality is *rasa*, the following remarks of the great Śākta teacher Bhāskara are note-worthy :
 “रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वाऽऽनन्दी भवतीति श्रुतेः । एतस्य विस्तरः पादो पुष्कर-
 खण्डे चरमभागे षड्भिरध्यायैः द्रष्टव्यः” (Comm. on *Lalitāsahasra-
 nāma*, p. 66); ब्रह्माण्डेऽपि ‘रस एव परं ब्रह्म रस एव परा गतिः ।
 रसो हि कान्तिदः पुंसां रसो रेत इति स्मृतः ॥ रसो वै रससंलब्ध्या
 ह्यानन्दी भगवत्यपि । वेदप्रामाण्यसंसिद्ध्या रसः प्राणतया स्थितः । को
 ह्येवान्याच् च कः प्राण्याद् इत्यपि श्रुतिभाषितः । प्राणात्मको रसः प्रोक्तः
 प्राणदः कुम्भसंभव’ इति (Comm. on *Lalitāsahasranāma*, p.
 162). The Vedic passages referred to are : रसो वै सः ।
 रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वा आनन्दी भवति । को ह्येवान्यात् कः प्राण्याद् यदेष
 आकाश आनन्दो न स्यात् (Tai.-up.-2.7.1).

विष्णुस्तोत्रम्

[पुराणोक्ता वक्तृनिरपेक्षा दीर्घच्छन्दोरचिता
मङ्गलाचरणरूपा विष्णुपरकाः श्लोकाः]

(१)

यस्मात् सर्वमिदं प्रपञ्चरचितं माया जगज्जायते
यस्मिंस्तिष्ठति याति चास्तसमये कल्पानुकल्पे पुनः ।
यं ध्यात्वा मुनयः प्रपञ्चरहितं विन्दन्ति मोक्षं ध्रुवं
तं वन्दे पुरुषोत्तमाख्यममलं नित्यं विभुं निश्चलम् ॥¹

(२)

यं ध्यायन्ति बुधाः समाधिसमये शुद्धं वियत्सन्निभं
नित्यानन्दमयं प्रसन्नममलं सर्वेश्वरं निर्गुणम् ।
व्यक्ताव्यक्तपरं प्रपञ्चरहितं ध्यानैकगम्यं विभुं
तं संसारविनाशहेतुमजरं वन्दे हरिं मुक्तिदम् ॥²

(३)

ओं भूर्भुवःस्वरिति तत् सवितुर्वरेण्यं
भर्गो निसर्गविमलं परमस्य विष्णोः ।
देवस्य धीमहि धियोऽधिगतं वयं यो
यत्नान्न ईहितमतींस्तु प्रचोदयादोम् ॥³

(४)

यद् योगिभिर्भवभयार्तिविनाशयोग्य
मासाद्यवन्दितमतीव विविक्तचित्तैः ।
तद् वः पुनातु हरिपादसरोजयुग्म-
माविर्भवत्-क्रमविलङ्घितभूर्भुवःस्वः ॥⁴

1. Brahma-p. 1.1

2. Brahma-p. 1.2

3. Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 1.1

4. Mārkaṇḍeya-p.; it is numbered separately and is read before the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य; In the Kālikā-p. it is the first verse (ed. by Viśvanārāyaṇa Śāstrin); in the Vang. ed. it seems to be the first verse, though the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य is given before it independently.

(५)

पायात् स वः सकलकल्मषभेददक्षः
 क्षीरोदकुक्षिफणिभोगनिविष्टमूर्तिः ।
 श्वासावधूतकणिकोत्कलिकाकरालः
 सिन्धुः प्रनृत्यमिव यस्य करोति सङ्गात् ॥⁵

(६)

अजरमजमनन्तं ज्ञानरूपं महान्तं
 शिवममलमनादि भूतदेहादिहीनम् ।
 सकलकरणहीनं सर्वभूतस्थितं तं
 हरिममलममायं सर्वगं वन्द एकम् ॥⁶

(७)

सेन्द्रा देवगणा मुनीश्वरजना लोकाः सपालाः सदा
 यं सर्वार्थसुसिद्धये प्रतिदिनं भक्त्या भजन्त्युत्तमाः ।
 तं विघ्नेशमनन्तमच्युतमजं सर्वज्ञसर्वाश्रयं
 वन्दे वैदिकतान्त्रिकादिविविधैः शास्त्रैः पुरो वन्दितम् ॥⁷

(८)

ध्यायन्ते ध्याननिष्ठाः सुरनरमनवो योगिनो योगरूढाः
 सन्तः स्वप्नेऽपि सन्तं कति कति जनिभिर्यं न पश्यन्ति तप्त्वा ।
 ध्याये स्वेच्छामयं तं त्रिगुणपरमहो निर्विकारं निरीहं
 भक्तध्यानैकहेतोर्निरूपमश्चिरश्यामरूपं दधानम् ॥⁸

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5. Read in the Mārkaṇḍepa-p. just after the preceding verse; in the Kālikā-p. the verse read after the preceding verse (in the same metre) is different and shows the glorification of avidyā or māyā.
 6. Garuḍa-p. 1.1.1.
 7. Kalki-p. 1.1.1; it is followed by the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य.....
 8. One of the introductory verses read independently in the Brahma-khaṇḍa, ch. 1 of the Brahmavaivarta-p.; the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य..... is read after it.

NOTES ON THE VIṢṆU-STOTRA

The Purāṇas and the Upapurāṇas contain a few verses (in long metres) of the nature of *maṅgalācaraṇa*, describing the glory of deities like Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Devī, Gaṇeśa and the like.

These verses are read at the beginning of the Purāṇic works and they have no connection with particular speakers. Some of these verses are read even before the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य....., and in some editions these verses are not even numbered or they are numbered separately. All these tend to show that (i) these verses are the independent compositions of those *Vyāsas*¹ who were highly learned and that (ii) they were placed at the beginning of the Purāṇas with a view to rendering the *maṅgalācaraṇa* verses highly effective to the audience. Here some of these verses on the glorification of Viṣṇu are given with notes.

(No. 1) Puruṣottama i. e. Viṣṇu is extolled in this verse. It is propounded here that (i) the three stages of the world, namely origination, subsistence and dissolution are caused by Him and that (ii) the sages attain emancipation as a result of meditating on Him, the eternal, all-pervasive and changeless being.

मायाजगत् is to be taken in the sense of मायामयं जगत्—the illusory world.

1. Here 'Vyāsa' means a purāṇa-vācaka, the person whose duty was to recite the Purāṇas (traditionally handed down to him) with popular expositions. Some of these Vyāsas were the composers of the Purāṇas (or the parts of the Purāṇas) also. Following verses depict a purāṇa-vācaka Vyāsa vividly : विस्पष्टमद्भुतं शान्तं स्पष्टाक्षरपदं तथा । कलस्वरसमायुक्तं रसभावसमन्वितम् ॥ बुध्यमानः सदा ह्यर्थं ग्रन्थार्थं कृत्स्नशो नृप । ब्राह्मणादिषु सर्वेषु ग्रन्थार्थं चार्पयेन् नृप ॥ य एवं वाचयेद् विद्वान् स विप्रो व्यास उच्यते । (quoted in the Rādhāmohinī comm. on the Tattva-andarbha, p. 19); see also Padma-p. 4. 100. 42 (पुराणजीवी पूजार्हः स्वशाखाध्ययनः शुचिः । मोमांसातत्त्वविज्ञानः श्रोत्रियोऽनृतदूषकः ॥).

The expression कल्पात्कल्पे पुनः shows that the creation and dissolution of the mundane existence will never come to an end. Such an everlasting phenomenon is an example of *pravāhanīyatā* or *pariṇāminīyatā* (everchanging permanence or the permanence of the changeful).

(No. 2) The author bows down to Hari who is described here by using some significant epithets. The meaning of almost all of the epithets is clear.

वियत्मन्निभ—similar to the sky. The similarity shows super-eminent greatness. In व्यक्ताव्यक्तपर *vyakta* and *avyakta* are to be taken in their Sāṁkhyan sense.

निर्गुण—According to the Vaiṣṇava view *nirguṇa* does not mean 'bereft of all attributes'; but 'devoid of all those *guṇas* that are born of *prakṛti*'.²

(No. 3) The verse is based on (or is an enlarged imitation of) the well-known Vedic Gāyatrī mantra (RV. 3.62.10).³ Since Om (*praṇava*) and the three *mahāvyaḥrtis* (*bhūr*, *bhuvā* and *svā*) are uttered with the Gāyatrī mantra when it is used in some particular acts, they are read in this imitative verse also.

It may be observed that this verse contains the following words which are not used in the mantra : *nisargavimala* is used to qualify *bhargas*; *paramasya viṣṇoḥ*, to qualify *savituh*; *vayam*, to show the agent of the verb *dhīmahi*; *īhitamatīn*, to qualify *naḥ*; *yatnāt*, to modify the verb *pracodayāt*. The significance of the word *adhigatam* and its connection with other words are not clear.

It is to be noted in this connection that the Gāyatrī mantra has been given an important place in the Purāṇas. The Agnipurāṇa devotes a whole chapter to explain it (ch. 216); here Savitṛ is said to be the same as bhagavat Viṣṇu. The Matsya-p. regards

2. योऽसौ निर्गुण इत्युक्तः शास्त्रेषु जगदीश्वरः । प्राकृतैर्ह्यसंयुक्तैर्गुणैर्हीनत्वमुच्यते ॥ (Pādmottarakhaṇḍa quoted in Bhāgavatasandarbhā, p. 98).

3. The Gāyatrī mantra is read in other Vedic works also; see yajuss Mādhyandina 3.35; Tai. Saṁ. 1.5.6.4; 4.1.11.1; Tai. Ār. 1.11.2. It is explained in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa 1.32-33 and Jaiminiya-upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa 4.27-28,

the Gāyatrī mantra as *tripadā* (171.24, having three *pādas*, feet) and Bhāgavata 11.17.25 uses the word *tripadī* to refer to this mantra. This mantra is found (in the Anuṣṭubh metre with slight changes) in Padma-p. 6.272.209-211.⁴ Here the verses refer to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Yaśodā.

The Skanda-p. describes this mantra as having 24 syllables, 6 *kuṅṅis*, 3 *pādas* and 5 *śirases*.⁵ The real significance of *ṣatkukṣi* and *pañcaśīrṣopalakṣitā* is to be determined. Can *pañcaśīrsa* refer to the five parts of the mantra, namely (1) *Om*, (2) the *mahāvāyāhrtis* and (3-5) the three *pādas* of the mantra. On account of these five parts the Gāyatrī is called *pañcāvāsanā* (one pause after each part).

(No. 4) The lotus feet of Hari (Viṣṇu) are praised here. They are resorted to by yogins with purified heart; they can uproot the fear of the worldly existence; they are said to traverse the three *lokas* (regions), namely *bhūr* (the *prīhivīloka*), *bhuvar* (the *antarikṣa loka*) and the *svar* (the *dya-loka*).⁶

(No. 5) The verse describes the Kūrma incarnation of Viṣṇu. He is said to be able to destroy sins; his body stays on the hood of the great snake lying in the Kṣīroda ocean; being agitated by his breath the ocean gets disturbed.

The verse has a great similarity with Bhāgavata 12.13.2 (पृष्ठे भ्राम्यदन्तु वः).

(No. 6) Hari, to whom the author bows down, is described here by using adjectival expressions like *aja*, *ajara*, etc. In सकलकरणहीन, *karāṇa* means the internal and external organs. Since

4. प्रचोदयात् is a form of the fifth lakāra लेट् and not of the lakāra लिङ् as has been taken by Nīlakaṅṭha in his comm. on the first verse of the Devī-bhāgavata (प्रचोदयात् प्रेरयेत्, प्रार्थनायां लिङ्). In लिङ् the proper form would be प्रचोदयेत्.
5. छन्दसां प्रवरा देवी चतुर्विंशक्षरा परा ॥ षट्कुक्षिः सा त्रिपादा च पञ्चशोषोपलक्षिता । (स्कन्द पु०, चतुरशीतिलिङ्गमाहात्म्य, 59.8b-9a).
6. See Vāyu-p. 64.12-17 for the etymology of these three words.

Hari (Viṣṣu) transcends Māyā, he is said to be *amāya*.⁷ भूतदेहादिहीन shows that the body of Viṣṣu is *abhautika*, non-elemental; according to the Vaiṣṣnavas it is *cinmaya* and as such immortal; *vide* Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's comm. on Tattvasandarbhā, pp. 73-74.

(No. 7) The deity invoked in this verse seems to be Viṣṣu as the purpose of this Purāṇa is to glorify Viṣṣu, who is here recalled by the name Acyuta. The preceding sentence ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय also shows that the deity invoked here is Viṣṣu. Vighneśa, usually used for Gaṇeśa⁸ is to be taken here as an adjectival word meaning 'lord of the obstacles' i. e., one who can ward off all obstacles of his devotees'. The other epithets, namely *ananta*, *aṇa*, etc. may appropriately be used to qualify Hari. The verse may however be taken as referring to Gaṇeśa.⁹

Lokapālas are the governing deities of the eight directions (or the quarters of the sky); *vide* Amarakośa 1.3.2. According to some they are ten, Brahmā and Ananta being the superintending deities of the *ūrdhva* and *adhas* directions respectively.

Sarvārtha means the four *arthas* i. e. *puruṣārthas* (goals of life), namely *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*.

Vaidika-tāntrikādi-vividhaiḥ—It is important to note that the way prescribed for worshipping Viṣṣu is said to be either Vedic

7. A very apt definition of Māyā is given in the Devī-purāṇa : विचित्रकार्यकरणा अचिन्तितफलप्रदा । सतेन्द्रजालवल् लोके माया तेन प्रकीर्तिता ॥ (37.58).
8. In the names विघ्नेश, विघ्नराज and the like of Gaṇeśa the word vighna is the name of a demon who was killed by Gaṇeśa. As the demon seems to be a personification of impediments, Gaṇeśa is always invoked for the destruction of impediments that happen in the way of achieving success.
9. Since a maṅgalācaraṇā verse on Gaṇeśa is not found in any Purāṇa—not even in the Gaṇapati-khaṇḍa or the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa (except in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa)—it is doubtful whether the verse in the Kalki-purāṇa (which intends to glorify Viṣṣu) can properly refer to Gaṇeśa. There arises however no difficulty in taking the verse as referring to Gaṇeśa if it is read independently.

or Tāntric or of any other form. In the Purāṇas this view is propounded in various ways.¹⁰

(No. 8) It is propounded here that the supreme deity, who transcends the three guṇas, who is meditated by yogins firmly established in yoga, who is not perceived even by sages who practise penances in different lives, assumes the incomparable form of black (*śyāma*) complexion so that the devotees can meditate on him.

Since the root द्यै चिन्तायाम् is parasmaipadin, the forms द्यायन्ते (in the place of द्यायन्ति) and द्याये (in the place of द्यायामि) are to be taken as Purāṇic in character.

The use of the word श्यामरूप is significant and it shows that the Purāṇa was composed by a devotee of some particular sect of the Vaiṣṇavas.¹¹ Cp. Brahmasaṃhitā 5.38 (one of the sacred texts of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school) (यं श्यामसुन्दरं गोविन्दमादिपुरुषं तमहं भजामि). For a discussion on the *śyāma* colour of Viṣṇu, see the Paramātmāsandarbhā (sec on guṇāvātāra) of Jīvagovāmin.

Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

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10. यजन्ति वेदतन्त्राभ्याम् (Bhāg. 11.5.28); वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी दीक्षा (Bhāg. 11.11.37); वेदोक्तविधिना आगमोक्तेन वा (Varāha-p. 211.92); उभाभ्यां वेदतन्त्राभ्याम् (Padma-p. 4.90.21); वैदिकस्ता-
न्त्रिको मिश्रः श्रीविष्णोस्त्रिविधो मुखः (Padma-p. 4.90.3);
शृणुमाध्वार्चनम् । वैदिकं तान्त्रिकं चापि मिश्रकं पापनाशनम् ॥
(Padma-p. 4.90.1).
11. Cp. तापिच्छश्यामलं रूपम् in the Viṣṇudharmottar-up. (quoted in Śrīkṛṣṇasandarbhā). Tāpiccha is the same as the Tamāla tree, which has a very dark bark. The form तापिञ्ज is also found in the Purāṇas.

THE CITRASŪTRA AND ITS DATE

By

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

[From the book : *Citrasūtra of Viṣṇudharmottara* with kind permission of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda]

Polite education required a knowledge of several fine arts in addition to erudition in literature, rhetoric, grammar, logic, systems of philosophy and vast acquaintance with allied subjects. One of the common literary games *prahelikā*, a variety of which was *antādi* requiring a vast fund of memorised verses to quote, *samayocitāpadyamālikā*, ready wit to whip up appropriate quotations for an occasion, is an indication of how sharpened was the wisdom of a *nāgaraka*, educated urbane man about town. Painting was rated high among these *vinodasthānas* (lit. seat of pleasure) hobbies. In the *Kāmasūtra*, Vātsyāyana describes the set up and arrangement of the living room of a typical *nāgaraka*, an urban gentleman of taste with a knowledge of the *vinodasthānas* and a keen eye and ear for painting, dance and music. This includes a *vīṇā* suspended from a peg, a painting board, a box full of colours and brushes, a book of literary value : *nāgadantāvasaktā vīṇā, citraphalakam vartikāsamugakaḥ, yaḥ kaścit pustakaḥ, kuraṅṅakamālāś ca, Kāmasūtra* 4. 10. Śyāmilaka mentions a cup for holding colours casually kept on the window sill : *tato'ham asaṅgam ālekhyavarṇakapātraṁ gavākṣād ākṣīpya . . . , Pādātādītaka, p. 35.*

The gentleman of leisure who learnt and practised art as a *vinodasthāna* could never dream of using it as a profession for his livelihood. That is why the *saṁvāhaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* laments that an art, learnt as an accomplishment, had, in changed circumstances, become his means of livelihood : *Kaleti śikṣitā ājivikedānīm saṁvṛttā, Mṛcchakaṭīka* 2. The courtesan, who was among the most accomplished, was no doubt an adept in music, dance, painting, sculpture, literature and so forth, but Dāmodaragupta makes it clear that her effort to excel in her knowledge of the fine arts was more to brandish her accomplishments and attract attention as much by these as by her personal charm and stamina

that she built up assiduously : *māmsarasābhyavahārah puruṣāhatipīlayā na tu sprhayā, ālekhyādau vyasanam vaidagdhyaḥyātaye na tu vinodāya, Kuṭṭanīmata, 307.* Īśvaradatta defends the *veśavāsa*, the abode of courtesan, by representing it as the very fountain of fine arts, wit and wisdom, and many accomplishments : *prāgalbhyaṁ sthānaśauryaṁ vacananipuṇatām sauṣṭhavaṁ sattvadīptim citrajñānam pramodaṁ surataguṇanidhiṁ raktanārīnīvṛttim, citrādīnām kalānām adhigamanam atho saukhyam agryaṁ ca kāmī prāpnotyāśritya veśam yadi katham ayaśas tasya loko bravīti, Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda, p. 27.* Still, however, the noble influence of painting as a great art was such that even the calculating courtesan could be madly in love with a not-too-prosperous master in painting by her passion for art. Śyāmilaka gives the instance of Kusumāvatikā, an accomplished courtesan, passionately adoring the able *citrācārya* Śivasvāmin mainly for his mastery in the art : *jānīta evāsmatśvāmī yathāsmatsakhyā kusumāvatikāyāḥ priyavayasyaṁ citrācāryaṁ Śivasvāminam prati mahān madanonmādaḥ, iti, Pādatāḍitaka p. 25.*

The professional aspect of art was most pronounced among the courtesans, and the state gave special attention to the imparting of this knowledge to them by supporting *śilpīns* who were instrumental in it. Kauṭilya makes it obligatory on the part of the state to support the art masters, that spread their knowledge among pupils from such professions as required proficiency in different branches of the fine arts as a mark of their accomplishment, as it thereby enhanced the prestige of the state itself through the renown of such professionals : *gītavādyaḥpāṭhyarṇtanātṛyākṣara-citraviñāveṇumṛdaṅgaparacittajñānagandhamālyasamṛyūhanasampādanasamvāhanavaśīkikalājñānāni gaṇikādāsīraṅgopajīvinīśca grāhayato rājamaṅḍalād ājīvaṁ kuryāt, Arthasāstra 2.27.44.*

It is this importance attached to the knowledge of fine arts and the popularity of the *vinodasthānas* among several amateurs that became almost an inducement to opulent charlatans to pretend a knowledge to which they could have no claim. Dāmodaragupta gives a telling example in Bhaṭṭaputra, who always carried in his hand a pair of paper-cut scissors to brandish in assemblies and impress his knowledge of elegant figure cutting, though, except for his self conceit, he had no knowledge of this or any other art for that matter : *patracchedam ajānan jānan vā kauśalam kalāviśaye, prakāṣayati janasamāje bibhrāṇaḥ patrakartarīm satatam, Kuṭṭanīmata 74.*

Naturally when some painters and sculptors excelled in their profession, the baneful influence of the courtesan dancers and those successful on the stage, developed in them a certain ego and vanity, making them even overbearing in their attitude, though better birth, upbringing and reverence for the art would normally have given them greater humility: *abhyadhikam dhṛṣṭatvam prāyeṇa hi śilpajīvino bhavati, āśritanartakavṛtter viśeṣato vijitarāṅgasya, Kuṭṭanīmata* 878.

Painting among fine arts indeed became so important that it was elaborated as a science very much as dance or music. Such a sophisticated study naturally brought into being standards of art criticism like those of literary criticism in *alaṅkāraśāstra*. A standard text as a desideratum is to be expected to exist for such elaborate study, which alone could provide the textual definitions of the delicate nuances of the art. Fortunately such a text has been found in the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, an appendix of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, thanks to Professor Stella Kramrisch who translated and discussed this section over five decades ago. *Guṇas* and *doṣas*, merits and defects, the proper portrayal of *rasas*, emotions, suggestive import, styles of execution, are all elaborated in the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the standard text on the principles of painting. Was this text assiduously studied by the painters and connoisseurs? Is it known from any sources? Has it been mentioned as a standard book on art as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata is known to be the standard text on dance? The answer is that a text, *Citrasūtra*, is mentioned in the *Kuṭṭanīmata*. The only *Citrasūtra* that we know is the one in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. It very well answers the requirement of such a text, and has valuable material. *Nāgarakas*, connoisseurs of art, accomplished courtesans, painters and sculptors, among others that could claim a liberal education, studied the *Citrasūtra* along with other standard texts on other subjects like dance and music. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Dattila's text on music and the *Citrasūtra* are among the many standard books on the fine arts studied by the accomplished courtesan Mīlatī as Dāmodaragupta has it: *bharataviśākhiladattilavṛkṣāyurvedacitrasūtरेषु, patracchedavidhāne bhramakarmaṇi pustasūdaśāstreषु, Kuṭṭanīmata* 124.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* elaborates, how to understand the principles of *citra* from the *Citrasūtra*, a knowledge of *nāṭya* or

dance is essential, and to comprehend that, knowledge of *ātodya* or instrumental music is a necessity, which, in its turn, requires proficiency in *gīta* or vocal music, this last, again, depending on a knowledge of language, both classical and unsophisticated, *sanskṛta* and *prākṛta*, with its rich literature in prose and poetry, its peculiarities of grammar, prosody, nuances of usage, interplay of regional languages and so forth. So in fact all these are dealt with. It may be that, just as the principles of dance, music, rhetoric, etc., are enumerated here as in their individual regular elaborate texts, the principles of *citra* are briefly given here and a more elaborate text on which this is based or for which this forms a nucleus does exist. But so far there has not yet been found another text styled *Citrasūtra*, though the study of it is mentioned so early as in the eighth century A. D.

The date of the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Citrasūtra which is part of it could help understanding this problem better. Dāmodaragupta, the chief minister of King Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir of the Karkoṭa dynasty, who was himself learned and a patron of letters, and in whose court were such great litterateurs like Ānandavardhana, belongs to the eighth century. The *Citrasūtra* mentioned by Dāmodaragupta is to be understood as the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, till any other independent text of that importance in textual content and with identical name is found.

Moreover the Viṣṇudharmottara itself is quoted by Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* : *rasān ādatta iti raviḥ ādityātmā, rasānām ca tathādānād ravir ityabhidhīyate* (1.30.16) *iti Viṣṇudharmottare....sarvasya jagataḥ prasavitā savitā 'prajānām tu prasavanāt savitēti nigadyate'* (1.30.15) *iti Viṣṇudharmottare, Viṣṇusahasranāma* 107. Śaṅkara lived in the eighth century. This is therefore anterior to this date. The attribution of some of the works to Śaṅkara has again been considered a problem to be determined. Śaṅkara wrote the most erudite bhāṣyas, allegorical and philosophical hymns, as well as the simplest but most effective poems for educating the least sophisticated, educationally equipped and younger age groups. He met their capacity by reaching them at their level. An erudite paṇḍit does not talk to his grandchild in the terse language of Patañjali or Vācaspati

Miśra. Śaṅkara had different levels to reach and different approaches to teach. He had to preach the way of bliss through *jñāna*, the path of attainment of grace through *bhakti*, through *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa upāsana*.

The stamp of Śaṅkara's composition already noticed in his repetition of favoured phrases in more than one poetic piece is again chosen for quotation in inscriptions not too far remote in age. An example is *nalinīdalagatajalamatitaralam, tadvajjīvitam atīśayacapalam* from the *Mohamudgara* or *Bhagavindastotra* as it is more popularly known, repeated in the line *nalinīdalagatajalavat taralam kiṃ yawanaṃ dhanam cāyuḥ* of the *Prasānottararatnamālikā* 11. This is bodily dovetailed in the text of the Sevadi copper plate inscription of the Cāhamāna king Ratnapāla dated in the early years of the twelfth century A. D. Śaṅkara's date is confirmed as the eighth century by not only the mention of Bhagavatpāda Śaṅkara as the master from whom studied philosophy Śivasoma the venerable *rājaguru* of Indravarman I as given in an inscription in Pallava Grantha of the ninth century from Kambuja a feudatory state of Fu-nan in Cambodia: *yenādhītāni śīstrāṇi bhagavacchanīkarāhoayāt, niśśeṣasūrimūrdhālīmālāidhīṅghri-pankajāt*, Coedes, G. *Inscriptions du Cambodge* 1, p. 37, but also from the protrait of his from one of the Pallava shrines in Kāñcīpuram. In what esteem Śaṅkara was held during his own time is clear from the terms in which he is referred in the inscription 'as with his lotus feet kissed by the swarm of bees in the shape of the heads of the totality of intellectuals', and the importance accorded him by placing him next to Vyāsa and close to Dakṣiṇāmūrti.

In discussing the date of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Dr. Kramrisch has argued that if Śaṅkara were known to this text he would have been made an attendant deity in the pantheon surrounding Viṣṇu. "Had Śaṅkara existed at the time of the compilation of the chapters on painting, the author would have incorporated him into the Vaiṣṇava pantheon in spite of his being an incarnation of Śiva", Kramrisch p. 3. Actually Śaṅkara is shown as seated to the right in adoration of Viṣṇu as a teacher, Gītācārya, with *akṣamālā* in his lower right hand and other attributes in the rest, a rare Gurjara Prañhara sculpture of the ninth century from

Rajasthan in the collection of Mrs. Pupul Jayakar. This is contemporaneous with Vācaspati Miśra, one of the greatest intellectuals that commented on the *bhāṣyas* of the great *ācārya*. Dr. Kramrisch's argument is thus more than answered and confirmed by this very sculpture. The text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is unaware of Śaṅkara whom however the Pallava sculptor associated with Śiva in the company of Vyāsa and the Pratihāra sculptor with Viṣṇu as the expounder of the *Gītā*, the text of which is recorded by Vyāsa, who is identified with Viṣṇu. Śaṅkara quotes the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 3. 4. 5. to identify Vyāsa, with Viṣṇu *kr̥ṣṇadvaiṇāyanāṃ vyāsāṃ viddhi nārāyaṇāṃ prabhum, ko hyanyaḥ puṇḍarīkākṣāt mahābhāratakr̥id bhavet.*

There is also another feature in the sculpture from Kāñcīpuram representing Vyāsa accompanied by Śaṅkara. The portrait type of Vyāsa already given in the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata*, preserved also in the text from Bali edited by Sylvain Levi, reads as 'dark like laden cloud, tawny in his bound up locks of hair, tall, staff in hand, antelope-skin covered, purifying the worlds by his look, the foremost of poets, son of Parāśara, reveals himself in the divisions of the *Mahābhārata* : *abhrat̥yāmaḥ piṅgajataḥ baddhakalāpaḥ pram̐sur daṇḍī kr̥ṣṇamrgatvakparidhānaḥ, sākṣāllokān pāvayamānaḥ kavimukhyaḥ parāśaryaḥ parvasu rūpaṃ vitanotu, Mahābhārata* 1. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* nearly repeats it, describing Vyāsa as dark-hued, of emaciated form, tawny in his tied up locks of hair and attended by his four disciples Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila and Vaiśampāyana : *kr̥ṣṇaḥ kr̥ṣṭatanur vyāsah piṅgalātijaḥ ādharah, sumantur jaiminiḥ pailo vaiśampāyana eva ca, tasya śiṣyās tu kartavyās catvārah paripar̥svayoh, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 85. 65-66. The disciples are also shown with Vyāsa, though all of them including Vyāsa, are subordinated to Śiva as the supreme teacher, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in the main niche, flanking which are two niches, where again a division of them is so made that Vyāsa and Jaimini representing *Pūrva-* and *Uttaramīmāṃsā* are prominent each in one. A significant addition is Śaṅkara in the group, and significantly very close to Vyāsa. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* mentions also the mode of representation of Vālmiki, fair in colour, almost covered up by a mass of bound-up locks, lost in penance, peaceful, neither lanky nor obese : *gauras tu kār̥yo vālmīkir̥ jaḥamaṇḍaladur̥ṣah, tapasyābhiratas śānto na kr̥ṣo na*

ca *pīvarah*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 95. 64. And we know only one instance of an image of his installed in the only temple dedicated to him in the far off village Tra Kieu in the province of Quang-Nam in Annam and equated with Simhapura, the ancient capital of Champa. This is again an early tradition, a tradition following the dictum of this text which is again thus proven to be anterior to the eighth century.

Dr. Priyabala Shah, in proceeding upwards from the latest works that mention the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, notes Hemādri's mention in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* in about 1260 A. D., and Alberuni's in about 1030 A. D. But these do not go beyond the mention of the name of the work. The specific use of special terms described in detail in the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is found in a very early poem in a regional language in a casual way, establishing that the terms were already so well known and in use, and probably were so very much in vogue that they had become part of cultural life and existence, pointing to the text of the *Citrasūtra* to be so much anterior to it by several centuries. This reference is to the *vartanas* or modes of shading like *patraha* and *binduka* as well as the term *nimnonnata* used by Kālidasa and, earlier, in the *Mahābhārata*, from which quotes Kṣemendra. The passage occurs in the Telugu poem *Kumārasambhava* by Nannechoḍa, claimed by Ramakrishna Kavi, who discovered and made known to the world its rare manuscript and text, to belong to the ninth century, though another opinion believes it to be slightly later than Nannaya, the first of the three authors of the *Mahābhārata* in Telugu. The passage *patrakabindukanimnonnatambul alavaraci* is indeed revealing. It really points to a date for our text far anterior to it, and again confirms its date prior to the eighth century, already seen from its reference by Śaṅkara.

As has been discussed by Dr. Kramrisch and Dr. Priyabala Shah the *Viṣṇudharmottara* has freely drawn from earlier sources. The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has been of great help to the compilation of the chapters on dance in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Still there are some variations in the enumeration of the *karāṇas*, *āṅgaḥāras*, *hastas*, which do not in themselves constitute very special indications of date, though some may constitute. Thus the eight *rasas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* contrast here with the nine enumerated in the

Viṣṇudharmottara. In the Ubhayabhisārikā of Vararuci an interesting passage enumerating dance movements, flavours and musical rhythms confirms the *rasas* as eight-fold and shows its proximity to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in date. Priyaṅgusenā, the famous young dancer, combines in herself the basic requisites, like beauty of form, the bloom of the dawn of youth, alluring hue, great bodily sheen and several such others. Apart from this are her accomplishments in the art itself, her mastery over the four-fold *abhinaya*, the thirty-two varieties of hand movements, eighteen modes of glances, six stances, three-fold movements, eight flavours, tripartite musical rhythm and other such dance factors, which are, as the poet describes, beautified by their association with such a talented danseuse : *yasyās tāvad prathamam rūpaśrīnavayauvanadyutikāntīyādīnām guṇānām sampat, caturvidhābhinayasiddhiḥ, dvātriṃśadvīdho hastapracārah, aṣṭādaśavidham nirīkṣaṇam, ṣaṭ sthānāni, gatitrayam, aṣṭau rasāḥ, trayo gītavāditrādīlayā, ityevamādīni nṛttāṅgāni tvadāśrayeṇālankṛtāni, Ubhayābhisārikā p. 142*. Here the *rasadr̥ṣṭis* and *sthāyidr̥ṣṭis* are alone taken which explains the count eighteen. The number of *hastapracāras* here, taking only *asaṃyuta* and *saṃyuta* and including *nṛttahastas*, are exceeded by the enumeration given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara* by five and three respectively. These variations may not help in themselves to determine their relative position in age. Yet the number of *rasas* is not altogether to be excluded in the study of the age of the works. Dr. Manomohan Ghosh has felt that 100 B. C. could be the date of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The dance sculptures from Bhārhut and Amarāvati illustrating definite ideas in the technique of dance language confirm this date. This would only place the *Viṣṇudharmottara* later than the second-first centuries B. C. But how much later has to be determined.

Dr. Priyabala Shah discusses the similarity between Bhamaha's *Kāvyaalankāra*, Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* and the section on literature in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Considering the tendency in *alankāra* literature to increase *alankāras* gradually and diminish the importance of *prahelikas*, we may safely conclude that the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* with its eighteen *alankāras* and twenty four *prahelikas* has precedence in date over Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin who give respectively thirty-nine and thirty-five *alankāras* and the

latter of these two, sixteen *prahelikas*. This would take the *Viṣṇudarmottara* before the seventh century.

Dr. Priyabala Shah has given another point to argue a date for the *Viṣṇudarmottara* in the fourth century. Taking the passage *caitra madhur iti smṛtaḥ vaiśākho mādhaveḥ proktaḥ*, *Viṣṇudarmottara* 3. 9. 3, she points out that sixteen hundred years ago, the day of the vernal equinox was the day when the sun entered the sign *meṣa*. The identity of the lunar months *caitra*, *vaiśākha*, *jyeṣṭha*, *āṣāḍha* and the rest with the seasonal months *madhu*, *mādhava*, *sukha*,¹ *śuci*, etc., shows that the beginning of spring was in *caitra* at that far off date, and the spring equinox was when the sun entered *meṣa*. The line *tulāmeṣagale bhānau viṣuvaddinam ucyate*, *Viṣṇudarmottara* 3. 9. 6. is in support of this. Today however the spring equinox is twenty three days earlier. The correspondence between the lunar and seasonal months is answered in all early works that go back before the fourth century like the *Amarakośa* and the *Arthaśāstra*. In the former the lines are clear : *mārgaśīrṣe saḥ mārga āgrahāyanikaśca saḥ, paṣṭe taiṣasahasyaḥ dvau tapā māghe' tha phālgune, syāt tapasyaḥ phālgunikas syāccaitre caitriko madhuḥ, vaiśākhe mādhave radho jyeṣṭhe śukras śucistvayam, āṣāḍhe śrāvane tu syān nabhas śrāvānikaśca saḥ, syur nabhasyaprauṣṭhapadabhadrabhādrapadāḥ samāḥ*, *Amarakośa* 1. 3. 15-17.

The upper age limit has been held by her on the strength of the northern dress *udīcyaveśa* and *aviyaṅga* or *viyaṅga* mentioned for Sūrya as due to Magian influence from Persia that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar places in the third century A. D. But there are Kuṣāṇa images of Sūrya of the first and second centuries also. Examination of other early iconographic factors also described in the *Viṣṇudarmottara* considerably help in understanding the date of the text.

In the *Śatarudrīya* of the *Kṛṣṇayajurvedaittirīya saṃhitā*, the epithet *dhāvadbhyaḥ* indicates the running forms of deities in apposition to the standing and reclining. The *Viṣṇudarmottara* gives an excellent example for this in Vāyu, who is all the time on the move in the proverbial *vāyuvēga* mentioned by Vālmīki in the context of

1. The correct word is *śukra*; *sukha* seems to be a printing error [Ed.].

Hanumān's swift flight over the sea, *vāyuvegasavegasya, Rāmāyaṇa*, 5. 37. 45. On one variety of Kaniṣka's coins Vāyu is represented running very fast with dishevelled hair, holding the terminals of his upper garment filled with wind, indicating his swift movement *vāyupūritavastraśca dvibhujo rūpasamṃyutaḥ, kāryo grhītavastrāntaḥ korābhyāṃ pavano dvija, vyāvṛttāsyas tathākāryo devo vyākulamūrdhajoḥ, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 58. 1-3. This early form of Vāyu occurs only in this case and is never repeated in any later representation of the deity. In early medieval sculpture, Vāyu still carries the windfilled upper garment even as Agni, aflame in Gupta sculpture, *juvāmālākulam, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 56. 1 has still flames on his shoulders in early medieval representations. In later medieval sculpture, however, it is only the banner or his swift vehicle the deer that distinguish him. The striking coincidence of every detail of the description and the figure on this century coin is very significant indeed, especially when it is noted that this form never occurs any later.

In the case of Sūrya wearing *udīcyā veśa* or northern dress the mention of moustaches is significant. It not only follows an early Vedic description *hiraṇyasmaśru (Taittirīya Āraṇyaka)* but also points to the early Kuṣāṇa type that has the moustaches, absent in later sculptures of the deity. His attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are also shown in *udīcyaveśa* as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. This *udīcyaveśa* for Sūrya is reiterated in the *Brhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira, an early Gupta text, *kuryād udīcyaveśaṃ gūḍham pādād uro yāvat, kamalodaradyutimukhaḥ kañcukaguptas smitaprasannamukhaḥ, Brhatsamhitā* 57. 46-48. On the reverse of a copper coin of Huviṣka, shown riding an elephant on the obverse, there is represented Sūrya whom the legend in Greek letters styles *Mioro* corresponding to Sanskrit *Mihira*. The deity is haloed, wears long coat and top boots. This is the Central Asian *udīcyā veśa* for Sūrya, the dress of the Kuṣāṇa. The early indigenous type of turbaned, barebodied, garland-decorated Sūrya now changes into this Central Asian type. This latter is the form best known to the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and he describes it.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* makes a difference in the depiction of Skanda by mentioning four varieties, Kumāra, Skanda, Viśākha and Guha. The first is six-faced and the rest have each a normal single face. There is also an identification of Vāsudeva

Viṣṇu with Kumāra as assuming that form to lead the army of the gods, *devasenā : caturmūrteḥ kumārasya rūpaṃ te vacmi yādava, kumāras ca tathā skando viśākhaśca guhas tathā, kumāras saṃmukhaḥ kāryas śikh-aṅḍokavibhūṣaṇaḥ . . . caturbhujō hi bhagavān vāsudevas sanātanaḥ, prādurbhūtaḥ kumāras tu devasenāninīṣayā, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 71. 3, 4, 7. We know that varieties of Kumāra were known even in the days of Patañjali who mentions individually Skanda and Viśākha as separate deities *śivas skando viśākha iti, Mahābhāṣya*. The identity of Kumāra with Viṣṇu is rather confusing, as normally it is understood that the importance of Kumāra or Kārtikeya lay in his being the glowing power of Śiva himself, exceeding even solar effulgence, conserved in flaming fire to be the protector of the celestial army : *rakṣāhetor navastātibhrtā vāsaviṇām camūnām atyādityaṃ hutavahamukhe sambhṛtaṃ taddhi tejaḥ, Meghadūta* 1. 46.

To understand this identity of Kumāra with Viṣṇu, the ancient name of Kumāra, Brahmaṇyadeva, denoting Kumāra on Yaudheya coins associating him with both the single-faced and six-faced form of the deity, and the ancient *mahāmantra* that associates the name Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, offer the clue. The Yaudheya, a warlike tribe renowned for their valour in battle, chose Kārtikeya as their war-lord and represented him holding a spear and inscribed the legend in Brāhmī *yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* or *brahmaṇyadevasya yaudheyagaṇasya jaya*, having him ever before them as the ideal in military glory. The six-headed variety of Kumāra also represented on the Yaudheya coins leaves no doubt about who the Brahmaṇyadeva is. Kumāra is known from other sources also as Brahmaṇyadeva. In the Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta, Brahmaṇyadeva is clearly stated to be a synonym of Svāmi Mahāsenā; and the line of Kālidasa's Meghadūta describing him as the wonderful form of the conserved effulgence of the Lord from all the three worlds is echoed : *bhagavatas trailokyatejassambhārasantatādbhutamūrter brahmaṇyadevasya svāmimahāsenasyāyatane, Corp. Inscr. Ind.* 3. pp. 44-45. The famous verse *namo brahmaṇyadevāya gobrahmaṇahitāya ca, jagaddhitāya kṛṣṇāya govindāya namo namaḥ* associates Brahmaṇyadeva with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, being very close in date to both these traditions, voices this association with Viṣṇu as well, and explains the train of thought. It also takes into account the six-faced and single-faced form of the deity, the variety itself occurring on early coins.

The Vaiṣṇavite tradition of representing Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Śimba is observed in one of the earliest sculptures of the early Pallavas of the Prākṛt characters, which hails from the Village Koṇḍamoṭu in Guṅṭūr district. It is carved in the late Sātavāhana style developed during the time of the Ikṣvākus and continued by Pallavas whose territory extended here. It is one of the most important sculptures for the study of early Hindu iconography, particularly in South India. The central figure is an arresting one of Narasimha in almost complete zoomorphic form, as a lion seated on a throne, with only the addition of a pair of human arms to carry the club and wheel. The early type of *śrīvatsa*, the symbol of Śrī, is marked on the name just above the chest of the lion. There are two deities to the right of the lion and three to the left, all of them with a single pair of arms each. Flanking the lion, immediately near it, are Vāsudeva wearing a crown, with his right hand held up in *abhaya* and the left carrying the conch Pāñcajanya, and Pradyumna holding a bow and arrow. To the right of Vāsudeva is Śimba distinguished by his long club, here looking almost a pestle, as usual in very early representations of Viṣṇu himself holding the club, more resting his hand on its side than holding it. To the left of Pradyumna is Saṅkarṣaṇa with a wine cup in his right hand. Beyond and at the end of the whole group is Aniruddha with sword and shield as he should be represented. It is interesting that the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* gives these attributes as shown here though the sculpture is slightly earlier than the text: *cāpabāṇādharāḥ kāryaḥ pradyumnaśca sudarśanaḥ, rājan dūrvādalaśyāmas śvetavāsā madotkaṣaḥ, kartavyaś cāniruddho' pi khadgacarmadharāḥ prabhuh, sām̄baḥ kārya gadā-hastās surūpaś ca viśeṣataḥ, sām̄bāniruddhau kartavyau pīdmābhav raktavāsā au.* The *makaradhvaḥ* shown to the left of Sām̄ba is almost all for Pradyumna whose hands are both engaged. It is to the left as it should be, *vāmāpārśvagataḥ kāryā devānām pravarā dhvajāḥ, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 85. 76-78 and 28. This also tallies with the text of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of about the same period in the case of the Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa. The former is to be, as in the sculpture, two-armed, with his right hand in *abhaya* and the left holding the conch, *dvibhujasya tu śāntikaro dakṣiṇahasto' paraśca śāṅkhadharāḥ, Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 57. 35, the latter with his eyes rolling in drunken fantasy, a single ear-lobe decorated with jewel, the other free, *halapāṇir madq-*

vibhramalocanaśca kartavyo bibhrat kuṇḍalam ekam śaṅkhendumṛṇālagaurava-puṅḥ, Brhatsamhitā 57. 36. The description of Baladeva's drunken languor and rolling eyes and the special adornment of a single earlobe with *kuṇḍala* is answered in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as well. It is interesting to note how this *Pañcavīra* group enshrined is mentioned in an early inscription from the village Mora in the vicinity of Mathurā. This early predilection for *Pañcavīras* disappears in favour of the *caturvyūha* that later takes its place. This is a point in favour of an early date for the *Viṣṇudharmottara* text that describes the five. But the *caturvyūha* concept is also portrayed with equal gusto. This as well as the lack of knowledge of Narasiṃha in nearly pure zoomorphic form in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, that, however, knows Varāha in the therianthropomorphic and purely zoomorphic form as well, suggests its date as not earlier than the third and nearer the fourth century A. D.

Early Vākāṭaka representation of Brahmā in the Elephanta caves in several panels, as among the numerous Devas hovering above and around the main form of Śiva, is indeed one of the most interesting. Brahmā is four-faced and four-armed, wearing *jaṭa* locks and *kṛṣṇājina yajñopavīta*, seated on lotus and carried lightly by a fleet of seven swans. *Ajinayajñopavīta*, sacred thread composed of deer skin, is mentioned for deity in the Śatarudriya in the epithet *upavītine*, and prescribed as essential for Vedic studies and performance of sacrifices, *ajinaṃ vāso vā dakṣiṇata upavīya dakṣiṇaṃ bāhum uddharate . . . yajñopavītyeva adhīyīta yājayed yajeta vā, Taittirīya Samhitā. Kṛṣṇājina*, the skin of the black antelope, given in the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, is not only very pure, but represents, by its white and dark shades, the Ṛg and *Yajurvedas* as they assumed this form as described in the *Taittirīya Samhitā*. The text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes Brahmā as benign in his four faces, seated in *padmāsana* on lotus, wearing the black antelope skin upper garment with matted hair, four-armed and on a fleet of seven swans, carrying waterpot and rosary: *brahmāṇaṃ kārayed vidvān devaṃ saumyaṃ caturmukham, buddhapadmāsanaṃ toṣyaṃ tathā kṛṣṇājinaṃbaram, jaṭadharam caturbāhum saptahaṃse rathe sthitam, ekasmin dakṣiṇe panavakṣamālā tathā śubhā, kamaṇḍalur dvitīye ca sarvābharaṇadhāriṇaḥ, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 44. 5-7. It is interesting to compare with this the description of Brahmā by Bāṇa as riding a fleet of swans: *vītrāntam iva vitatapakṣatinā viyati pītāmahavimānahaṃsayū-*

thena, *Harṣacarita* 7, p. 60; *pitāmahavimānahamsakulapālah paryaṭan aparavaktram uccair agāyat*, *Harṣacarita* 1, p. 7. The significance in this case is that this form of Brahmā on fleet of swans, that does not appear in sculpture later than the fifth-sixth century, is an early concept fresh in the mind of the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes Indra with an eye horizontally placed on the forehead, a Kuṣāṇa feature that later survived for a long time later in Nepal disappearing altogether from India after the early three, four centuries of the Christian era : *tiryaglālāṭagenākṣṇā kartavyaś ca vibhūṣitaḥ Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.50.3. This text also explains that his triple-eyed aspect is after Śambhu. It is well known that it is only in the early Kuṣāṇa *ekamukholiṅgas* and in the inscribed Śiva with Gaurī from Allahabad of late Kuṣāṇa date that the eye on the forehead is horizontally shown, a feature also adopted for Indra very early and discontinued thereafter in India, though surviving in Nepal. So the mention of this feature in this text is again significant. The description here of the connotation of the four tusks of Airāvata, Indra's vehicle, is equally significant in reckoning the four expedients of royal prowess : *arthastvairāvaṇo jñeyo dantās tasya tu kīrtitāḥ, daivamantraprabhūtsāhaśaktayas tu mahābalāḥ, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.50.12. It is exactly the same idea that is voiced by Kālidāsa in his verse *suragaja iva dantair bhagnadaityāsīdhārāiḥ, naya iva paṇabandhavyaktayogair upāyaiḥ, harir iva yugadīrghair dorbhīr amśais tadīyaiḥ, patir avanīpatīnām taiś cakaśe caturbhīḥ, Raghuvamśa* 10. 86.

The panel of Naranārāyaṇa at Deogarh is the earliest known representing this form. It is indeed a striking example of harmony, meticulous in every detail, as given in the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Four-armed Nārāyaṇa and Nara with a single pair of arms are seated under a Badarī tree, flanking it, wearing matted locks and black-antelope skin, holding the rosary, the very picture of tranquillity, one a complement to the other, one leg suspended and the other on or near the knee of the other : *dūrvāśyāmo naraḥ kāryo dvibhujāśca mahābhujā, nārāyaṇaścaturbāhur nilotpaladalacchaviḥ, taylor madhye ca badarī kāryā phalavibhūṣaṇā, badaryām anu tau kāryāvākṣamālādhārāvubhau, kṛṣṇājīnadharau dāntau jaṭāmaṇḍaladhārīṇau, pādena caikena rathasthitena pādena caikena ca jānugena, kāryo hariścātra nareṇa tulyaḥ kṛṣṇo'pi nārāyaṇatulyamūrtiḥ,*

Viṣṇudharmottara, 3.76.2-5. To this has to be added the text narrating the birth of Urvaśī: *nārāyaṇena muninā lokānām hitakāmyayā, prāptānām vañcanārthāya devastrīṇām mahāmuniḥ, sahakārarasam grhya ūrau cakre varastriyam, citreṇa sā tato jāṭā rūpayuktā varāpsarāḥ, yām dr̥ṣtvā vṛ̥ḍitās sarvā jagmus tā devayoṣitaḥ, Viṣṇudharmottara*, 3.35. 2-4.

One of the earliest representations of Viṣṇu as Vaikuṅṭha is in metal and is now in the Museum für Volkerkunde in Berlin. It is a late Gandhāran piece and is to be dated in the fourth-fifth century A. D. It is a rare example still preserving earlier Gandhāra tradition. The crown is based on the early Indian turban getting transformed into a crown with circular lotus-shaped jewel, *maulimaṇi*. The moustache, the muscular treatment of the body and the mode of garment worn, all recall Gandhāra work. This has been the inspiration for later representations of similar *caturvyūha* type of Viṣṇu with Narasiṃha-Varāha faces on either side and the Kapila aspect at the back as in the famous Vaikuṅṭha sculpture from Kashmir. The fat pot-bellied *cakra* as *āyudhapuruṣa* is delightfully treated as also Pṛthvī at his feet holding them on her palms. Noteworthy here are the details in the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* occurring visually in this figure. The circular crest jewel, *siraḥpadmas tathavivāśya kartavyaścārukarṇīkaḥ* (3.15.5); the lower garment reaching his knee, *devaśca kaṣṭhivāsena kāryo jānvaalambinā* (3.85.8); the garland *Vanamālā* up to his knee, *vanamālā ca kartavyā devajānvaalambinī* (3.85.9); the full blown lotus in his right hand and a real conch shell in his left hand, *vāmapāṇigataṁ śaṅkhaṁ śaṅkhākāraṁ tu kārayet* (3.85.10); Pṛthvī at his feet and between them, holding them on her palms, *strīrūpadhāriṇī kṣoṇī kāryā tatpādamadhyagā, tatkarasthāṅghriyugalo devaḥ kāryojanārdanaḥ* (3.85.6-7); personified wheel to his left, potbellied, bejewelled and with glaring globular eyes, *vāmahāgagataścakrah kāryo lambodaras tathā, sarvābharaṇasamyukto vṛtavīṣphāritekṣaṇaḥ* (3.85.13), all these specially tally as if one was made for the other. The four faces are the benign, leonine, porcine and of Kapila, *saumyaṁ tu vadanam pūrvam nārasimham tu dakṣiṇam, kāpilaṁ paścimam vaktṛam tathā vārāham uttaram* (3.44.11-12). In the context of the early date of this metallic sculpture, the reference to the early feature of the circular *maulimaṇi* on the headgear showing the transition from turban to crown in this text is indeed significant.

Metal images of the Cambā school of the eighth century recall to a certain extent earlier Gupta traditions blended with the Kashmiri, Gandhāran and Pratihāra elements. Of some of these images from the Brahmaur temple there is one which is rare and unique. There is only one example known of Nara-simha of this type. And it is interesting that this form has a special textual reference in the Viṣṇudharmottara. It is a well-known convention that sometimes attributes are not shown in the hands of deities. Their suggestion in hands in the *mudrā* for carrying them is a charming mode. Rāma or Tripurāntaka carry no bow or arrow. Viṣṇadhara has his hands in the attitude of holding the lute that is never depicted, the lotus or lily is absent in the hand of Dēvi in the attitude of holding it. In this manner Nara-simha is seated, on a lion throne, his upper pair of arms lacking the wheel and conch, the lower pair immediately under the chin of the leonine face as if resting on the tip of the handle of the club, *gadā*. The blend of early Gandhāran and Gupta elements in this early medieval sculpture is most obvious. What is most noteworthy here again is the circular *maulināṇi* on the headgear as in the earlier discussed Viṣṇu. The text of the Viṣṇudharmottara is amazingly close to this unique form; *simhāsane sukhāsīnaḥ kāryo vā bhagavān hariḥ, gadāmastakavinyastakaradvitayabhūṣaṇaḥ* (3. 78. 9). When we remember this is the only example of this type, and still has lingering early features, the text becomes all the more significant.

In the early Pallava plaque of the fourth century from Peddamudiyam there are several early forms of deities including the Śrīvatsa symbol partially anthropomorphised. In this band of lotus petals is shown on the head just below the crown. This tradition is continued in other similar but later Pallava representation in metal and stone, the former from Enāḍi and the latter from Kaveripākkam. The aid to understand this rare feature is again the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, that not only prescribes the representation of a lotus on the head of Śrī, but also explains it as symbolic of *saubhāgya*, the essence of auspiciousness and good fortune: *devyaśca mastake padmam tathā kāryam manoharam, saubhāgyam tad vijānīhi, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 82. 8. In another still earlier panel from near Tenāli, there is Lakṣmī almost as she is shown in the Peddamudiyam plaque but without the head and with a lotus in its stead.

The description of Varāha in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is significant. It mentions both the zoomorphic and the therianthropomorphic forms, *nṛvarāho varāho vā kartavyaḥ kṣmāvidhāraṇe*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 79. 10. The two classical examples, both very early Gupta, the zoomorphic from Eran and the therianthropomorphic from Udayagiri near Bhilsa, are close to the mental image of the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the text should have inspired the sculptor. We have to remember in this context the presence of Śeṣa personified and in worshipful attitude at the feet of Varāha shown in *ālīḍha* pose with his foot on the hoods, as in Udayagiri, mentioned in the text: *śeṣaścaturbhujah kāryaś cāruratrnaphaṇānvitah, sarpa bhogaśca kartavyas tathaiva rachitāñjaliḥ, ālīḍhasthānasamsthānas tatpṛṣṭhe bhagavān bhavet*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 79. 2, 4. The reason for the Udayagiri panel being cited as the one that the text has inspired is easily understood by the description of personified rivers, like Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and specially the ocean, the former in anthropomorphic form, against their stream on their respective vehicles and carrying brimming water pots, and the latter carrying a pot of gems. The ocean is mentioned in plural, and actually, against the ripple-shaped waves of the sea, the princely figure of the ocean is repeated four times at intervals, twice on the back wall and once on each of the side walls of the cave: The text again is significant: *saritām saśarīrāṇām vāhanāni pradarsayet, pūrṇakumbhakarāḥ kāryas tathā namitājānavah, ratnapatrarakarāḥ kāryās sāgarā manujottama, samudrāṇām prabhāsthāne salilam tu pradarsayet*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 42. 51, 53, 54.

There is a late Sātavāhana and Vākāṭaka tradition of representing two demons shaking the stalk of the lotus on which Buddha is seated. This is seen at Kārlā, Kanherī, Ajaṅṭā and Ellora. This is a Brahmanical motif borrowed in Buddhist context like the *udare mukha* Kabandha from the Rāmāyaṇa introduced in the hosts of Māra attacking Buddha in several Buddhist monuments at Amarāvati, Ajaṅṭā, Sārnāth etc. This has its real context in the Rāmāyaṇa and it does figure in the panel at Prambanam showing Kabandha slain. Kabandha does not, strangely enough, occur in his proper context anywhere in India, though he occurs even in the second century in a Buddhist context. Similarly Madhu and Kaiṭabha shaking the stalk of the lotus topped by Brahmā does not occur in any of the early Śeṣaśāyī panels. There

is, however, sometimes an approach to this attitude of the demons shaking the lotus stalk as in a medieval Śeṣasāyi panel in the Kotāḥ Museum. The text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* however mentions, very significantly, both the demons tugging at the stalk of Brahmā's lotus : *nālalagnau ca kartavyau padmasya madhukai-ṣabhu, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 81. 7. This may have been represented at Bhitargaon where most of the panels are either mutilated almost beyond recognition of their theme or completely lost. The one in the Indian Museum however lacks this feature.

The description of the form of Garuḍa in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is another significant pointer towards its early date. His nose is like the beak of the owl and the eyes are similarly circular in a globular face. He has distinct wings and human hands but the powerful legs of a hawk : *tārksyo marakataprakhyah kauśikākāranāsikah, caturbhujas tu kartavyo vṛttanetramukhas tathā, gṛdhrorujānucaranaḥ pakṣ-advayavibhūṣaṇah, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 54. 2. 3. This is exactly the form of Garuḍa in Gupta seals and in the copper coins of Chandragupta II. Specially noteworthy are the human arms and bird's legs. Later the legs become completely human. The earlier form of the Kuṣāṇa Garuḍa is that of a bird completely, except for the human ears with *kuṇḍala* decoration, a special feature only in the first two centuries of the Christian era.

A Pāla image of dancing Śiva is styled Nartēśvara in the inscription engraved on its pedestal. The earliest images of this type are Gupta, of the fourth-fifth centuries. A classical example is from Nācnā, from Mrs. Pupul Jayakar's collection, graciously presented by her to the National Museum. The term Nartēśvara occurs also in early medieval inscriptions in Cambodia. He is variously known as Naṭarāja and Naṭeśa and Āḍavallān or Kūttan in South India, all meaning, no doubt, the best of dancers. But the term Nartēśvara is spelt in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* to designate this from : *nṛttenārādhayannāste devaṅ cakragadādharam, nṛtteśvaratvaṁ cāvāpa tuṣṭāva madhusūdanam, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 34. 22-23. The tradition of Viṣṇu as Śeṣasāyi watching Śiva dancing is very old and it is intimately associated with the Natarāja-Govindarāja complex in Cidambaram, the home of the Naṭarāja cult itself in South India, and is repeated in famous murals of both Kerala as from Ettumānūr. The term Nṛtēśvara that has been adopted in north

India has its origin in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* text, that also brings together recumbent *Viṣṇu* and dancing Śiva, the one as the creator of the *aṅgaharas*, and the other of rhythmic *nṛtta* with stress on *tāla* and *laya*.

The Sadāśiva aspect of Śiva as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is a very important pointer to the monolithic three-faced Śiva in the central cell at Elephanta and in one of the Vākāṭaka caves at Ellora. The calm and serene central face is Sadyojāta, the face to the right is the terrible visage Aghora, to the left the sweet and charming Vāmadeva and on the rear Tatpuruṣa, respectively representing Śiva, Bhairava, Umā and Nandī, the fifth, too holy to permit cognizance, and of the nature of ether, is invisible. That is how the *caturmukhalinga* has its significance as Sadāśiva. It is mentioned by Bāṇa *caturmukhaṃ carācaragurum bhagavantam tryambakam* in the context of Mahaśvetā's worship of Śiva. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* mentions the attributes of each hand, bow and arrow for the central one, fruit and club for Aghora, mirror and lily for Vāmadeva and so forth. This is all so revealing when the monumental figure in the central cell of the Elephanta cave is observed. The *caturmukha* from Nācnā is another noteworthy example.

Dharma is described by Manu as Vṛṣa, *vṛṣo hi bhagavān dharmah*, Manusmṛti 8. 16, with four feet, *tapas*, *jñāna*, *yajña* and *dāna*, which in turn is described by Udayana as in a sad condition of deterioration, dangerously poised on the last remaining leg which is equally impaired: *pūrvam catuṣpād dharmā āsīt, tatas tanūyamāne tapasi tripāt, tato mlāyati jñāne dvipāt, samprati tanūyati yajñe danai-kaṣṭhāt, so'pi pādo durāgatādivipādikaśatadūṣito' śraddhāmalakalāṅkitaḥ kāmakrodhādikaṅṭakāśatajarjaraḥ pratyaham apachīyamānavīryatayā itas tatas skhalannivopalabhyate, Nyāyakusumāñjali* 2. 3. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes this as in anthropomorphic form, four-faced, four-armed and with four legs. Here *jñāna* mentioned by Udayana is replaced by *satya* making up *yajña*, *satya*, *tapas* and *dāna* the four faces of Dharma, the four feet *śruti*, *smṛti*, *sadācāra* and *priyam ātmanah* as the four feet, following Manu who says *vedo'khilo dharmamūlam smṛtiśīle ca tadvidām, ācāroścaiva sādḥūnām ātmanas tṛptir eva ca*. A rare representation of Dharma is in the Lucknow Museum and can be dated in about the 9th-10th century. A. D. Undoubtedly the significance of the four legs of Dharma

and the anthropomorphic iconography given in the text is the inspirer of this sculpture, and for aught we know there should be an earlier Gupta representation. Dr. Bloch discovered at Basarh a terracotta seal with legend in Brāhmī *dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ*, a line from the Mahābhārata chosen by a high dignitary as his ideas in the Gupta period. This concept and text for it should be taken as an indication of an early date.

The earliest sculpture of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva flanking Ekānamśā is of the period of transition from Kuṣāṇa to Gupta. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* has an elaborate description of this group which is important. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* gives exactly the same description of Ekānamśā as in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*: *ekānamśā kārṇyā devī-baladevakṛṣṇayor madhye, kaṭisamsthītavāmakarā sarojam itareṇa codvahaṭī, Bṛhatsamhitā* 57. 37. In the Pāñcāla Mitra series of coinage, the goddess on the reverse of Bhadrāghoṣa's coin is the female deity Bhadrā, in allusion to the name of Bhadrāghoṣa, as observed by Allan in his Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India, p. cxvii, 197, and plate. Bhadrā is Subhadrā, same as Ekānamśā. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* says: *ekānamśāpi kartavyā devī padmakarā tathā, kaṭisthavāmahastā sā madhyasthā rāmakṛṣṇayoh* (3. 85. 71-72).

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* suggests the depiction of only eight planets omitting Ketu: *aṣṭau vā tatra kartavyā grahāḥ ketuivārjitāḥ, sūryaś śūkraḥ kujo rāhus saurīscandro budho guruḥ, krameṇānena kartavyam tatra rājan grahāṣṭakam* (3. 85. 52-53). This is specially interesting as in the Gupta period, and even up the seventh-eighth centuries, Ketu was kept out of the row of *grahas* or planets represented. It is again a pointer to an early date for the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

Added to this is the evidence of the Vākāṭaka paintings in the Ajaṅṭā caves, that is revealing, when examined in detail with passages in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, that throw a flood of light on the proper understanding of several technical details in the paintings themselves.

Yet another pointer to the early date of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is the wholesale absorption of portions of the *Citrāsūtra* in the *Citralakṣaṇa* of the Buddhist *Tanjur*, which as a text on art was

obscure for over sixty years in its German translation, and fortunately is more accessible now for study in its English version. The striking similarity of whole passages, even details of descriptions, classifications, identical phraseology that can be seen through even a translation of the third or fourth remote, is all telling. The English rendering is from the German version of the Tibetan form of the original Sanskrit text that was lost quite long ago. And yet the rendering in each case has been so faithful and literal that the close parallelism between the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Citralakṣaṇa* can be easily established. It is clear from the vast internal evidence in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* to establish its early date. The fact that the *Citralakṣaṇa* is mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala the commentator of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* establishes the lower limit of date for this text that has been dovetailed in the Buddhist text. As it is a non-Buddhist text incorporated in discordance with the main text of the Buddhist *Tanjur*, and as it draws its substance from the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, this latter should have been sufficiently well known as an early text on painting for the other to arise out of it. All this becomes clear from a careful perusal of the text of the *Citralakṣaṇa*. Bhaṭṭotpala's date 966 A. D. is the later limit of this text. It may possibly be a couple of centuries earlier but in any case much later than the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. The borrowal of one from the other reminds one of the similar verbatim copy of the seventeenth century Śivatvatratnākara from the twelfth century *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*.

The *Citralakṣaṇa* from the Tibetan *Tanjur* translated by Berthold Laufer into German over sixty years ago is now available in an English translation by B. N. Goswamy and Dahmen-Dallapicolla. The original of this in Sanskrit having been lost long ago, the reference to it by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsamhitā* could not make it any better known. Even when its German version was made available, it was very little known except to a few as a fairly early text on Indian art. The English rendering of it has enabled it to be studied and understood better.

The text commences with a salutation to Brahmanical deities like Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, Pārvati, Kamalā, Sarasvatī, Indra, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Prajāpati and Viśvakarmā,

and is quite an incongruous addition in the Buddhist *Tanjur*. The only justification for its inclusion in this text, as Dr. Goswamy puts it, is that in the absence of any other Buddhist work on painting the Buddhists readily incorporated it in their book. But it was included without camouflaging it and destroying its non-Buddhist character.

The text, however, on close examination turns out to be very close to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* of which it is almost a verbatim copy, with this difference, that the origin of painting here is a different legend from the one in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, while the main principles on the mode of *citra* that the king learnt from Brahmā are a copy of a portion of the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. The *Citralakṣaṇa* gives only the proportions and measurements of *mahāpuruṣas* and the classification of major types like Haṁsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Rucaka and Śaśaka. Since the Sanskrit text is lost the terms used are reconstructed from the Tibetan. The word Sādhu given for a saint could be Haṁsa, the word in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* also meaning a saintly one. Balin is probably Bhadra. Mālava is the same as Mālavya of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Vyañjana and Giridhara are to be equated with Śaśaka and Rucaka. Their diminishing proportions in their order are 108 digits for the highest, the Cakravartin, 106 for the Sādhu, i. e., two digits shorter, 104 for the Mālava, i. e., four digits shorter, 100 for the Vyañjana, i. e., eight digits shorter, and 98 for the Giridhara, i. e., ten digits shorter (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 81 and 105). This may be compared with *śatam aṣṭādhikam bhavet, ṣaḍuttaram, caturbhir adhikam śatam, daśanam* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* text (3. 35. 9-11).

The special detail of the measure, their own respective *aṅgula* (*svenaivāṅgulimānena śatam aṣṭādhikam bhavet, Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 35. 9) is repeated in the *Citralakṣaṇa* 'it should amount to 108 digits according to the measurements of his own finger' (p. 81). The calculation of *aṅgu kalā, yava, aṅgula* though defined in the *Citralakṣaṇa* is taken as understood in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as in other Śilpa texts. The elaborate proportions in *aṅgulas* of the forehead, face, nose, lips, chin, ear, eye, neck, chest, abdomen, waist, thigh, shank, foot, toes and fingers, the *tālamāna* and all the other details given in both the texts are particularly identical.

The classification of the eyes into *cāpākṛti*, *matsyodara*, *utpalapatrābha*, *padmapatranibha* and *śaṅkhākṛti* with measurements is given here exactly as in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as well as the use of each in its context, *cāpākṛti* for the sight in yoga meditation, *matsyodara* for women and lovers, *utpalapatrābha* for normal ordinary individuals, *padmapatranibha* for the frightened and crying, and *śaṅkhākṛti* for the angered and pain-tormented (*Citralakṣaṇa* p. 84). It is a verbatim narration again of the description of the eyes as well, as for instance the eyes like *utpala* are red at the corners with black shining pupils, the lashes long-pointed and pleasing, soft and delicate in lustre; and when painted for the gods would increase the prosperity of all beings. It can be seen how the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* exactly answers the translation of the *Citralakṣaṇa* amazingly. One has only to read *cāpākāraṃ bhavennetraṃ yogabhūminirīkṣaṇāt, matsyodarākṛiti kāryaṃ nāīṅāṃ kāmināṃ tathā, netraṃ utpalapatrābhāṃ nirvikārasya śasyate, trastasya rudataścaiva padmapatranibhaṃ bhavet, krudhasya vedanārtasya netraṃ śaṅkhākṛti bhavet* (*Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 37. 12-15) and *netraṃ utpalapatrābhāṃ raktāntaṃ kṛṣṇatārakam, prasannaṃ dīrghapakṣmāntaṃ manojñaṃ mṛdusattamam, devatānāṃ kṛtam rājan prajāhitakaraṃ bhavet, same gokṣīravaraṅbhe snigdhe jihmāgrapakṣmale, prasanne padmanetrānte manojñe priyadarśane, kṛṣṇatāre viśāle ca nayane śrīśukha-prade* (*Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 38. 1-3) against the translation of the *Citralakṣaṇa* 'That which relates to the eyes of Kings, their length and width has already been described. In the case of Yogis, their eyes, bespeaking of equanimity, should be made to resemble a bow made of bamboo. In the case of women and lovers should be made eyes that resemble the belly of a fish. In the case of ordinary persons, eyes that resemble an *utpala* should be adopted. It is laid down that to express fright and crying, eyes resembling the petal of a *padma* lotus should be used. The eyes of those troubled by anger and grief should be painted resembling a cowrie shell. Eyes resembling an *utpala* petal are red at the corners, the pupils are black and shiny, the lashes have long points and are pleasing with the lustre of their colour appearing in soft tones. When one has painted the eyes of the Gods, the well being of the kings and of all beings shall increase. (The eyes of the Gods) are lustrous and rich like the colour of cow's milk, having lashes devoid of coarseness, resplendent like a

petal of a *padma* lotus and constantly changing in their play of colours because of the blueness of the conjunctiva, with pupils black and large; the painting of eyes such as these brings riches and good fortune' (*Citrakṣaṇa* p. 84).

The description of celestial faces (*Citrakṣaṇa* p. 86) as squarish, beautifully full, endowed with brilliant and pleasing marks, neither triangular nor sloping, neither angry nor round is just a translation of the Sanskrit text of the *Citrasūtra*, *chaturasram susampūrṇam prasannaṁ śubhalakṣaṇam, atriḥṇam avakram cākruddhāvṛitam mukham bhavet, dīrghamaṇḍalavakrāṇi trikoṇādīni yāni ca, varjyāni tāni devānām prajāsu śivam icchatā* (*Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 38. 4-5).

Again, the description of the three-fold lines on the palms, deep and fine and of the colour of the blood of the hare, webbed fingers and toes (*jālapādakara* and *jālāṅguli*) and other *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas* are all repeated in such a way that the Sanskrit *jālapādakarāḥ kāryas tathā vai cakravartināḥ, rekḥāśca karayoḥ kāryās tisro rājñām manoharāḥ, śaśakṣatījasan̄kāśās śastā vai kṣāmakoṭikāḥ*, of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (3. 37. 5-6) exactly answers the translation of the *Citrakṣaṇa* (p. 92).

Similarly the division of hair into varieties of *kuntala*, *dakṣiṇāvarta*, *taraṅga*, *simhakesara*, *varāhara* and *jūṣaṭasara* is verbatim repeated with a description of the characteristics of each (*Citrakṣaṇa* p. 98).

The idea of good fortune arriving in the trail of painting divine countenance, eyes and face according to injunctions is expressed identically in both the texts. The line 'when one has painted the eyes of the Gods, the well being of the Kings and of all beings shall increase' (*Citrakṣaṇa* p. 84) and he who has painted such a face shall always gain earthly rewards (*Citrakṣaṇa* p. 86) is answered in the Sanskrit text *devatānām kṛtam rājan prajāhitakaram bhavet* and *prajāsu śivam icchatā*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.38.2,5.

But even more startling is the praise of the art of painting as given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* repeated in the *Citrakṣaṇa*. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* proclaims that as the Mount Sumeru is the pre-eminent among mountains, as Garuḍa is the best among the birds, as the ruler is the foremost among men, so is painting the fore-

most among arts; *yathā sumeruḥ pravaro nagānām yathāṇḍajānām garuḍaḥ pradhānaḥ, yathā janānām pravaraḥ kṣitīśas tathā kalānām iha citrakalpaḥ*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 43. 39, while the *Cītralakṣaṇa* first repeats this verbatim and then with a few more additions gives it an elaboration : 'Just as the most excellent among mountains is Sumeru, and just as he who soars heavenward (Garuḍa) is the first among the egg-born, just as the king is the first among human beings, so is painting among the skills. . . Just as Sumeru is the foremost among mountains, just as the Gaṅgā is the foremost among rivers, and just as the Sun is the foremost among the planets, just as the King of the birds (Garuḍa) soars heavenwards, just as Indra is first among the Gods, so is painting the foremost among skills' (*Cītralakṣaṇa* p. 73).

Thus, the cumulative evidence gathered from various points of view, including the internal evidence from the description of iconography, compared with the extant sculptures representing the various deities, is all in favour of an early date of transition from Kuṣāṇa to Gupta with Kuṣāṇa features still lingering in sculptural renderings of textual descriptions.*

* Diacritical marks given in this article are in accordance with the scheme adopted by the International Congress of Orientalists at Athens in 1912.

THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA : SĀMKHYA AT THE
SERVICE OF NON-DUALISM

By

DANIEL P. SHERIDAN

The *BhP* of all the Purāṇas is the most unified.¹ Written in the ninth century A. D. in South India, it became the authoritative Scripture for several Vaiṣṇava sects. As such it fitted the theological needs of later centuries. However, because Śaṅkara's *māyā* doctrine obscured the difference-in-identity context of early Vaiṣṇava Vedānta and Sāṅkhya, and because Iṣvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhya Kārikās* coopted the name Sāṅkhya, the Sāṅkhya of the *BhP* needs to be studied in its original import, not through the secondary sources of the sectarian commentaries.²

The *BhP* is a combination of Vedāntic non-dualism and Vaiṣṇava devotionalism. It apparently was not influenced by Śaṅkara's absolute non-dualism. Instead it represents a non-dualism which accomodates the reality of the universe and of individual selves in it within the all-encompassing reality of Brahman. Brahman by means of his creative energy (*māyā*) has evolved the universe from his own reality. It never ceases to be of his own substance and returns eventually to its source in Brahman.

1. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (cited as *BhP*) was redacted around the end of the 9th century A. D. The writing of the *BhP* was probably done within a group of learned ascetics, probably Brahmans, who, while remaining steadfast to their tradition of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, were attempting to legitimize that devotion within the broader Hindu tradition. The *BhP* takes the form of a dialogue between Vyāsa and Nārada related by Śuka to Sūta. The redactor's choice of Purāṇic genre indicates that the narration of Kṛṣṇa's life was important while at the same time the genre enable him to collate complex traditions. It also indicates that the teaching had not yet reached the stage where a systematics was possible, for example, as in commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*. The *BhP* was later the primary scripture for such theologians as Madhva, Vallabha, and the school of Caitanya.
2. The first extant commentary is by Śrīdhara, a follower of Śaṅkara.

In order to explain and corroborate this non-dualism which maintains the reality of the universe, the *BhP* relies on a form of Purāṇic Sāṁkhya. There is one *puruṣa* which is Brahman evolving the universe. From it *prakṛti* evolves all subsequent evolutes. The individual self in this context is a specification of the one *puruṣa* within the sphere of the evolutes. The *BhP* uses the Sāṁkhya doctrine of *satkārya*, the presence of the cause in the effect and the effect in the cause to assert that Brahman is the 'material' cause of the universe and of the individual selves. Thus the *BhP*'s non-dualism served by its Sāṁkhya is a difference-in-identity of non-dualism.

The *BhP* describes two forms of devotion. In its discourses it draws upon a conservative form of devotion. This is heavily influenced by the path of knowledge and by yogic discipline. Its primary characteristic is a meditation which results in the absorption of the devotee within the non-duality of Bhagavān. This form of devotion strengthens the identity pole of the *BhP*'s difference-in-identity non-dualism.

The second form of devotion is innovative and occurs within its narrative passages, especially in the tenth canto. Devotion here is ecstatic, emotional, and erotic. The paradigmatic devotees are the cowherd girls with whom Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa frolics in Vṛndāvana. The highest form of their devotion to Kṛṣṇa is not union but separation following union. Thus this form of devotion strengthens the difference pole of the difference-in-identity non-dualism.

The bridge between the two poles is the *BhP*'s Sāṁkhya which affirms the transcendence of Brahman, the immanence of Brahman in his evolutes, and with characteristics realism the reality of those evolutes. Thus Sāṁkhya serves and supports a difference-in-identity non-dualism.

I. Non-Dualism

An investigation of the teaching of the *BhP* about non-dualism is complicated by several factors, not the least of which is the nature of the Purāṇic genre, which by its inclusivity introduces differing names and terms for the Absolute, each with its own connotations. The *BhP* usually relies on the variegated Vedāntic

vocabulary, but in addition it often uses a Sāṃkhya terminology. There is no doubt of the *BhP*'s non-dualist emphasis, yet its precise import and meaning are not immediately clear. S. Dasgupta, perhaps too hastily, remarks that "as regards the position of God and His relation to the world the outlook of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is rather ambiguous."³ Non-dualism is prescribed differently of different subjects : Brahman, Ātman, Puruṣa, Bhagavān, etc. Yet through this apparent lack of clarity it is possible to perceive a single import. The *BhP* itself states that it was written "for the sole purpose of the tenth," that is, *āśraya*.⁴ *Āśraya* means : that on which anything rests, or depends, or the person or thing in which any quality is inherent, an asylum, refuge, source or origin. In this context *āśraya* is a synonym for Brahman or Bhagavān : "That from which there is the appearance, maintenance, and destruction (of the universe), he is called the Highest Brahman and the Highest Self."⁵ An examination of similar passages about non-dualism shows that there is a complex teaching that Brahman Ātman, Puruṣa, Bhagavān, etc., are non-dual. The question naturally arises : if the same quality is ascribed to these different subjects, are they identical ? If not, is there a consistent sense or pattern in the ascription ? Further, what ramifications does the perception or deduction of non-duality have for the apparent duality of God and the world, of the individual self and the Highest Self ?

The *BhP* in several passages indicates that non-dualism means that there is only one real existent. In the course of a lengthy discourse by Brahmā, who is the first created being derived from the Supreme Being, to Nārada, Brahmā sums up his insight into Bhagavān : "The Bhagavān, all-creating, has been explained to you, my son; in brief, there is no other thing than Hari, neither actual nor potential."⁶ In a context describing the

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3. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, IV (Cambridge : at the University Press, 1948) p. 18.
 4. The translation is in many instances mine and in others is an adaptation of that by C. L. Goswami and M. A. Sastri. This and all following references to the *BhP* will be by number alone, canto, chapter, verse. II, 10, 2a.
 5. I, 5, 13.
 6. II, 7, 50.

creation of the world and the various manifestations of God within it, Brahmā affirms Hari's all-pervading singleness, outside of him there is nothing. If there is anything, its reality must be derived or exist within the greater reality of God. Again in an address to Brahmā, at the beginning of creation, when only Brahmā had yet been created, Viṣṇu told him : "I only existed, Supreme, there was no other who as actual or potential was in the beginning; at the end I, who am all this, will remain; I am this."⁷ In this context Viṣṇu's existence is placed within a temporal sequence of sole existence, creation, maintenance, destruction, and then sole existence again.

In the third canto the sequence of creation is described in a discussion between Vidura and Maitreya. Brahmā, after a hundred years of intense meditation, addresses Viṣṇu : "You have today become known to me after a long time. There is nothing but you, O God, nor is anything else pure; you appear vast because of the union of the qualities by your creative energy."⁸ Here there is a sense of simultaneity of Viṣṇu, of his first created Brahmā, and also of that which is yet to be created. Again the created order is identified within the sole existent : "you are vast." The cause of plurality is God's creative energy which introduces it into the sole existent.

In canto six, Janīrdana (Kṛṣṇa) revealed his form as the Supreme person to another subordinate creator, Dakṣa : "Asceticism is my heart, worship is my body, activity is my wisdom, sacrifices well-performed are the members of my body, the merit resulting from such sacrifices is my mind, and the gods are my vital airs."⁹ Here the only existent Self is described in moral terms. Before the creation he was the only existent in a state of inactivity : "There was nothing else inside or outside. I consisted of consciousness and was unmanifest, deep sleep as it were was everywhere."¹⁰ The one existent is a person, made up only of consciousness (*samjñāna*), who kept back in an unmanifest state his infinite possibilities in a deep sleep. The activities and religious duties of embodied beings go on in some unmanifested,

7. II, 9, 32.

8. III, 9, 1.

9. VI, 4, 46.

10. VI, 4, 47.

transcendental state within this eternal Person. This non-dual Person has unbounded possibilities for plurality.

Thus non-duality does not mean that the sole existent being cancels out plurality. The *BhP* has many passages in which non-duality is described as within the sphere of plural forms. In the seventh canto Nārada tells Yudiṣṭhira that not only those who love Bhagavān attain him but also those who hate him. This follows from the fact that the non-dual dwells within every creature as its inner Self. Nārada says that if Bhagavān is one without a second, how then can the Supreme be violent or chastise his foes? The answer: the mind should be fixed on him who is not other than oneself, thus love and hatred both bring about the same result.¹¹ This is further illustrated in canto three in a Sāṁkhya text which describes the non-duality of the one and the many as a reflection of being in non-being: "He discovers that the mark of what is liberated is the reflection of the existent in the non-existent; the bond of the existent is the eye which sees the non-existent; sewed into everything is the non-dual."¹² The non-dual existent is within all that is relatively non-existent in order to provide a basis for liberation. The Lord sees his own reflection in the non-existent and because it is his reflection he is bound to it. Though non-dual, he is 'sewed' together with all that is many. Thus the many is only relatively non-existent.

A similar text is Hiranyakaśipu's eulogy of Brahmā in canto three. This text is a little unusual for the *BhP* in that it treats Brahmā, who is the first created being and who in turn is the creator of all subsequent creation, as synonymous with the Supreme Deity. Brahmā, rather than being an autonomous creation, is considered as that aspect of the Deity which is creative: "You are the immutable Self occupying the highest place, unborn, all-pervading, the living Self of the individual self and of the world."¹³ As the Highest Self Brahmā pervades everything, the chain of causes can be traced back to him and

11. cf. VII, 1, 26.

12. III, 27, 11.

13. VII, 3, 31b.

thus nothing can be said to be totally distinct from him : "There is nothing other than you, cause or effect, mobile or immobile; the sciences and their branches are your bodies, you are the golden womb of the universe, the great Viṣṇu."¹⁴

Nārada in his conversation with Yudiṣṭhira demonstrates how a reflection on non-difference yields three different aspects of non-dualism :

The sage shaking off the three dreams through understanding himself meditates on the non-duality of thought (*bhāvādvaitam*), the non-duality of action (*kriyādvaitam*) and the non-duality of substance (*dravyādvaitam*).

Examining the substantial unity of cause and effect, as in the weaving of cloth, since their diversity is unreal—this is called the non-duality of thought.

Presenting all of one's actions of mind, speech, and body, directly to the Highest Brahman—this is called the non-duality of action.

Identifying one's own interests and desires with that of one's wife, children, etc. and of all other embodied beings—this is called the non-duality of substance.¹⁵

Here in this marvellous summary of Vedāntic teaching, the *BhP* grounds its teaching concerning different kinds of actions in an ever-deepening insight into non-duality. The surrender of the fruits of one's action, the discarding of the duality of injunctions and prohibitions, is called *kriyādvaita*. When this has been achieved, the non-duality of substance becomes possible, an altruism which destroys the dichotomy between 'I' and 'mine' and the rest of the world. These two modes of non-duality are ultimately resolved in the non-duality of thought in which the dichotomy between the single Cause and the world of plurality is dissolved in a vision of non-differenced unity.

But what is this non-differenced, non-dual reality? In certain passages the *BhP* says that it is knowledge or consciousness itself. Thus in the first canto where the program of the *BhP* is being laid out, Sūta replies to the questions of the sages by

14. VII, 3, 32.

15. VII, 15, 62-64.

pointing out that “the end of life is inquiry into reality . . . Learned men who know reality say that it is non-dual knowledge; it is called Brahman, the Highest Self, and Bhagavān.”¹⁶ The non-duality of reality is such that no ultimate distinction between knower and knowledge can be made, although by giving the absolute reality different names, the *BhP* affirms that the richness of absolute reality cannot be exhausted by considering it from one angle only. The *BhP* draws on various traditions to aid the understanding. The terms ‘Brahman’ and ‘Highest Self’ are drawn from Vedānta, while ‘Bhagavān’ is dear to the Vaiṣṇavas. The final position given to Bhagavān seems to raise it above the other two in importance, and this is borne out by the Purāṇa as a whole. Thus non-dual knowledge, which is the essence of the absolute reality, is, according to the *BhP*, ultimately personal.

Again, when Brahmā recites the primordial *BhP* in the second canto to Nārada, he asserts that the Puruṣa is “Pure, absolute knowledge, determined individually and wholly, the truth, abundance, beginningless, and endless, without qualities, eternal, and non-dual.”¹⁷ The personal nature of absolute reality and its non-duality are affirmed along with its identity with absolute knowledge.

The last passage refers to the non-dual as ‘without qualities’. There are any number of passages in the *BhP* in which non-dualism is coupled with terms such as nirguṇa, aguṇa, arūpa etc. The question arises whether these can be taken in the sense of Śaṅkara’s concept of nirguṇa Brahman. According to T. S. Rukmani, “the philosophic teaching of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* stands nearer to Śaṅkara’s system than to the theistic Sāṅkhya which dominates the other Purāṇic works.”¹⁸ However, an examination of passages which use these terms will reveal that they have a different import than Śaṅkara’s nirguṇa Brahman.

Where Puruṣa and Ātman are described as ‘without qualities’ both occur in contexts in which the Supreme Deity, whether as

16. I, 2, 106-111.

17. II, 6, 39.

18. T. S. Rukmani, *A Critical Study of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, Vol LXXVII, Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1970, p. 4.

Puruṣa or as Kṛṣṇa, is engaged with a universe dependent upon him. This association of what is without qualities with what has qualities is characteristic of the non-dualism of the *BhP*. For example in canto one, Sūta says that "this form of Bhagavān, who indeed has no form, consisting of consciousness, is fashioned in the Self through the qualities of his creative energy, the Great Principle, etc."¹⁹ He who has no form is capable of assuming form for his own conscious purposes. The lack of form is related to his essential nature as consciousness, which is untouched ultimately by his own work of creation. Further a Sāmkhya scheme of creation-emanation is implied in the use of the concepts of 'creative energy' (*māyā*) and the 'Great Principle' (*mahat*). The qualities (*guṇas*) are the immanent constituents, though noumenal, of the created universe, and by definition are not related to the essence of the Absolute. The qualities are used by the Absolute's creative energy: "The three qualities . . . have been accepted by the creative energy of the Lord, who is without qualities, for the maintenance, creation, and destruction (of the universe)."²⁰

It is by no means insignificant that the opening verse of the *BhP* relates the absolute reality, Brahman, to creation. Here, in what S. Dasgupta calls "probably the most important passage in the *Bhāgavata*,"²¹ the highest truth is indissolubly linked to the phenomenal world of creation, which is described as 'not false' (*amṛṣā*):

The Self-luminous who knows all by union and by difference, from when is the creation, etc. of this universe, who revealed to the heart of the First Sage (Brahmā) the *Vedas*, about whom the sages are confused, whose creation of the qualities is not false wherever there is the transformation into, for instance, fire, water, earth—I meditate (on Him) the Highest Truth, by his own strength free from deception.²²

Although this verse has been interpreted to mean that creation through the three qualities is false, it may mean the opposite.

19. I, 3, 30.

20. II, 5, 18.

21. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, IV, 33.

22. I, 1, 1.

Since the Lord is Self-luminous (*svarāf*) and free from deception, creation has reality from his reality. As Sūta tells the sages : “Just as fire permeated pieces of wood, so the Person, one, the Self of all, shines on all beings distinctly as their source.”²³ As the source of everything that is, Person permeates all things as their inner Self.

The *BhP*'s non-dualism in these creation passages sometimes equates, while immediately qualifying that equation, the universe with Bhagavān, who is “indeed the universe, yet different from it; from him is the creation, destruction, and maintenance of the world.”²⁴ In canto eight, Śiva praised Hari for being “the Lord of the world who pervades and constitutes the world, the controller, the cause and the Self of all beings . . . from which is the beginning middle, and end of this universe, the ego and the other (the self), which are outside but which cannot be changed.”²⁵ It is as if the *Bhāgavata* were searching for metaphors and concepts to describe its ineffable vision of the relation of the Absolute with the created world. Thus here there is a non-duality of Brahman, who is truth and consciousness, and that which is other, the universe and the individual self.

One of the most celebrated passages of the *BhP* is in canto ten, where Yaśodā reprimands the child Kṛṣṇa for eating dirt while at play. Kṛṣṇa says that he had not eaten dirt and opened his mouth to show his mother. Inside she saw the entire universe, the mountains, oceans, the heavens, stars, and lightning. She saw not only the material world, but also the psychic world, the senses, the mind, the objects of the senses, and the three qualities. “At the same time she saw in his wide open mouth the variegated universe, divided into individual selves, time, their inherent tendency and inherited destiny, the seed of action, along with Vraja and herself, and she was seized with terror.”²⁶ She realized that her son was the Lord. He then “cast the creative energy of Viṣṇu so that she again felt affection for her son.”²⁷

23. I, 2, 32.

24. I, 5, 20a.

25. VIII, 12, 4-5.

26. X, 8, 39.

27. X, 8, 436.

She lost her knowledge of the Self and took her son on her lap. Such is the awesome lordship of Bhagavān, the awesome knowledge of the great mystery of Bhagavān's relationship to the universe, that mere mortals may not bear to know of it casually.

Thus the *BhP* illustrates the ineffable non-duality of Kṛṣṇa, who is beyond the qualities, yet as their source, possesses them within himself. He is both nirguṇa, without qualities, and saṅguṇa, with qualities. This non-duality is usually just asserted and apparently contradictory statements are juxtaposed paradoxically. The mere mortal, such as Ya odā, is stricken with terror at the immense mystery of the Lord's nature, which creates multiplicity within his unity.

The non-duality of Bhagavān with the universe and the individual self is not the non-dualism without qualities (*nirviśeṣā-dvāita* or *abhedavāda*) of Śaṅkara. The *BhP*'s teaching is a non-dualism compatible with a plurality of beings and individual selves. At the end of canto ten there is a chapter which deals directly with this relationship. Parīkṣit wonders how the Scripture immersed in and dealing with the qualities can then know about a God who is indefinable, without qualities, and beyond cause and effect. Sūta in reply asserts that the creation is indeed from Bhagavān, however transcendent he may be. He created so that the individuals so evolved may delight in his creation and at the same time return to him in liberation. Ignorance, paradoxically, is beginningless and has assumed the qualities for an evil purpose. But Bhagavān, although transcendent, has many divine attributes. Therefore, "the Veda is able to describe you when you sport or when you exist absolutely."²⁸ There is delusion, no doubt ultimately derived from Bhagavān himself, which regards the qualities as not derived from Bhagavān. But the qualities of the universe, which are described in the Scripture, can only point to Bhagavān, whether in an exterior manifested state or in an interior unmanifested state: "The wise recognize this known universe as you, because you always persist and because it is from and into what is unchanged that the universe emanates and returns."²⁹ Therefore words can describe and the mind can

28. X, 87, 14.

29. X, 87, 15.

know the transcendent Bhagavān since everything is Brahman and anything that can exist even for a time is part of him. What-ever can be thought or spoken refers to him.

Although he is the ultimate reality, who is without difference (*abheda*), the Brahman evolves from himself and enters into the categories of creation and becomes differentiated. What is more, Brahman has become personal within the created universe in order to show mortals the truth of that creation. The microcosm is like the macrocosm, one, undivided, and personal : “. . . your manifestations have revealed the truth about your Self, which is difficult to realize.”³⁰ The reality of the universe is relative to the reality of the Self : “The knowers of the Self by means of the Self recognize this universe as real; just as those in quest of gold do not reject its modifications because it is still gold, so is the universe concluded to be the very Self in as much as it is evolved and pervaded by the Self.”³¹ Both the individual self and the universe are identical because both have their source in the Highest Self. The mind can “penetrate to Brahman, even though he is without qualities and indefinable.”³² Non-duality is the import of the *BhP*, yet the universe is not thereby unreal. Both the universe and the individual self have a degree of reality derived from Brahman with whom they are not different. It may be that the redactor of the *BhP* was unable to present a clear scholastic understanding of this paradox, as the later Vaiṣṇava ācāryas were to attempt. Nonetheless, he knew what his faith was and held firmly to its paradoxes.

II. The Sāṃkhya of the *BhP*

The *BhP*, in addition to its basic use of Upaniṣadic language, also employs the terminology of Sāṃkhya. Both Sāṃkhya and Vedānta have their roots in the Upaniṣads. The main thrust of both was the insight of non-dualism. With the passage of time the tradition of Sāṃkhya took a dualistic and non-theistic, if not atheistic, turn, in the Sāṃkhya of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas developed a Sāṃkhya which was theistic and compatible

30. X, 87, 21a.

31. X, 87, 26.

32. X, 87, 49b.

with the Vedāntic non-dualism of Brahman and the world and of the Highest Self and the individual self. In the *BhP* the Purāṇic Sāṁkhya is correlative to and corroborative of non-dualism. As investigation of its Sāṁkhya passages re-enforces the conclusion that the non-dualism of the *BhP* is able to accommodate the pluralism of the world and of the individual selves.

Kapila, the legendary founder of the Sāṁkhya school, is in the *BhP* a descent of Bhagavān, who was born into the house of Kardama in order to found the Sāṁkhya system. "My present birth in this world is meant only for expounding the true nature of the categories (*tattvas*) which are helpful for those who seek release from their subtle bodies."³³ The intent of the redactor of the *BhP* is obviously to re-enforce his teaching by appeal to the traditional authority of the Kapila Sāṁkhya. Even though Sāṁkhya terminology is found throughout the *BhP*, Sāṁkhya itself is presented as a special revelation by Kapila to his mother Devahūti in canto three and by Kṛṣṇa to Uddhava in canto eleven.

Sāṁkhya is both a cosmology and a psychology. It traces from a single principle the evolution of the entire universe and of the consciousness of the individual person. In the *BhP* that single principle is Brahman: "(1) The material cause of this (universe), the primal nature (*prakṛti*), (2) he who presides over, the Highest Person, and (3) that which reveals its being, Time— these three are indeed I, Brahman."³⁴ Brahman or Bhagavān by his own power creates all beings within his Self, without being changed in any way, just as a spider spins a web out of its own substance and then plays with it. In the beginning he was alone beyond the immanent constituent qualities. All potentiality was submerged within him in a latent equilibrium. Intent on becoming many, Bhagavān by means of his creative energy brought forth from his own being time, the inherited destiny of creatures (*karma*), and their innate essence (*svabhāva*). These had formerly been manifest but had become latent and now were again approaching manifestation. These innate principles enable Bhagavān to reflect his unity in the

33. III, 24, 36.

34. XI, 24, 19.

plurality of other beings. "The peculiarity of the *Bhāgavata*", according to A. Sen Gupta, "lies in the fact that here the supreme self, on its own initiative, has reflected itself in *Māyā* and thus fallen under the influence of its own power."³⁵ This is not the case in the classical *Sāṃkhya* where the motive for creation is inherent in primal nature and not in a transcendent reality.

The two versions of *Sāṃkhya* have much in common, yet also have significant differences. According to the *BhP*, the first emergent category is the primal nature from which evolves the great principle (*mahat*) which contains within itself the germ of the entire universe. The great principle has a nature of pure being and intelligence adequate for the entire cosmos. The great principle of the *BhP* is not the intellect of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*'s classical *Sāṃkhya* where it is the source for the bondage of the individual spirit nor does the evolution of the great principle occur because of the presence of unbound individual spirits as in *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*. Rather the great principle of the *BhP* is the cosmic intelligence (*citta*) of the cosmic Person (*puruṣa*): "From this unmanifest (= *prakṛti*), impelled by time, was evolved the great principle, which, since it dispells inertia (*tamas*), has a nature of intelligence (*vijñāna*) and is capable of manifesting the universe which exists within itself."³⁶ In the *BhP*, in contrast to *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*, the phenomenal mind is a function of the individual self and is an evolute of the 'active' ego (*rājasa ahaṃkāra*).

From the great principle the three-fold ego (*ahaṃkāra*) evolves, the source of 'I' and 'mine'. The three forms of the ego are the 'knowing' ego (*sāttvika*), the 'active' ego (*rājasa*), and the 'inertial' ego (*tāmasa*). From the 'knowing' ego arises the mind (*manas*), "whose thoughts and reflections give rise to desires."³⁷ The mind is directive, supervising and motivating the senses. From the 'active' ego the phenomenal mind (*buddhi*) arises, which is a collective term for the functioning of the cognitive (*jñāna*) and the conative (*karma*) senses (*indriya*). The phenomenal mind is characterized by doubt, misapprehension, correct apprehension, memory

35. Anima Sen Gupta, *The Evolution of the Sāṃkhya School of Thought* (Patna: Pioneer Press, 1959), p. 98.

36. III, 5, 27.

37. III, 26, 27b.

and sleep. From the 'inertial' ego, the subtle elements (*tanmātras*) and the gross elements (*bhūtas*) arise. In classical Sāmkhya the 'active' ego activates and coordinates the other two phases of the ego. It has no evolutes of its own. In the *BhP*'s scheme of evolution, each phase of the ego has its own particular evolutes. Thus the evolution of the categories from the great principle down to the gross elements encompasses all of manifest reality, both material and psychic.

In canto eleven, the *BhP* acknowledges the existence of several schools of Sāmkhya which enumerate the categories differently. Ironically the *BhP* accepts each of these schools by declaring that there was no real difference among the several accounts. Since cause and effect are substantially identical in a Sāmkhya system, different ways of enumerating the categories are possible. If one considers that the puruṣa, under the influence of ignorance, cannot attain liberation by its own effort, he may then affirm the need for a Supreme Person, a higher spiritual principle, and will number twenty-six categories instead of twenty-five. Therefore the *BhP* accepts "as conclusive whatever is stated according to one's viewpoint . . . there being cogent reason behind every assertion."³⁸

It is important to remember that the evolution of the categories, according to the *BhP*, takes place at the start of a cosmic cycle which proceeds to dissolution. This dissolution, or devolution, is also described in terms of the categories. The gross elements revert to the subtle elements, which in turn revert to the 'inertial' ego. Similarly the cognitive and conative senses revert to the 'active' ego, and the mind reverts to the 'knowing' ego. Both the material and the psychic realms, which are functions of each other, devolve to a state of latency in the great principle at the same time. "The great principle is reduced to its causes the immanent constituent qualities. They are dissolved in the unmanifest (*parkṛti*) and the unmanifest is merged in time (*kāla*), which has ceased to operate."³⁹ Time reverts to the cosmic Person, who rules by means of his creative energy. Finally everything is merged into the Self, who stands alone.

38. XI, 22, 9.

39. XI, 24, 26.

Contrary to Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhya where there are many spirits, in the *Bhp* there is only one Person (*puruṣa*), who is Supreme, "no other than the Self, who is beginningless, without qualities, and beyond primal nature."⁴⁰ In this Sāṃkhya scheme of non-dualism, the *puruṣa* is that aspect of Bhagavān which transcends primal nature and is without qualities, yet ensouls primal nature and all its evolutes. He does this of his own free will in a sportful manner. In one sense, the Person is ensnared by the possibilities of primal nature, whose charms obscure his consciousness so that he becomes many individual spirits. God, as it were, while remaining beyond his creation, chooses to be evolved into it, and to have his single essence obscured by multiplicity. The Person is therefore not on an equal level with primal nature, divided by a dualistic abyss, as in classical Sāṃkhya, but as a higher form of Bhagavān possesses primal nature, which is thus not an independent principle. Primal nature from which all else is derived is itself derived.

The Sāṃkhya scheme of evolution is built on the principle of *satkārya*, according to which "that alone is real, which having adopted an earlier existence produces a later existence; that which is both the beginning and the end of something, that is considered true."⁴¹ There is no ultimate distinction between cause and effect, or between power and the possessor of power. Each category, except for the gross elements, which are the final evolutes, is both a substance and a power, an evolute and an evolver. Each category has no quality not already present in the category from which it evolved. That which is gross has a subtle form within that which produced it. This principle applies for the primal nature in relation to the Person as well as to the gross elements in relation to the subtle elements. According to the principle of *satkārya*, in the words of Sen Gupta, "whatever is non-existent cannot be made totally non-existent....The effect that is produced from the cause is not totally dissimilar to it, as no intercourse is possible between two absolutely distinct entities."⁴² Thus the

40. III, 26, 3a.

41. XI, 24, 18.

42. Sen Gupta, *The Evolution of the Sāṃkhya School of Thought*, p. 41.

effect is always subtly present in the cause. Since there is ultimately one cause, all that is, is present in that one cause.

Having so grounded multiplicity in unity by the doctrine of *satkārya*, how does the *BhP* explain the transformation (*pariṇāma*) of unity into multiplicity? How is that equilibrium of the qualities within the unmanifest (*prakṛti*) disturbed? In the second canto Brahmā asserts that “from time there is the appearance of the qualities, from the innate essence (*sabhāva*) of creatures there is transformation, from their inherited destiny (*karma*) there is the birth of the great principle—all this because of the power of the power of the Person.”⁴³ These three, time, the innate essence of creature, and their inherited destiny, are not categories (*tattvas*), dependent upon the primal nature, but powers (*śaktis*) of Bhagavān. Nor are they products of the evolutionary process, which presupposes these supraphenomenal powers. In fact the powers are identified with Bhagavān.

Time, which is sometimes designated as the twenty-fifth category, is identified with Bhagavān: “from whom there is the primal nature, which is the equilibrium of the qualities and without differences—he is designated as time.”⁴⁴ Bhagavān, who is unaffected by change, by means of his creative energy dwells within all his creatures in the form of the Person and outside of them in the form of time. The *BhP* sees time in three ways: (1) as God, (2) as his power, and (3) as temporal sequence. Time as God and his power presides not only over the disturbance of the equilibrium of the qualities, but also over the maintenance and dissolution of the universe. Creation has a beginning and an end, but time has neither beginning nor end, nor does it change, since it is an integral part of the nature of the Supreme Deity. “One might say,” with Bhaṭṭācārya, “somewhat paradoxically time is free from the limitations of time.”⁴⁵ But only because Time and God are an eternal process.

Time, the innate essence of the creature, and its inherited destiny are eternal functions of the Deity. In the *BhP* there is no

43. II, 5, 22.

44. III, 26, 17.

45. Siddheśvara Bhaṭṭācārya, *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* (Calcutta: Ranajil Ray, 1960-62), I, 259.

creation from nothing nor does time begin. Thus the creature, whether latent or manifest, always has an innate essence by which he may become manifest and always has an inherited destiny which will determine the precise details of that manifestation. The innate essence is Bhagavān's purpose and determination for that existent, modified only by the inherited destiny of the individual self, both of which are present to Bhagavān before any particular creative moment, since the cycle of death and rebirth (*saṁsāra*) is eternal. Bhagavān sports for the purpose of giving the individual self existence and that sport, by his will, is subject to the innate essence of the individual self. It is also subject to the free actions of the individual self (*karma*). These two, the innate essence and the inherited destiny of the individual self, are identified with Bhagavān himself in accordance with the non-dualism of the *BhP*.

The individual self (*jīva*) for whom creation occurs is a shadow of the Supreme Person. As a function of the Person the individual self is not essentially tied down to the phenomenal products of the evolution from primal nature. The senses, the objects of the senses, and the mind constitute the body of the individual self which must give them up. The individual self is eternal, immutable, pure, one, a witness, the refuge, unchanging, self-luminous, a cause, all-pervasive, unattached and perfect, qualities which it shares with the Supreme Self, because it is identical with the Supreme Self. The individual self achieves phenomenal existence when the Person and the primal nature meet. The result of their meeting is the limitation of the Self in a body, that is, the individual self. Thus the individual self cannot really die for "you were not born, like the body, which was previously non-existent and therefore perishes....The Self is unborn and does not die."⁴⁶ When the body dies the individual self is reunited with Brahman. This is one of the more extreme identity texts of the *BhP* where the empirical and phenomenal self only appear to differ from Brahman.

For the *BhP* the question of bondage is not minimized and release from it is a pressing concern, in spite of those passages

46. XII, 5, 2, 4.

which seem to describe the world and the individual self as illusory. As Sanatkumāra says in canto four: "For a man there is no higher ruination of his purpose than the ruination through the self of the self, for the sake of which everything else is dear."⁴⁷ Liberation alone is a worthy end of life since any other purpose is subject to the dread of death and rebirth. Liberation is one of the distinguishing characteristics of a Purāṇa and is the goal of the process of Sāṁkhya. But just as in the lists of the characteristics of a Purāṇa, liberation is subordinated to 'support' (*āśraya*), so the process which leads to 'support', that is, devotion. Liberation is proper to an impersonal dualism, while devotion characterizes a personal non-dualism. Thus in canto eleven Bhagavān says that "neither Yoga or Sāṁkhya . . . captivates me as does intense devotion."⁴⁸

Devotion profoundly alters the context of the *BhP*'s treatment of Sāṁkhya. That Sāṁkhya indeed corroborates the non-dualism derived from Vedāntic sources. It even takes an extreme form in some passages. Yet the highest wisdom of the *BhP*, its clearest vision, lies in its teaching of devotion to Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa, a teaching which qualifies its non-dualism. Thus its Sāṁkhya is compatible for the most part with both the *BhP*'s non-dualism and its theism. It provides a theoretic framework for binding the two together in a clear vision.

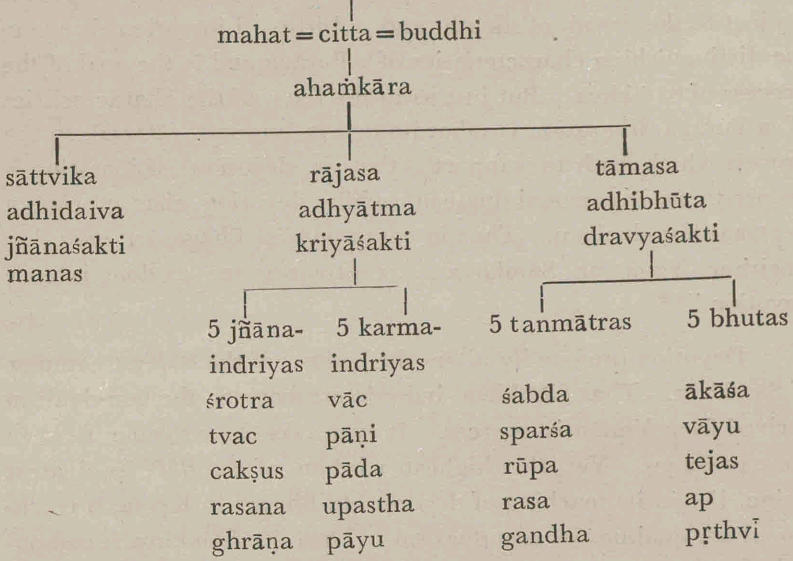
47. IV, 22, 32.

48. XI, 14, 20.

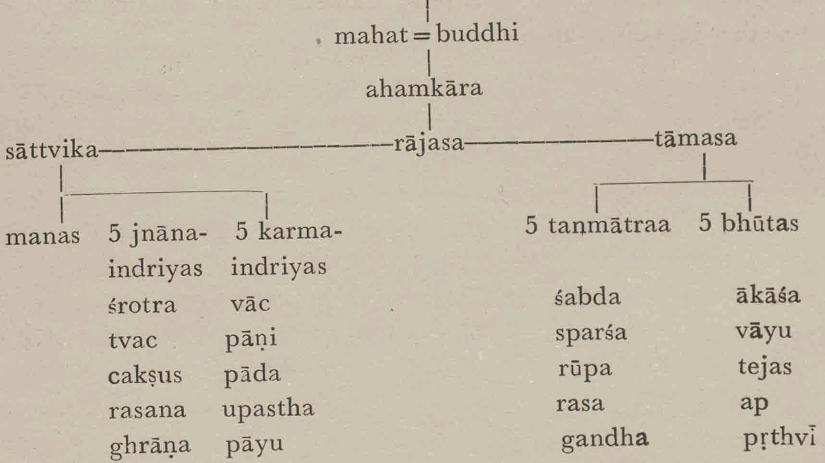
APPENDIX I

Comparison of Bhāgavata and
Classical Sāṃkhya¹

Bhāgavata : Prakṛti = three guṇas = pradhāna puruṣa



Īśvarakṛṣṇa : prakṛti = three guṇas = pradhāna puruṣas



1. Based on the charts compiled by T. S. Rukmani, A *Critical Study of Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies Vol. LXXVII (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1970), pp. 21 and 23. Cf. II. 5. 21-31; III. 26. 1-48; XI. 24. 1-9.

THE JUSTIFICATION FOR KṚISHṆA'S AFFAIR WITH THE HUNCHBACKED WOMAN*

By

NOEL SHETH,

When Kṛishṇaṭ returns to Mathurā to kill King Kaṁsa, he meets a hunchbacked woman (*kubjā*), called Trivakrā in the *Bhāgavata*, who is a maid-servant in charge of preparing perfumed unguent for Kaṁsa. She is cured by Kṛishṇa as a reward for gladly offering him the fragrant ointments. Enamoured of him, she asks him to sport with her at her house. In some versions Kṛishṇa promises to return, and later spends the night with her. Elsewhere¹ I have analysed the justifications given by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata* for certain embarrassing episodes in the life of Kṛishṇa. In this paper I propose to deal with the arguments put forward by several texts and their commentaries² to exonerate Kṛishṇa from moral blemish in this disconcerting affair with the hunchbacked woman.

* Paper presented at the 31st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Jaipur, October, 1982.

† The transliterated form Kṛishṇa (for Kṛṣṇa) has been used in this article.

1. See my "The Impeccable Kṛishṇa", *Indica* 18 : 1 (March 1981) : 1-6.
2. (a) The following editions have been used : (1) *Harivaṁśah*. Critically edited by Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya, 2 vols. Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969-71. (2) *Brahmaṣurāṇam*. Edited by the Pandits of Anandāśrama, *Anandāśrama Saṁskṛta Granthāvali* vol. 28. Poona : Anandāśrama Press, 1895. (3) *Viṣṇupurāṇam* with the commentary of Śrīdhara called *Svaparakāśa*. Edited by Jivananda Vidyasagara. Calcutta : Sarasvati Press, 1882. (4) *Śrīmadviṣṇupurāṇam*. With the commentary of Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya called *Vaiṣṇavākūṭacandrikā*. Bombay : Śaka 1824 [1902]. (5) *Śrīmadbhāgavatam*. With the commentary of Gaṅgāśahāya called *Anvitārthaparakāśikā ṭīkā*. Edited by Pāṇḍeya Rāmtej Śāstr. Benares : Paṇḍit Pustakālaya, Saṁvat 2002 [1965]. (6) *Śrīmadbhāgavatam Daśamah skandhaḥ*. With several commentaries. Edited by Śrī Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī. 3 vols. Vṛndāvana : Śrī Devakānandana Press, Saṁvat 1963-64 [1906-07]. (7) *Brahmaivartapurāṇam*. Edited by Vāsudevaśāstrī

Embarrassing elements in the episode

It is only in the BVP (4.72. 19-20) that the hunchbacked woman approaches Kṛishṇa of her own accord. In the other texts,³ however, Kṛishṇa takes the initiative and accosts her as she goes on her way. While in the HV (71. 34-35) Kṛishṇa rejects her blandishments and departs nobly, in the BP (193. 12) and the ViP (5.20.12) he promises to return to her. Actually, however, Kṛishṇa does not return in the BP and the ViP. On the other hand, in the BhP, not only does he promise to return (10. 42. 12), but accompanied by Uddhava, he actually pays her a visit (10. 48. 1) in order to make love to her. In the BVP (4. 72. 53-55), even though he has not been invited, he goes to her house of his own accord, alone and when all are asleep. So instead of her visiting him as an *abhisārikā*, Kṛishṇa goes to her house. Kṛishṇa, indeed, in the BhP and BVP, appears to be emotionally with her. In the BhP Kṛishṇa tells her that she is the resort of homeless travellers like himself and that in her house men relieve their fever [of passion] (10. 42. 12). And, when he later visits her house, he enters her bedrom without her asking him (10. 48. 4), takes hold of her timid hand, leads her to be bed and sports with her (10. 48. 6). In the BVP Kṛishṇa explicitly asks her to make love to him (4. 72. 56), and so violent and passionate is their love-making (vv. 59-64) that, at

Mārāthe (vols. 1 and 2) and Puruṣottamaśāstri Rānade (vol. 2). 2 Vols. *Ānandāśrama Saṃskṛta Granthāvali* vol. 102. Poona : Ānandāśrama Press, 1935. (8) *Padma-purāṇam*. Edited by Viśvanātha Nārāyaṇa Maṇḍalaka. 4 vols. Poona : Ānandāśrama Press, 1893-94.

- (b) References to the story are found in the following passages : *Harivamśa* (HV) : 71.22-35; *Brahma Purāṇa* (BP) : 193.1-12; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ViP) : 5.20.1-12; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (BhP) : 10.42.1-13 and 10.48.1-12; *Brahmavaiivarta Purāṇa* (BVP) : 4.72.15-36 and 51-69, *Padma Purāṇa* (PP) : 6.272.339-341.

Note that the versions in the BP and the ViP are practically identical.

- (c) The names of the commentators frequently referred to are abbreviated as follows : GS = Gaṅgāśahāya, JG = Jīva Gosvāmin (His commentaries : Ks = *Krama-sandarbhā* and Vt = *Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī*), SD = Śukadeva, SS = Śr. dhara Svāmin, VB = Vallabha, VC = Viśvanātha Cakravartin, VJ = Vijayadhavaja, VR = Vīrarāghava.

3. HV 71.23; BP 193 2; ViP 5.20.2; PP 6.272.339.

dawn, the moon becomes pale due to bashfulness as it were on account of witnessing the transgression as it were of KṚishṇa (v.65). In all the texts, except the PP, which makes only a passing reference to this episode, the hunchbacked woman falls in love with KṚishṇa. In the BhP her heart is said to be even seduced by the beauty of KṚishṇa (10.42.4 and 10), the bestower of the *rasa* (10.42.1), which, from the context, appears to be the erotic sentiment. In the BhP this erotic love is not raised to the level of mystical love as in the case of the herder women (*gopīs*). In fact, the hunchbacked woman is called unfortunate (*durbhagā*) apparently because, instead of asking for salvation, she asks merely for physical love (10.48.8-9 and 11).⁴ KṚishṇa, therefore, in the BhP, seems open to the criticism of associating with a prostitute who does not rise above the level of physical love.

Justifications offered by the texts

From the above it will be seen that the earlier texts (HV, BP, ViP) hardly need to attempt any justification for KṚishṇa's behaviour, while it is the BhP and the BVP that should feel the need to do so. In the HV at the point when KṚishṇa, without heeding the love-smitten woman's plea to frolic with her, leaves her with a smile, some manuscripts⁵ make KṚishṇa tell her that he is "not that type of man". The BP and the ViP seem to imply that KṚishṇa is not really involved with the hunchbacked woman by the fact that he addresses her out of passion as it were (*iva*) (BP 193.3; ViP 5.20.3). Although the ViP and the BP do not offer any explicit justification for KṚishṇa's promise to return, the commentators on the ViP try to find an implicit vindication in the verse where KṚishṇa laughs while promising to return to her. Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya explains that KṚishṇa laughs because the hunchbacked woman mistakes his favour

4. The BhP casually mentions the hunchbacked woman's attaining salvation through association with the good (*satsaṅga*) (11.12.6-7), but in the narration of the episode itself, the BhP makes no mention of KṚishṇa bestowing salvation on her. The reward that KṚishṇa promises her for offering the unguents (10.42.2) seems to be limited to her cure (10.42.6) and the gratification of her passion (10.48.1 and 6).

5. See Apparatus at 71.35.

(*anugraha*) to be love (*anurāga*), and both SS and Ratnagarbha point out that he laughs due to her being smitten with love at the wrong time.⁶ Be that as it may, Kṛishṇa does not actually return in the BP and the Vi P.

The BVP makes some attempt to exonerate Kṛishṇa. Kṛishṇa reveals to the hunchbacked woman that she was Śūrpaṅakhā, Rāvaṇa's sister, who, at the time when Kṛishṇa was born as Rāma, did penance to obtain him. By virtue of this penance, he tells her, she can now enjoy him as her husband (*kānta*) (4.72.56-57).⁷ Even though the moon blanches as it were at the excesses of Kṛishṇa, he is nevertheless the husband (*pati*) of the hunchbacked woman (4.72.65). So Kṛishṇa is free from moral blemish since he is having intercourse with his own wife. That the hunchbacked woman is Kṛishṇa's wife is further confirmed by her being compared to Lakṣmī (4.72.28, 54 and 60), Viṣṇu's consort, and by her mansion being compared to that of Lakṣmī (v. 29). In addition, the hunchbacked woman is said to be a *satī* (vv. 33 and 55), i. e., a virtuous woman or a faithful wife. Hers is not a mere physical love for Kṛishṇa, but an erotic *bhakti*. Joining her hands and bowing her head with devotion (*bhakti*), she circumambulates Kṛishṇa and offers him sandal-paste (vv. 19-20). Later, placing on her bed various offerings for Kṛishṇa, she meditates on his feet with her thoughts, words and deeds. Awaiting his arrival, she constantly sees the world full of Kṛishṇa smitten with love (vv. 33-36). Kṛishṇa, on his part, explicitly intends to bestow salvation on her (v. 58), and, immediately after his sexual intercourse with her, he sends her to his abode, the cow-world (*goloka*), where she becomes a herder woman (*gopī*) called Candramukhī (vv. 66-68).

Although one can have recourse to some of the justifications for Kṛishṇa's erotic love given elsewhere in the BhP⁸, it is strange

6. See their comments on ViP 5.20.12. The BP verse (193. 12), being similar to that of the ViP, the comments on the ViP are applicable to the BP too.
7. Since Kṛishṇa is called '*pati*' in v. 65, and the hunchbacked woman is compared to Lakṣmī, as we shall presently see, we may take '*kānta*' to mean 'husband', rather than 'beloved'.
8. See my "Impeccable Krishna" pp. 1-3.

that in the treatment of this episode, apart from the passing reference to Kṛishṇa's imitating the practice of the world when he enters her bedroom of his own accord (10.48.4), the BhP makes no explicit attempt to vindicate Kṛishṇa's affair with Trivakrā, the hunchbacked woman. The commentators, however, come up with vindications of their own as well as justifications, which, they claim, are implied by the BhP. Let us then turn our attention to these commentators of the BhP.

Justifications by commentators on the Bhāgavata

On the one hand, some commentators agree that Kṛishṇa is, in some way, responsible for Trivakrā's infatuation and that he, in turn, is enamoured of her. Trivakrā is seduced by the beauty of Kṛishṇa,⁹ who gives her the *rasa* of love.¹⁰ Kṛishṇa, for his part, has an inner yearning for her (VC on 10. 42. 2), and he considers her sexually enjoyable (VR on 10. 42. 12). The passage of time may cause the erotic desire of an ordinary person to subside; but it does not affect the desire of Kṛishṇa, for he is 'acyuta', as the text says (VB on 10. 48.3). But, on the other hand, the commentators try with might and main to exonerate Kṛishṇa.

Some commentators claim that Trivakrā is actually Kṛishṇa's wife so that there is nothing reprehensible in his sporting with her. (a) VC and GS (on 10. 42. 1 and 10. 48. 10) declare that the hunchbacked Trivakrā is in reality a portion of Kṛishṇa's wife, Satyabhāmā, who is in the form of the earth. The bent back of the earth overburdened by thousands of *asuras* is symbolized by the hunch back. The earth offers her specific quality (*guṇa*) of fragrance under the guise of the sandalpaste and other perfumed unguents. And Kṛishṇa's curing her signifies his removing the burden of the earth. (b) According to VB she is a portion of Lakṣmī (on 10. 42. 1). When the text says that, being cured by Kṛishṇa, she became an excellent woman (*pramadottamā*), it means that she was made similar to Lakṣmī (on 10. 42. 8). The fact that she is wearing bangles shows that she is a married woman whose husband is alive (*svāsinī*). But she does not have a husband other

9. SS, JG (Vt and Ks), VR, VJ, VB, SD and GS on 10.42.4.

10. JG (Vt), VC, GS, VJ, VB on 10.42.1. SD (on 10.42.1), however, glosses 'rasaprada' in the text as the 'giver of the *rasa* of *bhakti*'.

than the Lord. So if the Lord does not receive her as his wife, then there would be no point in her wearing the bangles (on 10. 48. 6). Thus there is no fault in her embracing Kṛishṇa since he is her husband (*kānta*) (on 10. 48. 7), and she has no qualms in approaching him whom she considers the husband of Lakṣmī (on 10. 48. 5). (c) JG (Vt) relates a story of a princess who, hearing the praises of the Lord sung by Nārada, performed penance for a long time in order to obtain the Lord as her husband. Then she heard a voice from the sky telling her that she would become a hunchbacked woman in another life, and the Lord who would cure her and restore her to beauty would be her husband (on 10. 48. 10).

According to SS, JG (Vt), VC and GS (on 10. 42. 2), when Kṛishṇa addresses the hunchbacked woman as 'Lady of beautiful things', he is doing so in jest, and not because he has fallen for her.

VB points out that it would not be proper for Kṛishṇa to refuse the smitten woman's request to visit her house, for he has descended (*avatīrṇa*) especially for the sake of women (on 10.42.11); in fact, precisely because he has come for the sake of women, he visits her before visiting Uddhava (on 10. 48. 12). Others¹¹ claim that the fact that Kṛishṇa laughs and looks at Balarāma and the cowherds when Kṛishṇa promises to return to Trivakrā (10.42.11), shows that, on the one hand, he makes her believe that he is making a promise, but, on the other hand, he is suggesting to Balarāma and the others that he is deceiving her. This defence, however, does not hold water, for Kṛishṇa actually returns to her later, and hence does not deceive her.

In reference to Kṛishṇa's telling Trivakrā that she is the resort of homeless wayfarers like himself and that in her house men could allay the fever of their passion, VC and VB (on 10. 42. 12) say that the sexual innuendo is made in jest and derision. VJ (on 10.42.12) attempts to remove the sexual connotation by asserting that she is the resort of Kṛishṇa, the Lord, because of her devotion (*bhakti*) to him.

11. JG (Vt) on 10.42.11; VC and GS on 10.42.11-12.

In connection with Kṛishṇa's visiting Trivakrā's house, JG (Vt) (on 10.48.1) says that Kṛishṇa decides to go to her residence not because he is lustful, but because, as the text (10.48.1) reads, he desires to grant her what she likes (*priyam*), i. e., he desires to free himself of his debt to her for offering him the perfumed ointment. VJ (on 10. 48. 1) informs us that Kṛishṇa has descended (*avatīrṇa*) to accomplish the desires of the good, and hence it is that he goes to fulfil Trivakrā's wish. Similarly, VB (on 10.48.1) points out that since Kṛishṇa's prime purpose is to console women, he goes to her house to remove the grief of her separation from him. VR and GS (on 10. 48. 1) declare that Kṛishṇa goes to her abode to fulfil his promise that he would return. VB, SD (on 10. 48.1) and JG (Vt) (on 10. 48. 2) argue that since the text (10.48.1) calls Kṛishṇa the "self of all (*sarvīman*)", there is nothing wrong in his visiting her, for being the self of Trivakrā he is most intimately connected with her.

The *Bhāgavata* itself states that Kṛishṇa is imitating the ways of the world when he enters her bedroom of his own accord, without being invited by Trivakrā (10.48.4). Commenting on this verse, JG (Vt) and VB draw attention to this justification given by the text itself.

When Kṛishṇa, taking the initiative, takes hold of Trivakrā's hand and leads her to bed, he does so not because of lust, but because, as the text (10.48.6) says, she is "hesitant due to bashfulness as it was their first coming together" as husband and wife (VB on 10.48.6). JG (Vt) (on 10.48.6) holds that this is a favour (*anugraha*) that Kṛishṇa confers on her because she offered him unguents out of devotion (*bhakti*).

It is pointed out that Kṛishṇa himself takes pains to avoid the raising of eye-brows by the public. He goes to Trivakrā's house accompanied by Uddhava, who is known for his upright and morally integral character, in order to avoid suspicion (JG (Vt), VC and GS on 10.48.10). After he has visited her, he does not stay there permanently but departs lest rumours should spread against him (VC and GS on 10.48.10).

Attempts are also made to portray Trivakrā in a good light apparently so that Kṛishṇa would not be open to the charge of associating with a morally depraved woman. On the one hand,

many commentators¹² admit that she does not ask for salvation¹³ but merely for sexual pleasure, and thus is on a lower level than the herder women (*gopī*) since she does not have the same faith as they (SS, GS on 10.48.8). VB even suggests that Trivakrā could have been a royal courtesan who is now ready to offer herself to Kṛishṇa (on 10.42.3), considering him as a lustful paramour (on 10.42.9). But, on the other hand, JG (Vt) is not prepared to lower Trivakrā in any way. Referring to the Bhp's (10.48.11) statement that one who asks for sensual pleasure has a perverted mind, JG (Vt) maintains that Trivakrā has the highest intelligence for she asks for the Lord Kṛishṇa himself, the very embodiment of bliss (*ānanda*) (on 19.48.11). The reason why she is called unfortunate (*durbhagā*), then, is according to him, only because she was previously hunchbacked and a servant (on 10.48.8). In fact, through an alternative analysis of the compound '*anulepārpaṇa-puṇyaleśa*' used of Trivakrā (10.48.6), JG (Vt) tries to show that she is the best of devotees. She is the best (*śrēṣṭhā*) of those devotees who appropriate (*la = lānti*) the merit (*puṇya*) of offering the unguents (*anulepārpaṇa*). She is the best devotee because she personally offers the unguents to Lord Kṛishṇa himself, and that too at a special time (on 10.48.6). This analysis of the compound to show that Trivakrā is the best of devotees is also given by GS (on 10.48.6). SS, VR, VJ and GS (on 10.48.6) as well as JG (Vt) (on 10.48.6), who gives an alternate explanation of the compound, state that the word '*leśa*' in the compound indicates that Trivakrā has no merit other than that arising from offering the perfumed

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12. SS, VR, VB, VC, SD, GS on 10.48.8; VJ, VR on 10.48.11.
 13. According to some, Kṛishṇa does grant her salvation in spite of her not requesting it (VJ on 10.48.7; SS, GS on 10.48.8), for Kṛishṇa, through his power of executing his desires (*satyasaṅkalpa*), includes her among those to whom he will grant *bhakti* and salvation (VB on 10.48.10). In fact, he uses two fingers to cure her because he wants to grant her both erotic pleasure and salvation (VB on 10.42.7). Note that even in the case of the *gopīs*, some attained salvation even though they considered Kṛishṇa as a paramour (Bhp 10.29.11; 11.12.13).

ointment; but it does not mean that her merit is small.¹⁴ JG (Vt), VC and GS, taking their cue from the statment in the text that she was hesitant through bashfulness as it was their first meeting (10.48.6), conclude that Trivakrā was a virgin. VC (on 10.42.3 and 10.48.6) and GS (on 10.48.6) hold that her hunchbacked state helped preserve her virginity. JG (Vt) (on 10.48.6) declares that Kṛishṇa's healing touch had transformed her into the highest heavenly virgin. So, in different ways, several commentators want to place Trivakrā on a high level so that Kṛishṇa may appear in a better light when associating with her.

VB, we have seen, is not afraid of portraying Trivakrā as a prostitute. He also interprets the term 'rāmā', which the text (10.48.6) uses in reference to Trivakrā, to mean 'a woman meant to be sexually enjoyed'. But he claims that Kṛishṇa is not at fault for having intercourse with such a woman. Quoting the *Taittirīya Samhitā*¹⁵ he says that a man is prohibited from having carnal contact with a rāmā only after he has lit the fire (of the Agnicayana sacrifice), and not at some other time. So, since Kṛishṇa has not performed the Agnicayana sacrifice, he is free to consort with Trivakrā.

Thus the texts and commentaries attempt to free Kṛishṇa from moral blemish in this episode with the hunchbacked woman. It is to be expected that, as the understanding of Kṛishṇa's divinity advances, later texts should present a more palatable portrait of Kṛishṇa. In my book, *The Divine Krishna*,¹⁶ I have shown how the BhP, which is later than the HV, the BP and the ViP, safeguards the divinity of Kṛishṇa by omitting, explaining away or transforming incidents which, particularly in the HV, diminish Kṛishṇa's divinity or prove embarrassing or morally disconcerting. From this point of view, it is surprising that, in the treatment of Kṛishṇa's affair with the hunchbacked woman, the later texts, the

14. VC and SD (on 10.48.6), on the other hand, interpret the compound to mean that Trivakrā has little merit in order to show how generously Kṛishṇa rewards even a small offering made to him.

15. *anāgnim citvā rāmāmupeyāt* (5.6.8.3).

16. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal; forthcoming.

BhP and the BVP,¹⁷ present Kṛishṇa in a less noble light than the earlier texts. Could it be that the BhP and the BVP preserve an earlier, more rustic version of the tale? While the BVP attempts to justify Kṛishṇa's behaviour, the BhP does little to exonerate Kṛishṇa explicitly. Kṛishṇa's dalliance with women has been justified elsewhere in the BhP, but, apart from a passing reference to Kṛishṇa's imitating the ways of the world, the BhP does not offer an explicit vindication of Kṛishṇa in this specific case. The several commentaries, however, have tried their level best to fill the lacuna.

17. The PP, although late, makes only a passing reference to this event, and so does not pertain to our discussion.

AN INTERESTING VARIANT IN THE DEVĪ-MĀHĀTMYĀ

By

J. N. TIWARI

The purpose of this note is to attract the attention of scholars to an interesting variant reading in the *Devī-māhātmya*, which may be of some special significance for the history of the Goddess cult and of the text.¹ The *Devī-māhātmya*, as is well known, is found contained in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, but is actually an independent text by itself and has attained the status of the principal scripture for the cult of the Goddess. It not only exists in the form of independent manuscripts, but also has been widely commented upon.² It is still extensively used in the liturgy of the Goddess, especially during the annual celebrations in her honour—the *Navarātra*.

In order to appreciate fully the significance of the variant reading of the verse, which is the subject of this investigation, it is necessary to outline in brief the context in which it appears in the text.³ The third and last part of the *Devī-māhātmya*,—the so-

1. I owe the preparation of this paper to the encouragement by my friend, Dr. Thomas Coburn. My attention was first drawn to the variant reading during discussions with him and he has also made valuable comments. I am also grateful to my friends, Prof. K. D. Shastri and Dr. R. A. Pathak, who supplied me with some material for the formation of my grammatical arguments. They are, however, not responsible for the opinions expressed here.
2. See Thomas Coburn, Ph. D. dissertation (cited in fn. 30 below), p. 81.
3. I have used the text of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* published by the Veṅkateśvara Steam Press (Bombay, n. d.), and of the *Devī-māhātmya* separately also by the same press (1972/3; title *Durgā-saptasatī*). Two more things may be noted : (a) *Devī-māhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* is a short text, of a little less than 600 verses, divided into 13 chapters. Besides the material of the frame story, it begins with the destruction of Madhu-Kaitābha and ends with the demise of Śumbha. Hymns to the Goddess

called *Uttama Carita*⁴—describes the destruction of Śumbha and Niśumbha at the hands of the Goddess. It is a fairly lengthy description, running over several chapters, in which various lieutenants—Dhūmrilocana, Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa, and Raktabija—are killed one by one before the two demon brothers, Niśumbha and Śumbha, are themselves annihilated.

Dhūmrilocana is killed by the Goddess herself, and Caṇḍa-Muṇḍa is destroyed by Kālī, who is said to have emerged from the forehead of the Goddess when the latter became angry⁵; Kālī, for this feat, is given the name Cāmuṇḍā. Śumbha then orders a fresh attack and himself appears with a large army (although it is not till much later that his actual encounter with the Goddess takes place). At this stage, the Goddess Caṇḍikā and Kālī are

are interspersed with the above material at appropriate places, and there is also a *phalāśruti* at the end. The chapterisation of this *Devī-māhātmya* naturally follows that of the *Purāṇa* (Chs. 78-90 in our text). (b) As an independent text, *Devī māhātmya* grew in size by acquiring various appendages fore and aft, mainly the six *oṅgas*: *Kavaca*, *Argalā* and *Kīlaka* in the beginning and the three *rahasyas*, *Prādhānika*, *Vaikṛtika* and *Mūrti*, at the end. It was also converted into a book of 700 verses, apparently in imitation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, as Dr. Coburn suspects (see p. 80 of his dissertation, to be referred to below; cf. also S. Shankaranarayana (tr.): *Glory of the Divine Mother: Devī-māhātmyam*, Pondicherry—Madras, 1968, p. 5). This was done not by composing additional verses but by counting even phrases like *Ṛṣiruvāca* and *Devīuvāca*, etc., as full verses. In this process, the text also acquired the more popular name *Durgā-saptasatī*. In our citations, we refer both to the *Purāṇa* and the independent text, and also stick to the earlier name *Devī-māhātmya* for the independent text. Also, we abbreviate our text and the *Purāṇa* as DM. and Märk. P. respectively.

4. The division into three *caritas* is characteristic of the *Devī-māhātmya* only as an independent text, and not when a part of the *Purāṇa*.
5. DM. 7.5-6 (=Märk. P. 84, 4-5) :
Tataḥ kopam cakāroccairambikā tānarīnprati,
Kopena cāsyā vadanam maṣṭvarṇamabhūttadā.
Bhruhuṭī-kuṭīlāttasyā lalāṭaphalakāddrutam,
Kālī karālavadanā viniṣkrāntāsīpāsīnī

joined by the personified energies of the gods. As our text describes, "Meanwhile, O ! King, for ensuring the destruction of the enemies of the gods and for the well-being of the lion-like immortals, there issued forth, endowed with excessive vigour and strength, the 'Energies' from the bodies of Brahmā, Śiva, Guha and Viṣṇu and also of Indra, and went in the forms of these gods to Caṇḍikā."⁶ These Energies, or *śaktis* are also named and described in the sequel, as Brahmāṇī, Māheśvari, Kaumār, Vaiṣṇavi, Vārāhi, Nārasimhi and Aindr. We are even told of a *śakti* coming out of the Goddess herself;⁷ she is given the name Śiva-dūt because she despatched Śiva with a message to the demons to surrender if they wished to save themselves. The demons ignore the message and the battle continues. Kālī and Brahmāṇī, etc., as named above, brave the first attack of the demons, although it is clear that Caṇḍikā too is busy fighting. It is at her orders that Kāl.-Cāmuṇḍā enlarged her mouth to drink every drop of Raktabīja's blood, in order to prevent the springing up of fresh demons, and she herself killed the demon. After this, Nisumbha leads the attack on the Goddess, who continues to be assisted by Kālī, Śiva-dūt, Brahmāṇī, etc. He too meets his death and the main demon army is also destroyed.

Now left alone and angry, Śumbha taunts the Goddess that she should not feel too proud of her prowess, since after all she achieved her success with the help of others (*anyāsām balamāśritya*).⁸ In reply, Devi announced that all those goddesses were her own emanations or manifestations (*vibhūti-s*); and she demonstrated it by absorbing them in herself. The rest of the description is taken up by the battle between the Goddess and Śumbha, in which the latter is eventually killed.

6. DM. 8. 12-13 (=Mārk. P. 85.11-12) :

*Etasminnantare bhūpa vināśāya surdviṣām,
Bhavāyāmararimhānām ativīryabalānvitāḥ.
Brahmeśaguhaviṣṇūnām tathendrasya ca śaktayaḥ,
Śatīrebhyo viniṣkramya tadrūpaścaṇḍikām yayuḥ.*

7. DM. 8.23 (=Mārk. P. 85.22) :

*Tato devīśarīrattu viniṣkrāntātibhīṣaṇā,
Caṇḍikā śaktiratyuḡrā śivāśataninādinī.*

8. DM. 10.3 (=Mārk. P. 87.2).

The variant we are interested in occurs with reference to the just-mentioned act of Devī. The relevant verses in the text we are following are DM. 10.5-6 (=Mārk. P. 87.3-4) :

*Ekaivāhaṁ jagatyatra dvitīyā kā mamāparā,
Paśyaitā duṣṭa mayyeva viśantyo madvibhūtayah.
Tataḥ samastāstā devyo brahmāṇīpramukhā layam,
Tasyā devyāstanau jagmurekaivāsīttadāmbikā.*

These could be rendered as : “I alone exist in this world; who else is there than myself? See, wicked one, these emanations of mine enter into me indeed. Then all those goddesses, headed by Brahmānī, became absorbed in the body of that Goddess; Ambikā, indeed, remained alone.

Now, two editions of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, those of K. M. Banerjea and Jivananda Vidyasagara, carry the reading *devyāḥ stanau*, in place of *devyāstanau*.⁹ Pargiter based his English translation on Banerjea’s edition¹⁰ translated the relevant part of the last line as” became absorbed into the Goddess’ breasts”.¹¹ He notes that he had consulted other editions and some manuscripts also,¹² but makes no reference to any variant as *devyāstanau*. As we shall see, *devyāstanau*, in the sense of “in the body of the Goddess”, appears to be the original reading. But that *devyāḥ stanau* is not just an error but an authentic variant is proved by its acceptance as such by the *Guptavatī* commentary of Bhāskara Rāya.¹³

We should examine first if there is anything in the *D.vī-māhātmya* itself to help decide as to which of the two is the original

9. This has been verified for me by Dr. Coburn. K. M. Banerjea’s edition was published in Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta, 1862, and Jivananda Vidyasagara’s by Sarasvati Press, Calcutta, 1879.
10. See *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Eng. by F. Eden Pargiter (Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta 1904), Introduction, p. iii.
11. Ibid., p. 509.
12. Ibid., Intro., p. iii.
13. See *Durgā-saptasītī*, with seven commentaries, ed. by Harikrṣṇa Śarmā (Venkatesvara Steam Press, Bombay,) 1916), commentary on 10.4. The *Guptavatī* commentary explains *devyāstanau* as : *tanau layam jagmurityanvayah, Stanāviti chede tu prāpyeti śeṣaḥ.*

reading. There is, indeed, throughout the text—in mythological narratives and especially the hymns—the grand concept of the Goddess as supreme power ever ready to fight evil and grant protection. This the Goddess does herself principally, but also through her various agents, who, as we have seen, are said to be her manifestations. So, there is nothing incongruous in the reference to the Goddess absorbing her *vibhutī-s* in herself. In fact, it not only enhances the dramatic effect of the mythological narrative, but also beautifully brings out the concept of the Goddess as supreme power. Our problem, however, whether the *vibhutī-s* merged into the “body” of the Goddess or her “breasts”, is not thus resolved, for there is no description or even allusion to which this statement may be directly connected.

References to specific emanations of the Goddess are not many in our text. As noted above Kālī-Cāmuṇḍā is said to have been born from the forehead of the Goddess,¹⁴ and, indeed, a ferocious *śakti* named Śiva-dūtī is said to have come out of Devī's (Caṇḍikā's) body (*devī śarīrāt*).¹⁵ But we may note that our verse speaks of *brahmāṇī-pramukhā devyāḥ*. And, though *Brahmāṇī*, etc., are identified with the Goddess in the hymn following the description of Śumbha's death,¹⁶ they are not said to have been born out of the Goddess; rather, as we have seen, they were born out of the gods. However, there is one internal argument in favour of *devyāstanau*, understood as *devyāḥ + tanau*, “in the body of the Goddess”, and that is, that whereas there is no reference to any emanation from the breasts of the Goddess,¹⁷ there is frequent mention of emanations from the “bodies” of various divinities, including the Goddess. The instance of Śiva-dūtī has been noted and *Brahmāṇī*, etc., are said to have been born out of the bodies of

14. See above, fn. 5.

15. See above, fn. 7.

16. See the *Nārāyaṇi namostu te* hymn in DM., Ch. 11 (= Märk. P., Ch. 88).

17. The sole reference to the breasts of the Goddess is in the *Madhyama carita*, in the story of the materialization of Devī from the collective *tejas* of the gods, where (at DM. 2.15 = Märk. P. 79.14), the two breasts of the Goddess are said to have been formed out of the *tejas* of the Moon-god.

the gods (*śarīrebhyo viṣṭkrāmya*).¹⁸ To vanquish the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha, Devī herself is said to have come out of the *śarīra-kośa* of Pārvatī.¹⁹ Although the text puts emphasis on the word *kośa*, obviously to explain the name Kauśik',²⁰ the reference to *śarīra* is significant.²¹ When the text introduces verses at the end of the *Madhyama Carita* to connect it to the final *Carita*, it refers to this birth of the Goddess as from the body of Gaurī (*Gaurī dehāt samudbhūtā*).²² Earlier too, in the *Madhyama Carita*, the Goddess is said to have been born out of the energies (*tejas*) emanating from the bodies of the gods.²³ Absorption into the "body" of the Goddess, would thus appear to be more in tune with the ideas and style of the text.

Two other arguments also support the above inference. The first is that all the well-known commentators adopt the reading *devyāstanau*, and split the compound as *devyāḥ + tanau*, understanding *tanau* as locative singular of *tanu*, meaning "body". In fact, only Bhāskara Rāya notes *devyāḥ stanau* as a variant, himself preferring *devyāstanau* and understanding it as above.²⁴

18. See above, fn. 6 and 7.

19. See DM. 5.84 ff. (=Mārk. P. 82.40 ff.).

20. This, we feel, is quite resorted to in Indian myth-making.

21. DM. 5.87a (=Mārk. P. 82.43a) reads :

Śarīrakośādyattasyā pārvatya niḥsrtāmbikā.

22. DM. 4.41 (=Mārk. P. 81.37) :

Punaśca gaurīdehātā samudbhūtā yathā' bhavat,

Vadhāya duṣṭadaityanām tathā śumbhaniśumbhayoḥ.

Apparently the name Gaurī is used here to refer to Pārvatī. In the Introductory remarks for the *Uttama Carita* also (which note *ṛṣi*, *devatā*, *chanda*, etc., in imitation of Vedic mantras, and which must have been added to the various *Caritas* in the text in the course of its later history), the Goddess is referred to as *Gaurī-dehasamudbhavām*.

23. See DM. 2.9 ff. (Mārk. P. 79.8 ff.). The verse 13 here (verse 12 in the *Purāṇa*) reads :

Atulam tatra tattejaḥ sarvadevaśarārajam,

Ekaśtham tadabhīnnārī vyāptalokatrayam tviṣā.

24. See commentaries on 10.4, in the *Durgā-saptasatī*, with seven commentaries, already cited above in fn. 13, where the *Guptavatī* commentary is also reproduced,

The other argument is grammatical, that is, that *devyāstanau*, understood as *devyāḥ + tanau*, is a grammatically happier reading than *devyāḥ stanau*. The verse under reference could be paraphrased as : *Tataḥ brahmāṇīpramukhāḥ samastāḥ tāḥ devyaḥ tasyāḥ tanau layam jagmuḥ; tadā Ambikā ekā eva āsit.* Here the proper object of the verb *jagmuḥ* is *layam* ("went to absorption"); and the Goddess' body or *tanu*, being the basis or location of this act of absorption, is naturally in locative. In *devyāḥ stanau*, the retention of the *visarga* is indeed explicable by certain optional rules of Sanskrit grammar. Pāṇini's *sūtra vā śari* (*Aṣṭā. VIII. 3.36*) is explained in the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* as²⁵ : the *visarga* is optionally the substitute of *visarga* when a sibilant (*śa, ṣa, sa*) follows, and the example given is *hariḥ śete* or *hariśśete*. Further, on this *sūtra*, the *vārttika, kharpare śari vā visarga-lopo vaktavyaḥ*, lays down that when the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding *visarga*; e. g., *Rāmasthātā* or *Rāmāḥ sthāta*. In the other alternative, there will be *visarga* or *s* —change. In this way, we get three forms : *Rāmasthātā* or *Rāmāḥ sthāta* or *Rāmas-thātā*. In fact, this rule would not only help explain the retention of *visarga* in *devyāḥ*, but even permit *devyāstanau* to be split also as *devyāḥ + stanau*, because it permits three forms : *devyāḥ stanau*, *devyāsstanau* and *devyāstanau*. Further, *devyāḥ stanau* will also not do violence to the *anuṣṭup* meter. However, even if this variant could be accepted as proper according to the rules of Sanskrit *sandhi* and prosody, the sentence as a whole is grammatically less satisfactory, for *stanau* is in accusative, whereas its appropriate form should be locative. The only way it can be defended is by arguing that with the verb *jagmuḥ* (i.e. a verb root meaning "going"), an accusative here too may be permissible. The construction, however, remains awkward. As we have seen, it appears less acceptable also on other considerations. It seems reasonably certain, therefore, that *devyāstanau*, understood as *devyāḥ + tanau*, has greater claim to authenticity than *devyāḥ stanau*.

If absorption into the body of the Goddess is the original sense of our verse, the interesting question would be, why and when was the variant *devyāḥ stanau* adopted. It is difficult to answer these questions satisfactorily, since that would involve, among

25. See *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, Eng. by S. C. Basu, Pt. I, p. 75.

other things, also a close examination of the manuscript evidence and the commentarial tradition, which we have not done. Some conjectures, however, are possible. Firstly, because most of the well-known commentators do not note this variant, it is not likely to have been very popular. Further, since only Bhāskara Rāya notes it, who flourished in the 18th century, it was probably introduced late. Lastly, since both the printed editions which adopt this variant in their texts hail from Bengal, there is a strong possibility that it was in that region that this variant was introduced or was generally accepted.²⁶

We may also hazard a conjecture as to why this variant was adopted. The idea of merger into the breasts of the Goddess seems to us to be inspired by a pronounced emphasis on the motherhood of the Goddess. Now, while the mother aspect is clearly suggested at several places in the *Devī-māhātmya*, it does not appear to be central to the concept of the Goddess there.²⁷

26. That the acceptance of this variant even in Bengal was not universal is suggested by the Bengālī edition of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, with translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna (pub. by Naṭavara Cakravartī, Calcutta 1909). It reads (90.4b) *devyāstanau*, and translates it in Bengālī as : *devīra śarīre*.
27. We do not think that the frequent use of Ambikā as the name of the Goddess would in itself constitute sufficient evidence of emphasis on mother aspect, and the same could be said of philosophic-cosmogonic suggestions where the Goddess is regarded as creator, supporter and supreme ruler of the world, since the single, first principle as the source of all that is, even if feminine, tends to be impersonal. Even where the Goddess is referred to as mother, cosmogonic overtones are obvious. If we leave out a few cases of Ambikā (e. g., DM. 4.27,37 = Mark. P. 81.27,34), she is rarely addressed in the hymns as mother. Perhaps we discern the true maternal language and underlying religious sentiments only in such few places in the hymns as DM. 11.3a (= Mārka. P. 88.2a) : *Devī prapannārtihere prasāda mātara jagatokhilasya*, or DM. 5.71 (= Mārka. P. 82.34) : *Yā devī sarvabhūteṣu mātrrūpeṇa saṁsthitā, Namastasyai namastasyai namastasyai namo namaḥ*.

The Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* is essentially a heroic, fighting figure, a destroyer of evil and protector of people in distress.²⁸ There is of course, no doubt, that mother-goddesses were known in India from the most ancient times. Vedic figures like Aditi are essentially mother-goddesses, and similar inferences could be drawn also on the basis of archaeological evidence.²⁹ But the Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* does not appear to us to stand in any direct line of evolution of a known ancient figures, much less a known mother-goddess figure. As we have tried to demonstrate in some detail elsewhere,³⁰ the nucleus of the concept of the Great Goddess in *Devī-māhātmya* was formed by a goddess who was essentially a destroyer of demons, or, to be more precise, a destroyer of the buffalo-demon (Mahiṣāsura),³¹ and whose cult

28. It may be noted that in the story of the materialization of the Goddess to kill *Mahiṣāsura*, the gods' *tejas* which formed her body is said to have emanated from them when they became very angry (see DM. 2.9-10 = Märk. P. 79.8-9). This agrees very well with the heroic nature of the Goddess.
29. Female figures in early terracotta art, with or without conspicuous headdress but with prominent breasts and hips, are often understood as representations of mother goddesses. This is even more suspected when such ladies are shown pregnant or with children in their arms.
30. We refer to our *Studies in Goddess Cults in Northern India, etc.*, ANU. Ph. D. dissertation, 1971, Ch. 2.
31. We think it very important that the *Vaikṛtika Rahasya*, verses 32-33, prescribe that if one could not recite the whole of the *Devī-māhātmya*, he could recite *Madhyama Carita* alone. Since the theme of this *Carita* is the destruction of Mahiṣāsura, the above concession may indirectly support our supposition that the Mahiṣāsura-mardini goddess formed the nucleus around which the concept of the Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* was formed. By the way, it may even be that the text, like the Goddess herself, is the result of a progressive growth : its nucleus being formed by the material of the *Madhyama Carita*, to which later the material of the *Uttama Carita* was added, and the *Prathama Carita* was the last addition, when the whole was also retouched. Also, when the text was inserted in the *Purāna*, it did not have the Madhu-Kaiṭabha myth as part of it. Among our other reasons for this suspicion are : (a) there is scarcely any reference to the Goddess as Viṣṇumāyā in the *Madhyama*

was widely prevalent among unbrahmanical tribes inhabiting the Vindhyan ranges. In our text, we see her in her brahmanized form, and this process of bramanization itself may have been a long and complicated one.³² But even though, the Gooddness has thus acquired a complex personality, her essential character as a fighter goddess is not at all subdued. The mother aspect of the Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* must have gradually grown in importance, and the introduction of our variant *devyāḥ stanau* must be related to some stage of this growth. That *devyāstanau* could also be split as *devyāḥ+stanau* must have facilitated this introduction. We may imagine that in the background of the Goddess essentially as mother, the original reading *davyāstanau* itself was understood as *devyāḥ+stanau*, i. e. “in the breasts of the Goddess”, and this eventually led to the creation of an unambiguous variant *devyāḥ stanau*.

We are not interested here in tracing the history of this development. That is an independent and complicated research in itself.³³ It is worth noting, however, that this aspect is very prominent indeed in the modern Devī cult in Bengal, and it must have been so for a considerable period of time, because it has left its deep imprint on Bengālī social customs and usages.

Carita; and (b) when the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ch. 91 opens, it connects itself to the preceding *Devī-māhātmya* by referring to it as the account of the slaughter of Mahiṣa at the hands of Devi, of the origins of the Mothers, of the majesty Śivadūtī, and of the slaying of Śumbha-Nisumbha and Raktabīja; it makes no reference to the Madhu-Kai abha myth.

32. By intensively investigating all significant names, epithets, concepts and myths in the *Devī-māhātmya*, Dr. Thomas Coburn has made an excellent study of the earlier Sanskritic sources of the text, and tried to answer the questions: “how in this text is the Sanskritic tradition made contemporary and how is the worship of the Goddess made traditional”; see his: *The Crystallization of the Worship of the Goddess: the Sources and Context of the Devī-māhātmya*, Harvard Univ. Ph. D. dissertation, 1977.
33. An enquiry into the growth of various appendages or *aṅgas* in the *Devī-māhātmya* itself and a close scrutiny of commentarial tradition on the text should form an important part of this research.

It has been a common practice in traditional Bengālī homes to endearingly address even unmarried daughters and daughters-in-law as mother, and this honour is accorded to even very young children.³⁴ It is possible that the development of the mother aspect of the Goddess of *Devī-māhātmya* also coincided with the extension of her cult in the eastern parts of the country, including Bengal. In any case, it must have been particularly popular there. It is not without significance, therefore, that the variant *devyāḥ stanau* is found to be especially popular in the Bengālī manuscripts of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

A concluding observation may also be made, which, though not directly connected to our problem, appears to us to be significant. We feel that barring exceptional instances when variants are introduced because of a copyist's error or lack of understanding of an unfamiliar name or expression, they are generally very meaningful expressions and carry their own specific and valid point of view. They may be chronologically earlier or later, but none need be proved right or wrong and none rejected, because each represents a special tradition or a special facet of the same tradition.

34. Bengālī fictional literature, as of Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sharat Chandra Chatterjee, etc., provide good evidence of it.

A PURĀNIC OBJECTIVE DIVISION OF SMELL (GANDHA)
NOT FOUND IN THE WORKS ON PHILOSOPHY

BY

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

Logical fault in the Logicians' division of smell

While dealing with the attributes (*guṇa*) of the *bhūtas* (elements) the Logicians (followers of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy) assert that smell (the attribute capable of being apprehended by the olfactory organ) is of two kinds : *surabhi* and *asurabhi*.¹

A careful comparison of this division of smell with that of *rasa* (taste), *rūpa* (colour), *sparsā* (touch) and *śabda* (sound)² reveals that the principle of dividing smell is different in nature from that of dividing taste, colour, touch and sound. It is a logical fault to apply two different kinds of principle in dividing the aforesaid five attributes.

If *surabhi* and *asurabhi* mean agreeable and disagreeable smell respectively, then the division must be taken as purely subjective,³

1. गन्धो द्विविधः. सुरभिरसुरभिश्च (Praśastapāda-bhāṣya, sec. on Pṛthivi); गन्धो घ्राणग्राह्यः सुरभिरसुरभिश्च (*ibid*, sec. on gandha); सौरभश्चासौरभश्च स द्वेषा परिकीर्तितः (Bhāṣāpariccheda, 102); स च द्विविधः, सुरभिरसुरभिश्च (Tarkasaṁgraha, sec. on gandha).
2. Six varieties of *rasa*, namely मधुर, अम्ल, लवण, कटु, तिक्त and कषाय; seven varieties of *rūpa*, namely श्वेत, नील, पीत, रक्त, हरित, कपिश and चित्र; three varieties of *sparsā*, namely शीत, उष्ण and अनुष्णाशीत; two varieties of *śabda*, namely ध्वनि and वर्ण.
3. Cp. "The division of olfactory qualities into agreeable and disagreeable smell merely indicates their close connection with the feelings of pleasantness and unpleasantness (Oswald Kulpe : Outlines of Psychology, p. 102).

while no division of taste, colour, touch and sound as stated by the Logicians⁴ is subjective in nature.

That the Logicians' division of smell is subjective is positively proved from the bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana in his scholium on NS.3.1.58 which divides smell into *iṣṭa*, *aniṣṭa* and *upekṣaṇīya*. Since the *upekṣaṇīya* sort of smell is difficult to realize and since it has very little application in the practical life, later Logicians rejected it and propounded the two-fold division (*surabhi*—*asurabhi* = *iṣṭa*—*aniṣṭa*) using words well-known in the cultural tradition of India. Since the three-fold (*iṣṭa*—*aniṣṭa*—*upekṣaṇīya*) division is subjective in nature, the two-fold (*surabhi*—*asurabhi*) division must also be regarded as subjective.

From the explanation सुरभिश्चन्दनादौ असुरभिर्मद्यादौ (comm. Mitabhāṣiṇī on Tarkabhāṣā, p. 20) it appears that in a much later period *surabhi* was taken in the sense of 'what purifies or pacifies the mind' and *asurabhi* in the sense of 'what distracts, or maddens the mind'. This division is evidently based on Dharmasāstra and it is clear that this is not a strictly objective division.

The *surabhi* and *asurabhi* of the Logicians are not the same as the *sugandhi* and *durgandhi* of Āyurveda.⁵ No authoritative works on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika use these words in connection with the division of smell.

Since the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy is strictly realist, Logicians must have conceived an objective division of smell like the division of taste, colour, touch and sound. It is a matter of great regret that this objective division is not found in the available works on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

4. If smell can be divided into agreeable and disagreeable, taste etc. can also be divided in the same way; for example we may divide colour into charming and ugly, touch into pleasant and unpleasant.
5. सुखानुबन्धी सूक्ष्मश्च सुगन्धो रोचनो मृदुः । दुर्गन्धो विपरीतोऽस्माद् हृल्लासारुचिकारकः ॥ (सुश्रुत, सूत्र. 46.520). It is not the strict division of smell as the context shows. It is to be noted in this connection that in a similar enumeration of twenty guṇas there is no mention of *sugandha* and *durgandha* in the Caraka, Sutrā 25.36.

Objective division of smell in the Itihāsa-Purāṇa works

It is remarkable to note that Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature contains a description of the objective division of smell which is similar in nature to the Logicians' division of *rūpa*, *rasa* etc. The relevant verses are found in the Śānti-parvan and the Nāradiya-purāṇa⁶, which read as under :

तस्य गन्धस्य वक्ष्यामि विस्तराभिहितान् गुणान् ।

इष्टश्चानिष्टगन्धश्च मधुरः कटुरेव च ॥

निर्हारी संहतः स्निग्धो रूक्षो विशद एव च ।

एवं नवविधो ज्ञेयः पार्थिवो गन्धविस्तरः ॥

(Śānti-p. 184. 28-29; Cr. ed. 177. 27-28; Nāradiya-p. 42.82-83; *guṇa* in the first line means 'variety')⁷

It is clear that this division is objective in character. Here *iṣṭa* and *aniṣṭa* cannot be taken as adjectival expressions meaning 'desirable' and 'undesirable' respectively for obvious reasons.

6. I do not subscribe to the view held by a host of modern scholars that if some passages (in almost identical words) are common to the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata the MBH.-version must be regarded as earlier than the Purāṇic version. The question of borrowing or dependence should be decided by evidences. In this paper we refrain from discussing the question of borrowing as it has no bearing on the subject discussed. It is to be noted that the interlocutors in both the Śānti-p. and the Nāradya-p. are the same persons (Bhṛgu and Bharadvāja). The interlocution falls in the dialogue by Bhīṣma and Yudhiṣṭhira in the Śānti-p. and in the dialogue by Sanandana and Nārada in the Nāradiya-p.
7. N lakaṣṭha's observations on these divisions are as follows : इष्टः कस्तूरिकादौ । अनिष्टः शवादौ । मधुरो मधुपुष्पादौ । कटु-मरीचादौ । निर्हारी सर्वगन्धाभिभावको हिङ्गवादौ । संहतश्चित्रगन्धोऽनेक-द्रव्यकल्पगतः । स्निग्धः सद्यस्तमघृतादौ । रूक्षः सर्पपतैलादौ । विशदः शाल्यन्नादौ । N.l. has not defined the varieties (except निर्हारी and संहत) but has only exemplified them which shows that he was not aware of the precise character of these varieties. As these names do not clearly suggest the character of the varieties, it was necessary for the commentator to define them. There is ample doubt whether the explanations given by the commentator are original and the examples correct.

Though this chapter is in the dialogue of Bṛgu (speaker) and Bharadvāja, who are not regarded as Logicians in the technical sense of the word and though the chapters in this dialogue do not deal with the peculiar views of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, yet there are reasons for our referring to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika śāstra. The available ancient works on Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Vedānta contain no discussion on the subdivisions of smell, taste etc. and if any later work on these śāstras mentions the varieties of smell, etc. the work is found to follow the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view. In such a gross matter as the division of smell, taste, etc., it is quite likely that these śāstras follow the same divisions as are found in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, for these divisions have no bearing on the fundamental views and the view-points of these śāstras. As the division of smell etc. is found to have been treated with some details in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika work, we think it justified to mention the name of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika in connection with the present discussion.

A similar division of smell is found in the Aśvamedha-p. (50. 42-43a; cr. ed. 49.41b-42) also, which speaks of ten varieties. Here only *amla* is mentioned in addition to the nine varieties mentioned in the Śānti-p. and the Nāradya-p. Unless the precise nature of these varieties of smell is known, the justifiability of inclusion or exclusion of *amla* cannot be decided properly. It however cannot be denied that these Purāṇic passages are based on some ancient works. The extreme similarity in the order of enumeration of the varieties found in all these places undoubtedly shows that these Purāṇic statements are based on some ancient treatise dealing with the elements and their attributes.

Reason for conceiving the non-objective division

As to why the aforesaid objective division of smell fell in disuse is a question that requires solution. According to us it is the peculiar character of smell that is the cause of this disuse.

It can be easily understood that as the varieties of colour can be conceived easily without any reference to the substance in which they reside the varieties of smell cannot be conceived in the same way—a fact which has been noted by modern psycho-

logists also.⁸ It is important to note that the names of the different kinds of smell usually used by common men have a direct reference to the odorous substances; cp. the words : spicy, flowery, fruity, resinous, foul and scorched (smell). The following remarks of the great psychologist O. Kulpe may be considered in this connection : “It is significant that language which distinguishes sweet and acid, heavy and light, white and red, has no special names for odours, but uses descriptive terms—the fragrance of the rose, the scent of the violet, the perfume of the carnation etc.” (Outlines of Psychology, p. 100).

Thus the reason for conceiving the subjective division becomes clear. Since smell cannot be easily conceived without the substances possessing smell and since the substances may be divided into *heya* (forsakable), *upādeya* (acceptable) and *upekṣanīya* (negligible) classes or into *heya* and *upādeya* classes, smell was also divided into three or two divisions (as shown above).

It is possible that the *surabhi-asurabhi* division is based on the *śuci-aśuci* character or the *medhya-amedhya* character of things.⁹ This is in accordance with the Dharma-śāstra point of view and is connected with injunctions and prohibitions (*vide* Medhātithi on Manu 2.177; 3.209).

Thus it is clear that since the objective division of smell served no practical purpose the non-objective division gradually came in vogue and in later times replaced the objective division. Later Logicians do not seem to have paid adequate attention to a subject like the subdivision of *guṇas* as they were chiefly engaged in discussing the nature of *pramāṇas* and in refuting the views of their opponent schools. Since later Logicians did not take much interest in studying the *prameyas* in a proper way they overlooked many faults or shortcomings concerning the views they propounded or accepted.

8. “It is impossible to classify the different types of odours except by reference to the substances giving rise to the odour” (John J. B. Morgan and A. R. Gilliland : An Introduction to Psychology, pp. 114-115).

9. Cp. शोभनाशोभनद्वेयग्रहणे तु विपर्ययः (Viṣṇudharmottara-p. 3.238.30).

We may also think of a different cause for the सुरभि-अमुरभि-विभाग of smell. A misunderstanding seems to have given rise to this division. The lists of the nine-fold and the tenfold division of smell begin with the expressions इष्टञ्चानिष्टगन्धः. Most probably in the original enumeration of the divisions of smell इष्ट and अनिष्ट varieties were mentioned at the beginning. Thus it follows that in olden times the expression इष्टादि was used at the time of referring to the division of smell. Later the expression इष्टादि was wrongly understood as meaning इष्ट and अनिष्ट only. Since the two divisions इष्ट and अनिष्ट (i. e. other than इष्ट) exhaust the whole field of smell, the इष्ट-अनिष्ट-विभाग came to be regarded as the originally established view and the two highly attractive names सुरभि and अमुरभि were given to these divisions respectively.¹⁰

Classification of smell by modern scientists

Modern scientists have also tried to formulate an objective division of smell. It is remarkable to note that the Dutch physiologist Zwaardemacker has conceived *a nine-fold division of smell* which is however not identical with the Purānic division (*vide* M. W. Calkins : An Introduction to Psychology, p. 60). Since our readers may be interested in knowing these varieties they are given below :—

(1) Ethereal (as in fruit, honey); (2) aromatic (as in camphor); (3) fragrant (as in flowers); (4) ambrosiac (as in musk); (5) alliaceous (as in onion, garlic, sulphur), (6) empyreumatic (as in pepper, tobacco); (7) hircine (as in goats, rams); (8) virulent (as in corpse or in stale things); (9) nauseating (as in secretions, feces)¹¹

10. The Logicians who conceived the objective division seem to be anterior to the scholiasts Vātsyāyana and Prāta-pāda. They may even be anterior to the śāstrakīras Gotama and Kaṇāda. There is no doubt that the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika śāstra was in a seedy and potential state before these teachers.

11. A comparative study of these varieties may yield valuable results. Modern scholars of physiology may take up this study and see how far the Purānic conception (which most probably does not represent the original view precisely) is justifiable. Recently the wellknown psychologist Henning has classified smell into six classes—fruity, flowery, spicy, resinous, scorching and putrid.

Nature of Purāṇic presentation

The aforesaid two Purāṇic works (in the same three chapters) speak of the division of *rasa*, *rūpa*, *sparsā* and *śabda* also. (The names of the varieties of *rasa* etc. are given in the footnote).² A careful consideration of these divisions would show that they possess logical faults. That the divisions are based on more than one principle is beyond doubt.¹³

12. In Śānti-p (ch. 184) the sub-divisions of *rasa* etc. are as follows : मधुर, लवण, तिक्त, कषाय, अम्ल and कटु (of रस); ह्रस्व, दीर्घ, स्थूल, चतुरस्र, अनुवृत्तवान्, शुक्ल, कृष्ण, रक्त, पीत, नीलारुण, कटिन, चिक्कण, श्लक्ष्ण, पिच्छिल, मृदु and दारुण (of रूप); उष्ण, शीत, मुख, दुःख, स्निग्ध, विशद, खर, मृदु, रूक्ष, लघु गुरुतर and गुरु; some however enumerate eleven varieties leaving गुरु, see N.I. (of रपर्श); षड्ज, ऋषभ, गान्धार, मध्यम, धैवत, पञ्चम and निषाद (of शब्द). In Aśvamedha-p. the varieties are : मधुर, अम्ल, कटु, तिक्त, कषाय and लवण (of रस); शुक्ल, कृष्ण, रक्त, नील, पीत, अरुण, ह्रस्व, दीर्घ, कृश, स्थूल, चतुरस्र and वृत्त (of रूप); रूक्ष, शीत, उष्ण, स्निग्ध, विशद, कटिन, चिक्कण, श्लक्ष्ण, पिच्छिल, दारुण and मृदु (of स्पर्श); (Here only 11 varieties are enumerated, though they are said to be 12 in verse 50. The variety नातिशीतोष्ण seems to be added on the force of the expression तथैव in verse 49); षड्ज, ऋषभ, गान्धार, मध्यम, पञ्चम, निषाद, धैवत, इष्ट, अनिष्ट and संहत (of शब्द). The character of the last three varieties is to be known clearly. इष्ट and अनिष्ट cannot be taken here as meaning 'agreeable' and 'disagreeable' respectively.
13. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha attempted to justify the Purāṇic division of *rūpa* by adducing the following argument : कठिनादयः स्पर्शभेदा अपि चक्षुषापि निर्णेतुं शक्या इति रूपमध्ये पठिताः । तथाहि लोष्टपाषाण-संघट्टे तन्नाशानाशाम्नां बालास्तयो मूर्धुत्व-कठिनत्वे निश्चिनोति, एवमन्यत्रापि ज्ञेयम् (on Śānti-p. 184.34). The faulty character of the argument is clearly discernible. That the Purāṇic authors do not strictly follow the views of Logicians has also been stated by Nīlakaṇṭha (लघुत्वगुरुत्वे तर्कमते पतनानुमेये अपि पौराणिकमते त्वग्नाह्ने एव, 184.37).

The faulty nature of the Purāṇic presentation is due to the peculiar character of Purāṇa literature. It is our wellconsidered opinion that though the Purāṇic presentation of the views of ancient teachers of various śāstras are based directly or indirectly on the original works of these teachers, yet the views as presented are not as accurate, deep and precise as the original views are. The reason is obvious. Since the Purāṇas are chiefly composed for the common people, their authors were not particular about what was the proper form of the views of the ancient śāstras. In fact they were especially interested in rendering their presentation of the views of ancient teachers or śāstras easy and attractive, with the help of exaggeration etc. Moreover as some of the authors of the Purāṇic works were not specialists in ancient śāstras, it is quite natural that they committed errors in presenting the views. Sometimes sectarian leaning was also a cause for presenting the ancient non-sectarian views in a coloured form. This is why we sometimes find erroneous ideas in the Purāṇic versions of the views of ancient śāstras i.e., the views as presented in the Purāṇas do not always represent the original form of the views as held by the ancient teachers. The Purāṇic presentation of the divisions of the *guṇas* (*śabda*, *sparsā*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha*) is also to be understood as possessing the same character and it would be too much to expect that since one part of this presentation is valid, the other parts would also be valid.

COMPOSITION, TRANSMISSION AND RECITATION OF
THE PURĀṆA-S*

(A Few Remarks)

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

Though the Mahāpurāṇa-s are eighteen in number, the study of the manuscripts and the little more we have learned about the history of purāṇic development, brings us to the conclusion that they are innumerable, because each purāṇa has several versions, which may be so different from one another as to be hardly related to the purāṇa to which they claim to be attached. These considerations, so clearly stated also by L. Rocher in his paper at the Wisconsin South Asia Conference¹, put under discussion the very possibility of critical editions of the purāṇa-s. Even without sharing the approach to the study of Indian texts now fashionable in France², it seems that we cannot proceed any longer to prepare critical editions of the purāṇa-s, unless we have rethought the whole problem in all its aspects. The difficulties we are facing as we proceed in preparing the critical editions are themselves the best stimulus for a reconsideration of the whole matter.³ To give the latest example of the difficulties in continuing the critical edition as it has been until now, I can mention the MSS situation of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, which is now under preparation at the All-India Kashirāj Trust of Vārāṇasī. The printed editions of this purāṇa,

* Abbreviations are given at the end.

1. Cf. *Purāṇa* XXV. 1 (Jan., 1983), pp. 64-76.
2. For the method applied to the Purāṇa-s, see especially M. Biardeau, Some more Considerations about Textual Criticism, *Purāṇa*, X. 2 (July, 1968), pp. 115-123; Letter to the Editor—In reply to Śrī B. M. Bedekar's article, *Purāṇa* XII. 1 (Jan., 1970), pp. 180-81; The story of Arjuna Kārtavīrya without re-construction, *Purāṇa* XII. 2 (July, 1970), pp. 286-303.
3. On the point of view about critical editions of the purāṇa-s of A. S. Gupta, the Editor of the critical editions of the Vāmana, Kūrma and Varāha Purāṇa-s, see *Purāṇa* XII. 2 (July, 1970), pp. 302 and 304-321.

as N. Gangadharan⁴ has already remarked, contain usually two *khaṇḍa-s*, each of which has different names in the different editions, while the Venkaṭeśvara edition contains three *kāṇḍa-s*. The third *kāṇḍa*, usually called Brahmakāṇḍa, is rarely found in the MSS, while the second, usually known as Pretakalpa, Uttarakhaṇḍa or Sāroddhāra, is very common, to the point that many MSS libraries⁵ have only this part of the purāṇa and have named it *tout court* the Garuḍa Purāṇa. The identification of the Garuḍa Purāṇa with one of its parts, namely the Pretakalpa, is very common also among paṇḍits and people who usually do not know of any other part of the Garuḍa except the Pretakalpa. This could be one of the reasons why we have not yet been able to discover any complete MS of the Ācirakhaṇḍa or Prathamakhaṇḍa of the Garuḍa Purāṇa in Southern Indian scripts. Moreover, the problem becomes more complicated when we study a little closer the Pretakalpa. There are, both in the printed editions and in the MSS material, not less than three different versions, which seem to be related among themselves in this way: one version in ten *adhyāya-s* claims in the colophons to be *Sāroddhāra* and corresponds approximately with the first ten *adhyāya-s* of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of Vaṅgabāsi and Venkaṭeśvara editions. Another version of 29 or 30 or 34 or 35 *adhyāya-s* corresponds to the Jivānanda/Chowkhamba editions and to *adhyāya-s* 12-45 of the Vaṅgabāsi and Venkaṭeśvara (Uttarakhaṇḍa); it calls itself Pretakalpa and/or Uttarakhaṇḍa. A third version, which contains both Sāroddhāra and Pretakalpa, corresponds to the complete Vaṅgabāsi and Venkaṭeśvara editions. There are, however, also intermediate versions of about twenty *adhyāya-s*⁶ which still need to be studied. With all this, the popu-

4. D. Gangadharan, *Garuḍa Purāṇa—A Study*, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Vārāṇasī, 1972.

5. See, for instance, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Tanjore, vol. XV, Śrīraṅgam, 1932, Nos 10455-10462; *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Sanskrit College Library, vol. IV, Vārāṇasī, 1957. Almost all the Nos of Garuḍa Purāṇa of this catalogue refer to Pretakalpa.

6. See Adyar MS TR 777 in Devanagari, containing ff 60 of a complete Pretakalpa in 18 *adhyāya-s*; MS 74149, in Telugu, containing ff. 86 of a complete Pretakalpa in 20 *adhyāya-s*.

lar edition of the Garuḍa Purāṇa (Pretakalpa) nowadays available in Northern India contains the text of a Sāroddhāra in 16 *adhyāya*-s written by S. Naunidhirāma of Jhuñjhuñū (Jaipur)⁷, which does not match with any one of the previously mentioned versions but is a fresh composition made up of different purāṇic passages from different purāṇa-s. This text, which has been studied and translated into German fifty years ago by E. Abegg⁸, is now considered *prāmāṇika* by most of the people, even if sometimes the *karmakāṇḍin*-s find a little resistance from laymen because the text they recite is not the one that should be.⁹ All this seems to prove, *prima facie*, that we shall not be in a position to combine all these three different or more Uttarakhaṇḍa-s in one text, if we want to stick to the principles of the critical editions; on the other hand it seems possible to prepare three different editions reconstructed on the basis of the MSS materials. Yet the problem is more complex, from what we are going to see in the following pages.

We know that the purāṇa-s were copied and spread to allow their further study or reading both privately and publicly. As such they were used for recitation, and their copying was not only encouraged, but regulated by fixed norms, at least since eleventh century, the time of the first Nibandha-s. As the purāṇa-s themselves furnish us with a lot of details about these two processes of recitation and copying, they have to be studied carefully. About their composition quite a lot has already been written and always stress has been given to what the purāṇa-s say about themselves, namely that they were composed by Vyāsa, who recited all of them or only one, which later was divided into many by his disciples as time and place changed. Vyāsa and the following authors claim to have received always the new subjects, that are inserted in the text, by God himself, Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. The situation of the

7. Cf. for instance, गृह्यपुराण (प्रेतकल्प) भाषाटीका सहित, श्रीगोपाल पुस्तकालय, मथुरा, no date. The name of the author of this text can be read in the Garuḍa Purāṇa, printed at Nirṇaya-sagar Press in 1949.
8. E. Abegg, *Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa Purāṇa*, (Naunidhirāma's Sāroddhāra), Berlin und Leipzig, 1921.
9. Information received from Pt. Braja Ki ora Tripaṭhi Śāstri, Vārāṇasī,

MSS, as for instance in the case of the Prefakalpa, as we have seen above, makes us think, however, that the two processes of composition and transmission very often are identifiable, because in fact what was transmitted as old revelation was newly added. This process so characteristic of oral transmission¹⁰ seems to have been very common with the purāṇa-s. This fact along with the observation that the purāṇa-s were meant mainly for recitation in public, i. e. for representation, may lead us to think that the purāṇa-s were originally oral compositions. Such an opinion can even find further support in the several hints to bards as reciters of our texts¹¹ and in a good amount of common formulas which have been found also in the Mahābhārata which seem to be proper for bardic oral recitation.¹² All this brings us to analyse the purāṇa-s to see whether they were composed as oral or written texts. The composition, transmission and recitation of the purāṇa-s is, therefore, an important premise for understanding our texts and for finding out how, or whether, we should prepare their critical editions. The problems, which we have hinted here are in fact much bigger than we can now try to solve. We shall start with what the purāṇa-s themselves say about these problems and, as it will appear, it is already quite a lot.

1. Purāṇa-s as written books

Although the Purāṇa-s mention in several places the role of Sūtas, Vyāsas, Māgadhas etc., there seems to be no doubt that the purāṇic texts we possess are written compositions; whether there were, previous to them, purāṇa-s which were orally composed, or whether even in our present texts there are passages originally composed in oral form, shall have to be considered separately. In fact, the texts we read now claim constantly to be

10. See Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry, Its nature, significance and Social Context*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977. I have consulted the first Paper Back edition, 1979.

11. Sūta-s, Vyāsa-s, Māgadha-s, Vandin-s. are mentioned in *Bṛ* III. 35.63; *Vy* 63.147-148; *Lḍ* II. 36.172-173; cf. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Oxford University Press, London, 1922, p. 17.

12. See P. L. Vaidya, *The Harivaṃśa*, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1969, Introduction pp. XXXIX-XLIII.

written compositions, and have, then, to be treated as such, even if with restrictions, as will become apparent as we proceed.

There are three series of passages in our texts which undoubtedly affirm that the purāṇa-s are written books or books to be read. The first series is at the end, and sometimes also at the beginning, of most of the *kathā-s*, *māhātmya-s*, *stotra-s* and other groups of *adhya-s* forming a unit by themselves. The word which is stressed in this series is 'recitation' or 'reading'.

पठन् दक्षकृतं स्तोत्रं सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ (Vy 30.317 cd)¹³

'If one recites the *stotra* composed by Dakṣa, one is freed from all his sins.'

The same word is found also at the end of several purāṇa-s :

इदं यः श्रद्धया नित्यं पुराणं वेदसंमितम् ।

यः पठेच्छृणुयान्मर्त्यः स याति भुवनं हरेः ॥ (B 245.27)¹⁴

'The man who recites constantly and listens with faith to this purāṇa, which is similar to the Veda-s, goes to Hari's world'.

Other more general statements are also available in our texts purporting to stress the importance of recitation of a purāṇic passage :

पुराणपठनं यत्र तत्र संनिहितो हरिः ॥ (N I.6.54 cd)

'Hari is present wherever purāṇa-s are recited.'

उत्तमः श्रद्धया युक्तः श्लोकं श्लोकार्थमेव च ।

पठित्वा मुच्यते सद्यो महापातककोटिभिः ॥

कुर्याद्देवस्य पुरतो जागरं नियतो व्रती ।

गीतैर्वाद्यैश्च नृत्यैश्च पुराणपठनादिभिः ॥

(Pd VI. 64.27,36)

'Very great is the man who recites with faith one or even half a *śloka*; he is immediately freed from myriads of grave sins.'

13. Cf. also *Vr* 102.17; 104.18; 112.74ff; *L* 70.347; 85.230; 86.157 etc.; *Vm* 59.121; 60.51; 69.12 etc.; *Sk* V (Revā Kh) 1.53; *Bhv* II. 1.8.1ff.

14. Cf. also *Bd* III. 4.47; *K* I. 1,114; II. 46.127; *Mk* 137.2; *Vr* 215.17-18; *Bhv* III 4.25.93 etc.

'The man who wants to perform a vow should do, with his mind controlled, a vigil before God with songs, music, dance, and recitation of purāṇa-s etc.'

The root 'paṭh', that comes always in these texts, has in Pāṇini¹⁵ the meaning of 'speaking clearly out', an act which does not imply necessarily 'reading' from a text. The Vāyu Purāṇa¹⁶ says that the purāṇa-s were divided in the same way as the Veda-s due to *pāṭhāntara* :

पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥

The word *pāṭhāntara* when referred to the Veda-s, can hardly mean 'reading' and implies surely the sense of recitation. This same meaning is also outstanding in words like *stuti-pāṭhaka*, *purāṇa-pāṭhaka*¹⁷ and the like. *Pāṭhaka-s*¹⁸ or reciters were more commonly called *vācaka-s*¹⁹ or *pustakavācaka-s*,²⁰ and were deserving special veneration and were on the same foot of importance with the Sūtas and Brahmā himself²¹, the original narrators or revealers. The word *pustakavācaka*, however, is already on the line of the second series of texts.

Recitation can be done by speaking a text by heart or by reading it from a written copy. It is difficult to determine the way of recitation in the case of one *śloka* or a *stotra*, as any person can expose it by heart or can read it, but the above-mentioned word, *pustakavācaka*, and all the cases in which the verb *paṭh* is in conjunction with the word *pustaka* or *grantha*,²² stand to prove that in some cases the recitation was from written texts :

तत्करात्पत्रिकां गृह्य पपाठ रघुसत्तमः ।

(Pd IV. 100.31)²³

15. Bhvādi-gaṇa 330 पठ व्यक्तायां वाचि
16. Vy 61.59; Bḍ I. 35.67; cf. Vi III. 4.8; Bv III. 12.41; DBhg XII. 13.28; 14.26; A 383 65.
17. Bv I. 10.135; 15.53; cf. N I. 6.54.
18. Cf. Pd II. 83.43; VI. 250.301.
19. Pd III. 25.32; VI. 39-31 etc.; Bhv I. 94.56, 61; 101.16; A 273 14.
20. Bhv I. 93.74-75; I.94 (passim).
21. Cf. Bv I. 10.135.
22. Cf. Pd IV. 111. 63 etc.
23. Cf. the whole *adhyāya* 100.

‘(Rāma), the best of the Raghus took the leaf from his hand and read out.’

The purāṇas are often described as ‘*pustaka*’-s²⁴ and sometimes as as *purāṇapustoka*-s as in *Bv* IV. 76.15 and also *saṃhitāpustaka*-s, as in *A* 273.25. The word *grantha* is used in a few cases and the Devī Bhāgavata makes Yajñavalkya pray to Sarasvatī for obtaining the power of composing books, *granthakarīṛtvaśakti*²⁵. The mistakes in recitation mentioned in *Pd* VI. 100.75ff are mistakes which take place while reading the text and not in mere speaking out a passage by heart. The Devī Bhāgavata confirms its own composition to have been in ancient times :

देवीभागवतं नाम पुराणं ग्रथितं पुरा ॥ (XII. 14.4 ab)

The connection between *pustaka* or *grantha* and *paṭh* makes it apparent that the purāṇa-s claim to be books or volumes to be recited also by means of reading.

The insistence of the purāṇa-s on copying purāṇic passages, which constitutes the third series of texts we are going to examine now, is a further support to the general purāṇic tendency of being transmitted through written means. The word used for copying is *likh* in connection with which it is repeatedly affirmed that ‘writing’ of the purāṇa-s produces merits.²⁶ *Bhv* I. 1. 6. extends the meaning of this root also to signify ‘composing’; but the same purāṇa while speaking of Rūpānanda,²⁷ who ‘composed’ Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa’s Kṛṣṇakhaṇḍa, describes that activity with the verb *kr* and not *likh*. The latter root is usually reserved to copying a text from a previous one. We cannot dismiss the idea that the purāṇic specialists learned and recited by heart long passages or even entire purāṇa-s, yet the whole picture described in our texts stands firmly in support of a written transmission of the purāṇa-s.

Up to this point we have not distinguished clearly the phase of composition from the one of transmission. In reality

24. Cf. *B* 175.90; *Bhv* I. 93.68-69; 172.48; *A* 273.29; *Pd* III. 25.35-36; VI. 28.56; 29.26; 125.93.
25. *DBhg* IX. 5.7 cd.
26. *Bhv* I. 172.48; *B* 175.90; *K* II. 44.124; *N* I. 92.44 etc.; *A* 272.1ff etc.
27. *Bhv* III. 4.19.39.

such a distinction is not possible in our texts. The import of this statement appears when we consider the way the purāṇa-s had visualized the copying of texts, upon which it is evident, indeed, that such an activity is not far from composing.

There are a few passages, mainly of upapurāṇa-s, which have been quoted also by the ancient Nibandhakāra-s of the XII cent. A. D., that transmit rules of copying texts from previous manuscripts. Texts have to be copied, according to the purāṇa-s, for getting the merits of *vidyādāna*. Such merits are described for instance in *Mt* 53, *Skt* VII 1.2, the latter of which is a copy of the former, *A* 272, *NI*. 92-109 in a very detailed way, and it is hinted at in almost all the purāṇa-s where the *phalasaruti*-s are described in the concluding *adhyāya*-s. Casual hints are also available at the end of a *māhātmya* or a *stuti* and the like. All the three ancient Nibandhakāra-s, namely Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara, author of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* (∞ 1110 A. D.), Ballāla Sena, author of *Dānasāgara*, composed between 1161 and 1169 A. D. and Hemādri, author of *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (∞ 1270 A. D.), quote a long passage from the Nandi Purāṇa,²⁸ describing with great details how a passage should be copied from a previous text. The three authors were later imitated by many other Nibandhakāra-s in the subsequent periods. Lakṣmīdhara, Hemādri, and later, all the others, add also a long and interesting passage from the *Devī Purāṇa*.²⁹ The passages of these two purāṇa-s, as well as *Bhv.* II. 1. 7., purport at giving fixed rules for copying MSS. Among such rules, as given in the Nandi Purāṇa, there

28. R. C. Hazra affirms that 'No MS of this work has been discovered up to the present time' (i.e. 1963), see *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, vol II, Calcutta, Sanskrit College, 1963, p. 474. The Sarasvati Bhaṇḍāra Library of Rāmnaḡar Fort, Vārāṇasi has two purāṇa-s which bear the name of Nandi Purāṇa, namely MS No. 66/196; 67/196; but none of them contains the passages quoted in the Nibandha-s. A doubt can, however, be raised about the real name of these purāṇa-s; they are called Nandipurāṇa on the cover, and bear the name 'Nandi' on each folio's left side of retro, but the colophons say regularly इति श्रामत् परानन्दपुराणे etc.

29. The *Devī Purāṇa* has been published by Śrī Lāl Bahādur Śāstri Kendriya Śānskrit Vidyāpīṭh, New Delhi, 1976

are a few norms which are classified as *śodhanavidhi*. I reproduce here their translation as given in *Dānasāgara* edited by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya:³⁰

‘Both the MSS, the model and the copy, should be compared and read out. The omission and repetition of letters and marks should be properly checked and the propriety of affixing *anusvāras* and *visargas* should also be considered in the context of subject-matter of the work and in view of the avoidance of tautology. The real intention of the author should be found out by means of the following particulars :

The popular acceptance of the words, their appropriateness to the topic in question, consistency in the form of queries and replies among the aphorisms themselves and of the thesis as a whole, when not expressed in an aphoristic form, quotations made in full or simply referred to, to elucidate the context, consideration of the proper import of a homonymous word, consistency with all other branches of learning without giving up the significance of the cases, and enquiry into the sense of an obscure word like ‘*carya*’ and consideration of the metrical requisites (in case of verses). An intelligent scribe should thus fully scrutinize both the MSS to arrive at the correct text.’

The copying of a text, as proposed in this passage, is quite an active work and even if its aim is surely that of arriving at the correct text of the previous passage, it may encourage also modifications or even new insertions. It should also be remembered, as it can be deduced both from the above quoted texts of the Nandi, Devī and Bhaviṣya Purāṇa-s and from the continuous insistence on copying even short *śloka-s*, that when a purāṇa or a passage thereof had to be recited for some occasion it was copied afresh. The same happened when a purāṇa or an *adhyāya* had to be read and commented in a school or in a *sāṃpradāyika* meeting or festival. It is not the place here to enter into details of transmission of the text which would imply the whole procedure of critical edition. While we keep that study for further writings, we should note

30. B. Bhattacharya, *Dānasāgara*, Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1953, p. LIX

already, to stick to our basic point here, that the purāṇa-s, surely from the XII A. D. onwards, were, in their transmission, and not improbably also in their new additions of new topics or *adhyāya*-s, handed over as written works. Yet this conclusion is only partial because there are examples where an oral transmission is not completely to be ruled out. This oral transmission can be restricted to one *śloka* or extended to a few *śloka*-s or even a long passage. Examples of the first kind are very numerous :

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Śivadharmā 5.14 | Devanāgarī MS | स पच्यते महाघोरे |
| | Nevārī MS | पच्यते स महाघोरे |
| Śivadharmā 5.67 | Devanāgarī MS | शिवाय चामरं दत्त्वा |
| | Nevārī MS | दद्याच्छिवाय चमरं (<i>sic</i>) |
| Garuḍa I. 111.12 | Jīvānanda Ed. | भूतमृत्युच्छलेन |
| | Poona 1 MS | मृत्युभूतच्छलेन |
| Garuḍa II. 3.8 | Jīvānanda Ed. | पुत्रा यस्य न विद्यन्ते |
| | Gaṅgadharaṇa Jhā Inst. MS | यस्या पुत्रा न विद्यन्ते |

Such examples appear to be due to faults of memory more than any other cause, whatever was the process of copying that was involved.

An example of the second kind is the following question of the origin of the Kumbha parvaṇ as quoted in Venīrāma Śarmā Gauḍa, *Kumbhaparva-māhātmya*,³¹ which is said to belong to the Skanda Purāṇa, but which is not available in the printed editions of that purāṇa and about which the Pt Gauḍa himself asked by me purposely about the sources of his information, said that it was oral tradition.

The purāṇa-s, then, seem to reflect that kind of transmission which is still so common nowadays. Such a transmission is a mixture of oral and written traditions : written, because the text to be transmitted is in most of the cases already written and had been composed as a written text, and oral, because a part of its text is learned by heart and is dictated or transcribed from memory. Every good brāhmaṇa was requested, and is still supposed, to learn by heart as many texts as possible.

31. Venīrāma, Śarmā Gauḍa, *Kumbhaparva Māhātmya*, Kāśī, Saṁvat: 2004 (= 1947 A. D.), pp. 6-8

तिष्ठन्ति यस्य शास्त्राणि जिह्वाग्रे पृथिवीपते ।
दृष्टश्च गोचरस्तात कस्तेन सदृशो द्विजः ॥ (*Bhv* I. 216.97)

‘O Lord of the earth, which *dvija* is similar to the one on whose tongue’s tip are the *śāstra*-s ? (and has seen whatever can come under the senses ?)

As the purāṇa-s went on transforming along the centuries through the process of transmission and adaptation, the composition which took place just during the process of transmission is what constitutes basically our text at present; such a transmission/composition is, indeed, a mixture, but claims to be a written one as the texts on *vidyādāna* openly state.

2. Purāṇa-s containing Purāṇa-s

There are many expressions in the purāṇa-s which make us thoughtful about the kind of books we are reading, when we go through the purāṇic texts. The author of *Bhv* IV. 111.1 introduces Yudhiṣṭhira saying :

वर्णाश्रमाणां प्रभवः पुराणेषु मया श्रुतः ॥

‘I heard the origin of *varṇa* and *āśrama* in the purāṇa-s.’ In *B* 213.166 we read :

प्रादुर्भावाः पुराणेषु गीयन्ते ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥

‘The knowers of the highest knowledge sing in the purāṇa-s the manifestations (of the Lord).’

These and similar *śloka*-s refer to purāṇa-s³² as works belonging to the past. Such phrases impress us by their frequency and by being present in almost all the purāṇa-s. These purāṇa-s spoken of are not the present ones but books of the past; they can be styled *ādipurāṇa*-s³³ or purāṇa-s of the ancient times and can be listed with the Veda-s and their *aṅga*-s.³⁴ The purāṇic texts sometimes give the words *purāṇeṣu* or *purāṇe* an oscillating meaning so as to imply the meaning of both ‘in olden times’ and ‘in the texts called purāṇa-s’. More

32. See, for instance, *Pd* VI. 238. 12; *N* I.9.99; *K* II. 37.163; *Bv* II. 40.3; *B* 30.53; *Bd* I. 4.29; *Bh* IV. 2.22 etc.

33. *Pd* V. 36.14

34. Cf *Vi* III. 3-6; *L* I. 39.53-70 etc.

often, however, the meaning is clear, leaving no doubt about the opinion of the authors : they want to refer to the purāṇa-s which existed before the time in which they are writing.

Besides, the authors of the actual purāṇa-s speak of 'purāṇic authors' as people different from themselves and belonging to the past :

अत्र वंशे पुराणज्ञा गायन्तीति परिश्रुतम् ॥

(B 15.41 cd.)³⁵

'In this topic of *vaṁśa*, the knowers of antiquities have some songs, so it is renowned.'

Thus, on the one hand, the texts we possess claim to be purāṇa-s and so they have been accepted by tradition, and yet they claim to 'contain' purāṇa-s. On the other hand, their authors bear the names of Vyāsa, Sūta and other famous purāṇic persons and yet they refer to purāṇic authors as persons of the past. These two series of facts are not concentrated in one short specific purāṇic text or topic, for instance *purāṇotpatti* or the like, rather they are spread all over the purāṇic texts. The purāṇa-s, indeed, are compilations or *saṁhitā*-s of vedic *matra*-s, *gāthā*-s, ancient stories, and other books. The compilers, several times, make it known that they are taking the text or the inspiration from other sources :

अत्रैवोदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् । (Pd VI. 82.13)

'Here this ancient story is given by way of exemplification'.

इमं चोदाहरन्त्यत्र श्लोकं पौराणिका द्विजाः ।

(Bd II. 63. 69, 113)³⁶

'O *dvija*-s, the purāṇic authors bring this *śloka* as an example'. So the purāṇic authors did the work of compilation from ancient treatises purposely and it does not seem to be inappropriate to see in their purāṇa-s, parts of the ancient purāṇa-s.

35. See the different names with which the ancient purāṇic authors are called in the extant purāṇa-s : *brahmadevin*, K. I. 27.4; B 213. 166, Vy I. 1. 27, 40; *purāṇavid*, K 213.15; *Bhv* IV. 25.1; 75.10; *purāṇārthavid*, B 175.4; *purāṇajña* B 15.41; *Bd* I. 2.45; *Pd* IV. 111.3, 7, 37ff; *Vy* I. 1.25; *paurāṇika*, *Pd* IV.110.420; 111.6; *Bd* II. 60.69; 63.168 etc.

36. Cf also *Bhv* IV. 75.18; 192.2; *Pd* VI. 70.13; 81.15 etc.

Besides long passages of ancient purāṇa-s, or other works, or isolated śloka-s or mantra-s, our actual texts have also a good amount of formulas which are repeated all along the purāṇic text. As such a process of introducing formulas in a text is still used nowadays in modern compositions, it is worth taking as an example a modern book. The booklet we want to take as a model is श्रीगंगोत्तरीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यम् written by Svāmin Tapovanam³⁷ in Sanskrit with a Hindi translation, in the purāṇic style of the māhātmya-s with which it can be compared. Besides the main text, the book contains also a Śrīgāṅgāstotram and a Śrīgāṅgāsahasranāmastotram. The book does not present any special interest except that it is done a little better than the average of its kind and it is written in Sanskrit by a known svāmin. It is studied here for its similarities with the booklets of this kind available at any tīrtha.

Even a cursory reading of the text reveals the indebtedness of Svāmin Tapovanam to purāṇic matter and style. The booklet is a māhātmya and it is written as any other purāṇic magnification, so widely spread in the purāṇa-s. What deserves special attention are the numerous expressions which the booklet has in common with the purāṇic texts. A few examples are given below :

श्रीगंगोत्तरीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यम्

Purāṇas

1. त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्	1.12 (p. 19)	Vy I. 117; N I. 8. 137; Bḍ I. 25. 98; Bhv. I. 216. 175; IV. 150. 2.
2. तुष्टाव च पुनः पुनः	1.9 (p. 19)	Bv. II. 10.8, 10; III. 3.25.54
3. धन्योऽसि कृतकृत्योऽसि	1.11 (p. 19)	N II. 38. 50; 42. 1; BrdN 1. 55; Pd VI. 90. 40; Bhv I. 153. 88
4. गंगातीरेनिवासश्च	1.26 (p. 23)	N II. 38. 44
5. दर्शनात् स्पर्शनात् स्नानात्	2.76 (p. 57)	N II. 39. 11-12
6. तीर्थानामपि तीर्थमुत्तममिदम्	śl 9 (p. 71)	Bhv IV. 13. 3
7. साक्षाद्विष्णुपदोद्भवम्	śl 9 (p. 71)	N I. 6. 13
8. या देवि ब्रह्मरूपेण संस्थिता etc.	śl 1-9 (p. 102)	fully inspired by Mk. 85. 7-32

37. स्वामी तपोवनम्, श्री गंगोत्तरीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यम्, सेंट्रल चिन्मय मिशन ट्रस्ट, बम्बई, १९७७

These and similar formulas were composed and written by Tapovanam, who was strongly influenced by the purāṇa-s, which he had surely read and heard. It is very improbable that he copied these expressions from the purāṇa-s directly; he most probably had them in his mind and used them because they were fitting his purpose and gave to his composition the flavour of a puranic *māhātmya*. Such formulas formed his luggage of knowledge not because he was a bard but because he was acquainted with the purāṇic literature which contained—in a written form—those expressions.³⁸ On the other hand when he wrote his booklet he was not directly influenced by them, most probably, in the sense that he did not copy them from a written text. Moreover, even his knowledge of the purāṇa-s could have reached him both orally by listening to them and/or through writing by reading. So here we have an example of mixed influence, oral and written, from which no conclusion can be drawn whether the formulas, used by him, were previously written or oral. This modern example is probably similar to what used to happen in the past, at least at the time of the composition of the purāṇic texts we possess now. Thousands of Svāmin Tapovanas must have existed, who composed—without leaving their names—the different *māhātmya*-s, collecting matter from previous texts and adding something of their own while keeping the purāṇic style by using the same kinds of purāṇic expressions slightly modified according to necessity and personal likings. The hundred of *vrata*-s, *māhātmya*-s *pañcakrośī*-s etc. still available in MS form have most probably the same origin.

This process of composition still visible nowadays should make us cautious in deducing hasty conclusions about the oral or written composition of the purāṇic texts in the past. The formulaic style of the purāṇa-s, even if it proved to be more abundant than it appears *prima facie*, is not a convincing proof that the purāṇa-s were originally oral compositions.

Besides the formulas of the ancient purāṇa-s, the more recent texts may contain also the same topics as the olden works or may add new subjects. The booklet of Svāmin Tapovanam contains,

38. See, on the contrary, what P. L. Vaidya says in the quoted Introduction to the *Harivaṃśa* (above fn. 12)

indeed, the ancient themes of *tīrthamāhātmya* having Brahmā, Narada, the *muni*-s etc. as interlocutors and yet it describes a place—Uttarākāśī—which is almost unknown to purāṇic literature. Svāmin Tapovanam does not say from where he has taken his material, whether from oral tradition, or from written compositions, or from his own mind. By the very fact that he claims to be the author of the text, it is supposed that the text is fruit of his mind or, at least, so he thought. The purāṇic authors, by tradition, never used to put their names and so this external means to discover the fatherhood of a passage is wanting. Sometimes, however, we discover a purāṇa copying from another, as *Pd V.* 6-13; 20-24; 36-43 copying *Mt* 5-24; 43-47; or we are openly told that an addition is made, as in *Pd VI.* 219.23.³⁹

Some body, impressed by this tendency of the extant purāṇa-s for copying, has affirmed that the original purāṇic literature available in the extant purāṇa-s is very little. If we removed what is repeated in different purāṇa-s, it has been affirmed, we would remain with a very small number of original verses. Although the observation may be true, it would be wrong to deprive a purāṇa of the passages it has in common with another text with the pretext that they are not its original or ancient passages. Each of the extant purāṇa-s, as it is, has its own unity and structure which makes it unique, although built up with parts available also in other books. Modern examples can be instructive in this case also. The booklet श्री गंगा गंगोत्री माहात्म्य⁴⁰, for instance, which is taken here because it is in connection with the previous one, is formed of different parts, taken from different booklets and systematized by Baba Bhambul Nath. The booklet, in Sanskrit with a translation in Hindi, contains a short narration of the descent of Gaṅgā from heaven, a hymn in Hindi to the holy river, *adh.* I. 1-79 in Sanskrit

39. Several examples can be seen in R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, The University of Dacca, Dacca, 1940, *passim*.

40. श्री गंगोत्री माहात्म्य, संग्रहकर्ता बाबा भम्भूल नाथ, अर्जुन सिंह बुकसेलर, हरिद्वार, no date. The work is a specimen of a kind of popular religious booklets which aim only at helping pilgrims and do not care for contradictions, imperfections, and carelessness.

of Tapovana's book mentioned before with some modifications,⁴¹ a Gaṅgālaharī, and two short hymns in Hindi. The booklet, which is a compilation from different sources—its author is called *saṅgrahakartā* on the inner page title—is a kind of prayer book for pilgrims and as such has its value, which is not to be judged from its originality or from the beauty of the single pieces of composition but by the general scope and the unity of the different pieces. The purāṇa-s we possess seem to have been composed by a similar process, although they were not new compositions, as the above mentioned *Śrīgaṅgāgaṅgotrīmāhātmya* and they are surely of a better quality and larger scope than this booklet. The Pretakalpa mentioned at the beginning can be a work composed in this way, not by a single author but by several subsequent authors. The Skanda, the Padma, the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa-s have also probably such an origin in their present form. By reading R. C. Hazara's *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, one gets the impression that such a way of composing the purāṇa-s must have been quite common; the name *saṅghitā*, very often applied to the purāṇas⁴², fits them well and defines really their very nature.

3. Vidhis : Rules of Recitation

The purāṇa-s were composed to be recited or read, as it has been affirmed previously, but such a statement would be a truism if it were not specified what is meant by that. The purāṇa-s are surely to be read as it is apparent from the very fact that they have been written, but it should be added that the purport of the purāṇic recitation is not confined to a private reading. It is rather through a public and solemn recitation that the purāṇa-s fulfill their scope. Even the private recitation is regulated by norms, because the rules or *vidhi*-s given in the purāṇa-s have the nature of a liturgical regulation. From the frequency with which our texts insist on the recitation according to rules, one gets the impression that the purāṇa-s are not private works for private

41. *śloka*-s 34-35 of Tapovana's work are omitted; the Sanskrit form Gaṅgottari is modified throughout into the more popular Gaṅgotri.

42. see *Bḍ* II. 34.21; *Ṛy* I. 60.21; *Vi* III. 6.15; *N* I. 1.16; II. 82.35; *Pd* II 125.38; *L* I 1.11; *Sk* VII. 1.1.4, 30, etc.

persons but rather compositions to be recited in a well-regulated way. Such an insistence on the necessity of following *vidhi*-s is spread all over the purāṇa-s :

भगवान् केन विधिना श्रोतव्यं भारतं नरैः ।

चरितं रामभद्रस्य पुराणानि विशेषतः ॥ (Bhv I. 216.36)⁴³

‘O Lord, what is the ‘*vidhi*’ with which men have to hear the Mahābhārata, the deeds of Rāma and especially the purāṇa-s?’

श्रवणस्य विधानं च कथयामि शुभं श्रृणु ॥ (Pd IV. 111. 21 cd)⁴⁴

‘Pay attention, I will tell you the meritorious way of listening.’

अष्टादशपुराणानि यः शृणोति नरोत्तमः ।

कथयेद्वा विधानेन नेह भूयः स जायते ॥ (N I. 109.39)⁴⁵

‘He who listens to, or narrates the eighteen purāṇa-s following the norms, is the best man and will never be reborn again on this earth.’

Sk II. 2.49. 4 claims that the whole Skanda Purāṇa (Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa) has been narrated *yathāvidhi* and the Garuḍa Purāṇa (Jivānanda Edition) concludes the Ācārakhaṇḍa with :

पुराणं गारुडं प्रोक्तं विधिनापि मया तव ॥ (229.30)

‘I have narrated to you the Garuḍa Purāṇa and the norms (of recitation)’.

Such being the general attitude of the purāṇa-s, it is not surprising that some purāṇic authors felt the necessity of dwelling at length on the rules of listening to and reciting the purāṇa-s.

The texts dealing with the *vidhi*-s of purāṇic recitation can be grouped into three series : the first is the most recent, apparently, and it is formed by the *purāṇamāhātmya*-s available in S. II, Pd VI, Ś, DBhg as well as in some printed editions of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata.⁴⁶ These *māhātmya*-s are rich in

43. Cf also Sk II. 2.49; Mg IX. 18.18

44. Cf Sk II. 2.49.42; Bhv II. 1.7.2

45. Cf N I. 125.41

46. See Sk II. 6 which is a Śribhāgavata-purāṇa māhātmya in 4 *adhyāya*-s ; Pd VI. 189-194 : which is a Bhāgavata-purāṇa māhātmya in 6 *adhyāya*-s. The Śivapurāṇa māhātmya in 7 *adhyāya*-s is printed at the beginning of the

details about the *vidhi-s*. They treat of the days fit for purāṇic recitation, the appropriate places, the ritual, the *vācaka* and *vyākhyātr*, the reciter and the commentator, etc., they even trouble to mention how listeners should be arranged during recitation. The whole picture that appears from these *purāṇamāhātmya-s* resembles the modern recitations of the purāṇic texts. Daily recitation or recitations of nine or seven days, as described in our texts, are still used at present. From this it appears that the purāṇic tradition, that was fixed a few centuries ago is still followed nowadays, with only minor variations. The purāṇa-s, of course, are not manuals of rituals, they give only the general lines of the rites to be performed. Rituals for the use of *purohita-s* are fully described in *padhdhati-s*. Such *padhdhati-s*, based mainly on the purāṇa-s, may be different from place to place.

There are instances, however, in which the purāṇa-s are completely silent about *vidhi-s*, such is the case with the *Durgāsaptasatī* or the *Devīmāhātmya* of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,⁴⁷ which is very often recited but the ritual of which, available in popular books, is not described in the purāṇa-s.

The second series of texts dealing with *vidhi-s* is rather large. The texts of such a series are fully incorporated in the body itself of the purāṇa-s. They are long, although not having the length of the previous ones; they are, moreover, discrepant from them, and not matching among themselves; they seem to reflect different situations of time and places.

Śiva Purāṇa in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition; according to the colophons it belongs to the *Sk*, Sanat-kumārasamhitā, but it is not available in the printed editions of the Skanda Purāṇa. The Devī Bhāgavata Māhātmya in 5 *adhyāya-s*, which is printed at the beginning of the Mor and other editions, claims to belong to *Sk*, Mānasakhaṇḍa, which is not available in the printed editions of the Skanda Purāṇa. The Vālm ki Rāmāyaṇa, printed by Chowkhamba Vidyā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī, 1957 contains a Vālm kirāmāyaṇa māhātmya in 5 *adhyāya-s*. The colophons of the *māhātmya* attribute it to *Sk*, Uttarakhaṇḍa. The Mahābhārata printed by the Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, no date, contains also a Mahābhāratamāhātmya in one *adhyāya* along with a Mahābhārata-ravaṇavidhi also in one *adhyāya*. Both the *adhyāya-s* do not have colophon.

47. *Mk* 81-93

As such *N* I. 92-108; *Mt* 53; *A* 272 and *Sk* VII.1.2 are mainly concerned with the month in which a purāṇa has to be recited, the gifts related to such a recitation and the results. From the similarity of all these texts it appears that what they describe, although it is not followed nowadays, was traditional in the time of their composition.

Pd IV. 109 insists mainly on veneration of *purāṇajña-s*.

Pd IV. 111 puts at the centre of its attention the *vyākḥātr* and the *vyākhyā*.

Pd IV. 100 is concentrated on the *pustaka* and its reading and copying for specific purpose, like *śakuna*.

Sk II. 1.49 and *Bhv* I. 216 are more general and describe at length all the details of the ritual for recitation and listening to purāṇa-s.

Bhv II. 1.7 contains interesting hints about the writing of the purāṇa-s, the forms of the *pustaka* and its parts, singing, clear pronunciation etc ; while *Bhv* II. 1.8 speaks of a *vyākhyānasamgraha*.

Each text of this series, then, adds something to the others and it may reflect the usage proper to a particular area or period. What is described in this second series of texts is different from what is said in the first one and probably this series is older than the former and witnesses to the continuity of the custom of hearing or reciting the purāṇa-s according to fixed rules or *vidhi-s*.

The third series of texts is largely spread all over the purāṇa-s, each text giving only hints to those rules which pertain to the recitation. Any time we read at the end of a *kathā*, *vrata*, *stotra* or even *suci* : यो....पठेत्....शृणुयात्....or the like, we are transported back to a religious way of reciting and listening to the purāṇa-s. Apparently, then, the habit of having *vidhi-s* for recitation goes back to the very beginning of purāṇic literature. In fact, hints about the *vidhi-s* are available also in the oldest purāṇa-s. From all this we can conclude that from a certain moment in the purāṇic evolution—if not since the beginning—the purāṇa-s were meant to be recited in religious celebrations following fixed rules or *vidhi-s*. Such *vidhi-s* were modified along the centuries but their existence goes back to very old times. The Purāṇa-s are not inno-

vative in this field, they are, rather, inside a wide-spread tradition which goes back to the veda-s, the Buddhists, the tantra-s etc. and continues with modern movements, like Sikhism. From this point of view also, it appears that the purāṇa-s are not private books, but rather 'liturgical' texts, for the way of reading, reciting, listening to, singing, copying them etc. is regulated by the purāṇic texts themselves, i. e., it is not left to private initiative, even when the purāṇa-s are to be recited privately. They are public religious books, which are often used for specific public rituals, as consultation of *śakuna*, or *vrata*-s, for private or public prayer, so their transmission also was under control of those who regulated the *vidhi*-s. From the moment the recitation of the purāṇa-s took place according to the *vidhi*-s, any change which took place in the purāṇa-s, whether it was done by an individual or by a group, did not take place without the silent approval of those who had to read the purāṇa-s according to the rules. This is equal to saying that no change in the purāṇa-s is the result of private initiative, even if the new additions or suppressions were operated by an individual or by the will of one individual, king, *mahanta* or the like. The final responsibility for the changes in the purāṇa-s rests with those who were responsible for their 'liturgical' performance. Who these persons were, is still a matter of research, but the presence of *sādhusammela*⁴⁸ during purāṇic recitation and other hints gathered from previous research make us convinced that we are not far from the truth if we consider the *sampradāya*-s as the final source, responsible for all such purāṇic transformations.

4. Vyākhyātṛ-s : the exposers

The *vidhi*-s give great stress to the narrator or reciter of the purāṇa-s, who is called *purāṇajña*, *paurāṇika*, *vyāsa*, *vyākhyātṛ* etc. Although the terms are eventually all synonymous, they have their own peculiarities, two of which deserve particular attention namely *vyāsa* and *vyākhyātṛ*.

For *Bhv.* I. 216.100-101, *Vyāsa* is the speaker or the reciter who speaks out the *granthārtha* to Brāhmaṇa-s and the others. He has his own particular seat or *āsana* called *vyāsapīṭha* (śl. 49) and is the one who has the task of explaining the purāṇa-s. This interpretation of the role of *Vyāsa* as an expositor, and the absence of

48. Ś māh. 6.2

the role of Sūta in this *adhyāya* 216 put the *adhyāya* at a rather recent date. Nowadays, *Vyāsa*-s are those persons who explain the Rāmāyaṇa and the purāṇa-s, and are different from those who read only the texts according to the *vidhi*-s, mentioned above, during the liturgical performance. The modern *Vyāsa*-s, indeed, have the role of *vyākhyātṛ*-s, the latter being a term which is no longer used. This term, as well as its related *vyākhyā* (*vyākḥātum*) particularly common in *Pd* IV. 111, but dispersed everywhere in the purāṇa-s, deserves some attention :

पुराणमेकं मे तात व्याख्यातुं भगवानिति ॥ (*Pd* IV. 110. 479 ab)

Indeed, if the *vyākhyātṛ* is satisfied, Maheśa is also pleased, Viṣṇu gives his fruit and the *pitṛ*-s reach *paramā gati* (*sl.* 485f). The *vyākhyātṛ* has to be honoured with clothes, scent, flowers etc. He is one of the *purāṇajña*-s, who are to be venerated and treated with great respect.

‘His work is indispensable in our days because nobody knows the purāṇa-s except him’, (*Pd* IV. III. 41) and because the *vipra*-s are now no longer up to the mark :

कलौ समस्तविप्राणां सर्वज्ञत्वं न विद्यते ।

विगुणाऽपि ततो व्याख्या फलदा दानकर्मवत् ॥

(*Pd* IV. 111. 40)

What the *Vyāsa*-s and the others have said and written in Sanskrit, he explains in local language after due consideration.⁴⁹ Thus, the role of the *vyākhyātṛ* becomes a central one; he is between the text in Sanskrit and the people who, evidently, need explanations in their own mother tongue. He is in the ideal position for introducing into the text, or for being used by kings and others for introducing, what is considered suitable, and can display to the people the fruits of his thoughts (*vicārana*-s) :

ज्ञानैः शनैः पठेत्प्राज्ञो व्याख्यास्येच्च शनैः शनैः ।

...विविच्य पाठं श्लोकस्य निश्चित्यार्थं च मानसे ॥

‘Let the wise (man) read slowly and slowly comment on it,... after having split the reading of the *śloka* and having given it a meaning in his mind.’

49. Cf *Pd* IV. 111. 63-65

The role of these *vyākhyātr*-s, which is described at length in *Pd* IV 111, seems to be similar to the role of many purāṇic authors. It is known that the purāṇa-s have usually no commentaries, except *Bhg.*, *V.*, *L.*, parts of *Mk.*, and *Sk.* IV.⁵⁰ This lack of *īkā*-s may be due to several factors, the most important of which appears to be the facility of these texts. Another and surely deeper reason is that the purāṇa-s went on changing, remaining always understandable to people of different periods and places. The role of the *vyākhyātr* makes us suspect another reason for the lack of purāṇic commentaries; the nature itself of the purāṇa-s permitted the introduction of the needed explanations in the text itself through the *Vyāsa*-s and especially the *vyākhyātr*-s who could then translate them and comment upon them to the people. The numerous texts of *vrata*-s, *māhātmya*-s, *stotra*-s etc. still available in MS form only and claiming to be attached to one purāṇa or the other, could have been composed by such a class of persons, as well as by intelligent *paṇḍā*-s, *mahanta*-s or famous *paṇḍita*-s. The composition of the whole *Kṛṣṇajñanmakhaṇḍa* of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa has been attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmin by the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (III. 4.19.39). Even if this may not be true, the purāṇic author of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa considered it possible, and this appears a sufficient proof that similar cases of additions by famous (or less famous) persons could take place and the Purāṇa-s do not conceal the fact.

Pd IV. 110,417 ff refer the case of someone who, while listening to the recitation of a purāṇic passage under a *maṇḍapa* at a street crossing, asks for a few explanations about its meaning, but, as he is not fully satisfied with the answer given by the *paurāṇika*, since the purāṇic explanations differ from one another (*purāṇabhedena*, *śl.* 426), he insists on his queries after due pondering (*cintayan*) and the *paurāṇika* has to prolong a little his explanations. This passage seems to suggest that people by their curiosity and inquisitiveness could be one of the propelling reasons for the enlargement of the purāṇa-s. The mention of a *vyākhyānasāṅgraha* in *Bhv.* II. 1.8 may suggest that such a practice of questioning the *paurāṇika*-s was common to the point that

50 The comments of the *Mk* refer to Devīmāhātmya only, namely *adhs* 81-93. For the *Sk*, the comments are on Kāśī Khaṇḍa only.

'manuals' of answers were prepared, perhaps for the less educated or less prepared *vyākhyātr*-s (cf. *paurāṇikakathāyuktapustaka* also in *Bhv* II. 1.7.68). The process which seems to have taken place in the formation of the Pretakalpa/Sāroddhāra which we have mentioned in the beginning, is an example of what we are considering in this paragraph.

R. C. Hazra has shown abundantly how *sampradāya*-s transformed purāṇic texts to the point where a vaiṣṇava purāṇa like the Kūrma could become a śaiva purāṇa, or large passages of different *sampradāya*-s could be introduced although not completely matching with the general context, as happened in the Varāha Purāṇa.⁵¹ The additions of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, which scholars labelled in the past as false,⁵² appear, indeed, not to be different from the pattern always followed by the purāṇa-s along the centuries. It is only because the true nature of the purāṇa-s was not taken into consideration that such severe, and unjust, statements could be pronounced against the purāṇic texts. The *Vyāsa*-s and the *vyākhyātr*-s, i. e., the *paurāṇika*-s in general, were entitled, apparently, to modify the text, although we do not know under which circumstances they could do it. What we read in the Nandi Purāṇa, available partially also in Devi and Bhaviṣya Purāṇa-s furnishes a concrete suggestion, but nothing more than that.

5. The Last Stage of the purāṇa-s

It has already appeared in the previous pages that in many instances the purāṇic authors did not conceal the process of modification which took place in their works, they rather built a whole theory about the purāṇic nature so as to justify the mobility of their texts. From this perspective it is difficult to accept what S. M. Katre⁵³ wrote : Here (i. e. in secular and popular literature)

51. See R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*...., pp. 57-75 for the Kūrma Purāṇa and pp. 96-107 for the Varāha Purāṇa.

52. See, for instance, M. Winternitz, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1963, p. 497; F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Varanasi, 1962 (2nd ed.), pp. XXVIII, cf also pp. V, VII-VIII, XIII; P. V. Kane. *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. V, Poona, 1962 pp. 896-897 etc.

53. S. M. Katre, *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, Poona, 1954, p. 14

the texts were certainly exposed to numerous disfigurements, since every teacher or reciter considered himself entitled to alter and to improve, to omit and to add, *ad libitum*, and textual criticism here faces a difficult and often impossible task when it desires to restore their texts to their oldest or original form' These words fail to understand the nature of the purāṇa-s, which are first of all religious texts and not secular, and secondly that they were modified not '*ad libitum*', i. e., according to private whim but in the light and under the thrust of *sampradāya*-s and almost always openly, not surreptitiously. Thus to aim at restoring the 'oldest or original form' of the purāṇa-s misses the real point : the purāṇa-s, indeed, are both the 'original' texts *and* the extant texts. Not only this, but in the logic of texts which have changing as their very nature, the latest form is more important than the previous or ancient one, even though the historical bearing is naturally different and the oldest aspect may be more attractive than the recent one. The several attempts to fix a purāṇic canon⁵⁴ show that the purāṇic authors positively wanted the text of their age to be accepted as authoritative. It is exactly such a repetition of attempts which proves that the purāṇa-s have a multi-authenticity, each purāṇic text of each age being authoritative for that particular period. For us, then, authoritative is the extant text, composite as it might be, i. e., made of many different layers, belonging to different periods. The latest, and probably the final stage, of the purāṇa-s, then, is what should be taken as the starting text for any critical edition or any research. For this purpose the most important is not the oldest but the latest. We have surely to purify the system of Nīlakaṇṭha followed in his edition of the Mahābhārata, however, for the system of 'inclusion' may not be so sound as it leads to syncretism. The *Nibandhakāra*-s also were very careful in defining what purāṇa-s had to be in order to be accepted as authoritative, and sometimes, like in the case of Ballālasena, they discarded the long, and apparently traditional, version of a purāṇa. Yet the extant texts of the purāṇa-s are reasonably the ones to be considered canonic for the present generation. As the purāṇa-s seem to have stopped developing

54. For the problem of purāṇic canon and its implications see *Purāṇa*, XXI. 2 (July, 1979), pp. 116-166, and XXII. 1 (Jan. 1980), pp. 33-60

we may be fairly sure that our work on such texts will remain unaltered. A. S. Gupta⁵⁵ wrote : 'Such timely additions made by the compilers or the redactors should, therefore, be considered as the great merit of the Purāṇas and should be treated as the valuable literary treasure worthy to be preserved, and should not be discarded, unless there are very strong grounds for their exclusion, or unless they are proved as interpolated by the whims of some scribes or readers and reciters'. From what we have been saying until now we can fully agree with the idea that such 'timely additions' are to be kept, but I would further specify the reason for such a preservation as given by A. S. Gupta : we have to keep the additions not only because they are 'valuable literary treasure' but, and mainly, because we have to be honest to the nature of the purāṇa-s, i. e., for a kinds of scholarly coherence. The purāṇic authors wanted to give us the books we now possess and they claimed that such text are authoritative; we have no right to cut their text, neither for a scholarly nor for a religious reason. We betray our duty as researchers if we go against the clear intentions of the authors who wrote the passages we are examining and betray the nature of the texts we are studying. A. S. Gupta rightly adds that we have to remove from our texts a passage which is proved to be 'interpolated by the whims of some scribes or readers and reciters.'

We know that additions, changes, remotions etc. were most probably very often done under the inspiration of *sampradāya-s*, which were developing in the course of time. It is this guarantee that makes a change of some importance in the purāṇa-s acceptable and authoritative. Only if it is proved that the modification took place by private inspiration we are fully entitled to remove it, or if it is the clear result of a mistake in transmission. We should add that such modifications operated by *sampradāya-s* were not always necessarily additions, but could also be removals or substitutions.⁵⁶ This means that the shortest text is not always

55. See *The Vāmana Purāṇa*, Critically edited by A. S. Gupta, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varānasī, 1968, Introduction, p. XIX

56. See, for instance, how the purāṇic authors present new or old matters sometimes *samāsāt* and sometimes *vistarāt*. Cf. *Mt* 2.24; 53.1; 140.83; 178.1; *Bhv* I. 6.1; 27.1; IV. 5.84; *A* 37.1; *B* 45.4; 58.9; 176.36; *Vī* II. 2.4; 5.1; *Vr* 209.95; *Bv* II. 2.1; 48.11; *Vj* 57.1; *Bḍ* I. 1.1. 168-169 etc.

the oldest, the opposite can be equally possible. Moreover, both the long and the short form might be on equal footing as far as their authority is concerned. It is not the time now to enter into the details of a 'critical' edition. It is enough to point out that the role of *saṁpradāya*-s is determinative for deciding the value of a passage in the purāṇa-s. A. S. Gupta⁵⁷ justifies the acceptance of 27 *adhyāya*-s, although available only in few MSS, in the critical edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa as 'it would not be safe to exclude' them for the 'uncertainty about the exact nature of the extent of the Vām.-P. text in South-India.' To this argument we could add the one mentioned above, namely that an addition, available in a large area, cannot be the fruit of the whim of a single scribe or reader or reciter. The very fact of having been accepted by many MSS, such passages can be considered authoritative and that is a sufficient reason to accept them also in our critical edition. This procedure, indeed, is in tune with the nature of the purāṇic literature.

The title given to this article might have led some to think that the stages of composition, transmission and recitation in the purāṇa-s, were three clearly distinct moments of purāṇic formation. In reality, it has been shown that, as in most cases of oral traditions, the three processes are very often intermingled. The purāṇa-s, moreover, while apparently following rules more proper to oral tradition, are written texts; in them the two trends of oral and written formation and transmission are interwoven and are not always clearly distinguishable. This nature of the purāṇa-s makes their critical editing particularly complex, as neither the principles of the critical editions developed in the last century can be applied to them, as the purāṇas partake also of the nature of oral literature nor can the principles of publishing oral texts, namely each one published separately, be followed, as the purāṇas share also the nature of written compositions. On the other hand the fact of having been considered as revealed and authoritative makes each purāṇic addition meaningful, such that it cannot be removed merely out of an historical consideration of posteriority. All these problems stand before anyone who wants to study the

57, See *The Vāmana Purāṇa*, Critically edit; Introduction, p. XIX.

purāṇas. Most probably their solutions will not be monopolized by a single theory, as the purāṇa-s cannot be reduced to a single trend, but any answer to the problems posed by the purāṇa-s will have to be based on their very nature. The more we know of the purāṇa-s, the more we shall have in our hands the instruments for analysing and understanding them.

Abbreviations

A	=	Agni (Chowkhamba Ed.)
K	=	Kūrma (Crit.)
G	=	Garuḍa (J.vānanda)
N	=	Nārada (Veñk)
P	=	Padma (ASS)
B	=	Brahma (Mor Ed)
Bḍ	=	Brahmāṇḍa (Veñk)
Bhg	=	Bhāgavata (Gītā Press)
Bv	=	Brahmavaivarta (ASS)
DBhg	=	Devī Bhāgavata (Mor Ed.)
Bhv	=	Bhaviṣya (Veñk).
Mt	=	Matsya (J.iv.)
Mg	=	Mudgala (Bombay)
Mk	=	Mārkaṇḍeya (J.iv.)
L	=	Līnga (Mor Ed.)
Vm	=	Vāmana (Crit.)
Vi	=	Viṣṇu (Gītā Press)
Vy	=	Vāyu (Veñk)
Vr	=	Varāha (Crit)
Ś	=	Śiva (Veñk.)
Sk	=	Skanda (Veñk)
BḍN	=	Bṛhad Nārada (Chowk. Ed)

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PURĀṆIC AND
EPIGRAPHIC DATA RELATING TO THE
MAGHA DYNASTY

By

ANAMIKA ROY

The Purāṇic line under examination occurs in the Vamśānu-carita section and has its reference to Megha dynasty¹, which is also spelt as Medhya or Medhātithi in a few oopies.² The term however, occurs in the majority of the Purāṇa-texts, and has been accordingly reconstructed by Pargiter in his work 'Purāṇa-Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.'³ The said line

1. The line occurs in Vāyu Purāṇa, XCIX. 373-382; Brahmāṇḍa, Purāṇa, III. 74. 186-193; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV. 24. 17-18; Bhāgavata XII. 1.34-37. The Matsya Purāṇa does not notice this line, and as a matter of fact the account of the Matsya Purāṇa ends with the downfall of the Āndhras in about 236 A. D. According to the analysis of Pargiter no manuscript of the Matsya Purāṇa contains anything later. In view of this, one may be justified in stating that the Matsya Purāṇa has preserved an early draft of the Vamśānu-carita, and may, therefore, be dated earlier than the rest of the four Purāṇas.
2. The term Medhya occurs in manuscript No. 1310 of Vāyu Purāṇa preserved in the India Office Library. It is purely modern and is full of mistakes. The term is read as Medhātithi in the Ānandaśrama edition of Vāyu Purāṇa. (For a comprehensive discussion of all these manuscripts see Pargiter, 'Purāṇa-Text of the Dynasties of The Kali Age, pp. XXXII ff.)
3. Another important tribe which has been mentioned in the present line is that of the *Puṣyamitras* of the Mekalā region. In its light, Fleet made an attempt to restore the missing word of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription and propounded the theory that Skandagupta had to conquer this tribe in his mission to re-establish the fallen fortunes of his family (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pp. 54-55). Fleet's theory has not received general recognition and other suggestions have also been made for restoring the missing word of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription. Among the important substitutes are *Yudhyamitra*, (H.R. Divekar, Annals of the Bhandarkar

states that nine rulers will flourish in the concerned dynasty, who will be reputed for their valour and intellect. Their territory is designated as Kosalā,⁴ which is apparently a mistake for Kosala. The chronological table of the Purāṇa-dynasties prepared by Pargiter places these rulers in the 3rd century A. D.

The object of the present note is to ascertain as to how far the Purāṇic evidence is in tune with the epigraphic and numismatic evidences, especially in respect of the following aspects :

- (1) Name of the dynasty referred to as Megha in the Purāṇic passage;
- (2) Number of the rulers stated to be nine in the Purāṇic passage;
- (3) Period of the rulers in question, who according to the calculation chart of Pargiter flourished in the 3rd century A. D.
- (4) Territorial jurisdiction of the rulers stated to be Kosalā or Kosala in the Purāṇic passage.

Coming to the first aspect it would be worthwhile to notice that the name Megha is very much akin to Magha associated with the names of the rulers mentioned in the epigraphic and numismatic records. The term 'Magha' figures so very prominently in these non-Purāṇic pieces of evidence that some scholars are inclined to think that the founder of the dynasty was known as Magha,⁵ which became a dynastic designation in the subsequent stages. In this respect, the case is parallel to the Gupta-dynasty, the founder


Research Institute, 1918-20, Vol. I, pp. 99-103) and *rāṣṭramitra* (U. Thakur, Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture, p. 27). The book has been reviewed in the Indian Historical Review, July 1975, Vol. II, No. 1 by Prof. B.N.S. Yadava, who points out the inconsistency contained in Thakur's theory.


4. *Kosalāyāṃ tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ
Meghā iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaiva tu.*

5. Recently Dr. A. M. Shastry has examined a large number of Magha coins from Kauśāmbī. One of these coins reads Magha. According to the observation of Dr. Shastry the said coin is quite significant for the reconstruction of the history of the Magha-dynasty. The term Magha possibly signified the name of the progenitor of the family; Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins, Nagpur, 1979, pp. 41-42

of which is supposed to have Gupta for his name.⁶ Since there is no doubt about the reading Magha in the available epigraphic and numismatic inscriptions, it would be interesting to make an investigation of the factor which was responsible for a different spelling in the Purāṇa-passage. Would it be possible to argue that the original reading even of the Purāṇa-passage was Magha, and it was erroneously read as Megha by the later copyist? The present query thus reopens a fundamental problem of Purāṇic studies, viz, the original script of the dynastic account of the Purāṇas. Pargiter was of the definite opinion that originally the account had been prepared in the Kharoṣṭhī script.⁷ It is not our purpose to discuss in detail the original script of the account. But the fact has to be emphasized in the spirit of the present note that the confusion between the reading Megha for Magha was possible only in Brāhmī and not in Kharoṣṭhī. The point can be illustrated in the light of the following chart :


Forms of 'Ma' in Brāhmī


3rd cent. B. C. 

2nd cent. B. C. 


6. The versified version of the account which is preserved in the Vayu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas makes explicit reference to the fact that the rulers enjoying all these territories, namely, along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha were descendants of Gupta (*anugaṅgam Prayāgam ca Sāketam Magadhāmstathā etāñjanapadān sarvān bhokṣyante Guptavamsajāh*). No such conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the prose-form of the account preserved in the texts of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata. The former reads '*anugaṅgā Prayāgam Māgadhā Guptāśca bhokṣyanti*'. None of these two texts seems to have any allusion to the progenitor of the Gupta family, term '*Guptavamsajāh*' or its substitute supplying similar information being absent in them. The fact, however, remains that the genealogical list of the Gupta records begins with Sri Gupta and as such he may be treated as the founder of the dynasty, which became famous after his name.


7. Purāṇa-Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 84-85.


1st cent. B. C./A.D. 


2nd cent./3rd cent. A.D. 

Forms of 'Ma' in Brāhmī with medial sign for 'e'

3rd cent. B.C. 

2nd cent. B.C. 

1st cent. B.C./A.D. 

2nd cent. A.D./3rd cent. A.D. 

Forms of 'Ma' in Kharoṣṭhī with medial sign for 'e'

Ū—The form remains the same throughout its course of origin and development.

The Brāhmī form of 'Ma' in the 3rd cent. A.D. shows that the left side of this letter was expressed by a conical shape slanting towards the left and the medial sign for 'e' was expressed by an additional slanting line. From the illustration in the above chart it would be seen that the letter in question was likely to be read as 'Me' even in the absence of the additional slanting line meant for medial 'e'. This confusion was not possible in the Kharoṣṭhī form of the letter which, as would be clear from the chart, was too distinct to play its part. It is, therefore, evident that the term was spelt as Magha in the original account, and was erroneously deciphered as Megha by the later copyists, subsequent to the 3rd century A. D., the supposed date of the early draft of the dynastic account.

So far as the number of the Magha rulers is concerned, the point may be assessed in the light of inscriptional and numismatic evidence. The inscriptions reveal the names of the following six




rulers : (1) Vāsiṣṭhīputra Bhīmasena. (2) Poṭhasirī, (3) Bhadrāmagha, (4) Vaiśravaṇa, (5) Śivāmagha, and (6) Bhīmavarman. Besides stone-inscriptions, names of these six rulers are also known from their coins and sealings. Names of the following three rulers are exclusively known from coins and sealings : (1) Magha, (2) Vijayāmagha, and (3) Śatāmagha. Stone inscriptions of these three rulers have not been discovered so far. These sources, thus, allude to the reigns of nine rulers of the Magha dynasty, and this kind of information is well in tune with the Purāṇic data which specify the same number of Magha-rulers.


In so far as the Magha-rulers are mentioned in the Purāṇa line immediately before the line relating to the commencement of the rule of the Gupta dynasty, Pargiter seems to be fully justified in placing these rulers in the 3rd century A. D. His view-point is fully corroborated by the Magha-inscriptions, which can be placed in the 2nd-3rd century A. D. on a number of grounds. We may start with the method of dating adopted in these inscriptions. The dates are recorded in years and seasons. As pointed out by Mirashi⁸ this method of dating is a pre-Gupta phenomenon. It is available in the Sātavahana records from the Deccan. In North India such season-dates were current in the Kuṣāṇa period. This practice seems to have gone out of use in the Gupta period, there being not a single date recorded in seasons. D. R. Bhandarkar followed by Mirashi has rightly shown that the method of recording the inscriptions in season-dates was replaced by month-dates in the Gupta period.⁹ Linguistic standard of these records may also be taken into account in order to ascertain the actual state of affairs. Written in a mixed dialect, in which Prākṛit expressions outnumber the Sanskrit expressions, these records point to a practice prevailing in the pre-Gupta period. Some of them introduce the names and honorifics of the kings in pure Sanskrit forms (e. g. *Mahārājasya Śrī Bhadrāmaghasya*, *Mahārājasya Śrī Bhīmavarmaṇaḥ* etc.) and have otherwise a liberal use of Prākṛit expressions in the majority of the cases. In this respect, these records bear close affinity to the Kuṣāṇa-records, in which Sanskrit and Prākṛit ex-

8. Studies in Indology, Vol. I, pp. 139-140;
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237 f.

9. Ibid.

pressions are treated in a similar way. The palaeography of these inscriptions has also its reference to the pre-Gupta stage of North Indian Brāhmī. There is no doubt that some of the letters like

looped 'Sa' () and 'Ya' () and cursive 'Śa' () and

'Ha' () give the impression of the Gupta characters. But in the

majority of cases the letters have squat and broad forms bearing family resemblance to the late Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script.¹⁰ The conclusion drawn on the basis of epigraphical analysis is in full consonance with the evidence of epigraphy. As early as 1910-11 the sealings of Bhīmasena and Śivamagha, two well-known rulers of the Magha dynasty, were found during the excavation at Bhīṭā at the lower level of a house, the finds of which belong to the Kuṣāṇa-period.¹¹

10. As regards the general appearances of the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script the following remark of G. Bühler is noteworthy; "In spite of great variations in the single letters, which occasionally exhibit the more modern forms in the earlier inscriptions and the earlier forms of the Northern Kṣatrapa type in the later documents, the alphabet possesses a very characteristic appearance, and nobody who once has seen the *squat and broad letters* of the Kuṣāṇa period will ever make a mistake by assigning them to other times" (Indian Palaeography, p. 59). Some scholars are inclined to think that there has emerged regional varieties in the Brāhmī script during the Kuṣāṇa period. (A. H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, p. 91; T. P. Verma, The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script in North India, p. 109). Places like Sanchi, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Sāranātha etc. developed into important centres of writing activity and produced their own styles. Mathurā became centre for the western style, while Kauśāmbī represented the eastern group.

11. According to the observations of Sir John Marshall the house, from the floor of which these two sealings were found, was deserted owing to some catastrophe in the Kuṣāṇa period (Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey of India for 1911-12, pp. 34, 51, 66ff.) It goes without saying that the Ghoṣitārāma monastery has also yielded Magha Coins from its Kuṣāṇa level. A comprehensive analysis of these coins has been done by G. R. Sharma, A.S. Altekar (Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 74) and J. S. Negi (Some Indological Studies, pp. 63 ff.).

To the same general period may be placed the Bodhisattva Image inscriptions of king Bhadramagha discovered from the excavations of the Ghosītārāma monastery.¹²

One has reason to believe that the territorial jurisdiction of the Magha rulers mentioned as Kosalā or Kosala in the Purānic line is not at all contradicted by the bearing of the epigraphic and numismatic data. In this connection Mirashi points out that these kings held the country from Kosam (Kauśāmbī) to Bandhogarh, a large part of which was included in the ancient Chedi or Dāhala. The learned scholar further states that their capital cannot be ascertained with certitude, but it is not unlikely that they ruled from Kauśāmbī, the ancient capital of the Vatsa country where the records and coins of most of them have been found.¹³ It is not improbable that these rulers had fixed their capital at Kauśāmbī, which had an enormous economic importance lying on the route leading to the trade-centres of Eastern India. Owing to its commercial importance, as S. Chattopadhyaya argues, different powers tried to have control over the region at different periods till it was incorporated within the strong-built empire of the Guptas.¹⁴ Following Altekar, Dr. U. N. Roy points out in a general way that the kings of the Magha dynasty were ruling in the Baghelkhand area, situated close to the south-west of Padmāvati, which was under the suzerainty of the Nāga rulers.¹⁵ It may be pointed out that the scholars have ignored one significant point, which is otherwise of great help in ascertaining the territorial jurisdiction of the Magha rulers. The early records of these rulers bearing Saṃvats

12. These inscriptions were discovered as early as 1951, and are presently housed in the Kauśāmbī Museum of Allahabad University. They record the donation of the Bodhisattva images in Saṃvat 83 of king Bhadramagha, by Ujhaka, son of Śaka Khuṇuka in the Mahāsāṃgha. The contents of these inscriptions testify to the infiltration of Sakas in the Gangetic basin and their Buddhist leanings. It is also evident that the monastery of the Ghosītārāma was under the supervision of the Mahasāṃghikas during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. For a detailed study of these inscriptions see J. S. Negi, *ibid*, pp. 63ff.

13. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237ff.

14. *Early History of North India*, p. 142.

15. *Gupta Rājavamśa Aura Usakā Kāla*, p. 26.

51, 52, and 76 have been secured from Bandhogarh, whereas the later records mentioning Saṁvats 81, 83, 87, 107, 122, 130 and 139 have come from Kauśāmbī.¹⁶ From this it may follow that the original kingdom of these rulers covered the Baghelkhand area and was extended to Kauśāmbī at a later stage. One may venture to suggest that the Purāṇas have applied the generic term Kosalā or Kosala to the original kingdom under the occupation of the Maghas. The tradition preserved in the Purāṇas relates that this Kosala was founded by Kuśa, son of Rāma. Pargiter is inclined to believe that the long stay of Rāma in the Chhattisgarh district, would have connected it with his home; hence arose this name. The tradition also relates that Sahadeva had to encounter a Kosala king in the course of his southern conquests.¹⁷ Thus, there is no contradiction between the epigraphical and traditional accounts regarding the territorial jurisdiction of the Magha rulers.

16. Inscriptions bearing Saṁvats 51 and 52 belong to the reign of Vāsīsthīputra Bhimasena and have been discovered from Bandhogarh; Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. III. Inscription bearing Saṁvat 76 belong to the reign of Poṭhasiri. This name is spelt as Pṛṣṭha riya on the Bhita coin; Marshall, *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India for 1910-11*, p. 15; Motichandra, *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II, p. 99. Inscriptions bearing Saṁvats 81, 83 and 87 belong to the reign of king Bhadramagha and were discovered from Kauśāmbī; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV; J. S. Negi, *Some Indological Studies*. Inscriptions bearing Saṁvat 107 belong to the reign of king Vairavaṇa and were discovered from Kauśāmbī, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV. Inscriptions bearing Saṁvats 122 (Housed in Kauśāmbī Museum), 130 and 139 belong to the reign of king Bhimavarmana. These were discovered from Kauśāmbī; J. S. Negi, *ibid*; *Indian Culture*, Vol. III; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III.

17. Pargiter, *Ancient Historical Traditions*, pp. 173, 275-276, 278-279; Vishuddhanda Pathaka (in *History of Kosala*) has summarized details,

Dr. Sarayu Prasad Gupta : महाभारत तथा पुराणों के तीर्थों का आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन; pp. X + 268; Chowkhambha Viswabharati, Varanasi; price Rs. 15/-.

The book under review (originally a thesis prepared under the guidance of Dr. Mangal Dev Shastri) contains a detailed study of the tīrthas as mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.

The book contains five chapters. The first chapter chiefly deals with the tīrthas mentioned in the *adhyāyas* (in MBH.) on tīrthayātrā associated with the sages, Aṅgiras, Dhaumya, Lomaśa and Pulastya. The second chapter deals with the Purāṇic material about the tīrthas. In both of these chapters the author has tried to show the chronological position of the chapters on the tīrthas.

In the third chapter the tīrthas are considered chiefly according to the geographical point of view., dividing them into four regions—northern, eastern, southern and western. The fourth chapter chiefly shows the connection of deities with the individual tīrthas. The fifth chapter contains a discussion on the tīrthas through the cultural and the historical point of view. Incidents associated with the tīrthas (as stated in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas) have also been given by the author. The material collected shows the labour as well as the accumen of the author.

Some of the observations of the author are worth noticing and most of them, according to us, deserve further consideration. A few of such observations are given below :

(i) According to the author the greatest number of tīrthas are associated with *ṛsis* and *pitṛs* and the least number of the tīrthas belongs to Viṣṇu and His incarnations. Between these two fall other kinds of tīrthas in the following order : the nadī-tīrthas, the Śiva-tīrthas, the Brahmā-tīrthas and the Devi-tīrthas (p. 125).

(ii) The author has noted the non-mention of some well-known tīrthas in the lists of the tīrthas and has sometimes afforded reasons for their non-mention. It is stated that Mathurā and Vṛndāvana have not been mentioned in the lists of the tīrthas in the Mahābhārata; the Vaidyanātha tīrtha has not been mentioned in the Mahābhārata lists and in the Purāṇas other than the Śivapurāṇa (p. 155);¹ Kāñci (p. 159) and Rāmesvara (p. 160) have not

1, One Vaidyanātha-tīrtha on the bank of the Sābhramatī river is mentioned in Padma-p. 6.160.1,

been mentioned in the lists of the Mahābhārata; no Gāṇapatya tīrtha has been mentioned in the chapter on Pulastya-tīrtha-yātrā (Mbh. Vana-p.) and in the Śiṅya-purāṇa (Preface, viii); Vārāṇasī is mentioned in the chapter on Pulastya-tīrtha-yātrā only and not in the tīrtha-yātrā-chapters associated with Aṅgiras, Dhaumya and Lomaśa (p. 103).

(iii) Change in the situation of some tīrthas has also been discussed by the author. According to him Vārāṇasī was originally situated in the place between the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Gomati rivers and the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Varuṇā rivers (p. 103). He opines that the place of the Gokarṇa tīrtha has also been changed (p. 109).

A few pieces of information are highly interesting. It is stated that Laṅkā is a tīrtha associated with Brahmā (p. 185) and that the image of Kṛṣṇa was established at Kurukṣetra at first (Preface, VIII). It is a pity that the author has not taken the trouble to consider these points in detail. Are there any signs to prove that Laṅkā was a tīrthā of the Brahmā sect? Can this point help us identify Laṅkā? It should be remembered in this connection that there are Purāṇic passages in which Laṅkā and Sīmhalā are mentioned separately in one and the same sentence.

A few errors deserve to be corrected. The author wrongly thinks that the expression 'aṣṭasahasra' (in Devī-bhāgavata 12.6.5) showing the total number of the names of Gāyatrī means eight thousand (p. 222). It must mean 'one thousand and eight' (8 + 1000).² The printed readings ऋषिष्टुङ्ग (p. 106) and अरण्यादिसूक्त (p. 121) are to be corrected to ऋष्यष्टुङ्ग and अरण्यानीसूक्त respectively.

The book has a short coming. No attempt has been made by the author to locate the tīrthas properly. He has satisfied himself by giving the Purāṇic locations only. Now-a-days it is not very difficult to locate most of the tīrthas. The author could have taken help from the works like "The List of the Tīrthas", 'Bhārata-Bhramaṇa' (in Hind.) etc.

—R. S. B.

2. It is worth remarking that a scholar like Winternitz also took the word अष्टसहस्र (used in Kūrma-p. 1. 12. 196) in the sense of 'eight thousand' (vide Hist. of Indian Literature, vol. I, pt. II, p. 503).

Anantray J. Rawal : *Indian Society, Religion and Mythology (A Study of the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa)*; D. K. Publications, 29/9 Nangia Park, Shaktinagar, Delhi-110007; p. 360; Price Rs. 150/- or \$ 30.

The reviewer painfully notes that the title of the book as printed on the cover and on the first inner page ('Indian Society, Religion and Mythology') is confusing as it does not show precisely the character of the present composition. The title is especially misleading for history-loving scholars, for they may take the book to be a general work on Indian society, religion and mythology, while the book simply contains a study of one single Purāṇa, namely Brahmavaivarta (VBP.). The title given on the second inner page (shown at the top of this review) is also not proper. It should have been better (or more precisely honest) had the author given the title of his composition as 'Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as revealed (or described) in the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa'. I do not understand what prevented the author from naming his book 'A Study of Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa' which clearly shows the nature of his composition. If the confusing title of the book is due to the advice of the Publisher, we may simply say that the advice is ill. Scholarship must remain uncontaminated by cunningness, duplicity and falsehood.

The book has five chapters entitled (1) Introduction, (2) Society, (3) Socio-economic life, (4) Religion and Philosophy and (5) Mythology along with five Appendices : (1) Brief summary of the BVP; (2) Geographical and Ethnic data; (3) Flora and Fauna; (4) List of Stotras, Mantras, Kavacas, Dhyānas and Bijamantras and (5) Editions and Translations of the BVP. It is regretted that there is no mention of the Jīvananda edition (in two volumes; 1888 A D.) of this Purāṇa in the Appendix V, and that the names in the second Appendix do not follow the alphabetical order strictly.

The author has collected almost full material on each subject or item from the Purāṇa. This laudable book has a painful shortcoming. It does not quote Purāṇic passages (but gives Purāṇic references only) even when it becomes necessary to quote them. Since the Purāṇas are not easily available it is extremely useful to quote Purāṇic passages on all important points

Some of the arguments of the author seem to be highly unconvincing. The author says that since the BVP. holds views on *bhakṣya-abhakṣyas* which are similar to the views expressed by Raghunandana in his *Aṣṭāvimśatitattva*, the BVP. is indebted to this work (p.8). We are unable to appreciate the argument. The reason is obvious

The author sometimes expresses contradictory views. He remarks (on p. 45-46) that according to the BVP. Kṛṣṇa's Vedic studies were started before the performance of his *upanayana* ceremony by his teacher Śāndīpani but on p. 188 he states that after performing *yajñopavīta* Kṛṣṇa went to Śāndīpani and learnt from him.

In a few places the remarks of the author require revision. It is said that 'people might have preferred to remain nude in ancient India; however such references are not found' (p. 95). I may inform the author that the term वातरशना: signifying nudity occurs in RV. 10.136 2. The expression occurs in the pre-BVP. Purāṇa Bhāgavata (11.2.20) also.¹ The author has failed to mention the name of the river Śārāvati in the Appendix 'Geographical and Ethnical Data'. The river is mentioned in 2.18.20² which speaks of its two ends. (शरावती मिश्रिता च निर्गता सा हिमालयात् । गोमन्तं वामतः कृत्वा प्रविष्टा पश्चिमोदधौ ॥ The significance of मिश्रिता is to be determined).

1. The word वातरशना: has been explained by Śrīdhara as दिग्मन्त्राः, which literally means 'those whose clothes are the directions'. वातरशन literally means 'having air for a girdle'; Sāyaṇa however takes the word वातरशना: in the sense of 'the sons of Vātaraśana, which appears to be far-fetched. Naked sannyāsins are mentioned in the Upaniṣads on *sannyāsa* and also in the works on yoga belonging to various sects.
2. Since the river Śārāvati has not been identified clearly (शरावती नदी की निश्चित पहिचान नहीं हुई; पाणिनिकालीन भारतवर्ष p. 42) this statement of the BVP. is of high importance. It may however be noted that several rivers lay claim to this name (*vide* N. Dey : Geographical Dictionary, s.v.).

Some of the renderings of words seem to be doubtful. The author renders वंश by genealogies and वंशानुचरित by genealogies of kings (p. 13). Can there be any genealogy without any reference to any kind of creatures? It is not proper to say that *vanamālā* is a garland of wood flowers (p. 100). In fact it is सपुष्पपल्लवग्रथिता स्रक् (Devabodha on Udyoga-p. 19.18).

A few Sanskrit words are found to be written in a wrong way : Kartāla (p. 112), alakataka (p.101), śatsṛṅga (p.304) are to be corrected to karatāla, alaktaka, and Śataśṛṅga respectively. Similarly a few Purāṇic words seem to have been read wrongly by the author. Virendra (p.306) and Rāṣṭriya (p.301) are to be read as Vārendra and Rāḍhiya.

Examples of anomaly in using the prātipadika and pada forms of Sanskrit words are often met with in this work. The author uses the pada forms in पिता (p.63), पितृस्वसा (p.64), सुदामा (p.189) and the prātipadika forms in श्रीदामन् (p.189), प्रचेतस् (p.203), ननान्दृ (p.65). The form अपान्तरतमा (p.203) is neither a pada nor a prātipadika. The stem ends in a dental s.

The paper, printing and get-up of the book are commendable.

—R. S. B.

Antonella Comba, Un capitolo della Śivagītā sulla medicina āyurvedica (A Chapter of the Śivagītā on Āyurvedic medicine), *Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, II, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, V, Vol. 5, Fasc. III, Luglio-Settembre, 1981, pp. 173-223. Price Lit. 11,000

“This paper contains : the first complete translation in Italian of a *gītā*, namely the Śivagītā, the translation of two commentaries of this text, an Introduction dealing with medical and religious topics of the work and their meaning in the light of modern medicine and psychoanalysis, and critical notes.” The research, which was done by a young research scholar, opens a new field of inquiry in the study of āyurvedic medicine. The continuous references to and comparisons with Caraka, Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa and other texts show, in this promising researcher, a full

acquaintance with the whole field of Āyurveda. Several references are from the Purāṇas and rightly so, because the Śivagītā is considered part of the Padma Purāṇa. Yet, many more quotations could have been given; the Liṅga, Garuḍa II, Bhaviṣya IV and other Purāṇas also deal with the topics studied in this 'Memoria'. The author, with her large knowledge of the problems, would be the best person to do a research on the āyurvedic material in the Purāṇas. A translation in English of this *Memoria* is a desideratum.

—GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

John E. Mitchener, *Tradition of the Seven Ṛṣis*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Vārāṇasī, Patna, 1982, pp. XX, 350.5 Tables, 1 Map. Price Rs. 125

Every *Brāhmaṇa* is aware of his belonging to one caste, *gotra* and *pravara*, and to be related to one of the seven original *ṛṣis*. Though the theme tackled in this book is of broad significance and has been studied by Indian scholars, western scholarship has not paid much attention to it. John E. Mitchener, a still young scholar, has been working on the different traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis, and the problems connected with them, since the time of preparing his doctoral thesis at the University of London. The book under review is based on that research, enhanced by further studies pursued by the author in India. The book is divided into two parts, reciprocally complementary and interdependent. Part one deals with text-historical traditions, namely how the group of seven was formulated and the factors that modified it, especially the Manvantara theory. The statements of the author are well documented with an exceptional abundance of textual references. Dr Mitchener has left out no text which deals with the Seven Ṛṣis. Naturally, as he notes in the Introduction (p. XVI), 'the amount of material concerning Ṛṣis in general is vast; no study could even hope to encompass all of their traditions in a single volume—or indeed in many volumes—and a number of limitations had therefore to be imposed in the present work'. The author, indeed, restricts his theme to the Seven Ṛṣis, but—especially in the second part—he enlarges it to other *ṛṣis* besides the seven, in order to give a broad background to his specific theme.

The second part deals with mythological, philosophical and mystical traditions. The Seven Ṛṣis have different roles on earth as seers and composers, as sacrificers, as teachers, also in politics and in family life they have an important function. Here the field becomes immense and it appears difficult to constrain the whole material in a book, especially when one is tempted, as the author constantly is in this half, to enlarge the research beyond the self-imposed limits of dealing only with the Seven Ṛṣis. Astrologers and astronomers have seen the Seven Ṛṣis in the sky and have identified them in the Ursa Major. The author does not miss the chance to follow also this pattern of research and gives us an interesting, though rapid, account of the problems involved in this particular aspect of the Seven Ṛṣis.

The last two chapters deal with the deepest development of the traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis. In the ancient texts up to the Upaniṣads they had been considered as presiding over the seven *prāṇas* of man and they were thought of as residing in the head. Later, when, in subsequent philosophical thought, the *prāṇas* of man were reduced to five, the position of the Seven Ṛṣis as presiding over man's *prāṇas* decayed. In a later development of the tradition, the *ṛṣis* reached their highest position when they were considered, for their asceticism to be *Prajāpatīs* like Brahman. Like Brahman, indeed, whose root means to increase, the *ṛṣis*, whose root ṛṣ, besides meaning to see, implies the idea of knowing, are always dynamically growing and expanding at the centre itself of the continuously recreated universe.

The book besides a glossary and an Index contains also a good Bibliography. It is recommendable to all those who desire to deepen their knowledge of a chapter of Indology not well known though very important.

— GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

Othmar Gächter, *Hermeneutics and Language in Pūrvamīmāṃsā—
A study in Śābara Bhāṣya*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi,
Vārāṇasī, Patna, 1983. Price Rs 100

The present work is a particularly important approach to the Śābara Bhāṣya. The author, in his first work on this subject, shows, nevertheless, a fine mastership of the problem and his insights can be a valuable help for a better understanding of the Śābara Bhāṣya and for a wider comprehension of the whole hermeneutical problem, especially as understood in ancient India. Though the word hermeneutics is a modern western term, the author, who is well acquainted with the hermeneutical problems in the west, is able to discover the basic problems related to it particularly found in ancient authors. His study is pursued with particular sensitivity to Śābara's approach, leaving him completely in his original background while giving him flavour of modernity.

The book has six chapters: an introductory chapter on Hermeneutics and Language in Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā, especially the Śābara Bhāṣya, three chapters on Śābara's view of reality and language, and two final chapters on 'Language as the core of Hermeneutics' and 'Man's experience with language through Hermeneutics,' which contain fully the methodology of the author and his interpretations of Śābara's views.

Textual Sources and a Glossary of Sanskrit terms are given at the end. The book is concluded with a good Bibliography and an Index.

The publisher has made every effort to give the book a pleasant appearance, so as to present it without printing mistakes.

— GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
(January-June, 1983)

Varāha Purāṇa Work

After the publication of the critical edition and the English translation of the Varāha Purāṇa, the Trust was actively engaged in the publication of the Hindi translation of the Varāha Purāṇa. By the blessings of the Almighty our efforts were crowned with success on 8th April 1983 when our Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi released the Hindi translation volume in the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee of the Trust. The function was attended by His Excellency Sir C. P. N. Sinha, the Rajyapal of U. P., Hon'ble Shri Shripati Misra, Chief Minister of U.P., Smt. Kapila Vatsyayan, Additional Secretary Ministry of Education, Govt. of India and all the Trustees. With the publication of the Hindi translation of the Varāha Purāṇa we have been able to publish the following four volumes of the Varāha Purāṇa :

1. Critical edition
2. English translation
3. Hindi translation
4. Text edition

With the publication of the text edition (bearing the constituted text only) the Trust has started a new series of publications. This handy edition is prepared mainly for easy handling and recitation. On account of its small size and less price it is hoped that this edition will be more useful for general scholars and paṇḍitas.

On the successful conclusion of this Varāha-yajña we thank all the scholars, manuscripts libraries, institutions and financing authorities and the scholars working in the Trust for their contribution in this sacred task.

Garuḍa Purāṇa Work

The Garuḍa Purāṇa has three parts (*khaṇḍas*), viz. Ācāra, Preta and Brahma Six Devanagari and four Nevari MSS of the first part have been collated till now. The collation of this *khaṇḍa* does not present any particular problem, as the MSS do not

differ much. Till now we have not been able to find any complete MS of this *khaṇḍa* in any of the Southern India scripts.

The second part is called Uttarakhaṇḍa or, more commonly, Pretakalpa and Sāroddhāra. In the Catalogues of many MSS libraries this part is mentioned as the Garuḍa Purāṇa without assigning any explanation. There are three different versions of the Pretakalpa/Sāroddhāra supported by MSS evidence. The multiplicity of versions of this part of the Garuḍa Purāṇa creates serious problems of collation, which are being examined by the staff engaged in preparing the critical edition of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

The third part, called Brahmakāṇḍa in 29 adhyāyas was printed only once by the Venkatesvara Press. Till now three Devanagari MSS only of this part have been found. They are being collated and they seem to be mostly similar to the printed edition.

Śivadharmā/Śivadharmottara Purāṇa Work

The work on the Śivadharmā and Śivadharmottara Purāṇas is done under the direction of Giorgio Bonazzoli in collaboration with IsMEO (Institute for Middle and Far East) of Rome, Italy. Two MSS of the Śivadharmā have already been collated and ten MSS of the Śivadharmottara have been procured. None of the MSS of the Śivadharmottara Purāṇa procured (in Devanagari) till now is complete and as such the work of collation has not yet been started; the work of transcription is however in progress.

Veda-pārāyaṇa

The Ṛgveda Samhitā, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads were recited by memory in the Vyāseśvara temple of the Fort, Ramnagar from the first day of the bright half to the full moon day of the month of Māgha (January-February). The reciter or *pārāyaṇakartā* was Sri Visvanatha Vamanadeva and the *śrotā* was Pt. Anantarama Pant.

Purāṇa-pāṭha and Purāṇa-pravacana

1. The Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa was recited in the Janakpur temple of Ramnagar by Shri Laksmāna Vaidya from the first upto the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra (March-April).

Visitor to the Purāṇa Department

1. Miss Pauline Tina Lesnik, South Asian Bibliographer, Columbia University, New York, U. S. A. visited the Chairman of the Trust and the Purana Department on 6.1.1983. The visitor appeared quite enthusiastic for the work done at the Department. She wrote on the visitors' book : 'The Trust does excellent work. Thank you.'

2. Sri A. N. Tiwari—Commissioner and Secretary, Tourism, Sports and Culture, and Secretary Information and PR, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar paid a visit to the Chairman of the Trust and the Purana Department on 7.1.1983. 'It was a privilege and a pleasure', wrote he in the visitors' book, 'to have seen the dedicated literary work that is being undertaken under his guidance. It was an education for me. I wish the organisation god-speed.' Sri Tiwari came here in connection with a conference on Tourism, held in the Hotel Clarks, Varanasi, which was inaugurated by H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman of the Trust. The conference was attended by several Ministers of States and Centre. On this occasion the Maharaja sent a set of publications of the Trust through Sri Tiwari to the Chief Minister of Orissa. The visit of Sri A. N. Tiwari was an occasion for beginning a correspondence with the authorities of the Government of Orissa in order to procure Purāṇic MSS from the libraries of that State.

3. Prof. S. G. Kantawala, Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Faculty of Art and I/C Director, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, came to the Purana Department on 9.4.1983 for delivering two lectures on Purāṇic subjects. The learned Professor wrote in the visitors' book : 'It is a pleasure to visit the Purana Department...The Trust is doing excellent work, and I wish that it grows from more to more.' The Professor, who is particularly interested in the purāṇic studies, was shown all the details of the work of collation and transcription done at the Purana Department.

4. Sri Asoka Singhal, Central Office, Visva Hindu Parisad, New Delhi took occasion to watch the work of the Purāṇa Department and invoked his blessings on it during his visit to the Chairman of the Trust.

Silver Jubilee Function

The concluding Function of the Silver Jubilee was celebrated on 8th April 1983 where Prime Minister released the Hindi Translation volume of the Varāha Purāṇa (for detailed account see pp. 305-310).

Silver Jubilee Lectures on the Purāṇas

Dr S. G. Kantawala, Director of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, delivered two lectures on the Purāṇas on 9.4 and 10.4.1983 in the premises of the Sivala Palace of the Trust. The lectures were well-attended by scholars. H. H. the Maharaja, Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh and Pt Baladeva Upadhyaya presided on 9.4 and 10.4 respectively.

Introducing the speaker as one of the distinguished scholars in the field of Sanskrit and especially of *Purāṇa Vidyā*, Dr R. S. Bhattacharya referred to his deep erudition and to some of his contributions in the purāṇic field.

In the first lecture Dr Kantawala dealt with the antiquity and importance of the Purāṇas and pointed out some problems of textual criticism concerning the Purāṇas. After the lecture a brief discussion was held by Maharaj Kumar Dr Raghbir Singh, one of the Trustees, on the nature of purāṇic presentation and showed how the Purāṇic statements on geographical factors can be interpreted properly.

The main subject of the second lecture was 'Purāṇic augmentation (*upabr̥mhaṇa*) of the Vedas'. Dr Kantawala ably propounded the view that the Purāṇas must be regarded as a true helping factor in explaining the Vedas. A good number of examples were especially quoted to elucidate the Purāṇic way of augmenting the Vedic *ākhyānas*. The lecture was followed by a brief discussion.

Those who attended the two lectures were : Dr Lallanji Gopal, Vagisa Sastri, R. S. Bhattacharya, staff of the Purana Department and of the Maharaja Balvant Singh Degree College, scholars from the Sanskrit, Philosophy and Ancient History and Culture Departments of Banaras Hindu University, scholars of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Pt Baladeva Upadhyaya in his concluding talk drew the attention of the scholars to the authoritativeness of purāṇic statements concerning a few geographical and historical factors

and asked the scholars to take the help of purāṇic material scrupulously while studying different aspects of ancient Indian culture. He also laid stress on the need for such lectures.

At the end prasāda and tea were served to the scholars.

Silver Jubilee of the Purāṇa Bulletin

With this issue the Purāṇa Bulletin is completing its 25th year of publication and this issue is published as Silver Jubilee number.

The Bulletin has a glorious history. It has been regularly published on the fixed dates of the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā and the Vasanta Pañcamī. Eminent scholars from all over the world have made it rich and renowned by their scholarly research contributions. Scholars like the late Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Dr. V. Raghavan, Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravida, Dr. Sternbach and Dr. R.C. Hazra have served on the Editorial Board of the Bulletin and have tried their best to uplift and maintain the high standard of the Bulletin. Even at present international scholars like Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Dr. R. K. Sharma are the distinguished members of the Editorial Board. In this connection the services of the late Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, who served as editor for 22 years continuously, are most remarkable.

As the first issue of the Purāṇa (I.1) was out of print for a long time we have considered it useful to attach it to the present issue. By combining this issue in photoprint with current issue we want to give a glimpse of the past and present.

Subject Index and Author Index

At the end of every five years we prepared an Index of all the previous issues. Thus five Indexes have been published in these 25 years. Now, after completion of 25 years we have prepared a combined classified Index of the last 25 years. We hope that this Index will be helpful and will be used as a reference book. It will also serve as a record of old issues, which are becoming rare.

Inauguration by the Chairman of the New Building of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies

The Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies at Sarnath, Varanasi, has been shifted in a new magnificent building constructed with the grant of the Govt. of India. The building was in-

augurated by His Highness, Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh on the 5th of February, 1983. Originally the Central Minister for Housing was to inaugurate the Building and the Maharaja was the chief guest. As the Union Minister could not attend the function, the Mahārāja, who was the chief guest on the occasion, inaugurated the building. On this occasion the All-India Kashiraj Trust published a brochure under the caption '*Maharaja Benares and Tibet*' in which the relation from the olden times to present date of the house of Benares with Tibet was traced. The brochure was in both English and Tibetan. It also contains photographs of the Maharaja of Benares with their Holinesses the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

Maharaja Benares Vidyamandir Mangalotsava

The three day programme of the annual Vasanta Mangalotsava was held under the patronage of the Chairman of the Vidyamandir Trust H. H. Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. As usual the programme was conducted by the students of the College of Performing Arts of B. H. U. with whom also a few foreigners had the chance to show their progress in the study of the difficult art of Indian Music. Local people and a selected group of important persons attended the festival. The performing artists were offered a dinner every evening.

Museum

Among the persons who visited the Museum in this period the following deserve mention : the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly of Goa who visited the Museum on 16.1.1983 and Sri Daulat Ram, State Minister for Food and Supply, Himachal Pradesh on 26.2.1983.

Sri P. Venkatsubaih, Minister of State for Home, Govt. of India, New Delhi while visiting the Museum on 8.3.1983 wrote on the visitors' book : 'It is a most remarkable Museum preserved by the Maharaja He has kept intact the rich legacy handed over to him by his predecessors. The general public who visit the Museum must be beholden to the Maharaja for his exemplary action to inform the posterity of the rich heritage of his ancestors.'

On the 24 3 1983 Sri Jagdish Shunshore Jung Bahadur Rana, Ambassador of Nepal wrote on the visitors' book : 'I shall take back with me the most impressive displays I have had the pleasure to see I would also like to thank Kashiraj for his kindness in showing the family collection of wonderful Indian heritage and ingenuity'.

Dhrupad Melā

The ninth Dhrupad Mela took place at Tulsi Ghat, Varanasi organized under the auspices of the Vidyamandir Trust. As it has been usual for all the previous years, a great number of local and foreign people spent the three nights of the programme listening to the vocal and instrumental performances. This year, along with the programme, a show of the paintings of children on the pollution of the Ganges, was also displayed. The exhibition was organized by a special committee which is campaigning for a greater sensibility to the problem of water pollution in the country.

MAHARAJA UDIT NARAIN SINGH MANASA PRACARA NIDHI

Navāhna Pārāyaṇa

In the month of Vaisākha (March-April) from the first to the ninth day of the bright half the usual Rāmāyaṇa navāhna took place in the temple of Kālī at Chakiya. Pāṭhakartā was the Pujari Thakur Ji, the pravacanakartās were Sri Parasnath Vyas, Sri Devaki Nandan and Baba Ramdas. The Chairman of the Trust, H. H. Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh attended the Navāhna pārāyaṇa daily.

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 literature (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 REQUESTS

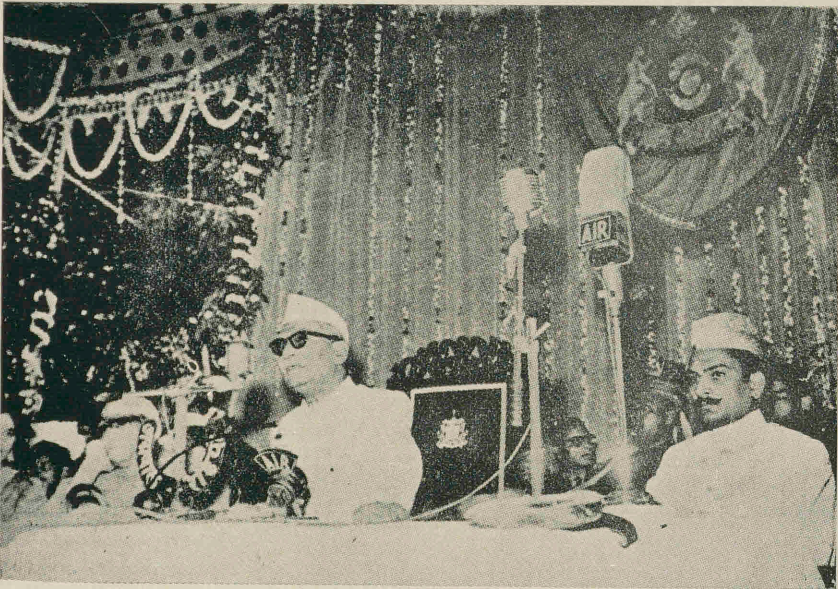
We earnestly request the authorities of all Institutions (Universities, Colleges or Research Institutes) to send us detailed accounts of works, done or taken up by the members of their staff or by the Research Scholars, on the Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas and the Epics. They are also requested to send us the 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. The solutions may appear in the issues of the Bulletin.

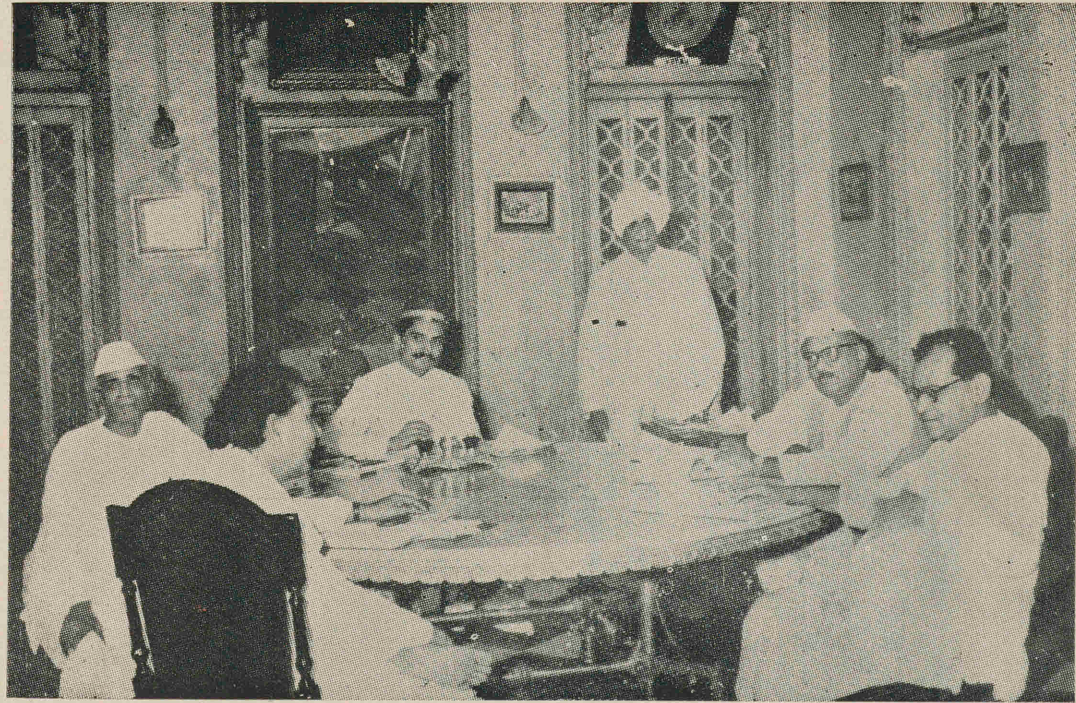
AN ANNOUNCEMENT

In the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference, the Kashi Naresh, on behalf of the A-1. Kashiraj Trust, announced the institution of a prize of Rs. 10000/- to be awarded every third year for the best work relating to the Purāṇas published in any language and in any country.

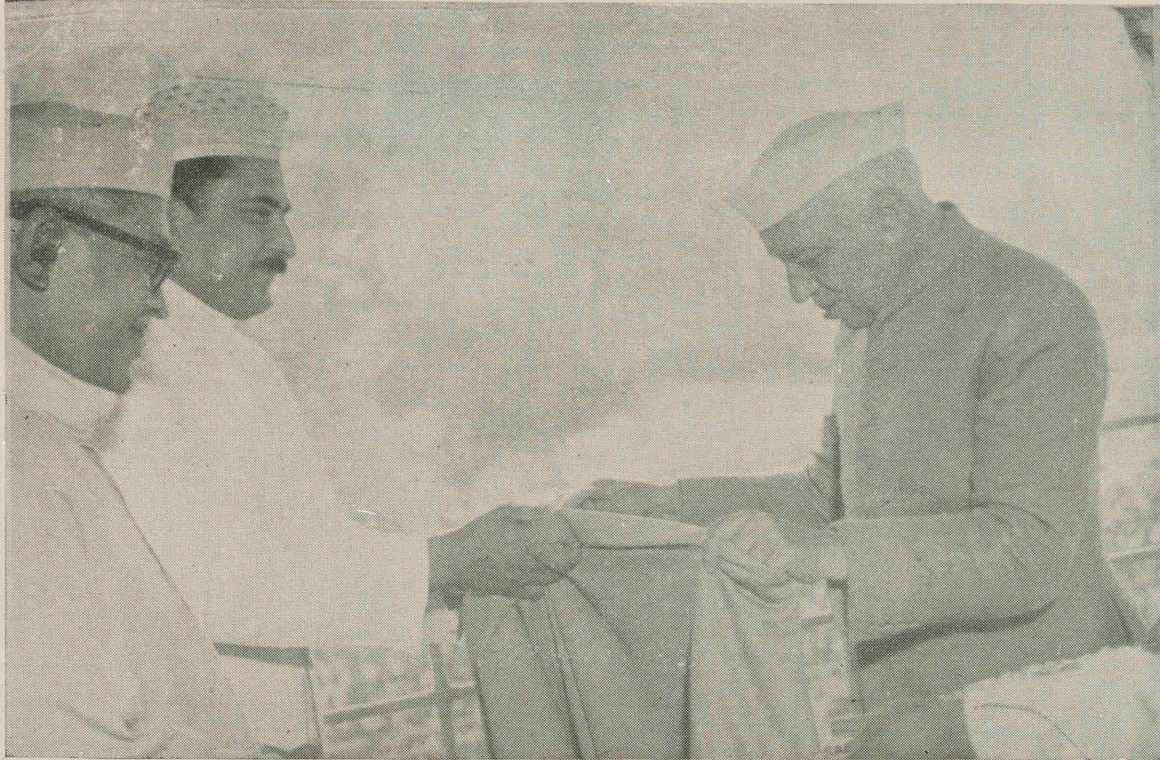
IMPORTANT EVENTS IN TWENTY FIVE YEARS



Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India, inaugurating the All-India Kashiraj Trust on January 12, 1958, while His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh (right) looks on.



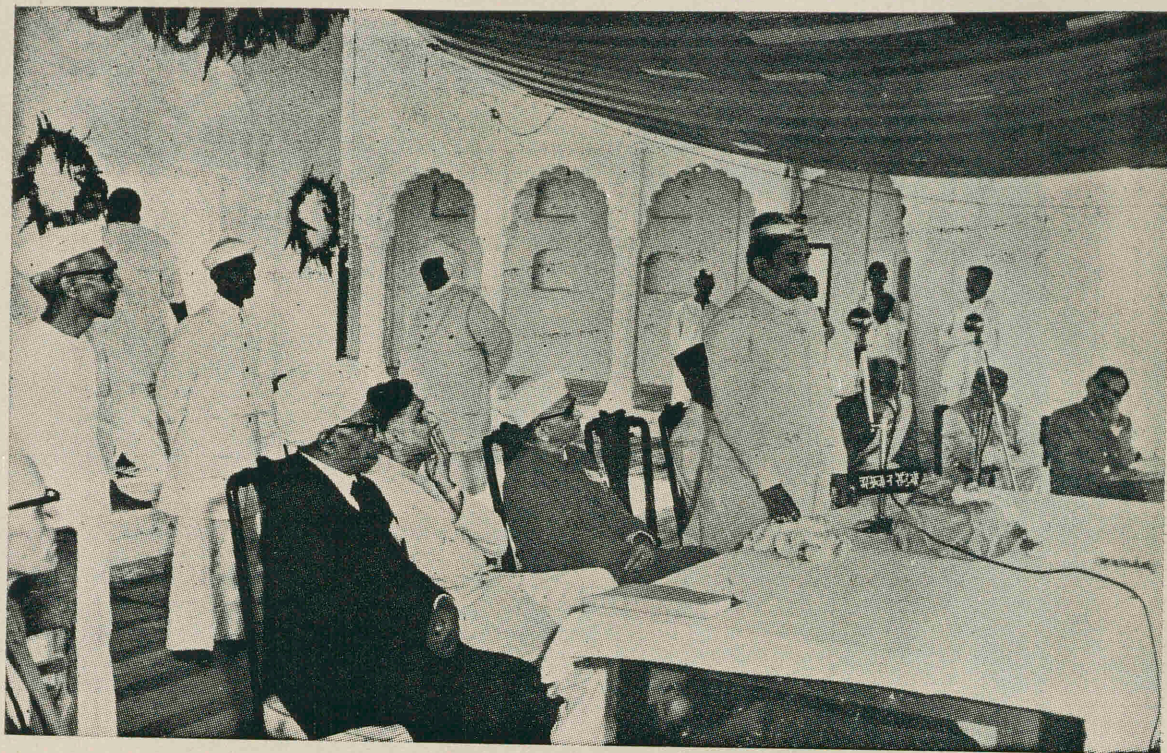
The first meeting of the Board of Trustees, All-India Kashiraj Trust : (Clockwise around the table) : Sri Kamalapati Tripathi, Dr. Panna Lal, I. C. S., His Highness Kashi Naresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Sri Ramesh Chandra De, General Secretary (standing), Dr. Sampurnanand and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (11th September, 1956).



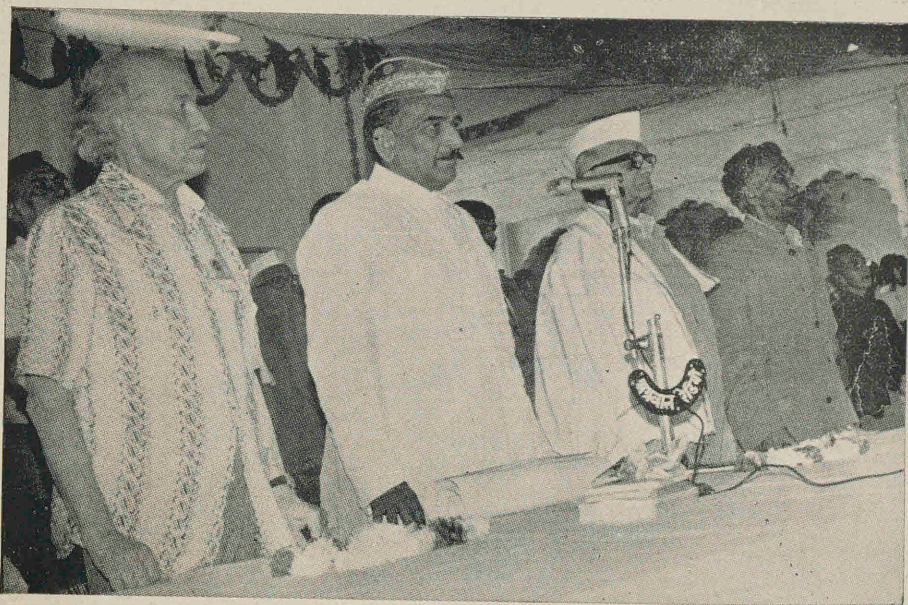
Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, released the Ramcharit Manas of Tulsi Das published by the Trust on 12 January 1962. Sri Nehru is seen having a feel of the "shawl" to be presented to Acarya Visvanatha Prasad Misra, Editor, (extreme left) while His Highness Kashinararesh Maharaj Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh looks on.



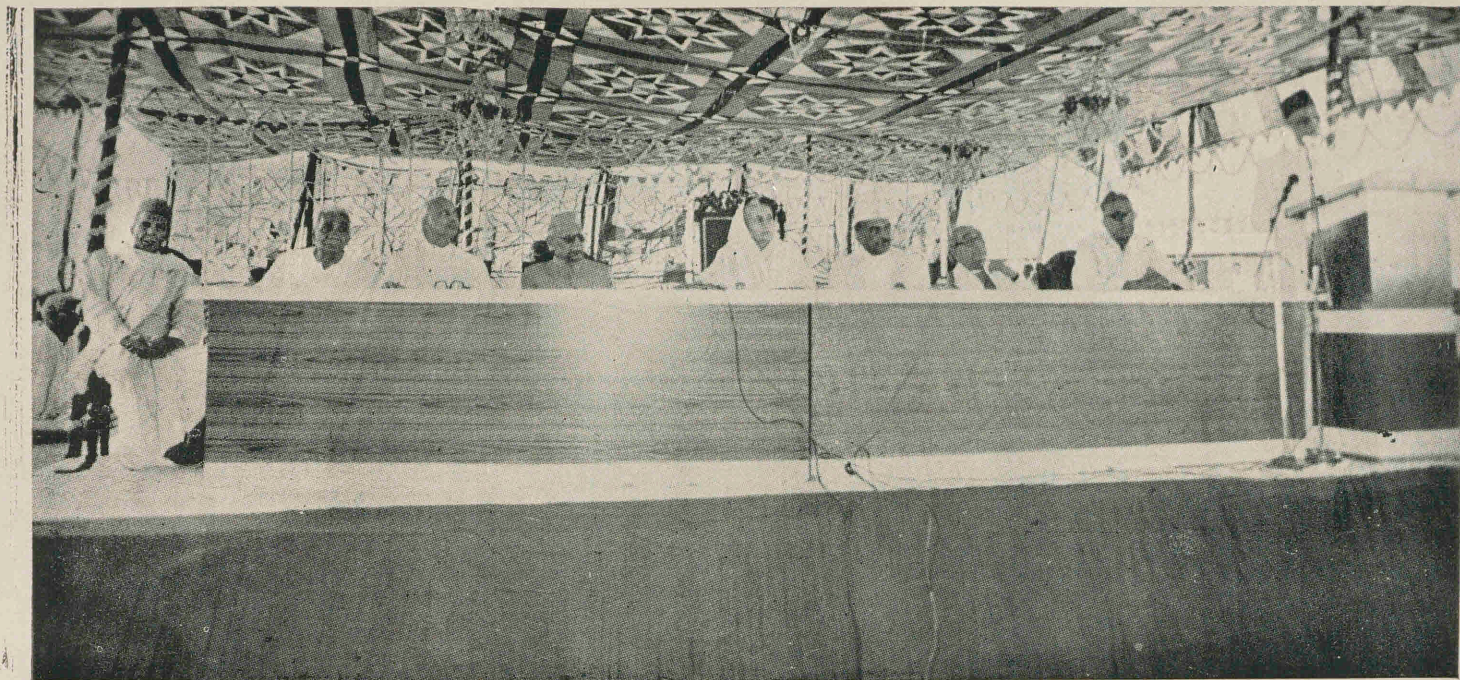
Reception of the King of Nepal. His Majesty, King Mahendra, being presented the welcome address in an ivory casket in the form of the *Ghurdaur*, Maharaja's barge (29 Nov. 1965).



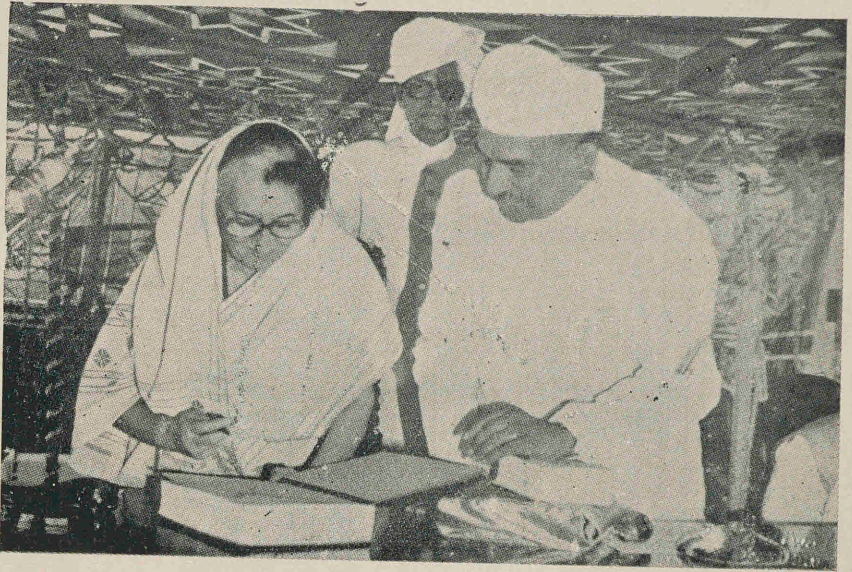
His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh speaking at the function to release the Vāmana Purāṇa—the first Purāṇa to be published by the Trust (sitting l to r) Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau, Dr. R. N Dandekar, Sri Girdharilal Mehta (partially visible), Panditaraj Rajeshwai Sastri Dravida, Prof. Rajaram Sastri and Dr. R. K. Sharma. (Standing extreme left) Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, Editor (13th October, 1968).



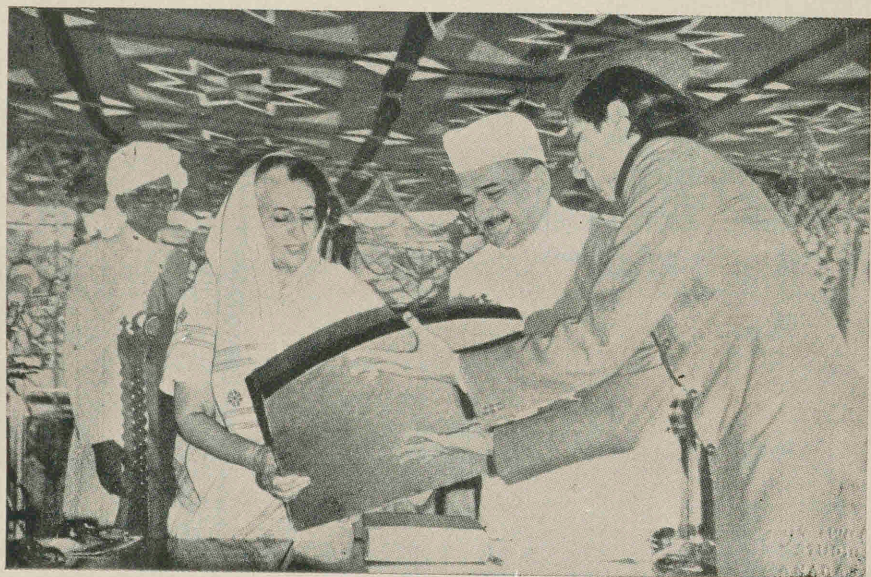
Dr. Jean Fillozat, His Highness, Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Maharajkumar, Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau observing a minute silence as a mark of respect to the memory of Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, Editor of Varāha Purāṇa—at the Inauguration of the Silver Jubilee celebrations—24 October 1981.



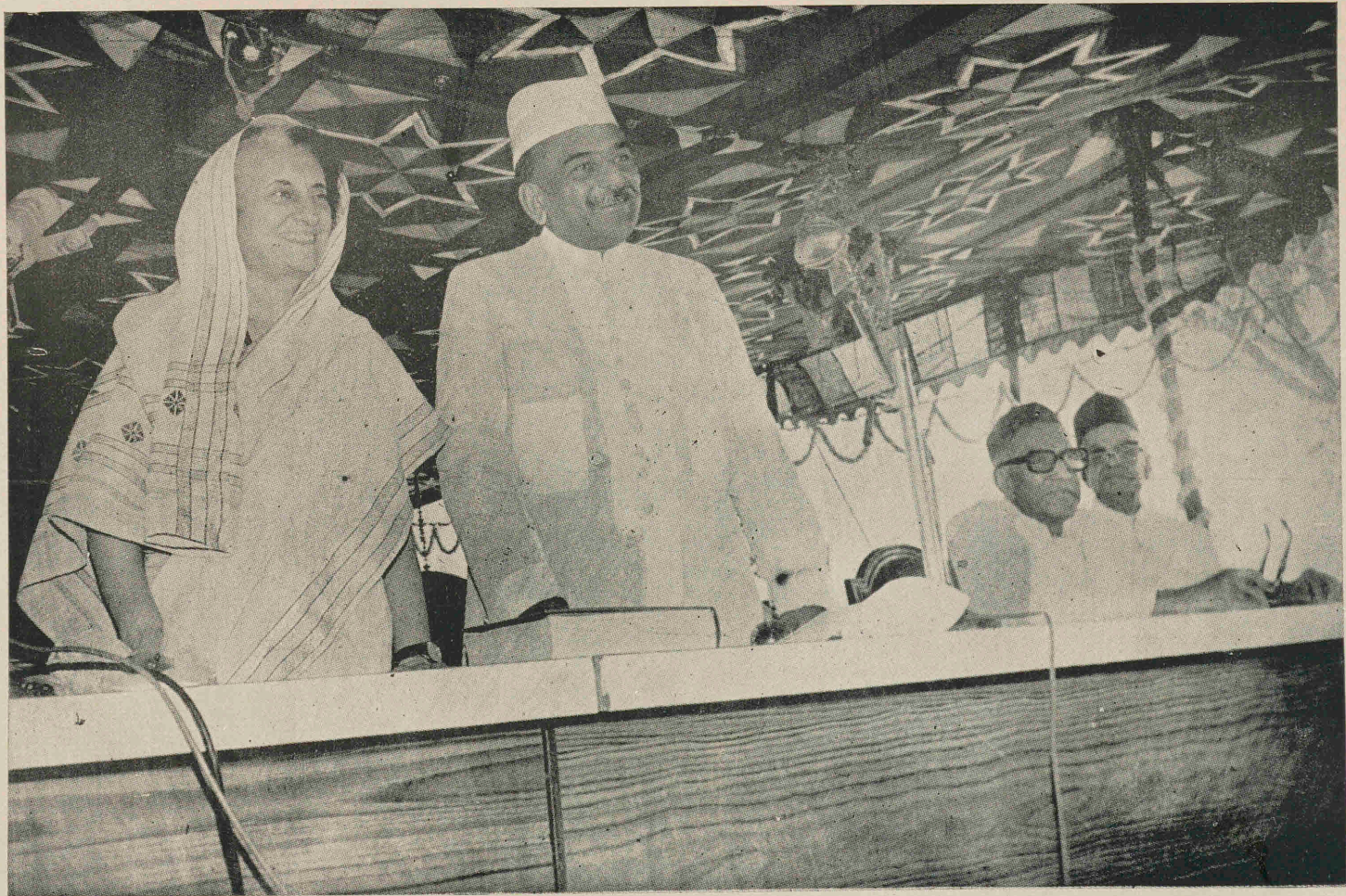
A view of the dais at the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations—8 April 1983 : (l to r) Acarya Baladeva Upadhyaya (Trustee), Dr. Raghunath Singh (Trustee), Hon'ble Sri Sri Pati Misra, Chief Minister of U. P., His Excellency Sri C. P. N. Singh, Governor of U. P., Hon'ble Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi, His Highness, Kashinaraesh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Pt. Kamalapati Tripathi (Trustee), Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau (Trustee), and Sri Girdharilal Mehta, reading the progress report of the Trust for 25 years.



Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi signing her name on the fly leaf of the Varāha Purāṇa, Hindi translation, to mark its release on 8 April 1983 at the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations.



Prime Minister receiving a memento from Maharaj Kumar Anant Narain Singh at the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations—8 April 1983. (l to r) Sri Yogendra Narain Thakur, General Secretary, Srimati Indira Gandhi, His Highness Kashinaresh and Maharaj Kumar.



At the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Trust—8 April 1983—Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi and Kashinaresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in a happy mood.

CONCLUSION OF THE SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

On 24 October 1981, the Silver Jubilee Year of the All-India Kashiraj Trust was inaugurated at an impressive function at the historic Shivala Palace premises of the Trust presided over by Dr R. N. Dandekar, President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies. This happily coincided with the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference held in Vārāṇasī. The highlight of the inauguration of the celebrations was the release of the critical edition of the Varāha Purāṇa, the third in the series of the Mahā-Purāṇas to be published by the Trust, along with its English translation volume, by Dr Jean Filliozat, Vice-President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, at a distinguished gathering of Sanskrit scholars and indologists from all over the world. On the same day, a critical edition of the Premarāmāyaṇa, a Sanskrit rendering in verse of the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmacaritamānasa of the Saint Tulasī Dāsa, edited by Maharajkumari Krishna Priya, was released at a function at the Tulasī Ghat hallowed by the memory of the saint-poet.

Hectic publication activities continued to mark the Silver Jubilee Year and subsequently a Silver Jubilee Number of the "Purāṇa", the half-yearly journal of the Purāṇa Department of the Trust, was brought out. Incidentally, the "Purāṇa" completes its 25th year of publication in 1983 and a special Number of the journal is being published to mark the occasion. As a fitting conclusion to the Silver Jubilee Year, His Highness Maharaja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh, decided that the Hindi translation volume of the Varāha Purāṇa should be published and also that the Prime Minister of India, Srimati Indira Gandhi should be invited to release it.

The Prime Minister graciously accepted His Highness's request and agreed to grace the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations on 8 April 1983. The function was organized in the compound of the Circuit House (Government Guest House) under a specially erected and tastefully decorated shamiana

(awning) which was filled to capacity by eminent citizens, scholars, faculty members of the universities of the city, officials and dignitaries who were specially invited. His Highness along with Maharaj Kumar Anant Narain Singh and the three Maharajkumaris called on the Prime Minister at the Circuit House where she was staying and led her to the venue of the function where the Trustees were waiting to receive her. The Prime Minister, accompanied by His Excellency Sri Chandreswar Prasad Narain Singh, Governor of Uttar Pradesh and the Hon'ble Sri Sripati Misra, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, was led to the dais by His Highness and the Trustees at 3 p. m. and they were warmly cheered by the gathering. On the dais Srimati Gandhi was flanked on her left by His Highness, Sri Kamalapati Tripathi (Trustee), Maharajkumar Dr Raghbir Singh of Sitamau (Trustee) and Sri Girdharilal Mehta (Trustee) and on her right by His Excellency the Governor, the Chief Minister, Dr Raghunath Singh (Trustee) and Acarya Baladeva Upadhyaya (Trustee).

The function started with a Maṅgalācaraṇa by Sri Visvesvara Sastri Dravida, invoking the blessings of and paying obeisance to Ganeśa, Sarasvatī, Kāśī Viśvanātha, Annapūrṇeśvarī and Mahaṛṣi Vyāsa for the success of the function and welfare of all participants. His Highness invited Sri Kamalapati Tripathi, the Working President of the Indian National Congress and Member of Parliament, to say a few words welcoming the Prime Minister and the distinguished guests, remarking that Sri Tripathi was the senior-most among the Trustees who had been with the Trust from its very inception and most eligible for that function, especially as he had discharged this duty when Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India were invited by the Trust. Sri Tripathi said that there was none more competent to perform this duty than His Highness whom he described as the 'vibhūti' (glory) of Kashi and the custodian of the great traditions of an illustrious royal House and he would therefore decline to usurp the right from His Highness. His Highness briefly expressed his thanks to the Prime Minister for agreeing to preside over the concluding function of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Trust and in a way making up for her inability to attend the opening function in 1981 owing to her being away on a tour abroad. His Highness also recalled the

close cooperation of the Government in the activities of the Trust, its inauguration in 1958 by the then President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the release of its first publication, the Rāmacaritamānasa of Tulasīdāsa, by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, in 1962.

Next in the programme was the presentation of the progress report of the Trust's activities for the last twenty-five years and Sri Girdharilal Mehta, a Trustee and a renowned industrialist of India and a well-known philanthropist, was requested to present it. Sri Mehta traced the history of the formation of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, dwelt on the eminent scholars who had made great contributions to its work in the past, and gave a bird's-eye-view of the work done and being done by the Trust for the propagation of Sanskrit and especially the study of the Purāṇa-s, a neglected branch of ancient learning.

His Highness then declared that the third Purāṇa to be critically edited and published by the Trust was the Varāha Purāṇa, the critical edition and the English translation volume of which were released at the inaugural function of the celebrations, and the Hindi translation volume was awaiting release at the hands of the Prime Minister at this concluding function. His Highness invited Dr Raghunath Singh, a Trustee nominated on the Board of Trustees by the Government of India, an eminent scholar-citizen of Benares and former Member of Parliament and till recently the Chairman of the Shipping Corporation of India, to present the Hindi translation volume to the Prime Minister for release. Upon this, Dr Raghunath Singh presented to the Prime Minister the volume wrapped in saffron silk on a silver platter. Srimati Gandhi took out the volume and signed her name on the fly leaf to mark its formal release. The photographers present made a rush to the rostrum to record the event but the Prime Minister affectionately chided them for being impatient and said they would get an opportunity soon. She presented the released volume formally to His Highness and then kept it upright to be photographed with herself and H. H. standing behind it. H. H. then presented another copy of the volume autographed by him to the Prime Minister. A special volume of the Varāha Purāṇa containing the critically edited text only was also brought out and His Highness requested Acarya Baladeva Upadhyaya, a Trustee and

formerly Director of Research at the Sampurnananda Sanskrit University of Varanasi, to present it to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Trust which he did.

A specially bound volume of the "Purāṇa" journal of the Trust containing two issues brought out during the Jubilee Year was presented to the distinguished guests, His Excellency the Governor and the Hon'ble Chief Minister as a memento. His Highness then requested the Prime Minister to present a plaque commemorating the Silver Jubilee of the Trust and inscribed with the axiom, "Ātmā Purāṇam Vedānām", to the Trustees. Each of the Trustees came to receive the plaque from the Prime Minister and she congratulated each of them. Apart from the Trustees, Srimati Kapila Vatsyayan, Additional Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Education and Culture was also cited by His Highness for receiving the plaque as a token of appreciation for her help to the Trust in its activities. Srimati Vatsyayan who was seated in the audience walked up to the Prime Minister and received the memento. His Highness then made a citation on Chaudhary Srinarayana Singh who had translated into Hindi all the three Purana-s brought out by the Trust (Vāmana, Kūrma and Varāha). A "shawl of honour" was presented to him by the Prime Minister. Sri Ramashankar Pandya of the Tara Printing Works and Sri Vinay Shankar Pandya of the Ratna Printing Works who printed the Varāha Purāṇa editions were also awarded the shawl. Sri Ramji Gupta, Accountant of the Trust and Sri Bhagvan Das, Attendant in the Purana Department of the Trust were then mentioned by His Highness to receive the shawl as the oldest staff members of the Trust. The Prime Minister appeared being very happy at this.

His Highness then mentioned to the Prime Minister the three scholars of the Purana Department associated with the editing and publishing of the "Purāṇa" journal of the Trust. They were Dr Ramshankar Bhattacharya (Editor), Dr. Gangasagar Rai (Associate Editor) and Dr Giorgio Bonazzoli (Associate Editor), the last named being the only foreign scholar working with the Trust. They were presented with the specialy bound volume of the Purāṇa journal by the Prime Minister. Another scholar of eminence especially in the field of Purāṇic studies to be honoured on the

occasion was Prof S. G. Kantawala, Director of the Oriental Research Institute and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. Dr Kantawala was presented with the specially bound volume of the Purana journal. He had been invited to Varanasi on the occasion to deliver lectures on the Purāṇas, as part of the conclusion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations, on 9 and 10 April.

Now was the turn of Maharaj Kumar Anant Narain Singh to Present a memento to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Chairman and the Trustees of the Trust. He came up smartly from the rear row on the dais where he was seated holding in his hands a silverised statuette of Siva in the Padmasana posture with a trident, and presented it to Srimati Gandhi who stood holding it to the delight of the photographers and smiling all the while. This was the finale to the presentation of awards and prizes.

His Highness next invited Sri Pattabhirama Sastri, an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Kashi and recipient of "Padmabhushaṇa" to speak on behalf of the intellectual community of the city. He copiously quoted from the scriptures and ancient works to show that the importance of our ancient learning had not diminished in the context of modern scientific progress and that the work being done by the All-India Kashiraj Trust was in tune with the times. Sri Brijpal Das, a former Mayor of Varanasi and a public minded citizen, was next asked to address the gathering. He stressed the importance of the work being done by the Trust and the importance of Kashi as a centre of ancient learning and also requested the Prime Minister to give special consideration to the city for its improvement.

The Prime Minister in her concluding remarks congratulated the Trust on its achievements. She emphasized the need to preserve and propagate Sanskrit with stress on the correct accent and intonation. She also advocated bringing out the essence of the Purāṇas and such other works to the common man in a language understood by the masses. On the suggestion of the Governor, Sri C. P. N. Singh, Srimati Gandhi was pleased to announce a grant of Rs. 25,000 on behalf of the Government of U. P. to the All-India Kashiraj Trust.

His Highness thanked the Prime Minister for her kind gesture in agreeing to preside over the function and giving inspiration to the scholars and the Trustees to carry out the task embarked upon by them.

The function and the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the All-India Kashiraj Trust was thus concluded.

The District authorities and personnel of the police contributed in no small measure to the resounding success of this function. The authorities of the Banaras Hindu University, especially Sri O. P. Tandon, Officer on Special Duty, extended all cooperation organizing the function. The Trust records its appreciation and gratitude to each and everyone of them.

पुराणम्

(भाग:-२५; अङ्क:-२)

PURĀNA

(Vol. XXV. 2)

संस्कृत-खण्डः

पुणः

(१-२३ : १९-२०)

संस्कृतविद्वांसोऽभ्यर्थन्ते यत्ते पुराणपत्रिकायां प्रकाशनार्थम्
(१) पुराणगत-दर्शनशास्त्र-धर्मशास्त्रविषयपरान् लेखान् (२)
पुराणोक्त-दुरुहार्थकास्पष्टार्थकवचोव्याख्यापरान् लेखांश्च प्रेषयेयु-
रिति ।

:३३३-५५५३

आङ्गलभाषानिबद्धानां लेखानां संक्षेपाः

चित्रसूत्रं तस्य रचनाकालश्च

THE CITRASŪTRA AND ITS DATE

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

प्राचीने भारते विनोदस्थानेषु चित्ररचनम् (चित्रकर्म) अपि गणितम् । कामसूत्रादिषु कर्मणोऽस्योल्लेखो दृश्यते । चित्रकारादीनां शिल्पिनां संरक्षणं राज्ञा करणीयमिति अर्थशास्त्रादिषूक्तम् । निबन्धेऽस्मिन् चित्रकर्माधिकृत्य किमपि विचार्यते ।

चित्रकर्माधिकृत्य प्रमाणभूता ग्रन्थाः प्रणीता इति निश्चप्रचम् । इमे ग्रन्था लुप्ता जाता इति प्रतीयते । विष्णुपुराणशभूते विष्णुधर्मोत्तरसंज्ञके पुराणे चित्रसूत्रनामकं किमपि प्रकरणं (३१३५-४३ अ०) दृश्यते । चित्रसूत्रमिदं पञ्चाशद्वर्षेभ्यः प्राक् स्टेला क्रमरिश-महोदयया अनूदितं प्रकाशितं च । चित्रकर्मविषयका गुणदोषरसादयः सर्वे पदार्था अत्र विशेषेण प्रतिपादिताः ।

चित्रसूत्रसंज्ञकमिदं प्रकरणं पूर्वसूरिभिर्ज्ञातं न वा, को वास्य रचनाकाल इत्यत्र विचार्यते । यतोऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे चित्रकर्म विशेषतो वर्णितम्, अतो नेदमविज्ञातमभविष्यच्च शिल्परसज्ञैः प्राचीनैः । दामोदरगुप्तकृते कुट्टनीमतग्रन्थे चित्रसूत्रस्य य उल्लेखो वर्तते ('भरतविशाखिलदत्तिलवृक्षायुर्वेदचित्रसूत्रेषु') स इदमेव पुराणगतं प्रकरणं लक्षयतीति विज्ञेयम्, यतश्चित्रसूत्रसंज्ञकं नान्यत् किमपि पुस्तकम् विज्ञायते । अष्टमशताब्दीभवः खलु दामोदरगुप्तः ।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनं स्मृतं शंकराचार्येण विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रभाष्ये । शंकरः खलु अष्टमशताब्दीभवः, अत एतस्मात् कालात् प्राचीनं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणमिति सिद्धमेव । त्रयोदशशताब्दीभवेन हेमाद्रिणा, एकादशशताब्दीभवेन अलवीरिणिना चेदं पुराणं स्मृतमित्यतो गम्यते यदिदं पुराणं सुप्रसिद्धमासीदिति । तेलुगुभाषामये कस्मिंश्चित् काव्ये अष्टमशताब्दीतोऽपि प्राचीने काले विरचिते विष्णुधर्मोत्तरीय-चित्रसूत्रगताः केचन पारिभाषिकाः शब्दाः स्मृता इत्यतोऽपि चित्रसूत्रप्रकरणस्य प्राचीनता सिद्धा ।

चित्रसूत्रसंपादिकाभ्यां स्टेलाक्रमरिश-प्रियबालाशाह-नामिकाभ्यां नाट्यशास्त्र-संपादकेन मनोमोहनघोषेण च यदुक्तं ततः प्रतीयते यत् ख्रीष्टपूर्वप्रथमशताब्दीतोऽर्वाचीनं खलु विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम्, यद्यपि नेदं चतुर्थशताब्दीपरभवं भवितुमर्हति ।

पुराणस्यास्य ऊर्ध्वसीमाविषये बहु विचारितं शाहमहोदयया (उदीच्यवेशा-दिशब्दप्रयोगाधारेण) । सिद्धान्तितं च यदिदं तृतीयशताब्दीतः प्राचीनं भवितुं नार्हति । पुराणमिदं चतुर्थशताब्द्यामेव रचितमिति संभाव्यते—इति प्रियबाला-शाहमहोदया वक्ति ।

चित्रसूत्रप्रकरणे सन्ति बहव एवविधा निर्देशाः (ब्रह्म-इन्द्र-नारायण-सूर्य-विष्णु-वराह-गरुड-शिव-धर्म-ग्रहादिमूर्तिविषयकाः) ये इममेव रचनाकालं स्फुटं लक्षयन्ति-इति विस्तरेण बहुभिरुदाहरणैर्लेखकेन प्रतिपादितम् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-गतस्य चित्रसूत्रस्य प्राचीनता चित्रलक्षणेति बौद्धग्रन्थविशेषतोऽपि सिद्धयति (ग्रन्थोऽयमिदानीम् आङ्गलभाषानुवादेन सह प्रकाशितः) ।

एतद्ग्रन्थद्वयगतं यत् सादृश्यं (शब्दप्रयोगे वस्तुस्वरूपविषये च) तेनेदं विज्ञायते यच्च चित्रलक्षणमिदं चित्रसूत्राधारेण प्रणीतम् । चित्रलक्षणमिदं दशमशताब्दी-भवेन भट्टोत्पलेन बृहत्संहिताटीकाकारेण स्मृतम् । अनेनापि चित्रसूत्रप्रकरणस्य प्राचीनता सुप्रसिद्धा भवति ।

भागवतपुराणम् : अद्वैतमतानुसारि सांख्यम्

THE BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA : SĀMĀKHYA AT THE SERVICE OF NON-DUALISM

DANIEL P. SHERIDAN

भागवतसंज्ञकं पुराणं दक्षिणभारते नवमशताब्द्यां प्रणीतम्; नैकवैष्णव-संप्रदायप्रमाणभूतमिदम् । भागवतीयं सांख्यमतं स्वेन रूपेणैव विचारमर्हति, न तु सांख्यसंप्रदायीयव्याख्यानग्रन्थाधारेण ।

वैदान्तिकाद्वैतवाद-वैष्णवभक्तिवादयोः समाहारो भागवते दृश्यते । नेदं पुराणं शांकर-केवलाद्वैत-(निर्विशेषाद्वैत) मतेन प्रभावितं यत् इदं जीवजगतोः सत्यताम्, ब्रह्मणः सर्वव्यापितां सर्वाश्रयभूततां चाभ्युपैति । ब्रह्म खलु स्वमायया जगत्सर्जकमिति प्रतिपादितमत्र ।

भागवतं स्वदृष्ट्या सांख्यमतमित्थं वर्णयति—एकं ब्रह्म पुरुषाख्यं जगत्-सर्जकम्; एतस्मात् प्रकृतिर्जायते, प्रकृतिश्च तत्त्वानि; अस्य पुरुषस्यैव विशिष्टं रूपं जीवाख्यम् इति । भागवते सत्कार्यवादोऽभ्युपगतः, ब्रह्मणः सर्वकारणतापि । अनेनैव रूपेण भागवतीयाद्वैतदृष्टिः सांख्यमतं प्रतिपादयतीति विज्ञेयम् ।

भागवते द्विविधा भक्तिरुक्ता; सा च योगेन ज्ञानेन चानुविद्धा । ब्रह्म यथा सर्वव्यापि तथा सर्वातिशायि—इति व्यक्तं वर्णितं भागवते ।

भागवतीयमद्वैततत्त्ववर्णनं यथा औपनिषदशब्दप्रचुरं तथा सांख्यीयशब्द-बहुलं च । न खलु भागवती दृष्टिः सर्वत्र सुबोधेति केचन । दशमस्य आश्रित-लक्षणस्य प्रतिपादनाय भागवतं विशेषतो विरचितमिति भागवत एवोक्तम् । ब्रह्म भगवान् वाश्रयभूतः ।

एकं सदभूतं वस्तु अस्ति—इत्येव भागवतीयमद्वैतदर्शनम् । सर्वं च तद-न्तर्गतम् । आदौ तदेव आसीत्, अन्ते च तदेव स्थास्यति । एतत् परमार्थतत्त्वं विहाय सर्वमनित्यम्—इत्यनेन भागवतमतेन सिद्धयति ।

तृतीये स्कन्धे विदुरमैत्रेयसंवादे सृष्टिरुपवर्णिता । ईश्वरस्य शक्तिरेव बहुत्वबीजमित्यत्रोक्तम् । षष्ठे स्कन्धे ईश्वरेण दक्षाय स्वीयं रूपं प्रकटीकृतम्; एकमेव सदभूतं वस्तु सृष्टेः प्रागवर्ततेति कथितमत्र । तच्च संज्ञानरूपम् । इदम् अद्वैतम् (अद्वयं वा) वस्तु एव बहु भवतीति व्यक्तं प्रोक्तम् ।

अद्वैतस्य नेदं तात्पर्यं यद् बहुत्वं सर्वथा नास्तीति । अतएवाद्वैतं वस्तु सर्वगमिति भागवते प्रोच्यते । विस्तरेण मतमिदं प्रपञ्चितं तृतीये स्कन्धे । यतोऽद्वैतं वस्तु सर्ववस्तुबीजमतः सर्वमिदं न सनातनम्, उत्पत्तिलयवत्त्वात् । सेयमद्वैतदृष्टिः त्रिधा भिद्यते—भावाद्वैत-क्रियाद्वैत-द्रव्याद्वैतरूपेणेति युधिष्ठिरायोक्तं नारदेन सप्तमे स्कन्धे ।

ज्ञानरूपमिदद्वैतं तत्त्वमिति भागवतं प्रतिपादयति । (परमार्थतश्च ज्ञातृ-ज्ञानयोरभेदः); तच्च ब्रह्मपदवाच्यं भगवत्पदवाच्यं च । द्वितीये स्कन्धे अद्वैततत्त्वस्य स्वरूपं स्फुटं वर्णितम् । निर्गुणमरूपमपोदं तत्त्वं स्व-शक्त्या बहुनि रूपाणि ग्रहीतुं शक्नोति; सत्त्वादयो गुणा अस्य परमार्थतत्त्वस्य शक्तिरूपाः । भागवतीयं प्रथमं पद्यं जगदादि-वस्तु-स्वरूपं यथा निर्वर्त्ति, तथैव भागवताद्वैतमतस्वरूपं विज्ञेयम् ।

भागवताद्वैतवादो न खलु शंकराचार्यप्रतिपादितो निर्विशेषाद्वैतवादः, अभेदवादो वा । न खलु भागवतीया दृष्टिर्वस्तुजीवबहुत्वविरोधिनी ।

भागवते औपनिषदाः सांख्यीयाः शब्दाश्च बहुलं प्रयुक्ताः । अद्वैतदृष्टिरेव सांख्यवेदान्तयोर्मुख्या । अर्वाचीने काले सांख्यं द्वैतदृष्टिपरकमनीश्वरवादि च संजातम् । वैष्णवे पुराणे, विशेषतश्च भागवते सेश्वरसांख्यस्वरूपं प्रपञ्चितम्, तच्चाद्वैतवेदान्तानुरूपम् । भागवते भगवदवताररूपेण कपिलः स्तुतः, तृतीये स्कन्धे सांख्यमतमुपदिदेश कपिलो मात्रे, एकादशे स्कन्धे च कृष्ण उद्धवाय ।

सांख्ये सृष्टिविवरणमन्तःकरणकार्यविवरणं च विवृतम् । सर्वमिदं वस्तुजातम् एकस्मात् तत्त्वाद् गुणरूपात् संजातं मिति चोक्तमत्र । तदेकं तत्त्वं ब्रह्मैवेति

भागवतमाह सांख्यमतविवरणप्रसङ्गे; ब्रह्म खलु भगवानित्यप्युच्यते । कालकर्म-
स्वभावादयः सर्वे पदार्था भगवत एव व्यक्ता भवन्ति । स्वशक्तिरूपायां मायायां
भगवान् स्वेच्छया प्रतिबिम्बितः सन् मायावशो भवतीति भागवतीया दृष्टिः । नेयं
दृष्टिः सांख्यपरम्परायामुपलभ्यते ।

यद्यपि भागवतीये सांख्यमते सांख्यपरम्परास्वीकृते सांख्यमते च भूयः
सादृश्यं लक्ष्यते, तथापि सन्ति उभयोः कानिचन परस्परविरुद्धानि मतानि ।
सांख्यशास्त्रीयस्य महत्तत्त्वस्य यत् स्वरूपकार्यादिकं न तत् सर्वथा भागवतकारेणा-
भ्युपगतमिति व्यक्तं प्रतीयते । अहंकारादिविकारविषयेऽपि भागवतीयं मतं न
सर्वत्र सांख्यशास्त्रमतानुसारि ।

सांख्यशास्त्रस्य अवान्तराः शाखा आसन्निति एकादशस्कन्धतो विज्ञायते ।
परस्परभिन्नानि सर्वाणि मतानि दृष्टिभेदेन आदरणीयानि—इति खलु भागवत-
कारस्य महती प्रतिज्ञा । प्रतिज्ञेयं सत्कार्यवाददृष्ट्या सूत्रपादा भवतीति विज्ञेयम् ।
गुणातीत एकः पुरुषः परमात्मनामकः प्रकृतिकारणभूतो भागवतीये सांख्ये ऽभ्युप-
गम्यते, न पुनः सांख्यशास्त्रे । भगवदभिन्नः कालः, जीवश्च परमात्मनः प्रतिबिम्ब-
भूतः, कैवल्यं भगवदाश्रयकम्—इत्येवंविधा भागवतदृष्टिर्न सांख्यशास्त्रीया ।
भागवतीये सांख्ये भक्तिरूपं साधनं प्रामुख्यं भजते, नेयं दृष्टिः सांख्यशास्त्र
उपलभ्यत इति ।

कुब्जा-कृष्ण-समागमस्य न्याय्यता

THE JUSTIFICATION OF KRISHN'S AFFAIR
WITH THE HUNCH-BACKED WOMAN

DR. NOEL SETH

कंसं निहन्तुं मथुरामागतः कृष्णः पथि त्रिवक्रानामिकां काञ्चित् कुब्जां
रमणीं ददर्श, या कंसनृपतेर्दासी (अङ्गविलेपनादिकर्मसु नियुक्ता) आसीत् ।
याच्यमाना सानुलेपनादिकं दत्तवती, कृष्णश्च तां कुब्जामृञ्जीं कृतवान् । मद्गृहे
त्वयाऽऽगन्तव्यमिति कुब्जया प्रार्थितः कृष्णस्तद्गृहं रात्रौ गतवान्—इति केषुचित्
पुराणेषु स्पष्टमुक्तम् । कुब्जया सह कृष्णस्य यद् रमणं तन्निर्दोषम्—इति वैष्णवा-
चार्यैर्यथा प्रादर्शित, तथात्र प्रदर्श्यते ।

कुब्जा स्वेच्छया कृष्णं चकमे—इति भागवत उक्तम् । कृष्ण एव पथि
गच्छन्ती तामाकृष्टवानिति पुराणान्तर उक्तम् । सकामां कुब्जाम् अनादृत्य कृष्णः
स्वगृहं गतवानिति हरिवंशे दृश्यते । तव गृहम् आयास्यामि—इत्युक्तं कृष्णेन
कुब्जां प्रति—इति कथ्यते वैष्णवे, ब्राह्मे पुराणे च; यद्यपि कृष्णो न तद्गृहं

गतवानिति पुराणयोरनयोर्दृश्यते । भागवतं तु 'उद्धवेन सह कृष्णः कुब्जागृहं गतवान्' इत्याह । यद्यपि कृष्णो नामन्वितः कुब्जया, तथापि स एकलस्तद्गृहं गतवान् रात्रौ-इति ब्रह्मवैवर्ते पठ्यते । भागवतब्रह्मवैवर्तानुसारेण कृष्णः कुब्जां प्रति सकामो जातः, कुब्जा च कृष्णं प्रति । ब्रह्मवैवर्ते च कृष्णकुब्जारमणं स्फुटमुपवर्णितम् । कृष्णं प्रति कुब्जाया योज्जुरागः स न गोप्यनुराग इव दिव्यभाव-मय इति भागवतवर्णनात् व्यक्तं प्रतीयते । भागवते कुब्जा दुर्भगेत्युक्ता, यतः सा कृष्णतः शारीरं प्रेमैव काङ्क्षितवती । एवंविधया कुब्जया सह संबन्धात् कृष्णस्य चरितं कलुषितं जातं नवेति जायते विचारणा ।

हरिवंश-विष्णु-ब्रह्मपुराणेषु यादृशी कुब्जाकथा प्रोक्ता, तत्र कृष्णचरितं न सदोषमतः कृष्णदोषापाकरणाय कोऽपि प्रयासो नैतत्पुराणकारैर्विहितः । ब्रह्म-वैवर्त-भागवतादिषु यादृशी कथा विद्यते, तत्र कृष्णचरितं सदोषं भवति, अतः प्रयासो विधेय इति विज्ञायते । कुब्जां प्रति कृष्णो न सकामो जात इति विष्णु-ब्रह्म-पुराणाभ्यामुक्तम्; अतएव स न कुब्जागृहं गतवानितीमे पुराणे कथयतः ।

ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे पुनः कृष्णदोषक्षालनाय युक्तिरुद्भाविता । कुब्जा पूर्व-जन्मनि शूर्पणखासोत्—इत्येवविधा काचित् कथा कल्पिता, अतः कृष्णेन सह तस्या रमणं न सदोषमिति उद्घोषितम् । अतएव कुब्जात्र लक्ष्मीतिसंज्ञयाऽभि-हिता । कृष्णेन लौकिकी रीति रत्रास्थिता—इत्युक्तं भागवते (कृष्णकुब्जासमागम-प्रसंगे), येन कृष्णचरितं निष्कलङ्कं स्यात् । भागवते नान्यत् किमपि विशिष्टं कारणं प्रदत्त मिति विज्ञेयम् ।

भागवतटीकाकारैः कृष्णदोषक्षालनाय बहुधा प्रयतितम् । कैश्चिदुक्तं यद् यतः कृष्णोऽच्युतः, अतः स न कामवशागो भवितुमर्हति । अकाम्यपि कृष्णः प्रेमरसप्रदानाय कुब्जया सह संगतः—इति न दोषलेशः कृष्णे । अन्यैरुक्तम्—तत्त्वतः त्रिवक्रा (कुब्जा) कृष्णस्य पत्नी एव (सत्यभामांशरूपा), अतस्तया सह कृष्णस्य रमणं न दोषावहम् । लक्ष्म्यंशभूता कुब्जेत्यपरे । हरिं स्वपतिरूपेण लब्धुं काचिद् रमणो तपश्चचार पूर्वजन्मनि, सैव कुब्जारूपेण जातेत्यतः कुब्जया सह हरिरूपस्य कृष्णस्य रमणं न दोषसंकुलमित्यपरे । सर्वात्मनस्तस्य कृष्णस्य सर्वाश्चेष्टा जोवानां हितायैव, अतः कुब्जां प्रति यत् कर्म कृतं कृष्णेन तत् तस्या हितायैवेति केचनाहुः । एते कथयन्ति—कुब्जां प्रति कृष्णस्यैवोऽनुग्रह एव यत् तस्या काम स्तेन पूरित इति ।

हरिवंशादिषु कुब्जाकृष्णप्रसंगे यदुक्तं तत्र न किमपि नीतिविरुद्धं दृश्यते; ब्रह्मवैवर्तादिषु पुनर्यदुक्तं तत्र लोकविर्गाहितता स्फुटैव । अतः प्रतीयते अस्याः कथाया द्विविधं रूपं प्रचलितमासीत् पुरा; एकं रूपं प्राचीनेषु हरिवंशादिषु दर्शितमपरं त्वर्वाचीनेषु ब्रह्मवैवर्तादिष्विति ।

देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थे किमपि चित्ताकषि पाठान्तरम्

AN INTERESTING VARIANT IN THE DEVIMĀHĀTMYA

J. N. TEWARI

यद्यपि देवीमाहात्म्यनामधेयो ग्रन्थो वस्तुतः स्वतन्त्रः, तथापि मार्कण्डेय-पुराणेऽस्यान्तर्भावो दृश्यते । ग्रन्थस्यास्य हस्तलेखाः स्वतन्त्ररूपेणोपलभ्यन्ते; अस्य टोकाश्च बह्व्यः । शाक्तसंप्रदायेऽत्यन्तं संमानितोऽयं चण्डिकादेवीमाहात्म्य-परो ग्रन्थः ।

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् देव्यास्त्रीणि चरितानि वर्णितानि । तृतीयचरिते शुम्भ-निशुम्भ-दैत्ययोर्वधः (देवीकृतः) प्राधान्येन वर्णितः ।

शुम्भवधप्रसंगे अधस्तनौ द्वौ श्लोकौ पठ्येते—

एकैवाहं जगत्यत्र द्वितीया का ममापरा ।

पश्यैता दुष्ट मय्येव विशन्त्यो मद्बिभूतयः ॥

ततः समस्तास्ता देव्यो ब्रह्माणीप्रमुखा लयम् ।

तस्या देव्यास्तनौ जग्मुरेकैवासीत्तदाम्बिका ॥

(१०।५-६)

केषुचित् संस्करणेषु 'देव्यास्तनौ' इत्यत्र 'देव्याः स्तनौ' इति पठ्यते । पाठान्तरमिदं स्पष्ट मुक्तं भास्कररायेण गुप्तवतीटोकायाम् ('स्तनौ इति च्छेदे तु प्राप्येति शेषः') ।

चण्डिकाशरीरत एव बहूनां देवादीनाम् आविर्भावो देवीमाहात्म्ये उक्तः (द्र० ततो देवीशरीरात्तु इति, गौरीदेहसमुद्भवा इति, शरीरेभ्यो विनिष्क्रम्येति), अतः देव्यास्तनौ एव लय इति कथनं न्यायसंगतमेव भवति (यद् यस्माज्जायते तत् तत्रैव लीयते—इति न्यायेन) ।

'देव्याः स्तनौ' इति पाठः शब्दप्रयोगदृष्ट्या न मनोरमः । स्तनौ इति द्वितीयाद्विवचनस्य रूपम्; न खलु गमनक्रियया सह स्तनस्यान्वयः सुष्ठु भवितुमर्हति । अत एव प्राप्येति पदमध्याहार्यमिति भास्कर आह ।

'देव्यास्तनौ' इति पाठस्य द्वौ छेदौ भवितुमर्हतः 'देव्याः तनौ' इति, 'देव्याः स्तनौ' इति च (विसर्गस्य वैकल्पिको लोपो भवति—खरूपरे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्य इति वार्तिकेन) । अतः केनापि देवीभक्तेन मातृमहिमप्रचारकामिना (स्तनशब्देन मातृत्वं स्फुटं व्यज्यत इति कृत्वा) 'स्तनौ' इति च्छेदो विहितः । आस्यां कल्पनायां वङ्गदेशीयदेवीभक्तानां प्रभाव स्फुट एवेति अभ्युपगन्तव्यम् । यद्यपि पाठयोरनयोः पौर्वापर्यं निर्धारयितुं शक्यते तथापि उभयोः समीचीनता समानेति नात्र विप्रतिपत्तिरस्ति ।

दर्शनग्रन्थेष्वनुपलभ्यमानः पुराणोक्तो विषयतन्त्रो गन्धविभागः

A PURĀNIC OBJECTIVE DIVISION OF SMELL (GANDHA)
NOT FOUND IN THE WORKS ON PHILOSOPHY.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

घ्राणग्राहो गन्धो द्विविधः सुरभिरसुरभिश्चेति नैयायिकाः (न्यायवैशेषिक-शास्त्रविदः) । सुरभिः प्रीतिजनकः शुचिकारको वा; असुरभिरप्रीतिजनको मन-श्चाञ्चल्यकारको वेति । गन्धविभागोयं मनस्तन्त्रो न विषयतन्त्र इति व्यक्तमेव । यतः शब्द-स्पर्श-रूप-रसानां विभागा विषयतन्त्रा दृश्यन्ते न्यायशास्त्रे, अतो गन्ध-स्याप्येतादृशेनैव विभागेन भवितव्यमिति । न पुनः स दृश्यते प्रचलितेषु न्याय-वैशेषिकग्रन्थेषु ।

हर्षस्थानमिदं यन्महाभारते (शान्तिपर्वणि) नारदीयपुराणे च गन्धस्य नव भेदा उपदर्शिताः—इष्टश्चानिष्टगन्धश्चेत्यादिभिः श्लोकैः । इमे भेदा वस्तुतन्त्राः, न मनस्तन्त्रा इति स्पष्टमेव । श्लोकेष्वेषु यौ इष्टानिष्टशब्दौ, न तौ सुरभि-असुरभि-वाचकौ भवितुमर्हतः, यत एवं सत्यन्येषां गन्धभेदानाम् उल्लेखोऽनर्थकः स्यात् ।

अश्वमेधपर्वण्यपि गन्धस्य दश भेदा उक्ताः । विभागोऽयं पूर्वविभागेन सदृश एव, अम्लनामको भेदः खल्वत्र आधिक्येनोक्तः ।

वस्तुतन्त्र-गन्धभेदस्य न्यायवैशेषिकग्रन्थेषु यद् अकथनं तत् सहेतुकम् । यथा रूपभेदाः शब्दभेदा वा रूपिद्रव्यं शब्दाश्रयद्रव्यं विहाय स्वातन्त्र्येण चिन्तयितुं शक्यन्ते, न तथा गन्धभेदाः । गन्धाश्रयद्रव्याणि खल्वस्मृत्वा न गन्धभेदाश्चिन्तयितुं शक्यन्ते । इदानीन्तना मनोवैज्ञानिका अपि मतमिदमुररी कुर्वन्ति ।

यतो वस्तुतन्त्रो गन्धविभागो न सुकरः, अतः स विभागो नार्वाचीनैर् नैयायिकैः समाश्रितः, वस्त्वाश्रयेण गन्धविभागश्च कृतः । वस्तु द्विधा; शुचि अशुचि च; मेध्यम् अमेध्यं च; अतो गन्धोऽपि द्विविधः—सुरभिः, असुरभिश्चेत्येवं लोकोपयोगी कश्चिद् विभागो नैयायिकैश्चिन्तितः । विभागोऽयं धर्मशास्त्रमवलम्ब्य प्रवर्तित इति न संशयलेशोऽपि ।

बाह्यदृष्ट्या वस्तुविश्लेषणकारिभिर्नैयायिकैर्वस्तुतन्त्रो गन्धभेदो न चिन्तित इति न संभाव्यते । इदं प्रतीयते यत् प्राचीनतरे काले गन्धस्य वस्तुतन्त्रो विभाग आसीत्; स विभाग एव पुराणकारैः पुराणेषु दर्शितः । पुराणदर्शितो विभागः सर्वथा प्राचीनमतानुसारी एव—इति सहसा न कथयितुं शक्यते । यतः पुराणकारा

जनसाधारणानां कृते शास्त्रसिद्धान्तान् प्रतिपादयन्ति, अतः पुराणोक्तशास्त्रीयमत-प्रदर्शनं न सर्वथा शुद्धं भवतीति अस्माकं मतम् ।

इदमपि संभाव्यते यत् पूर्वोक्तो नवविधो भेदः प्रायेण इष्टादिशब्देन स्मृतोऽ-भूत् पूर्वाचार्यैः । इष्टादिशब्देन 'इष्टानिष्टौ' ग्राह्यौ—इति भ्रान्तिः संजाता पर-वर्तिनि काले । ततश्च इष्टानिष्टरूपौ द्वौ भेदौ गन्धस्य स्वीकृतौ; तौ च सुरभि-असुरभि-शब्दाभ्याम् अभिहितौ ।

गन्धस्य नव भेदाः शारीरविद्याविद्या जोआरडिमेकर-नाम्ना पाश्चात्य-विदुषा उक्ताः । नेमे भेदाः सर्वथा पुराणोक्तभेदानुसारिणः । पौराणिक-वैज्ञानिक-चिन्तितयोगर्न्धविभागयोर्युक्तायुक्तत्वविषये नवीनैर्विद्वद्भिर्विचारणा कार्येति ।

पुराणानां रचना प्रसारणं वाचनं च

COMPOSITION, TRANSMISSION AND RECITATION OF THE PURĀṆAS

GEORGIO BONAZZOLI

यद्यपि पुराणान्यष्टादशेति प्रोच्यते तथापि शाखाभेदेन तान्यसंख्यानीवेति प्रतीयते । प्रतिपुराणीयाः शाखाः क्वचिद् अत्यन्तं विलक्षणा दृश्यन्ते । प्रत्येकं पुराणेषु ये पाठभेदास्तान् दृष्ट्वेदं प्रतीयते यत् पुराणानां समीक्षात्मक-संस्करण-प्रणयनम् अत्यन्तमसंभवोति ।

पुराणसंपादनकर्मणो दुरूहता कीदृशीति गरुडपुराणमधिकृत्येह प्रदर्शयते । पुराणमिदं सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासे संपाद्यत इदानीम् । प्रायेण खण्डद्वययुतमिदं पुराणमुपलभ्यते (खण्डयोर्नामनी संस्करणभेदेन भिद्येते इति विज्ञेयम्) यद्यपि वेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्करणे पुराणस्यास्य त्रीणि काण्डानि दृश्यन्ते । ब्रह्मकाण्डनामकं यत् तृतीयं काण्डं तद् हस्तलेखेषु क्वचिदेवोपलभ्यते । द्वितीयं काण्डं खलु प्रेतकल्प-नामकं (उत्तरखण्ड-नामकं सारोद्धारनामकं वा) सुप्रचलितम् । इदं काण्डमेव प्रायेण गरुडपुराणनाम्ना प्रसिद्ध मिति दृश्यते । गरुडपुराणीयस्य प्रथमखण्डस्य (आचारखण्डनामकस्य) कश्चिदपि हस्तलेखो न दक्षिणभारतलिपिलिखितो लभ्यते—इदमपि ज्ञापयति यद् प्रेतकल्प एव गरुडपुराणत्वेनाभ्युपगतो दक्षिणे भारते ।

प्रेतकल्पोऽयं शाखाभेदेन भिन्नः । अध्यायानां संख्या शाखाभेदेन भिद्यत इति दृश्यते । षोडशाध्याययुतः प्रेतकल्पसारोद्धारोऽपि लभ्यते नौनिधिरामशर्म-

कृतः । एभिर्न्यैश्च प्रमाणैर्गम्यते यद् गरुडपुराणांशरूपेण स्वीकृताः केचन खण्डा वस्तुतो गरुडपुराणीया इति नाभ्युपगन्तुं शक्यते । एकमेव गरुडपुराणं यथाकालं बहुधा भिन्नं जातम्, यद् वा स्वतन्त्राः खण्डा एव संहताः सन्तो गरुडपुराणानाम्ना प्रसिद्धिं गताः—इत्यस्य निर्धारणं आवश्यकम् । निर्धारणमिदं न सुशकम् । सन्ति प्राचीनपुराणाधारेण विरचितानि नवीनानि पुराणानि, प्राचीनतराणि पुराणानि च । एतानि च बहुभिर्हृदीरितानि बहुधा । इदं प्रतीयते यद् निबन्धग्रन्थरचनात् प्रागेव पुराणस्वरूपं सुसंहतं जातम् प्रायेण । कैरुपायैः पुराणानि लिखितानि वाचितानि चेत्यत्र पुराणत एव बहूनि तथ्यानि प्राप्यन्ते । उक्तं पुराणे—व्यासः काञ्चित् पुराणसंहितां प्रणीतवान्; अपाठयच्च तां नूतनवस्तुसंयोजनं कृत्वा कालान्तरे शिष्यान् इति । प्राधान्येन पुराणानां वाचनमेवाभूत्, कस्माच्चित् पुराणवाचकाश्च श्रुत्वा अपरेऽपि पुराणवाचका बभूवुः । सूतादिभिः पुराणानि जनेभ्यः श्रावितानीति यत् कथनमुपलभ्यते, ततो गम्यते यत् पुराणं खलु मुख्यतया वाचनाधारेण गौणतया लिखितग्रन्थरूपेण प्रवर्तितम् । स्व-स्वरूपविषये किं कथयन्ति पुराणानि इत्यत्र प्रदर्श्यते ।

इदानीं प्रचलितानि पुराणानि ग्रन्थरूपाण्येव । पुराणानां यदिदं लिखित-ग्रन्थरूपत्वं तत् पुराणप्रयुक्तैः पठधातुघटित-प्रयोगैर्गम्यते (पुराणं पठन्, पपाठ, पठेत् इत्येवंजातीयकेषु वाक्येषु) । उच्चारणं पठनं वा स्वतो भवितुमर्हति, ग्रन्थाधारेण वा । स्तोत्रादानां पाठः लिखितग्रन्थं विनापि कर्तुं शक्यते, कृत्स्नग्रन्थस्य पाठस्तु ग्रन्थं विना दुःशकमेव । अतो लिखितग्रन्थरूपेण पुराणानि आसन्नेवेति निश्चप्रचम् । 'पुराणं ग्रथितम्' इत्येवमादिभिर्वाक्यैरपि ग्रन्थरूपिपुराणानां सत्ताऽनुमीयते । ग्रन्थरूपिपुराणविशेष-रचयितुर्नामापि क्वचिदुक्तम् । पुराणप्रतिलिपिकरणपराः, पुराणहस्तलेखप्रदर्शनपराः, पुराणलेखकस्वरूपनिर्धारकाश्च केचन श्लोकाः पुराणेषूपलभ्यन्ते—अतो ग्रन्थरूपि-पुराणानां सत्ताऽनपलपनीया । ये ये नवीना विषयाः पुराणवाचकैरुपादेयत्वेन चिन्तिताः, ते ते यथाकालं पुराणग्रन्थे संयोजिता इति विज्ञायते । यदा लिखितरूपेण पुराणानि नासन् तदा नवीन-विषयाणां संयोजनमत्यन्तं सुकरमासीत् । एकस्यैव पुराणपठितश्लोकस्य संस्करण-भेदेन यत् स्वल्पं पाठवैलक्षण्यं दृश्यते, तत् पुराणवाचनरीतिभेदहेतुकम् इत्यत्र न संशयलेशोऽपि । पुराणविशेषांशत्वेन स्वीकृताः केचन माहात्म्यादिपरका ग्रन्था न तस्य पुराणस्य कस्मिन्नपि संस्करणे दृश्यन्ते । पुराणवाचनपरम्परायाम् इमे अंशा आसन्, नेमे ग्रन्थरूपे पुराणे लेखकैः संगृहीताः । पुराणविशेषशाखान्तरे एषामंशानां सत्ता भवितुमर्हति । पुराणं पुरा वाचिकपरम्परायामेव स्थितमिति पुराणवचनेभ्य एव विज्ञायते ।

'पुराणे मया श्रुतम्' 'पुराणेषु गीयते' 'पुराणज्ञा गायन्ति' इत्येवंविधानि वाक्यानि पुराणेषु दृश्यन्ते । प्रचलितपुराणकर्तृभिः प्राचीनतराणि पुराणानि

विज्ञातान्यासन्—इत्येतद्वचनेभ्यः प्रतीयते । पुराणकाराः पुराणबहिर्भूतशास्त्रेभ्योऽपि कथादीनि वस्तूनि जगृहुरिति विज्ञायते—‘पौराणिका इमं श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति’ इत्येतादृशानि वचांस्यत्र द्रष्टव्यानि ।

पुराणशैल्या नवीना ग्रन्था अपि अर्वाचीने काले विरचिताः-तपोवनस्वामि-कृतः श्रीगङ्गोत्तरीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यनामधेयो ग्रन्थोऽयं नितरां पुराणसादृश्यं भजत इति प्रत्यक्षतो दृश्यते । एवंविधाः स्वतन्त्राः केचन ग्रन्थाः पुराणकारैः पुराणेष्वन्तर्भाविता यथाकालमित्यत्र न कश्चित् संशयः ।

यतः पुराणेषु बहूनि प्रकरणानि समानानि (सदृशशब्दयुतानि), अतो गम्यते यन् मूलभूतं प्राचीनतमं पुराणम् आश्रित्य नवीनविषयसंयोजनेन अर्वाकाले पुराणानि प्रणीतानि, त्यक्ताश्च केचन प्राक्तना विषयाः । इदं संयोजनं वियोजनं च प्रतिपुराणशाखं भिद्यते । यतः पुराणे स्वतन्त्रप्रकरणानां संग्रहो विहितः, अतः संहितेति शब्दः पुराणनाम्ना सह प्रयुक्तः ।

पुराणस्य वाचनं पठनं चाधिकृत्य किञ्चिदुच्यते । पुराणवाचनं न वाचकः स्वस्मै करोति, प्रत्युत बहुजनान् श्रावयितुम् । यतः परार्थं पुराणान्युदीर्यन्ते, अतः पुराणवाचनविधिपराणि वचनानि दृश्यन्ते पुराणेषु । पुराणश्रवणविषयका विधयश्च दानादिविधिभिः सह कथ्यन्ते पुराणेष्वेव । एतेन ज्ञायते पुराणवाचनं धर्मकृत्यरूपेणाङ्गीकृतम् । नेमे वाचनश्रवणविधयोऽर्वाचीनाः । यतो धार्मिकसंप्रदायैः पुराणवाचनव्यवस्था क्रियते स्म, अतो गम्यते पुराणानि सांप्रदायिकैराचार्यैरपि उपबृंहितानि ।

पुराणज्ञ-पौराणिक-व्यास-पुराणव्याख्यात्रादि-शब्दाः पुराणे प्रयुक्ता दृश्यन्ते । इमे शब्दाः साभिप्रायाः । एषु व्यास-पुराणव्याख्यातृशब्दौ विशेषेण विचारार्हौ । ब्राह्मणादीन् प्रति पुराणार्थं व्याचिख्यासुर्व्यासः (पुराणवाचकः) व्यासपीठस्थः सन् पुराणव्याख्यां विदधातीति व्यवहारः प्रसिद्धः । यथाविधि पुराणं श्रावयिता पुराणपाठकः खलु पुराणव्याख्यातृ-व्यासाद् भिन्नः । एभिः पुराणव्याख्याकारैर्व्यासैरेव प्रामुख्येन पुराणानि यथाकालं सुपबृंहितानि बहुधा तीर्थमाहात्म्यादीनां संयोजनं कृत्वा । उपबृंहणरीति रियं पुराण एव दर्शिता स्फुटम् ।

प्राचीनतरपुराणानामुपबृंहणं कृत्वा यैरुपायैः प्रचलितानि पुराणानि प्रणीतानि तेषामुपायानां कृत्स्नशो ज्ञानमसंभवि । पुराणानां समीक्षात्मक-संस्करणं कुर्वता सपादकेन इदमवश्यं विज्ञेयं किं प्रकरणं कस्माद् हेतोः कस्मिन् काले किं रूपेण संयोजितमिति ।

मघवंशविषयकाणि पुराण-शिलालेख-दर्शितानि कानिचन मतानि

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PURĀNIC AND
EPIGRAPHIC DATA RELATING TO THE
MAGHA DYNASTY

ANAMIKA ROY

पुराणगतवंशानुचरित-प्रकरणे मेघेति नामधेयस्य कस्यचिद् राजवंशस्यो-
ल्लेखो दृश्यते; क्वचिदिदं नाम मेघेति, मेघातिथितिरूपेण वा पठ्यते, यद्यपि
मेघेति पाठ एव बाहुल्येन दृश्यते । वंशेऽस्मिन् नव राजानो भविष्यन्तीति पुराणे
उक्तम् । कोसला एषां राज्यम् । ख्रीष्टीयतृतीयशताब्दी खल्वेषां राज्यकाल इति
पर्जिटर महोदय आह । अस्य राजवंशस्य नामादिविषयकं यत् पौराणिककथनं
तत् शिलालेखसाक्ष्येण मुद्रासाक्ष्येण च समर्थितं भवति न केत्यत्र विचार्यते ।

शिलालेखेषु मुद्रासु च यत् मघेति राजवंश-विशेषस्य नाम दृश्यते तेन
सह मेघेतिपुराणपठितस्य नाम्नोऽत्यन्तं सादृश्यमस्ति । पुराणभिन्नेषु शिलालेखा-
दिषु मघेतिशब्दस्य प्रयोगबाहुल्यं दृष्ट्वा केचन कथयन्ति यद् वंशस्यास्य प्रवर्तको
मघनामा कश्चिद् भवेत् । मघेतिशब्दो मेघेतिरूपेण कथं पुराणेषु प्रयुक्त इति जायते
विचारणा । किमयं पाठभेदो लिपिविशेषहेतुकः ? (अर्थात् मे-म-अक्षरयोरस्ति
अत्यन्तं सादृश्यं कयोश्चित् लिपिविशेषयोः, ततश्च लिपिकरैर्भ्रान्त्या मघेति स्थले
मेवेति लिखितम्) । पौराणिकं वंशविवरणमादौ खरोष्ठीलिप्यां लिखितमासीदिति
पर्जिटरमहोदयो बभाषे । परन्तु प्रत्यक्षत इदं दृश्यते यत् खरोष्ठी-लिप्या लिखिते
मघेतिशब्दे न मेवेति भ्रमो भवितुमर्हति । ब्राह्मी-लिप्यां तु लिखिते एतादृशो भ्रमो
भवितुमर्हत्येव । (निबन्धे लिपिद्वयप्रदर्शनेन मतमिदं स्फुटं प्रदर्शितम्) ।

शिलालेख-मुद्राधारेणेदं कथयितुं शक्यते यन् मघवंशे नव राजानो बभूवुः-
वासिष्ठीपुत्रभोमसेनप्रमुखाः । मतमिदं पुराणेष्वपि दृश्यते । मघवंशसंबद्धशिला-
लेखैरेषां मघवंशीयानां राज्ञां कालः ख्रीष्टीय-द्वितीय-तृतीयशताब्दीति विज्ञायते ।
एषु शिलालेखेषु वर्षसंख्याया सह ऋतोरपि नाम निर्दिष्टम् । गुप्तवंशीय-शिला-
लेखे पुनः ऋतुस्थले मासनाम्न उल्लेखो दृश्यते । एतद्विषये मिराशी-भण्डार-
कर-महोदयाभ्यां बहु विचारितम् ।

मघवंशसंबद्धेषु शिलालेखेषु बाहुल्येन प्राकृतभाषा प्रयुक्ता । इमे च
गुप्तराज्यकालात् प्राग्भवा इति विज्ञायते । केचनैव शिलालेखाः संस्कृतभाषा-
रचिताः । इमे सर्वे शिलालेखाः कुषाणसंबद्धशिलालेखैः सह सादृश्यं भजन्ते ।
एषु या लिपिः प्रयुक्ता सा गुप्तनृपकालात् प्राग्भवीया ब्राह्मी लिपिः ।

पुराणे मघानां कोसलाधिपत्यमुक्तम् । इदमपि न शिलालेख-मुद्रागतविव-
रणविरुद्धम् । कोसला जनपदः खलु मघनृपैरादौ अधिष्ठितम्, ततश्च तै राज्य-
विस्तारो विहितः । एतेषां राज्यविस्तारमधिकृत्य मिराशी-अलतेकर-राय-
चट्टोपाध्यायै विशदं विचारितम् । मघवंशीयराजशासितस्य देशस्य सीमाविषये
पौराणिकमतेन सह शिलालेख-विज्ञापित-मतस्याविरोध एवेति दृश्यते ।

सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविररणम्

(जनवरी-जून १९८३)

वराहपुराणसम्बन्धि कार्यम्

वराहपुराणस्य समीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य आङ्गलानुवादस्य च प्रकाश-
नान्तरं पुराणस्य हिन्दोभाषानुवाद-प्रकाशनाय न्यासेन प्रयतितम् । ईश्वरानुग्रहेण
प्रयासोऽयं साफल्यमण्डितो जातः । ८।४।८३ दिवसे न्यासीय-रजतजयन्त्युपसंहारभूते
उत्सवे प्रधानमन्त्रीतिपदं विभ्रती श्रीमती इन्दिरागांधी अनुवादग्रन्थस्याय
उद्घाटनं कृतवती । उत्सवेऽस्मिन्निमे समागताः— महामहिम-उत्तरप्रदेश-राज्य-
पालो चन्द्रेश्वरप्रसादनारायणसिंह-महोदयः, उत्तरप्रदेश-मुख्यमन्त्री माननीयः
श्रीपतिमिश्रमहोदयः, भारतशासनशिक्षामन्त्रालयीय-अतिरिक्त-सचिवपद
मलङ्गकुर्वाणा श्रीमतीकपिलावात्स्यायन-महाभागा, सर्वे न्यासधारिणश्च । वराह-
पुराणसंबद्धा इमे ग्रन्था अद्ययावत् प्रकाशिताः—

१. समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणम् ।
२. आङ्गलानुवादसंहितं संस्करणम्
३. हिन्द्यनुवादसंहितं संस्करणम्
४. मूलमात्रसंस्करणम्

वराहपुराणस्य मूलभागस्य प्रकाशनं कृत्वा न्यासः किमपि अभिनवं प्रकाशन-
कर्म आरब्धवान् । वाचनार्थम् अनायासेन व्यवहारार्थं च संस्करणमिदं नितराम्
उपयोगि । अल्पमूल्यवत्त्वात् स्वल्पाकारवत्त्वाच्च संस्कृतपण्डितानाम् अन्येषां
विदुषां च कृते संस्करणमिदम् अतितराम् उपकारि भवेदिति आशास्यते ।

वराहपुराणप्रकाशनयज्ञे सुष्ठु निष्पादिते वयं तेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः विद्वद्भ्यः,
हस्तलेखग्रन्थागारेभ्यः अनुसंधानसंस्थानेभ्यः, अर्थप्रदानकारिम्योऽधिकारिम्यः,
न्याससंबद्धेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यो धन्यवादान् प्रयच्छाम, येऽस्मिन् पावने कर्मणि सहायक-
भूता आसन् ।

गरुडपुराणसम्बन्धि कार्यम्

गरुडपुराणस्य त्रयः खण्डाः । इमे च परस्परम् असंबद्धाः; स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थ-
रूपेणैव चेमे व्यवहरणीयाः । प्रथमखण्डस्य षण्णां देवनागरीहस्तलेखानां, चतुर्णां
नेवारीहस्तलेखानां चाद्ययावत् पाठसंवादकार्यं कृतम् । यत इमे हस्तलेखा न परस्पर-
मत्यन्तं विलक्षणाः, अतः पाठसंवादकार्यमिदं नातिदुष्करम् । दक्षिणभारतलिपि-
लिखिते कस्मिन्नपि हस्तलेखे खण्डोऽयं पूर्णरूपेण नोपलब्धमस्माभिः ।

द्वितीयः खण्डः उत्तरखण्डनामा (अयं प्रेतकल्प इति, सारोद्धार इति चोच्यते) । बहुषु हस्तलेखागारेषु खण्डोऽयं गरुडपुराणत्वेनैव परिगणितः; एतन्नाम-विषये काचिदुपपत्तिरपि न प्रदत्ता । हस्तलेखसाक्ष्येणैवं प्रतीयते यत् प्रेतकल्पस्यास्य तिस्रः परस्परभिन्नाः शाखा आसन् । खण्डस्यास्य योऽयं शाखाभेदः, तेन पाठ-संवादकार्यं समस्याबहुलं संजातम् । गरुडपुराणसमीक्षात्मक-संस्करणकर्मणि नियुक्तै-न्यासीयैविद्वद्भिरिमाः समस्याः परीक्ष्यन्ते ।

ब्रह्मकाण्डनामा यः तृतीयः खण्डः २९ अध्यायात्मकः, स बेंकटेश्वरयन्त्रालये एकधैव मुद्रितः । अस्याद्ययावत् त्रयो हस्तलेखा उपलब्धाः । एतेषाम् आधारेण पाठसंवादकार्यं प्रचलति । इमे हस्तलेखाः प्रायेण मुद्रितग्रन्थानुरूपाः ।

शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तर-पुराण-संबन्धि कार्यम्

जी. बोनाजोली-महोदयस्य निर्देशने अनयोः पुराणयोः कार्यं प्रचलति इटालीदेशीय-संस्थाविशेषस्य सहयोगेन । शिवधर्मस्य हस्तलेखद्वये पठिताः पाठाः संवादिताः । शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य दश हस्तलेखाश्चोपलब्धाः । अद्ययावत् शिव धर्मोत्तर पुराणस्य ये देवनागरीहस्तलेखा उपलब्धाः, न ते सम्पूर्णाः; अतोऽस्य पुराणस्य पाठसंवादकार्यं न प्रारब्धम् । पाठलिप्यन्तरकार्यं तु प्रचलत्येव ।

वेदपारायणम्

ऋग्वेदीयानां संहिताब्राह्मणारण्यकोपनिषदां पारायणं व्यासेश्वरमन्दिरे रामनगरदुर्गान्तर्गते माघमासे शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिम् आरभ्य पौर्णमासीं यावद् विहितम् । पाठकश्चासोत् श्रोविश्वनाथवामदेवमहोदयः, श्रोता च पं० अनन्तराम-पन्तमहोदयः ।

पुराणपाठः, पुराणप्रवचनं च

(१) रामनगरान्तर्गते जनकपुरमन्दिरे श्रीलक्ष्मणवैद्यमहोदयेन चैत्रमासे शुक्ले पक्षे प्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावत् अध्यात्मरामायणस्य पाठः कृतः ।

पुराणविभागे समागता विद्वांसः

(१) कुमारो पौलाइन टिना लेसनिक महोदया (दक्षिण-एशिया-ग्रन्थसूची-निर्मात्रो, कोलम्बिया विश्वविद्यालय, निउइयर्क, अमेरिका) ६।१।८३ दिवसे पुराण-विभागे समागता, साक्षात्कृतवती च न्यासाध्यक्षं काशिराजम् । पुराणविभागेन संपादितानि कार्याणि दृष्ट्वेयं सोत्साहं लिलेख दर्शकपुस्तिकायाम्—“न्यासेन महत्तमं कर्म क्रियते; धन्यवादाहो भवान्” इति ।

(२) श्री ए० एन० तिवारी (मण्डलाधीशः, क्रीडादिसचिवः, सूचनादि-सचिवश्च; उड़ीसाराज्यम्, भुवनेश्वरः) ७।१।७३ दिवसे न्यासाध्यक्षं साक्षात्कृतवान्,

पुराणविभागं च; लिखितवांश्च दर्शकपुस्तिकायाम्—‘न्यासाध्यक्ष-निदेशनेन यद् विद्यासंबद्धं कार्यं समर्पितभावेन क्रियते, तस्य परिज्ञानं मत्कृते सुखावहं भवति, शिक्षाप्रदं च । अस्याः संस्थायाः साफल्यं कामये’ इति । तिवारीमहोदयमाध्यमेन न्यासप्रकाशितान् ग्रन्थान् न्यासाध्यक्षः उड़ीसामुख्यमन्त्रिणे प्रेषितवान् । तिवारी महोदयकृतं यदिदं न्यासपरिदर्शनरूपं कर्म, तद् उड़ीसास्थितग्रन्थागारेभ्यः पुराण-हस्तलेखोपलब्धये साहायकं विधास्यति ।

(३) एस० जी० कान्तावालामहोदयः (संस्कृत-प्राध्यापकः, प्राच्यशोध-संस्थानसंचालकश्च, बरोदाविश्वविद्यालयः) पुराणविषयके द्वे भाषणे कर्तुं ९।४।८३ दिवसे पुराणविभागे समायातः । अयं दर्शक-पुस्तिकायां लिलेख—‘मम पुराण-विभागप्रदर्शनं सुखावहम् । न्यासेन महत् कर्म क्रियते; वृद्धिम् अधिगच्छतु न्यास इत्याशासे’ इति । अस्मै पुराणविद्याचुञ्चवे पुराणविभागकृतानि पाठसंवादादि-कार्याणि प्रदर्शितानि ।

(४) श्री अशोर्कसिंहलः (केन्द्रीयकार्यालयः, विश्वहिन्दूपरिषद्, नई दिल्ली) न्यासाध्यक्षं साक्षात्कृतवान्; दृष्टवांश्च पुराणविभागीयानि कार्याणि, दत्तवांश्चाशिषः ।

रजतजयन्त्युत्सवः

अप्रैल मासस्य ८ दिनाङ्के न्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य समापनसमारोहः सम्पन्नः यत्र प्रधानमन्त्रिणो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गान्धी महोदया वराहपुराणस्य हिन्दो भाषानुवाद ग्रन्थस्य उद्घाटनं कृतवती (विवरणम् अग्रे वर्तते ।)

पुराणविषयकं रजतजयन्तोभाषणम्

बरोदा-विश्वविद्यालयीय-प्राच्यविद्यासंस्थाननिदेशकः डा० एस० जी० कान्तावालामहोदयः ९-१०।४।८३ दिवसयोः न्यासोये शिवालाप्रासादे पुराणविषयके द्वे भाषणे कृतवान् । बहूनां विदुषामत्रोपस्थितिः संजाता । महाराज-विभूति-नारायणसिंहदेवः, पं० बलदेवोपाध्यायश्च यथाक्रमम् अनयोर्दिवसयोः साभापत्यम-कुस्ताम् । संस्कृत-पुराणविद्ययोर्विशेषज्ञोऽयम् इत्येवंरूपेण वक्तृमहोदयस्य परिचयो दत्तः श्री रामशंकरभट्टाचार्येण; वक्तृमहोदयस्य परिचयावसरे तस्य पाण्डित्यं तत्कृतग्रन्थांश्च अधिकृत्य किमपि उक्तं भट्टाचार्येण ।

कान्तावालामहोदयः प्रथमे भाषणे पुराणानां प्राचीनतां, महत्तां, पुराण-गतपाठसमस्याश्च अधिकृत्य विचारं कृतवान् । भाषणान्ते न्यासधारिष्वन्यतमः डा० रघुवीरसिंहमहोदयः पौराणिकप्रतिपादनरीतिविषयम् अधिकृत्य, भौगोलिक-तथ्यप्रतिपादक-पुराणवाक्यतात्पर्यनिर्धारणपद्धतिं चाधिकृत्य किमपि विस्तरतो विचारयामास ।

पुराणकृतं वेदोपबृंहणं द्वितीयस्य भाषणस्य मुख्यो विषय आसीत् । ‘पुराणानि खलु वस्तुतो वेदार्थव्याख्यानसहायभूताति’ इति मतं मुपन्यस्य तस्य

साधनाय बहूनि प्रमाणानि (वैदिकाख्यानव्याख्यानपराणि पौराणिकवचांसि उदाहृत्य) वक्तृमहोदयः प्रदत्तवान्, स्वमतं च दृढं स्थापितवान् । उपस्थितै र्ये विद्वद्भिः विषयेऽस्मिन् समासतो विचारः कृतः, त इमे—डा० लल्लनजी गोपालः, वागोशः शास्त्री, रामशंकरभट्टाचार्यः, पुराणविभागसदस्याः, बलवन्तडिग्रीकालेज-सदस्याः, काशीहिन्दू विश्वविद्यालयीय-संस्कृत-दर्शन-इतिहासविभागीया अध्यापकाः, अमेरिकन् इन्स्टीच्युट आफ इण्डियन् स्टडीज-संस्था-सदस्याश्च ।

उपसंहारभाषणे पं० बलदेवोपाध्यायेन पुराणप्रामाण्योपरि विदुषां दृष्टि-राकर्षिता । एतेन ऐतिहासिकभौगोलिकतथ्यपराणि कानिचन पुराणवचनानि व्याख्यातानि; उद्धोषितं च—प्राचीनभारतीसंस्कृत्यध्ययने पुराणसाहाय्यं विद्वद्-भिरवश्यमेव ग्राह्यमिति । अस्ति खल्वेवंविधानां भाषणानामत्यन्तम् आवश्यक-तेति उपाध्यायमहोदयेन भाषणान्ते उपसंहृतम् ।

समागतेभ्यो विद्वद्भ्यः प्रसादादि प्रदत्तम् ।

सूची (विषय-ग्रन्थकार-प्रदर्शिका)

प्रतिपञ्चवर्षं पुराणपत्रिकामधिकृत्य उपर्युक्तप्रकारेण द्विभागयुक्ता सूची निर्मायते । पञ्चविंशतिवर्षपरिमितकाले पञ्च सूच्यो विनिर्मिताः, प्रकाशिताश्च ताः पुराणपत्रिकायामेव । पञ्चविंशतौ वर्षेषु गतेषु एका सूची निर्मातुमारब्धा, यत्राद्य-यावत् प्रकाशितानां विषयाणां लेखकानां च यथापूर्वं निर्देशो दास्यते । सूचीयं सर्वेषां कृते उपयोगिनी, सन्दर्भग्रन्थरूपेण च व्यवहरणीया स्यादिति आशास्यते ।

उच्चतरतिब्बत्यध्ययन-केन्द्रीयसंस्थानस्य नवीनभवनस्य

उद्घाटनं न्यासाध्यक्षेण

सारनाथ (वाराणसी)-स्थितस्य उपर्युक्तसंस्थानस्य स्थानपरिवर्तनं कस्मिंश्चिद् नवीने विशाले भवने कृतम्; भवनस्यास्य निर्माणं भारतशासनप्रदत्त-धनसाहाय्येन विहितम् । काशिनरेशेन डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहदेवेन भवनस्या-स्योद्घाटनं ५।२।८३ दिवसे कृतम् । केन्द्रीयशासनभवननिर्माण-मन्त्रिणास्योद्घाटनं करणीयमासीत्; काशिराजोऽत्रप्रधानातिथिरेवासीत् । यतो मन्त्रिमहोदयो नागतः, अतः प्रधानातिथिः काशिराजो भवनस्यास्य उद्घाटनं कृतवान् । एतदवसरे काशिराजन्यासेन काचित् संस्कृततिब्बतीभाषामयी पुस्तिका प्रकाशिता, यत्र काशिराजेन सह तिब्बतदेशस्य प्राचीनकालादारभ्य इदानीं यावद् यः सम्बन्धः स वर्णितः । महामान्ययोः दलाइलामा-पनछेनलामा-महाभागयोः चित्रैः सह काशिनरेशस्य चित्रमपि प्रदत्तमत्र ।

महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिर-मङ्गलोत्सवः

वार्षिकमङ्गलोत्सव-संबद्ध-दिवसत्रयव्यापी कार्यक्रमः विद्यामन्दिराध्यक्षस्य महाराजविभूतिनारायणसिंहदेवस्यानुग्रहेण संपन्नो जातः । हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयो-

प्रदर्शनीयकलाविभागोयैः छात्रैः संपादितोऽयं कार्यक्रमः । एतैः सह केचन वैदेशिका जना अपि स्वप्रावीण्यं दृष्टुहे संगीतकलाक्षेत्रे दर्शयामासुः । अत्रत्या जनाः केचन मनीषिणश्च कार्यक्रमेऽस्मिन्नुपस्थिता आसन् । सर्वेभ्यः कलाविद्भ्यः सायंकालिकं भोजनं प्रदत्तम् ।

संग्रहालयः

एतत्कालावधौ ये संग्रहालयं दृष्टवन्त स्तेषु इमे मुख्याः—गोवाराज्यस्य विधानसभाया उपाध्यक्षः (१६।१।८३ दिवसे) ; श्री दौलतरामः, हिमाचलप्रदेश-राज्यस्य खाद्यापूर्ति-मन्त्री (२६।२।८३ दिवसे) ।

पी० वेंकटसुब्बाः (भारतशासन-गृहविभागस्य राज्यमन्त्री) ८।३।८३ दिवसे संग्रहालयं दृष्ट्वा लिखति स्म—‘महाराजसंरक्षितोऽयं संग्रहालयः सुमहान् । पूर्व-पुरुषपरम्पराक्रमेण यत् समायातं तत् सर्वं साधु संरक्षित मनेन महाराजेन । सर्वो जनः महाराजं प्रति कृतज्ञा भवेयुः, यतः स उदाहरणभूतेन कर्मणा भविष्यद्वंशधरेभ्यः तत्पूर्वपुरुषसंचितं सुमहद् रिक्तं विज्ञापयति’ इति ।

२४।३।८३ दिवसे श्री जगदोशशमशेरजंगबहादुरराणा (नेपालदूतो दिल्लीस्थः) समागतः, लिलेख च दर्शकपुस्तिकायाम् ‘यन्मया हृदयावर्जकं वस्तु सुसुखं दृष्ट मत्र तन्मनसि संगृह्याहं गमिष्यामि । विस्मयावहमिदं भारतीयं रिक्तं कल्पनं च । स्वपरिजनैः संरक्षितो यः वस्तुसंग्रहो मह्यं प्रदर्शितः, तदर्थमहं काशिराजं धन्यवादं वितरामि’ इति ।

ध्रुपदमेला

वाराणसीस्थे तुलसीघट्टे नवमी ध्रुपदमेला विद्यामन्दिरन्याससंरक्षणे आयोजिता । यथापूर्वम् उत्सवेऽस्मिन् अत्रत्या वैदेशिकाश्च जना तिस्रो रात्री र्यापितवन्तः शुश्रूषुश्च वाद्ययन्त्रसंगीतानि । वर्षेऽस्मिन् अनेन कार्यक्रमेण सह बालकृतचित्रकर्म-प्रदर्शनी गङ्गाप्रदूषणविषयिणी अपि समायोजिता । नदीजल-प्रदूषणसमस्या-प्रचारकामिन्या कयाचित् समित्या प्रदर्शनीयमायोजिता ।

महाराज-उदितनारायणसिंह-मानसप्र चारनिधिः

नवाह्नपारायणम्

वैशाखे मासि शुक्ले पक्षे प्रतिपत्तिथिम् आरभ्य नवमी तिथिं यावद् यथापूर्वं रामायणस्य नवाह्नपाठः संपन्नः चक्रियास्थे कालीमन्दिरे । मन्दिरस्थ-विग्रहपूजाकृदेव पाठकर्तासीत्,—प्रवचनकर्ता खलु पारसनाथव्यासः, श्री देवकी-नन्दनः, बाबारामदासश्च । न्यासाध्यक्षो विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयः प्रत्यहं नवाह्नपाठस्थले उपतस्थौ ।

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य समापनसमारोहः

२४ अक्टूबर १९८१ ई० दिनाङ्के सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य रजत-जयन्त्युत्सवो न्यासस्य ऐतिहासिके शिवाला प्रासादे विश्वसंस्कृत सम्मेलन-स्याध्यक्षस्य डा० रामचन्द्रनारायण दाण्डेकर महाभागस्याध्यक्षतायामुद्घाटितः । एष उत्सवो वाराणस्यां सम्पन्नस्य पञ्चम विश्व संस्कृत सम्मेलनस्यावसरे जातः । अस्य उत्सवस्य वैशिष्ट्यमासीत् पाठसमीक्षितपुराणपाठमालायां तृतीयस्य वराहपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य आंगलभाषानुवादस्य च विश्व-संस्कृत सम्मेलनस्योपाध्यक्षेण जोन फिलिओजा महोदयेन विश्वस्य विशिष्टविदुषां समक्षं प्रकाशनोद्घाटनम् ।

तस्मिन्नेव दिने अस्योत्सवस्यानन्तरं सन्ततुलसीदासस्य मानसस्य अयोध्या-काण्डस्य संस्कृतानुवादस्य प्रेमरामायणस्य महाराजकुमार्या श्रीमत्या कृष्ण-प्रियया सम्पादितं संस्करणमपि तुलसीघट्टे उद्घाटितं जातम् ।

अस्मिन् रजतजयन्तीवर्षे प्रकाशनकार्यमति द्रुततया सम्पन्नम् । अस्मिन्नेव वर्षे 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया न्यासस्य रजतजयन्त्यङ्कः विश्वसंस्कृत सम्मेलनाङ्कश्च प्रकाशितौ जातौ । अनेनाङ्केन सह 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाः पञ्च-विंशतिः वर्षाणि पूर्णानि अतोऽयं अङ्कः रजतजयन्त्यङ्करूपेण प्रकाशितो भवति । रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य सफलसमापनार्थं तत्रभवता काशिराजेन निर्णीतं यद् वराह-पुराणस्य हिन्दी-अनुवाद ग्रन्थोऽपि प्रकाशितो भवेदस्योद्घाटनार्थं च माननीया प्रधानमन्त्रिणी श्रीमती इन्दिरागान्धी महाभागा आमन्त्रिता भवेत् ।

माननीया प्रधानमन्त्रिणी महाभागा उदारभावेन ८ अप्रैल १९८३ दिनाङ्के रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य समापनसमारोहे आगमनाय स्वीचकार । एष समारोहः 'सर्किट हाउस' प्राङ्गणे विशेषरूपेण निर्मिते अलङ्कृते च 'पण्डाल' भवने संजातो यत्र विशिष्टा विद्वांसोऽधिकारिणो नागरिकाश्च उपस्थिता आसन् । तत्र भवान् काशि-नरेशो महाराजकुमारेण श्री अनन्त नारायणसिंहेन महाजकुमारी-भिश्च सह माननीयां प्रधानमन्त्रिणीं महोदयां सर्किट हाउस भवने मिलित्वा तां सभाकक्षे प्रवेशयामास । सभाकक्षे न्यासधारिणः तां प्रतीक्ष-माणा आसन् । तत्रभवता काशिनरेशेन न्यासधारिभिश्च माननीया प्रधानमन्त्रिणी, महामहिम श्रीचन्द्रेश्वरप्रसाद नारायण सिंहः, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य राज्यपालः, माननीयः श्रीश्रीपतिमिश्रः, उत्तर प्रदेशस्य मुख्यमन्त्री च अपराङ्गे ३ वादनकाले-सभामञ्चमारूढा कृतवन्तः । उपस्थितसज्जनास्तेषां हर्षातिरेकेण स्वागतं व्याजहुः ।

मञ्चे प्रधानमन्त्रिमहाभागाया वामपार्श्वे तत्र भवन्तः काशिनरेशः, पण्डित कमलापतित्रिपाठि महोदयः, महाराजकुमार डा० रघुवीरसिंह महोदयः, पण्डित गिरधारी लाल मेहतामहोदयश्च आसन् । दक्षिणपार्श्वे च महामहिमराज्यपाल महोदयः, माननीयमुख्यमन्त्री महोदयः, डा० रघुनार्थसिंह महोदयः, पण्डित बलदेव उपाध्यायमहोदयश्च उपविष्टा आसन् ।

कार्यारम्भः विश्वेश्वरशास्त्रिद्राविड महोदयकृतमङ्गलपाठेन स्युत्या च जातः । गणेश-सरस्वती-काशीविश्वेश्वरान्नपूर्णादीनां शास्त्रिमहोदयेन स्तुतिर्विहितो सांफल्यार्थं मङ्गलार्थं च । तदनन्तरं महाराजेन 'राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस' संस्थायाः कार्य-कार्यध्यक्षः श्रीकमलापति त्रिपाठिमहोदयः 'विशिष्टातिथिभूतायाः प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः स्वागताथमाहूतः । महाराजैः काशिनरेशैः व्याहृतं यत् पण्डित त्रिपाठिमहोदयः न्यासस्य जन्मनो न्यासधारित्वाद् वरिष्ठः सदस्यः अस्ति तथाऽनेनैव न्यास-स्योद्घाटनावसरे प्रथमराष्ट्रपतेः श्री राजेन्द्रप्रसाद महाभागस्य तथा रामचरित-मानसस्य प्रकाशनोद्घाटनावसरे प्रथमप्रधानमन्त्रिणः पण्डितजवाहलालनेहरू महाभागस्य स्वागतं विहितमतोऽस्मिन्नवसरेऽपि एष एव महाभागः स्वागतं करोत्विति । पण्डित त्रिपाठिमहोदयेन भणितं यद् महाराजः काश्याः 'विभूतिः' महाराजवंशस्य परम्परायाः संरक्षकः अस्ति अतः स एव स्वागतं व्याहृतुमुचित-पात्रभूतः । महाराजेन संक्षेपेण प्रधानमन्त्रिणो महोदयां प्रति रजतजयन्त्युत्सवसमापना-स्याध्यक्षताकरणाय स्वोक्तुं कृतज्ञता ज्ञापिता, १९८१ वर्षे उत्सवास्यारम्भे प्रधान-मन्त्रिणो महोदया विदेशयात्रायाम् आसीत् अतो नागता । इदानीं तथा आगमनेन तत् कार्यं पूरितम् । महाराजेन शासनस्य सहयोगस्यापि चर्चा कृता यद् १९५८ वर्षे न्यासस्योद्घाटनं राष्ट्रपति राजेन्द्रप्रसाद महोदयेन कृतम् । १९६२ वर्षे च रामचरितमानसग्रन्थस्योद्घाटनं प्रधानमन्त्रि पण्डित नेहरूमहोदयेन कृतम् ।

अस्यानन्तरं न्यासस्य विगत पञ्चविंशतिवर्षाणां कार्याणां विवरणं प्रस्तोतुं देशस्य प्रमुखो दानशील उद्योगतिः श्रीगिरिधारिलाल मेहता महोदय आहूतः । श्रीमेहता महोदयेन न्यासस्य स्थापनाया ऐतिह्यं वर्णितम् तथा कार्येषु विशिष्ट-सहयोगदातृणां विशिष्टविदुषां वर्णनं कृतम् । विद्याया विशेषतः पुराणविद्यायाः सम्बन्धे क्रियमाणस्य कार्यस्य संक्षेपेण विवरणमपि अनेन प्रदत्तम् ।

तदनन्तरं तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः घोषितं यद् पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षित-संस्करणेषु वराहपुराणम् तृतीयमासीत् यस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य आँग्लभाषा-नुवादसंस्करणस्य चोद्घाटनं रजतजयन्त्युत्सवस्य उद्घाटनावसरे कृतम् । हिन्दी-भाषासंस्करणस्योद्घाटनम् अस्मिन् समापनोत्सवे प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या भविष्यति । महाराजैः न्यासिमण्डलस्य भारतशासनेन नियुक्तो न्यासधारी भूतपूर्वः संसत्सदस्यः 'शिर्षिग कारपोरेशन' इत्यस्य अध्यक्षश्च काश्याः विशिष्टो नागरिको विद्वान्

डा० रघुनार्थसिंहः प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः सम्मुखं उद्घाटनार्थं वाराहपुराणमानीतुम् आहूतः । तदन्तरं रघुनार्थसिंहमहोदयः पीतकौशेयवस्त्रेण आवेष्टितं वाराहपुराण-हिन्दोसंस्करणं प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः सम्मुखम् उपस्थापयामास । प्रधानमन्त्रिणी महोदया आवेष्टनं मोचयित्वा पुस्तकस्य आन्तरावरणपृष्ठे स्वहस्ताक्षरं कृत्वा पुस्तकस्य उद्घाटनं कृतवती । चित्रकाराः (फोटोग्राफर्स) चित्रं ग्रहीतुं त्वरां कृतवन्तः किन्तु प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या ते निरुद्धा उक्ताश्च यत् ते क्षणं प्राप्स्यन्ति । तदनन्तरं प्रधानमन्त्रिमहाभागा पुस्तकं महाराजाय दत्तवती । प्रधानमन्त्रिणी महाभागा महाराजश्च चित्रकाराणां सम्मुखं पुस्तकं निधाय चित्राङ्कनस्यावसरं दत्तवन्तौ । तदनन्तरं महाराजः पुस्तकस्य एकाम् अन्यां प्रति स्वहस्ताक्षरेण हस्ताक्षरितां कृत्वा प्रधानमन्त्रिण्यै समर्पितवान् । वाराहपुराणस्य एकं मूलमात्रं संस्करणमपि प्रकाशितमासीत् । संपूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य भूतपूर्वो-ऽनुसंधाननिदेशकः न्यासस्य न्यासधारी च श्रीबलदेवउपाध्यायमहोदयः महाराजेन इदं मूलसंस्करणं प्रधानमन्त्रिण्यै उपायनीकर्तुं प्रार्थितः । उपाध्यायमहोदयेन इदं संस्करणं प्रधानमन्त्रिण्यै समर्पितम् ।

‘पुराणम्’ पत्रिकाया रजतजयन्तीवर्षे प्रकाशितौ द्वौ अङ्कौ यौ एकत्रबद्धौ आस्ताम् महामहिमराज्यपालमहोदयाय मुख्यमन्त्रिमहोदयाय च समर्पितौ । तदनन्तरं महाराजकाशिनरेशः प्रधानमन्त्रिणीं महोदयां प्रत्येकन्यासधारिभ्यः रजतजयन्ती वर्षस्य स्मारकरूपेण निर्मितं ‘आत्मापुराणं वेदानाम्’ इत्यङ्कितं च पट्टं प्रदातुं प्रार्थितवान् । प्रत्येकं न्यासधारिषु प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः हस्ताद् पट्टं ग्रहीतुमागतः । प्रधानमन्त्रि-महोदया तेभ्यः पट्टं प्रदाय अभिनन्दनं कृतवती । न्यासधारिणामतिरिक्तं एतत्पट्टं शिक्षा मन्त्रालये अतिरिक्तसचिवपदं भजन्त्यै श्रीमती कपिला वात्स्यायन-महोदयायै अपि न्यासस्य सहयोगार्थं प्रदत्तं । महाराजेन एतत्कार्यार्थं वात्स्यायन-महोदयायाः प्रशसनं कृतम् । श्रीमतीवात्स्यायनमहोदया दर्शकेषु उपविष्टा आसीत् । सा प्रधानमन्त्रिण्याः समीपं गत्वा पट्टं गृहीतवती ।

तदनन्तरं महाराजः न्यासेन प्रकाशितानां त्रयाणां वामन-कूर्म-वाराहपुराणा-नामनुवादं कर्तुं श्रीनारायणसिंहस्य निर्देशं कृतवान् । तस्मै प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या उत्तरीयं (शाल इति) समर्पितम् । तारामुद्रणालयस्य स्वामिने श्रीरमाशंकरपण्ड्यामहोदयाय रत्नामुद्रणालयस्य स्वामिने श्रीविनयशंकरपण्ड्या महोदयाय च उत्तरीयं प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या समर्पितम् । एताभ्यां वाराहपुराणस्य मुद्रणं सम्पादितम् । तदनन्तरं न्यासस्य गणकः श्रीरामजोगुप्तः परिचरः श्रीभगवान्दासश्च महाराजेन उत्तरीय-ग्रहणार्थं आहूतौ । एतौ द्वौ न्यासस्य प्राचीनतमौ कर्मकरौ । प्रधानमन्त्रिण्या एताभ्याम् उत्तरीयं समर्पितम् । प्रधानमन्त्रिणी अत्यन्तं हृष्टा आसीत् ।

तदनन्तरं महाराजेन न्यासस्य ‘पुराणम्’ पत्रिकायाः सम्पादने प्रकाशने च संबद्धास्त्रयो विद्वांसो निर्दिष्टाः—डा० रामशंकरभट्टाचार्यः (सम्पादकः)

डा० गङ्गासागररायः (सहसम्पादकः), डा० जोर्जो बोनाजुली महाशयः (सहसम्पादकः) । डा० बोनाजुलीमहाशयः न्यासे कार्यरतः एकलो वैदेशिको विद्वान् अस्ति । तेभ्यः 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाः विशेषरूपेण निबद्धः अङ्कः प्रदत्तः । अस्मिन् अवसरे बडौदा नगरस्थस्य महाराजसयाजीरावविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षः प्राच्यसंस्थानस्य निदेशकश्च डा० एस० जी० कान्तावालामहाभागोऽपि सम्मानितो बभूव यस्मै 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाः विशिष्टः अङ्कः प्रदत्तः । एष महाभागः रजतजयन्त्यवसरे पुराणविषये व्याख्यानं दातुमाहूत आसीत् । अनेन ९, १० अप्रैल दिनाङ्कयोः शिवालाभवने व्याख्यानं प्रदत्तम् ।

अस्यानन्तरं महाराजकुमारः श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहमहोदयः (यः मञ्चस्य पृष्ठभागे आसीनः आसीत्) त्रिशूलधारिणो भगवतः शिवस्य पद्मासनमुद्रायां रजतप्रतिमां प्रधानमन्त्रिणीमहोदयायै समर्पितवान् । स्मितमुखी प्रधानमन्त्रि-महोदया चित्रकाराणां कृते एतत्फलकं गृहीत्वा स्थिता आसीत् ।

तदनन्तरं काशीनरेशः काश्याः विशिष्टं विद्वान्सं पद्मभूषणोपाधिधारिणं श्रोपट्टाभिरामशास्त्रिणं विदुषां प्रतिनिधिरूपेण व्याख्यातुं आहूतवान् । सः नाना-प्रमाणैः प्रतिपादयामास यत् प्राचीना विद्या संस्कृतिश्च आधुनिककालेऽपि उपयुक्ता वर्तते । काशिराजन्यासस्य 'पुराण' संबन्धिकार्यस्यापि एष महाभागः प्रशंसनं कृतवान् । तदनन्तरं वाराणस्या भूतपूर्वो नगरप्रमुखः श्रीबृजपालदासः व्याख्या-नार्थमाहूतः । तेन न्यासस्य कार्यस्य वाराणस्याश्च महत्त्वं प्रदर्शितं । अनेन वाराणस्याः विकासार्थं प्रधानमन्त्रिणी प्रार्थिता ।

स्वसमापनभाषणे प्रधानमन्त्रि-महोदया न्यासाय एतत्कार्यसम्पादनार्थं धन्यवादान् प्रदत्तवती । सा संस्कृतभाषायाः उच्चारणशुद्ध्या सह संरक्षणस्य प्रचारस्य आवश्यकतां प्रदर्शितवती । पुराणानामेतादृशान्यग्रन्थानां च सामान्य-जनोपयोगार्थं तेषां भाषासु तेषां रहस्यप्रकाशनस्यावश्यकतामपि सा निर्दिष्टवती । उत्तरप्रदेशस्य महामहिमराज्यपालस्य श्रीचन्द्रेश्वरप्रसाद नारायणसिंहस्य वचनानुसारेण सा उत्तरप्रदेशशासनद्वारा सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासाय २५ सहस्ररूप्यकाणां दानस्यापि घोषणां कृतवती । तत्र भवान् काशिनरेशमहोदयः प्रधान-मन्त्रिणीमहोदयायै अस्योत्सवस्याध्यक्षतां कर्तुं न्यासधारिणः विदुषश्च अस्मिन् कार्ये प्रेरयितुं धन्यवादान् प्रदत्तवान् । इत्थं काशिराजन्यासस्य एष उत्सवो रजतजयन्ती च साफल्येन पूर्णतां गतौ ।

उत्सवस्य साफल्यार्थं जनपदस्य अधिकारिणः 'पुलिस' जनाश्च पूर्णं सहयोगं दत्तवन्तः । काशिक हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य अधिकारिणः विशेषतो विशेष-कार्याधिकारी श्री ओमप्रकाश टण्डनमहाभागश्च उत्सवेऽस्मिन् सर्वं साहाय्यं प्रदत्तवन्तः । सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासः तान् सर्वान् प्रति कृतज्ञतां ज्ञापयति ।

गुरुमहिमा

(ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणम् ४।५९ अ०)

अज्ञानतिमिरान्धस्य ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकया ।
चक्षुरुन्मीलितं येन तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ १४७ ॥
अदीक्षितस्य मूर्खस्य निष्कृतिर्नास्ति निश्चितम् ।
सर्वकर्मस्वनर्हस्य नरके तत् पशोः स्थितिः ॥ १४८ ॥
विद्यामन्त्रज्ञानदाता निपुणः पारकर्मणि ।
स शक्तः शिष्यमुद्धतुंमीश्वरश्चेश्वरात् परः ॥ १५० ॥
गुरुर्विष्णु गुरुब्रह्मा गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।
गुरुर्धर्मो गुरुः शेषः सर्वात्मा निर्गुणो गुरुः ॥ १५१ ॥
सर्वतीर्थाश्रमश्चैव सर्वदेवाश्रयो गुरुः ।
सर्वदेवस्वरूपश्च गुरुरूपी हरिः स्वयम् ॥ १५२ ॥
अभीष्टदेवे रुष्टे च गुरुः शक्तो हि रक्षितुम् ।
गुरौ रुष्टेऽभीष्टदेवो न हि शक्तश्च रक्षितुम् ॥ १५३ ॥
न गुरोश्च प्रियश्चात्मा न गुरोश्च प्रियः सुतः ।
धनं प्रियं च न गुरोर्न च भार्या प्रिया तथा ॥ १५५ ॥
न गुरोश्च प्रियो धर्मो न गुरोश्च प्रियं तपः ।
न गुरोश्च प्रियं सत्यं न पुण्यं च गुरोः परम् ॥ १५६ ॥
गुरोः परो न शास्ता च न हि बन्धुर्गुरोः परः ।
देवो राजा च शास्ता च शिष्याणां च सदा गुरुः ॥ १५७ ॥

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TO

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ABBREVIATIONS

SK = Sanskrit Khaṇḍa



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