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डॉ. रामकरण शर्मा

भूतपूर्व कुलपति, सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृतिविश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, नयी दिल्ली
प्रो. आर. पी. गोल्डमैन
कैलिफोर्निया विश्वविद्यालय, यू.एस.ए.

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पुराणम् - PURĀNA

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अन्धककृता पार्वतीस्तुतिः

[कूर्मपुराणम् १.१५.२१३-१८]

[अथान्धको महेश्वरीं ददर्श देवपाशमर्वगाम् ।
पपात दण्डवत्क्षितौ ननाम पादपद्मयोः ॥ २१२ ॥]
नमामि देववल्लभामनादिमद्रिजामिमाम् ।
यतः प्रधानपूरुषौ निहन्ति याऽखिलं जगत् ॥ २१३ ॥
विभाति या शिवासने शिवेन साकमव्यया ।
हिरण्मयेऽतिनिर्मले नमामि तामिमामजाम् ॥ २१४ ॥
यदन्तराखिलं जगज्जगन्ति यान्ति संक्षयम् ।
नमामि यत्र तामुमामाशेषभेदवर्जिताम् ॥ २१५ ॥
न जायते न हीयते न वर्द्धते च तामुमाम् ।
नमामि या गुणातिगा गिरीशपुत्रिकामिमाम् ॥ २१६ ॥
क्षमस्व देवि शैलजे कृतं मया विमोहतः ।
सुरासुरैर्यदच्चिर्त्तं नमामि ते पदाम्बुजम् ॥ २१७ ॥
[इत्थं भगवती गौरी भक्तिनम्रेण पार्वती ।
संस्तुता दैत्यपतिना पुत्रत्वे जगृहेऽन्धकम् ॥ २१८ ॥]

Translation

[Now, as Andhaka saw the great goddess by the side of the Lord, he laid himself prostrate on the ground, and bowed down to her lotus feet (saying) :] (212)

I bow to the beloved of the Lord, the originless daughter of the mountain, from whom originate the Pradhāna and the Puruṣa and who destroys the entire universe. (213)

I bow down to this birthless goddess, the Undecaying Lady, who shines seated along with Śiva on the golden and stainless seat of Śiva. (214)

I bow to Umā who is verily this entire world and in whom is this whole world and without whom this whole world would perish and who is free of all variations. (215)

I bow to Umā, daughter of the Chief of the mountains who is neither born nor doth decay, nor grow, and transcends the (three) attribauteds. (216)

Forgive me, goddess Ambikā, for what I did under a delusion. I bow to thy lotus-feet adored by gods and demons. (217)

[Thus propitiated by the king of the demons, humble unto her with devotion, the venerable goddess Pārvatī took Andhaka up as her son.] (218)

Note

Here demon Andhaka eulogises goddess Pārvatī. She is birthless (Ajā), from her originate Prakṛti and Puruṣa and thus is the cause of origin of the world and at the last annihilates the whole world. She is the cause of the world and after the Pralaya whole world goes into her. She is birth-less decayless and eternal.

—Ganga Sagar Rai

व्यासाष्टकस्तोत्रम्

- नमो ज्ञानानलशिखापुञ्जपिङ्गजटाभृते ।
कृष्णायाकृष्णामहसे कृष्मद्वैपायनाय ते ॥ १३ ॥
नमस्तेजोमयश्मश्रुप्रभाशबलितत्विषे ।
वक्त्रवागीश्वरीपद्मरजसेवोदितश्रिये ॥ १४ ॥
नमः सन्ध्यासमाधाननिष्पीतरवितेजसे ।
त्रैलोक्यतिमिरच्छेददीपप्रतिमचक्षुषे ॥ १५ ॥
नमः सहस्रशाखाय धर्मोपवनशाखिने ।
सत्त्वप्रतिष्ठापुष्पाय निर्वाणफलशालिने ॥ १६ ॥
नमः कृष्णाजिनजुषे बोधनन्दनवासिने ।
व्याप्तावेवालिजालेन पुण्यसौरभलिप्सया ॥ १७ ॥
नमः शशिकलाकारब्रह्मसूत्रांशुशोभिने ।
श्रिताय हंसकान्त्येव सम्पर्कार्कलौकसः ॥ १८ ॥
नमः विद्यानदीपूर्णशास्त्राब्धिसकलेन्दवे ।
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-क्षेमेन्द्रः भारतमञ्जरी, पृष्ठ ८५०-८५१

VIRAJĀ-KṢETRA IN THE PURĀṆA LITERATURE

BY

S. JENA

[इतिहास-पुराणेषु विराजाक्षेत्रस्य माहात्म्यं वैशिष्ट्येनास्ति वर्णितम् । कपिलसंहितायां तु विराजाक्षेत्रस्य वर्णनं विस्तृतरूपेण प्राप्यते। अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन एतद्विषये प्राप्तसर्वेषां विवरणानां साङ्गोपाङ्गं विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

Viraja-tīrtha identified with modern Yājapura city in Orissa is famous for its glorious past and rich cultural heritage. From Epic-Purāṇic times it is well-known as an ancient place of pilgrimage in Eastern India. Its glorious past demands a far greater antiquity than the Jagannātha temple complex in Purī, based on which thrives the universal Jagannātha consciousness and a composite cultural tradition absorbing in it all religious and philosophical thoughts, tenets and doctrines. *Pitṛ-kaṇyā* goddess Virajā is the place at Yājapura. Lord Yajñavarāha, the initiator of pitṛ-yajña (sacrifice in honour of the manes) is also there. And the Vaitaraṇī, the famous sin-destroying river with its tributaries bordering the region flows through Yājapura. It is believed that with the presence of goddess Virajā, with Lord Varāha and the river Vaitaraṇī this region has undergone a process of gradual Aryanisation in the days of yore.

There is no reference to *Viraja-tīrtha* in the Vedic Literature. First of all, Virajā as a place of pilgrimage and the river Vaitaraṇī occur in the Mahābhārata III, ch. 83, 6-7 and ch. 114, 3-15. In the Aranyaka-parvan in course of giving an account of various *tīrthas* the sage Pulastya (III, 83.6-7) refers to the river Vaitaraṇī as the destroyer of sins. Regarding *Viraja-tīrtha* he says that a man visiting this *tīrtha* shines like a moon. Cleansed of all sins not only does he sanctify his race, but also enjoys majestic dignity in his glorified race. Besides, a dip at the *Viraja-tīrtha* qualifies a person to reap the merit of giving away one thousand kine.¹

1. ततो वैतरणीं गत्वा नदीं पाप-प्रमोचनीम् ।

विरजं तीर्थमासाद्य विराजति यथा शशी ॥

प्रभवेच्च कुले पुण्ये सर्वपापं व्यपोहति ।

गो-सहस्रफलं लब्ध्वा पुनाति च कुलं नरः ॥ Mbh. (Cr. Edn) III, 83.6-7

In the Mbh. III. ch. 114. 3-15 as narrated by the illustrious sage Lomaśa, we meet with an interesting story relating to the glory of the land of Kalinga and the river Vaitaraṇī. There it is said that in this part of ancient Kalinga on the northern bank of river Vaitaraṇī inhabited by the sages and frequented by the Brahmins, Dharma, the god of virtue performed a sacrifice in the days of yore. It was Rudra who forcibly took away the sacrificial animal from the sacrificial ground and claimed it as his share. At this the celestials appronched him not to cast a covetous glance at other's property. Then they, with pleasing words, eulogised the Lord, propitiated him through sacrifice and showed him due honours. In consequence Śiva gave up the animal and went away through deva-yāna. On the other hand, the gods, afraid of Rudra, set apart, out of their shares, a rich part and promised him the same for ever. He, who, by recounting this ancient story of Lord Rudra takes a dip in the waters of the river Vaitaraṇī, beholds with his mortal eyes the path leading to heaven (देवयानस्तस्य पन्थाश्चक्षुषैव प्रकाशते-12b)

Then all the Pāṇḍavas including Draupadī descended down to the Vaitaraṇī and offered libations of water in honour of their deceased manes. While duly taking a dip in the river, Yudhiṣṭhīra instantly became bereft of worldly inclinations and had a vision of all the worlds through the grace of sage Lomaśa. He could also hear the mutterings of prayers of the anchorites coming down from the far distant three hundred thousand yojanas.

Now, on a critical analysis of these two references to the river Vaitaraṇī in the *Mahābhārata*, we notice that in the first account Vaitaraṇī is simply described as a sanctifying and sin-destroying river, but the second account alludes to the performance of sacrifice by Dharma on its bank and the ancient tale of Rudra. Some say that Rudra or Śiva is a Dravidian god. For a long time he was not accepted into the Aryan fold. Though in a sacrifice all the divinities are entitled to their due shares, Śiva was debarred from it because of his non-Aryan origin. And according to this ancient story only after he created obstacles in the sacrifice, his importance was felt in the Aryan circle and from ferocious aspect of Rudra in the Vedic age he was gradually elevated to Lord Śiva, the auspicious one in the later purāṇic age.¹

The second account also highlights the significance of the region

1. It is needless to say that this account of Śiva being denied a share in the sacrifice finds a full and flowering expression in the episode of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice in many purāṇic texts.

in and around the river Vaitaraṇī that king Yudhiṣṭhira loses all his worldly temperaments just by touching the waters of the river and he is gifted with a divine vision so as to witness all the worlds then and there.

The *Garuḍa purāṇa* (I. *pūrva-khaṇḍa*, ch.81) refers to *viraja tīrtha* at two places. This purāṇa is encyclopaedic in character and Hazra dates its extant *Purva-khaṇḍa* in the 10th century A. D. In course of describing a number of *tīrthas* the *Garuḍa* I. 81.16^a alludes to *Viraja-tīrtha* as a great place of pilgrimage (विरजस्तु महातीर्थम्) and its ch. 81. 19b speaks of Viraja as a holy place that bestows everything on man (विरजं सर्वदं तीर्थम्)

Coming to the *Brahma-purāṇa* (ch. 42.1-12) we see that unlike the *Garuḍa* the redactor of this purāṇa presents a slightly longer account of goddess Virajā, the *mātrkās*, Viṣṇu in the form of boar (Varāha-Viṣṇu), the river Vaitaraṇī and the eight *tīrthas* existing at this place. The text is as follows.

In the *Virajā-kṣetra* is installed goddess Virajā born from the sacrifice of Brahmā. A visit to goddess Virajā sanctifies the seven generations of a person. He who either pays a visit or duly adores the deity only once through devotion, rescues his manes and repairs to *Brahmaloka*. In the *Virajā-kṣetra* there are (seven) *mātrkās*, compassionate to the devotees, they destroy all sins and grant them boons. The sin-destroying (पापहरा) river Vaitaraṇī flows through the region where taking a dip in the river man is absolved of all his sins. The self-born (स्वयम्भूः) Lord Hari appears there in the form of a boar (क्रोडरूपो हरिः -5a). Those who either pay a visit or pay obeisance to the Lord out of devotion go to the world of Viṣṇu. There exist eight *tīrthas* such as Kāpila, Gograha, Soma, Alābu (Alpāmbu) Mṛtyuñjaya, Kroḍa (Varāha), Vāsuka and Siddhesvara at this place. In this *Viraja-kṣetra* or say the *Brahma-kṣetra* a man offering balls of rice (piṇḍa) to his deceased manes, greatly satisfies them and those who die in this *kṣetra* attain liberation.

On a comparison of the *Garuḍa purāṇa* and the *Brahma-Purāṇa* we observe that while the former describes the *Viraja-tīrtha* only in half a verse, the latter devotes twelve *ślokas* to sing the glory of the *kṣetra*. The *Brahma-purāṇa* being a vast text is datable to 1300-1400 A.D. Except the *pañca-lakṣaṇa* and the *bhuvana-kośa* it mainly deals with the glorification of the *tīrthas*. Out of its 246 chapters as many as 45 chapters are devoted to the description of holy places in Orissa. They include the places sacred to Viṣṇu (Puruṣottama-kṣetra), to Śiva

(Ekāmra-kṣetra) to *Śakti* (Viraja-kṣetra) and to the Sun-god (Koṅārka). In the days of yore goddess Virajā has been established in the *Viraja-kṣetra*. As she has her origin from the sacrifice of Brahmā, she is said to be Brahmānī (विरजे विरजा माता ब्रह्माणी संप्रतिष्ठिता 42.1). Besides, this place is regarded as *Brahma-kṣetra* as Lord Brahmā performed a sacrifice here in the past. For offering *Śrāddha* to the manes it is also considered as an important place. Further, though there are references to the *Loka-mātr̥s* and the existence of eight other tīrthas, this text under discussion lacks in detailed description about them.

Next we come to the *Kapila-saṁhitā* (chs. 7-8). Unlike the *Brahma purāṇa* it devotes complete two chapters for depicting the importance of *Viraja-kṣetra*. The text is as hereunder.

First of all, *Kapila-saṁhitā* regards *Viraja-kṣetra* as *Pārvatī-kṣetra*. A mere sight of goddess Virajā makes a man free from dust or worldly passions (विरजामुखमालोक्य रजःप्रक्षालनं भवेत् 7.3) The place is so named because soon after coming over to this *kṣetra* a person, bereft of *rajas* quality or say passionate worldly tendency, immediately feels the *sattva-guṇas* in himself and as such the deity Virajā is credited with arousing a sense of detachment in her devotees. (तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे ... विरजा विरजःप्रदा-7.3). The temple of Varāha, the bestower of salvation is situated there and if a devotee after taking a dip in the river Vaitaraṇī, pays a visit to the Lord, attains *Viṣṇuloka* (ch. 7.7,19). There is Akhaṇḍaleśvara temple in which Lord Śiva is enshrined and a mere sight of the Lord makes a man free from the punishment of Yama, the god of death. In the north-east corner of *Viraja-kṣetra* exists the most auspicious *Pitr-tīrtha* 'Gayā-nābhi', where the pilgrims offer *piṇḍa* for the liberation of their deceased ancestors (pitr-gaṇas). There is Trilocaneśvara Śiva temple, the visit of whose liṅga enables the man to get rid of worldly ties and the three types of sorrow like *ādhibhautika*, *ādhidaivika* and *ādhyātmika*. Accounts of Kāpila-tīrtha, Gograha-tīrtha and the Soma-tīrtha established by the lunar god are given with a little more elaboration and the importance of Alpāmbu-tīrtha is narrated in the backdrop of a story.

The redactor of *Kapila-saṁhitā* refers to the existence of another holy place the Mṛtyuñjaya-tīrtha where by taking a dip in the river, Mārkaṇḍeya, the son of sage Mṛkaṇḍu conquered death. There are also descriptions of Kroḍa-tīrtha, vāsuka-tīrtha and siddhesvara-tīrtha, where ablutions followed by the visit of respective deities confer reli-

gious merits on the devotees.

Now when we compare the *Brahma purāṇa* account of Viraja-tīrtha with that of *Kapila-Saṁhitā*, we notice that while the former resorts to only twelve verses to describe the *tīrtha*, the latter devotes complete two chapters to narrate the importance of the same. In the *Mahābhārata*, *Garuḍa purāṇa* and the *Brahma purāṇa* it is not discussed why the *tīrtha* is called *Viraja-tīrtha* or *Viraja-kṣetra* but in the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* for the first time we come across an explanation as to why the place has been so named. The word "viraja" is derived from the root *rajñ* with the addition of *asan* and the prefix *vi*. The word *rajas* means dust, dirt etc, and the prefix *vi* stands for separation, disjunction, apart, asunder etc. and thus the term 'Virajas' signifies, free from dust, dirt or say passion, attachment etc. And by coming over to this holy place and by casting a glance at goddess Virajā, the worldly passions of the visitor instantly vanish away and his heart throbs with *sāttvika* tendency, therefore the *tīrtha* is rightly designated as *viraja-tīrtha*.

The *Kapila-Saṁhitā* consisting of 21 chapters is assigned to 1550 A.D. Being a *Sthala-māhātmya* its sole aim is to describe the four distinct *kṣetras* of Orissa namely Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-kṣetra (Puruṣottama Kṣetra) at Puri Arkakṣetra at Konārka, Hara-Kṣetra at Bhuvaneśvara and Kapilāsa (Dhenkanal district) and Pārvatī-kṣetra (Viraja-kṣetra) at Yājapura. Chs. 7 and 8 of the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* deal with Pārvatī-kṣetra or Viraja-kṣetra. In the north-east corner of the Viraja-kṣetra there exists Gayānābhi, the *pitṛ-tīrtha* which is absent in the *Brahma purāṇa* version. In the *Brahma-purāṇa* offering *piṇḍa* to the dead ancestors in the Viraja-kṣetra is mentioned, but it is *Kapila-Saṁhitā* which gives the name of the specific place where *śrāddha* is offered to the manes in the holy kṣetra.

One more thing that comes to our notice in these two texts is that as regards the *Virajā-kṣetra* the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* seems to have improved upon the *Brahma-purāṇa* version. The *tīrthas* which were treated in a laconic form in the *Brahma purāṇa*, a somewhat longer account of them is given in the *Kapila-Saṁhitā*. In case of Alpāmbu-tīrtha the redactor adds a story connected with king Māndhātā and describes as to how the king was cursed and turned into a jackal and consequently with the assistance of sage Vasiṣṭha was liberated from it by taking a dip at the *Alpāmbu-tīrtha*.

Last but not the least coming to the *Viraja-kṣetra-māhātmya* we find that in its 29 chapters the *viraja-kṣetra* as a sacred place receives a still more elaborate treatment than all the texts referred to above. The first two chapters of the text describe the origin of *Isāneśvara-Śiva* (situated in the northeast corner of the *kṣetra*) and the goddess *Virajā* respectively. In the *Viraja-kṣetra* when *Brahmā* performed a sacrifice on the bank of the river *Vaitaraṇī*, *Isāneśvara-Śiva* originated from the *Vaitāna* fire and *Pārvaṭī*, the consort of *Śiva* sprang from the *Gārhapatyā* fire in the south of *Isāneśvara-Liṅga*. According to her desire, the goddess was named as *Virajā* by *Brahmā* (chs. 1-2). Ch. V deals with *Kāpila-tīrtha* where *Kapileśvara-Śiva* is the presiding deity. In the southern direction of *Isāneśvara-Śiva* we see *Mṛtyuñjaya-tīrtha* i.e. *Nābhigayā* which is adorned by *Gadādhara-Viṣṇu*. By offering *piṅḍa* to the manes at *Nābhi-gayā*, twentyone generations are believed to be liberated (ch. VI). Relating to the origin of *Mṛtyuñjaya-tīrtha* the text says that following the advice of *Śiva* once *Pārvaṭī* continued penance at *Nābhigayā* and in course of time she won over death. Thereafter the place came to be known as *Mṛtyuñjaya-tīrtha* (ch. 18.1-9). Ch. 17 alludes to the origin of *Nābhi-gayā* as a *pitṛ-tīrtha* and gives a detailed account of the auspicious demon *Gaya* and his willingness to offer his body in the sacrifice of gods that ultimately gave rise to three *pitṛ-tīrthas* - *Śiṛṣa-gayā* (*Bodha-gayā*, Bihar), *Nābhi-gayā* (*Yājapura*, Orissa) and *Pāda-gayā* (*Mahendragiri*, Deccan). As regards the *Yajña-Varāha* temple and *Ākhaṇḍaleśvara-Śiva-Liṅga* we meet with two interesting stories in this text (chs. 9-10). On the northern bank of the river *Vaitaraṇī* in the vicinity of *Maṇicūḍa* mountain once when the sage *Dīrghatapas* was practising penance in the *Bilvasundara* forest, a young prince reached there in quest of wild animals. When the sage came to know of it, he cursed him to be born as a *Kirāta* for his cruel attitude towards the animals. Then the prince apologised before the sage for his misdeeds and the sage relaxed the curse and assured him that he would be released from his curse in the next birth through divine knowledge. Consequently the prince was born as *Vicitra-dhanvā* in the family of a *Śavara* named *Citreṣu*. Once while he was roaming in the forest, a ferocious boar came forward to attack him; as a result *Vicitradhanvā* took up his arrows and chanced it. Then the boar entered the *Maṇicūḍa* mountain and went down the nether region. At that time the prince

witnessed the boar in form of four-armed Viṣṇu, and thus he was released from the curse. Following the prayer of Vicitradhanvā Varāha-Viṣṇu continued to reside there since then (ch. 9). About the Akhaṇḍaleśvara-Śiva-Liṅga it is said that Indra was cursed by sage Gautama for having adultery with his wife Ahalyā. As per the advice of the eight Vasus, in order to propitiate Lord Śiva for the purpose, Indra came over to the Viraja-kṣetra and started severe penance in a place towards the south of Varāha-Viṣṇu. At long last pleased with his penance Lord Śiva appeared before him and expiated him of his curse. Due to the prayer of Indra, Śiva continued to reside there in the form of a *Liṅga* and this *Liṅga* being named after Ākhaṇḍala (i.e. Indra) is well-known as Ākhaṇḍaleśvara-Śiva¹ (ch. 10).

In the same manner in the ch. 19 there is a story relating to the origin of Candreśvara, one of the forms of Śiva in the Virajā-kṣetra. There it is said that once the moon met Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati and fell in love with her at first sight. Due to their long association the latter gave birth to Budha through the moon. When Bṛhaspati came to know of it, he cursed the moon to lose his divinity. Then the moon sought the advice of his father Atri and propitiated Śiva through severe austerities in order to get rid of the curse. The Śiva-Liṅga adored by him is named after him as Candreśvara.¹

With regard to the origin of Bilveśvara Śiva the text says; Aditi, the wife of Kaśyapa had a desire to get all the gods as her sons. According to the advice of Kaśyapa, she made an image of Śiva and adored him with thousands of *bilva*-leaves on the southern bank of river Vaitaraṇī, pleased with her unflinching devotion, Lord Śiva appeared before her and fulfilled her wish. The *liṅga* established by Aditi came to be known as Bilveśvara (ch. 22).

Another interesting story we also come across, is about the Yameśvara-liṅga. It is said that as Yama did not concede to the request of his sister Yamī in order to satisfy her sexual longing, the latter cursed the former to lose his divinity. Yama sought the advice of his father,

1. This story of Indra's adultery with Ahalyā is an old anecdote in many Purāṇa-texts. Different versions of this myth are found in different purāṇic texts. In order to glorify the Akhaṇḍaleśvara-tirtha the redactor of the *Viraja-kṣetra-māhātmya* has purposely connected this ancient story with the place.

the sungod and propitiated Śiva for re-gaining the divine power. This Śiva-liṅga worshipped by Yama on the bank of the river Mandākinī became known as Yameśvara (ch. 23. 1ff).

Thus in the Viraja-kṣetra there are sixty eight *tīrthas*. Besides, this place enjoys the presence of eight Caṇḍikās, four Bhairavas, eleven Rudras and twelve Mādhavas. In case of each Śiva-liṅga some myth or other is added to glorify it. So it is evident that the redactor of this text consciously inserts many legends not only to show the importance of the *kṣetra*, but also to give greater antiquity to it.

Now on a critical examination of the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* and *Viraja-kṣetra-māhātmya* it is seen that the former devotes two Chapters to describe some twelve *tīrthas* existing at Viraja-kṣetra, but the latter takes recourse to twenty-nine chapters for giving accounts of sixty eight *tīrthas* in and around the holy region. The origin of Iśāneśvara-Śiva-liṅga born from the fire of Brahmā's sacrifice as depicted in the *Viraja-kṣetra-māhātmya* is absent in the *Kapila-Saṁhitā*. In the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* importance of only one *tīrtha* namely Alpāmbu *tīrtha* is shown in the back-drop of a story, but in the *viraja-kṣetra-māhātmya* most of the *tīrthas* have found mention associated with some sort of myth or other. Besides, these two texts under discussion give two different accounts of origin of Mrtyuñjaya-*tīrtha*. In the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* Mārkaṇḍeya, the son of sage Mrkaṇḍu carries on penance and conquers death and consequently the holy place enshrining Mrtyunjayeśvara Śiva-liṅga becomes famous as Mrtyuñjaya-*tīrtha*, but in the *Viraja-kṣetra-māhātmya* goddess Pārvatī with the advice of Śiva, continues rigorous penance and wins over death; as a result the place assumes importance as Mrtyuñjaya-*tīrtha*. As regards the Nābhi-gayā the *pitṛtīrtha* only two *ślokas* are devoted in the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* (ch. 7.16-17) but the redactor of *Virajā-kṣetra-māhātmya* completely dedicates two Chapters (chs 17 and 18) to describe the story of demon Gaya, creation of Nābhigayā, Mrtyuñjaya-*tīrtha* and the importance of Gadādhara-Viṣṇu stationed there.

Our next point of discussion is goddess Virajā; she is the presiding deity of the *kṣetra*. It seems that after her installation, this region has been named as 'Viraja-kṣetra' or 'Viraja-nagara'. As pointed out above, only in one *śloka* the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* justifies the name of the goddess (तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजश्रेष्ठा विरजा विरजः प्रदा। विरजामुखमालोक्य रजःप्रक्षालनं भवेत् - ch.

7.3) but our *kṣetra-māhātmya* under discussion speaks of Goddess Pārvatī as emerging from the *Gārhapatya* fire of Brahmā's sacrifice whom she makes a request to treat her as Virajā (त्वं मां विरजसं नाम्ना मन्यस्व कमलोद्भव- ch. 2.18a). So there is no doubt about the fact that at the very outset worship of Goddess Pārvatī was prevalent here in the shrine, but at a later period she has been regarded as 'Virajā' who is said to be a *pitṛ-kanyā* in the Vāyu purāṇa (II. ch. 11. 86-88). And after the formation of Nābhigayā, the *Pitṛ-tīrtha* to her left she now presides over the *pitṛ-tīrtha* where she bestows happiness and prosperity on her devotees and salvation on the dead ancestors (तत् श्रीविरजा देवी भुक्ति-मुक्ति-प्रदायिनी- *Kapila-Saṁhitā* ch. 7.4a)

The *Virajā-kṣetra-māhātmya* is also a Sthala-māhātmya. It is definitely later than the *Kapila-Saṁhitā*. If *Kapila-Saṁhitā* is assigned to 1550 A.D., the *kṣetra-māhātmya* under discussion is to be safely dated in the second half of 1600 A.D. or early part of 17th century A.D. What we observe in all the foregoing texts starting with the *Mahābhārata* is that regarding *Virāja-kṣetra* the text tradition is gradually on the rise from time to time. Thus from the *Garuda-purāṇa* to the *Virajā-kṣetra-māhātmya* we notice that from very pithy laconic hints the *virajā-kṣetra* finds its longest description in the latter *sthala-māhātmya* consisting of 29 chapters.

About the name of the place 'Yājñapura' it may be pointed out that this word is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word 'Yajñapura'. No doubt this place was connected with many sacrifices like the sacrifice of Dharmadevā, Lord Brahmā and also the ten horse-sacrifices of king Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I as available from historical records and hence it was well-known as 'Yajñapura' in ancient times. The *Mahābhārata* (III. ch. 114.5) also uses an epithet 'yajñīya' in its favour thereby meaning this place as a fit ground for performance of sacrifices and as such upholding its sacred character from the remotest epic times. Thus in consequence of performance of sacrifices and ritualistic observances, this land, formerly inhabited by the tribals is believed to be gradually sanctified and Aryanised in association of *pitṛ-kanyā* Virajā, founder of *pitṛ-yajña* Lord varāhā, *pitṛ-tīrtha* Nābhigayā and the sindestroying

(पापहरा) river vaitaraṇī.*

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*. In the Vāmana (23.17-20) five places are described as sacrificial vedis (altars) where Lord Saṁbhū performed sacrifices. They are regarded as bridges of Vedic Dharma, (त्रयीसेतवः) through which men cross this unclame world.

वेदयो लोकनाथस्य त्रयीधर्मस्य सेतवः। यासु यष्टं सुरेशेन लोकनाथेन शंभुना। 17

प्रयागो मध्यमा वेदिः पूर्वा वेदिर्गयाशिरः। विरजा दक्षिणा वेदिरनन्तफलदायिनी॥18

प्रतीची पुष्करावेदिस्त्रिभिः कुण्डैरलंकृता।

समन्तपञ्चका चोक्ता वेदिरेवोत्तराऽव्यया॥ 20

If we accept the reading ब्रह्मणा in place of शंभुना then the meaning will be 'five vedis where Lord Brahmā performed the sacrifices.

ON AN UNCOMMON MINERALOGICAL TERMINOLOGY
"HIṅGULAKĀÑCANA" AS DESCRIBED IN THE VĀYU
PURĀṆA

BY

R. K. DUBE

[वायुपुराणे हिङ्गुलकाञ्चनस्योल्लेखः प्राप्यते। हिङ्गुलकाञ्चनं हिङ्गुलेन मिश्रितस्य काञ्चनस्याभिप्रायं निर्दिशति। अत्र विदुषा लेखकेन प्रदर्शितं यदेतादृशं काञ्चनमधुनाऽपि प्राप्यते जगतो विभिन्नप्रदेशेषु। अत्र पारदस्य स्वर्णस्य च पृथक्करणाय चरणद्वयात्मिका प्रक्रिया विवेचिता। वायुपुराणस्योल्लेखः प्राचीनकाले भारतीयधातुशास्त्रविषये नूतनाऽस्ति विज्ञापना।]

Introduction

The Vāyu Purāṇa¹ has given an elaborate description of the geography of earth in its Bhuvanakośa section. The chapters 39-41 of the Vāyu Purāṇa describe various aspects of the Deva mountains, where the magnificent castles of different deities were situated:

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि यस्मिन्यस्मिञ्शिलोच्चये ।

ये संनिविष्टा देवानां विविधानां गृहोत्तमाः ॥

(Vāyu Purāṇa, 30.1)

The Vāyu Purāṇa (41.73) stated that there were eight Deva mountains :

इत्येवमष्टौ विज्ञेया विचित्रा देवपर्वताः ।

A closer look of the relevant text of the Vāyu Purāṇa shows that the number of mountains stated in the Chapters 39-41 are more than eight. Perhaps some smaller mountains were part of a bigger mountain range designated as Deva mountain. Himalayas and Kailāsa mountain have been classified under Deva mountain.

The Vāyu Purāṇa has also given mineralogical information related to Deva mountain area. It stated that the Deva mountain region contains mines of gold, silver, gem stones, haritāla, manaḥśila etc.

In this context, the Vāyu Purāṇa has provided an important information on a typical mineral deposit, which is rather an uncommon Sanskrit terminology related to minerals. It stated that there are depos-

1. Vāyu Purāṇa, (ed) Ram Pratap Tripathi Shastri, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 1987.

its of *hiṅgulakāñcana* in the Deva mountain region. The present paper discusses the nature and genesis of *hiṅgulakāñcana* mineral deposit together with its probable application.

The Hiṅgulakāñcana Deposit

The relevant verses of the Vāyu Purāṇa describing *hiṅgulakāñcana* deposit are as follows :

इत्येवमष्टौ विज्ञेया विचित्रा देवपर्वताः ॥
 पुरैरायतनैः पुण्यैः पुण्योदैश्च सरोवरैः ।
 सुवर्णपर्वतैर्नैकैस्तथा रजतपर्वतैः ॥
 नानारत्नप्रभासैश्च नैकैश्च मणिपर्वतैः ।
 हरितालपर्वतैर्नैकैस्तथा हिङ्गुलकाञ्चनैः ॥
 शुद्धैर्मनःशिलाजालैभास्वरैररुणप्रभैः ।
 नानाधातुविचित्रैश्च मणिपर्वतैः ॥

(Vāyu Purāṇa, 41.73-76)

[English translation : These eight wonderful mountains are called Deva mountains. These mountains are accomplished with a large number of castles, temples, lakes full of holy waters, deposits of gold and silver (in mountain rocks), deposits of gem stones (in mountain rocks) having gem like lustre, deposits of haritāla (yellow orpiment), deposits of *hiṅgulakāñcana*, deposits of red shining pure manahśila (realgar), and deposits of various other variegated minerals.]

The compound word *hiṅgulakāñcanaiḥ* has been used in plural form, and has been composed from two words *hiṅgula* and *kāñcana*. *Hiṅgula* is a chemical compound consisting of mercury and sulphur. The Sanskrit Rasaśāstra text *Rasāṇava* (7.51) clearly stated that *hiṅgula* is obtained from mercury and sulphur :

तिक्तोष्णं हिङ्गुलं दिव्यं रसगन्धकसम्भवम् ।

Mercury sulphide (HgS) is the most important naturally occurring ore of mercury, and is called by the name "cinnabar" in English. Thus the Sanskrit *hiṅgula* is same as English cinnabar. The reference under study states that a large number of the deposits of *hiṅgulakāñcana* are present in the area.

The word *hiṅgulakāñcanam* has been formed on the basic principle of the "*mādhyaṃpadalopī samāsa*", in which the middle word is omitted from the compound word. Vāmana stated that the word *bimbādharaḥ* has been formed on the basis of *mādhyaṃpadalopī samāsa*, and in meaning it is equivalent to *bimbākāro'dharaḥ* —

“बिम्बाऽधर इति वृत्ता मध्यमपदलोपिन्याम्” ॥ 5.2.15 ॥

(*Vṛtti* by Vāmana on the above *sūtra* : मध्यमपदलोपिनि समासे इति बिम्बाकारोऽधरो बिम्बाधर इति)¹

There have been several other examples of compound words formed on the basis of this rule. Some examples are- *guḍodakam* (i.e. *guḍamiśram udakam*), *tilodakam* (i.e. *tilamiśram udakam*), and *śākarpārthivaḥ* (i.e. *śākapriyaḥ pārthivaḥ*).²

As stated earlier, cinnabar is a compound of mercury and sulphur, and is an important naturally occurring mineral of mercury. In the compound word *hiṅgulakāñcanam*, *kāñcana* actually refers to naturally occurring gold deposits. Cinnabar would not get mixed with gold in the manner a metal such as silver or copper gets mixed with gold, to form an alloy by melting process. The word 'mixed' in the present context means only a physical mixture.

Thus in the present context, *hiṅgulakāñcanam* means "naturally occurring gold deposit mixed with cinnabar". This is corroborated by the fact that the word *hiṅgulakāñcana* has been used along with various other mineral deposits such as *haritāla* (yellow orpiment), *manahśīla* (realgar) and gold and silver deposits during the course of the description of Deva mountains.

The plural form, '*hiṅgulakāñcanaiḥ*', indicates that there were a number of aggregates of gold deposits intermixed with cinnabar at different locations of the Deva mountains. It must be noted that apart from gold and cinnabar, this type of deposit would also have contained gangue minerals such a silica, clay etc, both in lode and placer type deposits.

Discussion

There are three important questions regarding the term *hiṅgulakāñcanam* which should be addressed. Firstly, what is the gen-

1. The author is grateful to Prof. Suresh Chandra Pande (Retired Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Allahabad University) for drawing his attention to the *sūtra* of Vāmana.

2. Kāśikā has mentioned the following examples in the commentary of Pāṇini *sūtra* 6.2.96: गुडमिश्रम् उदकम् = गुडोदकम् and तिलमिश्रम् उदकम् = तिलोदकम्, [Kāśikā (A Commentary on Pāṇini's Grammar) of Vāmana and Jayāditya with Nyāsa and Padamañjarī Sanskrit Commentaries and Bhāvabodhinī Hindi Commentary, Vol. 7, (ed.) Jaya Shankar Lal Tripathi, Tara Book Agency, Varanasi, 1990, 379.]

Apte has cited शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः, [V. S. Apte, The Students' Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Reprint ed., Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1987, 422]

esis of the formation of the mixed gold-cinnabar deposits. Secondly, have such mixed gold-cinnabar deposits been reported in modern times. Lastly, what was the probable application of such mineral deposits. An attempt has been made to answer these questions, as follows.

Cinnabar is found as grains in porous sandstones, greywacke and marbles.¹ It may also occur in stibnite-and fluorite- bearing quartz grains. Antimonite, pyrite, less often arsenopyrite, realgar, occasionally sphalerite, chalcopyrite etc are associated with cinnabar. Betekhin² stated that cinnabar is rather stable in oxidizing conditions in contrast to many other sulphides. This explains as to why cinnabar is often found in placer deposits. Cinnabar has a very attractive cinnamon to scarlet red colour. It has relatively high density of 8.1g/cc. It is brittle and has a hardness of 1.5-2 on the Mohs scale of hardness. It is easily identified by its red colour, low hardness and high density characteristics.

There are references available in literature, which suggest that mixed gold-cinnabar deposits can exist in nature. The occurrence of gold along with cinnabar in a deposit can be visualized in more than one way. It is possible that both gold and cinnabar occurred in the same lode or vein deposit. The characteristic red colour of cinnabar would make such a deposit prominent. The colour aspect of such a deposit would be more pronounced, if the amount of cinnabar in the deposit is high.

As stated earlier, cinnabar can be obtained as placer deposits. It is well known that gold is also found in placer deposits. In view of this fact, another possibility is that gold and cinnabar were found together in a placer deposit. The weathered products of the lode deposit containing cinnabar and gold may get collected near the base of the mountain hills to form colluvial placer deposits containing cinnabar and gold. The red colour of cinnabar would make such a deposit prominent.

It is also possible that stream placer deposits containing water transported cinnabar and gold particles together with other mineral particles, the most common one being quartz, are formed in gulches, creeks, rivers, flood plains and deltas. The formation of alluvial placer gold deposit from lode or vein deposits together with the hydraulic equivalent diameter of mineral present in the alluvial placer gold de-

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1. Hans-Rudolf Wenk and Andrei Bulakh, Minerals : Their Constitution and Origin, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, 393.
 2. A. Betekhin, A Course of Mineralogy, translated from Russian by V. Agol, Peace Publishers, Moscow, Publication Year N. A., 185.

posit have been discussed elsewhere.¹ The high density of cinnabar and gold together with their resistance to weathering makes it possible to get them concentrated in the alluvial placer deposit. The hydraulic equivalent diameter of minerals such as ilmenite (Density= 4.79 g/cc), magnetite (Density= 7.0 g/cc), cinnabar (Density = 8.1 g/cc) and gold (impure, containing some silver, Density = 16.9 g/cc) are 0.66, 0.62, 0.52, 0.48 and 0.32 times the diameter of quartz respectively. In the above calculation it has been assumed that the particles are spherical.

In view of the limited information stated in the reference under discussion, it is not possible to identify the exact nature of the gold deposits containing cinnabar. However, a general comment can be made in this regard. In this context, it is important to note the description of caves present in the Deva mountain region in which deities, gandharvas, yakṣas and siddhas were living, as given in the Vāyu Purāṇa (35.13-14). Such caves were formed in mountain rocks containing deposits of *manahśīla* and *haritāla*. Embedded grains or patches of gold, gem stones, mineral famous by the name "*śuddha hiṅgula*" (pure cinnabar), and various other types of minerals were visible on the inside surfaces of the caves :

मनःशिलादरीभिश्च हरितालतलैस्तथा ॥

सुवर्णमणिचित्राभिर्गुहाभिश्च समन्ततः ।

शुद्धहिङ्गुलकप्रख्यैः काञ्चनैर्धातुमण्डितैः ॥

(Vāyu Purāṇa, 35,13-14)

This description indirectly suggests the presence of cinnabar and gold in vein or lode deposits. Mixed placer deposits of cinnabar and gold would also form from such vein or lode deposits.

Mixed placer deposits of cinnabar and gold can also be obtained from independent deposits of cinnabar and gold. There are several references in Purāṇas stating the availability of both vein or lode gold deposits, and different types of placer gold deposits in Himalayas and Kailāsa mountain region. This aspect has been discussed elsewhere in detail by the author.² However, most of Purāṇas have not given as much importance to minerals of metals such as copper, iron, lead, tin, zinc and mercury as given to gold, while discussing the mineral wealth of the Himalayas and Kailāsa regions. Most of Purāṇas have adopted a

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1. R. K. Dube, Sources of Gold in India as described by Thakkara Pheru-An Assessment. Indian Journal of History of Science, Vol. 42, (1), 2007, 1-11.
 2. R. K. Dube, Sources of Gold as Described in some Purāṇas, Purāṇa, Vol. 48, (1-2), 2006, 69-84.

generalized view for describing the deposits of these minerals, and have used terms such as *sarvadhātumaya*, *sarvadhātuvibhūṣitaiḥ*, *nānādhātuvicitraīśca* etc.

There is a reference of Hiṅgula mountain in the Himalayas. The Kuṇāla Jātaka stated that the Hiṅgula mountain is situated in the Himalayas.¹ The Vāmana Purāṇa (44.47) has also referred to the Hiṅgula mountain² :

इत्येवमुक्ता वरदेन चर्चिका
भूतानुजाता हरिचर्मवासिनी ।
महीं समन्ताद् विचचार सुन्दरी
स्थानं गता हैङ्गुलताद्रिमुत्तमम् ॥

There is also a mention of the Hiṅgula mountain in the Tantracuḍāmaṇi³ :

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं हिङ्गुलायां भैरवो भीमलोचनः ।
कोट्टरी सा महामाया त्रिगुणा या दिगम्बरी ॥

It is most likely that this mountain was a source of *hiṅgula* (cinnabar) mineral, and hence it was named after this mineral.

A relevant question which arises is whether gold deposits containing cinnabar occur in nature in modern times. There are some references describing the occurrence of the mixed mineral deposits of cinnabar and gold in modern times, which are discussed below.

Willden and Hotz⁴ have reported the occurrence of gold, scheelite and cinnabar in placer deposits in the Dutch Flat mining district in north central Nevada, U.S.A. The gold and perhaps most of the scheelite were derived from quartz veins. The cinnabar was derived from a shear zone that was younger than the quartz veins. Two types of placer deposits were present in the area. The first one was the alluvial placer or stream deposits. The second type of deposit was the slope-wash deposit containing material weathered from rocks in the immediate vicinity. This may be considered as colluvial placer deposit. The gold in the placer deposits occurred as coarse angular grains, which were oc-

1. Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, Buddhakālma Bhāratiya Bhugola, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 1961, 138.
2. Vāmana Purāṇa, (ed.) A. S. Gupta, All India Kasiraja Trust, Varanasi, 1968.
3. Raja Radha Kant Dev, Śabda Kalpadruma, Part 5, III ed., Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1967, 536.
4. Ronald Willden and Preston E. Hotz, A Gold-Scheelite-Cinnabar Placer Deposit in Humboldt County, Nevada, Economic Geology, 1955, Vol. 50, (7), 661-68.

asionally attached to a quartz matrix, and also as fine angular type free grains. The cinnabar in the deposit was present in a wide size range from minute dust to about 1 cm diameter nuggets. The large size cinnabar was actually aggregates of cinnabar, quartz and feldspar. The cinnabar was in between 70-80 vol% of the aggregate. The alluvial placer deposits contained fine grained cinnabar, with average grain size smaller than 0.02mm. The maximum distance of transport was less than 2 miles. Cinnabar is a relatively brittle mineral, and it disintegrates easily during water transport. This is the reason for considerable decrease in the size of the cinnabar in a relatively short distance of transport.

Capps *et al*¹ have reported a stream of gold placer deposit in Wiltage Creek, Eastern Suriname, South America. Large cinnabar nuggets were found in the headwaters in Wiltage Creek. The stream gold placer deposit contained cinnabar, native mercury, magnetite, pyrite, specular hematite, garnet, pyrolusite, tourmaline, rutile, ilmenite, goethite, etc.

Palache² referred to the presence of gold in the form of scales and small nuggets together with magnetite and ilmenite in the cinnabar placer concentrate found near the Nassau mountain in the interior of Dutch Guiana.

Another important question is as to what was the probable application of the *hiṅgulakāñcana* mineral deposit. Like present times, gold was a precious commodity in the remote past too. It is logical to believe that people must have been recovering gold from the mixed gold-cinnabar, i.e. *hiṅgulakāñcana* deposit as well. A pertinent question which arises is as to what could have been the process used for recovering gold from such deposits. In the absence of any written evidence for such a process either in Purāṇas or any other treatise, one can only make speculation about it on the basis of the metallurgical technology prevalent in India in those times.

Before discussing the possible process used for the recovery of gold from the mixed gold-cinnabar deposit. it is necessary to touch upon briefly some aspects of ancient Indian metallurgy relevant in the present context, in particular the extraction of gold and mercury from

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1. Richard C. Capps, Wim Malfait, and J. Dennis, Bedrock Sources of Placer Gold-Mercury at the Wiltage Creek Prospect, Eastern Suriname. South America. Paper no. 9-1 presented at the joint meeting of the 30th annual meeting of the northeastern section and the 53rd annual meeting of the southeastern section of the Geological Society of America. March 25-27, 2004. <http://gsa.confex.com/gsa/2004NE/finalprogram/abstract/70420.htm>.
 2. Charles Palache, The Occurrence of Cinnabar in Dutch Guiana, The American Mineralogist, Vol. 12, (5), 1927, 188-189.

literary and archaeological sources. Extraction, melting and refining of gold was known in India since very early times. Kautilya stated the gold refining process in detail in his famous work Arthaśāstra. Archaeological finds obtained from the various old gold workings and mines lying between Hutti and Maski in the Raichur district of the present time Karnataka state, are perhaps the most remarkable and interesting group of old gold workings. This aspect has been discussed in detail elsewhere by the author.¹ Ancient crucibles used in gold extraction were discovered near Wandalli and Honkunni workings of the above stated area. The chemical analysis of the crucibles showed the presence of mercury, which indicates that amalgamation process was used at some stage of the extraction of gold from the ground gold-bearing ore.

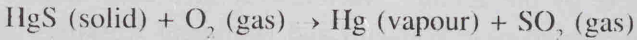
Caraka referred to mercury in his Caraka Samhitā (Cikitsāsthāna, 25, 116), and used the word "*rasottama*" for it. Monier Williams² also stated the meaning of *rasottama* as mercury. It suggests that the extraction of mercury from its ore was known in India since very early times. It is to be noted that the extraction of mercury from its ore cinnabar involves heating of cinnabar in excess air and the subsequent condensation of the resulting mercury vapour.

Another interesting observation in this connection is the recovery of the broken pieces of potteries used for making distillation vessel and condensers from the archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila. Marshall³ proposed that these potteries were part of distillation units and consisted of a *hāṇḍī* used for storing the liquid to be distilled, a cowl fitted over the *hāṇḍī*, a condenser resting in a deep bowl of water, a pipe connecting the cowl and condenser, and a tripod on which the *hāṇḍī* rested with the fire beneath it. The vapour generated in the *hāṇḍī* passed into the cooler area of the condenser, where it was converted into liquid form. Marshall stated that the broken pieces of the condenser recovered from Taxila were made from very coarse red sandy clay mixed with lime and *bajari*. The condensing cowl was made from good red clay with dark red wash.

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1. R. K. Dube, Aspects of the History and Metallurgy of Gold in India in Early Times, Trans. Indian Institute of Metals, Vol. 59, (6), 2006, 865-882.
 2. Monier Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English dictionary, First published in 1899, Indian Reprint ed., Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1990.
 3. John Marshall, Taxila, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 1951, Indian Reprint Ed., Bharatiya Publishing House, Varanasi, Year N.A., 420-421.

It is apparent that Indians developed the technology of distillation and condensation since very early times. Several works of later period have given details of the technology of condensation process together with the process used for recovering liquid mercury from cinnabar.

Mercury has a low affinity for sulphur and oxygen at above 400°C¹. When cinnabar is heated in the presence of excess air at 600-700 °C, the following reaction takes place, and mercury vapour is liberated :



The resulting mercury vapour can be condensed to form liquid mercury in a condenser.

It must be noted that a mixed gold-cinnabar deposit would have also contained gangue minerals, such as silica, alumina, etc. The recovery of gold from such a mixed gold-cinnabar ore would have consisted of two steps. The first step would have been the extraction of mercury from the mixed ore deposit, and the second step the recovery of gold from the residue left after the mercury extraction. The first step would have been accomplished by heating the mixed gold-cinnabar ore at 600-700 °C in a distillation unit consisting of heating chamber and condenser. As a result, mercury vapours were liberated, which would have condensed in the condenser to form liquid mercury. The residue left in the heating chamber would have consisted of all the gold present in the starting gold-cinnabar ore, together with the gangue materials present in the ore.

The second step would have been carried out by heating the residue along with a flux such as borax in a crucible at a high temperature, of the order of 1100-1200 °C. Borax was known as *tañkaṇa* in Sanskrit. There are several references to the Tañkaṇa mountain in the Himalayas, as described in the Mānasakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa.² The high density liquid gold would have got collected at the bottom of the crucible, while the low density slag containing all the gangue material would have floated on the top of the gold layer. The liquid slag would have been poured out from the crucible, leaving behind liquid gold in it, which after solidification would have produced solid gold. An alternative method of recovering gold from the residue could have been the amalgamation process, in which the residue was treated with mercury. As a result, gold combined with mercury forming gold amal-

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1. L. Coudurier, D. W. Hopkins and I. Wilkomirsky, Fundamentals of Metallurgical Processes, II ed., Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1985, 154.
 2. R. K. Dube, Minerals and Metals in the Greater Kūrmācala Region as Described in the Mānasakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa, Purāṇa, Vol. 40, (1), 1998, 23-33.

gam, which was then separated from the gangue material. Gold amalgam was heated in a distillation unit, forming mercury vapour which condensed into liquid mercury in the condenser or cooling zone. The gold remained behind at the bottom of the distillation unit. Since the extraction techniques based on distillation for the recovery of mercury from its ores were known in India since early times, it is not unreasonable to believe that the amalgamation process could have been used for treating the residue obtained after the recovery of mercury from the mixed gold-cinnabar deposit.

In the present context of the Sanskrit *hiṅgulakāñcanam*, it is interesting to note some observations regarding the term "*huan tan chin*" in the Chinese language, which throws light on the fact that gold was extracted from gold-bearing ore found in association with deposits of cinnabar. Pao Tsang Lun (Discourse on the contents of the precious treasury of the earth) is a notable Chinese book on mineralogy, metallurgy and chemistry. It was a work of some writer of the Southern Han dynasty, and is believed that it was composed in 918 A. D. It listed under the heading of gold powder, twenty kinds of gold, of which fifteen were artificial and only five genuine. The term *huan tan chin* (meaning "cyclically-transformed elixir gold) was the first type of gold in the category of genuine gold. Needham¹ quoted the statement of Li Shih-Chen, who said that the *huan tan chin* type of gold came from cinnabar mines and still had something of cinnabar in its substance; it was made into a medicine and taken orally. Needham has opined that "at some periods gold was extracted from auriferous (gold-bearing) ore found in association with deposits of cinnabar, and indeed veins of such ores are particularly liable to occur where there are sulphide masses, as in Szechuan and Kweichow (in China)."

Concluding Remarks

The mineralogical term *hiṅgulakāñcana* of the Vāyu Purāṇa refers to naturally occurring gold deposits mixed with cinnabar. It is an uncommon terminology, which the author has not found in other Purāṇas, Great epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, and Rasaśāstra texts such as Rasahrdayatantra, Rasārṇava and Rasaratnasamuccaya. The approach used in naming the mixed deposits of cinnabar and gold as *hiṅgulakāñcana* was also followed by the authors of later periods. The Rasaratnasamuccaya referred to metallurgical terms like *Candrārka* and

1. Joseph Needham. Science and Civilization in China, Vol. 5, Part 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, 277.

Sulbanāga for the silver-copper and copper-lead binary alloys respectively. In all probability, gold and mercury were extracted from *hingulakāñcana* deposits by a two-step process, consisting of recovering mercury first followed by recovering gold from the residue of the first step. It is interesting to note that even in modern times the naturally occurring mixed deposits of cinnabar and gold have been reported from different parts of the world.

The Vāyu Purāṇa is one of the most ancient Purāṇas amongst all the available Purāṇas. Thus, the reference of the mineralogical terminology *hingulakāñcana* in the Vāyu Purāṇa is of great importance, and provides new enriching information for the history of metallurgy in ancient India.

THE ANDHRAS IN THE PURĀNAS

BY

UPENDRA NATH ROY

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणानां मतासुसारतः आन्ध्रवंशीयराज्ञां विषये विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम्। पुराणानुसारतः काण्वशासकस्य भृत्यः सिन्धुरः काण्ववंशीयराजानं सुशर्माणं पराजित्य राजाऽभूत् । तदनन्तरं आन्ध्रवंशीयानां राज्यमभूत् । एषां राज्ञां कालविषये विद्वत्सु महान् विसंवादः प्रचलति। अत्र सर्वेषां विसंवादानां समाधानपूर्वकं लेखकेन स्वमतस्य प्रतिपादनं कृतम् ।]

The Kāṇva rule in Magadha was followed by the Andhra dynasty according to the Purāṇas. The date of the Andhra dynasty remains disputed to date. The beginning of the dynasty has been placed variously as B.C. 28 (H. C. Ray Chaudhary), B.C. 73 (R. G. Bhandarkar), B. C. 200 N (E. S. Rapson), B. C. 240 (V. A. Smith), B. C. 271 (Venkatarao)¹. Dr. D. S. Triveda places the Andhras B. C. 833-327,² Jayaswal places their commencement in 205 B. C. and Jaya Chandra Vidyalankar in 182 B. C.³ According to K. D. Sethna, the dynasty began in 802 B. C. or 777 B. C. and ended about 391 or 390 B. C.⁴ The duration of the Andhra rule, the number of the components, the length of individual reigns and the date of the termination of their rule are all disputed. So it is worth while to discuss what the Purāṇas say about the dynasty.

Commencement- According to the Purāṇas, Simuka (called śis UKA or SINDHURA in the Purāṇas) was in service of the KĀNVA king and destroyed SUS'ARMA with the help of his kinsmen and siezed power by force. As this came after the continuous rule of the Nandas, the Mauryas and the Kāṇvas, it could not have happened later than 1207 B.C. This is because the Nanda rule began 1500 years after the birth of Parīkṣit in 3137 B. C. and was followed by 137 year long rule of the Mauryas, 112 year long rule of the Suṅgas and 45 years of the Kāṇvas. That leads to 430 years later (136+137+112+45), that is, 1930

1. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXXVII, P-243
2. D.S. Triveda, Indian Chronology, Bombay, 1063, p 23.
3. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra, *Bhāratiya Itihāsa Kī Rupareraha*, First Edn., Part II 89-95.
4. K.D. Sethna, *Ancient India In A New Light*, New Delhi, 1989, PP. 7-8 [AINL. for short].

years after Parīkṣit's birth. (3137-1930=1207 B. C.)

Other dates proposed by different scholars are not borne out by the Purāṇas, K.D. Sethna bestows अन्ध्रान्ताद् of the Purāṇa with the meaning "From the time with the Andhras at its ends"¹ and goes on to assume that Andhras began 836 years after the coronation of Mahāpadma, that is 802 B.C. His contention seems to be well supported by grammar. But if SIMUKA did not come soon after the last KĀNVA ruler as the Purāṇas say, we have to brand the latter as liars and find out the reason for the alleged falsehood. On the other hand, if SIMUKA did succeed SUŚARMĀ, the interval between Mahāpadma and Simuka would not be 836 years but 430 years because that is what we arrive at by adding the durations of the dynasties that ruled during the period.

Sethna's other assumption that the Great Bear who were conjoined with Maghā during Parīkṣit's reign had completed their cycle of 2700 years when the Andhra rule began in 777 B.C. is equally untenable. There was an interval of 1500 years between the coronation of Mahāpadma and 430 years passed since then to the end of the Kāṇvas. We have to add 39 or 40 years to that as the Maghā century had begun before the Bhārata war. All we get from adding the figures is not more than 1970 years. 730 years less than the required span of 2700 years. The Purāṇas can not and do not contradict them selves by making absurd claims like that.

Component- There were 30 kings in the dynasty according to the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Vṣṇu and Bhāgavata though they do not name all of them. Different manuscripts of the Vāyu mention 17,18,19 or 25 names only. There are 22,23 or 24 names in the Viṣṇu while the Brahmāṇḍa give 17 and 25 names only. The Matsya Purāṇa declares that there were 19 kings only yet strangely names 30. Jayaswal and Vidyalankar accept 29 only. Pargiter found one more mentioned in 'e' Vāyu only and argued that 'a line found in only one MS should not be rejected straight away' and therefore placed him between Pulomā and Śivaśrī.² That raises the number to 31 and makes 30 a round number. A section of modernists is not willing to concede it. It makes the most of the Matsya assertion that there were 19 kings in the Andhra dynasty and ignores the fact that the same work mentions not less than 30 kings by name.

1. Ibid., P-6

2. Pargiter, The Purana text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, London, 1913, P 37 [D.K.A. for short]

Rev. A.C. Perumalil, e.g. argues that some of the persons mentioned were not kings but viceroys.¹ The fact that certain manuscripts of the Matsya and Vāyu leave out the name of Pulumāvi leads him to conclude that Pulumāvi was never a king but the viceroy of King Ariṣṭakarman.² Faced with certain problems of chronology of their own creation, our modernists try to reduce the number of the kings but fail to explain why the Purāṇas made this amalgam in case of the Andhra dynasty. In the Purāṇa list Pulomāvi precedes Ariṣṭa karman and so he can not be younger than Ariṣṭakarman as Perumalil contends and more over, if Pulumāvi was never a king there seems to be no reason for mistaking him for one, particularly after he became a Bishop and ruled the Church for 20 years as alleged.³

While a section of our scholars is eager to reduce the number, there are charges of leaving out certain names too. Thus D.C. Sircar has got numismatic evidence of certain Andhra kings like Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Rudra Sātakarṇi and Kṛṣṇa Sātakarṇi, not known to any of the Purāṇas. An ethnic group akin to a particular dynasty does not disappear with it. It survives and can even establish principalities here and there.⁴ The kings mentioned by Sircar were later and did not belong to the main line. Naturally they are not mentioned.

DURATION & INDIVIDUAL REIGNS- There is a lot of confusion about the duration of the dynasty and about the individual reign figures. As for the duration, the Matsya says. तेषां वर्षशतानि स्युश्चत्वारि च which seems to mean 460 years. But 'j' MATSYA has a reading which may suggest 412 years द्वादशशतमेतेषाम् राज्यम् शतचतुष्टयम्. The reading in Vāyu and Brahmānaṇḍa may imply 411 years. समाः शतानि चत्वारि पञ्च षड् वै तथैव च While Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata favour 456. None of these figures is satisfactory and we are in a position to declare that either the Purāṇas mean something different or the readings have got hopelessly distorted. A glance at the individual reign figures, however, suggests that the Andhras ruled for 406 years only as evident from the following.

1. SIMUKA- (called S'IS'UKA, S'IPRAKA, SINDHUKA BALI

1. Perumalil, The Apostles of Kalyan, Journal of Indian History. Vo. XXI, 1943. P. 82

2. Ibid, P. 87

3. Ibid, P. 80

4. Somadeva Bhatta composed the KATHĀSARITSĀGARA for SURYAMATI, wife of ANANTADEVA and mother of KALAŚA in the eleventh century. His patrons belonged to a SĀTAVĀHANA Dynasty. So there was a SĀTAVĀHANA dynasty in Kashmir as late as the eleventh century.

- PUCCHAKA in Purāṇas) - 23 years.
2. KRṢṆA- 10 YEARS (Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa).
 3. ŚRISĀTAKARṆI- 10 Years.
 4. PŪRṆOTSANGA- 18 Years.
 5. SKANDASTAMBI- 18 Years.
 6. ŚĀTAKARṆI- 56 Years.
(Jayaswal and Vidyalankar have omitted this king in their lists and assigned 56 years to the third king instead, but we stick to the Purāṇa text).
 7. LAMBODARA- 18 Years.
 8. ĀPĪLAKA- Jayaswal and Vidyalankar omit this ruler, though his name appears in all the Purāṇas in varying forms. He ruled for 12 years.
 9. MEGHASVĀTI- 18 years.
 10. SVĀTI- 12 years (He is called ATRI in Vayu. His reign figure of 12 years occurs in 'e' VĀYU. Jayaswal and Vidyalankar assign 18 years to him and place him at the 14th in the dynasty).
 11. SKANDASVĀTI- 7 years (He is the 15th in the lists of Jayaswal and Vidyalankar).
 12. MRĠGENDRA SVĀTIKARṆA- 3 years.
 13. KUNTALA- 8 years.
 14. SVĀTIKARṆA- 1 year.
 15. PULOMĀVI- 24 years (VĀYU, BRAHMĀṆḌA) MATSYA Assigns 36 Years to him.
 16. ARIṢṬA KARMAN- 6 months ('j' MATSYA assigns six months to him, else-where he is given 25 years. His name is variously spelt as NEMIKRṢṆA, ARIṢṬAKARMAN, ARIṢṬAKARMAN etc.).
 17. HALA- 1 year (VĀYU, BR.) MATSYA assigns 5 years to him.
 18. MANTALAKA- 5 years (He is variously spelt as Mandalāka, Mandalaka, Pantalaka, Pattalaka, Yalaka and Saptaka in the Purāṇas.)
 19. PURINDRASENA- 12 years (e vāyu reads though Vāyu and Br. generally assign 21 years. His name is also spelt as PURIKASENA, PRAVILLASENA, PURIṢABHĪRU).
 20. SUNDARA SĀTAKARṆI- 1 year.
 21. CAKOR - six months.
 22. SIVASVĀTI- 28 years.
 23. GAUTAMĪPUTRA- 21 years.
 24. PULOMĀ- 28 years.

(He is also spelt as Pulomat, Pulimat, Pulimat, Purimaṇ, Purimat

etc.)

25. SĀTAKARNI- 29 years.
26. ŚIVASRĪPULOMĀ- 4 years (e Vāyu).
27. SIVASKANDHA SĀTAKARNI- 1 year.
28. YAJÑA ŚRĪ SĀTAKARNI- 29 years.
29. VIJAYA- 6 years.
30. DAṆḌA ŚRĪ (KANDAŚRĪ) - 3 years (VĀYU, Br.)
31. PULOMĀ- 7 years.

Individual reign figures vary in a few cases only. The authorities accepted in such cases are shown in brackets. Other figures are given unanimously by the Purāṇas. These figures taken together yield 406 years as the duration of the dynasty which is confirmed by the statement discussed later.

Main Personalities and Events- We do not learn more than the names, individual reign length and duration from the Purāṇas, But we have got inscriptions to supplement them.

Engraved are the images of the third king SĀTAKARNI and his queen Nāganikā at NĀNĀGHĀTA and their names are inscribed. His kingdom included the eastern part of Mālwā and he is called the lord of DAKṢIṆĀPATHA and performer of a horse sacrifice in inscriptions. He had his capital at PRATIṢṬHĀNA and he seems to be the SĀTIKARNI mentioned by KHĀRAVELA. That places both of them around 1174 B.C. as Śatakarni ruled during 1174 B. C. to 1164 B.C.

Gautamīputra, the twenty-third ruler of the dynasty surpassed all the rest in glory. His mother Balaśri's NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION describes him as a great conqueror. His kingdom included ASSAKA, SURĀṢTRA, KUKURA, ANŪPA, VIDARBHA and ĀKARA-AVANTI. He defeated Śakas, Yavanas and Kṣaharātas. It appears mere boast to STEN KONOW, but it remains a fact that GAUTAMIPUTRA restructed two-third of the Jogalthembi hoard of the coins of NAHAPĀNA with his own name. According to the Purāṇas he ruled from 929-908 B.C.

His successor Pulomā is called VĀSIṢṬHĪPUTRA ŚRĪ PULUMĀVI in inscriptions discovered from NĀSIKA, KERALA, AMARAVATI, KRṢṆĀGODĀVARĪ region and Bellary. Rudra Dāman I, who became a Mahākṣatrapa by the virtue of his prowess, claims to have defeated SAATAKARNI called "Lord of DAKṢIṆĀPATHA" twice but left him unharmed as the latter was closely related to him. It seems to refer to Pulomās successor, the 25th king who is called to be married to the daughter of RUDRĀDĀMAN I, (vide, line 12 of Junagarh Rock In-

scription).

YAJÑA ŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARṆI was a remarkable king. His inscriptions have been discovered at KANHERĪ NĀSIK and CIBA and his coins from KATHIAWAR to KRṢṆĀ district. A coin issued by him carries the image of a ship which indicates maritime trade in those days.

Termination- There are two clues in the Puranas about the date of the termination of the dynasty. The first one is the statement about the years passed from the coronation of Mahāpadma to the end of the Andhra rule.¹

अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशत्तु समास्तथा Which means the interval consisted of 836 years. By turning and twisting 'Andhrat' can be taken to mean otherwise but the interpretation loses its validity when we add the duration of all the dynasties to the end of the Kāṇvas as the total is 430 years only. To arrive at the total 836 years, we cannot leave out the duration of the Andhras.

Even more significant is the testimony of the Purāṇa text. We read in the Matsya.²

पुलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रास्तु महापद्मान्तरे पुन :

Despite corruption, it shows that the Purāṇas intended to state the hiatus between the coronation of Mahāpadma and the end of the Andhras because Pulomā is not the first but the last king of the dynasty. So the dynasty come to end in 801 B.C.

There is another statement which confirms the conclusion;³

सप्तर्षयो मधायुक्ताः काले पारिक्षिते शतम् ।
अन्धान्ते तु चतुर्विंशे भविष्यन्ति शतं समाः ॥

(The 100- year long conjunction of the great Bear was going on during the days of Parikṣit. The Great Bear will be in the 24th constellation at the end of the Andhra rule). The interval between the birth of Pāriṣit to the coronation of Mahāpadma was 1500 years and from then to the end of the Andhras 836 years which yields 2336 years. It is but natural for the Great Bear to pass through 23 lunar constellations and

1. Pargiter, DKA, P. 58

2. *Ibid.*, P. 58

3. *Ibid.*, P. 61

to remain conjoined with the 24th after such a long span of time. Obviously the counting begins with Maghā.

D. R. Mankad reads अन्ध्रांशे सचतुर्दिशे instead of अन्ध्रान्ते तु चतुर्दिशे in the above quoted verse which means to him that the Maghā century returned during the reign of 24th Andhra king. That king was on the throne up to 477 B.C. The dynasty lasted 90 years more. So the dynasty ended by 387 B. C. accordig to Mankad.¹ K. D. Sethna agrees with Mankad basically but prefers 391 or 390 B. C.² The reading अन्ध्रांशे is, however, unusual and not in conformity with the style of the Purānas. The rulers meant are specifically named in the Purānas and never mentioned as number so and so of the dynasty. Kings like PRATĪPA and PARĪKṢIT are as a matter of fact mentioned that way, why should it be otherwise here? Then, it is not enough to say that the Maghā century returned during the reign of the 24th king. Neither Mankad nor Sethna care to show how 2700 years passed between Parīkṣit and the 24th king of the Andhra dynasty. So we stick to the reading अन्ध्रांशे even though admitting the alternative reading सचतुर्विंशे which means nothing else but "conjoined with the 24th lunar constellation".

Both Mankad and Sethna fail to coonsider well what the Purānas say about the position of the Great Bear during the reign of Pratīpa. We read in the Matsya.³

सप्तर्षयः तदा प्रांशु प्रदीप्तेनाग्निना समाः ।
सप्तविंशति भाव्यानामन्ध्रान्तेन्वगात्पुनः ॥

Vayu declares : ⁴

सप्तर्षयः तदा प्राहुः प्रतीपे राज्ञि वै शतम् ।
सप्तविंशोः शतैर्भाव्या अन्ध्रान्तेऽन्वगा पुनः ॥

These readings have not come to us in good shape but it is obvious that the Great Bear completed a cycle of at the end of the Andhrā rule and returned to the position they had during the reign of PRATĪPA. Pargiter thinks the Great Bear were conjoined with Puṣya during the reign of PRATĪPA and returned to the same position at the end of the Andhra rule.⁵ As both Mankad and Sethna seem to endorse this opinion of Pargiter, they have to explain how the Great Bear conjoined

1. D. R. Mankad, *Puranic Chronology*, Anand, 1951, P. 293

2. K. D. Sethna, *AINL*, P. 8

3. Pargiter, *DKA*, P. 59

4. Pargiter, *DKA*, P. 59

5. *Ibid.*, P. 59

with Maghā during the reign of the 24th king of the Andhra reached PUṢYA at the end of the Andhra rule in a span of time not more than 90 years. Moreover, they have also to specify the period that passed since PARTĪPA to PARĪKṢITA.

If the Great Bear were conjoined with Puṣya in the days of PRATĪPA, they would need less than 200 years to reach Maghā if we count forward. Again as the cycle is supposed to have been completed by the end of the Andhra rule, we would have to admit that more than 2500 years passed since the birth of Pāriḥṣit to the end of the Andhra rule. However, if the motion of the Great Bear is assumed to be backward, it will take not less than 2400 years from PRATĪPA to reach Maghā the days of Parīḥṣit. That will leave 300 years only for the Great Bear to complete the cycle and we know the interval between Pāriḥṣit and the end of the Andhra rule is obviously more than it. Secodly, if the Great Bear were conjoined with Maghā during the days of the 24th king, they would be even more disastarous if the word 'Andhranta' is assumed to mean the beginning of the dynasty. Grammar helps you to extract the meaning of your choice from the text but context would not permit you to cheat history.

Relation With Magadha- R.M. Smith expresses the generally accepted view of the historians when he declares- "nobody pretends that the Andhras are an eastern dynasty, and it is therefore very unlikely that its founder would be interfering so far from his home area of Maharashtra, or that if he was, he would be doing it at the opening of his reign. It is also certain that the most powerful of the last kings we know. Gautamīputra or Yajñaśrī, had nothing to do with Magadha, which makes it less likely of the earlier ones. Their position in the Purāṇas is in fact like that of the Pradyotas, and they have been added instead of co-ordinated."¹

Such argument is an exercise in futility. The Purāṇas leave no doubt about it that the founder of the dynasty killed the last KĀṆVA ruler to gain political power :-

हत्वा काण्वं सुशर्माणं तद्भृत्यो वृषतो बली ।
गां भोक्ष्यत्यन्ध्रजातीयः कञ्चित् कालमसत्तमः ॥²

So, the founder of the dynasty was an employee of the last KĀṆVA ruler who started his political career in Magadha. That is not improb-

1. R. M. Smith, Dates and Dynasties of Earliest India, Delhi, 1973, P. 376
2. BHĀGAVATA, XII. 1.22

able as people moved a lot even in those days for learning, livelihood or religious purposes. Later the Andhras shifted their capital to the south-west where they had a strong base. If Babar, a foreigner could interfere in the affairs of India successfully and found an empire, SIMUKA from Maharashtra could not have found it difficult to interfere in Magadha. Even if Magadha passed beyond the control of the Andhras later, that does not dissociate SIMUKA with Magadha. When and how the Andhras lost the control of Magadha has never been investigated as our modernists begin with branding all authors of Sanskrit texts liars. Nonavailability of the Andhra coins and inscriptions in the east is hardly conclusive as these objects are perishable and do not survive frequently.

Thus we can not call the Andhra dynasty an unjustified addition to Magadha. That is not true even about the Pradyotas. If our modernists confuse the Pradyota of Avānti with the Pradyota of Magadha, they must blame themselves and not the Purānas. I have discussed it at length elsewhere.¹

Chronology- The Purānas place the dynasty as stated above between 1207 B.C. and 80 B.C. That is disputed by not a few. Girindra Shekhar Basu relies on the Chinese source quoted by Wilson in VIṢNUPURĀNA (Book IV, CHAP. 24) and places YAJÑĀŚRĪ SĀTAKARNI in 408 A.C. The dynasty ended in 440 A.C. according to the same source. It would place the beginning of the dynasty not earlier than the first century after Christ.² The problem with the foreign sources is that apart from other consideration, we are never sure if the translation is accurate and the views not misrepresented.

Rev. A.C. Perumalil, S. J. bases himself on the two versions of "The Martyrdom of the Holy and Glorious Apostle Bartholomew." The Latin version edited by Nausea at Cologne in 1513 seems to be earlier than the Greek one edited in 1851 but the latter is reported to be based on a manuscript as old as the 13th century. Perumalil goes on to claim that the story of the Martyrdom was known even in the sixth century. According to the story Apostle Bartholomew came to India and began his missionary activity on what Perumalil identifies with the coast of Kalyana. He cured the lunatic daughter of the king Polymius and converted him to Christianity. That led to the removal of idols from the

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1. The Pradyotas of Magadha, PURĀNA, Vol. XLI, No. 1, January 1999, pp. 62-69
 2. Girindra Shekhar Basu, PURĀNA PRAVEŚA (Bengali) Second Edition. Bangabada 1358, P. 73; also Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology, JRASB, Vol. V, 1939, PP. 1-124

temple of Astaruth. It enraged people and king Astreges, the elder brother of Polymius got Bartholomew beaten and beheaded. Thrity days later Astreges was strangled by a demon and his younger brother, Polymius ruled the church as a bishop for twenty years. Perumalil identifies Polymius with Pulomavi and ASTREGES with ARISTAKARMAN the latter of them is assigned 37 to 62 A.C. for his reign.¹

There are several problems with the views of Perumalil. First of all, there is a counter tradition going back to the seventh century that places Bartholomew's death in Armenia. Secondly, Bartholomew is reported to have preached the gospel to "Indians who are called the happy" who need not be people of KALYAN. That ASTREGES ordered the remains of Bartholomew to be thrown into the sea does not suffice to identify the region with the Kalyan sea coast. Thirdly, PULOMĀVI precedes ARISTAKARMAN in the ANDHRA dynasty and it is simply baseless to contend that he was a younger brother of ARISTAKARMAN and a governor under him. Names are not patented objects and we come across people having the same names at different times and places, So POLEMAIOS of Baithana referred to by PTOLEMY was undoubtedly a later king.

More reliable than the Chinese, or Christian source is the evidence of the inscriptions. As the Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra mentions the 24th year of his reign, he could not have ruled for 21 years. It appears the reign figures of Gautamīputra and his successor have gone an interchange. So we can say that Gautamīputra ruled from 929 to 901 B.C. and his son from 901 B.C. to 880 B.C. The other thing we learn from the inscription is that he became the master of Nasik in the 18th year of his reign. As Nasik was formerly in the possession of NAHAPĀN and his son-in-law USAVADAT, he must have invaded the kingdom and defeated him. As he re-struck the coins of NAHAPĀN, there is no room for doubt about it. Now, the 18th year of Gautamīputra means $929-18=911$ B.C. That was also the last year of Nahapan's 46 year long reign. So Nahapan came to power in $911+46=957$ B.C.

We learn from the 12th line of the Junagarh Inscription of Rudradāman that he had defeated twice ŚĀTAKARNI, 'the lord of South' but left him unharmed as he was a close relation. This reference seems to be applicable to the 25th ruler of this dynasty who ruled from 880-851 B.C. As Rudradāman's inscriptions are dated 52 to 72 years of the era used by the Chastan dynasty, we may conclude that their era

1. A.C. Perumalil, The Ahostles of Kalyana, J.I.H.Vo. XXII, 1943, PP. 7192.

began sometime around 923 B.C.

The chronology put forth by me is boldly heterodox. As the inscription issued in the 19th year of 24th ruler mentions Sakas, Kṣaharātas, Pahlavas and even Yavanas, such early dates cannot be assigned to the Andhras according to our modernists. This is so because they are identified with certain tribes unknown to India before the second century B.C. The Yavanas are supposed to be the Bactrian Greeks, the Śakas are taken to be the tribe attacked by the Yuechis and pushed southwards to India sometime around 150 B.C. and so on. That shows utter disregard for Indian tradition which includes Yavanas, Śakas, Kambojas et. among the Kṣatriya tribes degraded by the society.¹ Such tribes did not leave India and emigrate to some other country en masse, quite naturally many of them remained in India and sought to gain power. Total emigration of any ethnic group is inconceivable even today, it was more so formerly when journey was not as comfortable and easy as it is now. Our chronology is also deemed incredible as the Śakas and Kṣaharatas who were the contemporaries of the Andhras at least for the last two centuries of their rule used Greek letters on their coins. Now, it is generally held that alphabetic writing appeared in Greece not earlier than the first half of the eighth century B.C. and the Greeks were illiterate for some three centuries before that. Earlier the Mycenaean civilization had a syllabary script which was never seen again in Greece after the fall of the Mycenaean civilization (1100 B.C.). So, it is argued that the Andhras cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the first half of the eighth century B.C.

Herodotus says the following in this connection. "The phonicians who came with Cadmus-amongst whom were the Gephyraei-introduced into Greece, after their settlement in the country, a number of accomplishments, of which the most important was writing, an art till then, I

1. MAHĀBHARATA (ANUŚĀSANA, XXXIII. 9); Manu (X. 44); VIṢNUPURĀNA (IV. 3.21); Vāyu (Chap. 88, verses 140-141).

Pāṇini, a friend of king Nanda according to the Buddhist tradition is placed between 1100-1000 B. C. even by a modernist like K.C. Varma (Date of Pāṇini, V.I.J., Vol. XX, 1982, PP. 29-57). The Buddhist sources are confused about Mahānandi and Mahāpadma and therefore I prefer to place him between 1544 B.C. to 1473 B.C. His AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ mentions YAVANA woman (IV. I. 49) and the Parśus (V. 3. 117) and his GANAPATHA refers to the Śakas several times (IV. I. 175; IV. 3. 92; V. 4. 38). The word yavana with its alternative javana is so old that its meaning and derivation are not known according to Encyclopedia Britannica (11th edition, Vol. XIV, P. 730) but it was generally applied to several ethnic group of west Asia.

think, unknown to the Greeks."¹ Cadmus belongs to a period around the Trojan War according to Western Scholars and Dr. D.S. Trivedi assigns the date 1550 B.C. to him which is deemed too early. But when the historians themselves are uncertain, they cannot dismiss the view that the Greek writing had come into being sometime during the 'dark age' and Cadmus flourished before 1000 B.C. As the Cretan hieroglyphic script was replaced shortly after 200 B.C. by Linear A around 1600 B.C. which in turn was replaced by Linear B around 1450 B.C. Michael Ventris who deciphered Linear B in collaboration with Jhon Chadwick by 1952, concluded that the language of the later Knossos archive was Greek (John Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Kinear B*, Penguin, 1961). So the efforts to improve the system of writing could not have ceased after 1100 B.C. Moreover, we have to remember that Alexander wanted to be known to his posterity as a promoter of everything great in Greek civilisation and Parmonic had to destroy much against his wishes lot of records and histories on his order. But for that incalculable loss, we would be in a better position to explain what happened during 1100 B.C. and 800 B.C.

The Greek letters on the Saka coins are sought to be explained by placing them in a particular context. Utmost trust is placed in the statement of Herodotus that the "Lydians were the first people we know to use a gold and silver coinage."² And to that is added the fact that CROSEUS, the king of Lydia (a Greek state), befriended him and made him his companion in his march to the east. So, the influence of CROSEUS and his coinage "in some form or other.. was inevitable" in Cyrus' time.³ As Cyrus was the overlord, the Śakas and Kṣaharātas, used Greek letters in their coins.

There are several problems with the explanation offered. First, Herodotus was writing about people he knew and it is unwarranted to believe that those people included Indians. Secondly, the coins of Croseus did not carry legends in Greek letters. Thirdly, there is nothing to prove that Cyrus adopted Greek letters for his coinage and it is hardly possible that he developed a fascination for the writing of the people he vanquished. Fourthly, were Cyrus the overlord of the Śakas and Kṣaharātas, they should have adopted the language and script of Persia instead. It is more sensible to hold that they were in contact with

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1. Herodotus, *The Histories* (Book IV, Sec, 58) translated by Aubxey de selin court and published in Penguin Classics, 1997, P. 299.
 2. *Ibid.* Book I, Sec. 94, P. 40.
 3. K.D. Sethna, *AINL*, P. 483.

the Phoenicians and adopted Greek letters entirely for foreign trade. Assigning a date after 550 B.C. to the Śakas and the Andhras raises more questions than it answers.

AFTERMATH- The end of the Andhras led to the division of their kingdom among their servants who belonged to the same ethnic stock. They are called ANDHRA BHṚTYAS in the Purāṇas. In Magadha a long period of darkness followed. We learn about one and only one mighty ruler, VISVASPHANI there before the rise of the Guptas (88-319 A.C.). Parts of Magadha were, it seems, occupied by the neighboring powers and a sizable portion of it is reported to have been occupied by the LICCHAVIS up to the days of CHANDRAGUPTA L.

That seems unpalatable to not a few and so the penultimate ruler of the Andhra dynasty is equated with XANDRAMES of the western accounts and CHANDRAGUPTA I is identified with the queen and killed with her connivance CHANDRA ŚRĪ at first and then killed Polumā too after seven years. Not contented with that, the Guptas are equated with the Andhra Bhtyas and the ŚRĪPARVATĪYA kings too. It betrays poor understanding of all texts and needs no comments as I have examined Greek and Latin evidence at length else where.¹

1. King Xandrames : A Ruler of Palibothra, V. I. J., Vol, XXXI-XXXII Pts. I-IV, PP. 291-304.

A CHITRASŪTRA ADHYĀYA ON NINE STHANAS (Views of a Standing Figure)

BY

P.K. AGRAWALA

[विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणस्य चित्रसूत्रप्रकरणे एकोनचत्वारिंशत्तमे अध्याये ऋजुकायस्थितस्य पुरुषस्य नवस्थानानि सविस्तरं निर्दिष्टानि तेषां विमर्शः कलाशास्त्रविद्विराचार्यैः शिष्येभ्यः चित्रविद्याभ्यासार्थं चैव प्रतिमामानलक्षणान्तर्गतसिद्धांतानुशीलनाय च प्रस्तुतीकृतः। एतच्छास्त्रीयायाः सामग्र्याः समुचितदृष्ट्या अध्ययनम् अपेक्षितम्। तदर्थमस्मिन् अध्ययने कृतः प्रयासः पुराणविषयस्य मूलपाठनिर्धारणेऽपि यत्किञ्चित् प्रापंगिको भवति। शिल्पपरंपरामर्मज्ञैः कलाशास्त्रनिष्णातैः आचार्यैः व्यावहारिकदृष्ट्या शिक्षणार्थं च सैद्धांतिकानुशीलनाय नवस्थानकानि सूत्रीकृतानि निर्दिष्टानि नवस्थाननामानि स्थितपुरुषस्य चित्रशिल्पे च व्यवहारपद्धत्यां चित्रशिल्प-प्रवृत्तायां शिक्षणाय च समीक्षायां विमर्शार्थं च अभ्यासार्थं च]

We propose here to make a study of one section of the well-known text *Vishnudharmottara Purāṇa* (part III) containing the *Chitrasūtra* treatise "Painting Aphorisms", particularly its chapter entitled *Kṣhaya-Vṛiddhi* (No. 39), with specific reference to its contents and also the critical reconstruction of its meaningful text.

It is one of the most important chapters of the *Chitrasūtra* (consisting Nos. 35-43) is a full-fledged manual on the Nine Basic Stances of a standing person as they were analysed and preached to be studied and practised by the beginners of painting as their primary lessons. Without mastering the Nine Sthānas there was no success gained by any artists, and no appreciation of various branches of the fine arts was supposed to be technically possible by connoisseurs during the classical period of India's great intellectual achievements and art-cultural culmination both in practice as well as clear understanding of the theoretical principles and their codified rules as laid down in certain treatises. The "Chitrasūtra" has been acclaimed by all modern readers and critics to hold the unique place in the collection of such works which have survived though rarely in case of traditional scientific knowledge and technical conventions of Iconometry (*Tālamāna = Pratimā-māna-lakṣhaṇa* or *Pramāṇa*).

The general features of the Nine principal *Sthānas* of standing human body as given by the Chitra treatises may be mentioned here briefly. As observed by C. Sivaramamurti, "The nine postures can be better styled views, as they are the same straight *ṛiju*, viewed from different

angles, to show the same figure with portions of the body hidden from view in different proportions, causing fore-shortening, and on that account styled in different nomenclature" [His, *Chitraśūtra*, Delhi, 1978, p. 54.] This same point appears to be hinted at by the *Samarāṅgaṇasutrādhāra* of Paramāra king Bhoja as well but the text of it as available presently is hopelessly corrupt (Ch. 83. 1 ff.). The detailed description of the *Sthānas* is to be found recorded in the *Mānasollāsa* (also called, *Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi*; early twelfth cent.) of the Western Chālukyan king Someśvara. It gives very elaborate principles and measurements for each of them in view of their *māna* or *Pramāna* of Sutras, Tāla, Kṣhaya and Vṛiddhi, etc.

The first pose styled as *Ṛiju* "straight", *ṛijvāgata* or *sammukha* in the texts is the full face or strictly frontal depiction of a standing figure. As a general rule, it has its *paksha-suras* (i.e. two vertical side-lines at a distance of six-*aṅgula* length) and the *brahuma-sūtra* (the central vertical line). The other *Sthānas* named and treated in detail for the first occasion as available presently in the *Chitraśūtra* of *Vishṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa* come next, technically called respectively as follows:-

- (2) *Ardhārju*, "half-frontal"
- (3) *Sāchīkṛita* "askance", or *Sāchīgata*, or *Sāchika*, even *Sāchī*.
- (4) *Ardhavilochana*, "one-and-a half-eyed view of the figure" (also otherwise designated as *Ardhāksha*, *Ardhardhāksha*, or *Dvyardhākshin*, etc.
- (5) *Pārśvāgata*, *Bhittigata* or *Bhithika*, (the exact) "profile".
- (6.-9) *Parāvṛitta* or *Gaṇḍa-parāvṛitta*; *Prishṭhāgata*; *Parivṛitta*; and *Samānata*, which are the back views of the four preceding *Sthānas* respectively.

Most probably the available edition of the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (complete in Three *Khaṇḍas* (or Books) is the one that was brought out for the first time in 1914, through the agency of certain competent editorial hands under the pioneering guidance of the Śrī-Veṅkateśuara Press, Bombay. The same publishing house issued its several reproductions successively. Indeed, the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* is the best preserved extant text as a whole and replete with unique materials on several ancient *sāstric* traditions of specialised knowledge. There are reported many a manuscript of the same which would need their careful and intelligent collation by a team of conversant Sanskritists and experts to finalise its unique contents in thoroughly edited format which is likely to represent various branches of classical knowledge as codified by the Purāṇic author or authors who were truly of high calibre belonging to secular ancient schools of scientific learning and traditionally evolved and duly codified practical lores of canonical nature. Not having, however, that *ideal text*, we are to handle

the available version or versions with great care and perhaps without needless attempts to modify the extant wordings at will to suit our limited "individual" understanging in some problematic areas. One must not impose one's ignorant vocabulary or terminology on any of such ancient texts even though that may appear unillelligible to one on one's enitially attempted indeavour of interpreting it.

With these general principles in view we humbly propose the *Citrasūtra* chapter thirtynine to be reproduced in the following manner :

एकोनचत्वरिंशोऽध्यायः

शुभाकारविहाराणि नानावर्णधराणि च ।

नव स्थानानि रूपाणां शृणु तान्यनुपूर्वशः ॥ १ ॥

ऋज्वागतं भवेत् पूर्वम्

अवर्जुं तदनन्तरम् ।

[or अनुजु तदनन्तरम् (v.l.);

or अर्धर्जुं तदनन्तरम् (v.l.)]

साचीकृतशरीरं च भवत्यर्धविलोचनम् ॥ २ ॥

ततः पार्श्वागतं नाम परिवृत्तमनन्तरम् ।¹

पृष्ठागतमतः कार्यं परावृत्तं समानतम् ॥ ३ ॥

एतान्यनेकभेदानि नव स्थानानि भूपते ।

एकैकस्येह भवतः² शृणु मे नृप लक्षणम् ॥ ४ ॥

तत्राभिमुखमेवादौ स्पष्टमानगुणान्वितम् ।

सुसम्पूर्णं सुचार्वङ्गंसुश्लक्ष्णामलवर्तकम् ॥ ५ ॥

सुशुद्धं मधुरं स्पष्ट-रेखासंस्कारभूषितम् ।

यद् भवेत् स्थानमक्षीण-गात्रम् ऋज्वागतं तु तत् ॥ ६ ॥

मुखस्यादावतो क्षीणं वक्षसः उदरं तथा ।³

कट्याश्च⁴ स्कन्धदेशाच्च ऊरुतश्च क्षयाङ्गता⁵ ॥ ७ ॥

नासापुटाधरोष्ठानां चतुर्थांशं च बुद्धिमत् ।

क्षयं नीतं त्रिभागं च यस्य गात्रेभ्य एव च ॥ ८ ॥

1. There are several readings in the mss. But the above seems us to suit the best here. It apparently specifies the movement of the figure in terms of turning around step by step as reaching to the equally poised view of *samānata*.
2. This appears to be genuine original reading. Siva. amends it to वदतः or भणतः. However, the expressions एकैकस्य and भवतः qualify each other, and give the suitable sense: "Of each one (of these) as induced or occurring (in a sequence proper)."
3. Need not to be modified. "From the chest to abdomen".
4. Siva. : कट्याश्च.
5. All mss. क्षयं गता, : which is incorrect; as क्षयांग+ता the sense is obvious :—"the diminishing (in view of the specified portions).

क्रान्तरूपं¹ परं स्थानं स्थानलम्भोपपादितम् ।
 एतदेवर्जुनामोक्त-मनेककरणान्वितम् ॥ ९ ॥
 यत् तिर्यग्भूमिलम्भेन
 नेत्रहारि सुवर्तनम् ।
 सुकुमारं चतुर्भाग-³
 क्षीणं सर्वाङ्गशोभनम् ॥ १० ॥
 अध्यर्धभ्रूललाटे चा-
 प्यध्यर्धघ्राणमुत्कटम् ।
 भागक्षयावशेषार्धं
 कलापक्षीणलोचनम् ॥ ११ ॥
 कलावलुप्तभ्रूलेखं
 लिखितं स्निग्धलेखया ।
 न च छायागतं कायं
 न चापि ऋजुकोपमम् ॥ १२ ॥
 वैकारिकत्वाच्च⁴ नृप
 साचीकृतमिहोच्यते ।
 अर्धं नेत्रं मुखे यस्य
 लुप्तमर्धं भ्रुवे⁵ तथा ॥ १३ ॥
 भङ्गो ललाटमात्रश्च⁶
 दृश्यनासार्धमेव⁷ च ।
 मात्रार्धं⁸ चैकतो गण्डं
 दृश्यमर्धकृतक्षयम् ॥ १४ ॥

1. Should we read क्रान्तरूपं? That would mean "the form in movement" and presumably suit the bodily stance in a slight motion to the (initial) sidewise stride.
2. Or अर्धर्जुं, or अनर्जुं found as v.l. in certain mss.
3. This one-fourth loss is applied here for the entire bodily situation. Nearer verse which dictates partial adjustment in case of certain specified areas.
4. "as per modification" is primarily meant here by the expression of वैकारिकत्वात् below, in verse 13.
5. "For the eye-brow". Siva. भ्रुवस्तथा. But this amendment is not needed.
6. I. e. ललाटमात्रः भङ्गः. Or read, भङ्गो ललाटमात्रस्य.
7. Shah : दृश्यानां सार्धमेव च. The above is due to Sivaramamurti.
8. "(less by) half an *āṅgula*" (= *mātra*, in Iconometric vocabulary). This may also be the implied sense in ललाट-मात्रः or ललाटमात्रस्य in verse 14.

मात्रार्धं कण्ठरेखाया
 यवमाविष्कृतं हनोः ।
 उरसोऽर्धं मुखं लुप्तं
 नाभ्यास्स्याच्छिष्टमङ्गुलम् ॥ १५ ॥
 अध्यर्धशेषा च कटी
 अन्यच्चादर्शनीकृतम्¹ ।
 अध्यर्धाक्षं परिज्ञेयम्
 आकारेणैवमादिना ॥ १६ ॥
 छायागतमिति प्रोक्तं
 पर्यायेणैतदेव तु ।
 यस्यावलोक्यते पार्श्वं
 दक्षिणं सव्यमेव वा ॥ १७ ॥²
 कृत्स्नमन्यत्क्षयात्तं तद्³
 अंगं अंगं गतिस्तथा⁴
 एकाक्षमेकभ्रूलेखम्
 अर्धनासा-ललाटवत्⁵ ॥ १८ ॥
 एकं श्रोत्रं यदर्धं स्यात् -
 चिबुकार्धं शिरोरुहम् ।⁶
 गृहीतमान⁷ -लावण्यं⁸
 माधुर्यादिगुणान्वितम् ॥ १९ ॥
 पार्श्वगतमिति प्रोक्तं
 तत्स्याद् भित्तिकसंज्ञितम् ।
 अपाकृते⁹ कले क्षीणे¹⁰
 कण्ठदेशे तथैव च ॥ २० ॥

1. Shah and others : अन्यच्च दर्शनीकृतम्
2. The following description of principles governing the stances apply either way in turning the body rightward or leftward whatever may be the case accepted for the स्थान modification in movement.
3. तद् = तस्मात्.
4. Or read : तद् अङ्गम् अङ्गगतिस्तथा.
5. Shah amends : लेखाधरनासा-. That is not needed.
6. Thereby pimb by limb is the position (gait) obtained (as descibed presently). The expression is construed thus. यद् अर्धं तद् चिबुका स्यात् , अर्धं शिरोरुहम् .
7. The above is as read in Venkateshwar Press edn. Subsequent editors unnecessarily modify it.
8. वै.: लावण्यमाधुर्यादि.
9. The original reading is 'अपाकृद्धे' which is no doubt faulty. Sivaramamurti modifies that to अपाकृते. It could be accepted as अपाकृष्टे leading to the similar sense.
10. Several mss. as given by Shah read as above. She accepts कलाक्षीणे. Venka. edn has कलक्षीणे. The above would mean the diminishing by four *anṅulas* कला. means 'two *anṅulas*' in Tālamāna (Iconometry) vocabulary.

बाहुगण्डललाटेषु
 कलांश¹ क्षयमागतम् ।
 बाहुवक्षःकटितटस्फिचि²
 गुह्यतलेष्वपि ॥ २१ ॥
 द्विकलं द्विकलं ज्ञात्वा
 यथाभागं कृशीकृतम् ।
 अनुरूपप्रमाणेन
 नातितीक्ष्णाङ्गमेव च ॥ २२ ॥
 एतद् गण्डपरावृत्तं
 स्थानं च परिकीर्तितम् ।
 पृष्ठतो यदपि व्यक्तं
 देहबन्धं मनोहरम् ॥ २३ ॥
 वक्त्र-भ्रुकुटि-सर्वस्व³-
 संधिबन्धनमेव च ।
 ईषच्च⁴ दर्शितापाङ्गं
 कपोले जठरे पुनः ॥ २४ ॥
 प्रकाशितैकपार्श्वेन
 सुस्थिरं दृष्टिहारि च ।
 गृहीतमान⁵-लावण्यं
 माधुर्यादिगुणान्वितम्⁶ ॥ २५ ॥
 लेख्येषु पुस्तदेशेषु
 पृष्ठागतमिति⁷ स्मृतम् ।
 यस्योर्ध्वमङ्गपत्येन (?)⁸
 भागेन समवस्थितम् ॥ २६ ॥

1. Venka. कालाख्यं. कलाख्यम् may also suit here.
2. MSS. स्थिति-. We suggest the above which seems to include स्फिक् "the buttock" portion also in the present list properly.
3. All MSS. : सर्वज्ञ-. Read as above, or as सर्वं च (सर्वञ्च)
4. ईषत् may go together with the preceding line too.
5. MSS. : स्वहीन- (which apply as सु+अहीन). But one reading is also as above accepted.
6. There are only, in case of the face (head); that being affront to the backward direction, its (visibly indicated) outline summarily suggested in its essentials, the extremity of eyebrow (s), etc. and likewise joints of it (the extremity of the lips) and slight glimpse of the askance at the cheek level and next at the abdomen level just one side being lit (a bit)—this is almost still in position, attractive to the eye (of a viewer) having adopted (in back view indeed) the measurements and comeliness and also endowed with other features of (sweetness), beauty, etc.
7. Which indicates just coming out from the (absolute) backview. But पृष्ठं and also पृष्ठा (f.) are the words approved ones (?) Perhaps not.
8. Read °पार्श्वेन भागेन or °पक्षेण भागेन; or °पृष्ठेन भागेन; °वर्त्तेन भागेन [see वर्त्तम् in SED. of MW.]; or, note that वर्त्त or वर्त्त may be equal to वर्त्तन here. Or मध्येन (cp. v. 28).

स्थितेऽर्द्धाभमुखेऽर्धाङ्गे¹
 परिवृत्तिवशाद् भवेत् ।
 किञ्चिच्छायागतौ कार्य²-
 वृषरिष्टादधः पुरः ॥ २७ ॥
 अर्द्धार्धगतसारूप्यं
 विरलं भ्राम्य संस्थितम्³
 [all mss. read विरसं ग्राम्यसंस्थितम्]
 मध्येन नेत्रम्येण यथायोगविलोपिना ॥ २८ ॥
 विज्ञेयं दधतः कार्य⁴
 परिवृत्तं नरेश्वर ॥
 समग्रदृष्टस्फिग्देशं
 दृष्टपादतलं च यत्⁵ ॥ २९ ॥
 ऊर्ध्वतः क्षीणपृष्ठार्ध⁶
 दृष्ट्या⁷ शेषं कटिस्थलम् ।
 लुप्तपादाङ्गुलितलं
 दृश्याशेषतलद्वयम् ॥ ३० ॥
 चतुरस्रं सुसंपूर्ण-
 मभयानकदर्शनम्⁸ ।
 प्रकाशीकृतबाहुञ्च⁹
 सुदृष्ट-मुखकंधरम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 लुप्तजंघैकतो¹⁰ ज्ञेयं
 नाम्ना स्थानं समानतम् ॥
 नवेत्येतानि¹¹ सर्वाणि
 तथोक्तैरभिराजितम्¹² ॥ ३२ ॥

1. वें० : स्थितेर्ष्याभ- . Obviously a misreading. The above suggested correction suits the context as comparing this stance with 'half ऋजु' posture. Shah: स्थितेऽप्यधि-
2. Better read कार्या =for कार्यौ + उप^० in *samdhi*.
3. Or. विलसद् भ्राम्य संस्थितम् . The mss. reading is hopeless.
4. It is read for कार्यं in Venkatesuara edn.
5. To avoid contradiction with the next line it is proposed-better to read दृष्टपायुतलम् .
6. MSS. : क्षीणदृष्टार्ध.
7. Shah : दृष्ट्या.
8. Shah : दृश्याशेषतलद्वयम् . We may better suggest to have it : दृश्याशेषं तलद्वयम् ; or, दृश्यां शेषतलद्वयम्.
9. MSS. : सुसंपूर्णमभयानकदर्शनम्. That seems meaningless as no stance has to be 'terrifying', thus calling one as अभयानक- is redundant. Can we have it changed to - मुभयानन-, or better- मुभयानत-, or even, -मुभयान्तर-दर्शनम्.
10. Better read : बाहूर्ध्वम् .
11. लुप्त + जंघा + एक + तः =
 लुप्त + जंघैक-तस्
12. Venka. : नीचान्येतानि (?). Shah corrects it to नवान्येतानि. However, we may also suggest नीतान्येतानि; or, as the above.

लक्षितैर्लक्षितव्यानि त्वयानुक्रमशो नव ।
 एषां प्रज्ञाविशेषेण विकाराणि बहून्यपि ॥ ३३ ॥
 एकैकशश्च¹ भूभागे कर्तव्यानि यथाविधि ।
 त्वया सात्त्यं² समासाद्य सम्यङ्मानं तु भूतले ॥ ३४ ॥
 स्थानानीमानि मानाद्यै गुणैर्लेख्यानि यत्नतः ।
 नवैवैतानि दृष्टानि सर्वभावेष्वनिन्दितम् ॥ ३५ ॥
 स्थानानि नाधिकमतः परमस्ति हि किञ्चन ।
 जीवलोकं परिक्रम्य सततं स्थाणुजङ्गमम् ॥ ३६ ॥
 उत्तमाधममध्येषु न्प्रमाणगुणतस्सदा ।
 चित्रं विचित्रं त्रिविधं प्रमाणं त्रयमेव च³ ॥ ३७ ॥
 क्षयवृद्धी च कात्स्न्येन मया तेऽभिहितेऽनघ⁴ ।
 अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि क्षयवृद्धिविधिं क्रमात् ॥ ३८ ॥
 चित्रविद्भिर्भरसंज्ञेयं⁵ समासेनेतरेण च ।
 त्रयोदशविधैवात्र क्षयवृद्धिरुदाहता ॥ ३९ ॥

स्थानानां बहुसंस्थत्वाद्

अङ्गावयवसम्भवा ।

स्थानं पृष्ठगतं⁶ पूर्वम्

अर्धजुगतमेव च ॥ ४० ॥

1. As in MSS. Its sense can be thus extracted somewhat in a following way. "By the statements in this manner it is governing" (or established; or laid down). But this is quite complicated and not so clear as it should be here in a classical treatise. We, however, would like to improve upon the above reading by a slight modification of अभिराजितम् to अभिराजताम् (IX/लोट्/III person plural). It would render the expression into a direct statement: "These Nine should rule/govern by such of the injunctions" (not given earlier though being specified below).
2. Shah amends it to एकैकशेन, which is incorrect. The above is after Venkatesvara edn., and perfectly correct.
3. Or read सातत्यमासाद्य (as amended by Sivaramamurti): or, त्वया सत्त्वं, or even सत्त्वात् = "from its truism", as used in the *Amaramaṇḍana* of Kṛṣṇasuri (p. 42, Poona, 1949). Venkatesvara edn. has 'सन्तस्समासाद्य' which represents a misreading here. However, if we take the original reading to be 'सतः' for सन्तः, there would be no difficulty in explaining the same as follows: "from the worthy" (सत् in 5/1); or as 'सतः' declined in plural, accusative, to mean "(reaching) the worthies", apparently to have true understanding of the matter.
4. Or, read better, प्रमाणत्रयमेव च.
5. No need to change it, as Shah has done to: तेऽभिहिते नृप.
6. Siva. चित्रविद्भिस्सुसंज्ञेयं. : This amendment is unnecessary and perhaps goes against the spirit of the text. असंज्ञेयं obviously means a canonical statement as follows: "Cannot be (fully) comprehended (known or defined; or recognised) either in brief or even in a detailed treatment (समासेन इतरेण च). In fact, it is an adjective to विधिं in accusative.
7. As in most of the mss. There are two views as proposed by scholars, one amending it to ऋज्जागतं, and the other (P.B. Shah) preferring it as दृष्टगतं after one ms.

मध्यार्धार्धं तथार्धार्धं

साचीकृतमुखं तथा ।

नतं गण्डपरावृत्तं

पृष्ठागतमथापि च ॥ ४१ ॥

पार्श्वार्गतं च विज्ञेयम्

उल्लेपं चलितं तथा ।

उत्तानं वलितं चेति

स्थानानि तु त्रयोदश ॥ ४२ ॥

कार्याण्येतानि¹ सर्वाणि नामसंस्थानतो नृप ।

मण्डलानीह वैशाख-प्रत्यालीढक्रियाक्रमैः ॥ ४३ ॥

समाश्चार्धसमाः पादाः

सुस्थितानि चलानि च ।

समासमपदस्थं च

द्विविधं स्थानकं भवेत् ॥ ४४ ॥

तद्गत्वा² पदभूयिष्ठं

स्थानं समपदं स्मृतम् ।

मण्डलं च द्वितीयं स्यात्

स्थानान्यन्यानि यानि च ॥ ४५ ॥

तान्येकसमपादानि

विचित्राणि चलानि च ।

तत्र वैशाखमालीढं

प्रत्यालीढं च धन्विनाम् ॥ ४६ ॥

चित्रगोमूत्रकगतं विषमं खड्गचर्मिणाम् ।

चलितं स्वलितायस्त-मालीढैकपदक्रमम् ॥ ४७ ॥

शक्तितोमरपाषाणभिन्दिपालादिधारिणाम् ।

सवल्गितं चक्रशूलगदाकणपधारिणाम् ॥ ४८ ॥

एकपादसमस्थानं द्वितीयेन तु विह्वलम्³ ।

शरीरं च सलीलं स्यात्⁴ सावष्टम्भैः क्वचिद् द्रुतम्⁵ ॥ ४९ ॥

1. Shah : कार्याण्येतानि. Sivaramamurti amended it to कार्याण्येतानि, which is confirmed by two Śāradā mss. as given by shah herself as variant read in footnote.
2. Shah amended it to तद् ऋज्वापद् (? यत) भूयिष्ठं. But original reading as above is better here as it has no involvement of the pose ऋज्वायत essentially. The above means: 'having movement by that (classification); (or, we can have it changed to तद्गत्वा, 'in that manner). One may perhaps prefer पदभूमिष्ठं for पदभूयिष्ठं.
3. वि + ह्वलं = in movement; with specific movement. For the root ह्वल्, see Apte: 'to go, move; to shake, tremble.
4. सलीलं = leisurely.
5. It means: With their one foot in walking (or tottering; stretched forward) movement, and with stiff bearings (in some limbs). This implies the trained demeanour (of soldiers) as posing movement in swift action while having straightened bodily parts on the whole.

लीलाविलासविभ्रान्तं विशालजघनस्थलम् ।
 स्थिरैकपादविन्यासं स्त्रीरूपं विलखिद् बुधः ॥ ५० ॥
 प्रमाणहीनस्तु जनोऽनुभूयात्'
 कालस्य भावस्य बलात्पृथिव्याम् ।
 इति प्रचिन्त्यात्मधिया बुधेन
 कार्यं प्रमाणं क्षयवृद्धियोगे ॥ ५१ ॥
 इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे चित्रसूत्रे
 क्षयवृद्ध्यध्यायो नाम एकोनचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ३९ ॥

A few additional remarks may be made here with respect to the rules of painting laid down in this unique treatise of the Chitrasūtra (cp. the titles *Nata-sūtras* of Śilāli as mentioned by Pāṇini, *Kāma-sūtra*; *Dharmasūtra*; etc). The particular name *Chitrosūtra*, "Aphorism or Rules of Painting", as now well-known to us in fact due to the Vishṇudharmottara chapters (in Khaṇḍa Third) under study has no early or contemporaneous parallel to be named at present, either from the vast Purāṇic collection, or any other Āgamic/Tantric text, or the canonical literature of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Anyway, this thematic title of the *Chitra-śāstra* has been mentioned several times in the V Dh. Third Khaṇḍa itself besides Chapters 35 to 43 representing *Chitrasūtra*, as given by the colophon specifically and distinctly:—

- (1) III. 1.7 : चित्रसूत्रविधानेन.
- (2) Also the colophon of III. 1 is specified as चित्रसूत्रे प्रथमोऽध्यायः.
- (3) III. 2.2 : चित्रसूत्रं न जानाति.
- (4) III. 2.3 : चित्रसूत्रविद् एवाथ; चित्रसूत्रं समाचक्ष्व.
- (5) III. 2.4 : विना तु नृत्तशास्त्रेण चित्रसूत्रं सुदुर्विधम् .
- (6) III. 2.5 : चित्रसूत्रं वदिष्यसि.
- (7) III. 83.5 : यावन्तो दृष्टयः प्रोक्ताश्चित्रसूत्रे महात्मभिः.

श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे most important evidence for the antiquity and authoritative popularity of the text are its references by Dāmodaragupta, the chief-minister and court-poet of the Kashmir ruler Jayāpīḍa (c. 770-c.

1. Shah and Siva. : जनोऽस्ति भूयान् (amended reading). But the above original is perfectly clear and leads to an altogether different statement. "There would be people coming in future owing to the effect of (specification of) time and being (or condition, भाव),..."

800 A.D.) in his *Kuṭṭanīmatam* amongst the works included in the study of fine arts by courtesans and the by the Kashmiri aesthetician Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita*-commentary as he quotes its authority about the middle of the eleventh cent. (edn. by S.K. De, 1961, p. 145). A medieval compendium on architecture and allied branches of fine arts by Bhuvanadeva (c. 10 th-11 th cent, or earlier). also mentions the *Chitrasutra* in the context of painting designs (*Aparājītaprihchhā*, 233.14, p. 594, Baroda edn.)

We may draw attention to the use of phrase '*Chitrasūtūta*' by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataranṅinī* (v. 2587): *chitrasūtritāviva tau sthitau*. He seems to allude to the principles and technical procedures of painting or drawing as laid down in the treatise of *Chitrasūtra* also well known and prevailing during his time (eleventh cent.).

PRASTHALAS IN THE EPICS AND THE PURĀṆAS

BY

O. P. BHARADWAJ

[पुराणम् पत्रिकायाः १९६६ वर्षस्य (VIII No. 2 July 1966) अङ्के कीर्तिशेषेण विदुषा आचार्यजगन्नाथाग्रवालेन एतद्विषयको निबन्धः प्रकाशितः। अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन तस्मिन् एव विषये प्रमाणपुरस्सरं विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम्।]

Forty three years have passed since my revered teacher, late Prof. Jagan Nath Agrawal published, in the 'Purāṇa', a paper on the identification of the Prasthalas under the title adopted by me here. He examined the views of C.A. Lewis, B.C. Law and Pargiter in the light of known historical facts and their description in the Epics and Purāṇas with his characteristic thoroughness tempered with precision and concluded that "the Prasthalas were a clan of the Trigartas as suggested by Sorensen and lived somewhere in the territory now represented by the districts of Kangra, Hoshiarpur and Jullundur, in the Panjab". As far as I know there the matter rests.

Almost in continuation of his learned paper and as my homage to his haloed memory I am adding this brief note to present the final identification of the Prasthalas which fully satisfies all the three factors, historical, geographical and linguistic.

Prof. Agrawal noted that Dr. B. C. Law identified Prasthala with Patala of the Greek writers i.e. the Indus Delta. Dr. Lewis rejected this view and identified it with the modern Patiala district of the Panjab. Pargiter placed Prasthala as a district between Ferozpur, Patiala and Sirsa. According to Sorensen the Prasthalas were a clan of the Trigartas. We may add the views of three more scholars here. Robert Shafer² shared the view of Sorensen in taking Prasthalas as a clan of the Trigartas. S.B. Choudhary³ described the Prasthalas as a Panjab people living very near to the Trigartas but, like Lewis equated them with

1. Vol VIII. No. 2. July 1966, Vyāsa-Purṇimā number, pp. 310-314.

2. Ethnography Of Ancient India, Wiesbaden 194, p. 108.

3. Ethnic Settlements In Ancient India, Pt. 1-Northern India, Calcutta 1955, p. 134.

Patiala or Pattiala which name he considered a contraction of Prasthala. Anundoram Barooah¹ also recognised the name Prasthala as the original of modern Pattiala while literally taking it to mean a "tableland".

Prof. Agrawal pointed out that there was no Patiala before 1762. It was Alha Singh, the third son of Rama, who founded the Patiala town and state between 1762-65 in place of Hodiaana which was the name of the principality inherited by him. "As a matter of fact Patiala is really Patti - i - Alha - a word formed according to the rules of the Persian grammar, meaning the Patti of Alha Singh. Patti is a common Panjabi word for village, or settlement." He also ruled out the location of the Prasthalas in the region of Ferozpur, Patiala and Sirsa since between the land of the Trigartas and Patiala region there intervened another state, that of the Yaudheyas, whose important city of Sunetra, modern Sunet, 3 miles from Ludhiana, lay only at a distance of four to five miles to the south of the river Satluj".²

Prof. Agrawal found it particularly interesting that the Purāṇic list includes the Prasthalas among northern people and the Rāmāyaṇa also places them with the people of northern and southern Punjab. But "neither in the Purāṇas nor in the epics are they grouped with the Trigartas" This fact led him to pose the question: "Is it because the Prasthalas were included within the larger unit the Trigartas?" His acceptance of the Prasthalas as a clan of the Trigartas would appear to suggest that his own answer to this question was in the positive even if not decisive as far as their location and identification is concerned. It is this uncertainty that I shall proceed to end now.³

Before retirement from service I held some assignments involving extensive touring in Panjab including the states of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, later carved out of it. Many a time I travelled on the Chandigarh - Hoshiarpur route via the towns of Ropar and Balachaur by the road along the Bist Doab Canal. During these journeys I noticed the name of a village. 'Bharthalā, displayed on a sign-post by the roadside midway between Ropar and Balachaur. The name and location of the village reminded me of 'Prasthala'. I mentioned this to Prof. Agrawal who agreed that the two could be identical. I visited the village with Prof. Ashwini Agrawal and Devendra Handa of the Department of Ancient Indian history, culture and Archacology of the Punjab Uni-

1. Ancient Geography Of India, Gauhati 1971, p. 33.

2. The Manṛapāha, Reprint, Delhi 1985, p. XVI.

3. Annals Of The Bhandarkar Oriental Résearch Instt. Vol, 37, 1956, p. 154.

versity a few days later. There was an affluent Sikh gentleman living with his family in a part of an old fort built, on an elevation called Kathgarh, by his ancestor Jhanda Singh, who had been awarded with a jagir (fief) by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He told us that the population of the village had mostly moved away to accommodation provided at the several factories which had come up along the road.

In the census of India 1971. Bharthalā has been described as a 'village in Tehsil Balachaur of district Hoshiarpur. It is now included in district Ropar. The Geographical Survey map locates it on the Bist Doab Canal midway from Ropar to Balachaur.

That the name Bharthalā is a corrupt form of Prasthalā is clear enough. Its location in the lap of Shiwalik foothills, not very far on the west of river Satluj, makes it a part of the Trigartas as was suspected by Prof. Agrawal. I think the equation of the Jalandharas and Nagarkotta or Kangra with Trigartas in literature should be taken to mean that these two were also, like the Prasthalas, principalities within the Trigartas.

The Trigartas were a people of the Later Vedic age. They are mentioned in the *Jaiminīya*, one of the older Brāhmaṇas, along with the Śālvas as if the two were neighbours, which indeed they were. Later we find them both taking part in the Mahābhārata war, the Trigartas on the side of Duryodhana and Śālvas divided as allies of Duryodhana as well as Pāṇdavas. While the Trigartas appear to have comprised the region of the lower Shiwaliks from the Sutlej to Ravi the Śālvas were spread all along the Shiwaliks from Gaṅgā to Sutlej and the upper reaches of this range thereafter so far as to include the state of Rampur Bushahr which is now a part of Himachal Pradesh. The Śālvas were a union or confederation of thirteen states at least some of which can be described as city states in the sense that, like old states of Patiala, Nabha & Sangrur in Panjab, their capital city & the state bore an identical name. This is evident from the names of some of the Śālva states like Yugandhara, Bhadrakāra and Jābāla. It is possible that the Trigartas were also a union or confederation of six states, as the expression Trigartaśastha suggests, of which some like Jalandhar, Nagarkotta and Prasthala might be city states.¹

This is not the end of their similarities. The Ekāgnikāṇḍa, otherwise known as Mantrapāṭha or Mantrapraśna of the Āpastambins, which

1. India Of Vedic Kalpasutras, Delhi 1959, p. 97.

is a collection of mantras from different Vedic texts, contains the following gāthā.

यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजेति साल्वीरवादिषुः ।

विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव ॥

It has been translated differently by Winternitz, R. C. Hazra and Ram Gopal. We follow Ram Gopal in accepting the translation, "Yaugandhari only is our king, so said the Śālva people of extensive dominions, sitting on thy bank, O-Yāmuna" It is important to note that the Śālva people are said to have accepted one Yaungandhari as their king. Yaugandhari could not be a personal name. It reminds us of the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa in the play Svapnavāsavadattaṃ of Bhāsa. Both should stand for "one belonging to Yugandhara", irrespective of the fact as to whether he was a commoner or the king of that state. Did the Śālva people elect the king of Yugandhara or someone belonging to Yugandhara as their own king? If so it might be due to the untimely death of their own king without leaving an heir to take his place. The Śālva tradition appears to support this. In the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān the latter's father king Dyumatsena after his enemy, the userper of his kingdom also killed by, his own minister was approached by his Śālva subjects who unanimously declared that "seeing or sightless" he would be their King.

In the description of Traigarta as king of the Prasthalas Traigarta would have a connotation similar to that of Yaugandhari and Yaugadharāyaṇa, i.e. one belonging to Trigarta although in this case he happened to be the king of Trigartas. 'Adhipa' in Prasthalādhipa cannot be rendered as 'overlod' of Prasthalā. It means simply 'king'. This becomes clear from the fact that Suśarmā, the king of Trigarta, is also described as its 'adhipati'. Therefore 'adhipati' and 'adhipa' both have been used in the same sense.¹

1. Mbh. (Gita Press Ed.) Yana, 299, v. 3.5:

ततः प्रकृतयः सर्वाः शाल्वेभ्योऽभ्यागता नृप ।

आचख्युर्निहतं चैव स्वेनामात्येन तं द्विषम् ॥

ऐकमत्यं च सर्वस्य जनस्याय नृपं प्रति ।

सचक्षुर्वाप्यचक्षुर्वा स नो राजा भवत्विति ॥

A PROSE PASSAGE ON THE PRAMĀṆA
(CHITRASŪTRA OF THE VISHṆUDHARMOTTĀ PURĀṆA)

BY

P.K. AGRAWALA

[विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणस्य 'चित्रसूत्र'—प्रकरणे एकोनचत्वारिंशत्तमे अध्याये ऋजुकायस्थितस्य पुरुषस्य 'नवस्थानानि' सविस्तरं प्रतिपादितानि। तेषां चित्रशिल्पस्य व्यावहारिकपरम्परायां विमर्शः प्राचीनैः कलाशास्त्रविदाचार्यैः शिष्येभ्यः अभ्यासार्थं मर्मज्ञसहदेभ्यः प्रतिमानलक्षणान्तर्गत-सिद्धान्तानुशीलनार्थं च अस्मिन् प्रसंज्ञे प्रस्तुतीकृतः। एतच्छास्त्रीयायाः सामग्र्याः समुचितदृष्ट्या अध्ययनमपेक्षितम्। अस्मिन् निबंधे एतदर्थं प्रयासः कृतः यत् पुराणविषयस्य मूलपाठनिर्धारणेऽपि यत्किञ्चित् समुपयोगी भवति।]

From the standpoint of textual criticism there are several passages in prose which present much difficulty to a reader of the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. At several phrases and technical statements we sometimes wonder as to the sense originally intended by the Purāṇa. writer or compiler in the specific context of the subject treated there usually in brief or summary contents. With respect to Śāstric material on aspects of ancient Indian Arts and various allied branches of sapiential Vidyās ("branches of sophisticated knowledge"), Part III of the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* holds a unique position in the entire corpus of our extant literature, namely the Purāṇic Saṁhitās, Āgamas, Tantras, and other works of diverse traditions in technical studies and compositions. However, we are fortunate enough to have such Purāṇic prose passages in more or less faulty or "injured" preservation. In case of the Third Khaṇḍa of the VDh. P. (*Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*), though only for its Chapters 1 to 118, a critical edition has been published by the Baroda Oriental Institute (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. CXXX, 1958, two volumes of Text and Study) as edited by Dr. Miss. Priyabala Shah on the basis of rich manuscript material. The learned editor in her Introduction succinctly observes, "Most of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas touch the subject-matter of various arts, such as Town-planning, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Dance and similar other topics. But only eight of them have treated the subject more systematically and in greater detail".

"None of these, however, have treated the topics of fine arts in the

way in which the Vishṇudharmottara has done This is done in its third Khaṇḍa. The treatment is so comprehensive and systematic that one can call it a treatise on the Fine Arts of Ancient India. Moreover, it throws a flood of light on the various symbols used in ancient arts. The importance of the work lies in the fact that it serves as a reliable guide to the study of the tradition of fine arts of Ancient India." [pp. XVIII-XIX]

After the first publication of this great Purāṇa in 1913-14, by the famous Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, the work immediately attracted the attention of scholars of Sanskrit learning and of Indian and European historians of ancient Indian traditions in fine arts and their classical treatises in the contemporaneous vocabulary and codified texts explaining in fuller understanding for the practical side of the art technologies and their socio-religious background as well as aesthetic settings.

We are going to take up here one of such prose texts of this Khaṇḍa for a close scrutiny and editorial analysis while venturing to retrieve its original wordings with respect not only to the phraseology employed but also its meaningful statements if possible. For the purpose an attempt would be made to derive help from the text as already printed in the Shah's edition along with variant reading collated by her in the footnotes and also critical notes given in the Appendix section. This Adhyāya No. 36 of her edition is styled as follows :

श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे चित्रसूत्रे प्रमाणाध्यायो नाम ॥ ३६ ॥

It is further remarkable that since its first publication this specific section called *Chitrasūtra* (containing as per the manuscripts, Chs. 35-41) has attracted many an eminent authority on Indian art studies and Sanskrit learning for its unique position in the whole range of ancient classical treatises. Some of the outstanding names include Prof. Stella Kramrisch, A.K. Coomaraswamy, V. Raghavan, K. P. Jayaswal, C. Sivaramamurti, A. Chatterjee Sastri besides P. B. Shah. A useful Bibliography on the *Chitrasūtra* has been given by Dr. Sivaramamurti in his *magnum opus* entitled, *Chitrasūtra of the Vishṇudharmottara* (New Delhi, 1978). Thus, there is no need to repeat it here.

Anyway, we reproduce the *Pramāṇa* Chapter of the *Chitrasūtra* as we presently think, taking the entire textual material as available at hand in close consideration, to read it as the following. We have, however, not given here all v.l. for each of the expressions, although the best suitable lexical reading has been accepted which presumably gives relevant technical sense under treatment.

षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः

मार्कण्डेय :-

अथ प्रत्यङ्गविभागो भवति। तत्र द्वादशाङ्गुलपरिणाहो मूर्धा। चतुरङ्गुलोच्छ्रयमष्टाङ्गुलं ललाटम् । शङ्खौ चतुरङ्गुलौ द्व्यङ्गुलोच्छ्रयौ। पञ्चाङ्गुलौ गण्डौ। चतुरङ्गुलो हनुः। द्व्यङ्गुलौ कर्णयोः। तदन्ध्रम् उदगात्पालिः³ (?) [read उदघातात् पालिः⁴], अनियमेन । (कर्णस्य लु (? बु) टिका पालिः⁵ । नासा चतुरङ्गुला, अग्रे द्व्यङ्गुलोच्छ्रया त्रिकायामा च। नासापुटावङ्गुलिविस्तारौ द्विगुणायामौ । नासौष्ठमध्यमर्धाङ्गुलम् । ओष्ठश्चाङ्गुलः। चतुरङ्गुलायाममास्यम् । अधरोऽङ्गुलम् । द्व्यङ्गुलं चिबुकम् । चत्वारिंशद् दन्तास्तेषु अष्टौ दंष्ट्राः⁶।

1. Shah unnecessarily amends it to द्वात्रिंशाङ्गुलं, which Sivaramamurti accepts without any justification. The original as it is, indeed, shown by A. Chatterjee Sāstri as fully applicable here, see his fig. facing p. 26 (Skt Uni., Varanasi, 1971).
2. Shah : कर्णमध्योऽङ्गुलम्; वेंकटेश्वर सं. : कर्णमध्याङ्गुलम्; Siva.: कर्णमध्यमङ्गुलम् ।
3. Shah : उदकाम् पालिः; Siva. : तदन्ध्रमूलात् ।
4. For उदघात् (or उत्पात्), see T. A. G. Rao, *Talamana*, Calcutta 1920, p. 115. Also *Manasoltasa* as discussed by K. M. Varma, "Prāchīna Śilpiyon kā Śarīra Parijñāna," p. 918, in the *Rāshṭrakavi Maithilīśarāna Gupta Abhinandana-Grantha*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 908-924. Isānagurudeva in his *Paddhati* uses the form "udghata" (Kriyāpāda, Ch. 4, verse 15; Vol. III, p. 41). According to T. A. G. Rao the word means "the region outside the ear-lobe".
5. The above is after Shah, who further notes that the two mss. omit karnasya pālīḥ. Sivaramamurti suggests luṭikā to be corrected by puṭika. However, we presume this specific clause has been incorporated in the main text from some marginal jotting of old scribes or readers of the Purāṇa. It perhaps cites from the *Vaijayanti Kosha* of Yādavaprakāśa which reads: पालिस्तु कर्णलतिका, 4.4.93. Also see *Medini*, पालिः कर्णलताग्रेऽअश्रौ.

Another line of evidence comes from the *Vishṇu Samhitā* which uses the phrase "tuṭuka" as part of the ear (14.84-5); the same recurs in the *Tantrasamuchchaya* (Trivandrum; 1945, vol. I, p. 160) and has been explained in its commentary called *Vivarāṇa* as follows: कर्णशङ्कुनामस्तुदुकस्य. Accordingly one can hazard some such reading here in the Purāṇic usage : कर्णस्य तुदुकापालिः (?).

6. All leading scholars find fault with the extant readings here in almost all of the available MSS. They amend the text arbitrarily to : चतुर्विंशतिदन्तास्तेषु अष्टौ दंष्ट्राः (as in Shah). Sivaramamurti further comments, "The reading is wrong.... स्तेषु would mean 'eight out of twentyfour' which is obviously wrong. It is स्तथा meaning 'eight more.'

Anyway, the original text as in all manuscripts is perfect in its own context as the Purāṇic reference here is to ideal Mahāpurusha type or types and conforms truly to the Thirtytwo Lakṣhaṇa list of a Mahāpurusha found in Buddhist Canonical texts and the later Mahāyāna works. No. 23 in the list as found in the *Dīghanikaya*, *Majjhimānikaya*, etc. mentions the extraordinary feature of the 'forty teeth' of a Great Man. Accordingly, there are mentioned eight *damshtrās* out of the full set of forty teeth. See *Lalitavistara*.

अर्धाङ्गलोच्छ्रिता दन्ताः। अङ्गुलद्वादशभागिका दंष्ट्रा¹ । अङ्गुलविस्तृते त्र्यङ्गुलायामे नेत्रे² नेत्रत्रिभागां कृष्णमण्डलम् । पञ्चभागास्तारा [read पञ्चभागाऽस्य तारा] । अर्धाङ्गुलविस्तृते त्र्यङ्गुलायामे भ्रुवौ । तयोर् द्व्यङ्गुलमन्तरम्³ चतुरङ्गुलं नेत्रान्तः³— कर्णविवरम् । दशाङ्गुलविस्तृता ग्रीवा एकविंशत्यङ्गुलपरीणाहा। षोडशाङ्गुलं स्तनान्तरम् । षडङ्गुलं स्तनजञ्वन्तरम्⁴। षोडश बाहुमूलपरीणाहः⁵ द्वादशाग्रे। सप्ताङ्गुलं करतलं पञ्चाङ्गुलं विस्तृतम् । पञ्चाङ्गुलप्रमाणा मध्यमिका। तत्पर्वदलहीना प्रदेशिनी । तत्तुल्या चानामिका। तत्परिहीना⁶ [read तत्पर्वहीना] कनिष्ठिका । सर्वाः समत्रिभागपर्वाः। पर्वार्धा नखाः। त्र्यङ्गुलमङ्गुष्ठं [read त्र्यङ्गुलमङ्गुष्ठो] द्विपर्वः। जठरपरीणाहो द्वाचत्वारिंशदङ्गुलः। वेद्य-[read वेद्य-]⁷ प्रमाणाभ्यामङ्गुलं नाभिः। कटिरष्टादशाङ्गुला विपुला। तत्परिधिश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् । चतुरङ्गुलविस्तृतौ वृषणौ । षडङ्गुलं तावत्परिणाहं मेढ्रम् ।

p. 81; *Dharmasaṅgraha*, No. LXXXIII, p. 19: समचत्वारिंशददंतता, "bearing forty even teeth" (edited, K. Kasawara, Max Mueller and H. Wenzel, Delhi reprint 1981), for further detailed and comparative lists and English renderings of each of the Thirtytwo Signs and Eighty Secondary Features (अनुव्यंजन) of a Mahāpuruṣa. Also see F. Edgerton, *The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. लक्षण, अनुव्यंजन for detailed references (pp. 458-460; p. 34). V. S. Agrawala, "The Thirtytwo Marks of the Buddha-Body," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. 1, No. 1, Sept. 1951, pp. 20-22. Etc.

We may categorically remark that in an image or painted figure of the Buddha or the Jina there is no possibility of showing the forty teeth or eight *Daṁshṭrā*s for any artistic endeavour. All that characteristic description appertains only to the idealised imagery of a Superman, indeed with extra-human attributes.

1. Sivaramamurti amends it to अङ्गुलद्वादशभागाधिका दंष्ट्रा and observes in footnote: "Clearly the scribe has carelessly missed a letter धि. It would be absurd if other teeth are half an inch and the *daṁshṭrā* (canine teeth) one twelfth of an inch. It is this small extra length that is meant by द्वादशभागाधिका."

But the original as it stands in MSS. and retained above seems to simply mean the same thing in a rather idiomatic expression implying *daṁshṭrā* to exceed from other teeth by one twelfth of an *āṅgula*.

2. As in the Venkatesvara Press edition. Shah has perhaps created a mess here by following in the text one of her ms. as follows. It has no support from other MSS.
3. Shah and others : नेत्रान्तकर्णविवरम्. The above clause would not perhaps specify the meaning intended here in clearer terms. Although one reaches in variant analysis to the following meaning as translated by no less an authority namely Sivaramamurti :- "The distance between the tip of the eye and the ear cavity is four *āṅgulas*."
4. Venkat. : as above. Shah : स्तनज [त्र्य]न्तरम् .
5. Read परिणाहो.
6. All editions : तत्परिहीना (which is obviously incorrect).
7. वेद्य has no meaning relevant here. वेद्य = depth, penetration; प्रमाण = dimension.

तन्मध्यत ऊरू चतुरङ्गुलौ [read चतुर्दशाङ्गुलौ] तद्द्विगुणपरिणाहौ । [अष्ट] ङ्गुलविपुले जानुनी तत्रिगुणपरिणाहे । जङ्घाग्रं पञ्चाङ्गुलं चतुर्दशपरिणाहम् । द्वादश दीर्घौ षडङ्गुलविस्तृतौ पदौ त्रिकायताडगुष्ठौ । अङ्गुष्ठतुल्या प्रदेशिनी तदष्टांशोनाः शेषाः । अङ्गुलचतुर्भुगिहीनोऽङ्गुष्ठनखः । तदर्धप्रमाणं प्रदेशिन्याः । तदष्टभागः शेषाणाम् । सर्वपादमङ्गुलमष्टाङ्गुलोत्सेधः² (?) [read सर्वपादोऽङ्गुलार्धाङ्गुलोत्सेधः or सर्वपादोऽङ्गुलाष्टाङ्गुलोत्सेधः]³ । त्र्यङ्गुले पाष्णीचतुरङ्गुलोच्छ्रायौ⁴ [read चतुरङ्गुलोच्छ्राये]⁵ इति हंसप्रमाणं भवति । भवन्ति चात्र :-

1. Thus it would run as follows :-

तन्मध्यत ऊरू चतुर्दशाङ्गुलौ तद्द्विगुणपरिणाहौ ।

अष्टाङ्गुलविपुले जानुनी तत्रिगुणपरिणाहे ।

This corrected text would fully tally the *Bṛihat-saṁhita* statement (explained word by word so clearly by the gloss of Bhattotpala, Skt Uni. Edn., pt. II, p. 685) which is so worded:

अष्टौ तु जानुमध्ये वैपुल्यं

त्र्यष्टकं तु परिणाहः ।

विपुलौ चतुर्दशोरू मध्ये द्विगुणश्च तत्परिधिः ॥

बृ. सं. 57/22.

However, we have the extant reading of the edition from the Venkateshwar Press here as confused due to faulty manuscript material which could not be improved in its later reproductions, or by the subsequent evidence collected by several scholars editing it :-

“तन्मध्यत ऊरू चतुरङ्गुलौ । तद्द्विगुणपरिणाहाङ्गुलविपुले जानुनी । तत्रिगुणपरिणाहं जङ्घाग्रम् ।”

1. Shah : पादौ

2. As in Venkatied. and Shah, etc.

3. We are, however, uncertain as to this suggested amendment. In either way the meaning intended is elusive to us. But see Sivaramamurti's translation as follows: "The foot is all along an *aṅgula* but eight *aṅgulas* at its highest point".

Parenthetically, we must draw attention to an earlier statement made in the Purāna, namely:

आगुल्फान्तं चतुर्भागं पादोच्छ्रायः प्रकीर्तितः ।

III. 35. 12 ab.

4. As in the readings given in all editions. Shah has noted one variant from three mss., viz त्र्यङ्गुली.

5. The word *parshnih* is both masculine or feminine. Thus in a statement either of them be followed but not both alternatively together.

For the faulty line regarding the height of the foot, we may further take into consideration the opinions of Kāśyapa and Varāhamihira. As we read गुल्फादधोभागगतं चतुरङ्गुलमुन्नतम् ।

Here Kāśyapa as quoted by the commentator Utpala on Bri. Sam. 57. 29 (Skt Uni. ed vol. II, p. 687), has specified the lower portion of the foot as being four *aṅgulas* in height. Varāhamihira's injunction in the context is as follows.

जानुकपिच्छे चतुरङ्गुले च पादौ च तत्तुल्यौ ॥

57.17.

The line is explained by Utpala: जानुकपिच्छे चतुरङ्गुले कार्ये, ये च लोके एकलके इति प्रसिद्धे । पादौ च तत्तुल्यौ तत्समौ गुल्फादारभ्याधोभागश्चतुरङ्गुलः कार्यः ॥ १७ ॥

शेषाणां पार्थिवेन्द्राणां मानं युक्त्या प्रकल्पयेत् ।
 अनेनैवानुसारेण स्वमानस्यानुसारतः ॥ १ ॥
 मध्वक्षश्चन्द्रगौरस्तु नागराजभुजो बली ।
 हंसगामी सुमध्यश्च हंसश्च सुमुखो भवेत् ॥ २ ॥
 रोमरुद्धकपोलस्तु गजगामी महामतिः ।
 वृत्तोपचितबाहुस्तु भद्रः पद्मनिभो भवेत् ॥ ३ ॥
 मुद्गश्यामस्तु मालव्यः कृशमध्यस्तनुच्छविः ।
 आजानुबाहुः पीनांसो दंतिघोणो महाहनुः ॥ ४ ॥
 शरद्गौरस्तु रुचकः कम्बुग्रीवो महामतिः ।
 सत्यस्तु रसिकश्चैव बलवांश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥ ५ ॥
 रक्तश्यामस्तु शशकः किञ्चित्कर्बुरकस्तथा ।
 पूर्णगण्डश्च चतुरो मध्वक्षश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥ ६ ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे तृतीयखण्डे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे
 चित्रसूत्रे प्रमाणवर्णनो नाम षट्त्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः ॥ ३६ ॥

A PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF VIṢṆUPURĀNA

BY

MITHILESH PANDEY

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे लेखकेन विष्णुपुराणस्य दार्शनिकं विवेचनां प्रस्तुतम्। लेखकेनात्र प्रतिपादितं यदस्मिन् पुराणे सांख्यसिद्धान्तस्य वेदान्तसिद्धान्तस्य च प्राधान्यं वर्तते।]

The Purāṇas are the richest collection of mythology in the world. The dealings of Purāṇas regarding religious and moral matters have very important place in Hindu religion, from 1000 B.C. to 400 B.C.

The Purāṇas constitute one of the important source of vedic knowledge and these are in simple language that can be easily understood by common people.

The aim of Purāṇas is to impress on the mind of masses, the teaching of the Vedas and to generate in them devotion to God, through concrete examples, myths, stories, legends and lives of saints, kings and great men, with great historical events. The sages made use of these things to illustrate the eternal principles of religion. The teaching of Purāṇas is not only for scholars, but for all the ordinary people who can not understand the highest philosophy of the Vedas.

The Purāṇas are the combinations of literary texts, written in Sanskrit verses. There are eighteen Purāṇas and eighteen upapurāṇas (subsidiary Purāṇas) also.

Viṣṇupurāṇa has a special position in the eighteen Purāṇas. According to Śivapurāṇa, it has second position in paurāṇic list, but some Purāṇas declare it on the third and fourth position. According to Nārādīyapurāṇa¹, Devībhāgavatapurāṇa² and Brahmavaivartapurāṇa,³ it has 23000 verses. Gītā press Gorakhpur edition of Viṣṇupurāṇa has six Anśas, 126 Adhyāyas (chapters) and 6401 verses only. Here all

1. शृणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि पुराणं वैष्णवं मतम् ।
त्रयोविंशतिसाहसं सर्वपातकनाशनम् ।
यत्रादि भागे निर्दिष्टाः षडंशाः शक्तिजेन ह ।
मैत्रेयादिदिमे तत्र पुराणस्यावतारिका ॥ नारदीयपुराणम् ॥ 1.4.98 ॥
2. देवीभागवतपुराणम् ॥ 1.31 ॥
3. ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणम् ॥ श्रीकृष्णजन्मखण्ड ॥ 132 ॥

references are given from Gītāpress Gorakhpur edition.

Viṣṇupurāṇa has first position in six sātṭvika (having sattvaguṇa as predominant) Purāṇas, as stated in Padma Purāṇa-

वैष्णवं नारदीयं च तथा भागवतं शुभम् ।
गारुडं च तथा पादमं वाराहं शुभदर्शनि ॥
सात्त्विकानि पुराणानि विज्ञेयानि शुभानि वै ॥

Thus Viṣṇupurāṇa deals with the events of Vārāhakaḷpa and contains 23000 ślokas. Ten incarnations of Mahāviṣṇu are main theme of Viṣṇupurāṇa. It has got the name Purāṇaratna (The Gem of Purāṇa)

According to internal proofs, the date of Viṣṇupurāṇa is at least third century B.C. because it presents the story of Maurya dynasty, related to Cāṇakya, so it will be later than Cāṇakya. The time of Cāṇakya is fourth century B.C. (323 B.C.) So it is accepted in the list of earliest Mahāpurāṇas.

The narrating method of Visnupurana is in the form of teaching between great sage Parāśara and his disciple Maitreya. But it is composed by proficient poet sage Vyāsa. named Kriṣṇadvaipāyana, with Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna and Kalpanirṇaya. The Sūta (Romaharṣaṇa) was the chief disciple of sage Vyāsa. Great and well skilled poet sage Vyāsa handed over that Puraṇasamhitā to Sūta.

Thus sage Parāśara is believed to be the compiler of Viṣṇupurāṇa which is one of the most important scriptures that have gained prominence among all the Purāṇas. It gives a detail account of the origin of the universe and evolution of life and the genialogy of gods, semigods, sages, Kings and seers. It includes five subject matters also, which are presented in Purāṇic stucture by saint Vyāsa as 1. Sarga. 2. Pratisarga, 3. Vamśa, 4. Vamśānucanita and 5. Manavantara-

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं विप्र पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

On the ground of philosophical topic, we find that the compiler, connecting his philosophical thoughts has made it very sublime thought. These thoughts are known as Sāṃkhya and Vedānta, which are enough to certify the excellency of Viṣṇu Purāṇa In purāṇic literature, although there are Dharmasāstra (principles of Righteousness), Jyotis (Astrology), Ayurveda (Medical Science), Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), Dhanurveda (Archery), Sangīta (Music), Silpa (Architecture and Sculpture) and Alaṅkāras (Find arts) also described but in Viṣṇu Purāṇa these are not included..

Here some important thoughts are presented regarding Sāṃkhya and Vedānta, which are known as philosophy of Viṣṇupurāṇa.

SĀṆKHYA PHILOSOPHY

Sāṅkhya Philosophy is the most ancient philosophy in philosophical tradition. Its principles are found in Śruti, Smṛti, Purāṇas and other texts. All the scholars accept undisputedly that the Mahāmuni Kapila is the founder of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy, who is accepted as the fifth incarnation of Viṣṇu.

पंचमं कपिलो नाम सिद्धेशः कालविप्लुतम् ।

प्रोवाचासुरये सांख्यं तत्त्वग्राम-विनिर्णयम् ॥ गरूडपुराणम् ॥ १.१.१८ ॥

Accepting above tradition of the Kapila Muni, the compiler presents developed form of Sāṅkhya Philosophy, as given below-

The unmanifest and eternal cause of whole universe is called the (Prakṛti) by ancient seers. It contains in itself the equilibrium of three qualities (Guṇas) as goodness (Sattvaḡaṇa), activity (Rajogūṇa) and darkness (Tamogūṇa). It is root of all the effects. It is beyond the limit of origination and destruction.

अव्यक्तं कारणं यत् तत्प्रधानमृषिसत्तम ।

प्रोच्यते प्रकृतिः सूक्ष्मा नित्यं सदसदात्मकम् ॥

अक्षय्यं नान्यदाधारममेयमजरं ध्रुवम् ।

शब्दस्पर्शविहीनं तद्रूपादिभिरसंहितम् ॥

त्रिगुणं तद् जगद् योनिरनादिप्रभवाप्ययम् ।

तेनाग्रे सर्वमेवासीद् व्याप्तं वै प्रलयादनु ॥

The above process of creation is stated by Śrīmadīśvarkṛṣṇa also.

"For the soul's contemplation of nature and for its final separation, the union of both takes place, as of the lame man and the blind man. By that union a creation is formed.¹

Among twenty-five elements, excepting soul (Puruṣa) the primary source is called intellect (Mahat), which is evolute (Vikṛti) of nature and evolvent (Prakṛti) of Egoism. This egoism is called self-consciousness (Ahaṅkāra) also, which is evolute of Mahat (Intellect). It is known as combination of goodness (Sattva), activity (Rajas) and darkness (Tamas). It's one phase, the quality of Darkness, (Tamas) is the evolvent of the five subtle elements known as Pañcatanmātrā, viz sound, touch, form, taste and smell. The second phase of egoism, named quality of goodness (Sattva) is evolvent of eleven sense organs, viz. The five organs of perceptions (Pañcājnānendriya) as Eye, Ear, Nose, Tongue

1. पुरुषस्य दर्शनार्थं कैवल्यार्थं तथा प्रधानस्य ।

षड्बन्धवदुभयोरपि संयोगस्तत्कृतः सर्गः ॥ सांख्यकारिका ॥ २१ ॥

and Skin; the five organs of actions (Pañcakarmendriya) as mouth, Hands, Feet, Anus, and generative organs; and the mind (Manas), partaking of the character of both. The third phase of egoism, named quality of activity (Rajas), acts as cause of all activities, by producing action in others, as stated in Viṣṇupurāṇa-

प्रधानतत्त्वमुद्भूतं महान्तं तत्समावृणोत् ।
 सात्त्विको राजसश्चैव तामसश्च त्रिधा महान् ॥ 1.2.34 ॥
 वैकारिकस्तैजसश्च भूतादिश्चैव तामसः ।
 त्रिविधोऽयमहंकारो महत्तत्त्वादजायत ॥ 1.2.35 ॥
 भूतेन्द्रियाणां हेतुस्स त्रिगुणत्वान्महामुने ।
 यथा प्रधानेन महान्महता स तथावृतः ॥ 1.2.36 ॥
 भूततन्मात्रसर्गोऽयमहंकारात्तु तामसात् ।
 तैजसानीन्द्रियाण्याहुर्देवा वैकारिका दश ॥
 एकदशं मनश्चात्र देवा वैकारिका स्मृताः ॥ 1.2.46-47 ॥
 त्वक् चक्षुर्नासिका जिह्वा श्रोत्रमत्र च पंचमम् ।
 शब्दादीनामवाप्त्यर्थं बुद्धियुक्तानि वै द्विज ॥ 1.2.48 ॥
 पायूपस्थौ करौ पादौ वाक च मैत्रेय पंचमी ।
 विसर्गशिल्पगत्युक्ति कर्म तेषां च कथ्यते ॥ 1.2.49 ॥

The five gross elements (Pañcamahābhūta) named Sky, Wind, Fire, Water and Earth, are gradually produced from Sound, Touch, Form, Taste and Smell. Each subtle element sound etc, being accompanied by all those which precede it, and thus the gross elements will have gradually one, two, three, four and five qualities.¹

Accepting the tradition of Sāṅkhya Philosophy, sage Parāśara presents the procedure and kinds of creations, which is called as 'Prākṛtasarga' (Sṛṣṭi-Vivecanā). It has very important place in Sāṅkhya Philosophy. Here nine kinds are described in Prākṛtasarga, gradually first three sargas (creations) are known as Prākṛta, next five are known as Vaikṛta, and last one is called Kaumāra, mixture of Prākṛta and Vaikṛta. These nine primary source of all creations are given bellow.²

1. विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.2.37-43 ॥ 1.2.51-52 ॥
2. प्रथमो महतः सर्गो विज्ञेयो ब्रह्मणस्तु सः ।
 तन्मात्राणां द्वितीयश्च भूतसर्गो हि स स्मृतः ॥
 वैकारिकस्तृतीयस्तु सर्गः ऐन्द्रियकः स्मृतः ।
 इत्येषः प्राकृतः सर्गः सम्भूतो बुद्धिपूर्वकः ॥
 मुख्यसर्गश्चतुर्थस्तु मुख्या वै स्थावराः स्मृता ।
 तिर्यक्क्षोतास्तु वः प्रोक्तस्तैर्यग्योन्यः स उच्यते ॥
 तदूर्ध्वक्षोतसां षष्ठो देवसर्गस्तु संस्मृतः ।
 ततोऽर्वाक्षोतसां सर्गः सप्तमः स तु मानुषः ॥
 अष्टमोऽनुग्रहः सर्गः सात्त्विकस्तामसश्च सः ।
 पंचैते वैकृता सर्गाः प्राकृतास्तु त्रयः स्मृताः ॥
 प्राकृतो वैकृतश्चैव कौमारो नवमो स्मृतः ।
 इत्येते वै समाख्याता नव सर्गाः प्रजापतेः ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.5.19-25 ॥

1. The First sarga (creation) is a special structure of Brahma, which is arisen from modified perception of nature.
2. The second sarga is the collection of Pañcatanmātrā (five subtle elements) which is known as Sukṣma-sarga. The five primary gross elements (Sky, Wind, Fire, Water and Earth) are the modification of above Pañcatanmātrās.
3. The third sarga is related to sense-organs. It is called Vaikārika sarga (Modified creation), because the sense-organs are only vikṛti (evolutes).
4. The fourth sarga is very important, because all the motionless leaving creations are arisen from this sarga.
5. The fifth sarga is called 'Tiryaksarga' (oblique creation) from which all the forms of oblique living are arisen.
6. The sixth sarga is 'urdhvasrotas' which is known as Devasarga
7. The seventh sarga is 'Arvāksrotas' which is know as 'Mānavasarga or Human-creation.'
8. The eighth sarga is called 'Anugrahasarga' which contains both guṇas, sāttvika and Tāmas.
9. The ninth and the last sarga is named as Kaumāra sarga, which is originated through mixture of Prākṛta and Vaikṛta sarga.

Here, we must know that excepting ninth sarga, which is known as Kaumārasarga, all the above eight kinds of creations are stated in Garuda Purāṇa also.¹

After description of creations, we find that compiler of Viṣṇupurāṇa is supporter of Satkāryavāda also which is backbone of Sāṅkhya Philosophy. According to Satkāryavāda the effect is existent even previously to the operation of the cause, which only produces the manifestation of already existent thing, just like the manifestation of the oil in sesame seeds by pressing, like samidh (Sacrificial fire-wood), Ājya (clarified butter) and Kuśa (A kind of holy grass), etc, that will be perishable also, as earthen vessel which is produced from his own cause clay (earth) that is not more the arth.² This theory is supported by Śrīmadbhagavadgītā also, as stated by Lord Kriṇa. "There is no

1. गरुडपुराणम् ॥ 1.4.13-18

2. यत्तु निष्पाद्यते कार्यं मुदा कारणभूतया ।
तत्कारणानुगमनाज्जायते नृप मृण्मयम् ॥
एवं विनाशिभिर्द्रव्यैः समिदाज्यकुशादिभिः ।

निष्पाद्यते क्रिया या तु सा भवित्री विनाशिनी ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 2.14.21-22 ॥

existence for the non-existent, nor-existence for the existent.¹

According to the Sāṅkhya Kārikā, "Effects exists, for what exists not can by no operation of cause be brought in to existence; materials, too, are selected which are fit for the purpose, everything is not by every means possible; what is capable does that to which it is competent; and like is produced from like."²

Thus it is clear that the compiler of Viṣṇupurāṇa is well-versed in the philosophy of Sāṅkhya, which is found in several places in Viṣṇupurāṇa

VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY

Vedānta is the second name of Upaniṣads, because there are four parts of Veda, serially these four parts are known as, Samhitā, Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka, and Upaniṣad. Thus Upaniṣads are the last part of Vedas, so they are known as Vedānta. Viṣṇupurāṇa describes also Vedānta, as stated by Parāśara, which is central idea of Vedānta-

विष्णोः सकाशाद् उद्भूतं जगत्त्रैव च स्थितम् ।

स्थितिसंयमकर्ताऽसौ जगतोऽस्य जगच्च सः ॥

Viṣṇu Purāṇa ॥ 1.1.31 ॥

It means the whole universe is originated by Viṣṇu. So Lord Viṣṇu is creator of universe and he also ammihilates it.

स एव सृज्यः स च सर्गकर्ता ।

स एव पाल्यति च पाल्यते च ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.2.70 ॥

In fine, we can say that Viṣṇupurāṇa regards Viṣṇu as Parambrahma (Supreme reality of universe). It is self existent, constant, birthless, imperishable, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, immortal, immutable, supreme reality and pure-being etc. It abides in itself and in all things of the universe. It is devoid of origion, growth, modification and destruction. So it is known as supreme self.³ That Lord Viṣṇu is infinite, eternal and pure consciousness.⁴ Just a banana-tree is not different from it's peels and leaves, similarly the Lord Viṣṇu is not different from universe. But that Viṣṇu (Supreme self) controles the whole universe through his power, which is known as nature. It is combina-

1. नासतो विद्यते भावो, नाभावो विद्यते सतः ॥ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता ॥ 2.16

2. असदकरणादुपादनग्रहणात् सर्वसम्भवाभावात् ।
शक्तस्य शक्यकरणात् कारणभावाच्च सत्कार्यम् ॥ सांख्यकारिका ॥ 9

3. विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.2.1-10 ॥

4. विशुद्धबोधवन्तित्यमजमक्षयमव्ययम् ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.9.50

tion of three powers, namely Sandhīnī, Hlādinī and Samvit, as stated here-

यथा हि कदली नान्या त्वक्पत्रादपि दृश्यते ।
 एवं विश्वस्य नान्यस्त्वं त्वत्स्थायीश्वर दृश्यते ॥
 ह्लादिनी संधिनी संवित् त्वय्यैका सर्वसंस्थितौ ।
 ह्लादतापकरी मिश्रा त्वयि नो गुणवर्जिते ॥

विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.12.67-68 ॥

It means here is if any element, other than Brahma, that is power of Brahma, which is known as Prakṛti (nature), Avidyā, Māyā, Ajnāna or Adhyāsa. It is the most important cause of 'Jagat' (Universe). In other words we can say that Avidhyā is Jagat. Because of Māyā (Avidyā) forgetting his spritual knowledge, the Jīva forgets his self structure then that part of Brahma, named Jīva, accepts himself as a new unseparate element from Brahma.¹ So the whole universe is appearance of Brahma or Avidyā (Power of Brahma), but is non-different from Brahma, who is pure and only subject, although it is beyond appearance and activities. It is main goal of all livings, which is called as 'Sādhyā' in Philosophical words. And knowledge of it is known as 'Sādhana', from which one can attain supreme being or can be Supreme being.

Viṣṇupurāṇa presents two kinds of supreme-sole, viz. Sabdabrahma and Parambrahma. Who knows Sabdabrahma, that can know Parambrahma.² In addition to these that supreme sole is known as Kṣara and Akṣarabrahma also. One can attain both gradually through Aparā and Parā (Avidyā and Vidyā) It is stated in Atharvaveda also-

द्वे वै विद्ये वेदितव्ये इति चाथर्वणी श्रुतिः ।

परया त्वक्षरप्राप्तिः ऋग्वेदादिमयापरा ॥

विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 6.5.65 ॥

The perfect, pure, supreme, undefiled and only one Parambrahma, Through which wisdom He is conceived, contemplated and known that is Parāvidya. Excepting parāvidyā everything is Aparā everything is Aparā or ignorance.³

1. विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.14-38 ॥

2. द्वे ब्रह्मणी वेदितव्ये शब्दब्रह्म परं च यत् ।

शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 6.5.64 ॥

3. संज्ञायते येन तदस्तदोषं शुद्धं परं निर्मलमेकरूपम् ।

संदृश्यते वाप्यवगम्यते वा, तज्ज्ञानमज्ञानमतोऽन्यदुक्तम् ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 6.5.87 ॥

Same thought is stated by Mundakopaniṣad also.

“तत्रापरा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदः शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं ,
छन्दो ज्योतिषमिति। अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते ॥ मुण्डकोपनिषद् ॥ 1.1.5 ॥

According to Viṣṇupurāṇa the whole universe is Kṣara-phase of supreme-being, which is limited. But Akṣarabrahma is formless, birthless, constant and omnipresent etc. which is called Supreme Lord-

द्वे रूपे ब्रह्मणस्तस्य मूर्तं चामूर्तमेव च ।
क्षराक्षरस्वरूपे ते सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थिते ॥
अक्षरं तत्परं ब्रह्म क्षरं सर्वमिदं जगत् ।
एकदेशस्थिस्यानेज्योत्सना विस्तारिणी यथा ॥

॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.12.55

The above thought is stated by Lord Kṛṣṇa, in the Śrīmadbhagavadgītā also-

द्वाविमौ पुरुषो लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥

15.16

It means there are two classes of being, the fallible and infallible. In the material world everyliving entity is fallible, and in the spritual world every living entity is called infallible.

So glory, might, dominion, wisdom, energy, and other attributes are collected in him, Supreme of the supreme, in whom no imperfection abide, lord over finite and infinite god in individuals and universals, visible and invisible, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient and almighty-

तेजोबलैश्वर्यमहावबोध सुवीर्यशक्त्यादिगुणैकराशिः
परः पराणां सकला न यत्र, क्लेशादयस्सन्ति परावरेषे ॥
स ईश्वरो व्यष्टि-समष्टिरूपो, व्यक्तस्वरूपोऽप्रकटस्वरूपः
सर्वेश्वरस्सर्वदृक् सर्वविच्च, समस्तशक्तिः परमेश्वराख्यः ॥

॥ विष्णुपुराणम् 6.5.86

That Supreme being is known as Vāsudeva, because all beings abide in that Supreme being and that He abides in all beings, as it is formally explained by Keshidhvaja to Khāṇḍikya (Janaka), when he inquired of him an explanation of the name of the immortal Vāsudeva. He said, "He dwells internally in all beings, and all things dwell in Him, and hence the Lord Vāsudeva is the creator and preserver of the

universe-

सर्वाणि तत्र भूतानि वसन्ति परमात्मनि ।
 भूतेषु च स सर्वात्मा वासुदेवस्ततः स्मृतः ॥
 खाण्डिक्यजनकायाह पृष्टः केशिध्वजः पुरा ।
 नामव्याख्यामनन्तस्य वासुदेवस्य तत्त्वतः ।
 भूतेषु वसते सोऽन्तर्वसन्त्यत्र च तानि यत् ।
 धाता विधाता जगतां वासुदेवस्ततः प्रभुः ॥
 ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् 6.5.80-82 ॥

Thus Lord Viṣṇu is Supreme being and he is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. So Viṣṇu the Lord of world, is invested with Rajas and creates the world as Brhma. He is invested with Sattva, and preserves the world as Viṣṇu. He is invested with Tamas, and dissolves the world as Rudra.

जुषन् रजोगुणं तत्र, स्वयं विश्वेश्वरो हरिः ।
 ब्रह्मा भूत्वास्य जगतो विसृष्टौ सम्प्रवर्तते ॥
 सृष्टं च पात्यनुयुगं यावत्कल्पविकल्पना ।
 सत्त्वमृद् भगवान्विष्णुरप्रमेयपराक्रमः ॥
 तमोद्रेकी च कल्पान्ते रूद्ररूपी जनार्दनः ।
 मैत्रेयाखिलभूतानि भक्षयत्यतिदारुणः ॥
 ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् 1.2.61-63 ॥

So Lord Viṣṇu is all powerful. He is repository of all powers. He is an other form of Brahman or Supreme-being. Because He is the Supreme of all divine powers. We may say Viṣṇu is manifestation of Brahman.

“सर्वशक्तिमयो विष्णुः स्वरूपं ब्रह्मणः परम्” ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.22.61 ॥

“सः परः परशक्तीनां ब्रह्मणः, समनन्तरम् ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.22.61 ॥

Regarding evolution, we should know that Lord Viṣṇu is Parabrahma. He is eternal and pure consciousness. Prakṛti, Mahat, Ahaṁkāra, time, space, wind, fire, water and earth with whole world are his maniefstation.¹ He is enjoyer and He is enjoyed, He is subtle and He is gross. He is formless and He is formed. He is existence and He is non-existence. He is knowledge and He is ignorance. He is truth and He is falsehood. He is nectar and He is poison. He is beautiful and He is terrible, because of his greatest power Avidyā or Nature. The world is his great form. And above contradiction is identification of God or supreme being as stated -

1. विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 1.2.14-18 ॥

So we can say according to Viṣṇupuāṇa, Lord Viṣṇu is the self (Ātmā) of the whole universe, called as Viśvātmā. He is ground of the whole universe. He pervades it by a part of His infinite power-

अतीत-सर्वावरणोऽखिलात्मा, तेनावृतं यद् भुवनान्तराले।

समस्तकल्याण गुणात्मकोऽसौ, स्वशक्ति लेशावृतभूतवर्गः॥

॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 6.5.84 ॥

The state of equal balance of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas is called Prakṛti (Nature), as stated- "सत्त्वरजस्तमसां साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः ।" It is known as dissolution. At the time of dissolution only Supreme being exist. Prakṛiti and Puruṣa both disappear within Supreme being, separately. After fixed time Lord Viṣṇu (Supreme being) enters into Prakṛiti and Puruṣa agitates it. It is cause of association of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa. Through this association the whole universe is produced.

Regarding Mokṣa (Liberation), we should know that the attachment of Manas (mind) with enjoyfull objects is bondage (Bandhana) and ditachment of Manas from pre attached objects is called liberation or Mokṣa.

It means the mind or Manas is the cause of both, bondage and liberations, its addition to the objects of sense is the means of his bondage, and it's separation from objects of sense is the means of his freedom or Liberation. The sage who is capable of discriminative knowledge must therefore restrain his mind from all the objects of sense, and therewith meditates upon the Supreme being, who is one with spirit, in order to attain liberation, for the Supreme being attracts to itself him who meditates upon it, as a magnet attracts the iron by the virtue which is common to itself and to its products, as stated by Keśidhvaja in Viṣṇu Purāṇa-

मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्ध-मोक्षयोः।

बन्धाय विषयासंगि मुक्तयै निर्विषयं मनः ॥

विषयेभ्यः समाहृत्य विज्ञानात्मा मनो मुनिः ।

चिन्तयेन्मुक्तये तेन ब्रह्मभूतं परेश्वरम् ॥

आत्माभावं नयत्येनं तद् ब्रह्मध्यानिनं मुनिम् ।

विकार्यमात्मनश्शक्त्या लोहमाकर्षको तथा ॥

॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 16.7.28-30 ॥

It is highest state of sole, which is know as Mokṣa. There is no difference between the individual sole and Supreme sole. This state is called knowledge of Brahma or unity with Brahma, which is climax of pleasure. It is undefinable by words. So it is known as Brahamananda,

a pleasure from attaining the Supreme sole-

प्रत्यस्तमितभेदं यत्सत्तामात्रमगोचरम् ।

वचसा यदसंवेद्यं तज्ज्ञानं ब्रह्मसंज्ञितम् ॥

॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ॥ 6.7.53 ॥

Thus the jīva (individual sole) becomes identified with Parabrahma (Supreme sole) by constant meditation on him, So attaining the Brahma, Brahmavidpuruṣa has no need of sacrifice or any worship, because he also becomes brahma.

ORAL POETIC TECHNIQUE AS REFLECTED IN NĀRADA'S POLITICAL QUESTIONS TO YUDHIṢṬHIRA

BY

RAM KARAN SHARMA

[विदुषा लेखकेनात्र प्रदर्शितं यद् रामायणस्य महाभारतस्य च पाठपरम्परा मूलतो मौखिका एवासीत् । कालान्तरे उमे काव्ये (इतिहासौ) लिखिते जाते। अतः विषयाणां श्लोकानामनुकरणं साम्यं च प्राप्यते। अस्य मतस्य समर्थने महाभारतस्य रामायणस्य च केषाञ्चित् श्लोकानां साम्यं प्रदर्शितमत्र।]

The Mahābhārata (MBH) itself claims that as far as dharma, artha, Kāma and mokṣa are concerned, these is nothing that is not available here and whatever is not here cannot be found anywhere else.

We may or may not agree with this wide claim. But the fact remains that the MBH (Jaya→Bhārata→Mahābhārata) originated from Vedic Yajña that represents all that is life and all that is universe (saṅgatikaraṇa). As Hazra has pointed out, the MBH originated from the 'Pāriplavopākhyāna' of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. According to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa there used to be a regular daily afternoon session of popular story telling "Pāriplava" on ten specified topics to be repeated thirty six times to complete 360 days required for the safe return of the sacrificial horse during Aśvamedha. The gods, demons, animals, birds, fishes etc. formed the daily central theme of story telling. One of these ten day story telling sessions was devoted to fishes and fishermen. So Hazra concludes that the MBH originated from the Aśvamedha's pāriplava with special reference to its session specially devoted to fishes and fishermen. Vyāsa himself is the son of a fisherwoman who is also the grandmother of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra. In fact that fisherwoman-Satyavati or Matsyagandhā happens to be the daughter of Uparicara Vasu and the divine dancer Girikā (in the form of a fish).

MBH is traditionally regarded as Itihāsa, also as Smṛti. It was not originally written; it was transmitted in oral tradition. As Rāmāyaṇa was sung by Kuśa and Lava with the accompaniment of Vīṇā, so there was a tradition of MBH chanting with the accompaniment of musical

instruments, as attested from Bāṇas' Kādambārī :

महाश्वेतां पृष्ठतश्च समुपविष्टेन किन्नरमिथुनेन मधुकरमधुराभ्यां वंशाभ्यां दत्ते ताने कलगिरा
गायन्त्या नारददुहित्रा पठ्यमाने च सर्वमङ्गलमहीयसि महाभारते दत्तावधानाम् (कादम्बरीम्) ।

—कादम्बरी

Even there is an internal evidence to the effect that MBH was not originally written down. It was for Brahmā to advise Vyāsa to invite Gaṇeśa to write down the Kāvya (that was already available in oral tradition) :

काव्यस्य लेखनार्थाय गणेशः स्मर्यतां मुने ।

As one has to master the relevant alphabet to read out a text, so an oral poet was required to master a very large number of poetic formulas representing adjectives, vocatives, metaphors, the entire Pāda or sometimes the entire verses from the traditional thesaurus in order to suit different types of contexts. It would have been impossible for oral poets to chant the text containing various episodes without mastering such poetic formulas. There was no copyright on these Poetic formulas. So the Rāmāyaṇa, MBH, Dharmasāstras abound in identical passages that suit the contexts concerned. For example Hanumān sees Sītā separated from Rāma and describes her pitiable condition in the Rāmāyaṇa. In a similar context Sudeva sees Damayantī separated from Nala and describes her pitiable condition. Almost all descriptive passages are similar or even identical (*pinaddhām dhumajālana Śikhām iva vibhāvasoḥ, etc. etc.*).

We know very well that Śāntiparva comprising three subparvans—Rājadhama, Āpaddhama and Mokṣadhama deals Rājadhama exhaustively. But if we want to see the gist of the fundamental principles of Rājadhama at a glance we may look at the Sabhāparva of MBH dealing with the Rājasuya by Yudhiṣṭhira and all that follows : Nāradas appearance in this Parva may specially noted. Normally such visits by such great sages are followed by blessings alone. But Nārada's blessings to Yudhiṣṭhirs, are, by and large instructive. They constitute fundamentals of Rājadhama in the form of questions. Similar is the situation in Rāmāyaṇa when Bharata visits exiled Rāma who greets Bharata with almost identical questions representing fundamentals of Rājadhama. Quoted below are passages from Rāmāyaṇa and MBH that summarise the details of Rājadhama in Indian tradition and also illustrate repetition of identical poetic formulas in a given context in both the great epics of India :

Rāmāyaṇa

कच्चिदात्मसमाः शूराः
श्रुतवन्तो जितेन्द्रियाः ।
कुलीनाश्चेङ्गितज्ञाश्च
कृतास्ते तात मन्त्रिणः ॥ 2.100.15

मन्त्रो विजयमूलं हि
राज्ञां भवति राघव ।
सुसंवृतो मन्त्रिधुरै-
रमात्यैः शास्त्रकोविदैः ॥ id.16

कच्चिन्निद्रावशं नैषि
कच्चित् काले प्रबुध्यसे ।
कच्चिच्चापररात्रेषु
चिन्तयस्यर्थमुत्तमम् ॥ id.17

कच्चिन् मन्त्रयसे नैकः
कच्चिन्न बहुभिः सह ।
कच्चित्ते मन्त्रितो मन्त्रो
राष्ट्रं न परिधावति ॥ id.18

कच्चित् सहस्रैर्मूर्खाणा-
मेकमिच्छसि पण्डितम् ।
पण्डितो ह्यर्थकृच्छ्रेषु
कुर्यान् निःश्रेयसं परम् ॥ id.22

MBH

कच्चिदात्मसमा वृद्धाः
शुद्धाः सम्बोधनक्षमाः ।
कुलीनाश्चानुरक्ताश्च
कृतास्ते वीर मन्त्रिणः । 2.5.26-27

विजयो मन्त्रमूलो हि
राज्ञो भवति भारत ॥ id.27
कच्चित् संवृतमन्त्रैस्तै-
रमात्यैः शास्त्रकोविदैः ।
राष्ट्रं सुरक्षितं तात
शत्रुभिर्न विलुप्यते ॥ id.28

कच्चिन्निद्रावशं नैषि
कच्चित् काले विबुध्यसे ।
कच्चिच्चापररात्रेषु
चिन्तयस्यर्थमर्थवित् ॥ id.29

कच्चिन् मन्त्रयसे नैकः
कच्चिन्न बहुभिः सह ।
कच्चित्ते मन्त्रितो मन्त्रो
न राष्ट्रं परिधावति ॥ id.30

कच्चित् सहस्रैर्मूर्खाणा-
मेकं क्रीणासि पण्डितम् ।
पण्डितो ह्यर्थकृच्छ्रेषु
कुर्यान् निःश्रेयसं परम् ॥ id.35

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