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# पुराणम्-PURĀṆA

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## माघपूर्णिमाऽङ्कः

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# ब्रह्मणा कृता योगनिद्रास्तुतिः

(देवीभागवत १.७.२७-४७)

[ स्तौम्यद्य योगनिद्रां वै यया मुक्तो जनार्दनः ।  
घटयिष्यति युद्धे च वासुदेवः सनातनः ॥ २५  
इति कृत्वा मतिं ब्रह्मा पद्मनालस्थिस्तदा ।  
तुष्टाव योगनिद्रां तां विष्णोरङ्गेषु संस्थिताम् ॥ २६ ]

ब्रह्मोवाच

देवि ! त्वमस्य जगतः किल कारणं हि  
ज्ञातं मया सकलवेदयचोभिरम्ब ! ।  
यद्विष्णुरप्यखिललोकविवेककर्ता  
निद्रावशं च गमितः पुरुषोत्तमोऽद्य ॥ २७  
को वेद ते जननि ! मोहविलासलीलां  
मूढोऽस्म्यहं हरिरयं विवशश्च शेते ।  
ईदृक्तया सकलभूतमनोनिवासे !  
विद्वत्तमो विबुधकोटिषु निर्गुणायाः ॥ २८  
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चैतन्यभावरहितां जगतश्च कर्त्रीम् ।  
किं तादृशाऽसि कथमत्र जगन्निवासश्च  
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श्रीश्चाऽसि देवि! सततं सुखदा सुराणाम् ।  
कीर्तिस्तथा मति-धृती किल कान्तिरेव  
श्रद्धा रतिश्च सकलेषु जनेषु मातः ! ॥ ३१

नातः परं किल वितर्कशतैः प्रमाणं  
 प्राप्तं मया यदिह दुःखगतिं गतेन ।  
 त्वं चाऽत्र सर्वजगतां जननीति सत्यं  
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 न प्राप्नुवन्ति सततं मखभागधेयं  
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 ज्ञात्वा समस्तजननीं किल कामधेनुम् ॥ ४०

धी-कान्ति-कीर्ति-शुभवृत्तिगुणादयस्ते  
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 विष्णुस्त्वया प्रकटितः प्रथमं युगादौ  
 दत्ता च शक्तिरमला खलु पालनाय ।  
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 लीनं करोषि सकलं किल मां तथैव  
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 कामं कुरुष्व वधमद्य ममैव मातर्  
 दुःखं न मे मरणजं जगदम्बिकेऽत्र ।  
 कर्ता त्वथैव विहितः प्रथमं स चाऽयं  
 दैत्याहतोऽथ मृत इत्ययशो गरिष्ठम् ॥ ४६  
 उत्तिष्ठ देवि! कुरु रूपमिहाद्भुतं त्वं  
 मां वा त्विमौ जहि यथेच्छसि बाललीले !  
 नो चेत्प्रबोधय हरिं निहनेदिमौ यस्  
 त्वत्साध्यमेतदखिलं किल कार्यजातम् ॥ ४७

[ सूत उवाच

एवं स्तुता तदा देवी तामसी तत्र वेधसा ।  
 निःसृत्य हरिदेहात्तु संस्थिता पार्श्वतस्तदा ॥ ४८  
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 विस्पन्दितशरीरोऽसौ यदा जातो जनार्दनः ।  
 धाता परमिकां प्राप्तो मुदं दृष्ट्वा हरिं ततः ॥ ५० ]

## TRANSLATION

[ Today I pray (Goddess) yoganidrā released by whom eternal god lord Vāsudeva will be engaged in combat, (25) thinking this, Brahman, seated on lotus eulogised (Goddess) yoganidrā, stationed in the limbs of Viṣṇu (26). ]

Brahman Said – O goddess ! O mother ! you are the cause of this world. I have known this by the speeches of all the Vedas. Because today Puruṣottama Viṣṇu, the creator of the knowledge of all the worlds has been sent to sleep (27)

O mother ! you reside in the mind of all the creatures; even the most learned one among the crores of gods does not know your sport of expansion of delusion. I am ignorant and this Viṣṇu is sleeping helplessly. You are without attributes (28)

Experts in Sāṃkhya-system of knowledge say that Puruṣa (is conscious) and Prakṛti which creates this world is unconscious. If you are of that type then how this (lord Viṣṇu) in whom whole world resides has been made senseless today by you (29)

You having manifestation (or/possessing attributes) perform dramas of various kinds; no body knows sports of your working system; O Bhavāni ! bands of sages contemplate on Her (on you) three times as Saṃdhyā regularly creating your attributes by imagination. (30)

You are intelligence, the ever cause of knowledge of worlds; O goddess ! you are Śrī (fortune) giver of pleasure to gods continuously; O mother ! you are Kīrti (fame), Mati (intelligence), Dhṛti (patience), Kānti (lustre or beauty), Śraddhā (reverence) and Rati (love) among all people (31)

Drawn in this pitiable condition I have not found any other better proof than this even by hundred of reasonings . Deep sleep of Hari only shows that you are trully the mother of worlds. (32)

O Goddess! you are unknown even to experts in Vedic lore and the Veda itself does not know you completely, because the Śruti (Veda) gets its orgin from you. All this your work is before the eyes (i.e.visible) (33)

Who is wise to completely know your actions (no body is competent to know). Neither I, nor Hari nor Bhava nor other gods nor sages nor my sons are able to know; your glory is indescribable in the whole world (34)



O Goddess ! in the sacrifices even after giving the oblations if scholars of Vedas do not utter your name Svāhā gods never receive their share of sacrifices. Hence, you are the giver of sustenance to gods also (35)

O Goddess ! Even in earlier time we were protected by you from the fear produced by the enemies of gods (i.e. demons); O goddess, granter of boons ! in the same way now I am afraid at the sight of terrible Madhu with Kaiṭabha and I take refuge under you (36)

I feel that Viṣṇu whose body is not in his control fully due to you (i.e. by the power of yoganidrā) and he does not know this pain of mine. O great minded one (goddess)! either leave the first god (Ādideva Viṣṇu) or kill these two great demons. Do either what ever you like (37)

O Goddess ! those illminded (i.e. fools) who do not know your great prowess contemplate (i.e. worship) also Viṣṇu and Śiva. Now I have known the direct evidence that Viṣṇu also is sleeping thoroughly without self control (38)

Even goddess Lakṣmī (born of sea) who is under your control, is unable to rouse her husband Hari. I feel O goddess ! that Lakṣmī is also forced to sleep without self control by you, the original force (Ādi Śakti) and does not know any thing. (39)

Those are fortunate in this world who leaving the worship of other gods are devoted to your feet with complete dedication. They worship you fully and thoroughly knowing you the mother of all and giver of all desires, (40)

O Goddess ! Today (now) intelligence, lustre (beauty), fame and auspicious nature etc. all these qualities of lord Viṣṇu have forsaken him and have gone to unknown place. Lord Viṣṇu has been made captive by your power sleep. You are most proud. (40)

You, indowed with all powers are the energy of all the worlds. All things are your creation. As a *naṭa* (actor) plays in drama created by him (in different forms) you also play in this net of moha (delusion) in different ways created by yourself (42)

In the beginning of yugas (i.e. Creation) Viṣṇu was made to appear first and was endowed with the bright power of sustenance (of world). By Him all the world was protected. Now he is made unconscious. O mother ! whatever now you like you do . (43)

O Goddess ! after creating me if you do not like to kill me then breaking your silence show mercy on me. Why you have made to appear these two (demons) death incarnate for me. Or O goddess ! do you want to make me an object of ridicule. (44)

I know that all your actions are wonderful. Creating all this universe you enjoy keeping yourself aloof. You absorb every thing (in yourself in the time of dissolution). O Bhavāni! if you want to kill me in that way what is wonder in it. (45)

O mother ! O mother of the universe ! you may kill me today if you like. I have no pain of death. You have made me the first creator and I am being killed by demon- this is a great dishonour (46)

O Goddess ! your sports are like that of a child; you get up and assume the wonderful form. Either you kill me or kill these two demons whatever you like. Or you arouse Lord Hari who will kill these two. All these works are possible for you (i.e. you can do anything you like). (47)

[ Sūta Said: Eulogised thus by Brahman goddess Tāmasi (Nidrā comprised of Tamoguṇa) came out of the body of Lord Hari and stood by his side (48)

Goddess yoganidrā came out leaving all the limbs of Lord Viṣṇu of unparallel lustre for the destruction of these two demons (49).

When Lord Viṣṇu's body came in movement Lord Brahman seeing this got extreme happiness (50). ]

**Note :** The influence of the Devī-stuti of the Devi-māhātmya of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (especially cf. chs. 1 and 4) can be clearly seen in the Devi-stuti of the Devi bhāgavata. Concluding lines contain similar words.]

– Ganga Sagar Rai

## EIGHT VERSIONS OF ŚIVASAHASRANĀMA STOTRA IN THE EPIC AND PURĀNAS

BY

R. K. SHARMA

[ पुराणेषु महाभारते च विविधदेवानां सहस्रनामस्तोत्राणां प्राप्यते महती परम्परा । एतादृशसहस्रनामस्तोत्रेषु भारतोक्तविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रं शिवसहस्रनामस्तोत्रं च लोके प्रथिततरे एव । अत्र विदुषा लेखकेन शिवसहस्रनामस्तोत्रस्य महाभारते पुराणेषु च अष्टस्थलेषु अन्वेषणं कृत्वा तेषां साङ्गोपाङ्गमध्ययनं विधाय साम्यवैषम्यप्रदर्शनपूर्वकं विवेचनं कृतम् । इदमप्यूहितं यदन्यदेवसहस्रनामापेक्षया शिवसहस्रनामस्तोत्रस्य सद्भावोऽधिकस्थलेषु प्राप्यते । एतादृशशिवसहस्रनामस्तोत्रेषु स्तोत्रद्वयं महाभारते, स्तोत्रद्वयं लिङ्गपुराणे, एकं ब्रह्मपुराणे, एकं शिवपुराणे, एकं वायुपुराणे एकं च भागवतोपपुराणे प्राप्यन्ते । अध्ययनेनानेन लेखकेन स्तोत्रसाहित्यस्य तुलनात्मकाध्ययनस्य सरणिः प्रदर्शिता । ]

### BACKGROUND :

The "Anuśāsanaparvan<sup>1</sup> (Book XIII) of the Mahābhārata (M.B.) abounds in the<sup>2</sup> "stotras and mātmyas, such as, for instance, the Śivastava by Upamanyu<sup>3</sup> (14. 150-166), the Śivasahasranāmastotra (17.30-150b), the Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra (135.14-120), the Kṛṣṇastava by Bhīṣma (143.6-44), and the Rudrastava by Kṛṣṇa (145-146).... (as also) the special eulogy of the Gaṅgā."

2. Among the illustrative stotras of the Anuśāsanaparvan listed above, the two Sahasranāmastotras-the Śivasahasranāmastotra (SS) and the Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra (VS) occupy the most significant place in the Indian stotra tradition. The two, however, differ on one point. While the VS, as far as our information goes, has lesser versions (MB 13.135. 14-120; cf. MBG 13.149.1-142; also in Garuḍapurāṇa and Skanda Purāṇa), the ŚS has several versions in the MB itself as well as

1. The Anuśāsanaparvan..... the thirteenth book of the Mahābhārata, critically edited by Ramachandra Narayan Dandekar; Bhandarkar oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1966 (MB).
2. cf. P. LXXVIII.
3. cf. Mahābhārata, Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, 1957-58 (MBG), 13.14.287-331, 17.31-153, 149.1-142, 158, 160-161, 26.

in the various Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. To quote Dandekar<sup>4</sup> again, "the Śivasahasra- nāmastotra ascribed to Taṇḍu or Taṇḍin and containing about 1008 names is also found in the<sup>5</sup> Liṅgapurāṇa, adhyāya 65....; there are several other stotras of Śiva, e. g.<sup>6</sup> Vāyu P. I. 30.78 (179) ff.,<sup>7</sup>Brahma P. 38.40 ff and the<sup>8</sup>Mahābhārata 12. App. No. 28, the texts of which are almost identical, but they give the names of Śiva mostly in the<sup>9</sup>dative case and the total number of names does not come to 1000, though they are loosely called Sahasranāmastotra. Moreover these stotras often contain general descriptions rather than specific names of Śiva. In the<sup>10</sup>Mahābhārata 7.173, there is a short stotra of Śiva which Vyāsa advises Yudhiṣṭhira to recite."

### EIGHT VERSIONS OF SS :

3. The following eight versions of SS have so far come to our notice;

1. MB 13.17.30-150; MBG 13.17.31-153.
2. LP I. 65.54-168
3. ID. I. 98.27-159
4. SP IV. 35.1-131.
5. MB 12.app. No. 28; MBG 12.284.68-180
6. VP i 30. 179-284.
7. BP. 38.1-100
8. The<sup>11</sup>Mahābhāgavata Upapurāṇa (MU) 67.1-125.

4. The Anuśāsanaparvan version of SS (S. No. 1 above) is considered to be the kernal of this stotra tradition. This version alone figures in some of the manuals on Śiva worship. <sup>12</sup>Chidbhavananda's edition of SS

4. MB pp. 123-4, foot-note.

5. The Liṅgamahāpurāṇam with Gaṇeśa natu's Śiva-Toṣiṇī commentary, Nag Publishers, Delhi 1989 (LP) 1.65.54-168; also I. 98. 27-159.

6. The Vāyumahāpurāṇam ed. Rajendra Nath Sharma, Delhi 1985 (V.P.), I. 30.179-284.

7. The Brahmamahāpurāṇam, ed. Rajendra Nath Sharma, Delhi 1985 (BP), 38.1.100.

8. MBG. 12.284.66-183.

9. In fact all the nominative cases occurring in a Sahasranāmastotra are required to be construed as dative cases during special worships (e.g. the first name of SS sthiraḥ is to be construed as sthirāya namaḥ.) Even otherwise, both the L.P. versions of SS are in the nominative case. The Sivamahāpurāṇa (ed. Puspendra Kumar, Delhi 1981) version, (SP) IV. 35.1-131 is also an exception to Dandekar's general observation.

10. Cf. MBG 7.20.2

11. The Mahābhāgavata Upapurāṇa, ed Pushpendra Kumar, Delhi, 1983, 67.1-125, pp, 278-286 (MU).

12. Śivasahasranāmastotram, Introduction and English rendering by Swami Chidbhavananda, Sri Ramakrishna Tapovanam, Tirupparaithurai, Second edition, 1985.

representing this version may specially be referred to.

5. It will be seen that MB itself has two versions of SS, viz. the one in the Śāntiparvan (MB 12 App. No. 28; MBG 12.284.68-180) and the other in the Anuśāsanaparvan (MB 13.17.30-150; MBG. 13.17.31-153). I think these two versions represent the two streams of SS tradition respectively. The Śāntiparvan text (even though not included as an acceptable text in the critical edition) repeats itself *mutatis mutandis* in both the subsequent versions of the Purāṇas, viz. VP and BP (vide S. Nos. 5., 6 and 7 above). Similarly the Anuśāsanaparvan version is repeated in both the versions of LP (S. Nos. 2 and 3) as well as in SP (S. No. 4) with a few modifications here and there, quite in keeping with the technique of oral poetic composition. The MU version appears to be comparatively of a recent origin.

6. A brief account of each of the eight versions listed above is given below :

### I. The Anuśāsanaparvan Version

7. Yudhiṣṭhira requests Bhīṣma to propound the names of Śiva. Bhīṣma, in turn, turns towards Kṛṣṇa requesting the latter to present the one thousand names of Śiva for the benefit of Yudhiṣṭhira, himself and all others present there. Kṛṣṇa obliges them by presenting an account of his personal experience of the blessings obtained from Śiva and Devī (Supreme Goddess). He says that being insistently persuaded by his consort, Jāmbavatī, for a worthy son, he left for the Himālayas where he came in contact with a young hermit, Upamanyu, who had earlier availed himself of Śiva's blessings. Upamanyu came from a poor family which could not afford to provide milk and rice for him. Being advised by his mother (Ambā), he started performing a severe penance with a view to propitiating Śiva and obtaining inter alia milk and rice from Him. As he did during Pārvatī's penance, Śiva came to test Upamanyu's concentrated devotion, hiding Himself in the garb of Indra and offered to give Upamanyu anything he would ask for, by saying that he would instantaneously agree to become a worm or even a tree with several branches if so desired by Śiva, but he was not prepared to accept even the overlordship of the three worlds, if it were offered by anybody, other than Śiva.

*Paśupativacanād bhavāmi sadyaḥ,  
krimir athavā tarur apy anekaśākhaḥ/  
apaśupativarapradānajā me  
tribhuvanarājyavibhūtir apy aniṣṭā//* 13.14.95, cf. MBG  
13.14.80

Ultimately, Upamanyu was able to propitiate Śiva and obtain His blessings. So initiated by Upamanyu, Kṛṣṇa too performed a severe penance and was able to propitiate Śiva and to receive the desired boons both from Him and Her (Devī). Subsequently he reported the same to Upamanyu who gave him an account of Taṇḍi- a sage of yores, sincerely devoted to Śiva. Taṇḍi too had obtained the blissful boon from Śiva. In this connection, Upamanyu referred to the ten thousand names of Śiva as transmitted by Brahmā as part of the Veda and the one thousand names of Śiva a part of Śaivāgama (daśa nāma sahasraṇi vedeṣv āha pitāmahaḥ/sarvasya Śāstreṣu tathā daśa nāmaśatāni ca. MB 13.16.74; MBg. 13.16.75 has the same reading exceed "vedeṣv āha pitāmahaḥ in lieu of vedesv āha.....).

8. Thereafter Kṛṣṇa repeats Upamanyu's recitation of the one thousand eight names of Śiva (aṣṭottarasahasraṃ tu nāmnāṃ śarvasya me śṛṇu...MB 13.17.29; MBG 13.17.30) that constitute the cream extracted by churning the ten thousand names originally transmitted by Brahmā. The SS is also described as "stavarāja" the king of hymns (stavarāja iti khyāto jagaty amarapūjitaḥ id. 21, cf. MBG 22).

9. The following is the order of transmission of the SS as stated in MB 13.17.164-169 (cf. MBG 13.17.171-180.);

Brahmā

|

Indra

|

Mṛtyu

|

Rudras

|

Taṇḍi

|

Śukra

|

Gautama

|

Vaivasvata Manu

|

Nārāyaṇa

|

Yama

|

Naciketas

|

Mārkaṇḍeya

|

Upamanyu

The above account of transmission, as given in the 17th Chapter, slightly differs from the one given in the previous chapter of this parvan. In the previous chapter (16), Upamanyu is stated to have received the SS from Taṇḍi himself (yāni ca prathitāny ādau taṇḍir ākhyātavān mama/nāmāni mānavaśreṣṭha tāni tvaṃ śṛṇu siddhaye 13.16.73; cf MBG. id 74); In this chapter (17), however, Upamanyu gives an account of his initiation into the SS from Mārkaṇḍeya (mārkaṇḍeyān mayā prāptaṃ niyamena janārdana 13.17.169), cf. MBG. id. 180). Such apparent, subtle contradictions, in fact, form part of the ever flowing steam of oral poetic composition. May be, the account of the transmission as given in the previous chapter represents just a general introduction to the chain of transmission from Taṇḍi onwards and the one given in this chapter (17) gives specifications of the chains thereof and Upamanyu's proper (niyamena) initiation by Mārkaṇḍeya.

10. Chapter 17 starts with the introduction to the SS and concludes with "phalaśruti" (one who recites the SS for a year, uninterruptedly, observing the prescribed code of conduct including celibacy, gets the same fruits as can be attained by performing an "Aśvamedha" sacrifice; (yaḥ paṭheta śucir bhūtvā brahmacārī jitendriyaḥ. abhagnayogo varṣṃ tu so śvamedhaphalaṃ labhet 13.17.171; cf. MBG id 182). But the text of the SS as such comprises just 120 1/2 verses (MBG 123 verses) beginning 13.17.30 and ending 150 b (MBG id. 31-153). It begins with:

*sthiraḥ sthānuḥ prabhur bhānuḥ* (MBG "bhīmaḥ")

*pravaro varado varaḥ/*

*sarvātmā sarvavikhyātaḥ sarvaḥ sarvakaro bhavaḥ//*

It ends with:

*vratādhipaḥ paraṃ brahma muktānāṃ paramā gatiḥ/*

*vimukto muktatejās ca śrīmān śrīvardhano jagat//*

(Readings identical both in MB and MBG)

11. <sup>13</sup>Nīlakaṇṭha lists all the 1008 names of Śiva included in the SS. He organises the names in ten śatakas (centuries) plus eight. MBG also generally follows Nīlakaṇṭha's text. As far as the critical edition (MB) version of the SS is concerned, its basic structure is almost the same as that of MBG. It however differs in about ten percent of the total number of names included in the SS. Some of the differences are minor in character, eg. *śmaśānavāsī* (MBG 33); *śmaśānacārī* (MB 32). Others are

13. Mahābhāratam (9 vols including the Verse and Name Indices) Caturdharavaṃśā-vatamṣa-śrīman-nīlakaṇṭhaviracitabhāratabhāvadīpākhyayā ṭīkāyā sametam. Nag publishers, 1988-91.

substantial in nature, e.g. *paridhī patikhecaraḥ* (MBG 119), *paridhāvati caikataḥ* (MB. 115). As far as I can see, the total number of names, according to the critical edition, should be 1019.

12. Another point of difference between the MB and MBG versions of the SS lies in the omission in the former of about ten pādas (quarters) of verses appearing in the latter. More important than this is the omission of certain details regarding the dialogue between Upamanyu and his mother Ambā in chapter 14 of this parvan. For example, MBG presents Ambā as a knowledgeable Guru depicting the multidimensional and universal forms of Śiva (13.14.134)-165). The following lines are specifically interesting where Ambā describes Śiva imbibing the forms of various birds and animals such as an owl, a dog, a jackal, cattle, an elephant, a horse, a camel, an ass and others... and as a sustainer of mountains:

*ulūkaśvaśṛgālānāṃ rūpāṇi kurute'pi ca.*

*karoti ca sarūpāṇi dhārayaty api parvatān*

*gorūpaṃ ca mahādevo hastyaśvoṣtrakharākṛtiḥ//*

MBG 13.14.144-146.

Similarly the following verse representing Upamanyu's assertive philosophical identification of all the masculine forms with Śiva and of the feminine forms with the Supreme Goddess is also missing in the critical edition:

*Puṃliṅgaṃ sarvam iśānaṃ strīliṅgaṃ vidhī cā py umām/*

*dvābhyāṃ tanubhyāṃ vyāptaṃ hi carācaram idaṃ jagat// id. 235.*

Even though the principles of textual criticism warrant their exclusion from the critical edition, the detail as given in chapter 14 of MBG go a long way towards explaining the various names included in the SS such as *mṛgarūpaḥ* (antelope), *vaḍavāmukhaḥ* (mare-faced), *varāhaḥ* (boar); *vyālarūpaḥ* (serpent), *śṛgālarūpaḥ* (jackal), *siṃhaśārdūlarūpaḥ* (lion and tiger) *hayagardabhiḥ* (horse and ass), *hastī* (elephant), etc.

13. Repetitions of names in the SS are also no less interesting: 64 names are repeated twice. The name "varaḥ" is repeated six times; *kālaḥ*, five times; "*aninditaḥ*", "*nityaḥ*", "*mahātapāḥ*" and "*haraḥ*" are each repeated four times. Similarly "*devaḥ*", "*dhruvaḥ*", "*prabhuḥ*", "*mantraḥ*", "*mahāgarbhaḥ*", "*mahān*", "*yajñah*", "*vibhuḥ*" and "*sthiraḥ*" are each repeated thrice. Nīlakaṇṭha explains such repetitions on the basis of the doctrine of "apūrva" (special merit) of the philosophy of Mīmāṃsā. He says that the repetitions of monosemantic same words more than once or even of homosemantic different words do serve the purpose of earning special merit. Nīlakaṇṭha treats the SS at par with the Vedic texts and so



of any names-repeated or otherwise-included in the SS.

"yady apy atra sahasranāmastotre nāmnām śabdato' rthataśca paunaruktyam asti, tathā py arthaikye' pi śabdabhedāt kvacit śabdaikye 'py arthabhedāc cā'paunaruktyam draṣṭavyam apūrvārthatvāt. nahi sarvātmapadoccāraṇajanyam apūrvaṃ viśvātmapadoccāraṇād utpadyate. anyathā. agnaye juṣṭam nirvapāmi' ty atra vahnaye juṣṭam ity uccāraṇe' pi tadapūrvotpattyāpatter vidhigata eva śabdaḥ prayoktavya iti mīmāṃsakamudrābhaṅgaḥ syāt. arthabhede'pi śabdaikyam na paunaruktyāvaham indraśabdasyānyārthasyāpy aindryā gārhapatyam upatiṣṭhate iti, vidhānād yogenāgniparatvapradarśanāt: tathā ca śabdaikye, pyarthaikyam nāsti tathā vayam asyām vyākhyāyām pradarśayiṣyāmaḥ." p. 26

14. A comparative study of 1008 names as identified and treated by Nīlakaṇṭha and 1019 names (more or less) as included in the critical edition would be quite interesting. I am for the present refraining from presenting such a detailed study for want of space and time. But I am giving below a few examples of contrasts that create problems of interpretation:

i. MBG 119 reads "*paridhī patikhecaraḥ*" Nīlakaṇṭha interprets it as (a) identifiable as a fort (*paridhir asyāstī' ti paridhī=durgarūpaḥ*) and (b) identifiable as Garuḍa (*patiścā' sau khecaras' ce'ti khecares' varo=garuḍaḥ*) respectively.

MB i.e. the critical edition 115 correspondingly reads *paridhāvati cai' kataḥ*. The clause creates problems of interpretation in the context of the sahasranāman, as no subject finds a place here. Somehow, I have translated this as "one who runs fast just in one direction or alone." But I am myself not quite happy with this translation. This is the best I could do in the context of the Sahasranāman.

ii. Similarly MBG 70 reads "*hy aśvattho' rthakaro yaśaḥ*". According to Nīlakaṇṭha, three names are involved here, viz. (a) "*aśvatthaḥ*" identifiable as the tree of the Universe or a wishfulfilling tree (*saṃsāravṛkṣaḥ kāmaprado vā vṛkṣa eva*), (b) "*arthakaraḥ*" one who bestows wealth etc. (*dhanādipradaḥ* and (c) "*yaśaḥ*" (= *kīrtipradaḥ* one who bestows fame).

MB 68 correspondingly reads "*arthārthakararomaśaḥ*" which can, somehow be interpreted as "one whose bodily hair (too) grant boons (wealth etc.) But the problems of interpretation are obvious.

iii. Again MBG 101 reads "*sayajñāriḥ sakāmāriḥ*" and Nīlakaṇṭha

interprets these two names as (a) the one who is accompanied even by demons (*yajñārayo daityās taiḥ sahā'pi vasatī'ti sayajñāriḥ*) and (b) the one who is accompanied by yogins (*kāmārayo jitakāmā yoginas taiś ca sahāstīti sakāmāriḥ*).

MB 98 however, correspondingly reads "sa yajñāriḥ sa kāmāriḥ. Here the two names are yajñāriḥ (and not sayajñāriḥ) and Kāmāriḥ (and not sakāmāriḥ). The two do not create any problems of interpretation. They refer to the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice and Kāma's burning to ashes respectively. But the repeated use of the pronoun "saḥ" creates some problems. Does it refer to That (Supreme Being) on the lines of Upaniṣadic "tat tvam asi"? I am not quite sure. But this seems to be the best that could be suggested in the context of a Sahasranāmastotra.

15. Thus Chapters 14-18 of this Parvan (fortunately the outlines of the contents of each of these five chapters are identical both in MB and MBG) deal with the SS. But chapter 17 alone represents the central theme of the SS, as explained above. The SS included in this chapter of this Parvan is universally acknowledged as the kernel of this stotra tradition. There again the text critically edited by Dandekar is considered to be the most authoritative one. At the same time, as pointed out above, Nīlakaṇṭha's version of the text and the corresponding MBG version cannot be ignored.

## 2. The Liṅgapurāṇa Version I.

16. The Liṅgapurāṇa version I of the SS (Lp I. 65.54-168) comes too close to the relevant Anuśāsanaparvan version of the Mahābhārata. Its importance as a significant version of the SS is established by the fact that this version available in print was given the status of a distinct manuscript for the collation of material relevant to the critical edition of the SS portion of the Anuśāsanaparvan of MB, vide the footnote on P. 123 of this Parvan of MB:

"In recording variants from it (L.P. Version I) we have treated the printed text of the Purāṇa as an additional manuscript."

17. The MB version of the Phalaśruti of the SS only considers the recitation of 1008 names of Śiva as equivalent to the performance of an "Aśvamedha" sacrifice (MB) 13.17.171). LP SS version I provides an illustration for this Phalaśruti. LP refers to an account of King Tridhanvan (son of Vasumanas belonging to Angiras Gotra) who wanted to perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice but could not do so on account of poverty. The king came in contact with Taṇḍi .... the son of Brahmā and

was able to get the SS from him. He recited the same and attained the overlordship of the world or the headship of the Gaṇas of Śiva (gāṇaptya) through Śiva's blessings. Being impressed by this account of King Tridhanvan's overlordship, the sages request Sūta to recite the SS for them. Sūta refers to 1008 names (*aṣṭottarasahasraṃ tu nāmnāṃ śṛṇuta suvratāḥ id. 53*).

18. LP SS version I starts with the following verse which is remarkably similar to MB 13.17.30.

*Oṃ sthiraḥ sthāṇuḥ prabhur bhānuḥ  
Pravaro varado varāḥ//54  
sarvātmā sarvavikhyātaḥ  
sarvaḥ sarvakaro bhavaḥ/  
Jaṭi daṇḍī śikhaṇḍī ca  
sarvagaḥ sarvabhāvanaḥ//55*

Similarly it ends:

*vratādhipaḥ param brahma  
muktānām paramā gatiḥ/  
vimukto muktakeśaś ca (MB/MBG muktatejāḥ)  
śrīmān śrīvardhano jagat. 168.*

19. Thus LP SS version I encompasses 1008 names of Śiva in 114 1/2 verses. Like Nīlakaṇṭha, Gaṇeśa Nātu, in his commentary Śivatoṣiṇī counts all these names dividing them into ten śatakas (centuries) plus eight. He, however, construes all the names in the dative case and adds "namas" (salutation), quite in keeping with the tradition of the recitation of all the Sahasranāmastotras (*sarvasahasranāmasu namaḥśabdāntacat urthyantanāmaprayogasyai' va sarvasammā-tatvāc catur-thyantānā māni pradarsyai' va vyākhyāyante*). He also follows Nīlakaṇṭha with regard to the apparent repetition of nāmans, cf. para 13 above. Gaṇeśa Nātu's brief statement, as reproduced below, makes the position clear:

*"atra nāmnāṃ sabdato' rthatas' ca  
paunaruktye' pi śabdārthabhedān na  
paunaruktyam; vidhigata eva śabdaḥ  
prayoktavya'iti mimāṃsakaniyamāt.  
anyathā agnaye juṣṭāṃ nirvapāmi'tyatra  
vahnyādi-prayogāpattir durvārā." id. p. 103.*

### 3. The Liṅgapurāṇa Version II

20. Liṅgapurāṇa version II of the SS (LP I. 98. 27-159) is no less interesting. While it is full of quite a few passages common to the Anuśāsanaparvan version of SS (such as *unmattaveṣaḥ pracchanno 58*

*lokapālo' ntarhitātmā 60 niścaraḥ pretacārī 69*), quite a few of its passages are also common to those in the Viṣṇusahasranāman (such as *iṣṭo viśiṣṭaḥ siṣṭeṣṭaḥ 72, karaṇaṃ kārāṇaṃ kartā 75 etc.*) cf. MBG 13.17;149. 47,54.

21. This version presents itself in the context of Viṣṇu's prayers to Śiva for obtaining the "Sudarśanacakra". The gods were defeated by the powerful demons in the fierce battle. They approached Viṣṇu for help. They further informed him that the only weapon that could counter the weapons of the invincible demons was Sudarśanacakra that had earlier been specially designed by Śiva for assassinating Jalandhara (cf. id. 97). So Viṣṇu worshipped Śiva in the Liṅga form and recited just the one thousand names of Śiva, offering one lotus flower to the Lord with each nāman recitation. Śiva, again, put Viṣṇu to a severe test. He managed to conceal one lotus flower out of the one thousand ones stocked at the place of worship. On finding one flower missing, Viṣṇu took out one of his eyes resembling the lotus flower and offered the same to Śiva (cf. Mahimnastotra, 20). Being pleased with this depth of devotion, Śiva blessed Viṣṇu with the Sudarśanacakra. His one eye was also restored to Him (vide LP I. 98 for a full account).

22. So LP version II of the SS consists of 132 verses. The learned commentator Gaṇeśa Nātu counts and comments on all the one thousand names (divided into ten śatakas as usual) of Śiva.

This version starts with:

*bhavaḥ Śivo haro rudraḥ*  
*Puruṣaḥ padmalocanaḥ. 27*  
*arthitavyaḥ sadācāraḥ*  
*sarvaśambhur maheśvaraḥ*  
*iśvaraḥ sthāṇur iśānaḥ*  
*sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt. 28*

It ends:

*dhairyāgryadhuryo dhātrīśaḥ*  
*śākalyaḥ śarvaripatiḥ*  
*paramārthagurur dṛṣṭir*  
*gurur āśritavatsalaḥ. 58*  
*raso rasajñāḥ sarvajñāḥ*  
*sarvasattāvalambanaḥ. 58 1/2*

Here again the commentator construes all the nāmans in dative cases, adding "namas" to each nominal vocable. One distinctive feature of this version of SS, as pointed out by the commentator, is that in quite a few cases, several words—apparently nāmans—are joined together as

nominatives and adjectives (saṃyuktaviśeṣaṇabhāvāḥ, vide commentary on verse 27), e. g. Om bhavāya Śivāya namaḥ (Śiva as a nominative and bhava as an epithet).

#### 4. Śivapurāṇa Version

23. The context of the Śivapurāṇa version of the SS (IV. 35.2-131) is the same as that of the LP version II of the SS, as noted above. The one remarkable difference reflected here is that Śiva as a donor of the Sudarśanacakra to Viṣṇu is specifically named as "Harīśvara" and the entire account presented by Sūta to the sages concerning the persecution of the gods by demons, performance of penance and pāṛthiva worship, (in the earthen Liṅga Form) by Viṣṇu, His recitation of the one thousand names of Śiva with the corresponding offerings of lotus flowers (brought from the Mansarovar=Mānasa lake), the concealment of one flower by Śiva in order to test the depth of Viṣṇu's devotion followed by Viṣṇu's offer of one of His eyes resembling a lotus flower and Śiva's pleasure and blessings including Viṣṇu's equipment with the Sudarśanacakra is depicted as "Harīśvarakathā" (vide id. 34).

24. On hearing the "Harīśvarakathā" culminating in the destruction of demons and the resultant well being of people (jagat svāsthyam param lebhe babhūvuḥ sukhinaḥ surāḥ. supṛitaḥ svāyudham pṛāpya harir āsīn mahāsukhī. id.34.32), the sages ask Sūta the specific question regarding the SS as recited by Viṣṇu:

*kiṃ tan nāmasahasraṃ vai kathaya tvaṃ hi śāṅkaram/  
yena tuṣṭo dadau cakraṃ haraye sa maheśvaraḥ. 33*

So Sūta repeats the SS as earlier recited by Viṣṇu (puṇyam nāmasahasrakam id. 35.1)

25. Thus the SP version of the SS starts with:

*śivo haro mṛḍo rudraḥ puṣkaraḥ puṣpalocanaḥ/  
arthigamyah sadācāraḥ sarvaḥ sambhur maheśvaraḥ //*

This compares well with the first verse of the LP version II of the SS as noted in para 22 above.

It ends with:

*paramārthagurur dattaḥ  
sūrir āśritavatsalaḥ./  
somo rasajño rasadaḥ*

**sarvasattvāvalambanaḥ. id. 131.**

(almost all the names/clauses tally with those in the concluding verse of the LP SS version II.)

Thus this version of the SS consists of 130 verses. The names included

in this version compare well both with those of MB version as well as with LP version II. For example:

Verse 6 of this version reads.

*viśvarūpo virūpākṣo*  
*vāgīśaḥ śucisattamaḥ/*  
*sarvapramāṇasaṃvādi*  
*vṛṣāṅko vṛṣavāhanaḥ//*

LP version II correspondingly reads:

*viśvarūpo virūpākṣo*  
*vāgīśaḥ śucir antaraḥ /*  
*sarvapranaya-saṃvādi*  
*vṛṣāṅko vṛṣavāhanaḥ // LP I. 98.32.33*

(Only the portions underlined represent the points of variation !)

As explained in para 5 above, the Anuśāsanaparvan version, LP versions I and II and SP version of the SS have too numerous readings in common. For example:

The Anuśāsanaparvan version reads:

*devāsuragurur devo MB*  
*devāsuranamaskṛtaḥ/ 14.17.128*  
*devāsuramahāmātro*  
*devāsuragaṇāśrayaḥ id 129*

The corresponding reading of the SP is as follows:

*devāsuragurur devo*  
*devāsuranamaskṛtaḥ*  
*devāsuramahāmitro (MB-mātro)*  
*devāsuramaheśvaraḥ SP IV. 35.91*

(Only the last line varies.

26. I have not been able to count the one thousand names included in the 130 verses of chapter 35 of the Koṭirudra Saṃhitā (IV) of SP constituting this SS version. Nor I have come across any authoritative commentary explaining the specific names included in this version. But I believe, the names included here, must not be less than 1000.

### 5. The Śāntiparvan Version of the ŚS of the Mahābhārata

27. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata does not include this version of the SS, as part of the text. It is given as Appendix 28 to Śāntiparvan text. So the facts given below about this version are based on the relevant text of the Gita Press edition of the Mahābhārata.

28. Chapter 284 of Śāntiparvan deals with the destruction of Dakṣa's

sacrifice. Dakṣa Prajāpati plans out an Aśvamedha sacrifice where all the gods, ṛṣis, the pitṛs, and other dignitaries are invited. The sage Dadhīci is, however, not happy with this sacrifice, as Śiva is not invited to grace the occasion. He tries to convince Dakṣa about the indispensability of inviting Śiva. But when Dakṣa does not agree to abide by his advice, Dadhīci predicts or pronounces his curse to the effect that this sacrifice will just not be there (*tathā dakṣasya vipulo yajño' yam na bhaviṣyati* 21). In the meanwhile, in the course of a heated dialogue with the Goddess, Śiva creates Vīrabhadra who along with his retinue destroys Dakṣa's sacrifice with view to pacifying Goddess who was immensely enraged due to Śiva's open insult by Dakṣa and his ṛtviks. Ultimately Dakṣa comes to his senses. As advised by Vīrabhadra, he surrenders wholeheartedly to Śiva. Śiva, pleased with his devotion, blesses him with His Grace and restores in full the merit (the eternal outcome) of the sacrifice, even though physically destroyed. It is at this stage that as mark of the expression of his sense of gratitude, Dakṣa recites the Śivasahasranāman consisting of 1008 names (*nāmnām aṣṭasahasreṇa stutavān vṛṣabhadhvajam* 66).

29. Being specifically requested by Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīṣma, (unlike the Anuśasanaparvan's Bhīṣma) repeats the same one thousand eight names of Śiva as earlier recited by Dakṣa Prajāpati.

30. The first two verses of this version of SS are:

*namaste devadeveśa devāribalasūdana/  
devendrabalaviṣṭambha devadānavapūjita //  
sahasrākṣa virūpākṣa tryakṣa yakṣādhipapriya/  
sarvataḥ pāṇipādānta sarvato'kṣiśiromukha.* 69-70

In fact this version of SS as such ends with:

*yeṣāṃ na vidyate saṃkhyā pramāṇam rūpam eva ca/  
asaṃkhyeyaguṇā rudrā namas tebhyo'stu nityaśaḥ.* 175

But Dakṣa's atoning prayer continues through the verse 180. His repeated repentance as represented in the refrain "*tena tvaṃ na nimantritaḥ*" 277-279 is specially noteworthy.

31. Verses 77-114 include all the nāmans in the dative case, verse 115 to 159 are all in the nominative case. All that follows represent descriptive statements depicting the specific aspects of the Supreme Divinity of Śiva. The first eight verse (69-76), however, include the nāmans in the vocative case with the customary salutatory expression "*namas te*" or "*namo'stu te*" and also eulogizing expressions, descriptive in character.

32. Significantly, this version of the SS is replete with the typical Vedic expressions. The following verse may be cited as an example of almost

verbatim reproduction of a Ṛgvedic mantra:

*gāyanti tvā gāyatrīṇo  
'rcanty arkam arkiṇaḥ  
brahmāṇaṃ tvā śatakratum  
ūrdhvaṃ kham iva menire. 73*

cf Ṛgveda 1.10.1

*gāyanti tvā gāyatrīṇo  
'rcanty arkam arkiṇaḥ/  
brahmāṇas tvā śatakrata  
ud vaṃśam iva yemire//*

33. The special correlation of this version of the SS with the Vedas is also established by the clauses "*trisauparṇam tathā brahma yajuṣāṃ śatarudriyam*" 133. According to this verse Śiva is stated to be an embodiment of "*Trisuparṇa*" (Ṛgveda X. 114.3-5) as well as "*śatarudriya*" (Śuklayajurveda Mādhyandina Chapter 16.1-66). The three Ṛgvedic verses referred to above represent the multidimensional aspects of the Supreme Deity who, even though one and only one, is described as numerous (*ekaṃ santaṃ bahudhā kalpayanti Ṛg. id 5*). The Śatarudriya, likewise, represents salutation to the innumerable forms of the Supreme Deity (*asaṃkhyātā 54*).

34. Nīlakaṇṭha raises a pertinent point about this version of the SS being given the status of a Śivasahasranāmastotra at all. He states that even though this version claims to encompass 1008 names, the names actually included in it are just a little over six hundred. Even if some descriptive eulogizing statements included here are duly construed so as to stand for Siva's names, it does not serve the purpose. Firstly, such reconstructions (*vipariṇāma*) are not admissible in this context. Secondly, even if such reconstructions are resorted to, this is not going to fill in the gap and bring the total number to 1008. So according to Nīlakaṇṭha, this version of SS falls short of the requisite number and is as such not even worthy of commentation. The version is not at all fit for recitation either; being deficient (by a few hundred names) it is a *vāgvajra* (a harmful thunderbolt of words) leading to the harmful consequences for the reciter.

*"nanv iha nāmnām aṣṭasahasreṇety aṣṭādhikam Sahasraṃ nāmnām vaktavyatvena pratijñātāṃ tatra nāmapāṭhe kiñcidadhikāni ṣaṣṭatanā-māny upalabhyante. na ca stutipadebhyo vipariṇāmena nāmāny unnetuṃ śakyante, anyas' abdasyā' nyārthatvakalpane pramāṇābhāvāt. na ca tāvatā'pi saṃkhyāpūrṭiḥ sambhavati. tasmād galita ina nāmasamāmnāya ity avyākhyeyam etat sahasranāmastotram nā'pi*



*pathanīyam nyūnatvena vāgvajratvāt. vāgvajro hi mantro'dhyetāraṃ nāśayati."*

The learned commentator, however, commenting on the verse "*trisuparṇaṃ tathā brahma yajuṣāṃ śatarudriyam*" MBG 12.284.133 (quoted in para 33 above) reconciles the anomaly pointed out by him in his forceful dissenting introductory remark just quoted. He says that there is a way of filling in the gap. According to the details of calculations given by him, the total number of names included in this version of the SS comes to 606. The remaining 402 names are to be added from the Tri-Suparṇa mantras (Ṛgveda X.114.3-5) as well as the Śatarudriyam (Yajurveda 16.1-66). He gives exact calculations from the above two sources as well. He says::

*"aṣṭādhikasahasrasya śeṣaṃ dvyadhikam nāmnāṃ śatacatuṣṭayaṃ trisuparṇa-śatarudriyābhyāṃ pūraṇīyam."*

Nilakaṇṭha also points out that this clue is given in the introductory verse of this version of the SS itself where Bhīṣma says that some of the names are secret, others are open (*śrūatāṃ devadevasya nāmāny adbhutakarmanāḥ. gūḍhavrataṣya guhyāni prakāśāni ca bhārata* 68). So he considers the names represented by 12.284.133 as secret ones which if added to the open names, complete the number of 1008 and ward off the inauspicious effects of the recitation of names deficient in number.

35. So this version of the SS (MBG 12.284.66-183) is considered to be auspicious only when read with the "*Trisuparṇa*" and "*śatarudriya*" mantras. This association with the Vedic hymns may also be considered as one of the numerous significant factors giving the Mahābhārata the status of a Fifth Veda.

## 6. The Vāyupurāṇa Version

36. The Vāyupurāṇa version of the SS (I.35.179-319) together with the introduction and "phalaśruti" is almost the same as that of the Śāntiparvan version of the Gita Press edition of the Mahābhārata (12.284.66-183). The VI version of the SS as such consists of 105 verses (id. 180-284) beginning "*namaste devadeves'a*" (cf.MBG id.69; VP version is just the same except that 180 reads "*devendra hy amaras'reṣṭha*" in place of "*devendrabalaviṣṭambha*) and ending "*prasīda mama deveśa tvam eva śaraṇaṃ mama. tvam gatis tvam patiṣṭhā ca na cānyā'sti na me gatiḥ*". (cf MBG.id.180; only the onset "*prasīda mama*" is identical; the rest vary verbally). So the MBG Śāntiparvan version of the SS as such consists of 112 verses, that is seven verses more than those of the VP

version.

37. The background of the VP version is also the same as that of the MBG Śāntiparvan version. The same Dakṣa episode repeats itself here except that the name of the sage opposing Dakṣa's sacrifice sans Śiva here in Dadhīca (and not Dadhīci as in the MBG). The Manvantara of this occurrence, viz. Vaivasvata is also the same. This version also abounds in Vedic expressions. Of course, while the MBG version (12.284.73) almost repeats the whole Ṛgvedic mantra (I.10.1), this version repeats only half of (*gāyanti tvā gāyatrīṇo hy arcayante tathā rcinaḥ* 183)

38. This version also claims to encompass 1008 name (*nāmnām aṣṭasahasreṇa stutavān vṛṣabhadhvajam* 179). It is however, obvious that like the MBG, this version too is deficient almost by the same number of names. Here again the "trisupaṇa" (Rg. X.114.3-5) and "Śatarudriya (Śuklayajurved XVI) mantras come to our rescue! Compare MBG 12.284-133 and VP I.35.243 "*saupaṇam ca tathā brahma yājuṣām śatarudriyam.*"

### 7. The Brahmaṇḍa Version

39. The Brahmaṇḍa version of the SS together with the introduction and phalaśruti (BP 37.97.38.1.137) is again almost the same as that of the VP. The SS as such of this version consists of 99 verses only (38.2-100); the beginning and the end are almost the same as those of the VP version. The claim of including 1008 names is also the same. This version too abounds in Vedic expressions. The same reproduction of the Ṛgvedic mantra (1.10.1) except that "*arcanty arkam arkiṇaḥ*: is replaced here (38.6) by *arcayanti hy akarṇiṇaḥ* which seems to be a scribal error. A reference to Trisupaṇa and Śatarudriya mantras is again repeated here (*trisaupaṇas tatha brahman yājuṣām śatarudriyam id.* 58) which as explained in respect of the MBG and VP versions of the SS, may contribute to the auspiciousness of this version of the SS as well.

### 8. The Mahābhāgavata Upapurāṇa Version

40. The Mahābhāgavata Upapurāṇa appears to be of comparatively recent origin. The Śivasahasranāman occurs in chapter 67 of this Upapurāṇa in the context of king Bhagīratha's penance for the descent of the Gaṅgā from the heaven to the earth. This version of the SS is even stylistically different from the rest of the versions listed earlier. The linguistic features of the Purāṇas are conspicuously absent here.

41. Bhagīratha seeks Śiva's help, through his prayers, for directing the

Gaṅgā to descend on the earth and purify the bodies of the sons of Sagara, burnt to ashes through Kapila's curse.

42. The MBU version of the SS begins with:

*Oṃ namas te pārvatīnātha  
devadeva parātpara /  
acyutā' nagma pañcāsya  
bhīmāsya rucirānana // 67.1.11*

It ends with:

*prasīda tvaṃ jagannātha  
jagadyone namo'stu te. id 125*

43. Being pleased with Bhagīratha's prayers, Śiva grants him the boon asked for :

*manorathas te'yam avehi pūrṇo  
mama prasādād acirād bhaviṣyati/  
ye cā'pi, mām bhaktita eva martyāḥ  
stotreṇa cā'nenā nṛpa stuvanti/  
teṣām tu pūrṇāḥ sakalā manorathā  
dhruvaṃ bhaviṣyanti mama prasādāt. id. 134-135.*

The 'phalaśruti" and other details of Bhagīratha's prayers continue through the end of this chapter.

**N.P.** It is perhaps for the first time that all the eight versions of the Śivasahasranāmastotra are discussed. It goes without saying that the tradition of stotras represent a productive area of serious research.

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# NĪLAKAṆṬHA'S COSMOGRAPHICAL COMMENTS IN THE BHĪṢMAPARVAN

BY

CHRISTOPHER Z. MINKOWSKI

[ महाभारतस्य नीलकण्ठचतुर्धरकृता भारतभावदीपिकाख्या टीका विश्रुता वर्तते । नीलकण्ठः वेदवेदाङ्गमीमांसाश्रौतयागशिवोपासनादिनानाविषयेषु लब्धकीर्तिर्विद्वान् आसीत् । महाभारतस्य भीष्मपर्वणः प्रारम्भे जम्बूद्वीपविनिर्माणपर्व तथा भूमिपर्व नामके उपपर्वणी वर्तते यत्र भूगोलस्य वर्णनं वर्तते । एतद्भूगोलवर्णनं सिद्धान्तज्योतिषग्रन्थेषु वर्णितेन भूगोलवर्णनेन वैषम्यं भजते । अस्य भीष्मपर्वणः टीकायां नीलकण्ठः पौराणिकवर्णनस्य ज्योतिषशास्त्रग्रन्थवर्णितस्य विरोधस्य परिहाराय समन्वयस्थापनार्थं च प्रयत्नं कृतवान् । इदमपि नीलकण्ठस्य व्याख्यानेन स्पष्टं भवति यत् पौराणिकपरम्परां प्रति नीलकण्ठस्य दृढानुरागो वर्तते । एतद्विषये नीलकण्ठेन 'सौरपौराणिकमतमसमर्थनम्' नामकस्य स्वतन्त्र-ग्रन्थस्यापि रचना कृता । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य रचना महाभारतव्याख्यानस्यानन्तरं जाता । अस्मिन् निबन्धे नीलकण्ठस्य ग्रन्थानां पौर्वापर्यविवेचनपूर्वकं समस्तविषयस्य साङ्गोपाङ्गं प्रामाणिकमध्ययनं प्रस्तुतम् । ]

## Introduction

In this article I wish to take up the attempt of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara to reconcile inconsistent statements found in the cosmographies of the Purāṇas on the one hand and in the astronomical Siddhāntas on the other. In an article that appeared in Purāṇa 39, N. Gangadharan discussed Nīlakaṇṭha's independent work on this subject, the Saura-paurāṇika-mata-samarthana (SPMS).<sup>1</sup> Here I shall consider some passages of Nīlakaṇṭha's most well-known work, the Bhārata-bhāva-dīpikā (BhBhD)

1. The title is also sometimes given in the manuscripts as Paurāṇikajyautiṣam. N. Gangadharan, "Reconciliation of Siddhāntajyotiṣa and Paurāṇikajyotiṣa," Purāṇa 39.1 (1997): 20-23. This is a very similar article to a previous work by the same author, "The Saurapaurāṇikamatāsamārthana of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara," Annals of Oriental Research 28, 1 (1978) Sanskrit Section, Article 6, pp. 1-4. See also a brief mention in David Pingree, "Paurāṇic versus Siddhāntic Astronomy," *English Abstracts, Xth World Sanskrit Conference*, (Bangalore, 1997): 318-19. On the available manuscripts see David Pingree *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit* (CESS), A3, p. 191, A4, p. 157, and A5, p. 197. An edition based on two manuscripts in the Saraswati Bhavan was produced by Indunātha Śarma as *Paurāṇikajyautiṣam*, Laghu Granthamālā 45, Varanasi: Sampūrnānand Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, 1989. Despite Śarma's efforts, the published text is often incomprehensible. A fresh edition based on more extant manuscripts is needed.

commentary on the Mahābhārata, which treat the same topic. Before doing so I shall give some general background on the historical situation of the schools of thought that Nīlakaṇṭha was attempting to reconcile. I hope to demonstrate three points: that in these passages of the BhBhD Nīlakaṇṭha was primarily limiting himself to reconciling the conflicting measurements of the size of the earth found in the different traditions, that Nīlakaṇṭha, wrote the SPMS only after completing his comments on the passages of the Mahābhārata, and that Nīlakaṇṭha was in many ways innovative, not just in the proposals that he made, but in the explanatory method he adopted to make them.

### The Purāṇas and the Siddhāntas

The Purāṇas are largely consistent in presenting a model of the universe in which the earth is a flat horizontal disk in a vertical, egg-shaped universe, with seven heavens above and seven underworlds below. Viewed from above, the disk of the Earth is made up primarily of seven concentric continents with seven intervening oceans. The central continent with Meru at its center is called the Jambūdvīpa, which is surrounded by the salt ocean. The southernmost portion of Jambūdvīpa is the location for the land of Bhārata. As far as distances are concerned, Mt. Meru is 84,000 yojanas high, Jambūdvīpa is 100,000 yojanas in diameter, the Bhāratavarṣa is 9000 yojanas in extent, while the disk of the earth as a whole, including seven continents, seven oceans, and what lies outside them, is 50 crores or 500 million yojanas in diameter. As Kirfel demonstrated in 1954, this account of the cosmos is found in a number of Purāṇas and can be traced to a common source, which Pingree has argued was probably completed in the latter half of the 2nd century AD.<sup>2</sup>

The Mahābhārata version of this cosmography, which appears in the Bhīṣmaparvan, agrees with the Purāṇic account in its general plan and in most details, though it does clearly differ in a few places.<sup>3</sup> The only difference relevant to this paper is that the MBh in one place asserts the diameter of the Jambūdvīpa to be 18,600 yojanas instead of 100,000.<sup>4</sup>

2. Willibald Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebaude*, Bonn 1954. David Pingree, "The Purāṇas and Jyotiḥśāstra: Astronomy," JAOS 110.2 (1990): 274-80. I am also grateful to David Pigree for his helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

3. See L. Hilgenberg, *Die kosmographische Episode im Mahābhārata und Padmapurāṇa*, Bonner Orientalische Studien 4, Stuttgart: 1934 pp. ix-xxi.

4. See below, note 26.

In the Siddhāntic model of the cosmos the earth is a fixed, nonrotating sphere at the center of a series of interesting spheres on which the sun, moon, and the various planets and stars revolve around the earth. In this model the diameter of the earth is calculated to be about 1600 yojanas, with a circumference of about 5000 yojanas. This is the model articulated already in the Paitāmahasiddhānta of the 5th Century, and it is the model taken up in all astronomical Siddhāntas in India, regardless of their other differences.<sup>5</sup>

Thus there are important inconsistencies between the Purāṇic and Siddhāntic cosmographies : for in one the earth is flat, while in the other it is globe-shaped; in one it has a huge size, while in the other it has a manageably small size. As far as we know, however, their mutual inconsistency passed largely undiscussed until the mid-9th Century, when the astronomer Lalla turned to a critique of the Purāṇic model in the 20th chapter of his work, the Śiṣyadhīvrddhidatantra.<sup>6</sup> Lalla did attempt to accommodate some elements of the Purāṇic model to the globe-shaped earth of the Siddhāntas.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless Lalla explicitly rejected many improbable Purāṇic assertions, such as that night is caused by Meru blocking the Sun; that the Moon is higher in the heavens than the Sun is; and most relevant here, that the earth is flat and rests on a support, and that the earth is of a huge size. Lalla's criticisms were repeated in later Siddhāntas, especially in Śrīpati's work of the 11th Century, and in Bhāskara's very influential work, the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, of the 12th Century.<sup>8</sup>

Lalla did raise the problem of the huge sizes asserted by the Purāṇas for the earth and its continents by comparison to the Siddhāntic diameter of 1600 yojanas. For the Siddhāntakāras the circumference of the spherical earth is established through a method comparable to that used

5. Pingree, "Purāṇas and Jyotiḥśāstra," 276-78. Note however that the astronomers of the Āryapakṣa assume the circumference of the earth to be distances in the vicinity of 3300 yojanas. See David Pingree, "History of Mathematical Astronomy in India," Dictionary of Scientific Biography, vol. 15 Supplement 1 (New York : ACLS, 1978) 591, 593, 597, 609.

6. Ed. C.B. Pandey, *Śiṣyadhīvrddhidam*, Library Rare Texts Publication Series 2, Vārānasi: Sampūrnānd Saṁskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, 1981.

7. See the 19th Chapter of the ŚDV and Pingree, "Purāṇas and Jyotiḥśāstra," 279. The Sūryasiddhānta had already made some of these accommodations in its twelfth chapter, the Bhūgolādhyāya.

8. Pingree, "Purāṇas and Jyotiḥśāstra," 279, and see below, note 10.

by Eratosthenes in 3rd Century B.C.<sup>9</sup> The huge sizes given in the Purāṇas therefore contradict the distances establishable by observation and calculation. Bhāskara made a similar statement in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi.<sup>10</sup>

### Nilkaṇṭha Caturdhara and his Work

It is against this intellectual backdrop that we must consider Nīlkaṇṭha's comments in the BhBhD. Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Govinda Sūri, was a Marāṭhī-speaking Brahmin of the Gotama gotra who flourished in the second half of the 17th Century, and whose family had been established in what is now Ahmadnagar district of Maharashtra.<sup>11</sup> Nīlakaṇṭha moved from Karpūrgrāma on the banks of the Godāvārī to Benares, where he undertook the study of Veda and Vedāṅga, Mīmāṃsā, Śrauta, Yoga, Śaiva worship, Tarka, and especially Advaita Vedānta.<sup>12</sup> His teacher for Advaita Vedānta was Lakṣmaṇārya, whom he mentions in the introduction and / or conclusion to many of his works, and who Gode has argued was the same person as Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita of Benares, the author of the Sāracandrikā commentary on the Rāghavapāṇḍavīya and of the Advaitasudhā.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to his famous commentary on the Mahābhārata, Nīlakaṇṭha composed commentaries on the Śivatāṇḍavatantra in 1680, on the Gaṇeśagītā in 1693, on the Harivaṃśa, on the Rudrasārasaṃgraha, and

9. That is, if one knows the difference in latitude of two points on the earth that lie along the same north-south line, as a fraction of 360°, and if one measures the distance between these two points along the north-south line, then to calculate the circumference of the earth is a simple matter of multiplication. So already Pañcasiddhāntikā 13, 15 (O. Neugebauer and D. Pingree, *The Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira*, Copenhagen: 1970); and also Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya III, 14 (Ed. Muralīdhara Caturvedī, *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* with *Vāsanā* autocommentary of Bhāskara and *Vāsanāvārttika* comm. of Nṛsiṃha, Library Rare Texts Publication Series 5, Vāranasī: Sampūrnānand Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, 1998). Lalla rejects the (Purāṇic) huge earth for this reason and also because it cannot be explained how the stars and planets can revolve around a huge earth in a single day (going at any believable speed): amitā yadi bhūriyojanā syāt kṣitir ahnā parivartyate katham bhaiḥ / paridheḥ khalu ṣoḍaśe sthitāṃśe na ca laṅkāviṣayād bhavaty avantī. Śiṣyadhīvr̥ddhidatantra-Mithyājñānādhyāya vs. 30.
10. III. 16. śṛṅgonnatigrahayutigrahaṇodayāstacchāyādikam paridhinā ghaṭate 'munā hi / nāyena tena jagur uktamahīpramāṇaprāmāṇyam anvayayujā vyatirekeṇa //
11. P.K. Gode, "Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata-his Genealogy and Descendants," ABORI 23 (1942): 146-61.
12. See the passages from Nīlakaṇṭha's work cited in P.K. Gode, "The Exact Date of the Advaitasudhā of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita (A.D. 1663) and his possible identity with Lakṣmaṇārya, the Vedānta teacher of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata" Poona Orientalist X, 1-2 pp. 1-7. Reprinted in *Studies in Indian Literary History* III (Poona: 1956): 52-53.
13. P.K. Gode, "The Exact date of the Advaitasudhā," 48-54.

on the Vedāntic Ratnatrayaparīkṣā of Appaya Dīkṣita.<sup>14</sup> He wrote an independent work on Advaita, the Vedāntakataka, and a doxographic work in the Advaitan style, the Ṣaṭtantrīsāra. He also wrote a series of works entitled Mantrarāmāyaṇa, Mantrabhāgavata, Mantrakāśikhaṇḍa, Mantraśārīrika, and possibly a Mantramahābhārata. This is a genre of text that has received very little scholarly attention, in which Nīlakaṇṭha assembles verses from the Vedic Saṃhitās and provides an exegetical reading of them such that they are found to be narrating the Rāmāyaṇa, in the first case, or the Bhāgavata, in the second, and so on.<sup>15</sup> It is worthy of note that Nīlakaṇṭha makes no mention of a study of the Jyotiṣa Siddhāntas, nor did he compose any extant works on astronomy, with the exception of his comments in the SPMS. His sympathies, as will become clear in what follows, lie with Purāṇic and Vedāntic texts, and not with astronomical ones.

Nīlakaṇṭha dedicates his commentary on the Śivatāṇḍavatantra to Anūpasimha, Maharaja of Bikaner from 1669-1698, a noted bibliophile and sometime general in the service of Aurangzeb.<sup>16</sup> None of Nīlakaṇṭha's other works are explicitly dedicated to rulers. No study has yet been made of Nīlakaṇṭha's 'situatedness' in the cultural, much less political, historical moment in which he lived, as indeed so such study has been made of most learned authors writing in Sanskrit who lived in the 17th century.<sup>17</sup>

### The Bhāratabhāvadīpikā on the Bhīṣmaparvan

Of course the most well-known episode of the Bhīṣmaparvan is contained in the Bhagavadgītāparvan (MBh 6.14-40). But before the Gītā or the outbreak of the war, the Bhīṣmaparvan opens with two short sections, the Jambūkhāṇḍavinirmāṇaparvan and the Bhūmiparvan, in which Sañjaya, freshly equipped with the divyacakṣus, gives Dhṛtarāṣṭra a

14. *New Catalogus Catalogorum* X p 171. See also Gode, "Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara," 146ff.

15. The Mantrarāmāyaṇa was published in Bombay in 1910 at the Veṅkateśvara Steam Press and edited again by Rām Kumār Rāy in Vāraṇasi in 1988 as Tantra Granthamālā 16 (Pracya Prakashan). The Mantrabhāgavata was published in Bombay in 1903 by the Veṅkateśvara Steam Press. It was re-edited by Śraddhā Cauhan in Jodhpur in 1969, Rajasthan Purātana Granthamālā 112. More on these works in a forthcoming article. These commentaries all carry the generic title (Mantra)rahasyaprakāśikā.

16. See David Pingree, "Astronomy at the Court of Anupasiṃha," in *From Astral Omens to Astrology, From Babylon to Bikaner*, Serie Orientale Roma LXXVIII, Roma: Istituto Italiano per L'Africa et L'Oriente 1997, pp.91-103.

17. See Sheldon Pollock, "Sanskrit Literary Culture in History," forthcoming.



description of the geography of the Jambūdvīpa, the central continent of the earth according to the Paurāṇika cosmography, and then also of the remaining continents and oceans of the world.<sup>18</sup>

In Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Jambūkhaṇḍavinirmāṇaparvan there are primarily two passages that are of special relevance to our interests here. These are found in his comments on MBh 6.6.10-11 (Crit. Ed.),<sup>19</sup> and on MBh 6.7.2 and 4 (Crit. Ed.).<sup>20</sup> After a few remarks about Nīlakaṇṭha's commentarial interests in these parvans, I will summarize Nīlakaṇṭha's comments on the two central passages, and will provide complete translations only of the crucial portions.

As mentioned above, there are some discrepancies between the Mahābhārata's geography and that of the Purāṇas. Hilgenberg has argued that these discrepancies are not all accidental, but rather that some reflect an intentional departure in the MBh from the Purāṇic account.<sup>21</sup> Nīlakaṇṭha is aware of these discrepancies, and makes efforts in his commentary to reconcile them. For example, on 6.7.11 Crit Ed. (=6.6.12 cd-13 Citraśālā ed.) where the four lands surrounding Meru are called "dvīpas," Nīlakaṇṭha explains that although the term does not refer as usual to continents, "dvīpāḥ" here means lands separated by rivers, which are therefore like continents (separated by oceans).<sup>22</sup> In particular, Nīlakaṇṭha is well aware of the unusual diameter of the Jambūdvīpa (of 18,600 yojanas) that is given in the Mahābhārata.<sup>23</sup> He refers to it several times, and makes a new sense out of it through interpretation, as we shall see.<sup>24</sup> But his awareness of the variety of statements in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata first leads him to a stance above the cosmographical questions, a stance of undecideability.

A) MBh. 6.6.10-11 (Crit. Ed.) occurs in a section in which Sañjaya is giving a concise description of the five material elements that make up the earth. In verse 10 Sañjaya asserts that all of the constituent materials

18. See above for discussion and bibliography of Paurāṇika geography. The MBh account is found in comparable form in the Padma Purāṇa, 1.3.1 to 1.9.40 in the Ānandāśrama edition. See Hilgenberg.

19. In the Citraśālā Press edition of Nīlakaṇṭha edited by S.N. Joshi (Poona: 1929), this is the commentary on MBh 6.5.11-12.

20. MBh 6.6.3,6 in the Citraśālā edition of Nīlakaṇṭha.

21. Hilgenberg, xiv-xxi. She has further suggested that the differences reflect a possible influence of the Jaina cosmography.

22. dvīpā iva dvīpāḥ. nadyantaravād varṣāṇi. See Hilgenber, xiv.

23. 6.12.5 Crit. Ed. (6.11.5 Citraśālā Ed.) cited below, note 26.

24. His comments ad loc. repeat the interpretation he first provides in passage b). He then helpfully calculates what the diameter of all seven continents, on this interpretation, would be: 25,35,000 yojanas.

(dhātu) that constitute the earth are composed of the five elements (pañcabhautika), and that men measure these constituents using their reason (tarka). In verse 11 however, he asserts that these constituents are immeasurable (aparimeya).

The main burden of Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on this passage, therefore, has to do with the limitations of the mental powers of humans, and the ineffable nature of the essential components of being. And yet in the course of the discussion Nīlakaṇṭha brings up the views of the astronomers, and this leads him to a critique of the theory of the spherical shape of the earth.

Although the constituents of the earth are immeasurable (aparimeya), Nīlakaṇṭha explains, calculators (gaṇaka) use their reason (tarka) to assert dimensions that vary according to the differences in the motion of the sun, in the region, in the length of the day depending on latitude as measured by the shadow of the gnomon, and through other means. And this implies that they suppose the shape of the earth differently.

For consider: some suppose that the earth is spherical; some say it is rectangular; some say it is triangular, some say it is round. And they further posit different sizes for the earth. Calculators of the extent (pariṇāha) of Jambūdvīpa say that its diameter is 1581+1/24 yojanas.<sup>25</sup> But in a Purāṇa it is said that its extent (pariṇāha) is 100,000 yojanas. And here (in Jambūkhaṇḍavinirmānaparvan, Vyāsa) will say the extent is 18,600.<sup>26</sup>

What then is the correct view? In order to show that this matter is ineffable (anirvacanīya) and cannot be established through reason, Sañjaya utters verse (11). It is not possible to establish through reason those states (bhāvas) i.e. those things which are not capable of being thought out (cintayitum ayogyāḥ), such things as the material cause of the origin of the universe, the efficient cause, its measure, its dharma, and its adharma. This is also so because of the maxim that reason is unreliable because of the possibility of nullification of an argument through another argument. And therefore the second half of this śloka (6.6.11CD) is read in other texts elsewhere as nāpratiṣṭhitatarkeṇa gaṃbhīrārthasya niścayaḥ

25. Nīlakaṇṭha cites here without attribution a line from the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi: tadvyāsaḥ kubhujāṅgasāyākabhuvāḥ siddhāṃśakenādhikā (Golādhyāya III.52).

26. MBh. 6.12..5 Crit. Ed. (=6.11.5 Citraśālā ed.) aṣṭādaś sahasrāṇi yojanāni viśāṃ pate / ṣaṭśatāni ca pūrṇāni viṣkambho jambuparvatāḥ //

- there is no finished conclusion possible about a profound matter because of the unstable nature of logic.<sup>27</sup>

And moreover: if one supposes that the earth has the shape of a globe, then it is reasonable to say that there is a certain amount of space on the top of the globe as if on the top of a tortoise suitable for supporting water, creature, and humans. But those creatures who live on the sides and the bottom of the globe must inevitably fall off because of their heaviness and because of having, on the bottom side, nothing to support them. Therefore the sides and bottom must be empty, one would have to admit. And furthermore even idiots feel confident saying that it contradicts (*viruddha*) common experience to suppose the existence of the other (six concentric) continents if one has also supposed a spherical earth.

Now (the astronomers) might object that just as everyone other than the Jains (*digambara*) supposes that the earth has an additional power to attract things to it, as a result of which creatures standing on all parts of the earth think that the earth is below them and the sky is above.<sup>28</sup>

Nīlakaṇṭha dismisses this idea by saying that once one is going to simply suppose things that contradict common experience, one might as well suppose anything at all, and this argument leads him into a discussion of the higher Advaitan arguments concerning epistemological certainty, in which the specifics of the model of the earth, and indeed, proof through reason in general, are left on a level of reality well below.

Nīlakaṇṭha does return to his assertion of the basic immeasurability of the world in the comment on the following verse, where he takes the characterization of the *Sudarśanadvīpa*, (which for Nīlakaṇṭha means the *Brahmāṇḍa*), as '*parimaṇḍala*' to mean neither spherical nor circular, but rather, of a size that cannot be specified - *parimāṇato durlakṣyaḥ*.

27. There are no variants like this in the Crit. Ed., though N.'s comment would not suggest that there should be.

28. In fact Nīlakaṇṭha has confused the Jainas with a pseudo-Buddhist view. It appears to be a fairly widespread notion among the later astronomers that Buddhists think the earth has no support and is always falling downwards through space, e.g. *Siddhāntaśīromaṇi*, *Golādhyāya* III. 7. Why the astronomers believe this is a puzzle, since the Buddhist cosmology is not known to make such a claim. See Randy Kloetzli, *Buddhist Cosmology* (Delhi, 1983), 25- the Buddhist earth is resting on a layer of golden earth. For a reverse confusion of Buddhists and Jains see below, note 35. The *Siddhāntakāras* do indeed maintain that the earth has its own power of attraction and that creatures think that 'up' is above them, wherever they are standing on the globe. *Siddhāntaśīromaṇi*, *Golādhyāya* III, vss. 6, 19-20.

**Comments on passage A):**

In this first passage, therefore, it is clear that what is important to Nīlakaṇṭha as an Advaitan commentator is not the specificity of all of the measurements of the jambūdīvīpa. He alludes to the fact of the conflicting statements in the śāstras as a way of demonstrating the 'undecideable' or ineffable nature of the size and shape of the earth. Nevertheless he does not feel prevented from ruling out the astronomers' theory that the earth is a globe.

B) MBh 6.7.2,4 appear in the following chapter where, in response to the brief schematic account of Jambūdīvīpa in MBh 6.6, Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks for a more detailed description. Sañjaya begins with the six mountain ranges that run east and west across Jambūdīvīpa. They are thousands of yojanas wide. In the Purāṇic account, the width of these mountains is specified as 2000 yojanas, but in the Mahābhārata the width is only specified to be thousands of yojanas wide - yojanāni sahasraśaḥ.

Perhaps because he is aware of the discrepancy between Purāṇic and epic accounts, Nīlakaṇṭha takes the passage as a point of departure for returning to the discussion of the dimensions of Jambūdīvīpa and also its shape. The main burden of this commentarial passage is show that the different sizes that are asserted in various authoritative texts are in fact reconcilable with each other and with our ordinary experience as well. Thus the passages are to be understood as being without contradiction (avirodhena). As will be shown, Nīlakaṇṭha first reconciles the approximately 5000 yojanas of the astronomers with the 18,600 yojanas of this MBh passage. Later Nīlakaṇṭha strikes upon a means for reconciling the much larger Purāṇic earth of 50 crore yojanas as well. Nīlakaṇṭha settles on an approach that also allows him to reconcile various shapes - square, triangle - asserted for the earth in the Purāṇas.

This model (kalpanā) of the earth, Nīlakaṇṭha argues, appears to be without contradiction (avirodhena) between what the śāstras (i.e. purāṇas) and direct experience present us. Just as in the case of a square of the size of a hasta, that is with a side measuring 24 angulas, and with a perimeter measuring 96 angulas, the diagonal, (karṇa) will be slightly less than 34 angulas. So in the same way the size of the earth called the jambūparva is said to be 18,600 yojanas.<sup>29</sup> This measurement is to be understood as the perimeter.<sup>30</sup> Each side of a square of this circumference will therefore be 4650 yojanas. The hypotenuse of such a square will be,

29. See above not 26.

30. Of course ordinarily 'viṣkambha' should mean the diameter.

calculating according to the method laid out in the Śulbaśāstra, 6576 yojanas.<sup>31</sup> The four corners of this square-shaped earth, which is surrounded by the four oceans, point in the four quarterly directions. Therefore on the southern directional (corner of the square) there is a junction point between two oceans at the bridge of Rāma (which runs South to Laṅkā). Similarly there are junction points of the oceans at the other directional corners.<sup>32</sup>

Now, as for the length of the circumference of the earth posited by the astronomers, 4967 yojanas, that is just the width of the square earth we suppose, namely 4650 yojanas.<sup>33</sup> Now, as for the difference between them, namely 317 yojanas, that can be explained as due to the variability in the length of a yojana which is caused by the variability in the size of a hasta, whose length, Kātyāyana and other (Śulba/Śrauta authors) suppose to be subject to variation, since a hasta is taken to be one fifth of the height of the Sacrificer, but the sacrificer can either be measured while standing on flat feet or else optionally while standing on tiptoe.<sup>34</sup>

Though the earth is shown to be square in this way, the sun nevertheless follows a circular path in revolving around Meru, which is positioned at the center of the (flat) earth. The Buddhists do not accept this idea, and instead suppose that there are two suns.<sup>35</sup>

In general, everything that the astronomers maintain can be accepted, provided it is not in contradiction to logic. But as for the Purāṇic assertion that the size of the Earth is 50 crores of yojanas in breadth, (the objection that might come from the Astronomers) is to be answered by appeal to the verse discussed above (6.6.11.Crit. Ed.) It is best to appeal to the argument of ineffability (anirvacanīyavāda) because the matter remains undecided due to contradictory views. (avyavasthitatvāt)

Or another way of explanation would be this : wherever one sees a measurement (in the Purāṇic passages), one should understand one twentieth of that size. In place of a diameter for the entire earth of 50 crore yojanas, the measurement would be 2.5 crore yojanas. Instead of 100,000

31. "The Śulbasūtras, e.g. Baudhāyana 2.12 give that  $2 = 1 + 1/3 + 1/12 - 1/408 = 1.4142156$ ." (David Pingree, private communication.)  $4650 \times 1.4142156 = 6756.1$ .

32. See diagram.

33. Here Nīlakaṇṭha understands 'viṣkambha' not as hypotenuse but simply as width. See the diagram. Note that Nīlakaṇṭha interpreted the same term 'viṣkambha' when it appeared in the text in MBh 6.12.5 Crit. Ed. as circumference. The dimension 4967 yojanas is found in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi in the other half of Golādhyāya III.52, cited above, note 25.

34. A reference to Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16.7.32.

35. In fact it is the Jainas who maintain there are two suns orbiting Meru.

yojanas jambūdvīpa would be 5000 yojanas in extent. And Bhāratākhaṇḍa in place of 9000 yojanas in length would be 450 yojanas. On this view, and drawing on the statements of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (vaiṣṇava) and other statements that appear later in the MBh, Jambūdvīpa has the shape of a four-petalled lotus. The exterior circumference of this square earth is 18,600 yojanas. The width of its inner square is 3300 yojanas.<sup>36</sup> Then as a result of calculation (phalataḥ) the diagonal is 5000 yojanas.<sup>37</sup>

This being the case, since Himālaya runs east-west and touches the ocean, then Bhāratavarṣa is triangular. Thereby our model would conform to ordinary understanding and common experience. Otherwise, if Bhāratavarṣa were bow-shaped, (i.e. if it were much wider than it is long), then in virtue of lying along the prime meridian of earth which stretches from Laṅkā,<sup>38</sup> Rāma's bridge would be close to Kurukṣetra while Dvārakā would be far away. But we see by direct experience that Dvārakā is close, while Rāma's bridge is far away. So what would be best would be to suppose that Bhāratavarṣa is triangular.

#### Comments on passage B):

In his commentary on passage B), therefore, Nīlakaṇṭha is concerned with reconciling various statements of the earth's size, and, within some limits, statements about the earth's shape. This Nīlakaṇṭha thinks he can accomplish by \* creatively redefining what it is the measurements are measurements of, while \* imagining a two-dimensional diagram that will incorporate squares, circles and triangles, and while also \* allowing for some adjustments of the sizes through a principle of proportion. Thus the huge Purāṇic earth of 50 crore yojanas is really only 2.5 crore yojanas in size. In fact the relevant measurement is the size of Jambūdvīpa - 1 lakh yojanas - really only 5000 yojanas, a size that is easily seen to be comparable to sizes stated in other sources - 4967 and other astronomers' circumferences in the range of 5000.

36. The use of this figure 3300 yojanas suggests that Nīlakaṇṭha might have been aware of the circumference of the earth proposed by the Āryapākṣa. See above, note 5.

37. See diagram. In fact  $3300 \times 1.4142156 = 4666.9$  yojanas, only approximately 5000.

38. And here Nīlakaṇṭha cites a verse that lists locations along the prime meridian. N. attributes the verse to the "smṛti," but a variant of it is found in Bhāskara's Karaṇakutūhala I.14: purī rakṣasām devakanyā' tha kāñcī sitaḥ parvataḥ paryalī vatsagulmam |

purī cojjayināhvayā gargarāṭaṃ kurukṣetram eṣā bhuvō madhyarekhā ||

The prime meridian passes over the city of the Rākṣasas (Laṅkā), Devakanyā, Kāñcī, Sitaparvata, Vatsagulama, Ujjayinī, Gargarāṭa, and Kurukṣetra.

## Summary

Nīlakaṇṭha as commentator on passage A) writes from a preliminary position in which the views he is aware of are not explicitly conceptualized as divided between those of the Paurāṇikas on the one hand, and those of the Siddhāntakāras on the other. There are simply various views, and this fact leads him to the anirvacanīyavāda as a stance, though he does not hesitate to rule out the astronomer's idea of a spherical earth. In passage B) Nīlakaṇṭha has largely moved from the anirvacanīyavāda stance to one of actively attempting to reconcile the conflicting views. Here the astronomers' views are included, and are taken as identifiably belonging to a separate intellectual tradition or rather, a separate genre of text.

The order of comments seems to indicate an evolution in Nīlakaṇṭha's ideas developed as he wrote these passages ? Do we know how he wrote the Bhārata-dīpikā? As far as I know, there exists on the one hand no generalized study of 'textual practices' among commentators of Sanskrit texts.<sup>39</sup> Nor on the other hand is there any study of the commentarial technique of Nīlakaṇṭha in particular. It seems probable, in reading these two passages together, that Nīlakaṇṭha generated commentary as he went along. That is, in his commentary on the Jambūkhaṇḍavinirmāṇaparvan, as in his commentary on other passages, Nīlakaṇṭha appears to have interacted with the text of the Mahābhārata in very localized, specific ways, in some cases expanding or substantially revising his explanation. It should also be noted, however, that both of Nīlakaṇṭha's commentarial approaches - asserting an ineffable level of truth on the one hand and attempting to demonstrate consistency on the other - are characteristically Advaitan modes of conceptualization. Already in the Brahmasūtras one meets with appeals to levels of truth as well as attempts to establish textual 'samanvaya.'

## Saurapaurāṇikamatasamarthana

Nīlakaṇṭha further developed his attempt to reconcile various Purāṇic and siddhāntic statements in the independent work, the Saura-paurāṇikamata-samarthana (SPMS), the "Reconciliation of the views of the Saura (pakṣa of astronomy) with the views of the Purāṇas." Indeed it looks as though the passages in the BhBhD discussed above served as the point of the departure for the composition of the SPMS, for the very first topics that Nīlakaṇṭha raises in the SPMS are those found in passages A) and B) of his commentary.

39. See Sheldon Pollock, "Sanskrit Literary Culture in History," *Forthcoming*.

Here it will be useful to summarize very briefly the contents of the first five verses of the SPMS.<sup>40</sup> The opening two stanzas describe the problem of inconsistent statements found in the various works of Vyāsa on the one hand and the viewpoint of the astronomers on the other. In particular, verse two refers to the conflicting statements about the dimensions of the earth, and about its overall shape. Nīlakaṇṭha begins to respond in verse three by arguing for a variability in the unit of measure of the yojana, a topic he raised rather haphazardly in the BhBhD. Here a rationale for the proportionality is given, i.e. that men were much larger in the Kṛtayuga while they are small in the Kaliyuga, and thus the reason for the enormous numbers of yojanas in Vyāsa's works is that Vyāsa has taken as his standard of measurement the puny humans alive in the Kaliyuga, while presumably the astronomical text of the Sūryasiddhānta, authored by the sun, uses as its units those related to the size of the humans of the Kṛtayuga. In verse four a rationale is proposed for explaining why the correct proportion should be understood to be 1:20. This is because the part of the world whose measurements are knowable through our own experience, Bhāratavarṣa, is twenty times smaller in size than the measurements given for it in the Purāṇic statements.<sup>41</sup> The rationale of the verse, therefore, is based on generalizing the 1:20 ratio as an extrapolation from the available evidence of direct experience. On the other hand, the BhBhD comm. on passage B) makes use of this ratio, but offers no justification for it.

The diagrammatic explanation of the various sizes and shapes of the earth and the Jambūdvīpa found in passage B) of the BhBhD is broached in the first two pādas of the fifth verse of the SPMS, and the commentary, which appears to have been written by Nīlakaṇṭha, elaborates the same sorts of arguments found in the BhBhD.<sup>42</sup> Thus Nīlakaṇṭha reasserts the

40. For bibliography see above, note 1.

41. By "experience" I mean the size of Bhārata calculated by the astronomers. In the comm. on SPMS Nīlakaṇṭha cites vss. that establish a distance from Lankā to Meru of 450 or 458 yojanas. For further geographical measurements see David Pingree, "Sanskrit Geographical Tables," *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 31.2 (1996): 173-220. The method of measure involves either the calculation of the differences in latitude using the noon equinoctial shadow as mentioned above in note 9 or by estimates based on travelling from point to point.

42. The reasons for arguing that Nīlakaṇṭha is the author of the commentary as well are these: \*All extant manuscripts include both the verses and the ṭīkā. \*One of these MSS-Benares (1963) 37122-was copied in Śaṃvat 1736 or 1679 AD, which is during Nīlakaṇṭha's lifetime. Furthermore, if one considers Nīlakaṇṭha's oeuvre, see NCC X.p. 171, the work almost entirely takes the form of commentary; indeed Nīlakaṇṭha looks upon commentary as his primary literary form, as I hope to discuss in a forthcoming article.



earth as a square, four-petalled lotus with an inner square 3300 yojanas on a side and an outer circumference of 18,600 yojanas.

Thus the SPMS begins its detailed arguments with a more elaborated version of exactly the materials that Nīlakaṇṭha has taken up, especially in passage B) of the BhBhD. The SPMS then proceeds to apply reconciliatory reasoning to problems deriving from inconsistencies in the cosmogographical models. In verse 15 Nīlakaṇṭha returns to a more elaborated criticism, esp. in the commentary, of the spherical earth theory, arguing that even the authors of the Siddhāntas believed this view only in a contingent way, for if they believed it literally they would not be able to explain how continents and cities could exist on the sides and bottom of a globe, nor how the globe could support oceans on its sides and bottom, nor how the river could flow down from Meru to Bhāratavarṣa. Hence it is only for ease of the operation of their astronomical system that they posit a sphere.<sup>43</sup>

Thus the SPMS appears to have been written after the BhBhD. The only evidence that argues against this chronology comes from the manuscripts: the oldest known manuscript of the BhBhD was copied in 1687 A.D., while the oldest extant manuscript of the SPMS was copied 1679 A.D.<sup>44</sup> Of course these are dates provided by the scribes at the conclusion of their copying, and are not dates of composition such as Nīlakaṇṭha himself provides for his Śīvatāṇḍava-ṭīkā. If, in any case, Nīlakaṇṭha composed the SPMS, a manuscript of which is dated to 1679, only after writing the passages in the BhBhD, he would have to have written the BhBhD on at least the Bhīṣmaparvan rather early in his literary career.

### **Nīlakaṇṭha as an Innovator**

To what extent are Nīlakaṇṭha's comments in the BhBhD and the SPMS something new? Nīlakaṇṭha was the first Paurāṇika to write an independent work on the subject of cosmogographical avirodha. His concern

43. In the last line of the comment on p. 13 in Śarma's ed. the ASB 3094 (G10611) manuscript on folio 4r reads: *dr̥ṣṭavyavahārasya siddhyartham tasyāḥ kandukākāratvaṃ vivakṣanti*. My thanks to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Prof. Sarkar for granting me access to a copy of this MS.

44. See above, note 42, and P.K. Gode, "Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata," p.146. Note that this MS, Benares (1963) 37122 belonged at one stage to Viśvanātha, son of Mallāra, Caturdhara, who was the great great grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha, according to P.K. Gode's article. It is possible therefore that the date is wrong, or to be understood as Saṃvat dating, or else that the MS passed into Viśvanātha's hands long after its copying.

with reconciliation was played out in a series of topics and through a series of techniques that were in several ways new.

Astronomers had already considered the subject. There is evidence that can be gleaned from the works of Siddhāntic astronomers in the century and a half that preceded Nīlakaṅṭha to show that a discussion of how to resolve the contradictions between Siddhāntic and Purāṇic cosmographies had been taking place.

The astronomer Sūrya Paṇḍita, writing in the 1530s, composed a work called the Siddhāntasamhitāsārasamuccaya, in which the twelfth and final chapter was devoted to the removal of the contradiction between the Purāṇas and Jyotiḥśāstra, the Jyotiḥśāstrapurāṇavirodhaparīhāra.<sup>45</sup> In this chapter Sūrya discussed, among other things, a way to resolve the problem of the variant sizes given for the earth in various texts. In brief he argued that the word "koṭi" or crore can mean several things, among them, one hundred.<sup>46</sup> Therefore the Purāṇic earth of 50 koṭis of yojanas is in fact the same size as the Siddhāntic earth of 5000 yojanas.

Nṛsiṃha Daivajña, who wrote the Vāsanāvārttikā on the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi in Benares in 1621, in his comments on SS II.3. 51 included a brief resume of what must have been an ongoing discussion of the cosmographic virodha/avirodha problem in his day.<sup>47</sup> Nṛsiṃha was aware of an argument like Sūrya's, as he summarized it in this resume, but he then rejected it, arguing that after all if one Purāṇic crore of yojanas is equal to one 'actual' hundred yojanas, then the Purāṇic Jambūdvīpa of 100,000 yojanas extent must be understood to be one yojana across!<sup>48</sup> Instead the way to reconcile the Purāṇic and Siddhāntic cosmographies is to understand that the Purāṇic accounts are concerned with a different earth, the earth which forms part of the gross body the cosmic Virāṭ, which is knowable only through the revelation experience by sages who behold the Viśvarūpa of the Deity such as Mārkaṇḍeya.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, who wrote the Siddhāntatattvaviveka in Benares in 1658, included a criticism of the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi's statement that the

45. Details of MSS of this text in CESS A6, forthcoming. The only MS I have access to Jaipur, Khasmohor 5026-is rather corrupt and so I am only able to supply the general gist of what is to me an incoherent argument. Sūrya Paṇḍita the son of Jñānarāja was from Pārthapura on the banks of the Godāvāri. On the author and text see K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, "Siddhānta-samhitā-sāra-samuccaya of Sūrya Paṇḍita" in ed. Visva Bandhu, *Siddha-Bhārati* 2 (1950): 222-25.

46. He also argued that the size of humans as well as their lifespan has changed since previous ages.

47. Golādhyāya, Bhuvanakośa, vs. 51 Sampūrnānand ed. pp. 357-59. On Nṛsiṃha Daivajña see CESS A3, p.204. His family had been from Pārthapura on the Godāvāri, though his grandfather had moved to Benares.

48. Nṛsiṃha further rejected the argument that the Purāṇic measurement is of an earth of a different era for two different reasons.

(Purāṇic) model of a huge earth contradicted experience and logic.<sup>49</sup> Instead he argued that the discrepancy in the earth's size is reconcilable by those who understand the sage (ārṣa) way of calculating, which allows for a variable length for the yojana.<sup>50</sup>

It appears fairly certain that Nīlakaṇṭha would have known of the work of these astronomers, who were prominent śāstrīs in Benares in their day, and who, it seems likely, would have moved in Benares in the same circles of Marāṭhī-speaking paṇḍits from the Godāvārī uplands.<sup>51</sup>

What then is new in Nīlakaṇṭha's contribution? The evidence suggests that Nīlakaṇṭha was not the first to concern himself with reconciling Purāṇic and Siddhāntic cosmographies, though he was the first to write an independent work on the topic, and the first to write from a stance explicitly partisan to the Purāṇas. The appeal to the variability of the length of the yojana in different ages had been thought of before, though Nīlakaṇṭha was the first to settle on the ratio of Siddhāntic : Purāṇic yojanas as 1:20, and the first to argue this ratio based on an extrapolation from experience. Nīlakaṇṭha was not the first to adopt the Advaitan stance of seeking to establish samanvaya, but he was unusual in keeping the levels of reality argument explicitly distinct from the rationale for establishing avirodha.

Nīlakaṇṭha's use of his exegetical prowess to develop an ingenious diagrammatic solution, a solution that explicitly incorporated a large number of variant dimensions drawn from Purāṇic and Siddhāntic sources is something entirely his own. Whether his suggestions were taken up in later rounds of the argument about avirodha, as it is found in the Bhāgavatajyotiṣayor Virodhaparihāra of Kevalarāma Jyotiṣarāya in the 1720's, or the Goladarpaṇa of Nandarāma Mīśra in the 1780's or of the Avirodhaprakāśa of Yajñeśvara Roḍe in the 1830's, is a topic for further study.

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49. See above notes 9 and 10.

50. Ed. K.C. Dvivedī, *Siddhāntatattvaviveka*, M.M. Sudhākaradvivedi Granthamālā 3 Vāranaśi: Sampūrnānand Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, 1996: Madhyamādhikāra Bhaugolikam 164-165. Kamalākara, it should further be noted, was the son of Nṛsiṃha, and so was also a Marāṭhī-speaking Brahmin whose family had come to Benares from the banks of the Godāvārī. CESS A2, p.21.

51. A further argument that suggests Nīlakaṇṭha's knowledge of the work of Kamalākara et al. is Nīlakaṇṭha's conflation in the title of the SPMS of Jyotiṣśāstra generally with the Saurapakṣa, even though his citations from Jyotiṣ texts come from the works of Bhāskara, the premiere author of the Bhāhmapakṣa. Kamalākara, Nṛsiṃha, and Muniśvara Viśvarūpa, the other prominent astronomer in Benares in the 17th Century were all followers of the Saurapakṣa who made extensive use of the Brāhma and other pakṣas. Pingree, "History of Mathematical Astronomy in India," pp.614-17.

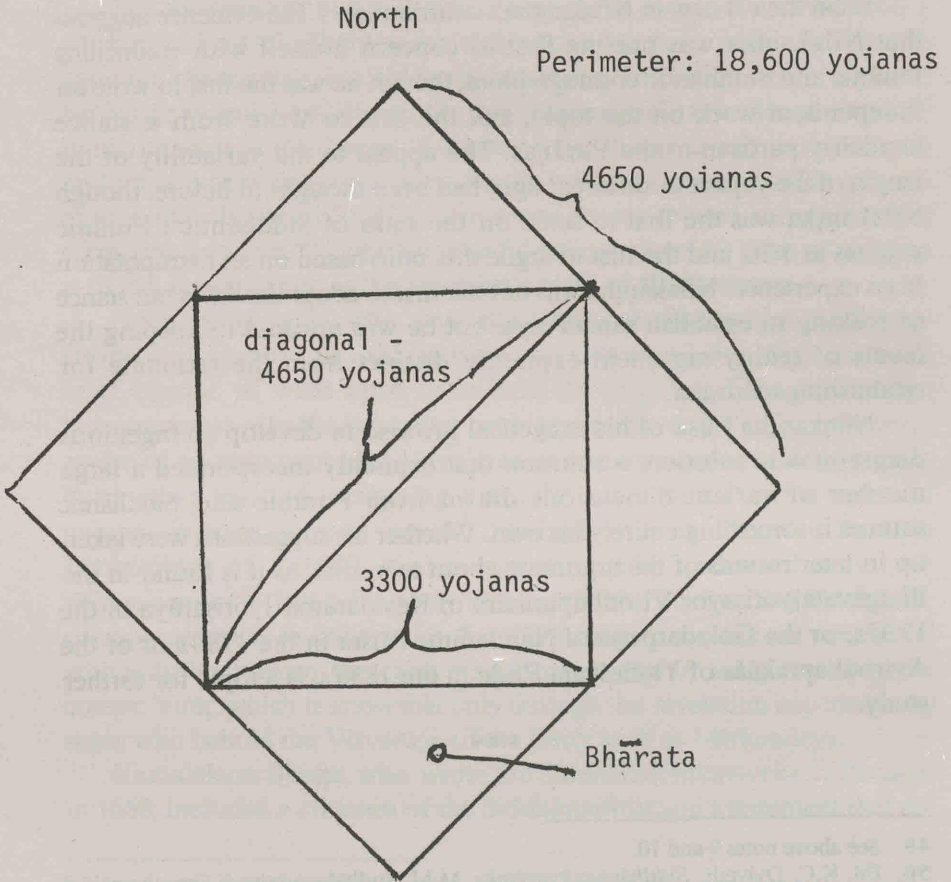


Diagram: Nīlakaṇṭha's diagrammatic version of the kupadma.

# THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ITIHĀSAS AND THE PURĀNAS

BY

A. N. PANDEY

[ संस्कृतसाहित्ये इतिहासपुराणयोः-महाभारतस्य रामायणस्याष्टादशपुराणानां च-  
विशिष्टं महत्त्वं वर्तते । भारतस्य प्राचीनसंस्कृतेः, इतिहासस्य, परम्परायाः, आदर्शस्य च  
साहित्यमेतत् कोषभूतमस्ति । साहित्यमेतत् प्राचीनेतिहासस्य वैदिकपरम्परायाश्च  
धारकमस्ति तथा भविष्यस्य निर्माणभित्तिभूतमप्यस्ति । अत्र विदुषा लेखकेन अस्य  
साहित्यस्य महत्त्वप्रतिपादनपूर्वकं संक्षिप्तः परिचयश्च प्रदत्तः ]

The epics and the purānas occupy a prominent position in Sanskrit literature. They have exercised tremendous power in the moulding of the cultural mind of India. The intrinsic ancientness, authenticity of tradition and preservation of India's emotional and intellectual achievements and aspirations that adorn the very nature of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata have shaped and moulded our destiny through ages. The people of our country aspire after the high ideals set forth in the epics. The epics are not mere relics for worship and veneration, but dynamic influences on our culture. The dynamic, vivid and vibrant characters depicted in them have made history with their profound messages and stirring emotions. Indians find in them characters endowed with selflessness, the sense of sacrifice and uncompromising devotion to dharma and so they admire them, love them and revere them.

The Itihāsa and Purana have been used side by side. They coexist, they complement each other -

1. "सोपनिषत्काः सेतिहासाः सान्वाख्याताः सपुराणाः ।" - गोपथ 1.2.10
2. "यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंस्यः ।" -शतपथ 11.5.6.8
3. "यद् ब्राह्मणानितिहासान् पुराणानि कल्पान् गाथा नाराशंसीर्मेतदाहुतयो देवानामभवन् ।" - तैत्तिरीय आ०, प्रपाठक 2, अनुवाक 9
4. अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासपुराणम् । बृ० 2.4.11.
5. 'ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमम् ।" छान्दोग्य 7.1.2.

The Arthaśāstra (1.5.14) includes purāṇa, etc. in the Itihāsa - 'पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं वेतिहासः ।'

purāṇa, itivṛtta (history), ākhyāyikā (tales), udāharaṇa (illustrative stories), dharmasāstra and arthasāstra are known by the name 'Itihāsa'. As the derivation of the word 'Itihāsa', goes, it looks back to the past, while the purāṇa combines both the old and the new - "पुरापि नवम्" - Rāmāśramī ṭikā of the Amarakośa, "पुरापि नवं भवतीति पुराणम्" - Nirukta 3.19. It shows that the purāṇas are so moulded as to deal with the existing situations and problems. The gamut of the Purāṇas entwines both in a beautiful synthesis.

The Purāṇas govern the past and the future from an unassailable position. The Itihāsa points out to what has already taken place. The inspiration for golden future is formulated in the epics. The epics open the doors of our ambitions and aspirations and offer us counsel as to what to adopt and what to avoid. If we closely follow the derivations of the words 'Itihāsa' and 'Purāṇa', we shall see that the former presents the past and gives the subject - matter of the vedas, while the latter presents the subject-matter of the vedas and also the vision of the future. Thus the purāṇa extends to the present time. In this way, the Itihāsa and Purāṇa treasure up every thing required for human welfare. The vedas, the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas are the foundation of Indian culture.

There is the well-known injunction -

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।  
विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद् वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

One should enlarge the meanings of the vedas with the help of the Itihāsas and the purāṇas. The veda is afraid of the man with little knowledge. Such a man will bring the veda into disrepute. If one is interested in vedic studies, he must study not only the vedas, but also the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas. The vedic tradition is revealed in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas. The veda is the Bhāgīrathī and the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas are the Gaṅgā. Once a foreign scholar delivering a lecture at the Kashi Vidyapith remarked- "He who has not read the vedas, the epics and the purāṇas, does not know what India stands for, what Indian mind has achieved in the realm of spirit and soul and also he cannot claim to have acquired a sound knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature." The observation of the scholar appears to be ideal; it visualizes our ancient horizon and catches the radiant spirit of our glory. From the vedas down to the purāṇas, emanate three streams of our culture - the first that represents the vedas, the second the epics and the

third the purāṇas. Like the three -streamed Gaṅgā, the three - streamed culture is flowing through our land. The same truth has been revealed in different forms in these three stages. A seeker after truth may take refuge in any of the three to achieve the same goal. The epics retell the vedas, the purāṇas expound the vedas. The same truth appears in the retold form, the same truth emerges from the explained form. The same truth has been illustrated through the sublime tales of the epics. The Rāmāyaṇa is recited by the people for their well-being. The Gītā and the Viṣṇusahasranāma have established their separate entities. The purāṇas are gems of our culture and give solace to the people in the moments of dejection, conflicts, troubles and worries. The Bhāgavata is the Bible of the Vaiṣṇavas. The Durgāsaptasatī of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa has influenced our society in such a measure that the devotees of Durgā regard the daily recitation of the Saptasatī as the most pious act.

The Kāvya Prakāśa stating the aims of poetry draws a demarcating line between the vedas and the purāṇetiḥāsa-

"प्रभुसमितशब्दप्रधानवेदादिशास्त्रेभ्यः सुहृत्समितार्थतात्पर्यवत्पुराणादीतिहासेभ्यश्च"

- I ullāsa.

In the veda, the word, which is in the form of a master's command, predominates, while in the purāṇa and Itihāsa, the meaning in the form of a friendly counsel predominates. The veda depicts the master's command, the word being the predominant factor; the purāṇa and the Itihāsa depict the friend's counsel, the meaning being the predominant factor. From this observation, it is clear that the function of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa is the explaining of the mystery of the vedas.

The structures of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata have organic harmony. Ānandavardhana has precisely evaluated the epics and viewed them as unified by an integral vision of basic emotional pattern. He sets forth his important thesis in the following kārikā (Dhvanyāloka 1.5) -

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।

क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः श्लोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥

Here Ānandavardhana wants to show that 'vyaṅgyārtha' alone is the soul of poetry and in 'vyaṅgyārtha' the most important element is Rasa. Ānandavardhana's main thesis is that rasadhvani is the soul of poetry and for that he cites the testimony of Vālmīki. In the vṛtti, Ānandavardhana states that here 'śoka' is 'sthāyibhāva', but it is not the personal sorrow of Vālmīki the individual "śoko hi karuṇasthāyibhāvaḥ". The sorrow of the sage at the tragic end of the krauñcha bird found spontaneous expression

in the metrical form 'mā niṣāda' etc. The sorrow of Vālmīki has been transformed into sthāyibhāva - sentiment. Vālmīki is the first poet who has succeeded in transforming karuṇa rasa into the form of an epic - poem and whose personal sorrow has been elevated to the status of Rasa. The Rāmāyaṇa has karuṇa as its principal Rasa -

'रामायणे हि करुणो रसः स्वयमादिकविना सूत्रितः "शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः" इत्येवंवादिना ।" -Dhvanyāloka IV uddyota.

The Mahābhārata combines both the elements of instruction and poetry in one. The conclusion is a note of despair. The intention of the great sage is to preach the moral renunciation through the work. the final emancipation has been depicted as the foremost human value and the 'Śānta as the most predominant sentiment'- "महाभारतेऽपि शास्त्ररूपे काव्यच्छायान्वयिनि वृष्णिपाण्डवविरसावसानवैमनस्यदायिनीं समाप्तिमुपनिबध्नता महामुनिना वैराग्यजननतात्पर्यं प्राधान्येन स्वप्रबन्धस्य दर्शयता मोक्षलक्षणः पुरुषार्थः शान्तो रसश्च मुख्यतया विवक्षाविषयत्वेन सूचितः ।" ध्वन्यालोक, चतुर्थ उद्योत ।

The Rāmāyaṇa may be compared to the veda - 'Rāmāyaṇam vedasamam' -uttarakāṇḍa, 111.4. The life of Rāma bestows dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa - चतुर्वगप्रदं नित्यं चरितं राघवस्य तु" - uttarakāṇḍa - 111.23. The influence of the veda on the Rāmāyaṇa is evident. The fourteenth sarga of the Bālakāṇḍa gives a vivid description of the Āsvamedha sacrifice performed by Daśaratha. The technical words 'pravargya', 'upasada', 'śāmitra', etc. have been used . A number of expressions found in the epic bear out the vedic influence -

यन्मङ्गलं सहस्राक्षे सर्वदेवनमस्कृते ।

वृत्रनाशे समभवत् तत् ते भवतु मङ्गलम् ॥ - अयोध्या-काण्ड 25.33.

त्रिविक्रमान् प्रक्रमतो विष्णोरतुलतेजसः ।

यदासीन्मङ्गलं राम तत्ते भवतु मङ्गलम् ॥ - अयोध्या-काण्ड 25.35.

The Mahābhārata has a composite character. It has moulded the Indian mind.. It is accepted that the epic grew to its present form over several centuries. The thoughts, ideas, beliefs, conflicts and cross-currents in cultural evolution have crept into the body of the text making it an encyclopaedic treasure of Indian culture. Like the Manusmriti, the Mahābhārata may be regarded as an authority on dharma śāstra. The epic declares itself as such -

धर्मशास्त्रमिदं पुण्यमर्थशास्त्रमिदं परम् ।

मोक्षशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनामितबुद्धिना ॥ - 1.57.24

This is the sacred manual of morality, the best code for practical life and the science of liberation. The elements of dharmaśāstra are not found in a systematic order. They are introduced in different contexts. The



Mahābhārata declares - whatever relating to the knowledge of dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa is found in the epic, may be found elsewhere, but what is not here, is nowhere -

धर्मं चार्थं च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।  
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत् क्वचित् ॥" - 18.5.38.

There is a popular saying in Bengal - "Jā nai Bhārate tā nai Bhārate".  
- what is not found in the Mahābhārata cannot be found in India.

The Mahābhārata is the best narrative story and it is embellished with the meanings of the vedas. It has been called a śāstra -

"तस्याख्यानवरिष्ठस्य विचित्रपदपर्वणः ।  
सूक्ष्मार्थन्याययुक्तस्य वेदार्थभूषितस्य च ॥  
भारतस्येतिहासस्य पुण्यां ग्रन्थार्थसंयुताम् ।  
संस्कारोपगतां ब्राह्मीं नानाशास्त्रोपबृंहिताम् ॥" - 1.1.16-17.  
'इतिहासमिमं पुण्यं महार्थं वेदसम्मितम् ।" - 18.5.43.

He who recites the epic, conquers heaven and attains to Brahmanhood -

य इदं श्रावयेद् विद्वान् सदा पर्वणि पर्वणि ।  
धूतपाप्मा जितस्वर्गो ब्रह्मभूयाय गच्छति ॥ 18.5.35.

The definition of purāṇa has been pointed out as pañcalakṣaṇa -

"सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।  
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥"

The purāṇas possess five characteristics - *Sarga* - creation, *Pratisarga* - destruction and recreation, *Vaiṁśā* - the genealogy of gods and patriarchs, *Manvantara* - the reigns of Manus and *Vaiṁśānucarita* - the history of the solar and lunar dynasties. It is said that these characteristics do not present exhaustively the nature of the purāṇas. Most of the purāṇas do not keep close to this definition. The sectarian character of the purāṇas is not covered by this definition. Some are of the opinion that the sectarian character of the purāṇas infiltrated at a later stage. The Brahmapurāṇa asserts that the five characteristics apply to the upapurāṇas only. The Mahāpurāṇas have ten characteristics. The Bhāgavata enumerates them in the following śloka -

सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षान्तराणि च ।  
वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥ - 12.7.9.

These are - *Sarga* - creation, *Visarga* - the world, *Vṛtti* - livelihood, *Rakṣā* - the desire of god residing in the beings for counteracting non-

vedic tendencies, *Manvantara*, *Vaiṣṇa*, *Vaiṣṇānucarita*, *Śaṁsthā* - four kinds of laya - *naimittika*, *prākṛtika*, *nitya* and *ātyantika*, *Hetu* - the creatures who act through nescience are the cause of creation, etc. of the universe and *Apāśraya* - Brahman.

The purāṇas have varied contents - the ballads, the legendary accounts, popular religious beliefs and practices, popular worships, consecration of images, history, philosophy, mythology, cosmogony, science, technology, poetics, etc.

It is believed that the purāṇas existed long before the Christian era. The present texts are the mutilation and multiplication of the original texts. From a close scrutiny, it becomes clear that the present texts are the revised versions of the old texts. The sectarian character of the purāṇas is a later development. The classification of the purāṇas given in the Padma Purāṇa presents a peculiar view. The Padma classifies the purāṇas according to the three guṇas. The Viṣṇu, Nārada, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma and Varāha are the sāttvika purāṇas. They lead to salvation. The second category of the purāṇas belongs to the rājasa guṇa. They are Brahmaṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya, Vāmana and Brahma Purāṇas. The readers of these purāṇas go to heaven. Under the third category fall the purāṇas having the tāmasa characteristic. To this category belong the Matsya, Kūrma, Liṅga, Śiva, Skanda and Agni purāṇas. The author says that they lead to hell -

मात्स्यं कौर्मं तथा लैङ्गं शैवं स्कान्दं तथैव च ।  
 आग्नेयं च षडेतानि तामसानि निबोध मे ॥  
 वैष्णवं नारदीयं च तथा भागवतं शुभम् ।  
 गारुडं च तथा पादुमं वाराहं शुभदर्शनि ॥  
 सात्त्विकानि पुराणानि विज्ञेयानि शुभानि वै ।  
 ब्रह्माण्डं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं मार्कण्डेयं तथैव च ॥  
 भविष्यं वामनं ब्राह्मणं राजसानि निबोध मे ।  
 सात्त्विका मोक्षदाः प्रोक्ता राजसाः स्वर्गदाः शुभाः ॥  
 तथैव तामसा देवि निरयप्रान्तिहेतवः ।

- उत्तरखण्ड, 237.18-22

The Mahābhārata and the purāṇas are very helpful to the students of ancient Indian history. The Kuru - Pāṇḍava war was fought in 3139 B.C. thirty-seven years before the commencement of the Kali Age. The Kali-Yuga commenced on the 18th of February, 3102 B.C. Onwards from the commencement of the Kali-Yuga, the purāṇas contain accounts of various dynasties that flourished in our country. Though there are exaggerations and distortions, yet an inquisitive reader and careful

researcher will be able to get at the truth and furnish faithful account of the events that occurred in our political and cultural life. The political activities of the Magadhan kingdom are gathered from the purāṇas. This serves as the solid foundation of our political and cultural history and from this period we proceed with confidence having quite authentic record with us. The Matsya, the Vāyu, the Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata etc. furnished records that make up our ancient history. Credit goes to F.E. Pargiter who has summed up early Indian traditional history as recorded in the purāṇas.

The epics and the purāṇas are the perennial source of themes and motifs for literary works. They are an inexhaustible treasure of our culture. Sanskrit authors have drawn upon the epics and purāṇas. It is a matter of regret that the study of the Itihāsa and the purāṇa dwindled and we were lost in wilderness. Our intellectual pursuit was misdirected, misled. The epics and the purāṇas were forsaken and our generations were deprived of this invaluable literary and cultural treasure. It is high time we went back to them and retrieved our rich heritage and endowment.

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## A STUDY OF THE MAN-LION MYTH IN THE ŚIVAITE PURĀṆA-TEXTS

BY

S. JENA

[ पुराणेषु प्राचीनपरम्परायाः धर्मस्य संस्कृतेश्च व्यापकं वर्णनमुपलभ्यते । तत्र आख्यानानामपि प्राचुर्येण विलसति सद्भावः । एतादृशाख्यानेषु नरसिंहावतारस्य कथा अधिकांशपुराणेषु संक्षेपेण विस्तृत्या वोपलभ्यते । अस्मिन् निबन्धे सर्वेषु पुराणेषु प्राप्तस्य नरसिंहाख्यानस्य तुलनात्मकमध्ययनं प्रस्तुतम् । आख्यानमेतद् वैष्णवपुराणेषु शैवपुराणेषु च प्राप्यते । अत्र लेखकेन प्रमाणपुरस्सरं प्रदर्शितं यत् शैवपुराणेषु अस्मिन् आख्याने शैवमतस्य महत्त्वप्रदर्शनाय चेष्टा संजाता । हिरण्यकशिपोर्वधानन्तरं यदा केनोपायेनापि नरसिंहस्य क्रोधो न शमितस्तदा शिवेन सरभावतारं गृहीत्वा तस्य कोपोपशमनं कृतम् । स्वमतस्य महत्त्वप्रदर्शनार्थं परमतस्य तिरस्कृतिरपि दृश्यते एषु स्थलेषु । परवर्तिपुराणेषु एतादृशानां प्रयत्नानां प्राचुर्यं प्राप्यते । ]

The Purāṇa texts are full of myths, legends and anecdotes. There was a time when the Purāṇas received scant attention from the scholars. As they were unsystematically compiled and were haphazard collections of different scattered information, they were treated with contempt. Now this attitude towards the Purāṇas has undergone a change and they are deemed to have contained important materials with regard to the development of Hindu religious thought. The Purāṇa-texts reveal various trends, our rich heritage and great cultural fusion. The Purāṇic myths, legends and anecdotes record the different changes, rise and fall, the ups and downs of the Indian society. The rivalry between two religious sects, the supremacy of one cult over the other, and eventually the amalgamation of two cults - everything has been interwoven in the *ākhyānas* and *upākhyānas*.

The Man-Lion myth relating to the Narasimha incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu is an important myth in the Purāṇa literature. In his learned paper "A Study of the Man-Lion myth in the Epics and Purāṇa-texts" Swain<sup>1</sup> has

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1. Swain, A.C. - "A Study of the Man-Lion myth in the Epics and Purāṇa-texts", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.V, No.1, pp.38-54.

systematically dealt with the origin and development of this myth beginning from its early source to the latest mahāpurāṇa like *Śrīmad Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, but in course of analysing this myth he has not taken into account the story of man-lion as available in the Śivaite texts. The aim of the present paper is to take up the man-lion myth in the Śivaite texts like the *Śiva Purāṇa*, *Skanda Purāṇa* and *Liṅga Purāṇa*, etc. and to bring to light its Śivaite development in contrast to the Viṣṇuite development as shown by Dr. Swain.

In his paper Swain has taken into account the Man-Lion myth as presented in the texts like *Vāyu* (Ch. 67.61-66), *Brahmāṇḍa* (II.5.13-29), *Brahma* (Ch 213.44-79), *Harivaṁśa* ( I. Harivaṁśa parvan, Ch. 31.31-67; *Bhaviṣya* parvan, Chs. 41-47), *Viṣṇudharmottara* (I.Ch.54), *Padma* (V. Ch. 42.1-197), *Matsya* (Chs. 161-163), *Viṣṇu* ( I. Chs. 16-20) and *Bhāgavata* (VII. chs. 1-10). And in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the Man-Lion myth is the most elaborate one where Prahlāda is pictured not only as a great devotee of Viṣṇu, but also as a great teacher and preacher of Viṣṇuite faith and doctrine. For facilities of study the following is the story of Man-Lion as given in the *Bhāgavata* text.

Hiraṇyakaśipu's brother Hiraṇyākṣa is slain by Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation. So Hiraṇyakaśipu, agitated with wrath and grief, orders the demons to kill the sacrificers and upset the religious order. He practises rigorous austerities (Tapas) in a valley of Mandara mountain for hundred divine years. Finally he is covered with ant-hills, grass and reeds.

The severe penance of Hiraṇyakaśipu affects the normal functioning of three worlds. Lord Brahman pleased with penance appears before Hiraṇyakaśipu. The latter prays not to be killed by gods, demons, humanbeings, sages or goblins; trees, mountains, weapons, anything wet or dry, in day or night. He also asks to grant him undisputed lordship over three worlds. Brahman confers all these boons and goes back to his place.

Fortified with these boons Hiraṇyakaśipu cares none and starts oppressing the three worlds. He rules in heaven and acts against Viṣṇu. He carries on a tyrannical rule over all beings.

His tyranny reaches a climax when he goes ahead to torment his own son Prahlāda, a great devotee of Viṣṇu. Hiraṇyakaśipu is not prepared to hear the glories of Viṣṇu from the lips of his son. He orders the two preceptors - Śaṅḍa and Amarka to take care of the boy and impart him education as is befitting to his race and position, but Prahlāda, since his

birth, is inclined to Viṣṇu and his devotion to Viṣṇu continues unabated. So Hiraṇyakaśipu gets enraged and puts Prahāda to severe oppressions in many ways. Demons strike him with deadly weapons; snakes bite him with fangs; the elephants of quarters trample upon him; cooks supply him with deadly poison; magic spell is used against him; he is thrown down from lofty mountain peaks; but poor Prahāda survives all these tests due to his unswerving faith in Viṣṇu.

When all the attempts of the demon-king fail to bring his son to his fold, he once challenges Prahāda to show him his adorable Viṣṇu whom he declares to be omnipresent. In a rage the valiant demon strikes the nearest pillar of the assembly hall with his fist to disprove the thesis of Prahāda. All on a sudden Viṣṇu taking the terrible figure of Man-Lion (Nṛsimha) comes out of that pillar to assert his omnipresence and with his sharp claws he tears Hiraṇyakaśipu to pieces. The Man-Lion puts on entrails of the demon as his garland.

After killing the demon the Man-Lion takes his seat on a throne in the assembly hall. Brahman and Rudra dare not approach him due to his fearful appearance. Even Lakṣmī is very much afraid to look at this terrible form. At the request of Brahman, Prahāda approaches the Lord and pacifies him through his prayer.

Pleased with Prahāda, the Man-Lion asks him to seek any boon. Prahāda prays for the complete eradication of desire from his mind. As advised by the Man-Lion, Prahāda sits on throne and performs the obsequial rites of his father.

Thereafter Lord Brahman goes near the Man-Lion and sings hymns of praise in his honour; but before the Man-Lion disappears, he warns Brahman not to confer on the demons in future any such boon for it is just like offering milk to the serpents (VII. 10.30).

This is, in short, the story of Man-Lion as narrated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in ten chapters.

Now coming to Śivaite purāṇa texts, let us first take up the *Śiva purāṇa*, II Rudra Saṁhitā, V. Yuddha khaṇḍa Ch. 43. Though we meet with the same traditional story, the version of myth as given in it is different from the earliest versions like *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Padma*, etc., in the sense that in it Brahman while granting boons to Hiraṇyakaśipu remembers Lord Viṣṇu and mentally pays him obeisance. And of all the demons present in the assembly hall of Hiraṇyakaśipu, Prahāda

recognises the Man-Lion form of Viṣṇu and asks his father to surrender to the Lord meekly.

Generally in the Viṣṇuite Purāṇa-texts like *Padma*, *Matsya*, *Harivaṁśa* (Bhaviṣya Parvan) it is seen that when Hiraṇyakaśipu continues practising severe penance, Lord Brahman always hastens to his place and grants him boons. At the time of granting boons it is he who is not conscious of impending calamities and grants immediately whatever boon is asked for. By granting boons to the demons in general Brahman always invites troubles for gods which he himself is unable to counteract. It is due to his helplessness that the gods and sages resort to Viṣṇu for support when troubles arise. As Brahman creates fresh troubles by conceding to the boons sought for, so in the concluding part of the *Bhāgavata* version, Lord Viṣṇu gives a note of warning to the four-faced god not to grant further any boon to the demons which is like offering milk to the serpents ( मैवं वरोऽसुराणां ते प्रदेयः पद्मसम्भव । वरः क्रूरनिसर्गानामहीनाममृतं यथा- ) *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* - VII.10.30). It seems that the redactor of the *Śiva Purāṇa* II *Rudra Samhitā* V. *Yuddha khaṇḍa* is aware of this last advice of the *Bhāgavata* text and therefore he makes Brahman pay his mental obeisance to Lord Viṣṇu ( प्रणम्य विष्णुं मनसा .....पद्मयोनिः - Ch. 43.18) at the time of granting boons to the so-called demon.

Of all the demons present in the assembly hall of Hiraṇyakaśipu as depicted in the *Padma Purāṇa* (V. 42.1-197), Prahlāda saw the whole universe in the Man-Lion. In the model of the *viśva-rūpa darśana* of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, in ten verses of *Padma* (V.42.87-96) Prahlāda described to his father how he saw the whole universe of oceans, mountains, gods and demons in the body of the Man-Lion, but "though Prahlādā, as Dr. Swain points out, recognises the divine nature of the man-Lion, he does not recognise the Man-Lion to be the incarnation of Viṣṇu, Prahlāda says - ( "अव्यक्तं परमं दिव्यं किमिदं रूपमागतम् ) (V.42.88). He is just surprised and puzzled.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to this, in the story of *Śiva Purāṇa*, *Rudra Samhitā*, *Yuddha khaṇḍa* when Lord Viṣṇu in the form of half-man and half-lion goes to the city of Hiraṇyakaśipu and starts fighting with the valiant demons, on seeing the exploits of the Man-Lion Prahlāda recognises the Lord. He tells his father that the infinite Lord in the form of

2. Swain, A.C.-op. cit., *Indian antiquary*, Vol. V, No.I., P. 42.

Man-Lion has come to his city ( एष प्रविष्टो भगवाननन्तो नृसिंहमात्तो नगरं ..Ch. 43.30). Prahlāda advises him to desist from fight, surrender unto Him and continue as the ruler of his vast kingdom, but just as in the text of *Padma* Hiranyakaśipu does not pay any heed to Prahlāda's description of universal form in the Man-Lion and orders to catch hold of him ( मृगेन्द्रो गृह्यतामेष .. .. *Padma*, V. 42.98) so like here without caring for the words of his son, Hiranyakaśipu orders the valiant heroes to catch hold of the Lion endowed with hideous eyes and brows ( गृह्णन्तु वै सिंहममुं भवन्तो वीरा विरूपभ्रुकुटीक्षणं तु—ch. 43.32)

Then we come to the *Skanda Purāṇa* 7. Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa II Vastrāpaathakṣetra mähātmya Ch. 18.61-129 We see that even though the main theme of the story remains unaltered as in the earlier Viṣṇuite Purāṇas, there is a change in the nature of the boon that Hiranyakaśipu puts before Lord Brahman. He prays to die at the hands of a person endowed with the form, partly of a man and partly of a lion who will kill him tearing asunder the body with his claws (Ch. 18.69-70a).

In the earlier Purāṇa-texts like *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Harivaṁśa* (Bhaviṣya parvan, Ch. 41.15) and *Bhāgavata*, Hiranyakaśipu raises conditions under which he would not die; (i) Gods, demons, men, goblins or any living creature of the earth cannot kill him. (ii) There would be fear of death neither from weapons nor missiles, thunderbolts, trees nor mountains, water nor fire. (iii) He cannot be slain either on earth or in the heaven, above or below, during day or night. Thus the demon is granted whatever he has desired and has secured all the advantages of which the gods are afraid. as rightly observed by Dr. Swain, "the number of conditions with which he has tried to protect himself, has become so complex that only the man-Lion can kill him"<sup>3</sup> So there was no other way left for Viṣṇu except taking up the form of half-man and half-lion so as to kill Hiranyakaśipu.

The voluminous *Skanda Purāṇa* is of latter origin. It seems that at the time of compilation or redaction of its last khaṇḍa, the Man-Lion incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu was already famous and that the Lord assuming the Man-Lion form for killing the demon was an established fact. Therefore in this story of Prabhāsa khaṇḍa, Vastrāpaatha mähātmya under review, it is quite natural that instead of putting so many condition

3. Swain, A.C. - *op.cit.*, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.V, No.1, p. 48.



for avoiding his death, Hiraṇyakaśipu directly refers to his cause of death. He prays the four-faced Lord - "I will be killed by nobody; death will occur to me from nobody; if on earth there comes into existence a being endowed with the form, partly of a man and partly of a lion, he will kill me by tearing asunder my body with sharp claws." (कस्मादपि न मे भूयान्मरणं यदि चेद् भवेत्, किञ्चित् सिंहो नरः किञ्चिद् यो भवेद् धरणीधरः, तस्मात्कररुहैर्भिन्नो मरिष्ये ... ..... - Skanda, VII. II. 18.69-70.)

For the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu the appearance of the Man-Lion was inevitable and that is why direct reference to the Man-Lion has been made here by the redactor which is not found out in any earlier Viṣṇuīte texts.

Secondly, in the Viṣṇuīte Purāṇa-texts particularity *Padma*, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata, Prahlāda is pictured as a devotee of Viṣṇu. Though born in the race of demons, he shows great devotion to the rival god - Viṣṇu. In the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* Hiraṇyakaśipu once asks his son to reproduce the best lesson he has taken from his preceptors.<sup>4</sup> Without any fear Prahlāda goes on eulogising the greatness of Lord Viṣṇu. The haughty demon gets enraged at this and sends Prahlāda again to his preceptors with a warning to take care of the boy. After some days he invites his son to present before him the best lesson he has in the meanwhile learnt from his teachers. In the *Viṣṇu* version of the story, Prahlāda again sings in praise of Lord Hari and discloses his unflinching and unswerving faith in Him. In the *Bhāgavata* text, Prahlāda speaks of the nine-fold devotion to Lord Viṣṇu and asserts the omnipotence and omnipresence of the Lord. At this when Hiraṇyakaśipu angrily questions the teachers as to why they have taught this nonsense to the boy, the teachers meekly admit that they have no role in instructing Viṣṇuīte faith and doctrine to the boy, rather Prahlāda is inclined to Viṣṇu since his birth.

On the otherhand, in the story of *Skanda Purāṇa* VII Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa II vastrāpathaimāhātmya Ch. 18.61-129 we notice that in spite of repeated threats when Prahlāda does not care to praise his father, the so-called teacher punishes Prahlāda and compels him to sing aloud the glory of his father so that the demon-king would be pleased to reward him with plentiful wealth and gifts. But Prahlāda firmly replies that though beaten

4. The redactor of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* refers to one preceptor whereas in the text of *Bhāgavata* Śṇḍa and Amarka, the two sons of Śukrācārya act as the preceptors of Prahlāda.

black and blue he would never follow the words of his preceptor; he cannot admire his father in place of Viṣṇu and admit the former's supremacy.<sup>5</sup>

As we observe, in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* datable to 4th and 9th century A. D. respectively, Prahlāda never yields to the intimidation of his father; as usual he goes on reciting the greatness of Viṣṇu without interruption. In consequence, Hiraṇyakaśipu flared up with rage, orders the demons and venomous serpents to put an end to his life. For killing Prahlāda he takes recourse to various means such as employing huge elephants hurling him into the sea, throwing him down from lofty mountain peaks and using magic spells etc., but in the story of *Skanda Purāṇa* exasperated with praises of Viṣṇu, Hiraṇyakaśipu himself moves ahead to kill Prahlāda (इत्यादिवचनैः क्रुद्धो हन्तुं दैत्यः समुत्थितः - 91a), but at that time the latter's mother comes in front of them and stands as a barrier. Along with her, Prahlāda's sister and brothers too approach and appeal him to desist from reciting the glory of Lord Hari so that they all can put up together with kith and kin for many long years to come;<sup>6</sup> but Prahlāda does not listen to the coaxing or cajoling words of either the mother or sister or the brothers. Referring to the futility of human relationship he questions - "Who is my mother ? Where is my sister ? Who is my father ? Where are my brothers ?"<sup>7</sup> All the kith and kin - brothers, sisters and parents have their existence only in relation to Visnu. Without Viṣṇu they have no existence. Even the entire race of demons is devoid of existence without Viṣṇu (विष्णुं विना दैत्यगणोऽपि नास्ति - 76). Then in keeping with the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the origin of the world Prahlāda

5. यदा न पठते बालः स्तौति नो पितरं स्वकम् । दण्डेनाहत्य गुरुणा प्रह्लादः प्रेरितः पुनः ॥  
 वदैकं वचनं शिष्य देहि मे गुरुदक्षिणाम् ॥  
 यथा मे तुष्यते स्वामी ददाति विपुलं धनम् ॥  
 ॥ प्रह्लाद उवाच ॥  
 प्रहरस्व प्रथमं मा करिष्ये वचनं गुरो ।  
 स्तौमि विष्णुमहं येन त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ॥  
 कृतं सम्बद्धितं .....

Skanda Purāṇa VII. II.Ch. 18.81-84a

6. तदा माता समागत्य पुत्रस्य पुरतः स्थिता ॥ 11b  
 भ्रातरः स्वजनो भगिनो भाषते मा हरि वद ।  
 अहं माता स्वसा चेयं भ्रातरः स्वजनो जनः ।  
 यथा सम्मिलितैर्वत्स स्थायते बहुवासरम् ॥ 12  
 7. ॥ प्रह्लाद उवाच ॥  
 माता मे का स्वसा मे का भ्रातरः के पिता च कः ॥ 13a

Skanda Purāṇa VII. II.Ch. 18.

attempts to establish that *Prakṛti* is the mother of all of us; *buddhi* or intellect is our sister and the five *tanmātrās* happen to be our brothers. Moreover, the twenty fifth principle *Puruṣa*, the support and uncaused cause of things who is identical with the Supreme Being Hari and who is seated in our hearts, is the Universal Father. All the planets and celestial bodies are regulated only at his direction.<sup>8</sup> Thus it is seen that the redactor of *Skanda*, *Prabhāsa khaṇḍa*, *vastrāpathamāhātmya*, Ch. 18 by introducing the age-old Sāṅkhya philosophy which was not referred to so far by any other *Purāṇakāra*, very nicely rejects the authority of valiant *Hiraṇyakaśipu*, proves the frailty and transitoriness of earthly bondage and upholds the greatness and superiority of *Viṣṇu* as the only paramount and all-pervasive Lord.

Like previous versions of story, in this version *Prahlāda* does not budge an inch from his unswerving faith in *Viṣṇu*. He emphatically asserts the presence of Hari in all the objects of earth.<sup>9</sup> At this *Hiraṇyakaśipu* in a fit of rage challenges *Prahlāda* to show his Lord in the nearest pillar failing which he would kill him with his sword. Now, *Prahlāda* unperturbed at these words, seated in *Padmāsana* with thoughts centred on Hari resorts to meditation when all on a sudden there falls from heaven a garland on his neck and Lord *Viṣṇu* reveals himself from the pillar. Unlike earlier versions where *Viṣṇu* appears from the pillar only when it is struck down by *Hiraṇyakaśipu* with his sword, in this story of *Skanda* the so-called pillar automatically breaks down without any blow and Lord *Viṣṇu* emerges out of it causing a terrible roar.<sup>10</sup>

Next we come to the *Kūrma Purāṇa* and the *Saura Purāṇa* where the myth is similar to a great extent. The redactors have worked on the *Kūrma Purāṇa* in order to turn this *Viṣṇu*ite work into a *Śivaite* one. As rightly pointed out by Rocher, "even though the text is called after an *avatāra* of *Viṣṇu*, it presents an intriguing combination of *Vaiṣṇava* and

8. *Skanda Purāṇa*, VII *Prabhāsa khaṇḍa* II *vastrāpathalmāhātmya* Ch. 18.99-102, 106.

9. पृथिव्यादीनि भूतानि तान्येन भगवान्हरिः ।  
स्थले जले किं बहुना सर्वं विष्णुमयं जगत् ॥ 109  
तुणे काष्ठे गृहे क्षेत्रे द्रव्ये देहे स्थितो हरिः ॥ 110 a

10. झटिति नुटयति स्तम्भाच्छब्देन क्षुभितो जनः । 117 b  
धरणी याति पातालं द्यौर्वा भूमिं समेष्यति ।  
पतिष्यति शिरो भूमौ खड्गघाताहतं नु किम् ॥ 118  
तावत् स्तम्भाद्विनिष्क्रान्तः सिंहनादो भयङ्करः । 119a

Śiva elements" and ... "the *Īsvara*gītā in eleven chapters (*Kūrma* 2. Chs. 1-11, C.E. 497 stanzas) is a Śiva adaptation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*".<sup>11</sup> As regards the *Saura Purāṇa* it may be said that though proclaimed by the Sun-god, it is fully Śivaite in character. In the words of Rocher, "the text is totally dominated by Śiva who is glorified as the highest truth and his consort Pārvatī, who is his Śakti".<sup>12</sup>

In both *Kūrma* and *Saura Purāṇa* the traditional Man-Lion myth takes a different turn. Though the story of *Saura* described in 32 verses (Ch. 28, 16-37, Ch. 29.1-10) appears to be an abridgement of the story given in the *Kūrma* (Part I, Ch. 15.18-88), still some significant differences are noticeable between the two texts - (i) Before Man-Lion's fight with Hiraṇyakaśipu the *Kūrma Purāṇa* introduces another war of Viṣṇu's created Being with the demons but in the *Saura Purāṇa* the war is solely confined to Narasiṃha and the hosts of demons. (ii) In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* at the approach of Viṣṇu's created Being four sons of Hiraṇyakaśipu fight with him at their father's command and they use four types of missiles against the so-called created Being, but in the *Saura Purāṇa* those missiles are directed against the Man-Lion himself. (iii) In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* at the failure of Pāśupata weapon discharged against the Man-Lion by Hiraṇyakaśipu's younger brother Hiraṇyākṣa, Prahlāda is aware of the divine presence of Lord. But in the *Saura Purāṇa* when the four missiles of the four sons of Hiraṇyakaśipu are rendered futile; and the Man-Lion seizes the four sons and drops them to the ground again and again, divine knowledge arises in the mind of Prahlāda and he realises the presence of the Lord there.

Now coming to a detailed comparison with earlier Viṣṇuite versions we notice that unlike earlier versions in which Viṣṇu appears straight from the pillar bearing Man-Lion form to give a fight to the demon-king, in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, he creates from his body a male person as huge as mount Meru; terrible in appearance he bears conch, mace and discus in his hands. In a nutshell, he is exactly alike, a copy of Viṣṇu. At the command of the Lord, the created Being runs to the city of Hiraṇyakaśipu to fight with the demons.

11. Gonda, J. - *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Fasc. 3, The Purāṇas, p. 185.

See also Gonda, J. - *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism: a comparison*, Ch. V, p. 96.

12. Gonda, J. - *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Fasc. 3, The Purāṇas, p. 220.

In the foregoing Viṣṇuīte versions, Hiraṇyakaśipu with all other demons fights against Lord Viṣṇu emerging out of the pillar of the assembly hall, but in the *Kūrma* version of the story at the arrival of Viṣṇu's created Being in the city, Hiraṇyakaśipu sends his four sons Prahrāda, Anuhrāda, Saṁhrāda and Hrāda to fight with the former. Prahrāda hurls *brahmāstra*, his second brother Anuhrāda throws the *Vaiṣṇavāstra*, Saṁhrāda the *kaumārāstra* and Hrāda the *āgneyāstra* at Viṣṇu's agent, but the latter sets at naught all the four types of missiles and throws the four sons of Hiraṇyakaśipu to a great distance. At this when Hiraṇyakaśipu strikes on the chest of the created Being severely with his leg, he admits defeat and retreats from the battle.

In the Viṣṇuīte texts Prahlāda is always pictured as a great devotee of Viṣṇu; he never goes for a fight against the Man-Lion, but the redactors of both *Kūrma* and *Saura Purāṇa* have introduced a novel change when they speak of Prahlāda's fight with the Man-Lion at his father's behest which will be clear from the following discussion.

In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* after the defeat of the created Being when Viṣṇu in the Man-Lion form appears in the city of the demon-king, as resplendent as the sun at mid-day ( यथा मध्यदिने रविः -51b) and a dreadful as the all-consuming fire at the time of Universal destruction ( युगान्त-दहनोपमः -51a), at the command of his father, Prahlāda and his three brothers fight with him. Hiraṇyakaśipu's younger brother Hiraṇyākṣa discharges Pāśupata missile at the Man-Lion, but when the so-called missile fails to do any harm or injury to the Lord, Prahlāda is convinced of the august presence of the omnipotent Nārāyaṇa on the spot; he casts away all his weapons, desists from fight and surrenders unto the Lord. On the contrary in the *Saura Purāṇa* at the sight of the Man-Lion in the city, the four sons of Hiraṇyakaśipu at his behest fight with the former. The four sons - Prahrāda, Anuhrāda, Saṁhrāda and Hrāda use *brahmāstra*, *vaiṣṇavāstra*, *kaumārāstra* and *āgneyāstra* respectively against the Man-Lion, but the latter nullifies all the weapons; he also catches hold of Hiraṇyakaśipu's four sons by hand and hurls them down to the earth time and again. At this time a consciousness dawns upon Prahlāda about the presence of the all-pervasive Lord and he advises demons that the eternal Supreme Being Nārāyaṇa is to be meditated upon, but not to be fought out by them.. ( एष नारायणो ... परमात्मा सनातनः । ध्यातव्यो न तु योद्धव्यो भवद्भिः -35)

In Viṣṇu versions, Prahlāḍa is crowned as the king of demons by the Man-Lion after the death of his father, but in this *Kūrma-Saura* version of the story under review, after the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu, Hiraṇyākṣa is consecrated as the king. Coming to power Hiraṇyākṣa starts oppressing the gods and sages. He defeats Indra, the Lord of gods and carries the earth to the nether region. It is again Lord Viṣṇu who takes up the form of a Boar, kills Hiraṇyākṣa and lifts up the earth with his tusks. After Hiraṇyākṣa, Prahrāda, the devotee of Viṣṇu is declared to be the ruler of the demon-world.<sup>13</sup>

The traditional Man-Lion myth discussed so far does not have any Śivaite tinge. We come across its Śivaite colouring only when we come to the *Liṅga Purāṇa* (Part I, Chs. 95-96) and the *Śiva Purāṇa* (III. Śātarudra Saṁhitā, Chs. 10-12). On a close examination of these two texts, it is seen that while dealing with Śarabha incarnation of Lord Śiva *Liṅga* I.Ch. 95 and *Śiva* III. Ch. 10 treat the topic differently,<sup>14</sup> but Ch. 96 of *Liṅga Purāṇa* and the Chs. 11-12 of *Śiva Purāṇa*, Śātarudra Saṁhitā are verbatim identical. Since Śātarudra Saṁhitā datable to 14th century A.D. is dependent on the *Liṅga Purāṇa*<sup>15</sup> whose date falls between 800 to 1000 A.D.,<sup>16</sup> it is reasonable to suppose that the former reproduces in entirety from the *Liṅga* I, Ch. 96 with very negligible changes.

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13. It is here that the traditional Man-Lion myth should have come to an end by the *Kūrma Purāṇa* and *Saura Purāṇa*, but the redactors of both the texts introduce a curse motif and make the story somewhat longer. Coming to power Prahrāda shows all honour to gods and rules over his kingdom righteously, but within a very short period he falls a victim to the trickery of gods. Once it so happens that at the approach of a certain ascetic Brahmin Prahrāda disregards him. In consequence the Brahmin curses him to the effect that he would soon lose all his devotion to the imperishable Lord Viṣṇu, the only source of his strength and power (यत्तद्बलं समाश्रित्य ब्राह्मणानवमन्यसे, सा भक्तिर्वैष्णवो दिव्या विनाशं ते गमिष्यति- *Kūrma Purāṇa* I.Ch. 15.83; बलं यस्य समाश्रित्य दैत्य मामवमन्यसे, भक्तिर्विनश्यतु क्षिप्रं तव देवे जनार्दने - *Saura Purāṇa*, Ch. 29.7b-8a). Then Prahrāda blind with power starts tormenting the righteous sages and Brahmins; oblivious of the glory and greatness of Lord Viṣṇu and reminiscent of his father's death by Him, he sets out a war against the Lord. When he is defeated by Viṣṇu, by virtue of his previous merits there dawns upon him the knowledge of the Supreme Being and he takes refuge in Him.
14. For the birth of Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa the redactor of *Śiva Purāṇa* introduces a curse motif just in imitation of *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*, VII. 1.35-39. In the *Śiva Purāṇa*, III. Ch. 10, 9-10, it is said that Jaya and Vijaya, the celestial door-keepers, imprecated by a curse, were born as Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa, the two sons of Diti and Kaśyapa.
15. Vide Gonda, J. - *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Fasc. 3, The Purāṇas, p. 225.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

In both *Liṅga Purāṇa* and *Śiva Purāṇa* it is the constant maltreatment of prahlāda<sup>17</sup> that leads to the appearance of Man-Lion in the court of Hiraṇyakaśipu. But unlike the foregoing versions, after the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu and all other demons, the Man-Lion does not withdraw his anger. Though he blesses Prahlāda with compassionate look, still his fury and rage does not subside. The entire universe is terrified due to his terrible roar. All the worlds including the world of Brahman begin to tremble.

When the entire universe is excited by the fiery splendour of Narasimha, the divinities feel uneasy and they go off in different directions to save their lives. They keep themselves at a safe distance from the Man-Lion. In the *Liṅga Purāṇa* in the company of Brahman, Yama and Maruts, the divinities sing his eulogy in 9 verses (Ch. 95.22-30) with all emotional feelings, but still Narasimha does not become calm and peaceful. According to the *Śiva Purāṇa* Lord Brahman and the other divinities send Prahlāda to Viṣṇu-Narasimha just to assuage his anger. At the approach of his favourite devotee the merciful Lord embraces him and his heart becomes calm to some extent, but the flame of his fury does not subside completely.

When the attempts of Lord Brahman and other divinities are thus set at naught to pacify Viṣṇu-Narasimha, they resort to Lord Śiva for help. In the *Linga Purāṇa* when the eulogy in honour of Śiva is described in 24 ślokas (I. Ch. 95.35-58), the redactor of *Śiva Purāṇa* describes it in 6 ślokas only (III. Ch. 10.32-37). Eulogised by the gods, Lord Śiva promises to subdue Viṣṇu-Narasimha and save the world from impending danger.

17. पुत्रेण लङ्घितामाज्ञां हिरण्यः प्राह दानवान् ।  
एतं नानाविधैर्ध्वजं दुष्पुत्रं हन्तुमर्हथ ॥ १२  
एवमुक्तास्तदा तेन दैत्येन सुदुरात्मना ।  
निजघ्नूर्देवदेवस्य भृत्यं प्रह्लादमव्ययम् ॥ १३

\* \* \*

तदाऽथ गर्वभिन्नस्य हिरण्यकशिपोः प्रभुः ।  
तत्रैवाऽऽविरभूद्दहन्तुं नृसिंहाकृतिमास्थितः ॥ १५

*Linga Purāṇa* I. Ch. 95

प्रहादेन स्वपुत्रेण हरिभक्तेन दैत्यराट् ।  
यदा विद्वेषमकरोद्दहरेर्वैरो विशेषतः ॥ १६  
सभास्तम्भात्तदा विष्णुरभूदविद्रुतं मुने । १७ a

*Śiva Purāṇa* III. Ch. 10

Lord Śiva remembers his fearful aspect-Vīrabhadra. When Vīrabhadra appears all at once, Lord Śiva orders him to subdue Viṣṇu-Narasimha through mild approach and in case he does not withdraw his anger through mild words, then Vīrabhadra would resort to his violent form to hold Narasimha in restraint. In short Lord Śiva advises Vīrabhadra to destroy the subtle things of Narasimha by the subtle splendor and gross things by gross splendor (सूक्ष्मं सूक्ष्मेण संहत्य स्थूलं स्थूलेन तेजसा । *Liṅga* I. 96.146; सूक्ष्मं संहत्य सूक्ष्मेण स्थूलं स्थूलेन तेजसा Śiva, III Ch. 11.14a

Thus commanded Vīrabhadra assumes a calm physical form and hastens to the place of Narasimha. Like a father advising his son, he speaks of the heroic feats of Viṣṇu, refers to his different incarnation like Fish, Tortoise, Boar etc., and requests him to withdraw his anger, but the mild words of Vīrabhadra do not have any impact on him. Blazed more than before with extreme rage and fury, Narasimha shows off his prowess in saying that everything is under his sway. There is none to lord over him, anything that is rich, glorious, powerful and energetic in the world is a display of his splendour. Formerly the four-faced Lord Brahman took his birth from his umbilical lotus, the full-bannered Lord Śiva was born from his forehead. He is *Kāla* and the cause of the destruction of *Kāla*.

On hearing, these haughtily words of Narasimha, Vīrabhadra of invincible might and strength laughs at him and he is ready to take up his virulent form. He reveals his identity and in refuting the speech of Narasimha for which 26 and 27 *Ślokas* have been devoted by the *Liṅga* and *Śiva Purāṇa* respectively, Vīrabhadra retorts that Śiva is the paramount Lord of the Universe. The creation, preservation and destruction of the universe rests with him. Everything starting with the blade of *kuśa* grass and ending with the four-faced Lord Brahman is the display of Rudra's energy. Narasimha is mistaken in considering Maheśvara to be a form of him. Lord Śiva is the creator, and destroyer in the true sense of the term. He is independent of all divinities. When Lord Viṣṇu assumed the form of a tortoise, his skull was strung in the necklace of Śiva. Besides, in the past his physical form of the Boar had been tormented by Skanda. And due to his sheer fraud and deception, Lord Viṣṇu was burnt down at the tip of his trident. At the sacrifice of Dakṣa, he had also beheaded Viṣṇu, the Lord of sacrifice. In referring to the glory and greatness of Śiva, in terms of Sāṅkhya philosophy Vīrabhadra again asserts that Viṣṇu is *Prakṛti*, Rudra is *Puruṣa*, the semen is deposited in



Viṣṇu and the four-faced Brahman is born from the lotus arising from his navel (*Linga* Ch. 96.40; *Śiva* III Ch. 11.40). It is due to the grace of Lord Śiva that viṣṇu is fortunate to have discus - the source of his strength and power. Viṣṇu is *Kāla*, but Lord Śiva is *Mahākāla*, he is *Kālakāla* (कालकालो महेश्वरः - *Linga* Ch. 96. 56B, *Śiva* III, Ch.11. 59).

Finally Virabhadra warns Narasimha to withdraw his anger otherwise vague arguments and unnecessary dispute would bring about his ruin, but even then Narasimha grows more furious than ever. In a fit of rage he begins to roar and all at once pouncing upon Virabhadra seizes him with force.

Meanwhile spreading throughs the sky and causing terror among the enemies, the extremely terrible form of Virabhadra born of the brilliant splendour of Śiva manifests itself. He assumes a hideous form characteristic of Rudra. With thousand arms, matted locks and the crescent moon he appears in the form of a *Śarabha*<sup>18</sup>. Half of his body is like that of an animal; with wings and a beak he looks like a bird. Possessed of great curved fangs and sharp claws he roars loudly resembling the terrible thunder of the cloud. His three eyes are as wide and blazing as the fire of the evil spirit. At his sight Narasimha loses his strength and power, like a glow-worm under the thousand-rayed sun, he is bereft of all his effulgence. Virabhadra seizes him and ties up his legs with his tail. He whirls him with his wings. Just as a bird of prey lifts up a serpent and flies high up into the sky, so also Virabhadra sometimes lifts up Narasimha and sometimes lets him fall down. Soaring high up into the air he strikes him with his wings and renders him unconscious. At long last Virabhadra carries him off.

When Narasimha fails to counteract, in a helpless state, he takes refuge in Lord Śiva and eulogises him chanting his hundred and eight names. He prays Śiva to save him whenever his intellect is misled by haughtiness and arrogance.

Virabhadra then skins off the body of Narasimha and reduces him to a mere face. Thus humbled down by Virabhadra, in the presence of gods and sages, Narasimha, the violent form of Viṣṇu gets merged in Lord

18. *Śarabha* is an animal with eight legs; it is stronger than a lion. Like Viṣṇu's incarnation, the Śivaite texts speak of Lord Śiva taking up different incarnations. *Śarabha* incarnation of Śiva is important incarnation which has been referred to here.

Śiva. since that day, Śiva is said to have borne the skin of Narasiṃha as his garment. The Lion's face also finds a place in his garland of skulls.

On a comparison of this story with earlier Viṣṇuite stories and the story as presented in *Śiva Purāna* (II Rudra Saṁhitā V. Yuddha khaṇḍa, Ch.43) and *Skanda Purāna* (VII Prabhāsa khaṇḍa II vastrāpatha mähātmya Ch. 18.61-129) we notice that in all the Viṣṇuite versions the redactor has a leaning towards Viṣṇuism. In all the cases the story has been narrated there for the glorification of Viṣṇu-Narasiṃha. Though the *Śiva Purāna* (II Rudra saṁhitā V. Yuddha khaṇḍa Ch. 43) and the *Skanda Purāna* (VII . Prabhāsa khaṇḍa II vastrāpatha mähātmya Ch. 18. 61-129) are essentially Śivaite texts, it is presumed that at the time of composition and insertion of these stories in the *Śiva* and *Skanda Purāna* Viṣṇuism still had its sway on the society and therefore the redactors of the both the texts have not dared to modify or make changes in the old pattern of the story. But in the *Liṅga Purāna* (Chs. 95-96) and *Śiva Purāna* (III Śatarudra saṁhitā, Chs. 10-12) the traditional man-lion myth has been given a sivaite tinge just to establish the supremacy of the cult of Śiva over the cult of Viṣṇu. In India there has come a time in its history when the exponents of three main cults i.e. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti have quarrelled among themselves about the supremacy of their own respective cult and as such they have invented and inserted new stories or transformed and modified the timehonoured popular story as it would suit or benefit their own cult. The story of *Liṅga Purāna* (Chs.95-96) and *Śiva Purāna* (III . Chs. 10-12) under review seems to have been written at a time when Viṣṇuism had lost its hold on the society and Śivaism was on the rise. Vīrabhadra or Śarabha is undoubtedly a purposeful creation of the adherents of Śivaism just to prove its superiority over the Viṣṇu-cult particularly the cult of Narasiṃha. And Gonda rightly remarks - "...Prahāda is no longer the central figure of the story, because the Śaivas, once they had introduced the Śarabha, made it an *avatāra* of their god which soon became the hero of a new mythical tale ... .."19

Thus the story of both *Linga* and *Śiva Purāna* , Śatarudra Saṁhitā is nothing but merely a Śivaite adaptation of the traditional Hiraṇyakaśipu-Prahāda legend just to evince the sectarian greatness.

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19. Gonda, J. - *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism - a Comparison*, Ch.V, p. 106.

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## THE ŚUNGA RULE IN MAGADHA

BY

UPENDRA NATH ROY

[ मौर्यसाम्राज्यस्य पतनानन्तरं शुङ्गवंशीया नृपा मगधसाम्राज्यस्य शासका बभूवुः । शुङ्गवंशसाम्राज्यस्य संस्थापकः पुष्यमित्रशुङ्गः मौर्यसाम्राज्यस्य सेनापतिरासीद्यः मौर्यवंशीयान्तिमशासकस्य बृहद्रथस्य वधं कृत्वा शासकत्वमवाप्तवान् । शुङ्गवंशीया देश राजानो बभूवुः यैः ११२ वर्षं ११८ वर्षं वा यावत् शासनं कृतम् । वायु-ब्रह्माण्डमत्स्य-विष्णुपुराणानां पाठाधारेणात्र विदुषा लेखकेन शुङ्गवंशीयनृपाणां क्रमः कालश्च निर्धारितः । अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे लेखकेन केषांचित्पाश्चात्यानामेतद्देशीयानामैतिह्यविदां च मतान्तरस्य प्रमाणपुरस्सरं निरसनं च कृतम् । लेखकेन महाभारतयुद्धस्य, मौर्यवंश-शुङ्गवंशशासनस्य कालोऽपि पौराणिकमतानुसारं निर्दिष्टः । ]

The rule of the Mauryas came to an end when PUŞYAMITRA ŚUNGA, the chief of the Maurya army siezed power by killing his master, the last ruler of the Maurya dynasty. Nobody disputes the fact that the Śunga dynasty consisted of ten rulers but there is some confusion about the names, order and duration of it. That warrants some discussion about it.

DURATION :- The duration of the dynasty is given as follows in the VĀYU and BRAHMĀNDA :-

दशैते शुङ्गराजानो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम्  
शतं पूर्णं दश द्वे च ततः कण्वान् गमिष्यति ॥<sup>1</sup>

It ought to mean 100 + 10 + 2, that is 112 years but PARGITER contends that the total is 118 which may be due to treating fractions as wholes.<sup>2</sup> But one may argue as well that the intended figure is 100+10 ×2 =120 Years. The best way to remove such doubts is to refer to the Purāṇas if possible. Fortunately, VIṢṆUPURĀṆA comes to rescue by using prose and stating clearly that the duration is 112 year – इत्येते शुङ्गा द्वादशोत्तरं वर्षशतं पृथिवीम् भोक्ष्यन्ति ।<sup>3</sup>

1. PARGITER, THE PURĀṆA TEXT OF THE DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE (D. K. A.), LONDON, 1913, P. 13
2. Do, P. 30
3. Do, P. 32

ORDER AND INDIVIDUAL REIGN:- Pargiter gives the names and order of the rulers correctly and even the figures for individual reign require little change. So, the following are the components of the dynasty :-

1. PUṢYAMITRA (1364 - 1328 B.C.) – His reign is given as 36 years in the MATSYA, while the VĀYU and BRAHMĀNḌA give 66 years. The former is undoubtedly preferable as the latter would inflate the total so much as to exceed the stated duration of the dynasty. But the Western Indologists and their disciples are not willing to concede that too. They contend that though he was the chief of the Maurya army, he spent 30 years in VIDIŚĀ as an independent ruler and then rebelled and usurped the throne of Magadha. Thus he ruled in Magadha for 6 years only<sup>4</sup>. Such contention is based on two pieces of evidence only. First, PUṢYAMITRA is called 'SENĀPATI' and 'VAIDIŚĀ' in the MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRAM and secondly, PUṢYAMITRA ruled in AVANTI for 30 years according to MERUTUNGA.

The evidence is far from clear and conclusive. PUṢYAMITRA is called not only "SENĀPATI" but also "Mahārāja" in the MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRAM which clearly shows that PUṢYAMITRA was the ruler at the time the events described in the play took place. He retained his title of the "SENĀPATI" as he deemed it no less honourable and important. Even in our own age, some heads of state retained their titles like 'General' or 'Field marshal'. As to the word 'VAIDIŚĀ' it need not mean the ruler of VIDIŚĀ only. It may imply that VIDIŚĀ was the ancestral home and the place of the birth of Puṣyamitra. It is absurd to suppose that someone ruling independently in VIDIŚĀ could retain nominally the position of the chief of the Mauryan army and even if one could, it would not be possible to control the army from such a distance. But PUṢYAMITRA has the actual control of the army. Bāṇabhaṭṭa declares clearly that PUṢYAMITRA was the chief of the Maurya army and killed BRĤADRATHA, the last ruler of the dynasty at the pretext of showing him the armed forces. It is unwarranted to hold that Puṣyamitra ruled for 6 years only in Magadha but the Purāṇas made it 36. Nor can we admit that the 36 years include the period of his reign in VIDIŚĀ. The Purāṇas are not as earless in these matters as arm our

4. STEN KONOW, SOME PROBLEMS RAISED BY THE KHĀRAVELA INSCRIPTION, ACTA ORIENTALIA, VOL. I, 1923, P. 32

modernists believe. Moreover, MERUTUNGA, the beloved of the western orientalisists, is so removed from the time and place of the occurrence that his testimony cannot demolish the statement of the Purāṇas. Only biased people can pay heed to MERUTUNGA and HEMACHANDRA to reject the earlier records of the Purāṇas.

2. *AGNIMITRA (1328-1320 B.C.)* - PUṢYAMITRA was succeeded by his son AGNIMITRA who is stated to have ruled for eight years only. Obviously, the figure does not include the period of his rule as a provincial governor in VIDIŚĀ. Otherwise, the figure would have contained two digits. That confirms our stand that 36 years of his father's reign do not include anything also than his rule in Magadha.

3. *VASUJYEṢHA (1320-1319 B.C.)* - Most of the Purāṇas give his reign as seven years, but the 1729 A.C. copy of the MATSYAPURĀṆA in the BODELIAN LIBRARY assigns one year only to him. In view of the total duration of the dynasty, that seems to be the correct figure. His name suggests that he was the eldest son of AGNIMITRA. So it was but natural for him to succeed his father, but either he died soon or he was removed for incompetence after a year.

4. *VASUMITRA (1319-1309 B.C.)* - He seems to be a younger brother of VASUJYEṢHA. He became renowned by protecting the sacrificial horse of PUṢYAMITRA and defeating the Yavanas on the southern bank of the river Sindhu. He reigned for 10 year.

Dr. R. M. Smith puts forth two conjectures about the end of his reign. First, it is stated in the sixth canto of the Harṣacaritam that SUMITRA, the son of AGNIMITRA was fond of theatre. MITRADEVA exploited the opportunity and beheaded him with sword by joining the team of the actors. Smith deems it but natural for the energetic young man to take interest in the drama and contends that VASUMITRA is identical with SUMITRA.<sup>5</sup> Though the MATSYA (d) reads SUMITRA for VASUMITRA, we cannot admit the conjecture as truth. the reading 'SUMITRA' in that copy necessiates the introduction of 'tu' to make up for the deficiency in the metre. Moreover, we have to bear in mind that BĀNBHATTA who wrote in prese was under no compulsion to shorten the name. So SUMITRA was definitely some other son of Agnimitra than VASUMITRA.

5. R. M. SMITH, DATES AND DYATIES IN EARLIEST INDIA, DELHI, 1973, P. 369

The other conjecture is that SUMITRA can be identified with the SUDEVA or VASUDEVA of the Purāṇas. So the following variant of the Ānandāśrama edition of the VĀYUPURĀṆA is declared to be misplaced and connected with this event ;—

अपार्थिवसुदेवन्तु बाल्याद् व्यसनिनं नृपम् ।  
देवभूमिस्ततोऽन्यस्तु शुङ्गेषु भविता नृपः ॥<sup>6</sup>

Smith argues that the reading "अपार्थिवं सुदेवन्तु" or "अपार्थिवं वासुदेवन्तु" is also possible. But this variant is not supported by other Purāṇas, nor is the reading वसुदेवन्तु available. Moreover, the fact that a verb is missing in the first half of the verse proves its incorrectness. Hence there is little justification to declare it misplaced. Finally, we cannot equate the murderer with Vasudeva when BĀṆABHATTA calls him MITRADEVA so clearly.

5. *ANDHRAKA* (1309 - 1307 B.C.) - He is variously called as ANDHAKA, ANTAKA, ODHAKA, BHADRAKA etc. Most of the Purāṇas assign two years to him. Only one copy of the MATSYAPURĀṆA has seven. An inscription discovered at the PABHOSA CAVE at KAUSĀMBI refers to the tenth year of the reign of king UDAKA, who is supposed to be identical with ANDHRAKA. K.H. DHRUVA contends that ANDHRAKA for some time was a ruler of a part of the kingdom and then became the master of the whole and the figure includes both of the periods.<sup>7</sup> That is untenable as the inscription declares that AṢĀDHASENA, the maternal uncle of BAHASATIMITA was ruler of AHICCHATRA and he donated a cave to the monks in the tenth year of UDAKA. Now if BAHASATIMITA and UDAKA are identified with PUṢYAMITRA and ANDHRAKA respectively, PUṢYAMITRA's maternal uncle can hardly be regarded as a contemporary of his successor of the fourth generation. So the only sensible explanation is that both BAHASATIMITA and UDAKA were rulers of KAUSĀMBI and belonged to a period much later.

6. *PULINDAKA* (1307 - 1304 B.C.) - He ruled for three years. Probably, he was a brother of ANDHRAKA.

6. Do, P. 369

7. K. H. DHRUVA, HISTORICAL CONTENTS OF YUGAPURĀṆA, J. B. O. R. S., VOL. XVI, Pt. I, P. 37

7. *GHOṢAVASU (1304 - 1301)* - He ruled for three years. He too seems to be a brother of ANDHRAKA.

8. *VAJRAMITRA (1301 -1294 B.C.)* - He ruled for seven years (nine according to some variants). He too seems to be a brother of ANDHRAKA.

9. *BHĀGAVATA (1294 - 1262 B.C.)* - He ruled for 32 years. He seems to be the son or nephew of ANDHRAKA . Attempts have been made to equate this king with king BHĀGABHADRA referred to in the Besnagar Pillar Inscription. Heliodora, the son of Diyasa and a resident of TAKṢAŚILĀ was sent to him on embassy by MAHĀRĀJA AṀTILIKITA, HELIODORA a devoted of VIṢṆU and he installed a GARUḌADHVAJA at BESNAGAR in the 14 the year of KING KASIPUTRA BHAYABHADRA.

BHĀGAVATA cannot be equated with BHAYABHADRA due to following reasons : 1. There is nothing to prove that either of his parents was called KAŚĪ. 2. As a ruler of Magadha, BHĀGAVATA had his capital not at VIDISĀ but PĀTALIPUTRA. No ambassador would go to VIDISĀ to present his credentials to him. 3. The Greek ruler who sent him on embassy is called 'MAHĀRĀJA' while BHĀGABHADRA is called simply 'RĀJĀ'. 4. The name BHĀGABHADRA resembles BHĀGAVATA only partially which is hardly enough for equating the two. So the king referred to in the Besnagar Pillar Inscription is undoubtedly different and later.

10. *DEVABHUMI (1262-1252 B.C.)* - He was the son of BHĀGAVATA. He is called DEVABHUMI in the MATSYA, VAYU (e) and BRAHMĀṆḌA, but VIṢṆU and BHĀGAVATA call him DEVABHUTI. He ruled for ten years. He was addicted to vices since boyhood. His minister, therefore, got the opportunity to get him killed and seize power. Thus ended the Śunga rule and the KAṆVA dynasty came to power. BĀṆA in his HARṢACHARITAM, canto VI sheds more light on it. According to him, DEVA-BHUTI indulged too much in sex. So, his minister VASUDEVA sent the daughter of a maidservant in the guise of the queen and got him killed.

*Main events and age* :- The main events of the Śunga age are the two horse sacrifices of PUṢYAMITRA, the invasion of the Yavanas and if we identify BAHASATIMITA with PUṢYAMITRA, the invasion of Magadha by KHARAVELA mentioned in the HATHIGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION.



Moreover, it is alleged with reference to the YUGAPURĀṆA that PUṢYAMITRA demanded a Yavana princess (allegedly for his grandson) and died fighting for the same. It is necessary to discuss these in order to get a clear idea about the Śunga age.

Jayaswal's identification of BAHSATIMITA with PUṢYAMITRA was only tentative which retained its validity for the time being. As coins of both are available now, we have to take them as two different rulers. It is simply incredible that Magadha was invaded twice during the reign of a king like PUṢYAMITRA who was powerful enough to perform horse sacrifice - and that invasion was conducted by a petty ruler like KHĀRAVELA.

It is beyond dispute that PUṢYAMITRA performed horse sacrifice twice. An inscription discovered from a temple in AYODHYĀ calls PUṢYAMITRA "performer of two horse sacrifices"<sup>8</sup>.

So far as the Yavanas are concerned, they are supposed to be the Bactrian Greeks and our historians pay little heed to the legitimate procedure. Unbiased people are expected to keep both the Indian and Foreign evidence undistorted and draw the conclusions strictly in keeping with the same. Instead, we find that Indian evidence is distorted and the foreign evidence is disregarded to make room for the whims of the majority of our historians.

Patañjali, referring to Pāṇini's aphorism 3/2/III, remarks : / LAN (लङ्,) ought to be used when the event described is not seen by the speaker but it is so famous and capable of being seen by the speaker as it occurred during the span of his life. The examples given are अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम् and अरुणद्यवनः मध्यमिकाम्. There is nothing in the two examples to show that the siege of SĀKETA and that of MADHYAMIKĀ took place at the same time or the same person or group was responsible for both. A legitimate interpretation cannot proceed beyond the point that the two events took place during the life of the author of the MAHĀBHĀṢYA or if the two sentences are interpolations, the events occurred during the life of the interpolater. Current theories of our historians pass much beyond the limit. They claim the two sieges took place simultaneously and the Yavana involved was either DEMETRIUS or MENANDER.

8. राधाकुमुदमुकर्जी, प्राचीन भारत, दिल्ली, १९८०, पृ. ८४

In the MĀLAVIKĀGNI MITRAM, PUṢYAMITRA conveys from his capital to his son AGNIMITRA in VIDISĀ the news that the sacrificial horse was detained by the Yavanas on the south bank of the Sindhu and VASUMITRA the son of AGNIMITRA secured the release of horse by defeating the Yavanas. Then he goes on to invite his son and family to the sacrifice. The prejudices of the historians are revealed as they identify the SINDHU with KALI SINDH that flows between Bundelkhand and Rajasthan and declare the opponents of VASUMITRA were the very people who laid the siege of SĀKETA and MADHYAMIKĀ . Such identifications are absolutely wrong because the KALI SINDH cannot be placed outside the realm of the Śungas by any stretch of imagination and the events that took place on the south bank of that river must have become known to AGNIMITRA in VIDISĀ before PUṢYAMITRA in PĀṬALIPUTRA came to know them.

The assumption that a yavana king is mentioned in the HĀTHIGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRVELA is based on the readings of JAYASWAL and STEN KONOW which need not be the correct ones. They read the name of the Yavana king as 'DIMATA' but confess that only the 'MA' in the middle is distinct and undisputed. How can that establish beyond doubt that the inscription mentions DEMETRIUS ? How can the statement that the Yavana king afraid of KHĀRVELA fled to Mathurā prove that he was based in Punjab or Bactria ?

The assumptions allegedly based on the YUGAPURĀṆA rely, in fact, on the distortions of the text by Prof. K. H. DHURVA. Few scholars realise the blunder one cannot help committing by basing one's conclusions on his version. So we have to give some examples of the way he has treated the text. DHURVA reads :-

ततः शाकलमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान् माथुरास्तथा ।  
यवनाः दुष्टविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमाह्वयम् ॥

But the first half in the manuscripts is remarkably different ;

ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चाला माथुरास्तथा

So the Yavanas invaded not ŚĀKALA, but SĀKETA and they were the inhabitants of PANCHĀLA and MATHURĀ. There is nothing impossible or geographically incompatible in it. Similarly when the Yugapurāṇa speaks about seven powerful kings of SĀKETA,

साकेते सप्त राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः

DHRUVA does not hesitate to make them the kings of ŚĀKALA :

शाकले सप्त राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः

The word आग्निवेश्यः is replaced with the names of the Śunga rulers, "AGNIMITRA" with "Puṣyamitra" and the text is altered at will wherever and whenever Dhruva fails to comprehend it. "Thus we read the following in DHRUVA's version :-

पुष्यमित्रेण ते सर्वे राजानः कृतविग्रहाः ।  
 क्षयं प्राप्स्यन्ति युद्धेन तथैषामाश्रितो जनः ॥  
 तदा भद्राख्यके देशे पुष्यमित्रे प्रशासति ।  
 तस्मिन्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या सुमहारूपशालिनी ॥  
 तस्या अर्थे नृपो घोरेऽब्राह्मण्यैः सह विग्रहे ।  
 तदा विधिवशाद्देहं विमोक्ष्यति न संशयः ॥  
 तस्मिन् युद्धे महाघोरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदारुणे ।  
 अग्निमित्रस्ततो राजा भविष्यति महाप्रभः ॥  
 त्रिंशद्वर्षाणि वै तस्य स्फीतं राज्यं भविष्यति ।  
 वसुमित्रात् ततो राज्ञः प्राप्ता राज्यमथौद्रकः ॥<sup>9</sup>

The correct reading according to the manuscripts is, however, the following :-

अग्निवेश्यास्तु ते सर्वे राजानः कृतविग्रहाः ।  
 क्षयं यास्यन्ति युद्धेन तथैषामाश्रितो जनः ॥  
 तदा भद्राख्यके देशे अग्निमित्रे प्रशासति ।  
 तस्मिन्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या सुमहारूपशालिनी ॥  
 तस्या अर्थे नृपो घोरे विग्रहे ब्राह्मणैः सह ।  
 तदा विधिवशाद् देहं विमोक्ष्यति न संशयः ॥  
 तस्मिन् युद्धे महाघोरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदारुणे ।  
 अग्निवेश्यस्तदा राजा भविष्यति महाप्रभः ॥  
 तस्यापि विंशद्वर्षाणि राज्यं स्फीतं भविष्यति ।  
 अग्निवेश्यस्तथा राजा राज्यं प्राप्य महेन्द्रवत् ॥<sup>10</sup>

According to the first two lines, the kings of the AGNIVEŚĀ gotra perished in war along with their dependants. The ĀGNIVEŚYA rulers are

9. DHRUVA, HISTORICAL CONTENTS OF THE YUGAPURĀṆA, JBORS, VOL. XVI, PART I, PP. 20 - 23

10. K. P. JAYASWAL, THE YUGAPURANA, JBORS, VOL. XIV, Pt. III, PP. 400 -408

not Śungas, they are the BAISAS OF SĀKETA. A part of U.P. is still called BAISAVĀDĀ after them. There is no justification for altering अग्नि मित्रे to पुष्यमित्रे . The last three lines mention an ĀGNIVEŚYA king who ruled for 20 years not in Magadha but in the country called BHADRA. DHRUVA fails to comprehend it and eulogises Agnimitra, his son and his grandson distorting the text hopelessly. Lines three to eight above contain the truth about widely circulated story that PUŚYAMITRA demanded a Greek princess and died fighting for the same. What the text really says is that a beautiful Brāhmaṇa girl was born in the Bhadra country, king Agnimitra (the ruler of the Bhadra country, not the Śunga king) wanted to take her by force, the Brāhmaṇas resisted and Agnimitra was killed in the battle that ensued. The Āgniveśya kṣatriyas who supported the Brāhmaṇs then became the masters of the Bhadra country. Thus the events have nothing to do with Śungas.

The Yavanas who attacked Magadha were inhabitants of Panchāla and Mathurā according to the Yugapurāṇa. So they were not foreigners. Moreover, the attack did not take place during the Śunga age, but 22 years prior to PUŚYAMITRA during the rule of ŚĀLIŚUKA MAURYA. DAŚRATHA SAMPRATI and ŚĀLIŚUKA were brothers according to Dhruva but the Purāṇas prove the latter two the son and grandson of DAŚARATHA. ŚĀLIŚUKA siezed power by deposing his father and made his elder brother VIJAYA, the provincial administrator of SĀKETA. That is why most of the Purāṇas do not even recognise him. He reigned for 13 months, not 13 years. The Yavana invasion ended his reign in Magadha. Thus the Yugapurāṇa throws no light on the Śunga age and it has no relevance to the chronology of the Śungas.

As we turn to foreign sources, we learn that the empire of the Alexander was divided among his generals after his death. Seleucus got the West Asian part of it. During the reign of his descendant Antiochus III, Diodotus (the ruler of Bactria) rebelled. However, he was killed by Euthidemus who became the king of Bactria. As his capital was besieged by the forces of Antiochus, he sent his son DEMETRIUS to the king. Antiochus was so much pleased by his conduct that he not only recognised the virtual independance of Bactria, but gave his daughter in marriage with him (206 B.C.). According to Strabo, DEMETRIUS crossed the river Sindhu and conquered Sindh, the delta region of Indus, Kach and Saurāṣṭra. The Greek sources mention his occupation of Panjab and

name his capital ŚĀKALA but do not refer either to his occupation of Panchāla and Śūrasena or his campaign towards SĀKETA, MADHYAMIKĀ and Magadha. Omission of such important details is neither natural nor possible<sup>11</sup>.

While DEMETRIUS was extending his domain in India, a rebellion broke out in Bactria and placed a new ruler in power there, namely, EUKRETIDES; So DEMETRIUS and his progeny had to make India their home. Menander was the prominent figure among his successors and he reigned from 115 B.C. to 90 B. C. Strabo doubts whether MENANDER crossed the river HYPANIS (VIPĀŚĀ) and reach the YAMUNĀ. DHURVA removes his doubts and turns his statement into a positive proof! Moreover, he invokes the authority of PLUTARCH who declares that Menander died fighting in the valley of the GANGĀ.<sup>12</sup> Now the valley of the GANGĀ is a vast one which includes but is not limited to Magadha. Many kings have ruled in the territories of the valley in different times. I wonder how can, then, the statement prove that the battle took place in Magadha and the adversary was PUṢYAMITRA ŚUNGA and nobody else?

Conventional views about Indian chronology do not fit in well with the facts either. Chandragupta Maurya equated with SANDROCOTTUS of the Western classical accounts of India ascended to the throne according to this view not earlier than 325 B.C. and not later than 312 B.C. The dates of PUṢYAMITRA are not earlier than 188 - 152 B.C. and not later than 175-139 B.C. The dates of ŚĀLIŚUKA MAURYA are not earlier than 210 B.C. and not later than 197 B.C. Now if the Yavanas who besieged SĀKETA and MADHYAMIKĀ were led by MENANDER and the latter died fighting with the forces of PUṢYAMITRA, the date of Puṣyamitra ought to be brought down to as late as 90 B.C., which even the conventional scheme does not permit. So we have to rule out MENANDER - PUṢYAMITRA or ŚĀLIŚUKA- MENANDER Synchronism entirely. There is a slight possibility of PUṢYAMITRA's synchronism with DEMETRIUS. It is stated in the YUGAPURĀṆA that the Yavanas had to retreat due to some internal trouble in their circle. That is believed to be the rebellion of EUKRATIDES. So the campaign must be dated slightly earlier than 174 B.C., the date of rebellion. That

11. DHURVA, HISTORICAL CONTENTS, JBORS, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, P. 32

12. Do, P. 34.

makes DEMETRIUS-PUṢYAMITRA synchronism slightly possible. As DEMETRIUS had reached up to Panjab, the yavanas who detained PUṢYAMITRA's sacrificial horse may appear to be the men of DEMETRIUS. But the YUGAPURĀṆA states categorically that the Yavanas involved were the inhabitants of Panchāla and Mathurā, the regions DEMETRIUS could not reach in his life. Thus the Yavanas of the Yugapurāṇa were not the Bactrian Greeks.

The Yavanas are referred frequently in Indian literature and it is hardly justified to brand all those references as interpolations or to assign all the works to a period necessarily later than 326 B.C. or even 200 B.C. Manusmrit (X. 43-44) lists the Yavanas with the Kṣatriya tribes that became degraded as they lost contact with the Brāhmaṇas and gave up the Vedic rites and rituals :

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।  
 वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥  
 पौण्ड्राश्चौड्राविडाः कम्बोजाः यवनाः शकाः ।  
 पारदाः पहलवाश्चीनाः किराताः दरदाः खशाः ॥

The rage of the Brāhmaṇas led to the degradation of the Kṣatriya tribes like the KIRĀTAS and YAVANAS according to the MAHĀBHĀRATA, ANUŚĀSANA PARVA, XXXV. 18 :-

किराता यवनाश्चैव तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ।  
 वृषलत्वमनुप्राप्ता ब्राह्मणानाममर्षणात् ॥

The purāṇs specify the date of their degradation too. It occurred during the reign of SAGARA. The punished tribes were compelled to give up the study of the scriptures and the practice of Vedic rites and rituals as well as to undergo certain changes in their appearance. Thus the Yavanas kept their heads shaved, the Śakas kept a half of their heads shaved and the Pahlavas did not shave their beards (VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA, IV. 3. 11) :

यवनान् मुण्डितशिरसः अर्द्धमुण्डान् शकान् प्रलम्बकेशान् पारदान् पल्लवांश्च  
 श्मश्रुधरान् निःस्वाध्यायवषट्कारान् एतानन्यांश्च क्षत्रियांश्चकार ।

It is remarkable that the hair-style of the Greeks does not correspond to the fact recorded by the Purāṇas. Generally, the Yavanas are mentioned along with the PARASTKAS, the ŚAKAS, the KAMBOJAS etc. It shows that some of the Yavanas remained in India, and some of them emigrated and settled in West Asia. Naturally they were known to India long before Christ.

So we reject the current chronology based on the identification of SANDROCOTTUS with CHANDRA GUPTA MAURYA and stand by the dates given by the PURĀṆAS. The great battle of KURUKṢETRA described in the Purāṇas took place 36 years before the *Kaliyuga*, that is, 3137 B.C. MAHĀPADMANANDA was coronated 1500 years later, 1637 B.C. The Nanda dynasty ruled for 136 years and came to an end 1501 B.C. The Mauryas remained in power 134 years. So the Śunga rule began 1364 B.C. and as it lasted 112 years, it ended 1252 B.C.

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# पुराणेषु गङ्गागौरवसारः

डॉ. मिताली देव

[ The glory of the Ganges is vividly and elaborately described in the epics and Purāṇas. In essence according to the Indian tradition river Gangā is the symbol or repository of all good things and virtues. Here the learned authoress has shown the importance and glorification of the Gangā according to the epics and the Purāṇas ]

याऽसौ सर्वगतो विष्णुश्चित्स्वरूपी जनार्दनः ।

स एव द्रवरूपेण गङ्गाम्भो नात्र संशयः ॥ स्कन्दपुराण ४।२९।७८

प्रथमं तावज्जगदम्बां गङ्गामागमप्रतिपादितविविधश्रेयःसमृद्धिनिदानभूतां वराभया-  
म्भोजकुम्भभ्राजमानचतुर्भुजां प्रफुल्लकुन्दकुसुमोदरसुन्दरविग्रहाम्, नितान्तरम्यपर्यन्तसितां-  
शुकसमावृतां सुधांशुखण्डमुकुटामखण्डस्मितमण्डिताम् अदीनभावसम्पन्नदीनदनिषेविताम्,  
ग्राहवाहां भगवतीं समाश्रये ।

ध्यानम् -

सुधांशुकृतशेखरां स्मितमुखीं तुषारप्रभां  
सकुम्भवरवारिजाभयकरां वलक्षाम्बराम् ।  
नदीनदनिषेवितां मकरवाहनारोहिणीं  
भये महति स्वोदये नतिमुपेत्य गङ्गां श्रये ॥

ॐ नमः श्रीं ह्रीं श्रीं गङ्गायै नारायण्यै शिवायै ते नमो नमः ।

देवि ! गङ्गे ! निःसृतासि चरणाङ्गुष्ठाग्राद् वैराजं भावं भजतस्त्रिचरणस्य भगवतो  
नारायणस्य दानप्रवीरं वैरोचनं सर्वोच्चभावं निनीषोः । समनुगृह्णासि कारणमनुसरन्ती  
प्रतिलोकमेकैकया धारया सुरनरभुजङ्गादिकान् समस्तानपि प्राणिनः । गीयसे च तेनैव  
कर्मणा त्रिपथगा । मन्देतरा सेयं त्रिभुवनव्यापिनी तव दया शक्यते निःसन्देहतया सर्वैरपि  
ज्ञातुम् । जननि ! तां त्वामात्मानमुद्दिधीर्षुः प्रणमामि विनयभरनमितशिराः स्थिरादरः  
कृताञ्जलिः ।

मौनैकस्वभावा प्रकृतिदुर्बला गिरिगह्वरादिदूरदेशनिवासिनी मुनि-परिषदपि सकुतूहला  
शनैः शनैराख्याति श्रवणभरणीयान् गणनातिशायिनस्त्वदीयान् गुणान् । आख्यातु  
यथाकामं, कस्ततोऽस्माकं लाभः । न चैतावता जननि ! वयमपूर्णस्पृहाः स्मः । आख्याति  
ननु तथाभूतांस्त्वदीयान् गुणानद्यथावद् भृशमुच्चकैरेव कपिलचाक्षुषानलप्रभावाद् भस्मसाद्  
भूतैरपि लब्धत्वदीयतोयसम्पर्कैः सद्भिर्भृत्तदिव्यविग्रहैः प्रभावातिशयदर्शनप्रजाहत-



हर्षैर्हसद्भिः षष्टिसहस्रसंख्यैः सगरनरपतिसूनुभिर्योगपद्येन समासाद्यमाना विपुलकोलाहला गीर्वाणनगरी ।

जननि गङ्गे ! त्वद्गुणपूर्णकर्णपुटाः सन्तः पूर्णस्पृहा एव सन्ति । प्रवेशमात्रे गङ्गायां स्नानार्थं भक्तितो नृणाम्—

ब्रह्महत्यादिपापानां नाशः स्यादिति निश्चितम् ॥ ब्र. पुराण 3/72

जडताहारिशैत्यगुणमनोहारिमोक्षदोषापहारिसलिला भवती ।

सर्वेश्वरस्य या शम्भोर्मूर्तिरेषा सनातनी ।

त्रैलोक्यपावनार्थाय दयया धरणीं गता ॥ भविष्यपुराणम् 1/1/31

समातृपितृदाराणां कुलकोटिमनन्तरम् ।

गङ्गाभक्तिस्तारयते संसारार्णवतो ध्रुवम् ॥ स्कान्दब्राह्मणोः ।

सादरं शिरसा दधानः समर्थयति पुराणादिप्रतिपादितं महाक्रतुफलप्रदत्वं भवत्याः, प्रध्वंसयति च विमतिमस्माकं कृतक्रतुध्वंसः सकलजगद्गीतगरिमा भगवान् गिरिशः ।

'गङ्गा गङ्गा' इत्येवमादिरूपेण प्रच्युतसमुचितक्रियापदसम्बोधनादिना भक्तिप्रण-यविह्वलीभावसूचकेनाऽऽक्रन्दमात्रेण योजनशतान्तरितानामपि जनानां निरस्तसमस्तपात-कतां परमपदाधिकारितां च सृजन्ती सभक्तिस्नातानां मतिमतां यमुदकं त्वं जनयेः, तं न जानन्ति तर्ककुशलाः सूरयः ।

गङ्गागङ्गेति यो ब्रूयात् योजनानां शतैरपि ।

मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो विष्णुलोकं स गच्छति ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् 2/7/51

इत्यादिभिर्बहुभिर्वचनैः प्रतिपादितं वृत्तान्तमवगच्छन् न कोऽपि सुधीजनस्त्वदितरां तरङ्गिणीं मुहर्मुहुः प्रणमेदङ्गीकृतप्राचीनार्यभावः कल्याणकामः । त्वां तु जननि ! सर्वातिशायिप्रभावां प्रणमेत् सहस्रकृत्वोऽपि कृताञ्जलिर्धृतभक्तिभरः । त्वन्नामश्रवणेन एव व्रजन्ति सहसा मुग्धभावं वीतरागा निर्जितद्वन्द्वा, अतीतसंसारगतयो ज्ञातपरतत्वा अपि सन्तो मुनयः । सोऽयं त्वदीयकल्लोलध्वनिरुद्धतः साध्वहेतुहा गन्तुमर्होऽपि हन्तुमेव प्रवर्तमान उपलभ्यते विविधं साध्वसम्, यतः सश्रद्धं तमाकर्णयतां सतां जनानां कृतार्तनादा निरयभाजोऽपि पूर्वजाः सद्यः समाप्तयमयातनाः प्राप्तप्रहर्षाः प्रतिष्ठन्ते पुनरावृत्तिवर्जितं परमानन्दमयं पदं प्रति ।

भुवनत्रयभागधेयप्रवाहे ! भगवति ! भागीरथि ! दूरतस्तावदास्तां भवती, न शक्यते भवत्याः कल्लोलध्वनिरपि सर्वोत्कृष्टः सन् निकृष्टधीभिर्मादृशैरभिष्टोतुम् । तीर्थव्रत-दानेष्टापूर्तस्वाध्यायादीनि सर्वाण्यपि पुण्यानि कर्माणि तत्तीरनिवासरूपे पुण्यतमे कर्मणि वारणपदे प्राण्यन्तरपदानीव सम्यगेवाऽन्तर्भवन्ति । नावशिष्यन्ते सम्प्रति नामान्यपि खलु सुखसाधनानां भवत्याम् । अपध्वस्तं च विविधां सिद्धिमादधानं विपुलरूपं तपः । हन्त ! प्रध्वंसितसाधनसमुच्चये जनितमहाभये प्रसृतेऽप्यत्र कलिसमये पश्यामः शृणुमश्च प्रतिपर्वादिवसं धृतभक्तिभराणामितस्ततो भवतीमुद्दिश्य समापततां श्रद्धानुबद्धबुद्धीनां प्रायशः कोटिमपि जनानां प्रकटीभूतरोमाञ्चाः पतत्प्रमोदाश्रवः सर्व एव वयम् ।

तमिममभङ्गुरं जगन्मङ्गलं भवत्या अद्भुतं प्रतापं, तुच्छधियो भावावेशविवशा इच्छन्तोऽपि न शक्नुमः स्तोतुम् । केवलं जननि ! जयवादेन भक्तिकृतज्ञतयोर्लेशमेव तु ननु प्रकाशयामः प्रकृतिपरतन्त्राः ।

गङ्गे ! ददात्यभीष्टं शिष्टसमयमनुसृतेभ्यः सज्जनेभ्यः प्रसृतित्रयप्रमाणम्, अञ्जलिमितं गाङ्गं जलमुपलभ्य प्रीयमाणः सन् भगवान् भुवनभासनो भानुः । न च कोऽप्यत्र संशेते सचेताः । इत्युदीरयन्ति त्रीणि जगन्ति साक्षात्कुर्वाणः पुराणानां प्रणेतारो महात्मानः । जननि ! तावता त्वदीयेन जलेन समुपलब्धेन तथा प्रसीदन् प्रतिदिवसं प्रतिसज्जनं ददात्यभीष्टं भगवान् भानुरिति प्रत्यहमुत्तरोत्तरं वर्धमानस्त्वदीयो महिमा नूनमभेत्यद् ब्रह्माण्डपिण्डम्, प्रासरिष्यच्च यथोचितं प्रतिरोधवर्जितः, न चेज्जगद्धात्रीं भवतीमनुरुन्धन् स्वशक्तिसङ्कोचितमूर्तिः परिमितेऽस्मिंस्त्रैलोक्यमात्रेऽवकाशे सकलविस्मयप्रदायि निखिल-कल्याणकरं साम्राज्यमकरिष्यत् ।

जननि ! पिपर्तिं श्रद्धावतां शतमपि कामानां त्वदीयैर्मितैरपि तौयैरभिषिक्तः साकल्येन शिरसि त्वां दधानोऽपि प्रीयमाणः कामहा जगद्विदितनग्नभावः कपाली । अद्भुतप्रभावे ! भगवति ! भागीरथि ! किमन्यदत्र वक्तव्यम् । भ्राम्यति निपुणम्मन्यानामपि मतिः । जयति हन्त ! गुणैः समस्ताः प्रकृतीः । न शक्नुमः स्तोतुं त्वाम् । न च पारयामो मौनमपि धर्तुं तादृशं त्वत्प्रभावमेकदेशेन जानानाः । प्रसीदेर्जननि, केवलया नत्यैव सभक्तिविहितया दयामयहृदया ।

त्वदीयं पयः समासादयद्भ्यः सुकृतिशालिभ्यः सम्बन्धिजनेभ्यः सकृदेव पयोऽञ्जलिं प्राप्तवन्तः पितरः सद्य एव तीर्णनिरयसागराश्च धृतदिव्यविग्रहाश्च संभृतबलाश्च पीयूषपाने निरादराश्च सन्तः सर्व एव प्रमोदन्ते लोकातिशायिनि बलारतेर्धामनि नित्यतृप्ताः । दर्शिताद्भुतप्रभावां भूरि वन्दामहे भवतीम् ।

कदा द्रक्ष्यामि तां गङ्गां कदा स्नानं लभेमहि ।

इति पुंसाभिलषितं कुलानि दश तारयेत् ॥ भ. पु. 2/18

वाञ्छन्ति देवता नित्यं मानुष्यं प्राप्नुयामहे ।

सम्यक् श्रद्धालवश्चैव गङ्गास्नानं लभेमहि ॥ का. पुराण. 7/56

विष्णुपदि गङ्गे ! जगद्विदितमृषाभाषितादोषोऽपि जनः सन्तमात्मानमन्यथा भाषणा-णानामात्मापघातकानां समुचितेष्वन्धतमसावृतेष्वसूर्येषु लोकेषु मलीमसतया स्थातुमर्होऽपि श्रद्धासमन्वितस्त्रिभुवनतृषाहारिणि त्वदीये वारिणि सकृदेव स्नातः सन् यथासमयं प्राप्तदिव्यविग्रहः साक्षात्कृतसकललोकवृत्तान्तस्य भगवतः सहस्राक्षस्य भवने जगद्विदित-सत्यभाषितागुणेन सुगृहीतनामधेयेन राजमहर्षिणा हरिश्चन्द्रेण सहसैव निवसति वीतशङ्कः स्वल्पश्रमः प्राप्तमहत्तमफलोऽपि भवन् । तत्तादृग्ब्रह्मतादात्म्यसम्पादनसमर्थया, श्रुत्यन्त-गीतगुणया श्रद्धया किं न साध्यते । त्वदीयतीरमाश्रित्य सश्रद्धबुद्धयः सर्वार्थदात्रीं गायत्रीं समुपास्य यथाविधि सहर्षेण महेन्द्रेण प्रणतेन पुरस्कृताम् वृषीमृषीणामाद्यानामाश्रयन्ते

द्विजातयः, जपादिकानां सर्वेषां नित्यानामपि कर्मणां वैशिष्ट्यमादधानायै मातस्तुभ्यं मुहुर्ममः ।

सन्तमात्मानमन्यथा भाषमाणानामात्मापघातकानां समुचितेष्वन्धतमसाकृतेष्वसूर्येषु लोकेषु मलीमसतया स्थातुमर्होऽपि, कृतबहुप्रयत्नस्यापि स्वर्गनिवासमवाप्तवतः केवलं तपोधनस्य भगवतो विश्वामित्रस्य प्रसादात् स्वर्गस्यानुकल्पमिव लोकान्तरमधितिष्ठ-तस्त्रिशङ्कोः पुत्रः क्रठोरं कष्टमनुभूय पालितसत्यव्रतः प्राप्तसततस्वर्गनिवासोऽपि सहस्राक्षेण सहासीनोऽपि स्वल्पश्रमं प्राप्तमहत्तमफलं प्रचुरतेजसं सहसहासीनं महोदयमेनमवलोकयन् विस्मितश्च विच्छायमुखश्च भवन् नूनमेव गच्छेन्नयूनताम् । विजयते गर्हितैरपि जनैः श्रद्धया साधितं गङ्गास्नानम् ।

त्रिलोकजननि ! न शोधयति न च पुष्पाति न च तपति कर्मभूतानि स्वल्पजीवितानि शरीराणि स्वल्पायुषि येषां वपूषि प्रख्यातप्रभावं कर्तृभूतं त्वदीयमुदकम् ? तेषां वृथा भवति समृद्धिशालि लोकश्लाघनीयमपि महच्च महत् कुलम् । तदपि वृथा भवति हन्त ! सुकृतशतसन्ततश्रमसमर्जितं महच्च पाण्डित्यम् । निपातितनिजोद्भूतफलिष्यद्द्रुमसंहति अन्यस्याः सरितः कूलं चिन्तयामो न चेतसा फलयत्यधिकं यज्ञदानश्राद्धादिकर्म यन्मातस्त्वद्यत्तकूलं नमामः श्रद्धया मुहुः । अतिरिक्तगुणं तच्च मञ्जुलां प्रकृतिं श्रयत् उन्मूलयतु नः सर्ववृजिनं जनगर्हितम् ।

जनैरनादृतजपध्यानहोमार्चनादिभिः उपेक्षिताः कलियुगे, जपध्यानादिकाङ्क्षिणः हन्त ! सर्वे सुपर्वाणो नष्टगर्वाः समन्ततः जपध्यानार्चनादीनां नैरपेक्ष्येण देहिनः सम्पर्कतः पृषन्तीनामुद्धरन्त्यां सहस्रधा यस्यां विशन्ति, निर्व्याजकरुणायां त्रपाकुलाः । तामेव गङ्गां जननीं जगद्विख्यातविक्रमाम् अदृष्टभयसम्पन्नां अद्य दिष्ट्या श्रयामहे ।

यज्ञो दानं तपो ज्ञानं श्राद्धं च सुरपूजनम् ।

गङ्गायां तु कृतं सर्वं कोटिकोटिगुणं भवेत् ॥ इति भविष्यपुराणे

तपांसि विष्णो ! सर्वाणि श्रुतिः साङ्गा चतुर्भिता ।

अहं च त्वं च ब्रह्मा च देवतानां गणाश्च ये ।

पुरुषार्थाश्च सर्वे वै शक्तयो विविधाश्च याः ।

गङ्गायां सर्व एवैते सूक्ष्मरूपेण संस्थिताः ॥ इति स्कन्दपुराणे काशीखण्डे

अधिभालं तव पङ्कं धृत्वा जन्तुर्विपङ्कतां धरति । मज्जित्वा सकृच्च तव सलिले किल संसारसागरं तरति । नैपुण्यबीजपुण्यद्रवमूर्ते ! जहनुजे ! जननि ! त्वामत्यद्भुतशक्तिं स्तोतुं के नाम कोविदाः कवयः पारयेयुः । गुणगणवशंवदमतिः स्वयं प्रवृत्तस्तव मातो द्वेधाऽप्यवाङ्मुखत्वं पतिरपि वाचां समाश्रयति । अवाङ्मुखत्वं अधोन्मुखतां, वचनरहित-मुखतां च सकलमवजिगमिषन्ती नूनं तव मातरान्तरं तत्त्वम् । त्वयि रचितततोयमूर्तिः सरस्वती भगवती विशति, इतरे बुधास्तव गुणानाख्यातुं सन्नद्धाः, मत्ता इति मतिमद्भिः कथ्यन्ते तथ्यवादिभिर्निखिलैः ।

गृहीतदिव्यदेहा सती दूरत एव त्वं बलासि स्पर्शभिया विबुधगुरोरपि बुद्धेः । तस्यास्तव शुद्धिशक्तेरियत्ता तावद् दूरत एवाऽऽस्तां मातुमिच्छतामपि मितमतीनां नः । दयया द्रुतिं प्राप्य विश्वजनीनतां गताया अपि तव लेशरूपं चुलुकमात्रमपि सलिलं कृतचान्द्रायणशताः सुबुद्धयः श्रद्धासान्द्राः सन्तः स्वभागधेयं बहु मन्यमानाः पावनमिति समाचामन्तीति त्वत्सलिलप्रवाहशुद्धिशक्तिं प्रशंसन्तोऽपि हन्त! रुद्धरसनाः स्मः संवृत्ताः । असीमशुद्धिशक्ते! भगवति । भागीरथि! पुनीहि नः सस्पृहं स्मरतः ।

समाश्रयन्ति साम्प्रतमपि तत्र तत्र त्वदीयं पर्यन्तं संख्यातिगाः सुधियश्च प्रतिफलिताः परःशताः प्रदीपावलयश्च । निजं च धीवैभवं व्यञ्जयन्ति फलावश्यंभावमवगच्छन्तः फलैकयुगलद्वन्द्वेषु निभृतमासीनाः समुपक्रान्तजपादिकाः पुण्यकर्मणश्चतुर्वर्गसक्ताः सुधियः । समुचितं चैषां चरितमिदं सतां सचेतसाम् । स्वान्तविहीनाः अचेतसः स्वनाशरहिताश्च प्रचुरस्नेहाः प्रभूततैलभृताः सप्रणयाश्च प्रदीपावलयश्चयश्च तरलतमेषु तरङ्गेषु भूम्ना प्रतिफलिताः सत्यः सूचयन्ति मनागिव जनानां हितकाम्यया फलानामानन्त्यम् । अनिर्वचनीयमेवैतदाश्चर्यम् । एतद्द्वितयसमेतं त्वदीयमर्पयन्तश्चैवः फलजनसन्नद्धमिव समधिकशोभं पर्यन्तं साक्षादासादयितुमपारयन्तोऽपि प्रतिक्षणं दध्म एव चेतसि क्षोभक्षयलोभपरवशाः ।

यथाभीष्टं जपमाचरद्भिश्च, भगवतो जगदीश्वरस्य तानि तानि जनहितावहानि श्रुतिरसायनान्यवदानानि चरितानि गायद्भिश्च स्वाध्यायमधीयानैश्च, समुदीर्य श्रुतिमन्त्रान् स्नातुं प्रवृत्तैश्च, बहुभिरेव जनैः सम्पाद्यमानां धर्मोपास्तिं दधानः सुरचितः गङ्गायाः स्रोतः प्रान्तश्च तत्र तत्र सम्यक्तया रचितः प्रत्यक्षीकृत एव तीर्थरसिकैः । गङ्गायाः स्रोतसि सुराणां स्थितिमाह, स्कान्दे व्यासः — शिवविष्णुसंवादप्रस्तावे—

तपांसि विष्णो! सर्वाणि श्रुतिः साङ्गा चतुर्मिता ।

ममैव सा परा मूर्तिस्तोयरूपा शिवात्मिका ॥

शान्तरसभूस्त्वदीयः स्रोतःप्रान्तोऽपि स्रोतोगुणाननुत्सृजन्तेव निर्वापयति नास्तिक्यदहनं का कथा स्रोतसः ।

जाह्नवि! स्फुटजडिमव्यक्तशैत्यगुणं स्पष्टमौर्ख्यं च पीतं पानक्रियाकर्मणां नीतं पीतवर्णं च स्तोकं त्वदीयं जलं संहरति बृहज्जाड्यं विशदयति धवलीकरोति च सद्य एव धियं प्राणिनाम् । महदेतच्चित्रम् । नैतत्तु चित्रं जननि! यत् त्वदीयानामूर्मीणां श्रेणिः क्षपयति केषांचिदस्मद्गन्तःपातिनां षडेवोर्मीः तरङ्गाणां पीडानां च ।

ये जपन्ति सश्रद्धतया तत्तदवदानजातजन्मसु परःसहस्रेषु नामसु किमप्येकं यथाभीष्टं निरयनिराकरणकारणं सुधाधिकमधुरभावं त्वदीयं नाम, तेषां खलु तनुभृतामनिस्तारा अपि कलिकलुषधारा अत्यासन्नविनाशा उज्ज्वलन्तः प्रदीपा इव विजित्यैव घनसारान् कर्पूरान् सद्य एव प्रलीयन्ते निरवशेषतयैव सर्वाः । शृण्वतां पश्यतां च चेतासि प्रमुष्णच्च, दासीकृतसकलसिद्धीनपि तटस्थान्, सतः पौनरुक्यप्रकाशीकृतोदासीनभावान् महात्मनः पुष्णच्च, भजतां तृष्णाहुतभुजः तृष्णानलस्य ज्वालाम् ? अलं भावं नयत्,

अन्वर्शनामधेयतया श्रद्धास्पदतां समाश्रयच्च, प्रतीयमानमहाजालिभावं त्वदीयं कीलालं हरतु जन्मजालं प्रपन्नानां नः । प्रलीयन्ते च घनसाराः समयान्तरेण निरवशेषतयापि । त्वदीयं नामजपतां श्रद्धावतां कलिकलुषधाराः पुनः सद्य एव प्रलीनाः सत्यः सत्यमेव जयन्ति घनसारान् । सत्कर्मप्राचुर्यजनितविश्वासाः प्राप्तप्रसाराश्च सर्वस्वमपहरन्तोऽपि महाजालिनः स्वं प्रयन्तान् पालयन्त्येव जालपतितान् जनान् । छिन्दन्ति च तेषां परैः प्रयोजितं जालं प्रपन्नजनवत्सलाः सन्तः ।

स च स्वेच्छामयः कृष्णः साकारश्च निराकृतिः ।  
तेजोरूपं निराकारं ध्यायन्ते योगिनः सदा ।  
वदन्ति च परं ब्रह्म परमात्मानमीश्वरम् ॥

ब्रह्मवैवर्ते प्रकृतिखण्डे सृष्टिप्रकरणम् २/२/१२-१३

गङ्गाया महिमा ब्रह्मन् वक्तुं वर्षशतैरपि ।  
न शक्यते विष्णुनापि किमन्यैर्बहुभाषितैः ॥

नारदीये नारदवाक्यम् २/८/१७

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## BOOK-REVIEWS

(1)

**Śivasahasranāmāṣṭakam** compiled by Ram Karan Sharma.  
Nag Publishers, 1996, Pp. 1-315. Price Rs. 300.

The *Śivasahasranāmastotra* (ŚSN) is not as popular as the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* (VSN). The present publication is a collection of eight versions of the ŚSN

Mahābhāratac (MBh), 13, 17, 30-150

Liṅgapurāṇa (Lp) I. 65, 54-168

Liṅgapurāṇa (LP) I. 98, 27-159.

Śivamahāpurāṇa (SP) IV. 35, 1-131.

Mahā bhārata (MBh) 12. 284, 68-180.

Vāyupurāṇa (VP) I. 30, 179-284

Brahmapurāṇa (BP) 38, 1-100.

Mahābhāgavata Upapurāṇa -ch 67.

In introduction the salient features of each version are described. Among these eight version the very first version is considered to be the kernel of ŚSN tradition. LP. I version follows closely the MBh I version. The L P. II version is modelled on the VSN in Mbh. (See LP.A study). The SP version is same as that of LP. II version. The next one though claims to be a SSN, actually contains 600 names and its claim has been discussed by the commentator Nīṭlakaṇṭha himself. The VP version is almost same as the Mbh. Sāntiparvan version of Gita Press. The BP version is almost the same as that of SSN in VP. The last version appears to be of recent origin. But this version is distinct from the other versions in the names, linguistic style etc. But the title given on pages 240-263 as Mahābhāgata purāṇam is misleading as noticed from the colophon referring to it as ŚSN.

Then, are three appendices - Trisuparṇamantra (Rv. X. 114, 3-5) Śatarudriyamantra from the ŚukaYv (Mādhy) and ŚSN glossary of ŚSN term occurring in Mbh. 13 (critical edn) A comprehensive glossary of all the terms if added later as indicated by the editor will enhance the value of the very valuable publication.

The work is a commendable addition in the field of stotra literature and opens the door of comparative studies in sahasramāma tradition of epics and Purāṇas.

Dr. N. Gangdharañi

(2)

**Studies in Purānas** by S. G. Kantawala. Rashtriy Sanskrit Samthan, New Delhi, 1999. Pp. 1-206. Price Rs. 100.

The Book under reviews in twelve chapters comprises a collection of some of the published papers of the author with the addition of three of his unpublished papers. The opening chapter briefly deals with the nature and contents of the Purānas in general. Since the Purānas are the best source of understanding our ancient Indian culture, the present compendium centering around the authors monograph on the *Cultural History from the Matsyapurāna* (Baroda, 1964) will be providing an insight into the cultural heritage preserved in the *Matsyapurāna*.

The second chapter gives a brief review of the *Matsyapurāna*. The next one makes an analysis of the cult of manes in the *Matsyapurāna*. This topic is an assimilation from the Gṛhyasūtras. The subsequent chapters describe some aspects of Purānic religion and extensive treatment of pilgrimage in the Purānas, Prayāgamāhātmya a study and a brief review of some Purānic records on Śūdras. The additional papers deal with the status of women in the Purānas, Purānic source of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Purānas of Gujarat. These regional Purānas give us information about holy places, mythological accounts relating to the holy place and peculiar social, religious and historical conditions, and practices.

The utility of any book will be enhanced if it provides a brief index of important topics dealt into and a comprehensive bibliography. One may find these two items missing in this otherwise useful compilation. The expression 'suicide' (on p. 121) does not properly represent the Indian traditional view about discarding one's life, since the term 'suicide' has limited meaning. On the whole the book is very useful for the students working on the Purānas. The get up of the book is fine.

N. GANGADHARAN

## Obituary

### ACĀRYA BALADEVA UPĀDHYĀYA

The doyen of Sanskrit literature and an illustrious luminary of Kashi who was a model for all in knowledge and good conduct, Padmabhushan Acharya Baldeva Upadhyay breathed his last on Aug 10, 1999 at his residence in Ravindrapuri, Varanasi. As per the Vikram calendar that day was the Śivarātri day of the month of Śrāvaṇa, both the month and the day being specially auspicious for the residents of Kashi. The moon was in the highly regarded constellation of 'Puṣya' and at midday 'Abhijit' was the muhūrta. According to our scriptures only pious and holy men breathe their last in such auspicious circumstances. Upadhyayji was only two months short of completing 100 yrs of his life. Our Vedas term a man as "शतायुर्वे पुरुषः" and even the Mahābhārata states "शतायुक्तः पुरुषः शतवीर्यः प्रजायते". Pandit Upadhyaya was a living epitome of this pious desire and hope of our Ṛṣis. All his sense organs, mind and intellect were functioning normally and ever active till the very end. In this manner as envisaged by our Ṛṣis he lived for 100 yrs with undisturbed mind and body and breathed his last while engrossed in 'Japa yajña'. This is in itself a proof (if proof is needed) of his greatness, saintliness and piousness.

Professor Upadhyaya's life was a blissful amalgam of action, knowledge and devotion. Study and good conduct were two fundamental pillars of his life based on whose solid support he completed his long life and actually experienced 100 winters as desired and hoped for by every good person. He worshipped the goddess of learning with unstinted devotion and made good both this life and after life with her blessings. The designation of his house as 'Vidyā vilāsa' was thus most apt and appropriate. His whole life was devoted to study, teaching and writing and thus acquired renown-अधीतमध्यापितमर्जितं यशः. He did not waste a single moment of his life. He was not a courtier to anyone, nor he encouraged visitors to his own house to indulge in discussion about others. He kept himself aloof from all discussion of useless gossip and politics including educational politics. Any time left over from his self study, teaching or writing was utilised in mental cogitation about the Supreme Lord and recitation of devotional poetry.

Pandit Baldeva Upadhyaya was born on the second day of the bright half of the month of Āśvina i.e. on 10th Oct, 1899 A.D. in Sonbarsa



village of Ballia district. His father Pt. Ramsuchit Upadhyaya was a learned scholar of Śrīmad Bhāgavata. Baladevaji was a child prodigy. He passed High School examination in 1916 in the first division obtaining 4th rank in the whole of Uttar Pradesh. He had obtained the highest marks in Sanskrit in all of UP and so he was recipient of a scholarship for the next four years. He took admission in the Benaras Hindu University in the year it was established 1916 and was thus one of the first students of this University. He passed his M.A. (Sanskrit) examination in 1922 standing first in order of merit with first class from the same University. Mahamana Pt. Madan Mohan Malviyaji appointed him as a teacher in the Sanskrit department of the University. Pt. Baladeva Upadhyaya served the University continuously with distinction for a long period of 38 yrs and retired in 1960. For the next six years he served as Professor and Head of the Department of the Purāṇa department and as Director of the Research Institute in the Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya.

Acharya Upadhyaya had a very handsome and imposing appearance. He was well built, almost 6 feet tall, very fair coloured with a round face sporting short but full mustache. He was very Indian in his dress wearing dhoti, kurta with a silken scarf hanging on both shoulders. He always had a round cap on his head and a red tilak on his forehead. Anyone meeting him for the first time was awestruck by his god like frame and kindly and shining eyes.

Professor Upadhyaya was a very popular teacher and his talents as a teacher attracted many brilliant students to the Sanskrit department. According to Kālidāsa for a teacher two qualities—his knowledge of the subject and his proficiency in conveying this knowledge to his students are of special importance. Acharya Upadhyaya had both these qualities in ample measure and his classes were always overcrowded. His students continue to praise him even after they have gone out of his class. He had a long list of very illustrious students which included H.H. Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Acharya Hazari Pd. Dwivedi, Acharya Vishwanath Prasad Mishra, Dr. K.D. Bajpayee, Dr. K.L. Srimali, Acharya Badrinath Shukla, Dr R.B. Pandey, Dr. V.S. Pathak, Dr. S. Bhattacharya, Dr. T.R.V. Murti, Dr. V.S. Agrawal etc. All of them and many more like them remembered Pt. Upadhyaya with reverence. Upadhyayaji was a living example of शिष्योपशिष्यैरुपगीयमानः.

Acharya Baladeva Upadhyaya was an erudite scholar and authentic commentator of the complete span of Sanskrit literature. There was hardly any aspect of this vast storehouse which was not illuminated by his

studious mind and scholarly exposition. Every year he used to take up a new topic for his lectures and during the course of the year would study this subject most thoroughly and produce a new book on the subject. The book would not only contain all the facts related to that subject but would also provide a complete and authoritative commentary on the researches and studies carried out earlier on this subject. In this way he has written authentic treatise on all major aspects of the Sanskrit literature and these books are in extensive use by students and teachers alike. These books (at least many of these) have been translated into other Indian languages e.g. Kannada, Oriya, Telugu, Urdu etc and also in Sinhalese, Nepalese and Burmese. This is a testimony to the high standards and popularity of these works.

The erudition and excellent literary work of Professor Baldeva Upadhyaya was recognised with the award of prizes and medals from various institutions and academies. Upadhyayaji himself never remembered the complete list of these awards nor he had kept a list of them anywhere with him. Almost all of his books have been awarded. The number of prizes etc available in the pre-independence era were much smaller in number as compared to these days. The most coveted prize of those days in Hindi literature was the 'Mangala Prasad Prize' which was awarded to Pt. Upadhyay for his important treatise 'Bhāratīya Darśana' in 1942. His 'Bauddha Darśana Mīmāṃsā' won the important Harjimal Dalmiya Prize in 1946. After independence UP Govt has awarded dozens of literary awards and prizes to Upadhyayaji on his books at various times. Upadhyayaji also recieved the 'Vishwa Bharati Sanskrit Prize (Rs 1 lac)' of the UP Sanskrit Sansathan, the first "Umaswami Prize (Rs 1 lac)" of the Kunda-Kunda Bharati Foundation and "Ramakrishna Shrivani Prize (Rs 2 lacs)" of the Ramakrishna Dalmiya Trust, etc. Govt. of India appreciated his services to Sanskrit language by the conferment of a "Certificate of Honour." In 1984 the President of India decorated him with Padma Bhushan. The Sampoorananand Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya conferred on him the degree of "Vachaspati" (honoris causa). A Felicitation volume in honour of Acharya ji which was edited by Dr. Gaya Charan Tripathi was presented to him by Dr. Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad in 1984. A comprehensive treatise on the personality and scholarship of Acharya Upadhyaya was edited by Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra in 1990, which describes in a very succinct manner his valuable contributions made in varied areas of Indian Studies. A

Felicitation volum in honour of Acharya Upadhyaya was also under preparation during his Birth Centenary Year, but due to Providence that could not be finalized in his life time. That volume is now being planned to bring out as a Commemoration Volume shortly.

The intellectual improvements of the Hindi literature through the immortal creations, by Acharya Baladeva Upadhyaya is beyond comprehension and hence cannot be praised enough. The immense enrichment of the Hindi language through contributions on the Shastric subjects performed by Upadhyayaji has not even been attempted by another scholar. Many scholars of Hindi obtained their academic degrees and Professional successes on the basis of the treatises authored by Acharya Upadhyaya. However, this has not been fully appreciated by the proponents and appropriate authorities in the field. The non conferment of the highest prize of the UP Hindi Sansthan i.e. "Bharat Bharati" on Upadhyayji is only a reflection of this neglect. Enrichment of Hindi literature through the authentic presentation of many topics well described in Sanskrit literature during seventy five years of hard work by Upadhyayji is worth great appreciation. This important contribution of Upadhyayji to the growth of Hindi language is an important aspect of his life's work.

Infact, Upadhyayji was a, Karmayogi, who also was a good follower of the other paths to salvation—knowledge and devotion. He was so committed to the doctrine of 'Karma' that as soon as he noticed any one faltering in his/her assigned task or duty, he would not hesitate in scolding that person, howsoever renowned scholar or howsoever dear that person was. In addition to his unquestioned brilliance he devoted at least eight hours daily to his own studies, writing work or serious discussion with his students throughout his life. The Lord has himself stated in the Bhagvad-gītā that no one can live without action (Karma) as it is essential to fulfil the essential requirements of human life. On the other hand Upadhyayaji had applied himself to this form of action of his own freewill and not because of any necessity or compulsion. It is in this context that he accepted with humility when he was nominated the Chief Editor of the ambitious project on the History of Sanskrit Literature and remained devoted to the task till his end. It is only due to his constant endeavour, sincerity of purpose and devotion to work that about 5,6 volumes of this History have already seen the light of the day and approximately the same number of volumes are in different stages of publication.

Being a pious and devoted follower of Hindu religion, it was his established routine to bathe in the Ganges, visit the various temples, read from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata daily, and to visit the temple of Lord Vishweshwar or Kedareshwara on each Monday and Friday. In his old days visits to the temples was limited to the nearby temples of Sankat-mochan and Durgājī. In addition to his daily routine, as long as his health permitted he participated fully in the various specified worships during specified periods of the year. Thus, he would visit the temples of the Nine Gaurīs in the Spring Navarātra, the temples of the nine Durgās in the Autumnal Navarātra, the idol of Jagannāthji during Rathayātrā in the month of Āṣhāḍha, the idol of Lakṣmī during the month of Bhādrapada, the idol of Sage Vyāsa in Ramnagar during the month of Māgha, etc. He believed the maintenance of good social order as a prime requisite for the advancement of education and religion both and he always advised against any social or administrative disorder. He regarded such disturbances as unnecessary and undesirable.

Upadhyayaji's concern and involvement with administrative work was limited and minimal, but wherever he had to involve himself he maintained its secrecy and purity. He was quite stern in taking appropriate action and never repented his actions. Whenever he had to take part in a selection process he would consult with all concerned persons but the decision would be his own and once taken was firm and unchangeable. He however, maintained a human concern also.

As indicated, the range of his studies was extensive and without limits. Vedas, Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Literature, Religion and Ethics, Devotional Literature, Vyākaraṇa, Philosophy, Tantra, etc were areas of his special studies in which he taught and brought forth texts of unquestioned high quality. But even Philology and Linguistics, History, Geography and Economics were subjects dear to his heart and which he studied and dealt with interest and competence. His personal library contained hundreds of excellent books of English literature. He was a Sanskrit scholar who read about the history of the literature in foreign languages also. He had deep insight in mathematics and science also. In this connection an incident comes to mind. During the centenary year of the Nobel Prize winner Sri C.V. Raman one of my friends had written a long essay on the Raman Effect. When I visited Upadhyayaji's house for his darshan after a lapse of few days he told me that he had read in full the long essay on Raman effect written by my friend. It is a good essay and is written with clarity in a comprehensive form. His english text reads almost like poetry. Upadhyayaji used to listen to Urdu couplets (Shairs)

with great interest and used to note them down in his diary. His principle was to keep the windows of his mind open so that Divinity in the form of knowledge can enter without any hindrance. In addition to Hindi and Sanskrit, he was well versed in Marathi, Gujarati and Bengali languages. Also in foreign language he knew German and French in addition to English and used to study relevant texts in these languages.

Whenever I did not meet him for a long interval he would send a note through some acquaintance. He believed that the Lord and the Guru guard their devotee and disciple in four different ways—by remembrance, by seeing, by attending and by providing milk. In the material world tortoise, fish, hen and mammals are examples of these four ways of sustenance as they foster their offspring in the above mentioned four ways. The Goddess Mīnākṣī is worshipped not because her eyes are beautiful but because She blesses and cares for her devotees by Her sight. I consider myself immensely fortunate that I was blessed by Upadhyayaji's 'darshan' and he remembered me. The memories of his associations, his teachings and his kindly love are the nectar of my life.

Upadhyayaji was not only a learned Karmayogi but also a pure Vaiṣṇava devotee, who used to sing devotional poetry and songs after completing his other activities on a regular basis. This attitude he had inherited from his forbears. One of his favourite bhajans was 'रटि ले हरिनाम अरी रसनै फिर अंत समय मे हिली न हिली' । Just a few weeks before his death he had spent lavishly on a week long Bhāgavata Pravacana which he listened with great devotion with his many relatives. He was always careful and attentive to achieve purity of mind, body and money. By his strenuous efforts and by the grace of God he actually lived 'अनायासेन मरणमदैत्येन च जीवनम्' in his life. I have been a regular visitor to his house for the last 40-50 yrs, whenever there was a longer gap he used to call me. Almost after every eight or ten days a note from him would reach me. His letters were beautiful and clear. All his letters contained an exhortation towards duty as in the Vedas and sometimes even a loving rebuke. In one such letter, which refers to the addition of some names in his epic Kashī kī Pāṇḍīya Paramparā he had blessed me to be a 'सुकृती' (a doer of good deeds) and I regard it as one of the greatest achievements of my life.

Since 1960 he used to take my help during the preparation of the manuscript and publication of almost all his treatises, but always used to ignore my snide remarks remarking 'बररै बालक एक समाना' He used to acknowledge even this small help lovingly in his preface/introduction to

the books. He praised my books on Sāhitya but always used to encourage me to work on the Vedas as he regarded them as our culture's real assets. It was only due to his initiative, encouragement and blessings that I brought out new editions alongwith Hindi translation and detailed commentary, 'Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa', 'Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra' and 'Vedic Śākhās'. He was overjoyed to see these works and kindly wrote the foreword to all of them. His pleasure was a great treasure for me and paraphrasing Tulasīdāsa I felt like

धन्य जनम जगतीतल तासू । गुरुहिं प्रमोद चरित सुनि जासू ।

Hardly a few orientalist of the twentieth century can stand comparison with Acharya Baldeva Upadhyayaji as evidenced by the lucidity and clarity of his exposition, the depth of his understanding and profundity of the ideas summarised in his books. Eminent scholars like M.M. Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj, Professor Kshitimohan Sen and Professor Ranade had cited his book *Bauddha Darshan* as unparalleled in any language. Professor Belvalkar wrote that even the combined weight of several research contributions taken together do not stand comparison with this text. However, due to his love for and use of the Hindi language, in the initial stages his worth was not rightly acclaimed by English trained Orientalists. I do not know of any Hindi literary personality, except those dealing with fiction, whose work has been translated into most of the languages of India, and that too not one or two but several. This service of Hindi language by Upadhyayaji is an inestimable contribution towards the development of Hindi literature. His Hindi books were translated also in Burmese and Sinhalese languages.

#### **Relation with Kashiraj :**

Acharya Upadhyay had taught for 4 yrs continuously His Highness Kashi Naresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singhji for his B.A. and M.A. Sanskrit studies in the Ramnagar Fort. During the period the Kashi Naresh studied the Ramnagar Fort was regarded as a class room of the Banaras Hindu University and the relevant teachers used to go to the fort to take their classes. Acharya Upadhyayaji also went to the fort in the same manner and taught Sanskrit. Since then the ties between the teacher and the taught had grown closer and more intimate. Upadhyayaji was an honoured member of the Board of Trustees of the All India Kashiraj Trust and used to attend regularly all its meetings. The seminars in Purāṇa organised by the Trust (Purāṇagoṣṭhi) benefitted from his benevolent presence as well his scholarship for all these forty years. Kashi Naresh had enormous respect and a worshipful attitude towards Upadhyayaji and used to send him

mangoes every year. Upadhyayaji was also an honoured member of the Executive Council of the Maharaj Balwant Singh Degree College, Gangapur.

Kashi Naresh was Upadhyayaji's student and the latter regarded the former with affection. However, he also looked upon the Maharaja as an embodiment of divinity also. The Maharaj had asked him once to do something and in that context Upadhyayaji told me "Bacchā (Child) ! I am a person of the old generation. For me the king's desire is the wish of God. It is my bounden duty to fulfil it in someway. Moreover, such a pious being is not usually seen, only heard and read about." He had the conviction that the preservation and expansion of Sanskrit studies at Kashi has been possible in the last three centuries only due to the efforts of the successive rulers of Kashi. After the establishment of the Sanskrit College that also served as a vehicle for the preservaton and propogation of Sanskrit Studies but its establishment and functioning was made possible only through the munificence of the then Kashi Naresh. His love and respect for the Kashi Naresh can only be guessed by the fact that whenever any function was to be organised at his house he would always enquire from me if the Maharaja had sent his blessings. I would reply that Maharaja would only send his respects (Prajñāma) not his blessings, Upadhyayaji would counter with the statement that the respects offered by divinity is only another form of blessings. His feelings and affection for the Kashi Naresh can be glimpsed at in the introduction to his two important works 'Kashī Kī Pāṇḍitya Paramparā' and "Purāṇa Vimarśa".

Learning of Upadhyayaji's sad demise Kashi Naresh directed me to offer a garland on his behalf. I reached there with a garland of 'Patal flowers (roses). Upadhyayaji's grandson Professor Ravindra Kumar Dubey broke down while placing that garland on the body of Pandit Upadhyayaji with the remarks "Grandfather, this garland has been sent by Maharaja !" I also stood speechless with tears welling in my eyes. Professor Upadhyaya has set an example of earning openly all the four 'Puruṣānths', coveted by a human being, in his life.

The void, created by the departure of such a great personality, in the field of education and religion is difficult to fill. He has acquired identity with Lord Śiva by his good deeds. I offer my salutations to his divine pious memory.

इदं कविभ्यः पूर्वभ्यो नमो वाकं प्रशास्महे ।

A list of major contributions of Professor Upādhyaya is as follows :

### संपादित ग्रन्थ-सूची

1. वररुचिकृत—'प्राकृतप्रकाश', 2. भामहकृत—'काव्यालंकार', 3. हर्षविरचित — 'नागानन्द', 4. भरतमुनिकृत — 'नाट्यशास्त्र', 5. सायणप्रणीत — 'वेदभाष्यभूमिका', 6. माधवाचार्यकृत 'शंकरदिग्विजय' 7. 'भक्ति चंद्रिका', 8. अग्निपुराण, 9. कालिका-पुराण, 10. भगवद्गीता भाष्य, 11. प्रक्रियाकौमुदीविमर्श 12. भारतस्य सांस्कृतिको विजयः 13. भक्तिरत्नावली 14. बृहत्संहिता, 15. वाक्यपदीय—भर्तृहरिकृत, 16. हयतग्रन्थ, 17. पारसीकप्रकाश, 18. अभिधम्मत्थ—संगहो, 19. नित्याषोडशिकार्णव, 20. संस्कृत साहित्य का बृहद इतिहास (छः खण्ड)

### हिन्दी-ग्रन्थसूची

1. रसिक गोविन्द और उनकी कविता, 2. सूक्तिमुक्तावली, 3. संस्कृतकविचर्चा, 4. संस्कृत साहित्य का इतिहास, 5. भारतीय दर्शन, 6. आचार्य सायण और माधव, 7. धर्म और दर्शन : आर्य संस्कृत के मूलाधार, 8. भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र, प्रथम खण्ड, 9. भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र, द्वितीय खण्ड 10. आचार्य शंकर, 11. भागवत सम्प्रदाय, 12. वैदिक साहित्य और संस्कृति, 13. पुराण विमर्श, 14. संस्कृत शास्त्रों का इतिहास, 15. संस्कृत वाङ्मय, 16. वैदिक कहानियां, 17. भारतीय दर्शन सार, 18. भारतीय वाङ्मय में श्री राधा, 19. सूक्तिमंजरी, 20. संस्कृत आलोचना, 21. संस्कृत साहित्य का संक्षिप्त इतिहास, 22. बौद्धदर्शन मीमांसा, 23. भारतीय धर्म और दर्शन, 24. ज्ञान की गरिमा, 25. भारतीय दर्शन की रूपरेखा, 26. काव्यानुशीलन, 27. वैष्णव सम्प्रदायों का साहित्य और सिद्धान्त, 28. काशी की पाण्डित्य परम्परा, 29. भारतीय साहित्य का अनुशीलन, 30. भारतीय धर्म और दर्शन का अनुशीलन, 31. विमर्श-चिन्तामणि: (संस्कृत) 32. महाकवि भास

—Ganga Sagar Rai



## ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(July 1999-December 1999)

### Purāṇa work

#### **Garuḍa Purāṇa work**

Printing of critical edition of the Garuḍa Purāṇa is in progress. About fifty adhyāyas of the Ācāra-khaṇḍa of the Garuḍa Purāṇa are composed and proofs are being seen.

#### **Works on Vāsiṣṭha Liṅga Purāṇa**

Śloka Index of the printed text of the Vāsiṣṭha Liṅga Purāṇa is being prepared

#### **Purāṇa Goṣṭhī**

Purāṇa Goṣṭhī (Seminar on Purāṇas) organised by the All India Kashiraj Trust was held this year on 27th July 1999 at the Shivala premises of the Trust under the chairmanship of His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh at 9 A.M. Prof. Ram Murti Sharma, Vice-Chancellor of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University was chief guest. In the beginning of the Goṣṭha Pt. Ganpati Shukla recited the mangalācaraṇa verses in praise of Gods and sage Vyāsa. After mangalācaraṇa Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai presented the Vyāsa Purṇimā number of Purāṇa Bulletin to His Highness. Dr. Rai summarised the contents of the articles of both the issues of the year. Both issues of the Bulletin were presented to the scholars present on the occasion. Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai also presented annual work report of the Purāṇa Department. Then His Highness invited the scholars to speak. Dr. Prof. Anand Krishna, Prof. R.C. Sharma, Dr. Rewa Prasad Dwivedi, Pt. Vishwanath Shastri Datar spoke about the importance of the Purāṇas and the necessity of restoring the authentic readings of the Purāṇas. Prof. Ram Murti Sharma spoke in Sanskrit and emphasised the need of thorough study of Sanskrit texts. At the end His Highness Maharaja Kashinaresh thanked the scholars for their participation.

Prasad was distributed and tea was served.

After the conclusion of Purāṇa Goṣṭhī a function of Hanuman Mandir Trust, Calcutta was held under the presidentship of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. Sri Gyanendra nath Khanna,

Secretary of the Trust informed the scholars about the activities of the Trust. Prof. Ram Murti Tripathi, spoke in details about the literary activities of the Hanuman Mandir Trust. On this occasion literary awards were presented to some scholars for their books.

Among the other important scholars present in these functions were Dr. Nilkantha Puruṣhottam Joshi, Prof. Raghunath Giri, Prof. Ram Chandra Pandey, Dr. M.C. Joshi, Dr. Ramji Pandey, Pt. Vaikunth Nath Upadhyay etc.

### Visitors to the Purāṇa Department

During the period following scholars visited the Purāṇa Dept. and put their remarks expressing their satisfaction and applause about the Purāṇa work .

1. Sri Anup Gandhi 7.7.99

2. Prof. J. B. D. I so nayak, Professor of Sinhale University of Colombo

### Rāmalilā

This year the world famous Rāmalilā of Ramnagar was performed from Bhādra Śukla Caturdaśī (24th September 1999) to Āśvina Purnimā (23rd October 1999). The number of visitors to the Rāmalilā including Nemīs (regular visitors), saints and general public was as usual daily in thousands. On special days such as Dhanus-yajña, Aṅgada-mission, Vijaya-Daśamī, Bharata-Milāpa and Rajyābhiṣeka the number of visitors was more than a lac.

Many scholars, Indian and foreigners both daily saw the Rāmalilā. Free provision was supplied to saints during the whole Rāmalilā period. His Highness Kashinaresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh and Yuvaraja Shri Anant Narain Singh were present daily in the Rāmalilā.

### Rāsalilā

This year Rāsalilā was performed in the Prasiddha garden from Śrāvaṇa Śukla Dvitiyā to Pūrṇimā (13th August to 26th August 1999) During the whole Rāsalilā period Rādhāsahasranāma was daily recited in the Rāsalilā ground by Pt. Ganpati Shukla Shastri. Dr. Raja Ram Shukla recited the tenth Skandha of the Śrīmadbhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa during the Rāsalilā period in the same ground. The Rāsalilā was performed by the Rāsa maṇḍalī of Vṛndāvana. His Highness Maharaja

Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh and Yuvaraja Shri Anant Narain Singh were daily present in the Rāsālilā.

## ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

### (1) Maharaja Benares Vidyāmandir Trust

#### (a) Museum

The Museum run by the Maharaja Benares Vidyamandir Trust is a permanent attraction to the visitors of Varanasi. Visitors from all parts of the world come to see this museum. A new gallery of Arts is recently added to this museum. In this gallery rare paintings of last three centuries connected with Benares house are displayed.

#### (b) Wall painting competition

Wall-painting competition for local potters was organised on 26th November 1999 by this Trust. Local potters made pictures on outer walls of the museum. Pictures were religious, social and educative. Paintings were examined by a group of professors of Arts of the Benares Hindu University. Special prizes were given to winning artists and consolation prizes to the all participants.

#### (c) Painting competitions

A painting competition for local children was organised on 26th November 1999 in the Diwankhana of the Fort. Free papers and colours were supplied to all the participants. Paintings were judged by the teachers of Banares Hindu University and prizes were given to winning candidates. Sweets were given to all participants.

### (2) Maharani Kashinaresh Dharmakarya Nidhi

#### (a) Distribution of Sweets

On 26th November 1999 sweets were given to all the boys and girls of local primary and Junior High Schools. Students assembled in the inner court yard of the Fort and were in their schools uniforms. Sweets were also given to teachers and servants of the schools.

#### (b) Harikirtana

In the night of 26th November 1999 Harikirtana was arranged in the Fort by this Trust. Saints and devotees recited sacred names of god. Saints were fed.

# सर्वभारतीकाशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरण

(जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९९९)

## गरुडपुराणकार्यम्

गरुडपुराणस्याचारकाण्डस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य मुद्रणकार्यं प्रचलति । प्रारम्भतः पञ्चाशदध्यायानां प्रूफसंशोधनकार्यं क्रियमाणं वर्तते ।

## वासिष्ठलिङ्गपुराणकार्यम्

अस्य मुद्रितपाठस्य पुराणस्य श्लोकार्धसूची निर्मिता जाता ।

## पुराणगोष्ठी

अस्मिन् वर्षे २७ जुलाई १९९९ दिनाङ्के न्यासस्य वाराणसीस्थिते शिवालाभवने तत्र भवतां काशिनरेशाणां डा. विभूतिनारायणसिंहशर्मदेवानामाध्यक्ष्ये पुराणगोष्ठी संपन्ना । सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य कुलपतयः डा. राममूर्तिशर्ममहाभागा मुख्यातिथयः आसन् । प्रारम्भे पण्डितगणपतिशुक्लमहोदयेन देवव्यासादिवन्दनरूपं मङ्गलाचरणं कृतम् । तदनन्तरं डा. गङ्गासागररायमहोदयेन पुराणपत्रिकायाः व्यासपूर्णमाङ्क. न्यासाध्यक्ष्यैः काशिनरेशैः समर्पितः । डा. गङ्गासागररायेन अस्य वर्षस्योभयोरङ्कयोः प्रकाशितानां निबन्धानां विषयाणां परिचयः प्रदत्तः । तदनन्तरं डा. गङ्गासागररायमहोदयेन पुराणविभागस्य कार्यजातस्य संक्षिप्तः परिचयः प्रदत्तः । अस्य वर्षस्य पुराणम् पत्रिकायाः उभौ अङ्कौ उपस्थितविद्वद्भ्यः प्रदत्तौ । तदनन्तरं तत्र भवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः उपस्थितविद्वद्भिः स्वविचारप्रकटनार्थं समाहूताः । डा. आनन्दकृष्ण-डा. आर. सी. शर्म-डा. रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदि-पण्डितविश्वनाथशास्त्रिदातारप्रभृतिभिर्विद्वद्भिः स्वमतानि व्यक्तीकृतानि । एभिर्विद्वद्भिः पुराणाध्ययनस्य महत्त्वं प्रतिपादितम् । अन्ते काशिनरेशैः आगतविदुषः प्रति धन्यवादा वितरिताः । प्रसादवितरणानन्तरं गोष्ठी समाप्ता ।

पुराणगोष्ठ्या अनन्तरं तस्मिन् एव स्थले काशिनरेशाणामध्यक्षतायां कलकत्ता नगरस्थितस्य हनुमानमन्दिरन्यासस्य सभा संपन्ना । अस्यां सभायां अस्य न्यासस्य सचिवः श्री ज्ञानेन्द्रनाथखन्ना महोदयः, अध्यक्षः प्रो. राममूर्तित्रिपाठी महोदयश्च न्यासस्य कार्यजातस्य विवरणं दत्तवन्तौ । अस्मिन् अवसरे अनेन न्यासेन लेखकेभ्यः पुरस्कारा अपि प्रदत्ताः ।

अल्पाहारानन्तरं सभा विसर्जिता ।

उपस्थितविद्वत्सु डॉ. नीलकण्ठपुरुषोत्तम जोशी, डॉ. रघुनाथगिरि. पं. वैकुण्ठनाथ उपाध्यायः, डॉ. महेश जोशी प्रभृतयः आसन् ।

### पुराणविभागे समागता विद्वांसः

अस्मिन् काले अधोनिर्दिष्टा विद्वांस पुराणविभागे समागताः—

१. श्री अनूप गांधीमहोदयः

२. कोलम्बो विश्वविद्यालये सिंहली प्राध्यापकः प्रो. जे. वी. डी. आइसोनायकः

### रामलीला

अस्मिन् वर्षे रामनगरस्य विश्वविश्रुता रामलीला भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्दशीतिथिमारम्य आश्विनपूर्णिमापर्यन्तं (२४ सितम्बर १९९९ तः २३ अक्टूबर १९९९ पर्यन्तं) संपन्ना । यथापूर्वं रामलीलादर्शकसंख्या (नेमी-साधु-सामान्यजनैः सह) प्रतिदिन अनेकसहस्रसम्मिता आसीत् । धनुर्यज्ञ-अङ्गददौत्य - विजयदशमी - भरतमिलाप - रामराज्याभिषेकादिविशिष्टदिनेषु एषा संख्या लक्षोपरि आसीत् ।

एतद्देशीया वैदेशिकाश्च बहवोऽध्येतारः प्रतिदिनं रामलीलाया अवलोकनं कृतवन्तः । साधुभ्यो मासपर्यन्तं निःशुल्का भोजनसामग्री वितरिता । तत्र भवन्तः काशिनरेशा महाराजा डा. विभूतिनारायणसिंहशर्मदेवा युवराजा श्री अनन्तनारायणसिंहशर्म-महोदयाश्च प्रतिदिनं रामलीलायामुपस्थिता आसन् ।

### रासलीला

अस्मिन् वर्षे रासलीला १३ अगस्त दिनाङ्कमारभ्य २६ अगस्त १९९९ दिनांकं यावत् (श्रावणशुक्लद्वितीयामारम्य पूर्णिमापर्यन्तं) प्रसिद्धोद्याने संपन्ना । रासलीलादिनेषु प्रतिदिनं रासलीलाभूमौ राधासहस्रनाम्नां पाठः पण्डितगणपतिशुक्लमहोदयेन तथा श्रीमद्भागवतमहापुराणस्य दशमस्कन्धस्य पारायणं पण्डितराजारामशुक्लमहोदयेन कृतम् । रासलीलायाः प्रदर्शनं वृन्दावनस्थरासमण्डल्या कृतम् । रासलीलावसरे प्रतिदिनं तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशा महाराजा डा. विभूतिनारायणसिंहशर्मदेवा युवराजा श्री अनन्त नारायणसिंहशर्ममहोदयाश्च उपस्थिता आसन् ।

### सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

#### (१) महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिरन्यासः

##### (क) संग्रहालयः

अनेन न्यासेन संचालितः संग्रहालयः वाराणसीमागतानां पर्यटकानां कृते आकर्षण-भूतोऽस्ति । जगतः सर्वस्थानेभ्यः दर्शका दर्शनार्थमत्र आगच्छन्ति । अस्मिन् संग्रहालये चित्रदीर्घाया नवीनं समायोजनं जातम् । अस्यां दीर्घायां विगतशताब्दित्रयस्य दुर्लभचित्राणां विशेषतः काशिराजचित्राणां संग्रहोऽस्ति ।

##### (ख) भित्तिचित्रप्रतियोगिता

स्थानीयकुम्भकाराणां कृते २६ नवम्बर १९९९ दिनाङ्के भित्तिचित्रस्य प्रतियोगिता संपन्ना । कुम्भकारैः संग्रहालयस्य बाह्यभित्तिषु सामाजिक-धार्मिकशिक्षाप्रदचित्राणां निर्मितिम-

कुर्वन् । चित्राणां परीक्षणं हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीयाध्यापकैः कृतम् । विजेतृकुम्भकारेभ्यो विशिष्टा पुरस्काराः शेषेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः सान्त्वनापुरस्काराश्च प्रदत्ताः ।

### (ग) चित्रकला प्रतियोगिता

२६ नवम्बर १९९९ दिनाङ्के स्थानीयबालकानां कृते चित्रकलाप्रतियोगिता संपन्ना दुर्गस्य दीवानखानास्थाने । बालकेभ्यः पत्राणि वर्णानि च प्रदत्तानि । चित्राणां परीक्षणं हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीयकलाध्यापकैः कृतम् । विजेतृभ्यः पुरस्काराः प्रदत्ताः । अन्येभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो बालकेभ्यो मिष्टान्नानि प्रदत्तानि ।

### (२) महारानी काशी नरेश धर्मकार्यनिधिः

#### (१) मिष्टान्नवितरणम्

२६ नवम्बर १९९९ दिनाङ्के रामनगरस्य समेषां प्राथमिक-लघुमाध्यमिकविद्यालयानां छात्रेभ्यो मिष्टान्नानि वितरितानि । छात्राः रामनगरदुर्गस्य अन्तःप्राङ्गणे स्वविद्यालयीयपरिधानं परिधाय आगताः । विद्यालयानाम् अध्यापकेभ्यः परिचारकेभ्यश्च मिष्टान्नानि प्रदत्तानि ।

#### (२) हरिकीर्तनम्

२६ नवम्बर १९९९ दिनाङ्कस्य रात्रौ रामनगरदुर्गे हरिकीर्तनं संपन्नम् । सन्ताः भक्ताश्च भगवन्नामकीर्तनं चक्रुः । सन्तेभ्यो भोजनं प्रदत्तम् ।

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The All-India Kashiraj Trust has resolved to introduce four new Projects for the advancement of Puranic learning. The Trust heartily requests all interested in Puranic study for cooperation.

(1) Publication of monographs dealing with Puranic literature (i.e. works bearing the name of Purāṇa or Upapurāṇa) 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 Puranic subjects.

(3) Publication of a series of monographs (not less than 100 pages) on the lives of the great sages as described in Puranic literature.

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